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THIRD SESSION

Appendix

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

Appendix

Loans to Latin America and Purchases of Tungsten in China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 30 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

NEWS RELEASES BY FEDERAL LOAN AGENCY

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, for the information of the Senate, several news releases by the Federal Loan Agency, under the direction of Mr. Jesse H. Jones, pertaining to the amount of loans that have been made in pan-American countries, and also with respect to purchases of tungsten in China.

There being no objection, the matters referred to were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, September 24, 1940.—Jesse Jones, Federal Loan Administrator, announced today the Export-Import Bank has authorized a loan to the Government of Costa Rica of $4,600,000 for the construction of a section of the pan-American highway extending from San Jose to the Panama border, where it will connect with the Panamanian road south to the Canal.

The loan will be at 4 percent interest, maturing over a period of 10 years, and will be guaranteed by the National Bank of Costa Rica, and repaid from the proceeds of the gasoline tax. Approximately 60 percent of the proceeds of the loan will be used for the purchase of equipment in the United States.

It will require approximately 4 years to complete the road, and its construction will be especially helpful to Costa Rica in meeting its unemployment situation due to drastic curtailment of its coffee export market. The United States Public Roads Administration will lend the Costa Rican Government engineers to supervise and assist in the construction of the road.

The loan was negotiated by Dr. Luis Anderson of Costa Rica, assisted by Señor Pena, President of the National Bank of Costa Rica, and Señor Matamoros, technical adviser.

WASHINGTON, September 25, 1940.—Jesse Jones, Federal Loan Administrator, announced today that as a part of the national-defense program the Metals Reserve Co. has agreed to buy from the National Resources Commission of China tungsten to the value of $30,000,000. The tungsten will be delivered over a period of years at prices to be agreed upon from time to time, in accordance with market conditions, as the tungsten is delivered.

To assist China to meet her present foreign-exchange needs the Export-Import Bank has agreed to lend China $25,000,000 that will be liquidated through the sale of the tungsten. The loan will be made to the Government of China with the guaranty of the Central Bank of China.

December 15, 1938, the bank authorized $25,000,000 credits to the Universal Trading Corporation, of New York, a Chinese-owned American corporation, which is being repaid through the importation from China of wood oil used in the manufacture of paints and varnishes; $20,840,000 of this authorization has been drawn and $2,993,444 repaid.

March 7, 1940, the bank authorized additional loans to China of $20,000,000, which is to be repaid through the importation from China of tin. Some tin is already being shipped.

Of all loans heretofore authorized to China, both by the R. F. C. and the Export-Import Bank, $43,824,528 has been disbursed and $13,160,253 repaid, with nothing past due.

WASHINGTON, September 26, 1940.—Jesse Jones, Federal Loan Administrator, today made public the attached letters covering agreement by the Export-Import Bank to make a loan for the construction of a steel mill in Brazil:

BRAZILIAN EMBASSY,
Washington, September 25, 1940.

DEAR MR. JONES: With regard to the extensive discussions of the project to construct an iron and steel mill in Brazil, which have taken place between representatives of my Government and the Export-Import Bank, I have the honor to inquire whether the bank is in a position to make available to Brazil and to Brazilian interests, and on what terms, the credit necessary for the purchase, in the United States, of materials and equipment for the construction of the mill, which the Government of Brazil considers of paramount importance to its economic progress.

It is estimated that we will need $20,000,000 United States funds to cover these purchases, $10,000,000 of which will be required during the next 12 to 18 months, and the balance, up to a maximum cumulative total of $20,000,000 thereafter as the work progresses. It will probably require 2½ years to complete the mill.

If the credit is available, we will establish an office in Pittsburgh or other suitable center with a corps of engineers and executives to handle the task of the design of the mill, the purchase of the equipment, and the construction of the plant. This organization will be composed of Americans and Brazilians acceptable to both parties. We will, if you think it advisable, establish a supplemental or con-

sulting office in Washington or New York. All of this, of course, will be at our expense, and become a part of the cost of the mill.

The Brazilian Government, in conjunction with certain Brazilian savings banks and investors, is prepared to invest milreis to the value of $25,000,000 in this project in the form of equity money or otherwise represented by securities junior to the Export-Import Bank's loan. We would expect the plans, specifications, etc., and the construction and operation of the mill to be satisfactory to you, and for you, if you wish, to have your special representatives to inspect the work as it is being carried on.

I should be very happy to hear from you at your early convenience.

Sincerely yours,

GUILHERME GUINLE,
President, Executive Commission, Brazilian Siderugical Plan.

HON. JESSE H. JONES, *Administrator,*
Federal Loan Agency, Washington, D. C.

FEDERAL LOAN AGENCY,
Washington, September 26, 1940.

DEAR DR. GUINLE: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of September 25, 1940, in which you state that the Brazilian Government desires that an iron and steel mill be constructed in Brazil and that the Brazilian Government, together with certain Brazilian savings banks and other investors, is prepared to invest milreis to the value of $25,000,000 in the enterprise, but desires to borrow up to $20,000,000 for the purchase in the United States of materials and equipment for the construction of the mill.

In line with our several conversations on the subject and conditional upon the investment of milreis to the value of $25,000,000 as above provided in the form of junior money, I am pleased to advise you that the Export-Import Bank now confirms the tentative commitment of $10,000,000 heretofore approved by the bank for this project, and agrees to increase the sum, as the work progresses, to a cumulative total of $20,000,000.

The loan will be made by the Export-Import Bank to the company which is to own and operate the mill, and endorsed by the Bank of Brazil, and guaranteed by the Brazilian Government. The loan will be payable in 20 semiannual installments, the first of which will become due in 3 years from the date of the first advance. Interest, payable semiannually at 4 percent, will run from the date each advance is made.

Satisfactory provisions will be required to assure that the loan will constitute a first claim against the mill, and all legal matters in connection with the loan shall be subject to the approval of the Export-Import Bank. We should also want the privilege of concurring in the selection of the managerial officers of the mill company, the engineers and contractors, and the purchase of materials.

The Export-Import Bank will expect continuing assurances from the Bank of Brazil and the Brazilian Government that the mill will be completed from the proceeds of the loan and funds to be supplied in Brazil and that the mill company will have ample working capital.

In view of the fact that the experience of Brazilians in the manufacture of steel on a large scale has been limited, the management of the enterprise should include managerial officers and engineers experienced in the manufacture of steel in the United States until successful operation has been assured to the mutual satisfaction of the Export-Import Bank and Brazilian investors. I have every confidence that with sufficient experience Brazilians wi'l be able successfully to manufacture steel, and I am in thorough sympathy with your President and your people in their desire to build this industry.

Very truly yours,

JESSE H. JONES,
Administrator.

DR. GUILHERME GUINLE,
President, Executive Committee, Brazilian Steel Plan.
(Care of Brazilian Embassy, 3007 Whitehaven Street NW., Washington, D. C.)

"Dear Candidate"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VINCENT F. HARRINGTON

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE COLUMBIA MAGAZINE

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article appearing recently in the Columbia magazine of September 1940, by Wilfrid Parsons, S. J. The subject matter dealt with is so logically and forcefully presented it should necessarily be of interest to Members of Congress, particularly in light of the present world situation.

The article follows:

[From the Columbia magazine of September 1940]

"DEAR CANDIDATE"—A LETTER TO WHOM IT DOES CONCERN

(By Wilfrid Parsons, S. J.)

DEAR MR. CANDIDATE: Within the next few months divers and sundry candidates for public office, high and low, will be indulging in the annual exercise of advising the common people on their duties next November. Before the big push starts, it seems to me that it would not be out of place if someone undertook to give a little advice to the candidates themselves. They are, after all, asking for employment at our hands and they wish to be our servants for the next 2, 4, or 6 years, as the case may be. Under our democratic form of government they are supposed to consult the wishes of the electorate, so that they may be the perfect public servants. In practice, however, what they really do is to tell the electorate what it is supposed to think or feel, and let it go at that. Not often does the citizen get a chance to talk back to his prospective employee—as you can (perhaps) to your cook—and the only way he has to express his disapproval is the silent one of turning off the radio or staying home on election day.

So, dear Mr. Candidate, before you really get started, kindly allow me to send in your direction a few thoughts which may not, I admit, help you to get elected, but which will certainly make you a better public servant if you should get elected.

First of all, then, allow me to say that in the past you have been too much like those other politicians who got France into her bitter calamity and brought the British Empire to her present parlous pass. Like them, you had the idea that we had to be flattered if we were going to like you. And we loved it. All you had to do was to tell us that peace, prosperity, and progress were ours for the mere desiring it, without our having to do anything to deserve or win them.

We all wanted peace, of course, just as the people in France and England did. And peace you have always promised us. But the politicians in France and England forgot or neglected to tell their people that in a world of wolves you must go armed. You can, of course, try to make us believe that there are no wolves any more, and that the animal that looks like a wolf is merely a domesticated hound—if you pat him he wags his tail and fawns on you. But across the border in Germany there was a man who did not promise his people peace; in fact, he promised them war—war on a hitherto unknown scale. He made them want it. He made them do without butter in order to buy guns. He spent as much for guns, planes, and tanks in the year 1939 as the United States received that year in taxes—$6,000,000,000. He also wrote out in careful detail all that he proposed to do with those guns, planes, and tanks, and so far he has arrived at his announced destinations on schedule.

WHAT THEY DID NOT UNDERSTAND

Now the politicians in France and England knew all these things quite well. We knew about them over here, so there is no reason to believe that they did not. But it is one thing to know and another to understand. There is a blindness that overtakes a mind that has yielded itself to its body's desires and makes it incapable of understanding even what lies under its eyes and what even a child could understand, as Jacques Maritain remarked in a recent article in the Commonweal. The moral paralysis that follows upon this blindness is undoubtedly what caused the downfall of France and the mortal peril of England.

The politicians of those countries knew perfectly well that all these arms that Germany had amassed were for use against their countries; they knew perfectly well that they could not trust even the sworn word of Hitler, for he had himself in Mein Kampf written out in full the way in which he proposed to take them in by false promises. They knew, but they chose not to understand. Maybe, as Maritain said, they were unable to understand.

The reason why they did not understand was that they and their people, or large numbers of their people, had blundered into a false notion of the meaning of human life. Life to them had become merely a means for comfort, for personal ease, for making money, and for doing all that with the very minimum of labor and trouble. They had believed in a world in which you can have everything you want without paying for it. That is why, as has been said, they spoke yearningly of liberty but were unwilling to do anything to defend it, as if they did not know that liberty is the one thing that the unfree peoples cannot tolerate having in the same world with them. That is why they cried out for peace, and closed their eyes to the fact that peace is the most defenseless of all human goods, unless the peaceful are willing to fight for it. That is why they devoted themselves wholly to increasing their possessions and wealth, and because these possessions came to them easily and in great quantity, they imagined that they were eternal, that they could not be taken away, that there were no envious fingers itching to take them away from them.

Their greatest crime was that they did not understand. But only less a crime was it that they laughed out of hearing all those who did understand, and that they kept all warning voices from being heard by the people. We, the people, do not want to hear things that are uncomfortable, and hard, and difficult to do. We would rather hear soft flattery, and smooth promises, and slick explanations. And because we, the people, have the votes to keep you in office, Mr. Candidate, or to put you there if you are one of the outs, then you gave us what we wanted, told us what we wanted to hear, kept from us what we hated to have mentioned to us.

There was a time when most of us believed that you did not get anything in this life without paying for it. We did understand that if we had liberty, we are free only as long as we think

enough of our liberty to keep violent hands from profaning it. We were convinced that peace is not an automatic thing, a result of illimitable progress, but is safe only as long as we are willing to pay for it, as for liberty, with the price of eternal vigilance. We did think that war was the worst of human evils, like rape and murder and theft; and we never thought that men just grew out of war, as children grow out of their clothes. It was those beliefs that made us great, as they did the other democracies.

Meanwhile, there arose a group of men who understood, as even the devil understands, that life is paid for by suffering and labor; that the road to earthly greatness is the road of discipline and self-denial. And because they also had rejected every vestige of scruple and even the basis of morality, as Pope Pius XII pointed out, they became very terrible indeed, for they had learned the fundamental lesson of life itself and put it at the service of the destruction of the very soul of man. They, too, have made a terrible error, for the end of their strivings is not liberty and peace, but war and slavery. To them the slave is the highest citizen, the liar is the best statesman, the killer is the ideal human type. They took a fundamental Christian idea and applied it in reverse to human affairs. At their head was an apostate Catholic, and when a Catholic turns himself inside out, he is the most poisonous of all human menaces.

When the youth of a country is hammered and tempered in this hard, inhuman mold, he is more than a match for any other man who has softened himself in forgetfulness of the essential gravity of human life. It was very well said by the German General Staff, in its summing up of the Battle of France, that the French were not beaten by planes or tanks or guns but by the "revolutionary dynamic of the Nazi state." That pregnant phrase fell like a death knell on the hopes of democracy.

AGE OF GLAMOROUS NONSENSE

For, Mr. Candidate, in the midst of the democracies there festered a falsehood that ate their hearts out. It was the falsehood that asserts the essential goodness of man and the inevitable march of progress. It existed at the same time along with that other falsehood that the free will of man is not the supreme arbiter of human affairs, and that man is just some higher form of animal, and by some curious chance has learned the use of language, and stumbled upon the secrets of nature, and taught himself to use his hands to make machines that will make the use of his hands useless. All this glamorous nonsense the democracies have been repeating to themselves for three generations. An enemy has suddenly arisen who was able to see that this inner corruption that arises from looking on life only as a means of securing comfort and pleasure made the democracies a hollow shell which would crumble at the first hard shove.

I beg of you, therefore, dear Mr. Candidate, that you stop telling us, the people, that we can have all pleasure and no toil in this life, that the good things of this world will come to us just by waiting for them, that peace and prosperity and freedom are secure possessions and need no lock and key or armed guard over them.

But there is another danger, dear Mr. Candidate, that confronts us as it confronted the democratic states of Europe. Hitler long ago boasted that he would never have to fight very hard against any enemy when he took up arms against it. He would already have prepared within that enemy nation a group which would paralyze its will to resist, fight a sort of silent corroding civil war behind the lines, and hand it over to him at the proper time, after a short campaign. Recent events show that he knew what he was talking about.

Moreover, he does not have to worry about keeping large armies of occupation in the nations he conquers. He counts on the citizens and the armies of those nations to perform that task for him. He will not only beat their armies in the field, counting on his foes' arms to drop from their hands in dismay and despair, but he will also have friendly governments already chosen who will adopt his favorite form of government and keep the populations in subjection to him. He does not have to leave his own armies behind to perform that task; his former enemies will do it for him. When he was running wild over Europe, people were consoling themselves with the statement that he would have to stop somewhere, for his armies of occupation would run out sooner or later, and the more countries he took the weaker he would get. We now know that this was folly. The more countries he takes, the stronger he becomes, for those countries become his allies.

Please, therefore, Mr. Candidate, do not tell us in this coming campaign that there is no danger that this menace will overwhelm South and Central America and Mexico, and then this country. Of course, if he were to have to leave large armed forces behind him wherever he goes, his task would be beyond all human possibility. But he is not counting on that. In every country in the Western Hemisphere he has for years organized large forces whose sole purpose is to inject doubt, confusion, and hesitation among the people. He does his part by loudly proclaiming that he has no aggressive intentions. This is not just a lie told for the purpose of deceiving. It is told for the purpose of persuading at least some of the people among his intended victims so that debate arises and the will to action is paralyzed. Thus, he accomplishes two purposes: He leaves his victim uncertain whether he will be hit, and thus uncertain whether to arm in self-defense; and he prepares a strong body of determined men among the citizens of that country who will be his government for him when he marches in upon it.

WORLD REVOLUTION ON FOOT

Unless, therefore, dear Mr. Candidate, you understand the meaning of this new thing in the world, you will merely sow doubt and confusion yourself. This is a world revolution that is on foot and it is everywhere succeeding precisely because it has not been recognized for what it is. And the extraordinary part of it is, once again, that its own authors never cease explaining to us exactly what they are attempting. It is a revolution, and its objective is to wipe democracy off the face of the earth. Mussolini explained it from the balcony of the Palazzo Venezia when he declared war on France and England as a war "to destroy the pluto democracies." And the greatest of the pluto democracies, the plutocratic capitalist state par excellence, is, as they never cease telling us, the United States of America. A famous world correspondent from Europe told me after the convention in Philadelphia in June that there were not five people there who understood that only too obvious fact. That observation brought home to me that our own old-line politicians in this country are the exact parallel of the Chamberlains and the Daladiers in Europe; they know perfectly what is going on and they understand it not a whit.

You have to make up your mind, Mr. Candidate, whether you are going to be a revolutionary or a counterrevolutionary. It won't help either you or us much if you try to take a middle stand. If you do, you will be pushed off your feet by the rush of events. The old comfortable times are gone, and you will have to choose. And don't put us off with chaff about "fifth columns," unless you know what you mean by that term. Don't tell us that the Nazi-Fascists are the "fifth column," and never mention the Communists; and don't soft-pedal the Nazis and come down hard only on the Communists. You have to understand that there is a deep affinity between the two. If you have followed events at all closely the past few months, you will know that the Communist Party line has been taken up almost entirely by the Nazi sympathizers, who follow its twistings and turnings faithfully, and that the Communists never tell us any more that their whole destiny in life is to save us from fascism. This Communist Party line is against rearming, isolationist, pacifist, even, and tells us that we must pay exclusive attention to our domestic social and economic problems. If you listen to the Fascist sympathizers, you will see that they have adopted the identical line, innocently some of them, with deep intent those who know what it is all about.

THEY THOUGHT IT COULDN'T HAPPEN

What you should understand about all this, dear Mr. Candidate, is that these various groups who make up the "fifth column" are the ones who are counted on by the world revolution to sow discord and confusion among us, paralyze our will to action, and take control of our Government after we are conquered. Don't tell us, the people, that the notion of our being conquered is a fantastic one. That is what France thought, and England, and Belgium, and Norway, and Denmark, and Holland, and Poland, and Czechoslovakia and Austria. All of them went down because they did not understand the nature of the revolution that was moving against them, never believed that it would touch them, and ignored the activities of the traitors within their own gates who were paralyzing their wills to action and looked forward to ruling them when the revolution came. If you look around you and understand what is going on, you will see that the same thing is being prepared for us that went on in all those other countries. Of course, Latin America is further advanced along that road than we are. The sure sign of the coming success of the revolution within any country is that those who by all their religious and political traditions should know better, are innocently repeating the slogans and cliches of the revolutionists. The last step but one takes place when the important men of the country begin to announce that it can't happen here.

And on that question of isolationism. You will have to make up your mind about that. For there are two kinds of isolationists: Those who do not want us to give any help to beat Hitler because they want to see him win, and that includes the Communists, the Fascist-minded, the England haters. And there are the sincere American nationalists, who have believed that it is really for the best interests of America and the world in the long run for us to stay to ourselves, even if through that the European democracies go down to destruction. This latter group are not really isolationist, for it is a part of their creed that after democracy in the rest of the world disappears, it will be the destiny of the United States to preserve democratic ideals, and then be the missionary to the world for their resurrection everywhere. It will be just as well, if you are an isolationist, for you to be sure in your mind to which of these two classes you really belong.

There is another problem that as I write is an acute one, but which by the time this reaches you may be a purely academic one. That is the question of whether it is really true that the British Fleet has always been the actual defender of our isolation and of our Monroe Doctrine, and that if it disappears or falls into the hands of Germany it will be for us either to abandon the doctrine or, in defending it, to go down with the rest of the victims of the revolution. I say it may be academic, for I expect that in a short time it will be decided whether there is a British Fleet in the hands of King George's subjects. In any case, it will be too late for us to have done anything about it even if we wished.

WHAT MR. CANDIDATE CAN DO

Then, there is another thing which you will have to face squarely and frankly. From all over the United States you will hear it said

that our young men have lost all love of country, at least in the sense that they will be willing to die for it. In all their colleges, the Catholic colleges included, they have been bombarded with the insinuation that this was Europe's war; that it did not concern us at all; that in any case it would never touch us if we let it alone; and that we can go our way serenely solving our own domestic problems as if nothing was the matter anywhere. Every Communist and Nazi-Fascist periodical, and every Communist or Communist-inspired organization, has been repeating this since the Hitler-Stalin pact last August. (Before that the official line was just the opposite: interventionist, warlike, and pro-Ally.) Our young men have believed it whether it is true or not.

At the same time, the philosophy of life taught our young people in the secular colleges and schools has been the identical philosophy which wrecked the morale of the so-called democracies abroad: Life is a matter of personal arrangements for our own pleasure and comfort; there is no objective basis for determining what is right and what is wrong, but only our own inclinations; and no man owes anything to anybody but to himself. If it ever came up against the stern Nazi-Fascist of Communist-trained youth it would collapse in abject disintegration.

Dear Mr. Candidate, you will have to grapple with this situation. You will probably find that the great mass of our people will not realize the seriousness of the world revolution that is afoot until it actually challenges us with arms. That is what happened to France and England and it will happen here. So be it. The democracies are perhaps incurably optimistic, and there is nothing we can do about it.

But there is one thing you can do, dear Mr. Candidate. You can decide to become a leader instead of a follower. You can begin to tell us, the people, what we ought to hear, not what we want to hear. You can awaken in our dormant souls the half-forgotten truth that life is paid for with labor and self-denial. You can remind us that we have a debt we owe our country and that this debt is only inferior to the debt we owe God and our parents. You can arouse us to the realization that the only safe basis for liberty is religion, that our rights are not of human origin, but of Divine origin, and that men can escape being slaves to other men only when they believe in God and serve Him.

If you do that you can forget the menace of the revolution from without and from within. If you raise a ringing cry of true leadership that penetrates our consciences and forges our wills into a common conviction of duty and right, then you will probably be elected and find a place in American history that will put you among the greatest men we have ever had. Then if we do have to fight for our institutions we can have some confidence that we were not licked before we began to fight because of a sickly moral paralysis that caused our arms to fall from our hands.

No Third Term Wanted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. REID F. MURRAY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, the fundamental reason why I am opposed to a third term is that if this procedure is followed we will find our Presidents using the public purse and Federal powers for the purpose of perpetuating themselves in office. The result will be a breaking down of the legislative and judicial branches of our Government. Every thinking person knows that these branches have been weakened too much already during the past few years for the future welfare of this country. The present demand is to "bring the Government back to the people."

The New Deal was inaugurated and supported in an effort to liberalize the functions of government. Many idealists, high-minded men, were attracted to the cause. This was the first step. The second step was the infiltration of the crackpots, the collectivists, and the visionaries, like Mr. Tugwell, Mr. Hokpins, and Mr. Frankfurter's happy hot dogs from Harvard. The high-minded made way for the loose minded. The third step was the gradual elimination of the high-minded and some of the loose-minded and the joining of hands with the most sordid element of American political life, as exemplified by the house of Tammany, Hague, Kelley-Nash, Crump, and Pendergast. If this man Roosevelt is perpetuated in office, we not only perpetuate an individual but perpetuate this vicious gang. Let a crowd like this become emboldened with success and then what do we have?

The Tammany tiger may be temporarily confined, but its kittens are climbing the barnyard fences of every farmer in America and slinking into the back door of every home in our land. This shows how far one man will stoop in his efforts to perpetuate himself in this office of President.

We do not want a third term for any President— now or ever.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT F. RICH
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, Sam Pettengill, of Indiana, said, and I quote:

> The third-term tradition is part of the armor of freedom. It is a restraint against the abuse of power * * * as such it finds many forms, written or unwritten. Freemen have always sought means to prevent political machines from perpetuating themselves in office.

The third-term candidate, Roosevelt, forced his nomination on the Democratic convention. He controlled the convention. A dictator at the convention, now he wants to be a dictator over the American people. If he gets a third term, will he not want a fourth term and a fifth term? If he is the indispensable man, do you think he will ever see the day when he is not indispensable? That day will never come to him. He promised America an economical administration; he has had the most costly and extravagant administration in our history; he has increased bureaus and departments notwithstanding his proposal to the people to eliminate and consolidate them. He tried to upset the Supreme Court to do his bidding. He has created more unrest and broken down the moral fiber of our American manhood more than any man in high office. He has put the Government in all kinds of business. He has not balanced the Budget in his years of public office, and he never will, although he promised to do so. Do you think a man of that caliber is fit for a third term? No, never. Mr. Roosevelt said that "the test of any administration, except during a short period, is that it pays its way." According to his own statement, his administration has not been a success. Then, why a third term? It will never be a success. No third term for any President.

We do not want a dictator. We do not want to overthrow our Government. So the safest way to maintain our Constitution and our freedom is to limit our Presidential term to two 4-year periods, or, better still, change the Constitution in the orderly way to one 6-year term for President.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BEN F. JENSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein the following points enlisted by Thomas Jefferson in his opinions relative to the third term:

Thomas Jefferson on at least 28 occasions registered his disapproval of long tenure in the Presidential office, asserting that "no pretext should ever be permitted to dispense" with the principle of rotation in office.

Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after 8 years.

Jefferson wrote:

I shall follow it. And a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to anyone after awhile who shall endeavor to extend his term.

Thomas Jefferson also said:

I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt; and not for a multiplication of officers and salaries merely to make partisans, and for increasing by every device, the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing.

Finally, Jefferson asserted that—

should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views.

Michigan Democratic State Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRENTISS M. BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 30 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY. HON. PRENTISS M. BROWN

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me at the opening of the Democratic State convention in the Civic Auditorium, Grand Rapids, Mich., on September 24, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman and fellow Democrats, as I came to Grand Rapids today to meet with my friends in the great Democratic Party of Michigan, one thought kept burning in mind.

It was the realization that never before in our history has Michigan so urgently needed a Democratic administration of our State government in Lansing and never before in our history has the assurance been stronger that the Democratic Party will sweep the State in a major election.

This is strong language, I fully appreciate, but I have been in constant and close touch with the Michigan scene during these strenuous times in Washington. And yet I have been far enough removed to gain a clear perspective of the decay that is eating away the very core of our State government.

The break-down of vital and basic functions of government at Lansing is due unquestionably to the absence of official leadership and the usurping of high offices by an invisible government.

Michigan newspapers bring me the foreboding picture of corrupt practices in high places, of spoilsmen depriving crippled children, the afflicted, and the aged of their rightful protection so that State funds may go for Republican political pay rolls now at an all-time high.

Letters from all parts of the State add to the dismal account of the precarious financial structure of the State government and the failure of Republican State officials even to recognize the problem.

Only one sane conclusion can be drawn from all this. It is the conclusion and the confident prophecy that the citizens of Michigan will turn to the Democratic Party this November to lead them back to a decent and a progressive State government.

A realistic analysis of the primary elections returns shows that the Republican Party slipped and slipped fatally while the Democratic Party surged powerfully ahead.

And if further proof were needed to support this reasoning, we need only look at the Gallup-poll report in the Detroit News of Friday which revealed a 54-percent lead over Willkie by President Roosevelt.

I am confident that Michigan voters will do more than vote against the opposition. They will vote for the Democratic candidates.

They will vote for our distinguished State highway commissioner, Murray D. Van Wagoner, for Governor.

I always warm up to my subject when I mention the name of my good friend Pat Van Wagoner. He has built for Michigan the finest roads in the Nation. He has been close to the people and demonstrated a fine sympathy and understanding of the real needs of the people of Michigan.

Pat is honest. Of all the millions expended by the State highway department in the last 7 years, there has never been a hint of mishandling of one cent.

No one, not even the opposition, challenges his vigorous and able leadership and his ability to get things done. He has built up a fine organization deeply imbued with the spirit of giving good public service.

The people of Michigan want to see this same human understanding, honesty, and leadership that have characterized the State highway department for 7 years, put to work in every branch of our State government at Lansing.

The party elected picked a strong and able man as candidate for United States Senator, and Mr. Fitzgerald, I will be the first to welcome you to Washington.

I have known Frank Fitzgerald for a great many years and with increasing respect. He has a record of outstanding service in the interest of labor that marks him as a liberal and progressive person. He is an able attorney and a keen student of government. I am sure he will distinguish himself in Washington as United States Senator from Michigan.

In Frank Murphy the party has a candidate for Lieutenant Governor on whom we can count to measure up to the increased responsibilities of that office.

I know that our candidate for Lieutenant Governor is a man with fine family traditions in Detroit. The work he has already done in State and in city government gives him a background that is needed in Lansing. His experience as an auditor will help, I am sure, in untangling the financial mess in the State's general fund.

And so I repeat, our candidates and our State ticket will have a double-edged sword in this election. They will find the people voting against the opposition and for the Democrats.

And now I want to turn for a few minutes to a discussion of national affairs.

THE THIRD TERM

At the outset we desire to meet the principal charge that the Republicans are making against our nominee for President of the United States. I well recall that a very prominent Republican said that 1936 might be our last election. You will note that we are having an election in 1940, and I confidently predict that we will be having elections as far into the future as we can project our minds. None of us, including our leader, would favor a third term if it were not for the present condition. In an emergency is the third term necessary? I quote from a prominent American whose words were these:

"There are other points in which opinions would be more likely to vary. As, for instance, on the ineligibility of the same person for President after he should have served a certain course of years. Guarded so effectually as the proposed Constitution is in respect to the prevention of bribery and undue influence in the choice of President, I confess I differ widely myself from Mr. Jefferson and you, as to the necessity of expedience of rotation in that appointment. * * * I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man, who, on some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public."

They are the words of George Washington.

The Republicans of Michigan are not in very good position to object to a third term. In 1912 the American people had their only opportunity to vote upon the question. The same fight in domestic affairs that we are waging today was going on—the fight of the liberal against the stand-patter. The Republicans of Michigan divided and the great majority of them decided that the necessity for electing a liberal to the White House overcame the third-term tradition and not only a majority of the Republican Party but a plurality of the entire State of Michigan chose Theodore Roosevelt, a man who had already served two terms as President of the United States.

The question was presented to one of the great wits of the Senate a few days ago and he said he had decided to vote for President Roosevelt because he preferred a third termer to a third rater.

I need not tell you that international affairs, particularly affecting the United States, are the most complicated in our history. Certainly no great business concern would change its leader when confronted by a similar situation. It is entirely illogical to reject a man who has the fullest knowledge through his personal experience with the international problems of today and elect a man who has had no acquaintance with these problems or with the men with whom he will have to come in contact. It will not be done. It is just as illogical to select a new leader now as it would have been to reject Lincoln in 1864.

If the Republicans had picked a man who was familiar with the international relationships of the United States and who had experience in government, they would have presented a much better case. Two native sons of our own State of Michigan were prominently mentioned for the Presidency, but as usual in a Republican convention Michigan's candidate got nowhere and its native son transplanted to New York was a poor third. The Republican party owes much to Michigan for its almost undeviating support down to 1932. The Republican Party has never done anything for the sons of Michigan. No Michigan Republican has ever been nominated for either President or Vice President of the United States. The Republican nominee has had no experience whatever with international affairs.

DEFENSE

This discussion naturally leads to the great problem before the American people. I am one of those who believe that America is safe, and I credit her present, greatly increased security to the farsightedness of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He was ahead of me, he was ahead of the great majority of the American people in insisting upon the strengthening of our naval defenses. He has so utilized the resources of this Nation that I believe today we are impregnable.

This is not the place for an extended discussion of our defense position. I merely summarize the following:

(1) We have more than 1,000,000 men of military age with first-class military training.

(2) We have 70,000 airplane pilots outside the armed services.

(3) Three million men have gone through the C. C. C. camps and have received training in discipline and camp life, in road building, in driving heavy trucks and tractors, and in machinery repair.

(4) The population of the United States is greater than any two countries of Europe combined, with the exception of Russia.

(5) We have 6,000,000 farms which it is said produce half of the food crops produced on earth, with 7 percent of the population and 5 percent of the tillable acreage of the world.

(6) Sixty percent of all minerals extracted from this planet are taken out of the United States.

(7) Half of the world's communication facilities are in the United States.

(8) Half of the railway mileage is here.

(9) Nearly half of the electrical energy produced in the world is produced here.

The three most important material factors in carrying on warfare, it will be conceded, are (1) iron and steel, (2) petroleum, (3) factory productive power.

Basically iron and steel are probably the most important. The United States, according to its past record, can produce 98,000,000 tons of iron and steel in a year. It has done so. The most that Germany has produced is 40,000,000 tons in a year. Taking 1937 as typical, without the pressure of war production, the United States produced 87,000,000 tons of iron and steel. Germany produced 34,000,000 tons. This was probably somewhat stimulated by war production. The total of all steel and iron production, exclusive of that produced in the United States, was 75,000,000 tons, as compared with 87,000,000 tons produced by this country in 1937.

The next most important raw material is probably crude petroleum. Again taking 1937, the United States produced 1,279,000,000 42-gallon barrels of crude petroleum. The rest of the world produced 800,000,000 barrels. Going into detail, the sources available to Germany would probably be Russia, Rumania, and Poland. These are as follows:

	Barrels
Russia	195,000,000
Rumania	52,000,000
Poland	3,000,000

This total of 250,000,000 barrels is not quite one-fifth of the production of the United States.

The productive power in tanks and planes is probably best measured by the productive power of the automobile industry of the United States. In 1937 the United States produced 4,808,000 automobiles, including trucks and busses. Canada produced 207,000, making a total continental production of 5,016,437 automobiles. The total of all other world production was 1,353,904 automobiles, or approximately one-fourth of that of the United States and Canada, of which number the United Kingdom produced 507,000, France 201,000, Germany 331,000. The German production is between 6 and 7 percent of that of the United States.

Every ton of ore, every barrel of petroleum comes from within the United States and could be produced if its borders were entirely blockaded. Practically all of Germany's ore comes from without its borders. It produces no petroleum and is dependent upon uncertain Russia, unfriendly Rumania, and stricken Poland.

Some discussion has been had as to the likelihood of invasion of the United States. On the floor of the Senate the other day I brought out the fact that to support an army of 2,000,000 invaders in the United States—and that is the least number that any military expert claims as to the size of an invading army—would take 13,000,000 tons of shipping. We have little conception of what 13,000,000 tons means. If you take the navies of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, and Germany and combined them, you would have 6,500 tons of shipping, or one-half of the amount of tonnage that would be necessary to maintain an army of 2,000,000 in the United States if such shipping was used constantly in ferrying supplies across the Atlantic Ocean. I think we are safe from attack.

MICHIGAN'S PART

The State of Michigan, because of the high character of its industry, is taking a major part in the defense program. The total appropriation so far made by the Government for defense is $6,100,000,000. Almost $4,000,000,000 of this went to the Navy for ship construction and necessarily is expended on the ocean shores. Of the remaining $2,200,000,000, over one-tenth has come to Michigan. Up to September 17, $275,000,000 of contracts have come to the citizens of our State. We are proud that we have the facilities, the capital, the labor to do our part in the defense program. We are also happy for the benefits which have come and will be so largely assigned to our State.

MACKINAC BRIDGE

In this connection I refer to the fact that on last Thursday, September 19, final approval by the Congress was given to my bill authorizing the construction of the Mackinac Straits bridge. I introduced this bill early in the present session. It passed the Senate promptly and was sent to the House of Representatives, where it lay dormant for a long time. Finally, through the assistance of Chairman Kennedy, of the bridge authority, the bill was blasted out of the Houes, despite objections by certain Republican Congressmen, and passed with minor changes. Those changes were agreed to after careful consideration was given to the proper construction of the language and passed the Senate, thus completing final congressional action. The bill either has been or will be signed by the President very shortly. (The President signed the bill September 25, 1940.)

This great project for connecting the two peninsulas will mean much to our defense program because it will aid in the protection of the narrow waterways connecting our lakes, provide for more rapid transportation in the event anything should happen to the Soo locks, and, in general, stimulate trade and traffic between the upper and lower portions of the State. It will also provide much employment for labor during the next few years, if final arrangements for its construction can be made.

LABOR

No administration in the history of the United States has advanced the interests of labor to the extent that our administration has. We hear a great deal of unemployment. In March 1913 there were 26,633,000 persons gainfully employed in the United States outside of farms. In June of this year there were 35,465,000 persons gainfully employed—an increase of approximately 9,000,000. This does not include 2,500,000 persons on W. P. A., C. C. C., and N. Y. A.

I want you to get this figure clearly. Weekly factory pay rolls are $113,000,000 greater than they were 7 years ago. Construction work in 1933 approximated $4,000,000,000. Construction work in 1939 was just over $10,000,000,000. Cash farm income in 1932 was just over $5,000,000,000. Cash farm income in 1939 is just over $8,000,000,000. Business profits which have their effect on labor have increased 43 percent in 1 year as evidenced by the earnings of the first 90 corporations to report for 1940. National income has increased from $40,000,000,000 in 1932 to $70,000,000,000 in 1939; all employment from 37,500,000 in 1932 to 45,000,000 in 1939.

GOVERNMENT FINANCE AND EXPENDITURE

We have not yet met the problem of Government finance. The defense program will undoubtedly keep us on a borrowing basis for some years. But Government credit is good, interest rates are about as low as any time in history, and tax receipts are steadily growing larger.

I give you some statistics briefly outlining what has been done in Michigan. First and foremost in a convention at which our great State highway commissioner is the leading figure, I call attention to the fact that $44,885,273 has been obtained by Commissioner Van Wagoner from the Federal Government for expenditure on our highways together with a sum of $8,859,829 for grade crossings, a grand total for 7 years of $53,700,000. With this money main highways have been built, rural and secondary roads have been aided. In Michigan 6,016 miles of highways have been designated and aided as part of the Federal-aid highway system of our State. That distance is twice across the country from ocean to ocean.

I will not take the time to discuss the Federal Security Agency, the P. W. A., the housing plan, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, and the Federal loan agency activities in Michigan. I content myself with pointing out that our State has been vastly benefited by the operations of the various Federal agencies, and there is not a community or township in the State that has not had substantial wealth added to its public buildings and other public works by our program. I give you briefly what one agency of the Government of the United States has done for its citizens. The Work Projects Administration has been a substantial factor in constructing 450,000 miles of highways, 93,000 bridges, 88,000 public buildings including 33,000 schools, 900 libraries, 1,600 hospitals. The W. P. A. has substantially aided in the construction of 12,000 miles of water line, 18,000 miles of sewers, 25,500 dams have been built for erosion control and conservation, 30,000 miles of drainage ditches, 6,800 parks, 4,500 athletic fields, 10,200 playgrounds, 16,500 recreational facilities such as swimming pools, tennis courts, and golf courses.

When we contemplate a national debt amounting to $45,000,000,000 we do not. I have often contended in the Senate, list the assets against this liability. No business concern would keep books in such a manner. I cannot detail to you the figures. I can only suggest to you the general idea. Against this $45,000,000,000 we have, first and foremost, the greatest naval force in the world. We have a steadily increasing air force that will overtop that of any nation in the world within a period of a few months. Second, we have a tremendous number of Government buildings, all of which save the Government money by providing facilities that would otherwise have to be rented from private individuals. There are, of course, thousands of public buildings, such as post offices and other Federal buildings necessary to carry on the Government, spread throughout the country. Out of the $45,000,000,000 the Government itself holds a considerable part of the securities. In addition to these are the securities held by the Government in the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, in the Federal land banks, and in all of the other agencies too numerous to mention, which are engaged in loaning the funds of the Government.

No accurate inventory has to my knowledge ever been made, but I venture to say that what might be called the general governmental plant of the United States, including its Army and its Navy and all of its facilities, would indicate a tremendous surplus, if properly valued, over our total indebtedness. It has been my hope and I have suggested that such an inventory might be made so that the claim that we have a tremendous deficit in the Government of the United States might once and for all be effectively overthrown.

NATIONAL FORESTS IN MICHIGAN

I refer to but one more item of great interest to our State. Probably in the history of the United States more timber was cut in

our own State of Michigan than in any other State in the Union. Large areas in our State are suitable mainly for the growing of timber and the consequent recreational benefit that will come to our people. I am not now speaking of the total acreage in the so-called national-forest areas in Michigan. I am speaking of the acreage that we actually own. There are almost 2,000,000 acres of Federal forests in the State of Michigan. Of our 36,000,000 acres of land surface, one-eighteenth—1 acre in every 18—2 square miles on the average in each Government township, is in Federal forest land. To me this is a tremendous step in the right direction, because the time is coming—in fact it is upon us now—when the people are going to dwell to a greater extent in the wide-open spaces away from the great cities for a large part of their time. The development of these recreational areas, these forest lands, is of tremendous significance in the future economy of Michigan. Upon every occasion I have done all possible to aid in the furtherance of our reforestation program, and I am happy to report that through the Civilian Conservation Corps, Michigan is among the leaders in reforestation. Forty-five Civilian Conservation Corps camps are scheduled for operation in Michigan. Approximately 9,000 Michigan boys will be engaged in these camps. The number of trees that have been planted and replaced by the Civilian Conservation Corps in Michigan is 365,000,000. In acreage this is over 400,000 acres.

THE MICHIGAN FARM SITUATION

I now propose to give you what I have made it my business to know, the real facts on the situation of the farmer in general and the Michigan farmer in particular, as far as Government affects that situation.

The facts about the farm situation can only be understood in the perspective of recent history. As a nation we grossly overexpanded our farm production to meet the urgent needs of the World War period. We plowed up prairies that never should have felt the plow. Inspired by the war price boom farmers sank all their capital and years of hard work in odd corners of stony, unproductive land that never could provide a decent living. Farmers on good land sowed their pastures to wheat and turned their wood lots into pastures and mined their fields for every ounce of production.

FARMERS HARD HIT

The war boom collapsed. At the same time three other important trends which had been working quietly for many years came to a head to plague our farmers. They were, first, the disappearance of the American frontier which always before had provided new land for new farms when things got too tough on the old ones; second, technological improvements which made it possible for fewer people to raise more and left many farm folks without useful work to do; third, the disappearance of job opportunities in the city which had previously absorbed the surplus population of our farms.

So our farms were left stranded with more produce than they could possibly sell and more debts than they could possibly carry, and more people than could be profitably employed. The celebrated prosperity of the twenties was always pretty much a fairy tale as far as the farmer was concerned. Even when farm prices advanced they didn't go up nearly as fast as the prices of the things the farmer had to buy. So he was worse off than ever.

Thus the depression that hit the stock markets and industries after 1929 was no news to the farmer. It was just another and stronger dose of the same bad medicine he had been taking ever since the war.

YEAR 1932 THE BOTTOM

Things for the farmer, as well as most everyone else, reached bottom in 1932. But the farmer was hardest hit of all. Farm prices which, you will remember, had not risen as fast as industrial prices, fell faster. The result was that with their 1932 income farmers were able to buy only about 58 percent as many goods and services as they could in 1929.

The total cash income of all the 197,000 farm families in Michigan was only $127,000,000 in 1932, compared with $265,000,000 in 1929. The average Michigan price of milk was $1.10 per hundredweight. Beef cattle sold for $3.95 per hundredweight. Hogs brought $3.65. Potatoes were 26 cents a bushel for the 1932 crop, and wheat 45 cents. Wool was 9.1 cents a pound. Hay was at $5.49 a ton. Chickens brought 11.2 cents a pound, and eggs 14.6 cents a dozen.

In 1932 1 out of every 20 farms in Michigan was sold by the sheriff because the farmer couldn't meet the payments on his mortgage.

It is not pleasant to contemplate, even in looking back, those dark days of the early thirties. But it is necessary to do so. They are facts that help explain the present picture.

We were faced by a new problem. And the fact is that we stalled and fumbled the ball and even tried to fool ourselves into believing that the problem wasn't really there at all.

Long before 1933 we were wrestling with our new farm problem. We tried to peg prices that wouldn't stay pegged. The Federal Farm Board bought large quantities of wheat and cotton and other farm products. Still the farmer stayed deep in the hole.

I will not detail to you the many ways we have tried to aid the farmer in solving his problems. I call attention to soil conservation, the expansion of credit facilities, the farm-security program, the food-stamp plan. I now take up what this program has done.

What has the program done for farm income?

The answer to this question is so very important that at the risk of boring you with too many figures I am going to give it product by product for every important commodity raised on Michigan farms.

The first figure and the one we should all remember after we forget the rest is that Michigan farmers had $88,000,000 more cash income in 1938 than they had in 1932 and $101,000,000 more in 1939. This increase from $127,000,000 to $214,941,000 in 1938 amounts to 69 percent and the increase to $228,000,000 in 1939 is 79 percent. Of the 1938 amount, $7,774,000 came in the form of Government payments.

Every type of farm producer shared in this gain.

Michigan corn and hog purchasers, for example, had a cash income of $17,085,000 in 1938 as compared with $6,902,000 in 1932, an increase of 148 percent. The price of hogs went from $3.65 per hundredweight to an average of $7.90.

Potatoes, one of our promising newer crops, brought a total of $9,189,000 to Michigan farmers in 1938, 103 percent more than the 1932 figure of $4,530,000. The price rose from 26 to 48 cents a bushel in the same period.

Dollar wheat became a reality in December 1939, after a 1932 price of 45 cents a bushel. This meant an increase of 49 percent in the income of Michigan wheat farmers—from $3,946,000 to $5,869,000 in 1938, and an increase of 81 percent in 1939 ($7,139,000).

There was a 121-percent gain in the amount received by Michigan farmers raising beef cattle and calves—their income going from $10,497,000 to $23,190,000 as beef cattle went from $3.95 to $6.40 per hundredweight; and veal calves from $5.70 to $9.60.

Apple growers in Michigan earned $4,282,000 in 1938, as compared with $2,891,000 for the 1932 crop, the respective prices being 86 and 65 cents a bushel. The price of butter, the basis of all dairy product prices, rose from 21 cents to 29 cents in the same period, as part of an increase of 59 percent in the income of milk producers. The figures were $62,854,000 for Michigan farmers in 1938 as compared with $39,489,000 6 years before.

Poultry raisers in Michigan realized 32 percent more in 1938 than in 1932. The total receipts from chickens and eggs rose from $18,717,000 to $24,753,000 as chicken prices went from 11.2 to 16.4 cents a pound and eggs from 14.6 to 20.8 cents a dozen.

Growers of edible dry beans in our State received $8,709,000 for their produce as compared with $6,027,000 as the price went from $1.50 to $1.85 per hundredweight.

Sugar is an especially significant factor in Michigan's agricultural economy. Since the passage of sugar quota legislation in 1934, sugar beet acreage, production, and grower income have increased.

Comparing the 5 years 1928–33, with the 5 years 1934–39, sugar acreage and production increased 20 percent in Michigan and grower income 44 percent, including Government payments, which amounted to $3,145,665 in the fiscal year ending June 1939. And it is the farmers themselves who have benefited from these payments.

SIXTY-PERCENT INCREASE

Altogether the crop adjustment and other phases of the agricultural program have contributed to increasing the amount of things the Michigan farmer can buy with the product of his labor—some 60 percent over the 1932 income. This is because, for the first time in many years, farm prices have gone up faster than the prices of the things the farmer has to buy.

Time does not permit me to do more than mention the new developments in other parts of the farm program—rural electrification, regulation of commodity exchanges, and marketing practices, forest improvement, and many others. But all of them mean much to the Michigan farmer.

THE RIGHT DIRECTION

Since this is a factual speech and not a political one, I have tried to emphasize the fact that the farmer's problems are not by any means all solved. We still have a lot of work to do and a long way to go. But we have come a good distance and are headed in the right direction.

Altogether it strikes me that our present farm program is a lot like one of the automobiles that was built in Michigan several years back. It is a new thing, meeting a new problem in a new way. It is not streamlined and it won't go 90 miles an hour. It is a little noisy at times and bucks some on the steep hills. But with all its fault it is still a great deal better than walking.

It took time, hard work, and good engineering to turn the model T into the latest V–8. The same thing is true of our farm program.

CONCLUSION

I have endeavored to give you a factual and utterly truthful record of the party's accomplishments of the past 7 years. We now face a new situation. More than ever before in our history, international conditions menace our peace and security. A steady, experienced man is needed at the helm of the Ship of State. It would take vital months for a new President to even become acquainted with the complicated foreign policies of the important nations of the world. This condition, the need for experience at the head of the Nation overcomes the third-term objection. I became a third-term advocate when the German legions crossed the Dutch border, millions of Americans took the same view. Washington's farsighted argument, as he put it, "on the ineligibility of the same person for President after he should have served a certain course of years—I can see no impropriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man who on some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public," fits the present emergency perfectly. When in our history was our way of life assailed as it is today? When in our history was there as great a need to make ourselves so strong that none would dare attack us? When in history was there a great need for one great and

powerful democracy to show the world that Christian civilization and self-government can succeed? We accept the leadership of President Roosevelt whose vision has been clear and whose action in international affairs has well-nigh universal approval among all the people of our Nation. We again call on him to make us invincible if war comes to our shores, but to keep us in the ways of peace, unless we are attacked.

Expansion of R. F. C. Loans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 30 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES E. MURRAY, OF MONTANA

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an address which I prepared to be delivered at the annual metal-mining convention of the American Mining Congress, held at Colorado Springs, Colo., September 16–19, 1940. The address was read at the convention by Dr. Francis A. Thompson, of Butte, Mont., in my absence, and relates to the expansion of R. F. C. loans in connection with the national-defense program.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I deeply appreciate the honor of being invited to address the American Mining Congress. Your organization has come to be recognized as one of our important American institutions—an institution contributing effectively to the progress and stabilization of the great metal-mining industry.

We have learned much about our resources and our needs since the last World War, when we were faced with desperate shortages of essential minerals required for our vast armaments, as well as the demands from our Allies for large quantities of steel and copper products. Because of that experience, unnecessary loss of time and money can be avoided in our present national-preparedness program under the able direction of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense. This is surely a vast undertaking being planned for the next several years, and the mining industry will participate conspicuously in its consummation.

It is fortunate that we have already adequate potential productive capacity for all the basic metals we require, as well as for their fabrication; but, unfortunately, there are some critical and essential metals needed to provide the finished product, and our supplies of these metals appear to be far from adequate. The Army and Navy Munitions Board's list of strategic, critical, and essential war materials is an impressive list, and more than half of the list comprises metals and minerals. In the list of essential metals are included the basic metals—copper, lead, and zinc. In the strategic list we find nickel and tin, among others. Concerning nickel, I presume Canada's production will be available to us for some time. If, however, our supply of tin from the Far East should be curtailed by possible developments in that section of the world, we would be confronted immediately with a serious problem, inasmuch as Bolivia appears to be our only other practical source of supply.

In addition to the major basic metals, of which, as I have already said, we have an adequate domestic supply, we have in this country extensive undeveloped deposits of other metals and minerals which are of vital importance to our national defense as well as to peacetime industry. We have perhaps delayed much too long already in properly exploring and appraising the extent and value of our known deposits of chrome, manganese, and other war minerals; but now, with a realization that we are living in a war-mad world and that our country is facing a crisis in national defense, our mining industry, with the aid and encouragement of the Federal Government, is preparing to undertake the task of making the United States as self-sufficient as possible in the production of all these minerals. As a matter of fact the task has actually begun, and many of our best engineers and metallurgists are already engaged in this work.

Now, of course, I am not going to discuss the technical features of this problem or the part that the mining industry is expected to take in the actual work of developing our domestic supplies of the various metals required for war purposes. The mining industry's part in this great national-defense program has been presented in very able and instructive addresses at Colorado Springs. The information which is being developed as a result of these studies will be of vast benefit to the Government in its national-defense efforts. The phase of this problem of developing adequate supplies of essential war materials which I desire to consider relates to the part the Federal Government may be able to contribute in aiding and encouraging the development of our domestic deposits of strategic and critical minerals.

Mining, to be sure, is the most venturesome of all industries. The development of a mine ordinarily requires an enormous outlay of capital before effective production can begin. Generally speaking, not one prospect in a hundred turns out successfully. It is no easy task to find the necessary finances to develop these deposits of critical and strategic minerals which are known to exist in this country. Under ordinary conditions we are unable to compete with similar minerals imported from foreign countries. In order to meet the situation and overcome the danger of having to go without adequate supplies of such minerals in time of war, the Government, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, has provided a program designed to stimulate the domestic production of minerals of this character.

The amended program of R. F. C. loans for mining appears to me to be only a part of the broad mining expansion we all desire to have take place. The Federal Government, in order to encourage the domestic development of these metals and minerals so essential to our national defense, has proceeded along three lines:

1. It provides for loans through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to mine operators for the purpose of producing, acquiring, and carrying strategic and critical metals; it authorizes the building of stock piles of these strategic and critical metals; and provides loans for plant construction, expansion, and equipment to be used in the manufacture of supplies for national defense. It also authorizes the Government to organize corporations, if necessary, for the purpose of producing such minerals, if they cannot otherwise be acquired.

2. It authorizes the Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey to investigate domestic deposits of such strategic minerals and metals and carry on metallurgical testing to devise proper methods of beneficiation.

3. It authorizes the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make small development loans to mine operators having properties containing gold, silver, and tin. Under the measure (S. 4008) which I introduced, and which has already passed both the Senate and House, the R. F. C. will now be expanded to allow small loans for the purpose of stimulating the development and production of these strategic and critical minerals not included in the present provisions of the R. F. C. act.

You will observe, from what I have stated, that the Government has several methods of stimulating production of these domestic deposits. The amendments to the R. F. C. Act, which created this program that I have described, were actively supported by all our western Senators, and were finally passed without a dissenting vote in the Senate. While I introduced the amendments, I do not claim any special credit because I would not have succeeded without such wholehearted and active support. In fact, all the western Senators were cosponsors with me in presenting this bill and cooperated in every step of its progress.

As a result of all this important legislation, there is a quick reaction going on in the mining industry Already large stocks of manganese and other minerals and materials have been contracted for, and still other contracts are in process of closing. One of the large copper companies is projecting a plant to treat Bolivian tin concentrates; the Reynolds Metal Co. is securing a loan of approximately $16,000,000 for the purpose of building an aluminum smelter in the Tennessee Valley; and other similar activities relating to mining are developing all along the line.

The erection of smelting plants for strategic metals, financed by R. F. C. loans or built and operated by the Federal Government during this emergency, would appear to be a step in the right direction. It would, in the case of tin, for example, allow us to take all of Bolivia's concentrates and furnish them with dollar credits to purchase American goods.

In the case of manganese and chromium, if the capital investment is taken care of by the Federal Government, our domestic deposits of these strategic ores can be fully utilized. True, the cost of these metals will naturally be higher than we have been accustomed to during the many years we have imported our requirements from overseas; but in case of war we cannot depend on foreign sources of supply. In the last war an entire cargo of manganese was sunk on the high seas en route to the United States. If these minerals are developed now, they may very likely withstand foreign competition when normal conditions return.

Our domestic mineral deposits should have earlier received more serious attention than they have. Worthwhile research is now being carried on by both industry and the Bureau of Mines metallurgists, and metallic manganese is being produced by electrolysis in small quantities. On a larger scale of operations, and profiting by accumulated technical experience and cooperation of the steel industry, success should be achieved. Such plants, distributed in regions where reserves of ore are found to be adequate, would do much to make this country self-sufficient in regard to our manganese requirements.

Concerning the Montana deposits of chrome ores, which attracted the attention of scientists as a matter of geological interest during World War No. 1, and since then the attention both of the mining and of the metallurgical branch of the Bureau of Mines, it appears to me that progress is also being made. An article appearing in the July issue of the Engineering and Mining Journal was recently called to my attention. The subject of this paper is Smelting Domestic Chrome Ores in the Electric Furnace, and the data cited was from the testing in the laboratories of the Bureau of Mines. It appears to me that this work should be continued to the fullest extent in the Bureau's testing laboratories so that a way can be worked out to use the domestic deposits of chrome

ores. The time may come when we will have to depend on our own mineral resources, and now is the time to do the investigating and perfecting of metallurgical methods. No one denies that we have extensive deposits of chrome and manganese in the United States. In competition with natural high-grade foreign ore obtainable at a cheap price, we have heretofore conserved our own undeveloped resources. Now is the time to start providing for self-sufficiency to as great an extent as is possible.

While the necessary steps are being taken toward the desirable goal of producing from our own deposits as much as we can of the strategic metals, the appropriations and authorizations that I have already referred to are being used in a satisfactory manner.

The Metals Reserve Co. was set up by the R. F. C. to administer the loans and purchases that are to be made for the purpose of securing these strategic and critical materials necessary to national defense. This work is being handled through the mining section of the R. F. C., under the supervision of former Senator Charles B. Henderson and Mr. John E. Norton, in the same efficient manner as have nearly 1,600 applications for loans to help the owners of gold and silver properties during the past 6 years. From my personal knowledge and the numerous occasions that I have contacted the mining section of the R. F. C., I am of the opinion that its work has been conducted efficiently, and on a sound engineering and business basis. The more than $5,000,000 of loans made have provided much employment, produced large quantities of the precious metals, built numerous dredges, and developed many small mines. These loans obviously could not have been obtained elsewhere on a regular loan basis.

I am advised by Senator Henderson that up to August 26 the Metals Reserve Co. had accepted 32 contracts for purchase of pig tin, amounting to 4,636 tons, and 19 contracts for 866,000 tons of manganese ore. In the short space of time since this authorization was made, I believe this a creditable showing. These deals cannot, and should not, be closed in a few minutes by signing on the dotted line. The engineers and attorneys must exercise care in preparing these contracts and they should be investigated thoroughly before closing.

The work the Bureau of Mines is doing under the appropriation made in 1939 to investigate the domestic deposits of minerals and metals necessary for defense will add to our knowledge of these deposits in a way that could not be otherwise obtained. This constitutes very valuable Government aid to the mining industry. The Bureau is sending trained crews, with the proper equipment, to sample the most important and larger domestic deposits of the strategic metals which have been located. The method of sampling, as represented in a picture that I have seen, taken at one of the projects, indicates how thoroughly the work was done. The trench appears to be 8 feet deep and 3 feet wide, wall to wall. In this exposure the samples were taken, and in the case of the Montana chromium deposit the aggregate of all surface samples amounted to 21 tons. Whatever tunnel development existed was also sampled by channeling at 10-foot intervals.

Altogether, I am advised by the Bureau that 12 projects have been completed or are now being worked on. The metals covered are antimony, chrome, manganese, nickel, tin, and tungsten. The States in which these deposits occur are Montana, Nevada, California, Oregon, Washington, New Mexico, Idaho, South Dakota, and Wyoming.

I have already shown that the measure I introduced S. 4008, providing for small loans for the development of our domestic deposits of strategic and critical minerals, has been enacted and is now a law. All of the western Senators and Congressmen gave vigorous support to this legislation, recognizing it as being of vital importance in the expansion of the mining industry of the West. We were all joint sponsors of the legislation. Congressman MURDOCK of Arizona introduced an identical bill in the House, which was favorably reported by the House committee. He thereupon had S. 4008 substituted for his bill, thus greatly expediting the passage of this important measure, which will soon be in operation.

When this proposed legislation was pending before the Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate, a hearing was called for the purpose of having the objectives of the bill explained. Among those attending the hearing, aside from the sponsors of the measure, were Mr. Jesse Jones, representing the R. F. C.; Mr. A. W. Dickinson, representing the American Mining Congress; and Mr. W. C. Broadgate, representing the Arizona Small Mine Operators Association, an organization which has given splendid support to the members of the Senate and the House in their efforts to have this legislation enacted. The entire West is indebted to these gentlemen for the services they rendered at the hearing and in the general preparation of this legislation. Their aid and advice contributed tremendously to the success of our efforts.

The approval of this legislation by Mr. Jesse Jones was, of course, invaluable. He stated that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had no objection to the proposed bill extending development loans so as to cover strategic and critical minerals as well as gold, silver, and tin, already provided in the original legislation. He added that mining loans are as good as any other loans when properly investigated and supervised. Figures were presented by Mr. Jones showing that out of more than $5,000,000 disbursed through the R. F. C. for mining loans, nearly one-half had already been repaid—the balance being outstanding.

It would seem an unfortunate lack of foresight if the present R. F. C. mining-loan authority had been restricted to loans on gold, silver, and tin properties at a time when such a large and important group of metallic and nonmetallic minerals is required by the Government as a matter of dire necessity in order to assure the very survival of our great Nation. It will be noticed that, for some reason impossible to comprehend, tin was the only strategic mineral, of all the long list of such minerals, which was included in the R. F. C. Act permitting these development loans. If we had failed to amend the act in the manner provided by Senate bill 4008, the development of our domestic war minerals in this emergency would be negligible.

To me it seems that Congress has answered the call for preparedness in a very effective manner, and that through this broad program of legislation designed to stimulate the investigation, development, and production of domestic deposits of essential and critical minerals we are rapidly accomplishing the desired purposes.

In conclusion, I am pleased to say that I will be anxious to continue my cooperation with the American mining industry to overcome any obstacles which may stand in the way of the full utilization of our domestic-mineral resources. In following this course we are adding to the wealth of the Nation as a whole, finding employment for American workers, creating prosperous conditions in the mining States of the West, and at the same time contributing magnificently to the success of the national-defense program.

Rural Electrification

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH McKELLAR

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 30 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY SIDNEY BLATT

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD an article on rural electrification, as it appears published in The National Record of Philadelphia.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From The National Record of Philadelphia]

NEW DEAL BRINGS TWENTIETH CENTURY TO FARMS—FLATIRONS AND PUMPS GONE WITH WINDMILL

The New Deal has literally electrified rural America.

It has transformed our farmland into a new civilization. Millions more now have the conveniences and comforts that long have been known in the cities.

President Roosevelt turned the switch that did this. It might have been done by Harding, Coolidge, or Hoover. But it required initiative. Can you picture, of all these people, Wendell Willkie taking the initiative to bring public electric power into the homes of millions? Millions who were bad prospects of profit-raking-in utility companies? The Wendell Willkie who blurted, "The T. V. A. is the most useless and unnecessary of all the alphabetical joyrides?"

Let us take a spin to the country in the day before Roosevelt. To—well, to that one over there—the farm of the Arthur Schreibers, 8 miles from Columbus, Nebr. They're awfully nice people and they're really glad to see us. But, excuse them, if they can't pay much attention to us; they've their hands full with getting the chores done by day's end.

Mrs. Schreiber is busy with the clumsy flatirons ranged on the wood stove. She perspires and steams around the stove, kept roaring to hold the flatirons hot. She's a little tired already from using the hand sweep to clean house and from finishing the wash. A big family can get an awful lot of things dirty in a few days and rubbing that washboard all afternoon long isn't any cinch. Those city folks have everything. If they haven't an electric washer, they can send to a nearby laundry. But if you're miles from a laundry and haven't the electricity to run a washer, it's something again.

HIKING TO PUMP

Pretty soon it's time to make supper. Toast or waffles would dress the meal up, but for the rocky and burnt products that usually come from the stove it isn't worth the fuss. Mrs. Schreiber at this moment is picking up her bucket to bring in some water from the well.

This hike to the pump is a frequent chore in Mrs. Schreiber's day. If you say you sympathize, Mrs. Schreiber will say this isn't all. The absence of running water has for years made it necessary to have a privy behind the barn.

The water situation is again brought to mind when father Schreiber returns from the field tired and grimy. He would like to take a bath. The guests are requested to leave the house and take a wander about the farm. He then proceeds to undress, and brings the trusty washtub into the kitchen, where the range can keep it warm while he soaks.

By the time you return he's ready to brag about the stiff day's work he's put in. And stiff it was. Milking the cows by hand. Keeping the chicken brooder constantly filled with kerosene.

An hour later the meal is done, and we all sit down to enjoy the evening. There isn't much to do. We read. Young little Schreiber's eyes seem to manage somehow to eke grudging progress with his lessons, but the kerosene lamp, after a bit, is more than we can take.

It's been an instructive day, and we leave. Past the hulking windmill, which makes us think more of the eighteenth century, into a village lighted with dim kerosene lamps, away from a generally dismal scene.

A NEW HOUSEHOLD

It's 1937 now. President Roosevelt has been in 4 years, the rural electrification program is 2 years old. We're passing the farm of our old friends, Mr. and Mrs. Schreiber, again and we decide to drop it.

Mrs. Schreiber is sitting on the front porch listening to the radio. She's all dressed for supper. We wonder if something is wrong, if it's a strike against housework. Why, it's all done, she explains. This new rural electrification. It's wonderful. She asks us if we'd like a glass of ice-cold water and when we do, she romps into the kitchen, turns the faucet, opens the electric refrigerator and removes some ice cubes, and we join in a chat. The radio is the new trick she likes best of all.

And there are a few hours of recreation every day now. Electricity has cut the stint of housework in half. There's an electric ironer now. An electric washing machine. A vacuum cleaner. Of course, all the running water she wants, without pumping a handle, from the sink. A bathtub, with constant hot water, upstairs. And toast from the electric toaster, if we'll stay for supper.

Some distance away there's a whirring noise, and young Schreiber comes pulling up to the porch in the family's new car. Bought it with the increased income from electrical farming. Irrigation of dry land has upped values.

SAVES A MONTH

One juicy item is the higher amount of grade A milk that now is available from electric refrigeration—some 10 cents a hundredweight that now could be delivered at 50 degrees or lower. The saving within the home itself from electric refrigeration, in food spoilage and lower daily bill, adds up in the run of a year to something. Economy from lighting comes from barns and adjacent buildings, where the handy location of switches and lights can reduce the average man's working time a month a year. Another item is the egg income. During months of normal scarcity and high prices, hens in electric-lighted houses lay from one to two dozen more eggs apiece.

Father Schreiber is striding up to the porch now. He seems chipper. Hardly looks as if he has been working all day. He has, and hasn't any more help, but electrification has made it all easier. There's an electric milker. Electricity runs the chicken brooder. Electric machines, easily movable and adjustable, have replaced the tractors for silo fillers.

Gone is the windmill. In its place is an electric system.

Evening comes, and we all pull up, cozy, to the lamp nearest, and start reading. There are four lamps in the room—might as well have them, Mrs. Schreiber says, you can get a combination floor and table lamp for $9.95. We listen to our favorite radio programs, then take a spin into town.

It's a brightness to behold now, with electric lights guiding the way down all streets of town. Hepped over their new mode of living, the townsfolk have arranged a night festival in the schoolhouse, once a deserted spot after sundown.

MANY BENEFIT

This hasn't been the isolated experience of the Arthur Schreibers. It is the experience of precisely 1,800,000 American farm families. Until 1935, 9 farmers in 10 lived the way of the Schreibers—flatirons, scrubboard, washtub, and all. Now 1 farmer in 4 has electrical facilities.

Forty-five States have been covered by Rural Electrification Administration in its 744 systems. An instance of the manner in which R. E. A. is greeted is this description in the Pine Bluff (Wyo.) Post of May 16, 1940:

"A highlight of the program was a mock funeral service at which Walter Q. Phalen officiated at the burial of a washboard and an old-fashioned kerosene lamp * * * Certainly no occasion has ever been more important for eastern Laramie County."

When they get the chance, they really buy in the appliances. A survey finds that in newly electrified homes:

1. Nine out of ten have electric irons.
2. Seven out of ten have washing machines.
3. Three out of ten have electric refrigerators.
4. Nine out of ten have radios.
5. Five out of ten have vacuum cleaners.

How impossible all of this transition would have been if the Willkies had had a free hand isn't a matter of conjecture. It is illustrated in recent cases. They give meaning to the statement in the Democratic platform of 1940: "The nomination of a utility executive by the Republican Party as its Presidential candidate raises squarely the issue whether the Nation's power shall be used for all the people or for the selfish interests of a few. We accept that issue."

UTILITY TRICKS

Here is an instance in Burke County, N. C. An R. E. A.-financed system hubbing from Rutherford County was mapping an extension into Burke. The Duke Power Co. got wind of this and immediately set to work. Members already had been signed by R. E. A., but there is always some intervening time for final examination prior to allotment of funds, and in this intermission Duke Power made hay. It rushed agents to the homes of the farmers and promised service immediately if they would quit the R. E. A. plan. The idea was sold, and most of the farmers dropped R. E. A., which retreated from the scene.

Months passed, but Duke Power made no gesture of supplying the service it had promised. Soon the farmers were wise, and came back to R. E. A. with a plea to reinstate their application.

But R. E. A. already had allotted the fund once set off for Burke, and Burke was out in the cold. It had lost service in the time it was waiting for Duke Power to come through with its promise. And it now would have to await its turn, indefinitely, in line for another chunk of the available funds. Burke farmers were back where they started from, the fall guys for city slicker salesmanship.

The same trick was tried by the Wisconsin Power & Light Co. in Lafayette County. Faced with an increase in the distribution of public power, Wisconsin Power & Light dispatched stakers along the proposed distribution routes. Discouraged farmers, who had been waiting many years for electric service, snapped the bait and withdrew from R. E. A.'s program.

But the public-service commission stepped in and put a brake to Wisconsin Power & Light's activities.

R. E. A. had power racing to Lafayette homes within a few months.

There is more to R. E. A. than just the welfare of the farmer and the farm community. It spreads into every home in the United States as an intimate link in national defense. The network of power created as a result of R. E. A. has cleared the route to a most important factor—decentralization. Paralysis of power would cripple us in time of an invasion. R. E. A. has reduced the chance of this by making the Nation less dependent on a few central power stations.

Defense enters the picture from many angles. Without the telephone and telegraph contact of electricity huge spaces of the country would be left to shift for themselves in military movements. The importance of this is vivid in the problem of air combat. Flights would be prohibitively hazardous or impossible without the radio and light-beacon facilities needed to steer planes in the night.

Equally crucial is decentralization of industry. When our economy reaches the stage where it begins to scatter its industries, it will not be caught with a surprise that it hasn't any electric power to run the newly built factories in the rural regions. R. E. A. already is serving 115 types of industry, including such essentials as chemicals and munitions.

Along with increasing machinery for defense, R. E. A. has increased men for defense. Through its newly needed jobs, thousands of skilled and semiskilled workers have been developed, trained in mechanics and electricity. It has, indirectly, by making electric power available to 1,000 schools, taught electrical and mechanical technique to thousands more in the C. C. C. and N. Y. A. classes.

A break for farming, a break for national income, a break for defense, R. E. A. is a pretty sound investment of $312,267,114.

Democrats and New Dealers Vote Against Fish Amendment Preventing Discrimination Against Negro Draftees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMILTON FISH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 24, 1940

STATEMENT BY EMMETT J. SCOTT

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Emmett J. Scott, one of the most prominent colored leaders in America, issued from Washington, D. C., on September 19, 1940, regarding my amendment to prevent discrimination against Negro draftees and others on account of race, creed, or color.

The Congress of the United States was again engaged last week in a discussion of the never-ending, eternal Negro question. The discussion involved the age-old problem of doing justice and dealing out fair play to 12,000,000 or more citizens of the Republic.

Let any question arise in Congress regarding this element of our citizenship and the alleged patrioteers who prate of liberty and freedom and equal rights for all men come out of their little holes to register opposition to recognizing even the elementals of citizenship where the interests of this group are concerned. And this, despite the fact that it is a group which has been loyal to the highest and best interests of our country during all the testing years of its growth and development.

These observations are pertinent in connection with the discussion in the House of Representatives of the compulsory military training and service bill which was finally passed.

HAMILTON FISH TO THE RESCUE

There was a fair degree of orderly debate until Representative HAMILTON FISH, of New York, introduced an amendment which, it would be supposed, during this period of arming for national defense, would be passed without a moment's hesitation.

The resolution simply provided:

"That in the selection and training of men, as well as in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race, creed, or color."

Immediately the Honorable ANDREW J. MAY, Democrat, of Kentucky, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, arose to make a point of order "on the ground that the same provision is already written in the House bill and appears in the committee bill." The Congressman from New York, Mr. FISH, replied that the gentleman from Kentucky, Mr. MAY, "is entirely in error." Mr. FISH then proceedded to point out that the provision referred to by the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, Mr. MAY, Democrat, of Kentucky, applies only to the volunteers, while his provision applies to the draftees—an entirely different proposal affecting a different group of men.

Mr. MAY was not to be outdone. He offered the remark that the representatives of the colored people who appeared before the House Military Affairs Committee, were heard at length, and had approved the text which appeared in the amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

AMENDMENT SPONSORED AT REQUEST OF COLORED LEADERS

Mr. FISH insisted that the text referred to does not use the same comprehensive language as his amendment. He said:

"I am not the originator of my amendment. I am merely sponsoring it in the House by request of a group of prominent colored leaders who are interested and represent the interests of 12,000,000 Negroes in America. It originated from a group of men known as the Committee on Participation of Negroes in the National Defense Program. Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, 1917–19, is in favor of the amendment, and is one of its sponsors, and so is Editor Robert L. Vann, of Pittsburgh. I think there is every reason to adopt it. I hope there will be no opposition to it, as it is a matter of simple justice and has for its sole purpose doing away with un-American discrimination and giving the drafted Negro a square deal in the armed forces of the United States."

It is proper here to note that Dr. Rayford W. Logan, chairman of the Committee on Participation of Negroes in the National Defense Program, presented to the House Military Affairs Committee the identical amendment which was presented by Representative HAMILTON FISH, of New York. The Military Affairs Committee had the opportunity to report the amendment but refused to do so.

The majority of the House Military Affairs Committee, it will be borne in mind, is composed of Members of the Democratic New Deal Party, and as always, has stood out against according even simple justice to Negroes in Army service.

Earlier in the day the bill was amended to provide that, "Any person, regardless of race or color, between the ages of 18 and 35, shall be afforded the opportunity to volunteer for induction into the land and naval forces," and, also, that "No man shall be inducted for training and service under this act unless and until he is acceptable to the land and naval forces for such training and service."

These provisions were regarded as meaningless and ambiguous, if not downright misleading, by persons who were interested in writing into the bill legislative safeguards to compel fair treatment of colored men. The provisions here quoted would have afforded every laxity and opportunity for unsympathetic Army officers to avoid and evade the very thing they ostensibly were being asked to protect.

DEMOCRATS AND NEW DEALERS VOTE "NO"

After further and prolonged discussion, a vote on the amendment offered by Mr. FISH was taken and on a division showed, ayes 66, noes 107. In other words, the amendment was defeated on division.

Immediately, however, Mr. FISH demanded tellers. The Chairman appointed Mr. MAY, chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, and Mr. FISH, and the Committee again divided. The tellers reported that on this vote there were 121 ayes, and 99 noes—the amendment being adopted.

While no record vote was taken it has been ascertained that practically all of those who voted against the amendment were members of the Democratic New Deal Party, while practically all of the Republicans of the House of Representatives present voted for the amendment which was written into the bill. The amendment even survived the discussions of the Senate and House conferees on the compulsory military training and service bill and, of course, is now part of the law.

Once again, the Negro people are indebted to HAMILTON FISH and the Republican Party for stalwart advocacy of justice and fair play.

PHILADELPHIA COLORED CITIZENS CAN STRIKE BACK AT M'GRANERY

Representative JAMES R. MCGRANERY, Democrat of Pennsylvania, who comes from the Second Congressional District of Pennsylvania, city of Philadelphia, composed of wards 7 to 10, 24, 27, 30, 36, and 44, was one of those who opposed the amendment. In these wards are many colored citizens who are constantly being solicited by Mr. MCGRANERY to continue him in Congress. It is of note that on the first division, and on the teller vote, that MCGRANERY voted against the amendment of Congressman FISH. He was but one of several recreant Congressmen with colored constitutencies guilty of the same action. It will be interesting, during the 7 weeks which remain of the campaign, to hear Mr. MCGRANERY's explanation of his inexplicable conduct.

It will be remembered that Judge Edward W. Henry, of Philadelphia, a colored Republican, was nominated by his party in 1938 to run against Mr. MCGRANERY, who received 51,566 votes to Judge Henry's 46,349 votes. It remains to be seen whether colored voters in Philadelphia will remember Mr. MCGRANERY's act in voting against the simple justice of seeing that men inducted into the Army are not discriminated against on account of race, creed, or color.

On November 5, 1940, colored voters of the Second Congressional District of Pennsylvania, have opportunity to exhibit their mettle and to show their independence.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. SCHAFER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, one of the first acts of the Roosevelt administration was the recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Russia on November 16, 1933. On that day the plan was born to perpetuate the New Deal and its rulers in permanent power in the United States. The third term was but a part of the general scheme to remake American democracy.

To celebrate the recognition of communistic Russia, President Roosevelt undertook to write the following affectionate letter, dated November 25, 1933, to Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs:

I am profoundly gratified that our conversations should have resulted in the restoration of normal relations between our peoples, and I trust that these relations will grow closer and more intimate with each passing year. The cooperation of our governments in the great work of preserving peace should be the cornerstone of an enduring friendship.

The recognition of Russia by the United States was denied by Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. During the past 7 years the totalitarian ideologies of Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini have found a ready haven with the New Deal, and now during critical times our Nation is threatened by the activities of these un-American "fifth columnists" both in and out of Government circles.

The time has come for American citizens to speak vigorously for America, and to rid ourselves of those who seek to destroy our Republic. There must be no third term.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEPHEN BOLLES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

Mr. BOLLES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Milwaukee Journal:

President Roosevelt, talking of free elections, reminds us of a slogan we used to hear from some advertising counselors: "If your product has a weakness, boost that as one of its strongest points." Charged with violating the principle of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and other Presidents, Mr. Roosevelt comes out with praise of Jefferson and the word that Hamilton believed in government "by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy men." But he doesn't put into his speech what Jefferson said about a third term. Not a word.

We are not necessarily concerned with a thing because Jefferson said it, or even because Washington did it—not unless it rings true in the experience of the Nation after 150 years and appeals to our common sense. But if President Roosevelt is going to talk Jefferson

in what is a thinly disguised defense of his bid for a third term, he ought to talk Jefferson.

Thomas Jefferson, asked by the Legislature of Vermont to be a candidate for a third term, answered:

"That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully."

His refusal linked him with Washington's action and gave the second impulse to the two-term tradition. But his own decision on his own course was not the last word from Jefferson. Sixteen years later, after his disciple Madison had served two terms, and toward the end of Monroe's second term, Jefferson wrote:

"The example of four Presidents voluntarily retiring at the end of their eighth year, and the progress of public opinion that the principle is salutary, have given it in practice the force of precedent and usage.

"Should a president consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views."

That was Jefferson, writing in a day when no one dreamed a President would ever be given such powers as have been given Franklin Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt says that "as long as periodic free elections survive, no set of people can permanently control government." That is true, but the term "free elections" is very flexible. How free is an election when many men working at Government jobs, their salaries paid by the public treasury, are told that they must vote right or expect to lose their jobs? That happened under President Roosevelt in Tennessee, in Kentucky, in Pennsylvania, as was proved up to the hilt in a Senate investigation.

How free is an election when carefully built up bosses' machines—Tammany in New York, the Hague machine in New Jersey, the Kelly-Nash machine in Chicago—are relied on to create a "popular" demand for a third term and see to the "drafting" in a national convention?

The precedent of Washington, the warnings of Jefferson, and the example and words of other Presidents have not the force of written, precise law. What they do have is the greater force of the considered judgment of men whom the country honored, one of whom could certainly have had a third term, others of whom almost certainly could.

The kind of man the country wanted to reelect proved to be the kind of man who would not seek—would not even accept—reelection for a third term. The kind of man to fear in the White House is the kind of man who will connive at plans to get him a third term and accept the bid of a manipulated convention as a "draft" by the people.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, on June 11, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a poem that I wrote in response to President Roosevelt's speech of June 10 hurling insults at certain foreign powers and his reported wisecrack of the week before that "Congress was no longer needed in Washington except for the purpose of making speeches." I am now resubmitting that poem with a few added verses commemorating Vice President GARNER's return to Washington and his strange comment that all Congress will accomplish by further prolonging the present session is the spending of more money.

SHALL WE ADJOURN?

Tuesday, June 11, 1940

A new morning dawns as evening approaches
And this is our plight as it finds us,
The spenders are spent and spent lenders are lent
For defending fake cures that now ail us.

With world all aflame and Congress in session
We're told by F. D. we're not needed,
The money and credit are all that he cov'ts
And so that's why our cry is not heeded.

Says Franklin "All rights now claimed by our Congress
Just sign away now as you're told to,
Then get out of town and do not stay around
Or you'll get in my hair and I'll scold you."

Now shall we adjourn as war is approaching,
And leave it to Franklin to guide us,
To war unprepared and to war while we're scared
So that Franklin can rule as he wants to?

Oh no! Let's remain! Our country now needs us!
Let's stay on the job as we ought to,
To keep us from war and its horrible scar,
And from all the disaster it leads to.

Our Congress should serve as danger approaches,
Let's serve with our utmost devotion
The people who sent us to serve and dissent
From this dangerous course of our Nation.

Monday, September 30, 1940

With world still aflame and Congress in session,
JACK GARNER returns to remind us
To get out of town though defenses bog down,
And though Franklin sells all from behind us.

There's plenty to do, so why bid adieu now,
To Washington just when we're needed
To calm wild alarm and defend from all harm
All our people till war has receded.

Untrained! Unprepared! No war should we enter!
Lest Dakar or Dunkerque befall us!
Unsheathing our sabers may stab our good neighb'rs
And the death and destruction appall us.

So why not stay here to speed our defenses
And why not keep Congress in session
To check Franklin D., if to check it must be,
From his threatening blueprint aggression.

Our people will not approve of adjournment
Till sabers are sheathed at the White House.
So let us remain until winter again
Brings a NEW President to the White House.

Platform of the Steuben Society of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMILTON FISH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

PROCLAMATION AND PLATFORM ISSUED SEPTEMBER 18, 1940

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement issued by the national committee of the Steuben Society of America on September 18, 1940, through its chairman, Theodore H. Hoffman. I take this opportunity to state that the members of the Steuben Society are loyal American citizens devoted to our free institutions and American system of government and opposed to all forms of communism, nazi-ism, or fascism in the United States.

PROCLAMATION

The national executive committee of the Steuben Society of America desires at this time to officially announce to the press and to the public that the delegates assembled at the tenth national convention of the Steuben Society of America held in the city of New York, at its session on the 15th day of September 1940, resolved to recommend the candicacy of Mr. Wendell L. Willkie for President of the United States, and of Senator Charles L. MCNARY for Vice President of the United States.

NO THIRD TERM

The delegates assembled at the tenth national convention of the Steuben Society of America expressed their disapproval of a third term for a President of the United States. In this regard the following is of interest: In view of the fact that the Steuben Society of America has repeatedly expressed itself against transplanting to this country the totalitarian system of government now established in certain foreign countries, it could not do otherwise than be opposed to a third term.

It is argued that during his 8 years as President of the United States, the present incumbent has gained experience which would be lacking in any other man, and that he should therefore be continued in office for another term of 4 years. Such reasoning would make him the only candidate available for any number of terms—and this leads to dictatorship.

Mr. Wendell L. Willkie is opposed to a third term.

Mr. Wendell L. Willkie is opposed to erecting a dictatorship here.

NO FOREIGN WARS

The Steuben Society of America has been consistently on record as being in favor of the traditions and policies of the father of our

country, George Washington, who stated, "Let us be friends with all nations, but no entangling alliances with any."

The Steuben Society of America has consistently been opposed to foreign entanglements and becoming involved in any war on foreign soil.

Mr. Wendell L. Willkie clearly stated that he would not involve this country in war.

These are the overshadowing issues in this campaign. This is the battle of America, and we will do our bit.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

The delegates assembled at the tenth national convention of the Steuben Society of America further resolved to recommend to all councils and units of the society, that they support as candidates for the offices of United States Senator and Congressman, men and women who are determined to keep this country out of foreign wars.

PLATFORM

The delegates assembled at the tenth national convention further resolved to adopt the platform of the Steuben Society of America as agreed upon at this convention. We quote from this platform the following:

PREAMBLE

Whereas we recognize the tremendous problems confronting these, our United States, we pledge ourselves to stand unflinchingly for government by due process of law and denounce in the strongest terms any groups open or secret, that attempt to take the law into their own hands, and we will not render aid or comfort to any organization based on prejudice or discrimination against any citizen or class of citizens for reasons of race, color, or creed.

NATIONAL POLICIES—GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

We believe in the system of government as provided for in our Constitution, viz, the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary.

If our existing system of government is to be changed, it shall be done not by indirection but by the orderly process of amending the Constitution.

We believe in limiting the terms of President and Vice President to one term of 6 years.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

(It is to be noted that as early as 1932, at the Steuben Society national convention held at St. Louis, our society declared itself for adequate national defense.)

(a) We advocate adequate preparation for the defense of our country. For that purpose all the resources of the country, as well as its manpower, shall be made available under such regulations as the Congress shall prescribe.

(b) The protection of the Monroe Doctrine shall be limited to those countries in the New World who by word or act show their freedom from interfering in quarrels and wars outside the Western Hemisphere.

(c) Except in the event of attack or invasion the authority of Congress to declare war shall not become effective until confirmed by a majority of all votes cast thereon in a Nation-wide referendum. Congress may by law provide for the enforcement of this section.

BUSINESS, CAPITAL, AND LABOR

(a) We believe in the competitive system, preservation of the small-business man, and the enforcement of the antitrust laws.

(b) We believe that individual initiative and enterprise should be encouraged and that these shall be free from bureaucratic regimentation and interference.

(c) We do not believe that capital and big business should be interested solely in profit, but that it must also take into consideration the welfare and happiness of the laboring class.

(d) We do believe that labor has the inherent right to organize for self-protection and for the betterment of conditions, but we also believe that labor must interest itself in the question of wages with due and careful consideration of the ability of business as to how much it can pay without undermining the stability and common welfare of the Nation, State, and community.

(e) We are in favor of legislation giving equal rights to both employer and employee and recommend the amendment of the Wagner Act to bring this about.

(f) For the protection of the members of labor unions, we urge legislation requiring the incorporation of all labor unions.

(g) We advocate a further study to improve the wage and hour law, which provides for minimum wages and maximum hours. The law as enacted at the present time places too great a discretionary power in the hands of the Administrator and has certain loopholes which permit evasion on the part of certain employers which defeat the prime purpose of the law; that is, to provide for more employment.

INTERNATIONAL POLICIES—FOREIGN ALLIANCES

We believe in keeping the United States free from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and are opposed to the making of promises of military assistance or to engage in parallel actions. We believe that the people are entitled to prompt and frank reports on the activities of our diplomats to the limit of practicability.

We deprecate giving one man, even though he may be our President, the power to engage in "actions short of war" against any nation with which we are at peace. The power to do so should be in Congress inasmuch as such "actions short of war" may constitute the first step toward war against that nation.

We insist that our rights as a neutral in the present war be respected and that our protest to any nation which commits a violation thereof be couched in no uncertain terms.

FOREIGN DEBTS

We approve of the Johnson law which provides that no loans shall hereafter be made to foreign countries which have repudiated their debts to us. These nations have expended sums vastly in excess of the amounts they owe us for purposes of increased armaments in preparation for new wars.

We recommend to Congress that a plan be adopted whereby Great Britain and France cede to the United States certain island possessions in the Western Hemisphere, in part payment of their war debts to this country.

As long as there remain in the Western Hemisphere possessions in the hands of European nations, there can be no proper application of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and no extensions of just neutral zones in the event of wars among European or Asiatic nations.

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA

We pledge ourselves to fight with unswerving determination the spread of all foreign propaganda in this country.

We agree with Mr. Churchill when he states that it would have been much better for Europe if we (the United States) had stayed out of the last World War. We therefore advocate, as a gesture of friendship to all the warring powers in the present war, that we will not commit a similar disfavor to them in the present war.

NATIONAL COUNCIL, STEUBEN SOCIETY OF AMERICA.

Development and Conservation of Resources of the Pacific Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. LEAVY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. LEAVY. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill for the development and conservation of the resources of the Pacific Northwest through the wider distribution of electrical energy generated by certain Federal projects, for the improvement of navigation, and the promotion of national defense and other purposes.

For many months I have worked with my colleague from Washington, Hon. KNUTE HILL, and other interested Members on the House side, and in collaboration with Senator BONE, senior Senator from my State, and under our instructions have had the legislation drafted which I have today introduced. The draft has been submitted to the various governmental agencies that would be affected; to the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Harold L. Ickes, and through him to the President, and it has met with approval.

To me it would seem that it is in keeping with the press releases of a speech made by the Republican nominee for President, Mr. Wendell Willkie, last week in Portland, Oreg., and in other addresses made by him in the State of Washington. If he meant what he said, then it would seem to me that this legislation should have the unanimous approval of both the Democratic and Republican Parties, since we know that it has the approval of President Roosevelt and feel that we have the right to assume from the public utterances of Mr. Willkie that we likewise have his approval.

After submitting this draft to the Interior Department for an expression of opinion, I received from Secretary Ickes a letter which clearly and concisely sets forth the importance of early enactment of the proposed legislation. This letter sets forth in a direct manner the needs for such legislation at this time and the objectives which would be attained by its enactment. I herewith submit the letter as part of my remarks:

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, September 30, 1940.

Hon. CHARLES H. LEAVY,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. LEAVY: In accordance with our conversations with you and some of your colleagues from the Northwest regarding the

establishment of the Columbia Power Administration as a regional agency in the Department of the Interior, I have reviewed the attached bill. While it has not been submitted to the Bureau of the Budget, I am glad to give you my views concerning it.

The Columbia Power Administration will accomplish a needed coordination of the power facilities of the Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dam projects in a permanent agency, will permit on a practicable and equitable basis the acquisition of existing private-utility properties by the people of the Northwest where they have voted to establish public-power agencies, will make possible the more efficient use of the resources of the region for the national defense and the public welfare, and will encourage the wider use of electricity in the homes, farms, and factories of the Pacific Northwest.

I recommend the enactment of this bill.

The existing Bonneville Power Administration was established provisionally by the act of August 20, 1937, to market the power generated at the Bonneville Dam. The Secretary of the Interior, through the Bureau of Reclamation, was authorized by the President, pursuant to the act of August 30, 1935, to complete and operate the Grand Coulee Dam project. On August 26, 1940, pursuant to this same act, the President signed Executive Order No. 8526 designating the Bonneville Power Administrator, under the supervision and direction of the Secretary of the Interior, as the agent for the sale and distribution of electrical power and energy generated at the Grand Coulee Dam project. This order provided a single Federal agency to market the energy produced at both the Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dam projects. Additional legislation is required, however, to give full effect to this coordination since the arrangement continues to be provisional. This situation hampers the efficient marketing of power.

Another serious obstacle to the marketing of Columbia River power has been the inability of local public agencies to acquire necessary distribution systems. The people, in the exercise of their right of the ballot, have created agencies in many counties for the distribution of Columbia River power. Their efforts have been largely frustrated because their local agencies have found it economically infeasible to acquire the existing distribution systems which comprise parts of larger systems owned and controlled by eastern holding companies. Obviously, the piecemeal acquisition of such systems by several unrelated public agencies would be uneconomical and impractical from the point of view of both the public agencies and the private companies. These people need and want the assistance of the Federal Government in meeting their problem of acquiring the existing utility properties on a system-wide basis on terms that are practicable and equitable. Such assistance will be afforded to them by means of this bill.

The Bonneville Administrator now has the power to acquire transmission lines. The bill would extend this power by providing for the acquisition of entire systems, including generating and distribution facilities, where such systems are economically dependent on such transmission lines. The act directs that distribution facilities so acquired be sold to public bodies or cooperatives as quickly as such sales can be properly consummated. In order to effect these acquisitions, the administrator is authorized, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior and of the Secretary of the Treasury, to issue bonds of the administration, guaranteed by the United States. Such acquisitions are to be entirely self-liquidating.

There is also an important function to be performed by the proposed Columbia Power Administration in the advancement of the national defense program. The development and utilization of the many strategic and critical mineral resources found in the Pacific Northwest forms an essential part of this program. These resources require for their fullest development an abundant supply of cheap power, used chiefly in their processing. A single coordinating agency will be an invaluable aid in the efficient marketing of power for these purposes.

Finally, the agency will foster and encourage the wider use of Columbia River power in the general development of the Pacific Northwest. It will do this through the making of studies, experiments, and demonstrations in the wider and better utilization of electricity on farms, in homes, and in manufacturing processes. It will do this through the continuation and extension of provisions of the present Bonneville legislation assuring that the power to be made available through the proposed Columbia Power Administration shall be sold at rates and in a manner to encourage the widest possible use, and by retaining the provisions of existing law granting preferences and priorities to public agencies and cooperatives.

The primary purposes for which the Grand Coulee Dam project is being constructed, including the irrigation and reclamation of arid lands, have been recognized in the proposed legislation. The basic requirements of the irrigation features of the Grand Coulee Dam project, as recognized in existing law, are not altered by the bill.

I have discussed the proposed legislation with the President, and its objectives have received his approval.

Very truly yours,

HAROLD L. ICKES,
Secretary of the Interior.

Third Presidential Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. BURKE
OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 30 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT OF OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the statement by Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on a constitutional amendment proposing to establish a single Presidential term of 6 years.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

More than 40 years of experience in political journalism in the United States as editor of a daily New York newspaper and of a weekly journal of liberal opinion, have convinced me of the absolute necessity of limiting by constitutional amendment the term of the President of the United States. Actually, I arrived at this opinion years ago; I have been tremendously reinforced in it by the rise of dictatorships throughout the world and by the effort of Franklin Roosevelt to violate the third-term tradition. That there is nothing personal in my opposition to the President's candidacy will appear, I hope, from the fact that the President and I are still warm personal friends and have been such since the day that I assigned to him the first reporter who ever covered any of the President's political activity. But with democracy collapsing everywhere, with the totalitarian idea spreading rapidly and to a considerable degree in the United States, it is a primary consideration with me that the attempt to violate the no-third-term tradition shall be rebuked at the polls, since otherwise the road to a dictatorship is open. If here is sound reason for a third term, then similar reasons will be found for a fourth and a fifth.

As a result of my long journalistic experience I favor a single Presidential term of not to exceed 5 years. If it is true that 4 years is too brief a period for a President to put through a program of reform and progress, 6 years seems to me too long in the case of an unworthy or inefficient President. Six years of Warren Harding in the White House would have done almost irreparable injury, in my judgment, to the morale of our political life. That Mr. Hoover's 4 years ended just when they did I count a most fortunate event in our history. Had he directed the destinies of the country for 2 years more we should have faced complete economic and financial disaster. Even 5 years in his case would have been disastrous. Six years of misgovernment is a very long period in the life of a nation when events move as fast as they do in these times.

It is true that the people have it in their power every 2 years to elect a majority of the House of Representatives, to check a President, and to notify him of their nonacceptance of his program. In 4 years, too, it is usually possible to change the political character of the Senate, though this is rendered more difficult because of the one-party system of the South. Nonetheless, any President possesses such tremendous executive powers and authorities, which are being steadily increased, both under Republican and Democratic rule, that 6 years of an arrogant or inefficient or unworthy President could inflict grievous wrongs and ills, not only upon our body politic but on our entire economic life and social organization. We are without the relief afforded under the English system where the voters have the power to change the whole administration of the country if the Government is turned out by an adverse vote in the House of Commons.

My opposition to two terms for the President is based not upon theoretic grounds but again upon my practical experience as a journalistic observer of Presidents during a long lifetime. Nothing in my judgment would do more to free a President from undue and often unconscious pressure, both from within himself and without, social and political, than fixing one term, and one only, for the incumbent of the Presidency. I can recall only one President during this long period who was, I believe, beyond and above the ordinary two-term ambition. I mean that he was the only President in 50 years who could put principle above partisanship, and policy above personal considerations and ambitions. I have often written that Grover Cleveland's decision in 1888 to campaign for reelection on a tariff-for-revenue-only issue in the face of the fact that his Cabinet and his closest and most influential political and personal advisers warned him that that would mean his defeat constitutes the greatest single act of patriotic statesman-

ship during these last 55 years. But he was incapable of seeking popularity or reelection at the cost of sacrificing his principles and his beliefs. Mr. Cleveland was happy to return to the White House in 1892.

In the case of Woodrow Wilson it is now known that he began to plot for his renomination for a second term even before he was inaugurated for his first term. Yet on February 5, 1918, he wrote that it was "intolerable that any President should be permitted to determine who should succeed him—himself or another—by patronage or coercion, or by any sort of control of the machinery by which delegates to the nominating convention are chosen." Woodrow Wilson stood for election on the Baltimore platform and assured the country that he accepted it and that he would abide by it, and yet that platform contained the party's pledge that if it elected Mr. Wilson he would serve only one Presidential term and that no one thereafter would serve more than one term. Yet Mr. Wilson, the scholar and historian, was determined from the start to be among the two-term Presidents. We cannot deny that the feeling has grown up in America that the President who does not get two terms must be considered a failure—Rutherford Hayes is not given credit for his high patriotism in declining to be considered for reelection. In Mr. Wilson's case he not only sought and obtained a second nomination, using patronage if not coercion and all the power of the Presidential office to achieve it, but he actually desired a third term when he was a complete physical wreck and a politically discredited man.

We know from eyewitness authority that despite President Coolidge's having told the country "I do not choose to run," he threw himself on his bed in the White House in an agony of disappointment and was unapproachable for 2 days after the telegraph reported to him that Mr. Hoover had been nominated in Kansas City. He had hoped until the last moment that he might be drafted for a third term, even if he had not chosen to announce his candidacy. It is the complete truth that no man ever willingly leaves the White House. It is also beyond cavil that there is nothing in the world that so readily corrodes character as the possession of the office of President or prime minister of a country, and in lesser degree the tenancy of any high executive position affording great political power. The incumbent invariably comes to believe that he is not only indispensable but that he is the fountainhead of all wisdom and statesmanship. It was this fact that Jefferson had in mind when he declared that there should be revolution and bloodshed every 20 years or so in the United States in order, as he put it, that our Governors should not forget who are the real masters of America. He also said: "I hold it that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical."

Actually we should limit the term of the President to one period in order to save the President from himself. From the day a President takes office he is surrounded by sycophants who flatter him, toady to him, and praise his every act, and the press of the country more and more exalts the holder of the office as its power and authority increase. We hear it constantly stated that the President has not power enough, and I have seen within the last couple of weeks a statement by a learned university professor that we cannot expect the bold leadership from the White House to which the country is entitled unless we grant to its incumbent greater and greater powers. This is a far cry from the position taken by Lord Bryce in his famous American Commonwealth. Writing 50 years ago, he declared that the reason why there were no greater men in the White House was that the office did not call for great talent, partly because of the division of powers under our Constitution. Certainly no one could say in the world of today that there is any excuse for putting a weak or mediocre man into the Presidency because of the lack of opportunities for virile leadership which are those of the incumbent. Today the problem is how to restrict the power of the President rather than to extend it, in my judgment. How anyone can advocate greater authority than has now been conferred upon the President I cannot understand. In the first 100 days of Mr. Roosevelt's service as President, 77 new powers and authorities were conferred upon him by a terrified Congress. Some of these powers have since expired by limitation; many are there to stay. Certainly, if one examines what the present President is doing in the field of foreign relations—accepting foreign territory, entering into foreign alliances with belligerents in the middle of a war in which the country is supposed to be neutral—it is impossible to deny that he has, in this field at least, practically dictatorial powers, since the Congress will put no curb upon him. All of which is another reason, in my judgment, why no President should hold the office longer than for a single term of 5 years. Two terms are too long, and three terms seem to me nothing short of treason to the Republic. I have weighed these words carefully.

The present situation illuminates the dangers beyond dispute. We have a President seeking a third term on the ground of a grave emergency, both national and international. But no dictator has ever arisen in any country at any time without proclaiming that a national or international emergency necessitated his taking over the country. Assuming that the President's motives are of the best, that he is genuinely convinced that he was drafted and that he alone can manage the country in this grave crisis, and that he intends to resign as soon as the crisis is over in favor of Henry Wallace, the precedent which will be established, if he is elected for the third term, will remain to plague the country if the Republic survives a third term and can remain a Republic in the midst of the rising tide of autocracy, dictatorship, and totalitarianism the world over. Any unprincipled man deliberately seeking to make himself the dictator of the country would thereafter find himself in possession of a precedent to warrant him in permanently holding the Presidency. The danger is not present for the first time. At least as far back as 1912, a year which seems in retrospect to have been peaceful, quiet, and wholly free of national danger, Woodrow Wilson in his campaign for the Presidency uttered these words:

"Don't you know that some man with eloquent tongue, without conscience, who did not care for the Nation could put this whole country into a flame? Don't you know that this country from one end to the other believes that something is wrong? What an opportunity it would be for some man without conscience to spring up and say, 'This is the way. Follow me,' and lead in paths of destruction."

This danger obviously is far greater today than then.

The press effort to exalt the wife of the President and to call her the First Lady of the Land is another evidence of the tendency to swing our whole conception of the Presidency away from the original, the historic viewpoint that the President is, after all, merely a common citizen, distinguished perhaps as a patriot of proven merit and ability, but merely one of us who has been temporarily called to assume the leadership of the Nation with the distinct understanding that he will early return to private life or, as in the case of John Quincy Adams, to some lesser office. In other words, it is the Cincinnatus idea that we should maintain, or, if you please, that of Israel Putnam. We still need the spirit of that simple, homespun patriot who left his plough standing in the furrow when he felt that the call of duty had come, and returned to it when the national emergency was over. Certainly if George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Andrew Jackson were convinced that they were not indispensable to the welfare of the United States in the Presidential office, there is no living man, and there will be none in the future, who should dare to assume that any situation can arise in which he alone can safeguard the state and the welfare of the people.

By the limitation of the office we shall truly exalt it, and what is more important, exalt the republican ideal and set an example to the world of a changing leadership which can never have been so needed as it is today. Mr. Vance McCormick has admirably pointed out to you the effect the limitation of the Presidency would have upon South America. It is equally needed in other parts of the world, for it is the truth that if the forms of a rigid democracy and the spirit of a true republicanism are not preserved in the United States they will not be preserved elsewhere, and democracy will perish from this earth.

National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 30 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM C. RIVERS, UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix, a radio address delivered from station WEVD, on September 19, 1940, by Maj. Gen. William C. Rivers, United States Army, retired, on the subject of national defense.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

There is confused thinking about our national defense at times, because some of those who study the question do so with the aid of the ordinary Mercator maps used in our atlases. Mercator maps are distorted for some areas of the surface of the earth as to both the distances and directions. A more accurate aid is a globe. Take in your hands even a 10-cent globe and look at the United States. You see our geographical position and our strategic situation.

I am glad of this opportunity to speak of our national defense. This is because the subject is of the greatest importance to all of us. Also, I wore the uniform for 47 years. After graduating at West Point, I was in all our wars for about the last 50 years. These included the later red Indian troubles in the West, Santiago in Cuba, the Philippines, and France. In France I had a battle command in all our major combats.

I am also glad to talk about our national defense because of the wide circulation of an article in Harper's Magazine for August.

The article was written by Hanson W. Baldwin, and its title is "Wanted: a Plan for Defense." Baldwin speaks as though we have no plan for defense. He says "that neither the results achieved nor the programs planned meet our defense needs." On the contrary, I assert that we have an excellent and comprehensive plan for defense. Baldwin admits—I use his words—that "It is obvious that the funds appropriated for defense in the past 7 years have not been poured down 'a rat hole'; it is also obvious that the administration of President Roosevelt has done more for defense than any other administration since the World War."

One of Mr. Baldwin's major complaints is, "Our defense program must be based on the starkest sort of reality." Now, I have been in a good many campaigns and battles. But I have never seen an order for a battle or a directive for a campaign that was based on stark reality. A battle order is based on a commander's estimate of the situation. Any commander who writes an order for a battle is obliged to assume much concerning the exact locations of the troops of the enemy and the plans of the commander of the enemy forces.

Similarly, the President and Congress at Washington are compelled to base our program for defense partly on the facts we know and partly on suppositions and assumptions. We know our general foreign policy. We also know, as Baldwin states, that we plan our defense policy to include any aggression in this hemisphere on the part of a victorious Germany. We must plan against the gravest danger which seems possible. We are obliged to assume—in a comprehensive plan for defense—that a victorious Germany will have Italy's aid and that Germany may be in possession of Britain's fleet.

President Roosevelt gave an excellent definition of defense in his letter of January 28, 1938, to Congress. He said, "Adequate national defense means that for the protection not only of our coasts, but also of our communities far removed from the coast, we must keep any potential enemy several hundred miles away from our continental limits." Baldwin says, "There can be and is virtual unanimity of public opinion on hemisphere defense, which is simply a strategic way of describing the Monroe Doctrine." Baldwin gives an excellent outline and description of what hemisphere defense calls for—in both the Atlantic and the Pacific. Also concerning our need for bases and harbors other than those in the United States. It is clear that the Navy is our first line of defense. And that an excellent air force is of the greatest importance to the effective power of the fleet and of the Army. Also, that at present we require a much larger Army—for defending our harbors and coasts and for possible expeditionary forces to outlying places.

Laws have been passed by Congress and appropriations made or authorized for doubling the Navy, and greatly increasing the Marine Corps. The Regular Army and National Guard are being also doubled. Our protective mobilization plan provides for a force, including the Army and National Guard, of 1,200,000 men within the next 6 or 8 months. Preparations have been made for manufacturing the necessary airplanes, arms, tanks, artillery—all the equipment for the large Army. Also, for building shelter or quarters for the troops. The Army has been in the field maneuvering for the past year. The National Guard is being called out for continuous service in the field in order to improve the training and discipline of the units.

There is general agreement that we should not prepare to fight an enemy on our own borders or shores. Also, that we should not send the Army or Navy to fight in Europe or in Asia. In the Pacific our excellent defensive line runs from the Aleutians, in Alaska, to Hawaii and on down to the Canal at Panama. In the Atlantic the recent acquisition of the eight bases gives us a defensive line from Newfoundland down to the shoulder of South America. This general line is several hundred miles from our coasts. These new bases guard the five passes which enter the Caribbean from the Atlantic.

Three recent measures of the greatest importance to our defense are the new law for selective conscription of soldiers, the acquisition of the eight new bases in the Atlantic, and the authorization by Congress of the $500,000,000 to the Federal authority which is allowed to use such funds in developing our trade with the South American nations.

Defending all the Americas is a colossal task. The shoulder of South America is much nearer Africa than it is to Charleston, S. C. The shoulder of South America is nearer to Africa than it is to our new base in Puerto Rico. However, we have a new base in South America, British Guiana. In a military sense, defending the Americas means, in the first place, working with the Latin-American countries in the effort to aid them and unify them so that they may defend themselves. We must also take more effective steps to improve cultural relations with the other American nations to the south of us.

I conclude with urging two things of great importance to defense. First, Congress ought to carry out the suggestion of Mr. Willkie by passing a law to create a single department of national defense under a Cabinet minister of defense. Three civilian assistant secretaries of defense would be in charge of the three coequal armed branches—the Navy, the Army, and the Air Corps. A small college of national defense would naturally form a part of the staff of the secretary of national defense—a place where a few officers of all the armed services could meet for common study, with a few civilian officials of the State, Labor, and Treasury Departments. The part of the unified and homogeneous Air Corps assigned to the Navy should be under Navy command and orders for duty and training all the time in peace. Similarly, for that part of the Air Corps with the Army—it should be under Army command all the time in peace as well as in war.

Another thing of importance for our defense is the American Fleet should be safely east of the Canal at Panama. This is made more important by our obtaining the new bases in the West Atlantic. The fleet seems now to be immobilized out at Hawaii, several thousand miles distance from the Panama Canal.

More than 5,000 of the some 20,178 Japanese residents of the Philippines, among the 16,000,000 Filipinos, have returned to Japan since the start of the China war. Several interesting illusions often come up about the Far East. One is the idea that—even with the colossal sum proposed, $350,000,000—Guam and Wake Islands, both in the Western Pacific and in the midst of numbers of Japanese islands, can be made tenable fortifications. All we can make there are two salients, distant, lonely, and untenable salients. We buy tin in Europe and America—from those who have smelters to which they take the ore they get in the Netherland East Indies or in other parts of the world. Rubber we buy from men who have stocks of it in Singapore, Liverpool, or other markets for rubber. We could, if it were necessary, send ships by the Atlantic to actually haul rubber and tin from Java. We need not send by way of Japan at all. Then the cooperation in the Far East with the British Fleet. We all know Britain has had no capital ships east of the Mediterranean since the Agadir explosion in Morocco in 1911. It is inevitable that the peoples who live in eastern Asia will settle the future of eastern Asia—what President Roosevelt called a sort of Monroe Doctrine for the Far East.

ADMIRAL LEAHY'S OPINION

Admiral William D. Leahy gave to the committees of Congress 2 years ago his judgment in the most thorough discussion of the North Pacific Ocean we have had in 40 years. His opinion was definite and emphatic, as follows: "The Navy which America now has and the Navy which it will have when it is increased by the authority in this bill will be seriously inadequate to the task of sending a naval force to the Philippines. I said it would require at least three times this amount of increase of our Navy, and I doubt if we could (send a naval force to the Philippines) with three times the increase."

The admiral said also: "The defensive line of the American Navy at the present time reaches from the Aleutian Islands to the Hawaiian Islands, to Samoa, and to the Panama Canal."

The following brief quotations are from Professor Griswold's able article in Harper's for August, on Our Policy in the Far East: "We have failed, as a people and a nation, to discover in the Far East a region of vital interest to our strategic security and domestic welfare." And, "Geography is perhaps the strongest deterministic agent in international relations."

Dr. Griswold believes there is reason for trying to improve our relations with Japan. Also, that there exists a reasonable basis for such action.

NEW TREATY ADVISED

My own conviction is—after 10 consecutive years' service with the Philippine government—that we ought to make with Japan a new treaty of trade and friendship. That the treaty should contain clauses indicating Japan's interest in the continued independence of the Philippines after 1946. Japan will not try to annex the republic of the Philippines. She will not make a division of her fleet and armies with Soviet Russia so near at the north. Many Japanese have left the Philippines to return to Japan since the start of the war in China. In any event, Japan will have much of the trade with the Philippines. Japan has not the power or the desire to attack the United States. The distances are too great.

I hope the Filipinos will obtain the independence they have so long desired and which we have so long promised them. I have affection and admiration for the Filipino people. But their country is too far from my country for continued political relations. The inevitable logic of geography is that we should control from the mid-Atlantic westward to the mid-Pacific, a matter of great expense. If we endeavor to maintain a navy large enough to try to defend the indefensible Philippines and to aid the defense of South America, it will fetch financial ruin to my own country.

Statements to the effect that the Filipinos no longer desire independence are erroneous. They are, I believe, put out by people who desire our permanent control of and responsibility for the distant Philippines.

John Gunther, who visited Manila, says on page 300 of his book Inside Asia that, in his opinion, the sugar interests of the Philippines oppose independence for the Filipinos.

Sugar people at Manila desire to continue sending their costly sugar to the United States free of all duty. Such a practice would be against the interests of the farmers in many of our own States.

Press reports give account of several unusual public addresses by President Quezon. Mr. Quezon is said to have declared that political parties are not needed in a democracy; that they should be abolished. President Quezon has been voted by the assembly, at his request, many great additional powers over the liberties of individuals and over trade, commerce, labor, and other unusual "emergency" powers. The Filipino Civil Liberties Union has publicly stated its belief that this is an unmistakable sign that the President of the Commonwealth desires totalitarianism for the Philippines. I recollect recommending that Philippine inde-

pendence be granted on July 4, 1940, when I testified before the Tydings Insular Committee in March 1939. Continuation of trade privileges ought to be at the same time granted the Filipinos for several years.

I very greatly doubt Baldwin's statement in his Harper's article—that "Our officers stand too much upon pomp and prerogatives of rank." A few officers of the Army or Navy may be so afflicted, but not many. You can find a few men so afflicted in any profession—among, say, lawyers, judges, journalists, and so on.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, a third term will bring dictatorship and war to our country. The usurpation of legislative authority by the Chief Executive, the demand of the President to continue in the spotlight for a third term marks the beginning of the end of our Republic as a free democracy.

Our system of government and philosophy of life as free Americans with equal opportunity for all, does not recognize the "indispensable man" formula. We want no permanent royal class or ruling family to govern our system of life. America is a free country, and we want to keep it free.

George Washington set the example of voluntary retirement from the Presidency after 8 years. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Cleveland, McKinley, and Taft, and other patriotic Americans, spoke definitely against a third term. One hundred and fifty years of precedent and tradition cannot be lightly broken.

If there is only one "indispensable man" amongst 132,000,000 Americans, what will our country do, when this chosen one is required to answer the final roll call? Should he succeed in securing a third term, what about 4, 5, and even 10 terms for the present incumbent of the White House?

Traditions have been willfully broken in the past 7 years. The right of the people to govern themselves has been largely usurped by New Deal bureaucrats in Washington. This power must be broken. Only the people can recapture their America. The hour has come. There must be "no third term."

No Third Term—"It May Be Later Than You Think"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the time when free Americans are to be confronted with one of the most important decisions in our country's history—whether to discard our traditional concepts of limited tenure of office and by violating our third-term tradition pave the way for life tenure, hereditary power, or permanently entrenched political greed—patriotic Americans, regardless of party affiliation, would do well to put patriotism above party and consider what the American way of life has meant to us these past 150 years. Before discarding the doctrines of Washington and Jefferson for untried theories of one-man indispensability, let us reflect with due seriousness at the ultimate consequences of such a departure from the American system. Let us remember that to gamble with the seductive lure of unlimited tenure is to first of all lose something vital in America.

I am one of those who does not believe that this country became the greatest country in the world in a century and a half by doing everything all wrong. No man can be sure of the final goal we shall reach by choosing the untried path of unlimited tenure in office for the President; but all men may be sure that if we so choose in 1940 we shall have discarded a protection against one-man government and against trampling upon States' rights which our forefathers thought to be a most important safeguard. If we willfully scuttle what they fought so hard to secure, we shall have only ourselves to blame if the experiment brings us bitterness and loss of free initiative. We have seen the bright hopes of citizens of other lands turn to the chill ashes of despair after they placed their faith too long in the hands of one man and gave too much power to too few men for too long a time. And now all the lamentations of a once free people cannot get back for them again the rights and liberties which they so carelessly voted away to men who promised so much and seemed so indispensable at the time. It should be remembered, too, that most of the people living under dictators today are living under dictatorships which they voted down upon themselves through the plea that a particular man was indispensable if the country were to meet some current "emergency." In a republic nothing is indispensable but freedom itself and strict adherence to the rules and traditions of self-government.

IT MAY BE LATER THAN YOU THINK

The significant phrase, "It may be later than you think," Mr. Speaker, applies alike to our attempt to rescue ourselves from the false doctrine of one-man indispensability at home and to our determination to repel any doctrines or armies of one-man indispensability from abroad. It is truly a fact that the ominous warning, "It may be later than you think," applies to the bulk of our American citizens, who, seeing the structure of self-government intact, assume that its substance is also secure. Could each citizen but sit in Congress for a week he would know how very much "later than he thinks" has already grown the hour when America must choose to return more powers and prerogatives to the Congress and the people or weakly surrender to the current trend toward centralized authority in the President.

We have already endowed our President with more power than yesterday's princes. If we proceed too far, too fast, in this drift toward administrative absolutism we may well lose the fight against totalitarianism without so much as firing a single shot against a foreign foe. While scanning the horizon for potential enemies from overseas and while arming ourselves to resist them, we may easily enough discover that we have already lost the sacred freedom which we would so zealously protect. We have already gone further toward the doctrine of one-man indispensability in America than any other free people have ever gone and still successfully retrieved their individual rights and personal freedom.

We hear that time is a vital element in the Battle of Britain. So it may be. But time is also a most vital element in the battle of America. We have no guaranty that we shall now have time enough to reclaim the rights of States, to restore the independence of Congress, to revive the sanctity of the Supreme Court, and to return to labor, to agriculture, and to business the opportunities for success which far outweigh the political pledges for a bare security which represent the sum total of accomplishment attained under the present administration.

AMERICA MUST MAKE THE CHOICE

Mr. Speaker, America must choose, in scarcely more than 30 days, the destiny she will inherit. She can choose safely and wisely to remain free and self-governing or she can choose to flirt with the European notion that in any nation at a given time there is but one man who is able to lead the people of the country. I know not what choice America will make. But, for the permanent record, I want to put it down today that if the choice is against the third term and one-man indispensability in America, I predict this country will have successfully withstood the vicious doctrines which have made a blood bed of Europe and that it will not again be lured to

surrender its government of the people for the shallow substitute of government only by the President.

And if narrow partisanship, pap, and patronage should win the contest in November, and this country should disavow its heritage of freedom, I predict that no generation of Americans will ever see as much of freedom even as is still ours and that the concentration of power in the hands of the privileged few for 12 long years will forever leave its scar upon the fair record of this great Republic.

Faced with previous emergencies, earlier Americans than we, but I hope not sturdier or more patriotic, have joined forces regardless of party prejudice, race, color, occupation, or station in life and rallied behind a common cause to protect that common heritage of free government which is America's. We have won every challenge to our American way of life because it has been the American way to unite to attain strength enough to beat back any fundamental threat to our basic institutions. For that reason, Mr. Speaker, because I believe the spirit of America is not dead and the conscience of America is not stilled, I dare to hope that on next November 5 we shall find from the North and the South, from East and West, a great glowing testimony that America disclaims the doctrine of one-man indispensability, that America adheres to its basic concepts of limited tenure for its Executives, and that its citizens proclaim to all the freedom-hungry people of the world that under God, the people are still the rulers of America.

The True Facts Concerning Agricultural Imports Under Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEVERLY M. VINCENT

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. VINCENT of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, as a young attorney practicing law in my home State of Kentucky I observed that shrewd counsel, in defending a weak or doubtful case, invariably made great efforts to divert the jury's attention and thoughts from the issues of fact at bar by impressing the jurymen with flowery language and dramatic gestures. The Republican Party today finds itself in just such a position. Totally bankrupt of sound and wholesome ideas in the field of foreign trade, Republicans, less concerned with national welfare and more concerned in promoting purely political objectives, persist in clouding the issues with respect to agricultural imports under the reciprocal trade agreements program.

Rash and irresponsible statements barren of factual truth, supported only by statistical distortions of every conceivable variety that an ingenious mind stubbornly bent on deceiving our farmers can devise, appear regularly in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Evidently, having learned nothing from past mistakes, and misjudging, or what is worse, holding in contempt, the intelligence of our farmers, the Republicans believe they can continually fool the American farmer. The Republican Party unable to divorce itself from nineteenth century thinking has not yet come to realize that the farmer of today is possessed of a keener understanding of national problems affecting his welfare.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull, in effecting modifications in our tariff duties where necessary and advisable through the negotiation of trade agreements has not opened our home markets to the advantage of foreign farmers. Farmers today under trade agreements have a larger home market and are receiving better prices for their products than under the trade-restricting high tariffs of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff

Here are a few examples:

Cash farm income received by farmers

Commodity	Cash farm income received by farmers		Gain to farmers, 1936–39
	4 years under Hawley-Smoot tariffs, 1930–33	4 years under trade agreements, 1936–39	
Grains	$2,469,000,000	$3,572,000,000	$1,103,000,000
Cotton and cottonseed	2,360,000,000	3,045,000,000	685,000,000
Fruits	1,445,000,000	1,742,000,000	297,000,000
Vegetables	2,074,000,000	2,414,000,000	340,000,000
Tobacco	673,000,000	1,122,000,000	449,000,000
Meat animals	6,608,000,000	9,014,000,000	2,406,000,000
Dairy products	4,912,000,000	5,742,000,000	830,000,000
Chickens and eggs	2,614,000,000	2,825,000,000	211,000,000

Source: Compiled from figures supplied by the Department of Agriculture.

Free discussion and debate with respect to the merits of the policies pursued by an administration, based upon a full disclosure of all pertinent data, is the foundation of democratic government. In such debates honest and sincere differences of opinion may reasonably arise. Honestly held differences command respect. Misrepresentation, half truths, and innuendoes, on the other hand, no matter how appealingly phrased, or supported by statistical distortions, or failure to disclose fully the facts pertaining to agricultural imports, do not deceive our farmers—for they are well-informed—but unhappily tend to destroy confidence in democratic institutions.

I have analyzed fully and carefully the tables inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, by the gentleman from Kansas, Representative FRANK CARLSON, in support of his declaration that farmers are suffering from increased farm imports. The tables to which I refer are found on page 5547.

What are the facts?

With respect to total agricultural imports, between 70 and 80 percent of the increase is made up of products such as coffee, tea, crude rubber, raw silk, bananas, and certain oils not produced at all in the United States. The balance of the increase is made up chiefly of such products as fresh tomatoes, on which a modification in duty, subject to seasonal regulatory provisions, was granted to Cuba only, unmanufactured wool, cattle hides, wheat imported in bond for milling and reexport, and inedible molasses, on which no concession was given to any country in trade agreements.

With respect to the selected list of agricultural commodities, in terms of value, more than half is made up of commodities on which no concession has been granted in any agreement. Moreover, imports of a number of commodities on which concessions have been granted through trade agreements have been limited by quota and seasonal provisions.

The following tables fully disclose all the facts:

TABLE I.—*United States imports for consumption of agricultural products for 6 months ending June 30, 1938, 1939, 1940*

	6 months ending June 30—		
	1938	1939	1940
Total agricultural imports	$476,534,000	$519,662,000	$641,258,000
Complementary agricultural imports [1]	234,725,000	268,333,000	344,676,000
Supplementary agricultural imports [2]	241,809,000	251,329,000	296,581,000

[1] Includes only value of imports of coffee, tea, crude rubber, raw silk, cacao and cacao beans, bananas, unmanufactured carpet wool, certain vegetable fibers (excluding flax, hemp, and jute) and certain essential and distilled oils (excluding lemon, orange, grapefruit, eucalyptus, and peppermint) which are not produced at all in the United States.

[2] Consists of commodities which are not produced in sufficient quantities in the United States to meet domestic requirements, notwithstanding high tariffs on most of them; or products—most of them also subject to high duties—which are imported because of special quality or use, or differences in marketing season, or other special considerations. These imports do not displace—they supplement deficient domestic supplies.

Source: U. S. Department of Agriculture.

TABLE II.—*United States imports for consumption of certain agricultural products for 6 months ending June 30, 1938, 1939, 1940*

Import item	6 months ending June 30					
	Import items on which no concessions were granted in trade agreements			Import items on which concessions were granted in trade agreements		
	1938	1939	1940	1938	1939	1940
Cattle [1]				$4,087,000	$11,688,000	$8,854,000
Cattle hides	$1,787,000	$5,807,000	$7,488,000			
Beef, canned	4,145,000	4,100,000	4,385,000			
Mutton, fresh	(2)	1,000	2,000			
Tallow, inedible	30,000	15,000	28,000			
Silver foxes, live	1,000	(2)	6,000			
Silver-fox fur skins				302,000	957,000	1,016,000
Oats				5,000	353,000	2,778,000
Wheat:						
For grinding in bond and export to—						
Cuba	121,000	902,000	1,017,000			
Other countries	172,000	2,108,000	2,189,000			
Other	6,000	21,000	41,000			
Wheat unfit for human consumption				None	41,000	48,000
Wheat byproducts, feeds				146,000	3,297,000	3,815,000
Hay				87,000	160,000	355,000
Cottonseed cake and meal	23,000	60,000	248,000			
Alfalfa seed				432,000	310,000	342,000
Alsike and crimson clover				125,000	11,000	53,000
Potatoes, white [1]				332,000	696,000	1,035,000
Beans, green and dried [3]				281,000	184,000	196,000
Lentils	242,000	175,000	274,000			
Tomatoes, fresh [4]				1,134,000	871,000	1,656,000
Apples, fresh				(2)	40,000	115,000
Cherries, fresh				19,000	8,000	36,000
Grapefruit [3]				(2)	None	5,000
Brazil or cream nuts				504,000	520,000	469,000
Filberts				145,000	172,000	153,000
Pecans	None	10,000	21,000			
Molasses, edible (table)				1,334,000	660,000	1,066,000
Molasses, inedible (blackstrap)	4,955,000	3,183,000	5,225,000			
Milk, fresh [1]				1,000	1,000	2,000
Milk, dried and malted	11,000	3,000	12,000			
Casein	12,000	13,000	657,000			
Wool, unmanufactured	6,335,000	22,546,000	43,875,000			
Tobacco, unmanufactured				16,112,000	17,984,000	17,854,000
Cotton, unmanufactured	4,953,000	3,778,000	5,807,000			
Castor beans				1,205,000	1,275,000	3,525,000
Total	22,813,000	42,722,000	71,275,000	26,251,000	39,228,000	43,373,000

[1] Imports at the modified tariff regulations are subject to seasonal or quota provisions.
[2] Less than $500.
[3] Concession granted to Cuba only and applies exclusively to green or unripe lima beams. Subject to seasonal provisions.
[4] Concession granted to Cuba only. Subject to seasonal provisions.

Source: Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce of the United States, June 1938, 1939, 1940, U. S. Department of Commerce.

REPUBLICANS STILL THINK IN TERMS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Mr. Speaker, the Roosevelt administration was called to power by the people of this country at a desperate hour to perform a desperate job. To inspire confidence in the future of this Nation as a democratic free people and restore national prosperity were major considerations. Measures to restore fully the prosperity of the country unaccompanied by efforts to restore our foreign trade which had declined from $9,600,000,000 in 1929 to $3,100,000,000 in 1933 would have succeeded only in part.

This administration realizing that, from the national point of view, enduring foreign trade is an integral part of our national economy formulated and is carrying out a commercial foreign policy based on the principles of reciprocity and equality of opportunity in international trade. The Republican Party's inability or unwillingness to grasp the simple concept that international trade is a process of buying and selling rather than selling only, its failure to recognize the implications attending the change in our position from a debtor to a creditor Nation following the last World War and adapt our commercial policy accordingly, was, in large measure, responsible for the accumulation of causes which produced the collapse of international trade. The Republicans sought to solve twentieth century trade problems by recourse to nineteenth-century methods.

Provisions of H. R. 2747 Should Apply Also to the Continental United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. MURDOCK

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, as the Delegate from Alaska said on asking unanimous consent today to return to 916 on Consent Calendar, it being H. R. 2747, and vacate the proceedings by which it was passed, that the gentleman from Arizona had agreed to make no objection, I would like it understood that I think the proposed legislation would be good for Alaska and that it also would be good for the continental United States, and I feel that my amendment is quite proper. Undoubtedly it will later be incorporated in the law.

However, I can see the merits of the contention that there ought to be more consideration given to such a proposed amendment as mine to Mr. DIMOND'S bill. It was because

I feared, for the moment, that we would not have another Consent Calendar day this session and was so anxious to extend this same benefit and privilege to prospectors and small mining men in the Rocky Mountain area that I took the hasty action in offering the amendment without consultation with any Members. In fairness, the amendment I offered should be further considered.

Perhaps the Members generally do not know that in regard to public domain in Department of the Interior matters and in mining legislation the term "the United States" does not include Alaska. For that reason we frequently have to add the word "Alaska" to the expression "the United States" if we wish the bill to be all-inclusive. Now I think this legislation ought to cover mining in the continental United States and also in Alaska. That was the reason for my amendment.

It is true that there has been little surveying done in Alaska. However, I know of large areas in the Rocky Mountains which have not been surveyed. There are parts of northern Arizona, in a mineralized region, which have not been surveyed. Therefore, I gladly defer in this case that the bill pertaining to Alaska may stand on its own merits and request the House to give serious consideration to extending this same benefit to the mining sections of the continental United States.

History, Purpose, and Accomplishments of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. LEAVY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

ADDRESS BY FRED W. CATLETT, MEMBER, FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK BOARD

Mr. LEAVY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Fred W. Catlett, member, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, before the National Association of Mutual Insurance Agents, Wardman Park Hotel, Washington, D. C., Wednesday, September 25, 1940:

HISTORY, PURPOSE, AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE HOME OWNERS' LOAN CORPORATION

When Mr. Baldwin, your secretary, extended to me an invitation to address your ninth annual convention, he expressed the wish that I should speak to you about the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. He said that he felt that not a great deal was known about it, and that a wider knowledge of some of the facts and of some of the problems with which the directors of that Corporation have had to deal would be of value in increasing the general appreciation of its accomplishments.

I may be permitted, I trust, to express in the beginning my pleasure in having the privilege of addressing a group of mutual-insurance agents. I have personally long been interested in the cooperative movement both in England and in this country, and although it is not always generally appreciated, the mutual-insurance companies and the savings and loan associations form very large and increasingly important divisions of that general cooperative movement. I suspect that few of you are aware of the fact that the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which in its membership is identical with the board of directors of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, has to do, in its permanent activities, very largely with savings and loan associations. And with some few exceptions in Ohio and California, all of those savings and loan associations are cooperative mutual institutions. I may, therefore, remark parenthetically that in dealing with its insurance problems not only is the Federal Home Loan Bank Board in no wise prejudiced against the mutual type of insurance company, but if it can be said to have any leanings, those leanings are probably toward the mutual type of organization. Because of my own personal interest, therefore, and my official association with so many of these mutual organizations, I am very glad to have the opportunity to present to this mutual group some of the history, the purposes, the experiences, and the accomplishments of the greatest urban home-financing institution the world has ever seen.

Because each year we are getting further and further away from the depression experiences of 1932, and the memory of those days is already growing somewhat dim in the minds of some, permit me to remind you that the Home Owners' Loan Corporation was the product of a great emergency. There had been so great a contraction of credit, and there was so widespread unemployment, that foreclosures on homes had mounted to approximately 1,000 per day. It was obvious to anyone possessed of a spark of statesmanship that the Government could not permit such numbers of its citizens to be dispossessed of their home. Individual ownership of homes is essential to the stability of a democratic society and government. As soon, therefore, as the more emergent measures were attended to, the President turned his attention to the mounting difficulties of the home owner. In 1933, he sent a message to the chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board requesting that the Board prepare legislation which would provide relief by way of direct loans to distressed home owners. The Board in turn called upon its general counsel to draft such bill. There was no precedent to guide him except the Farm Credit Act. He prepared his suggestions, however, and they were presented to the Board for discussion. They were rewritten, re-presented to the Board, rediscussed and rewritten, and transmitted to Senator Robinson, then the majority leader in the Senate. After approval by him, the proposed bill was taken up directly with the President of the United States. In the bill as handed to him, and which provided for the setting up of a corporation to refinance the mortgages of these distressed home owners, a blank had been left for the name of the Corporation. Our General Counsel had suggested that the name be "Emergency Credit Corporation." In the course of the discussion, however, the President, himself, picked up a pencil and wrote into the blank the name "Home Owners' Loan Corporation."

The capital of the Corporation was set at $200,000,000, and its original bond authority limited to $2,000,000,000. This authority, however, was subsequently increased to a total of $4,750,000,000.

In the act it was provided that this $200,000,000 capital should be paid in by the Secretary of the Treasury as it was called for by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. Many interesting legal questions have arisen in connection with the creation, organization, and operation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, but no one of them is likely to be remembered longer by members of the Board than the one which grew out of this capital-stock arrangement, for on account of that provision in the statute, members of the Board, including myself, were sued for the small sum of $400,034,000. It seems that there is in existence an old Federal statute to the effect that anyone defrauding the United States may be sued in behalf of the United States for double the amount of the loss. One-half of this amount goes to the one who successfully prosecutes the suit. The theory of the plaintiff in this particular case was that when the United States Congress authorized the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to create the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, its act was unconstitutional; that the Home Owners' Loan Corporation never came into legal existence, and that, therefore, whenever the members of the Board requested the United States to pay for any portion of the capital stock, such a request constituted a fraud, and that as a result of all these fraudulent calls, the United States had been damaged in the sum of $200,000,000. Being sued for $400,000,000 is not exactly amusing, but when the amount asked is so huge, it is perhaps less disconcerting than it would be if the judgment requested were much less and within one's ability to pay. Fortunately, the members of the Board were somewhat relieved of anxiety by the decision of the United States District Court of the District of Columbia, that the case was governed by a previous decision of the United States Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, which held that the Home Owners' Loan Corporation had been constitutionally created by Congress.

I have previously referred to the Home Owners' Loan Corporation as the greatest home-financing institution the world has ever seen. To some figures are merely tiresome, but to insurance agents I am sure a few figures will prove interesting, and they are necessary to give you some idea of the vast scale upon which the Home Owners' Loan Corporation has operated. Some of these figures may not be new to all of you, but to most of you I am sure they will prove surprising.

Established for the sole purpose of exchanging its bonds for mortgages in distress, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation examined and sifted nearly 2,000,000 applications and, during the 3 years of its active lending under the statute, it refinanced slightly more than 1,000,000 loans for a total of over $3,000,000,000. At its peak it had over 458 offices and nearly 21,000 employees. On the properties securing these loans it held in the beginning something like 2,400,000 insurance policies. It was compelled to set up on its books over 1,000,000 accounts, and since these were all monthly payment accounts it rendered monthly over 1,000,000 bills. During all of its lending operations it employed more than 13,000 lawyers and over 8,000 real-estate appraisers. As soon as it had completed these loans, it was compelled to set up a loan-service department to service them and collect the money; a property management department to take care of such properties as it might acquire; and it was, of course, forced to continue its reconditioning and appraisal section.

It has made more than 5,000,000 appraisals and has completed close to 800,000 reconditioning contracts for a total of approximately $160,000,000. I wonder if you have ever stopped to think how laborious and detailed a job it is, not only to examine the titles to 1,000,000 properties but to look after the taxes and assessments upon that same number. As you may well know, each piece of property is subject to taxation in from one to five taxing districts, and all of these must be watched to see that the title which stands

behind the mortgage is not lost by the failure to pay taxes. Obviously, if our borrowers do not pay the taxes, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation must do so; and, in fact, it has had to advance more than $135,000,000 for that purpose since it put those loans upon its books. In the beginning it adopted the policy of relying upon the borrower to pay his own taxes. The Corporation merely attempted to make or have made tax searches on the properties frequently enough to protect the titles. This resulted, however, in so great an accumulation of delinquencies and penalties that the Corporation altered its policy and now, where the borrower is unable to care for his taxes in a lump-sum payment, the Corporation will do so, and permit him to repay monthly the amount advanced. At the same time, in connection with its extension programs, it requires the borrower to pay in monthly, in advance, enough to cover the monthly accrual of the next annual tax. Up to date we have extended nearly 300,000 loans on that basis. You doubtless already know that a similar provision for the accumulation of the insurance premium is also included in those extensions.

The total amount which the Corporation has been compelled to advance to its borrowers for all purposes since its loans were made is roughly $150,000,000.

I am sure you will be interested in what has been accomplished by the Corporation in getting back these huge sums. It has collected on the principal of its loans and sales over $900,000,000. On interest, it has received nearly $700,000,000. Roughly, 80,000 of its loans have been paid in full. As was to be expected, although it has shown great leniency to its borrowers, has treated every case on its own facts, and has granted extensions in every case where it seemed necessary or where it seemed at all possible that the loan could be cared for, it has had to foreclose upon many homes. When it is remembered, however, that practically all of these homes were already lost, that their owners were already in difficulties from which they could not extricate themselves, the cumulative number taken over is remarkably low. Indeed, the tenacity with which the great majority of the American home owners have striven to retain their homes and repay their Government is convincing evidence of the sound character of our citizenship. But in all, from the beginning to date, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation has had to take title to about 170,000 homes. In so doing, it became the reluctant owner of the largest number of urban homes ever in one ownership.

Fortunately, however, its Property Management Department has been most successful in getting these homes back into the hands of individual home owners, and nearly 110,000 have been sold. From the beginning the Corporation adopted a realistic policy in connection with its sales. It has had all its properties appraised and fixed its prices, not on the basis of book value, but upon the basis of what the appraisers said the property was now reasonably worth. Since the real-estate market in most parts of the country has not returned to predepression levels, the resale of these homes has been made, of course, at a considerable loss. The job of taking possession of so many properties, of repairing and reconditioning the large majority of them, of renting many and of selling the number mentioned has been a stupendous one. Nothing like it has ever been done before. Even at the present time, we have more than 60,000 homes on hand, most of which are rented. Indeed, we have been able to keep upward of 90 percent of those available for rent in the hands of tenants, and our monthly rental income has for many months averaged $2,000,000 per month.

By June 30 of this year the original 1,000,000 accounts had been reduced to slightly over 750,000; to which, of course, we have added over 100,000 vendee accounts. Of those original loan accounts some 668,000 are in good standing, and of those in default, 33,000 are liquidating. Only some 55,000 accounts are in default, that is overdue more than 3 months, and not liquidating.

Since you are insurance men and therefore particularly interested in our insurance problem, let me tell you in a few words the story of that side of our work. When I first came upon the Board in 1934 we had made a contract with the Hartford Fire Insurance Co. to insure for us any properties covered by our mortgages where the borrower failed to renew the insurance when it expired. At about the same time the insurance being thus provided by the Corporation began to assume considerable proportions and complaints quite naturally were made to the Board because this insurance account had been placed with one company. With a desire to work out the best and fairest method to be pursued, the Board called into consultation representatives of the stock and mutual companies and discussed the problem with them. Out of those discussions came the suggestion from the companies that two insurance associations or pools be formed, one for the stock companies and one for the mutuals. Membership in the associations was open to every responsible American company desiring to join. It was agreed that the expiring insurance which was not taken care of by the borrower would be placed with these two associations in the same proportion as the insurance then held by the Corporation, which had been originally placed by the borrowers. At considerable trouble and expense, the Corporation made an inventory of its existing insurance policies to determine the exact percentage then held of stock- and mutual-company policies. At the time that these contracts were made, the Corporation owned only a bare handful of properties and no loss experience had, of course, been accumulated.

Those contracts were signed in 1935 and operated without friction and apparently to the complete satisfaction of all parties for more than 4 years.

During this period of time and up until July 31 the insurance section of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation has handled over 175,000 losses, of which approximately two-thirds have been due to hail and wind storm and one-third to fire. The amount paid under the contracts exceeded $21,000,000, of which $17,000,000 represented fire losses and $4,000,000 wind or hail. It should also be added that from August 15, 1938, most of the losses of $100 or less have been paid direct to the home owners and are not included in these figures.

The Corporation has properties in every part of the United States, and with such a widely spread risk it was to be expected that it would have some extraordinary experiences. I shall mention just a few.

The New England storm damaged the homes of many thousands of its borrowers and caused injury to its own properties to the extent of some $250,000. The Tupelo-Gainesville tornado destroyed property in which it was interested of the value of $165,000, and the Miami-Tampa hurricanes $275,000. The Bandon, Oreg., forest fire burned down houses worth $12,000. Practically all of these losses were fully covered by insurance. But the large losses suffered by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation borrowers through the Ohio-Mississippi floods and the 46 homes damaged by the Helena earthquake were not so protected.

Unusual losses included cases such as the soybean product factory, which exploded in Chicago, damaging 51 mortgaged properties; and the $40 repairs necessary in a New York property, where the New York firemen answered a false alarm and entered it looking for the fire. In Cleveland an airplane fell on a house and caused injury to the roof. In Chicago vandals removed an entire house. In Tennessee the vibration from a pile driver next door caused $600 damage. In New York City an illicit still exploded, entirely destroying a house. In the State of Washington a house slid down a hill upon a railroad right-of-way and was dumped in Puget Sound. In North Dakota the wind blew out a newly repaired window, the plumbing froze, and it cost the contractor who put in the window $275 for the repairs. In New Orleans a man put 5 gallons of gasoline in the bathtub, placed an attached electric iron in the gasoline, and departed. The gas exploded, destroying the house.

But perhaps the most extraordinary case which has come to my attention occurred in the Southwest in the spring of 1935. In April of that year a hailstorm seriously damaged 5,000 roofs in the city of San Antonio in about 30 minutes. While the Home Owners' Loan Corporation officials were busily engaged in trying to survey that damage and make such necessary adjustments with the insurance companies as would permit the replacement of the roofs without the necessity of any advances, a similar hailstorm occurred in Oklahoma and another 5,000 roofs were lost. The severity of those hailstorms is indicated by the fact that during one of them, 150 white-faced cattle standing in a field near Ponca were, I am told, killed by the hail in less than 10 minutes. I have in my portfolio pictures of these cattle lying dead on the ground. Not the least interesting part of this incident is that the Home Owners' Loan Corporation was able to put a new roof on every one of these houses without advancing a single dollar of Corporation funds, and the work was completed without any misunderstanding or disagreement that resulted in any legal complication.

Obviously, during the period covered by these insurance contracts it had been possible to keep a record of the losses and the amount of premiums paid on properties owned. It was found that because of the character of the properties securing the mortgages or taken over by the Corporation and the wide distribution throughout the United States that the loss ratio was exceedingly low. Early in 1939, as I have already explained, the Corporation had determined to change its policy with reference to payment of delinquent taxes, and to provide against the recurrence of such delinquencies by requiring those borrowers to pay in addition to the monthly payments upon the principal and interest of the loan one-twelfth of the estimated real-estate taxes. As the Corporation had also been compelled to advance some $7,000,000 for insurance premiums, the question of similar treatment for the insurance premium delinquency arose quite naturally. About the same time Congress passed the Mead-Barry Act permitting extensions of the loans up to a maximum of 25 years. Consequently, it was decided in connection with those extensions to require as a condition that the monthly payments to the Corporation should include not only one-twelfth of the estimated realty tax but one-thirty-sixth of the premium on a 3-year insurance policy. As far as the insurance is concerned, however, the policy has been relaxed, as I shall explain later.

It was while these changes were occurring that the Corporation came to the conclusion that its insurance was too costly. It employed some insurance experts to go into the whole matter thoroughly, and after a careful consideration of their report, it notified the two associations of its intent to cancel the insurance contracts in accordance with their provisions, and it issued a general call to all insurance companies licensed to do business in the United States for bids for the insurance of the Corporation's properties and also those of such of its borrowers as failed to renew. A total of 29 bids was submitted. These bids were studied and analyzed by the insurance experts of the Board, and after the receipt of their report and a thorough discussion on the part of the Board, the bid of the Stock Company Association was declared to be the best bid and a new contract was executed.

The Corporation also decided that under all the facts and circumstances it would no longer be justified in purchasing insurance

upon its owned properties. In June 1940, therefore, it canceled, with a few exceptions, all outstanding insurance policies on its owned properties and adopted a plan for the monthly accrual of reserve for losses. All losses on these properties which were formerly covered by separate insurance policies are now charged to a special insurance reserve. In deciding not to carry insurance on its properties, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation was following the general practice which the Federal Government has followed for many years.

When properties are sold by the Corporation on an installment basis, however, it is required that insurance be provided by the vendee. This can be done by the use of a tax and insurance account or the vendee can furnish his own policy. Under the new contract, even though insurance arrangements are entered into by the mortgagors with the Corporation, the mortgagors may, nevertheless, at the time of the expiration of policies held by the Corporation, furnish their own insurance policies through companies and agents of their choice provided such policies meet the Corporation's requirements.

In the acceptance of insurance policies from borrowers, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation is probably the most liberal lending agency in the world. Any policy issued by an insurance company, whether stock, mutual, reciprocal, Lloyd's, or so-called local associations, is accepted provided the policy contract does not include an assessment feature that would develop into a potential liability to the Corporation as mortgagee, and provided the insurer is licensed to do business where the property is located. The Corporation does not direct or suggest to the borrower his choice of agent or company. In the past, when the Home Owners' Loan Corporation ordered insurance for its mortgagors, the coverage was usually in the amount and kind previously carried by them. Under the new arrangement, it is the general policy of the Corporation to order insurance only to the extent of the loan balance outstanding. The mortgagor is free to purchase additional coverage through his local agent. Policies submitted by local agents and purchased by the borrowers are not limited to the minimum requirements of the Corporation, and it is believed to be good policy to encourage the borrower to purchase insurance in excess of his loan balance for the protection of his steadily increasing equity.

Because of the fact that so many of the accounts of the Corporation are now seasoned, because the peak of its home owning is past, the loan balance on the mortgaged properties is declining, and the number of its owned properties is rapidly diminishing each month, it is likely that its insurance accounts will be of less importance in the future than in the past.

I have dwelt thus at length upon the Home Owners' Loan Corporation insurance experiences because of your special interest in them. I hope that this emphasis, however, will not have the effect of preventing you from seeing the work of that Corporation in its proper perspective. For, important as it is, the insurance problem of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation has been one of its smaller ones. In order to leave with you a true impression of the accomplishments of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, may I, in closing, make a hasty summary of what I conceive to be the principal ones.

The Home Owners' Loan Corporation's operation gave at least a breathing spell to 1,000,000 home owners whose homes were already lost or seriously threatened, and furnished them a new and extended opportunity of from 3 to 7 years to save those homes. Not all of them have been able to do so, but at the present time it appears probable that upward of 800,000 will be successful in that effort. At the same time, while refinancing these loans and placing them upon a long-term basis, the total amount of the home-mortgage debt was reduced, it is estimated, by some $200,000,000, and the rate of interest by an average of 2 or 3 percent. All of the loans were also made direct-reduction loans. These changes have effected savings to these struggling home owners in interest to the amount of hundreds of millions of dollars. Also at the time when these loans were refinanced, the long-term lending institutions were, themselves, in difficulty. The distribution of its funds by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation resulted in payments to the commercial banks and trust companies of more than $932,000,000; to the savings and loan associations of $768,000,000; to mortgage and finance companies of $192,000,000; and to the insurance companies of over $164,000,000; all in exchange for mortgages, most of which were in default. When these loans were refinanced, taxes and assessments were paid. This meant that the treasuries of the State and municipal governments which were hard pressed for funds to pay salaries and expenses were assisted by receipts of more than $229,000,000. At the same time, as you may well remember, values of real estate had not only fallen, but were continuing to fall, and there seemed to be no bottom to the market. The refinancing of so many loans, releasing so large a supply of money and credit, and keeping from the real-estate market a million additional homes, had a marked and beneficial effect in arresting the decline and in stabilizing the real-estate market for all home properties. The benefit to all owners of urban real estate cannot be estimated.

Prior to 1932 the monthly payment, long-term, direct-reduction mortgage was used entirely only by the savings and loan associations. The short-term mortgage was in general employed by individuals and all other types of institutional lenders. The adoption and use by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation of the long-term monthly amortized mortgage was the first step in popularizing that form of obligation. It was thereafter taken up by other national institutions, and has since been adopted generally by all types of mortgage lenders. A byproduct of the adoption of the long-term, amortized mortgage was the elimination of the high cost of second and third mortgages.

Early in its operations, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation appreciated the importance of the appraiser in the scheme of mortgage financing, and the necessity of much more careful education and training of appraisers and of improvement in appraisal accuracy and technique. Here, again, the new and advanced procedures adopted in the first instance by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation were taken up by other institutions with the result that there has been Nation-wide progress in estimating and forecasting the value of real properties.

Again, the experience of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation in the widespread reconditioning of properties upon which it made loans, and the repair of those properties later, enabled it to take the initiative in two other forward steps. Its experience demonstrated the great need of making available to the small-home owner trained technical service and supervision in the location and construction of homes. To furnish this the Home Owners' Loan Corporation assisted in the development and promotion of what is known as the Federal home-building service plan, which is simply a plan designed to bring such technical construction and supervisory services within the reach of the small-home owner at a cost which he can afford to pay.

Its experience also brought home forcibly the tremendous loss to home owners and to home-financing agencies through the rapid deterioration of city neighborhoods. It became quite apparent that if by a concerted effort declining neighborhoods could be rehabilitated or districts threatened with deterioration and blight could be protected from it, tremendous losses of property values could be avoided. Up to date the Home Owners' Loan Corporation has taken the lead or cooperated in two of these projects, and, in connection with the Waverly project in Baltimore, has produced what we believe to be a practical plan for conserving these neighborhood values.

When we add to all of these benefits of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation the intangible ones of the maintenance of widespread individual home ownership and the consequent strengthening of that feeling of an individual stake in our social system and Government which, as I have said, is necessary to, and increases the stability of both, we shall get some conception, I think, of what may fairly be said to be the accomplishments of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation to date.

Democratic Platforms of Past Were Against Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. U. S. GUYER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. GUYER of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the question of a third term for President of the United States is an issue, I want to call the attention of Congress and the country to the attitude of the Democratic Party as expressed in their platforms, their votes in Congress, and the opinion of the greatest of Democrats, Thomas Jefferson.

In the Democratic platform of 1912 we find the following declaration unanimously adopted by the National Convention of that party:

IN 1912

No man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

From the Democratic platform of 1912. The same platform went even further and favored only one term for President and proposed an amendment to the Constitution in the following terms:

We favor the single term and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution making the President of the United States ineligible for reelection and we pledge the candidate of the convention to this principle.

IN 1896

In 1896 the Democratic platform adopted the following policy as expressed in their platform:

We declare it to be the unwritten law of the Republic, established by custom and usage of a hundred years and sanctioned by the example of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and maintained our Government, that no man should be elected for a third term of the Presidential office.

In 1928 the United States Senate adopted a resolution against a third term which was supported and voted for by practically every Democratic Senator who still occupies a seat in the present Senate. That resolution read as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term, has become by a universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions; and be it further

Resolved, That the Senate commends observance of this precedent by the President.

Thomas Jefferson, who heretofore might have qualfied as a Democrat, was strongly opposed to a third term. Had he been at the Convention which wrote the Constitution, I believe it would have contained his idea of a 7-year term only. Many years afterward he deplored the fact that the first draft of the Constitution, which contained a provision for one 4-year term, was later changed omitting the limitation. Writing of this change, he asserted:

My wish therefore was that the President should be elected for 7 years and be ineligible afterward. This term I thought sufficient to enable him with the concurrence of the legislature to carry through and establish any system of improvement he should propose for the general good. But the practice adopted I think is better, allowing his continuance for 8 years, with a liability to be dropped at the halfway of the term, making a period of probation.

Jefferson said also:

If some termination to the services of the Chief Magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for 4 years, will in fact become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance.

He added this sage advice:

Should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views.

We are certain of one thing, and that is if Jefferson were voting November 5 he would not vote for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Third Term Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, the Government of the United States is responsive to the people. From time to time, the elected officials are changed. Ever since the formation of our Government, recognition has been given to this principle. There has been a tradition against a third term for any President. When we break that tradition we lay the foundation for fourth and fifth terms.

Keeping in mind the fact that the Executive, regardless of party, always seeks more and more power, the American people at this time, once and for all, should refuse to violate the unwritten law that has governed us from the beginning. To adopt a different policy would lead to the implication of a dictatorship, and this is the last thing that should be done on the North American continent where the philosophy of totalitarian governments has no place or part.

I quote from an editorial in a recent issue of the Los Angeles Times:

Our early Presidents considered it a patriotic obligation to limit themselves to two terms as a way of showing they respected the right of the people freely to select a leader. It was recognized, even in that day, that an incumbent had an advantage in prestige and political power, but their scruples were such they scorned to use it. The founders could not have envisioned such a growth of bureaucratic power and political patronage as has grown up in the last 7 years under an Executive whose chief ambition has been to concentrate control of everything in his own hands.

This editorial then points out that Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States, when the Vermont Legislature requested that he become a candidate for a third term, declined to run. Mr. Jefferson wrote the legislature to the effect that he did not believe in a third term because that might lead to reelection from time to time during a lifetime of the President.

I commend this editorial to the careful consideration of every Member of this House.

No Third Term—Watch Your Step

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARTEL J. JONKMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, President Roosevelt pointed the finger of suspicion at himself when he said in his speech at Philadelphia on September 20, 1940: "And remember, that no dictator in history has ever dared to run the gantlet of a really free election."

Precisely! No one believes that his nomination for a third term at Chicago was a "really free election." National nominating conventions are a part of our national elections. Primary elections have supplanted many of our nominating conventions because it was claimed the latter prevented really free elections.

President Roosevelt dared not, as Calvin Coolidge did, declare a few months preceding the convention, "I do not choose to run." Hull, Garner, McNutt et al., would have ruined his chance to become a dictator.

The President apparently has no clear conception of where he is and whither he is leading us. America's only hope for survival lies in the Republican Party and Wendell L. Willkie.

My Record and Views on Important Legislation in Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES R. CLASON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. CLASON. Mr. Speaker, during the 4 years that I have had the great honor of representing the Second District of Massachusetts in Congress, I have made biweekly radio reports to my constituents, advising them of the legislation under consideration in Washington, and of matters directly concerning the welfare of the district. As the administration leaders have recently stated that practically all of the very important legislative program which has confronted us has either been completed or is approaching enactment, I take the opportunity at this time to review for the constituents of my district my activities in their behalf during the three sessions of the Seventy-sixth Congress. At no time in the history of the United States has Congress been confronted with more important and far-reaching issues than at the present moment.

At home, the people of the United States are beset with domestic problems, both social and economic, which the New Deal has failed to solve after 8 years of wasteful experimentation. Abroad, devastating warfare rages on every continent, threatening to engulf us in the maelstrom of death and destruction.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Because of world conditions, our problems of national defense have assumed paramount importance. Following the World War, and prior to the rise of Hitler in 1934, our military authorities had relied upon our stores of munitions and equipment left over from that conflict for the needs of our Army, inasmuch as there had been no great development in armament by foreign nations. With the advent of Hitler, conditions changed rapidly, and we now know that the present administration failed to grasp the serious implications which should have been drawn from its knowledge of European and Asiatic events. The tremendous expenditures occasioned by the many new bureaus and experiments in Washington were taxing the Federal Treasury beyond its ability to pay expenses out of receipts, and undoubtedly were outstanding factors in causing the President to cut to the bone the annual budgets submitted by the War Department. One of the contributing factors to the ultimate forced resignation of Secretary of War Woodring was the refusal of the President to permit the War Department to expand the Army by increasing voluntary enlistments during the past 2 years. The Army also suffered immeasurably from the feud between Secretary Woodring and Assistant Secretary Johnson over control of the Department itself. The President refused to interfere in the struggle, and today we find the Nation confronted with a most critical situation because our War Department has not functioned properly during the very years when we now find that it should have been functioning at 100-percent efficiency to meet the Hitler menace.

During the 4 years that I have been your Congressman I have repeatedly stated in speeches delivered throughout the District that I believed that it was absolutely essential to the welfare of our Nation that the United States secure adequate insurance against aggressor nations by building up such powerful naval, land, and air forces that no potential foe would dare to attack us. The need for haste in securing these forces has been recognized fully by Congress. In the first 9 months of the present session of 1940 Congress has voted direct appropriations for the Army and Navy amounting to $8,600,000,000 and authorizations for $3,800,000,000. In addition, long-range commitments for the Navy total $4,600,000,000, while other appropriations contributing to national defense total $400,000,000. I have invariably voted for all these appropriations for national defense amounting to more than $17,400,000,000, because I believe they are necessary for our country's welfare today.

I have voted for increases which will nearly double the authorized strength of our Regular Army. This number of 400,000 Regular soldiers is in fact 25,000 greater than the number that our Chief of Staff, Gen. George C. Marshall, personally requested from the House Military Affairs Committee, of which I am a member.

Protection for the United States has been built up on the theory that we should have three lines of defense, each somewhat more powerful than probabilities would seem to warrant. The first line of defense is our Navy; the second line is our Navy and Army air forces; and the third line is our Army.

Secretary of the Navy Knox has recently told us that our Navy is the most powerful single navy in the world. Until 1940 reliance has been placed upon the strength of the navies of our former allies, Great Britain and France. Presumably a one-ocean navy capable of movement between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, through the Panama Canal, was sufficient for our needs. The outcome of the present European war is so clouded with unfavorable possibilities that we can no longer rely on the British and French Navies for any purpose. Congress has, therefore, authorized and voted the funds necessary for the construction of a two-ocean navy, so powerful that no combination of foreign navies could successfully wage a war against the United States in our home waters. However, until 1947, this Navy will not be completed, and we must prepare our other lines of defense in the air and on land, with the knowledge that while we have a mighty fine Navy, yet it is not powerful enough to undertake proper defense of both our Pacific and Atlantic commitments at this time.

We have been taught during the first year of the present war that it is essential that we build up our air force to such strength that no enemies can wrest mastery of the air over the Western Hemisphere from us. Germany has been able to accomplish much of her present success because she has had air superiority, even if it has not amounted to actual mastery of the air over Great Britain and France. With this end in view, Congress decided that no limitation during this period of emergency should be placed on the number of training and combat planes needed by the Army. Eighteen months ago our experts were telling us that while our air forces were numerically less than similar forces of other nations, yet we had the fastest, finest, and most powerful military airplanes in existence. This statement has been subject to much criticism in recent months, because it has been evident that in speed alone were our military planes suited for modern warfare. They lacked the heavy armor necessary to protect the crews. They did not mount sufficiently heavy guns. They were not provided with self-sealing tanks for their fuel, although the United States had pioneered in the development of such tanks. In fact, it has appeared that our planes were valuable largely for the training of additional air forces in connection with the enormous expansion program for our air force.

These facts were borne out when the latest airplanes delivered to the Navy and marines were turned back to the manufacturers for transfer to Great Britain because they were fast becoming obsolete for modern warfare. To portray graphically what Congress has authorized during the present session in order to build up our air forces to great strength immediately while our two-ocean fleet is under construction, I perhaps may call attention to the size of our Army and Navy air forces on August 15, when they had approximately 5,079 planes on hand. In 1942 it is planned that the Army shall have 25,000 and the Navy 10,000 planes. On August 15 contracts had been signed for 5,245 additional planes for the Army, about equally divided between training planes and combat planes, while contracts for the Navy total 2,429. In addition, orders for almost 3,000 more planes were ready to be placed. The figures for 1942 compare strikingly with the 3,200 which the Army now has and the 1,900 which the Navy possesses.

As it is absolutely essential that pilots be trained as fast as possible, the efforts of the Air Corps have been directed particularly toward securing training craft. It is also most important to note that the aircraft production of the United States has now reached 10,000 annually. It will reach 14,000 next January, 24,000 in August, and 36,000 per year early in 1942. It is interesting to learn that the engine production for airplanes for motors having 1,000 or more horsepower is expected to reach 30,000 by the end of this year. It is believed that England will take about 40 percent of our production during 1941, while 60 percent will remain for our military forces. The figures may be revised drastically if England finds that it requires additional planes. Our air forces today represent a most important part of our offshore national defense. Its comparative importance will probably decrease with the placing in commission of additional warships from year to year. But today I believe that it is absolutely essential that our air forces be increased as rapidly as it is possible for our industry to make them. I have, therefore, favored and voted for every appropriation to accomplish this purpose.

As a member of the Military Affairs Committee of the House, I have had the opportunity to learn first-hand from Gen. H. H. Arnold, Chief of our Air Corps, and other high ranking officers in the Air Corps, the tremendous aid which the German air forces have been in making possible the rapid German advance, and at the same time in breaking up concentrations of troops which were not properly supported by combat planes. Both Germany and Great Britain have demonstrated, with the full knowledge of every American, how

devastating an attack can be made on any military objective, such as a city, railroad station, industrial plant, or warship. Today the United States is deficient in air power as compared with Germany or Great Britain. Fortunately, our airplane industry has been expanding rapidly for several months, and we can almost certainly count on reaching parity with either or both of these powers in the most modern warplanes in a few months. Therefore, our second line of defense, while perhaps somewhat weaker now than our first line of defense, the Navy, in comparison with other nations, nevertheless will become potentially more powerful in comparison with possible combined enemy forces before our great Navy is in commission.

Our third line of defense is our land forces, which have been, and are still, woefully weak, both in numerical strength and equipment. While there may be no definite answer to the exact number of men who should be in our Regular Army and our National Guard to provide this country with adequate defense, yet in January of this year a high-ranking officer of our General Staff told my House Military Affairs Committee that if we had 480,000 properly equipped men, plus the National Guard, all the nations of Europe combined, with full control of the high seas, could not land one corps of troops on American shores. Because of that and similar statements, I have repeatedly asked witnesses before our committee, including Secretary of War Stimson, Secretary of the Navy Knox, General Marshall, General Shedd, and others, to state, in their opinions, the number of Regular soldiers whom the United States should have in its Army to make absolutely certain that we had a sufficient Regular force to defend the country. The only witness who would express a direct opinion was Secretary of the Navy Knox, who stated that for several months he has been of the opinion, which he still holds, that as soon as our two-ocean Navy is completed we would never need more than a moderate-sized Regular Army of 300,000 men, supplemented with a well-trained, well-equipped National Guard.

Unfortunately, we do not yet possess our 3,000,000-ton Navy. Likewise, we are now firmly on record as having assumed responsibility for the protection of the entire Western Hemisphere against aggressor nations. With these two additional factors to be considered, the best military opinion available in the United States, as represented by the outstanding generals in our Army, holds that it is absolutely essential that not less than 2,000,000 additional men be placed in training within the shortest possible time to provide the necessary reserves which our Regular Army and National Guard should have during the prevailing critical world crises.

During the hearings before the House Military Affairs Committee on the bills to call out the National Guard for active duty and the drafting of men between 21 and 35 years of age for selective military training, I personally took an active part in the questioning of the witnesses and the framing of the legislation. Both bills provided many controversial issues, on which there exists a wide divergence of opinion. Even before these bills were up for consideration, while General Marshall was a witness on an earlier National Guard bill, I asked him whether or not by increasing the size of the Regular Army, then authorized at 280,000 men, it would be possible to avoid calling out the National Guard. He believed that they should be called for training. At that time, he indicated that he wished to secure 55,000 more soldiers for the Army by voluntary enlistment, together with 40,000 more for the Army's air force, raising the authorized strength of the Army to 375,000. It was at that time that the committee not only decided to meet his request, but actually determined to increase the authorized strength of the Army to 400,000, and undoubtedly would have been willing to increase it still further if training facilities had then been available. In fact, the War Department asked for funds for only 375,000 Regular troops, because no larger number of men could be handled satisfactorily. In connection with the bill to call out the National Guard, I was in close contact with many members of the various units in our district. In order that as little hardship as possible might be imposed upon individual members, I requested General Shedd to draft an amendment to the bill, which would be satisfactory to the War Department, and which would permit members of the guard with dependents to resign within 20 days after they were called out.

In connection with the great military training program now getting under way, the War Department has shown a cooperative spirit and a desire to avoid calling into service any man with dependents. I had suggested that every man with a dependent, regardless of his rank, should be permitted to resign. The War Department agreed with me, and furnished an amendment to that effect, which, however, was later made effective only with respect to those members of the National Guard who are below the rank of captain. The presence of the higher officers with their units has been deemed of such great importance to the training program as to offset the disadvantage of the personal hardship which may in some instances be occasioned to the particular individual.

At the hearings on the conscription bill there was a large amount of testimony in opposition to a peacetime draft. The Army officials and such national leaders as Secretary Stimson and Secretary Knox believed that conscription should be made a part of our permanent Army policy, both in wartime and in peacetime. Other equally well-known national figures, such as Secretary Woodring, believed that conscription should come only in wartime, and that in times of peace our Military Establishment should depend upon voluntary enlistments. The great majority of both Military Affairs Committees and of the Senate and the House were of the opinion that the United States faces a most serious world condition, which requires that 400,000 young men enter military training by January 1941. The Army is also well aware that it is seriously lacking in facilities for taking care of any large number of these young men before December 1. As the bill provides both for voluntary enlistments for 1 year, as well as for selection by lot of such additional number as is necessary to meet the quotas at any particular date, it is likely that all, or nearly all, of those called in to the service by January 1 will be obtained by voluntary enlistments. They will be in addition to about 60,000 men who are expected to enlist in the Regular Army by November 15, bringing the Regular Army to its full authorized strength. It is most interesting to note that as soon as the War Department asked for additional men to volunteer for the Regular Army in considerable numbers, the number of enlistments monthly increased rapidly, until in August more than 38,500 new enlistments were received, and in September the enlistments continue at about the same rate. One of the issues raised in the Senate and in the House was upon an amendment to accept under the provisions of the bill during the first 60 days only men who enlisted voluntarily.

The amendment was defeated by 2 votes in the Senate and was adopted by a majority of 7 in the House. While some Members believed that this program might result in a delay in securing the necessary number of men at the earliest possible dates, yet it is interesting to note that after the amendment was stricken from the bill, the leaders have since come to the opinion that more than enough young men will volunteer during the first 60 days to fill the available capacity at the training camps, and will make the number actually to be called into service under the draft provisions considerably less than the 400,000 who will be in training in January. I supported and voted for the selective-service bill, as the testimony clearly indicated that about 2,000,000 young men should be trained in the use of the highly mechanized and motorized equipment which a modern Army requires. While General Marshall believes that 18 months is the shortest period of time in which a man can be sufficiently trained

in the duties of a specialist, which a present-day soldier is required to be, yet he is satisfied that the 1 year's training which these young men will receive will give the Regular Army and the National Guard the reservoir of reserves which is absolutely essential to the adequate defense of the Western Hemisphere at the present time.

During the hearing Secretary of the Navy Knox stated the Navy obtains more voluntary enlistments than are necessary to maintain its requirements. He stated that in his opinion one of the reasons is the fact that the Navy has been paying its enlisted men considerably more than the Army. This practice has existed for several years and has been due somewhat to the classification of the enlisted Navy men on the basis that they were specialists, due to the amount of machinery used by them. It now appears that a soldier's duties have become highly specialized, and in the Air Corps the number of specialists is placed at 78 percent. I believe that the enlisted men in the Army are entitled to be paid today on the same basis with the Navy in view of the highly specialized nature of their duties in modern warfare.

The War Department has been able to set up ranks among the enlisted men, with a schedule of pay which would equalize the compensation of the enlisted men in the Army with that of the Navy. I offered an amendment to carry out this purpose during the executive sessions of the House Military Affairs Committee, while the bill was being drafted. A sharp controversy arose over the amendment, which was ultimately adopted by the committee by a large majority. A similar amendment was adopted on the floor of the Senate. Therefore, under the conscription bill the average pay of an enlisted man in the Army or the Marine Corps will be practically the same as that of an enlisted man of the same rating in the Navy. While some of the provisions of the conscription bill terminate in 1945, yet this pay schedule has become permanent law. I took an active part in the debates on other provisions of the bill, and feel that the bill which was reported by the House committee was in many respects superior to that of the Senate. This opinion was later borne out by the conference report, which largely favored the provisions of the House bill where there was a disagreement in the two bills.

SPRINGFIELD ARMORY

Tied in closely with the great expansion program of the War Department is the Springfield Armory, which is the only Government-owned plant manufacturing Garand rifles. The Garand rifle has been developed since the World War, replacing the Springfield rifle. It has also been known for a comparatively long time that our Army needed more powerful antitank guns and antiaircraft guns than it possessed during the World War. It is significant that on May 1, 1940, and again on August 1, 1940, after attention had been drawn to our lack of 90-millimeter guns, we still did not have a single one of these very essential pieces of artillery for antiaircraft protection. On both of these dates our Army did not have a single 105-millimeter or 8-inch howitzer. Likewise, of the necessary 3,831 60-millimeter mortars, our Army had only 3 on hand. In other words, while our Army is supplied with many items of artillery in large quantities, yet it is woefully deficient in the artillery and motorized and mechanized equipment now absolutely essential to a combat force.

In striking contrast to the failure of the War Department to secure production of modern artillery weapons are the figures on the Garand semiautomatic rifle produced in our district. For a Mobilization Day Army of 1,000,000 men, it is assumed that 240,000 rifles are necessary. On May 1, 1940, the Army had received delivery of 38,000, and on August 1, of 49,000. Funds for the remaining 191,000 had already been provided, with the Winchester Repeating Arms Co., of New Haven, holding a contract to manufacture 65,000. Presumably, the balance will be made in Springfield. Our committee has been told that a sufficient number of Garand rifles will be available to provide for the training of every soldier under the conscription bill with these new semiautomatics, while at the same time they are being delivered to the Regular Army and National Guard. In fact, it has been pointed out time and time again that the accomplishment of the Springfield Armory in bringing into mass production the new Garand rifle during the past 3 years has been the outstanding achievement of the War Department in securing new weapons. While the War Department has only recently been able to place orders for many of the guns, tanks, and other necessary Army items with private concerns, yet the Springfield Armory alone, of all Government plants, has been expanding steadily during the past 3 years, and has already secured the necessary machines and tools for the production of 500 rifles daily, and has taken the necessary steps to secure the means to produce at least 1,000 rifles a day. When I entered Congress in January 1937, I asked to be placed on the Military Affairs Committee because I realized not only how important the Springfield Armory is in the industrial and civic life of our community, but also because I believed that the Military Affairs Committee offered an opportunity for valuable service to the Nation. Three years ago, because of a cut in the War Department's budget, when it was passed upon by the Bureau of the Budget, the War Department officials planned to cut production at the Springfield Armory, and to request an appropriation of only $260,000 for the manufacture of 2,500 new rifles. That figure represents only 8 days' production at the present daily rate. At that time, it represented several months' production on the basis that the War Department was then proceeding. It is true that at that time the great European war was not considered imminent, but I believed it was a very short-sighted policy for the Government to pursue.

I therefore appeared before the House Appropriations Committee and requested its members, both in committee and individually, to increase the appropriation in order that 10,000 rifles might be ordered. I also urged strenuously that in the place of a proposed item of $600,000 for new tools and equipment the amount should be increased immediately to $1,800,000 in order that the Springfield Armory might, as quickly as possible, be furnished with the most modern machines for the mass production of rifles. I secured the cooperation of the members of the House Appropriations Committee, who doubled the War Department's request for rifles for the Regular Army from 2,500 to 5,000, and then added sufficient funds whereby 5,000 rifles could also be ordered for the National Guard. I was also told by some of its leading members that while they felt that they had gone as far as they could in increasing the requests of the War Department beyond what the military officials had proposed, yet if the Senate would raise the amount made available for this new machinery they would support me on the floor of the House in an effort to have the increase from $600,000 to $1,800,000 for new machines added to the House figures. I personally spoke to several Senators on the Senate Appropriations Committee about this matter, and I was much gratified when the Senate increase to the full amount came up on the floor of the House and was acted upon favorably. In other words, the War Department asked that time for total appropriations of $860,000 for the Springfield Armory, which was increased by Congress to $2,310,000, with an additional sum provided for 5,000 more rifles for the National Guard separately. If I had not brought this matter to the attention of the House Appropriations Committee, undoubtedly the War Department's original recommendation would have been followed. When I entered Congress there were 884 employees at the armory. If the War Department's recommendations of 3 years ago had been followed there might have been some loss of employment among this number. However, under the very able and very efficient management of the commanding officers at the armory, and particularly of the present commanding officer, Col. Gilbert H. Stewart, the number of employees has steadily increased, until today the Springfield Armory has more than 4,000 persons on its pay rolls. And the production of the Garand rifles, the finest infantry rifle in the world, has steadily increased from about 40 a day to more than 300 a day at the present time, and with the final completion of the new

shop building and the installation of the additional machinery which has been ordered, will exceed 1,000 rifles a day.

If it had not been for my efforts in 1937 in bringing to the attention of Congress the necessity for providing the armed forces of the country with this splendid new infantry weapon in substantial numbers, the production of the rifle at the armory would have been delayed, and at the present time there would have been so few rifles in existence that it would not have been possible for our soldiers either to be supplied with them, or to be trained with them. Furthermore, if the new machinery had not been designed and ordered in large quantities shortly after the appropriation became available, serious delays would now be experienced in designing and securing the additional machinery. I am particularly gratified that in these recent months when unemployment has been, and still is, the most serious domestic concern of our Nation, the Springfield Armory has provided work for 3,200 additional persons, and has made the Springfield Armory the largest single employer of labor in the Second Congressional District. I am sure that the people in our district are grateful to the officers and employees who have made this progress possible.

I have felt that the employees of the armory were anxious in these critical days to increase the production at the armory as rapidly as possible. They were limited by law to a 40-hour week, after which additional work must be paid for at overtime rates. While the armory was working on a 5-day basis it was losing 20 percent of its capacity, which could be obtained if the men should also work on Saturdays. I brought the matter to the attention of the Secretary of War on different occasions, but such overtime work was not permitted because it did not meet with the President's desires. Upon the appointment of Secretary of War Stimson, I took the matter up directly with him. He advised me that he would immediately look into the matter, and within a very few days thereafter orders were forthcoming whereby a 48-hour week was established with time-and-a-half pay for the additional 8 hours. In this manner the employees have not only aided the Ordnance Department greatly in furnishing rifles to our soldiers, but also have been able to secure for themselves a larger weekly wage, which benefits not only them, but our entire community.

More recently, I have introduced a bill which will permit payment for overtime work to inspectors and other employees who previously have not been entitled directly by law to such payments. I believe that all men engaged directly in the manufacture of the rifles, and who are obliged to work more than 40 hours a week, should receive the same treatment at the hands of the Government for their overtime work.

In connection with the construction of the new shop building, which will double the capacity of the plant, I am particularly pleased because it is well under way at the present time. About 2 months ago, when I was pressing the War Department for the construction of the new buildings at the armory, I was told by the Quartermaster General that it would take 3 to 4 months to prepare the designs, and to arrange for the letting of the contract. Fortunately, the local officers had prepared designs for a new building, which indicated the outstanding needs. Within 2 weeks I made several calls on different officials in the War Department, and, following a conference called by Maj. Gen. C. H. Wesson, Chief of Ordnance, many details were ironed out, which permitted actual steps for the construction of the new shop building to be taken within 24 hours. I am hopeful that in January 1941 manufacturing will actually be under way in the new shop building, resulting in the employment of a great number of additional employees and the doubling of the output of the rifles.

WESTOVER FIELD

Another great Army development in our midst has been the establishment of the Northeast Air Base at Chicopee and Ludlow. By law, the War Department has had for several years the right to establish air bases in the United States. One of these bases was to be located in the northeastern part of our country. Efforts were made by interested groups to secure the field in at least eight States. Former Mayor Anthony J. Stonina, of Chicopee, brought to my attention a possible location in the tobacco lands in Chicopee Falls, of which a blueprint was made by Anthony F. Pimental, of the Chicopee Planning Board. I immediately brought the proposed site to the attention of the War Department, and thereafter conferred on many occasions with General Arnold, Chief of the Air Corps, and other Army officials. From time to time, information and details of various kinds were furnished by me to the War Department to emphasize the advantages of this site. Fortunately, under the law, the War Department required no further action by Congress to secure the site best adapted for such a large air base. It was eagerly sought by many communities.

After many weeks of consideration by the Army, it was generally believed that the outstanding sites were in New Hampshire and at Fort Devens and Chicopee, Mass. As a result, Mayor Stonina and other Chicopee officials came to Washington at different times, and we conferred with General Arnold and others at considerable length. Attempts were made to secure the aid of the President in behalf of other sites. It so happened that President Roosevelt personally made known the choice of Chicopee by an Army board chosen by the War Department to select the location of the northeast air base, while Congressmen CASEY and MCCORMACK were at the White House seeking support for Fort Devens at the location of the base. From the date of that announcement by President Roosevelt, it was certain that the Chicopee site would be secure, and that in the Second Massachusetts District would be located the most important Army air base in the northeast, and one of the finest air bases in the world. A tremendous amount of work has already been accomplished at the base, which has been named Westover Field in honor of a former Chief of Air Corps, General Westover, who died in active service. It is now planned to station at least 2,800 officers and men on the field as soon as it can be made ready. I would suggest that this development is so great and so important to all of us that it is well worth a trip to see what has been, and is now being, accomplished toward its completion. Mayor Leo P. Senecal and other officials of Chicopee, as well as State and county officers, are making every effort to aid the Air Corps in its endeavors to have at Westover Field the finest air base in the country.

FLOOD CONTROL

In my effort to be of particular service to the Second District while in Congress, I also secured appointment to the Flood Control Committee. I need only refer to the devastation wrought by the 1936 and 1938 floods for the residents of that area to realize the great need for adequate flood control on the Connecticut. When I entered office such flood-control work as had been started was on a very inadequate scale for the protection of the various communities. The flood of March 1936 had spread almost unobstructed wherever the height of its waters would reach. During the 4 years that I have been in Congress I have led the fight in the House for the carrying out of an adequate flood-control program on the Connecticut. When I was elected an effort was under way to secure joint action by New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, aided by the Federal Government, to provide for a certain number of reservoirs to hold back future floods. No program had actually been worked out for the protection of the various industrial communities, where the greatest damage is caused. As you know, the interstate compacts were opposed by President Roosevelt and defeated. Today, however, I believe a much broader and much better program has been brought into being, following extensive hearings before the Flood Control Committee of the House, of which I am now second in rank on the Republican side. The entire program will, when carried out, require the expenditure of more than $100,000,000 for local protection works and reservoirs. As the Army engineers advised that it was best to

undertake protection for the larger communities with the first money available, I secured authorization for surveys of the needs of the different communities of the Second District which border on the river. The divisional engineer at New York approved local works at Holyoke, Springfield, West Springfield, Hartford, and East Hartford, while rejecting them for all other communities, including Northampton and Chicopee. I immediately arranged for an appeal for Northampton and Chicopee. As you know the appeals were granted.

When I entered Congress in January 1937 there was practically no adequate protection for Northampton, Chicopee, West Springfield, or Springfield. By September 1938, at the time of the hurricane, the industrial part of West Springfield and the north end of Springfield had sufficient protection to keep out the floodwaters, but great damage was caused elsewhere throughout the district. I continued my efforts to secure immediate action on the local works approved by the Army engineers. In my efforts to secure the carrying out of this flood-control program, I have been ably assisted by every city and town official connected with such work, together with many individual citizens of the valley. One has only to drive along the dikes in Northampton, Chicopee, Springfield, and West Springfield, visit the pumping plants which have already been constructed, or are now in the process of construction, and look over the unusual engineering feat whereby the Mill River at Northampton has been diverted from its former course, to appreciate the great strides which have been made in preparing adequately against a flood, even greater in volume than that of 1936, at these 4 communities in our district. In addition, construction has actually started on the Knightville Dam, on the Westfield River, and the Surry Mountain and Birch Hill Reservoirs. Ultimately, about 30 reservoirs may have to be constructed to give the full protection outlined by the Army engineers' program. At the present time, we should be thankful for the protection which has already been afforded to 4 of our communities. Springfield will be the first city on the river to receive complete protection when the final construction is completed about February 1, 1941. During 1941 the work at Northampton and at Chicopee should also be completed. At West Springfield, while real protection is afforded within the dikes now constructed, nevertheless they must be reinforced in part for the job to be considered complete. Pumping plants are still to be built, except in Springfield. In addition, I have endeavored to secure the same type of protection by dikes and a pumping plant for the Riverdale section of West Springfield, where great damage has been occasioned by every large flood. I am gratified to report that the Army engineers have recommended such construction, which I hope will be undertaken as soon as the President will permit any funds to be made available for this purpose. In addition, I am also glad to report that 2 reservoirs will be built on the tributaries of the Chicopee River, which will furnish additional and much-needed protection to Wilbraham, Ludlow, and Chicopee. I am sure that all of you will agree that great progress has been made in furnishing adequate flood control in the Connecticut Valley and that the completion of the plans which have been adopted by the Army engineers will render all possible protection for the valley. It is my intention to continue my efforts to secure the necessary funds as soon as possible.

NAVIGATION

During the past 2 years I have endeavored to secure navigation on the Connecticut River under two programs. In the first instance I was able to secure a favorable report on a combined navigation and power project at Enfield from the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the House, which, however, failed of approval on the floor of the House. I should call attention to the fact that while similar projects have been advanced on several occasions in the past, yet this is the first time that a House committee has acted favorably upon a proposal which would be entirely a Federal project. When it became evident that this plan could not be carried out, I asked the Army engineers to survey the river, with a view to furnishing a channel for pleasure boats from Holyoke to Hartford. While there was strong opposition to the first project from Connecticut and other interests, no opposition of any consequence has arisen against the latter project. A public hearing was held in Springfield, and we are now waiting for the report of the survey from the Army engineers.

SECURITY FOR THE AGED, MONETARY AND BANKING REFORM, ANTI-LYNCHING BILL, AND WATER-POLLUTION CONTROL

In my report to you at the conclusion of my first term I stated fully my support of legislation offered to provide security for the aged and to secure the return to Congress of full power over the monetary and banking systems of the United States. I further set forth my support of the anti-lynching bill, for which I have again voted in the present Congress. I have also supported measures looking to control of pollution in our streams, in order that they may once again be available for recreation purposes, while at the same time protecting the interests of our manufacturing plants.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF

The administration has not been able to solve the unemployment problem of the United States, and I am sorry to report that there are approximately as many persons unemployed today as there were 2 years ago, or about 10,000,000 persons. This has necessitated the continuance of great relief programs, requiring large appropriations, which I have supported, realizing their importance for these unfortunate persons who are unable to secure livelihoods in private industry. In view of the great expansion in our manufacturing plants, due to the world wars and our own national defense program, I am hopeful that the unemployment and relief problems may be partially solved during the next few months, even though the solution must necessarily be temporary in character so long as it is based upon war needs.

SERVICE TO MY CONSTITUENTS

Although legislative duties have greatly increased, I have, nevertheless, devoted considerable time and effort to giving personal services to the great number of individual men and women who have appealed to me for assistance in connection with employment, veterans' claims, immigration and naturalization matters, civil-service and various other cases where governmental agencies were involved. Thousands of constituents in the district will attest to the fact that this service has been conscientiously, courteously, and promptly rendered, without regard to political affiliations. For my part, it has been a real pleasure to be of service whenever possible.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. STERLING COLE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, transcendent of the manifold issues of the coming election is the decision which the American people must make of whether any one man is indispensable in the operation of government. To answer in the affirmative is both to abandon the historic philosophy peculiar to our country that this is a government of the people and to ignore the advice of the great men of America and it is at the same time a confession of the poverty of American manhood. To say that only one man is capable of guiding a nation is to assert that all others are incapable. It is an indictment of the ability and character of every citizen and of every mother's son.

Only one consumed with the passion of his own egoism would seek to rule this Nation indefinitely and without limi-

tation. It is shocking to the sensibilities of a free citizenry that any person should be absorbed with the belief that he and he alone, out of over 130,000,000 souls, possesses the qualifications of the Presidency. Courage is one of the most admirable elements of human character, conviction of purpose is equally laudable, but vanity, arrogance, and selfishness cannot be found on the standard of American manhood.

While it is true that we do not live in the past, neither do we live in the present entirely. Our thoughts and conduct must be directed toward the future. Our purpose must be to preserve for posterity the free institutions which have made us great. Expediency of the present in matters fundamental must yield to the higher wisdom of the ages. If we break from the path of experience on this occasion and violate the tradition of 150 years that no person should be elected President for the third time, who knows that we will ever regain the road but instead be launched on a program of one-man rule in America, even as Germany, Italy, and Russia. There must be no third term.

Liberty Is Life

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS H. CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted by the House, I offer for the RECORD a portion of the remarks made by the Honorable A. R. Denu, judge of the seventh judicial circuit in South Dakota, in addressing a class of newly naturalized American citizens. Judge Denu said:

We believe in democracy, because its foundation is the dignity of man. We believe in America because it is the greatest democracy in history, where men, women, and children enjoy more and greater comforts of life than do people anywhere else. We believe that the joy of living is dependent upon the liberties guaranteed by our fundamental law. We believe that the progress of the whole human race requires the preservation of those liberties. We believe that happiness flows only from the blessings of liberty. We believe that liberty is life.

In contrasting democracy and totalitarianism, Judge Denu declared, that:

There is one thing I would like to impress upon you above all others, and that is that in this country we have government by law, as distinguished from government by the will of some men or group of men. Those whom we elect to office must themselves obey our laws, just the same as those who do not hold office. * * * I say to you that it is the supremacy of the law which treats public officer and private individual as equal before the law, holding each to keep within the bounds of the law, that is the guaranty of liberty and property in this country, and that has thus far justified our boast that this is the "land of liberty."

Don't you see—

He continued—

that there is all the difference in the world between government by law, which both the public officer as well as the private citizen must obey, and government by the unchecked will of some self-styled superman leader? The governments of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin know no law, except only the will of these men and their underlings. * * * That is government by the will or discretion of the man or men in power. That is absolutism or despotism or dictatorship. The word "totalitarian" has been and is today being used for that kind of government. * * * Under the totalitarian philosophy, men are looked upon as made for government, as distinguished from democracy's view that government is made for men. The totalitarian state aims to enslave the human mind by abolishing freedom of thought and speech, and then to submerge the individual in the state. It today threatens to destroy law throughout the world, because law cannot exist where people must live according to the dictates of a tyrant. That is self-evident. Democracy, standing on government by law enacted by representatives elected by the people, aims to release the minds of men and women through the greatest degree of liberty. It emphasizes the dignity and integrity of the individual. It asserts as an eternal truth, that the individual and not the state is the unit of value by the laws of nature and of God.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, Calvin Coolidge, in answer to his wife's question as to the subject of the preacher's sermon, answered by saying:

He preached on sin and he's against it.

As one American citizen, I am against any man, Republican or Democrat, having three terms as President of these great United States.

Mr. Roosevelt in 1932 stated that "There is no indispensable man," but after 8 years in the White House he seems to feel he is now indispensable. Remember, the Chicago convention did not draft Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Roosevelt drafted the Chicago convention. This country is not ready for a "one man government," and I pray that may never come to pass here. If Mr. Roosevelt wins a third term, why not a fourth or a fifth term? Already one of his spokesmen is saying he does not want a fourth term.

One-man governments may flourish in Europe, but they will never prosper in this land. Ours is still a government of, for, and by the people.

No one is certain as to why Mr. Roosevelt wants a third term, or, if elected, in which direction he will travel. His past objectives, such as attempting to pack the Supreme Court and the formation of purges, indicate that there is a definite purpose in all his actions. He is surrounded by men who have his ear, most of whom believe that a new day is at hand and America should be made over. This group will continue in power if Mr. Roosevelt is re-elected.

We are in trouble in this country. Our very existence as a nation is threatened. Mr. Roosevelt, after 8 long years, has proven that he is not able to solve our domestic difficulties. Is there any reason to believe he can do better with another 4-year term?

The American people, as a group, are sound-thinking folk. If I know them, as I think I do, they simply want to go on in the American way, and not have a third-term President. They will follow the tenets of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and Woodrow Wilson as distinguished from those of Earl Browder, Edward J. Kelly, Frank Hague, and Harold I. Ickes.

Colorado Water Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 24, 1940

STATEMENTS OF JOHN C. PAGE, COMMISSIONER OF THE BUREAU OF RECLAMATION, AND HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR, OF COLORADO

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in the consideration of some items presented by the Bureau of Reclamation to the deficiency subcommittee, there was a discussion between Hon. John C. Page, Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation, and myself concerning the water-right problems of Colorado.

Inasmuch as his statement was an official presentation of the position of his Bureau and of the Interior Department, and my statement was, I think, an accurate presentation of

the attitude of the people of western Colorado, I feel that official discussion is worthy of being preserved. It involves matters and rights of enormous value and importance to the West in general and to western Colorado in particular.

I am inserting the statements exactly as they appear in the printed hearings before the deficiency subcommittee and as they were presented to the Appropriations Committee as a whole, and to the House of Representatives, as follows:

[Supplemental civil functions appropriation, 1941]

MONDAY, AUGUST 26, 1940.

BUREAU OF RECLAMATION—STATEMENT OF JOHN C. PAGE, COMMISSIONER

COLORADO RIVER DEVELOPMENT FUND—CONTINUING STUDIES, ETC., OF UTILIZATION OF WATERS OF THE COLORADO RIVER SYSTEM

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. TAYLOR). We have before us, in House Document 899, the following item for the Bureau of Reclamation:

"Colorado River development fund: For continuation and extension of studies and investigations by the Bureau of Reclamation for the formulation of a comprehensive plan for the utilization of waters of the Colorado River system, as authorized by section 2, of the Boulder Canyon Project Adjustment Act, approved July 19, 1940 (Public, No. 756, 76th Cong.), $250,000 from the Colorado River development fund, to remain available until expended, which amount shall be available for personal services in the District of Columbia (not to exceed $3,500) and in the field and for all other objects of expenditure specified in the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1941, under the caption 'Bureau of Reclamation, administrative provisions and limitations,' without regard to the amounts of the limitations therein set forth (Public, No. 756, 76th Cong.), $250,000."

ESTIMATES FOR CARRYING OUT THE BOULDER CANYON PROJECT ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1940

Mr. Page, I would like to have you explain the effect of the Boulder Canyon Project Adjustment Act, which was approved July 19 of this year, under the Bureau of Reclamation, and also tell us the purpose of this estimate which we have under consideration this morning of $250,000.

Mr. PAGE. The Boulder Canyon Adjustment Act revises the old Boulder Canyon Project Act and sets a new basis of rates.

The CHAIRMAN. It amends the original act under which that project was created?

Mr. PAGE. That is right. In addition to that it earmarks certain revenue for payment to two States; that is, revenues received under contract from the city of Los Angeles, the Metropolitan Water District, the Southern California Edison Co., and the Nevada-California Power Co. are earmarked in certain amounts for the States of Arizona and Nevada.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the estimate as to the amount of those revenues?

Mr. PAGE. They are expected to, and the rates are to be set so that the revenues will repay the whole cost of the project, with interest at 3 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. For the entire Boulder Canyon project?

Mr. PAGE. That is right, except for $25,000,000 allocated for flood control by the Congress, which is not paid, necessarily, during the 50-year period. The rest is all to be paid back within the 50-year period, with interest at 3 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. That is principally from the sale of power?

Mr. PAGE. And water. Stored water is sold to the Metropolitan Water District and to some others.

The adjustment act also provides that the revenues shall pay, in addition to the payments of $300,000 to each of the States of Arizona and Nevada, $500,000 annually to be put into a fund called the Colorado River Development Fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Why was that bonus provided?

Mr. PAGE. The legislative history of the old act indicates that that payment to Arizona and Nevada was set up on the basis of 18¾ percent of the excess revenue over the amount required to amortize all of the cost to the United States, and was intended, as the hearings show, to be in lieu of taxes.

At the time the Boulder Canyon project was started the utilities in southern California had made application to build a dam at the Boulder Canyon site. They had a plan for a smaller dam, and one which was not adequate for flood control for the territory down there, and the Federal Government denied the application for private development, and the States on that account thought that they were entitled to some compensation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the reason why that provision was put in there?

Mr. PAGE. Yes. That was put in the first law with a provision for 18⅔ percent of the excess revenues, and in the new law that was translated into $300,000 a year for each of the two States.

The CHAIRMAN. For how many years?

Mr. PAGE. For 50 years during the period of the amortization of the dam.

In addition, there was set up $500,000 annually of the revenues, earmarked, called the Colorado River Development Fund, reflecting the intent of the original act, in which it is said that after the dam was paid for the revenues should go into a fund for the development of the Colorado River Basin. That provision in the new law was translated into an annual payment of $500,000 for that purpose, and it goes further and says that for 3 years that money shall be made available to the Bureau of Reclamation for the investigation of the upper-basin States above Lees Ferry.

The CHAIRMAN. Those States are Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah?

Mr. PAGE. Yes; those are the four States above Lees Ferry.

The CHAIRMAN. Lees Ferry, on the Colorado River near the boundary between Utah and Arizona, is where the upper four States agree to deliver an average of seven and one-half million acre-feet of water a year over a 10-year period?

Mr. PAGE. Yes. This map which I have here [indicating] shows the division point.

The CHAIRMAN [indicating on map]. This line represents the boundary, the wet perimeter, you might say, of that entire Colorado River Basin?

Mr. PAGE. That is the dividing line.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the great watershed draining into the Colorado River.

Mr. PAGE. The act is somewhat unusual also in that it does not become effective until the rates have been established and contracts made with the power contractors.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that mean?

Mr. PAGE. That means that until contracts are negotiated with the city of Los Angeles and others the rest of the act is not wholly effective; incidentally it means there is no money in that fund for this appropriation until that is accomplished.

Since the last hearing, since we have gotten into it, hearings are now in progress in Los Angeles to work out terms of the contracts, and it appears that that law cannot be operative until after the first of the year. It is entirely possible that that money would not be in in time to require a deficiency estimate to use it. I think it is a pretty safe bet to say that the committee might as well recognize that this deficiency would probably be inoperative, even if passed, because I do not believe the money from which you will appropriate to pay this will be available until after the first of the year, and the regular subcommittee would have a chance to review it.

Mr. LUDLOW. This being proposed for the continuation of studies and investigation, why would it not be as well to have it considered by the regular subcommittee in charge of the Interior appropriation bill, when it begins its hearings on the estimates for the next fiscal year?

Mr. PAGE. That is what I am inferring because I do not believe the money will be available until months from now.

Mr. WOODRUM. Your suggestion is that there would not be anything accomplished by putting this item in the deficiency bill?

Mr. PAGE. I think that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am most concerned about, personally, and what western Colorado is vitally concerned about is this: The explanation and justification of this appropriation which was presented to this subcommittee contemplates taking water out of the Colorado River Basin at some six or eight places; that is, to eastern Colorado, to New Mexico, Wyoming, and Utah from several streams. What I want to be definitely sure about is that if and when this survey is made, that it will positively also include a thorough survey for the construction of adequate replacement or compensatory reservoirs, that will definitely stabilize the annual flow of each stream so that the western slope of Colorado will not be deprived of either the water they now own and use, or prevent our future development. I want to be assured that those replacement surveys shall be a part of this general investigation including the location, necessary capacity, and cost of each reservoir to prevent injury to western Colorado by the water taken outside of the Colorado River Basin. All water that is taken outside of the basin is sometimes termed "burned up water." It is a permanent loss to the entire Colorado River Basin. When water is used within the basin 50 percent or more comes back and is used again down the stream. But when it is taken out of the basin it is gone forever. The Colorado River Basin within Colorado is only partially developed. There is a large amount of our present irrigated land that needs additional water and we are every year extending that use, and there are millions of acres of additional lands that can be practically irrigated. I fear there is another serious menace we have in front of us at this time.

I have not seen the decision, but as I understand it, from newspaper reports and others, our Supreme Court of Colorado has recently decided, in substance, in the case of *Taussig Brothers* v. *Moffat Tunnel*, that a party can practically go out and make a so-called preliminary survey for a proposed project and file it in the State engineer's office and pay 50 cents, and also make a map or tracing of the proposed route of a proposed large canal and a proposed large reservoir of enormous capacity and fix a date of the proposed priority right to the proposed vast quantity of water of a stream and file that map in the office of the county clerk and recorder and pay 50 cents, and without moving a shovelful of dirt or doing any actual construction work whatever, or exercising any diligence whatever, he can hold that claim in abeyance for a great many years. Long thereafter, without being able to promote the scheme and after doing practically nothing for many years, the hopeful promoter can come into court

and obtain a preliminary decree for a vast amount of water with a priority right relating way back to that triangular survey of the long ago, thereby superseding and destroying the priority rights of many intervening honest constructions that have been initiated and completed and in use for many years since those hypothetical blueprint or blue-sky filings were made, thereby acquiring a very valuable property right upon which to operate.

I cannot believe our supreme court intended that kind of a decision. But if a decision of anything like that is rendered and not reconsidered it not only violates the uniform decisions of our courts for 50 years but in my judgment grants utterly unwarranted and unjust rights to enormously valuable quantities of water and also destroys the very valuable property and vested rights of all those honest and diligent intervening appropriators.

I speak very earnestly at this time and in this hearing because it is of vital importance to western Colorado.

During the past 50 years there have probably been 50 or more so-called preliminary surveys made all up and down the Continental Divide in Colorado, from Wyoming to New Mexico, looking for all places and possibilities of taking water out of the Colorado River Basin. Those old hypothetical surveys and visionary maps have been sleeping in the files of office of the State engineer and the various county clerks all these years while the promoters have been trying to induce the Federal Government or anybody else to put up the money for them, and without ever really spending anything on actual construction or anything else except promotion efforts or trips to Washington. Fortunately very few of these schemes have ever materialized. But if our Supreme Court should now allow any promoters to dig out those old musty files and validate any of those former-year performances, many more may be dug out, and it would be a tragic menace to the priority and vested rights of thousands of our western slope irrigators.

With the permission of the committee I would like to make a brief reference to my pioneer days. In 1887 to 1889 I was district attorney of the ninth judicial district embracing all northwestern Colorado. There were no decrees or water rights or legal records of any kind throughout that vast region. I prosecuted many cases of fights, shootings and there were several murder cases over ditches and water rights. In the fall of 1887 Judge Rucker of that district court appointed me as referee to try to bring order out of chaos. I courageously tackled the job. I had no guide but a State statute that had been enacted a few years before. I traveled on horseback and posted notices of hearings all up and down the Colorado River and three large tributaries, the White, Eagle, and Roaring Fork Rivers, for a hundred and fifty miles. At the appointed times and places I held the hearings, in log cabins and some in saloons, examined many hundreds of ranchmen, and took the testimony in longhand. I determined and established the respective water rights of all the pioneer ranchmen of what is now Pitkin, Garfield, Eagle, Rio Blanco, and part of Mesa Counties and without any precedent or statutory authority, I fixed the duty of water throughout that region at 1 cubic foot of water per second of time flowing in a ditch, as the amount that should be allowed for the irrigation of 50 acres of land.

It was an infinitely complicated, difficult, and frightingly controversial undertaking. It took over a year of awfully hard and tedious very careful work, but I did it. I decided the priority rights and chronological numbers and dates and the definite amount of water that each was entitled to. I personally wrote the decrees in longhand for over a thousand ranchmen. That was the first systematic set of water-right decrees ever entered in western Colorado. Dr. Elwood Mead, the former Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation, told the House Irrigation Committee about 20 years ago that they were the best set of decrees there was anywhere in the West; and he told me just a few days before he died that his statement about my decrees in those five large water-right districts still held good. Not one of those decrees has even been reversed or even modified by our Supreme Court. They have been the absolute law of the land for over a half century, and they will be for centuries to come. I have always looked back, with I hope, pardonable pride, to that as my first really great service to my beloved Centennial State.

But, to return to a recent experience, you all remember what a long fight I had over the Grand Lake-Big Thompson project. All northern Colorado and the Denver office of the Bureau of Reclamation, and many very high officials of Colorado tried desperately hard for 2 years to override me and grab off that project without any decent consideration whatever of our western slope rights. When they learned that I could and would have the House kill the whole scheme, they had to and did get together with us around the table and come to a very definite agreement with us, and put it in Senate document No. 80, and agree to build the Green Mountain $4,000,000 reservoir out of the first money appropriated, and several other conditions. I put those specific provisions in the law and the appropriation bill. That reservoir is being constructed and has to be in operation before they take any of our water.

Mr. PAGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not like to be compelled to resort to strong-arm measures, but if I am in Congress, I will if I have to. This is something that western Colorado has got to guard against all the time. Besides the Colorado River compact and the Federal Government have an interest in this policy of fair dealing and water-right honesty and I feel they have a right to be considered.

Mr. PAGE. Under the original Boulder Canyon Project Act, the Bureau of Reclamation was charged with and did start an inventory of the irrigation possibilities in the Colorado River Basin. Under that law we have tried to make up a list of the possibilities of irrigation in Colorado and all the other States, and in each one which involved transmountain diversion we have included an estimate for compensatory storage, because no one can deny the equity of that principle, and we can find no serious opposition to that. It is a fact that under the State law that plan has no standing in court, because you could not enforce that kind of a thing under State law; you only have an agreement.

The CHAIRMAN. You are right. There is no State or Federal law requiring the construction of compensatory reservoirs. These water right matters are State matters. But I may say that in September 7 years ago at a very large water right gathering of representatives of all four of the Upper Basin States in Denver, I first introduced a resolution stating the fairness and proper consideration of building whatever replacement reservoirs were necessary to prevent the injury to the basin from which the water was taken. I very vigorously presented that resolution to the gathering, it was debated extensively, and adopted unanimously by the representatives of all those four States, and it was published in both Denver papers at that time. That was the initiation of this compensatory policy and I have been following it up ever since. But, as you say, it has got to be by mutual agreement if possible, and if parties will not agree, then it is a question as to what course western Colorado may be able to take.

Western Colorado does not have any agreements with scheming promoters. I feel reasonably confident that as long as I am in Congress I can enforce our equitable and just rights by preventing appropriations for injurious diversions until our rights are respected and protected, not only for what we have now appropriated but for our reasonable, necessary, prospective developments of the future. If I understand you correctly, you feel that it would be safe for us to let this application for funds for this survey go over until next January.

Mr. PAGE. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And then the Interior Department Subcommittee, which is the regular and proper committee to handle it, can take it up at its hearings in January or February, for the next annual appropriation bill for the next fiscal year.

Mr. PAGE. I think it could be handled by the regular subcommittee because the contract which will probably be formulated with the city of Los Angeles will have to go to court to determine whether the city is competent to sign it. It has to go through the Supreme Court of California.

Mr. WOODRUM. We could make the amount immediately available in the regular appropriation bill.

Mr. PAGE. The regular bill usually contains such a provision.

The CHAIRMAN. How much would that probably be?

Mr. PAGE. I think the amount in this estimate is about right; $250,000 is about the amount needed for a year's investigation, to augment the funds we have from the general appropriation and to cover territory in the upper basin States, as contemplated by the new act.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me call your attention to another matter.

STATUS OF PINE RIVER PROJECT IN SOUTHERN COLORADO

I have been getting letters from people in southwestern Colorado about the Pine River project. They say that the amount of $400,000 authorized with the hope that they might complete it, is not sufficient, and that unless an additional amount is granted now that project cannot be completed this year. What is the status of that?

Mr. PAGE. I think it is substantially that. We are getting some information together, and may present it to the Bureau of the Budget.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we adjourn this session?

Mr. PAGE. Yes; if it seems desirable, because the construction work is stopped by the weather.

The CHAIRMAN. I am very anxious to have it completed this year. That is up in the high country?

Mr. PAGE. Yes; it is between 9,000 and 10,000 feet up, and the snow drives them out by the 1st of December. If that money is available the contractor can get through and the dam can start operating next spring.

The CHAIRMAN. How much would you say would be necessary?

Mr. PAGE. We cannot tell until we get the figures.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think we will get an estimate before we adjourn?

Mr. PAGE. We anticipate presenting the matter to the Budget, showing them what the contractor has done, that he has expedited his program and says he will finish it, and if he does we will have to pay him. If he finishes and we let him loose we have to pay him. If he does not finish he will carry it over until spring, because they are not going to finance themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. If an additional appropriation is really necessary I hope you will be able to bring us an estimate for that item before we adjourn and it must be nonreimbursable, under the agreement with water users.

Mr. PAGE. If the statements made by the local people and our own engineers are proven, I think there is a possibility that it may be presented.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other item under the Bureau of Reclamation necessary to be provided for at this session of Congress?

Mr. PAGE. There will probably be one or two others. There has been a pretty strong demand for money for the Marshall Ford Dam in Texas, where we advertised the completion of the dam. The same contractor was the low bidder and he is already at work, and he can finish it before the end of the fiscal year if there is money enough to pay him.

The CHAIRMAN. How much will that be?

Mr. PAGE. That will be about $3,000,000 to finish that dam.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in Texas?

Mr. PAGE. On the Colorado River, in Texas.

Congress Should Not Adjourn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARTEL J. JONKMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

LETTER FROM CONSTITUENT

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from a young constituent of mine:

HOLLAND, MICH., *September 27, 1940.*

Mr. BARTEL JONKMAN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. JONKMAN: We, the children of the United States, are to be the people of the United States in future years. We want a good Government. We do not want dictatorship.

We do not want Congress to adjourn. You, being a Congressman, can help us to keep them from it.

You are of the older people in the United States.

We, the young people, are the people that will have to serve a dictator if we get one.

You are of the people that are to stop us from getting a dictator now before we have one.

You and I do not want a dictatorship.

Yours truly,

RAY STAM.

Selective Service Boys To Be Taken the Best Possible Care of by Uncle Sam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

STATEMENT ISSUED BY WAR DEPARTMENT

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I am glad but not surprised to know that the young men to be chosen under the Selective Training Act will be given every possible consideration so far as healthful and comfortable living conditions are concerned. They will not be inducted into their year's training period until every practical convenience has been prepared for them in advance.

The War Department itself is my authority for this assurance that I am glad to pass on to those young men who may be selected as trainees.

Under leave to print I wish to insert in the RECORD the following statement in reference to this matter, just issued by the War Department:

ARMY PLANS FOR INDUCTION AND TRAINING OF SELECTEES

Adequacy in the preparation of shelter, hospital, and sanitation facilities will be the keynote in the Army preparations for the induction of selectees, the War Department announced today. Both the National Guard and the selective-service inductees will be brought gradually into the Federal service by increments in order that full preparations may be made prior to their induction. By the time any particular group is brought in, all necessary construction will have been completed and adequate facilities provided to insure healthful and comfortable living conditions. This principle will apply particularly in regard to clothing and hospital equipment. The present War Department procurement objectives will also insure that a sufficient amount of matériel will be available so that the training of the new troops can be conducted on the latest and most modern equipment.

The selective-service system of mobilizing the manpower of the Nation in case of an emergency has been a subject of continuous study since the last war. The idea of selective service which was put into effect at that time proved to be sound, and since then all plans have been devoted to smoothing out the wrinkles and making minor improvements in the system.

The procurement of the manpower authorized by the act will be under the control of the Director of Selective Service appointed by the President. The Director will establish a national headquarters and will work through the Governors of the States, who will appoint local boards composed of civilians—one board for approximately every 30,000 people. These local boards will be charged primarily with the classification and examination of registrants as to availability for service. It is felt that members of such boards who are familiar with local conditions, who, in fact, are neighbors of the registrants, will be much better qualified than any other agency to classify and judge the individuals who should be selected as the representatives of their communities in the Army. The knowledge which the members of these boards will have of each individual's status as to dependents, his work or profession, and his health, will go far toward insuring a fair and democratic operation of the system.

The Army first exercises direct influence under the Selective Service Act in requisitioning the various States for quotas of men to fill necessary military requirements as determined by the War Department.

When a local board has been called upon by the State in which it is located to furnish a quota of selectees upon a certain date, the board will fill the quota by calling and assembling the necessary number of registrants in the order that their registration numbers are drawn by lot in Washington—provided, of course, that the men have been classified as available for immediate military service. The local board will give each man a physical examination and will accept for immediate service only those who are physically fit.

Before they are assigned to Army units, the selectees will go through a careful sorting and selecting process. During the World War, before the problem of sorting manpower was solved, considerable time and effort were wasted because men were not properly distributed among units in accordance with their military qualifications. For instance, one division was disrupted as many as four times by the transfer of men of certain qualifications to other organizations. The confusion and loss of time caused by failure to sort out personnel before assignment during the last war has caused the attachment of considerable importance to this phase of induction at the present time. Under the Selective Service Act, a heterogeneous assortment of manpower will be received by the Army. The accomplishment of the sorting process before the assignment of the men to organizations, will lift a great burden from the tactical units which are concerned primarily with training. Consequently, the local board will send the group of selectees it has assembled, not to an Army training camp but to an induction station.

The basic purpose of an induction station is to give a detailed physical examination to the selectees; formally induct them into the military service and then pass them on to the reception center. The induction stations will perform functions similar to those of the ordinary recruiting stations, and they will be so located as to expedite the processing of the selectees. Approximately 100 of these stations will be distributed throughout the United States. It is planned to pass the selectees through the induction stations and on to the reception centers the same day that they arrive. If they arrive late in the afternoon, they will be kept overnight. If the induction station is located in a city, they either will be cared for at the station, or will be lodged in armories or hotels. If any of the men are found to be disqualified by physical defects at the thorough physical examination which will be given at the induction station, they will be furnished transportation back to their home towns at that time.

When they arrive at the reception centers, the selectees will have their first real contacts with the Army. Their records will be completed, uniforms will be issued, an opportunity given to obtain Government insurance policies, vaccinations and inoculations will be administered, and the men will be carefully sorted and classified for their first assignments in the Army. Each man will be given a general classification test and will then be interviewed by an officer to determine the military duty to which he is best adapted. Information will be obtained as to the man's age, birthplace, home, parents, dependents, and education. It will be ascertained what foreign languages he speaks, if any; it will be determined what work he has done in civil life, and what previous military experience he may have had. If he appears to have been a trained specialist in some branch of a civil trade, that fact will be noted. He will be given an

opportunity to express his choice in athletics, hobbies, and the nature of service he desires. This information will give a clear picture of the man's suitability for any particular military assignment.

The selectees will remain at the reception center only long enough to sort and classify them, which, it is anticipated, will require, on an average, 2 or 3 days.

Selective-service men are to be placed in Regular Army units, in National Guard units, or in replacement centers. The National Guard in general will be stationed in large cantonments or tent camps, and in some few instances at Regular Army posts, mainly harbor-defense posts. Regular Army units will be in part placed in large cantonments, with a considerable number in permanent Regular Army posts. Replacement centers will generally be placed in some instances in Regular Army posts and in others in cantonments or camps. In all instances, it is expected that the selectees will be called only after the actual housing, sanitary, and hospital facilities, which are building or to be built, are completed.

For National Guard units which are to be in service for 1 year the following facilities will be provided at the larger training centers:

IN THE SOUTH

For personnel: Screened, framed, and floored tents for officers and men.

For messing: Kitchens and mess halls, temporary buildings.

For sanitary facilities: Lavatories, temporary buildings.

For company supply and administration: Floored and framed tents.

For administration, supply, and general utilities: Warehouses, headquarters buildings, fire stations, motor-repair shops, gasoline and oil storage, telephone facilities, post office, radiotelegraph, laundries, bakeries, and refrigerating plants, utility shop, and magazines.

For recreation: Post exchanges, regimental recreational buildings, moving-picture tents, service clubs.

For hospitalization and health: Regimental infirmaries, hospitals.

For general utilities: Water supply, sanitary sewerage system, walks, roads, and electricity.

IN THE NORTH

Accommodations provided are generally the same, except that temporary barracks and officers' quarters are provided for enlisted men and officers, storehouses and day rooms are added for companies, and moving-picture theaters are substituted instead of moving-picture tents.

The task of providing these facilities is great. Briefly, it includes the building of:

Ten large cantonments for the Regular Army.

Six large cantonments for the National Guard.

Two smaller cantonments for the antiaircraft training centers.

Twenty-one cantonments of various sizes for replacement centers.

Twelve large camps for the National Guard.

Four smaller camps for antiaircraft training centers.

Establishing new air stations on approximately 30 civilian airdromes, and the enlargement of facilities on some 70 ground troop and 20 Air Corps Regular Army stations.

A large part of this program is under contract; much is under negotiation and the remainder is in an advanced planning stage.

There are two possible systems by which the selectees might be trained by the already existing units. One would be to distribute them at once throughout the various small organizations, companies, batteries, etc., and have them absorb the fundamentals, working side by side with the older men. The other system would be to more or less segregate them under centralized control while they are put through an intensive period of training in the fundamentals under the supervision of specially qualified instructors. The War Department has made a careful study of the matter, particularly in the light of the developments of the present European war, and has decided that the latter method, that is, keeping them together until they are thoroughly trained in the fundamentals, is far superior. The training phases which these men will pass through might be compared to the grade school, high school, and college periods through which the majority of American youths pass. For thirteen weeks after joining his organization, the selectee will, in a military sense, be in the grade-school phase. He will be gradually hardened, without making severe physical demands at first, but developing eventually the ability to endure prolonged and arduous physical exertion. He will be taught to march, use his weapons, and care for himself and his means of transportation in the field. Tactical exercises will be limited to those of the platoon and company. At the end of this period the selectee should be thoroughly versed in the fundamentals of the soldier and should be in prime physical condition.

The so-called high-school phase will be devoted to battalion training, which will call for the combined use of the different weapons and equipment found in the battalion. It is only when the battalions are well trained that the selectees will pass on to what has been spoken of as the college course and participate in regimental exercises and in maneuvers involving the coordinated use of the combined arms.

Not only is it intended to turn out well-trained soldiers, but it is expected to improve the men who come under Army supervision, physically, mentally, and morally. Judging from past experience, the majority of the selectees will thrive on the Army diet and they will enjoy working, playing, and living with men from all walks of life, who, like themselves, are known to be strong, healthy, and intelligent, while the well-regulated life which they will lead in the Army will give them ideas of promptness, neatness, and teamwork that will make them better citizens after they have returned to their homes.

Military life is very different from that to which most civilians are accustomed. Habits are hard to change, and, therefore, the selectees will be transplanted into this new mode of living as easily as possible. The Army will provide types of amusement similar to those that the selectee has had at home. There will be equipment and facilities for the various athletic sports. Unit teams will be selected to compete with one another, and the men will become as enthusiastic rooters for their company or regimental teams as they were for their home teams in civil life. There will be motion-picture shows and service clubs and recreation rooms where the men may listen to the radio, read, write, play games, and meet their families and friends. The men will use these facilities after work in the afternoons and in the evenings. Saturday afternoon is usually a holiday, and on Sunday the chaplains will hold services for those who wish to attend. Arrangements will be made for bus lines to transport the men to adjacent communities which they may visit during the days or evenings they are not on duty. They will have opportunities for both work and play, and the Army is going to make every effort to make this year of training not only of value to the country from the viewpoint of defense, but also of interest and enjoyment to the men involved. The folks at home can be assured that their young men will be well cared for, and it is believed that in later years the men who will have been selected for this training will look back on their year in the Army as one of the most instructive, interesting, and valuable periods of their growth and development.

Keep America Out of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT, OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, events abroad are being followed by the great majority of the American people with the earnest plea that America stay out of another of Europe's century-old wars. This pleading comes from the ranks of the mothers and fathers of America who are sick of war and its huge cost in human life.

The merchants of propaganda whose sole desire is to involve us in this European conflict are now bent on having the United States part with even our own military secrets in their desire to further our march down the pathway that daily is leading into another Old World war.

There was never a time in the history of this great Nation when a more thorough analysis should be made of the wave of propaganda that is threatening to envelop us and which will inevitably be followed by our plunge into the present war.

In keeping with the seriousness of the present situation and to expose the clever appeals of those who would have us engage again in another futile European war, I am inserting the following address delivered by me over the red network of the National Broadcasting Co. September 27, from Pittsburgh, Pa.:

Ladies and gentlemen, throughout the length and breadth of this great Nation resounds this stirring command: Keep America Out of War!

Through the columns of the press and by radio broadcasts events in war-torn Europe are described in realistic fashion. Daily the problem of America keeping out of another of Europe's century-old wars is becoming more acute. People of all faiths have turned to prayer as a means of achieving a peace in this war-

crazed world; while at the same time the wheels of industry hum in turning out weapons of national defense.

Gradually America is being transformed into an armed camp. Peacetime conscription of the youth of America is now a law of the land as thousands of young men prepare to follow the National Guardsmen in answering their country's call. In order to accommodate this influx of manpower into our military life, cantonments are being constructed overnight to house these thousands of patriotic young Americans.

Our shipyards are working overtime, while the United States Navy has embarked on a construction program aimed to give America a two-ocean navy.

The Air Corps of both the Army and Navy are being developed on a huge scale, while private manufacturers are being pressed to supply the 50,000 planes that America asked for to guarantee this Nation air equality.

Yes; truly America is presenting the same picture as she did in 1917—a nation prepared for war.

In the midst of this gigantic task to arm America, we have not been selfish. Our thoughts have turned to our European neighbors, as evidenced by the fact that America has sent to Europe since September 5, 1939, 2,200 planes from the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps; 500,000 Lee-Enfield rifles; 70,000 machine guns; 600 French 75 mm. field artillery guns; and 150,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition. In addition to sending our own military supplies, American industry has given preference to filling orders for military equipment to our European neighbors. Thus, it is evident that despite reports to the contrary, the United States has been aiding the Allies in a practical way, refuting the assertion often heard that America is only extending sympathy to our friends across the sea.

America has recognized the heroic efforts of many peaceful European nations now subjugated, and cannot forget the valor of the Finnish soldier against the forces of the godless Stalin. Nor can we find words adequate to express our admiration for the magnificent display of bravery that Great Britain's loyal sons have demonstrated in repelling the beast of Berlin whose monster military machine is a menace to world peace.

In the present war we have seen the armies of yesterday rendered obsolete by the introduction of new methods of mechanized warfare. Daily the headlines of our newspapers tell of so-called secret weapons designed to visit untold agony on the civilian population of the affected countries. Yet, one of the mightiest and oldest weapons of any war is propaganda whose unholy mission is death and destruction.

Today the American people are face to face with the greatest propaganda machine the world has ever known. Despite the fact that the vast majority of the American people are on record for aiding our British neighbors and against involvement in the present war, the sympathy of this peace-loving Nation is being exploited by propagandists who are unmindful of our own national safety.

Today the United States is traveling the same path we took in 1917 but at a faster pace. Not content as a neutral nation to occupy a seat on the side lines, we took our first step toward war last fall when Congress repealed the embargo on the sale of arms to the belligerent nations of the world. This step was quickly followed by the heavy sale of airplanes and the release of arms and ammunition by our own Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. Having taken these steps, the agents of propaganda continued their carefully planned mission with the result that we did not stop on our journey down the pathway that leads to war.

American dollars were loaned to United States factories to build airplanes for the Allies. American aviators were encouraged to enlist and risk their lives in European skies; while we exchanged United States destroyers for air bases.

As these steps were made, the American people were told they were necessary in the preservation of world peace.

Contrary to what the American people believe, there remains but two more steps to actual involvement of America in the present European war.

This Nation owes a duty to American citizens to keep out of this European war. Yet we have been asked to take one of the last two fatal steps toward war when the request was made that this Nation send a military mission to Europe.

Ladies and gentlemen, when we comply with that request we are going beyond the stage of being sympathetic. Mark you, when the day arrives for the departure of a military mission from the United States we can prepare to follow it with the second American Expeditionary Force to Europe. God forbid that day will ever come.

Let us pause for a moment and reflect deeply before we become involved in another European brawl that is certain to destroy our present form of government.

Are we so gullible that we are willing to trade our form of government, recognized the world over as a masterpiece of statesmanship, and receive in return a life of bondage and servitude?

Is time so fleeting that we have forgotten the great cost of the first World War that totaled $64,000,000,000 in cash and the loss of $417,000,000,000 in business and commerce?

Can we forget the inescapable fact that the aftermath of the World War gave birth to a depression that completely dislocated the economic stability of our Nation? That 10,000,000 loyal American citizens through the throes of depression, almost overnight found themselves unemployed?

Can we ignore the fact that this unemployment situation has caused untold suffering and seriously affected the morale of the American people? And that through such a deplorable condition the forces of un-Americanism raised their ugly heads to menace our national well-being?

Are you going to forget the swollen bonuses and profits rolled up by the munitions manufacturers in the last World War amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars? Yes; dollars dripping with the blood of American youth.

Are you ready to forget that over 23,000 Americans became millionaires while countless others rose from comparative poverty to great wealth, while their compatriots, the young men of 1917–18, were risking their lives in the trenches or on the high seas for $1.25 a day?

Ladies and gentlemen, the merchants of propaganda are clever in their efforts to divert attention from the first World War and its hideous aftermath. If I know the American people, they will not be misled by these cleverly disguised war profiteers.

The people of this great Nation are fully conscious that the cost of the first World War was not alone paid in dollars but also in blood and tears. Tonight in Flanders fields, row upon row of silent crosses mark the final resting place for thousands of the youth of 1917–18.

Here in the United States there is a group for whom the armistice on November 11, 1918, meant little. At this moment 86 Veterans' Administration hospitals scattered throughout the United States and erected by a grateful government, are caring for approximately 75,000 disabled World War veterans who responded in 1917–18 in a war we were told was to save the world for democracy.

Truly these veteran hospitals are living shrines to which every American may well make a pilgrimage. Here you will find the heroes of Belleau Wood, Chateau Thierry, and the Argonne, with their shattered bodies, suffocated lungs, and shadowed minds. These men know and understand war with its devastating effect on mankind.

At this moment I am thinking of one of my many visits to the Veterans' Administration hospitals. There I found veterans of the World War occupying row after row of hospital beds or reclining in wheel chairs, armless or legless. To many of these boys of 1917–18 the sight of birds, sunshine, and flowers are but a sweet memory.

Ladies and gentlemen, a visit through any Veterans' Administration hospital should convince even the most heartless war profiteer of the true cost of war in human misery. More than 130,000 young men lost their lives during the World War period, and today among those who survived 91 are dying every 24 hours.

If the veterans confined to Government hospitals could speak to you tonight, they would tell you, as I have often heard from their own lips, of their horror of war and their fervent plea, keep America out of another World War.

Their voices would form a mighty chorus in praise of the Gold Star Mothers of America who gave their own flesh and blood—in many instances more than one son in defense of our country. You would hear of the widows and orphans left destitute as a result of the first World War. In short, these boys of 1917–18, to whom life is a living death, represent the greatest lesson why America should pause on its journey down the path that leads to war.

We need no propaganda to warn us of the futility of war. America need only take a lesson from the last war and its hideous aftermath to realize that to prevent war we need a strong national defense and a united nation.

The masters of propaganda, unmindful of our lack of military preparedness, are disregarding the safety of this Nation in their efforts to plunge us into the present war. While we have started our journey toward war, it is not too late to reflect on the fact that while we have the greatest Navy in the world and plenty of potential manpower from the standpoint of mechanized equipment and military supplies for our Army we are woefully unprepared.

Ladies and gentlemen, you cannot fight a war with equipment "on order," and there is no greater authority for the truth of such a statement than the assertion of Mr. William S. Knudsen, Commissioner, National Defense Advisory Commission, who declared that "750,000 troops, the number already available, cannot be equipped before 1942."

Let us as loyal Americans put our united efforts behind the program for national defense now being pushed to completion. With America properly prepared, we will have the added assurance that the young men of 1940 will not occupy the row after row of hospital beds in the Veterans' Administration hospitals, now reposing places for the boys of 1917–18. Nor will there be new rows of white crosses in foreign cemeteries, a silent reminder of the ruthlessness of the propaganda machine whose only mission is to drive America into another Old World struggle.

Ladies and gentlemen, our form of government is at stake. The American way of life is in peril. In short, let us preserve our

cherished possessions of life, liberty, and happiness that our forefathers fought to give us by insisting that we build a two-fisted defense for America; then no nation on earth will dare to attack us.

Let us think of America first this time—by keeping America out of war.

Education's Defense of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID I. WALSH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 1 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY DANIEL L. MARSH, OF BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I ask to have inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an address by the Honorable Daniel L. Marsh, president of Boston University, delivered at the Boston University Summer School commencement on August 10, 1940, on education's defense of democracy.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Plato said: "I thank God that I am a man, not a beast; a Greek, not a barbarian; a philosopher, not a fool." If we should translate that into modern speech, we would say "I thank God that I am a man, not a beast; an American, not a member of a totalitarian state or of a savage tribe; a person who has had some education, not one who is denied the opportunities of education."

By his body, man is related to the rest of the physical universe. The common laws of physics and chemistry control his body. So far as his physical organization is concerned, man resembles animals in general. But he is separated from all animals below him by the capacities of his spirit—by his self-consciousness, by his power of abstract thought, by his recognition of himself as a moral being, by his finest self-expression in worship, by his ability to choose supreme ends, and by his unique powers manifested in a thousand thousand ways in the history of civilization.

Education's business is to help man to rise farther and farther above the plane of the brute; to help him on his upward climb toward God, and to give him the urge, the incentive, and the ability to free himself of the traits of the beast. S. Parkes Cadman was once asked why he believed in evolution. He replied that according to the theory of evolution man does not merely descend from lower animals, but he carries a whole menagerie around with him. "Sometimes the monkey is on top," said Cadman, "and sometimes the ape. I believe in evolution—it explains a lot." If Cadman sometimes found the monkey on top and sometimes the ape, so also have we seen the peacock strutting in human clothes, and the human tiger springing from his lair upon others—and sometimes we have seen all the animals of the jungle let loose in war.

It was probably something like this that St. Paul had in mind when he said: "I have fought with the beasts of Ephesus." Once when a high ecclesiastical dignitary was reprimanded by a prelate, he placed his hand on his bosom in pretentious pose, and exclaimed: "Here is the ark of God." To which the prelate retorted: "Yes, the ark, in which there are few men and many beasts."

We are in the habit of using adjectives derived from classifications of animals to describe certain persons. That is, when we speak disparagingly of human beings, we allude to the characteristics of the zoo, using such adjectives as "catty," "old hens," "foxy," "wolfish," "hoggish," "bull-headed," "snake-in-the-grass," and many others.

But when we speak in a complimentary way, we can find no language more expressive than words that indicate cultured Christian manhood. That is why it is a compliment to be called "a gentleman and a scholar."

Real manliness is very much like that which we worship in God. Positive and attractive traits, such as those set forth in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, characterize the cultured gentleman. Negative and repellent traits characterize the zoo-like man.

If the records written in the pages of the rocks and the truths revealed by researches in zoology tell us anything, it is the importance of cooperation; for animals of the hazy prehistoric past that failed to cooperate have become extinct, and the only present evidence that they ever existed is their huge skeletons in museums. But animals that learned to cooperate have survived to the present day.

Herein is a lesson for the world of men. War is a recrudescence of the jungle. It is an anachronism. It is the great illusion. It is organized insanity. It is the summation of all villainies. It is a collective social sin against that which is of greatest significance in man, the sacred worth of personality.

The present war raging in Europe, a natural aftermath of the horrible war of a quarter of a century ago, has thrown human civilization into reverse gear and has carried us backward 500 years. We thought mankind was coming to the place where men would settle their disputes by appeal to reason, by conference and understanding, rather than by appeal to physical force and violence. Verily, "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." What we call civilization will commit suicide unless it learns to settle its disagreements on the basis of good will and cooperation rather than by resorting to the rude arbitrament of the sword.

If men are to be men—immortal children of God—then they must learn to act like men and not like animals. One of the distinguishing characteristics of man is that he has the power of acting upon his own nature, of guiding it and determining in large measure what it shall be. Man can choose his own ideals, and his ideals are his inspiration. By adherence to ideals low or high, man can elevate or degrade himself.

An eye witness of the Battle of France, reporting in the Economist, says that France, "victim of a number of illusions, committed the unpardonable sin of waging war half-heartedly until defeat was already so close as to be unavoidable." He says that the debacle was caused not so much by the superior numbers or the superior equipment of the Nazi Germans as by the mental attitude of the French. Petain, the head of the present government in France, says: "France without ideals has become a defeated France." On the other hand, when the Hitler headquarters released a detailed report of the conquest of France, they said that it was the spirit of the Third Reich and National Socialist leadership that accounted for the German success. Speaking of the German soldiers' fighting power, the Hitler headquarters said: "That fighting power can only be explained by the presence of an idea which engaged the entire united nation."

Just here is where education plays its most important part in a democracy. There is no rational occasion today for the war psychosis that is sweeping America. If there ever was a period when we needed an unhysterical leadership, it is now. One cries out in vain—it is like the voice of one crying in the wilderness—against the fomenting of war hysteria in this country.

No wise person takes exception to a common-sense program of preparedness. The danger confronting us just now is that those who are whooping it up for war in the alleged defense of democracy will accomplish the destruction of democracy. The best defense of democracy is in the realm of the moral and spiritual nature. Educational institutions and churches are now faced with a terrific responsibility. We must now keep alive the ideals of democracy. If we scrap our civil liberties, allow a spirit of bigotry to become rampant, swing into a mood of intolerance, persecute minorities, and dub everybody with whom we do not agree as a member of the "fifth column," then we are establishing totalitarianism in this land without the aid of the Nazis.

We must maintain our ideals and institutions at all costs. The United States of America does not need to become a totalitarian regime in order to preserve its own way of life. Let us beware of creating a dictatorship because of a hysterical fear of dictatorships. Extremely disturbing is section 12 (a) of the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill, which reads: "All regulations, proclamations, public notices, and directions promulgated by the President, or pursuant to his direction, in carrying out the provisions of this act shall have the force and effect of law."

In a zoo, men drill animals, but in an educational institution, men educate their fellow men—and there is a vast difference between being drilled and being educated. Under a dictatorship academic freedom is unnecessary for the crowd is not supposed to think. Men are then but little better than sheep and goats that nourish a blind life within the brain; for they are supposed to say what the dictator allows, to think what the dictator approves, and to do what the dictator orders. But in a democracy every personality is sacred. That is why academic freedom is imperative in American education, and that explains also why education must be widely diffused among us. Our Boston sculptor, Cyrus Dallin, has drawn the contrast well in his statue of the Appeal to the Great Spirit. The man is on the horse and is looking up. The horse is under the man and is looking down. When St. Paul said: "I keep my body under," he was simply saying that he made his soul supreme.

This is education's chief contribution to the defense of democracy; to maintain the spiritual conception of life; to alarm society with the sacred worth of human personality; to give to the individual and to mankind a sense of values; to discover and disseminate the truth that makes men free; to emphasize by repetition that a just government derives its powers from the consent of the governed, and that government is the servant, not the master, of the people; to make all citizens intelligent enough to think straight and accurately so that liberty may not be confused with license, nor the clamor of mob psychology be mistaken for enlightened public opinion, for when a whole people undertake to form their own dictatorship they must assume the responsibilities as

well as the privileges of the function. Religion, morality, and education are indispensible elements in a safe democracy. Such a democracy furnishes the best medium for mankind's rise above the plane of the brutish beast.

Third Presidential Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 1 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT BY HON. GEORGE C. PEERY

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the statement by Hon. George C. Peery, formerly Governor of Virginia, before the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, considering resolutions proposing to limit the Presidential term of office.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

There are at present pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee two resolutions for amendments to the Constitution placing a limitation on the tenure of office of the Presidency of the United States.

Senate Joint Resolution 15 provides for a single term of 6 years. Senate Joint Resolution 289 provides for a limit of 2 terms of 4 years each.

I would favor the former, providing for a single term of 6 years.

Section 69 of the Virginia Constitution provides for the election of a Governor for a 4-year term. It further provides that:

"He shall be ineligible to the same office for the term next succeeding that for which he was elected and to any other office during his term of service."

The principle underlying this provision of our constitution was deemed a wise one when it was adopted. Subsequent experience has not prompted any departure therefrom. On the other hand, it has been steadfastly adhered to throughout the history of Virginia as an independent Commonwealth and since her return to the Union after the War between the States.

Patrick Henry, the first Governor of the Commonwealth, served from 1776 to 1779. Those were years of emergency. Governor Henry met the emergency courageously and efficiently, but another, Thomas Jefferson, was called to succeed him and met it in the same fine fashion. Patrick Henry was later again chosen Governor but not until after the terms of four other Governors had intervened. James Monroe served with distinction as Governor from 1796 to 1799. He was again chosen to serve as Governor beginning in January 1811, but not until after the terms of three other Governors had passed.

William Smith was the only other Governor who was elected for more than one term, but four other Governors served between his two terms. By reason of Governor Smith's election to a subsequent term, he won the sobriquet of "Extra Billy."

I believe our experience in Virginia has justified a strict adherence to the principle embodied in our constitution. I further believe that a majority of the Virginia electorate, if called upon to pass up on the question, free from a political campaign or partisan prejudice, would approve the principle.

If it is a wise policy to follow this principle in the election of Governors, it must follow that it would be a sound policy to adhere to this same principle in the election of our Presidents. A limitation of the Presidential term of office to 6 years would give the President sufficient time to put into effect the governmental policies advocated by him and approved by the electorate in his election; and would eliminate the temptation to use the power of his office to bring about his reelection. His entire thought and energy could be devoted to the discharge of the duties of his office and to the welfare and good of the whole people without regard for future political preferment or approval.

It may be true that dictators do not arise where free elections exist, but one may question whether elections are entirely free and untrammeled where the Executive, or his partisans without his knowledge, use the lever of power and patronage to bring about a reelection.

The great office of President of the United States should be entirely free from any such suspicion.

Democrats Open Michigan Campaign at Grand Rapids

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PRENTISS M. BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 1 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. SCOTT W. LUCAS, OF ILLINOIS

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] at Grand Rapids, Mich., on Monday evening, September 23, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen of the democracy of the great State of Michigan, it is an honor and a privilege to be invited to take part in the opening of this important political campaign in this great State of Michigan.

Michigan—State of traditions and accomplishments. It has led in the development of our country ever since the hardy French explorers of 3 centuries ago discovered this great Middle West when they landed on your shores. The first white visitors to my native Illinois came from Michigan.

These explorers had no vision of the great factories, mines, and farms which would follow in their wake to make this newly discovered land the heart of the world's greatest Nation. But it was the spirit of these pioneers which brought about this development.

Today your great automobile factories and allied industries are furnishing the life lines of the Nation. And in the present great crisis when we are straining every effort to be prepared to ward off the devastation threatening us from across the oceans, your State has an even more important place. Michigan truly is one of the main wheels in the Nation's preparedness machinery.

Perhaps your first Governor, Stevens T. Mason, a Jacksonian Democrat, foresaw the momentous happenings of the present years when he uttered these words at the first meeting of the legislature of the newly created State of Michigan:

"The policy of this new and rising State will be laid in the immutable principles of morality, justice, and benevolence. * * * Next to the right of self-government, and the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and essential to these, is the continuance of the Union of the States. An ardent attachment to this Union is interwoven with every patriotic feeling of these people of Michigan. Nor is there any danger that they will ever voluntarily sanction any measure to weaken its sacred ties."

These principles and this Union now are threatened as they have never been before, except possibly in the Civil War days. We know that Michigan can be depended on to do its share now as it has done in other crises.

Michigan has furnished many able and illustrious men who have had a great share in shaping the policies of our Government and in carrying them out. I have the honor now to be serving in the United States Senate with the Honorable PRENTISS M. BROWN, who has become one of the leaders in our National Government and in carrying out the principles of the Democratic Party.

I am confident that he will be joined in the Senate next year by the Honorable Frank Fitzgerald. He, too, will carry forward the constructive and liberal ideals of our party, and your State government will be safe when it is placed in the hands of Murray D. Van Wagoner as your next Governor.

The Democratic voters of Michigan have shown their confidence in these men by choosing them for these high places of trust in these critical days. The voters know they can be depended upon to carry out the principles laid down by Governor Mason more than a century ago.

These times are trying ones for men in public life. A man has to listen to his conscience, and it leads him sometimes along a difficult path. It has forced me upon occasion to differ with the national administration, which I respect, and with the party I love. To oppose certain details of a major program that I approve has been difficult, but in the end it has made it easier to say, as I now do say, that in this hour of world crisis and national peril I not only approve, but I thank God for, the international policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

I feel this so strongly that I cannot refrain from making here and now a confession. Once in my seat in the Congress I became convinced that I knew more than President Roosevelt about a certain phase of international affairs. That was when the President, in his famous speech dedicating a bridge in Chicago in 1937, said: "The

peace of the world and the welfare and security of every nation today is being threatened." He saw war coming in Europe. He warned against it. He tried to get the civilized world to frighten off the aggressor nations by threatening a great quarantine.

When he made those bold statements, I admired his bravery. I took off my hat to his inspired words about the beauties of peace and America's search for peace, but, like my friend, the late Senator Borah, I thought he had gone too far in predicting war in Europe. We in the Senate had what we believed to be sound and good information that Germany, France, and England would not fight. We thought the President was wrong.

But what did time prove? It has proved that he was right and I was wrong. Time has proved that he knew exactly what he was saying. Events have made it perfectly clear that he had better information than we. And time has proved something else—something more important and vital still—it has proved that his judgment, his instincts, his sagacity in international affairs have not been rivaled since the days of Abraham Lincoln.

When foreign nations threatened our shores in the 1860's when indeed a foreign army did violate the Monroe Doctrine and did set up a crowned Hapsburg emperor in Mexico—Lincoln saved the situation. He saved the republican institutions of the Western Hemisphere. With words now strong, now soft, with tact supreme, he kept pressing upon the invading powers, and in the end, when the United States stood ready with the largest fleet and the strongest army in the whole world, the foreign powers withdrew without firing a gun at us. The Monroe Doctrine was reestablished and the Old World of Europe shrank back again to its original borders and the United States went on to its destiny with social, political, and economic progress developing in the democratic way.

Since that day no other American President has shown the diplomatic skill, the steadfast courage, the concern for the whole Western Hemisphere, that President Roosevelt has shown. That greatest of modern Secretaries of State, that cool, unruffled model of patient wisdom, Cordell Hull, has been at President Roosevelt's side to help achieve a peace, an understanding, an agreement with Latin America never reached before. The Habana Conference is destined to stand as one of the monuments to American statecraft because it is based upon the good-neighbor policy, based not on aggression but upon mutual help, upon respect for our sister republics to the south.

Today the Monroe Doctrine, thanks to Roosevelt and Hull, is firmer than ever before, and the cause of democracy and self-government incalculably strengthened from the North Pole to the Straits of Magellan.

Now, when it is so desperately needed, the prestige of democracy rises in the New World as it sinks in the Old World.

Now, when danger menaces our institutions we feel the strong hand of President Roosevelt guiding us toward a greater self-confidence, not only within our 48 States but in the whole Western Hemisphere.

Where are our greatest factories for preparedness work to rise? Here in the midlands between the Alleghenies and the Rockies. The President has said so. The work of making us nationally so strong that peace will automatically come is sweeping rapidly forward, and soon the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley regions will feel it, for from a military standpoint our main munitions plants, our chief airplane factories should be here in the interior. And under the impulse of this new necessity, forced on us from abroad, more and more of the Nation's production will center in this great Midwest.

Once again the lakes and the rivers of this Midwest will teem with ships and barges plying back and forth; the railroads will increase their activities in carrying the increasing freight; our trade with South and Central America will grow beyond the dreams of any of us here today. Much of this trade will flow from these midlands down the railroads and waterways of the Mississippi Valley to the fleets that sail to the ports of sister republics. Already our South American trade has multiplied itself. The catastrophe of Europe had forced us to make good in a material way, the spiritual good which President Roosevelt began preaching long before war broke—the good-neighbor policy between the American continents.

Thanks to him, and thanks to the Nation which has endorsed and applauded his recent step in acquiring the airplane and naval bases in the islands of the Caribbean, the United States will be ready for any turn of events in the war overseas.

Suppose, if you will, that there had been no good-neighbor policy, no friendly, conciliatory, honest conference at Habana, no lease of those military bases in the islands and ports of the Caribbean—suppose the old imperialism of the past Republican regimes had continued to spread distrust in Latin America.

And then, suppose the present war in Europe had come, and England had fallen, as it yet may fall before the onslaught of totalitarian force. Who would own all those islands, those possessions of the defunct Dutch, French, and British Governments?

Hitler would own them, for to the victor belong the spoils. The totalitarian ideology, utterly foreign and hostile to our theory of government, would be on our doors ready and able to smash us.

But under the wise, the quietly energetic hands of Roosevelt and Hull, this Nation and South America have gone far in preparing against so cruel a danger. The sparks from the inferno overseas may yet fall on Greenland, on Newfoundland, on the Bermudas, and imperil us, but we are far readier to stamp out the blaze than most people think. Our danger is still great, the work is only well begun. It must be carried forward by experienced hands.

Our Ship of State is traveling through dangerous economic and military seas—the tremendous storm from abroad is lashing us. So far we are still safe, thanks to the firm hand at the helm—the hand that is guiding us toward the harbor of security.

Shall we now disobey the old adage of the sea which tells us, Never drop the pilot in a storm? Shall we change over to a new pilot who has never been to sea? If we should change to the pilot our Republican friends are urging upon us, it would be years before he cculd learn the simplest laws of navigation, and we haven't time for that. We haven't a single minute to spare.

That is why President Roosevelt is not here today, touring the midlands, campaigning for reelection. He hasn't time to make the race for President. He has to stick on the bridge, he has to keep his hand on the helm, for the security of this Ship of State is the first and foremost thing in his heart.

Let me, in this farming region, put it more in your and my own terms. When the wheat is ripe, you have to get the combine in the field quick or not at all. You must cut the grain before it shatters and is lost. You mount the combine and then just as you start out, someone comes along and says: "Here's a new driver. He says he can cut the wheat so not a grain will be lost. He hasn't ever driven a combine, but he has been reading about it off there in his office in New York, and he says he can do a wonderful job."

What are you going to say to that proposition? Why, before that new man could learn how to drive the machine, all the wheat would have shattered onto the ground, and as likely as not the combine would be wrecked to boot.

In other words, the Republican Party is now proposing nothing but that the Nation in a crisis should start experimenting with an unknown quantity.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, certainly no friend of President Roosevelt in this hour, but as we all admit, a newspaper of great independence, integrity, and intellect, put it well the other day—last Tuesday in fact—when it called Wendell Willkie to account for sniping at the President with an air rifle on trivial issues. I quote: "We imagine what voters want nowadays is a program they can ponder. Mr. Willkie, if he has a program, has failed to reveal it, except insofar as he accepts the President's own program. While Mr. Willkie promises jobs, he does not state how he is going to produce them."

And in that same issue the Post-Dispatch prints a cartoon showing the great issue of the day to be America's relation to the European war, and demanding that both parties stick to it.

With that we Democrats agree. We have recognized all along that there is really only one issue in this campaign—and that is the great international emergency and what we shall do to keep its sparks from setting our rooftops afire.

We have seen the forces, which damn democracy and crush Republican institutions, start their cruel, brutal work in central Europe, start in Austria and come westward, crushing and smashing as they come. Austria fell, Czechoslovakia fell, Poland fell. Denmark went down, so did Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, and this minute the bombs of nazidom are bursting on London.

Where will the bombs stop in their westward progress? Some in America are so fatuous as to dream in their smug fool's paradise that it can never happen here.

But it is the lesson of history that revolutions never stop till someone stops them either by use of force or with the show of impregnable force. The latter course is President Roosevelt's.

Conquerors are never satisfied. The lust for power feeds upon itself and will not be curbed until it runs bang into some mountainous fortress which sobers the aggressor and makes him think before he batters out his brains. You can't reason with revolutions—you can't argue with madmen. All you can do is bar your doors and call out the police. And under President Roosevelt the United States is calling up its own police—armies of its own young men who will rise so strong, with their ships, their tanks, their planes, that Hitler, after one look at them, will turn back and leave the New World, North and South America, to itself.

The United States has found one man who has proved he can match Hitler in statecraft, and that he knows how to prepare a country so thoroughly that peace will be assured without a single shot ever being fired at or by an American.

Only last week, in his masterful speech to the Teamsters' Union in Washington, D. C., President Roosevelt demonstrated his great diplomatic ability, the diplomacy which is based on common sense and his great and enduring love for human beings; and it is that kind of diplomacy—brains based on right instincts—which will bring us through. In giving anew his pledge to labor's rights the President voiced once more the hatred of war, the loathing of bloodshed and carnage which fills his heart.

What a travesty it is to say, as the Republican Party is now saying in its desperate and frenzied search for issues, that President Roosevelt is hurrying America into war.

You and I know that he is leading us into a state of preparedness that will assure us peace, not war.

But since they have raised this issue, let us look at the kind of man with which they find themselves burdened in this campaign.

Let us ask what kind of a President, what kind of a leader will Wendell Willkie be, granting that the national polls are all wrong and that he should by some miracle win the election.

Has there been one thing in Willkie's utterances to assure the Nation that he wouldn't go blundering and butting into calamity soon after becoming President? Has he talked or behaved like a leader who could keep the peace, or use diplomacy or brains in an emergency? Again and again he has used rash, heedless, violent words that went far beyond anything President Roosevelt has said about powers that threaten democracy.

On May 28, at Akron, Ohio, he said: "It is clear that England and France constitute our first line of defense against Hitler * * * it is enormously to our advantage to have them win. I should like to make this proposition. I should like to ask Secretary Hull to ask the democracies publicly what help, short of troops, the American people can give."

In short, Willkie stands ready to strip the United States of all its armed forces, if need be. He stands ready to send them overseas. If carried out, this would leave us helpless should Hitler succeed in crushing England.

Willkie was ready in May to go beyond anything the President proposed.

In his Elwood speech of acceptance, he spoke far more belligerently than President Roosevelt had ever done against totalitarian powers, and rushed on to shout a pugilistic defiance of Hitler—a vow to fight him in business or war, now and any time in the future. Is that the language, is that the mind, is that the temperament of a President?

Willkie, in August, was ready to commit the Nation to a belligerency beyond anything the President had considered.

No other Presidential candidate in the past three-quarters of a century has so clearly revealed his temperamental unfitness for the delicate task of guiding our ship of state. No other has shown such gross ignorance of recent history, no one made so many misstatements of fact. He has made them, I think, not in any attempt to deceive, but because he is by nature a hasty, blundering show-off, one who speaks before he thinks.

He spoke before he thought on the so-called conscription-of-industry amendment. This is, as you and I know, merely the policy of having capital bear the preparedness burden with men, share and share alike, and it is a policy that the vast majority of businessmen acknowledge to be just and fair. But Wendell Willkie hasn't anything in common with the vast majority of businessmen. He is a corporation lawyer, the front for large investors, not the type of businessman that you and I know. And in his blundering rashness he blurted out a denunciation of this so-called conscription of wealth and industry and thus revealed where his real interests lay, right with the Wall Street financiers who fatten on small-business men and consumers and laborers alike. He ran true to his life philosophy in placing property rights above human rights.

Then when his Republican managers had spanked him in private for his colossal blunder he came stumbling out with an even worse apology; he said he hadn't read the Overton-Russell amendment to the selective-service bill, which was the act in question.

Wouldn't the dictators of the Old World welcome an opponent of this kind? Is it any wonder that the Nazis and Fascists of Europe are all praying to such strange gods as they have for the defeat of Roosevelt and the election of Wendell Willkie?

Willkie has already dispelled the myth that he was a capable executive. He has torn to pieces the Republican organization. He has already insulted the whole city of Chicago, recklessly, even flippantly saying, "To hell with Chicago." In that city he recklessly let escape over the radio such a flood of profanity as to offend thousands of midwestern women who were listening in.

He is definitely not an executive—he is merely a bulldozing corporation lawyer who, with the power of big money behind him, is used to kicking everybody from his path, whether it be rival corporations or the little householder who thinks he is paying too much for electric light.

He doesn't take time to inform himself upon the subjects he wants to discuss. In Peoria, Ill., he disgusted thousands of listeners by declaring that President Roosevelt had telephoned European rulers and persuaded them to sell Czechoslovakia down the river. Even he hasn't tried to explain away that sheer invention. He has decided to let that one drop in the hope it will be forgotten.

He is like a conceited schoolboy who wants to sit in teacher's chair, ask all the questions, and give all the answers—even if they are wrong.

This campaign comes down to one question, one comparison, one choice: Who of the two candidates is the experienced man and who is the inexperienced man?

On the one hand is Roosevelt, trained as an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, trained as a Governor, trained as a student of history and statecraft—a man whose speeches show deep knowledge and a deeper understanding of the warp and woof of our national character. On the other hand is Willkie, who may know corporation law and the devious contrivances of high finance, but who betrays in every word his ignorance of either history, current events, or the hearts of his listeners.

The Republicans present a man unprepared and inadequate. The Presidency would be too much for him. If he should make as many mistakes in the first month in the White House as he has made in his first month on the stump, what a shambles our national economy and our international relations would present. Can America afford to entrust its destiny to a man whose only talent lies in actions which delight the stock gamblers?

What America needs in this crisis is more of the tried and true guidance Franklin D. Roosevelt has been giving our ship of state. From this meeting let the cry roll out across the Midwest to all the sister States, "The great Commonwealth of Michigan will not drop the pilot in a storm."

What a Yield of Cotton!

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMPTON P. FULMER

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. FULMER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting a very interesting editorial clipped from the State, a South Carolina daily paper.

It is very interesting to read the contents of this editorial at a time when we find numerous large papers in the various sections of the country, at least, one of these papers in my own State, all the time blessing out the agricultural program under the present administration as applied to cotton in the South.

Following 1905, as a general merchant and banker, doing a cash and credit business, I had the privilege of furnishing thousands of farmers fertilizer, other merchandise, and cash loans to produce crops.

At that time, and during all of the following years, until under the present administration, the farmer's attitude in connection with his farming operations was to buy all the fertilizer that he could get, and practically always on a credit basis, scattering this fertilizer over a considerable acreage, producing anywhere from 100 to 250 pounds of lint cotton per acre. Because of the large acreage planted in cotton, he was forever, in season and out of season, buying products that he should have produced on the farm, all of which destroyed purchasing power, which should have been used in purchasing things other than those things which should have been produced on the farm.

Annually I shipped in from outside of the State carload after carload of hay, corn, meal, grits, flour, meat, and many other farm products, when, as stated, farmers had a wonderful opportunity to become self-sustaining, thereby putting themselves in a position to use their cotton money in building up their farms and in buying other merchandise which they were unable to buy because of the lack of purchasing power.

When the 1938 Farm Act was passed I wrote the provision that placed in this bill a definite yardstick as to the acreage which could be planted in cotton on the farm, placing every farmer on an equal and fair basis, except giving to the small farmers an advantage.

Under this provision the farmer had the absolute right to sell all of the cotton that he could produce on this acreage without any interference whatever.

Under this program, you will note from this editorial, farmers are now doing that which the Extension Service has been trying to educate farmers to do for many years.

WHAT A YIELD OF COTTON!

Three hundred and fifty pounds of lint cotton per acre. That's the indicated average yield for South Carolina this year; and in that figure the State sees what it believes a developing story of incalculable importance to the future of South Carolina. If our farmers continue to farm as they are doing now, the years ahead are sunny years for them, and for many of the rest of us.

The average indicated yield for the United States is 250 pounds per acre, with a fraction of a pound to spare. The South Carolina prospects, as you see, top the national average by 100 pounds. That's great going. Keep it up, you farmers, and the time will come when South Carolina figures in general will rise upward toward national averages, and surpass more of them.

Look backward a moment and you will see more clearly what is happening. In the 5-year period, 1928 through 1932 (prior to con-

trol), the cotton area planted in South Carolina averaged 1,879,000 acres; and in those same 5 years the average yearly production was 856,000 bales.

Now consider current figures. The cotton acreage this year in South Carolina is 1,235,000. The indicated production is 903,000 bales.

Acreage is smaller by 34 percent, or 644,000 acres. But production is higher by an indicated 47,000 bales.

No trend of recent years promises more security and contentment for South Carolinians than this trend toward increased yields per acre. That means decreased costs of production. It also means more acres for other crops. Those 644,000 acres formerly planted in cotton are now in trees, pasturage, food, and feed crops; yet we have not sacrificed cotton to these other good purposes. What we have done is to learn more about growing cotton, and thus we have released all those acres for auxiliary farm uses.

In the 5-year period, 1928 through 1932, the average per-acre yield in South Carolina was but 219 pounds of lint; and in the 10-year period 1929 through 1938 the average was 251 pounds. In those days 251 pounds—half a bale to the acre—seemed great farming. But here we are now with a prospect of half a bale plus 100 pounds to the acre.

When will we harvest a full bale of 500 pounds per acre? That is an attainable goal. Hundreds of farmers do it now, and what hundreds do, thousands may do by learning and using the methods of the men who are out front. Those methods include such fundamentals as these: Seed selection and treatment against disease, selection of fields best suited to cotton, proper and adequate fertilization, good cultivation practices, and boll-weevil control.

We have heard a great deal about the Government assisting farmers to control their production, stating that it was undemocratic and against the rights and privileges of free people.

In that I am a farmer, and, as stated, have furnished farmers for many years, I am in a definite position to know that farmers operate as individuals, and, because of their peculiar situation, and because of their financial condition, they have never been able to organize so as to operate as a group, and, therefore, they have never been able to conduct their farming operations on that type of businesslike basis as do all other well-organized groups, industry, and business, and it is very necessary that this great class of people, who over long hours, at hard labor, are striving to feed and clothe the 130,000,000 people in the United States, should have the assistance of the Federal Government to do that which they should do but which they cannot do for themselves.

You will note that all other groups, industry, and business have a hog-tied organization operating under trade-practice rules and regulations formulated by associations of which they are members. Under this arrangement they are able to control their production, their distribution, and to fix prices.

Now, we have made wonderful strides under the farm program under the present administration. We have been so successful that even the Republican nominee for the Presidency of the United States, Mr. Willkie, has endorsed same to the last word.

However, I want to state frankly that until we definitely put farmers in a position to control their business like all other organized groups it is going to be impossible for farmers to compete with these groups, all of whom today use the farmers of the country for their own selfish grazing purposes.

Let me give you a practical and common-sense example of what I am talking about.

In the first place, I mean that industry has a complete control of its business, in that as stated, they operate under trade-practice rules and regulations, formulated by associations, of which they are members, which absolutely brings about a monopolistic control of first, production; second, distribution; and third, actually fixing prices.

Back in the old days, when I used to be engaged in a general mercantile and banking business, I handled many lines of merchandise. Even at that time I had to submit to the dictates of these monopolistic groups, or I would not be permitted to handle their goods.

Today it is common practice with all of these organized groups to actually control their production, distribution, and the fixing of prices through their distributing agencies, or through retail merchants.

When I was engaged in business, between the years 1905 and 1920, I had to sign a contract as a selling agency handling farm implements, so as to be able to handle their goods, and no one else in my home town could buy from these manufacturing concerns.

In that contract they not only named the cash and credit terms to me, but they set forth the cash and credit price to my farm customers.

If any agency at that time or at this time should cut these fixed prices, and they were reported by some other agency handling the same line of goods, the contract would be canceled.

If you do not believe what I am talking about, get in touch with some of the agencies who are handling the products of these large industries, or, better still, get in touch with Judge Arnold, of the Department of Justice, and ask him whether or not my statements are absolutely true.

The Department of Justice during the past year has been investigating numerous concerns, and I believe in every instance they have caught them with the goods; in fact, they have had a number of concerns to come in and pay up rather than to go to court.

They have numerous concerns at this time doing everything possible to have the Department of Justice delay prosecution, claiming that to interfere with industry at this time would be interfering with our national-defense program.

I want to state that this condition applies not only to those who are manufacturing farm implements but to every other large manufacturing industry in this country.

Some time ago we were holding investigations in the various sections of the country looking into the forestry situation. On several occasions I stated that the large manufacturers of lumber and pulpwood were operating under associations, under which they had formulated trade-practice rules and regulations, bring about a hog-tied monopoly in price fixing. This was denied by every one of the representatives of these associations—and, believe me, we had plenty of these representatives at each meeting—but before we had finished our hearings the Southern Pine Association, representing 11 Southern States, was hauled into the courts at New Orleans under these charges, and they paid their fines.

This may be good business on the part of these industries, but there are just one or two things which will have to be done if you ever expect to save agriculture, and that is, you either have to break down these monopolistic groups, putting them on full-time production and on a competitive basis in selling their goods, or the Federal Government, with the assistance of the States, will have to do that which farmers have never been able to do and never will be able to do; that is, organize so that they may be able to properly control their production or any surplus which they may have from time to time, being blessed with a good crop, as well as placing them in a position to absolutely distribute their farm products from the county on through the State and national agencies, where farm products can be properly graded, properly stored, and properly distributed, when and where needed, with the same type of bargaining power that these other groups have in actually fixing a fair price in line with parity.

Now, these well-organized groups state that there is nothing wrong with that, but the Government should have nothing to do with it. In other words, if farmers will organize and do the very same thing these groups are doing, why that is O. K.

They know just as well as you should know, if you know anything about the operations of farmers, that because of the fact that farmers operate as individuals, because of their financial condition, and the lack in a great many instances of proper business ability to do these things, they will never be able to do these necessary things which would place them in control of their production, distribution, and with needful bargaining power in securing fair prices.

Today farm products are being handled by thousands of middlemen, truck operators, hucksters, in fact, any and everybody who wants to operate between farmers and consumers, all of them, more or less, making a profit, and if anything is left, then that is given to the farmer.

There are thousands of parasites who never produced a living thing hanging around the cotton and grain exchanges, buying and selling from day to day, millions of bushels of wheat and millions of bales of cotton, never actually having in their possession a single bushel of wheat or a single bale of cotton. Prices go up and down from day to day, based on crop reports or any other type of rumor which might tend to put these gamblers and speculators in a position to put the price up or put the price down.

Now, if this is good for farmers who never know from day to day just what the price of cotton is going to be, why would it not be good for those who manufacture and sell trucks, automobiles, mowing machines, or threshing machines?

Why, these manufacturers would not be able to last until breakfast if these gamblers and speculators were permitted to buy and sell their products as they do farm products today.

In the first place, gamblers and speculators cannot handle these goods for the reason, as stated, the manufacturers of these products control their production, distribution, and the price.

Why, these groups keep posted as to the trend of purchasing power, and they govern their production accordingly. If purchasing power slows down, they begin to slow down their production. If it becomes bad, like prior to 1933, when speculators and these selfish groups had bled the purchasing power of the country white, they even close down, turning off their employees; but you never hear tell of their cutting prices. In other words, they maintain their fixed prices.

This is not true with farmers. When purchasing power slows down, which operates against farm prices, farmers invariably increase their planting with the hope of getting a larger production, hoping to get by with a larger crop which they realize will sell at a lower price.

Why, when farmers are blessed with a good crop, immediately these speculators and gamblers, as well as all organized groups who are buyers of farm products, proceed to put farm prices down.

Let me give you an example of what is happening today which is somewhat in line with what I am advocating.

Will anyone deny the fact that if we did not have a cotton-loan program that these gamblers and speculators, as well as these selfish groups, would not immediately proceed to sell cotton down to at least 5 or 6 cents per pound?

They cannot do it at this time for the reason that the loan figures have placed a flooring under the price. If they attempt to sell short they have not the cotton and cannot get it, in that farmers refuse to sell below the loan figure.

If they take the long side, increasing the price above the loan figure, farmers immediately begin to turn their cotton loose, thereby putting the long interest out of business.

Watch the buying and selling from day to day on the cotton exchanges, and you will see that these gamblers and speculators will remain right around the loan figures, and there is very little business being done on the cotton futures market.

In closing may I state that if we will place farmers in the same position that all of these selfish groups occupy today, who, apparently, are not concerned about a living thing except profit, you will find that the unemployed in the agricultural sections of the country will be able to get work.

You will not have to spend millions to make landowners out of tenants, and the great mass of boys and girls in the rural sections of the country who are growing up more or less uneducated or untrained, following annually in the footsteps of their fathers, will have an opportunity to live in line with those who are heiring millions annually under the operations of selfish monopolies.

Unless you are willing to do this, you are going to have to continue to pay subsidies, spending millions for relief, and eventually have in this country that which none of us would like to see.

We are long on talking about it, and perfectly willing to authorize the spending of millions in useless attempts, but when it comes to actually doing the thing which would bring results, because of the pressure on the part of the selfish groups who realize that it would interfere with their good grazing, you hesitate.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES HAWKS, JR.
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. HAWKS. Mr. Speaker, the third-term issue raises the most important question in the minds of all American citizens, namely, the indispensability of any one man.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that a paragraph from an editorial in the New York Times of date September 19, 1940, expresses not only my thoughts, but the thoughts of millions of our people. I would like to quote this paragraph:

> The doctrine of one man's indispensability is a new doctrine for this country. It is a doctrine which less scrupulous men in Europe have used to root themselves in power. It is a doctrine which we in the United States have good reason to question, particularly when we consider how the powers of the Presidency have grown, what immense patronage, what gigantic expenditures, what enormous power to perpetuate himself in office is now within the grasp of any President of the United States.

We must remember that Franklin Roosevelt, when asking for a third term, is the same man who, acting as the President of the United States, has never surrendered a single power that has been granted to him by the Congress. He is the same individual who has created one emergency after another in this country, and it is on the basis of emergency that he is trying to break American tradition.

He was the candidate for reelection in 1936 who said, on October 14 of that year:

> I believe—I have always believed and I will always believe—in private enterprise as the backbone of economic well-being in the United States.

Two days later, in Cleveland, Ohio, Mr. Roosevelt made this statement:

> I repeat here that the record shows that no administration in the history of the United States has done so much to encourage the business of the Nation.

Now let us take another closer look at this indispensable—self-styled—man who is seeking a third term. In an address at Madison Square Garden, in New York City, on October 31, 1939, he said:

> I should like to have it said of my first administration that in it the forces of selfishness and of lust for power met their match. I should like to have it said of my second administration that in it these forces met their master.

It is probably necessary to read between the lines to arrive at this conclusion, but I believe in that last statement Mr. Roosevelt's intentions to run for a third term can be very clearly seen. No American would think of running for a third term unless he wanted to be the master. Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini are masters.

On November 5 America will reach the crossroads. We will have an opportunity then to elect Mr. Willkie, and defeat Mr. Roosevelt, and thereby forever place a safeguard around a tradition that has the experience of our entire existence behind it.

Aid for England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ZEBULON WEAVER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

LETTER FROM A WORLD WAR VETERAN

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following letter from a World War veteran:

May I, a veteran of both Spanish-American and World Wars, disabled in action, add my feeble voice to that of the multitude now pleading for the fullest matériel support to England in her fight for the freedom of mankind? For the sake of the world's freedom Hitler's murderous machine must be crushed; if not, why are we arming? And, were it crushed, would not the uneasiness in every American home be at an end? So why not help crush it?

It is argued by the few isolationists that to help England is making war upon Germany. And yet we have been selling all manner of munitions and airplanes to Japan for years but they do not say we are making war on China.

Let us not get excited but be honest in realizing that if England's present demolition of Hitler's war factories, supplies, and men in Germany be still in greater degree increased, it will soon destroy his supporting supplies and doom the heart of his mighty murderous machine to collapse. And the grasping blood-sucking tentacles, reaching into other countries from this heart, will wither and die. Do we not know that the weaker Hitler gets, the safer we are?

He thinks, and he would like to have others think, that England, or any other country for that matter, cannot stand up under the murderous bombings of his air armadas. Yet, if England cannot stand up under the punishment he is inflicting on her, how can he stand up under still greater punishment that, with our help, England has demonstrated she can inflict upon him? If it will work one way, it must also work the other.

The isolationists appear to entertain the fear that if we help England with matériel, that an irresistible demand for our soldier manpower will inevitably follow. But a study of the situation reveals this contention to be utterly without basis. For England does not and will not need increased manpower until the worm turns and she needs them for the invasion and occupation of Germany. When this time occurs, and it will not be long with our unstinted help, England will land her forces on the offensive in Belgium, Holland, or France, the now humiliated and imprisoned millions of already experienced fighters in these countries, whose undying loyalty to their homelands and love for freedom will heroically flock to the British colors with hearts and souls set upon the complete destruction of German brutalistic, enslaving domination. These men, with loyal hearts, that anxiously await arms and ammunition and the opportunity to use them do by far outnumber all the men we contemplate training. Those who think and reason must surely see that there will never be any justified necessity for our troops going under fire on foreign soils. Hitler may get angry, but we are big enough to laugh at him no matter what he does.

The isolationists have also given birth to the fear that if we send matériel to England that we will not have enough here to defend ourselves with. They seem to overlook the fact that if we unstintingly supply England until Hitler is defeated there will never be any defending to be done here. These gentlemen, the isolationists, however sincere they may be, say selling these implements to England makes us at war with Germany. But truthfully, so long as we lose no lives we cannot be said to be in war. And of what import is there in their naming it war to satisfy and support themselves, so long as it saves the liberty of mankind? Let us break it down in analysis to its basic substance; we are preparing, though it be defensive, for war against Hitler; we build a gun to shoot to stop him; now, how can where it is fired, when it is fired, or by whom it is fired be of any consequence so long as it is fired for the purpose for which we built it? May not this same reasoning be justly applied to everything that we are manufacturing to stop Hitler with?

When England puts to as effective uses as we could, against Hitler, every implement of war that we sell her, is she not doing identically the very same thing with them that we intended to do when we built them? The only difference in England or our using them against the same enemy for the same purpose is that in England using them we lose no lives. So by helping England to the fullest possible extent are we not accomplishing our purpose of defending our freedom without the loss of a single life? And, furthermore, if Hitler can stand up under the impact of all we can manufacture and send to England, together with the now telling use of her own, we might just as well confess our inability to cope with him if we stood alone as the isolationists would have us do. Of course, Hitler being able to make an enduring stand against this combined force is about the most impossible thing a human being could imagine. But the thought shows the necessity and advantage in our uniting wholeheartedly in a determination that England must be helped in every way until she brings Hitler to his knees that we here may continue in peace and at liberty.

The merciless depredations of this international outlaw have been enough to stir the souls of men into invoking the soldiers' law of no man's land and giving him hell, in every way, from every quarter. No longer should we allow him to enjoy protection from our quibbling over the mythical legal technicalities of international law. By such actions he enjoys the same protection as do the Communists who use the constitutional right of free speech to cut our throats with. If the laws of our democracy are to prevent it from defending itself, then, clearly, how is it to perpetuate itself?

Who should care what Hitler thinks about what we do when his good will would only, in the end, prove a curse to any nation that had it? The isolationists will not see our view, but when it is all over these good gentlemen will thank us for having defended liberty in a manner contrary to their wishes. They still insist that everything we do is the "first step to war," when the historical fact is that absolute neutrality proved to be the "first step to war" for every country that has now lost its liberty.

With the highest respect for the sincerity of the isolated isolationists, may I say that fear never created nor unfurled our glorious flag on its mast, nor will fear ever keep it waving in the free breezes above us, but stern and determined fearless action "right now" will.

Obediently,

HERRMAN M. KNAUTH.

OTEEN, N. C., *September 30.*

The Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 1 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE MILWAUKEE SENTINEL

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, reports from the State of Wisconsin concerning the present attitude of prominent citizens of that State in reference to the preservation of the tradition against permitting any President to serve more than two terms make pertinent an editorial published in a leading newspaper of that State, the Milwaukee Sentinel, on July 6, 1939. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel of July 6, 1939]

NO THIRD TERM

"Should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views."—Thomas Jefferson.

Those "ambitious views" were never more a menace to the Nation than they are today, as Senator BURKE, of Nebraska, demonstrated in his radio broadcast defending his proposal, now before the Senate Judiciary Committee, to submit to the people a 6-year term, without reelection, amendment to the Constituion.

What Senator BURKE fears, as Jefferson and Jackson feared, is a dictatorship based on the plea of a "crisis"—precisely the same plea that consolidated Hitler, Mussolini, and Lenin in power.

Because of unemployment (which the New Deal has done nothing to remedy) and because, consequently, of the growing desire among the people to have "security at any price" (another extreme New Deal tenet), Senator BURKE pointed out that it would be the psychological moment for the rise of a "strong man" in the United States.

This would mean, if ever such a thing should come to pass here, that America would become a government of men rather than of law, as Senator BURKE truly says.

This menace of a third term (and why not a fourth and fifth term?) on the part of the present occupant of the White House is traced by Senator BURKE to its source in these words:

"The specter of unemployment in industry and of ruinous prices in agriculture has made our people more ready to accept schemes

for regimentation and control of industry and agriculture than would have been true a generation ago."

Indicating the present administration, Senator BURKE, a Jeffersonian Democrat, says:

"The Executive has usurped legislative powers and has even sought to encroach upon the powers of the judiciary. The effect of the trend of recent years has been to move away from a government of laws toward one of men and to subordinate principles to the discretion and whims of individuals.

"The temptation toward a perpetuation of the power of an existing administration never was so great as at present. Never has a comparable bureaucracy existed or its members had more reason to pull political wires to insure the security of their jobs. At no time in our history has an administration had such tremendous political powers through the distribution of public works, agricultural and other benefits and jobs. No political organization likes to relinquish power."

In the light of these facts, if the third-term tradition is broken next year, with the powerful reactionary totalitarian forces in back of the administration, no man could safely predict what form of government we would assume after 1941.

Certainly that form would no longer be the form that the founding fathers gave it—those founding fathers who, no matter what they disagreed on, were unanimously agreed on one point:

The danger of the growing or usurping power of the Executive.

Therefore, in view of our democratic traditions about a third term, the demand of Secretary Ickes and others that President Roosevelt shall have a third term is nothing less than an audacious invitation to Executive usurpation.

America is at the crossroads. It is now the time to take our stand before the world as the sworn enemy of the growing alien-founded doctrine that men are greater than laws and tried traditions.

And the way to do it is for the people to demand an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting a third term for any President and possibly limiting any President's incumbency in the office for more than a single 6-year term.

The answer at the polls is beyond the shadow of a doubt. It will be no third term by an overwhelming majority, as the Gallup poll indicated.

Kansas Like Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE COUNCIL BLUFFS (IOWA) NONPAREIL

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from A. M. Piper, of the Council Bluffs (Iowa) Nonpareil:

[From the Council Bluffs (Iowa) Nonpareil]

KANSAS LIKE IOWA

Kansas is having the same trouble with unemployment insurance that Iowa is having. A huge jackpot of Kansas money, $12,949,000, has piled up in Washington and the "reserve" is increasing at the rate of several millions of dollars per year.

In Kansas, as in Iowa, employment rolls of most firms are fairly stable. As a result the 3-percent tax produces about twice as much as the legitimate claims amount to. Many firms are paying unemployment-insurance taxes of 10 to 20 times the claims that can ever accrue against them.

The next session of the Kansas Legislature will be asked to reduce the tax immediately, but the question is whether the Federal Security Administration will approve such reduction. A refusal to approve would make any reduction impossible. The Federal Government has a strangle hold on the State employment-insurance systems. They have to do just what Washington says or the entire 3 percent goes into the Federal Treasury and no unemployment-insurance benefits are paid to employees in that State.

Several thousand Kansas employers are entitled to a reduction in their unemployment-insurance tax as a matter of justice. They have given steady employment to their workers for years; and even if they went out of business, they have more than enough on deposit to pay all of their workers the full limit of compensation for more than twice as long as the law requires.

Iowa employers will recognize this description of conditions in Kansas as identical with their own situation.

Federal authorities refuse to admit it, but the unemployment-insurance tax has put thousands of firms out of business all over the country, and the process continues with tragic regularity.

Result is that workers are losing good jobs that they have had for years. When a firm goes out of business the workers, of course, get unemployment benefits about 3 months. Then they are out on their own. Probably a million workers have lost their jobs during the last few years because the firms they worked for were put out of business by unemployment-insurance taxes.

Another effect that we have pointed out frequently is that small firms refuse to employ more than seven people, because the eighth employee makes their entire pay roll subject to the unemployment tax.

A reduction in the tax would relieve the situation enormously in Iowa, Kansas, and every other State. The crackpots in Washington will not permit any reduction if they can help it. To the contrary, they will increase the burden on business and put more firms out of existence if they are continued in power for another 4 years.

Hon. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILTON A. ROMJUE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. ROMJUE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I herewith include the following resolutions and newspaper reference pertaining to the Honorable James A. Farley, former Postmaster General of the United States:

[From the Columbus Evening Dispatch of September 28, 1940]

JIM FARLEY—ONE OF THE NATION'S BEST

Columbus has a distinguished visitor today—Jim Farley, the former Postmaster General—and this entire community is happy to extend a personal and human welcome to the man whose sunny disposition has won him countless numbers of friends throughout the Nation and whose personal character and ability have brought him universal admiration and respect.

He has devoted 7 years of conscientious service to his country which has few parallels in our times. Considering his capabilities, this service was rendered at great personal sacrifice. As both an outstanding Postmaster General and Cabinet member his place is secure in history.

A man of many interests and many sides, Farley has delved deeply and productively into the many tasks which have engaged his talents but has held constantly to those principles founded in conscience which have motivated him. Not in a generation has the Nation seen a man more immersed in politics, and yet not the slightest breath of political scandal ever touched him. Although always earnestly devoted to the practical success of his party, when a question arose vitally affecting the observance of an American policy his decision was instant and allegiance to his country became paramount to his interest in his party.

The Nation will not soon forget Jim Farley or his great contribution to high political standards of action, nor as a man, a political organizer, or a patriotic administrator of public office.

He carries with him into private life the wish of his countless friends that he may live long and prosper.

Resolution adopted at the Fortieth Annual Convention of the National Association of Postmasters, Columbus, Ohio, September 25–28, 1940

Whereas, during the past 7 years under the able guidance and leadership of the Honorable James A. Farley as Postmaster General, the Post Office Department has been operating on the most efficient basis in the entire history of the Postal Service, and

Whereas, at the time when the Honorable James A. Farley assumed his duties as Postmaster General on March 4, 1933, the Postal Service was being operated at a large annual net deficit—that of the fiscal year 1932 amounting to the amazing sum of $153,000,000, and

Whereas, through the adoption of sound business principles, by the practice of economy wherever possible without impairment of the Postal Service generally and the enthusiastic and wholehearted cooperation of each and every postmaster in the Postal Service, the postal revenues and expenditures have been brought into balance with respect to those services that are rendered for hire, and

Whereas, during 6 of the 7 years that Hon. James A. Farley has been Postmaster General, net operating postal surpluses of several million dollars per year have been recorded, and for the fiscal year just ended a net operating postal surplus of $8,000,000 has been recorded during a 12-month period when postal revenue reached a new all-time high of $766,000,000 and

Whereas, during the term of Hon. James A. Farley as Postmaster General postal expenditures have been reduced by millions of dol-

lars while at the same time providing many new and varied services to the public; and

Whereas, during the entire period while he was in office there have been many improvements made in the Postal Service, to mention some: Reduction of the hours of labor per week from 44 to 40; the extension of the Air Mail Service by thousands of miles—including the inauguration of trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific service which has been accomplished by a fourfold increase in air-mail poundage; the erection of 1,500 postoffices in every section of the country—involving an expenditure of approximately $315,000,000 without a single breath of scandal being connected with this large expenditure of Government funds; the issuance of new and attractive postage stamps, which increased the sales of stamps to collectors from $300,000 per year to $4,000,000 which figure represents a source of what might be termed clear profit to the Department; the establishment of rating and merit systems for employees in every branch of the Service; the lengthening of rural mail routes by several hundred thousand miles, so that rural patrons now served by this great system have been increased by more than 3,000,000, and the stabilization of the position of postmaster by legislation which placed first-, second-, and third-class postmasters under the civil service, one of the most significant extensions of the merit system in many years; and

Whereas, in all of his dealings with the postmasters, both official and social, the Honorable James A. Farley has been most considerate and gracious, and through his continued interest in the affairs of the National Association of Postmasters of the United States and his personal attendance at a large number of the conventions of State chapters, as well as his attendance at every national convention of our association, and his readiness at all times to cooperate in obtaining legislation that would be helpful to the Postal Service and the postmasters, and the further fact that it was his interest in the cause of the fourth-class postmasters that has brought about the extensive study of their problem and the preparation and introduction into the Congress of the pending legislation in an endeavor to solve for all time this most vexing problem—he has endeared himself to every postmaster and has built up a wonderful spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Postal Service among the postal employees and officials that has operated to bring about the outstanding achievements in the Postal Service, and meets with the wholehearted approval of the patrons of the Postal Service in every community in the land: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the National Association of Postmasters of the United States in convention assembled at Columbus, Ohio, on September 25, 26, 27, 28, 1940, do express our deep regret upon the Honorable James A. Farley severing his official connections with the Post Office Department and Postal Service, and wish for him many years of health, happiness, and prosperity, and assure him of the continued esteem and good will of every postmaster in the Postal Service.

Resolution adopted at the National Convention of the National League of District Postmasters, New York, N. Y., September 20, 1940

Resolved, That we convey to our former Postmaster General, James A. Farley, expressions of the high regard and affection held by the officers and members of the National League of District Postmasters during the 7½ years of his most capable and efficient administration of the Post Office Department. We deeply regret the contact he severed from amongst us when relinquishing the high place he held in public life, so well earned. We thank Mr. Farley for his attendance and talk at our luncheon held at the Hotel New Yorker, Thursday, September 19, 1940. The splendid ovation accorded him on this occasion gave full evidence of the love and esteem in which he is held by this organization. Our wishes for happiness and success will be with him through the years to come.

Unanimously approved by the convention of the National League of District Postmasters in regular session, September 20, 1940.

NEIL A. TARR, *Chairman*,
MARY E. LANDEN,
FRED V. OWEN,
Committee.

Freight Forwarders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE F. LEA
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. LEA. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House passed, under suspension, the bill H. R. 10398, amending the Interstate Commerce Act with regard to freight forwarders.

Through error, the text, as it appears in today's RECORD (p. 19431), mistakenly includes the following language:

That nothing in section 216 (c) shall be construed to grant freight forwarders the right to establish joint rates with common carriers by railroad and/or express and/or water.

The amended bill, as passed by the House, omitted the language above quoted. The correction has already been made in the engrossed bill, and I ask that the permanent RECORD be corrected to accord with the action taken by the House.

The Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM DITTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 1, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. J. WILLIAM DITTER, OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an address which I delivered at the Women's National Republican Club in New York City, Thursday evening, September 19, 1940, as follows:

Mrs. Hays, members and friends of the Women's National Republican Club, last week the President said he was "in a sort of quandary." He admitted it. In an address to the members of a convention meeting in Washington and carried on a Nation-wide radio hook-up he said that he did not know whether he was indulging in a "political speech or not." With the serious problems of his administration weighing so heavily upon him, it is unfortunate that this additional burden—the burden of satisfying his own conscience that statesmanship rather than politics is at stake—is laid on his shoulders. However, you and I, yes, and I believe the majority of the American people, lifted that load for him after he had finished the address.

Tonight I assume no feigned innocence. In fact, I appreciate the honor which is mine in having a part in the opening of this campaign which you are conducting as Republican women for the election of a Republican President and Vice President and a Republican Congress.

I recall my last visit with you. At that time I reminded you that, "The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world." I still believe that to be true I still believe that the devotion, the self-sacrifice, the energy—yes, and what is even more valuable—the influence of the womanhood of America will, in a large measure, be the redeeming force of the Republic in November. That influence is not confined to any class or creed or race. It lives in the humble home of every farm and factory worker. It throbs in the life of every family circle. It is woven into every faith. It springs from the hearts of every people. That influence has been the most faithful guardian of our traditions, the most devoted defenders of our faith, not only in the present, but as it will be in the future of America. That influence stands sure today as a bulwark of the safety and security of the Nation in a world gone mad with venom and hate.

But another quotation comes to my mind tonight as I contemplate the part you will take in this campaign. When I hear of the enthusiasm, of the activity, and of the persistency of the Republican women of America, I think the high priests of patronage and privilege at Washington are beginning to realize that "the female of the species is more deadly than the male." The women of America have a stake in its future and they intend to protect their investment.

It is gratifying to me, as I believe it is gratifying to every American who really cherishes the hope of the reestablishment of common sense in government to know that you, and with you thousands of other women, look to the Republican Party for leadership in this period of national crisis. Ours is a two-party system of government. If one-man government is to be avoided, if the ruthless rule of a dictator is to be prevented, if ordered liberty under the law is to be preserved, then that two-party system must be maintained. Without it, the form as well as the substance of self-government will be destroyed. The Republican Party accepts the challenge of leadership today. It accepted that challenge in Philadelphia last June. With a faith in the common sense, yes; and the common honesty too, of the American people, the Republican Party, at its convention, selected as its standard bearer a man of the people, a man who believes in the people, and a man who is determined to return to the people their right, and it is a right, to govern themselves. The Republican Party intends to make that man, Wendell L. Willkie, the next President of the United States. The party that gave to the Nation a Lincoln in the dark days of secession will respond to the call for leadership in these equally ominous hours of uncertainty.

From all parts of the country, from every city, town, and hamlet reports come to me that the new dealers are aware that this is a

real challenge. They are panicky over their prospects. They are disturbed to see a new spirit—a spirit of self-reliance—assert itself. They realize that the promises of the last 7 years are as gaunt as a totem pole and that the average American is in that class that cannot be fooled all of the time. They have been doing a lot of whistling in the dark to bolster their courage as the momentum of the Republican campaign and the Willkie candidacy has given increasing evidence that the days of the economic magicians and political soothsayers are numbered.

Most of their worry comes from the contemplation of what the collapse of the New Deal means to them individually. They are in much the same frame of mind as the venerable Negro cook of an old Virginia family. A guest from New York had tested the ability of a metropolitan chef in preparing Virginia ham. "How do they cook it?" the Virginian asked. "Well," said the New Yorker, "the chef cooks the ham for an hour in the finest sherry, then he cooks it for an hour in Burgundy wine, and finally he gives it another hour in rich champagne." The Virginian turned to the cook, "Well, Mose," he inquired, "what do you think of that recipe?" "It sure does sound good," Mose replied. "I don't think that ham is any better than ours, most likely not as good, but I sure would like to spend an evening with the gravy." The possible loss of the gravy of the New Deal is the thing that is causing deep furrows and added wrinkles to the worried heads in Washington.

For the last 7 years the Republican Party has been known as the party of opposition. And rightly so. I make no apology for it. I want to tell you very plainly tonight, so plainly that there can be no possibility of misunderstanding, that what is left today of real self-government, the type of government which is made of an independent legislative body and an independent Court, is due entirely to that opposition. At a matter of fact, if that opposition had not been alert, if that opposition had not been assertive, if there had not been men of courage and conviction, bold enough to contend and daring enough to combat the philosophy of the New Deal, the entire structure of our economic and political life would have been sabotaged by alien isms and ideals.

It is in this spirit, the spirit which believes that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," that the Republican Party enters this campaign. It opposes now, as it has opposed in the past, and as I hope it will continue to oppose in the future, those tendencies and the forces which bring them into being, which have sought to weaken the fiber and to destroy the texture of American life. Never before in the history of the Nation has there been a greater need for a positive position on fundamental issues. Never before has a clearer call to duty come. The Republican Party realizes its responsibility. It is conscious of its opportunity. We know that we have a task to do. And do it we will.

The campaign in which we are engaged introduces an entirely new issue—an issue that heretofore has not been presented to the American people. It involves an entirely new thought. It is based on an entirely new concept. It forecasts an entirely new outlook. It is not evolutionary, but revolutionary. That issue is the outgrowth of a new doctrine—new, at least, to our way of life and our understanding of the needs of freemen to govern themselves.

The doctrine itself is not new. It is as old as the tyrannies of Egypt, as reactionary as the rule of the Caesars, as despotic as the domination of the czars. It has been embraced by every ruler who has excused his despotism on the false premise that might makes right. It has paved the way for the fearful shadow that casts itself across Europe today, blasting the hopes and blighting the ambitions of resolute men to retain their rights as freemen. The doctrine is the doctrine of indispensability. And from that doctrine comes the major issue of this campaign—the issue of a third term.

That issue has been presented to the American people as a result of the action of the Democratic Party. Obviously the threat of a third term would not be here had not the Democratic Party sponsored it. And with equal emphasis let me say the Republican Party is opposed to it.

Some men cherish traditions. To these men traditions are guideposts by which to chart a course and fix a destination. Others delight in discrediting their value. To them traditions are barriers which must be broken down to permit an "unconfined and vagrant" exercise of power.

For the first time in our history a President has decided to violate the time-honored tradition against a third term. As a result the historic precedent established by Washington and cherished by the American people for almost a century and a half emerges from the realm of mere academic discussion to demand attention as a vital reality in our system of government. Perpetuated by the accord of 30 Presidents and the whole-hearted concurrence of a free people throughout the entire period of our national life, the two-term tradition has attained the high status of an unwritten part of our Constitution. Almost universally it has been considered as binding as if it were an integral part of the organic law itself, and as essential for the preservation of our fundamental liberties as the Bill of Rights.

It is now suggested that the doctrine of "indispensability" shall be substituted for the protection afforded by the precedent. That the popularity of a man rather than the soundness of principles is to be our mooring mast in a storm. Of course, it is absurd to say this is a matter of no consequence. You and I—yes, everyone—knows how much is at stake, the more so since the challenge to this recognized and accepted precedent comes when the institutions of freemen are being ruthlessly attacked throughout the civilized world. Manifestly, the threat is the more disturbing in this dark hour, when the foundations of freedom everywhere are being undermined and the lights of liberty are being extinguished one by one in many lands.

As a people we must make a decision—a momentous decision—a decision which will very seriously affect the welfare, the security, and the happiness of every man and woman, or every boy and girl in America. I need not exaggerate, the truth is all too plain to you and to every other thoughtful American. Will the violation of this precedent be helpful or harmful to us as we seek to strengthen our defenses against the forces of totalitarian dictators? In a very real sense, will the strength and the vitality of a free people be increased to meet the possible demands which may be made upon them by adopting the style and pattern of the avowed enemies of free institutions? To put it another way, is liberty its own best defender or its own worst enemy?

Despite the widespread changes which we have witnessed in recent years, I prefer, and I am sure you prefer to think that most Americans still cling to custom and treasure tradition. We believe that our way of life, including as it does our homes, our hearthstones, and our altars, I say we believe that our way of life and the institutions of government which make that way of life a reality are dependent to a large degree upon time-honored landmarks. To most of us experience has proved safer and certainly more satisfying in the long run than experiment in establishing our rules of conduct.

Until recently we could say with Edmund Burke, "Our country is not a thing of mere physical locality. It consists in a great measure, in the ancient order into which we are born." That order is being tested today. What is being done is an attempt to establish a new order—a new order which can probably best be characterized by a negative rather than by a positive description. It does not belong to the "horse and buggy" age. A positive description would make this new order a part of the "unconfined and vagrant" spirit which seeks to free itself from constitutional restraints and which today attempts to perpetuate itself in power. That new order depends for its existence on the deadening doctrine of indispensability.

The Republican Party has nothing in common with that deadening doctrine nor with the new order which rests upon it. We are just as much opposed to that doctrine as the President was in 1932, when he said, and I quote: "I have, I believe, avoided the delusion that this is a campaign of persons or personalities. To indulge in such a fantastic idea of my own individual importance would be to betray the common hope and the common cause that has brought us all together. * * * A great man left a watchword that we can well repeat: 'There is no indispensable man.'" I know the President was right when he made that declaration. And I know and I believe you know that the same watchword is worthwhile today, "There is no indispensable man."

The world events of today as well as the pages of history teach us lessons upon which we might well ponder. In every age and among every people the way of the dictator has been paved with the promises of bounties and with the assumption of power. The two have gone hand in hand. An indispensable man has provided the bounties and an ambitious man has assumed the power. For the first, people have surrendered their liberties, their rights, and their dearest possessions. By the second, these liberties, these rights, and these possessions have been made the stepping stones to still greater power. Out of it all has come only the bitter dregs of a cruel disappointment.

It seems to me the lesson is so plain that our own course should be crystal clear. The greatest danger to any system of self-government is the long and continued tenure in office of the head of the state. It is a danger against which Plato warned the Athenians thousands of years ago. The danger has not diminished with the years. You and I, yes, everyone, knows that human nature has not changed materially from what it was in the days of the Athenian Republic. Human frailties remain fairly constant, and what is more, the ambitions of men with power are exactly the same today as they have been in every age. "Lead us not into temptation," continues to be both a cry for protection and a confession of weakness.

A thirst for power has been well called the original sin of rulers. No amount of supplication has seemed sufficient to overcome the temptation when the opportunity to satisfy it has been afforded by the credulity of a people and the connivance of a band of contented confederates. An impatience of restraint asserts itself. An intolerance of opposition manifests itself. A conviction of personal rectitude expresses itself. And a sense of indispensability seeks to gratify itself by an appeal to popular favor. These are today, as they always have been, the necessary accompaniment to the piteous cries of loyalty demanded by the doctrinaires of indispensability. The thirst for power has been satisfied as the submission of the people has been made complete. We might with profit recall the warning of Jefferson issued more than a century ago when he said, "Wherever the real power of government lies there is danger of oppression."

With the threat of a third term, and if a third term then a fourth and a fifth and more terms, before us, the record of the last 7 years becomes exceedingly important. That record dovetails together into a plan of more and more power, and more and more control by the government over the affairs and activities of every individual citizen. The power and the control have been gained

by extolling dependency as a virtue and by condemning the courage of self-reliance as a shameful survival of the tooth and claw age. A land of make-believe with up-to-date rainbows and sunsets—a veritable land flowing with milk and honey has been painted as an inalienable right of every man. One emergency after another has accumulated a storehouse of disasters requiring the extraordinary and excessive concentration of power. Added to all this, and thrown in for good measure has been the year by year increase in Federal patronage—plums that always make good picking—new jobs that mean the making of more rules and the enforcing of more regulations, whittling down bit by bit the rights of the citizen and building up like one stone upon another a larger and larger concentration of power. From all indications it would appear that the administration has gone in for a mass production program of Federal jobs the number of which today has passed the million mark and with the program still going on at top speed.

The history of the New Deal from March 4, 1933, down to the present day, is a record of a retreat from individualism to collectivism, a retreat from a government of laws to a government of men, a retreat from restrained power to ever-expanding power. "The new instruments of power" of which the President spoke some months ago have been no mere accident, but appear to be a part of a course deliberately designed. They are not temporary expedients but permanent policies.

Much that has been done has been said to be due to a zeal for social betterment. All of us are hopeful that progress may be made along those lines. But as the need and value of social advancements is offered as a reason for the ever increasing centralization of power we should be mindful of the warning of Webster when he said, and I quote, "It is hardly too strong to say that the Constitution was made to guard the people against the dangers of good intentions, real or pretended. * * * There are men in all ages who mean to exercise power usefully—but who mean to exercise it. They mean to govern well—but they mean to govern, they promise to be kind masters, but they mean to be masters." Webster's words give a clear-cut picture of the issue before the American people.

That issue cannot be sidestepped. It cannot be avoided. To support a third term means the violation of a precedent established by Washington and followed by his successors to the present day. To oppose a third term means the confirmation of our faith in the wisdom of those whose devotion laid well the foundation of the Republic, and the steadfastness of those whose skill reared its superstructure. To support a third term is to invite the possible danger against which Webster warned. To oppose a third term is to reassert our self-reliance as well as our purpose to be our own masters. The issue is crystal clear: You and I—yes, every citizen—must make a choice, there is no middle road, a choice between an established course and an "unconfined and vagrant" adventure.

A few months ago the President said, "These are ominous days." I believe they are ominous, not only because of the lengthening shadow of a mighty war lord bent on conquest, but ominous because of the complacency of a people who, charged with a solemn stewardship, may be tempted to fail in that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

But I refuse to believe that we shall fail. I believe that a new and deeper consecration to spiritual values challenges the soul of America today. I believe that that consecration will inspire us to guard our heritage of liberty and to make America in truth the land of the free and the home of the brave.

An Amendment Worth Considering

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. BENDER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, United States Senator BURKE, of Nebraska, noting the division which President Roosevelt's campaign for a third term has created, is pushing the passage of a constitutional amendment to limit the term of office of a President to a 6-year single term with reelection prohibited. The amendment is before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee and witnesses have been expressing views on its wisdom with outspoken vigor. The amendment has had a long career. It was first introduced into the Seventy-fifth Congress 4 years ago, but in every Congress before and since amendments of this kind have been offered. Almost without exception they have proposed a 6-year limitation on the Presidency.

The debate produced by this proposal began back in 1787 at the Constitutional Convention. Edmund Randolph offered a program under which the President of the Nation would be selected by the Congress for a one-term tenure with reelection barred. A dozen other proposals were offered before the Committee of Eleven offered its plan for a 4-year term with reelection unmentioned. Two days after the committee reported, North Carolina's spokesman moved to extend the Presidential term to 7 years and lost by a vote of 8 States to 3. A second motion to make the term 6 years was defeated 9 to 2. At the State constitutional conventions held after the Constitution was drafted, Virginia and North Carolina recommended that Congress amend the Constitution to prohibit any person from being President for more than 8 years in any 16-year period. New York suggested an amendment prohibiting "a third time." Both proposals were unheeded.

Today the third term is no longer an academic question. The Burke amendment brings it dramatically to the attention of the Nation at a moment when it is being tested. Today the concentration of power in the hands of individuals, which has been going on at a tremendous rate since the World War, must give us food for thought. One-man government in Italy, Russia, Spain, Germany, Turkey, and Japan has pushed its way to incredible heights. The Burke amendment might well prevent it from continuing its march into our country. We must only hope that it does not come too late.

Air Safety Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HARDIN PETERSON

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

STATEMENT BY CHESTER G. MYERS, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR SAFE AIR TRAVEL, AVIATION DEFENSE ASSOCIATION, INC.

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to unanimous consent granted, I wish to call attention to a pending resolution—House Joint Resolution 601—introduced by myself, and I include herewith the following statement in support thereof by Hon. Chester G. Myers, chairman, Committee for Safe Air Travel, Hellam, Pa.:

I ask your support of House Joint Resolution 601 because the passage of this bill is necessary to our national air program as well as to the safety and well-being of our thousands of private pilots.

The bill authorizes the Work Projects Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps to assist in building and installing complete air-marking devices in every town and city in the United States. The sponsors of the bill earnestly hope that every community of 250 population or more will be air-marked in the near future.

The view has been expressed that this is a matter to be decided largely by the individual community. But, in a broader sense, it is very much the concern of the Federal Government to encourage such action on the part of communities everywhere.

The importance to our military aviation is easily apparent. If this country is ever attacked, we might be severely handicapped by lack of air markers. War moves at too swift a pace in these modern days to invite the confusion and loss of precious time which might conceivably result from lack of identification of some vital spot in our Nation.

But it is our thousands of private pilots who need the assistance of air markers most sorely. Year after year they travel the skyways of our country. Many of them are businessmen to whom time is money. They cannot afford to be lost in the air for hours. Others are aviation enthusiasts who fly their own planes for the sheer love of flying. Together, they form a great body of trained men of whom this country is justly proud and from whom we may reasonably expect to draw thousands of combat pilots in time of war.

The Federal Government is doing much to encourage these private pilots to spread their wings. But it must do more. We must

make absolutely certain that the danger of private air travel is reduced to a minimum.

Have you ever been lost in the sky? Let me assure you it is not a pleasant experience. One minute you are flying along on your course without a care in the world. Then you spot a thunderstorm ahead and you begin to dodge around it. When you have finally maneuvered your plane into the clear you may be 75 or 100 miles off your course. So, you look around for something—anything—that will help you to orient yourself. You notice that you are about to pass over a town and you hope and pray that its citizens have placed an air marker somewhere. But you circle vainly above that town and you fail to find anything that will help you to identify it. So you fly away and perhaps you pass over many more towns without markers. Your gasoline supply is getting low and you begin to worry about a forced landing. Then you come upon another town and there, staring at you boldly from a prominent location is the name of the town, a directional arrow and the name and distance of the nearest airport. You bless the farsighted citizens of that community as you set your course and continue on your journey.

Gentleman, incidents such as this are happening every day. Unfortunately, they do not always end so well. Sometimes the pilot does not find that last town—the one with the air marker—before his gasoline gives out. So he tries a forced landing, his plane crashes, and he is killed. Aviation suffers a loss in prestige, and the Nation suffers the loss of a trained pilot.

I repeat, we must do everything possible to make air travel both easy and safe. I believe every community will be glad to cooperate in this work when the purpose and necessity of it are thoroughly understood. But not every community is financially able to bear the full cost of labor and materials for the project. The Federal Government should not hesitate to extend a helping hand to such communities in the interests of national defense and aviation progress. This bill makes such support readily available.

I give you a slogan, "Every air marker may save a life," and I ask your wholehearted support of House Joint Resolution 601.

Real G. O. P. Fight Expected in Congressional Elections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS J. MYERS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

ARTICLE BY JAY FRANKLIN

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Jay Franklin, published in the Philadelphia Record of September 30, 1940:

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Record of September 30, 1940]

WE, THE PEOPLE—REAL G. O. P. FIGHT EXPECTED IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

(By Jay Franklin)

Now that Republican insiders have privately conceded the defeat of Wendell L. Willkie and the reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt by a vote of landslide proportions, the new dealers are awaiting the next Republican effort to prevent an effective popular sovereignty in the United States.

They are convinced that this will take the form of an earnest plea for the election of a Republican Congress as a check upon Roosevelt's reputed dictatorial tendencies. They will concede the President's reelection but urge the people at the same time to elect enough of his opponents to prevent the outcome from being a mandate for clear leadership and effective action.

DIVERT TREASURE CHEST

The argument behind this analysis is that the Republican treasure chest will be diverted to the congressional campaigns in an attempt to repeat the history of the last 4 years of deadlock. The 1936 mandate was never allowed to take effect, thanks to the long filibuster on the judiciary reform bill and the other farm and labor measures pledged to the voters by the victorious party.

The business recession of 1937–38 paved the way for substantial Republican gains which, thanks to the attempted purge, led to the creation of an anti New Deal coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats. This coalition effectively stalled or delayed legislative action on most measures of national importance—including the Neutrality Act and defense appropriations.

WAR A FACTOR

It has been only since the collapse of France that Congress has paid heed to the real necessities of the national emergency and even then with marked reluctance on the part of the minority party. If the Republican strategy succeeds this November, the country is offered the prospect of a President unable to command the cooperation of the National Legislature—and the possibility that HAMILTON FISH will be chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee and, if KEY PITTMAN is beaten in Nevada, that HIRAM JOHNSON (who is running as a Democrat as well as a Republican in California) may claim the post of chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs.

However, the new dealers are confident this Republican appeal for a Congress which will be hostile to President Roosevelt in time of grave national crisis will fall on deaf ears. The only evidence on this point is reassuring to the belief that a Roosevelt landslide will be accomplished by suitable Democratic-Progressive majorities in both branches of Congress.

WILSON'S CALL

In 1918, Woodrow Wilson called for the election of a Democratic Congress. Up to that point, politics had been adjourned for the war—and in fact the close election of 1916 had left the balance so even between the two major parties in Congress that it would not have been possible to wage the war against Germany on anything but a nonpartisan basis.

The voters promptly resented Wilson's attempt to play party politics with the national emergency and gave control over Congress to the war President's political opponents, who thus received a slim but sufficient mandate to frustrate Wilson's war policies and to sabotage his role in the peace settlement.

PARTY POLITICS

The new dealers believe the American voters in 1940 will equally and adequate resent any attempt by the Republican high command to play party politics with the national-defense crisis and that they will insist rather on electing men who will work with Roosevelt for national unity and national defense regardless of party.

Another factor which encourages that belief is the demonstrated habit of the majority of Americans in voting the straight ticket. It has never made sense to the average voter to elect a President and at the same time to elect his avowed enemies in order to prevent that President from accomplishing the national purposes for which he was elected.

NEED OPPOSITION

Granted that there is need for an intelligent opposition in our democracy, that purpose is being served increasingly by groups in the Democratic majority who can criticize and amend their party's proposals without thereby exposing national decisions to the caprice of partisanship.

Hence, the new dealers are optimistic as to the outcome of this anticipated maneuver, but they are definitely on their toes to mow it down when it comes.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, is this to continue to be a "government of the people, by the people, for the people," or is it to become the exclusive concern of an "indispensable man"? It has always been my understanding that when Abraham Lincoln declared "that this Nation, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth" he recognized as a fact that there must be a government of the people to insure order, safety, stability, and liberty under law for the welfare of human society. It was his conception, I believe, that a government "by the people" was the very antithesis of the "indispensable man" theory of government.

A government by the people excludes the very idea of control by external power apart from themselves and in no way responsible to them. If there was any one thing the founders of this Republic sought to achieve in the Constitution it was that the people should rule themselves. It was to be a government for the people, and not for any indispensable man or family or clique. It was to be a government

of laws and not of men. To vest vast powers in one man, whether by Congressional delegation of authority or otherwise is to make a hollow mockery of free government and to fasten upon this Republic a totalitarian philosophy completely foreign to a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

Daniel Webster referred to our Government as "The people's Government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people."

Abraham Lincoln referred to the danger of delegated power when he said: "I insist that if there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people to never intrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions." Mr. Speaker, the time to resist the doctrine of indispensability is now. The third-term issue, cloaked as indispensability, far transcends party lines. It marks a violent and dangerous departure from a tradition which has been honored and respected by every President of the United States with the one exception of President Franklin D. Roosevelt who now defies the tradition and demands of a free people that this time-honored safeguard to liberty be destroyed.

Old-Age Pension Legislation Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM INTERNATIONAL FALLS (MINN.) DAILY JOURNAL

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, while the war issues are overshadowing domestic conditions, I wish to point out to the administration that we still have those domestic issues with us. One of those issues is the problem of old-age assistance. This has been referred to under different names, but I want to urge upon Congress the need for national old-age pension legislation. The following editorial appeared in one of the newspapers in my district, and expresses the objections to the present inadequate social-security legislation. It also reminds us that the unemployment problem, as far as middle-aged people are concerned, is still a vital problem, and up to date, the governmental officials in charge of our legislative program have presented no solution. The editorial is as follows:

LIVING DEATH

The Journal, like all newspapers, receives many, many letters—some in praise, some in condemnation, some rational, some vituperative. That's all part of the profession.

But recently we were sent a letter which, for painting a picture of real human tragedy, stands almost alone in our files. No, it is not a story of death, or starvation, or physical suffering.

It is, instead, a story of living death. The story of one man whose story can be duplicated a million times throughout the Nation today.

The writer, who describes himself as a Journal reader for over 30 years, is about 60 years old, willing and able to work—but jobless for the last 10 years. In those 10 long, bitter years he has existed on a paltry governmental "subsistence" check which leaves not one penny over when the bare necessities of life have been purchased.

The writer is bitter—justifiably bitter. His life is barren and cast in a mold of what amounts to little more than an animal existence. The dignity and freedom of action which are inalienable counterparts of true democracy are not his.

And in that pathetically small, inadequate "pension check," we believe, is found one of the basic reasons for the growing dissatisfaction with New Deal "paternalism." It's a paternalism which is able to give only a third or a half of what is really necessary. It is a paternalism which, since the beginning of the depression, has been promising and promising and promising.

It is still promising. But 10,000,000 or more men are still unemployed.

It is still promising. But millions upon millions of Americans are living the same tawdry, unsatisfactory lives they suffered when those first promises were made.

And those lives will continue in the same cold, tragic path until the productive energies of the Nation are able to return to private, productive enterprise; * * * until these men of 60 or thereabouts—like our writer—find an economic society which can return their rightful independence by taking them off the dole and giving them jobs.

The unemployed of the United States are weary of this living death. Promises, they have found, are not pay checks.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, this editorial is no exaggeration. It pictures economic conditions in various parts of the United States, and certainly tells a true story of conditions in the district which I represent. The social-security legislation is wholly inadequate to meet the situation. Those who want to take care of the old folks will do well to consider national old-age pensions to replace the present so-called old-age assistance which is being administered by the Social Security Board.

While Congress is in session we would do well to examine our domestic economic structure, and this will not require any neglect of our national-defense program.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK O. HORTON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, "The love of power is a permanent human trait."

George Washington knew that to be true; so did Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson.

George Washington was the first of those three to refuse a third term. The civilized world at that time was tired of tyranny—they had been tyrannized too long. There was a powerful crowned head in every capital of Europe. And in every capital that crown was weakened by the example of a new nation of free men.

THIS IS NO TIME FOR A THIRD TERM

Anyone who looks fact in the face can see that absolutism, tyranny, has come back abroad. Indespensable men are definitely running Europe. They love power and to maintain it they have followed the pattern of tyrants since history began. They have regimented their people at home to secure that power. They have made war abroad to extend it.

THIRD TERMITES

With such a tide setting in the affairs of men, what sort of men are the advocates of a third term in the United States?

Who are the third termites?

Among the most vociferous in its favor is—

Earl Browder, recently convicted for passport fraud against the United States, and Communist candidate for President, who says:

The tradition against a third term for Presidency must be set aside.

If Browder wants a third term that is one reason why every decent American should suspect its danger to our Republic.

Boss Kelly, mayor of Chicago, says:

I suppose I was one of the very first to go on record for a third term.

If Boss Kelly and his rotten, gangster-controlled machine wants a third term that is just one more good reason why every decent American should be against it.

Boss Hague, mayor of Jersey City, says:

Absolutely 100 percent for a third term for Mr. Roosevelt.

If Boss Hague and his corrupt, autocratic machine wants a third term, that is still another good reason why every decent American should be against it.

Harold Ickes, who, the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, is quoted as saying should be driven out of office if he continues to lend aid and comfort to the enemy, says of the third term:

But, after all, what is a sacred tradition among friends.

And, we might ask, what is a sacred tradition to a man whose Government department is full of Communists anyway?

Henry Wallace, former Secretary of Agriculture, now candidate for Vice President on the New Deal ticket, is in favor of a third term. The gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, and his committee found 73 Communists employed in his department.

Mme. Secretary Perkins? Oh, yes, the madam and her 55 similarly branded employees all want a third term, and a third term to me means Wallace, Ickes, and the madam for 4 more years—perhaps 8 more—and even, perhaps, forevermore.

These three worthies, are, and will be, the third-termers' cabinet, and Roosevelt's closest advisers.

They are the three that such able men as Knudsen, Stettinius, and Budd are up against in the defense program, for the President and the Cabinet are their bosses. It is not assuring that the advice of competent and experienced industrialists can be accepted or rejected on the judgment of three people who have shown themselves to be not only out of their depths but out of sympathy with the problems and aims of American industry. Comforting thought that Wallace, Ickes, and the madam, along with 162 "reds" employed in their departments, can give or withhold approval of a defense program proposed by William Knudsen and his associates.

Who is head of the National Defense Advisory Council anyhow? It has no head. No chairman has been appointed. It is the President's function to appoint one. He does not do it. To date he has been acting chairman himself. But he has not been around much. If he does propose to lead the Defense Council he should be on the job. During a 40-day period in late July and August the President spent only 15 days in the White House. Twenty-five precious days out of the 40 the Defense Council had to struggle along without a head. And we all know that time is the essence of our defense.

What this country needs right now is a President, not a candidate for President, and especially not for a third term.

The third-term issue, with the world in the mess it is, has made decent, clear thinking almost impossible. Always there is the crawling worry, the half-admitted fear that this is not only a third term but a fourth and a fifth and a forever term. Every act of the President is clouded by the suspicion that, by each act, he is trying to consolidate his power and the power of his administration favorites. There is even the deep suspicion that his preparedness plans, so surrounded by mystery and evasion, are but a means to this end.

Mr. Roosevelt is no different than other men. He loves power. There is evidence of that to burn.

When he could not get what he wanted because the Supreme Court stood in his way, he tried to pack it.

When he found himself blocked in the Senate in this design, he tried to purge the Senators who blocked him.

He has invoked emergency after emergency to wrest the spending power from the people's representatives.

He preferred a subterfuge to open debate in the matter of the destroyer-naval base deal with Great Britain.

He let his political organization hire the sewerman to sit in the cellar in Chicago with a mike to draft him for a third term.

For power's sake, he is willing to use the dirty instruments of Hague of New Jersey and Kelly of Chicago.

He has permitted himself to be pushed along the road to war.

And now, with the test of his right to perpetuate himself in office not 6 weeks away, the choice of peace or war has been taken out of his hands before we are ready with even a popgun. That choice has been handed over by Hitler to the violent military party in Japan. And all our strivings to bring nonbelligerent help to Britain bids fair to blow up in our faces.

No third term. It is time to change. The people of the British Isles changed their administration in the nick of time. France changed her's too late.

A Third Term Will Peril Our Free Institutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. ELSTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Speaker, if there ever was a time in our history when a third term should not be granted, it is now. Neither the record of Mr. Roosevelt nor conditions in the world today warrants the scrapping of a tradition which has heretofore been considered as sacred as the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution.

To concede even the right of Mr. Roosevelt to seek a third term is to admit that Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson were wrong, and that for almost a century and a half the American people have been laboring under a delusion.

Washington's respect for the high office of President led him to believe that nothing short of extreme corruption or political depravity would ever make one occupying the high office of President seek a third term.

There cannot, in my judgment, be the least danger—

He said—

that the President will by any practicable intrigue ever be able to continue himself one moment in office, much less perpetuate himself in it, but in the last stage of corrupted morals and political depravity.

Apparently Washington never dreamed of a political system which would make it possible for a President to dictate his own nomination to a subservient convention a large part of the members of which were Federal officeholders.

Had Washington placed personal power above the welfare of his country, he could have offered three reasons for accepting a third term: There was no precedent to forbid it; he had been unanimously reelected; and there was an overwhelming demand that he continue in office. It was a critical time for the new Republic. He had two reasons for refusing: He did not consider himself indispensable; he knew that if the Republic was to survive, personal power must never become too great. In this connection let us refer to the only reason advanced by third-term candidate Roosevelt for his acceptance of his self-imposed nomination at Chicago, namely, that his conscience would not let him turn his back upon a call of service.

To Jefferson, more than any other man, the Nation was indebted for the Constitution that was relied upon to preserve the freedom that had been acquired at so costly a price. A grateful country demanded that he serve a third term. A selfish man could have found cause to continue, for the precedent of Washington was but 12 years old. But to Jefferson it was as much law as the Constitution itself. In declining to continue in the office of President, Jefferson said:

That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully.

So fixed became the examples of Washington and Jefferson that Madison and Monroe, who served two full terms each, gave no thought to a third term. Jackson, from the beginning of his term, let it be known that he favored a limitation of office. One hundred years after Washington declined to continue in office the Democratic Party went on record with this plank in its platform:

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic, established by custom and usage of 100 years, and sanctioned by the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

Although Calvin Coolidge let it be known that he was opposed to a third term, the Senate, on January 27, 1928, adopted what is known as the La Follette resolution, which provided that:

It is the sense of the Senate that the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions.

It is interesting to note that among those who in 1928 believed that any departure from the third-term tradition would "peril our free institutions" was Senator BARKLEY, the chairman of the convention which yielded to Mr. Roosevelt's personal demand that he be nominated for a third term, as well as several other Democratic Senators who have indicated an intention to vote for Mr. Roosevelt in November. I am sure the country will eagerly await an explanation as to why a departure from the third-term tradition will any the less peril American institutions in 1940 than it would in 1928.

In all history, Franklin D. Roosevelt is the only President who ever claimed to be indispensable. In the light of the mistakes and failures of his administration, his claim is fantastic. In 8 years he developed no plan for the reemployment of 10,000,000 men, although during that time he more than doubled the national debt. His fiscal policies, if continued, make bankruptcy inevitable. No nation on earth can long survive a deficit of $3,000,000,000 a year.

Even today the third-term candidate is without a national-defense policy. Less than 4 months ago, on two occasions, he made the statement that there was no further need for Congress to remain in session. In the light of events which have transpired since that time, it is clear that the President did not have the slightest notion of the needs of the country or of the seriousness of world conditions. Nor does he yet seem to grasp the situation, as shown by the demand of his congressional leaders that Congress now adjourn.

Notwithstanding the State Department claims to have had knowledge of the impending military alliance of Germany, Italy, and Japan, the President would have adjourned Congress, thus indicating either an amazing lack of knowledge of the seriousness of conditions or a belief that he alone is capable of dealing with them. The President's desire for adjournment of Congress in June was overruled by the solid Republican minority in the House and some of the Democratic Members who refused to yield to the White House lash. Since that time Congress has made appropriations for a two-ocean Navy. It has passed or authorized appropriations exceeding $15,000,000,000, and has authorized the President to call the National Guard into service. It has passed an excess-profits-tax law, a billion-dollar defense tax bill, and a number of other measures vital to the Nation from the standpoint of national defense. With this sordid record of short-sightedness on the part of the President, even those who have personal reasons for wishing to perpetuate Mr. Roosevelt in office find difficulty in convincing themselves of his indispensability.

President Roosevelt has more power than any other President ever possessed. He had the power to force his nomination at the Chicago convention. He had the power to destroy opposition before the convention and to punish those who dared to oppose him at the convention. When he demanded the nomination of Henry Wallace as his running mate, startled delegates said "No," but when the master's voice said "yes," Henry Wallace became the nominee, all indignation on the subject notwithstanding.

Who will claim that given a third term the President will not have even greater power to demand and enforce additional terms of office? Who will deny that in time he may not be able through the power of ever-increasing patronage and handouts to also dictate his election? Who but the bitterest partisan would have claimed that the President would endeavor to destroy the Supreme Court merely because that Court saw fit to disagree with him? Or who would have been so bold as to make the claim that he would attempt to purge from public life the Members of the legislative branch who refused to bow to the will of White House autocracy? Yet these things happened. What else may happen only a third term can tell. Though Jefferson and Jackson and other Presidents who served two terms, as well as the Democratic Party itself prior to 1940, have held inviolate the tradition established by Washington against a third term, in all fairness to Mr. Roosevelt it should be pointed out that the verdict is not unanimous. Earl Browder, a candidate of the Communist Party for President, now serving a sentence in the Federal penitentiary for using a false passport, said in 1939:

The tradition of the third term in the presidency must be set aside and President Roosevelt reelected.

Yes; we agree with the Democratic platform of 1896 and with the Senate viewpoint as expressed in 1928. American institutions are now in peril. After November 5, 1940, it may be too late to do anything about it.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KEAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. KEAN. Mr. Speaker, if a third term, why not a fourth and a fifth term? Certainly the longer Roosevelt stays in office, the more crises we will have, and to his corrupt political machines and his ever-swelling bureaucracy he will become more and more the "indispensable man," at least every fourth year in November.

Yes, we are in a crisis now, but we were also in a great crisis in 1932 and I do not remember Roosevelt, Michelson, or Ickes urging at that time that we should not change horses in the middle of the stream. Of course, you should change horses, if you have a better one available. Great Britain did not hesitate to do it to her own advantage.

When, for the first time in our history our production has made no gains in a decade, can one who has made a miserable failure of his domestic policy be trusted to make effective the vital defense program laid down by Congress?

Who is the real great isolationist? Borah, Johnson, and others may have talked of isolation, but he, Roosevelt, is the only one who has successfully practiced it, for he has isolated us from all the world. When he came into power we were friends of all. Now of the six great powers, only one is our friend.

God bless America! Yes. And God save America and make us strong to resist this menace within as well as the dangers from without.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. PLUMLEY

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, under permission given me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to say a few words about the third term.

In the first place, I prefer to heed the words of the spiritual father of the Democratic Party, Thomas Jefferson, than to

heed those of the spirited foster father of the New Deal, Thomas "Tommy the Cork" Corcoran.

I prefer to observe and be guided by the calm, measured, cogent, deathless voice of Thomas Jefferson, genius of government, as it comes to us from the depths of his grave, instead of the raucous, stentorian voice of the Kelly-Nash appointed superintendent of sewers, who from his hideout in the bowels of the earth and by virtue of his iron lungs, together with a hitherto unknown but highly effective auxiliary loudspeaker system, stampeded the last Democratic convention to jettison the precepts of its founding fathers.

The Kelly-Nash machine is for the third term, to be sure; so is the notorious Hague machine of New Jersey; so is Boss Crump of Tennessee; so is Boss Flynn of New York; so is the Pendergast machine of Missouri; so is that coterie of nonelected link boys with whom Candidate Roosevelt has surrounded himself—but, is it because they hold in reverence the republican form of government; is it because they are moralists who believe in and honor representative government, and all for which it stands? Of course not.

Jefferson, with the welfare of his country deeply at heart, felt it a solemn duty to do no act, nor to refrain from doing a positive act, which would essentially impair the principles upon which our republican form of government had its foundations. He warned of the perils to be avoided if his contemporaries and those who succeeded them wished to preserve representative government in the United States. He believed, and stated repeatedly, that under no circumstances should a President be allowed to serve in that office more than two terms, for to do so would be a backward step toward the tyrannical type of government from which our forefathers had fled; with the third, and the fourth, and the fifth terms would come the break-down of our Republic; to allow such a situation to exist would constitute in America a government of men rather than a government of law by men; with that principle violated, others would meet a similar fate in short order, and overnight liberty would vanish, and labor, the farmer, industry, and the professions would lock step to the whim of despots.

Sparta was, Athens was, Rome was, France was—God forbid that it may be written "The United States of America was." To prevent that we must preserve republican government here—and now. The most significant step we can take is to oppose a third term for any man, with the implications of ultimate disaster it portends for our country.

The campaign today is not Democrats against Republicans; it is one of Republicans and Democrats against America's national socialists.

There must be no third term.

The Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include some views on a third term:

Should a President consent to be a candidate for a third-term election I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views (Thomas Jefferson, founder of the Democratic Party, in his autobiography).

It (the third term) would mean ultimately the establishment in this country of a monarchy upon the ruins of our present republican form of government (Senator GEORGE W. NORRIS, United States Senator from Nebraska).

I would not vote for my own father for a third-term nomination. No man in the Nation is so big that there is not someone else among 130,000,000 people who can't take his place (Senator GUY GILLETTE, Democrat of Iowa, Associated Press, July 8, 1939).

The tradition of the third term in the Presidency must be set aside and President Roosevelt reelected (Earl Browder, Communist candidate for President, Madison Square Garden, May 12, 1939).

Mr. Speaker, in compelling the Democratic National Convention at Chicago recently to renominate him for the Presidency of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt also forced the country to face the third-term issue which either has been scrupulously avoided by his predecessors or fortunately escaped by the electorate.

The third-term prohibition was ordained by George Washington and confirmed by Thomas Jefferson. History makes it emphatic that Washington had settled the question of indispensability in his own mind before the close of his first term. He had upon his shoulders at the time the heaviest responsibility ever carried by any American statesman. He had been elected to office the first time unanimously in spirit as well as in fact. He had the responsibility of teaching the young Nation to walk, but when it became mobile and seemed to be on the way to success he believed another could be found to carry on. He did not hide behind "conscience" or personal indispensability as a pretext for retaining power and informed his contemporaries of his desire to step down.

He made his wishes known privately to Madison, Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, and Randolph, who urged him to accept another term. According to one historian, Washington said that many motives obligated him to suggest retirement; that were he to continue longer, it might give room to say that "having tasted the sweets of office, he could not do without them." Despite importunings of his contemporaries, he had not been able to persuade himself that his continuance in public life could be of so much necessity or importance as was conceived.

The record reveals that Washington, desiring to quit, was impelled not merely by the question of personal comfort but by concern about what he regarded the necessary rotation of office. So strong was his belief in rotation of office that he went ahead with a farewell address for retirement at the end of his first term. He handed a tentative draft of this proposed address to Madison, whose final paper, based on the Washington draft and conversations with Washington, preserved the following significant paragraph, almost in Washington's identical words, which the President approved and sent to Hamilton for review:

May I be allowed further to add as a consideration far more important, that an early example of rotation in office of so high and delicate a nature may equally accord with the republican spirit of our Constitution, and the ideas of liberty and safety entertained by the people.

Take note that this was toward the end of Washington's first term that he began to be alarmed about the principle of rotation in office. But the people were not yet ready to permit the master statesman and patriot to withdraw. It is worth observing that it was the people, and not Cabinet officers of the Ickes-Hopkins-Wallace variety, who were importuning Washington to take another term—a second term. An overwhelming vote of confidence made him the only President ever to be reelected unanimously.

Defenders of the third term have but one citation to use in behalf of the present third-term candidacy, and that is a letter written by Washington to Lafayette, before he had been elected President the first time, in which he said that under an extended view of this part of the subject—that of limited reeligibility—I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves of the services of any man, who in some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public.

It is well to observe that he made provision for the retention only of one who shall be deemed "universally most capable," and so forth. Certainly in the present situation no one will argue that the demand for a third term is universal. If that were true, the Democratic Party could close its headquarters and stop expense. And the large number of prominent Democrats who are declaring daily for Wendell Willkie would

seem to be sufficient evidence that Franklin D. Roosevelt is not deemed "universally most capable of serving the public."

But Washington did not consider himself vital to the continuance of the new Republic, although he might have been elected again unanimously, without engineering a draft of himself by his Cabinet officers and other officeholders.

All through the record runs the evidence of his opposition to continuing any man in the Presidency overlong, and when he retired the situation was analogous to the present. All Europe was threatened with war. Europe was being overrun by a war lord much the same as now, but George Washington refused to find in that situation any excuse for perpetuating himself in office. He had deep faith in men and depended upon the conscience of the future Presidents to save the country from the menace of a third term or its logical sequence, a dynasty.

There cannot, in my judgment—

Washington said—

be the least danger that the President will, by any practicable intrigue, ever be able to continue himself one moment in office, much less perpetuate himself in it but in the last stages of corrupted morals and political depravity.

Remarking on Washington's course in retiring at the end of a second term, a Member of Congress said in 1912:

The precedent of Washington in fixing the limit at two terms, ratified as it has been by his successors, has acquired the force of a constitutional limitation, and by prescription it has today the validity of positive law.

Replying formally to Washington's Farewell Address in December 1796, the House of Representatives declared:

For your country's sake, for the sake of republican liberty, it is our earnest wish that your example may be the guide of your successors, and thus, after being the ornament and safeguard of the present age, become the patrimony of our descendants.

Four days earlier the Senate had replied with this declaration:

The most effective consolation that we can offer for the loss that we are about to sustain, arises from the animating reflection that the influence of your example will contend to your successors.

Thomas Jefferson was in Europe when the Constitution was debated and ratified but in letters to contemporaries in the United States he raised, as one of his chief objections, the failure of the Constitution to provide a definite tenure for the President with an absolute bar to reeligibility for reelection. Almost the day he received a copy of the Constitution in Europe he began writing letters home containing strong references to the failure of the Constitutional Convention to enact a safeguard against Presidential perpetuation in office. To Madison he wrote:

I dislike, and greatly dislike, the abandonment in every instance, of the necessity of rotation in office, and, most particularly in the case of President.

To William Smith he wrote:

I fear much the effects of the perpetual reeligibility of the President.

He repeated this declaration to others and to Washington he wrote of the Constitution:

There are two things which I dislike strongly. First, the want of a declaration of rights.

This was added:

The second, the reeligibility of the President. This I fear will make an officer for life. I was such an enemy of monarchy before I came to Europe. I am ten thousand times more so since I have seen what they are.

A month later he wrote to Edward Carrington:

The second amendment which seems to me to be essential is the restoration of the principle of necessary rotation. Our jealousy is only put to sleep by the unlimited confidence we all repose in the person (Washington) to whom we all look as our President. After him inferior characters may perhaps succeed, and awaken us to the danger which his merit has led us into.

The Constitutional Convention had voted a limit of Presidential tenure but later voted it out.

Jefferson, too, intended to quit at the end of the first term, but found circumstances to induce him to continue, but on reelection he became more vocal than ever before in behalf of putting a limit on Presidential tenure. In January 1805, 2 months before he was to begin his second term, Jefferson wrote to his friend John Taylor:

Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after 8 years. I shall follow it. And a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to anyone after a while who shall endeavor to extend his term.

It is from the Taylor letter that third-termers have plucked a statement which, separated from its context, is used to justify a third term for Franklin D. Roosevelt. This passage is:

There is, however, but one circumstance which could engage my acquiescence in another election, to wit, such a division about a successor as might bring in a monarchy. But that circumstance is impossible.

Jefferson saw only one possible excuse for accepting a third-term nomination—that is, the threat of a monarchy; and Franklin D. Roosevelt has expressed no apprehension of that development; neither have those sycophants like Ickes, Hopkins, and Byrnes, who engineered the third-term nomination.

But 4 years later Jefferson appears to have arrived at the conclusion that there could be no excuse whatsoever for the third term. The letter to John Taylor, from which third-term apologists quote, was written in 1805. But here is how Jefferson expressed himself on the third term in 1809:

If the principle of rotation be a sound one, as I conscientiously believe it to be with respect to this office (the Presidency), no pretext should ever be permitted to dispense with it, because there will never be a time when real difficulties will not arise and furnish a plausible pretext for dispensation.

And this was the same Thomas Jefferson of whom Franklin Roosevelt said in 1932:

He was one who at all times looked farthest into the future, examining the ultimate effects on humanity of the actions of the present.

If Jefferson were living now, he would be more likely to express fear of fascism than monarchy, and fascism is brought about through the exact situation this country has today—self-perpetuation in office by a President who has unlimited power and unlimited Government funds to spend on every kind of pretext. Curiously and significantly it is to be observed that in all the scores of letters Jefferson wrote, sounding an alarm as to a third term, the one Taylor letter contains the only mention he ever made of any possible exception on his part to a third succession.

True, there is considerable division today as to Franklin D. Roosevelt's successor, but that division is only the healthy functioning of our democracy under the party system.

The opposition today is exactly as it was in Jefferson's day, the opposition of another party, but obviously Jefferson did not fear that or he would have expressed apprehension of Federalist domination rather than monarchy, the Federalists being at that time the opposing party.

In 1807 five State legislatures urged Jefferson to seek a third term. To the Vermont Legislature he replied:

That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the service of the Chief Magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years, will, in fact, become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that a representative government, responsible at short intervals of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle, and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor (Washington), should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office.

To Connecticut he wrote:

Having myself highly approved the example of an illustrious predecessor, in voluntarily retiring from the trust, which, if too long continued in the same hands, might become a subject of reasonable uneasiness and apprehension, I could not mistake my own duty when placed in a similar situation.

One of the most devout followers of the New Deal is Claude G. Bowers, the historian, who has subsisted for 7 years on New

Deal favor. Let this New Dealer speak for Jefferson and his anti-third-term obsession. Mr. Bowers says:

By the mere nodding of his head, by silence even, he could have been elected for a third term. But it was more natural for Jefferson to think of retiring than of breaking the precedent set by Washington. He had strongly regretted the absence of a constitutional prohibition of reelection to the Presidency, fearing that ambitious and unscrupulous men, once in power, might continue themselves indefinitely; but Washington's voluntary retirement at the end of a second term had reconciled him to the absence of a clause of limitation.

For 33 years Jefferson continued to cry out against the third term and when he was followed in office by two understudies, James Madison and James Monroe, both of them retired without seeking a third term or even mentioning the question. Obviously they felt that the precedent Washington had set had been established as an inviolably unwritten law by their mentor, Jefferson.

When Andrew Jackson came to the White House one of his first moves was to demand a limitation on Presidential tenure. In his first annual message to Congress he said it would seem advisable to limit the service of the Chief Magistrate to a single term of either 4 or 6 years. He repeated this request with increased confidence in his second annual message to Congress on December 1, 1834, when he said in part:

Could this be obtained and the office be limited to a single period of either 4 or 6 years, I think our liberties would possess an additional safeguard.

When Jackson's second term was drawing to a close there was no question but that he could be elected for a third term. William Wirt even commented:

My opinion is he may be President for life if he chooses.

But Jackson saw the danger and refused to permit his candidacy to be pressed.

Jackson's keen perception haunted him with the danger that lay in all the vast powers being acquired by the President which might be used to perpetuate himself in office. Indubitably he saw how a President, under the guise of official duty, might carry on in subtle fashion a political campaign that would be devastating even to the most honest and able opponent. The President's access to the press and all the avenues of publicity open to him as the country's Chief Magistrate were nothing then as compared with his advantages today, but Jackson sensed the dangers that lurked in such political advantage.

If Jackson were living today doubtless he would be amazed at the freedom with which the President can put his thoughts on the radio at almost any time and the broadcasting companies must carry what he has to say as a patriotic public service, while for the same outlet those who think there should be a change must in most cases pay to be heard. There was no radio in Jackson's day and no fireside chats, but Jackson had the political discernment, were he living today, to detect all the vast amount of propaganda in ostensibly nonpolitical Presidential radio speeches, in Presidential inspections of military defenses and public workers in all parts of the country. Jackson, like Jefferson, looked far into the future.

James Buchanan, a Democrat who was many years later to be elected President, said in 1829:

The example of Washington, which was followed by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, has forever determined that no President shall be more than once reelected. The principle has now become as sacred as if it were written in the Constitution.

In 1875 as Grant approached the end of his second term there was wide talk of him as a third-term possibility. He declared, "I do not want it any more than I wanted the first," and said he would accept the nomination if tendered but anti-third-termers, with Democratic leadership, would not let the matter rest at that. Representative William Springer, Democrat, of Illinois, introduced an anti-third-term resolution in the House and it passed by the overwhelming vote of 234 to 18. All Democrats voted for it and 80 percent of the Republicans present, including James A. Garfield. The Republicans supported the resolution as a matter of principle despite the fact that it was aimed at a Republican President.

The resolution declared that:

It is the opinion of the House that the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from office after their second term, has become by universal concurrence a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic and fraught with peril to our free institutions.

Grover Cleveland appears to have scented the danger of unlimited eligibility of the President for reelection, because in his speech in 1884 accepting his first nomination he said:

When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent when a horde of officeholders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with trained political assistance, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for reelection the most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent action which must characterize a government by the people.

The record shows that throughout its history up to the present nomination of the third-term candidate, the Democratic Party has had the third term on its mind and conscience. The Democratic National Convention of 1896, which gave William Jennings Bryan his first nomination, dispelled all fog as to its view of the question by adopting the following plank:

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic established by custom and usage of 100 years, and sanctioned by the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

William McKinley, Republican, was elected in 1896 and reelected by an increased majority in 1900. Soon after succeeding to his second term he heard rumors of a movement to renominate him for a third term, which caused him to proclaim:

I regret that the suggestion of a third term has been made. I will say now, once and for all, expressing a long-settled conviction, that I not only will not be a candidate for a third term, but I would not accept a nomination if it were tendered.

McKinley's assassination in 1901 put an end to such discussions.

Three years after William Howard Taft, Republican, retired from the Presidency following his defeat by a party split in 1912, he lectured on the Chief Magistrate and His Powers, before Columbia University and said:

I am strongly inclined to the view that it would have been a wiser provision, as it was at one time voted in the convention, to make the term of the President 6 or 7 years, and render him ineligible thereafter. Such a change would give the Executive greater courage and independence in the discharge of his duties. The absorbing and diverting interest in the reelection of the incumbent taken by the Federal civil servants who regard their own tenure as dependent upon his, would disappear and the efficiency of the administration in the last 8 months of the term would be maintained.

The Democratic convention which nominated Woodrow Wilson for President at Baltimore in 1912 included this plank in the platform:

We favor a single Presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution making the President of the United States ineligible to reelection, and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle.

President Wilson made no mention of this principle in his campaign, but when a constitutional amendment limiting the Presidential tenure to 6 years was pending before the House, after having been approved by the Senate, he wrote a letter to Representative A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania, expressing himself as follows:

It is the "illicit powers" of the Presidents, not their legitimate influence with the country, that the advocates of a constitutional change profess to be afraid of, and I heartily sympathize with them.

It is intolerable that any President should be permitted to determine who should succeed him—himself or another—by patronage or coercion, or by any sort of control of the machinery by which delegates to the nominating convention are chosen.

Put the present customary limitation of two terms into the Constitution, if you do not trust the people to take care of themselves, but make it two terms (not one), and give the President a chance to win the full service by proving himself fit for it.

The third-term issue was not to rock this country in the present century until the second term of Calvin Coolidge. Coolidge was popular. Like Roosevelt the "Great," he had been elected only once after having filled out the term of a President who died in office. It was easy, therefore, for Coolidge's admirers to argue that another election would not constitute a third term.

On August 2, 1927, Coolidge thought to lay the controversy by a statement phrased with the brevity characteristic of him which read:

I do not choose to run in 1928.

There is no doubt that Coolidge could have been renominated without drafting himself as Franklin D. Roosevelt has done, and could have been reelected, but he chose to make his position clear and to take this step almost a year before the Republican National Convention of 1928 so that other worthy candidacies were not stifled.

But the agitation persisted and the storm raged. Newspapers and magazines were beside themselves on the question and not all on one side. Speakers cried out for and against the renomination of Coolidge although there were no Coolidge crusaders of the type of Ickes, Hopkins, and Wallace in that period seeking to keep their own jobs afloat.

The matter was finally brought before the country officially when the current LA FOLLETTE dug up the old Springer resolution of 1875 and reintroduced it in the Senate. It was passed by 56 to 26 with the ardent support of several Democrats who are now supporting the third-term candidate, including Majority Leader BARKLEY, and by a number of Republicans, including Borah, CAPPER, FRAZIER, JOHNSON of California, NORRIS—now Independent—and NYE.

One of the longest and unquestionably the most vehement speeches favoring the resolution was delivered by Senator GEORGE NORRIS, of Nebraska, now an ardent supporter of the third-term candidate. Senator NORRIS spoke with deep unction and the usual sincerity and, in view of his present position on the third term, what he said at that time appears now of extraordinary importance. A digest of the most striking of his remarks follows:

My reason for supporting this resolution is one that has no partisanship in it, and is without regard whatever to any man or to any President. As I look at this resolution it is important; and while our action will have no legal effect, it may have some moral effect; it may have some historical effect. It may do some good; I think it will. I may be entirely mistaken about that. It is important, because, in my judgment, if a President of the United States were allowed to renominate himself as he could, it would mean—not perhaps in my lifetime, or it may not be in the lifetime of anyone here—but it would mean ultimately the establishment in this country of a monarchy upon the ruins of our present republican form of government.

A President wishing to be renominated, if he wants to use the power that is his, after he has been in office for some time, can compel his party * * * to renominate him * * * he is at the head of the (machine) that has the entire country within its grasp, and can, through the power that he possesses, using the officials who are under him and who range down to the lowest on the list, round up delegates; he can control conventions as no other man on earth can control them. * * * He nominates himself by using the instrumentality that the law gives him on account of his position, there is no competition; there is a trust, there is a monopoly of the nomination as far as his party is concerned. That is always injurious; that is always detrimental to a free government; that always tends toward the abolition of freedom on the part of the citizen and happiness on the part of humanity generally.

Suppose Coolidge is a saint. * * * Suppose all that; still that is no argument why this resolution should not be adopted, and that is no argument why we should not prevent, if we can, Presidents from being reelected to a third term.

Read Washington's Farewell Address, where he tells us about the danger of a precedent. The first time wrong is done and the precedent established it may be done by a good man with the best of intentions; but the precedent is established, and in the future years that precedent will be used by the demagog and the rascal to perform his tricks and to fool the people. * * *

We are either for or against the principle of a third term for any President of the United States.

Chief contention of most third termers now is that on account of the war in Europe an emergency exists which makes Franklin D. Roosevelt's services for another 4 years indispensable.

In the course of Senator NORRIS' speech Senator Hiram Bingham, Republican, of Connecticut, raised that question by projecting the suggestion that if in the midst of a great war the President's term of office should expire, the very life of the Republic might depend upon the reelection of the President. Senator NORRIS took great pains to discredit this suggestion, saying:

I cannot conceive that it would be as serious as the Senator puts it. The fact of a President's dying or his term of office expiring in the midst of a war does not demonstrate—and it does not follow from that—that the life of the country is dependent upon it.

Succinctly stated, the Republican Party has never permitted a third-term nomination by its conventions and Democratic statesmen from Thomas Jefferson down to the time that Franklin D. Roosevelt came to the White House have denounced the third term as a menace to American liberty and democracy.

Jefferson, Jackson, Buchanan, Taft, Grover Cleveland, McKinley, and Woodrow Wilson, it will be found by careful scrutiny of this document, all foresaw the danger inherent in growing Presidential powers which would make it possible for a President to renominate himself as Franklin D. Roosevelt has done.

As all the authorities cited so far have been members of either the Democratic or Republican Party it is perhaps only fair to quote a man who belongs to neither of those, even though he is on the side of the third term. The speaker this time is himself a candidate for President. He is Earl Browder who was the Communist candidate for President in 1936 and has been renominated again this year; also he is secretary general of the Communist Party of America.

Speaking under the auspices of the Young Communist League of the United States in Madison Square Garden on May 12, 1939, Browder said:

The tradition against a third term in the Presidency must be set aside and President Roosevelt reelected.

The Excess-Profits Tax Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, the conference report on the omnibus excess-profits tax, 5-year amortization, repeal-of-profit limitation bill has come back to the House. It is imperative that certain things be said about this measure in its final form.

It is true that early action on all these matters is most desirable, but some provisions of this conference report should not be allowed to go by without protest.

Under the terms of this bill, the only people who are going to pay any excess-profits taxes to speak of are some of the industries directly connected with defense and some of the new corporations which cannot use the average earnings plan of computing base-period profits. The great monopoly corporations of the country, indeed every corporation whose earnings have been in excess of 10 percent on capital during the 4-year base period will use the average earnings plan for computing their excess-profits tax credit, for under this plan there is no upper limit to the amount of base-period earnings that can be used as excess-profits tax credit. They will pay no excess-profits taxes until their earnings exceed the base-period earnings and in many cases this practically means that they can continue to make profits of 20, 30, and sometimes even 40 percent without paying any excess-profits taxes at all. New corporations and those with low earnings during

the base period must meanwhile use the percent of capital plan under which they must pay excess-profits taxes on all earnings of over 10 percent of capital. In other words, with the inclusion in the bill of the average earnings plan with no ceiling on what may be called normal profits, what the bill amounts to is an excess-profits tax on corporations that never made excess profits before. If they did make them before, then they can go right ahead making them now.

The House bill at least had the virtue of requiring a sort of penalty payment of 4 1/10 percent in addition to present rates on normal corporation taxes if they used the average-earnings plan. The conference report cuts this penalty tax to 2 percent—certainly not enough to discourage use of the average-earnings plan.

The action of the House conferees in insisting that the 3 1/10-percent increase in normal corporation income taxes apply only to corporations earning in excess of $25,000 is commendable and helps somewhat in equalizing the burdens as between large and small corporations.

The Senate bill was worse than the House bill on every count but one. That was that the Senate provided a $10,000 exemption instead of a $5,000 exemption from excess-profits tax payments as provided in the House bill. The conference accepted the House figure of $5,000.

Under the conference report version of the bill, holding companies are completely exempt from payment of any excess-profits taxes because no dividends received by one corporation from another one are to be taxed at all.

The House bill contained a provision which would have empowered the Government to prevent the dismantling of plants or facilities after the emergency, and under certain circumstances to purchase them from private owners where the cost had been largely borne by the Government through the very generous amortization provisions. The conference report strikes this out and leaves it up to administrative officials to decide in the case of each contract whether proper safeguards have been included to prevent destruction of the plant at a future time. Maybe this will work, for the Treasury position has been sound on this matter all along. But it is another case of Congress "passing the buck" and dodging its responsibility.

What ought to happen, of course, is that where 5-year, or less, amortization allowances have been granted, and where Government loans, repaid out of proceeds of Government contracts, have been used to finance construction, then the property should belong to the Government at the end of the amortization period. And in any case the Government should certainly have option to buy such property. For if we have not learned another thing from the experience of the World War and this emergency, we should certainly have learned that only Government stand-by plants, ready to go into full production of defense materials at a moment's notice, can be the answer to peak demands for defense material. Such plant was in existence at the close of the World War. Had it been acquired by the Government and held intact, even so terrible a thing as the Hercules blast, for example, would not have been such a blow to defense production as it was.

The American people, who expect of their Congress courageous action to equalize the burden and sacrifice of this defense program, can take little encouragement from this bill. The task of revising the tax laws of the Nation along sound lines, so that the burden will fall in accordance with ability to pay, is still to be undertaken. At present the heaviest taxes in proportion to income fall on the very poorest people in the United States. And this applies to Federal taxes as well as local ones. The job of thoroughgoing tax revision and of adopting income- and inheritance-tax rates which are in accord with the present national needs should be a first order of business in the next Congress.

Meanwhile, Congress has taken off all limitations on profits, has removed requirements for competitive bidding, and has provided the most sweeping amortization allowances. Even antitrust actions by the Department of Justice have been "held in abeyance" in the name of defense. Only a thin line of departmental purchasing officers stands between the American people and a repetition of the experiences of the World War as to the creation of vast fortunes through the profiteering method at the expense of the Government. It is too much to expect that thin line to do the whole job.

The House should adopt now House resolution 608, which would create a special committee to review and check upon the expenditure of all funds appropriated for defense. There is no other way we can discharge our responsibility; no other way we can prevent muckraking activities by other committees in the future. And may I ask what possible argument can be advanced against the setting up of such a committee?

Already one corporation is in receipt of contracts exceeding $1,000,000,000. Maybe this is all right. Maybe it is the only outfit that can take care of these contracts. Maybe it can and will do so on an equitable basis. But surely if such huge chunks of public money as this are to be paid to single corporations, the people of the United States have a right to know that they get value received. There is no other device that I know of except a Congressional committee that can give them that assurance.

English Predictions of American Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 1 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article written by me entitled, "English Publications Predict the Action of the United States With Great Accuracy."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ENGLISH JOURNALS PREDICT OUR ACTIONS

Since the beginning of the war, I have made it a point to read as many magazines and newspapers from belligerent countries as possible. I believe this approach is important although I realize the biased viewpoint expressed in belligerent publications. That is natural. There is no free press in a country at war but I do like to get as many different viewpoints as possible.

Many times I have found articles in these publications that predicted with almost uncanny accuracy what the United States would do. Weeks before the events transpired here, I found stories about their occurrence in these papers. Sometimes when these stories were picked up by our papers, they were denied by high Government officials, but soon afterward the story was found to be true instead of false, as charged by our own Government officials.

I have read the London newspapers with much interest. I have read the English magazines with the same interest. They seem to know more about the foreign policy of the United States than we do in the United States. It might be a lucky guess if they hit one or two of their stories right but when they repeat issue after issue, it points to some very striking inside information. It convinces me that the uncanny predictions are not from the journals far across the sea but from knowledge right here in Washington.

"EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN" FOR INVOLVEMENT

Many times I have spoken on the floor of the Senate about "an educational campaign" to involve our country in the turmoil of Europe.

When Raymond Moley, formerly assigned to the Department of State, said in his book that there was an educational campaign to be started, I did not entirely grasp the meaning. I know what he meant when he said:

"After Munich, Roosevelt at once summoned home our Ambassador to Berlin. There were consultations with Ambassadors Phillips, Kennedy, and Bullitt. The consensus seems to have been agreement that the time had come to do 'something practical' to stop Germany, Italy, and Japan, and to assist England and France. That

'something' was to be a revision of the Neutrality Act to permit France and England to buy guns and munitions in this country."

Then Mr. Moley comments:

"Observers recognized in these dramatic maneuverings signs of a State Department campaign to 'educate' the American public to the need for a 'stronger' foreign policy."

The drive apparently started 4 days after the incorporation of Austria into the Reich, on March 17, 1938, when Secretary Hull spoke of "collaboration" along "parallel lines" to prevent the spread of "the contagious scourge of treaty breaking and armed violence." It had been carried on through the device of speeches and statements by administration subordinates during the spring and summer. In the autumn it seems to have been given impetus with the mysterious spread of fear-provoking stories out of Washington. The President himself had helped the "educational" campaign along with the announcement, in his annual message of January 4, 1939, that "there are many ways short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words, of bringing home to aggressor governments the aggregate sentiments of our own people."

But now, after January 10, and the Ambassadors' reports on conditions in Europe, a new argument gained currency. One variant of it was the statement that the preservation of the British sea power was essential to our national future. Another had been phrased by the Marquess of Lothian, recently appointed British Ambassador to the United States, months before. "The British Commonwealth," it ran, "is the United States' outer ring of security. * * * If it disappears or is smashed by the Fascist states, so that Gibraltar, the Suez, Singapore, Capetown, and the Falkland Islands fall into the hands of Germany, Italy, or Japan, then, as the British Empire disintegrates, the military powers would crowd around the United States."

To still a third variant, it was charged, the President gave expression late in January, after the fateful crash of a new bomber designed for the United States Army drew the veil from an airplane deal with the French that mysteriously began in the Treasury, moved from there to the White House, and from there to the War and Navy Departments, with the State Department apparently looking on inactively while Ambassador Bullitt acted as master of ceremonies.

FRONTIER-ON-RHINE INCIDENT

When the lid blew off this transaction, the President, instead of giving out the facts to the public, called in the Senate Military Affairs Committee, clamped a gag on them, addressed them for an hour and a half, and then sent them packing. He must have known that to talk to a considerable number of Members of Congress under such circumstances was to invite not only leaks but the most unhealthy speculation. At any rate, stories of a fantastic foreign policy emerged. The President was alleged to have said that America's frontier was on the Rhine.

This story was heatedly denied by the President on February 3. "Some boob" among the Senators had "thought that one up," Roosevelt exploded, and the newspapers had embroidered it into "a deliberate lie."

But the facts were still not made public, though even so stanch a supporter of the President as Senator Logan, of Kentucky, said that he remembered "something being said about our frontier being in France." Instead, a vague four-point statement of American policy was given the press—a statement which left the Senate, the newspapers, and the country cold because it did not explain the bungled plane deal, it did not make clear what American interests were so endangered that the facts must remain a secret, and it certainly did not convince reasonable people that the administration was not up to its neck in the game of power politics.

LORD LOTHIAN'S ROUND TABLE PREDICTS

Then my mind went back to an article in the Round Table, a well-known English magazine that had been founded by Lord Lothian, the present English Ambassador to the United States, and the well-known director of English propaganda here. I went back over the issues of the Round Table to review the article I had read before. In the March issue of 1938 (more than a year and a half before the start of the war, long before the entrance of German troops in Poland), I noted this reference:

"President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull, together with many private citizens and authorities, are struggling to conduct an educational campaign." Against what? The article states, "As ever the dominant feeling dictated by the continents deceptive physical isolation is 'stay at home and stay out of trouble'." It refers to this "stay at home and stay out of trouble" desire of America as a "narcotic emotion."

But it does not give the President and the Secretary of State much hope (remember this was in March 1938). The article says:

"They (referring to the President and Secretary of State) are making perilously little headway, and when demagogues among the isolationists begin to attack the nascent world cooperation policies of the administration their slogans evoke an immediate emotional response."

After discussing public opinion in the United States, the Round Table comments:

"Sharply contrasting with mass opinion are the leaders, who include the President and his foreign-policy advisers, many of the most important newspapers, and various eminent students of the world problem like former Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson. These leaders are promoting a strong and positive policy. They would like to press forward with the Hull trade program on the one hand and, on the other, to evolve new means of political collaboration with the democratic nations. As to the Far East, they favor economically coercive steps toward Japan, and some of them are talking freely of a possible Anglo-American naval blockade—a step that is miles beyond what public opinion would support in anything like its present mood.

"Mainly, however, these crusaders are trying to create an American state of mind. They want to make the world safe for democracy again. They are in about the 1915–16 American mental state. Secretary Hull is probably the most keenly aroused member of the group, along with former Secretary Stimson. Mr. Norman Davis, the President's Ambassador at Large, is an active spokesman for the crusade, both publicly and in small private gatherings. The President himself may soon make another radio speech on the subject, which he has only touched briefly in public utterances since his Chicago speech. He has, however, talked freely and pointedly to many private visitors to his study.

"Behind this fairly well-known 'educational' activity of the leaders there is a great deal of other movement which would be more disquieting if it were known to isolationist opinion. The President's discussions with his naval officers have definitely dealt with the possibility of a long-range blockade of Japan. Through representatives, he has been in closest touch with the British Government. Capt. R. E. Ingersoll, Chief of the War Plans Division of the Navy Department, spent late December and early January in London, conferring with the Admiralty. His outward mission was to find out what is happening technically in British naval construction, particularly as concerns new battleships and the caliber of guns they mount. Another obvious job was to find out if the Admiralty possesses any information unknown in Washington about the rumored new Japanese battleships, supposed to be of some 46,000 tons and mounting 18-inch guns. But a mission of even more importance to both Governments, it may safely be assumed, was to discuss the possibility and ways and means of naval cooperation in the Far East. Captain Ingersoll's unheralded visit suggests in essence the exchanges of information in pre-war days—or in the last year or two—between Paris and London, but it has no such precedent in Anglo-American relations.

"When the general public comes to know of these goings-on, opinion may well take fright, reasonably or not. A certain mistrust of President Roosevelt's foreign policies has long been brewing, particularly among some of the more ardent new dealers who believe that overseas adventuring gets in the way of domestic reforms. Most of the zealous Roosevelt revolutionaries, as a matter of fact, are either indifferent to foreign policy or would prefer to see a more or less closed economy, under their management. There are occasional exceptions, and the zealots have generally given Secretary Hull a clear berth, but their views may become more important if they join with the many isolationists in Congress."

I read this issue very carefully and then referred to the June 1938 issue of the magazine. I found that the President had been conferring with the prime ministers of the foreign countries and no notice of such conferences—presumably over the trans-Atlantic telephone—could be found in the papers of the United States, although we had been assured there would be "no secrets withheld."

PRESIDENT APPROVES ITALO-BRITISH PACT

In the article, America in the Balance, I found that this English paper had said that the President had approved the Italo-British pact after "an appeal from the British Prime Minister." This is the same Italy and the same foreign policy of which the President spoke in Charlottesville in his now famous "stab in the back" speech.

But let's read from the Lothian Round Table:

"But American opinion, it is still necessary to insist, basically wants to stay out of trouble and would resist any effort of the administration to lead it into a policy of active intervention abroad. There is another powerful damper on the anti-Fascist pressure groups. It is the major part of the State Department—the career service. These officials, from the very able Under Secretary Sumner Welles down, take an informed and realistic view toward Europe. They have a good deal of sympathy with the Italo-British pact. They oppose a sharp cleavage between the democracies and the dictatorships. They do not believe the solution of the world crisis is to "crack down" on the dictatorships. They favor the slow solution—the sort of efforts which to them seem to be typified by Great Britain's painful diplomacy.

"It was this group which secured President Roosevelt's prim little diplomatic statement blessing the Italo-British pact. According to strong Washington report, this statement was issued after an appeal from the British Prime Minister. Be that as it may, the statement greatly surprised American observers. They had not realized the power of the diplomatists in the State Department, and they had perhaps been overimpressed by the influence of the pressure groups on the anti-Fascist side."

But, at that the Round Table wasn't certain of the President. They accused him of "pulling new rabbits from the hat, even the tall silk hat of diplomacy" when he was having domestic trouble. I shall quote the exact words:

"There is in sight no new contribution of the United States to the solution of the world crisis. President Roosevelt is always capable of pulling new rabbits from the hat, even the tall silk hat of diplomacy, and he is always likely to do so when he is in internal difficulties. But, such events are unpredictable. True enough, he has been conferring lately at length with his principal foreign-affairs adviser, Ambassador Bullitt, but this young man has latterly seemed to lean toward the cautious side."

ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN

As we all know, the terrible slaughter in Europe began in September 1939. But in the September 1938 issue of the Round Table, we find that this educational campaign was well under way. Long before the war started, they had started to educate the people for active intervention in the coming war abroad.

The issue notes these statements:

"And thus we come to the present points of friction with Germany. For most of the air swishings have reference to that country. Perhaps it would be too much to say that there has been deliberate exaggeration of the points of friction by American officials; but certainly there has been no tempering of American protests against German actions. Here are some of the sore spots. First, Germany is the only country in the world to which the United States denies most-favored-nation treatment in the application of reciprocal trade agreements. Secondly, the United States is taking the lead in the refugee conference at Evian, an activity which is directly critical of German policy. Thirdly, the United States has refused helium to German dirigibles, after having passed a special act of Congress to permit such export, on the specific ground that it might be used for military purposes. Next, a spy plot in the United States, involving the indictment of 18 Germans, was played up by the Government with zest and thoroughness, even more, perhaps, than the occasion warranted. The cases may drag on indefinitely. Finally, public officials are increasingly critical of Germany in their speeches, and no effort is being made to smooth over these affairs—which could be done quite easily.

"In short, it has become good politics to be anti-German.

"It (the anti-German group) includes all those who sympathize with Czechoslovakia—founded as it was in Pittsburgh and Washington. It includes extremely powerful financial and mercantile leaders, lawyers, and professional men, and a good many ordinary people who sympathize with under dogs."

ALONG THE ROAD TO 1917

Remember this was a year before the war broke out. Remember this was long before the bombing of London. Remember this was long before the invasion of Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Denmark, and Norway.

The English magazine advised in its September 1938 issue that we were "along the road to 1917." To be exact, I quote the reference from the magazine:

"The whole combination of circumstances seems to prove that the United States is part way along the road to 1917—with only the slightest fraction of the pro-Central Powers and anti-British sentiment that existed from 1914 to 1917. Such is the dominant emotion in front of which Secretary Hull is conducting his air swishings. But what does the emotion mean in practical terms? The answer is hard to give. There is still a universal and powerful substratum of isolationist opinion to counteract the emotional dislike of the dictators. It says: 'Stay at home. Stay out of trouble.' One of the ablest new dealers, Jerome N. Frank, has just published a strong book advocating a completely isolationist policy—politically and economically. But somehow the emotional base of public opinion seems rather tindery as the months go by."

This "educational" campaign was to do what? Well, as you noted in the article, it was going to counteract the isolation sentiment because we were "part way along the road to 1917." What does 1917 mean? I do not think I need say what it meant. It meant war, war in which some of the finest young men in America were killed. A war in which these young men fought for the high ideal of "making the world safe for democracy;" a war in which these patriotic men of our country were killed and wounded because it was "a war to end all wars." Yes, by September 1938, the English-published Round Table predicted with much enthusiasm and hope that we were well along that road—the road of actual intervention in Europe's war.

They knew it in September 1938, a year before the war when our own officials were proclaiming the opposite course to all of the country.

I intend to discuss other English publications later. The people of this country should find out if there have not been secret understandings, agreements, and commitments.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY O. TALLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. TALLE. Mr. Speaker, an ancient proverb states that—

A journey of a thousand miles begins with but a single step.

When one contemplates what has happened in the United States during the past 7 years, it is not too much to say that the results are a thousand miles from what anyone thought could happen here. Step by step, the Federal Government has assumed greater and greater control over the lives and fortunes of the American people. And, step by step, the Chief Executive has assumed greater and greater power in a government which for more than a century and a half has consisted of three coordinate branches—the legislative, the judicial, and the executive.

In this process of remaking America, old-established practices have been ridiculed, precedents broken, and traditions discarded. Each departure from the accepted standards of governmental conduct has made the next easier. The net effect is that the American people are now called upon to determine whether the third-term tradition hallowed by more than 150 years of faithful observance has any meaning in 1940. In November America must choose between a government by men as against a government by law.

This step is a serious one. It is ever more serious because of the steps which have preceded it. Call to mind the repudiation of the Democratic platform of 1932, the regimentation under the N. R. A., the attack upon the Supreme Court, the intent of the reorganization bill, the "purge" which followed this bill, the searching for flimsy legal excuses to justify acts not contemplated by law, and the ever-increasing demand for more and more power centered in the hands of the President. It is the old, old story of power feeding on power. The New Deal is the oldest "deal" in history. In the days of the ancient Hebrews and Hindus the "big boss" was the "priestly lawgiver." Today his counterpart is the "indispensable man."

This momentous decision, I repeat, is crucial. The Chief Executive wants to perpetuate himself in office. He wants more and more power. As more and more functions are taken over by the executive department, more and more persons are at his beck and call. Only those about him who are "yes men" are palatable to his taste. They hold his favor because they no longer are free men. For it is as true today as when first recorded in Holy Writ that—

The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib.

There must be no third term.

The American Farm Program and Papal Teaching

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VINCENT F. HARRINGTON

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

ARTICLE BY REV. DR. MAURICE S. SHEEHY, OF CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include therein an article by the Reverend Dr. Maurice S. Sheehy, head of the department of religious education of the Catholic University of America. It commands more than passing attention in light of our internal economics, the present world situation, and the teachings of the Catholic Church. It appeared in the Dubuque (Iowa) Daily Tribune.

[From the Dubuque (Iowa) Daily Tribune of September 27, 1940]

HAS SOCIAL JUSTICE BEEN APPLIED?

(By Rev. Dr. Maurice S. Sheehy, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.)

Back in 1932 corn was selling for 10 cents a bushel and wheat for 30 cents. The whole South faced bankruptcy because cotton was bringing only 5 cents a pound. In Iowa, my native State, sheriffs and their deputies, on a number of occasions, were manhandled when they attempted to conduct foreclosures on farm properties. A lawyer was tarred and feathered, and a Federal judge was carried out of town on a rail and threatened with hanging by an angry mob of farmers. This was in 1932—only a year after the late Pope Pius XI had written with prophetic foresight:

"Unless serious attempts be made with all energy and without delay to put them into practice (he referred to Christian principles of social justice) let nobody persuade himself that the peace and tranquillity of human society can be effectively defended against the forces of revolution."

Today, wheat sells for 70 cents, corn for 55; cotton is 9 cents a pound. Farm income is twice what it was back in 1932. The purchasing power of the farmers of the United States, 1933–40, the 7 years of the farm program, has been considerably greater than the purchasing power they had during the 7 years immediately preceding 1933—and this despite the fact that the 7 years preceding 1933 included the great boom period of 1926 to 1929.

Have the principles of social justice, as Pius XI and Leo XIII urged, been applied to agriculture? In my opinion, the answer is "yes."

I have before me an article by the former Secretary of Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace, in which he says:

"It is interesting to note that Pope Pius XI in his remarkable encyclical, Quadragesimo Anno, published in 1931, 2 years before the triple A came into being, also took cognizance of the depressed state of agriculture throughout the world. That is why he set down the principle that there should obtain 'a reasonable relationship between the prices obtained for the products of the various economic groups, agrarian, industrial, etc.' For the core of the farm problem was simply this—that, although the farmer's debt and tax burden and the prices of the products he purchased were higher in 1932 than in 1910–14, the farmer sold his products for about half their pre-war value." (The Farmer's Problem, The Modern Social and Economic Order, the Huntington Press, Huntington, Ind., p. 305.)

Such quotations from the papal encyclicals are no longer unusual in the modern day. But—I make the statement in all seriousness—few persons in American public life know better and agree more completely with the Catholic conception of social justice than Mr. Wallace.

Everyone who has studied Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno must realize that the "labor Popes" were painstaking in their analyses of causes and remedies for our social and economic disorder. Prominent among the causes put forward were maldistribution of wealth and income; the lessening of religious influence in the realm of business; the growth of economic dictatorship as opposed to economic democracy; irresponsibility and fraudulent dealing on the part of boards of directors; the attempt to control the state and to bend legislation to personal advantage.

Compare the above, if you will, with Mr. Wallace's diagnosis of our economic troubles. Of malnutrition, he writes: "The American system of ownership cannot go on if we are going to concentrate power and wealth in the hands of fewer and fewer men. We have gone dangerously far as it is in denying the mass of the people any real property stake in the country." (Whose Constitution? p. 16.) (In this article, Quadragesimo Anno and Rerum Novarum will be designated by the letters Q. A. and R. N., respectively, while the books of Mr. Wallace, Whose Constitution? and New Frontiers, will be designated by W. C. and N. F.)

Of the lessening of religious influence, Mr. Wallace declares: "Somewhat in the manner that judicial interpretation was to deny both Federal and State power to regulate modern business in the United States, the Protestant ethic, freed from the restraints of the Roman Church, failed to develop an effective discipline for the social administration of great accumulations of property" (W. C., 301).

Of economic dictatorship: "The greatest threat to liberty in the United States lies in the very excess of liberty which puts great economic power in a few private hands." (W. C., 102.) The last hundred years have seen a gradual concentration of industrial activity into bigger and bigger units * * * 20 great enterprises in the United States now control over half the industrial wealth and approximately half the industrial jobs in the country." (N. F., 122.)

Referring to what Pope Pius XI called the "unconscionable methods" of boards of directors, Mr. Wallace remarks that the small shareholder in a big corporation "has no more influence in deciding what the corporation will do than the most ragged vagrant in a breadline." (N. F., 268.)

As for what the Pope termed "the fierce battle to acquire control of the state," Mr. Wallace has frequently warned the country against lobbyists and political blackmailers who "all too often * * * have their minds fixed on a special, regional, short-term objective, and are often more ruthless and unfair than the people who employ them." (N. F., 68.)

Like Pius XI and Leo XIII, Mr. Wallace denounces class conflict. We cannot, he insists, prosper separately. The ultimate end of groups struggling against each other with narrow and selfish purposes is "mutual destruction." Like Leo XIII who remarked that "to make one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all law human and divine," Mr. Wallace declares: "Whole classes and groups, profiting enormously at the expense of other classes and groups, do not realize what an economic injustice they are committing" (N. F., 128).

Pope Pius XI condemned socialism and the existing form of capitalism for their materialism, and communism for both its materialism and its doctrine of violence. "Capitalism, communism, and fascism," says Mr. Wallace, "all act as though there were no other end of man than materialistic advancement" (W. C., 317). And in another place: "For my part I abhor the bitterness and violences which characterize the communistic approach to economic problems" (N. F., 51).

Close as is this similarity with respect to causes, there appears to be an even closer agreement as regards remedies. The following quotations, placed side by side, tell their own story.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE POPES	QUOTATIONS FROM MR. WALLACE
While it is true, says Pope Pius that "economic science and moral discipline are guided each by its own principles in its own sphere, it is false that the two orders are so distinct or so alien that the former in no way depends on the latter." (Q. A., 14–15.)	Mr. Wallace says: "The greatest need of a modern democracy is to understand how completely and mathematically moral is the running of a modern state." (N. F., 23.)
We must seek "more lofty and noble principles * * * to wit, social justice and social charity." The "public institutions of the nation must be such as to make the whole of human society conform to the common good, i. e., to the standard of social justice." (Q. A., 34.)	"A democracy worthy of the name must be guided by concern for social justice and social charity—in other words, the greatest good for the greatest number." (N. F., 20.)
"Free competition, and still more, economic domination must be kept within just and definite limits." "Just as the unity of human society cannot be built upon class warfare, so the proper ordering of economic affairs cannot be left to free competition alone." (Q. A., 34, 28.)	"Obviously, certain limits must be placed on competition and individualism." "Complete dependence of individual self-interest * * * is no longer enough to keep our complex economy running." (N. F., 16, 255.)
"Whenever the general interest or any particular class suffers or is threatened with evils which can in no other way be met, the public authority must step in to meet them." (R. N., 39.)	"Insofar as any particular class or community is likely to hurt other classes or communities, it should be subject to certain restraints by the Central Government." (N. F., 38.)
"The State has the task of directing, watching, stimulating and restraining, as circumstances suggest or necessity demands." (Q. A., 26.)	"The primary concern of government must be to direct, restrain, and stimulate the private powers so as to promote balance and continuous stability." (N. F., 34.)
"The State should leave to smaller groups, the settlement of business of minor importance." (Q. A., 27.)	"Modern governments must of necessity consider changing the rules to make for a maximum of balance between producing and consuming forces with the minimum of disturbance to individual liberties." (N. F., 38.)
"The law, therefore, should favor ownership, and its policy should be to induce as many people as possible to become owners." (R. N., 49.)	"We shall determine whether or not it is within the power of government to * * * start the tenant farmers of the United States gradually on the
QUOTATIONS FROM THE POPES	QUOTATIONS FROM MR. WALLACE
"The aim of social legislation is the establishment of vocational groups. The experience of his own weakness urges man to call in help from without. We read in the pages of Holy Writ, 'It is better that two should be together than one; for they have the advantage of their society. If one fail, he shall be supported by the other.'" (R. N., 51.)	road to ownership." ("Wallace Maps a Farm Program," N. Y. Times Magazine, Jan. 3, 1937.) "Farmers working together in community, county and State committees have learned to feel a solidarity which they never professed before. The old feeling of individual helplessness has left them." (W. C., 284.)
"A reasonable relationship between different wages here enters into consideration. Intimately connected with this is a reasonable relationship between the prices obtained for the products of the various economic groups, agrarian, industrial, etc. Where this harmonious proportion is kept, man's various economic activities combine and unite into one single organism and become members of a common body, lending each other mutual help and service." (Q. A., 25.)	"Our purpose is 'to encourage price and production policies that will maintain a continually balanced relationship between the income of agriculture, labor, and industry.' 'The fundamental concept is to get prices as rapidly as possible into such balance with each other that the different producers can live as happily as possible without getting into serious trouble later on. Perhaps this can be done by some form of group bargaining.'" (N. F., 22, 105–106.)

But it is not only because the philosophy of Mr. Wallace stands so well the comparison with our Catholic social philosophy that I believe in the farm program. It is because the entire program of agricultural action is itself something conceived with a view of achieving the reforms and the results urged by social justice.

A particular class was threatened with evils which could in no other way be met; consequently, the State did, as it must, step in. There was not a reasonable balance between the prices obtained for agrarian commodities and those obtained for industrial products; and so the Government stepped in. The law should favor ownership; but the percentage of ownership of farms was steadily declining; therefore, the law stepped in. The aim of social legislation should be the reestablishment of vocational groups, the attainment of true group solidarity; and the State stepped in. Even though this last is still in a nebulous state, the work has been begun, and there exists more of an agricultural entity today than ever did exist in this country before.

One thing more. It may be said that the farm program, by making farming more remunerative, by raising standards of living, by helping tenants to become owners, is a factor tending to induce our rural people to stay on the farms.

Today our cities are committing suicide. Every year their babies are fewer than their corpses. Within two decades, if this trend continues, our population will be first stationary, then actually declining.

Sometime ago an agricultural official asked this question: "Is it the patriotic thing to do to encourage rural living for as large a number of people as possible in order to bring about the benefits of a growing rather than a shrinking national population?" For my part, not only as a Catholic but as an American, I can conceive of no answer but "yes."

Proctor Knott's Speech on Duluth, Minn.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NAT PATTON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

SPEECH DELIVERED JANUARY 27, 1871

Mr. PATTON. Mr. Speaker and ladies and gentlemen of the House, one of the greatest speeches ever delivered by a Member of the House of Representatives was made by Proctor Knott, a Representative in Congress from the State of Kentucky. The House of Representatives was considering a resolution extending the time to construct a railroad from the St. Croix River or Lake to the west end of Lake Superior and to Bayfield. Proctor Knott was opposed to the bill, and everything that he said in derision and ridicule about Duluth, Minn., came true in fact. Proctor Knott's speech was delivered on January 27, 1871, in the Forty-first Congress, third session.

My colleague and friend from Duluth, the Honorable WILLIAM A. PITTENGER, on June 12, 1930, extended his remarks in the RECORD and included therein Proctor Knott's address.

Mr. Knott's address is as follows:

MR. KNOTT'S ADDRESS

Mr. Speaker, if I could be actuated by any conceivable inducement to betray the sacred trust reposed in me by those to whose generous confidence I am indebted for the honor of a seat on this floor; if I could be influenced by any possible consideration to become instrumental in giving away, in violation of their known wishes, any portion of their interests in the public domain for the mere promotion of any railroad enterprise whatever, I should certainly feel a strong inclination to give this measure my most earnest and hearty support, for I am assured that its success would materially enhance the pecuniary prosperity of some of the most valued friends I have on earth, friends for whose accommodation I would be willing to make almost any sacrifice not involving my personal honor or fidelity as the trustee of an express trust. And that fact of itself would be sufficient to countervail almost any objection I might entertain to the passage of this bill, not inspired by an imperative and inexorable sense of public duty.

But, independent of the seductive influences of private friendship, to which I admit I am, perhaps, as susceptible as any of the gentlemen I see around me, the intrinsic merits of the measure itself are of such an extraordinary character as to commend it most strongly to the favorable consideration of the House, myself not excepted, notwithstanding my constituents, in whose behalf alone I am acting here, would not be benefited by its passage one particle more than they would be by a project to cultivate an orange grove on the bleakest summit on Greenland's icy mountains. [Laughter.]

Now, sir, as to those great trunk lines of railroads spanning the continent from ocean to ocean, I confess my mind has never been fully made up. It is true they may afford some trifling advantages to local traffic, and they may even, in time, become the channel of a more extended commerce; yet I have never been thoroughly satisfied either of the necessity or expediency of projects promising such meager results to the great body of the people. But with regard to the transcendent merits of the gigantic enterprise contemplated in this bill I never entertained a shadow of doubt. [Laughter.] Years ago, when I first heard that there was, somewhere in the vast terra incognita, somewhere in the bleak region of the Northwest, a stream of water known to the nomadic inhabitants of the neighborhood as the River St. Croix, I became satisfied that the construction of a railroad from that raging torrent to some point in the civilized world was essential to the prosperity and happiness of the American people, if not absolutely indispensable to the perpetuity of the republican institutions on this continent. [Great laughter.] I had an abiding presentiment that some day or other the people of the whole country, irrespective of party affiliations, regardless of sectional prejudices, and "without distinction of race, color, or of previous condition of servitude." would rise in their majesty and demand an outlet for the enormous agricultural products of those vast and fertile pine barrens, drained in the rainy season by the surging waters of the turbid St. Croix. [Great laughter.]

These impressions, derived simply and solely "from the eternal fitness of things," were not only strengthened by the interesting and eloquent debate on this bill, to which I listened with so much pleasure the other day, but intensified, if possible, as I read over this morning the lively colloquy which took place on that occasion. The honorable gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Wilson, who, I believe is managing this bill, in speaking of the character of the country through which this railroad is to pass, says this: "We want to have the timber brought to us as cheaply as possible. Now, if you tie up the lands in this way, so that no title can be obtained to them—for no settler will go on these lands, for he cannot make a living—you deprive us of the benefit of that timber." Now, sir, I would not have it, by any means, inferred from this that the gentleman from Minnesota would insinuate that the people in that section desire this timber merely for the purpose of fencing up their farms so that their stock may not wander off and die of starvation among the bleak hills of the St. Croix. [Laughter.] I read it for no such purpose, sir, and make no such comments on it myself. In corroboration of this statement from the gentleman from Minnesota, I find this testimony given by the honorable gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. Washburn, who, speaking of the same lands, said: "They are generally sandy, barren lands. My friend from Gray Bay district, Mr. Sawyer, is perfectly familiar with this question, and he will bear me out in what I say, that these pine timberlands are not adapted to settlement." Now, sir, who, after listening to this emphatic and unequivocal testimony of these intelligent, competent, and able-bodied witnesses [laughter], who, that is not as incredulous as St. Thomas himself, will doubt for a moment that the Goshen of America is to be found in the sandy valleys and upon the pine-clad hills of the St. Croix? [Laughter.]

Who will have the hardihood to rise in his seat on this floor and assert that, excepting the pine bushes, the entire region would not produce vegetation enough in 10 years to fatten a grasshopper? [Great laughter.] Where is the patriot who is willing that his country shall incur the peril of remaining another day without the amplest railroad communication with such an inexhaustible mine of agricultural wealth? [Laughter.] Who will answer for the consequences of abandoning a great and warlike people in possession of a country like that to brood over the indifference and neglect of their Government? [Laughter.] How long would it be before they would take to studying a declaration of independence and hatching out the damnable heresy of secession? How long before the grim demon of civil discord would rear again his horrid head in our midst, "gnash loud his iron fangs, and shake his crest of bristling bayonets"? [Laughter.] Then, sir, think of the long and painful process of reconstruction that must follow, with its concomitant amendments to the Constitution; the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth articles. The sixteenth, it is, of course, understood, is to be appropriated to those blushing damsels who are, day after day, beseeching us to let them vote, hold office, drink cocktails, ride astraddle, and do everything else the men do. [Roars of laughter.] But, above all, sir, let me implore you to reflect for a moment on the deplorable condition of our country in case of a foreign war; with all our ports blockaded; all our cities in a state of siege; the gaunt specter of famine brooding like a hungry vulture over our starving land; our commissary stores all exhausted, our famished armies withering away in the field, a helpless prey to the insatiate demon of hunger; our Navy rotting in the docks for want of provisions for our gallant seamen; and we without any railroad communication whatever with the prolific pine thickets of the St. Croix. [Great laughter.]

Ah, sir, I could well understand why my amiable friends from Pennsylvania [Mr. Meyers, Mr. Kelly, and Mr. O'Neill] should be so earnest in their support for this bill the other day, and if their honorable colleague, my friend, Mr. Randall, will pardon the remark, I will say I consider his criticism of their action on that

occasion as not only unjust but ungenerous. I knew they were looking forward with far-reaching ken of enlightened statesmanship to the pitiable condition in which Philadelphia will be left unless speedily supplied with railroad connection, in some way, with this garden spot of the universe. [Laughter.] And, besides, sir, this discussion has relieved my mind of a mystery that has weighed upon it like an incubus for years. I could never understand before why there was so much excitement during the last Congress over the acquisition of Alta Vela. I could never understand why it was that some of our ablest statesmen and most distinguished patriots should entertain such dark forebodings of the untold calamities that were to befall our country unless we should take immediate possession of that desirable island. But I see now that they are laboring under the impression that the Government will need guano to manure the public lands of the St. Croix. [Great laughter.] Now, sir, I repeat, I had been satisfied for years that if there was any portion of the habitable globe absolutely in a suffering condition for a railroad, it was the teeming pine barrens of the St. Croix. [Laughter.] At what particular point on that noble stream such a road should be commenced I knew was immaterial, and so it seems to have been considered by the draftsman of this bill. It might be up at the spring or down at the foot log, or the water gate, or the fish dam, or anywhere along the bank, no matter where. [Laughter.] But in what direction it should run, or where it should terminate, were always, in my mind, questions of the most painful perplexity. I could conceive of no place on "God's green earth" in such straitened circumstances for railroad facilities as to be likely to desire or willing to accept such a connection. [Laughter.]

I know that neither Bayfield nor Superior City would have it, for they both indignantly spurned the munificence of the Government when coupled with such ignominious conditions, and let this very same land grant die on their hands years and years ago rather than submit to the degradation of direct communication by railroad with the piney woods of the St. Croix, and I know that what the enterprising inhabitants of those giant young cities refused to take would have few charms for others, whatever their necessities or their cupidity might be. [Laughter.] Hence, as I have said, sir, I was utterly at loss to determine where the terminus of this great and indispensable road should be, until I accidentally overheard some gentlemen the other day mention the name of "Duluth." [Great laughter.] "Duluth!" The word fell upon my ear with peculiar and indescribable charm, like the gentle murmur of a low fountain stealing forth in the midst of roses, or the soft sweet accents of an angel's whisper in the bright, joyous dream of sleeping innocence. Duluth! 'Twas the name for which my soul had panted for years, as a hart panteth for the waterbrooks. [Renewed laughter.] But where was Duluth? Never, in my limited reading, had my vision been gladdened by seeing the celestial word in print. [Laughter.] And I felt a profound humiliation in my ignorance that its dulcet syllables had never before ravished my delighted ear. [Roars of laughter.] I was certain the draftsman of this bill had never heard of it, or it would have been designated as one of the termini of this road. I asked my friends about it, but they knew nothing of it. I rushed to my library and examined all the maps I could find. [Laughter.] I discovered in one of them a delicate hairlike line, diverging from the Mississippi at a place marked Prescott, which I supposed was intended to represent the River St. Croix, but I could nowhere find Duluth! Nevertheless, I was confident that it existed somewhere, and that its discovery would constitute the crowning glory of the present century, if not of all modern times. [Laughter.] I knew it was bound to exist in the very nature of things; that the symmetry and perfection of our planetary system would be incomplete without it. [Renewed laughter.]

That the elements of material nature would have long since resolved themselves back into original chaos if there had been such a hiatus in creation as would have resulted from leaving out Duluth. [Roars of laughter.] In fact, sir, I was overwhelmed with the conviction that Duluth not only existed somewhere but that, wherever it was, it was a great and glorious place. I was convinced that the greatest calamity that ever befell the benighted nations of the ancient world was in their having passed away without a knowledge of the actual existence of Duluth; that their fabled Atlantis, never seen save by the hallowed visions of inspired poesy, was, in fact, but another name for Duluth; that the golden orchard of Hesperides was but a poetical synonym for the beer gardens in the vicinity of Duluth. [Laughter.] I was certain that Herodotus had died a miserable death because, in all his travels and all his geographical researches, he had never heard of Duluth. [Laughter.] I knew that if the immortal spirit of Homer could look down from another heaven than that created by his own celestial genius, upon the long lines of pilgrims from every nation of the earth to the gushing fountain of poesy opened by the touch of his magic wand; if he could be permitted to behold the vast assemblage of grand and glorious productions of the lyric art called into being by his own inspired strain, he would weep tears of bitter anguish that, instead of lavishing all the stores of his mighty genius upon the fall of Ilion, it had not been his more blessed lot to crystallize in deathless song the rising glories of Duluth. Yet, sir, had it not been for this map kindly furnished me by the Legislature of Minnesota, I might have gone down to my obscure and humble grave in an agony of despair, because I could not nowhere find Duluth. [Renewed laughter.] Had such been my melancholy fate I have no doubt but that, with the last feeble pulsation of my breaking heart, with the last faint exhalation of my fleeting breath, I should have whispered, "Where is Duluth?" [Laughter.]

But, thanks to the beneficence of that band of ministering angels who have their bright abode in the far-off capital of Minnesota, just as the agony of my anxiety was about to culminate in the frenzy of despair, this blessed map was placed in my hands, and as I unfolded it a resplendent scene of ineffable glory opened before me, such as I imagined burst upon the enraptured vision of the wandering peri through the opening gates of paradise. [Renewed laughter.] There, for the first time, my enchanted eyes rested upon the ravishing word "Duluth." This map, sir, is intended, as it appears from its title, to illustrate the position of Duluth in the United States, but if the gentlemen will examine it, I think they will concur with me in the opinion that it is far too modest in its pretensions. It not only illustrates the position of Duluth in the United States but exhibits its relations with all created things. It goes even further than this. It lifts the shadowy veil of futurity and affords us a view of the golden prospects of Duluth far along the dim vista of ages yet to come. If the gentleman will examine it, they will find Duluth not only in the center of the map but represented in a series of concentric circles 100 miles apart, and some of them as much as 4,000 miles in diameter, embracing alike in their tremendous sweep the fragrant savannas of the sunlit South and the eternal solitudes of snow that mantle the ice-bound North. [Laughter.] How the circles were produced is perhaps one of those primordial mysteries that the most skillful paleologists will never be able to explain. But the fact is, sir, Duluth is preeminently a central place, for I have been told by gentlemen who have been so reckless of their personal safety as to venture away in those awful regions where Duluth is supposed to be that it is so exactly in the center of the visible universe that the sky comes down at precisely the same distance all around it. [Roars of laughter.] I find by reference to this map that Duluth is situated somewhere near the western end of Lake Superior, but as there is no dot or other mark indicating its exact location, I am unable to say whether it is actually confined to any particular spot or whether "it is just lying around there loose." [Renewed laughter.]

I really cannot tell whether it is one of those ethereal creations of intellectual frostwork, more intangible than the rose-tinted cloud of a summer sunset; one of those airy exhalations of the speculator's brain, which I am told are ever flitting in the form of towns and cities along the lines of railroads built with Government subsidies, luring the unwary settler as the mirage of the desert lures the famishing traveler on and ever on, until it fades away on the darkening horizon, or whether it is a real, bona fide, substantial city, all staked off, with the lots marked with their owners' names, like that proud commercial metropolis recently discovered on the desirable shore of San Domingo. [Laughter.] But, however that may be, I am satisfied Duluth is there, or thereabouts, for I see it stated here on this map that it is exactly 3,990 miles from Liverpool [laughter], though I have no doubt, for the sake of convenience, it may be moved back 10 miles so as to make the distance an even 4,000. [Renewed laughter.] Then, sir, there is the climate of Duluth, unquestionably the most salubrious and delightful to be found anywhere on the Lord's earth. Now, I have always been under the impression, as I presume other gentlemen have, that, in the region around Lake Superior, it was cold enough for at least 9 months in the year to freeze the smokestack off a locomotive. [Great laughter.] But I see it represented on this map that Duluth is situated just exactly half way between the latitudes of Paris and Venice, so that gentlemen who have inhaled the exhilarating airs of the one or basked in the golden sunshine of the other must see at a glance that Duluth must be a place of untold delights [laughter], a terrestrial paradise fanned by the balmy zephyrs of an eternal spring, clothed with gorgeous sheen of everblooming flowers, and vocal with the silver melody of Nature's choicest songsters. [Laughter.] In fact, sir, since I have seen this map I have no doubt that Byron was vainly endeavoring to convey some faint conceptions of the delicious charms of Duluth when his poetic soul gushed forth in the rippling strains of that beautiful rhapsody—

"Know ye the land of the cedar and pine,
Where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine;
Where the light wings of zephyr, oppressed with perfume
Wax faint o'er the garden of gull in her bloom;
Where the citron and olive are fairest of fruit—
And the voice of the nightingale never is mute;
Where the tints of the earth and the hues of the sky,
In color though varied, in beauty may die?"

As to the commercial resources of Duluth, sir, they are simply illimitable and inexhaustible, as is shown by this map. I see it stated here that there is a vast scope of territory, embracing an area of over 2,000,000 square miles, rich in every element of material wealth and commercial prosperity, all tributary to Duluth. Look at it, sir [pointing to the map]. Here are inexhaustible mines of gold, immeasurable veins of silver, inpenetrable depths of boundless forest, vast coal mines, wide extended plains of richest pasturage—all, all embraced in this vast territory, which must in the very nature of things empty the untold treasures of its commerce into the lap of Duluth. [Laughter.] Look at it, sir [pointing to the map]. Do you not see these broad brown lines drawn around this immense territory, that the enterprising inhabitants of Duluth intend some day to enclose it all in one vast corral, so that its commerce will be bound to go there whether it would or not? [Great

laughter.] And here, sir [still pointing to the map], I find, within a convenient distance, the Piegan Indians, which of all the many accessories to the glory of Duluth I consider by far the most inestimable. For, sir, I have been told that when smallpox breaks out among the women and children of that famous tribe, as it sometimes does, they afford the finest subjects in the world for strategical experiments of any enterprising military hero who desires to improve himself in the noble art of war [laughter], especially for any lieutenant general whose—

"Trenchant blade, Toledo trusty,
For want of fighting has grown rusty,
And eats into itself for lack
Of somebody to hew and hack."

Sir, the great conflict now raging in the Old World has presented a phenomenon in military science unprecedented in the annals of mankind, a phenomenon that has reversed all the tradition of the past as it has disappointed all expectations of the present. A great and warlike people, renowned alike for their skill and valor, have been swept away before the advance of an inferior foe, like the autumn stubble before a hurricane of fire. For aught I know the new flash of the electric fire that shimmers along the ocean cable may tell us that Paris, with every fiber quivering with the agony of impotent despair, writhes beneath the conquering heel of her cursed invader. Ere another moon shall wax and wane the brightest star in the galaxy of nations may fall from the zenith of her glory, never to rise again. Ere the modest violet of early spring shall open her beauteous eyes, the genius of civilization may chant the unavailing requiem of the proudest nationality the world has ever seen, as she scatters her withered and tear-moistened lilies o'er the bloody tomb of butchered France. But sir, I wish to ask you if you candidly believe that the Dutch would overrun the French in that kind of style if General Sheridan had not gone over there and told King William and Von Moltke how he managed to whip the Piegan Indians?

[Here the hammer fell.]

[Many cries, "Go on!" "Go on!"]

The SPEAKER. Is there any objection to the gentleman from Kentucky continuing his remarks? The Chair hears none. The gentleman will proceed.

Mr. KNOTT. I was about remarking, sir, upon these vast wheat fields represented on this map in the immediate neighborhood of the buffaloes and the Piegans, and was about to say that the idea of there being these immense wheat fields in the very heart of a wilderness hundreds and hundreds of miles beyond the utmost verge of civilization may appear to some gentlemen rather incongruous—as rather too great a strain on the "blankets" of veracity. But, to my mind, there is no difficulty in the matter whatever. The phenomenon is very easily accounted for. It is evident, sir, that the Piegans sowed that wheat there and plowed it with buffalo bulls. [Great laughter.]

Now, sir, this fortunate combination of buffaloes and Piegans, considering their relative positions to each other and to Duluth, as they are arranged on the map, satisfies me that Duluth is destined to be the beef market of the world. Here you will observe [pointing to the map] are the buffaloes, directly between the Piegans and Duluth; and here, right on the road to Duluth, are the Creeks. Now, sir, when the buffaloes are sufficiently fat from grazing on these immense wheat fields, you see it will be the easiest thing in the world for the Piegans to drive them on down, stay all night with their friends the Creeks, and go into Duluth in the morning. I think I see them now, sir, a vast herd of buffaloes, with their heads down, their eyes glaring, their nostrils dilated, their tongues out, and their tails curled over their backs, tearing along toward Duluth, with about a thousand Piegans on their grass-bellied ponies yelling at their heels. [Great laughter.] On they come! As they sweep past the Creeks they join in the chase, and away they all go, yelling, bellowing, ripping along amid clouds of dust, until the last buffalo is safely penned in the stockyards of Duluth. [Shouts of laughter.] Sir, I might stand here for hours and expatiate upon the gorgeous prospects of Duluth as depicted upon this map. But human life is too short and the time of this House far too valuable to allow me to linger longer upon the delightful theme. [Laughter.] I think every gentleman on this floor is as well satisfied as I am that Duluth is destined to become the commercial metropolis of the universe and that this road should be built at once. I am fully persuaded that no patriotic representative of the American people who has a proper appreciation of the associated glories of Duluth and the St. Croix will hesitate a moment to say that every able-bodied female in the land between the ages of 18 and 45 who is in favor of woman's rights should be drafted and set to work on this great work without delay. [Roars of laughter.]

Nevertheless, sir, it grieves my very soul to be compelled to say that I cannot vote for the grant of lands provided for in this bill. Ah, sir, you can have no conception of the poignancy of my anguish that I am deprived of the blessed privilege. [Laughter.] There are two insuperable obstacles in the way. In the first place, my constituents, for whom I am acting here, have no more interest in this road than they have in the great question of culinary taste, now perhaps agitating the public mind of Dominica, as to whether the illustrious commissioners who recently left the Capital for that free and enlightened republic would be better fricasseed, boiled, or roasted [great laughter]; and in the second place, these lands, which I am asked to give away, alas, are not mine to bestow. My relation to them is simply that of trustee to an express trust. And shall I ever betray that trust? Never, sir. Rather perish Duluth. [Shouts of laughter.] Perish the paragon of cities. Rather let the freezing cyclones of the bleak Northwest bury it forever beneath the eddying sands of the St. Croix. [Great laughter.]

The Future of the White Man in the Far East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HINSHAW
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

ARTICLE BY PEARL S. BUCK

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article appearing in the October 1940 issue of Foreign Affairs, an American quarterly review, volume 19, No. 1, by Pearl S. Buck, a former teacher in Chinese universities, author of many important books, winner of the Pulitzer prize in 1932, and of the Nobel prize for literature in 1938.

Miss Buck, an American woman of the highest scholarly attainments, has had many years of experience in the Orient, and returned with a wealth of understanding which she has successfully transmitted to the American people.

The article by Pearl S. Buck follows:

[From Foreign Affairs of October 1940]

THE FUTURE OF THE WHITE MAN IN THE FAR EAST

(By Pearl S. Buck)

Whenever the future of the white man in the Orient comes to be discussed it inevitably means one question. Will the power and prestige of the white man in the Far East be what it has been in the past? It is acknowledged that for the moment these are at a low ebb. But can they rise again in the future to anything like their past glory?

I never hear that phrase, the power and the prestige of the white man in the Far East, without being reminded of a certain incident in my Chinese childhood which more nearly wrecked our peaceful missionary household than all the riots and revolutions of China put together. There came to our compound gate one winter's day a unique person. He was an American salesman. Any white man was strange at our gate, but a salesman we had never seen. My father admitted him at once because what he sold, it seemed, was Bibles, though anything more coals to Newcastle than Bibles to our house cannot be imagined. My father in the goodness of his heart never inquired how the man came to be selling Bibles, and the salesman himself never told us, so none of us ever knew. He was simply there, very dirty and hungry and with no baggage except some shopworn Bibles and a small cardboard suitcase that after several weeks of his steadfastly remaining a hungry guest in the house apparently provided him with no change of garments. The weeks grew into months and he stayed on, and my mother reached the point of mutiny. He had a change of clothes now, but they were my father's. When he finally left us, and it was entirely due to my redoubtable mother that he did so at all, he went out clothed in my father's second-best suit, with other garments of my father's in my father's suitcase, all his Bibles sold to my father, and his purse full of my father's meager funds. Only under these terms had he consented to move on.

My mother remarked after the gate had been bolted by the servants, "Thank God, we still have the house and the furniture." Whereupon my father, in one of his few moments of self-doubt, said in an uncertain voice, "Maybe I should never have let him come into the house to sell me anything."

That Bible salesman represents in a simple way the white man who walked into the Far East to trade, who stayed to take all he could get—and long beyond his welcome. There is about as much chance that he will be welcome again on the old terms as there was for that salesman to get back into my father's house.

I must, therefore, preface anything I have to write on the subject of the white man in the Far East by saying first that he ought never to have had that power and prestige, held and secured by force as it was. Power and prestige are not absolute good in themselves, and whether they are or not depends entirely on how they are secured and how they are wielded. In the Far East they were secured for the white man in ways of which he ought to be ashamed enough so that he would not want them back at the price of seizing them again upon the same terms. If he is to have them again, they must—and this for his own sake, too—be built upon new foundations.

But no one knows better than the white man that his power and prestige in the Far East are gone and that his future there cannot be like his past. And if the Chinese and the Japanese are agreed upon nothing else they are upon one thing, that the white man's future in the Orient shall and must be different from his past. The Japanese are now making life in their country so difficult for the white man that he can scarcely live there at all. And when I have listened to Chinese talking together seriously of the future after the war, I have been impressed that it includes no place for the white man except upon strictly Chinese terms.

How has this come about? The white man's present plight in the Far East is entirely of his own making and his future there depends upon his present elsewhere. War of his own making is ruining him in the Far East as well as in Europe. Until the first World War, the Oriental looked upon the white man as invincibly his superior. Science was the white man's magic of which the Oriental understood nothing; indeed, he considered himself well-nigh incapable of understanding it. That first World War enlightened the Oriental in many ways. He saw white men destroying each other. This horrified him, but it encouraged him too. He ceased to consider the white man a superman, and he took hope for himself. White men were not, as he had supposed, solidly against the darker races. They were also against each other. In their division might be the yellow man's salvation. His unwilling admiration of the white man's abilities fell even lower, never to rise, when he saw the savage behavior of white men toward each other. Every Oriental understands cruelty to an inferior or to one deemed an inferior. But when, during the last war, the Oriental beheld, with his own eyes and upon Chinese territory, the cruelty of Englishmen directed against Germans—against missionaries and merchants, men and women and children, sick and well alike, when he saw them driven from their homes and possessions, herded into cattle ships and sent to the Tropics to manage as best they could, he saw something new to him, and if he lost an illusion he also took heart for himself. For when the white man attacked the white man in the Orient, it was the end of an era.

The history of the white man in the Far East is too well known to need close repetition. It began when the great nations of Europe—Portugal, Spain, England, and France—established regular trade with the Orient. The United States was the last but not the least vigorous in this competition. The need to control that trade was what drove England to the opium wars. These wars set in motion the waves which swept in the period of conquest, and upon these waves France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, England, Russia, and the United States rode high. They rode so high indeed that their greed nearly divided China into colonies. Only mutual rapacity and the open-door policy, which the skill of England and the prudence of the United States introduced at the eleventh hour, kept China at least physically whole, though actually divided into spheres of influence.

Had the western world not fallen into war, China might still have been lost. But the World War saved her. When the strength of the white man was turned against himself, the Far East was given a breathing space. China used it to observe and to prepare herself for a new revolution based upon a revolt against the white man; Japan used it to begin solidifying her dreams of Pan Asia into reality. This she did by stepping into China and demanding control of what had belonged to the Germans. The white man, in the haste and exigency of the war, acceded to Japan, mistakenly thinking of her as an ally and that it would be easier to regain these possessions from Japan's temporary control than if they were returned to China, to whom they really belonged. This was the white man's first serious mistake in the Far East. Certainly it was the beginning of the long chain of events which have led to his weakened position there today. Had England, as the strongest white power in China, taken the German colonies after the Germans had been expelled, or better still, had she returned them at once to China, they would not have given Japan her first real foothold upon the Chinese mainland.

Japan worked hard upon her plans during those years of the World War and in the years after it while the West was struggling to recover. Only an immediate and determined union of white men could then have restored even a measure of their power and prestige in the Far East. But such a union was physically and spiritually impossible, for peace after war brings no unity anywhere. Division between enemies is driven irrevocably deeper and the quarrel about peace terms alienates allies. Years are needed to heal the cleavages of war.

But if the victor nations could have taken a unified stand toward the Far East, they might have restored at least part of their former power. The oriental understands human nature well enough to realize that bystanders must deal respectfully with victors, as China and Japan had already signified by their polite alliance with the Allies. But peace divided the victors. France, England, and the United States drew away from each other, and, with the short-sighted arrogance, or the indifference, of the white man which may one day be fatal to him, they still failed to consider the problems of the Far East as of primary importance to them.

The period of the white man's conquest over the Far East ended, therefore, with the World War. From then until now the story has been one of his steadily declining power and lessening prestige. And England has led the procession downhill. For, though England emerged as the chief victor in the war, the oriental knew that everywhere the white man was greatly weakened. He knew that even England could not afford, for a time at least, the energy necessary to enforce prestige. When English businessmen came back to China with all the old arrogance, the oriental knew they were no longer backed by English armies. The English Government was tired and preoccupied with crises of its own. To the oriental it therefore appeared unnecessary to bear further insults from the individual Englishman. These insults seemed slight but they were important.

Thus English merchants, seeking to restore English trade with China, took no more trouble than they ever had to be courteous to Chinese merchants. Long Chinese feasts, even of welcome and congratulation upon military victory, bored the average Englishman, who seldom learns to speak Chinese or even to like Chinese food. The Germans came back, too. But because they knew that there was no force back of them, they took great pains to learn Chinese manners and to be delighted with Chinese food; they had plenty of time to linger and to talk and to make themselves agreeable to Chinese merchants; their wives made calls on the Chinese merchants' wives, to the horror of Englishwomen; and thus were laid sound foundations for the future. China does not at all hate Germany. If Germany makes fascism safe for the world, there is a Chinese Fascist party which, if the time becomes ripe, may be headed by a dictator with a very notable name. Chinese fascism will not be German fascism. Even the Christian God has undergone change at the hands of Chinese believers. But fascism will scarcely be democracy, even in China. And Japan already is casting off the cloak of a democracy which she never liked anyway and which she wore only because everybody else was wearing it. Japan has always been Fascist in her soul.

No, the oriental knew the white man's true situation when the World War ended, and how much and how little he was capable of doing for himself. He gambled, mainly on English weakness, and he won. The fact that England suddenly began to use diplomacy instead of gunboats in the Far East only hastened her downward progress. For the oriental believes that the time to use diplomacy is when one is strong. The voice may be soft when the sword is drawn and in the hand. But when the sword is broken there must not be diplomacy but a loud voice and threatening eyebrows. That England used a soft voice after the World War meant to the oriental simply that the Allies were exhausted and could never have won the war if the United States had not helped them.

The Americans, on the other hand, lost much of their own prestige for quite other reasons. The United States had never had any power in the Far East based on important possessions in China. But they had prestige based, for one reason or another, upon China's belief in America's sympathy and friendship. The Chinese, in a manner almost touching, believed in that friendship, and in China friendship carries with it the inviolate obligation of materal aid if it is wanted. Thus if a man even admires a possession in his friend's house, friendship compels that what he admires be given him as a gift. How much more, then, when a man is in trouble, must his friend give him aid. When Japan began her encroachments, therefore, many Chinese really believed that the United States would do something about it. I remember very well how difficult it was to be an American in China when Japan was taking Manchuria. A dozen times a day one heard the confident belief expressed: "The United States will not allow this. The Americans will surely come to help us." And how hard it was to say: "I fear they will not"; how impossible to explain reasonably why not. But when it became apparent to the Chinese themselves that China must stand alone in the world, she quietly and gently lowered the Stars and Stripes to half-mast, and the United States took a place only a little better than that of England.

Japan, of course, observed this with pleasure. During the years since the World War, she had had her own experiences which hardened her definitely against the West. But in her case it was the United States and not England who represented the objectionable white man. The League of Nations had for a brief moment held the possibility of cooperation between East and West, and Japan gave consideration to the benefits which such cooperation with the white man might give her. She began to doubt these benefits when in 1920 the League was set back by the refusal of the United States to be a part of it. But the liberals were in control in Japan then, and they were able to keep their hold, even to the point of agreeing in 1922 to the limitation of Japan's Navy. The downfall of the liberals came in 1924, when laws were passed in the United States discriminating against the Japanese. In effect, the Japanese liberals then gave up. What was the use, they felt, of maintaining the struggle for liberalism in Japan when the United States committed herself so definitely to an opposite course. Though most Americans were too ignorant to know it, the United States hastened the day of fascism in the world by putting despair into the hearts of the only Japanese who might have kept their country from lining up with the Axis. Japan turned from the white man back to the pan-Asian dream.

She might have hastened, if not fulfilled, that dream had she been able to conciliate China at this moment in the white man's downward progression. There was definitely an hour, even after the taking of Manchuria, when China, in panic at finding herself alone in the modern world, would have come to terms with Japan, even at the cost of Manchuria. But Japan had absorbed the spirit as well as the tactics of Germany. She was imbued with mili-

tarism both by nature and by her modern education, and she preferred the speed and ease of conquest to the more civilized means of arbitration and compromise. Moreover, her enemies in the Far East were miraculously clearing themselves away. If a second World War should begin, and it took no prophet to pronounce it probable, then half of her battle was won. She gambled upon such a war, and, as time has shown, he has won. For even if the United States does not actually enter the present European war, it is already engaged in it psychologically and materially. Moreover, its interest in the Orient, never intelligently awake to the importance of what takes place there, is always overshadowed by its own immediate problems and those of Europe.

The present moment, therefore, sees the white man's prestige in the Far East at its lowest ebb in modern times, and power follows the trend of prestige. Both are at a point that would once have been inconceivable to the white man. But the strangest of all things in this strange present is the speed with which the inconceivable happens. How short a time ago the International Concession in Shanghai felt itself as impregnable as the rock of Gibraltar because the English were that rock. Now it is a handful of foreigners left without defense. That is not to say that they are defenseless. Englishmen at least have a way of defending themselves somehow. But if they do so now in the Far East, it is as individuals, and they are no longer England, as once every Englishman was England, wherever he was. I will not say that the oriental is confident that England's power is gone. He has too often seen individual Englishmen come through trouble. Put it, rather, thus: That China is not counting on any help whatever from England against Japan and for the moment is prepared for English capitulation to Japan on all but the most important points, and perhaps even on those. Japan is simply working fast, with her weather eye not on England but on Germany. For the situation between Germany and Japan is not at all smooth. German is the big dog, Japan the little impatient one—and the big dog has the bones. Germany is not allowing bones to be divided yet, particularly the prize ones of Indochina and the Dutch Indies. They are valuable for bargaining if for nothing else.

Thus the cause for the downfall of the white man's power and prestige in the Far East has been war and only war. Had he been able to keep his own peace in the West, he might by now have been lord of the East as well. Consider what a strong peace among white men would have meant on the eastern side of the world. China, if her partition had gone on, would have been the white man's prize. Even if he had allowed her to keep her sovereignty, trade would have been enough to strengthen the West in the East, and Japan would have been permanently confined to her islands, for she would never have dared arm herself to rebel against an unweakened West. The world would have belonged to the white man.

As it is, it may be that he has given it to the yellow man. Certainly the white man is no longer its master. He is still destroying himself by his own wars, and the Far East waits to see whether he will stop short of complete destruction. It may be that sooner than we think white men will be compelled to unite against a common enemy and that enemy will be a united Far East. This prophecy might be made with some confidence if Japan had not alienated China. As it is, the future is ambiguous, and the Far East waits.

But if the future is ambiguous from the point of view of the Oriental, it is not so ambiguous for the white man. Whether England or Germany wins in the present struggle for supremacy in the West, the white man's place in the Far East, in the old sense, is lost. The white man's prestige in the Far East was always underwritten by force, the force he possessed in his armies and navies with modern weapons, armies and navies which the Far East did not have. But by the time the white man is free to think about the Far East again, there will be vast modern armies there, Chinese as well as Japanese, and a primary condition in the relationship of East and West will have changed.

The nature of white power and prestige will have changed, too. In the past it was expressed in such terms as extraterritoriality, concessions of land, control over customs, railway construction, investment in industries, the right to station soldiers and vessels of war at various places along the coast and in inland waters—all rights which should never be given away by one country to another. These rights have for the most part been restored to the Far East—taken back, as a matter of fact, because of the crisis between white men themselves—and it is very doubtful if they will ever become the property of white men again. The Far East has learned something.

If England survives, the problems of her survival will be so enormous that she cannot at once undertake to recover her position, especially in China. If England does not survive, it remains to be seen what a victorious Germany will do with the Far East. Even if Germany should be the victor in Europe, we may doubt whether she could take a strong hand in the Far East, not only because she would be exhausted, not only because her problems in Europe and with Russia will be many and severe, but also because it will take her some time to discover what she could do in the new Far East that would be to her greatest advantage. Even though she may have the prestige of the victor, actually she will probably have to use the methods of the diplomat rather than those of the conqueror. It is doubtful whether she can allow Japan a free hand. It can scarcely be to Germany's interest to allow a nation so like herself as Japan—a nation organized upon strictly Fascist and military forms and principles, and whose ambitions are Germany's—to come into territory and resources far superior to her own. The Soviets wait, too, and it may be that Germany will need to play them against Japan, and she may even need to maintain the fiction that France and the Dutch Empire are independent. Meantime, Japan goes as far as she can.

As for China, she is now in a mood of impartiality, or simply of fatalism. The English can do nothing but damage themselves in Chinese eyes by their present diplomatic concessions, either to China or Japan. To the Chinese this is the behavior of a man in desperate straits, and even so, despicable. For when the Chinese is desperate, he becomes unyielding. He reasons that if all is lost, why yield further? Only if England ceases to seem to yield in the Far East will her prestige there take an upward turn.

And yet the issues are still not as clear as they would have been if Japan had not been so foolish and so shortsighted as to attack China. Japan has never understood the temper of the Chinese people. When she saw the white man departing, she thought a quick blow would bring China into her control. But there is no such thing as a quick blow against anything so huge as China. Progressive blows over her surface only infuriate her and strengthen her resistance, as time has shown. If for the past generation China and Japan could have been allies instead of enemies, the white man might by now have entirely disappeared from the Far East. With this second World War entangling all white men, China and Japan together could simply have taken over the Far East, with or without Russia's permission. It would have been logical for Indochina and the East Indies, and even the Philippines, to have joined together in a great pan Asia. And that would have been the end of the white man in the Orient.

But militarism has again lost the day—or saved it, depending upon which side of the world one's feet stand upon. This time it has lost it for the Far East and perhaps therefore to some extent saved it for the white man. For China is not in a mood, nor will she be in a mood for a long time, to join with Japan in anything. Japan's stupid cruelties have filled the Chinese with rage, and anyone who knows a Chinese knows that if his belly is full of rage he will do nothing until he has emptied himself of it. He believes that rage unrelieved by retaliation is poison in the system, and Japan has put a mighty dose of rage into his capacious belly.

So, unwittingly, Japan has in her turn helped the white man. If the white man could be clever and if he really wants a place in the Far East of tomorrow, he would offer himself as China's ally now that she stands alone and has given up hope of help. He could be Androcles and China his lion. Japan is still no more than a thorn in that great paw, but it is a painful and festering thorn and it may be that the lion will become helpless. It may be, too, that if China really becomes subjugated and Japan too great with power, the white man will succumb in his time. There are dreams being spun that reach beyond pan Asia.

But Androcles was a brave man, of course, and he took some risk when he pulled the thorn out of a lion's paw, and the white man has not shown any particular bravery about lions, or indeed shown that he cares anything about lions. I am only saying that if there were an Androcles among the nations, now would be his chance of getting a lion as his grateful and faithful friend who might one day in turn save him. But England is at present in the position, not of Androcles, but of a wounded lion. France is no more, Italy has never been wise in the Far East, and the United States has no Far Eastern imagination. That leaves Germany and Russia.

It is not difficult to prophesy that the Germans will be the next white men in the Orient unless they are badly defeated in Europe. Germany has been laying her foundations well in the Far East ever since the last war. Today she is Japan's friend and not China's enemy. What she must now decide is whether it would not pay her better to reverse this relationship, and be China's friend without being Japan's enemy. If she is wise she will choose to exploit the enormous resources of China and limit the power of Japan. The Japanese might have made this difficult had they won a clean, quick victory over China. But victory lags. The war is well into its fourth year, with China unyielding and in her complete rage imperturbable even to the point of cheerfulness. What to do next is Japan's problem, for she is not quite succeeding anywhere.

What part Russia has to play depends on how white Russia is, a point which has never yet been settled. That Russians are white men has always been debatable even on their own admission. And yet, now that they are linked to Germany, it would be awkward for them to move toward territory which Germany might wish to guard for reasons of her own. Since Russia is inevitably the enemy of Japan, she might well applaud Hitler's befriending China and even hasten to compete by offering friendliness of her own. Perhaps Russia might discover that she is white after all, and that the Russians and Germans together should be the new white men in the Far East. A new history would then have to be written about the power and the prestige of the white man there.

But China has never forgotten one thing about Germany: That after the Boxer Rebellion the German troops sent to avenge the death of a few Germans behaved with a brutality the Chinese themselves had never imagined. The Chinese expected the lowest of behavior from soldiers, for their tradition had been that soldiers were the lowest of men. But the German soldiers had orders from their Emperor to be brutal so that the Chinese would never forget what the Germans were like, and it was this command which the Chinese have never forgotten. They were horrified to see that the spirit of brutality was embedded in the highest places. It may be, therefore, that if Germany now approaches China, speaking of help and friendship, China will suck her own paw, preferring an enemy she knows

and is used to rather than a friend so new and powerful. Or she may turn to Russia, and then Russia and Germany will cease to be friends. What the new white man in the Far East will then do may depend on how Germany feels she must confront this new situation. She might feel obliged to force her friendship on China. Japan might then decide to help Germany against Russia; or she might even lay aside her dreams of pan-Asia and help China.

But, of course, England may survive. Many are betting on her, though something more is wrong with her than a thorn in the paw. Still, she too is a lion. But if she survives she will have to begin anew in the Far East. The old power and the old prestige are gone and the Far East will have no more of it. Whether a victorious England succeeds or not in creating a new place for the white man depends on how much white men have learned in these recent years. Men usually learn a great deal by escaping death. Sometimes an actual conversion takes place. But it is hard to think of an Englishman really converted. He is more likely to be the tough old sinner who mumbles the Lord's Prayer when badly scared, but as soon as he feels better declares that he knew all along that he was not going to die.

If he goes back to the Far East too proud and unregenerate, he will find doors slamming in his face and his feet wet because he is standing in the ocean outside without an inch of dry land to call his own. For China and Japan will remember how he looked when it seemed he might die, and they will not be afraid of him any more. Besides, they will have had a good deal of practice in war themselves by that time. In short, it will pay the English to be soundly converted before they go east again. Thus converted, England might be very good friends with China, at least, and do a brisk trade—for they are, after all, both lions.

As for the white man from the United States, he has lost no power in the Far East, for he never had any in any real sense; and as for his prestige, that depends upon the extent to which he can revive his traditions of friendship for China. The new tradition, however, must have fairly solid material foundations. The most solid would be for the United States to give China enough aid to stop Japan's aggression. But the Americans say they are a neutral people, and besides they are going to be busy for a long time getting ready to defend themselves against Europe. Their shadow upon the future of the Far East lies very light and indistinct, and will continue to do so as long as they do not make it a reality.

The whole future of the white man in the Far East is confused, and no glass can show it otherwise than darkly. And the darkest of all is that possibility envisaged by Nazi leaders of an Asia united against Europe. It is the old familiar nightmare of the Yellow Peril; but it may be used again as an excuse for a new conquest of the Far East by the white man. If it is, the Yellow Peril will be a peril indeed, especially if Russia decides not to be white. Then war, now destroying mankind separately in the west and the east, will complete that destruction in a last gigantic struggle of east against west.

Where is the voice left in the world today to speak for the simple and practical wisdom of peace and good will among men?

Safety for Air Travel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA L. JOHNS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

ADDRESS BY CHESTER G. MYERS

Mr. JOHNS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Mr. Chester G. Myers, chairman of the Safe Air Travel and member of the Pan-American Aviation Day Committees of the Aviation Defense Association, Washington, D. C:

HOW YOUR CITY CAN ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF CIVILIAN AVIATION—PRIVATE PILOTS SAY LACK OF UNIVERSAL AIR MARKINGS CREATE SERIOUS PROBLEM—YOUR CITY SHOULD ERECT ADEQUATE IDENTIFICATION—EVERY AIR MARKER MAY SAVE A LIFE—CIVILIAN AVIATION HAS ARRIVED

This country has many thousands of civilian pilots who fly their own planes for business or pleasure. At every airport and flying field across the country there are dozens of other alert men and women mastering the principles and mechanics of flying. Almost every day additional civilians receive their licenses and take to the air to join America's great corps of trained private pilots. The number is on the increase. Civilian aviation has arrived.

The Federal Government has shown increased interest in civilian aviation of late years. Obviously, a body of private pilots is of no little importance to our national defense in a period of emergency. So, civilian ownership of planes is encouraged for sound governmental reasons.

WHY AIR MARKING?

One of the most serious problems confronting the civilian pilot is the constant danger of losing his way. Private planes do not ride radio beams as do the mail and transport planes. Nor are they equipped with the dozens of delicate navigating instruments found on air liners. The private pilot usually sets his course by compass and gets to his destination without trouble if he stays on his course.

But suppose strong winds or storms force him off his course. Sometimes pilots are blown 50 to 100 miles by adverse weather conditions. What then? The civilian pilot can get out of his difficulty only by identifying his whereabouts, consulting his map, and thus getting back on the course he was following before the storm.

Now, suppose that pilot happens to fly over your town. Can he look down and get his bearings? Does your town provide identification for him? If not, you should urge your officials to take prompt action to erect air markers.

WHAT ARE AIR MARKERS?

Air markers are the identification signs the pilot sees from the air.

First and most important is the name of the town and the State abbreviation. Somewhere in your town there should be huge white letters spelling that information, as "York, Pa." Painted on a large rooftop, this would readily identify that city to an aviator. Next, there should be a directional arrow pointing to the north and with the letter "N" painted in it. And then, if your town does not have an airport, there should be another large outline arrow pointing to the nearest airport and with the name and distance painted in it, such as "Harrisburg, 36 M."

You can easily see how helpful this information would be to a pilot who had lost his way. If he had battled high winds or storms for hours and his gasoline supply was depleted, such information might very well prevent a forced landing, serious injury, or death.

HOW TO BUILD AIR MARKERS

The quickest and cheapest way to air mark your town is by painting the information on a factory roof, large barn roof, school, water tank, etc. The letters should be several feet high to be easily read from the sky.

If painting is not feasible, the same information can be worked out on the broad lawn of a school, hospital, park, private estate, etc. The letters can be assembled from stone, gravel, or similar material. Full information on this subject can be secured from the Federal Government's Air Marking Bulletin No. 12.

WILL YOU DO YOUR PART?

Air marking is not an expensive undertaking for a community. When the actual dollar investment is balanced against the tremendous convenience to civilian pilots, the advertising value to your town and the possible saving of lives, to say nothing of the advancement of American aviation, there should be no hesitation in supporting this program.

We ask you to do your part as good citizens of your community and as good Americans to provide this invaluable help for private pilots.

Elliott's Got It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FRANCIS HARTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM BUFFALO EVENING NEWS

Mr. HARTER of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Buffalo Evening News:

[From the Buffalo Evening News]

ELLIOTT'S GOT IT

The appointment of Elliott Roosevelt to a captaincy in the Army Air Corps has aroused a lively controversy. A few days ago Elliott announced that one of his father's sons ought to be in the military service as an example to the 16,500,000 young men between 21 and 35 who are subject to conscription for a year's military training. He applied, not to a recruiting sergeant, but to the Chief of Staff, who promptly gave him a captaincy in the Air Corps procurement division. Presumably the commission was signed by the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, who happens to be Elliott's father, the President of the United States.

As a Reserve officer on active service, Elliott of course will be exempt from registration under the conscription law. So will his elder brother, James, who did even better; Father Roosevelt commissioned him a lieutenant colonel of Marines though he had had no previous military experience. "Jimmy," it will be recalled, drew active-duty pay for accompanying his father on a South American

cruise. In both military and civil life the Roosevelt family has done very well for itself. John T. Flynn, liberal writer on economic and political affairs, estimates in his recent book, Country Squire in the White House, that the Roosevelt's have earned collectively nearly $2,000,000 since 1933.

In this connection the New York Sun has just performed an interesting bit of research. It has discovered that a speech delivered by Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1929, entitled "Morals of Good Government," may be found in The Public Papers and Addresses of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1929, published by the State of New York in 1930, but that it has been omitted from The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, published by Random House in 1938. The speech contains the following passage:

"How about the larger number of public officials who are honest in the sense that they cannot be put in jail, but who are dishonest in the sense that they commit acts which are ethically or morally wrong? What of the public official who allows a member of his family to obtain fees or benefits through his political influence?"

From a Briton to an American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HINSHAW

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to place in the RECORD, where all may read, a letter from a Briton to an American, who had offered to care for his children during these dire times in England. No comment that I could make would add to the letter itself.

The letter follows:

BERKSHIRE, ENGLAND, *July 31, 1940.*

MY DEAR ——: My wife is away at the present time with the children so I am writing for both of us, and I find it hard to say how grateful I am for your offer, and I find it equally difficult to refuse it, for there is no one to whom I would more readily trust them with or without my wife, than to you and your family.

But I think it is out of the question. For one thing, no naval escorts can be spared for such ships at the present time. For another the Government scheme for sending poorer children overseas is in abeyance for the present and I would not like to take advantage of having money to put my children in a safe place when others could not go. But my real reason—and you may think this fantastic—is that I don't think it is the right thing to do. Young as they are, I feel that they belong to the country and the country to them and that they should go through with it—unless the Government should turn them out. I fear there has been too much talk of safety and protection and it is not good for morale. There is no doubt that we have got to suffer and that will strengthen us in the future. I don't want to suggest that this country is panicking—it certainly isn't—but there has necessarily been a great deal of discussion about dugouts, A. R. P., and so on, and, though it is necessary, no one has ever won a war by considering their own skins overmuch.

So there it is, but it warms our hearts to know of your generous thought for us. My wife has been away in the west of England with the whole four of them since the end of May. I don't think that it is any safer than here, but they are 900 feet up on Dartmoor in a small village and can live a natural life while here there is more obvious war atmosphere as the boys naturally talk about it all the time. Actually, they have had German planes much closer to them than we have, but their only risk is that the German pilots seem to be pretty bad shots, and also that, when they get chased, they are apt to loose off their bombs anywhere. However, to the best of my knowledge, they have done very little damage to the country so far, and there is no doubt that our air force is away on top except in numbers.

We have just finished term and tomorrow I go for 3 weeks to a camp of our boys and masters who are working for the forestry commission. Then I go to my wife. However, my plans may well be upset, in which case I suppose we shall all stay put just where we are. If we do get an invasion, it will be a real thrill, and I must say I should be sorry to be the Germans.

I would give a lot to have a quiet talk to you and hear what is really happening in U. S. A. The general attitude seems to be changing and hardening very rapidly and we naturally welcome it and all the help and sympathy that is being given. This country is amazingly tranquil, but we have gone through an odd term and I was often reminded of times in France when I lived in a trench which we knew to be mined by the Germans! We may blow up now any day, but whatever happens, I haven't a doubt of the final result. Even if they overran the country, and I don't see that they have a chance of doing so, they can't win in the end.

I must stop and go to bed, but I didn't want to leave for camp without having written. It is grand news to us that your wife is so much recovered and we send her every possible kind wish and our warmest thoughts. Please give Bob all the best, too. Most of his contemporaries in the House are in it and this clipping from yesterday's Times will interest him as ——— was a small boy in the ——— when he came. Tell him that ——— got a military cross in Palestine. ——— is flying a bomber. ——— was badly hit in Belgium and was thought to be dead, but is a prisoner. ——— had a tremendous doing in France, but is all right. ——— is in the Navy—and so on.

You must be up to your eyes in work, and it was all the more kind of you to write.

With once more our warmest thanks, and if ever the time comes to ask for your help, we certainly will.

Yours ever,

C. W. ———.

The Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks of Congressman BRUCE BARTON accepting the nomination for the United States Senate, Republican State convention, White Plains, N. Y., Friday afternoon, September 27, 1940:

Next to the Presidency of the United States the highest honor that can come to an American citizen is to be a Senator from New York. You have tendered me the nomination for this great office. I accept it with gratitude and a full sense of the responsibility involved.

We are not engaged in a political campaign. Our fighting leader has rightly told us that it is a crusade.

In the next 6 weeks the American people must decide whether to cast away the tradition which for 150 years has stood between them and the menace of one-man power; whether they will gamble with their liberties by electing a President for the third term.

This is the issue. So far as I am concerned it is the only issue. Following in Wendell Willkie's footsteps I propose to deal with it day and night until the people of New York State are so aroused that they understand clearly just what and how much they are asked to gamble away.

All history shows that one-man power is a gradual evolution. It does not spring full panoplied into dictatorship. Every dictator begins by denying that he will ever be a dictator. With tender care he preserves the outward trappings of democracy, while whittling away at its heart.

Step by step, as one emergency after another is created, as one power after another is appropriated, the pattern develops. Almost unconscious of the process the people continue to lull themselves with the outward forms, until one day they awake to the horrible discovery that the process is completed. Liberty is gone.

Viewed in this longer light what is the significance of the third term? What does it threaten?

The third term foreshadows the end of economic opportunity for little people throughout the land, for the small-business man, the shopkeeper, the farmer; they will be told what they shall make or raise or sell and how much and at what price.

The third term means the eventual end of labor unions here, as they have been ended abroad. It means that workers here, as there, will be told where they shall work, how long, and at what pay.

The third term means the end of free choice for youth. All jobs will be Government jobs; all young people merely numbers in the card files of bureaucracy.

The third term means the end of unemployment; yes, but how? By a permanent, conscripted peacetime Army.

The third term means the end of freedom in education. As soon as he dares, the President will carry out his announced plan to establish work camps for boys and girls on the Hitler pattern.

The third term means the end of freedom of the printed and spoken word. Already, last week, in the guise of national defense, a new bureaucratic commission was set up by administrative order to supervise radio and the press.

The third term means that religious and racial minorities will be shorn of the protection of a free Congress and free courts.

The third term means that the election of the Seventy-seventh Congress may well be the last congressional election in our lifetime.

The third term means that Congress loses the power to declare war, because the war into which this country may be plunged will not be declared. Incidents will be created by the Executive and hostilities begun before there is time for a declaration.

I am unqualifiedly persuaded that the third term means war; that American boys will be sent east and west to police the world and risk their lives, or lay down their lives, not by hundreds or by thousands but by hundreds of thousands.

These are solemn and terrible words. I utter them with considered judgment and with a full sense of their implication.

Do you ask for evidence? All you need to show you what will happen in a third term is to see what has happened in the second term. Already we have seen government pass largely from the hands of representatives elected by the vote of a free people into the hands of appointed bureau heads who were never voted for by anybody to hold any office. To see where a third term will take our country, just sight along the line where the second term has already taken it. The path ahead can be seen as clearly as you can see the white ribbon of road ahead when you drive your car down a hill.

Not all of these national calamities will descend upon us at once; some of them may not appear until the fourth term, or until the President has appointed his successor by the same methods that he employed to appoint his running mate. But they will appear. No nation ever yet has set its feet on the path to dictatorship and been able to turn back.

I am not campaigning against a New Deal candidate for the Senate; Wendell Willkie is not campaigning against a New Deal President. The issue is far bigger than individual men. We are campaigning against the third term. Up and down the State we propose to carry the warning that America now must decide whether after 150 years it shall start down the path that leads to the end of freedom.

We anticipate every attack that a desperate and unscrupulous oligarchy can contrive. We are fighting a battle against men who will stop at nothing to retain their power.

But the spirits of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson will be fighting at our sides, and the souls of our fathers, who in their time on earth battled and bled to make and keep this a representative government.

With such allies, and with the free spirit of the American people which cannot be bought and will not be intimidated, we shall win.

Said a great American: "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the rest is in the hands of God."

Those are the words of George Washington, the first American ever to say: "No third term."

Foreign Gold Purchased by United States Treasury

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN, OF MINNESOTA, ON THE NEW DEAL GOLD POLICY ON MAY 9, 1940

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, on October 1, 1940, the United States Treasury gold holdings amount to more than $21,200,000,000. This tremendous hoard plus $1,672,064,136 earmarked gold held in safe keeping by the Federal Reserve for foreign owners, places 85 percent of the world's gold supply in this country. United States Treasury purchases of foreign gold at the inflated price of $35 per ounce are now over $13,000,000,000. The old price on gold was $20.67 an ounce. The New Deal has generously given foreign gold speculators a magnificent present of $5,200,000,000 in the purchase of this foreign gold—all at the expense of the people of our United States.

Third Presidential Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN LESINSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

EDITORIALS FROM THE DETROIT NEWS AND POLISH DAILY NEWS

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I desire to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two editorials, one from the Detroit News of September 4, 1940, and the other from the Polish Daily News of Detroit, dated September 17, 1940, the latter being an English translation.

[From the Detroit News of September 4, 1940]

THE COMMENTATOR

When a newspaperman leaves his desk for a week, letting the world proceed without his advice or assistance, he somehow expects on his return to find that great events have happened during his absence, that multitudinous changes have occurred. For, had he been on the job, he would have written several thousand words in that period, more or less wise and important, concerning the progress of mankind on the primrose path to the everlasting bonfire. But he comes back to discover that nothing has occurred; that Fort Street is still torn up, and will probably remain so to the end of time; that Mr. Willkie and 1,000,000 other citizens are still running for office; that Germany is continuing to drop bombs on England, and vice versa; in short, that affairs are very much in the shape in which he left them.

Meanwhile he has discovered, by motoring 1,000 miles, and observing, and talking, that by sitting at his desk and reading the newspapers he had formed a quite erroneous idea of what the people are thinking about. Maybe there is a war going on in Europe, which is of tremendous importance to our destiny. Doubtless there is a national election only 2 months away. But one would scarcely know these things from the doings and the conversation of the citizenry in the small towns of Michigan, and in the summer resorts. Perhaps we are dancing on the brink of hell, but the people seem to be taking life pretty much as usual, without apprehension or foreboding. It may be careless of them, but it seems to the commentator a sensible attitude.

DIMINISHING?

Somehow, the passage of time seems to be taking the shine off Mr. Willkie. In late June he appeared to be the wonderman of American politics. The people had a good look at him, and liked him on first acquaintance. But here it is early September, and if he has grown an inch in political stature, the increase is not visible to the naked eye of the commentator. He continues to peck at trivial things, and the President shrugs him off as if he were a housefly. The disadvantage of having a candidate who has had little political experience, has not come up from the ranks, is now apparent to Republican leaders who didn't want him in the first place, but had to take him when he was ballyhooed into the nomination by a lot of amateurs more impressed by his fighting qualities than by his political sagacity. Now they find that the independence which captivated the throng at Philadelphia is continuing at a critical point in the campaign where they feel Mr. Willkie ought to be taking advice, and acting less as an individual than as the leader of a great party. They can find plenty of things for him to say—but can he say them? Not very gracefully, after that speech at Elwood in which he surrendered so many points to the New Deal. The very individualism which made Mr. Willkie so attractive at first sight, the frankness of his early utterances, the candor of his admissions, have deprived him of round on round of large-caliber ammunition and left him with a lot of birdshot. He has one big issue—the third term for President Roosevelt—and it is one which appeals only to professional Republican editors and morons.

This campaign, which started with such a Willkie hurrah in June, begins to look to the commentator more and more, as frost approaches, like that of 1936.

[From the Detroit (Mich.) Polish Daily News of September 17, 1940]
(Translation)

Even if Mr. Wendell L. Willkie did not admit so openly his German descent, his Germanic blood would have come out in the open in his methods of conducting the battle. Verily it is not a bloody battle because it is only a before-election battle, but its form indeed reminds us of the Nazi battle methods. First, throw false accusations at the enemy, then defame him in the eyes of the world and ascribe to him the worst crimes. The German Nazis were always doing this, when they could not defeat the enemy in a decent and honorable way.

When an ordinary criticism of President Roosevelt's administration did not gain adherents to Mr. Willkie, the nominee of the Republican Party let go thicker ammunition in his preelection campaign. He compared Roosevelt to Hitler and Mussolini. There can be no greater offense to any civilized man, than comparing him as equal to such international arch criminals as the German dictator and the Italian dictator. Only men of very small caliber can make such comparisons. But it is not all yet. In his campaign blindness, Willkie publicly accused Roosevelt of inducing the sell-out of Czechoslovakia at Munich. For such calumnies in private life, the courts can sentence one to jail or high cash penalty.

It is probable that Willkie caught up with himself and realized he went too far, so a few hours later, through his secretary, he tried to extricate himself from this accusation, explaining his meaning. But the public in general remembers this Willkie sally. The respectable part of the population, and we strongly believe that the great majority of this country's population is upright, will condemn such methods of fighting an opponent. Luckily this great majority of the American Nation looks with disgust at the German methods of battling. That it is so, again this week was shown by the Institute of Public Opinion, conducted by Gallup. It has shown that popularity of President Roosevelt has grown since Willkie started to attack him in this German fashion.

German-Italian-Japanese Pact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 1 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLES FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD three or four articles pertaining to the German-Italian-Japanese pact, to which I have referred this afternoon.

The first article is by Walter Lippmann, and it is entitled "America and the World." It is from the June 3, 1940, issue of Life.

The second article is by the same author, and is entitled "The Triple Alliance and Our Defense." It was published in the Washington Post of today.

The third article is entitled "The New Pact," and is by Dorothy Thompson.

I also offer two short articles from the New York Times, one from the issue of September 29, entitled "Japanese Found in Gambling Mood," and another from the same issue of the same newspaper, entitled "Italians Warn Us To Keep Hands Off."

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Life for June 3, 1940]

AMERICA AND THE WORLD

(By Walter Lippmann)

The hour of our destiny has come and we are living in the most fateful time since the first colonists settled upon the American continent. For the power to preserve the order of the world in which the American nations were born and have flourished is shaken to its very foundations both in Europe and in Asia. The free nations are stricken. Even if they survive, they can no longer hope by themselves to restore and reconstitute the ordered life that Americans have known.

To our unready and unwilling hands there has been confided the task of maintaining a seat of order and of freedom—of establishing a citadel so strong in its defenses that by our own example the world can eventually be redeemed and pacified and made whole again. This is the American destiny. Either we shall fulfill that destiny or the world we have lived in will perish beyond hope of an early or an easy resurrection.

For a hundred years those who could see into the future have prophesied that it was the mission of the Americas to make themselves the invulnerable center of liberty. "While Europe," said Jefferson, "is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom." As we contemplate the heavy task which fate has imposed upon us, we must pray that we be given once more in our hour of need the foresight, the wisdom, and the courage of the men who founded the American Republic. With infinitely smaller physical resources than we possess, but with a clearer vision than we have kept, they founded the Republic and made it independent. We have now to preserve what they achieved. But this we shall be able to do only if we understand again what our costly system of miseducation has concealed from us.

Our generation does not understand the place of America in the great scheme of things. Our generation does not understand the history or the geography of America. For that reason it is unprepared for the responsibility which destiny has now placed upon it. Yet we have had ample warning. This is the second time within the memory of most of us that the American people have been involved in the tragic consequences of a world war. We have been more unprepared for the second involvement than we were for the first involvement. For, in these 20 years, a swarm of misguided zealots have taught the people to think that by remembering the solemn injunctions of Washington's Farewell Address and doing nothing else, American independence was secure.

Nothing could be further from the historical truth. Nothing could be more utterly misleading to our generation than the notion that the American people enjoyed a century of isolation from the wars of Europe because George Washington advised them against entanglements in Europe. The plain fact of the matter is that the century of American isolation did not begin until nearly 25 years after the death of George Washington. Words, even the words of the Father of his Country, do not govern events. Within 2 years of the delivery of the Farewell Address the American people were mobilized for war with Napoleon Bonaparte, and Washington himself was called from retirement to take command. Within 16 years of the delivery of that address the American people were so deeply involved in the Napoleonic wars that a foreign army not only invaded the United States but burned the Capitol in Washington.

The injunction against "interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe" expressed the American ideal and laid down a principle of policy. But the expression of the ideal and the declaration of the principle did not in themselves give this country the isolation it enjoyed before 1914. What gave this country the isolation it enjoyed in the nineteenth century was the statesmanship of Jefferson, Adams, Madison, and Monroe on this side of the Atlantic and of men like Canning on the other side. The United States achieved an independence of European politics during the 20 years between Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana, in 1803, and of President Monroe's decision, in 1823, to act upon the results of the negotiations between Richard Rush, the American Minister in London, and George Canning, the British Foreign Secretary. American independence of the European system did not exist in the two centuries before the Monroe Doctrine, and it has not existed in the century which began in 1914.

Our own history is in general so badly taught in this country that most of us are astonished to learn that what we were taught to call King William's War (1689–97) was the European War of the League of Augsburg; that what we call Queen Anne's War (1701–13) was the War of the Spanish Succession; that what we call King George's War (1744–48) was the War of the Austrian Succession; that what we call the French and Indian Wars (1755–63) was the Seven Years' War; that the War of American Independence (1775–83) was also an Anglo-French war which ended in the Treaty of Versailles; that in the wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon we were almost at war with France in 1798 and very much at war with England in 1812.

Yet the fact that Americans had been involved some six or seven times in the wars of Europe was not only well known to Washington and the other founders; it was the very thing which caused them to adopt a policy for the purpose of disentangling the United States from the rivalries of Europe.

Never did they entertain the idea that this hemisphere is isolated from Europe by the Atlantic Ocean. The fleets and armies of Europe had crossed the ocean too often within their own experience to allow them to indulge in such a comfortable complacency. The American founding fathers knew quite well that if the destiny of America was to be separated from the European political system, they would have to make sure that both sides of the ocean were controlled by nations which were too weak to disturb us, or by nations which had a vital interest of their own in not disturbing us. That was the policy which they began to pursue in 1798 and accomplished in 1823, and to the successful diplomacy of those 25 years this whole hemisphere owes nearly a century of independence.

If we will take the trouble to read our own history we shall know that the kind of isolation which we enjoyed until 1914 and which we rightly cherish today as an ideal, was the product, not of geography, but of great statesmanship. There were great men in America over a century ago who knew how to seize an historic opportunity. They established for us the conditions in which America has lived independent, free, and unthreatened. That supreme blessing was not conferred upon us by nature. It was achieved by farsighted and bold statesmanship in the period between 1798 and 1823.

The effort began with the insistence of Jefferson that Louisiana, then a possession of Spain, must not be ceded to Napoleon. For, as he put it, while "Spain might have retained it quietly for years" owing to "her pacific disposition" and "her feeble state," Napoleonic France would by "the impetuosity of her temper, the energy and restlessness of her character" be a source of "eternal friction," and by the presence of such a neighbor we should be driven to do what we seek to avoid, to make a permanent alliance, "to marry ourselves to the British Fleet and Nation."

Napoleon, because he had his hands full in Europe, was persuaded to sell Louisiana. By this purchase, which might not have been so easily made in other circumstances, Jefferson excluded from this hemisphere any base for the conquering revolutionary imperialism of Bonaparte. He relied not upon the width of the ocean, let us note, but upon the breadth of his diplomatic insight. Because he had clarity of vision he acted before the peril of an "eternal friction" was established in this hemisphere.

This was the first great accomplishment in an effort which covered another 20 years to make secure American independence. The next decisive phase arrived when Napoleon in 1808 overthrew the legitimate Government of Spain and placed his brother Joseph on the throne. As soon as the news reached the Spanish colonies of South America there was a revolution, and the South Americans declared their independence. That was all very well while Europe was at war. But once the war was over, a very strong movement began on the continent to help Spain reconquer her American colonies. At the same time Russia began to extend her power down from Alaska along the Pacific coast.

Within a few years of the close of the great wars of Napoleon the United States was threatened on both sides by the imperialism of the victorious powers of continental Europe. It was in these circumstances that the Americans began to negotiate with the British,

Rush with Canning, and in those negotiations it developed that Britain for her own reasons and the United States for its own reasons had a common interest in excluding any new imperialism from this hemisphere. The reasons were obvious. Each had a vital interest in not having as a near neighbor in this hemisphere any other power which could compel it to maintain large armies and a great fleet.

The question presented by Canning through Rush to President Monroe was whether, in cooperating with Britain, he was entangling himself in the politics of Europe. Before making his decision Monroe consulted Jefferson, who was living at Monticello. It was a grave decision to make. The Americans were then a small nation. The acceptance of the proposal to resist the Holy Alliance might well have meant a war for the defense of this hemisphere against the continent of Europe. Jefferson advised Monroe to accept the proposition because, he said, "I am clearly of Mr. Canning's opinion that it will prevent instead of provoking war. With Great Britain withdrawn from their scale and shifted into that of our two continents, all Europe combined could not undertake such a war, for how would they propose to get at either enemy without superior fleets? Nor is the occasion to be slighted which this proposition offers of declaring our protest against the atrocious violations of the rights of nations by the interference of any in the internal affairs of another, so flagitiously begun by Bonaparte, and now confirmed by the equally lawless alliance calling itself holy."

This was the origin of the Monroe Doctrine. This policy, as Jefferson and Monroe and Madison saw so clearly, depended upon the supremacy of the combined fleets of Britain and America in the Atlantic Ocean. The doctrine, though not an alliance with Great Britain, was a joint and parallel policy in this hemisphere. By the adoption of this policy the United States maintained successfully for nearly a hundred years a splendid and very inexpensive isolation.

The policy worked so well that generations of Americans forgot its historical origins and lost sight of its practical foundations. They grew up in the belief that they owed their isolation to the geography of this hemisphere when as a matter of fact they owed it to the diplomacy of Jefferson, Canning, and Monroe. They forgot that the only period of isolation that this hemisphere has known since it was discovered by Columbus was from 1823 to 1914—a period of about 90 years out of 450 years. They forgot that since the first English-speaking settlers came to Virginia and Massachusetts there have been seven great wars, not counting the present war; that Americans have fought in all these wars; that all these wars have been fought in this as well as in the other hemisphere. They forgot that the only period of isolation and noninvolvement which Americans have enjoyed, if we allow ourselves to ignore the affair of the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico, was in the 90 years which ended in 1914.

During those 90 years there was no great European war in which we could have become involved. For during those 90 years the control of the seas was never challenged. During those 90 years there were local European wars fought by Europeans alone, and there were local American wars fought, with the exception of our War with Spain, only by Americans. The only period of isolation we have ever enjoyed was in the comparatively short period when there was no great war for the mastery of the world. Since 1914 there are again great wars for the mastery of the world, just as there were great wars in the period before 1814. We were involved in all the wars before 1814. We were involved in the war which began in 1914 and, whatever we do, we are obviously involved in the present war.

This is our history. It is manifest that in seeking to separate ourselves from the great wars of Europe, we cannot rely upon the Atlantic Ocean. It has never been a barrier to involvement in war. Our geography books are as misleading as our history books. They show us maps of the Western Hemisphere in which North and South America lie isolated between two oceans that are as wide as the map itself. Because the maps do not show the land and the harbors on the other sides of these two oceans, our people have been miseducated to think that the oceans are an impregnable barrier.

Oceans are not a barrier. They are a highway. Across the oceans all the empires of modern times have gone forth and have conquered: the Spaniards and the Portuguese and the Dutch and the Germans and the Japanese and the French and the British. Across the oceans we ourselves have gone, establishing ourselves by sea communication in Alaska, in China, in Hawaii, in the Philippines.

The fact of the matter is that an ocean is no barrier at all unless both sides of it are ruled by friendly or by weak powers. In fact, it is harder to police a great ocean frontier than it is to police a land frontier. The line, for example, of the so-called Panama Safety Zone, which extends only from Nova Scotia to Puget Sound, is over 15,000 miles long and encloses 12,715,900 square miles of salt water. It does not include Alaska, much less Hawaii, much less Guam and the Philippines. In patrolling and defending a frontier of that magnitude it is impossible to station ships and airplanes all along it.

Such a frontier can be defended only on two conditions. The first is that no combination of European and Asiatic navies will outmatch the American Navy; the second is that the whole hemisphere is prepared to suppress an uprising and invasion of the Norwegian type. Otherwise foreign conquerors can establish themselves in this hemisphere by treacherous revolution and then with their naval and air power they can prevent us, as they prevented the British in Norway, from suppressing the revolutionary invasion. Unless both shores of a great ocean are in friendly hands—the bigger the ocean, the harder it is to defend it against the modern invader.

The Germans have a very small seacoast. They have defended it successfully against the greatest navies in Europe. The Chinese have an immense seacoast which they have not been able to defend because the Japanese control the western Pacific Ocean. So we have been deluding ourselves when we have looked upon a vast expanse of salt water as if it were a super-Maginot line. The ocean is a highway for those who control it.

For that reason every war which involves the dominion of the seas is a world war in which America is inescapably involved. All the wars which preceded our short period of isolation were, from our point of view, wars for the mastery of the seas by means of the domination of Europe. We enjoyed isolation in the extraordinary century between the fall of Napoleon and the first invasion of Belgium. We enjoyed this isolation because the dominion of the seas was in hands friendly to the Americas, and the dominion was unchallenged. In that century of our isolation Britannia ruled the waves and we upheld the Monroe Doctrine. The independence of the Americas was a British as well as an American policy and the isolation of this hemisphere was secure. Since 1914 the British command of the seas has been gravely challenged, and the period of our splendid isolation has ended.

Whatever is about to happen in Europe and Asia the hour has come when we face the prospect of living alone in a hemisphere of weak states amidst a world of gigantic conquering military states. Within the orbit of our influence and our interests from Alaska to the Netherlands Indies and from Canada to Brazil lie lands whose natural wealth is surpassed only by their small populations and feeble defenses. Overseas in Asia and in Europe there are great military peoples living on crowded lands, governed by conquerors, armed to the teeth, and within sight of victory.

This, then, is the hour of our destiny when it will be decided how much of our great inheritance we are able and willing to defend.

[From the Washington Post of October 1, 1940]

TODAY AND TOMORROW—THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE AND OUR DEFENSE

(By Walter Lippmann)

The official commentaries from Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo tell us that under the terms of the alliance the United States must either abandon Great Britain and China or it will be attacked by all three of the totalitarian powers. The alliance, we must observe, runs for 10 years, not merely for the duration of the present wars in Europe and Asia. It follows that the alliance will continue to exist even if we submit to the threat and stand aside and allow Great Britain and China to be destroyed.

We are bound therefor to ask ourselves this question: "If, while Japan is still entangled in China and while the axis is blockaded in Europe, such threats are launched against us, what kind of ultimatum would the alliance give us if we stood alone in the world?" If at this point in the course of events we are told the alliance may make war on us, does anyone suppose that this same alliance, were it victorious, would quietly permit us to build a two-ocean navy and a great air force? Is it not plain as day that if they threaten us with war now if we help their enemies, they will threaten us all the more when they no longer have any enemies? If they think they can forbid us to arm the British and the Chinese, what on earth would prevent them later from forbidding us to arm ourselves.

We have in this alliance what is in effect an ultimatum that if and when in their judgment our support of Britain and China is sufficient to make a decisive difference, they will strike at us. The axis would strike, presumably, by means of subversive movements in this hemisphere, and Japan would be incited, presumably, to commit an overt act of hostility somewhere in Asia or in the Philippines or in some other of the Pacific islands. The intention would be to paralyze our assistance to Great Britain by engaging our forces in this hemisphere and in the Pacific. Then if Britain fell, this hemisphere would be wide open to attack in the Atlantic, and the ultimatum which now forbids us to arm Britain would become an ultimatum to disarm ourselves.

Not the least significant aspect of the alliance is the fact that Hitler and Mussolini do not choose to regard our existing support of Great Britain, even the transfer of the destroyers, as an act of war. Why? Because they understand better than did many Americans that as long as Britain is fighting, they have everything to lose and nothing to gain by creating a state of war. For, under a state of war they could not attack us as long as they are blockaded in Europe; on the other hand, if they declared us into the war our armament program would at once go from low gear into high gear, and our Government and the other governments of the Western Hemisphere would immediately possess the legal powers to crush and root out the whole underground totalitarian organization here and in the other American nations. They have an obvious interest in keeping our whole defense program at a low level of efficiency and speed. Their policy is, therefore, not to provoke us into a great effort and yet at the same time to slow us down by threats. Their objective is to settle first with Britain and with China, and then under this 10-year alliance with us.

If we understand the situation, we shall make no threats of our own, but we shall without further hesitation transform our

defense effort into a full mobilization of the Nation's resources. We have talked about "total defense," but we are not getting it or even attempting it. As Mr. Knudsen said in his recent address to the Conference of Mayors, the policy of the present program has been "to superimpose the defense load on the regular business load of the country in order to first take up the slack and then adjust it if necessary." This policy of treating the defense program as something "superimposed" on business and not as the main effort of the Nation has been followed in regard to industry and it is being followed in regard to the hours and conditions of labor.

It is the policy of the administration. It is also the major assumption of Mr. Willkie's campaign argument that he can and will, if elected, provide a normal "recovery" by normal methods. Neither the administration in its policy nor Mr. Willkie in his speeches seems to have grasped the fact that if we are to have total defense we cannot carry on business as usual either under the methods of the New Deal or under the methods which Mr. Willkie prefers. We cannot carry on business as usual and have total defense. We cannot eat our cake and have it, too. We cannot make an omelet and not break the eggs. The British tried it until the disaster in France, maintaining business as nearly usual as possible, with Mr. Chamberlain and "social reform" as nearly usual as possible to please the Labor Party.

The question is whether a democracy can and will arm itself effectively while it is still at peace. For unless this question can be answered in the affirmative, our last hope of remaining at peace will be done. The French could not arm themselves. The British could not do it until at last they stood alone fighting for their lives. Now the question is put to us from Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo as to whether we have the lucidity and the courage, the unity of purpose and the patriotic resolution to place the total defense of the Nation above all other considerations whatever.

This is the crusade that the occasion calls for and it should be led by both candidates and both parties. For upon our capacity to generate the energy of total defense depends everything else that everybody is talking about: Only if this Nation remains independent, beyond the reach of intimidation and dictation, can its liberties be preserved. A nation which loses its independence in the world cannot conceivably preserve its liberties at home. A nation surrounded by a hostile coalition, isolated and powerless, cannot preserve democracy. The acid test, therefore, of any man's understanding of such things as freedom versus dictatorship is not what he says about them, but how thoroughly he proposes to arm the Nation, how unreservedly he makes the national defense his main preoccupation.

We shall be greater fools than we can afford to be if we do not at once take measures to speed up the existing defense program and boldly and decisively enlarge it. Deliveries from the existing plants can be speeded up. Lord Beaverbrook has proved that it can be done if the country wants it done and if somebody with ruthless energy is assigned to the task of getting it done. We can find someone to do this if we look for him, and the country should refuse to accept the view that the existing airplane and other munitions industries are working as fast as they could. They can be speeded up if we really make up our minds that they must speed up.

At the same time the whole plan of production should be greatly expanded. Plans should be adopted now, and the work started to make the American production of essential weapons equal to that of all of Europe. This is not beyond our capacity. The industrial capacity of the United States is about half the industrial capacity of the whole world. We should at once make the plans, obtain the appropriations, negotiate the contracts, and institute the industrial training program for an effort on a very much larger scale than our present effort.

To speed up the existing program and to enlarge it, three political measures must be agreed upon. First, Congress must not adjourn, but on the contrary must be put to work on the necessary authorizations and appropriations as soon as they can be planned and estimated. Second, the Advisory Commission must be transformed into an executive authority with a responsible head. Third, the election must be kept in order by the two candidates and by disinterested men in both parties, so that it shall not irreparably divide the Nation, weaken its position in the world, or prevent a prompt reconciliation and wholehearted cooperation among public men, once the votes have been counted.

[From the Washington Post of September 30, 1940]

ON THE RECORD—THE NEW PACT

(By Dorothy Thompson)

The German-Italian-Japanese pact ought to make clear to Americans, if there are any who still need convincing, that this is no European war, but a world revolution for the redistribution of the entire planet. That's what it was intended to be in the beginning; that's what it is; and in the nature of things it is directed as much against us as against anybody else.

The original anti-Comintern pact was between Germany, Italy, and Japan. It was a pact designed for war. It was hoped to attract Great Britain into the orbit and, if that failed, to keep Great Britain deluded with the idea that Russia was the only victim intended for slaughter.

Great Britain was not attracted to the axis, first because of a very sound realization that the program of Nazi Germany is like the program of Rome: "She made subjects of her allies and slaves of her vassals." Secondly, it was impossible because the British masses believe in democracy and abhor nazi-ism; third, because the people of Great Britain care deeply for the friendship of the United States.

Failing to conciliate Great Britain, the axis secured the more or less benevolent neutrality of Russia, thus postponing the reckoning with that country. It will come, if the axis is victorious, just as it would have come eventually with Great Britain if Britain had not been prepared to relinquish or share with the Axis Powers her colonial possessions and her strategic bases in the Far East, in the Near East, and in the Western Hemisphere. Thus, eventually, and in any case, there would have been the basis of conflict with us.

The axis has functioned in regard to Japan just as it functioned in regard to Italy. Germany started the war in Poland with the clear understanding that the move would involve Britain and France. Italy entered at the precise moment agreed upon—with the collapse of France. Germany could, it was reckoned, handle France by herself; for the war with Britain she would need Italy. Had the Battle of Britain succeeded this fall, by a few weeks' "blitzkrieg" after the pattern of France, then Japan probably would not have been invoked at this moment. With the citadel of the British Empire in axis hands, the near eastern and far eastern possessions and commonwealth members could have been cleaned up between the three axis partners.

Now, by the roundabout route of Japan, Germany and Italy manage to send what amounts to an ultimatum to the United States. If the United States of America moves in Europe or joins the war on the side of any axis enemy, all three powers regard her as an enemy. It is probable that some pressure was brought upon Japan to get her to sign this pact. Russia may have been useful—the suggestion that unless Japan came in now Russia might be given a free hand in the Far East.

We see with more and more clarity the preposterous folly of a policy whereby, in the face of a world-wide alliance, with strategical positions throughout the planet—Germany on the European Continent and in the Baltic and North Seas; Italy in the Mediterranean; and Japan in the Pacific—the other countries of the world, designed to be the victims of this axis, have persisted each one in pursuing a lone and solitary program called neutrality.

If ever there was a time when the words "united we stand, divided we fall" had meaning, it has been the period since the axis came into being.

I have said it before and I say it again: We have elected to Congress a lot of men who don't know that the earth is round, because it is flat where they happen to be standing. The conquest of the planet is not impossible; it is only impossible in unimaginative minds. Caesar conquered what there was of the planet a long time ago. It is easier now than then—and is going ahead a great deal faster.

We need to think in larger terms and we need to think in terms of more acute accuracy.

The Battle for Britain is not a battle for an overcrowded scrap of geography. The Battle for Britain is the battle for the Atlantic Ocean, just as the Battle for France with Britain was the Battle for the Mediterranean and the seaways to Africa, the Near East and Asia.

If the European Fascist powers control the Atlantic from Europe, and Japan controls the Pacific from Asia, this country will be penned in by the oceans and will be finished as a great power. We shall either accept this dictum or not accept it. Not accepting it will mean war, and war alone, by ourselves.

They do small service to their country who scream warmonger at everybody, including the President, who seeks to present, not some wish-dream, but the stark reality.

The axis is ingenious in revealing who its enemies really are at just the right moment. A very good moment is in the last weeks of an election campaign in the United States. A very good moment is when an armament program is just getting under way and when the United States may be scared into slowing down. Also the European end of the exis may greatly hope that our attention will now be diverted to the Far East—our attention and our defense effort. I hope we are not so easily diverted. The United States stands or falls in the Far East with Great Britain. We stand or fall in both the Atlantic and the Pacific with Great Britain. The disposition of affairs in the Far East will depend upon the outcome in Europe and in the Atlantic. Japan knows this—otherwise why the axis and why the new pact?

What the minimum German war aims really are is ingeniously revealed by Dr. Schacht, who is writing down a blueprint for the new World Germanica, in a book to be published at the right moment. Via Sweden, an outline of this book fell into the hands of a few of us. The Nation brought the text of the outline, without comment, on September 7.

Dr. Schacht announces quite simply that the real objects of this war are the breaking of the "plutocracies," namely, Great Britain and the United States. The Japanese angle reveals itself in the plan that after this war the United States is to have no interest whatsoever, commercial or otherwise, in the Pacific. We are to be allowed to trade exclusively with Europe—which needs some of our products—and with South America, where, far from having a sphere of influence, we are to be apportioned quotas. We are to be allowed to trade only through a monopolistic import-export syndicate, to be set up for the whole continent of Europe, necessitating the end of individual trading in this country and the

establishment of a similar government monopoly here. We shall be invited to stabilize our currencies together with Japan, Russia, and pan-Fascist Europe, and merge the banking system; but Germany will keep the rubber mark for merchandise and tourist trade. The debts of all Germany's vassals will be recognized in principle, but will be paid in goods.

For Latin America, which lives by exports, this system will mean economic strangulation or collaboration, and we shall eventually have the axis at our gates.

This country needs allies. It needs them immediately and desperately. We ought to reverse our limited thinking. It is not and never has been a question of whether the British Empire needs us; it is a question whether we need the British Empire. We do. We need every nation and every people that we can range up on our side. We need to establish that unity of defense and that collaboration of economic policy which the axis has established for the purpose of putting a crowbar under the planet. If Britain is defeated, we shall be alone against the world. Invaded or not invaded, we shall live on the terms of the conquerors and be back where we were in 1776.

Finally, our defense program is utterly inadequate. It will not be adequate until we recognize a state of emergency and mobilize the entire manpower, machine power, and money power of this country for defense, letting everything else take second place.

[From the New York Times of September 29, 1940]

JAPANESE FOUND IN GAMBLING MOOD—SEE NEED TO MAKE BID FOR ASIA NOW OR WAIT FOR CENTURIES, SAYS DR. THORNING—INDOCHINA ONLY ONE STEP—PROFESSOR THINKS TOKYO AIMS AT DOMINATION OF INDIA AND ANTIPODES, TOO

EMMITSBURG, Md., Sept. 28.—Japan is launched upon a program of Asiatic domination, intended to embrace not only the French and Netherland possessions in the East but Australia, New Zealand, and even India, according to Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, professor of sociology at Mount St. Mary's College, who returned recently from the Orient.

Dr. Thorning based his statement on a 3 months' survey of social and economic conditions in the East and on personal conversations with political and military leaders in Japan, China, Hong Kong, and Manila.

The Japanese people, now linked by agreement with the Axis Powers of Europe, are convinced, Dr. Thorning said, that "they must make their bid for Asia now or else wait empty-handed for centuries." He went on:

"Japan's penetration of French Indochina is only the first move in a grandiose plan for Nipponese domination. The Japanese people, as well as army and navy officers, are persuaded that the hour of decision for the empire is at hand. Those responsible for the national policy, both in Tokyo and in China, are in no mood for compromise, concession, or retreat. There is no longer any calm calculation of risks. Their march on the continent and in the island archipelagos of the Far East will not be stopped short of a major clash with the United States.

WAR OF MOVEMENT

"The Japanese are aware of French helplessness in the present circumstances, while they lose no time in following up the advantages they have gained by British closure of the Burma road and the withdrawal of British marines from the treaty ports in China. The war of movement is getting under way in the Orient and any observer who imagines that the Nipponese will surrender the initiative is another Alice in Wonderland.

"Contrary to reports prevalent in the United States, I found no war-weariness in Japan. The people, civilians and military alike, are in a brisk, dynamic mood. Naturally they feel the lack of coffee, sugar, and decent textile goods, but the privations are equally divided and there is comparatively little grumbling.

"The casualties for 3 years, according to neutral military observers, exceed 1,000,000. Disease has accounted for as many as machine gun and bayonet.

"A spirit of sacrifice and discipline minimizes these facts. The wounded, for example, are not in evidence."

JAPAN'S HOLD FIRM

"Upon the Asiatic Continent itself Japan's hold, although not extensive measured in acres or miles, is firm, if not unbreakable.

"The chief source of weakness to the contending forces in the Orient, as I can see, is the flood of paper money discoverable everywhere, and the dwindling supplies of food and raw materials necessary for bare subsistence.

"As currency restrictions mount, the temptation to speculation and circumvention becomes tremendous. Of course, some financiers and industrialists in Japan are amassing fortunes, as is inevitable in every war. Workers share in this artificial prosperity to a limited degree. The farmers, dismayed by a poor harvest this year, are in the most difficult position."

[From the New York Times of September 29, 1940]

ITALIANS WARN US TO KEEP HANDS OFF—PRESS ASSERTS THAT ANY MOVE AGAINST AXIS OR JAPAN WILL MEAN FIGHT ON TWO FRONTS—GAYDA CONTRADICTS HULL—SAYS HE COMMITTED A "NOTABLE ERROR OF INTERPRETATION"—RUSSIA HELD IMPOTENT

(By Herbert L. Matthews)

ROME, September 28.—Italian commentators abandoned all pretense about the United States today and frankly stated that the three-cornered pact of Italy, Germany, and Japan was aimed at her. Grovanni Ansaldo, in the Telegrafo of Leghorn, calls it the "last warning" and the Regime Fascista demands "either sincere neutrality or enmity."

The comments and hopes entertained can be summed up as follows: The United States is warned that any move against Japan or the axis will mean war on two fronts. As a result, Americans are expected to be frightened or prudent and cease helping Britain, while the isolationists will be strengthened and President Roosevelt defeated for reelection. Therefore, the axis, with Britain isolated, can quickly finish the war, while Japan, without fear of the United States, can go ahead in the Far East. Meanwhile, Russia, already halted in the Balkans and too weak to take the offensive against the axis or even Japan, will remain quiet and perhaps even come to terms.

In the practical sphere little is expected of the treaty since, obviously, the axis cannot help Japan in her war against China and Japan cannot help the axis in its fight against Britain. Moreover, it is realized that the axis and Japan cannot get together against the United States as long as Britain stands in the way and fights on. In effect, the chief object of the treaty is considered propagandistic.

GAYDA CONTRADICTS HULL

One minor angle connected with the United States is being ignored here, which is that the Nine Power Pact, with its open-door guaranty, has been definitely broken. It was considered a dead letter, anyway.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull's statement that the new treaty does not alter the situation is called "a notable error of interpretation" by Virginio Gayda. "Until now the accord was ideological," he writes. "Today it has become a precise and vast mechanism."

Mario Appelius, in Premier Benito Mussolini's Popolo d'Italia, is even more bellicose. "We have had enough," he says. "The peoples of the world have a right to live, work, grow, and develop without asking the permission of the greedy, plutocratic gang of London City and Manhattan."

The Resto del Carlino, which is the next most important party organ, does not mince words either.

"This treaty is a powerful command to halt all those who, even yesterday, with regard to the Indochina incident, dreamed of being able to extend the war with intervention or the threat thereof. Those irresponsible circles in the United States especially who boast of being close to President Roosevelt and insist on intervention one day against Italy and Germany and another day against Japan, according to the stock-market fluctuations, now know what to expect from their incautious policy."

BULGARIA SEEN IN AXIS ORBIT

ROME, September 28.—Italian political circles suggested today that Bulgaria, friendliest of the Balkan countries to Soviet Russia, may join the new axis pact of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Spain also was considered likely to be a recruit in the near future to the military accord against attacks by any other power not now at war in Europe or Asia.

Bulgaria, traditionally, has been amenable to the "brother Slav" influence of Russia.

If Bulgaria entered the new alinement, foreign observers said, it presumably would be for protection against Greece, from which Sofia wants an outlet to the Aegean Sea through Thrace, and also from neighboring Turkey, friendly with Britain.

Such an alliance, these observers added, would tend to isolate Turkey in a manner similar to the United States.

Authoritative Fascisti have said previously that Italy and Germany want a settlement of still pending problems in southeastern Europe, among which are Albanian and Bulgarian claims on Greece.

A dispatch from Sofia reported that King Boris talked with his Foreign Minister, Ivan Popoff, and added that the Bulgarian Finance Minister, Dobri Bojiloff, who has the close confidence of the King, would visit Berlin and Rome next month at the invitation of the Axis Governments.

WARNING TO TURKEY NOTED

Popolo di Roma, citing German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop's statement that the new pact is open to other countries, said the Axis Powers, after having settled Hungarian and Bulgarian claims on Rumania "also desire new peaceable understandings" in the Balkans.

Foreign observers said that with Bulgaria a formal ally of the Axis Powers in a pact that promises assistance "with all political, economic, and military means," it might be easier to obtain a peaceful settlement with Greece. At the same time the pact would serve as a warning to Turkey against interference in such an Axis-dictated settlement.

Stefani, the Italian official news agency, said popular manifestations took place in Italian cities celebrating the Tri-power Pact.

In Milan an "imposing" column of people paraded through the center of the city with Fascist banners, the agency reported, and Premier Benito Mussolini, Chancelor Hitler, and Japan were cheered.

SOFIA, BULGARIA, September 28.—A high official said today that the Government was unaware of any axis plan to attract Bulgaria into a military alliance as a weapon against Turkey and Greece, but that the possibility of an invitation in this direction was widely discussed. Bulgaria was a World War ally of Germany.

Statement by the President on the Occasion of Breaking Ground for the New Hall of Records, District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY S. TRUMAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

INFORMAL STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Mr. TRUMAN. Mr. President, it gives me pleasure to place in the Appendix of the RECORD an informal statement by the President of the United States on the occasion of breaking ground for the new Hall of Records for the District of Columbia. Dr. William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, deserves much credit for accomplishing what has been long needed, a new building for safeguarding invaluable records of the District.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Dr. Thompkins, ladies and gentlemen of the District, I am very glad to come here in person today to take part in this breaking of the ground for this new Hall of Records.

Some of you know that I am so historically minded that I save everything I can get my hands on. I save old documents of all kinds, documents that go back to the early days of the Republic, and even documents that relate to the present administration.

Having that historical sense, I believe that old records ought to be kept for historical reasons because you never can tell when something that does not seem of any particular value today may be of real value a hundred years from now.

But there is another reason. There are a great many documents that obviously will be of historical value and even of current value in our normal business life. About 7 years ago I found that in the office of the Recorder of Deeds, the government of the District was losing about $40,000 a year. Now, of course, we ought to make the recording, not only of deeds but of any other documents, pay as it goes. We are a thrifty people. We ought not to have to pay out of tax money a loss in running an office of that kind. And during these years we have reached the amazing peak, under Dr. Thompkins, of making a profit of $40,000 a year.

Those documents, as I say, relate to current events and they also relate to a great many old events. They go back, for example, in the real estate of the District, to, I think, 1792, when there were a great many old land records. They have been all recopied in Dr. Thompkins' administration; they are now in good shape. And we have to remember that every time anyone of you buys or sells a piece of property in the District of Columbia, you have got to check back to see whether the title is genuine or not.

Furthermore, in addition to this saving—this profit instead of the old loss—we have brought our work up to date. In those old days, when we were children, 7 years ago, it would take you not only hours and days, but weeks and months before you could get recorded by your Government the various necessary documents for real estate sales or purchases and many other forms of documents that had to be recorded, not only under the law, but for the sake of safety of property.

And so this administration, I think, has done something under Dr. Thompkins, to help the businessmen and property owners of the District of Columbia, and at a fee cost, incidentally, that is just about as low as any place in the United States.

Then there is another thing: As I mentioned the other day, I am a combination of Scotch and Dutch businessman. We are going to save money for the taxpayers of the District by putting up this building because today we are paying out an enormous sum in rent—$240,000 a year, I think it is—and with this new building, owned by the Government and paid for by the Government, we are going to amortize it, pay for it, through the profits that are being made today, in a very short time. And, after that, when we are in the building, there won't be any more rent to pay. So, from that point of view, as business people, we feel that this new building is a mighty good investment.

And so I am glad to come here and congratulate Dr. Thompkins and all of his assistants, his whole staff, on the splendid business-like job that has been done and to express the hope that he will be in this very important office for many long years to come for the service of the community and the Nation.

Laying of Cornerstone of Administration Building, Washington National Airport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered last Saturday by the President of the United States in connection with the laying of the cornerstone of the Administration Building at the Washington National Airport.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, I think we are very fortunate in having a perfect day for this opening after having had to put it off last week. The new Secretary of Commerce, who has only been in office a few days, told me, when he got into the car at the White House, that he has discovered that the Weather Bureau is under his jurisdiction, so that explains this perfect day.

I think we have all been very much thrilled at this surprise party which we have given to the good people of Washington and Virginia. All these planes, over 500 of them, came here—I knew about it but you didn't—and it has been a great show. It has also been a wonderful thing for us to see these transport planes come here, just behind me, and make the first landings, the first series of landings that have ever been made on this field.

You have seen that display and I want, in my behalf and, I think, in yours, to make a new signal to the Army and the Navy that have been flying over us, and the signal to them is this:

"Well done! The Commander in Chief's compliments and thanks to all hands."

In these serious days, the roar above us of these American-made airplane engines in hundreds of American-made planes is symbolic of our determination to build up a defense on sea and on land and in the air that is capable of overcoming any attack against us. They represent in a small way the power we ultimately must have—and will soon have. Rather let me describe this as just a gratifying flexing of the kind of fighting muscle that democracy can produce and is producing.

They are here upon a peaceful mission. We all hope that their missions will always be in the ways of peace. We shall strive with all of our energies and skills to see to it that they are never called upon for missions of war. But the more of them we have the less likely we are to have to use them—the less likely are we to be attacked from abroad.

Here, in this broad Potomac Valley, the Father of the Country, the first President and his associates of 150 years ago, sought to place the Nation's Capital at a center of what was then the channels of transportation. There was a long dispute about the plan, a long dispute that occupied 12 years and, finally, the present head of the Nation had a dream.

This problem of an adequate flying field really, if you go back to it, has been a Washington problem since the Wright brothers had their first crash on the Fort Myer parade grounds 30 or more years ago. And we might even go further back, indeed, and say the problem has existed ever since Dr. Langley tried to fly his thing called an "aerodrome" from a barge that was anchored just below us here in the Potomac.

Following my first dream, I kept having bad dreams, as you know, dreams of sudden crashes, and things like that. The dreams got bad and I was afraid that they might come true. Therefore, upon the passage of the Civil Aeronautics Act, one of the first tasks I asked of the new Agency was to create an adequate airport.

That was in August, 2 years ago. On November 19, 1938, I watched a dredge bring the first mucky soil from beneath 10 feet of water near the spot where we now stand. They told me it was a practical thing to do because we could kill two birds with one stone. That is a favorite maxim of mine, and we try to do that wherever we can. By deepening the river, we minimize the possibility of flood damage, and the soil we have dredged out of the old river has been used to build most of the field for the airport.

They told me, in November 1938, that it would take 2 years to make this field usable. Today the field has been used and we are well within that limit by 2 months. It will be in regular use for

the public within 3 more months, and Assistant Secretary Hinckley tells me that it will be so extensively used, because of the growth of civil aviation in these past 2 years, that already we must begin to plan other subsidiary airports for Washington, as, indeed, we must do in many other parts of the Nation.

For proof of the value of the growth of aviation to the Nation's defense, we can make comparisons with George Washington's day. He had a citizenry ready to spring to arms because nearly every citizen had arms hanging over the fireplace and knew how to use them. Every gentleman wore a sword and every farmer had a musket piece which he used almost every week or so to bring food to his table. But 2 years ago less than 25,000 of our people—only one-fiftieth of 1 percent of the population—knew how to fly an airplane. If only that proportion of the American people had known how to use a musket in Washington's day the Continental Army would have consisted of little more than a corporal's guard.

Today 50,000 young Americans are licensed flyers, and the number is growing by almost 2,000 more every month that goes by. They are not all military pilots—but they are as ready to become military pilots as were the farmers of Washington's day to become riflemen of the line. Whereas 2 years ago not more than a quarter of a million of our people used the air lines and private planes to travel in, that number—the number of citizens at least familiar with the airplane—has doubled and will soon be tripled.

That is why an airport like this is important to the national defense. That is why this airport, soon to be one of the world's greatest facilities, surely its most convenient and, some of us like to think, probably its most beautiful, should be brought with all possible emphasis to the attention of our people during this awakening of America to the needs of national defense. This airport and many others which we hope will follow will draw freemen freely to use a peacetime implement of commerce which, we hope, will never be converted to wartime service.

Our newspapers and the radio tell us day after day how increasingly important aircraft has become both as a weapon in the hands of aggressors and to those who fight, or may be compelled to fight, for their continued national existence. These reports easily explain why those squadrons of the Army and Navy air forces, the thunder of which still rings in our ears, were a prelude to the ceremonies here this afternoon—a prelude to the completion and operation today even of this civilian aviation center of which we are so proud—the Washington National Airport.

Third Presidential Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT BY WHARTON E. LESTER

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a very able statement on the third-term issue by Wharton E. Lester, an attorney of this city.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PRESIDENTIAL THIRD TERM A MENACE TO AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

(By Wharton E. Lester)

That a third term for a President of the United States would be a menace to American institutions seems to be demonstrated by facts. The future may be properly judged by the past.

Our Government is based upon the theory of three coordinate departments, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial, each supreme in itself. Their respective duties and powers are clearly defined. They do not overlap. It was not contemplated by the founding fathers that the power of the several departments, or any of them, should be combined. On the contrary the effort of those who wrote our Constitution was to keep these powers separate, distinct, and within their respective bounds. The legislative branch is charged with the duty of making the laws and its power to do so should always be supreme. It is without power to administer the laws it makes. The executive branch is to administer the law and its power should be supreme. It should be without power to make laws. Neither the legislative nor the executive branch should have the authority to interpret laws created by the legislative branch and to be administered by the executive branch. Such power is vested and should be supreme in the judiciary.

To change any of the functions or powers of any of the branches of government is to change American institutions. To make such changes without the authority of the people who adopted the Constitution is to assume authority. Any step toward effecting such a change without authority of the people is a menace to the existence of American institutions.

Facts exist which clearly manifest the danger of a third term to American institutions. When the present Executive came into office a grave financial emergency existed. The people of this country almost solidly supported him hoping that results would be accomplished which would restore confidence and prosperity. To such ends he was given unusual powers and subsequently he assumed others not given him.

If an Executive assumes powers in his first or second term it is logical to believe that he will assume greater powers in a third or subsequent term. The present Executive has attempted to, and for a time succeeded, in controlling the legislative branch of the Government. He had prepared and directed that certain bills become law. Some were termed "must" bills, and according to reports current in probably every newspaper in the country, the legislative branch relinquished its powers, took orders from the Executive, and passed bills which became law without many Members of Congress knowing their contents. To that extent the administrative branch assumed legislative powers and the legislative branch became a "rubber-stamp Congress," by which name it will probably be known in history.

The Executive assumed power to dismiss congressional appointees. He assumed power to influence votes to be cast to elect Members of Congress, who would be amenable to his wishes. He assumed the right to "purge" members of the legislative branch who had opposed his wishes. Having assumed such power and having obtained ascendency, he attempted to obtain control of the judicial branch of the Government, and only then did he encounter real opposition. This attempt was made immediately after his election for a second term, and although it may be safely assumed that he had the intention of "packing" the Supreme Court prior to his election, he gave no intimation thereof until after he was safely elected. Though his method of obtaining control of the Supreme Court did not prevail it has been reported that he said that the American people were not particularly interested in the "method," provided the result was obtained. Whether the desired result has actually been obtained by appointment may be a matter of opinion.

Had the Executive been able to retain control over the legislative branch and obtain control over the judicial branch of the Government, his power would have been complete, and he would have been a dictator in fact even though he repudiated the name for the effect would have been to concentrate the powers of the three coordinate departments of the Government into one department.

It is human to desire power. It will not be disputed that the present Executive desires power, and any occupant of the Presidential chair has enormous power. The present incumbent desired to obtain further power by his so-called reorganization bills, some of which Congress refused to pass. Such desire is further demonstrated by the bill recently introduced in Congress by Senator PEPPER purporting to give him emergency powers at a time when no war exists and when no greater emergency exists than for some time past. Congress did not vest these powers in the President; but the point is that he sought it, for it is safe to assume that the bill mentioned was introduced with his knowledge and approval, even at his request.

The President wished Congress to adjourn last spring, and, according to the papers, thought it could do nothing but make speeches. This in the face of difficulties then contemplated. The necessity for the legislative branch to remain in session seems to have been demonstrated, but had Congress adjourned it may be readily believed that the President would have assumed such powers as he thought necessary during these troublous times. He contemplated transferring the so-called "mosquito fleet" to another nation. Though this was prevented, he undertook to, and did, transfer 50 so-called overage destroyers to another country at a time when Congress was in session and could have acted. These destroyers necessarily were of great value, but the point is that if he had authority to transfer overage destroyers, and had the right to say which destroyers were overage, both of which he assumed, then he would have the right to say which other vessels of our Navy are overage and to transfer such as he so designated to another power. Indeed, if he has such power it is difficult to see why he cannot declare all of our Navy overage and transfer it all to another country.

These illustrations are given to show the power which has heretofore been exercised by the Executive and are mere illustrations of what may be expected if he should be elected to a third or subsequent term. It is believed that in all cases the President has sufficient power to dominate a Presidential convention. It would seem so clear that the present Executive did dominate the last Democratic convention, and although it has been said that he was "drafted," the fact remains that every other aspirant for the office was obliterated in one manner or another, nearly all of them becoming "if" candidates. If a President can dominate a convention nominating him for a second or subsequent term, then his power certainly would be greatly increased by his election for a third term, and having concentrated such power, it would doubtless increase for a fourth and subsequent terms.

The present Executive also named the candidate for Vice President. It is thought by many that he intends his candidate for Vice President to succeed him either at the expiration of a third term, or should he see fit to relinquish office before the expiration of a third term, to vest Executive power in his candidate, who in turn would have the powers theretofore assumed or created by his predecessor, with the result that the office of President could be perpetuated in those designated by the present Executive and his selected successor and successors. If he has the power—and it will be conceded he did have—to nominate himself for a third term, it is difficult to see why he could not exercise it for any number of subsequent terms or for all time. If he can designate the candidate for Vice President who may succeed him and perpetuate his own particular policies, the result would be that our elections would be similar to those of another country, where the President has practically unlimited power to name his successor, though prohibited from succeeding himself.

Because of the enormous power the Executive has and of those he has assumed and those he is endeavoring to assume, it is difficult to see how any but unlimited powers would result should he succeed in obtaining a third election. That the present incumbent is conscious of the danger inherent in the powers he has created is evidenced by his expression that powers had been created which, in other hands, might prove dangerous to the welfare of the country.

For these and many other reasons it is obvious that a third term for a President is a menace to American institutions and the fact that the present incumbent has had the power to overcome objections to a third term heretofore held by so many individuals, merely emphasizes the danger of his election, the logical result of which would be a dictatorship, however benevolent or otherwise it may become.

Japanese Found in Gambling Mood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. SHANLEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 2, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. SHANLEY. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, professor of sociology at Mount St. Mary's college, Emmitsburg, Md., has just returned from the Orient. One of the most erudite and widely traveled scholars in America, the distinguished teacher and lecturer has made valuable contributions to our current understanding of world problems. The New York Times has printed a few of his thoughts on the most vital problem of today. I am taking advantage of my unanimous consent to include the article containing these remarks.

[From the New York Times]

JAPANESE FOUND IN GAMBLING MOOD—SEE NEED TO MAKE BID FOR ASIA NOW OR WAIT FOR CENTURIES, SAYS DR. THORNING—INDO-CHINA ONLY ONE STEP—PROFESSOR THINKS TOKYO AIMS AT DOMINATION OF INDIA AND ANTIPODES, TOO

EMMITSBURG, MD., September 28.—Japan is launched upon a program of Asiatic domination, intended to embrace not only the French and Netherlands possessions in the east but Australia, New Zealand, and even India, according to Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, professor of sociology at Mount St. Marys College, who returned recently from the Orient.

Dr. Thorning based his statement on a 3 months' survey of social and economic conditions in the east and on personal conversations with political and military leaders in Japan, China, Hongkong, and Manila.

The Japanese people, now linked by agreement with the Axis Powers of Europe, are convinced, Dr. Thorning said, that "they must make their bid for Asia now or else wait empty-handed for centuries." He went on:

"Japan's penetration of French Indochina is only the first move in a grandiose plan for Nipponese domination. The Japanese people, as well as army and navy officers, are persuaded that the hour of decision for the Empire is at hand. Those responsible for the national policy, both in Tokyo and in China, are in no mood for compromise, concession, or retreat. There is no longer any calm calculation of risks. Their march on the continent and in the island archipelagos of the Far East will not be stopped short of a major clash with the United States.

"WAR OF MOVEMENT

"The Japanese are aware of French helplessness in the present circumstances, while they lose no time in following up the advantages they have gained by British closure of the Burma road and the withdrawal of British marines from the treaty ports in China. The war of movement is getting under way in the Orient and any observer who imagines that the Nipponese will surrender the initiative is another Alice in Wonderland.

"Contrary to reports prevalent in the United States, I found no war weariness in Japan. The people, civilians and military alike, are in a brisk, dynamic mood. Naturally, they feel the lack of coffee, sugar, and decent textile goods, but the privations are equally divided and there is comparatively little grumbling.

"The casualties for 3 years, according to neutral military observers, exceed 1,000,000. Disease has accounted for as many as machine gun and bayonet.

"A spirit of sacrifice and discipline minimizes these facts. The wounded, for example, are not in evidence.

"JAPAN'S HOLD FIRM

"Upon the Asiatic continent itself, Japan's hold, although not extensive measured in acres or miles, is firm, if not unbreakable.

"The chief source of weakness to the contending forces in the Orient, as I can see, is the flood of paper money discoverable everywhere, and the dwindling supplies of food and raw materials necessary for bare subsistence.

"As currency restrictions mount, the temptation to speculation and circumvention becomes tremendous. Of course, some financiers and industrialists in Japan are amassing fortunes, as is inevitable in every war. Workers share in this artificial prosperity to a limited degree. The farmers, dismayed by a poor harvest this year, are in the most difficult position."

New York Democratic Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES M. MEAD, OF NEW YORK

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD a brilliant address delivered by my colleague the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD] before the Democratic convention of the State of New York, held in New York City on September 30 of this year.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator Wagner, Governor Lehman and Mrs. Lehman, Chairman Farley, fellow candidates, distinguished guests, delegates to the convention, and friends, as I look about I see familiar faces—men and women with whom it was my privilege to serve in the State legislature, as well as in the Nation's Capital, for over 25 years. You can recall the uphill fight that has been waged over these years for the proper functioning of democracy, epitomized in the forward-looking, liberal legislation conceived in the minds of the leaders of our party. An outstanding example of that leadership, one whose kindly assistance has been invaluable to me in the Senate, is our own senior Senator, ROBERT F. WAGNER.

Our party's philosophy has had your effective support. It has been approved by the will of a free people. It is now accepted even by the party of the opposition. You merit our esteem, our admiration, and our applause. We are proud of you as party leaders in our generation. We have been most fortunate in the leadership of our party.

At the head of our State committee we have that incomparable leader, whose conduct and example have brought both dignity and prestige to the position of State as well as national chairman, our own James A. Farley.

We are fortunate, likewise, in the capable and efficient leadership of our new national chairman, Edward J. Flynn. The highest office in the State is in the competent and experienced hands of our great Governor, Herbert H. Lehman. Our State has furnished the Nation with its most outstanding leader, a man with a matchless record, whose public career started over 30 years ago in our State legislature, a statesman possessing experience and talents unsurpassed—the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

To you, the delegates, I wish to express my gratitude for the great honor which has been just bestowed upon me. The realization that our party management is in splendid hands, the knowledge that our party has served both the State and Nation exceedingly well throughout these trying years, are encouraging indeed for those of us who will carry on this campaign. I am proud to be the candidate of our party for the United States Senate.

For over 20 years I have been returned to the Nation's Capitol by the electorate. With each successive visit the sight of the dome of the Capitol has quickened the pulse and filled me with pride and a sense of security at being an American.

We have had peace and contentment, prosperity and happiness. Our democracy has always survived the storms. But of late it is with a troubled mind that I approach the duties imposed upon me. Therefore, I contemplated this convention with temerity, not because of indecision or fear but because of my firm conviction that our way of life is in danger, our peace is threatened, our democracy is at stake, and, as a candidate of our party, I assume a tremendous responsibility.

This is no time for petty politics or blind partisanship, for high-sounding, meaningless generalities. It is a time for patriotism, for country above self, for candor and frankness, for clear presentation of the issues regardless of the personal results. It is time for a full realization that if our country is to survive the forces of evil spread throughout the whole world, the people of this country must make sacrifices. Labor, industry, and capital, all must contribute to a common cause. Make no mistake about it; we are in a crisis, a crisis which our beloved President predicted, but whose predictions were brushed aside by partisan opposition as warmongering and officious intermeddling. Do you not recall the effort by the opposition to curry favor and to arouse partisanship when he attempted to prepare us?

The success of our democracy, the demands of our party system, require an honest, frank, and candid presentation of the issues involved in this campaign. To avoid or to evade a full, frank, and intelligent discussion of the issues would be most unfortunate and would violate the obligation assumed by any candidate when he accepts the nomination conferred upon him by his party. Unfortunately and regrettably, a technique has developed in American politics by which candidates at times appear to favor both sides of every issue. In some public utterances they leave consolation and encouragement for those who militantly advocate divergent views concerning important public questions.

In the progress of this campaign, the opposition has not yet stated the issues with clarity. The candidates of the Republican Party, and their spokesmen, have confused the American public until today there is no understanding as to what would happen in the event of their taking over the reins of government.

General attacks are made on the New Deal, and yet almost every specific measure is either extolled by the opposition, or else we are led to believe that its future remains secure.

I intend to discuss the issues clearly and honestly. I invite the opposition to do likewise. I am sure the people of the State of New York will be grateful if, instead of following the example of candidates of the opposition, we candidly and with frankness explain the issues, clearly make our attitude known, and take our stand either for or against on every question of vital importance.

It is but an empty gesture for our opponents to state the problems we face without recommending a solution.

First and foremost, I believe that the duties of the Presidency require the selection of the man who is best qualified by education, training, experience, vision, and fearless leadership to fulfill the duties of the office. I am firmly convinced that the Democratic Party, at Chicago, selected such a candidate, our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Be not deceived by the slogan that one Presidential candidate is as good as another. Pay heed to the foresight of our immortal statesmen who penned the Constitution. In their wisdom they placed therein not one word of limitation upon the length of service any President might give to his country.

In legislative matters, both national and international, with which I shall be concerned as a representative of the people, I wholeheartedly endorse the 1940 platform of the Democratic Party. I commend this platform to your consideration.

The policy of the Democratic administration is summed up as follows:

"1. To strengthen democracy by defensive preparedness against aggression, whether by open attack or secret infiltration.

"2. To strengthen democracy by increasing economic efficiency.

"3. To strengthen democracy by improving the welfare of the people."

I shall develop these three objectives during the campaign.

Much has been said about the New Deal. What was the alternative to the New Deal when it was inaugurated? The issue of the 1932 campaign was New Deal versus the old order.

The old order was synonymous with the "rugged individualism" of the twenties—"each one for himself and the devil take the hindmost." What was left after that philosophy had run its course? In 1932 millions in investments were wiped out, closed banks with hard-earned savings lost, home owners unable to pay carrying charges on their properties, farmers being dispossessed of their lands, barren soil where once Nature smiled, flood areas a constant threat to life and property, timberlands and other natural resources wantonly neglected, labor exploited and downtrodden, factories and mills standing idle, coal mines not producing.

But what of the victim of this system? What was done for him? He was left to shift for himself. After all, it was a question of the survival of the fittest. But is it not the duty of government reasonably to protect the weak from the strong?

In 1932 President Roosevelt, the candidate of our party, perceiving within the framework of our Constitution a program whereby the country could avoid disaster, promised the "forgotten man" that he had a solution, and that a new order must evolve if this country was to survive. Through the democratic process in 1932 the Nation approved the new order and turned out the old. The advocates of the old order in 1936 appealed to the country to wipe out the progress made under the New Deal. They were repulsed in every State in the Union but two. The people ratified the New Deal and thereby commanded the Democratic administration to hold firmly to the progress already made and to advance to new frontiers.

What has the New Deal accomplished? It has protected the small investor, guaranteed bank deposits, financed the farmer and home owner, initiated slum clearance, brought order out of chaos in the coal industry, reclaimed and restored farm areas, harnessed and distributed power at reasonable rates, adopted an intelligent and workable program for agriculture, including soil conservation and flood control, supplied rural electrification, established minimum wages and fair working standards for our workers, given labor the right to collective bargaining, provided social security, unemployment insurance, and old-age assistance, set up the Civilian Conservation Corps for our youth, and financed the construction of sorely needed public-works projects.

Many of these measures were opposed by the advocates of the old order. As an alternative they offered high-sounding phrases and meaningless generalities. Today they offer no program of their own, and in some instances they are for the New Deal with a "yes—but." That is right where they were in 1936. They have learned but little since that campaign.

I challenge the opposition to be specific. Any candidate who asks your vote should be specific. Let him name the New Deal measures which must go. This they cannot do, because they know the New Deal is here to stay. They know that never again shall we return to the era of the survival of the fittest. The old order is gone.

Has the New Deal worked? In 1932 nearly all of the world was at peace. Today we are one of the few nations of the world not at war or torn asunder by riot, revolution, and economic disaster. Our country, under the New Deal, has weathered the storm of world-wide chaos. At a time when the country needed a leader the Democratic Party furnished him in the person of President Roosevelt, a native son of New York. He has guided the ship of state safely through the storm, but we have not yet reached the ultimate goal. Burdened with the cares of office for 8 years and content to return to the peace and serenity of private life, President Roosevelt heeded the call of his country in this hour of peril and is willing to give 4 more years of his life to its service.

Next, I want to urge upon you the necessity for tolerance and national unity. In that connection the message is not entirely my own, except by adoption. Part of the material is taken from a joint statement issued by the Conference of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, held at Manresa, Md., on September 17 and 18 of this year.

Democracy is therein defined as the safeguarding of individual and social rights, of man's free participation in and contribution toward life's significant relationships. It stated further that religion and democracy are inextricably interwoven, and that democracy's survival and growth are not possible without religion.

The strife in the Old World can be attributed in a large measure to persecution and discrimination against minorities and to social, racial, and economic injustices arising out of pagan philosophies. From those philosophies come confusion, fear, and hate—the spiritual forerunners of dictatorship, the mortal enemies of democracy.

In place of confusion we want faith, hope instead of fear, love instead of hate.

To offset the infiltration of doctrines foreign to our own, and to bring about faith, hope, and love, we must turn to religion, because the victims are the children of a common father; they are our brothers who are exploited and suffering under the tyranny that colors the governments of the Old World.

The enemies of freedom boast that they will plant the seed of dissension in the democracies. Events in Europe have proved that this boast in many instances has been made good. Traitors within countries affected were as strong as the enemies from without. Working together from within and without, they made the collapse of the victim inevitable. It must not happen here.

When this convention becomes history, when you return to your respective communities, I ask you to do your share in this campaign to awaken the citizenry to their political and social obligations. I appeal to you, and to the radio audience, to make yourselves advocates of the cause of democracy. In this campaign we must be careful lest we treat our neighbors unjustly. All of us trace our ancestry to foreign shores. There should be no prejudice, no suspicion cast upon race or religion.

But educate your neighbors to the doctrine that the privilege of freedom carries with it the responsibility of sacrifice, and that only by religion and sacrifice will we prevail.

On this, the opening day of my campaign, I want to take issue with the opposition, who would, in their political efforts, undermine the national-defense program, not the program of the President nor the program of the Democratic Party, but the precautionary national-defense program of our country.

Such efforts to undermine are designed to create confusion, fear, and hate in the minds of the American people, and result inevitably in lending encouragement to our enemies. In answer I want to quote the President in his address to the teamsters' convention in Washington on September 11, 1940:

"I hate war, now more than ever. I have one supreme determination to do all that I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, and outside of my party as President of all the people, on the party platform, the wording that was adopted in Chicago less than 2 months ago. It said, 'We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval, or air forces to fight in foreign lands, outside of the Americas, except in case of attack.'"

I say to the people of the State of New York that pledge of the President is my pledge also.

We are committed to a good-neighbor policy, to a domestic plan which has proved satisfactory, to a foreign policy that is sound, and a precautionary defensive program as necessary means to our well-being, to our safety, and to our peace.

Wonders of the Bible

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL ROGERS
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 2, 1940

POEM BY A CONSTITUENT

Mr. ROGERS of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following poem written by one of my constituents and recently published in the Edmond Enterprise, of Edmond, Okla.:

[From the Edmond (Okla.) Enterprise of September 24, 1940]

WONDERS OF THE BIBLE

(By Evangelist A. G. McCown)

In plain, simple verse we might tell you of man's great inventions,
Foreshadowed in our Bible and measured in all their wonderful dimensions:
We invite you to stroll with us through the mystic visions of prophets,
While they take us over sea and land, and into war's deadly air pockets.

Entering Job's prophetical door, we find radio, in chapter 37;
"Hear attentively the noise of his voice, the sound that goeth
Out of his mouth. He directeth it under the whole heaven,
And His lightning unto the ends of the earth" He streweth.

In Job's forty-first chapter we see a mechanical whale, Leviathan!
Not just a big fish, but fire, lightning, steam, all harnessed and modern;
"His scales are his pride, shut up together as with a close seal,
So near to another that no air can come between them," it's real!

"By his neesings a light doth shine, his eyes like eyelids of morning,
Out of his mouth go burning lamps, sparks of fire leap out.
Out of his nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a seething pot.
His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth."

In Nahum's second chapter, "Chariots shall rage in the streets,
They shall jostle one against another in the broad ways,
They shall seem like torches, run like lightnings," in their beats.
Can you find a better picture of autos in all their ways?

In Ezekiel, chapters 1 and 10, we see airplanes and things;
Everyone had four faces, everyone had four wings;
Their wings "joined one to another," "they went straight forward,"
And you know airplanes naturally never went backward.
Their faces were of man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, denoting
Their inventor, man; fighting, lion; carrying, ox; and swiftness, eagle soaring.
They were "full of eyes," and you know, strange periscopes keen
Are now on every one of our airplanes, in peace or war, where seen,
And the prophet saw some "scattering fire" over city lean.

In Zechariah's fifth chapter, "Then I turned and lifted up mine eyes,
And looked, and behold, a 'flying roll.' What seeth?" he cries;
He saith, "This is the curse that goeth forth over the whole world,"
And I note that it "enters houses and consumes them" in dearth.
In Revelations' 9, I see armored horses with a lion's head
Spouting fire, and brimstone, and smoke, in wars well fed;
This was written a long time before gunpowder was ever known,
So it must be a vision of modern war machines in tone.
In Zechariah's fourteenth chapter, we see ghastly poison-gas sleet,
"Their flesh shall consume away while they stand upon their feet,
And their eyes shall consume away in their holes," their tongues wither;
This is the unfolding of prophecy through the ages, hither and thither.

In Micah's seventh chapter, "The nations shall see and be confounded
At all their might; they shall lay their hand upon their mouth,
Their ears shall be deaf. They shall lick the dust like serpents,
They shall move out of their holes like worms of the dust."

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. HESS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 2, 1940

Mr. HESS. Mr. Speaker, President Roosevelt gives the American people to understand that he is seeking a third term only because he considers it his duty to protect us from the ambitions of Adolf Hitler to crush and master the world. For weeks he has bent his energies to present this picture of himself to the voters. All his words, his actions, and the activities of his New Deal henchmen and mouthpieces are carefully designed to this end—the presentation of himself as the only living American capable of preserving us. He would have us believe he is the "indispensable man."

But his record during two terms in the White House clearly shows that Mr. Roosevelt, despite all his patriotic and noble words, is more indispensable to the success of Hitler's plans against us than he is to the safety of the United States.

I express this conviction, not idly or in rancor but only because a study of Mr. Roosevelt's record and the methods of conquest, both voiced and practiced by Hitler, make it necessary for all of us to realize the true situation underlying all the fine words of the administration. I speak deliberately and with full respect for the great office of the Presidency—for which I have more respect, apparently, than those who would degrade that office to satisfy the most consuming personal ambition yet exhibited by any American, living or dead.

Let us examine the logic of this conclusion as to how Mr. Roosevelt's past two terms have helped Hitler's ambition for world conquest:

By this time every American must know that Hitler regards his new "psychological weapon," as he called it, as the greatest factor in his European successes. This new weapon is the preliminary weakening, or "softening up," of a country he plans to attack by having his agents sow discord and dissension among its people, by setting class against class, and thus enfeebling it when his armies attack. And this weapon has worked, so that everywhere, except with Great Britain, his armies have had ridiculously easy victories. Britain still stands, but only because at the last moment she pulled herself together under a changed leadership, one whose warnings had gone unheeded for years.

Now, let us see how Hitler's "new weapon" has worked in this country:

He sent his agents here—and they are still here—to organize the bund and other agencies of disruption and dissension, and later, in cooperation with Moscow, to use the Communists to the same end. But the bund has proved more ridiculous than effective. The Communists have been more effective, but we are on to them finally, despite efforts of the new dealers and even some of the President's own family to protect them. Real Democrats in Washington have been most effective in exposing them, including many on the Federal pay roll—who, incidentally, are still there. On the whole, even Hitler must regard his attempts to soften up the United States as a failure. But he need have no chagrin over this. Though his own efforts have largely failed, others have voluntarily done his

work for him for their own purposes, and with great success. These people are our own President and his New Deal crew. True, the President and many members of the New Deal are not working deliberately and intentionally for Hitler, but they are doing it just the same.

When Mr. Roosevelt and his followers preached their doctrines of brotherly love and their starry-eyed idealism about the "rights of man" they did more to stir up hatred and dissension in the United States and to set class against class during the last 7½ years than has been done in all our history. This is not a mere assertion; it is a known and recognized fact.

Finally, when Mr. Roosevelt caused himself to be "drafted" for a third term and accepted the nomination he had handed himself at Chicago, he climaxed his destruction of American unity and morale by splitting the people more solidly and bitterly in twain than by all he had previously done in this direction. The nomination of no other Democratic candidate could possibly have produced such an irreparable and irreconcilable division of the American people.

This weakening of our solidarity in the face of the threat from abroad, the most dangerous in more than a century, is clearly evident to all. America has been "softened up" and divided in a time of public danger, not by Hitler but by our own President and his insensate ambition. Hitler must be laughing at us naive Americans.

While Hitler was teaching his people unity, self-sacrifice, and discipline, President Roosevelt was doing his best to teach Americans that the country owed every citizen not only a living but a swimming pool and a golf course to boot. While Hitler was spending billions on armaments, Roosevelt was raising an army of a million New Deal job holders to defend us.

The new dealers within our gates so far have been more dangerous enemies to America's security than the Nazi enemy without.

It is high time that the American people come to their senses, get together, and get to work. It is time to cast off Roosevelt and the socialistic futility and foolishness of the New Deal.

Wake up, America.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT K. GOODWIN
OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 2, 1940

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the thinking of the present leadership of our country needs an examination by the American people. Why? Well, for the simple reason that they assume that no other American or group of Americans like themselves will ever be able to run the country as they are running it. From this line of reasoning is it not quite probable that they have determined that no one except whom their inner circle dictates shall ever run this Nation in the future?

Mr. Speaker, the American people have too much good common sense to be fooled by any such political folderol and claptrap.

Our people do not have confidence in the leadership of the Nation now; if they had they would permit the Congress to adjourn. The President wanted us to go home last June; he wants us to go home now. The people are demanding that we stay here on the job. We will.

Our people have confidence in us, their directly chosen representatives. Next November 5 they will show their confidence in Willkie and McNARY; they will show that they do not believe in the theory of the indispensable man; they will show that they want no third term now, and are against the principle of the establishment of a dynasty.

Third Presidential Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. BURKE
OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT OF BISHOP A. W. LEONARD

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the statement of Bishop A. W. Leonard, of the Methodist Church, before the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, considering resolutions with respect to the Presidential term of office.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Gentlemen of the committee, Mr. Chairman, the problems of national and international importance today are so compelling that it seems most unfortunate that the question of a third-term Presidency of the United States should be raised. For a number of weeks there have appeared before your committee from time to time men of great prominence and influence representing a cross-section of the American mind on this important and time-honored question. In press reports such as I have read much emphasis has been placed upon the historical development of this American tradition, and liberal reference has been made to the men who in other days figured prominently in the discussion of this very matter that is in the hands of the members of this committee.

In my discussion of this question it is not my purpose to burden you with an elaborate recital of historical facts concerning this controversy from the days of George Washington to the present time. Quickened interest in this matter has usually been in proportion to the popularity of a President, and therefore it is exceedingly difficult to discuss this question today without being accused of prejudice or of some ulterior motive. It is my earnest hope that what I may say may not be misinterpreted either from the viewpoint of motive or purpose.

It has been said that "the processes of government are very like an iceberg; what appears on the surface may be but a small part of the reality beneath."

Any student of history knows how difficult it is to detach himself absolutely from the subject he is investigating. His estimate of values will of necessity be somewhat colored by his own experiences, his own observations and outlook. Both hopes and fears are bound up in the discussion of the third-term issue, but we are forced to conclude that "what appears on the surface may be but a small part of the reality beneath." We therefore raise the question, What is back of this movement for the continuation of a President for a third term? What are the fears, hopes, and ambitions of those people in public and private life who are contending for departure from an American tradition and custom which has had the sanction of political parties, of some of the greatest leaders of the Nation both in church and state throughout the entire history of our Republic.

The traditional American custom that under no circumstances shall a President serve for more than two terms of 4 years each is supported by the vast majority of the American people. As late as April 1938, according to the polls taken by the American Institute of Public Opinion, more than 70 percent of the voters of this Nation were against a third term. The same institute, one of the most accurate of its kind in the country, showed on the basis of an actual survey that 79 percent of the voters favored restoring prosperity by helping business while only 21 percent still favored the pump-priming method of spending our way out.

If this was the settled opinion of the great majority of the American people as late as the middle of the year 1938, why should there be agitation now, and particularly in view of present world conditions?

A custom established by the accord of 30 Presidents, affirmed by 76 Congresses, and insisted upon for 150 years by the American people, has proved its values. It has weathered the storms of personally ambitious Presidents and other men and has come through the fires of Nation-wide debate only to be more firmly fixed in the minds of the people.

What lies behind the present movement to make possible a third term for the President?

First, from the viewpoint of the President. That many admirable things have been accomplished during the present administration goes without saying. That many important things have not been accomplished will be readily admitted.

If, however, this country has come successfully through the crisis of the past 150 years, are we therefore not assured that the future of our Nation will not suffer if this American policy is continued?

How has our country fared in the past by a strict adherence to the no-third-term principle?

An interesting study has recently been completed involving a careful analysis of the life and work of the men who have been Presidents of the United States. Whatever may be the general judgments of the manner in which they handled the affairs of their office, 11 American Presidents have been shown to have been extraordinary men. This is a proportion not less high than the proportion of remarkable men who have filled the position of Prime Minister of England during the same period. Of the number who have been Presidents, but who were in no sense of the term extraordinary men were Tyler and Polk, but even these two Presidents compare favorably with Sir Henry Campbell, Bannerman, and Mr. Bonar Law.

It is also a significant fact that more American Presidents have held office for 8 years than have British prime ministers since the younger Pitt.

What I am endeavoring to lift up, because of its importance, is that in faithful adherence to the no-third-term policy our country has not suffered and the limitation of the Presidential term to 8 years has been a distinct asset. There has always been someone in the great crises who has been chosen by the people, who has served splendidly and at times sacrificially. No man is so important that another cannot take his place. He who believes in God, in a preexistent Absolute Being, must accept the proposition that there has always been a quality of being that has been better than our best. The American democracy can be retained in no better way than by checks and balances and by those timely changes that guarantee to our Nation that no one man can so entrench himself in the Presidency as to even hint at permanency or encourage the people to accept the fallacious and un-American theory of the indispensable man.

A casual study of the proceedings of the constitutional convention will reveal the fact that there was one emphasis above all others and that was the fear of Executive despotism. In the light of American origins this was not only natural but imperative.

In every instance wartime dictatorial power such as that wielded by Lincoln and by Wilson in actual war conditions, was followed by a strong reaction toward a definite congressional control of Presidential action.

To say that in this great country of ours there is but one man who is capable of being President is a sad commentary upon the great American people and an indictment against democracy.

The third-term architects of our destiny as a nation cannot separate themselves from the charge that selfish motives, both political and personal, are beneath the surface in this agitation.

If a third term is essential, then a fourth term and a fifth term, and on and on until American democracy is so changed as to be destroyed. All that is needed in the event of such a change is to lead the people to believe there is an emergency. By the use of modern methods of propaganda, and the means toward that end, this may be easily accomplished. The New York Times, which has but recently declared itself strongly and unalterably against the third term, has well said:

"The doctrine of one man's indispensability is a new doctrine for this country. It is a doctrine which less scrupulous men in Europe have used to root themselves in power. It is a doctrine which we in the United States have good reason to question, particularly when we consider how the powers of the Presidency have grown, what immense patronage, what gigantic expenditures, what enormous power to perpetuate himself in office is now within the grasp of any President of the United States."

The continuation of one man in the Presidency beyond the 8-year period gives him an increasingly effective control over American life which would mold and fashion the thought and life of the American people according to his pattern. In a democracy no single man can determine in advance what attitudes and positions people may take without himself becoming in fact a dictator.

For a hundred years generations yet unborn will spend their energies and activities in absorbing the most fanciful and colossal debt the country has ever known. If another 4 years should be added to the already unbearable conditions, the future of entire generations would be sealed to an economic servitude that would result in national insolvency. It has been estimated that if we started out at once to pay off our national debt at the rate of $500,000,000 a year it would be almost the twenty-first century before we had scaled down the debt to the size it was 8 years ago. Yet there are those who advocate the election of a President for a third term who must be aware of the fact that such a policy would increase our problems at home and abroad and would pave the way for a totalitarian state.

In such an event our American form of democracy would be a thing of the past, religious freedom would take the same course it has taken in Europe, our system of education would be under the control of a nationalistic will, and no man would dare call his soul his own.

There is one other consideration which, from a practical viewpoint, has a legitimate place in a discussion of this kind. I refer to the danger of entrenching a Presidential family in the life of a nation for too long a time. Whatever may be the good accomplished by commercializing the office of President of the United States, and no matter to what extent resourcefulness may be employed for securing funds for underprivileged people, the office of the President, directly or indirectly, was never intended to be used in any such manner or for such purposes. As a rule the families of our Presidents have been quite free from blame at this point. However, when the high office of President is used for the purpose of building up great family fortunes it is time for the American people to make inquiry and take soundings, for such procedure, if long continued, will become a degredation to any people.

The Third Presidential Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE SPRINGFIELD (MASS.) UNION

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, it is now contended that until the international situation became recently so acute it was the intention of President Roosevelt to respect the tradition that no Chief Executive could safely be permitted to remain in office beyond 8 years. As evidence of the fact that the third-term candidacy has long been in the making, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Springfield (Mass.) Union of the issue of July 22, 1939, under the heading "Land of liberty."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union of July 22, 1939]

LAND OF LIBERTY

President Roosevelt loves power—also dominion and glory—but that, perhaps, is beside the point. He is arbitrary, domineering, and apparently firmly convinced that he, and he alone, is competent to guide the destinies of the United States. He looks upon all who disagree with him, even slightly, as enemies of the Nation, as persons who want to send the country to the devil. And he has demonstrated, ever since he came into office in March 1933 that he believes the executive department of the Government is not a mere one-third of the Government but should rule, with the legislative and judicial departments definitely under control of the Executive.

Even his best friends admit that he has an insatiable desire to rule and dominate. And the record speaks for itself concerning his desire to reorganize the Government so that the executive department would be not coordinate but supreme.

The record also shows that he has asked for great authority many times and that Congress has been unusually meek in granting these demands. In every case his demand has been backed by the argument that an emergency justifying it has existed. Yet, even if these emergencies were as emergent as he always has said they were, they have all continued—and none of the emergency powers has yet been surrendered by Mr. Roosevelt. The result is that he has more power now than any President ever had in time of peace.

In view of all this, does it seem likely that this egotistical, domineering, confident man would willingly relinquish all his powers when there is a chance that he can have 4 more years at the head of this Nation?

It is said by well-informed commentators that the inner circle of the New Deal—men who know Mr. Roosevelt, understand his reactions, who comprehend his moods, and can deduce his thoughts—have come at last to believe thoroughly that he is not only willing but anxious for a third term, and is confident he can win both the nomination and the election.

Here, then, is a dangerous situation. A powerful President, a man who has been granted vast powers, now appears ready, in the minds of those who know him best, to violate the most sacred of American political traditions—that no President should have three terms, and most particularly that he should not have three terms in succession.

Granting three successive terms to one President, and particularly to a President who has turned American tradition topsy-turvy, who has surrounded himself by theorists who candidly were and are out to "remake America," and by those who have scoffed at historic American folkways and beliefs, who are far more in sympathy with Soviet ideology than with American, would be dangerous. Such

a surrender to pure power would place Mr. Roosevelt in a position to steer the ship of state still farther to the left. It would insure 4 more disastrous years of setting class against class, of putting business enterprise still more completely under the thumb of the leftists who want to extirpate it, and of piling more debt upon that enormous pyramid of debt which we now have to support. It would also increase the tax burden to an intolerable extent. And, after the tradition against three terms had been broken, with Mr. Roosevelt completely in control of the Nation after 12 years in the White House, what would there be to prevent a fourth term for him? At the close of the third term the President would be a virtual dictator who could do about as he pleased with what we used to call this "sweet land of liberty."

The Attitude of Secretary Ickes Toward Third Presidential Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY ARTHUR KROCK

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article by Mr. Arthur Krock, published in today's New York Times, with regard to the attitude of Secretary Ickes toward a third Presidential term.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of October 2, 1940]

IN THE NATION—SECRETARY ICKES AS A RESEARCH HISTORIAN

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, October 1.—More than any other member of this administration Secretary of the Interior Ickes has given the impression of a man concerned only with the present and the future. Armed with rapier, broadsword, bludgeon, and bladder, he has mixed with all comers on current questions. He is one of the chief designers of a planned America in which people will move smoothly as ordered cogs in a machine run by their government. The past has never seemed to interest Mr. Ickes at all, except that immediate past in which he formed the grudges and prejudices he steadily pursues.

But recently the past has been raked up in an effort to obstruct one of the Secretary's fondest aspirations—a third successive term for the President, and the consequent entrenchment in office of the New Deal and the new dealers. The two-term custom has been represented as a sacred tradition, instituted by the founders of American democracy as a safeguard against an entrenched official group and a permanent political bureaucracy. Researches in history have pointed out that the tradition is now being challenged for the first time and by the party which engendered it.

This has driven Mr. Ickes to The Archives, and the result is his booklet, The Third-Term Bugaboo, a Cheerful Anthology. He was good enough to forward it to this correspondent "because I realize to what a degree you want to be fair on an issue that very distinctly is not as one-sided as the 'Hate Roosevelters' are so desperately trying to make the people believe."

THE OTHER SIDE

As the Secretary says, the issue is not one-sided. In his bibliography he cites an article published in this space December 22, 1939, which gave that other side. But in this booklet Mr. Ickes seeks to prove much more. He seeks to prove, as he says in his foreword, "the historic truth that there is no reason, either in law or in common sense, why any President should not serve for more than 8 years." In so doing Mr. Ickes assails the history he invokes, and is thrown for a loss.

The introduction begins, interestingly, with that quotation from Jefferson's writings which Mr. Roosevelt used in part at Philadelphia a few days ago, suggesting the President got the passage from Mr. Ickes. But Jefferson was writing that the Constitution is not too sacred to be touched, and, since the Constitution says nothing about a third term, the quotation is beside the point. The Secretary then moves on to contend that Washington was not opposed to a third term in principle, and the documents bear him out fully.

Then Mr. Ickes grapples with Jefferson's solemn warnings, and his attempted violence on history begins. "Jefferson * * * had good reason to believe," writes the distinguished student, "that, owing to the unpopularity of his foreign policy, he could not be reelected." There is, however, another New Deal historian of those times whose researches, unlike those of Mr. Ickes, have scholarly rating and widespread acceptance. In Jefferson in Power, Mr. Roosevelt's present Ambassador to Chile, Mr. Bowers, writes on page 475: "By the mere nodding of his head, by silence even, he (Jefferson) could have been elected for a third term. * * * He was adamant to all appeals."

END RUN AROUND HISTORY

Even the Chicago "drafters" must concede that the authority on this point belongs to Mr. Bowers. But to make his argument, Mr. Ickes had to set up a false premise, and, having done so, he takes a rapid leap into the twentieth century. He contends that both Woodrow Wilson and Calvin Coolidge would have tried for a third term if illness had not prevented the one and the other had not been outmaneuvered. There is some evidence to support this statement.

But the opposition to a third term does not include denial that men have longed for one. It holds with what Jefferson said: "If the principle of rotation in office is a sound one, as I conscientiously believe it to be in respect to this office [the Presidency], no pretext should ever be permitted to dispense with it." For Jefferson feared, writes Mr. Bowers, that in the absence of that constitutional limitation which he had urged, "ambitious and unscrupulous men, once entrenched in power, might continue themselves indefinitely."

The last part of the booklet prepared by the eminent research student consists of remarks by citizens ranging from Gouverneur Morris and Alexander Hamilton to Mark Sullivan and Alben W. Barkley. To justify the pursuit of a third term by a Democrat, Mr. Ickes triumphantly re-proves that the Federalists were for unlimited tenure. He re-proves that no law restricts it. He grows so muddled that he quotes James Buchanan against an effort in 1829 to hold Presidents to one 4-year term, though nobody now is proposing that. And in a forgetful moment, considering the recent date of the Chicago convention and the tactics of the "draft," the Secretary includes this statement by General Grant: "The idea that any man could elect himself President, or even renominate himself, is preposterous."

By dodging points and perverting history, Mr. Ickes in his booklet has achieved the greatest triumph since the Duke of Bilgewater proved to Huck Finn that for Frenchmen to speak in French was pure affectation.

Transfer of Destroyers and Acquisition of Air and Naval Bases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM COLLIER'S WEEKLY

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very outstanding editorial from Collier's Weekly of the issue of October 5, 1940, entitled "Where Do We Go From Here?" I wish every citizen of the country could read this editorial.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

We found, and still find, ourselves in a peculiar position mentally regarding the President's payment of 50 United States Navy destroyers to Britain for leases on various Atlantic air and naval bases.

We're as pro-ally as almost anybody we know of. Any real help to the British at that particular time seemed to us about the finest thing that could happen. We can't honestly say we're sorry the British got those 50 over-age destroyers, assuming our Navy really could spare them.

We certainly aren't sorry the United States got a 99-year lease on a steel belt for our entire Atlantic coast, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Panama Canal.

We aren't even worried, as some are, over the prospect of closer and closer American-British cooperation as time goes by.

But we were much worried by the way the 50-destroyer deal was accomplished, and we still are worried.

If you recall, the President simply notified Congress on September 3 that the thing had been done. An opinion by Attorney General Robert H. Jackson went along with the notice to Congress, certifying to the deal's legality. Congress was casually and cavalierly told that no action on its part was needed to complete the transaction. To state it in another way, Congress was told to take it, like it, and keep its mouth shut.

Shortly before the destroyer deal was announced—at a press conference on August 17, to be exact—the President admitted that the United States was discussing air and naval bases and Western Hemisphere defense with Great Britain and Canada. But he "went to unusual lengths," according to reliable correspondents, to emphasize that release of these destroyers was not involved in these discussions, and he denied published reports that the Attorney General had certified to the legality of such a transfer.

These Roosevelt assurances convinced congressional leaders that no early action on destroyers was in prospect. Thereby any serious congressional consideration of the matter was averted.

Grant that the deal might not have passed Congress, or might not have passed Congress fast enough to do the hard-pressed British any good. Grant that American majority opinion favored all-out help to Britain short of war. Nevertheless, the fact remains that this job was done in a way a European dictator would have done it. It was not done in the American democratic way—though, again, we're glad it was done somehow.

What worries us is this question: Where do we go from this first real act of one-man rule on the part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt?

If the President gets away unscathed and unscorched with this act of absolute power, there need be no end to such acts, by him or by later Presidents. Human nature and the love of power being intertwined as they are, there will almost certainly be no end to such acts unless a halt is called now.

Pass this one without objection, and there can be more and more "emergencies" in which time will be lacking to consult Congress. The end of it will be that nobody but the President will be wise enough to tell us what we may do, eat, wear, say, think. He, of course, will have to be backed by secret police, a private army, and adequate concentration-camp and firing-squad facilities. And, of course, the mass of us won't be wise enough to elect our Presidents any more. We'll just have to accept any and every strong man who can muscle himself into the White House—take him, like him, and keep our mouths shut.

That is what this Rooseveltian act can lead to logically if we let it.

Unless ways can be found to restore the constitutional limits to the powers and ambitions of the executive branch of government, democracy in the United States is on the skids.

Appointment of Elliott Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT G. RUTHERFORD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 2, 1940

LETTER FROM A CONSTITUENT

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker, the giving of a commission of captain to Elliott Roosevelt has certainly stirred a great deal of discussion throughout the country. That it was ill-advised and calculated to get the draft off at poor start is evidenced from the number of letters that I have received during the past few days, of which the following is a good example:

TURBOTVILLE, PA., *October 1, 1940.*

HON. ALBERT G. RUTHERFORD,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: During the past few days there has appeared in quite a few newspapers throughout the country, an article pertaining to the appointment of Mr. Elliott Roosevelt as a captain in the Army and assigned to the "Procurement Division." In regards to this article it states, "that Mr. Roosevelt has never had any military experience, that he had never been enrolled in the R. O. T. C., or had any military connections whatever. It seems very peculiar that a citizen of the United States can be appointed as a commissioned officer, unless such citizen has had special qualifications, such as medicine, dentistry, ministry, or an advanced training in such fields as radio or engineering. Even such persons, although they hold degrees from colleges, must take an examination.

I have never yet in all my military experience known of a case such as this. I know you can read through all the military regulations of the Army and cannot find one regulation giving any one person the authority to make an appointment such as this one. In other words, I know that about every regulation in the Army Manual has been broken in order to make this appointment. I am voicing the opinion of hundreds of other fellows in your district. These other fellows have had military experience and training and have offered their services and have been refused. Just like the letter I received from the Adjutant General, stating that only some "special categories" were open and that my examination could not be authorized at the present time. They definitely stated that I would have to take an examination. Why did not President Roosevelt's son have to take an examination? In other words, according to newspaper articles and Hon. WOODRUFF's item in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, someone had to resort to dictatorial powers to make this appointment. Are we going toward dictatorship?

I was always taught that military rules and regulations were more fair than even our civilian laws. Is it fair for one citizen to break a civil law, and unfair for another? Is it fair for one man to be appointed without an examination just because he is the son of the President of the United States?

President Roosevelt's son is probably qualified for the work he is doing in the Procurement Division, but why cannot he do this work as a citizen instead of with a commission? Is it to protect him from actual military service? It is no wonder that we fellows that have worked hard, really suffered hardships to obtain a commission, resent this appointment. A commission, to our minds, is something to be proud of. It is a symbol of achievement. Is it now such a symbol? We are now fighting all sorts of "isms" in this country and trying to obliterate all persons of "ism" faith. I wonder if the President of the United States realizes that such acts as the appointment of his son make all we fellows that have had military experience bitter, and only our strong Americanism keeps us from being one of the other "isms."

As a member of the Military Affairs Committee, you have at your disposal a qualified military adviser. I would appreciate it very much if you could inform me just what rule or regulation the President used in order to make this appointment, and if such appointment has been confirmed by the Senate. I have not yet seen Mr. Elliott Roosevelt's confirmation listed in the RECORD, unless it was confirmed en bloc, which would keep it from the Members and release it from the possible chance of objection by some Member of the Senate.

You are at liberty to use this letter in any way you may deem just.

Hoping to hear from you in regard to the rule or regulation, I remain,

Respectfully.

Rail Travel Is the Safest Method of Modern Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 2, 1940

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, referring to the remarks of the gentleman from Missouri, Representative CANNON, appearing at page 12491 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, issue of September 23, 1940, regarding fatalities in railroad, highway, and scheduled air-line operations.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CANNON] quotes a figure of 5,643 persons killed on the railroads during the 15-month period, April 1, 1939, to June 31, 1940. That figure includes fatalities of all kinds, as follows:

	Number of fatalities	Percent of total
Passengers in train accidents	39	0.7
Passengers in train-service accidents	14	.3
Employees on duty (including shop accidents)	621	11.0
Persons in highway grade-crossing accidents	1,927	34.1
Other nontrespassers	204	3.6
Trespassers	2,838	50.3
Total	5,643	100.0

It is obvious that persons in highway grade-crossing accidents and trespassers accounted for 84.4 percent of total fatalities charged against the railroads. Also the figures include so-called nontrain fatalities, or those in which the movement or operation of trains is in no way involved.

Detailed statistics of scheduled air-line accidents are published semiannually by the Civil Aeronautics Authority. The latest figures available at this time cover the 6-month period, July-December 1939. For comparative purposes, we will take the full calendar year 1939 and compare the safety of air and railroad travel. The figures for air-line operations include domestic, foreign, and territorial services. The figures for the railroads include both train and train-service accidents, or all of those involving the movement or operation of trains, and relate to passengers on trains only.

	Air lines	Railroads
Number of passenger fatalities	19	27
Passengers carried	1,878,253	450,372,553
Passenger-miles	755,841,556	22,651,334,222
Fatalities per 1,000,000 passengers carried	10.12	0.06
Fatalities per 100,000,000 passenger-miles	2.51	0.12

In other words, steam railroads carried something more than 200 times as many passengers as did the air lines during the year 1939, and carried them an aggregate distance 30 times as far, yet railroad passenger fatalities were only about 1½ times as great as those of the air lines.

If we limit the air-line figures to domestic operations, there were 9 passenger fatalities in 1939, or exactly one-third as many as on the railroads. However, the railroads carried 262 times as many passengers as did the air lines and carried them an aggregate distance 33 times as great. In other words, in domestic air-line operations in 1939 there was 1 passenger fatality for each 75,000,000 passenger-miles; on the railroads there was 1 passenger fatality for each 840,000,000 passenger-miles.

The air lines make much of the fact that over a certain period they carried 2,500,000 passengers a distance of more than 1,000,000,000 passenger-miles without a passenger fatality. Let us see what the railroads have done in some recent months. In February 1940 the railroads carried 35,000,000 passengers an aggregate distance of 1,700,000,000 passenger-miles without a passenger fatality. In March 1940 they carried 36,000,000 passengers a distance of 1,800,000,000 passenger-miles without a passenger fatality. During May and June 1940 they carried 74,000,000 passengers a distance of 3,750,000,000 passenger-miles without a passenger fatality.

The statistics are so clear and convincing that there can be no question of the comparative safety of air and rail travel. The air lines have made very commendable strides in recent years in the safety of passenger movement, but their passenger fatality rate is still many times greater than that of the railroads.

As to employee casualties, there is no basis available for comparison. Railroad statistics showing the number of employees, hours worked, casualties, and so forth, are very detailed and complete. The air lines do not issue comparable data, nor does any Government agency that we know of.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EARL R. LEWIS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 2, 1940

Mr. LEWIS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the country is confronted, in the campaign which is now in progress, with a situation the like of which it has never faced before.

The New Deal party has seen fit to renominate as its candidate for the Presidency a man who has served two full terms in that office; and if he should be successful this November, he would thereby be elected to a third term. No party has ever before nominated a man for a third consecutive term in the Presidency of the United States.

The unbroken tradition of our land against the election of any man, however popular, to a third term in the Presidency has acquired the force and effect of unwritten law. This unwritten law is based upon the soundest of considerations of public policy.

George Washington, our first President, who had led the fight for the independence of our country from England and who had acted as President of the convention that framed our Constitution, at the end of his second term, although he was besieged by requests from private citizens and Members of Congress as well, to continue in a third term, refused, stating his determination not to be a candidate for a third term, in his Farewell Address. The House of Representatives formally replied to the Farewell Address in December 1796 and made the following striking declaration:

> For your country's sake, for the sake of republican liberty, it is our earnest wish that your example may be the guide of your successors; and thus after being the ornament and safeguard of the present age become the patrimony of our descendants.

And the Senate of the United States, in a similar reply to the Farewell Address, expressed the hope that—

> The influence of your example will contend to your successors.

Thomas Jefferson, who had early expressed his fear that the Presidency would become an office for life and thus be the means of crushing the liberties of the people, after he had been reelected to his second term, wrote to a friend, as follows:

> Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after 8 years. I shall follow it. And a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to anyone after awhile who shall endeavor to extend his term.

When, near the end of his second term State legislatures and personal friends began to bring pressure to bear upon Jefferson to accept a third term, he wrote a letter to the Vermont Legislature, in which he said:

> That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the Chief Magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, his office, nominally for years, will, in fact, become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that a representative government, responsible at short intervals of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office.

And in his autobiography, Jefferson again stated:

> That should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views.

Andrew Jackson many times urged upon Congress the submission to the people of an amendment to the Constitution which would limit the term of President to either 4 or 6 years, and stated in one of his messages that—

> Could this be obtained, and the terms of those offices be limited to a single period of either 4 or 6 years, I think our liberties would possess an additional safeguard.

And although he, too, near the end of his second term, was beset by demands of his friends that he be a candidate for a third term, he absolutely refused.

And James Buchanan, who was himself later to become President of the United States, wrote:

> The example of Washington, which has been followed by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, has forever determined that no President shall be more than once reelected. This principle is now become as sacred as if it were written into the Constitution.

General Grant, at the conclusion of his second term, was tremendously popular, and there arose from many sources a demand that he be a candidate for a third term. This he steadfastly refused to do; and when after an interval of 4 years his name was presented to the Republican convention in 1880, he was defeated, and Garfield was the successful nominee.

By this time the tradition of no third term for a President had become the unwritten law of the land, so much so that in 1896 the Democratic platform of that year stated:

> We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic, established by custom and usage of 100 years, and sanctioned by the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

McKinley was elected President that year and reelected in 1900, and shortly after he had entered upon his second term

he, too, was importuned to be a candidate for a third term, and on June 10, 1901, taking notice of this suggestion, McKinley said:

I regret that the suggestion of a third term has been made. * * * I will now say once for all, expressing a long-settled conviction, that I am not now and will not be a candidate for a third term, and I would not accept a nomination for it if it were tendered me.

At the end of Theodore Roosevelt's second term, although there was much talk of a third term, even in the Republican convention that nominated his successor, he was utterly opposed to it, and his renomination was stopped by his personal friends and authorized spokesmen in the convention of 1908. It is true he was a candidate for renomination after an interval of 4 years out of the Presidency, in 1912, but he was overwhelmingly defeated by Woodrow Wilson.

Calvin Coolidge was a tremendously popular President but a full year before the expiration of his second term he issued his famous statement:

I do not choose to run in 1928—

thus maintaining the unwritten law of the land.

Notwithstanding his announced determination not to be a candidate, the Senate of the United States in February 1928 passed a resolution introduced by the present Senator LA FOLLETTE, of Wisconsin, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions.

Speaking on that resolution, Senator NORRIS, of Nebraska, stated:

It is important because * * * if a President of the United States * * * were allowed to renominate himself, as he could, it would mean * * * ultimately the establishment in this country of a monarchy upon the ruins of our present republican form of government.

Speaking further, Senator NORRIS then said:

A President wishing to be renominated, if he wants to use the power that is his, after he has been in office for some time, can compel his party to renominate him. * * * That is always injurious, that is always detrimental to a free government, that always tends toward the abolition of freedom on the part of the citizens and happiness on the part of humanity generally.

This tradition has become, as the Democratic platform of 1896 said, "the unwritten law of this Republic," not merely because previous Presidents had refused a third term but for the reasons that induced those men, from Washington through Jefferson, Jackson, Polk, Johnson, Cleveland, McKinley, and Coolidge, to adhere to it as a vital part of our national life. Each of them, in his turn, recognized that the danger to free institutions arises out of growing power in the hands of the Chief Executive that eventually crushes out the institutions of freedom, and that long continuance of one individual in the office of the Chief Executive has been, throughout history, the means by which liberty has been crushed and democracies destroyed. Many historic instances of this process could be cited, but one only is sufficient to indicate the thing against which Washington wished to guard the young Republic and to account for Jefferson's strong adherence to the precedent set by Washington. I refer to the manner in which Caesar obtained for himself the dictatorship of Rome. He was appointed to be Governor of Gaul and commandant of the armies of Rome in that Province. Not content with a period of 5 years in that position of power, he sought and obtained a second period of 5 years. Supreme command for that lengthy period enabled him to consolidate his power to such an extent that he was able thereafter to seize the supreme power of the empire. He could not have done it at the end of 5 years, and probably not at the end of 8 years, but given the extra 2 years he was able to consolidate and gradually draw to himself the sovereign power, and thus attain the mastery of the government at Rome.

Certainly this tradition of no third term, which the Democratic platform of 1896 declared to be "the unwritten law of the land" cannot, with safety to our free institutions, be violated. Free republican government everywhere in the world is under attack and in retreat. Certainly we in this country, which is its last bulwark, dare not disregard the warnings of history and the counsels of the wise men and great who have filled the President's chair in this country for 150 years.

If the man who thus seeks a third term had made himself indispensable to the Nation by reason of brilliant success in the restoration of jobs in private industry to our unemployed; of markets at profitable prices for the products of our farms; of the restoration of sound health to our sick economic system; of the restoration of confidence to business; of brilliant and successful handling of fiscal affairs and foreign relations; of national rearmament in line with national needs, then these accomplishments might furnish an excuse if they existed, but certainly not a justification for imperiling our liberties through the breaking of the third-term tradition. Once that tradition is broken it is, like a broken piece of pottery, broken forever, and if the great men who have occupied the President's chair during the 150 years of our national existence have been right in their judgments as to the dangers of a third term for any man in the Presidential office, then the man who now seeks it must be profoundly wrong. "No third term" must continue to be the safeguard of our freedom.

The New Deal—Taxes, Deficits, Debts, Unemployment, Depression, and War—Charles F. Trivette, Virgie, Ky.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. ROBSION

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 2, 1940

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted to me by the House of Representatives, I extend my remarks and include therein a letter of Hon. Charles F. Trivette, of Virgie, Pike County, Ky.

This letter is a severe indictment of the New Deal policies. Mr. Roosevelt under these policies has ruled the Nation for more than 7½ years. They have been years of ever-increasing taxes, deficits, mounting national debt, unemployment, depression, and threats of war. When this Congress will have adjourned, during the administration of Mr. Roosevelt there will have been appropriated and authorized to be appropriated by the New Deal Congresses more than $75,000,000,000. The direct and indirect debts and obligations of this Government will have increased from approximately $20,000,000,000 to more than fifty billions.

It is a heartening sign to know that hundreds of humble citizens like Mr. Trivette are beginning to realize what the New Deal has done to our country and not for it, and that they are enough interested to call to the attention of the officials of this Nation the glaring failures of the New Deal policies.

This spendid young man also renders a service in calling to the attention of the country the conditions that prevailed under the administration of President Coolidge—everybody employed at high wages who desired a job. There was peace and plenty everywhere. Every Congress reduced taxes. Each year saw a substantial reduction in the World War national debt. Our farmers were busy and happy with a rich American market, and billions of farm products were exported every year to foreign markets. There was no destruction of crops or the burning of pigs or the reckless slaughter of our flocks and herds. Business did not have to meet the active and persistent competition of the Federal Govern-

ment. We had a sound currency. Thrift and honest industry were virtues and not vices. In foreign affairs we adhered to the historic foreign policy of Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, and other great American Presidents—"Friendship for all nations and entangling alliances with none." We were at peace and on friendly terms with all the countries of the earth.

The reading of Mr. Trivette's letter will be helpful to young and old alike:

VIRGIE, PIKE COUNTY, KY., *September 15, 1940.*

Hon. JOHN M. ROBSION,
Member of United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Seven years ago political genius brought forth in these United States a new invention—a new machine, which was conceived, designed, and created for the purpose of establishing and perpetuating a one-man government; and built into it "vast instrumentalities of power, which in the hands of the people would be safe, but in the hands of a political tyrant would shackle the liberties of the people."

Unlike ordinary machines, this new political machine will not function on ordinary types of fuels, but can keep in motion only through the growing misery of unemployed humanity, and through the continued reckless spending of borrowed billions of dollars.

This new political machine was conceived and created by the political genius of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, with the help of his inner circle about him. He calls his new machine the liberal party. But his machine is known to the American taxpayers as the New Deal party.

Those who are in command of the machine will have us believe that the only way for a drunk man to get sober is for the drunkard to drink himself sober; and they will have us believe that the only way for this Republic to again be rich and prosperous, is for the Republic to spend its way out of debt into riches and prosperity. A small child might seek to find the end of the rainbow, but those who are in the command of our ship of state might use better judgment.

In 1938 he tried unsuccessfully to divorce his New Deal party from the old-line Democrat Party, which elevated him to his position of "vast instrumentalities of power." It must seem that the old-time religion is not good enough for him now, since he and his inner circle have tried the "more abundant life"; and as, "we planned it that way" his political mouthpieces at Chicago in the recent National Convention of the Democratic Party rode New Deal war horses roughshod over the bones of those, who had ably assisted in creating and establishing this Republic as a lightened spot in a dark and troubled world.

In that convention, with the "vast instrumentalities of power" at his command, he at last fully succeeded in divorcing his New Deal Party from the old-line Democrat Party. But he should not have gone so far as to confiscate that party's voting emblem, because that voting emblem is property of people who have contributed loyally to make this Nation great, a people who live and believe in the policies of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Grover Cleveland, and Woodrow Wilson.

The most appropriate device the New Deal Party could use for that party's voting emblem is a picture of a nude eel, which is slick and slimy and subversive—just right to symbolize the New Deal's political activities.

The New Deal in 1933 arose to power, to its "vast instrumentalities of power" on promises that have never been kept. There was a promise to create and keep a balanced Budget; there was a promise in the party's platform of 1932 to reduce taxes; that platform promised to reduce the cost of Federal Government at least 25 percent. In that campaign Franklin Delano Roosevelt was comparing the Federal Government to an average family, which, according to Roosevelt's 1932 campaign plea, "could occasionally with safety take a splurge beyond its current income, but if this family or this Government continues spending beyond its income for an indefinite period, either will head for financial disaster and economic ruin."

Yet this same New Deal continues to tax and tax, with ever higher mounting taxes, and continues to usurp the taxes to be collected from unborn generations of Americans through his continued borrowing of billions of dollars which his New Deal Party spends with reckless abandon.

A billion dollars is a staggering sum of money, yet our Federal Government in the hands of those who are shackling the liberties of the people are borrowing and spending many of these staggering sums each annum. A billion dollars is a thousand million dollars. Should a successive group of people, in succeeding generations attempt to spend a billion dollars by spending at the rate of $1,000 per day, this group of successive generations of people would have had to begun spending a thousand dollars per day 799 years before Jesus Christ was born, and would have had to have spent $1,000 per day of every week, and every month and every year on down through the 799 years to the time the Saviour Child lay in the manger of hay at Bethlehem, and continue spending $1,000 through every day, of every week, of every month and of every year up through the years while the fiddling Nero was burning Rome and the Romans were persecuting the Christians; through the thousand years of Dark Ages; through the years while Christopher Columbus was finding the New World; through the years while George Washington was struggling against terrific odds to establish this Republic as a lightened spot in a dark and troubled world; through the years while the Americans were fighting the bloody War between the States; through the years while the world was fighting the "war to make democracy safe," and on up through the years until December 25, 1939; making a total of 2,738 years to spend a billion dollars by spending at the rate of $1,000 per day; and all the while they would have been spending only the principal of a billion dollars. The interest on a billion dollars has not yet been mentioned. Money at 6-percent simple interest doubles every 16 years and 8 months.

And yet our political planners continue to "tax and tax, spend and spend to elect and elect," while already overburdened by the weight of the gigantic tax load the huge wheel of American industry further slows down to a threatening stop; thus throwing more and more millions of good, honest American workers out of work—men and women workers who are as deserving as any of us, men and women who have been patriotic at their country's call, and who have been tried and found true in every line of endeavor, men and women who have blood and hearts which pound and beat like yours and mine, deserving men and women who have dependent families to feed.

During the year of 1939 our Federal, State, and local governments collected about $14,000,000,000 in taxes, borrowed six billions more, and spent it all. These tax collections represented an all-time high record and represented more than 22 cents of every dollar of the national income; 22 cents of each and every dollar which you and I and all other Americans earned last year went to pay our share of this $14,000,000,000 tax ticket.

This record tax burden represented an average of $105 for every man, woman, and child, regardless of age or color, in the United States; regardless of whether you had a job in private employment or whether you were one of America's 14,000,000 eligible workers who would like to have a job, and who are still waiting to get a job. For the people who actually had jobs, this record tax burden represented an average of $315 for every job in the United States.

And the tragic fact is that few of us actually have any idea of how much of this record tax burden we had to carry, because most of us contribute our share of taxes not to the tax collector but in a multitude of hidden taxes, levies, or sales taxes of one kind or another. In the increased cost of food, rent, and clothing, because merchants, landlords, and manufacturers passed part of their taxes on to us for us to pay in the increased cost of the things we buy.

As Franklin Delano Roosevelt said at Pittsburgh in 1932 in one of the wisest speeches he ever made, "Taxes are paid in the sweat of all those who labor, because they are a burden on production and are paid through production. If those taxes are excessive, they are reflected in idle factories, in tax-sold farms, and in hordes of hungry people tramping the streets and seeking jobs in vain. Our workers may never see a tax bill, yet they pay. They pay through deductions in wages, they pay through the increased cost of the things they buy, or, as now they are paying, through broad unemployment throughout the land."

The American people, after more than 7 years of New Deal philosophy, are still paying through deductions in wages, they are paying through the increased cost of the things they buy, and they are still paying through broad unemployment throughout the land. The people pay and pay, and still they pay, but they haven't seemed to wake up and realize what they are paying. When they do realize what they are paying, there will be such a howl of protest from the taxpayers, that the taxspenders will be thrown from the temple.

Our starry-eyed political planners in Washington have been hell-bent to make this Republic over to their own notion, but after more than 7 years of New Deal experiments and New Deal failures, at the cost to unborn generations of future American taxpayers, the political planners are beginning to turn reactionary. They look back enviously and longingly at the $80,000,000,000 national incomes of the years of 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929—the only years in peacetime history which brought national incomes of this magnitude to the American people. The political planners have already begun to talk of the grand things they will do for the Nation when the good old United States again produces the big money with which to do them.

"When that day comes," they say, "taxes won't hurt so much, deficits will disappear, and everything will be as merry as a wedding bell." After 7 years of riotous spending, they are ready to admit that there was at least one aspect of the terrible twenties to be commended. A Nation earning an $80,000,000,000 national income is beginning to appeal to the political planners in Washington. They are beginning to fear the awful lightning of a swift November sword, since the people are beginning to realize that their incomes have been decreased an average of $140 per capita since 1930, and in order to pay for only a part of the political planning their taxes have been hopped up $58 per capita more than they already were when Franklin Delano Roosevelt made his speech about taxes in Pittsburgh in 1932. There has been an increase of nearly 100 percent in the number of Federal employees since 1933, and there has been a decrease of 10 percent in the number of privately employed since 1932. And our political planners can justify these facts only by expressing the hope that some day, somehow, an $80,000,000,000 national income will come along again and set everything aright.

But while turning green with envy, looking back longingly at a Nation earning a generous income, they are still not yet ready to accept the facts and conditions under which such a business activity flourished. They would like to have their cake and eat it too. It is the desire of their hearts and their brains to have an $80,000,000,000 speed, but the New Deal is holding the brakes, while the giant wheel of American industry further grinds down to a threatening stop.

In naked truth and simple words, what were those conditions in 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929, which brought this Republic a 5 continuous year period of better than $80,000,000,000 national incomes? Are we yet ready to accept the answer to this question? If so, it will mean public confession that the market place is mightier than the District of Columbia; that there has been no substitute for hard work since the Lord spoke to Adam, and that there is no easy road to prosperity by political magic.

These are the facts and conditions underlying the quiet era of Calvin Coolidge Republican prosperity through the years of 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929, which in each of these years brought this Nation a better than $80,000,000,000 national income:

1. There were not only low Federal taxes, but also decreasing Federal taxes.
2. There was not only a Federal Budget in balance, but also a generous portion of the Federal Budget unspent at the end of each year to further decrease our World War debts.
3. Our Federal Government spent only 5 percent of the national income in taxes, and so low a tax rate was a generous blessing on the workers of America, because it has been truthfully said, "Taxes are paid in the sweat of all those who labor."
4. There was the gentle, uplifting effect of a decreasing public debt.
5. There was a fixed money value—a gold standard—a money yardstick full 36 inches long at all times.
6. Wages were advancing far beyond the post-war peak; the greater portion of the national income going to the workers and the lesser portion going to the employers.
7. Business had no competition from the Federal Government.
8. Management with brains and vision, which could bring men and tools and markets together, was encouraged and applauded.
9. Thrift was then taught to be a virtue.
10. The same common-sense policies and practices were used that had been used by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, William McKinley, and others, and had already made America the greatest nation in the world; had created that sense of the dignity and worth of the American people, and had guaranteed the economic and political freedom of this Republic.

Both North and South are hourly growing more conscious of the New Deal trespasses from the District of Columbia on the liberties and freedom of the people. The voters in this eventful year of 1940 can look only to the Republican Party for the rescue and preservation of all those rights that are near and dear to us, and for the restoration of their faith and hope in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES F. TRIVETTE.

No Third Term; No Indispensable Man; Result, No Dictator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED L. CRAWFORD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, the Southern Committee for Jeffersonian Democracy has made some very keen observations. This committee points out that Mr. Roosevelt has gained control of the National Democratic Party, using it as a front party for the New Deal as Herr Hitler gained control of what once was the National Labor Democratic Party in Germany. And the committee further observes that today both of those Democratic Parties, as exemplified by Mr. Roosevelt here and Herr Hitler over there, have no resemblance in principle or purpose to the original party.

The third term has been an issue in this Nation since Washington was the first President. Washington refused a third term though it was offered to him without a contest. Jefferson did likewise, and no two men in our Nation's history did more than these two great Presidents to create and establish our democratic—as we term it—form of government. In the time of Washington and Jefferson, those two gentlemen were as indispensable to the security and progress of the Nation and its form of government as any President ever will be. They set a precedent about the third-term issue which has been observed for over 150 years. But Mr. Roosevelt would break that precedent for the sake of his New Deal and the new dealers, and in so doing would take our Government a long step in the direction of dictatorship, or at least a fourth and a fifth, or more, terms. When Mr. Roosevelt puts his plea for his reelection to 12 years in office on the demand that he, and he alone, must carry on the program he began nearly 8 years ago, that is to put him and his program in the same category with Stalin and his 5-year program, Herr Hitler and his 6 years, Mussolini with 10 years. Now Mr. Roosevelt wants 12 years, mind you, the first 12 years. Who of the four of them will ever say, "I have finished"? Certainly not Mr. Roosevelt, who considers himself "the indispensable." Not one; all are obsessed with the idea that they, and they alone, can save their countries, their satellites, themselves, and their works.

Mr. Speaker, the Southern Committee for Jeffersonian Democracy poses the question, Why dictatorship here? One move after another, one urge after another, one purge after another, here in recent years, is a form of dictatorship. Mr. Roosevelt wants a third term. He schemed it that way against the fundamental principles and precedents of our democratic government. He overpowered the historic Democratic Party. His control of recent nominations was absolute, and he is endeavoring to do everything he wishes to the end of reelecting himself President, continuing his power, and dictating his peculiar governmental policies.

Mr. Speaker, serious as is the disregard for the third-term tradition, it is but one of many reasons why we cannot approve of the perpetuation of the New Deal, or by silence acquiesce in its further damage to the Nation's interest. The New Deal adopted some measures which Jefferson Democrats could support. But in number, they are dwarfed by the undesirable and damaging effects of others. I now submit for consideration a few of their outstanding thrusts:

First. The attempt to pack the Supreme Court, to vest in the President all the three powers of government.

Second. The vindictive senatorial purge.

Third. Endless lend-and-spend policies and the mistaken mischievous notion that a people can spend or tax their way back to prosperity. The New Deal has followed the philosophy of one Harry Hopkins to the effect that we should spend and spend and spend and tax and tax and elect and elect and elect.

Fourth. Readiness to borrow and boost the national debt. Along with this loose fiscal policy billions of dollars' worth of gold have been purchased and which we did not need, dare not use, and which has increased the excess reserves of member banks to more than $6,600,000,000, paving the way for the sale to the banks of billions of Federal I O U's, all establishing an unsound policy for our commercial banks, which now hold entirely too many Government bonds. This policy of bank-credit expansion is building up a most dangerous inflationary base.

Fifth. Indifference to the importance of thrift in and out of Government service.

Sixth. Encouragement of nationalism of industry and state socialism. It is most interesting to compare the steps taken by the New Deal since 1933 with those taken by Herr Hitler in establishing and operating the national socialist movement through the first 4-year plan as well as the second 4-year plan. Our copy cat procedure through which we follow in the footsteps of the European "isms" is enough to challenge the thought of everyone in America who really believes in our limited constitutional form of government—for instance, the appointment of Leon Henderson as price dictator is patterned after Herr Hitler's commissioner for price formation as set forth under the second 4-year plan.

Seventh. Direct and indirect denial of a man's constitutional right to work or employ.

Eighth. Contempt for newspapers still free from such governmental control as is exercised over the radio.

Ninth. Encouragement and stimulation of class feeling.

Tenth. Noninterference of the improper use of relief for political purposes as practiced in Kentucky and Pennsylvania, and other places.

Eleventh. Alarming and extravagant growth in bureaucracy and commissions, banned by Democratic platform of 1932.

Twelfth. The yoke around the neck of free enterprise and business.

Thirteenth. Fraternization with organizations and individuals under investigation for their pink-to-red complexions.

Fourteenth. Preaching the heresy that scarcity is a blessing and abundance is a misfortune, and that the people are suffering from too much plenty. And all of this at the same time that the following occurs: In September 1940, Consumers' Guide, a publication of the Department of Agriculture, which says, in part, "45,000,000 of us live below the safety line because we do not get the food we need." The publication further points out that "we have the brains to use our lands, to use our hands, to make and use machines. We have the brains it takes to make lands, hands, and machines all work together. That way safety lies." If all this be true, why do we go along today with 45,000,000 undernourished, with about one and five-tenths billion dollars of foods, fats, and fibers held by the Commodity Credit Corporation, and with the philosophy of scarcity which has governed far too long for the benefit of our people?

Fifteenth. The foolish notion that Government spending or pump priming can sufficiently act as a substitute for private enterprise to absorb the idle or unemployed.

Sixteenth. Concentration of power in the Executive and the usurpation of law-making powers by bureaus and commissions, with denial of recourse to the courts.

Seventeenth. Indulging in sophistry and constantly attempting to lead our people into the belief that the majority is always right and that the minority is always wrong; and ignoring the fact that it is possible, through reason and logic, to show up the truth and expose fallacy.

MR. ROOSEVELT IGNORES FRAMEWORK OF OUR GOVERNMENT

In his recent speech, called a nonpolitical address on government, the Chief Executive said:

> I would rather rely on the aggregate opinion, on matters affecting government, of a railroad president, its superintendents, its engineers, firemen, brakemen, conductors, trainmen, telegraphers, porters, and all of the others, than on the sole opinion of the few in control of management or the principal stockholders.

Here the President made a naked class appeal "to prejudice, bias, and self-interest." He here ignored the framework of our Government. The democratic Government of Greece failed because it was tyrannical, and our form of government was not patterned after that of Greece. In this country the voters can determine the issues and select the men, but their duly chosen representatives make the laws. The Chief Executive's speech was clever, but its acceptance by our people shows that we have traveled a long way from the standards of truth and morals. We do not need more cleverness, but we need intelligent action, a consideration of the real truths of the times.

Address Prepared by the Late Speaker Bankhead for Delivery at Opening of Maryland Democratic Campaign

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

Mr. RADCLIFFE. Mr. President, we recall the late Speaker William B. Bankhead was stricken with his last illness in Baltimore on September 10 last as he was ready to prceed to the Lyric Theater to deliver the main address at the opening of the Maryland Democratic campaign. The people of Maryland, together with the people of the entire Nation, appreciated the fine ability and great heart of Will Bankhead. They were proud to honor him both as a friend and as one of the most useful and distinguished Americans of our time. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address which Speaker Bankhead had prepared for delivery at the Lyric Theater meeting.

There being no objection, the address prepared by the late Speaker Bankhead was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Governor O'Conor, Members of the congressional delegation of Maryland, and fellow citizens, I am deeply honored with your invitation to deliver a short address at the opening of the Democratic campaign in the great State of Maryland. It is always an honor to appear in this great State whose people have played such a conspicuous and distinguished part in the development of our Nation from colonial days on down to the present time and who are still carrying forward the noble traditions of their ancestors.

Within the time limit allowed me on the radio it will, of course, not be possible for me to attempt to make any extended argument on the vital political and national issues involved in this campaign and my observations will necessarily be limited to a very few of the pending issues.

I rejoice to be in the presence of this magnificent gathering of the democracy of Maryland and among the audience I trust there may be many independent voters and possibly some who have heretofore voted the Republican ticket. There has never been waged within this generation a political campaign of more profound significance to the present and future happiness and safety of the American people. I am, of course, here to present mainly the Democratic side of this issue. I am always happy to embrace an opportunity to speak in behalf of that great political organization which, since the very founding of our Republic, has played such an active and conspicuous part in the destiny of our Nation. I am also glad that in presenting the Democratic cause, particularly with reference to the record and achievements of the present Democratic administration at Washington, that I can bring to the people of Maryland, as well as to those of the country, the assurance that in all executive and legislative efforts under this administration, we have not departed from, but have adhered to, the basic and fundamental principle upon which our party was founded, "Equal rights to all men and special privileges to none."

In order to have a fair appraisal of the record of this administration and to determine whether or not, upon the whole, it has done a good or an evil job, it is, of course, only fair that we should reconsider the condition of the country when we took over the Government in 1933. It is not necessary for me to recall in detail the disastrous and calamitous state of our entire country at the close of the Hoover administration when everywhere there was the universal cry of distress, impoverishment, fear, poverty, bankruptcy, a collapsed banking system, twelve to fifteen million unemployed and hungry people walking the streets and the countryside crying for bread and clothing and shelter. It was a situation which demanded the instant exercise of vitally courageous action. For 12 years our people had endured a Republican leadership that either did not have the capacity to conceive adequate measures of relief and reform or else totally lacked the courage to sponsor and execute them, and, under such circumstances, the people of this country for their own salvation, called back into power for the first time in many years a Democratic administration. As its leader and chieftain they chose a man of great vision and courage; a man who was totally unwilling to close his eyes to the facts of a new order of conditions which had grown up in our country in the last generation and which needed drastic remedial action; a man who was wise enough to know that if our country were to survive and its basic institutions preserved, some major reforms were imperative; a man daring enough to venture into new fields of legislation to cure obvious evils; a man who, despite much bitter and vindictive criticism and hatred, despite occasional errors of action or of policy, by every present poll of public opinion, still holds the personal affection and respect of a great majority of the American people—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In order to avert a further fall into the abyss when, as I have suggested, "unmerciful disaster followed fast and followed faster" upon the homes and hopes of the American people, it was necessary for the Congress, with the President's approval, to enact a series of beneficent laws.

I cannot in this period even attempt to catalog all of them, nor to argue their merit and necessity. In the main, they were laws to restore our national and private credit and the confidence of the people in their banking institutions, and the heroic and effective manner in which this was accomplished after the bank holiday, must yet be fresh in the minds of our people, especially the bankers of the country, who at that time were sorely pleading for assistance, but many of whom are now the bitterest enemies of this administration.

Incidental to the collapse of more than 5,000 National and State banks during previous Republican administrations, we enacted the law for the guaranty of the safety of all deposits of our National

and State banks which were affiliated with the Federal system up to $5,000, constituting 98 percent of the total deposits, which, of course, means that if any such bank now fails its depositors will receive 100 cents on the dollar.

Reference has been made to the orgy of rampant and unbridled speculation of former years. Under former Republican administrations the license and freedom of action was allowed promoters, stock jobbers, and gold-brick syndicates. The American people had been swindled out of billions of hard-earned savings in the purchase of securities foisted upon them by these evil combinations, who operated without conscience and without restraint. To eradicate such indefensible activities we passed the Security Exchange Commission Act, under the operation of which no fly-by-night speculative enterprise can now mulct the investing public. Every security now offered for purchase must pass the scrutiny of the Commission, which passes upon its solvency and soundness. That was a type of legislation that was conceived totally to end evil and vicious practices that an aroused public conscience was not content longer to endure.

We broke up for all time the ruthless and unconscionable holding companies allowed to flourish in all of their ugly and wanton plundering of the stockholders of their subsidiaries under former administrations, of which the infamous Insull utility empire in the Midwest was a conspicuous example and of which the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation was a smaller prototype, and it will be remembered that when this bill was pending before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives the plans and strategy of the opposition to the legislation was furnished by none other than the Honorable Wendell Willkie, now the Republican nominee for President.

We established the Civilian Conservation Corps. We have provided adequate temporary relief for millions of men and women out of employment and without any opportunity to secure jobs. Through the agency of the Public Works Administration we have added to the permanent wealth of the country in every single community in America by the construction of permanent utilities for their comfort and happiness.

One of the greatest achievements of this administration was the financing and foundation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which, as a yardstick for the control of power and light rates since its establishment, has already resulted in the reduction of charges to consumers in the United States of a half billion dollars, and that enterprise was one that seems to have particularly touched the sensitive corporate nerves of the private utilities of the country and especially of the Republican nominee.

In this connection a great deal has been said about the challenge which Mr. Willkie issued to the President for a series of joint debates in the country and, in my opinion, it has been well said that the most appropriate parties to have a joint debate with reference to their respective opinions upon questions of public policy, would be the Republican nominee for President, Mr. Willkie, and his running mate, Senator McNARY, of Oregon. Speaking to the Economic Club of New York on January 21, 1935, Mr. Willkie said:

"No duty has ever come to me in my life, even that in the service of my country, which has so appealed to my sense of social obligation, patriotism, and love of mankind as this—my obligation to say and do what I can for the preservation of public utilities privately owned."

In this speech he described Mr. Samuel Insull as a "forceful, dynamic, and attractive figure." Speaking of public ownership and the right of the people to operate public service, Mr. Willkie said:

"All I have observed, all that I know and all that I read teaches me that I could do nothing nobler for the future financial stability and political good of my country or the social and economic well-being of my fellow citizens than to stand firm and unafraid against this foolish fad and fancy of the moment."

Now here is what Senator McNARY, Mr. Willkie's running mate, said in his speech of acceptance:

"The Federal Government accepts the responsibility to control floods and assure navigation—out of these services flows the by-product of power. The Government having made this power available should have an indisputable right to control its utilization and distribution."

He further added that the big Federal power projects were liquidating their commitments to the Government. I am wondering how on this vital problem Mr. Willkie as President would control his unregenerate running mate who would then be Vice President of the United States.

Getting back to the legislative program, I mention without elaboration the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, with its tremendous benefits to the American people, and the Federal Housing Administration giving credit to hundreds of thousands of people to finance their own homes. We guaranteed for the first time in history by law the fundamental right of labor in this country to organize and bargain for the betterment of their wages and working conditions. We established a decent wage-hour law so that men and women who toil should not be forever exploited merely as human commodities. We have helped the impoverished youth to secure opportunities for high-school and college education; and, above all else, by our remedial program we have saved the farmers of the country from absolute destruction and bankruptcy by a series of wise and provident laws, including the soil- and water-conservation program, the lowest farm-interest rates in our history, rural electrification marketing agreements, commodity loans, parity payments, research into new uses and new markets, the stamp plan, and distribution of surplus commodities. Six million farmers are voluntarily cooperating in the various wings of the program.

After a very brief and fragmentary summary of the legislation enacted by this Democratic administration, we are now confronted with one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of American politics. After all of the long and bitter criticism of the opposition party and its leaders of the social, economic, and agricultural program of this administration, and after a 2½-year microscopic examination of that record by Dr. Glenn Frank, we naturally supposed that when the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia adopted its platform that they would attempt to tear the Democratic record limb from limb and at least have the temerity to suggest the total repeal or substantial modification of what they were so fond of calling New Deal vagaries. But, lo and behold, when the Republican platform was agreed upon and adopted, that great party no doubt reluctantly admitted and proclaimed that they approved in principle the Democratic legislative program of this administration, after which startling confession the only leg that they have to stand on in an appeal to be placed back in power is that they could administer these laws in a better fashion. There are some who believe that the major incentive to a return to power by the G. O. P. is the jobs, the patronage, and the power. The truth of the business is that the old Republican elephant, the symbol of their party, has grown extremely cadaverous for lack of adequate political hay.

A great deal has been said already in this campaign and much more will probably be said with reference to the third-term issue, which I desire to discuss for just a moment. I contend that there is absolutely no shred of political philosophy or sound analytical reason why a President of the United States should not be reelected for a third term. The whole argument against it is based entirely upon a so-called accepted tradition or unwritten law. When one begins to seek any real or persuasive reason for such a tradition, he will find, if fairly intentioned, that none exists. Whenever I am in doubt about the basic philosophies of our Constitution and way of life, it is my habit to revert to the discussions in the Constitutional Convention which drafted our Federal organic law, and upon such recent research I find that this was a matter that was fully, fairly, and at much length discussed in the Constitutional Convention. Every possible phase of a third term, or indeed a second term, was fully analyzed and debated by those great intellects and logicians who constituted the personnel of that Convention. Their wisdom and foresight as expressed in their finished work is one of the marvels of political action for all time and although many proposals were made for limitation of the terms of the Presidency and after every possible angle of the matter was thoroughly explored, it was the final wisdom of those great men to place no limitation upon the number of terms that a President should be elected. They evidently were not impressed with the argument that more than two terms would lead to a dictatorship and they most wisely left the determination of the number of terms that a President could serve to the final decision of the people themselves. We are confronted with exactly that situation in this campaign.

The opponents of a third term usually refer to the attitude of George Washington upon this question and his refusal to accept a third term. The truth is that that decision was based entirely upon personal reasons and his desire in his old age to retire to the comforts of Mount Vernon. His real sentiments were expressed in a letter to General Lafayette, from which I take the following quotation:

"Under an extended view of this part of the subject, I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man, who on some great emergency, shall be deemed, universally, most capable of serving the public."

The patron saint of all Democrats is, of course, Thomas Jefferson, and some Democrats who are bitterly opposed to President Roosevelt for other reasons are now declaring that they can support no Democratic candidate for a third term. While it is true that Mr. Jefferson did, in general terms, oppose the election of a President for three terms, nevertheless we find that it was not a matter of such profound conviction with him that he would make no exception, because when Mr. Jefferson was being implored by his political friends to run for a third term, he wrote to John Taylor and declared, "I had determined to declare my intentions, but I have considered to be silent on the opinion of friends who think it best not to put a continuance out of my power in defiance of all circumstances." Undoubtedly, if circumstances had warranted, he would have accepted a third term; and if living now, it is my opinion, holding the views that he did with reference to the rights of the average man in this country, he would declare that the present circumstances justify and demand that President Roosevelt be given a third term.

I have reserved for conclusion the supreme and paramount problems now weighing most heavily upon the hearts and homes of the American people, namely, foreign affairs and our national defense. Although studious and at times vindicative efforts have been made to impress the country with the fact that President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull have gone out of their way to indulge in so-called meddling in the foreign affairs of other nations, the whole record disproves such contention and definitely establishes that although they have from time to time made vigorous protests against the ac-

tion of some foreign governments that were in contravention of the laws of nature and humanity, nevertheless, the whole undertone and substance of their appeals to the world has been for the good-neighbor policy, for peace in the world, and against the spread of war. I will give only one instance of that consistent record. When the President signed the first neutrality resolution on August 31, 1935, he did so with this statement:

"I have approved this joint resolution because it was intended as an expression of the fixed desire of the Government and the people of the United States to avoid any action which might involve us in war. The policy of the Government is definitely committed to the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of any entanglements which would lead us into conflict."

And this was followed just a few weeks before the Chicago convention with the following statement by the President:

"That we are opposed to war is known not only to every American, but to every government in the world. We will not use our arms in the way of aggression; we will not send our men to take part in European wars."

In addition to all this, he called a special session of Congress last year after the war broke out in Europe, recommended, and the Democratic Party passed, amendments to the existing neutrality law which prohibited the shipment in American vessels of cargoes into the waters of the belligerent nations, which, if it had not been done, would doubtless long before this have inevitably drawn us into the conflict for the same reasons which induced America to go to war against the Central Powers in 1917. On the vote in the House of Representatives on this most vital proposal for keeping out of the European war, on the final roll call on the conference report of the neutrality bill, there were—yeas, Democrats 223, Republicans 18; nays, Democrats 29, Republicans 141.

Another matter of the most supreme and vital importance to our people in view of the threats and power of the totalitarian powers in Europe is the matter of adequate national defense for the United States and the Western Hemisphere. It is not necessary for me to go into detail or statistics with reference to the earnest efforts of this administration to prepare for any eventuality that may be thrust upon our people, but Herr Hitler has sworn that this is a world revolution and that no democracy upon the face of the earth will ultimately be spared. It is no easy thing for a great Nation like this to adequately prepare against the terrific power of the Nazi war machine, but this administration and this Congress are taking every needful step to see to it that at the earliest possible moment we will be prepared in all fields of action to preserve the integrity of the Monroe Doctrine and to safeguard at all hazards our priceless heritage of liberty and free way of life. To give assurance to our people on the preparedness program I quote the following figures prepared by Congressman CLIFTON WOODRUM of Virginia of the Appropriations Committee:

"In 1933 we had an army of 75,000. Today we have equipped and under arms an army of 241,000, and the present Congress is authorizing an increase to 1,200,000, with a possible ultimate reserve strength of 2,000,000.

"Today we have a one-ocean Navy of 399 warships. In 1943 we will have 521 warships afloat, and in 1946 a two-ocean Navy.

"Today we have 5,500 war planes (production 900 per month). In 1941 production will be up to 1,500 per month. July 1942, 25,000 war planes will be ready. October 1943, 50,000 war planes will be on hand.

"Today we have 500 tanks. Production is 3 light tanks daily. July 1941, 1,500 tanks will be ready. January 1943, 200 heavy 70-ton tanks will be ready.

"By August 1941 arms and critical equipment ready for 1,000,000 men. That's 1 year hence. October 1943, complete arms and equipment ready for an army of 1,200,000 men, and a reserve strength that will give us 2,000,000."

Effect of Strategic Material Purchases on British Buying Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the Christian Science Monitor of Thursday, September 26, 1940, and appearing under the heading United States Strategic Materials Demand Aid British Buying Power.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES STRATEGIC MATERIALS DEMAND AIDS BRITISH BUYING POWER—BRITISH RESERVE BUYING POWER IN UNITED STATES IS LARGELY UNTOUCHED

NEW YORK.—After more than a year of war, British reserve buying power in the American market remains largely untouched, analysis of trade and banking figures indicated.

So far as the available figures show, England still has laid by for a rainy day most of the gold and American securities she held at the outset of the conflict.

British purchases of war supplies in the United States have been stepped up since the fall of France and the intense bombing of the British Isles.

Nevertheless, it appears, England could continue buying at an accelerated pace for many months before the war chest is scraped bare of reserve gold and other liquid assets.

Newly produced gold, rubber, and tin from British Empire sources or clearing through London are giving England more than $1,000,000,000 annually in dollar exchange to toss into the trade scales, it was figured.

UNITED STATES BIG BUYER

Helping increase the British supply of dollar exchange are the United States purchases of rubber, tin, and other strategic materials for war reserves. These come chiefly from British Empire producers and from the Netherlands East Indies, now clearing trade by way of London.

Among visible items in the British-United States balance, it seemed, England in the first year of the war was almost able to balance off her Empire merchandise deficit with newly mined gold.

The Empire is estimated to be turning out around $700,000,000 in gold yearly, chiefly from Canadian and South African mines.

Advances of capital for building of aircraft and munitions plants in this country, together with such items as ships, required substantial amounts of dollar exchange not shown in the trade figures.

However, Treasury data indicate the United Kingdom has liquidated only a minor part of British holdings of American securities.

Out of about $1,700,000,000 in gold held under earmark here for foreign account, some banking quarters estimate, probably half is British metal or available for purchase of dollar exchange in the future to balance sterling accounts.

Steadily arriving gold from Canada, South Africa, and other Empire sources has limited the drain on earmarked metal and short-term bank balances.

In the first 9 months of the war, the figures revealed, England realized about $152,000,000 from sale of American securities. British and Canadian holdings of American securities at the start of the war were placed at approximately $1,250,000,000.

BRITISH TRADE DEFICIT

Partly based on estimates, one banking analyst calculated the British Empire in the first year of the war had a deficit in exports over imports in trade with the United States amounting to approximately $700,000,000.

This deficit in merchandise items apparently was balanced by newly produced gold and exchange realized from sale of securities, leaving the major portion of the war chest intact.

Trade circles expect the flow of war materials to England to increase as American plants expand output of aircraft, munitions, and other supplies on order. Out of some $2,250,000,000 in British war contracts reported to have been let in the first year, deliveries were estimated to have totaled around $500,000,000, leaving the bulk to be shipped.

Banking circles pointed out the contracts seemed to be adequately covered by the remaining reserves of gold, bank balances, and holdings of American securities, not counting what may be realized in the way of extra exchange from heavier imports of raw materials from the British Empire.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED BRADLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 2, 1940

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, from the very birth of this great Nation bureaucrats and other office-holding so-called friends and advisers of two-term Presidents, fearful of losing their own position of responsibility in the Government, have continually sought a third term for their leader.

Shortly after the birth of this Nation we were of necessity a military nation fraught with grave dangers of invasion from Russia, with a foothold in Alaska on the north; and from

Spain and France, with footholds in Florida and Louisiana on the south. In that crisis a group of Army officers sought to force upon George Washington a third term. They suggested to Washington a mutiny in the Army as an outcome of which he would become their ideal monarch. To this suggestion Washington replied, "He must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity." At the same time he wrote to Lafayette, and I quote:

> There cannot, in my judgment, be the least danger that the President will by any practical intrigue ever be able to continue himself in office, much less perpetuate himself in it, but in the last stage of corrupted morals and political depravity; and even then there is as much danger that any other species of domination would prevail. Though when a people shall become incapable of governing themselves and fit for a master, it is of little consequence from what quarter he comes.

If Washington were alive today, he might be inclined to be specific and say, "If the people are incapable of governing themselves, it makes no difference if their master be a Hitler, or a Stalin, or a Mussolini, or somebody else."

Within a comparatively few years past Jefferson had this to say:

> But if the principle of rotation be a sound one, as I conscientiously believe it to be with respect to this office, no pretext should ever be permitted to dispense with it, because there never will be a time when real difficulties will not exist and furnish a plausible pretext for dispensation.

And later he expressed the hope that any President consenting to run for a third term would be defeated "on this demonstration of ambitious views."

It was Jackson who sought to limit the tenure of any President by constitutional amendment as an "additional safeguard" to "our liberties." When Grover Cleveland was President he stated that he believed the power of a President to perpetuate himself in office by reason of his tremendous political advantage through bureaucratic officeholders and patronage constituted "most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent action which must characterize a government by the people."

Mr. Speaker, it is well within the memories of all of us that the American people frowned upon the efforts of the great Theodore Roosevelt in his "third-term move," even though he had not been duly elected for two terms, but succeeded to the office. Finally we recall that it was the great Calvin Coolidge, riding on the crest of the wave of the greatest prosperity this Nation has ever known, who voluntarily stated that he did not "choose to run" for a third term.

Let no man state that he is the "indispensable man" and the only man who can guide America through the stormy seas of international crisis. There never will be in the history of this Nation, or in the history of the world, any period in which some crisis cannot be developed by clever politicians and political argument.

Mr. Speaker, this Nation has prospered and remained secure for over 150 years under the "no third term" tradition. Once you break this tradition you have no justification to deprive any President of a fourth, or fifth, or sixth term, or, indeed, for establishing a royal family in this Nation.

Second Article of Series of English Predictions of American Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD the second article of a series of English predictions of American action.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REPEAL OF NEUTRALITY

The well known English publication Round Table said in 1939, before the start of the war:

"Far indeed, by degrees that have sometimes gone unperceived, has the Roosevelt administration led the American people actively into the world crisis."

In the previous article I discussed the educational campaign of the administration for our involvement as shown by the Round Table, the London magazine founded by Lord Lothian.

In this article I desire to show how accurate the English knew the foreign policies of the administration, far more than that known by Members of Congress.

REPEAL OF THE NEUTRALITY ACT

In the March 1939 issue in the article, Guns, Butter, and Gospel, I note this:

"The administration intends to seek amendment of the act (Neutrality Act), and, if the President is not granted full discretion to discriminate between aggressor and defender, then Congress may at least put the trade on a cash-and-carry basis which ought not seriously to impede France and Great Britain."

This was predicted, as you note, more than a half year before the action was taken.

In the same article, I note another reference to what Congress would do about the Neutrality Act. You will see that some had agreed to forfeit our neutrality. * * * Yes; even further, the article states that the President would not enforce the law with equity but would choose sides. The reference follows:

"And in this question of continuance lies a key point in the whole problem. The Neutrality Act makes mandatory an embargo on arms shipments when the President finds a state of war to exist. But President Roosevelt proposes to lift this section 1 of the Neutrality Act, and to place arms shipments on a cash-and-carry basis, allegedly nondiscriminatory. In fact, the control of the seas and access to foreign exchange that Great Britain and France would probably enjoy, to the disadvantage of Italy and Germany, doubtless means that a cash-and-carry provision would be no impediment to the shipment of arms. In short, it is difficult to see how the neutrality law can now be advanced abroad as a main source of dubiety about American policy. The law will not be repealed, it may not even be changed drastically, but it seems to have lost much of its meaning. And in any event, it isn't fashionable to declare wars any more and, no matter what the circumstances, the President has authority to "find" whether or not war exists. The administration would prefer to see the law changed to give them power to discriminate between the aggressor and his opponents, but that is a logical hurdle over which Congress probably will not jump. A test struggle, perhaps the American version of a "vote of confidence" on the whole new positive foreign policy, may come upon the question of amending the Neutrality Act. But it will be somewhat deceptive. Even if not one line in the act is changed, the administering authority behind it has already changed its viewpoint."

The Round Table was not exactly sure of the repeal of the arms embargo but felt the President would administer it as they desired. In their words:

"The Neutrality Act may not be amended, and that will disappoint the administration, but it will not be a crippling handicap."

Why would it not be a "crippling handicap?" Because, as the magazine had previously said "the President has authority 'to find' whether or not war exists," and "even if not one line in the act is changed, the administering authority behind it has already changed its viewpoint."

All of these things came before the invasion of Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and Norway.

All of these things came before the invasion and defeat of Poland

All of these things came months before the declaration of war.

Were there any commitments or agreements which were kept secret from the American people?

METHODS SHORT OF WAR

In the Round Table, founded by Lord Lothian, British Ambassador to the United States, the statement is made that the United States would be alined with Great Britain and they say that the President has issued a plain warning to that effect.

Not only do they make such a prediction, but they cite 13 steps that will be taken by the United States. Read them and see how accurate they were in announcing what would be done. How marvelous they pointed to our actions long before the actions were taken. The article follows:

"There are many methods short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words, of bringing home to aggressor governments the aggregate sentiments of our own people." These words, taken from President Roosevelt's annual message to Congress, are the key to present American foreign policy. In effect, the American Government is seeking to combat the totalitarian states with every means available short of force. President Roosevelt is issuing a plain warning that the United States will be alined with Great Britain and France in the event of a major European war, although of course the nature of American participation cannot be defined in advance. Nor can the President actually guarantee that the American people will follow him. But he can construct a policy, and is so doing, that would make it very difficult for the United

States to do anything else. He is not permitting Germany, Italy, and Japan to make any miscalculations about American policy. He is the aggressive world leader of the democracies, although somewhat removed from the firing line. He is, so to speak, the leader of the cheering section.

"But American policy is not limited to mere cheering, although that may seem to be its sum to nations living in the midst of the arena. It is most revealing to list the main points in the present American foreign program, most of which are actually being acted upon, although a few are still at the blueprint stage. Here they are:

"(1) An intensive armament building program, under which American fighting forces for the coming fiscal year will cost about $1,500,000,000.

"(2) Projection of a naval base at Guam, on Japan's front doorstep, over 3,000 miles west of Hawaii.

"(3) Extension of trade preferences, meaning economic and perhaps political stability, to the Philippines, and perhaps eventual 'dominion status' for the islands.

"(4) Substantial financial aid to China.

"(5) Diplomatic insistence on American 'rights' in Asia.

"(6) Constant verbal warnings and thrusts directed toward the Nazis.

"(7) Direct assistance to France and Great Britain through the export of American aircraft and other materials.

"(8) Proposed amendment of the Neutrality Act to assure France and Britain of continued war supplies so long as they can pay for and transport them.

"(9) Projected economic, monetary, and tariff 'sanctions' against the authoritarian governments.

"(10) An effort to strengthen economic ties between normal-trading nations through reciprocal pacts.

"(11) An effort to force inter-American continental solidarity and keep the totalitarian states out of the New World.

"(12) Every practicable step to aid the Jews, particularly in refugee work.

"(13) Perhaps one should add an extraordinary relationship between President Roosevelt and the world leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, in which he appears to encourage them to stand for the interests of the church against the state in totalitarian countries. He seems to seek to evoke the memory of the Kulturkampf.

"All these points constitute no trivial program, no policy of words alone. Far indeed, by degrees that have sometimes gone unperceived, has the Roosevelt administration led the American people actively into the world crisis."

ADMINISTRATION LEADS TO "ACTIVE PARTICIPATION"

In the last article I noted the "educational campaign" to involve us in the European struggle and how it was stated we were far along "the path of 1917." As you noted the last quotation ended:

"All these points constitute no trivial program, no policy of words alone. Far indeed, by degrees that have sometimes gone unperceived, has the Roosevelt administration led the American people actively into the world crisis."

Think! Read that again and again and note that the actions were "unperceived" and that the administration had led the American people "actively into the world crisis." Shall American boys be killed in 1941 as a result of these actions? Shall American soldiers be wounded and shell-shocked by this active intervention in the world crisis?

The Round Table definitely defines what all the world knows about our unneutrality. They know the progress to active belligerency goes from neutrality to nonneutrality, to nonbelligerency, and then to active belligerency. They know it, and those driving for such a position in this country know it, even though they deny the fact.

The Round Table said in 1939:

"The people are more than six to one against sending American troops abroad. Here, perhaps, public opinion does not realize the consequence of its own unneutrality, and gives way to wishful thinking."

How correct they were in that statement. Those who say aid "short of war" should realize the steps are taking America right into the war. They are wishful thinkers. Step by step, America is being involved.

HISTORY OF 1917 REPEATED

England was noting our change in sentiment, how we were far along "the path of 1917." The tragedy is that those American boys who had nothing to do with our involvement will die as a result of it.

The Round Table in its September (1939) issue stated:

"How, when, or whether, the United States would actually be drawn into the conflict is, naturally, a question that cannot be answered, but if one is estimating the probabilities, they are that the history of 1914–17 would be foreshortened and repeated."

"The history of 1914–17 would be foreshortened and repeated!" They know. The administration knows. But the American people are told that we will not go to war. Twenty years afterward, we will find out the secret diplomacy of the last 5 years. It will not be a happy picture.

The New Member

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL ROGERS

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 2, 1940

POEM BY FRED WOODWARD

Mr. ROGERS of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following poem written by one of my constituents:

THE NEW MEMBER

He came to the District in early fall,
'Phoned to the White House and then made a call,
Told the President of something he had on the ball,
And how he intended to pitch it.

He went to the Raleigh and rented a room,
Asked the price of the building, and kicked the spittoon,
Bought a nickle cigar and went in the saloon,
As though he intended to flitch it.

Then he hired a cab and drove to the Capitol
Where of grandeur and splendor there is nothing lack at all,
Strode through the marble halls, echoing old battle calls,
With which the sacred place truly is filled with all.

Straight to the Speaker's stand,
Raising his good right hand,
Swore to defend the land,
Through hell and high water,
Clamored to make a speech,
Got out beyond his reach
Then like an o'errripe peach
Fell with great slaughter.

Envoi

In spite of this he still could vote,
Like any free elector.
So he settled down and soon became
A permanent objector.

—*Fred Woodward.*

Decentralization of Defense Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOE STARNES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

ADDRESS BY DONALD COMER

Mr. STARNES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Donald Comer, consultant to Hon. Chester C. Davis, member of National Defense Advisory Council, before the agricultural committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce in session at Washington, September 26, 1940:

In urging decentralization of industry, with its accompanying economic and social values, the rural areas of our country would not, even if they could, take advantage of immediate defense needs to press for the spending of Federal defense dollars in rural areas. The immediate and pressing defense needs would naturally have to come from the old supplying areas. It was natural that these first orders would follow the same pattern of placement as in the first World War. Our concern, however, is all the more understandable when it is recalled that the pattern of buying in the last war, in going in such tremendous amounts to the established industrial areas, had the effect for the time being of reversing the orderly decentralization that was then going on in moderate proportions.

The present defense plan provides for the spending of many billions of dollars over a term of years. Our concern is that the pattern of placement for these delayed needs should broaden to cover the entire country. This spreading of industry to rural areas will

serve not only to bring a better balance in economic and social values, but it provides the very essence of saneness to our defense program.

In speaking of rural areas I will largely confine myself to the South. I fully realize, however, that we share common problems with the Middle West. Their interests are also vitally involved. Mr. J. C. Nichols, of Kansas City, Mo., at present a division director, under Mr. Stettinius, of National Defense Advisory Council, has presented this whole question most forcefully, and I am quoting his statement, New York Times, August 18, 1940:

"URGES ALL SECTIONS TO AID DEFENSE WORK—J. C. NICHOLS POINTS OUT NEED FOR NATION-WIDE EXPANSION

"In the plans which are being made for national defense, J. C. Nichols, director of the miscellaneous equipment division of the National Advisory Council of the National Defense Commission, declares that industrial expansion projects should be located with careful consideration, to strengthen the Nation's economic future.

" 'It is essential,' states Mr. Nichols, 'not only for maximum production but for the creation and maintenance of a sound and balanced national economic machinery that every geographic section of the country take part in the industrial expansion contemplated.

" 'Manufacturers and suppliers of raw material from the inland sections, as well as the great coast regions, should cooperate in the preparedness program. Industry and agriculture must be teamed together and grouped over our whole country for a stable, balanced, national economy.

" 'Initiative from cities and regions for the placement of new or extended defense industries, and for relocation of other industries as they may be affected by the defense program should be very helpful. Leaders of community thought, including real-estate boards, chambers of commerce, State organizations, and city-planning officials, have a responsibility concerning the whole defense program.

" 'Community concern should not be for the individual city alone. Resources available are often regional in their character. Regional balance is needed to create a maximum economic strength for preparedness, national strength in foreign trade and sound domestic coordination of all our resources.' "

The midwest defense conference, Kansas City, Mo., adopted the following resolution on August 30:

"DECENTRALIZATION OF DEFENSE INDUSTRIES

"The representatives of the 9 States—Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, and Oklahoma—and the more than 200 communities here assembled pledge their unqualified support to the national-defense program and their loyalty to the common welfare of our country.

"Yet these States and communities are determined that, while they stand united for defense, the program shall not become the occasion of a social and economic tragedy for this region.

"For these States and communities cannot but view with genuine concern the social and economic consequences of this program—necessary as it is—if in its operation it is not to be thoroughly and justly decentralized and spread over the Nation.

"This nine-State area, while it has found great basic strength in agriculture, has suffered peculiarly because of the lack of an essential balance between industry and agriculture and the shutting off of markets for its products.

"This process has been going on for years; and now, with a sudden and tremendous expansion of industrial expenditures by the Government, we can see an industrial set-up in other areas of the country which would throw this territory more out of balance than ever.

"These nine States and their hundreds of communities are resolved that they are not going to be reduced to a position of agricultural slavery.

"This great middle western area is already seeing the new process at work—seeing its raw materials and its skilled labor and its great untapped reservoirs of farm boys, the very lifeblood on which the territory must depend in years to come—drained off into other sections for their further enrichment.

"These States and their communities take the position that it is not enough to be for a decentralization of industry in principle.

"The Middle West insists that in the spending of the billions, and in the allocations of new industries, decentralization shall become a fact, in processing and manufacturing, and this area shall receive its just and proper share of the outlays of public funds.

"This is not a cry for 'pork.' It is the voice of the Middle West asking for justice, for that to which it is clearly entitled, giving each man and woman, insofar as possible, a particular job to do so that all may be busy and all will feel they have a part in the defense of America."

Our Southern Governors' Conference, in urging more industry for the South, has consistently stated that where industry developed there should be no exploitation; they have emphasized the fact that their program in helping the South would just as surely help the Nation.

Hon. Chester C. Davis, of the Federal Reserve Board, and representing agriculture on the National Defense Advisory Council, has outlined his idea as follows:

"The agricultural division of the Commission has pressed the view that it is necessary to consider men on farms, who are unemployed or inadequately employed in farming, as potential labor supply for defense production. Wide distribution of new units of industrial production will tend to bring employment to needy rural families and will give other farmers a better home market for their produce. * * *

"I propose to create immediately a unit in the Agricultural division to work aggressively on the program of decentralization. This unit will work closely with all other divisions of the Commission. If a general unit is later established by the Commission to handle this program, the agricultural unit could be merged with it.

"Statement of general principle

"To scatter new production units demanded by the defense program in the interior of the United States outside the regions of present industrial concentration and as widely as practicable without undue sacrifice in time or efficiency."

In the national week of September 6, this question is dealt with and attention is drawn to the possibility of having the national-defense expenditures aid in solution of the farm-labor problem. Mr. Chester Davis is quoted as follows:

"In recent years, the New Deal has conducted experiments in decentralization of industry in an effort to tap the reservoir of idle workers on farms—many of whom already are skilled in the use of machinery. Now the argument is made that the lessons learned in these experiments can be applied on a broader scale."

I quote two other paragraphs from this same article:

"If the Federal Government now is to finance national prosperity, the point is made that this financing should be planned in a way that will draw on some of the surplus farm population. This planning could place plants in areas with ready access to the farming sections of the South and Middle West. * * *

"Defense strategy calls for locating plants in the interior of the Nation wherever possible and to avoid concentration of plants that might leave the Nation's industry vulnerable."

On September 2 our President dedicated the T. V. A. dam at Chickamauga. On this occasion he said: "New defense industries are more safe from attack in this region behind the mountains than if they were located on our more exposed borders. It is therefore good for our safety to develop further, the President declared, and to improve the social and economic life of citizens—to plan with them for a greater diversification of human effort, to make a richer farm life, to add new industries, to give employment, and to bring a larger return in cash each year to the average of our families."

When the President on June 22, 1938, asked Mr. Lowell Mellette, executive director of the National Emergency Council, to prepare a statement of the problems and needs of the South—as a Georgia farmer he already knew most of the story. On July 5, 1938, the President addressed a letter to the members of the Conference on Economic Conditions in the South that Mr. Mellette had called to help him in response to the President's request. I am attaching a copy of the President's letter as a part of this record, but am quoting here an extract: "It is my conviction that the South presents right now the Nation's No. 1 economic problem—the Nation's problem, not merely the South's. For we have an economic unbalance in the Nation as a whole due to this very condition of the South.

"It is an unbalance that can and must be righted for the sake of the South and of the Nation.

"Without going into the long history of how this situation came to be—the long and ironic history of the despoiling of this truly American section of the country's population—suffice it for the immediate purpose to get a clear perspective of the task that is presented to us."

The report of this conference was widely reviewed. I would not refer to it again except that the President himself again at Chickamauga last week promised our section the full weight of the Federal Government in helping us solve our problems—problems many of which were not of our making. The spending of Federal defense dollars in our section would provide industrial wages for our farm boys close to home; it would help the unemployment problem on the farm; it would furnish consumers for farm truck; it would take acres out of our cotton crop and other export crops; it would create more wealth in the South. Instead of a vicious circle we would have the beginning of a good circle. With more wealth in the South we could, and would, buy more of the 1,001 things made in the North. All of these benefits tie into a sound defense plan for the Nation.

I am sure that our Army and Navy, the Council of National Defense, and the advisory commission to this council, and Mr. Donald Nelson—the coordinator of national-defense purchases, are all aware of these questions and will be more than willing to relate them, as far as they can, to the deferred-defense needs. Mr. Nelson, in an address on the evening of September 19 over the C. B. S. network, said:

"The success of the Army and the Navy, aside from strategic military considerations, will depend upon having the required material at the place where it is needed at the proper time.

* * * * * * * *

"Another important consideration involves geographical distribution of defense orders. From the mail and from numerous callers we have received in the past weeks it also appears to be of the utmost importance to a large part of the population. Certainly their interest in seeking orders for industries in their home town is entirely proper.

* * * * * * *

"I can say that we are as much opposed to the undue geographical concentration of defense orders as is the man who doesn't get one. A system for placing orders is being worked out which we hope will give the widest possible geographic distribution consistent with the strategic and economic interests of the defense program.

We do not do this for political purposes or for what are known as pork-barrel reasons. We do it in the interest of military strategy and to eliminate confusion with resultant slowing up of production. It is also hoped to stimulate decentralization of industry.

"Under our procedure for letting contracts, unemployment is a major consideration."

We are delighted to have this assurance, for if orders are to continue to flow to established industry there will come no relief for agricultural areas. Where procurement is from private industry, encouragement could come from the Government for plant expansion into these more protected rural areas. If decentralization is as necessary as we all say it is, then surely our efforts should be positive. As we negotiate contracts we could very definitely convey the need of broadly scattered supply bases. Forewarned preferences could not doubt, in many cases, be used effectively.

The airplane industry has developed along the two seacoasts. Much of it, no doubt, will have to remain there. These companies have staff, engineers, and skilled workmen for the developments which give American aviation itself technical leadership. But, the time may be coming, and I myself believe it is coming soon, when the Government will have to launch upon the mass production of aircraft, leaving the private firms to continue their pioneering activity. The Government should concentrate on a few models to be turned out in great numbers. Such a plant should be erected somewhere in the interior and around which would develop great numbers of subsidiary enterprises—for the manufacture of electrical equipment, tools, jigs, dies, etc., to service this great enterprise. At Rock Island we now have a great inland arsenal. The day is very near when the Government must have a great inland plant for the production of aircraft, specifically for defense and which will be the cornerstone of our national security.

What disturbs us right now is the continued presence in certain industrial sections of that philosophy that it is easier to bring the farm boy to old industrial sections than to bring industry to the farm. The South has suffered most from that school of thought. The citizens' fact-finding movement of Georgia found that from 1920 to 1930, 350,000 to 400,000 of her young people left the State because there was no place for their services in her cotton economy. Georgia found that these citizens had cost the State $1,000,000,000 for their care, health, and education. Already, right now, expanding defense industries in the North are attracting southern young men. I suspect that this exodus will continue in the face of a certain amount of constant unemployment in these sections. In this exodus will be many of our most skilled workers. These are the very men we would need for any expansion of a defense industry in the South. It would be too bad to so lose these men, and then have the fact that they were not here used as an argument against the establishment of some industry. It would be just another chapter out of the same old sad story.

Mr. Chester C. Davis is entirely national minded in this matter. He sees the needs of the agricultural areas, he sees the needs of the South as very pressing. In his division of N. D. A. C. there has been prepared a statement of policy on selection of sites for new defense industries. This, of course, is merely suggestive in the formation of a national policy.

I am quoting below certain news items, statements from certain individuals, and quotations from books—all of which bear on this question.

To my way of thinking we are at the crossroads of one of the most important opportunities of our Nation. An orderly decentralization of industry will stop the increase of farm tenancy. One foot on the farm and one foot in industry promises to reserve this trend and restore that factor in American life—farm-home ownership—which means most for economic security. In such homes cultural and spiritual values build and altogether make the Nation secure.

In areas for defense industries I understand the need of raw products, water, coal, power, and transportation, and last, but most important, labor—inadequately employed labor as well as unemployed labor. I will quote well-known national authorities on all these points as they relate to the South, and particularly where they emphasize the value of a fair mixing of industry with agriculture.

The South as a producer of raw products has been drained of its natural resources, the exodus of our young people has been a loss in human values that is unmeasurable. A reasonable spending of defense dollars in this area, valuable as it will be to the defense program, will at the same time be the beginning of another day for this section. The South in a true measure will begin to take its rightful place economically, culturally, and socially in the Nation.

Dr. H. A. Morgan, Chairman of T. V. A., not only has made this question a lifetime study, but in his present position has had opportunities of seeing some of its results. I prefer to quote Dr. Morgan in 1925 when he was president of the University of Tennessee. He was speaking on decentralization of industry at the annual meeting of the National Electric Light Association:

"What is good for the farmer is good for the section, and as I conceive it, what is good for our section will be good for the country at large.

"Gentlemen, my plea is for the decentralization of industry. In my opinion, decentralization of industry is one of the crying needs of this great country of ours * * *.

"All over the land the cry is going up, 'Save the rural population!' Next week a great southeastern church conference is to be held in Nashville, in which all denominations will join, and this will be their refrain, 'Save the rural population!' Nothing will save the rural population unless we make accessible to the country people the conveniences and the means for the more abundant life now enjoyed by the urban dweller. I say again the salvation of country life lies in the magic of the strands of copper wire. Add to the natural charm of life in the country good schools and good roads, good electric lights, good electric service, employment in small factories at pay as good as can be secured in the congested cities—and the menacing drift of population into the already overcrowded cities will cease. * * *

"Here is an extremely illuminating chart" [chart omitted]. "It shows an analysis of the economic status of the two Tennessee counties, Hancock and Loudon. Hancock County spends $5.58 per year for the education of each child and Loudon County $17.21. Why the difference? Because in Hancock the value of manufactured products was $14,000 and in Loudon over $10,000,000. * * *

"Now notice! In 1910 Mississippi's population was 38.8 per square mile. But by 1920 it had dropped to 38.6, notwithstanding that the birth rate was above the death rate. What is going to save Mississippi? I tell you—the copper wire. Put industry there. What made Loudon County? Industry. What put money in the Loudon banks? Industry. What has helped to make agriculture in Loudon County more valuable? Again, I say, industry.

"Here is the State of Ohio, a smaller State than Mississippi. In Ohio industry is distributed most beautifully—indeed, one might almost say ideally. It has the best dilution of its rural population of any State in the Union. What is the effect of this industrial dissemination upon agriculture? Here, on the one hand, is Mississippi, with only 13 percent of its population urban, while in Ohio 63.8 percent of the population resides within incorporated towns and cities. Mississippi has no power and no industry. And what of its agriculture? With an area 13 percent larger and farming practically the only occupation, Mississippi produces agricultural products to the value of only $965,000,000; but Ohio, $3,096,000,000—nearly three and a third times as much. Do you see what industry does for agriculture? That is why we want electric power distributed widely throughout the South.

"We are more interested in the manpower of the South than the electric power. But to develop our manpower we must have the electric. Just for comparison, see the figures in chart No. 11 (chart omitted). Invested in school property in Mississippi, twelve millions; in Ohio one hundred and seventy millions. Why? Because of the assessable value. Assessable value in Mississippi, two billions; in Ohio, eighteen billions. Spent per child in 1922 for education in Mississippi, $7.84; in Ohio, $41.77. Public revenue makes the difference."

Director David K. Lilienthal, T. V. A., on June 20, at Nashville, spoke on National Defense—the Role of the Southeast and the T. V. A. I quote:

"This adjustment to the needs of defense is one that the entire country is facing at this hour. We must face it in the Southeast. For new industries, industries essential to the strengthening of our national defenses, are coming to this area. That is inevitable; in fact, it has already begun. Remember that this southeastern region has been named by military authorities as one of the most desirable situations in the United States for the location of national-defense production units. Sheltered from hostile aircraft by mountain ranges and inland from the sea and its hazard, crisscrossed by modern highways, served by railroads and by a newly opened navigation channel, this area is also one of nature's depositories for many of the raw materials classified by the Army as essential for military purposes * * *."

"T. V. A. has developed a huge supply of power that is now of strategic importance to the defense of the Nation, a power supply without which the production of airplanes on the scale needed would be impossible, for today T. V. A. power is a principal reliance in America's production of aluminum.

"The need for power and ever more power in this emergency has led us to order our dam-construction program to be speeded up by every device. This pressure means the completion of one of T. V. A.'s new dams 10 months ahead of schedule; it will add 5 new power generators in dams already completed. Speed, the cutting of corners, possible only in a well-seasoned construction force, is the T. V. A. order of the day.

"The facts about badly needed raw materials essential to the defense program, facts T. V. A. has been developing for 7 years, are ready and have been made available to the country's new Defense Commission and to businessmen upon whom we must rely for a speedy production of essential defense materials.

"So T. V. A. reports its stewardship. It offers its program as an aid to the defense of the Nation. * * *

"While T. V. A. takes its part in the national program designed to make our country safe from attack, it will seek to continue its long-time job of helping to make it secure from disaster within.

"Guns and bombs and aircraft and munitions we must have if we would be prepared to defend ourselves. But the will, the inner flame, must be there or all the engines of defense will be without avail. We live under a system fashioned out of sacrifice and devotion by freemen for freemen and not by robots for robots. These will be our greatest assets of defense: That on the farm, in the mine and factory, in places of business, the people of this country shall feel deep in their hearts that they have a nation, a way of life, a future that is worth every effort to improve and every sacrifice to defend."

All of this forestudy by T. V. A. is available for defense plant placements. With navigable Tennessee our river waterways now reach from Knoxville and Pittsburgh to Kansas City and Sioux

City—from Minneapolis and Chicago to New Orleans—all connecting with our inland canal Gulf routes from St. Marks to Corpus Christi. The area between the Rockies and Appalachians is blessed by this wonderful river transportation system. It has helped in our transportation costs. Transportation costs enter into our defense program, and since so much of our farm sections are in high-railroad-rate zones, we are all quite relieved that the defense purchases are to be made f. o. b. factory. This policy by the Defense Council is particularly appreciated by the South. Who has forgotten the traffic congestion along our eastern seaboard and industrial areas during the last war?

In the Survey Graphic, June 1940, Mr. Lilienthal said:

"The T. V. A. learned from its men in the field that the soil program it was promoting could never be widely adopted in the South until new and cheap farm equipment was designed, and unless means of raising farm income was discovered and demonstrated."

The answer lies along the very route we are discussing—industry, now for defense, later for peacetime needs of southern farmers.

Adjacent to T. V. A. the Commonwealth & Southern, a private utility, operates. This company serves Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. In Alabama Mr. T. D. Johnson is manager of the New Industries Division. He naturally is partisan to Alabama, but his argument applies to all agricultural areas. Here are some quotations from a recent article of his:

"Today the South, although few of us realize it, is faced with a crisis. Its economy is based on the production of cotton. In 1927 we were harvesting a crop of cotton from 40,000,000 acres to sell at 20 cents per pound. In 1939 the cotton crop was produced on 25,000,000 acres to sell at 10 cents per pound.

"The only hope for a permanent corrective for this situation is the supplementing of the agricultural economy of the State with the opening of new work opportunities in other fields. * * *

"There is very little local opportunity for Alabama's college and high-school graduates to say nothing of thousands of our grammar-school graduates and those in high school who will never graduate. In this emergency many thousands of new workers will be trained at Government expense for the more skilled operations in industry. Literally hundreds of our boys will migrate to the highly industralized centers, leaving Alabama, perhaps never to return except on an occasional visit.

"This is an irreparable loss to our good State, the consequences of which cannot be measured. * * *

"There have been indications during recent years that those responsible for national defense prefer to see at least a substantial part of the war supplies produced in other and less congested areas than was the case during the World War and, indeed, it is important from the standpoint of the Nation, as will be clear to anyone who gives it brief consideration.

"We should insist that a reasonable share of this expansion be located in Alabama. We are well suited for plants to manufacture aluminum, airplanes, tractors, tanks, ships, truck trailers, kitchen utensils, radio cabinets, uniforms and underwear, bags for powder, bag loading, powder plants, shell-loading plants, synthetic rubber, etc.

"Unless our leaders take prompt and positive action we will again miss a great opportunity to forward the development of Albama and, at the same time do our part in the defense of our country. All of this would mean additional employment for skilled and unskilled men and women at good wages and will help to keep southern boys and girls—our greatest asset—in the South.

"Let us bear in mind this very definite fact that after the war is over, these plants will have facilities which can be put into production for peacetime purposes. And, further, there will, during this war period, be little capital available for new industry unless it has some rather direct relation to war preparedness."

This company has charted our area and has all information in detail on those points that would be of interest for the location of defense industry. Their services are tireless and complete in these matters, while their immediate concern has to do with securing a power customer, their broader concern is for State and Nation.

For those who may be interested in establishing an industrial plant in this area, whether new or a branch, I urge that they secure the September number of the Manufacturers Record of Baltimore. From Maryland to Texas, essential facts as to materials and people, in the greatest of detail, have been made available to its readers.

This year in Atlanta Governor Rivers honored at a dinner Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck & Co., for his part in fostering the industrial development of the South. I quote extracts of General Wood's address on that occasion:

"I doubt whether I can add a great deal to what has been said, and said much more eloquently, about the problems and the future of this section of the country. I commend to the reading of all of you gentlemen an address delivered by ex-Gov. Hugh White, of Mississippi, at Wichita, Kans., June 16, 1939, and an address delivered by Gov. Frank M. Dixon, of Alabama, delivered at Birmingham, February 23, 1940. They are both exceedingly able addresses and should be read by every intelligent southerner.

"In every country of the world the raw-material producer has been exploited by the industrial community with the result that every nation as well as every section has tried to establish a balanced economy between its agriculture and its industry.

"Great progress in the South has been made in the past 25 years, but the unbalance is still here. Taking this State—Georgia—as an example, there are 255,000 farmers and 155,000 factory workers. To give a better standard of living for all, to provide employment for the youth of your State growing to maturity, you will have to provide employment in the manufacturing or service industries within the next 5 to 10 years for 100,000 additional employees. That number, plus their dependents, should take care of the surplus in agriculture plus the natural increase in population. Unless you provide this opportunity for employment in the State or section, your youth will migrate to the great cities of the North and there be swallowed up or die out. It will be healthier for the State and the Nation if they can be absorbed into industry in their native environment. * * *

"In the movement of industry to this section, one point must be noted. A great deal of southern manufacturing is still restricted to first processing; the time is ripe for the location of some of the industries using the higher skills and paying the top wages to come to the South. If the automobile or aircraft industry or some of their subsidiaries should locate down here, it would be of great advantage to the South.

"And while on the subject and pertinent to the subject that is of vital importance to all of us at the present time—national defense—it seems to me vital that one of the great manufacturing arsenals of the Army should be located in the South, preferably in the Birmingham district. It is not generally realized that the four great manufacturing arsenals of the Army are located at Boston and Springfield, Mass., Troy, N. Y., and Philadelphia, all on the seaboard or very close to it. As a strategic measure, if for no other reason, one great arsenal should be located in this section. True, there is a small repair arsenal at Augusta, but none where arms, ammunition, or the technical tools of modern warfare could be manufactured. I commend to the southern conference a wholehearted backing of the efforts in this direction of Congressman STARNES of Alabama. * * *

"Not only is there an abundant reservoir of manpower, but its quality is, in my opinion, far superior to that found in the great cities of the North. It is intelligent and when fairly and liberally treated, the idea that the southern workman is indolent and stupid has been exploded long since. * * *

"But with an approaching further industrialization of the State and section, I hope you will avoid the mistakes made in the North in the period beginning with the close of the Civil War. The North built up great industries and accumulated great wealth, but in the main built up a very materialistic civilization. I hope the South can accumulate wealth but still hold to the foundations of home, family, and religion. I would rather see it fundamentalist than agnostic. I hope the South does not build up cities of the size of New York, Chicago, Detroit, or Philadelphia, megalopolises rather than metropolises. I hope the South will continue as it has the decentralization of industries in the smaller cities and towns. It will result in a much healthier civilization. * * *

"I believe the South has maintained the American standard of character better than the urbanized masses of the great northern cities. I believe, if the test comes, southern young men will show the same gallantry and contempt of death that their forefathers did in the armies of the Confederacy, and that southern women will send their sons to conflict in the same spirit as their grandmothers did in the War between the States."

The southern Governors' conference at Memphis in May 1939 called the Nation's attention to the fact that more than 25 percent of the gainfully employed people of the Nation are on farms—yet in 1938 they received only 9.4 percent of the national income—that in the South the agricultural disparity is greater than in the entire country because of the tragic situation in cotton. They said:

"The South is still largely rural. We believe that a section purely agricultural or purely industrial is not best for either itself or for the Nation; that there should be a fair mixing of the two. Our main concern is for a southern industry not yet born, an industry to be manned by farm boys who today are faced with either a farm wage of 90 cents a day or an industrial wage far from home. As much as the South needs some industry, it wants none that comes to exploit our people. We want it to be decent."

A recent news item was headed, "Alabama far in lead in making mattresses." It said 127,307 mattresses have been made in Alabama, and that 210,140 farm families have been certified. There are only about 250,000 farm families in Alabama, and these mattresses are available free through the Department of Agriculture to only those families with cash income of less than $400.

The southern Governors in their fight against discriminatory freight rates were asking for no advantages—only for a fair break. Their approach is along the same broad lines in this matter. As Governor Dixon has said, the South is not crying for the moon; that even if they were, they couldn't get it, because another favored section already had the moon. These 90-cents-a-day boys are going to be drafted. They will be in our front-line defense. They will be loyal and faithful. They must have something better in prospect to which to return. "Free America" must mean a fairer chance to more of our citizens, must mean more than just a return to a scuffle for a free mattress and a 90-cents-a-day job.

The southern Governors have launched a 10-year campaign for balanced prosperity in the South. They have listed 10 supreme objectives. The fourth—"Balance farms with factories." The tenth and last point—"To make increased wealth only a means to moral and cultural values and human welfare, and a more beautiful South than we have ever known, with all agencies planning and working as earnestly in these fields as in the economic fields."

I have recently studied an address by Milo Perkins, president of F. S. C. C., delivered at Des Moines in February of this year. He submitted figures showing annual purchases of certain families in different income brackets. Almost invariably families with incomes of under $500 bought less than half as much as those with

incomes between $500 and $1,000 of such things as clothing, household goods, dried fruits, beef, evaporated milk, and dairy products. Low income, which leads to underconsumption, is what worries Mr. Perkins.

Henry A. Wallace, the Vice Presidential nominee, said at the American Negro Exposition just the other day:

"I think the South's cotton acreage has to be reduced, but we can't cut much further. If we do, we stop dieting and begin starvation.

"Already too many people are trying to make a living on southern farms, and the situation has been made worse by the increasing trend toward mechanization.

"On one side the market for cotton is contracting. On the other fewer men are needed to raise the cotton crop. Cotton farmers are caught in a vise. * * *

"I know of no other group that needs help more than the Negro farmers in the South. With exceptions here and there, this is true of most southern farmers and in particular it is true of tenant farmers.

"The problem of the Negro farmer is not solely a racial problem. Alongside him are thousands upon thousands of white farmers who are just as poor and whose future seems just as hopeless. They, too, are victims of a system which has included one-crop farming, low prices, depleted soil, and lack of opportunity to remedy these conditions.

"These are very real threats to our democracy, threats just as real and perhaps as menacing in the long run as the Nazi armies."

The agricultural area, South and West, are trying to present this question to the Defense Council for their orderly consideration. In times of great national danger our leaders must be left as free to act as possible from group or sectional pressure. We are talking about a well-studied, well-thought-out program. We are urging a program that has to do with defense matters that are of a deferred nature rather than those of a most pressing nature.

The concern shown by the Alabama branch of the American Farm Bureau Federation is only a natural concern. I quote their resolution of September 4:

"Whereas the defense program contemplates that some of this money should be spent where there is unemployment and inadequate employment; and

"Whereas the rural areas of the South present ideal locations for many of these industries because of their favorable climate, natural resources, abundance of manpower, and plentiful supply of raw materials: Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the executive committee of the Alabama Farm Bureau Federation in regular session does hereupon petition the Honorable Edward A. O'Neal, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, to enlist the sympathetic and active support of the Honorable Chester Davis, agriculture's representative on the National Defense Council, to the end that some of these factories be established in the South, particularly in the rural sections where they might be manned by men from adjacent farms and where after the wartime period they could provide farm tools and farm machinery for local farm areas. * * *"

The concern of western Congressmen led by Senator CLARKE of Missouri, the concern now of our southern Governors, still has more to do with desire for information rather than criticism.

General Wood referred to the efficiency of the southern farmer when given an industrial opportunity.

Glenn Martin agreed with Curtiss-Wright that farm boys are already good mechanics from fixing things themselves on the farm. Information along this line is available from every industry that has established branch plants in the South. Southern labor not only can operate the machine, they can also build precision machines. Given a fair break, the little industry we have can be expanded quickly, effectively, and safely.

Hardie-Tynes Manufacturing Co., of Birmingham, writing to Governor Dixon about a certain compressor that they make for the Navy, said:

"Only three firms in the United States are eligible to even bid on this work, since the Navy requires type approval before accepting the bid. Those firms are our own company, Ingersoll-Rand Co., of New York City, with plant at Phillipsburg, Pa., and Worthington Pump & Machinery Corporation, of New York City, with plant at Buffalo, N. Y."

The Continental Gin Co., of Birmingham, wrote: "We are just finishing up an order for 400 engine lathes which we are making for a firm in —— City."

George M. Morrow, Jr., head of a Birmingham machine shop, said:

"During the last war, this company made 25-inch heavy-duty engine lathes for the British Government and also for one of the Cincinnati manufacturers. We have the equipment to make these machines, and it would give a great deal of work in the Birmingham area if they were placed here."

An Associated Press dispatch from Mobile, September 10, was headed "Mobile firm to build four destroyers for United States."

The Ingalls Ship Building Co., of Pascagoula, Miss., a new company in this field, has contracts for ships and destroyers.

These illustrate the point, and I mention them because they are my neighbors.

The farm areas know that in the industrial areas there are the most wealth, the most people, the most votes; that right in this matter cannot be had by pressure, but must come from an intelligent appreciation of this question followed by fair dealing, by justice.

In closing I would like to quote two paragraphs from Democracy Has Roots, by my friend, M. L. Wilson, Director of Extension of the Department of Agriculture:

"The true interests of the farm group in America can never be adequately cared for if agriculture approaches the National Government solely as a functional bloc. The farm group alone in an industrial nation can never dominate the scene * * *."

"To what extent is there mutual understanding of each other's problems on the part of rural and urban people? What institutions are acting to broaden this understanding?

"The answers to these questions concern all sorts of American citizens."

I am happy to be a member of the agricultural committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce, whose main purpose is to do this very thing that Mr. Wilson mentions, viz, to broaden the understanding of the mutual problems of urban and rural people.

Attached to this and made a part of the record are a few extracts from:

The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, by C. S. Johnson, E. R. Embree, W. W. Alexander.

Income and Wages in the South, by Clarence Heer, of the University of North Carolina. Finally, I quote from New Frontiers, by Henry A. Wallace:

"Many of the most lively, intimate expressions of spirit spring from the joyous, continuous contact of human beings with a particular locality. They feel the age-long spirit of this valley or that hill, each with its trees and rocks and special tricks of weather as the seasons unfold in their endless charm. If life can be made secure in each community, and if the rewards of the different communities are distributed justly, there will flower in every community not only those who attain joy in daily, productive work well done, but also those who paint and sing and tell stories with the flavor peculiar to their own valley, well-loved hill, or broad prairie. And so we think of cooperative communities not merely in a competent commercial sense but also from the standpoint of people who are helping unfold each other's lives in terms of the physical locality and tradition of which they are a part.

"In this way every community can become something distinctly previous in its own right. Children will not try to escape as they grow up. They will look ahead to the possibility of enriching the traditions of their ancestors.

"They will feel it is a privilege to learn to live with the soil and the neighbors of their fathers. Such communities will be strung like many-colored beads on the thread of the Nation, and the varied strings of beads will be the glory of the world."

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE SOUTH—THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER

To the Members of the Conference on Economic Conditions in the South:

No purpose is closer to my heart at this moment than that which caused me to call you to Washington. That purpose is to obtain a statement—or, perhaps, I should say a restatement as of today—of the economic conditions of the South, a picture of the South in relation to the rest of the country, in order that we may do something about it; in order that we may not only carry forward the work that has been begun toward the rehabilitation of the South but that the program of such work may be expanded in the directions that this new presentation shall indicate.

My intimate interest in all that concerns the South, is, I believe, known to all of you; but this interest is far more than a sentimental attachment born of a considerable residence in your section and of close personal friendship for so many of your people. It proceeds even more from my feeling of responsibility toward the whole Nation. It is my conviction that the South presents right now the Nation's No. 1 economic problem—the Nation's problem, not merely the South's. For we have an economic unbalance in the Nation as a whole due to this very condition of the South.

It is an unbalance that can and must be righted, for the sake of the South and of the Nation.

Without going into the long history of how this situation came to be—the long and ironic history of the despoiling of this truly American section of the country's population—suffice it for the immediate purpose to get a clear perspective of the task that is presented to us. That task embraces the wasted or neglected resources of land and water, the abuses suffered by the soil, the need for cheap fertilizer and cheap power; the problems presented by the population itself—a population still holding the great heritages of Kings Mountain and Shiloh—the problems presented by the South's capital resources and the absentee ownership of those resources, and problems growing out of the new industrial era, and, again, of absentee ownership of the new industries. There is the problem of labor and employment in the South and the related problem of protecting women and children in this field. There is the problem of farm ownership, of which farm tenantry is a part, and of farm income. There are questions of taxation, of education, of housing, and of health.

More and more definitely in recent years those in the South who have sought selflessly to evaluate the elements constituting the general problem have come to agree on certain basic factors. I have asked Mr. Mellett to present for your consideration a statement of these factors as prepared by various departments of the Government. I ask you to consider this statement critically, in the light of your own general or specific knowledge, in order that it may be made representative of the South's own best thought, and that it may be presented to Congress and the public as such.

I had hoped to attend your meeting and listen to your discussions. Unhappily, other pressing work makes this impossible. Please accept my sincere regret that I cannot be with you, and be assured that I anticipate with deep interest the result of your labors.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *Washington, D. C., July 5, 1938.*

"Although adding a billion dollars annually to the wealth of the world, the cotton farmers themselves are the most impoverished and backward of any large group of producers in America.

"The past 5 years of economic depression have accentuated the problems and aggravated the evils of American cotton culture. Changes in world markets and the development of substitute materials now threaten the life of the industry.

"Sweeping changes in southern farming must come swiftly if millions of former plantation workers are not to be completely wrecked—if the region itself is not to suffer violent ruin.

"The average American farm family in 1929 earned $1,240 and this is about a third of the average for nonfarm families. The lowest general earnings were in the Southern States.

"Clarence Heer's exhaustive study of wages and income, covering a period of 30 years, showed that southern agriculture had provided its farmers just about half the per capital income of farmers in other sections. This includes all the independent farmers, plantation owners, tenants, and sharecroppers.

"The effect of land ownership is striking and immediate in creating self-respect and stability. Second, the chief interest of a small farm owner is to raise food and supplies for his own use. A well-rounded diet and resulting improvements in health will come quickly if farm families are raising meat and vegetables and producing milk and eggs for their own tables.

"Furthermore, many new cash crops can be developed—grapes, fruits, truck and dairy produce for nearby cities, livestock, and other new crops. A great variety of salable farm produce, needed in the South and throughout the country, can supplement cotton as a means of income.

"A group of independent farms working together under competent leadership can begin to plan decent lives as well as a self-sustaining economy.

"Secretary Wallace has expressed himself unqualifiedly on the dangers of tenancy when he says:

" 'It seems to me that it will be virtually impossible for America to develop a rural civilization which affords security, opportunity, and a fully abundant life for our rural people, unless she acts to convert tenants of this sort into owner farmers.' " (From the Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, Charles S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, W. W. Alexander.)

"In 1920, for every southerner engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, there were three southerners engaged in farming. In the rest of the country the situation was almost reversed. For every person engaged in agriculture there were 1.6 persons in the manufacturing and mechanical employments. The emphasis placed on southern industry, is, nevertheless, amply justified by the extraordinary rapidity with which it is expanding. Outside of the South, the number of wage earners employed in manufacturing establishments declined by some 9 percent between 1919 and 1927. In the 10 southern States under consideration the number of factory employees increased by 9 percent during the same period. Further light on the drift toward industry in the South is furnished by the relative rate of decline of the farm population. Between 1920 and 1925 the southern farm population experienced a reduction of 11.8 percent, as compared with a reduction of only 6.4 percent for the rest of the country.

"The average per capita income of the southern agricultural classes is, roughly speaking, about one-half of the average income received by similar classes in other parts of the country. Outside of agriculture, the extent to which southern earnings and rates of pay fall below those of the rest of the country seems to depend largely on the factor of skill. The differential in rates of pay for the least skilled type of common labor appears to be on a par with the differential in agriculture. For common labor in general, southern wages seem to range from 50 to 65 percent of the wages in comparable employments elsewhere. In semi-skilled employments, the range of southern wages seems to be from 65 to 85 percent of the comparable wages paid elsewhere. In the case of skilled mechanics, the disparity between the South and the rest of the country appears to reach its minimum, southern wage rates representing from 75 to 100 percent of the corresponding wage rates obtaining outside of the South.

"Under present conditions agriculture probably offers smaller returns to those engaging in it than any other major economic activity. The per capita productivity of southern agriculture, as has been seen, is particularly low. Nevertheless, about 46 percent of the southern population depends on agriculture for support. Elsewhere the proportion of the population which still elects to support itself by farming is only 24 percent.

"Since manufacturing on the whole yields larger per-worker returns than does agriculture, a shift of manpower from the latter to the former activity would tend to increase the South's per capita income. During recent years the number of factory wage earners in southern establishments has been increasing steadily. The percentage of the southern population engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, however, is still far below the average for the rest of the country. In 1920, according to the census of occupations, 18.1 percent of the working population of the South was engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, as compared with 33.7 percent of the working population elsewhere. Moreover, the particular industries which employ the largest number of southern workers are, generally speaking, industries which rely heavily on unskilled and semiskilled labor and in which average earnings per worker are consequently low.

"The low average of income per capita in the South is due in the main to three factors: (1) The relatively small number of persons receiving large incomes; (2) the lower scale of salaries and wages, coupled with the small return per worker in southern agriculture; (3) the concentration of the working population in industries and employments which yield a relatively low return per worker, no matter where they are carried on.

"In view of these considerations, it is highly significant that it is in the unskilled occupations capable of being filled by raw recruits from the farm that the wage differential between the South and the rest of the country reaches its maximum. In semiskilled occupations, which are less immediately affected by the competition of the agricultural classes, the wage differential is considerably diminished. Finally, in highly skilled occupations, which are for the most part out of reach of potential industrial workers from the farm, the wage differential is at a minimum and in some cases entirely disappears.

"There is abundant evidence that the annual incomes of hundreds of thousands of farmers in the South are so depressed that employment in manufacturing establishments even at existing southern wages would constitute for them a decided advance in the economic scale.

"In view of these facts, it is all the more significant that in the same year, in which southern farms had an average income of only $519 per capita, southern factory workers, taken as a whole, had average annual earnings of $823 per capita; the average annual earnings of workers in the lumber and timber industry amounted to $748; while, in the cotton-goods industry, earnings per worker averaged around $671 per annum.

"It would, of course, be a mistake to assume that all southern farmers receive an income equal to $519 per year as a reward for their agricultural efforts. That great numbers receive considerably less than this is indicated by a study made by the North Carolina Tax Commission covering the operations of 1,115 North Carolina farms in 1927. The poorest farms studied were located in the mountain counties of the western portion of the State. Returns from 281 sample farms located in three of these mountain counties indicated an average cash income per farm of $86.

"To the theoretically minded, the South today presents the spectacle of an economic system in unstable equilibrium. Southern wage rates, especially for unskilled labor, are considerably below the average for the rest of the country. Manufacturing offers larger rewards to the rank and file of southern workers than are normally obtainable in agriculture. Theoretically, this situation should be expected to set strong currents in motion. Industrial enterprises, whose successful operation depends upon the availability of large numbers of unskilled and semiskilled employees, should be expected to move to the South. There should be a flow of labor from agriculture to manufacturing, a flow which should be comparatively rapid in view of the South's million or more tenant farmers with little in the way of capital investment to tie them to the land. There should also be some tendency for southern labor to migrate to the high-wage industrial centers of the North.

"Such scant statistical evidence as is available indicates that the movements described have to a certain extent actually been taking place. Manufacturing activity in the South has been expanding more rapidly than in the rest of the country. According to the Census of Manufactures, the number of factory wage earners employed outside of the South decreased by about 9 percent between 1919 and 1927. Within the South, however, the number of persons employed in manufacturing establishments increased by 9 percent during the same period. Although the shift of manpower from agriculture to other employments is not peculiar to any particular region, the movement seems to be progressing more rapidly in the South than elsewhere.

"An optimist might be inclined to view the tendencies noted above as an augury of the ultimate disappearance of the southern wage differential. He would doubtless seek to justify his faith by reasoning somewhat as follows:

"Wages in the South are low because the sole source of livelihood of nearly half of the population is a particularly unprofitable agriculture. If agriculture could be made to yield a more adequate living to the present masses of southern farm dwellers, there would be a corresponding rise in the level of industrial wages. If such a solution be regarded as chimerical, the only other alternative, aside from migration, is to create opportunities for employment in more remunerative lines of endeavor. Even at the present scale of wages industry has more to offer the southern worker than has agriculture. If industry can be expanded to the point where it is capable of absorbing the submarginal workers on the farms, the wage differential between the South and the rest of the country should, in the course of time, automatically disappear. Pending the completion of this process, the wage differential has a useful purpose, for it serves both as a lure to attract the industrial capitalist and as a stimulus to migration. To attempt to reduce or remove it by artificial means

would only retard the growth of southern industry and condemn the tenant farmer to a longer period of poverty on his farm". (From Income and Wages in the South, by Clarence Heer, University of North Carolina).

Third Presidential Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. BURKE
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 3 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT OF JOHN A. McSPARRAN

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the statement made by Mr. John A. McSparran before the Senate subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee on the subject of the third Presidential term.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I come from the State of Pennsylvania, having been master of the State Grange from 1914 to 1924. I ran for the governorship in 1922 on the Democratic ticket, and was Secretary of Agriculture of Pennsylvania from 1931 to 1935.

I am greatly in favor of an amendment to the Constitution limiting the President and Vice President of the United States to a single term of 6 years. I am especially interested in the idea of a single term. The experience of Pennsylvania is worthy of note in this connection. We have had four constitutions in Pennsylvania, the first three of which allowed the Governor to succeed himself. After that long experience a fourth constitutional convention, which was held in 1873, put in a restriction forbidding the Governor to succeed himself. It is very evident that the experience of Pennsylvania under the first three constitutions caused the inclusion of that restriction in the fourth, and to show that it does not prevent a worthy statesman from reelection, Governor Pattison was elected to a second term after he had been out of office for an intervening period, and Governor Pinchot likewise was elected the second time after having been out for 4 years.

Pennsylvania is not alone in this respect. There are 13 other States which allow only 1 term for the governorship. There are four States which allow 2 terms for a governor, indicating that nearly half of the Nation recognizes the wisdom of the principle incorporated in the resolution now being considered by this committee.

The weakness of successive terms in high administrative office lies in the fact that so much of the energy of the first term is used to lay plans for a succeeding election. This has been very finely stated by De Tocqueville, the eminent French student and commentator on governmental institutions, who came to this country to study our democracy. He has this to say on the question of a second term for the President:

"Intrigue and corruption are the natural defects of elective government; but when the head of the state can be reelected these evils rise to a great height and compromise the very existence of the country. When a simple candidate seeks to rise by intrigue his maneuvers must necessarily be limited to a narrow sphere; but when the chief magistrate enters the list, he borrows the strength of the government for his own purpose."

There are also several outstanding expressions of opinion by celebrated Chief Executives of our own Nation. Jefferson was strongly opposed to a third term; Andrew Jackson sent four distinct messages to Congress urging the enactment of a constitutional restriction; Grover Cleveland had this to say on this subject:

"When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public office once again, and more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent when a horde of officeholders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political assistance, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for reelection the most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent action which must characterize a government by the people."

One of the strongest statements in favor of such a constitutional amendment in this connection is found in the report made by the Judiciary Committee of the House on the Clayton resolution February 1, 1913, which resolution passed the Senate by a two-thirds majority, but did not come to a vote in the House. The committee summarized its conclusions as follows:

"1. The President should be ineligible to a second term, because being ineligible, there will be no temptation improperly to use the powers and patronage of that exalted office. The limitation to a single term will, in the opinion of your committee, tend to improve the administration of the laws generally and to increase the nonpartisan and businesslike efficiency of the executive department. * * * Such a limitation will prevent the too-frequent practice of making appointments for mere partisan or selfish political purposes. It will make the President the Chief Executive of the whole people and not the leader of a mere faction or the chief of a political party.

"2. Again, your committee believes that it would be a wise policy to extend the single term of the President to 6 years, for 4 years is hardly sufficient time to enable the policies for which the President may stand to come into full effect. The term of 6 years, coupled with the freedom from anxiety for reelection, would give sufficient opportunity for the President properly to organize his administration and bring about real accomplishments within the bounds of his duties and powers under the Constitution."

No man is indispensable to the welfare of the Government. He may be indispensable to the success of his party, but if his party selects him term after term on the ground that they have no other man, it argues for the poverty of the party rather than to say that of our 130,000,000 people there is only one person who can properly conduct the administration of our Government. If a straw vote indicated that a man had a 90-percent backing throughout the country, such an argument might appear valid, but no such man has arisen in the memory of any living person.

In an earlier day, when the functions exercised by the Federal Government were not so broad and sweeping, and when Federal revenues were comparatively small, the temptations and opportunities presented to the President to unduly influence the electorate were not so great.

But in view of the tremendous centralization of power that has taken place, together with the huge sums of money now appropriated by the Federal Government, the situation is different. The list of civil employees is now over the million mark, while several million more are drawing checks from the Federal Treasury.

Certainly, if men like Clay, Webster, and Sumner, besides those from whom I have quoted, thought it was a dangerous policy to have the President eligible to succeed himself, it is very much more necessary to the welfare of our democracy that the Chief Executive and the Vice President should be limited to a single term under conditions that exist today.

In these days, when so many of the democracies of the world are being overthrown by totalitarian might, when the state has all power and the people are reduced to abject serfdom, it certainly seems the part of wisdom such as this resolution calls for should be incorporated in the Constitution, to the end that our representative democracy may be maintained and preserved.

Snapshots of Uncle Sam Meeting a National Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM L. NELSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 23, 1940

PRIZE-WINNING ADDRESS, SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF MISSOURI, BY MRS. FOSTER L. RENICK, ODESSA, MO.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a prize-winning address, Snapshot of Uncle Sam Meeting a National Crisis, as delivered by Mrs. Foster L. Renick, Odessa, Mo., in Second Congressional District contest:

The Federal Government, since the founding of our Nation, has promoted public works. The new departure is in using public works to relieve economic depression and stabilize business trends.

If I could analyze the situation and give all the causes which made possible this enlarged program of public works, I would put all our economists out of business. However, these economists reported in 1926 that the export trade of the world for that year was $210,000,000,000 short of what it would have been if we could have escaped the economic upset of the World War. But more destructive influences were to follow. In 1930, during the Hoover administration, the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill was passed, although 35 governments protested to the State Department and over 1,000 economists warned that such a law would bring economic disaster.

Within 3 years world trade declined 40 percent—a record without a parallel in world history. As Charles M. Hay once said, "Too much tariff, not enough trade."

By 1932, 53 percent of the banks of the United States had closed and communities were struggling with relief burdens beyond their

ability to carry. Into this setting was ushered the first administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. One of the early acts of the Congress then convening was the authorization of the Public Works Administration.

There were two stated objectives:

1. Put idle men to work.

2. Put them to work on projects of permanent value to the community.

Figures to me are cold, dead somethings, but since they support the warm, human side of this program, it seems necessary to submit a few as we go along.

Some 35,000 projects have been financed at a cost of about $6,086,000,000. Only 3 of the 3,070 counties in the United States failed to cooperate.

For convenience, let's consider this program in two general divisions as to spending agent—Federal and non-Federal.

Two million dollars has been allotted for use in Federal projects; improved housing at military posts, increased work by Army engineers in navigation and flood control of rivers, and recognizing our responsibility to our Indian wards, in housing, education, health, and conservation of land.

The Bureau of Reclamation has built immense dams which will reduce floods, provide irrigation for arid lands, create water supply for cities, and offer low-cost power to millions of people.

In the non-Federal division the first step in securing funds is an application from representatives of some local organization who become sponsors of the project which they recommend as having lasting value for their community. If and when this application meets the approval of the Public Works Administration, these sponsors become partners with Uncle Sam in the development of that project.

Increasing numbers of autos and trucks have caused a never-ending demand for hard-surfaced roads and vast sums of Federal money have been spent to meet this demand. Four hundred and fifty thousand miles of roads have been built and many are still in process of construction.

"Down by many a highway stand small signs today
With these words painted on them black and bold:
'Men at work'; and that terse statement shines
With the pregnant meaning that its letters hold.
'Men at work.' Oh, after darkened years,
We know at last how blessed work may be;
After long idleness and bitter tears,
We see it as God's gift to you and me.

" 'Men at work,' and hungry children fed;
'Men at work,' new courage in the hearts!
A strange and baffling grief is comforted
When men once more can take a strong man's part.
O God, when men have strength for work today,
Let there be work for them to do, I pray."

Slums have long been recognized as breeders of crime, disease, and social decay. About $136,000,000 has been spent to enable 80,000 people to exchange dark, stuffy rooms, hot pavements, and dirty alleys for sun-lit lawns and light, airy houses—homes of the type that have always been the safeguard of our Nation.

"So long as there are homes where men may turn at close of day,
So long as there are homes where children are and women stay,
If faith and love and loyalty are found across these sills,
A stricken nation can recover from grievous ills."

The prolonged depression had practically paralyzed building of all types of schools. Within the past 6 years, with Federal aid, classroom space for over 2,500,000 has been provided. Splendid monuments of brick and stone all over our land attest the value of this phase of the work. But I believe there is a more lasting value even than these.

"Gone is the builder's temple,
Crumbled into the dust;
Low lies each stately pillar,
Food for consuming rust.
But the temple the teacher builded
Will last while the ages roll;
For that beautiful, unseen temple
Was a child's immortal soul."

In seeking to evaluate this program one should keep in mind that it was planned and administered by human folk like you and me. So, of course, it is not perfect. It was a pioneer venture. Experience has brought many changes and doubtless will bring many more. But I am persuaded that its history does reveal many worth-while byproducts and at the same time justify the program for its primal purpose, to provide a basic need of humanity, the opportunity to work.

"This is the gospel of labor, ring it ye bells of the kirk,
The Lord of Love came down from above to live with the men who work.
This is the rose he planted, here in this sin-cursed soil,
Heaven may be blest with the sweetest rest, but the blessing of earth is toil."

Joseph F. Guffey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SHERMAN MINTON
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 3 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH OF HON. THEODORE G. BILBO, OF MISSISSIPPI, AT ROLLING GREEN PARK, PA.

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an extract from a speech delivered by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO] at Rolling Green Park, Snyder County, Pa.

There being no objection, the extract was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Pennsylvania's citizens whose livelihood depends on regular pay envelopes or salary checks this year have a clear-cut choice between a proven friend and one who has exploited them and would continue to exploit them.

The Democratic candidate for United States Senator is JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, who is campaigning for reelection on his record as a champion and sponsor of those social and economic measures enacted into law by the Democratic Party under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Republican nominee is Jay Cooke, boss of the notorious Philadelphia Republican machine.

Senator GUFFEY, one of the first in the Nation to urge Roosevelt's renomination and reelection this year, has been an ardent supporter of New Deal social and labor measures since his election to the Senate 6 years ago.

Here is a partial list of laws that JOE GUFFEY fought for and voted for since he took his seat in the United States Senate:

Social security, old-age pensions, unemployment compensation, the W. P. A. and N. Y. A., the wage and hour law, the Wagner Labor Relations Act, home loans, insured bank deposits, the Guffey Bituminous Coal Act, and many others.

Contrast Senator GUFFEY's record with that of Boss Jay Cooke, the Republican machine candidate running against Senator GUFFEY.

Cooke, Philadelphia Republican machine boss, not only inflicted a sales tax on the people of Philadelphia, he forced through a law taxing the wages and salaries of every man and woman working in the city of Philadelphia.

And what Jay Cooke did in Philadelphia he will, if given further power, do to the pay envelopes and salary checks of every man and woman earning a livelihood in Pennsylvania and in the Nation.

Pennsylvanians cannot afford to trade their friend, JOE GUFFEY, for their enemy, Jay Cooke. So, on November 5, when they cast their votes for Franklin D. Roosevelt, they should be consistent and vote also for their friend and Roosevelt's friend, JOSEPH F. GUFFEY.

The Third Presidential Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. BURKE
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 3 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter written by John W. Smith, of Brooklyn, N. Y., to the New York Herald Tribune and published by that newspaper in its issue of August 4, 1939, under the heading "To Bar a Third Term."

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of August 4, 1939]

TO BAR A THIRD TERM

A READER PROPOSES AN ORGANIZED MOVEMENT

To the New York Herald Tribune:

I propose a nationally organized effort of citizens, regardless of party, to prevent the nomination and election of President Roosevelt for a third term, such an organization to be known as the National No-Third-Term-for-President Association and to have as its ultimate objective the enactment of a constitutional amendment making unlawful a third consecutive term for any future incumbent of the White House.

We have now, more than ever, definite reasons to believe that Mr. Roosevelt, his pride stung by his recent defeats at the hands of a recalcitrant Congress, plans to force his nomination for a third term upon a reluctant but frightened democracy, and that he has high and, indeed, tangible hopes that he will be reelected and be enabled to continue for at least another 4 years, and perhaps for an indefinite period, his theories of personal government that can lead to no other result than economic disaster for the American people.

Were such an eventuality to take place and it be made possible for Mr. Roosevelt, now, or any other man in the future, to perpetuate himself in the Presidential office for an unlimited succession of terms, elections would become mere formalities and finally cease to be held, and the President would, in fact, become a dictator, regardless of the form or disguise under which such succession might be cloaked.

The inevitable sequence would be the loss to the American people of their constitutional rights and liberties and the substitution therefor of one of the twin evils of communism and fascism.

It is to prevent such a contingency, while there is yet time, that I propose and stand ready to assist in the formation of a no-third-term-for-President association, the first effort of which shall be to arouse and to crystallize the sentiment of the people in behalf of a definite limitation upon the term of office of the President of the United States and in support of the wise tradition handed down by President Washington and followed by his successors to the present day and which no consideration of political expediency or personal ambition should be sufficient to break or alter.

This tradition, thus far reimposed upon the occupants of the White House by common consent and will of the electorate, should, I believe, be regarded as an unwritten law of the democratic principles of government as established in the United States, until such time as it shall be made part of the organic law.

Any departure from established American political precedents would be especially dangerous at this time and in the present troubled and turbulent state of the world in general, conditions that should not be made the excuse for the abandonment of the doctrine that the American form of government is one of laws, not of men, or that the continuance of any individual in the office of the Chief Executive is indispensable to the peace, prosperity, and happiness of our people, no matter how grave or prolonged may be any national crisis confronting us.

I believe the no-third-term association should spring from the rank and file of our citizens and that, once it is launched and its purposes made properly known, it will receive such overwhelming public support as to convince those in control of the next Democratic National Convention that the renomination for a third term of President Roosevelt will mean their certain political suicide and the sure demise of the Democratic Party as well.

JOHN W. SMITH.

BROOKLYN, *August 2, 1939.*

A Logical Plan for Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 3 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL IN THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of this morning, October 3, 1940, entitled "A Logical Plan for Prosperity."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, of October 3, 1940]

A LOGICAL PLAN FOR PROSPERITY

Wendell Willkie's three-point program to end unemployment, as presented in his Grand Rapids speech, is something everybody can understand. For it is the essence of plain common sense.

It is offered as the practical, hard-headed businessman's, not the politician's, solution of the Nation's gravest domestic problem.

Point No. 1: Encourage new enterprises and bring about a vast increase of production.

Here Mr. Willkie takes sharp issue with those who would throw a fence around existing businesses and industries, preventing them from expanding and others from entering the field.

He likewise challenges the fallacious doctrine that scarcity, not abundance of the good things of life, its necessaries and luxuries, spells prosperity.

For those who urge a more equitable distribution of wealth to cure the Nation's ills conveniently ignore the fact that we must first have the wealth—and that means commodities—to distribute, enough to go around.

The Nation doesn't possess that wealth today in sufficient quantity, because production is curbed by governmental strait jackets.

This sentence from Mr. Willkie's speech goes straight to the mark: "The road to prosperity is paved with jobs, and the way to get on that road is production."

Truer words were never spoken. "The way to make jobs is to set production in motion—to produce."

Curbing production creates unemployment and, as Mr. Willkie says in words that do not overstate the situation, "you have cut the jugular vein of America."

Then no amount of Government spending of the taxpayers' money will restore the patient. Transfusion from the Public Treasury is of only temporary benefit and leaves the patient weaker than before. This has been proved time and again. Spending won't help. Hand-outs necessitates a constant strengthening of the dangerous dose.

Government can't make real jobs by discouraging legitimate enterprise at every turn, by holding a club over business and industry. Production, in response to demand, is the great employment agency of the country

Give production full swing and present employers will hire more workers. That's the first step, but as Mr. Willkie points out, it isn't enough. There was a time when the country was teeming with new enterprises, new ventures by businessmen not afraid to set up shop for themselves.

Was that solely because the country was still new and fresh opportunities for capital and ambition, now no longer available, were opening daily?

That is what some would have us believe, but Mr. Willkie does not subscribe to this defeatist doctrine. Give business a chance, he urges, and it will not be long in launching out into fresh fields awaiting profitable development.

So Mr. Willkie rightly emphasizes the need for a host of brand new enterprises to be encouraged by the go-ahead signal from Government, hundreds of thousands of them looking for employees to help promote their projects.

Despite the depression, scientific research and invention have not been standing still. When industry is freed from its handicaps, they are ready to make new contributions to America's high standard of living and satisfy a multitude of wants.

Mr. Willkie's point No. 2 is a new tax system, stabilized so that business will know what to expect, and one that will lighten the present oppressive load on employers and labor. As he spoke, Congress has just completed a piece of crazy-quilt taxation, full of confusions and injustices, that by common agreement will have to be radically repaired. In the meantime, business will be bedeviled with uncertainty and fear.

Point No. 3 is an end to overregulation of all business and excessive bureaucratic red tape, which adds immensely to the cost of conducting small as well as large concerns, injuriously affecting wages and jobs.

Mr. Willkie's program for prosperity is pointed in a double sense. It points straight to the need for restoring and establishing those sound governmental policies under which individual initiative and enterprise will again be free to flourish and promote the welfare of all.

Domestic Petroleum Industry Benefited by Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RANKIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Wendell L. Willkie, the Republican Presidential nominee, in his campaign

address delivered in Detroit, under the auspices of the General Federation of Republican Women's Clubs, declared that when elected—his optimism amuses me greatly—he will "clean out all the cynics in the Government." I suggest that he render this country a real service by cleaning out the cynics in the Republican Party, cynics, who for the sake of advancing partisan aims are prepared to deceive the voters of this country by withholding essential data when discussing the policies of this administration.

In reading the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 26, 1940, I was amazed at the remarks of our friend the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], on page 12686, attacking the moderate reduction of from ½ cent to ¼ cent per gallon excise tax on crude petroleum granted in the reciprocal-trade agreement with Venezuela.

The argument with respect to the relation of the daily average production of crude petroleum in the State of Kansas and imports of crude oil on which Mr. CARLSON relies is reminiscent of the campaign of 1928, when the Republican Party misled the farmers of our country into believing that all their problems would be solved by shutting out all imports of farm products. Well, what followed is painful history. The Republicans elected to Congress in 1928, after about a year and one-half of wrangling among themselves, backscratching and logrolling, gave the country the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act raising duties to embargo levels. And by the end of 1932 our farm population, for the most part, was in a state of bankruptcy. Despair had replaced hope in the lives of our farmers.

A few months ago this Congress, after extensive hearings and debate on its merits, extended the reciprocal trade agreements program for another 3 years. To digress momentarily, I had supposed that there would be no fundamental disagreement or divergence of views within the ranks of the Republican Party, particularly among its national leaders, regarding vital issues confronting the Nation. While the Republican Presidential nominee has consistently supported the trade-agreements program and paid high tribute to Secretary Hull's management of it, other Republican leaders have been sniping at it, using incomplete data, distorting statistics, and making misleading statements calculated to deceive our voters.

Writing in Fortune magazine for April 1940, Mr. Wendell Willkie said:

> Now, obviously, it will not do for one great nation to become a free-trade country by itself. For the United States to erase its tariffs all at once would be ruinous to our people and many of our industries. The present Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, who is wise and temperate, realizes this. And so he adopted the reciprocal-trade agreements as a step toward increasing our foreign business gradually. Under this policy the United States takes up the problem of tariffs with each country separately, lists the products that it would like to export, studies a similar list submitted by the other country, and then a deal is arranged, each country making such concessions as it can with the least possible harm and the most possible benefit to its own people. This agreement is then extended to apply to other countries, too. What could be simpler or more in accord with common sense? What could be better qualified to benefit us, the people, as a whole? Of course, we have to make sacrifices. But the point is that, owing to the way the agreements are negotiated, the sacrifices are always, and always should be, less than the benefits gained. That is, we, the people, profit.

During the debate to extend the life of the reciprocal trade agreements program I inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 941, a detailed study regarding petroleum. I cite that study in its entirety, because it exposes the absolute lack of basis for the charge that imports of crude petroleum are damaging to our domestic industry. Moreover, the trade agreements program, as the study shows, has substantially increased exports of domestic petroleum products.

THE DOMESTIC PETROLEUM INDUSTRY AND THE VENEZUELAN TRADE AGREEMENT

Crude petroleum and fuel oil derived from petroleum, including topped crude and gas oil, have been free of duty under the last three tariff acts—the Underwood Tariff Act of 1913, the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act of 1922, and the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of 1930. By the Revenue Act of 1932 an import excise tax of one-half cent per gallon—equivalent to 21 cents per barrel—was levied on imports of these commodities except for imports used for supplies of ships in foreign trade or entered in bond for refining and reexport.

The centers of crude petroleum production in the United States are located chiefly in the Mid-Continent, Gulf coast areas and the State of California. The average grade of domestic crude petroleum ranges between 30° and 35° in gravity. Imported crude petroleum, on the other hand, is generally below 20° in gravity.

Imports of crude petroleum from Venezuela, which is much heavier than the average domestic crude, yields chiefly heavy fuel oil and asphalt. Domestic crude petroleums yield relatively larger percentages of the more valuable products—gasoline, kerosene, and lubricating oils. As a result, the use of imported crude petroleum for the manufacture of the heavier grades of fuel oil reserves the lighter domestic crude for the manufacture of the more valuable products.

The domestic petroleum industry has been on an export basis since its beginning, and in crude petroleum since 1933.

Exports of crude petroleum are substantially comparable in quality with the average grade of domestic production, but lighter than imports. The rising trend in exports of crude petroleum from the United States is due in part to two important factors: First, the increased demand in some foreign countries for military purposes, including storage; and, second, the establishment in other countries of a domestic refining industry as a national policy. Japan increased its imports of crude petroleum from the United States from 2,500,000 barrels in 1929 to 16,086,000 in 1939. Exports of crude petroleum to Italy increased from none in 1929 to 5,000,000 barrels in 1939. During the same period exports of crude petroleum to France increased from 4,000 barrels to 16,700,000 barrels. Exports of crude petroleum to Canada, the most important foreign market, increased from 22,400,000 barrels to 28,100,000 barrels. Total United States exports of crude petroleum increased from 26,400,000 barrels in 1929 to 72,100,000 barrels in 1939.

CONCESSION TO VENEZUELA ON PETROLEUM

By the terms of the trade agreement concluded with Venezuela, effective December 16, 1939, the import excise tax on crude petroleum, topped crude, and fuel oil was reduced from one-half cent to one-fourth cent per gallon—equivalent to 10½ cents per barrel. In order to safeguard the domestic petroleum industry, the quantity of crude petroleum, topped crude, and fuel oil which may enter the United States at the reduced rate may not exceed 5 percent of the total quantity of crude petroleum processed in refineries in the continental United States during the preceding calendar year, as ascertained by the Secretary of the Interior. This 5 percent annual quota established by the trade agreement is approximately equal to the ratio between imports and domestic production of these oils following the levying in 1932 of the one-half-cent-per-gallon excise tax and the present time. All imports in excess of the established annual quota are subject to the full one-half-cent-per-gallon excise tax.

The concession on petroleum granted to Venezuela constitutes the most important consideration granted to that country. United States imports from Venezuela consist chiefly of crude petroleum, topped crude, and fuel oil. On the other hand, Venezuela granted concessions benefiting American farm and factory products which made up 36 percent of our total exports to Venezuela in 1938.

Among the more important American products on which reductions in duty were obtained by the United States are cigarettes, lumber, furniture, and fresh and canned fruits.

Imports of crude petroleum, topped crude, and fuel oil are small in comparison with domestic production and exports. The total quantity of imports in 1938 of taxable—does not include 22,500,000 barrels exempt from excise tax used for supplies of ships in foreign trade, and entered in bond for refining and reexport—crude and fuel oil amounted to 29,700,000 barrels compared with exports of 121,100,000 barrels and domestic production of 1,660,000,000 barrels. In other words, United States imports of these oils constituted only 2 percent of total domestic production for 1938. On the export side, shipments of these same oils to foreign countries

during 1938 constituted 7 percent of domestic production and were more than 300 percent greater than imports.

IMPORTS SERVE A DESIRABLE ECONOMIC PURPOSE

Analysis of the imports of crude petroleum, topped crude and fuel oil indicates that these imports, small in comparison with our domestic production and greatly exceeded by our exports, serve a desirable economic purpose of balancing the supply of certain petroleum products in our home markets.

Venezuela supplies nearly 90 percent of total United States imports of crude petroleum, and the Netherlands West Indies supplies over 90 percent of our imports of fuel oil. Imported crude petroleum is not comparable in quality with the average domestic oil, in that it yields much less gasoline and practically no lubricating oil, the more valuable refined products. The chief products of Venezuelan crude petroleum are heavy fuel oil and asphalt.

The calculated gasoline yield from the refining of Venezuelan crude petroleum is about 12 percent; that is, every 100 barrels of Venezuelan crude petroleum yields approximately 12 barrels of gasoline and approximately 55 barrels of heavy fuel oil. Domestic crudes are lighter than the imported product and yield approximately 43 percent of the more valuable product—gasoline, which accounts for about 70 percent of the domestic petroleum industry's annual revenues, and a fuel oil yield of 25 percent.

The 29,700,000 barrels of taxable—does not include 22,500,000 barrels exempt from excise tax used for supplies of ships in foreign trade, and entered in bond for refining and reexport—crude, topped crude, and fuel oil imported in 1938, nearly all of which was imported from Venezuela directly or indirectly through the Netherlands West Indies, nearly all of it entered through the ports of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore to serve the thickly populated industrial areas of the northern Atlantic Coast States.

These imports of crude petroleum produced a calculated supply of sixteen to seventeen million barrels of heavy residual fuel oil. This estimated sixteen to seventeen million barrels of heavy residual fuel oil derived from foreign crude petroleum constituted about one-fifth of a total consumption of ninety to ninety-five million barrels in that area. To attempt to supply the heavy fuel-oil consumption of the industries located in the New England and northern Atlantic Coast States would result in increasing the heavy inventories of gasoline stocks—from which the domestic petroleum industry derives approximately 70 percent of its annual revenue—and, through accumulation of large inventories, have a depressing effect upon the price.

The production of sixteen to seventeen million barrels of heavy fuel oil from Venezuelan crude petroleum, with a gasoline yield of approximately 12 percent, and a heavy residual fuel-oil yield of about 55 percent results in about 2,700,000 barrels of gasoline. The production of the same quantity of heavy fuel oil from domestic crude petroleum, with a gasoline yield of approximately 43 percent and a residual fuel oil yield of 25 percent, would result in the production of nearly 28,000,000 barrels of gasoline. This addition to our gasoline production, which is more than one-half of 1 month's average domestic supply, would increase excessive gasoline inventories, which is a serious problem for the domestic petroleum industry.

The moderate imports of foreign crude, topped crude, and fuel oil serve a useful purpose by balancing the domestic supply of petroleum products more nearly to demand due to the much lower gasoline yield and much higher heavy residual fuel-oil yield of the Venezuelan product and the domestic crude petroleum consumed in the thickly populated industrial areas of the northern Atlantic Seaboard States.

PETROLEUM INDUSTRY BENEFITS FROM TRADE AGREEMENTS

It is significant to note that whereas a concession on petroleum has been granted in only one agreement—the moderate reduction in the excise tax which was granted to Venezuela—concessions expanding opportunities in foreign markets in which our domestic petroleum industry can sell its products have been obtained in 12 agreements. Five countries reduced the duties on petroleum products, 4 countries bound the rate of duty against increase, 2 countries bound petroleum products on the free list, and 1 country bound the rate of duty and increased the quota. Examples of the various petroleum products affected by more favorable export opportunities obtained through trade agreements are gasoline, lubricating oil, petroleum residues for heating, benzine and benzol, lubricating greases, kerosene, and various petroleum oils and greases.

Switzerland granted a concession on petroleum residues for heating purposes, benzine and benzol for motors. Swiss imports of these products from the United States increased, respectively, between 1935—the preagreement year—and 1938 from $35,000 to $1,361,000; from $1,039,000 to $2,077,000. Sweden granted a concession on gasoline and that country increased its imports of gasoline between 1934—the preagreement year—and 1938 from $3,051,000 to $7,071,000. The Netherlands guaranteed not to change the duty-free status of lubricating oil. Its imports from the United States between the preagreement year 1935 and 1938 increased from $840,000 to $1,125,000. Canada, our most important foreign market for petroleum products reduced the duty on lubricating oils, engine distillates, and gasoline. Imports from the United States by Canada of these products increased, respectively, between the preagreement year 1935 and 1938 from $2,605,000 to $3,122,000; from $7,000 to $71,000; from $1,501,000 to $5,219,000.

The petroleum industry's most important and profitable market is, of course, the home market. There are certain benefits shared by the domestic petroleum industry derived from the trade-agreements program which, though less tangible, are nevertheless real. Such benefits flow from an improved domestic market. Imports and exports mean more work for all the people employed in transportation—railroads, busses, trucks, ships—and in merchandising—stores, markets, insurance companies—as well as more work for the people engaged in the manufacture of the great variety of commodities that are bought and sold. Such activity at home strengthens and increases purchasing power all along the line and creates expanded markets at home for petroleum products.

Prices that our domestic petroleum industry has received for its products have been highest during periods when foreign trade—imports and exports—has moved in large volume. In such periods domestic industrial activity has been brisk and, in addition to higher prices, the petroleum industry has experienced greater demands for its products.

United States exports of domestic petroleum and petroleum products to trade-agreement [1] countries and to non-trade-agreement countries, 1937–38, compared with 1934–35

Trade-agreement countries	1934	1935	1937	1938
Cuba	$1,943,459	$2,469,932	$4,642,605	$4,921,219
Brazil	7,876,122	8,417,988	10,189,331	8,538,240
Belgium	7,451,562	8,037,518	13,343,493	9,115,904
Haiti	253,776	221,959	310,940	217,091
Sweden	3,716,550	4,714,748	6,386,526	9,887,232
Colombia	756,814	498,433	687,780	865,889
Canada	35,149,647	38,555,985	51,041,707	50,708,768
Honduras	390,268	407,694	312,957	306,563
Netherlands	7,732,811	6,688,042	16,314,808	13,035,594
Netherlands Indies	872,725	1,082,991	1,301,642	1,470,518
Curacao	6 221,631	4,014,530	21,326,346	22,013,477
Surinam	59,009	34,673	59,755	75,709
Switzerland	64,747	156,252	207,817	949,704
Nicaragua	125,712	140,566	208,185	179,337
Guatemala	265,494	223,763	707,882	594,042
France	23,839,820	22,604,388	28,691,588	39,814,479
Miquelon and St. Pierre Islands	3,514	4,493	8,988	4,145
French West Indies	165,175	121,348	106,648	141,977
French Guiana	23,691	20,548	31,363	23,671
French Indochina	232,883	468,940	338,826	479,206
French Oceania	145,173	233,248	164,524	140,835
Algeria and Tunisia	399,798	748,309	368,668	270,864
Madagascar	342,764	257,978	384,526	416,531
Other French Africa	1,075,561	1,134,664	3,244,160	1,418,189
Finland	271,255	306,389	624,915	1,073,402
Costa Rica	240,068	185,137	470,531	474,681
Salvador	185,470	171,208	307,349	264,989
Czechoslovakia	80,178	116,686	955,999	682,569
Total, all agreement countries	99,885,677	102,038,410	162,739,859	168,075,835
Total, all nonagreement countries	127,651,582	148,288,239	213,498,798	220,530,457

	1934 and 1935 average value	1937 and 1938 average value	Change	
			Value	Percent
Total, all trade-agreement countries [1]	$100,962,000	$165,408,000	$64,446,000	+63.8
Total, all nonagreement countries	137,970,000	217,014,000	79,044,000	+57.3

[1] Including the 17 countries (and colonies) with which agreements were in operation during the greater part of 1938. Only 1 of the agreements was in operation throughout 1935, 6 throughout 1936, 12 by the middle of 1936, 15 by the middle of 1937, and 18 by the end of 1938. The last (with Ecuador) only came into force on Oct. 23, 1938, and is therefore not yet included in the above calculations as an agreement country. The new agreement with Canada, and the agreement with the United Kingdom (including Newfoundland and non-self-governing British colonies) which became effective Jan. 1, 1939, the agreement with Turkey, effective May 5, 1939, and the agreement with Venezuela, effective Dec. 16, 1939, bring the number of agreement countries up to 21.

GENERAL NOTE.—Percentage changes have been calculated upon fuller figures in thousands.

Source: Latest records of Division of Foreign Trade Statistics, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

Gasoline From Garbage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HINSHAW
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 3, 1940

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, evidently wonders have not yet ceased, and the horizon of our abilities has not yet been reached. Our chemical laboratories and industrial engineers have long been searching for a process to produce industrial alcohol cheaply in order that we might economically utilize the waste vegetable material of our farms and cities. In my home city of Pasadena, Calif., a noted organic chemist has been pursuing this subject with more than the usual diligence and persistence of his kind, and has now developed a simple process which would render these waste products into high-test aviation fuel. Thus far he has been able to render fuel of 98.7 octane, and it is believed that the process will render a fuel of 100 octane under favorable circumstances.

This process has been thoroughly investigated by chemists sent from certain of the important countries of the world, and has, I believe, been licensed to some of them. In this respect the United States is a "backward country." As has been so frequently the case, unfortunately, our inventors have had to take their wares elsewhere in the world for them to be fully appreciated, utilized, and developed. This is particularly true with materials and instruments useful in war. For several years this process of which I am speaking has been available to the United States, but for various and sundry reasons, which I can hardly understand, the United States has not seen fit to take up and expand this process for rendering such things as garbage and bagasse into alcohol, which is then transmuted into high-octane fuel by a simple catalytic process.

No doubt some of this opposition to development of this process originates with the petroleum industry, and it is clear that that industry at least does not seek competition from the catalyzed products of butyl alcohol. However, Mr. Speaker, I ask this one question, Are the makers and merchants of high-test gasoline in the petroleum products business or are they in the motor-fuel business? If they are in the motor-fuel business, then they should seek their fuel from whatever source it may be best and most cheaply derived.

Mr. Speaker, it is not my province to market the rights to this process, but for the RECORD I desire to set forth a brief history of the Jeans process for rendering waste vegetable products into high-octane motor fuel, with certain cost data which demonstrate its feasibility. This seems to be the answer to the hope of those who have so earnestly pursued the subject of farm chemurgy.

Mr. Speaker, I have obtained the following information from sources which I believe to be reliable and present it on my own responsibility:

THE JEANS PROCESS—GARBAGE TO BUTYL ALCOHOL TO AVIATION GASOLINE

On April 6, 1932, research was commenced on compounding a substance having the desired qualities of gasoline that could be used as a substitute motor fuel. After a general review of the available literature, it was disclosed that considerable experimental work had been done on the use of alcohol, coal-tar products, and so forth, as motor fuels. Difficulties were encountered in the use of alcohol. By itself, alcohol is not a fuel well adapted for present types of engines. Unfortunately, alcohol has a very slow rate of combustion. In order to utilize its energy value, it becomes necessary to employ a higher compression ratio than with gasoline. This, however, may be corrected by the addition of a mutually miscible solvent, such as benzol.

In the past, much study has been given to the blending of gasolines from different sources in order to improve the fuel qualities and cheapen the cost of production. The hope was that the future would offer many possibilities in the way of blending alcohol with hydrocarbons to yield fuels approximating in closest degree the requirements of an ideal fuel. After carefully studying the advantages and disadvantages of alcohols as motor fuels, the conclusion was reached that the alcohols held out the most promising possibilities due to the fact that the outstanding and fundamental attraction of alcohols, in substitution for fuels obtained from coal or oil deposits, resides in the fact that alcohol is derived from the vegetable kingdom. From supplies of raw materials, which are being continuously renewed and are susceptible of great expansion without encroachment upon food supplies, fermentable material from which alcohol may be obtained is available everywhere. The shrubs or other vegetation of waste lands, the by-products of sugar refineries, the garbage of large cities, the waste sulfite cellulose liquor of paper mills, low-grade starchy materials, wood, peat, and/or cellulose itself, afford sources of alcohol.

The type and kind of alcohol from the above raw materials was the cause of much study. Finally, it was decided to ferment these materials with a special type of bacteria for the production of normal butyl alcohol, as this type of alcohol more nearly resembles some of the usual gasoline constituents as to British thermal units value and power generation.

Considerable time and experimental work was consumed before we were able to find a bacteria that would produce a maximum yield of this alcohol. Finally, we were successful in isolating a culture from the skins of potatoes. This bacteria is a hardy specie and can be adapted to the various types of raw materials when properly prepared. Of all chemical processes, these carried out by living organisms are, comparatively speaking, the cheapest to operate since the expense for labor, and so forth, is small due to the efficient manner in which these tiny organisms operate. In these days of catalyzers, these organisms might well be referred to as catalysts that bring about the transformation of starch or sugars to the neutral solvents. This organism not only ferments hexoses, but pentoses, disacchanides, polysacchanides, and starch, with the production of normal butyl alcohol, acetone, ethyl alcohol, carbon dioxide, and hydrogen.

The fermentation takes place best in a 5-percent solution of sugars, including wood sugars, or starches with suitable nitrogen-containing material, either naturally present or added. The following formulas are the probable chemical reactions of the fermentation, and show the changes in acidity and the rate of gas production as the fermentation progresses:

1. $(C_6H_{10}O_5)x + H_2O \longrightarrow X.\ C_6H_{12}O_6$ (starch → hexose)
2. $C_6H_{12}O_6 \longrightarrow C_3H_7COOH + CH_3COOH + (O_2$ used by cells) (hexose → *n*-butyric acid + acetic acid)
3. $2C_3H_7COOH + O_2 \longrightarrow 2CH_3COCH_2COOH + H_2$ (*n*-butyric acid → aceto-acetic acid)
4. $CH_3COCH_2COOH \longrightarrow CH_3COCH_3 + CO_2$ (aceto-acetic acid → acetone)
5. $C_3H_7COOH + 2H_2 \longrightarrow CH_3CH_2CH_2CH_2OH + H_2O$ (*n*-butyric acid → *n*-butyl alcohol)
6. $CH_3COOH + 2H_2 \longrightarrow CH_3CH_2OH + H_2O$ (acetic acid → ethyl alcohol)

The total solvent production varies, according to the conditions of the fermentation, between 34 percent and 37 percent of the total hexose content by weight of the mash used. The products of the fermentation are divided in the following manner:

	Percent		
Hexose	100.0	Butyl alcohol	22.2
		Acetone	11.1
		Ethyl alcohol	3.7
		Hydrogen	1.5
		Carbon dioxide	40.0
		Water	21.5
			100.0

In other words, an optimum production plant, from 178,000 pounds of hexose-content mash, would yield:

Ten thousand gallons of solvents equals 66,000 pounds.
Ten thousand gallons of carbon dioxide equals 70,000 pounds.
Ten thousand gallons of hydrogen equals 2,700 pounds.

Wood sugars direct from the acid hydrolysis of cellulose waste material may be used successfully for this fermentation as the bacteria are not affected by the resins, phenols, or other contaminants of the sugar solution. A 5-percent solution of sugars resulting from the hydrolysis may be fermented directly after the neutralization of the excess acid without costly concentration and purification of the liquor. The ability of the bacteria to make use of cheap raw material from this source is of the greatest importance as the acid hydrolysis of cellulose can be accomplished to yield 70 percent of sugars by weight of cellulose, processed at a cost of less than $2 per ton of sugar on a dry weight basis, by the Thomsen process.

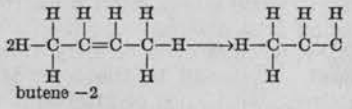
After the alcohols are separated out from the fermented mash, the butyl and ethyl alcohol is next dried and passed over a dehydration catalyst, the reaction being:

$$C_4H_9OH \longrightarrow C_4H_8 \text{ plus } H_2O$$

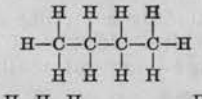
and

$$C_2H_5OH \longrightarrow C_2H_4 \text{ plus } H_2O$$

The butene gas, 75.7 percent by weight of the alcohol, is separated from the water in a condenser and then goes to a polymerization tower where it is passed over a polymerizing catalyst. The loss by volume—that is, the water dropped out—in this reaction is 18 percent of the volume of the alcohol. In the polymerization the butene gas is converted back into a liquid by the union of two or more molecules of butene. Theoretically, the reaction is as follows:

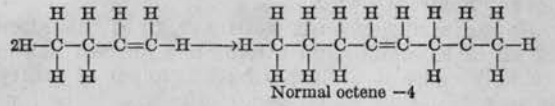


butene −2



Octene

(3-4 Dimethyl hexine) −3



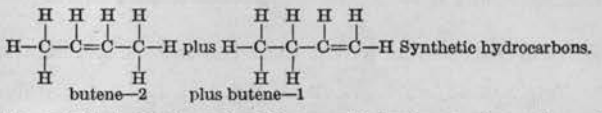
Normal octene −4

Actually the reaction is much more complex. The butane rearrange under the conditions of the reaction and combine in a great number of ways so that the final product is a mixture of synthetic hydrocarbons, being entirely within the gasoline boiling range and with majority—60 percent—being within the boiling range of the lighter octane fractions.

An example of an Engler distillation is as follows:

Initial boiling point, 99° F.
5 percent over at 135° F.
10 percent over at 153° F.
20 percent over at 183° F.
30 percent over at 205° F.
40 percent over at 218° F.
50 percent over at 226° F.
60 percent over at 234° F.
70 percent over at 248° F.
80 percent over at 274° F.
90 percent over at 340° F.
95 percent over at 368° F.
End point, 386° F.
Recovery, 97.5 percent.
Reid vapor pressure at 100° F., 7.8 pounds per square inch.
Sulfur, none.
Gums, none.
Octane after hydrogenation, 98.7.
Specific gravity, 0.715.

The over-all reaction is therefore:



butene—2 plus butene—1

The catalyst used, and with an efficient recycle system, the recovery of liquid hydrocarbons is practically 100 percent of the butene and ethylene gas used. Since the liquid hydrocarbons are of a greater density than the gas, there is a shrinkage in liquid volume of 20 percent. The weight balance of the total reaction is:

$$\underset{(74.0)_2}{2C_4H_9OH} \longrightarrow \underset{(56.06)_2}{2C_4H_8} \longrightarrow \underset{112.12}{C_8H_{16}}$$

$$\frac{1}{148} = \frac{X}{112.12}$$

$$X = 75.7$$

$$\frac{75.7}{112.12} = \frac{X}{112.12}$$

$$X = 75.7$$

Since all of the butene is polymerized, it is obvious that the weight balance will be 75.7 percent synthetic hydrocarbons, based on the weight of the alcohol used. Therefore there is a weight loss of 24.3 percent, but this is compensated for on a volume basis by the lighter density and greater B. t. u. content of the synthetic hydrocarbons as compared to the alcohol. In the dehydration, there is 18 percent loss in volume due to the loss of water and in the polymerization process there is an additional loss in volume of 17 percent due to increased density of the synthetic hydrocarbons in conversion of the butene to a liquid product. Thus:

$$\frac{.688}{.715} = .83 = 17\%$$

so that the total loss in volume from alcohol to finished product is 31.94 percent.

The dehydration catalyst used in this process is not expensive to prepare and it may be regenerated indefinitely by burning off the carbon deposit, and the sole operating cost of this step is the heat input to the catalyst tube. The catalyst used for the polymerization reaction is also inexpensive and has a long life and can be renewed with new catalyst rather than regenerate. The process, as a whole, is operated at low temperatures and low pressures. The synthetic gasoline produced in this process has a very high antiknock rating and can be used in all types of motors, including aviation engines, without any mechanical changes or alterations. The fuel is miscible, in all proportions, with regular gasoline or oils. It is not soluble in water and, therefore, has no water tolerance.

While the experimental work to date has proven the economic feasibility of all of these steps as now operated, it has not been carried into commercial operation. The limited pilot plant, of the capacity of 1 gallon per day of finished product, has been the extent of present operations. However, with its continued operation for a period of over 2 years, it has enabled us to make a very accurate analysis of the costs and operation technique and all its various operating conditions—i. e., optimum temperatures and pressures. In following the reactions very closely we were able to obtain sufficient knowledge to prove the economics and feasibility of operating on a commercial basis. As an example, it has been estimated operating a commercial unit of 10,000 gallons per day, using sugarcane bagasse as a raw material—this material being of the cellulose family requires the conversion of the

cellulose to soluble sugars—the cost to hydrolize this material would be as follows:

150 tons sugarcane bagasse

Process fuel	$60.00
Labor	40.00
Supervision	15.00
Power	10.00
Loss of chemicals and their recuperation	30.00
Maintenance and repairs	20.00
Contingencies and miscellaneous	15.00
	190.00
Allowing 75 cents per ton for the sugarcane bagasse	112.50
Total	302.50

Results of this hydrolysis of the sugarcane bagasse, containing 30 percent lignin, 40 percent cellulose, and 30 percent hemi-cellulose:

150 tons × 70 percent ..... 105 tons cellulose.
105 tons × 90 percent ..... 94.5 tons of sugars.
45 tons of lignin for soil humes.

Making a total cost of $3.20 per ton of sugar, exclusive of taxes, insurance, interest, and so forth.

Step II. Fermentation process

Labor:	
1 bacteriologist	$10.00
3 tub washers (part time)	9.00
3 distillers	18.00
1 master mechanic	8.00
2 assistants	9.00
1 superintendent	10.00
Steam at 60 pounds per gallon at 33 cents per 1,000 pounds	195.49
	259.49
94.5 tons of sugar solution from hydrolysis	302.50
Total costs	561.99

RESULTS FROM THE ABOVE OPERATIONS

94.5 tons sugar × 35-percent conversion will equal:
33.08 tons of mixed alcohol, or 9,875 gallons.
66,160 pounds of carbon dioxide gas.
2,700 pounds of hydrogen gas.

Making a total of 0.058 cent per gallon of alcohols, exclusive of taxes, insurance, interest, and amortization.

Step III. Dehydration

The cost to dehydrate the alcohols to the butene and ethylene gases resolves itself into the item of heat input. As the polymerization is an exothermic reaction, evolution of heat, it is planned to take advantage of this heat by means of heat transfer equipment. In this way 75 percent of the heat required for the dehydration can be provided without additional cost, so that, in any event, the heat input to the dehydration tower would be very small. It has been variously estimated, with the aid of the exchanges, to be approximately 714 British thermal units per pound of alcohols processed, so that the total cost for the heat input would be approximately $22, making a total gallonage cost of the finished product of $0.0584. Adding to this amount the shrinkage in volume of converting the alcohols to butene gas and polymerizing the gas to synthetic hydrocarbons, would amount to $0.0186, therefore making a total fuel cost of $0.077 per gallon.

There would be, out of this operation, 3,000 gallons of pure acetone with a conservative market value of 40 cents per gallon. If this product were made to share its proportion of the operating costs, it can be seen that the cost of the fuel would be reduced materially.

With a plant producting 10,000 gallons per day of mixed alcohols, there would be from this operation, using sugarcane bagasse, the following products:

4,760 gallons aviation gasoline, at 12 cents	$571.20
3,000 gallons acetone, at 40 cents	1,200.00
2,700 pounds hydrogen gas, at 10 cents	270.00
	2,041.20
Operating costs, exclusive of taxes, insurance, interests, and amortization	583.99
Gross profit	1,457.21

The above figures do not take into consideration any value for the carbon dioxide gas or residues which have some value as humus for the soil. In addition, if it is desired, there is sufficient hydrogen gas available to produce 3,200 gallons of methanol in conjunction with a portion of the carbon dioxide gas. This methanol would have a very good market as such, and has a value in excess of 25 cents per gallon. The excess of carbon dioxide can be made to produce 25 tons of dry ice. In any evaluation of this process, it is only fair to take into consideration the commercial use of the by products as well as the manufacture of the aviation gasoline.

Although the example quoted is based on the use of sugarcane bagasse, other waste materials can be used, including city garbage, and any mixtures of materials such as cereal grains, pineapple waste, molasses, and potatoes. The only difference in operating cost would be the initial cost of the starting material.

PLANT-EQUIPMENT COST

The cost of a complete unit erected and placed in operation with a production of 2,500 gallons per day would be approximately $178,000. The equipment cost for a plant to produce 10,000 gallons per day would be approximately $300,000. These figures are based on estimates submitted by two well-known firms who manufacture this type of equipment. These figures were quoted some time ago and would be subject to some change in prices, due to market fluctuation of the materials used in construction. The equipment necessary for the operation is all of standard make and it will not be necessary to build any special equipment to carry out the complete operation. No difficulties should be encountered in utilizing this process on a commercial scale.

Roy W. Howard's Wise and Patriotic Suggestion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS LUDLOW

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 2, 1940

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, Roy Howard has offered a suggestion in regard to the conduct of our international relations that ought to ring the bell in every household in America.

It should sink deeply into the consciousness of every citizen who loves his country and whose mind is worried by the constant and menacing drift toward war. It should be discussed and debated at every crossroads country store and schoolhouse in the land. It should be the topic in every family circle where mothers, with lines of grief and worry in their faces, express the concern that only a mother can feel lest their sons shall be sucked into the holocaust of foreign war. Mr. Howard has made a suggestion that really and truly touches the home.

Mr. Howard's suggestion is worthy of all of this attention, and of all of the additional attention a harried nation can give to it, because it at last injects a touch of sanity and reason in a situation which seems otherwise to be plunging hell-bent in the direction of intervention and war.

Mr. Howard's idea is that in spite of all of the current propaganda and war frenzy a large majority of the people of America genuinely want peace—peace for America and peace for the world—and he would give the peace sentiment a chance to work. While militarists at Washington are said to be placing large-scale orders for coffins, he would open the door to a rapprochement with Japan which, if his plan is carried out, would give reasonable promise of introducing peace into the world picture, at least in the Far East.

Mr. Howard is one of the greatest journalists America has produced, a shrewd analyst and keen observer, who has the canny faculty of getting at the very heart of every international situation he undertakes to investigate. He has just returned from a prolonged tour of observation in the Orient, and it is his opinion that the masses of the people of Japan

are just as much opposed to war with America as the masses of the people of America are opposed to war with Japan.

It is Mr. Howard's belief that the Far East presents no problems affecting America and Japan that cannot be ironed out on a basis of friendly intercourse, and his suggestion is that a commission of Americans with some understanding of and respect for the oriental psychology be appointed at once to survey and report to Congress and the President "on the broad and fundamental aspects of the entire oriental situation."

He gives his pledge, for all his judgment is worth, that the creation of such a commission would immediately ease the Far East tension and would ultimately lead to a friendly understanding between the United States and Japan.

It is a most significant fact that Mr. Kensuke Horinouchi, the Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Japan to the United States, finds himself in complete and cordial agreement with Mr. Howard's point of view. The distinguished Japanese envoy has unreservedly endorsed Mr. Howard's suggestion, stating with emphasis that the people of Japan do not want war with the United States.

It remains to be seen how far Mr. Howard can get with his wise and patriotic suggestion. There is a marked inclination on the part of our foreign affairs officials to play the dangerous interventionist role in the game of belligerency in far away quarters of the globe, as witness the recent wholly unwarranted "monkey" business in Indochina. If Mr. Howard can succeed in bringing our statesmen back to the fundamental maxim of our forefathers which taught that we should cultivate "friendly relations with all nations and entangling alliances with none" and plant them on that rock of safety he will prove to be one of the great men of our age.

I quote as follows from Mr. Howard's statement published in the Scripps-Howard newspapers of Monday, September 30, 1940:

Japan wants no war with America. Japan has more material interests in the United States than anywhere else in the world. In fact, Japan would like above every other consideration to stabilize her relationship with America on a friendly basis, naturally a basis largely of her own choosing.

Her initial terms for such a development would be absurd and impossible, but Japan will trade and negotiate. America has much to offer to Japan—concessions that have a spiritual value more highly prized in Nippon than any material considerations. We, in turn, have not only much to gain but through an adjustment of differences with Tokio the United States would be in a position to extend her good offices in an effort to effect a just and lasting peace between Japan and China.

The weakness of our position has been that having had no public statement, prior to Under Secretary Welles' speech Saturday, of our long-range policy for the Far East (at least none that we have indicated a willingness to back up) the Japanese have been as much in doubt as to Washington's plans and objectives as have been the Americans—and that is plenty. No Japanese Government has been willing to attempt a rapprochement with America until it had something more than an American day-by-day program to work on.

Meantime, the much-talk-and-little-action policy is certainly edging us closer and closer to a wholly unnecessary break with Japan. Our threats without action have played directly into the hands of the Japanese militarists, as certainly as action without threats would have strengthened the hands of the antimilitarists.

We should either do business with Japan and like it, regardless of the consequences to China or anyone else (making no attempt to carry any part of any other nation's burden); or we should, for the present, kiss good-bye to our trade with Japan, cut off from Japan, as they are presently cut off from China, all the varied aids to war which we have been supplying the Japanese, and let these two nations fight it out.

Continuance of half-way measures by our State Department, and the all-too-frequent blatancy and bungling of our Senate Foreign Relations Committee will, if continued, certainly lead to trouble.

Meantime, America and Americans are not without friends or without respect in Japan. With a little more tolerance in our psychological approach to Japan, with a recognition of the fact that they are a proud and sensitive people with a culture to which they accord as much respect as we give to our own, the present unnecessary antagonism could be dispelled with relative ease.

A commission composed of Americans with some understanding of and respect for oriental psychology should be appointed at once, with instructions to survey and report to Congress and the President on the broad and fundamental aspects of the entire oriental situation.

The mere appointment of such a commission, should Japan prove agreeable to receiving it, would ease temporarily the mounting tension. It would give opportunity for the dissipation of heat, and would substitute reason and argument for threats and reprisals.

Whatever its ultimate results—and there is plenty of reason to believe that they would be benign—the appointment of such a commission, or the offer to appoint it, would set an example of an appeal to reason that might conceivably be the initial step in the direction of a restoration of world sanity.

What does Mr. Kensuke Horinouchi, the Japanese Ambassador, have to say in regard to Mr. Howard's important proposal? His statement, giving his unreserved approval to the suggestion, is as follows:

I agree with Mr. Howard. The people of Japan do not want war with the United States, and I am equally convinced that the people of America do not want war with Japan.

So anything that will tend to diminish the existing tension and allow time for a calm, dispassionate examination of the fundamentals along the line suggested at least could do no harm. On the contrary, it might do much good. In times like these the important thing is to keep our feet on the ground.

I feel sure that should such a commission be appointed it would be welcomed in my country, where I am confident it would be afforded every facility for carrying out its mission.

In view of the far-reaching implications of Mr. Howard's proposal, its favorable reception at the Japanese Embassy, and its potentialities for bringing relief to a world that is crying for peace in the storm of war, the question naturally arises, What is going to be done about it?

Citizenship Day at Chattanooga, Tenn., in Conjunction with Chickamauga Dam Celebration Held on August 31, 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

ADDRESSES BY HON. ALBERT GORE, OF TENNESSEE, AND BRABSON LITTLETON

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include therein parts of the address delivered on Citizenship Day, which was held at Chattanooga on August 31, as a part of the Chickamauga Dam celebration. The principal address was delivered by my able colleague, the gentleman from Tennessee, Hon. ALBERT GORE; the acceptance speeches were made by Brabson Littleton and Martha Fassnacht; the oath of allegiance was read by Dr. Archie Palmer, president of the University of Chattanooga.

NEW CITIZENSHIP ADDRESS AT CHATTANOOGA BY HON. ALBERT GORE

In reaching each new status in life people are afforded new opportunities, new outlooks, and assume new responsibilities. I appreciate the honor and privilege of addressing you who are on the threshold of citizenship and invite you to view from my perspective the broad field encompassing your labors, your responsibilities, your opportunities, and your mission in the course and conflict of mankind. A full appreciation of our perspective can only come from a realization and acknowledgment that we are the proud heirs of a rich and costly cultural inheritance—costly in sacrifice, blood, and struggle; rich in traditions of patriotism, loyalty, and courage; rich in the hopes, aspirations, and accomplishments of freemen.

We in the western world have struggled to have a nation of freedom, in which men can look one another squarely in the eye, can stand on their own feet, and, as Emerson said, "work with their own hands and speak their own words." It has been a difficult struggle. The reason we enjoy the liberties which we now enjoy is because in other times men have faced the struggle, believing in the principles of freedom and willingly sacrificing for the blessings of liberty.

A society of freemen, such as our representative democracy, is basically individualistic, and its goal is the achievement of human excellence through the exercise of personal responsibility. The citizen is the fundamental unit of a democracy. He is the primary source of power and is at the same time, in conjunction with a majority of his fellow citizens, the supreme authority. Individual citizenship is glorified. Individualism is inseparably intertwined with freedom and personal responsibility.

The ultimate safeguard of a republic so conceived and constituted is an enlightened and consciously moral citizenship. If the citizenship lacks the intelligence or the moral courage necessary for self-government, then democracy will cease to exist. For morality we must depend upon the consciousness of the people that they are accountable to the divine power which created them. "Love thy

neighbor as thyself," "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" fade into nothingness unless based upon a belief and faith in the fatherhood of God, and without this faith brotherhood of man becomes an idle dream.

In conflict with this liberal and spiritual philosophy of personal freedom, Christianity and self-government by free men are the collectivistic ideologies which subordinate the individual to the totalitarian will of the state. The hellish war now raging is not a mere war of aggression, not a mere war of European hatreds; the issues have become far bigger than any question of colonies or of righting the injustices of the Versailles Treaty. There is at stake the right to live the Christianity upon which men's lives and civilization must be based, else they perish. There is at stake the right and the ability of free people to govern themselves. The rights of peoples and of nations to the freedoms guaranteed to us by our Bill of Rights, and accepted by us as all too matter of fact, are being denied. The brotherhood of man is openly scorned, and the worship of person and state is given precedence over the worship of God.

As you, today, pause near the entering gate to citizenship and see the horizon darkened by this approaching storm of ungodly despotism and tyranny, it would be well to contemplate your course lest you lose your noble inheritance of freedom.

Under way throughout the world is a fast moving revolutionary shift in the centers of control and power. Five great economic empires are now gradually taking shape out of this world upheaval. The fate of the British Empire is not yet settled, but it is in obvious jeopardy. The French and Belgian, and perhaps the Dutch Empires are in process of disintegration and redistribution. There is still a chance, and these chances are improving, that the British can fight off the direct assault from the continent of Europe now being made upon the British Isles. The British Isles are the pulsating heart of the British Empire, and, if by ill fortune they should be subjugated, that Empire would disintegrate, and then there would be only four major orbits of world power—the United States and her allies in the Western Hemisphere, Germany, Russia, and Japan. The magnitude of the struggle for the British Isles, requiring the full strength and energy of the British people, makes slight the prospect that Great Britain can prevent the shifting of possessions, and the empire building now under way by Germany and Russia on the continent of Europe, by Italy, Germany's satellite, in Africa and the Mediterranean, and by Japan in the Far East.

It would, perhaps, be appropriate for you as new citizens to consider the meaning, to you and to your Nation, of a German victory over Great Britain. We would be the only major Government of free men left in the world. If this great system of world order is destroyed, we shall be left to defend ourselves in a world in which there will be only three other major powers—Germany, Russia, and Japan; all unscrupulous, all aggressive, all cooperating with each other, and all hostile to us. We would be the last obstacle to the accomplishment of the totalitarian dream of world domination.

There are those among us who assert that even after a complete totalitarian victory in Europe and Asia and Africa the United States could appease this power-mad incarnation of the devil himself and do business with the world as usual. I reject this assertion. Our people remember Munich. Our people remember that Czechoslovakia was handed over to Hitler by France and Great Britain in an effort at appeasement, and that in the spring of 1940 French and British soldiers were beaten back by huge 70-ton tanks made in Czechoslovakia by the once free, but now enslaved, Czech people. The American people remember that this most contemptible liar of all history only wanted a corridor to the sea through Poland, and yet Poland has been crushed and part of it handed over to the bloody red butchers of Russia, whose communistic minions and low vultures murdered small Polish landowners for no other reason than that they owned and loved their homes. The American people remember the disclaimer of any intentions of invading peace-loving and unoffending Belgium and Holland. Our people can call the roll of Loyalist Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Luxemburg, Belgium, and France.

Young citizens! You who have the strength of your father's sinews and the blood of patriots who made this the greatest Nation on earth, must not think of appeasement. Appeasement! Appease who? Nobody. Young Tennesseans, we are peace-loving people. We will move our line fences to avoid trouble with an honorable neighbor. We will compromise our troubles to avoid a fight. We will shun the appearance of evil in order to safeguard peace and neighborliness, but when a lying, unscrupulous desperado asks us to give back in order to keep him in a good humor we will bear in mind that each time these other nations have consented to his demands he has used these concessions to bring destruction upon them. We of Tennessee say, "America, beware of appeasement—stand firm."

Our people are now fully awake. Swiftly we are changing to a war economy. Your Congress has authorized and directed the administrative branch of our government to build an impregnable defense. It has appropriated billions of dollars with which to do it, and levied upon you terrific taxes to at least partially pay the bill. Industry is being geared at top speed for mass production of instruments of war. A bill to conscript sufficient manpower to make safe our freedom has already passed the Senate and will pass the House next week. It may not be necessary to use these men and these machines in combat. If we are prepared to defend this Nation and its hemispheric outposts, I have an abiding confidence that we will not be attacked; but our freedom is too precious, our way of life too dear, and our responsibility to mankind too great to fail to safeguard it.

You and I may live the best part of our years in a war economy. I wish indications pointed otherwise. If Germany overcomes the British Isles, the economic warfare will only have begun. Our domestic economy will face unprecedented difficulties in the disposition of its surpluses of agriculture and industry. We would of necessity resort to instruments of economic warfare. As much as we detest more regimentation and governmental control of our economies, I see no other escape from the economic consequences of a German victory.

History reveals that economic and political domination follow the trade routes. We would face the very difficult task of keeping open our world-trade routes, of holding docks and ports for the transfer of our goods and we cannot be sure of possessing supremacy of the seas if any major portion of the British Navy should fall into German hands.

South America, caught by this second world war on the point of taking a major place in world trade with her great resources more duplicating than complementing our own, will be a great strategic liability unless we can induce her to cast her lot with us in economic as well as military defense of this hemisphere.

It can readily be seen that a subjugation of the British Isles would lead to long economic warfare with great possibility of it flaring into military conflict. Whereas, on the other hand, if Great Britain can withstand this onslaught she faces a long, long struggle and a much longer struggle if she is to regain the portions of her empire now being and soon to be taken from her. I wish that the view from my perspective was more pleasing to you, but this is no time for deception. It is a time for hard personal sacrifice and intelligent consideration of our problems by the entire citizenship.

In considering the graveness of our situation, however, please do not think that America is doomed. The United States is already a great, rich, well-fed, homogeneous nation compared to Hitler's Europe, which is half starved and polyglot. We possess the greatest mass-production genius in the world, while Germany's resources and industries are disrupted, bankrupt, and partially destroyed by war. Our people are imbued with the love of liberty and pin their faith in God, while Hitler's suffer subjugation and pagan fanaticism.

Our foreign policy must be strong and consistent. We must deal with world problems firmly and sensibly. It may bring upon our heads the odium of being the strong power of the world, but that power we must become, that power we must exert, and that responsibility for the preservation of our freedom we must assume. We can no longer allow our external policies and dealings with the other nations of the world to be subject to the whims of internal politics. We have launched a program by which we will become mistress of the sea. This must become the death knell of narrow isolationism.

This hemisphere can rest upon cooperation between independent nations rather than upon force. It can and must develop its military and naval might sufficiently to withstand any attack by any combination of powers. It can by economic cooperation within the hemisphere provide a period of internal development that will challenge our enormous energy and capital.

We see in the great development of the Tennessee Valley Authority an example of democracy's virility. It rises now in bold relief and the products of its harnessed energy will plague the enemies of democracy. It belies the charge that democracy is inefficient.

Whether or not the United States will seize the unprecedented opportunity for leadership in this hemisphere, whether or not the United States stands firm for liberty and self-government, whether or not this hemisphere is brought into a cohesive orbit within our influence, whether or not we rise to meet the full mission of our destiny depends upon the intelligent foresight and daring of our citizenship. I call upon you, as new citizens, to be vigorous, to catch the vision of our opportunity, to perform your part well, and to help mold public opinion in a broad and intelligent fashion.

America is sufficiently aroused to her danger and there can be no doubt of her might. We realize that the privilege of leadership of this hemisphere entails responsibility beyond our own borders. In 1776 we lit the torch of freedom and inspired an oppressed humanity throughout the world to rise up in dignity and might and claim for itself liberty. A despotic counterattack by the force of tyranny has wiped these liberties from the face of the European Continent, but the teeming millions of unfortunate human beings still look to us like the Star of Bethlehem to guide and light their way. These world conditions make it imperative that the United States remain unshaken in the storm as a citadel of democracy and freedom. We must exemplify by precept and principle both the right and ability of free men to govern themselves. We must lead the way to a better day. No matter how dark the night, no matter how distant the dawn, doubt not that tomorrow will come, and that the splendors of the future will eclipse all the splendors of the past.

RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGE OF CITIZENSHIP BY BRABSON LITTLETON

When an individual becomes fully enfranchised as an American citizen, he faces very serious responsibilities—responsibilities which, until recent times, absolute rulers and despotic kings have reserved for themselves exclusively. Throughout the greater part of the world's history the masses have been driven under the lash of monarchs who have vested in themselves the sole right to exercise the power of original sovereignty, acquired by force and maintained by force. Under this system of rule the peoples of nations flourished

or perished according to the ability and character of the leader, and whenever the administration of a tyrant became unbearable, assassination or revolution and bloodshed were the only weapons in the hands of the people.

One hundred and fifty years ago the American colonists adopted a plan of government whereby the power of original sovereignty was declared to be, and to remain, in the people, not with the officers of the Government. This is the basic principle upon which our Government is founded. This places ultimate authority to govern in the hands of the citizen—the identical prerogative and duty of the absolute despot. The people of this Nation can change the basic form of government—amend the constitution, or within its present framework, and subject to its limitation, can send representatives to enact into law whatever they desire. In matters pertaining to the public welfare, the exercise of this privilege becomes a duty entailing grave responsibility, and upon its wise and patriotic exercise rests the life or death of our Republic.

Other generations of newly enfranchised citizens have had to deal with many vital problems and critical situations in the past, but it is difficult to imagine more serious conditions than those which we are compelled to face today.

These responsibilities of citizenship which we have mentioned today are but a few of the salient ones. To these and other questions which confront the public we, as the newest additions to the body politic of America, pledge ourselves to give painstaking thought and consideration, to the end that we may vote and act as God gives us the light to see the right—to preserve for ourselves and coming generations the American way of life, always keeping before us the ideal of constant improvement.

So, now, it becomes our privilege and duty to accept these responsibilities of American citizenship and to exercise with diligence, foresight, prudence, judgment, and patriotism, the powers of original sovereignty now vested in us, duties which, with God's help, we will discharge without fear or favor to the end that the stars and stripes will ever wave over the home of the free and the land of the brave.

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

(By Martha Fassnacht)

This simple, tragic truth is becoming increasingly clear, that we, the American youth of today, have not been educated for freedom and democracy. Unmindful of the sacrifices of our forefathers, we have regarded democracy as an achievement won years ago and now handed down to us on a silver platter, to be enjoyed without further effort. We are now beginning to realize that real democratic government cannot be attained by adopting a constitution and providing the machinery for voting. As John Locke said 200 years ago, "Government can be democratic and stable only when it is based upon the consent of the governed, and the consent is given only when the people understand their problems and approve intelligently the acts of their representatives in government."

Within the borders of this vast country numerous dissatisfied nationalities have found and enjoyed a form of government unknown to them before—a form of government that youth of today is grimly realizing that they must preserve. Ours is a government in which the final decision rests upon those concerned—the masses—and not upon a leader to whom they have enslaved themselves for a cause, whether right or wrong.

With all its natural resources, its freedom, its democratic spirit which so characterizes this Nation, America has continued to be a land of golden opportunities. The youth is willing to make the necessary sacrifices in order to endow posterity with the same rich heritage. And the American youth of today desire to prevent the decay of society that has Europe in its grasp. Would the price prove to be too great? Youth says "No."

Today the youth, full of enthusiasm for the future, demands a chance in life. This age of specialization affords many opportunities to all who develop their innate abilities. It is only where man is free that initiative and ingenuity flourish.

Youth, with far less economic and political interests to prejudice their views, can and must develop the faculties for thinking independently of outer influences. To accept the views of others without analyzing intelligently each different situation only suppresses the chance for the development of expert thinkers and leaders.

In American schools, rather than teach youth only the things of value for the furtherance of a national cause, the fundamental principle is the development of the individual through cultural and vocational training. Here children are taught that one apple plus two apples equals three apples. In Europe it is one gun plus two guns equals three guns. Is this to instill patriotism and a love of one's country into the souls of youth? Let us not be deceived by false patriotism.

Would not the example of the highest type of honor and patriotism be for each American to make the very most of his life as an individual citizen? Respecting the laws, keeping abreast with the present-day situations, participating in national and community affairs, and accepting every opportunity to enrich one's life by service—these practices lead to good citizenship. Each citizen can do his utmost toward lessening the continual strife between classes, and toward preserving the liberties set forth in the Bill of Rights.

One of these rights, the privilege of vote, must be exercised if the Government continues to be the voice of the majority. Woman suffrage has not accomplished all that was expected of it. Women are indifferent to political and public affairs because of the innumerable duties of their home. They rely too much upon their husbands to take the initiative, and are thus not aware of the importance of making independent decisions.

Deep-rooted in the heart of every citizen is the saving principle of our Government—the love of home. The love man has for the home he inhabits, the soil he tills, the trees that give him shade—this love is the germ of the best patriotism. Present social forces are gradually destroying the unity of the home. But the young woman of today is desirous of establishing a home where peace, security, and companionship abound.

Youth's obligation to America is to be a dynamic force in the defense of American freedom and ideals.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

(Read by Dr. Archie Palmer, president of the University of Chattanooga)

With a solemn sense of my responsibility and believing in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which Americans have sacrificed their lives and fortunes. I, a citizen of the United States of America, do hereby solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God and this assemblage that I will bear true faith and allegiance to my country, that I will support and obey her Constitution and laws, and will defend them, even with my life, against all enemies, both foreign and domestic, and that I will cherish and exercise the privilege of ballot now entrusted to me to the end that this government of free people shall not perish from the earth.

The Willkie Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENNETH McKELLAR

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 3 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

INTERVIEWS WITH HON. E. H. CRUMP, OF TENNESSEE

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print in the Appendix of the RECORD newspaper interviews given out by former Congressman E. H. Crump, of Tennessee, on the pending political compaign and its effect on the Tennessee Valley campaign. It is important to the Tennessee Valley Authority. Mr. Crump states the case most succinctly and most forcefully.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CRUMP RAPS WILLKIE AS POWER TRUST TOOL—CALLS CANDIDACY GRUDGE FIGHT ON T. V. A.—"NOT A BUSINESSMAN"—SHELBY POLITICAL LEADER DECRIES G. O. P. NOMINEE'S CONNECTIONS WITH UTILITIES—SAYS HE'S UNQUALIFIED FOR OFFICE

E. H. Crump, head of the Shelby political organization, yesterday described the nomination and campaign of Wendell Willkie for the Presidency as a grudge fight on T. V. A.

His statement follows:

"Willkie offers so much less in the way of experience, good sound judgment, and honesty of purpose than perhaps any other nominee for President, Democrat or Republican, since the organization of these parties. And the caliber of Willkie is steadily becoming apparent to the voters of America. With his rapid decline in popularity, steadily dropping away because of his blundering speeches, I would hesitate to predict how few States he will carry in November.

"His nomination and race are a grudge fight on T. V. A.

"WALL STREET CHEERS

"The Wall Street Power Trust 'hurrahed' Willkie's nomination through at Philadelphia.

"Willkie's company, the Tennessee Power Co., paid the secretary of state to pass on their assessments at Nashville. They evidently believed in doing evil that good might result. A cold case of bribery—'by their fruits ye shall know them.'

"The corrupt Insull outfit worked exactly the same way. They put Frank Smith on the Illinois Utility Commission and later elected him to the United States Senate. But that august body held that Smith had been elected with tainted money and refused to seat him.

"Willkie was a member of Tammany Hall. There is documentary proof, and yet he repudiates it. He has made assertions that he has

had to retract. He charges that before the Munich conference, President Roosevelt telephoned Mussolini, Hitler, and Chamberlain urging an appeasement program—a pure fabrication which his secretary retracted for him.

"TRICKED KNOXVILLE

"His company tricked the people of Knoxville in the purchase of the light plant there. They were evidently quite proud of their great deception.

"Hurrying over to Indiana he claimed Rushville as his home, and rented a residence there, when, as a matter of fact, his home is in New York City, his business in Wall Street.

"He has been clowning about—getting 'smarty' but really he is just another inexperienced trouper.

"None of his proposals are constructive. He endorses the leading Roosevelt plans, and jauntily asserts he can work them better than the President. Really his speeches are a lot of gall and blab—a lot of words which mean nothing.

"NOT FITTED FOR OFFICE

"After carefully observing Wendell Willkie since his nomination was engineered by the Power Trust at Philadelphia, reading his speeches, and hearing of his school-boy language and antics, especially at the Chicago Stockyards, the conclusion is inescapable that he is in no high-minded way fitted for the great office of President.

"Senator CHARLES MCNARY, of Oregon, now Willkie's running mate, warned the people before the Philadelphia convention, 'the West will go against us if Mr. Willkie heads the ticket.'

"And Arthur Bruce, now Republican candidate for Governor of Tennessee, said there: 'I can't see Willkie as a business man. By a businessman I mean an operating business, not a holding company.'

"NOT A BUSINESSMAN

"The point to make about Willkie is that he is not a businessman as that phrase is commonly understood. He is not an industrialist; his only formal and extensive contact with the business world has centered in the public-utilities section, which has one of the worst records for shady practice in American history. Not a production man or a salesman, Willkie's essential relationship to the segment of business he knows best has been that of a fixer and front man. These are admittedly smear words, but they express the opinion of the New Republic.

"Contrast to the Republican aspirant Roosevelt the humanitarian, who has the high quality of noble character and is worthy of confidence.

"Just compare conditions in business and agriculture back under the Republican administration when 6,364 banks were closed. Cotton, 5 cents a pound, farms and homes were being steadily foreclosed, bread lines were in every city, and starving, armed farmers were resisting efforts to oust them from their homes. Despair was rampant everywhere and suicides were commonplace. Old established fortunes were swept away, and there seemed no avenue of escape. And Hoover just sat back, incapable of a helpful thought, and watched the ship of state steadily sinking."

CHATTANOOGA TIMES TO SUPPORT WILLKIE—EXECUTIVE EDITORS DISAGREE, GET LEAVE OF ABSENCE

CHATTANOOGA, September 23.—The Chattanooga Times has announced its support of Wendell L. Willkie for the Presidency and at the same time granted editorial leaves of absence to Executive Editor Julian Larose Harris and his assistant, Hunt Clement, Jr., who disagreed with the political stand.

Col. Julius Ochs Adler, publisher, in a signed statement appearing at the top of an editorial-page column, said:

"Mr. Julian Larose Harris, the executive editor of the Chattanooga Times, and Mr. Hunt Clement, Jr., his assistant, finding themselves not in accord with the editorial policy of the Chattanooga Times in the Presidential campaign, have been granted editorial leaves of absence at their own request. Mr. Harris and Mr. Clement will resume their full duties on November 7, 1940."

Colonel Adler also is vice president and general manager of the New York Times which, like the Chattanooga Times, is backing a Republican Presidential candidate for the first time since 1908. Both papers are owned by the estate of Adolph S. Ochs, who died in 1935.

AND WALL STREET

Wendell L. Willkie has no sympathy for "the masses of the people," but Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was born rich, is a humanitarian who understands the problems of the masses, E. H. Crump, Shelby political leader, said today.

"Willkie, the Republican candidate for President of the United States, has no love, kindly feeling, or sympathy for people who do not live on millionaire row," Mr. Crump said. "He dearly loves the cold-blooded, heartless Wall Street crowd. That's where he has been for years. He mingles with them. He plays with them. Was associated with J. P. Morgan & Co. and the First National Bank of New York, perhaps the richest in the world, and his billion-dollar polluted, watered-stock holding company, guilty of spying and bribery. Crookedness is no less crooked because a man keeps out of jail.

"The Mother Goose rhyme with deletions fits him precisely:

"'Baa, baa, black sheep,
Have you any wool?
Yes, sir, yes, sir,
Three bags full—
Two for my masters in Wall Street
And one for my dame,
But none for the poor boys
Who live down in the lane.'

"Willkie's Wall Street training absolutely unfits him for President of all the people.

"On the other hand, there is Roosevelt, the humanitarian, born a rich man, but knows what the masses of the people have to contend with. He is in sympathy with their problems.

"No business can prosper, there is no need for more capital or expansion unless farmers, town and city people have money to spend. They are the consumers. No cotton grower or buyer could sell to any mill unless there is need for manufactured goods. The people are the consumers. There would be no bank deposits unless the people—the consumers who put money in circulation—have it to spend.

"Roosevelt has given a helping hand all the way around.

"No one could have done any better.

"Why whip a willing horse?"

Peacetime Conscription

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMILTON FISH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. HAMILTON FISH, OF NEW YORK

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address made over a National Broadcasting Co. network, Thursday evening, October 3, 1940:

I am grateful to the officials of the National Broadcasting Company for providing me with this free time and shall abide by their request, difficult as it may be in these days, not to discuss partisan politics this evening.

I propose to discuss certain national issues—great American issues that transcend all party lines because they affect the security and welfare of our people and the defense and destiny of America. At the outset let me say that I have voted consistently for all national-defense measures in order to make America invincible on land, sea, and air. As a World War veteran I want my country so prepared that it could defend the United States and the American continent from all attacks by any aggressor nation or groups of nations.

The peacetime conscription for good or for evil is the law of the land and as such should be complied with and obeyed by all loyal and patriotic American citizens. Before discussing further the controversial issue of peacetime conscription, I desire to speak from my heart to the radio audience regarding my much abused and deliberately misrepresented 60-day enlistment amendment, adopted twice by the House of Representatives. I am convinced that if my amendment had been retained in the conscription bill that 400,000 young Americans would have responded to the call of the President for volunteers within 60 days, based on 1-year enlistment and $30 pay per month. Instead of delaying or retarding the induction of men into our Army, my amendment would have expedited their enlistment and under no circumstances could have delayed by a single day or hour the number of men required under the draft. I feel so strongly and even bitterly about the falsehoods circulated in the press of Washington and New York and the eastern interventionist newspapers generally to the effect that my amendment would have delayed the draft by 60 days that I want to present the facts to the radio audience and answer the malicious lies they have seen and read in the press. They can then decide on the merits of the proposition instead of being influenced by poisonous propaganda. "Veritas magna est et pravalebit"—the truth is mighty and will prevail.

I am impelled to answer the false charges made by the eastern press not in defense of myself but in defense of the 140 Republicans and 67 Democrats who voted for my amendment. As a result of the misrepresentation and false statements that my amendment would delay the draft and the induction into service of draftees by 60 days, a primary contest was organized against me. The primary election was held on September 17. I spent only $88 and made one speech over the local radio and won by a majority of 10 to 1 against two opponents—a much larger percentage than I have ever had before. Therefore, I repeat not in defense of

myself but rather to defend the 207 Members of the House who voted for my amendment; I present these facts.

My amendment, known as the Fish amendment, provided for a 60-day period in which to give volunteers an opportunity to enlist upon a call by the President in accordance with the American way, ideals, and traditions. I provided for the 60-day period so as not to interfere with the operation of the draft, otherwise I would have provided for 90 days, which was my preference and more desirable. A provision was written into my amendment that nothing in the subsection should interfere with the registration, classification, or induction into service of the draftees. There was no possible way of any delay under my amendment in spite of the perversion of the truth by the New York newspapers for their own selfish purposes.

It was further stated in these newspapers that the 60-day alleged delay aimed to carry over election day; that it had to do with politics and with votes. This was just another contemptible lie. The 60-day period in my amendment was purposely used so as not to interfere with the draft and had nothing to do with election day. I am not a rubber stamp Member of Congress and even my bitterest opponent has never questioned my political independence or courage. This is my answer to those false charges: "The proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof." I am positive that the 207 Members of the House who voted for my amendment will be in a position to prove to their constituents on election day that not a single draftee has been inducted into the service by then and will not be before December 1; and that the rejection of my amendment in conference has actually delayed the training of men in our armed forces and weakened and delayed our national defense. It is my firm conviction that if the Fish amendment had been adopted that the entire 400,000 quota would have been obtained within 60 days without imposing the European militaristic system of conscription upon the American people in peacetime.

I call upon and appeal in this emergency to all young Americans between 18 and 35 without dependents to enlist in the Army of the United States for 1 year and at $30 a month. I do not believe we will go to war, and I hope that none of them have to fire a single shot against any enemy; but this country must be prepared to defend ourselves and the Western Hemisphere against any aggressor nations. I urge the parents to encourage their sons to enlist, as the training will be beneficial and service in the Army of the United States in this emergency and in defense of America is a patriotic duty.

If there is any country worth living in today it is the United States of America. If there is any country worth protecting and defending it is our own. I have from the very beginning, and shall continue, to lead the fight to keep America out of foreign wars unless we are attacked or the Monroe Doctrine is violated. If this be treason to the American people, let the interventionists and warmongers make the most of it. America should stay out of the bloody shambles of Europe and of Asia. If we are involved in a foreign war it would mean bankruptcy, death, disaster, and the black-out of American liberties and the creation of a dictatorship here as bad as the Nazis or the Fascist within 24 hours.

The appointment of Elliott Roosevelt as a Reserve captain and specialist in the Army Air Corps procurement division to purchase supplies is a direct attack on and undermines the very spirit and letter of that part of the conscription bill permitting volunteer enlistments. It was never considered for a moment by the Congress that volunteers should be accepted as officers without any military training. In fact, for the past year the War Department has refused to permit anyone, including World War officers, to join the Officers' Reserve Corps, which was the only way to be placed on active duty unless in the National Guard or the Regular Army. But Elliott Roosevelt, who should have volunteered to serve as a private soldier the same as other patriotic young Americans, signed up with the rank of captain in the Army Air Corps as a specialist in procurement at $200 a month, or $116 extra per month if he claims dependents. Is this the spirit of democracy? Is this in accord with the American doctrine of equal rights and special privilege for none? Is this playing on the square with the peacetime Conscription Act and with the intent of Congress? Let the American people know the truth and they will reach the right conclusion. I call on Elliott Roosevelt to resign his commission as captain in the purchasing or procurement division of the Army Air Corps and set a fine example by enlisting on the same terms as hundreds of thousands of other American boys between the ages of 18 and 35 as a private soldier at $30 per month. These young patriots cannot even choose what branch of the service they may serve in. No matter how much Elliott Roosevelt may alibi or try to explain, just so long as he continues to hold his sinecure captain's commission he will be giving a black eye and rendering a disservice to the Army and to national defense. No matter what his motives may have been, he should resign before he creates a feeling of discord and lack of unity among the volunteers and draftees called to service under the conscription bill.

The President's son should be the last one to require special favors under a bill that calls other people's sons to train as private soldiers and risk their lives in combat units at $30 per month. I do not know Elliott Roosevelt and have no personal resentment against him, but, in the name of 800,000 volunteers and draftees and their mothers and fathers, I call on him to resign his commission and to serve in the ranks until he has been trained and proved his qualifications to be commissioned as an officer. Under the draft bill there must be only one rule—equal treatment and service for all and special preference for none.

The War Department informed me today that there have been only six captains appointed as specialists in the Army Air Corps during the last 6 months and Elliott Roosevelt is one of them. There have been none appointed to any other branch of our armed forces except the dental and medical units. The facts speak for themselves. General Hugh Johnson is correct—"it looks like hateful nepotism, favoritism, and unfairness." I do not believe that Elliott Roosevelt or the President appreciated the implication of his act, but it should "be undone as quickly as it was performed, otherwise it will remain a stench to heaven." This precedent must not be permitted to stand.

The number of volunteers has already exceeded all expectations. In New York City and many others the recruits are lined up for blocks waiting an opportunity to enlist for 1 year at $30 a month instead of the previous 3-year enlistment at $21 a month. Even without my amendment requiring an official call by the President for volunteers, more have enlisted than the Army can take care of up to December 1, and within the next 30 days a substantial part of the draft quota will be filled by volunteers. The trouble is that there is not sufficient equipment or housing to take care of them before the first of the year.

I am in favor of conscription in time of war or in case of an emergency such as now exists if volunteers do not respond in sufficient numbers. I voted for the conscription bill with my amendment in it, and would have voted for it without my amendment had it been limited for the emergency or for 2 years. The American people have not the faintest idea that a 5-year or permanent conscription has been forced upon them without their knowledge or consent. The next Congress and the following Congress will have nothing to say about it and by that time militarism and the European conscription system will be fastened upon the American people as a permanent institution. Emergency conscription for 2 years, which would have permitted the next Congress to face the then existing world conditions and decide upon the basis of those facts what is best for America, would have had my support and I believe that of the American people. As it now stands we have crushed down upon the brow of labor a permanent crown of compulsion and militarism; we have laid upon the back of the farmers the permanent whip of autocracy and force; and we have crucified the American people on a permanent cross of militarism, conscription, and dictatorship and probably war. Not one out of 10,000 Americans know the full import of the permanent Conscription Act. It not only conscripts the American youth in time of peace but it gives the President dictatorial powers to conscript property, industry, and wealth. Wherever conscription has been enforced in foreign lands it has devoured free institutions and been the cornerstone of militarism and dictatorship. It has destroyed all peace elements within these countries, created war psychology, and made war seem natural and inevitable.

Permanent peacetime conscription is un-American, undemocratic, and unrepublican and is bound to be a dangerous and disastrous departure from American ideals and traditions. Permanent peacetime conscription in America is the direct road to Hitlerism, dictatorship, and national socialism. If we keep it as a permanent policy not merely for the emergency we have copied Nazi methods and ideology. We will have brought Hitlerism, totalitarianism, and national socialism to America. Permanent conscription in time of peace is not the American way but the Old World road to militarism, dictatorship, and war.

It is now the law of our country and must be obeyed, but when this emergency is over the Congress of the United States must once again restore to the American people their liberties and civil rights and our American way of life and safeguard them from any permanent system of militarism and conscription, in peacetime, which is the betrayal of our free institutions and constitutional government, which guarantees them against involuntary servitude.

All history, and particularly contemporary, proves that placing the power of life and livelihood in the hands of any one man is the road to dictatorship and totalitarianism. There is no room in free America for any forms of Nazi, Fascist, or Communist militarism, autocracy, or dictatorship.

The Congress must not adjourn but stay in session through 3-day recesses to meet any emergency at home or abroad, to safeguard national defense, to preserve our free institutions, and to keep America out of foreign wars.

Congress Must Not Adjourn Sine Die

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 2, 1940

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, our duty is plain. Congress should remain in session to protect the welfare of our country and its people. Should we adjourn

sine die, the forces of dictatorship and war will take complete control. Congress is the only remaining check upon those who seek to plunge our country into the European war.

I am aware of the fact that all Members of the House of Representatives are up for reelection. The election will take place within a few weeks, and we would like to go to our respective districts to meet our constituents and talk over critical issues confronting our country. I would also like to go to my district and campaign for reelection, but let me say to my colleagues, the folks back home are thoroughly familiar with the major issues of war, third term, and dictatorship, and they want us to stay on the job in Washington. If we have functioned to protect our country, our constituents will protect our political interests on election day.

Let me also give some additional reasons against supporting a Democratic motion to adjourn Congress sine die. We in America have taken our stand with the democracies of the world. Congress should remain here to pass on the question of giving additional aid, short of war, to the nations now battling to preserve world democracy. This is a responsibility of Congress and not solely of the President.

The serious and unsolved problems of national defense, relief, unemployment, farm legislation, public expenditures, and other measures of grave importance to the future of our country, demand continued attention now. These problems should be given immediate consideration, and I therefore urge all of my fellow Members to talk and vote against any motion to end this session of Congress. Congress, the House of Representatives in particular, is the last bulwark for the protection of our free democracy and the continuation of the American way of life.

Dedication of Big Levels Game Refuge, George Washington National Forest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARVIN JONES

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, OF VIRGINIA

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by the gentleman from Virginia, Hon. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, chairman, House Select Committee on Conservation of Wildlife Resources, at the dedication of the Big Levels Game Refuge, George Washington National Forest, September 29, 1940:

In meeting with you here today for the dedication of one of the finest wildlife restoration projects ever undertaken by the Federal Government, I feel, I can appropriately take as my text a line from Louis Spilman's In the Old Arm Chair column: "Most of us live far beyond our means—physically far more than financially." With that as a text, I can preach what I have not always practiced, in the field of conservation as well as in the sense in which the language was originally used.

The struggle for freedom, religious and political, and for the perpetuity of democratic ideals and institutions now raging in Europe is constantly on my mind. That struggle really goes back to the field of Runnymede where in 1215 the barons wrested from King John the great charter known in our history books as Magna Carta. When Caesar invaded England in 54 B. C. he brought to the Angles and the Saxons some new ideas about law and government, as well as new ideas about road building and architecture. When William the Conqueror won his victory at Hastings in 1066 he brought with him still further ideas about government. While the theory of government of the Caesars and the theory of government of the Normans recognized that the individual had some rights, neither recognized that the right of the individual could approach the right of the king or the crown. In other words, in those early days the prevailing theory throughout the whole world was that the king could do no wrong, a pleasant aphorism for the plain, bald fact that the king could do what he pleased. Acting upon that assumption, King John elected to exclude the barons and nobles of England from some of the choicest hunting grounds, which irritated them, no doubt, as much as his high-handed methods with respect to compulsory military service, the handling of property rights, and the forfeiture of liberty without what is now known as due process of law.

So when they set about the business of demanding their rights and of limiting the divine right of kings, they included in the contract certain hunting and fishing rights for the barons and nobles on their own lands and have jealously guarded these rights ever since.

Most of the early settlers of this country and all of the immigrants who came here after the permanent settlements have been made came to get rights and privileges that had been denied to them in their own country. Some came to get land, some came for a larger measure of personal freedom, including religious freedom, and all came with fixed determination that in this new land of opportunity they would enjoy all of the hunting and fishing they pleased. And so we organized a new society in the New World on the principle, among others, that title to wildlife was vested in the state and not in the individual, and that the state should hold that title for the use and benefit of all the citizens.

In early colonial days there was such a great abundance of wildlife it was not necessary for the state to impose any restrictions whatever upon hunting and fishing, and for a long time there were no game laws in Virginia or anywhere else. But in the words of my text, "Most of us live far beyond our means," we consumed this great natural resource faster than we realized, and finally saw a day dawn in Virginia, with a population of 25 or 30 to the square mile, when we actually had less game than in some European countries where the population was as high as 400 to the square mile. And the same conditions prevailed in all of the States east of the Mississippi River.

That situation aroused the nature lovers and conservationists of the country, who took steps for the passage of hunting and fishing laws in the States and took steps to interest the Federal Government in a national conservation program. As a result of these steps our Nation was the first nation in the world to establish a national park to preserve natural resources and wonders in their primitive state and to make them available to all of the people. Much of the public domain was turned into national forests, which, with subsequent acquisitions by purchase, now aggregate 175,000,000 acres. A total of 26 national parks aggregating 25,000,000 acres were established in various sections of the country, including 1 in Virginia. Of the remaining 173,000,000 acres of public domain, a considerable portion was set aside primarily for wildlife-conservation purposes, where overgrazing by domestic stock was prohibited. Some 9,000,000 acres of submarginal land was withdrawn from agriculture and devoted to the multiple use of forestation, soil-conserving crops, and wildlife. Large areas of pond and marshland were acquired as inviolate refuges for migratory birds. The Congress passed a law to impose an excise tax on guns and ammunition, the proceeds of which are being distributed as grants-in-aid to the States for the conservation of wildlife. The work of all Federal agencies that touch the field of wildlife conservation has not only been coordinated but measurably quickened. In recent years, for instance, the United States Forest Service, which administers the vast domain of national forests, has been giving as much consideration to the preservation of the wildlife of the forests as it has to the preservation of the trees. And in keeping with that great program the United States Forest Service has honored and benefited this section of Virginia by the establishment of the Big Levels Game Refuge which we today are dedicating.

It has been truly said that without a vision the people perish. We have led the nations of the world in our vision of how to turn our great natural resources of timber, iron, coal, oil, etc., through the means of mass production, into useful and consumable wealth. Our vision of the value of our wildlife resources from a commercial, esthetic, and good-citizenship standpoint was slow in developing. The man who had the vision of the possibilities of the Big Levels Game Refuge was none other than your Justus Cline, to whom too much credit cannot be given. He appreciated the words of Samuel, who said: "I heard the voice of the Lord saying 'Whom shall we send and who will go for us,' and I said, 'Here am I, Lord, send me.'" Judd Cline has never asked the other fellow to do the job. He has spared neither time, effort, nor money in sending himself to do the job of conserving the wildlife resources of Virginia.

Several years ago I had the pleasure to sit at luncheon with the distinguished English scientist Julian Huxley, who told me of the struggle being made in England to confirm by act of Parliament what is known there as the right of ancient view. That ancient right related to a right claimed by citizens to walk to the top of some local mountain, regardless of the fact that it was privately owned, and drink in the beauties of a mountain view. When Huxley reached Washington he had just returned from a trip that had taken him to the west coast, in the course of which he had visited numerous national parks and national forests, and he expressed to me both surprise and gratification over the provision that had been made in this country for the rank and file of the people not only to enjoy the right of ancient view from our mountaintops, but to enjoy hunting and fishing in millions of acres of publicly owned land. And he told me how richly we were blessed in having such privileges and how we should cherish them.

That British love of nature, that British love of individual and personal rights are all at stake in the terrific battle now being waged in England, and in making the current preparations for our own defense we must not forget that we have even more to defend, and to fight for if need be, than any other people in the world. Frankly, I think the opportunity that exists in this country to find peace and contentment in the simple pleasures of the out-of-doors is really more worthy of defense than are our 17,000 tons of gold. And while we are about the business of providing an adequate defense, we should not overlook the duty of teaching the people how to make the fullest use of the opportunities that are theirs. Industry, of course, is commendable, but Robert Louis Stevenson says of an industrious fellow:

"He sows hurry and reaps indigestion; he puts a vast deal of activity out to interest, and receives a large measure of nervous derangement in return. Either he absents himself entirely from all fellowship, and lives a recluse in a garret, with carpet slippers and a leaden inkpot; or he comes among people swiftly and bitterly, in a contraction of his whole nervous system, to discharge some temper before he returns to work."

If we are to have the best and most useful type of citizenship, we must develop sound minds in sound bodies through outdoor recreation. We must develop patriotism and love of constitutional freedom in a representative democracy through the fullest and freest use of the wonderful natural resources that God created for the benefit of man. We must contribute to good citizenship and the elimination of class-antagonism that may lead to un-American and subversive activities by getting the people of the cities into our national parks and into refuges such as the one being developed here, where they can realize that "The heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth His handiwork."

To these fundamental purposes, for the present generation and for generations yet unborn, I am pleased to unite with you today in dedicating the first experimental game refuge ever to be established by the Federal Government in a national forest.

Oil and the National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. COFFEE

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. The Members of Congress are no doubt familiar with the report of the Council of National Defense made to the United States Attorney General setting forth certain objections to the filing of a suit to enforce the antitrust laws. It was released by the Attorney General on September 14, 1940.

At a later date I shall have a rather complete analysis of this report to submit to my colleagues but at this time I want to point out a most important angle of this oil antitrust suit for your consideration.

I am reliably informed that the following oil men have become associated with the Council of National Defense, most, if not all, at the usual dollar a year consideration:

Dr. Robert E. Wilson, principal oil adviser to the National Defense Commission. Dr. Wilson is president of Pan American Petroleum & Transport Co., a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Co. (Indiana).

C. C. Monrad, technical assistant to Dr. Wilson, on leave from Carnegie Institute of Technology. Mr. Monrad was formerly employed by the Standard Oil Co. (Indiana).

Fayette B. Dow, pipe-line transportation adviser to Commission. Mr. Dow is Washington attorney for the American Petroleum Institute and Washington counsel for many of the pipe-line companies.

S. D. Heron, aviation-gasoline expert. Mr. Heron is connected with the Ethyl Gasoline Corporation.

T. A. Boyd, oil adviser. Mr. Boyd comes from the research laboratory division of General Motors Corporation, which owns one-half of the stock of Ethyl Gasoline Corporation.

Walter G. Whitman, chairman of aviation fuels committee. Mr. Whitman is connected with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Formerly he was a research expert for the Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), 1926–31.

Dr. D. P. Barnard, oil adviser. Dr. Barnard is associate director of research for Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), having been connected with that company since 1925.

Gerald H. B. Davis, oil adviser. Mr. Davis is director of research laboratories, Standard Oil Development Co.; a 100-percent subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey).

Maj. James H. Doolittle, oil adviser. Mr. Doolittle is head of the aviation department of Shell Oil Co., Inc., 100-percent subsidiary of Shell Union Oil Corporation.

J. Bennett Hill, oil adviser. Mr. Hill is manager of the development division of Sun Oil Co. and was formerly chief chemist for the Atlantic Refining Co.

C. R. Dooley, adviser to labor division of Commission. Mr. Dooley is industrial-relations manager of Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Inc.

In addition to the above, Dr. Wilson has appointed a special committee of oil-company engineers to advise the Army and Navy on storage systems. This committee consists of the following: Scott E. Drummond, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey; W. B. Engelbrecht, Phillips Petroleum Co. of California; S. P. Johnson, Standard Oil Co. of California; O. B. Lewis, Ethyl Gasoline Corporation; C. D. Norris, the Texas Co.; Walter Samans, the Sun Oil Co.; E. D. Seymour, Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Inc.

Others who have become identified with the national-defense program and who occupy positions of prominence might well be listed. I shall refer to only two of them. Mr. Charles I. Francis, of Houston, Tex., a lawyer who formerly represented the American Petroleum Institute in its antitrust suit in Texas, and who more recently assisted in the defense of the major oil companies at Madison, Wis., has been appointed as a special adviser to Secretary of War Stimson. Then there is Nelson Rockefeller, who has been appointed Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Nations for the Council of National Defense.

Until otherwise shown, every one of these gentlemen is under a cloud of having had something to do with the preparation or contents of the report of the Council of National Defense on the oil antitrust suit. These men are practically all connected with companies which would be affected by the proposed antitrust suit to bring about pipe-line divorcement and marketing divorcement in the oil industry. They are real parties at interest; and if they had any part in the decision of the Council of National Defense, their activity may be only the prelude to the defeat of our democratic form of government. It is not a democratic process to permit the employees of the accused to serve on a jury, nor should they be permitted to pass judgment on a case before it is submitted to the courts for adjudication.

On August 21, 1940, I submitted to the House a proposed resolution, House Resolution 575, to investigate this whole matter. I believe in fairness to those gentlemen that I have listed, who have had no part in the deliberations of the Defense Commission on this oil antitrust suit, the investigation should be authorized. In fairness to the consumers of petroleum products, and those who believe in our time-honored antitrust laws, it should be started without delay. I earnestly request the Rules Committee promptly to report out House Resolution 575.

Religion and Politics

"Render, therefore, to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."—Matthew xxii: 21.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

SERMON BY REV. DR. MAURICE S. SHEEHY

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following sermon deliv-

ered by the Reverend Dr. Maurice S. Sheehy, associate professor of religious education at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., at the annual mass of the Holy Spirit, the "red mass," of the Catholic Lawyers Guild, Brooklyn, N. Y., celebrated in the church of St. Charles Borromeo at 9:30 a. m. Thursday, September 26, by the Most Reverend Thomas E. Molloy, bishop of Brooklyn:

These words I consider appropriate for this occasion for two reasons: First, they were uttered to the lawmaking group of Christ's day; and, secondly, they dealt with a problem which is more acute today than it was 19 centuries ago. "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Caesar?" our Lord was asked. He did not answer it directly. He chose, rather, to provoke discussion among his hearers. He acknowledged that Caesar had some rights. He also taught that one might support civil authority without being disloyal to God.

Of late we have heard much of the relationships that should exist between church and state. A union of religion and civil authority is commonly considered alien to the American tradition. This is due largely to a confusion of terms. We now enjoy, and always have had, a union of church and state in this country, if we mean by union a working understanding. A member of the Czechoslovak commission which visited Pope Pius XI at the time that Government was assuming form quoted the Pontiff as stating that a union of church and state such as existed in the United States and Brazil was commendable. In what sense have we such a union or working agreement? In the sense that every man is free to worship God as he pleases; in the acceptance of the decalogue as the moral basis of civil law; in repudiation of polygamy; in the protection of the Lord's Day by civil legislation; in the exemption of church property from taxation; in supplying chaplains to our armed forces; in setting aside one day each year for thanksgiving to God; in opening our legislative assemblies with prayer. All this has been achieved without prejudice to the interests of any religious group. Atheistic societies occasionally complain against a practice which indicates that this Nation is legally God-fearing. Such action is consistent with atheistic communism; but it is inconsistent with the American tradition which is fundamentally, as regards freedom, the basis of authority, and insistence upon the divine origin of human rights, the Catholic tradition.

Since my statement will no doubt be challenged, may I call attention to a remarkable parallelism in the words of the great Catholic jurist of the sixteenth century, Robert Bellarmine, and those of Jefferson. This similarity becomes more than a mere coincidence when we find the words of Bellarmine still intact in the library of Jefferson now kept in our Library of Congress.

In the sixteenth century Bellarmine wrote, "All men are equal, not in wisdom or in grace, but in the essence and nature of mankind." How like are the words of Jefferson, "All men are created equal; they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." And Jefferson's thought, "to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men," is contained in the words of Bellarmine, "It is impossible for men to live together without someone to care for the common good. Men must be governed by someone lest they perish."

Four centuries ago Bellarmine opposed the totalitarianism of his day which then appeared under the theory of the divine right of kings. The basis of government, he maintained, "depends upon the consent of the multitude in constituting over itself a king, consul, or other magistrate. This power is indeed from God but vested in a particular ruler by the council and election of men." Jefferson likewise stated, "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." The Catholic Church has ever held than man has certain rights as man, rights which come not from the state but from God Himself. Or, as Pope Leo XIII writes in the Christian Constitution of States, "all public power must proceed from God. For God alone is the true and supreme Lord of the world. Everything, without exception, must be subject to Him, so that whosoever holds the right to govern holds it from one sole and single source, namely, God, the sovereign ruler of all. There is no power but from God."

During the past 19 centuries, the church has seen the rise and fall of many a nation. It has not sought to determine the particular form of government, whether monarchical, aristocratic, or democratic. Pope Leo XIII wrote, "The government may take this or that form, provided only that it be of a nature to insure the general welfare * * *."

The particular means by which governments achieve their objectives are sometimes called politics. We Catholics in this country have generally subscribed to the slogan "religion should not mix in politics." And yet we would be the first to challenge the proposition that the state can do no wrong and that whatever the state commands must be done regardless of the consciences of its citizens. We shall render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's where the law is not obviously unjust. At the present time I cannot recall any Federal statute which would be considered intrinsically immoral. Only in regard to one fundamental point of social justice do we protest as Catholics—we maintain and always will maintain that it is unfair for Catholics to be obliged to support two school systems—the public school, no matter what its intrinsic merits, and the Catholic school, the creation of our Catholic consciences, the school which is in accord with the earliest American tradition of a religious school.

For the fact that the Catholic conscience is not offended by the code of civil law we must thank a vast number of non-Catholic legislators, for we Catholics have played a minor role in the national legislation of this country.

The problem of the relationship of religion and politics is far from simple. All my priestly life has been spent in the classroom, where I have attempted so to present the Catholic teachings in regard to justice and charity as to touch the consciences of future Catholic leaders. Is that mixing in politics? The Catholic who holds public office, no matter how high the office, can never exempt himself from the jurisdiction of his own conscience. Twelve years ago the forces of bigotry were released in a Presidential campaign by those who maintained that a good Catholic could not be a good citizen. We defend the proposition that a good Catholic cannot be other than a good citizen. I am sure that we were all thrilled when we heard a great Catholic leader explain his conduct to a national political convention recently in these words: "I have pursued a course here that has been dictated by the deepest convictions, and when a man fails to follow his sincere convictions, no matter how unpleasant the consequences, he is false to himself, false to his party, and false to his country." Certainly, from the viewpoint of enlightened self-interest, the Nation should demand a closer relationship between such religious idealism and political practice.

And yet the effort to coerce any Catholic group, as a Catholic group, to support a particular party or candidate, would, in this country, lead to disaster. Need I do more than recall in passing how futile were the efforts of the Center Party in Germany when the Catholics who had segregated themselves politically sought to protect the interests of the church, or how helpless was the Catholic Party in Italy when came the hour of trial? Nor need we go so far distant for examples of an unfortunate alliance of Catholic groups and political activities. The Catholics who sought to identify the church in Mexico with the tyrannical Diaz government did a disservice to future generations of Catholics. In Brazil, our great sister Republic, in the middle of the last century half the members of the clergy, according to a reliable Catholic historian, were free masons because free masonry gave them political power. That condition prevailed up to the year 1870 when loyal bishops, against the orders of the Brazilian Secretary of State, Alfredo, published the brief of Piux IX condemning free masonry, and were imprisoned as a consequence. The type of priest who seeks power in political activity has generally lost faith in the power of the priesthood. In the Spanish-speaking countries of South America, the various states often sought to entrench themselves by demanding the right to appoint bishops. This right the church guarded zealously because it is indispensable to the freedom of the church. In 1870, President Blanco of Venezuela insisted that the Archbishop of Caracas chant a te deum to celebrate his political victory over the Conservative Party. When the archbishop refused he was banished. In Ecuador a devout Catholic, Garcia Moreno, went to such extremes in his zeal for the church that it suffered in succeeding administrations.

I can foresee no greater tragedy for the Catholic Church in the United States than that which would be involved in alliance with a political party. Such an alliance might seem temporarily expedient but in the long run it would mean persecution, intolerance, and a loss of that prestige which has been gained by remaining aloof from political campaigns.

It reflects great credit upon our Catholic laity that it is horrified when a priest so forgets his spiritual office as to take sides publicly in a political campaign. Over a period of a century and a half, one can count on the fingers of one hand the priests who have so exposed the Church to criticism. The canon law of the Church (canon 139) prohibits as foreign to the clerical state seeking or accepting political office. In March 1919 Pope Benedict XV wrote Cardinal Csernock, deploring the political activity of certain Hungarian clerics. The same Pontiff counselled the bishops and priests of Poland to correct certain conditions not by political activity but by priestly charity. While he protested most vehemently against the injustices heaped upon the church in Mexico, Pope Pius XI warned the clergy to abstain from political action.

In 1927 the Sacred Congregation of the Council was asked two questions: (1) Whether the ordinary has the right and duty to forbid, by precept, political activity to ecclesiastics; and (2) whether they who violate the said precept and, after warning, fail to amend, can and should be punished by suitable penalties, according to the sacred canons.

The answer, confirmed by Pope Pius XI, was affirmative to both questions. Moreover, the priests of the United States are still bound by the legislation of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which expressly commands them to abstain from public discussion of political or secular affairs, either in or outside of a church.

Generally speaking, our Catholic laity have earnestly sought to keep religion out of the maelstrom of political campaigns. It is a cowardly thing for a politician to seek to arouse emotional loyalty to himself through an appeal to a man's love for his religion. Moreover, I am in doubt as to whether it is fair even to ask a priest to write a letter of recommendation for a political appointment, partly because of the high esteem in which the Church is held by non-Catholic leaders. The power of the priesthood lies in the fact that ours is a sacramental religion, that a priest may confer the sacraments, celebrate mass, and, by teaching, fashion lives after the pattern of Christ. Was there one action in all Christ's career that would justify intrusion of the priesthood into a political campaign?

There are five obvious dangers if the church becomes involved in the politics of our day.

1. Political issues are often obscure. For that reason an exemplary Catholic may be sincere in his advocacy of either of the great

political parties of our day. Three times during the past year, Catholic groups which professed to act as Catholic groups, have interested themselves in particuar legislation and found themselves marching shoulder to shoulder with the forces of Communism. That is a matter of public record.

2. If the church is going to act on any issue, it must function as an army with both officers and men going into action. We priests are the officers—and we know very little about political science. Moreover, we have as priests a gigantic task confronting us. The last religious census shows that over 50 percent of the people of this country profess no religion. As long as there are 65,000,000 people in this country who have no religion, who know nothing about Christ—and perhaps have never heard of Him—our job as priests is cut out for us—and it is not in politics.

3. In the few instances where a religious group, as in the case of the eighteenth amendment, sought to project its wish upon the people, egregious blunders were committed and the whole cause of religion suffered. Recently I read the statement, "Religion may enter the political arena whenever a moral issue is at stake." But who is to decide what is a moral issue? Are you? Or am I? That decision for a diocesan group such as this can come only from the bishop. I doubt very much whether in his lifetime your bishop will be called upon to make a half dozen such decisions.

4. Where a religious group endorses any party or candidate in one section of the country, it may jeopardize the interests of the same group in another section. Neither of our political parties has ever had a monopoly on either wisdom or tolerance. By winning a battle, a religious group may also lose a war.

5. The lust for power should be foreign to any religion. Religion relies upon persuasion and education to achieve its ends; the state has a police force and penitentiaries. If the relationship of religious and civil authorities is too intimate as happened in the case of the Spanish Inquisition, religion will have some explaining to do.

Now, I hope that I have not given the impression that religion should be indifferent to civic movements. It is interested both in helping men save their souls and in helping them to enjoy to the utmost the goods of this earth. Occasionally the church must raise its voice to protest against the invasion of fundamental human rights. But such action is rare, indeed, and it is in the enlightened consciences of such leaders as the Catholic Lawyers' Guild that religion must place its trust.

There is one restraint upon the Catholic in the realm of politics which is not in accord with prevailing custom. During political campaigns many people freely dispense themselves from the commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." In the tendency to impute unworthy motives to, and to attack the character of, political foes lies a real threat to our democratic form of government. The Catholic must never resort to falsehood. Could any success purchased by such means be pleasing to Him who is truth itself? During the 14 years I have dwelt in the Capital of the Nation I have had the opportunity of studying three national administrations and of meeting many of the political leaders of both parties. I do not know of any action of the legislative, judicial, or executive branches of our Government during that time that was prejudicial to the interests of any religious group. Nor have I met, with one notorious exception, a national leader who was a bigot—and he was repudiated by a district 99½ percent non-Catholic because of his bigotry.

What can we do to insure that this condition may continue? The answer is simple. We Catholics should so exemplify the qualities of fairness and tolerance that we shall insure among those not of our faith a recognition of the fact that the real Catholic is just to his fellow man, true to himself, loyal to his country, and faithful to his God.

Sugar-Beet Expansion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED CUMMINGS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 3, 1940

RESOLUTION BY THE NATIONAL RECLAMATION ASSOCIATION

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution recently adopted by the annual convention of the National Reclamation Association:

SUGAR-BEET EXPANSION

Whereas large areas of the West are dependent to a great extent on the maintenance and growth of the sugar-beet industry; and

Whereas the sugar-beet industry provides more field labor per acre-unit than any other major crop produced, and also provides more income for industrial labor in associated industries, such as railroads, coal mines, limerock quarries, and many manufacturing enterprises, and is therefore far-reaching in its possibilities; and

Whereas an orderly and sound expansion of beet plantings and processing as suitable land is developed is a reasonable and necessary condition precedent to the building up of this country and should be encouraged; and

Whereas American sugar-beet producers provide less than one-third of the requirements of our home market at the present time, but could and should be supplying a major portion of its requirements, to the economic advantage of the Nation; and

Whereas our Government should adhere to the principles of American markets for American producers; and

Whereas the present all-time low net price of sugar is insufficient to maintain the industry on a profitable basis: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by this association, That the Congress of the United States is urged to provide through proper legislation for the progressive, orderly expansion of the production of beet sugar within the United States and to maintain the beet-sugar industry on a reasonable income basis by quota regulations and adequate tariffs on foreign sugar; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary be directed to send a copy of this resolution to the Secretaries of Agriculture, Interior, and State, and to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, and to each of the Senators and Representatives of Western States in Congress.

The Third-Term Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEWIS K. ROCKEFELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 3, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE CHATHAM (N. Y.) COURIER

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Chatham (N. Y.) Courier:

[From the Chatham (N. Y.) Courier of August 15, 1940]

'ROUND THE WORLD

(By Dwight E. Potter)

Mr. Roosevelt's re-renomination of himself for a third term as President should occasion no surprise to anyone, least of all to the readers of this column, for in April I wrote that Mr. Roosevelt intended to run again and that he had served notice to that effect when he asked for the authority to spend the 12 months W. P. A. appropriations in a period of 8 months. Why did he do that? To answer that question correctly does not entitle anyone to a super rating, for any average child of 12 could do it.

I know that "A prophet is without honor in his own country." Nevertheless, having succeeded so well in my first prognostication, I shall now deliver another. Mr. Roosevelt is in for the most severe beating of his career, providing we are permitted to hold a free election. My crystal ball, however, indicates the possibility of one of the two following eventualities: If, by any chance, Mr. Roosevelt's egotism should happen to be pierced sufficiently to permit the entrance of the fact that the people of this country are all washed up with him, in other words he "gets wise" to what is happening, he may let loose a bomb that will make his previous theatricals look like penny firecrackers—he'll walk right out of the nomination, not wait for the finish, or

Being ipso facto Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, he might as President of the United States declare that an emergency existed, substitute martial law for civil law and then assume the reigns of Government as a military ruler, calling off the election, or permitting an election such as Hitler or any other dictator would hold.

A few weeks since Colonel Somervell, W. P. A. Administrator for the City of New York, announced that in accordance with the law all Communists were to be dropped from the W. P. A. Government pay roll, at the same time stating that the number of people on the W. P. A. in New York City was something slightly more than 100,000, of which number 1,000 were "reds." Although considerably belated, and the number slated to go considerably under the known number of undesirables, the news that the Government was finally taking at least some steps to curb this menace, which of course should never have existed, was very welcome. Now it happens that it was just one of the routine window-dressing incidents in the life of the New Deal; we have had so many broken promises that I suppose we had no real reason for believing in this one, but we fell again. I see by the newspapers that the purge has been completed, and the total number of dismissals amounted to exactly two.

I also see by the newspapers that Colonel Somervell has ordered three 30-foot murals, which were painted for the administration building at Floyd Bennett Field by W. P. A. artists (?) at the expense of the people, destroyed as being Communist propaganda. These relief workers have been engaged 3 years upon this work. Hats off to Colonel Somervell for his order to destroy, but why were these people permitted to work 3 years upon this propaganda? Where was Colonel Somervell all of the time that this work was under his supervision? Where was Mrs. Audrey McMahon, who was appointed by Washington to supervise the work, all of that time? Why were Colonel Somervell and Mrs. McMahon appointed to the jobs they hold if it takes them 3 years to realize that the work under supervision is Communist propaganda? Why are they continued in office after such a debacle? Why was Mrs. McMahon retained as Colonel Somervell's art assistant?

You answer the questions, for I am calling for information, please. And at the same time define just what is your conception of "fifth columnists." Here's mine: Anyone and everyone, regardless of their station in life, who gives or attempts to give aid, solace, or comfort, active or passive, to the people who are endeavoring to change the principles upon which this country was founded.

Recently I stated in this column that the total number of unemployed in the United States was 10,000,000 persons. Immediately after the publication of that statement I received an avalanche of criticism denying the accuracy of my statements. My critics may be interested to know that the latest authentic figures place the unemployment in this country at 11,000,000 persons. At the same time Great Britain has announced that they have less than 800,000 unemployed. Now read those statements again. They contain valuable information. To forestall another avalanche, which I am sure will soon be on the way if I do not peg it in advance, let me answer now what I am sure my New Deal critics will say, viz, that the population of the United States is so much greater than the population of England that comparisons cannot be made on an equal basis. Correct. So we shall make mathematical calculations and then make comparisons. In round figures the population of the United States is 130,000,000. The population of England is about 45,000,000. Therefore the population of the United States is a little less than three times larger than that of England. So we shall multiply the unemployed of England by 3, giving us about 2,400,000 as the number of unemployed in England. Compare that with 11,000,000, the number of unemployed in the United States. We still have more than four and one-half times the number of unemployed in England, despite the fact that more than $60,000,000,000 has been spent. Spend a few more billions and the entire population of the United States will be unemployed.

There Is No Indispensable Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK O. HORTON
OF WYOMING
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 3, 1940

ADDRESS OF HON. RAYMOND MOLEY

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Raymond Moley, contributing editor of Newsweek, before the Associated Willkie Clubs of Stamford, Conn., October 1, 1940:

I take as my text tonight a statement of the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt. In it he quotes a predecessor, Woodrow Wilson. Speaking in 1932, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"A great man left a watchword that we can well repeat: 'There is no indispensable man.' But there are indispensable principles."

Let us talk about those principles tonight. For the moment, let us forget all about the personalities in this political campaign. Let us find, if we can, what are the principles that men live by here in the United States.

What, for that matter, is the meaning of principle itself? Reduce the question to the case of an individual. A man learns that there are some things that he cannot eat without distress; that there are some games he cannot play; that there are ways of doing his work better; that there are ways of conducting his relations with other people. Out of the accumulation of individual experience he creates rules for himself. As time goes on, those rules become principles of living. He finds that by observing them he saves himself untold trouble. He doesn't have to argue out thousands of individual decisions with himself. He depends upon his principles. Ultimately he lives not only with but by them.

A nation is not a man. Yet a nation, too, finds that there are some things that are good for it and others that are not. By the process of trial and error it, too, creates principles which it does not have to rediscover every day. These principles are as practical and as essential to its life as are the principles by which an individual lives.

The men and women who came to this continent and set the patterns of our civilization were, for the most part, heirs of a great tradition. Into their national life there flowed the river of principles which, over the centuries, they had learned that they could not live without—principles that went back to Runnymede, back beyond, to the dawn of collective human life. And when, in the process of setting up a permanent government, the American people adopted a Constitution, they did not create new principles; they seized upon some of these principles by which they had lived and put them down in writing. The Constitution was not a substitute for the principles of those people. It was not an all-inclusive catalog. It was a skeleton framework on the basis of which a stable government was to be established.

The artful third termers now try to justify themselves on the ground that they are not challenging something that is written in the Constitution. Therefore, they say, their scheme is legitimate. Let us put the knife of reason into that flatulent assumption.

A thousand years of Anglo-American history stand behind us when we assert that liberty has lived by what is unwritten just as surely as by what is written.

The British Cabinet is a tradition. The power of the Prime Minister is a tradition. But these are traditions that rule an empire.

The body of the common law was not specifically taken over by the Constitution. But violate it if you dare.

The Monroe Doctrine grew and attained its validity as a tradition. But we will spend our blood and treasure to preserve it.

The independence of the Supreme Court, we were correctly told 3 years ago, is a tradition. But those who told us that learned, to their sorrow, that this tradition had the strength of eternity in its foundations.

I wonder if these same enemies of tradition stopped to think, when they met in Chicago 2 months ago, that the very convention that put the President in nomination was a tradition. Our party system itself is outside the Constitution. But we are governed through parties.

These comments that I have made are truisms. I state them here not because I believe you do not know them. I know you do. But things that we took for granted for centuries are vanishing before our eyes. The greater the emergency the more appalling the crisis. The greater our need to revert to the primary principles by and through and with which we have lived as a nation.

It is worth noting that when Jefferson saw the Constitution he specifically objected to the fact that it did not prohibit the perpetuation of the Executive. Some of those who advocate a third term tell us triumphantly that Alexander Hamilton was the vigorous opponent of the kind of constitutional prohibition Jefferson wanted. That's true. But it's also true that Hamilton expressed himself, with all the passion of which he was capable, as favoring a life term for the President. His opposition to a limitation on Presidential reelection was part and parcel of his belief that the President should be reelected for life.

Is this, too, part of the third termers' argument? If they accept the conclusion they must also accept the premise. Do they dare to argue that the Hamiltonian beliefs about lifetime Presidential tenure were accepted as a principle by the makers of the Constitution and by the generations of Americans who have lived under the Constitution?

They do not. They cannot. They know what every American school child knows. They know that when Washington contemplated retirement at the end of 4 years he incorporated a statement of the principle of limited tenure in the draft of his proposed Farewell Address. They know that Jefferson again and again expressed himself on the principle and actually lived by it. He renounced a third term. And so, too, did a long procession of his successors.

Whatever else may be obscure, it is plain that the great dead have instructed us on this point of Presidential tenures. Perhaps it would be gratuitous to add that we do not judge the great dead. The great dead judge us.

But the whole argument for a principle is by no means historical. If it can be defended only by quotation, it has ceased to have validity. When the proposal is made to set it aside, we have an obligation to ask whether the principle is still dictated by facts which we are quite as well able to judge as were the fathers of our country. It is not what the fathers said; it is what we, the sons and daughters, can see.

It is a fact that the present administration can now get around almost every written stricture in the Constitution. The administration has met devastatng defeat only when it tried to get around strictures that are unwritten—to get around our traditions. This is a commentary on the strength of the unwritten constitutional guaranties. But it is also a warning that if they too are to be cast aside, nothing will remain to hinder the progress of an executive machine swollen with power. Nothing can stop it. Nothing will be beyond its reach.

The eternal verity in which the third-term tradition is rooted is human nature itself. What is the freedom which our written and unwritten principles protect? Is it freedom from animals, thunderstorms, the waves of the sea? No! Freedom from the wrath of God? No! These are not the freedoms for which people have struggled to organize themselves in states. Wherever the flame of

human aspiration has lighted the way to a better order among men, they have bled and died to end the tyranny of some human beings over others. For there will always be a few who, by seductive methods, by promises, by flattery, or by stark, vicious force, will try to subject the many to the will of the one or of the few.

There is a moving passage in a great book—the story of Napoleon's campaign in Russia, written by one of the most loyal of Napoleon's subordinates, Caulaincourt. Caulaincourt knew Russia, had lived there as Ambassador. He knew the rigors of its climate. He warned Napoleon never to take an army far into that country. But Napoleon had drunk of the cup of power to the dregs. And so he turned on his faithful follower first with ridicule, saying that the climate of Russia was like the climate at Fontainebleau. And then, suspiciously, he charged Caulaincourt with divided allegiance. Caulaincourt had spent too long a time at the Russian Court and hesitated to see his friend, the Czar, overthrown, Napoleon said. Against this arrogance the words of experience and knowledge were helpless. Napoleon took his army to Russia. He returned with a horse, a sled, and a still faithful though broken-hearted Caulaincourt. His army had vanished.

Here is a tale of what happens when the virulent poison of power has been operating. The great multitudes who voted Napoleon into office, who kept him there and who increased his power by plebiscites, were not madmen. They were human beings. They believed in Napoleon. They thought he was different. They thought that he would bring them peace and order and prosperity. But ambition closed the windows of his mind.

My friends, that was a little over a hundred years ago. Napoleon followed the pattern that has been reenacted over and over again in the history of the world. I need not press the point here. You and I, all of us, have seen power operate on our contemporaries. We have seen the windows close in men's minds. We have seen kindly, friendly, tolerant human beings, because of the "yessing" of those around them, become convinced of their own infallibility. We have seen the possession of power blur over the distinction between personal triumph and the exaltation of principle.

Consider, now, the instances in which this issue of personal power has currently been involved. The first has been the attempt to lay down to Congress a list of specifications for its action. We all remember those "must" bills. So we call it by the name "must." The second we call "pack"—the attempt of the Executive to get the immediate power to create in the Supreme Court a majority of his own choosing. The third we call "purge." It involved the power of the Executive to destroy the political careers of those legislators who would not conform to the Executive's will. The fourth, we shall call "perpetuate"—the effort of the Executive, through a subservient party and a distracted people, to override the principle that has kept any other President from serving more than two terms.

There they are. Four words describe them—"must," "pack," "purge," and "perpetuate."

Say them over slowly. Consider their inferential meanings. Are they pleasant? Do they reflect the spirit of tolerance, a respect for the rights of others? Or do they call up suggestions offensive to a free people?

They violate self-respect. They are four signs that the danger of individual power never passes. They are the four horsemen of autocracy.

And yet, they all travel under seductive banners. Congress is told that it must pass laws in the sweet name of humanity. The Court is to be packed to make sure that humane laws passed by Congress will always be found in conformity with the Constitution. Voters are asked to purge Members of Congress because these Members have presumably stood against the interests of liberalism. We are instructed to continue an Executive in office because he is indispensable.

These efforts follow an appallingly logical course—the course that begins with an aspiration and ends with a person. It begins with an ideal and ends with a single will. Certain ideas are indispensable. Then compliance is indispensable. And finally the leader is indispensable.

If anyone has any illusions as to what would ultimately happen to the country should it accept the doctrine of perpetuation, he would do well to reflect on what has already happened to the political party to which the perpetuators give nominal allegiance. Recall, if you can bear the recollection, the quadrennial conclave of that party in Chicago last July. Nominally, it was a convention of that Democratic Party which pledged itself, in 1912, to a single term for the President. But the Democratic Party which made that pledge is dead. The thing that met in Chicago this summer was a chain gang moving to the practiced bawling of machine henchmen. The men and women who composed it did not think; they nodded. They did not vote their convictions. They surrendered to their appetites. They did not select a candidate. The candidate selected himself.

What would Jefferson have thought of that convention—Jefferson, the patron saint of the party; Jefferson, whose name, when mentioned by the dean of the party, was hooted and booed? The Chicago superintendent of sewers had more influence over that gathering than the sacred memory of all the Presidents who had ever borne the name "Democratic." It was not a convention. It was a hissing and a desolation.

Note also the way in which the attempt to override the third-term tradition has been presented to the people. The issue was not put forward as such. The speeches of the favored stooges of the administration before the convention skipped it. The platform ignored it. The President's acceptance speech skirted it. The acceptance speech of the candidate for Vice President did not mention it. The supporters of the third term are afraid of the issue. They dare not meet it.

In the President's acceptance speech there was not the slightest intimation that he was reluctant to seek office a third time because something precious in the American tradition was involved. His choice was presented as a purely personal choice. He had had other plans. He longed to return to his books and his rolling fields. After wrestling alone in the night hours with his desires for retirement, he had heard a call to duty.

Were we given any reason to suppose that his conviction that no one else could carry on will ever disappear? There was no pledge that there will be no fourth term. No, indeed. A renunciation of a fourth term would have raised the issue of why there should be a third term.

There was another voice that Mr. Roosevelt should have heard in the night hours. The voice of good example. A score of republics—particularly in Latin America—have followed us as a model. They have tried—not always successfully, it is true—to limit executive terms of office. They followed our principle. They will follow our repudiation of principle. Call the roll of presidents eager to perpetuate themselves. The disease of the presidentitis is spreading. Even little President Quezon of the Philippines is beginning to think he is indispensable.

The good neighbor is the man who sets a good example. If we fail this year we surrender every republic to autocracy. We shall have surrendered what Hitler said we could not keep. We shall have yielded without a struggle—yielded because we were afraid. Three million were not afraid when the principle of the superman was once destroyed here in America. Are 130,000,000 afraid now?

The President has refused to debate the issue, or any other issue, with his chief opponent. He is too busy. His Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ickes, informs us that the occupant of the Presidential office is too exalted to engage in a discussion of the principles under which that office exists. But Mr. Ickes is not so exalted. We are expected to acquiesce in the theory that, in creating the office of President, we exempted those who hold it from the obligation of democratic discussion. But the Presidency is not a substitute for democracy. It is one of the many means through which democracy works. The man who holds that office must conform to the principle of public discussion.

Oh, yes; Mr. Roosevelt will have spokesmen—among them dozens who ring the changes on the argument of experience. Well, we have seen 7 years during which this administration has apparently rejected the lessons of most experience—including its own.

In neither policies nor appointments have we seen conspicuous evidence of respect for experience. All that we know is that in its experiments this administration will push perpetually beyond the frontiers of experience. If we are expected to believe that the President's knowledge of foreign affairs makes him indispensable, we have the right to ask why we were not told that defense was urgently needed until everyone who could read or listen knew that England and France were failing to match Germany's military power. Can the record of billions which could have been used for the Army's mechanization as far back as 1933—billions which were used for made-work relief—can this be the test of indispensability? Or can the record of a President who did not, until a few weeks ago, seek funds for a two-ocean fleet, although his policies for 7 years were leading to strong action in both oceans—can this be the record of indispensability? Or can the record of a President who twice said he wished Congress to adjourn this past June be the record of omniscient indispensability?

Are we to reward such a neglect of experience with a further extension of power in the name of experience? There are some men whose experience has been such that we are sure we can dispense with their service.

The doctrine of the indispensable man is a concept with a sinister parentage and a dark history. It suggests the Old World belief in the superman, the leader above question. Two thousand years ago that belief was answered with the injunction: "All ye are brethren. * * * But he that is greatest among you shall be thy servant."

That sacred word, and not Nietzsche's theory of the superman, is the basic concept of democracy. Democracy holds that executive authority shall neither be hereditary nor perpetual. If America rejects that tenet, it rejects democracy. And it rejects it at its deadly peril.

We need to be on guard against the seductive word "leader." Translated into certain European languages, it has a fearful connotation. What this country needs is a good, honest, industrious, competent hired man—a hired man who knows he is a hired man; a hired man who, after a few years, is not likely to think he owns the farm.

There is no crisis before this country so great as this: that we, as citizens, may lose the capacity to sit in judgment upon our own destiny. If we have a rendezvous with destiny, let us, and not our hired man, keep that rendezvous.

Someone said of General Grant that he never wasted time trying to find a substitute for victory. What we need is a President who will not try to find a substitute for our necessities. Third-termers have had a dozen theories of unemployment, but we still have

unemployment. We want competent administration—not a new theory of leadership.

Leadership, yes. But leadership in the Constitution and its tested traditions. We cannot quit-claim our responsibility in favor of any public servant. The issue rises above party, above prejudice, above personal affections, above hysteria, and above fear. Save our principles, and we save our liberties.

Men can live without leaders, but they cannot live without principles. Men can replace men. But men cannot replace principles.

Labeling of Wool Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. H. SCHWARTZ

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 3 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

LETTERS, TELEGRAMS, AND SPEECH OF SENATOR JOHNSON OF COLORADO RELATING TO WOOL PRODUCTS LABELING BILL

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD certain telegrams and letters relating to Senate bill 162, referred to as the Wool Products Labeling bill; also an address by Senator JOHNSON of Colorado, delivered September 21, 1940, over the Nation-wide hook-up of the National Grange Hour, Station WMAL, National Broadcasting Co., Washington, D. C., on the same subject.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION,
Washington, D. C., September 12, 1940.

Hon. H. H. SCHWARTZ,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am writing to convey to you our earnest hope that there will be no further delay in the final enactment of the wool-labeling legislation. Farmers have been waiting for 30 years on this legislation, which should have been enacted into law long ago in order to safeguard both farmers and consumers, honest manufacturers, and honest retailers. We sincerely hope the Senate will not jeopardize this legislation by attempting to amend it any further or to refer it to a committee. This is one piece of legislation that organized farmers, organized labor, and the consumers, as well as a large number of constructive manufacturers and distributors are united upon.

Inasmuch as the Senate has previously approved this legislation by a 2 to 1 vote, and it was recently approved by the House by a vote of 288 to 18, it seems inconceivable that the Senate would permit this legislation to be jeopardized or destroyed by delaying final action on it.

Sincerely yours,

EDW. A. O'NEAL, *President.*

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, March 27, 1939.

Hon. CLARENCE F. LEA,
Chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CHAIRMAN LEA: Your letter of March 10, 1939, in reference to the Martin bill, H. R. 944, respecting the labeling of wool products, was duly received. Consideration has been given to your statement that your committee would appreciate information as to the number of additional personnel, if any, the Federal Trade Commission would require to administer the provisions of the bill, if enacted; and the additional cost, if any, which would be involved in the administration and enforcement of the law.

After examination of the various factors entering into the question and with due regard to the prospective needs so far as they may be predicted at this time, it would appear that no addition to the appropriations and personnel which Congress has provided for the Commission for the next fiscal year will be required in the premises. Therefore, answering specifically, the Commission states on present conditions that, in its opinion, no additional personnel or additional costs over what are now required in this field will be needed for the administration or enforcement of the provisions of the bill.

By way of partial explanation, I may point out that matters covered by the measure are the source of many complaints coming to the Commission from the public and from businessmen; and a substantial part of our regular personnel and funds is necessarily required for handling these matters in the work of effecting as much relief as is possible under existing law. It appears that the bill, if enacted, would so clarify the situation in respect to destructive or harmful practices in the marketing of wool products as to simplify and facilitate the administration of the laws relating to transactions in interstate commerce. A larger proportion of voluntary compliance may also be expected, and a consequent diminution of the types of complaints now required to be handled by the Commission would probably result. A more effective utilization of the Commission's present facilities for protecting the public interest could no doubt be accomplished.

The savings in administrative and enforcement costs thus effected would be an offset to whatever additional administrative costs the measure might entail in other respects. These savings in certain directions, which it appears may be made possible, would be a material factor in reducing the proportion of administrative costs in relation to the protection afforded the public.

We appreciate the opportunity to be of service to the committee, and I trust this fully supplies the information desired.

Yours very sincerely,

R. E. FREER, *Chairman.*

AUGUST 5, 1940.

The Honorable THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On July 27, 1939, the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture wrote a letter to Senator ELMER THOMAS replying to letters addressed to several individuals in the Department on July 26, commenting on the possible effect that S. 162, the truth in fabrics bill, might have on the consumption of cotton in the wool and worsted goods industries. As was stated in the letter of Mr. Brown, the reply was prepared in response to the Senator's urgent request and probably for that reason it was not based on a careful study of the facts.

The American Farm Bureau Federation will appreciate knowing if the Department of Agriculture has had opportunity to give this matter further study and if it would be prepared at this time to make a further statement.

Very truly yours,

W. R. OGG,
Director of Research.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, August 28, 1940.

Mr. W. R. OGG,
Director of Research, American Farm Bureau Federation, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. OGG: This is in further reply to your letter of August 5 in which you called attention to the letter of July 27, 1939, from the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture to Senator THOMAS, with respect to the possible effects of S. 162, the truth-in-fabric bill, on the consumption of cotton in the woolen and worsted industry, and asked if the Department had been able to give the problem further study since that time.

Information has not been readily available to show the extent to which information, such as consumers would obtain as a result of such legislation, might cause a shift from the use of cotton to the use of wool in the woolen and worsted industry. The data published by the Bureau of the Census in the past year, however, showing the materials used by this industry in 1937, when considered along with the prices of the raw materials, throw considerable light on the problem. In 1937 the woolen and worsted industry used a total of 780,000,000 pounds of raw-fiber materials. Of this, 494,000,000 pounds consisted of raw wool and hair; 72,000,000 pounds consisted of cotton; 157,000,000 pounds consisted of wool and hair wastes, rags, and clippings; and 57,000,000 pounds consisted of rayon and other fibers and wastes thereof. Since the price of raw wool on a clean content basis is usually several times as high as the price of cotton, it is apparent that they meet quite different technical requirements and consumer preferences. Some of the other materials used by the woolen and worsted industry sell at prices between those of wool and cotton. These facts suggest that the information resulting from the enactment of the truth-in-fabric bill would probably affect the use of wool substitute materials rather than cotton.

The blanket industry probably provides the most pertinent information available in answer to your question. In January 1933 blanket manufacturers began labeling their articles as to wool and cotton content. They divided these blankets into four classes, those having less than 5-percent wool content, those having 5- to 25-percent wool content, those having 25- to 98-percent wool content, and those having more than 98-percent wool content by weight. The enclosed table shows the production in pounds of blankets, exclusive of horse and crib blankets and motor and steamer robes, as compiled from census data for the years 1927 to 1937, inclusive. These data show that the production of all-wool blankets has been relatively constant, whereas the production of all-cotton blankets and cotton and wool blankets have increased greatly since 1931. It is clear that the consumption of cotton has not declined as a result of the labeling program adopted by the blanket industry.

From the information the Department has been able to assemble it does not appear that the enactment of the truth-in-fabric bill would adversely affect the consumption of cotton.

Very truly yours,

GROVER B. HILL,
Acting Secretary.

TABLE I.—*Production of blankets, exclusive of horse and crib blankets and motor and steamer robes*

Calendar year	Total quantity	Cotton-wool mixtures		All cotton		All wool	
		Quantity	Percent of total	Quantity	Percent of total	Quantity	Percent of total
	Million pounds	*Million pounds*		*Million pounds*		*Million pounds*	
1927	74.8	17.4	23.2	46.8	62.6	10.6	14.2
1929	67.7	30.9	45.6	24.4	36.1	12.4	18.3
1931	50.0	26.3	52.6	12.9	25.8	10.8	21.6
1935	52.2	20.0	38.3	20.4	39.1	11.8	22.6
1937	88.0	37.3	42.4	40.2	45.7	10.5	11.9

Source: Compiled from census data.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
BUREAU OF SUPPLIES AND ACCOUNTS,
Washington, D. C., September 23, 1940.

Hon. H. H. SCHWARTZ,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR SCHWARTZ: In accordance with telephone conversation this date, there are enclosed herewith copies of the following specifications:

Blankets, wool, 27–B–7c, dated September 1, 1938.
Flannel, blue (dark), 27–F–8b, dated August 1, 1939.
Kersey, blue (dark), 30-ounce, 27–K–2a, dated August 1, 1939.
Melton, blue (dark), 16-ounce, 27–M–10a, dated August 1, 1939.

For your information, the following letter, which was forwarded to the Honorable FRANK O. HORTON under date of June 5, 1940, and which subsequently appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, is quoted below:

"Your letter of May 29, 1940, addressed to the paymaster of the Marine Corps, Brig. Gen. Russell B. Putnam, and requesting information regarding the Navy's requirements of wool, has been referred to this Bureau for reply.

"As soon as the naval appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1941 has been approved, this Bureau contemplates entering the market for the following items, which it is estimated will require the quantity of wool set opposite each item:

Requirements of wool on a clean basis—pounds

100,000 yards flannel, blue, dark, 11-ounce	100,000
125,000 yards kersey, blue, dark, 30-ounce	375,000
150,000 yards melton, blue, dark, 16-ounce	300,000
50,000 blankets	225,000
	1,000,000

"For your information, there are enclosed herewith copies of specifications covering the foregoing items.

"Reworked wool is not allowed in the manufacture of woolen fabrics and blankets for naval use due to the fact that strength, durability, and color are primary requirements of these items. Reworked wool not only lowers the tensile strength and elasticity but also reduces the durability and affects the affinity for dyestuffs."

Sincerely yours,

RAY SPEAR,
Rear Admiral, Supply Corps, United States Navy, Paymaster General of the Navy.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, August 12, 1940.

Hon. H. H. SCHWARTZ,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SCHWARTZ: With reference to your recent call at my office in connection with H. R. 944, I am enclosing copy of a letter I have just forwarded to Senator ELMER THOMAS.

Sincerely yours,

E. B. GREGORY,
Major General, the Quartermaster General.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE QUARTERMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, August 12, 1940.

Hon. ELMER THOMAS,
Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on War Department, United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Under date of June 26, 1940, you addressed a letter to this office requesting comment on H. R. 944, a bill originally styled The Wool Products Labeling Act. Under date of July 27, 1940, I replied to your letter. In my reply I stated that "The bill, if passed, would have no direct effect upon the purchase of wool fabrics for the Army." This sentence was intended to convey the information that the War Department would not be affected by the passage of this legislation.

The closing sentence of my letter read as follows: "From the standpoint of national defense, it would seem undesirable, especially at this time to take any action to limit the use of either reworked wool or substitutes for wool as such substitution may become necessary." It has been brought to my attention that this sentence is being given especial emphasis by those not in favor of the bill as indicating War Department opposition to the passage of legislation requiring that wool products be labeled to indicate their composition. This sentence was a general observation and was not intended to indicate any War Department or personal opposition to the passage of H. R. 944. I trust, therefore, that my letter will not be used by anyone as implying War Department opposition to the legislation in question.

Sincerely yours,

E. B. GREGORY,
Major General, the Quartermaster General.

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION,
Washington, D. C., July 22, 1939.

Hon. H. H. SCHWARTZ,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I note in the debate on the truth-in-fabric bill in the Senate a question was raised as to whether this bill would result in decreasing the consumption of cotton.

Such a fear is entirely unwarranted. From my investigation of this matter I am convinced that it will probably result in increasing the consumption of cotton, rather than decreasing it, if it has any effect at all in this respect.

Without this legislation manufacturers of woolen goods can purchase rags and other second-hand materials, tear apart these fabrics, and use them in the manufacture of clothing which is sold to the public as all wool. Thus the public gets an inferior article under the false impression that this is made of new wool. This bill merely requires the manufacturers of woolen goods to tell the truth as to the content of such goods. They can no longer sell goods made of second-hand wool as virgin-wool articles. The manufacturers can still use shoddy, or cotton, or silk, or rayon, or any other materials in mixture with wool, provided they tell the consumer the truth about what the article contains.

While no one can predict with certainty changes in consumer demand, it seems reasonable to conclude that if the manufacturers have to tell the truth about mixtures with wool the consumer will be more likely to prefer a garment composed of all new materials, such as wool and cotton, to a garment made out of wool rags and other second-hand materials whose fibers have been damaged by pulling and tearing apart of the fabric in the process of remanufacture.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has supported such legislation since 1920. Its policies are determined by voting delegates from State Farm Bureaus in 40 States, representing approximately one and one-half million individual farm people. We are just as vitally interested in the welfare of the cotton farmer as the welfare of the wool grower. We see nothing in this legislation to injure in any way the welfare of the cotton grower, but, on the contrary, it may have some indirect benefit to the cotton industry.

Again may I emphasize that all the bill does is to require manufacturers of woolen goods to tell the truth concerning the content of their goods. They are at perfect liberty to use any kind of materials they desire, but they can no longer deceive the public concerning such goods. This is a fundamental principle of common honesty comparable to what has already been accomplished in other fields through the Pure Food and Drugs Act.

It carries out the fundamental principle of fair competition as stated by the late Justice Cardozo in the case of the *Federal Trade Commission* v. *Algoma Lumber Co.* (291 U. S. Sup. Ct. 67), "Fair competition is not obtained by balancing a gain in money against a misrepresentation of the thing supplied. The courts must set their faces against a conception of business standards so corrupting in its tendency. The consumer is prejudiced if upon giving an order for one thing he is supplied with something else * * *. In such matters the public is entitled to get what it chooses, though the choice may be dictated by caprice or by fashion or perhaps by ignorance. Nor is the prejudice only to the consumer. Dealers and manufacturers are prejudiced when orders that would have come to them if (they) had been rightly named are diverted to others whose methods are less scrupulous."

The Senate is to be commended for its decisive vote in approving this bill yesterday. We sincerely hope that this action will not be reconsidered. It is too bad such legislation was not passed long ago to end the flagrant abuses in the sale of woolen goods.

Sincerely yours,

W. R. OGG, *Director.*

NATIONAL COOPERATIVE COUNCIL,
Washington, D. C., July 24, 1939.

Hon. ELMER THOMAS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR THOMAS: The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of July 21 indicated that you had moved to reconsider the vote on the truth-in-fabric bill which had passed the Senate by a vote of 48 to 23.

We know of your long service to agriculture and your cooperation in matters of vital interest to the farmers of the United States. It is because of this fact that we appeal to you on behalf of the 1,700,000 farmers that are members of the National Cooperative Council that you do not request a reconsideration of this matter.

The council is made up of some 4,000 farmers' cooperative marketing and purchasing organizations with membership in every State in the Union. For a number of years our organization has been interested in truth-in-fabric legislation and at the 1939 annual meeting held in January reaffirmed its position by passing the following resolution:

"The National Cooperative Council at its meeting in January 1938 endorsed the fabric-labeling bill, and the bill, though passed by the Senate, failed to be reported in time to get on the House Calendar. The council, therefore, reaffirms its position and urges the passage of new fabric-labeling bills, S. 162 and H. R. 944."

You raised the question whether the Schwartz bill, S. 162, would injure the cotton farmers. We are unable to see how this type of legislation would injure the producers of cotton. We feel that truth-in-fabric legislation would tend to benefit the entire cotton industry. As a matter of fact, one of the strong federations that make up the membership of this council is the American Cotton Cooperative Association with headquarters at New Orleans. This organization is made up of some 12 State cooperative associations of cotton growers. The American Cotton Cooperative Association is supporting this truth-in-fabric legislation and was represented at our annual meetings when resolutions favoring this legislation were adopted.

Our council operates on a unanimous-consent basis, and for that reason never passes any resolutions that are not approved by all of its member associations.

We respectfully urge that you lend your support to the passage of this important measure and assure you that we will greatly appreciate your efforts.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

EZRA T. BENSON,
Secretary-Treasurer, National Cooperative Council.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION,
Washington, July 28, 1939.

Hon. H. H. SCHWARTZ,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR SCHWARTZ: I have received and presented to the Commission your letter of July 27, 1939, referring to the wool-products labeling bill, S. 162, and propounding two questions: First, as to whether the bill adversely affects cotton; and, second, whether the provisions of the bill will be effective with respect to imports from foreign countries.

The Commission has considered the matter in the light of its many years of experience respecting commercial practices in the sale and distribution in commerce of fabrics and fabric merchandise; and, responding to your first question, it is the opinion of the Commission that the legislation under consideration will have no adverse effect upon the sale or use of cotton.

As a textile fiber, cotton has distinctive qualities and intrinsic merits, and the bill, requiring truthful disclosure, would undoubtedly tend toward having these meritorious qualities of cotton brought to the attention of the buying public. Moreover, in mixed fabrics—those not composed wholly of virgin wool—cotton may reasonably be expected to be employed in place of cheap shoddy or low-grade second-hand wool fibers which are at present used in such mixed products without disclosure of such fact to the consuming public. Under all the circumstances, it appears quite possible that as a result of the legislation the trend will be toward a greater use of cotton in mixed goods in lieu of certain types of shoddy.

The bill does not prohibit the use of any fiber, but is aimed at having the respective products marketed under nondeceptive conditions of truthful disclosure in the interest of maintaining fair competition and consumer protection. Experience has demonstrated that honest disclosure of a meritorious fiber does not hurt, but on the contrary helps, its sale. Cotton, with its many distinctive and desirable properties, could not, in our opinion, be adversely affected in such situation.

Respecting your second question as to whether the bill will be effective in the matter of imports from foreign countries, the measure is applicable to such foreign imports as well as to domestic wool products. In addition, the bill provides means for excluding from the country foreign merchandise misbranded under its terms. It also provides for sworn declaration of contents on so-called consular invoices as required in the act of June 17, 1930; also the falsification of or the failure to set forth such information in such invoices is made an unfair method of competition under the Federal Trade Commission Act. If done with willful intent, it is also punishable as a misdemeanor. Moreover, the guilty party may be prohibited from importing or participating in importations of wool products into the United States except upon filing bond with the Secretary of the Treasury in the sum double the value of the wool products and the duty thereof, conditioned upon compliance with the provisions of the act. Upon general administrative procedures through treaty arrangements, information may be obtained from the original sources in the country of origin of the goods. Likewise, through scientific tests, the presence of the most objectionable types of shoddy in the fabric can be sufficiently detected for purposes of enforcement.

Upon consideration of the matter as a whole and in answering your question specifically, it is the opinion of the Commission that the provisions of the bill will be effective with respect to imports from foreign countries.

By direction of the Commission.

Yours very sincerely,

R. E. FREER, *Chairman.*

Materials	1914	1919	1929	1931	1935
Cotton:					
Quantity in pounds	28,387,022	17,375,403	20,167,197	14,580,036	12,511,687
Percentage of total	6	4	5	4	3
Recovered wool fiber, rags, clippings, etc.:					
Quantity in pounds	85,702,073	79,616,805	93,003,428	51,840,520	111,404,715
Percentage of total	19	18	20	16	25
Raw wool and animal hair:					
Quantity in pounds	286,569,705	292,117,556	276,321,490	223,373,213	248,581,735
Percentage of total	65	68	62	68	55
Waste, noils, and rayon:					
Quantity in pounds	42,411,874	43,738,241	58,622,746	41,273,485	76,357,370
Percentage of total	10	10	13	12	17
Total fiber	443,070,674	432,848,005	448,114,861	331,067,254	448,855,507

STATEMENT OF EDWARD A. O'NEAL, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

For nearly 20 years the American Farm Bureau Federation has consistently urged action by Congress to protect wool growers and consumers against misrepresentation and deception in the sale of woolen goods. In 1920 the annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation adopted the following resolution:

"We demand of Congress the prompt enactment of a law which will compel clothing and fabrics containing shoddy or other substitutes for virgin wool to be plainly marked as such."

Again and again since that time our organization has reiterated this appeal to Congress. In the meantime conditions have grown worse, until in recent years the wool-manufacturing industry has been using more shoddy and substitute fibers than all the virgin wool combined. When such mixtures are sold to the consumer as "all wool" or as "pure wool," "virgin wool," or other representations which lead the consumer to believe that the product is made of virgin wool, such deception of the public is indefensible. It is too bad that such practices have not been outlawed long ago.

The Schwartz-Martin bill merely seeks to protect the public against deception in the sale of woolen articles. It does not prevent the manufacturer from using any kind of substitute fibers and mixing them with woolen goods in any way that he desires and to any extent that he desires. All he is required to do is to truthfully label his products so that the consumers will know the truth about what he offers for sale. The consumer can then make an intelligent decision in purchasing such goods. If the consumer wants the cheaper goods made of shoddy, he or she can select such goods with full knowledge of what the article really is, instead of being sold an inferior article containing shoddy under the pretense that the article is all virgin wool, as happens all too often now.

The problem is not complicated and difficult as the opponents of this legislation contend. The issue is really quite plain; it comes down to a simple question of common honesty and fair dealing with the public. The honest manufacturer, wholesaler, and retailer who wants to tell the public the truth about the products which he sells should welcome this legislation to protect them against competitors who want to take an unfair advantage by selling goods under misrepresentation. It is gratifying to note that some of the manufacturers and some retailers are supporting this legislation.

It seems unfortunate that such flagrant and widespread deception of the public should have been allowed to continue. A great deal of progress has been made in other fields. We now have the Pure Food and Drug Act to protect the public against adulteration and deception in the sale of food and drugs; we have the Commodities Exchange Act to outlaw unfair and fraudulent practices and to protect against excessive speculative manipulations of commodity markets; the Securities and Exchange Commission to protect against misrepresentation and fraud in the sale of securities. It required many, many years of agitation before action was obtained to correct these abuses.

The wool industry has had more than ample time to voluntarily correct the abuses in the sale of woolen goods, but has not done so; instead the situation has grown worse over the years. The farmers and consumers whose interests are adversely affected by the widespread deception in the sale of so-called woolen goods have no other recourse than to come to Congress and ask for protection. The remedy proposed is fair and reasonable and should provide effective protection to all legitimate interests.

There appears to be no need for further extended argument or investigation of this matter, as it has been before Congress for a great many years. The opponents today are pursuing the same tactics and offering almost identically the same excuses as to why nothing effective should be done that they did 15 years ago. These threadbare objections have been answered over and over again; yet the opposition of certain groups with selfish interests involved still continues.

Now, as then, they are favoring inadequate substitute legislation, such as S. 1496, introduced by Senator WALSH, of Massachusetts.

In 1924 the opposition favored an inadequate substitute bill introduced by Senator LODGE, of Massachusetts.

Meanwhile the situation grows worse. Therefore the primary need at this time is for prompt and effective action by Congress to enable the Federal Trade Commission to end these abuses.

As to the need for action to correct abuses on the sale of woolen goods, I want to quote from an address to Commissioner R. E. Freer, of the Federal Trade Commission, before the International Association of Garment Manufacturers, Chicago, May 26, 1938:

"This widespread interest in the labeling of textile products is a logical result of the rapid technical changes in the textile industries in recent years. Rayon has been developed to the point at which rayon fabrics can be made indistinguishable from silk, cotton, or wool. The reclaiming of used wool has been so systematically worked out that the amount of reclaimed wool used each year in textiles is approximately half the amount of the scoured new-wool crop. The arts of blending cotton with other fibers for use in garments have been so perfected that such mixed fabrics are often more handsome than unmixed ones. Special processes of finishing, weighting, and pre-shrinking fabrics have been worked out.

"No doubt a part of these innovations has come from unscrupulous producers who see a chance to sell an inferior product under false pretenses. Much of the development, however, reflects the versatility of the makers of fabrics and garments in providing a variety of uses for a textile fiber and a variety of appearances and qualities in textile fabrics.

"Unfortunately, however, even the best of new products have tended to make the consumer's buying skill obsolete, and thus to create a condition in the market which has been the despair of the intelligent buyer and of the scrupulous seller.

"It is still basically true that cotton, wool, silk, and synthetic fibers have different properties, are best applied to different uses, and require different types of care if they are to give satisfactory service. Because of this fact, the product which is bought without proper knowledge is likely to be found unsatisfactory, no matter how good it may be of its kind. At the extreme, an occasional owner of a synthetic fiber dress may have it cleaned by a process which dissolves everything but the buttons. Much more frequent, however, are the cases in which an improperly washed fabric shrinks, an improperly dyed fabric crocks, a garment which is bought for hard service wears out too soon, and the like.

"The returned-goods department of retail stores are the most tangible evidence of the economic waste involved in this process, but they cannot measure the extent of the disappointments among consumers nor of the ill will and distrust engendered toward those who make the goods and sell them.

"But in addition to the problem created by the inappropriate purchase or treatment of good merchandise, there has been a serious problem of competition by the unscrupulous. When the buyer cannot tell the difference between one fiber and another, it is easy for the dishonest seller to supply a fabric which is cheap to make, regardless of whether it is appropriate to its intended use, and to sell that fabric by flagrant misrepresentation of its character.

"A few such concerns are enough to throw a whole industry into confusion. They can destroy the goodwill which attaches to a fiber or a type of cloth. They can establish prices on the basis of a skimped product, and thereby offer their more scrupulous rivals the option of losing money or of vying with them in the degradation of quality and the use of deceptive-sales tactics. They can subject a market to unpredictable shifts of demand, as consumers turn from one type of product which has been insufferably degraded to another in which they still have confidence."

I would like to quote also from the address of Mr. Henry Miller, assistant director of trade-practice conferences, Federal Trade Commission, before the meeting of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, January 18, 1939:

"In recent years there has developed a singularly aggravated situation of confusion, misrepresentation, and deceptive concealment in the merchandising of fabrics, clothing, and other textile products in the channels of trade and to the consuming public. False and often deliberately deceptive representations in labels and advertisements were resorted to in an increasing extent. In addition, the development of new textile fibers and new or advanced methods of fabrication brought (with their many desirable features) new problems of confusion and sharp practices, of which the unscrupulous immediately took advantage. As a result, complaints coming to the Commission from businessmen and from the public increased. The unfair competition made it difficult for honest competitors to survive or maintain the high quality of their product and service. Deception of the buying public was rapidly undermining consumer confidence, so essential to sound and prosperous business. Little reliance could be placed by the consumer in many of the labels and the advertising matter. In scores of cases it was necessary for the Commission to enter corrective proceedings against individual offenders. Indeed, on the record there are perhaps more stipulations and orders to cease and desist outstanding in the case of misrepresentation of textile merchandise than in the case of any other comparable class of consumer goods.

"Dishonest practices in the marketing of any commodity, whether it be a textile or anything else, have a destructive effect upon business, and unless checked will reduce the industry to a chaotic and demoralized condition, besides injuring and defrauding the buying public. In the textile field such a condition was fast developing. The need for protection of industry and trade and the consuming public became most pressing. Something had to be done.

"A general investigation and study of the situation was made by the Commission. It is apparent that much of the deception was rooted in the concealment or nondisclosure of the fiber content of fabrics in face of new processes whereby the well-recognized appearance and feel of the basic textile fibers are widely simulated or imitated in yarn or fabric of a totally different fiber. For example, imitations of silk, wool, and linen in fabrics containing no silk at all, or no wool, or no linen, were developed to such extent as to deceive even the experienced. The art of manipulating fabrics, of combining different fibers, has advanced to where the eye and the sense of touch are no longer reliable guides to any purchaser as to what the fabric is composed of.

"Under the circumstances it is quite evident that the disclosure of the character of the fiber content affords the only adequate corrective for the confusion and misunderstanding so harmful to the buying public and to business. Misstatements by sales clerks, though in some instances apparently deliberate or inexcusable, are in many instances made through ignorance and lack of knowledge, coupled with the natural desire to say that which will help make a sale. Through disclosure of the essential facts on the label, those who deliberately misrepresent would have their falsehood exposed. Those inclined to misrepresent through ignorance or lack of knowledge would have the information necessary to prevent the misrepresentation. Those fabrics and articles which have the appearance or feel of that which they are not, would have their true nature made known and thus be marketed for what they are and on their own respective merits.

"In the development of new fibers and new types of fabrics, with a plethora of trade descriptions, much confusion and misunderstanding has also developed as to what kind of labeling and what kind of disclosures are deemed to be proper and reasonably required for the prevention of that type of deception which the present law prescribes. It became apparent in the situation that it would be a great help if rules were provided which could serve as a guide to the manufacturer, the jobber, the dealer, and to everybody—convenient and officially sanctioned provisions by which all might be informed and advised as to the practices to be avoided as harmful and as to what types of labeling are deemed proper rules which may be followed with assurance that they will keep one within the straight and narrow path where he may conduct his business freely and without fear of having his labeling subject to question as being in conflict with the law. In such rules the many who desire to conduct their business on a high ethical plane would have a uniform specification of fair practices to which they could voluntarily adhere and on which they could cooperate with their competitors in the maintenance of a condition of clean and wholesome competition."

The American Farm Bureau Federation strongly supports the Schwartz-Martin bill and urges its speedy enactment by this Congress. We oppose amendments that will weaken and injure the effectiveness of this measure. We likewise oppose inadequate substitutes such as S. 1496.

We hope the Schwartz-Martin bill will have the early approval of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and of the Congress.

Respectfully submitted.

EDWARD A. O'NEAL, *President.*

STATEMENT OF FREDERIC BRENCKMAN, REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL GRANGE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. BRENCKMAN. Mr. Chairman, my name is Frederic Brenckman, and I am the Washington representative of the National Grange. The Grange is the oldest farm organization in America. It was established 72 years ago, and we have approximately 800,000 members, distributed among 36 States.

For more than a generation the National Grange has demanded legislation that would compel the labeling of woolen fabrics and garments in such a manner as to designate approximately the percentage of virgin wool and substitutes, such as reclaimed wool, cotton, and rayon, used in the manufacture of these products.

We are heartily in favor of the enactment of Senate bill 162. In our opinion, this legislation would prove beneficial both to wool producers and consumers. It should be welcomed by honest manufacturers and dealers.

The enactment of this legislation would extend the principles underlying the national Pure Food and Drugs Act to the manufacture and sale of woolen goods and fabrics. The Grange was the pioneer in advocating national legislation to protect the people against fraud and deception in the manufacture and sale of processed foods and drugs. The Pure Food and Drugs Act was passed in 1906, and scarcely any other piece of legislation enacted by Congress during the last generation has more abundantly justified itself. This legislation protects the health and the very lives of the people. It works no hardship on honest manufacturers and distributors.

When the fight for the enactment of this legislation was in progress, the late Dr. Harvey Wylie, who became the outstanding individual figure in the crusade, used to say, "Put it on the label!" "Put it on the label!" Let the people know whether they are buying clothing and fabrics made of honest virgin wool or whether they are getting shoddy made from reclaimed wool and old rags picked up from the ash heaps of America and Europe by scavengers.

There is no dispute whatever as to the relative merits of virgin wool and reclaimed wool. Virgin wool is a new, unused fiber having qualities of warmth and of wear which no other fiber possesses. Reclaimed wool is an inferior, second-hand, previously manufactured or used substitute for virgin wool. Reclaimed wool never makes a product as good as if it were made of virgin wool. Reclaimed wool, grade for grade, is sold to the wool manufacturer as a substitute in competition with virgin wool at from one-third to one-half the price of virgin wool. The very qualities of warmth and of wear which make virgin wool the most valuable and necessary fiber used by mankind are either greatly diminished or entirely lost in reclaimed wool. Yet, under conditions as they exist today, the American public is being deceived through the use of this substitute fiber in clothing and other articles they buy for themselves and their families, under the impression that they are made of virgin wool.

Surely the purchaser or the consumer is entitled to know whether he is buying a new or second-hand article. Is there any better way of providing this information than by affixing stamps, tags, or labels to the products offered for sale, as provided in the pending bill? This legislation will in no way interfere with the manufacture and sale of shoddy or reclaimed wool, but it will protect the purchaser by giving him information as to what he is buying.

Let me relate a little personal experience I had in buying clothing: I bought a suit from a first-class store on F Street and took it for granted that it would wear well. In a very short time I discovered a hole near the lapel of the coat. It did not seem reasonable to me to suppose that the moths had already begun to devour the suit, so I was a little bit perplexed. * * * Pretty soon cracks and vents began to appear in various parts of the coat, and it was literally falling apart, after I had worn it a week or so. And it was shoddy, pure and simple. I was so aggravated that I sent a letter to the store where I had bought it, and where I had an account, and told them to take my name off their books, that I did not want to deal any further with a store handling goods of that description.

Now, by way of comparison, Mrs. Brenckman bought a winter coat. It was made by Forstmann Woolen Co., and it was made of virgin wool. It wore for years and looked splendid all the while and gave her the warmth and protection that she wanted.

There is an example of the difference between shoddy and virgin wool. Now, how many thousands of our people throughout the United States have been victimized in recent years as I have been I do not know. But, at any rate, I do not think it is a fair way of selling merchandise.

Viewing this legislation from the standpoint of the wool grower, official figures show that during the past 6 years more than 600,000,000 pounds of reclaimed wool or shoddy have been used by woolen manufacturers as an undisclosed substitute for virgin wool. We even import millions of pounds of rags from Europe each year because the supply of discarded rags of the American people is insufficient to meet the demands of woolen manufacturers for shoddy in the great game of fraud and deception that, under prevailing conditions, is being practiced upon the consumers of the United States.

I understand that in the recent trade agreement with Great Britain we reduced the duty on rags in order to furnish more abundant materials and supplies for the manufacturers of shoddy. In the meantime we have plenty of virgin wool in this country that the wool growers would be glad to sell.

The time must come to put an end to this disgraceful condition of affairs. At the last session the Senate passed a bill similar to the one now pending. A companion bill was favorably reported by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. It only failed to pass the House because Congress adjourned before it could be brought to a vote.

We trust that there may be speedy and favorable action on the pending bill.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD E. KENNEDY, WASHINGTON, D. C., REPRESENTING 10 FARMERS' UNION STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. KENNEDY. My name is Edward E. Kennedy. My office here is 109 First Street SE. I represent 10 farmers' union State organizations in the Middle West and the Eastern States; I also represent farmers' union local and county organizations in a total of 24 States in the Union.

Senator SCHWARTZ. You may now proceed with your statement.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman, I come here this morning to make a brief statement in favor of the passage of S. 162, providing for the labeling of wool products in interstate and foreign commerce.

This matter, as the chairman has so well stated, has been before the Congress for the last several years, a similar bill having passed the Senate last year, but which failed of passage in the House of Representatives, I believe, only because the time was so short the House was unable to get action on it before adjournment.

I am very glad this matter is now up in the early part of the session so it may receive consideration and be enacted into law.

I think, perhaps, one of the best suggestions as to why this legislation is before the Congress is contained in a few words I would like to read from a speech of Mr. Henry Miller, assistant director of trade-practice conferences, made before the National Retail Drygoods Association on January 18, 1939. He explains it very fully. Mr. Miller said in part:

"In recent years there has developed a singularly aggravated situation of confusion, misrepresentation, and deceptive concealment in the merchandising of fabrics, clothing, and other textile products in the channels of trade and to the consuming public. * * * On the record (of the Federal Trade Commission) there are perhaps more stipulations and orders to cease and desist outstanding in the case of misrepresentation of textile merchandise than in the case of any other comparable class of consumer goods.

"Textiles may be said to be as essential as food and shelter to the existence of every man, woman, and child. The sale and distribution of such essential commodities under conditions of honesty and competitive fairness is a matter of vital concern to business and to the buying public. It must be of deep concern to the Commission, as the agency which is charged by law with the duty of protecting both from the inroads of unfair competitive methods and deceptive practices."

Mr. Chairman, I think that explains fully why this legislation is before the Congress. When I go to buy a suit of clothes, or any article of wool clothing that is supposed to be wool, I have very little opportunity as a consumer to know what the fiber content in that article is, whether it is virgin wool, whether it is shoddy, or how much is virgin wool, or how much is shoddy. And that situation is true of the most of the consumers in the United States.

I notice that since the last Congress some manufacturers are beginning to put some labels on woolen goods sold in the channels of commerce. These labels will say, for instance, not less than 50-percent virgin wool. Some manufacturers are doing that now. Other labels will say not more than 20 percent.

But that still does not reveal the fiber content in the wool. That demonstrates to me that it is entirely possible and practicable for a reputable manufacturer to tell the consuming public what the content is, whether virgin wool or shoddy, or cotton, and what percentage, as provided in this bill.

Now, from the standpoint of the farmer, we are growing wool in every State in the Union, but we are not growing enough wool in the United States for our own needs. We are importing into the United States substantial quantities of wool and wool manufactures every year. Wool manufactures are coming into this country, produced by manufacturers of other nations, of almost every nation in the world; and it is very essential, not only essential but entirely just, that a manufacturer, whether in the United States or outside and expecting to have a market in the United States, should tell the consuming public what kind of fiber is in the woolen product that he offers to the consuming public in the United States.

I might also say this, that I have heard it testified by some manufacturers at the last hearing in the way of glorifying the qualities of shoddy or reclaimed wool.

Now, I agree right off the reel that shoddy and reclaimed wool have their uses in the making of articles of merchandise manufactured and sold in the United States; but if shoddy or reclaimed wool and other fiber content that goes into the manufacture of woolen products is useful, and if it is good, which it is in some instances, I think what they ought to do is to be perfectly willing to say so, to see this bill enacted into law, and be willing to tell the public that we have so much fiber content by weight in this article of merchandise, and it is good, and tell them why it is good. I think that is only good merchandising, and it is good advertising.

Mr. Chairman, I think you have stated the substance of this bill very well, and I want to assure you I appeared before the Federal Trade Commission during their hearings last fall and urged the adoption of the rules which the Federal Trade Commission promulgated. And as I understand the situation, this bill is to remove any question of the authority or the right of the Federal Trade Commission to promulgate the necessary rules and regulations in order to enforce the provisions of the labeling of woolen products according to their fiber content, whether it is virgin wool, or whether it is reclaimed wool, or whether it carries other fiber content.

Now, Mr. Chairman, that is all the statement I care to make here this morning. I am making it not only in the interest of our people as wool producers, but also in the interest of our people as consumers who are also farmers.

The subcommittee met again on March 2, 1939, at 10 a. m., pursuant to call, in room 412, Senate Office Building, Senator H. H. SCHWARTZ, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senators SCHWARTZ and AUSTIN.

Senator SCHWARTZ. The subcommittee will come to order. At the conclusion of our last session Mr. Besse filed a memorandum in which he said he desired that we recall Mr. Kennedy for information as to the organization he claims to represent.

I will now call Mr. Kennedy to learn what he has to state in reference to that matter.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, my name is Edward E. Kennedy. I represent 10 of the Farmers' Union State organizations, and these State organizations that I have been representing here for the last 2 years were in the process of reorganization at the time I made my statement last week. On the 23d day of February this group of State organizations formed a national union, or a national organization, known as the National Farmers' Guild. This was done at Goshen, Ind., on February 23 of this present year.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I do not care to dignify Mr. Besse's statement entirely too much for the very obvious reason that during the past 10 or 12 years I have been representing the Farmers' Union and its affiliated organizations here in the capacity of its national

secretary, in favor of legislation that would aid and help the farmers of the Nation, and I have not been in the habit of making "shoddy" representations. So beyond that I have no more to say, except that I should like to suggest for the record here that at this meeting of the National Farmers' Guild the following resolution was unanimously adopted. The resolution is as follows:

"Be it resolved, That we support and favor the adoption of the wool-labeling bill, Senate bill 162."

The 10 State organizations that I represent here, Mr. Chairman, are the organizations of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Michigan, Washington, Idaho, and California. Are there any further questions, Mr. Chairman?

Senator SCHWARTZ. No.

Senator AUSTIN. I want to ask Mr. Kennedy some questions. Mr. Kennedy, are those 10 organizations, State organizations, subordinate organizations of this organization which you have spoken of as a national organization?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes, sir; they are, Senator.

Senator AUSTIN. And the national organization is the one which adopted the resolution that you spoke of?

Mr. KENNEDY. It is.

Senator AUSTIN. And was that meeting attended by a large number of representatives of the organization which adopted that resolution?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes, sir; it was made up of representatives on the basis of one representative for every 250 members.

Senator AUSTIN. And is the membership of the national organization composed of the sum of the memberships of the various State organizations?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes, sir; it is, Senator.

Senator AUSTIN. And if you represent these 10 subordinate organizations it is by virtue of their being components of this national organization; is that right?

Mr. KENNEDY. Both, Senator, because prior to the organization of the national organization my representation of them here in Washington was both by a resolution adopted at the annual convention of the State organization plus a supplemental action of the board of directors of those respective organizations.

Senator AUSTIN. Yes. So that your authority came directly from the local organizations, as well as from this national organization?

Mr. KENNEDY. That is right, Senator.

Senator AUSTIN. And you are a permanent representative here of those organizations, are you not?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes, sir; I am, Senator.

Senator AUSTIN. Do you represent any other farm organizations than those which you have named?

Mr. KENNEDY. Except some of the cooperative organizations here, Senator, which have been a part of, and which are a part of the organizations. For example, the Farmers' Union Livestock Commission at Chicago, which is a selling agency belonging to the State organizations of Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois, and so forth, and a number of other cooperatives along the same line.

Senator AUSTIN. All of these cooperatives fit into the same organization which you first mentioned?

Mr. KENNEDY. That is right, Senator.

Senator AUSTIN. These resolutions that you have given us a true copy of—when were they adopted?

Mr. KENNEDY. On the 23d day of February, this last month.

Senator SCHWARTZ. Senator Austin, I do not know whether you had a copy of the previous hearing, or not.

Senator AUSTIN. No; I did not.

Senator SCHWARTZ. This witness was here before, and testified at length.

Senator AUSTIN. I did not know that. Just one more question. When were the resolutions adopted by the subordinate, or, rather, the State, organizations?

Mr. KENNEDY. At their annual conventions, which were held during the fall months of last year, and also at their annual conventions the previous year.

Senator AUSTIN. Have these State organizations for several years been supporting this type of legislation which has been offered from time to time?

Mr. KENNEDY. Yes, Senator; they have.

Senator AUSTIN. Have you any other interest, that is financial interest, or any compensation from any other source, except this organization?

Mr. KENNEDY. Absolutely none, Senator.

Senator AUSTIN. Thank you.

Hon. H. H. SCHWARTZ,
Chairman of the Subcommitteee on the Wool-Products-Labeling Bill, Committee on Interstate Commerce, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: My absence from Washington prevents a personal appearance before your committee. I am, therefore, requesting that the following statement be included in the record of the hearing on S. 162, the wool-products-labeling bill of 1939.

The union-label trades department of the American Federation of Labor urges the passage of this measure, as it has supported previous bills aimed at protection of the consumer, especially the provisions that would force disclosure of the reclaimed wool or shoddy content of wool products.

Our department represents 51 directly affiliated international unions of the American Federation of Labor with a membership of over 1,000,000, including the sheepshearers' union, which is directly interested in this legislation. In addition our department's activities have the loyal support of the 4,500,000 members of the American Federation of Labor. Furthermore, the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor, representing 2,000,000 women, is organized under our department.

It should be understood that ours is essentially the consumers' department of the American Federation of Labor, and as consumers we speak in behalf of this wool-labeling bill. We are, of course, primarily interested in identifying for the consumer commodities made under fair union conditions. But while the union label is a guaranty of fair wages and hours to workers, it does not pretend to constitute a guaranty that the ingredients of commodities so labeled meet any specified standard of quality. For the protection of workers as consumers, therefore, we have always supported private and governmental efforts for supplemental labeling that will give the buyer adequate information about the commodities he purchases.

Among the flimsy arguments recently made against this bill by those manufacturers and retailers who do not want the public to know the fiber content of garments sold by them is the contention that labeling adds greatly to the cost of a commodity and that the public will be confused by labels such as those indicated in the proposed Federal Trade Commission rules.

The use of labels to identify honest products goes back to antiquity. You are all familiar with the later example of hallmarks on silver and gold.

Aside from the use of union labels on commodities, there is a label-manufacturing industry in the United States producing between $5,000,000 and $7,000,000 worth of labels a year. Many of these labels are used by garment manufacturers to convey to the consumer the idea that he is buying all-wool products, but carefully covering up the fact that these wool garments may contain a large proportion of reclaimed wool or shoddy. It does not seem reasonable to assume that adding a few words of truth to the label will increase the cost of labeling. Nor does it seem reasonable to assume that the consumer will be confused by adding some truth about the fiber content. I can assure you that our 2,000,000 members of women's auxiliaries will be glad to know the truth as revealed by honest labels. It is their hope, and ours, that this bill will abolish the present widespread practice of deception.

I hope that the Senate will speedily pass this legislation strengthening the Federal Trade Commission in its enforcement of the proposed rules requiring disclosure of the reclaimed wool or shoddy content of wool products, and thus protect the public from the adulterants that threaten the very existence of the wool industry of the United States.

Very truly yours,

I. M. ORNBURN,
Secretary-Treasury.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ERNEST WILLIAM HOWARD, DEPARTMENT CHAIRMAN OF LEGISLATION OF THE DISTRICT FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

I should like to read into the record a resolution dealing with fiber identification. You have a copy of this resolution. All of the committees have a copy of it. It is Resolution No. 9, "Fiber Identification."

I might say here that the general federation and all federations sponsor not a particular bill but the principle of the bill. This resolution concerns itself with the principle of the matter. This is resolution No. 9, sent to me by the General Federation's national department chairman. I will read it.

"Resolution 9, Fiber Identification

"Whereas the accurate identification of fibers, cotton, linen, wool, silk, rayon, and mixtures thereof, is the first step toward enabling the consumer to know what she is buying when purchasing fabric merchandise; and

"Whereas the Federal Trade Commission is formulating fair-trade-practice rules for fibers and has already established the term 'pure dye' to designate unweighted silk and has issued rules for the identification of rayon: Therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled, May 1938, commend the Federal Trade Commission for the protection which it has afforded to consumers, and urge its continuance of this work until fibers in common use are accurately identified; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That Congress be urged to supplement the powers of the Federal Trade Commission so that the Commission may extend further protection to the consumer by bringing about fuller informative labeling."

UNITED STATES LIVE STOCK ASSOCIATION,
Kansas City, Mo., March 3, 1939.

Hon. BURTON K. WHEELER,
Chairman, Committee on Interstate Commerce, United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR WHEELER: I am executive secretary of the United States Live Stock Association, with offices at Kansas City, Mo. The membership of the association consists of some 85,000 livestock growers and feeders who reside mainly within the Corn Belt territory and the States immediately adjacent thereto, and who include producers of all three species of livestock—namely, cattle, hogs, and sheep.

On behalf of the membership of the association I wish to urge enactment of S. 162, known as the Wool Products Labeling Act of 1939, now pending before your committee.

The United States Live Stock Association has for some time favored legislation of this type as being in the interests of both producers and consumers. At the annual meeting of the association held at Kansas City in February 1938 a resolution on this question was unanimously adopted, as follows:

"This association favors legislation designed to bring about truthful labeling and advertisement as to the wool content of goods and fabrics for the protection both of consumers and of wool producers."

Again at the annual meeting held at Omaha, Nebr., in February of this year, another resolution on this subject was unanimously adopted, as follows:

"We recommend passage of the truth-in-fabric bill."

This, of course, refers to the legislation now before your committee, on which it is hoped favorable action may be had at an early date.

I regret the press of other business prevented me from appearing personally before your Interstate Commerce Subcommittee in support of S. 162.

Very sincerely yours,

GLENN T. STEBBINS,
Executive Secretary.

NOTE.—Numbers following names refer to pages of hearings before Senate Interstate Commerce Subcommittee on S. 162, February and March, 1939, except where hearings before House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee on H. R. 944, March 1939, or Federal Trade Commission (F. T. C.) hearings, are indicated. Other organizations or individuals listed are on record in letters or communications to the Federal Trade Commission or to the sponsors of the bill, now on file in my office. Names followed by R, are retailers; by M, manufacturers; and by GM, garment manufacturers.

NATIONAL

American Farm Bureau Federation, 400,000 farm families, or about one and one-half million farm people; has State farm bureaus in Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, F. T. C. hearings, 1269. W. R. Ogg, in charge of Washington office, 109–116, 120; Edward A. O'Neal, president, 213–216.

National Wool Growers' Association, J. Byron Wilson, representative, 102–109, 208–213; F. R. Marshall, secretary, 116–120.

National Farmers' Guild, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.

Women's Auxiliary to the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Maie Fox Lowe, president, 80–83.

United Textile Workers of America, a unit of the American Federation of Labor, Francis J. Gorman, president, 38–43, F. T. C. hearings, 1284.

National Grange, 800,000 members in 36 States, Frederic Brenckman, Washington representative, 121–123.

Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, John M. Baer, representative, 123–125; I. M. Ornburn, secretary-treasurer, 124, F. T. C. hearings, 1278.

United States Live Stock Association, 85,000 members; Glenn T. Stebbins, executive secretary, 216.

American Home Economics Association, 11,000 members, 270–271; Mrs. Katherine McFarland Ansley, executive secretary, House hearings, 249–255.

Associated Women of the American Farm Bureau Federation, 500,000 members; Mrs. H. W. Ahart, president, House hearings, 255–264.

National Agricultural Conference; Louis B. Ward, vice president, 37–38.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs.

STATES

ALABAMA

County and local Farmers' Union and Farmers' Guild organizations; Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.

National Federation of Women's Auxiliaries, No. 715, Post Office Clerks, Mobile, Ala.

ARIZONA

Hon. John R. Murdock, Representative in Congress from Arizona, House hearings, 458.

County and local Farmers' Union and Farmers' Guild organizations; Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.

Arizona Wool Growers' Association.

ARKANSAS

County and local Farmers' Union and Farmers' Guild organizations; Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.

CALIFORNIA

California Farmers' Union.

Live Oak Grange, No. 494, Live Oak, Sutter County.

Women's Auxiliary, Los Angeles Photo-Engravers' Union, No. 32.

California State Farm Bureau.

Women's auxiliary to local 64, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Los Angeles, letter to Mrs. Fleming, March 27, 1939.

COLORADO

Fountain Valley Grange, Fountain; Mrs. Viva H. Colbert, secretary, 242.

Cottrell Clothing Co., Denver, 80, R.

Denver Dry Goods Co., Denver, 80, R.

Gano Downs Co., Denver, 80, R.

Colorado State Farm Bureau.

Colorado Wool Growers Association, F. T. C. hearings, 1275.

Colorado Wool Marketing Association, F. T. C. hearings, 1255.

CONNECTICUT

Riverside Woolen Mills, William Park & Sons, Inc., Stafford, 101, M.

The Warrenton Woolen Co., Torrington, 101, M.

The Stafford Worsted Co., Stafford Springs, 101 M. (reversed position in letter of March 13, 1939, to Hon. B. J. MONKIEWICZ, Representative in Congress from Connecticut, House hearings. 315).

DELAWARE

Kenwood Pyle Co., Wilmington, 80, R.

Richard's, Wilmington, 80, R.

Crosby & Heil Co., Wilmington, 80, R.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

District Federation of Women's Clubs, 6,100 members; Mrs. Ernest William Howard, chairman, legislative committee, 9–11; House hearings, 296–300; Miss Edna Merton, member of legislative committee, 11–13; House hearings, 300–306.

Frank R. Jelleff, Inc., Washington, D. C.

FLORIDA

Auxiliary No. 235, National Association of Letter Carriers, West Palm Beach.

Ladies Auxiliary, International Association of Machinists, Jacksonville.

GEORGIA

Ladies Auxiliary, No. 317, National Association of Letter Carriers, Columbus.

IDAHO

Washington-Idaho Farmers Union, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.

Idaho Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

Idaho Wool Growers Association, F. T. C. hearings, 127.

ILLINOIS

United Farmers of Illinois, F. T. C. hearings, 1283, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.

Farm Women of United Farmers of Illinois, Mrs. Mary C. Puncke, representative, 51–56 (see also 139–140).

Lacon Woolen Mills, Lacon, 101, M.

Union Milk Producers of Chicago, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.

Farmers' Union Livestock Commission, Chicago, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.

Jewish Women's Organizations, Chicago.

Women's Auxiliary, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, of Joliet, Ill.; letter to Mrs. Fleming, February 27, 1939.

Ladies Auxiliary, Steamfitters Union of North America, Chicago.

Elgin Letter Carriers Auxiliary, No. 473, Elgin.

Evanston Ladies' Auxiliary, National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch No. 394, Evanston.

Women's Auxiliary, No. 230, National Association of Letter Carriers, Urbana; letter N. R. D. A., January 18, 1939.

Women's Auxiliary, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, No. 117, Freeport; letter to National Retail Dry Goods Association, January 23, 1939.

INDIANA

Indiana Farmers' Union, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.

Women's Auxiliary, No. 377, National Association of Letter Carriers, Evansville; letter to N. R. D. G. A., January 18, 1939.

Indiana Federation of Women's Clubs.

Schmitt-Kloepfer Co., Logansport.

Indiana State Farm Bureau.

Indiana Woolgrowers' Association.

Women's Auxiliary, No. 618, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Terre Haute; letter to N. R. D. G. A., January 20, 1939.

Women's Auxiliary, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, No. 1077, Marion; letter to N. R. D. G. A., January 14, 1939.

IOWA

Iowa Farmers' Union, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.

Max Rothenberg, Fort Madison, 80, R.

John Zerr, Inc., Fort Madison, 80, R.

B. B. Hisnos' Sons, Fort Madison, 80, R.

Wilson's, Grundy Center, Eldora, 80, R.

Iowa State Farm Bureau.

Iowa Woolgrowers' Association, F. T. C. hearings, 1216.

Women's Auxiliary, Ladies Society of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Boone.
Women's Auxiliary, Cedar Auxiliary, No. 193, National Association of Letter Carriers, Cedar Rapids; letter to N. R. D. A., January 14, 1939.
Iowa Ladies' Auxiliary, No. 185, National Association of Letter Carriers, Sioux City.
Ottumwa Typographical Union, Ottumwa.
Women's Auxiliary of Letter Carriers, Iowa City.

KANSAS

Newman Dry Goods Co., Emporia, 80, R.
Poole Dry Goods Co., Emporia, 80, R.
Harry Ropfogel's, Emporia, 80, R.
County and Local Farmers' Union and Farmers' Guild organizations, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.
Kansas State Farm Bureau.
Ladies' Auxiliary, National Association of Letter Carriers, Salina.
American Association of University Women, Leavenworth.
Kansas State Industrial Farm for Women, Lansing.
Women's Auxiliary, Federation of Post Office Clerks, Local 735, Wichita; letter to N. R. D. G. A., January 20, 1939.
Women's Auxiliary, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, No. 735, Wichita.

KENTUCKY

Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs.
Kentucky Farm Bureau.
Kentucky Woolgrowers' Association.

MAINE

Lincolnsfield Mills Corporation, Lincoln, 101, M.

MARYLAND

Maryland Farmers' Union, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.
Farm women of Maryland Farmers' Union; Mrs. Mary C. Puncke, representative, 51–56. (See also 139–140.)
Hendrickson's, Frederick, 80, R.
The Parsons Co., Frederick, 80, R.
William Bennett, Frederick, 80, R.

MASSACHUSETTS

J. B. Inigley, Inc., Taunton, 80, R.
Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs: Harriet T. Hanson, 217; Hilda V. Reynolds, State committee of industry, 217.
C. Crawford Hollidge, Boston, 221, R.
Steincraft, Inc., Boston, 222.
Thresher Bros., Inc., Boston, 222.
Ladies' Auxiliary to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Priscilla Lodge, No. 20, Hyde Park; Mrs. Margaret G. McLoon, State legislative representative, 222.
Baron Dress Co., Boston, 223, GM.
Goldstein & Entin, Inc., Boston, 223.
J. H. Alkon, Inc., Boston, 223, GM.
B. Miller & Co., Boston, 223.
Binder Bros., Boston, 224, GM.
Hub Cloak & Suit Co., Inc., Boston, 224, GM.
Rivitz Bros., Boston, 224, GM.
Mayflower Worsted Co., Kingston, 101, M.
Merrimac Mills, Alfred C. Gaunt & Co., Methuen, 101, M.
Ladies' Auxiliary to the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, Taunton, letter to National Retail Dry Goods Association, January 10, 1939.

MICHIGAN

The Leader Store, Escanaba, 80, R.
Michigan Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union; Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.
Farm Women of Michigan Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union; Mrs. Mary C. Puncke, representative, 51–56. (See also 139–140.)
The Fair Store, Escanaba, 80, R.
About 250 women of Detroit, especially interested in labeling of wool yarns for handknitting. (All have sent cards to Senator SCHWARTZ and Congressman MARTIN similar to that from Mrs. Peter B. Gannon, p. 221.)
Hon. FRED L. CRAWFORD, Repesentative in Congress from Michigan, House hearings, 365.
Michigan Wool Marketing Association, F. T. C. hearings, 1260.
Michigan Wool Growers' Association.
Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs.
American Hampshire Sheep Association, Detroit, F. T. C. hearings, 1254.
Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs, Detroit, F. T. C. hearings, 1267.

MINNESOTA

Minnesota Farmers' Union; Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.
Farm Women of Minnesota Farmers' Union; Mrs. Mary C. Puncke, representative, 51–56. (See also 139–140.)
Faribault Woolen Mills Co., Faribault, 101, M.
Women's Auxiliary, No. 26, Steamfitters and Plumbers Union, Duluth.
Minnesota Wool Marketing Association.

MISSOURI

County and Local Farmers' Union and Farmers' Guild organizations; Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.
Square Deal Milk Producers' Association of St. Louis; Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.
Women's Auxiliary, No. 6, Kansas City Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, Kansas City.
Women's Auxiliary of International Printers and Engravers Union, No. 10, St. Louis.
Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs, F. T. C. hearings, 1282.
Ladies' Auxiliary to the International Association of Machinists, No. 84, St. Louis, letter to Mrs. Fleming, March 19, 1939.

MONTANA

Hon. JAMES F. O'CONNOR, Representative in Congress from Montana, House hearings, 450.
Montana Wool Growers' Association, F. T. C. hearing, 1262.

NEVADA

Sonoma Lodge, No. 615, Ladies' Society, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Winnemuska.
Nevada Wool Marketing Association, Elko, F. T. C. hearings, 1281.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

New Hampshire Federation of Women's Clubs, Harriett L. (Mrs. Benjamin H.) Dodge, chairman of industry, 219–20.
L. W. Packard & Co., Ashland, 101, M.
Keene Women's Club, Keene, F. T. C. hearings, 1217.

NEW JERSEY

Passaic Women's Club, Passaic, Ella C. Hemion, president, 220.
Steinbach Kresge Co., Asbury Park, 80, R.
Stark's Dress Shop, Asbury Park, 80, R.
Teppers, Asbury Park, 80, R.
Forstmann Woolen Co., Passaic, M; Curt E. Forstmann, president, 125–134; F. E. Ackerman, vice president, Julius Forstmann Corporation, 135–138; Glenn Gardiner, assistant to the president, House hearings, 466–481.
Botany Worsted Mills, Passaic, M; Charles F. H. Johnson, president, 220–221; House hearings, 387–404.
Foster Yarn, Inc., Trenton, 101, M.
Howland Croft & Sons, Camden, 101, M.
Women's Auxiliary, No. 168, Typographical Union, No. 157, Dunellen.
Women's Auxiliary, No. 474, National Association of Letter Carriers, Atlantic City.

NEW MEXICO

County and local Farmers' Union and Farmers' Guild organizations, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.
New Mexico Wool Growers Association, F. T. C. hearings, 1274.

NEW YORK

County and local Farmers' Guild and Farmers' Union organizations, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.
Burgess Clothing Co., Courtland, 80, R.
A. Louis, Courtland, 80, R.
New York City Federation of Women's Clubs, 200,000 members; Katherine E. (Mrs. Andrew J.) Noe, president, 230; Miss Julia K. Jaffray, chairman, department of economic adjustment, 97–102, 230.
Lasowitz & Rosenberg, New York City, 217, GM.
Harwin Coat Co., Inc., New York City, 218, GM.
Herman Beispel, Inc., New York City, 218.
Robert S. Plaks, New York City, 218, GM.
Krull Bros., New York City, 224, GM.
Philip Goldberg, New York City, 225, GM.
Morris Gilbert Co., Inc., New York City, 225, GM.
Rosenthal & Faitelson, Inc., New York City, 225, GM.
Fritz Heitner, New York City, 226, GM.
Rubin & Grummer, Inc., New York City, 226, GM.
Bruno Gumprich, New York City, 226, GM.
Oscar J. Hauptman Co., Inc., New York City, 226, GM.
A. Scardapane & Co., Inc., New York City, 227, GM.
Jack Jacobs, Inc., New York City, 227, GM.
Brodsky Bros., Inc., New York City, 227.
Katz & Barandes, New York City, 227.
Weinstein Bros., New York City, 227–228, GM.
Kanowitz & Dworetsky, Inc., New York City, 228, GM.
Okun & Berger, New York City, 228.
Hyman & Feigelman, New York City, 228–229, GM.
Eisenberg & Weiner, New York City, 229, GM.
Block & Levine, New York City, 229, GM.
Samuel Feinman, New York City, 229, GM.
Lou Meises, New York City, 229.
Edmund T. Church Co., Inc., New York City, 230, GM.
Harry Langer, Inc., New York City, 231, GM.
A. and S. Oppenheimer, Franken, Inc., New York City, 231, GM.
Endelmean Krinzler Co., Inc., New York City, 231, GM.
The Marquise Coat Manufacturing Co., Inc., New York City, 232, GM.
Seymour Coats, Inc., New York City, 232, GM.
Louis Workman Co., Inc., New York City, 232, GM.
Martlin Cloak & Suit Co., Inc., New York City, 233, GM.
Jonas Coat Co., Inc., New York City, 233, GM.
I. Malter, Inc., New York City, 233, GM.
Dworetsky & Gittler, Inc., New York City, 233, GM.
Harry Asher, New York City, 233, GM.
Pincus & Wendrow, Inc., New York City, 234, GM.
Miss France Coats, Inc., New York City, 234, GM.
Goldberg & Wolk, Inc., New York City, 234, GM.

Falk-Lohn, Inc., New York City, 234–235, GM.
Fairview Sportwear, Inc., New York City, 235.
Wm. Devitz & Zaif, Inc., New York City, 235, GM.
Weissman-Marcus Cloak Co., Inc., New York City, 236, GM.
Hindus Coat Co., Inc., New York City, 236, GM.
Shariro & Stern, New York City, 236, GM.
Stecher & Co., Inc., New York City, 236, GM.
Philip Mangone Co., Inc., New York City, 237, GM.
Morris Isman & Co., Inc., New York City, 237, GM.
Pasamanick & Miller, Inc., New York City, 237, GM.
Youth-Crest, New York City, 237–238, GM.
Louis Glenn, New York City, 238, GM.
Nemo Garment Corporation, New York City, 238, GM.
William Goldman, New York City, 238, GM.
Har-Sam Coat Co., New York City, 239, GM.
Leibman & Temchin, Inc., New York City, 239, GM.
Jack Hanover & Co., Inc., New York City, 239, GM.
Brevity Coats, Inc., New York City, 239, GM.
Fox & Polleck, Inc., New York City, 240, GM.
J. M. Thurman, Inc., New York City, 240, GM.
Glassberg & Rubin, New York City, 240.
Steiger & Co., Inc., New York City, 240, GM.
Blumenthal Coats, Inc., New York City, 241, GM.
Londonderry, Inc., New York City, 241, GM.
Aaron Goldstein & Co., Inc., New York City, 241, GM.
Jacob Green & Son, New York City, 241, GM.
Strong, Hewat & Co., Inc., New York City, 101, M.
Foundation Worsted Corporation, New York City, 101, M.
Chatham Manufacturing Co., New York City, 101, M.
Buckley & Cohen, Inc., New York City, 101, M.
Women's Auxiliary No. 200, Buffalo Typographical Union, No. 9, Buffalo, F. T. C. hearings, 1220, letter to N. R. D. A., January 14, 1939.
Kirby, Block & Co., New York City.
Felix Lilienthal & Co., Inc., New York City.
Merchant Tailor Society, New York City.
Maurice Rentner Co., New York City.
Mrs. Glenn A. Booth, Courtland, N. Y.
Rockville Center-Baldwin Ladies Auxiliary, National Association of Letter Carriers, Rockville Center.

NORTH CAROLINA

Women's Auxiliary, North Carolina Federation of Post Office Clerks, Winston-Salem.
Women's Auxiliary, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Local No. 125, Statesville.

OHIO

Ohio Farmers' Guild; Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.
Farm Women of Ohio Farmers' Guild; Mrs. Mary C. Puncke, representative; 51–56 (see also 139–140).
The Ohio Wool Growers Cooperative Association, 8,000 members in Ohio; L. A. Kaufman, secretary; 271–272.
St. Marys Woolen Manufacturing Co., St. Marys, 101, M.
Ohio State Farm Bureau.
Coshocton Auxiliary, Post Office Clerks, Coshocton.
Women's Auxiliary of National Federation of Post Office Clerks, No. 120, Akron; letter to N. R. D. G. A., January 18, 1939.
Women's Auxiliary No. 138, National Association of Letter Carriers, Dayton; letter to N. R. D. A. of January 16, 1939.
Women's Auxiliary to International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America; letter to Hon. ROBERT CROSSER, March 7, 1939.

OKLAHOMA

County and local Farmers' Union and Farmers' Guild organizations; Edward E. Kennedy, representative; 8–9, 139–141.
Women's Auxiliary, Typographical Auxiliary, No. 206, Ponca City.
Women's Auxiliary, Oklahoma Federation of Post Office Clerks, Oklahoma City; letter to N. R. D. G. A., January 10, 1939.
Women's Auxiliary, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, No. 1565, Shawnee; letter to National Retail Dry Goods Association, January 17, 1939.

OREGON

Hon. WALTER M. PIERCE, Representative in Congress from Oregon, House hearings, 23.
County and local Farmers' Union and Farmers' Guild, organizations; Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.
Oregon Federation of Women's Clubs.
Ladies' Auxiliary, No. 347, National Association of Letter Carriers, Eugene.
Pacific Wool Growers, Portland, F. T. C. hearings, 1258.
Oregon Wool Growers' Association, F. T. C. hearings, 1273.
Women's Auxiliary, No. 367, to National Association of Letter Carriers, Medford; wire to N. R. D. G. A., January 16, 1939.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania Farmers' Guild; Edward E. Kennedy, representative; 8–9, 193–141.
Farm Women of Pennsylvania Farmers' Guild; Mrs. Mary C. Puncke, representative; 51–56 (see also 139–140).
Oak Worsted Mills, Philadelphia, 101.
Bonwit Teller & Co., Philadelphia.
Pennsylvania Federation of Women's Clubs, Oil City, F. T. C. hearings, 1277.
Women's Auxiliary, Pennsylvania Federation of Post Office Clerks, Lancaster.
Women's Auxiliary to the Order of Railway Conductors of America, Division 334, Philadelphia.

RHODE ISLAND

Wool Sorters Union, Local 574, United Textile Workers of America, Providence; John W. Gorman, recording secretary; 272–273.
Barnai Worsted Mills, Woonsocket, 101, M.
Guerin Mills, Inc., Woonsocket, 101, M.
Silver Lake Worsted Mills, Providence, 101, M.
Hope Knitting Co., Pawtucket, 101, M.
William Hollins & Co., Inc., Forestdale, 101, M.
Masurel Worsted Mills, Inc., Woonsocket, 101, M.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Carolina Cash Co., Spartanburg, 80, R.
Belk-Hudson Co., Spartanburg, 80, R.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Ladies Auxiliary, Local No. 68, Post Office Clerks, Aberdeen.

TENNESSEE

National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Nashville, F. T. C. Hearings, 1251.

TEXAS

Joe W. Wuntch, Paris, 80, R.
Arthur Caddell Co., Paris, 80, R.
Perkins Bros. Department Store, Paris, 80, R.
Texas Sheep and Goat Raisers' Association, Inc., Del Rio, G. W. Cunningham, secretary, 229, F. T. C. Hearings, 1265.
Pecos County Livestock Protective Association, Fort Stockton, John S. Oates, president, 242.
General Federation of Women's Clubs, Denton, Mrs. Richard J. Turrenting, director, 242.
Del Rio Wool and Mohair Co., Del Rio, 242–243.
Texas State Grange.
County and Local Farmers' Union and Farmers' Guild organizations, Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.
Women's Auxiliary, No. 79, Amarillo Typographical Union, No. 525, Amarillo.
Women's Auxiliary, Post Office Clerks, Tyler.
Texas Federation of Post Office Clerks.
Women's Auxiliary No. 787, National Association of Letter Carriers, Galveston, Tex., letter to N. R. D. G. A., January 18, 1939.
Brook Hereford Ranch, Brady, 242.

UTAH

Women's Auxiliary to Utah State Federation of Post Office Clerks, Salt Lake City.

VERMONT

Women's Auxiliary of Local No. 759 National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Montpelier.
A. G. Dewey Co., Quechee, 101, M.
Bridgewater Woolen Co., Bridgewater, 101, M.

VIRGINIA

M. S. Cooper, Phoebus, 80, R.
E. S. Clark, Phoebus, 80, R.
C. C. Mugler, Phoebus, 80, R.
Margaret Dana, merchandising counsel and director of consumers' forum of the Atlantic Monthly, Orange, Va., 84–93, House hearings, 277–293.
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Women's Auxiliary Virginia State Federation of Post Office Clerks, Norfolk.
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United Wool Growers' Association, Inc., Harrisonburg, F. T. C. hearings, 1274.

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Miller Mercantile Co., Wenatchee, 80, R.
Washington State Grange.
Washington Wool Marketing Association.
Women's Auxiliary, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Tacoma, letter to National Retail Dry Goods Association, January 19, 1939.

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Johnson & Hill Co., Wisconsin Rapids, 80, R.
I. W. Wilcox, Wisconsin Rapids, 80, R.
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County and Local Farmers' Union and Farmers' Guild organizations; Edward E. Kennedy, representative, 8–9, 139–141.

Women's Auxiliary, Local No. 94, Post Office Clerks, Wisconsin Rapids.

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Consumers' League for Honest Wool Labeling; J. Byron Wilson, representative, 102–109, 208–213.

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Clarks Fork Grange, No. 55, Clark; Mrs. Hulda Gullentine, secretary, 230.

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PASSAIC, N. J., *October 2, 1940.*

H. H. SCHWARTZ,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Botany Worsted Mills has been consistently for the wool-labeling bill for many years past. I have appeared in favor of this bill before various committees through many sessions of Congress. We have not changed our position. There is no reason for our being listed as opposed to the bill unless someone has deliberately misstated our position, and if so it has been without any authority from here. You may refer to any of my previous letters or statements before the committee and I can assure you that we have not changed our position nor given any intimation to anyone that such might be even remotely so. We are very much interested to learn how we came to be listed as per your wire of even date.

CHARLES F. H. JOHNSON,
President, Botany Worsted Mills.

[Address by Hon. EDWIN C. JOHNSON, of Colorado, on the wool-products labeling bill delivered September 21, 1940, over the Nation-wide hook-up of the National Grange hour, station WMAL, National Broadcasting Co., Washington, D. C.]

Just 38 years ago last June, the Honorable William A. Springer, representing the National Livestock Association, appearing before the House Ways and Means Committee then considering a bill for the identification of wool products, eloquently plead for square dealing in the merchandising of woolen goods. Small attention was paid to his words of wisdom, however, and the proposed legislation fell by the wayside. Bills similar in purpose have been considered in nearly every Congress since 1902 and have always failed to pass. In fact, failure to enact truth-in-fabric legislation has almost become a fixed habit with Congress.

In the first session of the present Congress Senator SCHWARTZ, of Wyoming, and Congressman Martin, of Colorado, introduced in their respective Houses the Schwartz-Martin wool-labeling bill to require fabric identification of all goods containing wool and moving in interstate commerce. Last winter Congressman John Martin passed away, but his friends and colleagues rallied behind the unfinished work that was interrupted by his death and for which he fought so diligently during his lifetime. This bill has now been passed by both the Senate and the House, but in slightly different forms. Senators SCHWARTZ, REED, and I were appointed by the Senate to compromise the differences between the two Houses. After a long conference in which the whole matter was discussed at length, the three Senators decided that the House version was a slight improvement over the Senate version, and therefore, unanimously agreed to accept the House wording of the bill. Then a strange thing happened. The House conferees appointed specifically by the House to urge the House language, would not agree to their own version and after much bickering among themselves, they requested another conference with the Senate conferees. We are to meet on Monday morning next and doubtless everything will be ironed out promptly and the measure will go to the President of the United States for his signature.

Thus will end a long, hard fight for constructive legislation which for 38 years has been urged by the representatives of numerous important national organizations. July 28, 1939, Senator HARRY H. SCHWARTZ, of Wyoming, coauthor of this act, presented on the floor of the Senate a list of more than 300 organizations, associations, corporations, and business firms who had gone on record in support of it. The National Grange, the National Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Federation of Labor, the American Farm Bureau, the Farmers' Union, the National Farmers Guild, the National Wool Growers Association, many home-economic and consumer organizations, and the United Textile Workers of America have for years endorsed and urged legislation to require the labeling of wool fabrics to protect the consumer against the imposition of shoddy and reused materials being sold under the guise of pure and virgin wool.

In general the purposes of the Wool Products Labeling Act are to minimize or prevent the concealing of adulterants and inferior substitutes in cloth and wearing apparel, and to give consumers of such articles an opportunity to know what they are buying. The use of labels to identify honest products dates back to antiquity. The presence of reclaimed wool in a fabric can be scientifically determined in the laboratory, but it cannot be identified by the customer at the sales counter.

Enforcement of the act is delegated under the law to the Federal Trade Commission. The Commission is to prescribe the manner and form of disclosing information on labels, and may require segregation of such information for different portions of a product in order to avoid deception or confusion.

Importers of wool products must set forth the information required by the act. Falsification or failure to do so is deemed to be an unfair and deceptive act or practice in commerce and subjects the violator to a prohibition against importing wool products and to prosecution for a felony.

The act provides a $5,000 penalty or a year's imprisonment for manufacturing, selling, transporting, or distributing misbranded wool products in interstate commerce; for failing to affix the required label or substitute to the wool product or removing or mutilating it with intent to violate the act; for importing wool products in violation of the provision of the act; and for furnishing false guaranties.

The act becomes effective 9 months after the date of its passage. This delay will give retailers ample time to market unlabeled stock on hand or to obtain information on the content of such stock from the manufacturer who keeps complete records on the composition of his wool product. Carpets, rugs, mats, or upholsteries are exempt from the provisions of the act.

One would naturally think that a truth-in-fabric bill would have little difficulty in being enacted into law, but the opposite is true, nevertheless. Opposition to the Schwartz-Martin Act has centered chiefly in garment makers in New York City and in a few manufacturers of wool products containing large amounts of shoddy. For 38 years this articulate minority have been able to block a wool-products-labeling law. Their tactics are always the same, and are well revealed in their campaign to prevent enactment of the Schwartz-Martin Act. They drag out and parade their ghosts one by one—the false allegation that presence of reclaimed wool fiber cannot be scientifically determined; the unfounded fear that a labeling act will adversely affect cotton; more recently the fallacious notion that the act is not in the best interests of our national defense; and a score of other equally baseless bogies designed to confuse the issues and delay action. These manufacturers and merchants of fabrics containing shoddy and reclaimed wool have put up a terrific and successful fight for years and years against this wholesome legislation, and each succeeding year has seen more and more shoddy used. Tons and tons of rags are imported now every year from Europe to supply the woolen mills of America with shoddy. Since 1938 the importation of rags has increased more than 1,000 percent.

The situation has grown so serious that today one-third of the wool used in America is reused wool. The miserable service and poor wearing qualities of shoddy, reclaimed wool, and other inferior substitutes for this staple article sold as pure wool have given woolen garments a bad name. The goods the customer bought for virgin wool didn't wear well and didn't give him the degree of protection from the weather which he had a right to expect, so quite naturally he lost his esteem and enthusiasm for wool garments and in turn virgin-wool producers lost his patronage. Goods of inferior quality have always hurt sales. Farmers have learned that cull vegetables will quickly ruin the vegetable market; ancient eggs when sold as fresh stop the consumption of fresh eggs instantaneously. Demand for a commodity ceases whenever an inferior quality of that commodity is supplied to the market. The farmer and his wife are familiar with that well-known market reaction. The evil practice of "palming off" wool reclaimed from rag as pure wool has injured the producer of wool just as it has injured the consumer. It is little wonder then that the producers and the consumers have joined hands in demanding a wool fabric labeling bill for the mutual protection of them both.

The final enactment of this legislation will stand as a monument to the late John Martin who throughout his life had a passion for truth and honesty and to Senator SCHWARTZ upon whose willing shoulders has fallen the burden of pushing this legislation through to its final enactment.

Senator SCHWARTZ is entitled to the hearty commendations of the American people for the hard fight which he has won in their behalf. Until he took hold of the measure the enemies of fabric-identification legislation always were able to outmaneuver its sponsors and block its final passage.

The consumer cannot be certain by an examination of the texture of the cloth whether his newly purchased suit is made from virgin wool or from second-hand wool reclaimed from filthy old rag, perhaps imported from Europe, but after he wears it a short time and when it is too late to correct his mistake, he will realize that he has purchased an inferior article. He will discover that his new suit does not have the wearing or warmth-giving qualities which he had every right to anticipate it would have.

The Schwartz-Martin bill, while strongly endorsed by wool growers and farm organizations generally, is not being enacted by Congress to benefit the wool industry, but is designed to protect the 90 percent of the American people who must, as the hearings have disclosed, purchase garments and suits at a cost of $35 and less. This legislation is not needed for persons who can pay $75 or a

hundred dollars for a suit of clothes. It is the working man, the farmer, the white-collared man, and the employees in the lower-income brackets who need the protection which this law affords.

Competition in manufactured fabrics is very keen in America. Every manufacturer is trying to meet the price of his competitor. A certain small percentage of manufacturers are unscrupulous just as a small percentage of every other group of people are by nature quick to take advantage of their fellows. The honest manufacturer of fabrics must and does meet the price of his unethical competitors. If they sell a cheap substitute for the real thing at a low price he must be realistic and match that price. This legislation will protect the honest manufacturer who wants to put out quality goods. No longer will he have to meet the unfair competition of the fellow who sells shoddy wool for pure wool.

Few will not agree that our soldiers should have the best that money can buy. In the first World War Uncle Sam and his patriots were victimized by the manufacturers of shoddy. General Pershing in his war memoirs wrote, "Much of the clothing that we received for our troops was reported to be shoddy." Can you think of anything lower than to clothe the men who defended this country's honor in the cold, damp trenches with shoddy clothing purchased at an excessive price? Following the World War, Julius Forstmann, a patriotic and honest wool manufacturer of New Jersey, was given an "award of merit" by the Secretary of War for exposing the unpatriotic racket of unloading cheap shoddy substitutes at an exorbitant price upon his Government and its soldiers. Now the War Department is placing large orders for woolen goods again. This time the Schwartz-Martin Act, thank God, will protect the Treasury and our patriots.

When a manufacturer fears that customers will not purchase his product if he must label the amount of substitutes it contains, he does not believe that honesty is the best policy. If substitute fibers are used to increase the manufacturer's margin of profit and the saving in the use of the cheaper fiber is not passed on to the consumer, then we can understand the opposition to this bill. If a reclaimed wool coat can be sold for $10 and a coat made from virgin wool cannot be sold for less than $20, let the purchaser in on the secret and let him buy the coat which will best fit his needs. Perhaps the coat made from reclaimed wool will be satisfactory to him, but let him know why the cheaper coat is priced at the lower figure. It isn't fair to honest merchandising to make him believe that the merchant who sells him the inferior coat is operating a charitable institution and that the merchant up the street who sells honest goods is a profiteer. Competition in the clothing business is mighty keen and the unscrupulous merchant forces the more ethical merchants to meet his unfair competition which forces them to deal in inferior goods.

It isn't very flattering to the manufacturer of shoddy who has so strenuously opposed the passage of this act that he must depend upon concealing from the public what his goods contain in order to make a sale. One must reach the inevitable conclusion either that his goods are inferior and that he has something that must be kept hidden or that the consumer is to be denied his confidence because he is too dumb to know what he wants to purchase. It was argued before our committee that reclaimed wool has merit. If so why does the manufacturer hesitate to stand on that merit and let the consumer make the decision with the "blinders off." Congress insists that the merchant sell reclaimed wool for reclaimed wool as he sells oleomargarine for oleomargarine, leaving the choice entirely with the consumer. Let the "proof of the pudding be in the eating"; do not make the consumer believe that he is eating chicken when an old black crow is being served and expect him to like it.

The American consumer does not want to be deceived. He wants to know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about the goods he buys. Most certainly the purchaser is entitled to know what he is paying for. He does not want to buy "a pig in a poke." When he buys a pure wool suit, he wants it to be wool and not shoddy or some other substitute for wool. That is the basis for the so-called wool products labeling bill.

It must be remembered that this legislation does not prohibit or interfere with the sale or manufacture of shoddy, reclaimed, or reprocessed woolen goods, if sold without concealment of identity. These fabrics still go to market, but under the Schwartz-Martin Act they must face the consumer on their own merit. This bill merely stops the racket of selling such inferior substitutes as virgin wool. The unfair and deceptive acts and practices originating in the industry is the father of this legislation, and not the selfish interest of the producer of wool. It was not devised to work an unnecessary hardship upon anyone nor hamper any honest industry or business. It is a logical and necessary part of the growing legislative code to protect the consuming public in the field of food, drugs, meat inspection, honest weights and measures.

It is true that virgin wool, reclaimed wool, silk, and synthetic fibers have different properties and should be applied to different uses, and require different types of care if they are to give satisfactory service. The product which is bought without proper knowledge is likely to be found unsatisfactory, no matter how good it may be. An improperly washed fabric shrinks, an improperly dyed fabric crocks, a garment which is bought for hard service wears out too soon, and the clothing worn to protect against cold weather proves ineffective. One cannot measure the extent of the disappointments among consumers nor of the ill will and distrust engendered in the man who has been deceived. "Let the buyer beware" is a sound merchandising slogan provided he is given some dependable guides upon which he can base his judgment. To that end the Schwartz-Martin bill is about to be enacted into law. Under this wholesome act the buyer will not himself be shorn.

Abraham Lincoln and the Statehood of Nevada

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KEY PITTMAN

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 3 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY F. LAURISTON BULLARD

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD an article by F. Lauriston Bullard, editorial writer, Boston Herald, entitled "Abraham Lincoln and the Statehood of Nevada." It is a splendidly written historical article relative to the admission of Nevada as a State, pursuant to the earnest desire of Lincoln that there might be no doubt in adoption by Congress of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The article treats of the conditions in the State of Nevada at that time, but the writer did not deem it necessary to recite the great burden that the State assumed under statehood or to treat the patriotism that prompted those citizens to accept such burden. I would be pleased if this able historian-writer would at some time give to the public the history of the patriotism demonstrated by the people of Nevada during the Territorial days in sacrificing wages, which were then from $20 a day in the mines, to become soldiers that communications might be protected from the Indians, and the great gold and silver of the Comstock could go into the Treasury of the United States.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the American Bar Association Journal for March and April 1940]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE STATEHOOD OF NEVADA—ON CLOSE DIVISION OF PUBLIC OPINION IN 1864 A NEW FREE STATE WAS IMPORTANT—DECISION TO ADMIT NEVADA—GREAT HOPES FOR FUTURE EXPANSION—NEW CONSTITUTION TELEGRAPHED TO WASHINGTON IN TIME TO PROCLAIM STATE AND HAVE ITS VOTE CAST IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

(By F. Lauriston Bullard, editorial writer, Boston Herald)

On the wall of the assembly chamber in the capitol of the State of Nevada there hangs a portrait of Abraham Lincoln. Its acquisition was authorized by the legislature in connection with the celebration of the semi-centennial of Nevada's statehood. The unveiling took place on March 14, 1915. The painting was placed above the speaker's chair in the room occupied by the popular branch of the legislature in commemoration of the events that brought about the admission of Nevada to the Union, and, as the Governor said, "to inspire legislators to give to the people the best that is in them." The anniversary of Nevada's accession (October 31, 1864) is observed annually as a holiday with more or less formality, and last year was celebrated with the pageantry of a diamond jubilee.

NEVADA OR A MILLION MEN

That the admission of the Silver State was considered a necessity for the consummation of the policies of the Civil War President is well known, but several important aspects of the situation at the time are hardly known at all. "Easier to admit Nevada than to raise another million men," is the familiar explanation of Lincoln's policy, this on the authority of the account given to the public in 1898 by Charles A. Dana. The purpose of this article is to bring forward certain neglected phases of the story and to indicate that the Dana account may not in all respects be accurate.

During about half of the decade of the 1850's, Carson County, in the western part of the Territory of Utah, was occupied only by several groups of Mormons, and emigrants bound for California hurried through what seemed to them a Valley of Death littered as was the trail by skeletons of cattle and men. When a clash between the United States and the Mormon authorities became imminent in 1857, about a thousand Zionists at the call of Brig-

ham Young abandoned promptly the properties in the valley which their labor had made valuable and hastened back to Salt Lake. The discovery of the Comstock Lode precipitated a wild rush for a new El Dorado. On the second day before he quit the Presidency, James Buchanan signed the act which transformed Carson County into the Territory of Nevada. In fewer than 4 years the Territory was advanced to statehood. The census of 1860 gave Nevada a population of only 6,857. During the debate in Congress of the enabling act for Nevada's admission the population was estimated all the way from 30,000 to 45,000. Statehood must mean the addition of two Senators and one Representative to the National Legislature. The Apportionment Act in force at that time established a population ratio of 127,381 for each Member of Congress. In all the succeeding 75 years Nevada never has attained that population.

But in the middle sixties everybody assumed that Nevada was destined to become a populous and wealthy State. The frenzied speculation of the wildcat era was subsiding, but same observers in conservative publications declared that a mighty commonwealth had been founded on the plateau between the Rockies and the Sierras and predicted that the stream of bullion which would issue from its mines would pay the Nation's war debt. Senator Latham, of California, insisted that even by the time the Territory had qualified for admission the population would exceed 100,000, whereas the Golden State had come in with a population no larger. The eastern newspapers were commenting on the great progress the Territory had made in 4 years. The New York Times stressed "the vast multitudes of emigrants" who were pouring into the region. The New York Herald foresaw a "future for the new State" that would be as prosperous as its beginning. Greeley's Tribune described in glowing terms the prospects of the coming State, and indicated that its mines might pay not only the interest on the national debt but "the entire debt * * * within the present generation." The Secretary of the Interior in his report for 1864 conceived that the production of the silver regions "must soon reach a magnitude unprecedented in the history of mining operations." Bishop Matthew Simpson indulged in gaudy rhetoric to describe the value of the Nevada mines—"the more the mines are worked the richer they yield." Observers believed also that once the Pacific Railroad should have spanned the continent silver would not be the only valuable export of the new State. Agriculture must always be limited, but several minerals would supplement silver when the mines became more readily accessible and freight rates receded to a reasonable level.

NEVADA DESIRED STATEHOOD

The people of Nevada wanted to enter the Union. Three months before Congress passed an enabling act they voted four to one for statehood. During the territorial years a little body of troops organized in that distant region kept open the sole means of communication between the East and the Pacific coast. For that valuable war service the Territory borrowed money at the rate of 1½ percent per month and incurred a debt for which the State was not reimbursed until 1929. The Government at Washington under all normal conditions would have delayed action. Nobody foresaw, however, that Nevada would provide the Nation with a unique case of arrested development. Nevertheless, even though the future had been clearly disclosed to the administration, statehood would have been authorized without delay. The administration was looking for additional loyal States. Congress passed enabling acts for Colorado and Nebraska, territories which also fell far short of the apportionment population. To expedite the admission of Nevada its constitution was telegraphed entire from Carson City to Washington a few days before the national election of 1864. The people of the Territory probably understood only in part the reasons for the hurry.

Prior to the organization of the territorial government midway of 1861 there was little government or none in Carson County. Conditions in that portion of Utah were hopelessly chaotic. During one period three governments are said to have tried simultaneously to function. The discovery of the Comstock on June 12, 1859, on the eastern slope of Mount Davidson, about 20 miles from the California boundary, made confusion worse confounded. In a short time Virginia City multiplied from nothing to a hurly-burly of 10,000 miners. San Francisco was the center of the orgy of speculation that followed. A government report states that 3,000 silver companies were organized in the California city and that 30,000 persons bought stock in them. "The amount of business done in Virginia City was twice as great as in any other town of equal size in the United States. It provided more silver in a year than any other mining district of equal size ever did." Other silver ledges were soon uncovered and other little camps became wild and unruly towns.

TERRY AND STEWART—MARK TWAIN

Within 2 days of each other there arrived in Carson City two men who represented opposing ideas of what should be the destiny of that region. Judge David S. Terry, born in Kentucky, had resigned as chief justice of the California Supreme Court shortly before his duel with Senator David Broderick. He came to Virginia City, according to the not too reliable charge of a San Francisco newspaper, "at the request of Jefferson Davis from whom he had received a commission to be territorial governor of Nevada in case it became sympathetic with the Southern cause." In 1863 he joined the Confederate army and fought at Chickamauga. William M. Stewart, who was to become one of Nevada's first Senators, born in New York, was an ardent Unionist. After 10 years in California he established a law office in Nevada and became a specialist in mining law. He spent 4 years in vindicating the interests of the original claimants to the Comstock. In that turbulent period he rode the storm, with Terry as his usual opponent until the outbreak of the war.

The organization of Carson County as the Territory of Nevada was expected to end what was plainly an impossible situation. There was an interval of 18 weeks between the President's approval of the bill creating the new Territory and the arrival of its first and only Governor. James W. Nye doubtless owed his appointment to his friend, the Secretary of State. The younger Charles Francis Adams, who traveled with him and Seward on a campaign tour in the Middle West in 1860, described Nye as an able stump speaker and politician, well adapted for the life of the mining camps, and "a character." In his annual message of 1862 President Lincoln referred to Nevada as a region in which "the Federal officers" on their arrival there "found existing the leaven of treason," a condition with which Nye was amply equipped to deal. As Secretary for the Territory, another Cabinet member, Attorney General Bates, obtained the appointment of one Orion Clemens, who in turn named as his secretary his brother, Sam, whom the world knows as Mark Twain.

During more than 2 years of the 3 years and 4 months that Nevada remained a Territory the question of statehood was agitated. In 1862 the Territorial legislature passed a bill for a referendum vote, and for the election of delegates for a constitutional convention in case statehood should win. In a total vote of 8,162 only 1,502 were recorded in opposition. Late in December of that year Representative James M. Ashley introduced in Congress a bill providing for the admission of Nevada. Precisely in the same form he offered on the same day bills in behalf of Colorado, Nebraska, and Utah, and a bill for a temporary government for Idaho. These measures encountered long delay in the House, but the Senate passed the Nevada Act in March 1863. Nevada duly elected the convention delegates and they spent about 6 weeks toward the end of the year in drafting a constitution. And then, for reasons which will appear, in January 1864, the people rejected it by a 4-to-1 vote, 8,851 to 2,157.

TERRITORY FAITHFUL TO UNION

Meantime, in more ways than one, the Territory was demonstrating its fidelity to the Union. The people always have been proud of what Nevada did for the Sanitary Commission, the Red Cross of Civil War days. Its per capita contributions were larger than those of any other State or Territory, despite the fact that there was a good deal of secession sentiment in Carson City and Virginia City. Nevada's greatest service was the keeping open of the Overland Trail. The Federal Government, early in 1861, withdrew all troops from the Pacific coast, except one regiment of Infantry and three batteries of Artillery. The blockade and other activities at sea reduced heavily the roundabout services between the coasts via Panama. The Southern Trail, through Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, was in the hands of the Confederacy. Only the Overland was left. The daily mail service over that route between the Missouri River and Sacramento remained as a vital link of communication. This was the covered-wagon trail. Moreover, its discontinuance might have meant the shutting down of the mines. Those mines, during the war and the years immediately following, produced for the Government $500,000,000.

In this situation three separate demands came from Washington for the Territory to equip and mount, subsist and pay, a body of troops for the policing of several hundreds of miles of a trail which was exposed to the raids of bandits and Indians. Nevada kept the Overland open. About 1,180 men were recruited for 3-year service and many besides volunteered for home-guard duty. They kept that vast region in touch with the East. The Territory borrowed the money to pay these troops and the State assumed the debt. This constituted a reimbursement claim, the justice of which was conceded for years by the congressional committees that examined it, but which was not finally allowed and paid until 10 years ago. The State then received approximately $595,000, of which only $110,000 represented the original principal.

From this record the great majority of the people derived great satisfaction. They had suppressed secession, kept the Overland clear, and contributed handsomely for humanitarian funds. When the transcontinental telegraph line closed the last gap and completed the line from coast to coast the Territorial legislature sent a message to President Lincoln declaring that "the last-born of the Nation will be the last to desert the flag."

MINING TITLES DOUBTFUL

One reason for seeking statehood seldom appears in the record. Many mine owners were none too sure of the legality of their titles. The mining policy of the Federal Government was still unsettled. There was no national mining code. Large sums were available for the development of the industry if and when investors could be sure that their property rights would withstand challenge in the courts. Lawsuits, next to silver, were Nevada's biggest crop, and a most profitable source of revenue for lawyers. Judges who received relatively minute salaries were sitting in cases involving rights worth millions of dollars. Dr. Mack, the historian of Nevada, states that the Territorial judiciary was corrupt, that many of the judges were "susceptible to outside influences." Amidst a mania for the organization of corporations, Mark Twain is suspected of the authorship of the quip in a San Francisco newspaper that "if two men sit down here to play cards, they incorporate the game." The people believed that condition could not be corrected under the Territorial system.

They considered representation in Washington on a parity with the other States to be essential for their protection. Mining questions during that time were under active debate in Congress.

Why, then, did the people reject the constitution which their representatives had prepared? The man responsible beyond all others for its rejection was none other than William M. Stewart. He served in the convention as chairman of the Judiciary Committee. Certain taxation clauses he considered obnoxious, and when his amendment for their rectification was rejected by the convention he unlimbered all his formidable artillery against the projected constitution. He rang all the changes on the charge that it would "tax the poor miner out of existence." It would kill the mining industry, because it would tax the miner's shafts and drifts and bedrock tunnels, whether these were productive or not. At least one historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, pronounces this a pretext, but without stating his reasons.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND NEVADA, 1864

A second attempt to qualify for statehood was more successful. It was more than a movement by local initiative. It was instigated also from Washington. The party in power needed Nevada. The President wanted its aid for achieving an amendment to the Federal Constitution that should end the existence of slavery beyond all argument or cavil. Congress having passed a statehood act, Governor Nye called another convention to meet on July 4. The taxation clauses were omitted. Stewart mobilized all his powers to procure the adoption of this instrument, and the people did ratify it in early September.

In this story of the relations between Abraham Lincoln and Nevada, 1864 is the crucial year. The sequence of events is of the first importance for understanding what happened. A paragraph of dates should be useful. In that year Nevada voted five times. On January 19 the people rejected one constitution and on September 7 they accepted another. They chose the delegates for the second convention; they elected certain Territorial officers, and in turn they elected the officers who would take over the affairs of the new State. Meantime the other half of the drama was under way in Washington. Ashley in the House had offered a resolution for an abolition amendment on December 14, 1863. Abolition amendments were proposed in the Senate on January 11, 1864, and the Committee on the Judiciary reported what became the thirteenth amendment on February 1. On February 24 the Senate passed a bill for Nevada's admission providing that a constitution should be submitted to the people on October 11. The House passed this bill on March 17 and Lincoln signed it 4 days later. The abolition amendment passed the Senate, 38 to 6, on April 8. In May both Houses passed an amendment to the Nevada Enabling Act changing the date for the people to vote on their proposed constitution from October 11 to September 7. Lincoln added his signature to this bill on May 21. On June 15 the House failed to muster the necessary two-thirds vote for a suspension of the rules in behalf of the abolition amendment and the Ashley motion for reconsideration was allowed to lie on the Speaker's desk. In July the Nevada convention met, and the people duly adopted the new constitution in September. The enabling act contained an emergency provision that the constitution should be submitted to the President, and that he thereupon proclaim Nevada a State. That proclamation he issued on October 31. The Presidential election followed on November 8. Ashley called up his reconsideration motion on January 31, 1865, and that day the abolition amendment passed the House 119 to 56—a margin of 3 votes. One of those was cast by the new Representative from Nevada.

FEAR THAT SOUTH MIGHT AGAIN HAVE BALANCE OF POWER

Throughout the war the President was pondering the problem of the reconstruction of the Union after the victory at arms should have been won. Midway of the conflict Congress began to give serious attention to the question. A deadlock developed between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. Lincoln, with all his magnanimity, could not forget that he was the titular head of a political party. As a practical politician he must have contemplated the possibility that when the votes of the reconstructed Southern States should be combined with the votes of the northern antiwar Democrats the control of Congress might go to the men who had fought to destroy the Union or had used their influence to hobble the policies of the administration. With the abolition of slavery the three-fifths rule in the Constitution would become merely a matter of historical interest, and the South would stand to increase its power in Congress unless the basis of representation should be altered or the power of the North should be increased. The leaders of the dominant party in Congress would see to it that the President should be reminded of these matters. New and loyal States became a primary consideration. Every new State would mean two more Senators and at least one Representative. West Virginia having been admitted, the party strategists scanned the mountains and the prairies in quest of communities that might be organized for statehood. Three Territories offered possibilities. On the day that the Enabling Act for Nevada was approved the President signed a similar bill for Colorado to qualify, and 4 weeks later the Nebraska bill was approved. The party in power had considered also the possibility of adding Utah, New Mexico, and Montana to the Union.

NEVADA CAME INTO UNION UNDER EMERGENCY CONDITIONS—HER VOTES NEEDED FOR ABOLITION AMENDMENT; TWO-THIRDS VOTE REQUIRED—NARROW MARGIN IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—CHARGES OF "LOG-ROLLING"—LINCOLN FEARED DEFEAT IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1864—NEW CONSTITUTION SENT TO WASHINGTON BY WIRE—ADMISSION OF STATE WAS A WAR MEASURE

In view of the criticisms often made of the admission of Nevada, it may be noted that at the time Colorado had a population no larger. The Centennial State had to wait until 1876 for admission. The people rejected one constitution and Andrew Johnson twice vetoed a statehood bill based on another. During the debate Charles Sumner declared that instead of an apportionment population there were not more than 25,000 in the Territory. As to Nebraska, the people voted against becoming a State in 1864, and in 1866 a majority of only 100 in a vote of 8,000 approved a constitution. This time Congress admitted a State over a Presidential veto. At that time Nebraska could not satisfy the apportionment qualification. For that matter, Idaho did not attain that representation basis until 10 years after admission, and Wyoming entered the Union in 1890 with only a third of the apportionment ratio and never yet has satisfied that requirement.

NEVADA AND LINCOLN'S SECOND TERM

These States did not come into the Union under emergency conditions. Nevada did. The vote of at least one additional State was believed to be necessary for the abolition of slavery, and Congress hurried forward its admission in order to make sure of three more electoral votes for Lincoln's second term.

Each House twice debated the Nevada bill. In the Thirty-seventh Congress the Senate passed it and again in the Thirty-eighth Congress, but the measure failed of passage the first time in the House. In the upper Chamber in 1863 "Ben" Wade insisted that the criterion for the admission of a State ought to be the rapidity of the increase of its population and not the present population. "I am credibly informed by the Commissioner of the General Land Office," he said, "that Nevada's population cannot be less at this time than 45,000, and increasing with unexampled rapidity." A motion to prescribe a population of 65,000 having been rejected, the bill was passed, 24 to 16. The "yeas" included such familiar names as Harlan, the two Lanes, Morrill, Sumner, Wilmot, and Wilson of Massachusetts. On that same day the House refused to suspend the rules so that the Nevada and Colorado bills might be taken from the table.

The Senate in the first session of the new Congress had no trouble in passing the bill again. Wade reported it from the Committee on Territories on February 16, and it came up for passage 8 days thereafter. The measure required that the Nevada Constitutional Convention should provide "by an ordinance irrevocable without the consent of the United States and the people of the State: First, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the State otherwise than in the punishment of crime. * * * Second, that perfect toleration of religious sentiment shall be secured, and no inhabitant of the State shall ever be molested in person or property on account of his or her mode of religious worship; and, third, that the people * * * agree and declare that they forever disclaim all right and title to the unappropriated public lands lying within the Territory, and that the same shall be and remain at the sole and entire disposition of the United States." A constitution having been adopted by a majority of legal voters was to be certified, with a copy thereof to the President, and thereupon it would "be the duty of the President of the United States to issue his proclamation declaring the State to be admitted into the Union * * * without any further action whatever on the part of Congress." There was very little debate. The Congressional Globe simply states that the bill was passed. In the House on March 17 this bill was read in extenso. Ashley intimated that the measure needed no explanation further than to say that "it passed the Senate 2 years ago and again unanimously at this session." And again the Globe records simply that the bill passed.

NO RECORD VOTE ON STATEHOOD BILL IN SENATE

That word "unanimously" is important. A recent Lincoln biographer has said that neither House was willing to have a record yea-and-nay vote taken, that "whether through clerical inattention or by official arrangement" these votes were not recorded. That the bill was "engrossed, read a third time, and passed" is all we know. But it does not necessarily follow that the Members of the two Houses wished to dodge publicity. Nobody in either House asked for the yeas and nays. In both Houses there were those opposed to, or not entirely satisfied with, the policy represented by the bill. Yet on Ashley's authority the Senate had "unanimously" endorsed the bill, and Ashley certainly was confident of its acceptance by the House. Nobody challenged him. He had the votes. It would be interesting to know how that vote stood, of course, if only because a minority of 48 had been unwilling to allow the bill to come before the House 12 months before.

Decidedly one would like to have exact information about that vote, because the President himself is represented to have instigated log-rolling methods and to have authorized pledges of patronage to make sure the bill should not fail. The testimony of Charles A. Dana on this point is generally accepted. His story first came to the attention of the general public in 1898 while his Recollections were running in McClure's magazine. In the same year they appeared in

book form. We now know that these Recollections were prepared by a ghost writer, none other than Ida M. Tarbell. The distinguished editor of the Sun did not want to take the time and trouble to do the job himself. Miss Tarbell got her material in a long series of conferences. Dana was to see the proofs. His death occurred in October 1897, so that he lived to scan only a single chapter. He had told this story, however, in precisely the same words in a lecture at New Haven in 1896. This address was copyrighted in his name. His son allowed it to be published in a limited edition in 1899.

CHARLES A. DANA'S ACCOUNT OF VOTE IN HOUSE

Dana describes what he recalls as having taken place in March 1864, when the question of Nevada's statehood "finally came up in the House of Representatives." Dana then was Assistant Secretary of War, with an office on the third story of the War Department Building, which the President visited at times. On this occasion the President expressed his anxiety "about this vote" which was "going to be close" and must be taken "next week." Dana cited as Democrats who could be counted on James E. English, of Connecticut, and "Sunset" Cox, of Ohio. Not enough. More Democratic votes must be had. The President named three Democrats with whom he wanted Dana to "deal." Dana did not name them. But with the distinct authorization of the President, he was to promise two men from New York and one from New Jersey whatever they might want, no matter what it might be. Dana quotes the President as saying: "Here is the alternative: that we carry this vote or be compelled to raise another million and I don't know how many more men, and fight nobody knows how long. It is a question of three votes or new armies." Dana "saw" the three men. They were "afraid of their party." Two of them wanted internal-revenue collectors' appointments, whether for themselves or for constituents is not clear. The third wanted for a friend "a very important appointment about the customhouse of New York." Dana gave them his word. They voted "right." Among other details in this comprehensive account, Dana records that the customhouse appointment was delayed until Andrew Johnson assumed the Presidency, and that he refused to fulfill "the sacred promise" his predecessor had made.

This episode was reported by Mr. Dana first to a historical organization as an example of Lincoln's "supreme political skill." What records Mr. Dana had we do not know. It has been assumed always that a man in his position, with his years of experience as a writer and editor, must be accepted as a competent authority even though he relied on memory alone. Yet the more carefully one examines the situation, and the more he studies accessible records, the more difficult he finds it to accept in every respect the Dana account. Incidentally, that was anything but an example of "supreme political skill." It was commonplace, the ordinary practice of politicians in office. Lincoln is described as doing what Governors and Presidents always have done; he used the appointive power to accomplish his purposes. What necessity could there have been for buying Democratic votes? The full membership of the House then was 183, of whom the dominant party, sometimes called Republicans and often Unionists, could count upon more than 100. Schuyler Colfax was elected Speaker by a vote of 101 to 81, which is described by James G. Blaine as representing "the distinctive Republican strength in the House." He adds that "on issues directly relating to the war the administration was stronger than these figures indicate, being always able to command the support" of several others to whom he alludes. The admission of Nevada was a party policy, yet the Dana account depicts the clear Republican majority in the House as seriously at odds over what everybody knew was an important party and administration measure.

LINCOLN'S "MILLION MEN"

What about that additional "million" men? Did the President for once indulge in hyperbole? At no time did the grand total of Union troops number a million. The total enlistments, which must have included many reenlistments, for the 4 years of the war fell somewhat short of 3,000,000. On New Year's Day of 1864 there were in the service 860,737 men. One year later the number reached 959,460. These totals include both regulars and volunteers, and are divided almost equally between soldiers present and absentees. The President presumably was indicating his view that the addition of Nevada would be of great value for its moral effect and for its implications as to the destruction of slavery.

And what about other witnesses? Nobody else has tales to tell about the purchase of Democratic votes for the Nevada bill, but there are several who relate stories similar to Dana's in connection with the adoption of the resolution for the abolition amendment to the Constitution. For the passage of that resolution a majority would not be enough. It must have two-thirds in both Senate and House.

THREE VOTES NEEDED FOR ABOLITION AMENDMENT

Congressman A. G. Riddle, of Ohio, published in 1895 his Recollections of War Times. He relates that the votes of two or three Democrats in the House were "absolutely necessary" to get the measure through, and that Mr. Ashley reported "in confidence" their acquisition. A certain member would "largely augment his chances" for a job he coveted by voting for "the abolishing amendment." Another Democrat would insure in like manner his success for a contested seat in the next House. It was necessary also "to secure the absence of one Democrat from the House on the day of the vote." Riddle intimates that his absence was to be rewarded by the postponement until the next Congress of a bill which "a railroad in Pennsylvania" objected to, he being an attorney for the road. Riddle says that he "cannot vouch for the means employed to secure the Democrats," but that the two in question voted for the amendment, and that "the railroad lawyer was taken so ill that day that he could not be carried into the House."

To be considered also is the modicum of evidence offered by Congressman George W. Julian, of Indiana, whose Political Recollections appeared in 1884. He alludes to the solemnity of the spectacle "pending the roll call" on the amendment, and says: "The success of the measure had been considered very doubtful," and depended upon certain negotiations the result of which was not fully assured and the particulars of which never reached the public.

Definite and emphatic in his testimony is a third member of the House, John B. Alley, of Massachusetts. He contributed an article to the volume of Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln, which was edited by Allen Thorndike Rice, and published in 1888. According to this Congressman the President sent for two members of the House and said that the two votes lacking to make the two-thirds required "must be procured." When asked how that could be done, Lincoln is reported to have said: "I am President of the United States, clothed with great power. The abolition of slavery by constitutional provision settles the fate for all coming time not only of the millions now in bondage, but of unborn millions to come—a measure of such importance that those two votes must be procured. I leave it to you to determine how it shall be done; but remember that I am President of the United States, clothed with immense power, and I expect you to procure those votes." This witness concludes his statement thus: "These gentlemen understood the significance of the remark. The votes were procured, the constitutional amendment was passed and slavery was abolished forever."

"LOGROLLING" USED?

The historian Rhodes nowhere discusses this matter at length. He was aided in the preparation of his account of the adoption of the amendment by a son of Representative Ashley. Conceding that many of the Democrats "acted according to real convictions," and expressing the opinion that no money was used, he says that "others" of the Democrats "were won over by a process of logrolling." In estimating the value of the Dana account it should be noted that he was in Washington in all probability when both the Nevada vote and the amendment vote were taken. The Official Records of the War show that Dana was in his office on March 2 and 15 in 1864 and on 10 nonconsecutive days in January 1865.

On the face of the record the necessity for using the powers of the President to buy votes for the admission of Nevada does not appear. It certainly does appear to have been necessary to use the powers of the Executive to ensure the adoption of the resolution for the thirteenth amendment. The actual sentiment of the House on the statehood question was not disclosed by the adverse vote of March 3, 1863. On that last day of the Thirty-seventh Congress the administration lacked 10 votes of the two-thirds required to suspend the rules. Elihu Washburne wanted to have taken from the Speaker's table the bills for the organization of both Nevada and Colorado. Vallandigham objected and demanded the yeas and nays. As of December 1, 1862, the membership of that Congress was: Republicans 100, Democrats 44, Unionists 30, with 3 vacancies. The vote on Washburne's motion was 65 to 48. Among the many not voting were several Republicans. In the melee of a final session many curious things happen. One risks little if he assumes that on the straight issue of Nevada's statehood the administration would have won.

DIFFICULTY IN SECURING NECESSARY TWO-THIRDS VOTE

At all times there were grave doubts if the abolition resolution could be put through the House. On June 15, 1864, it was defeated 93 to 65, with 23 not voting—13 short of the requisite two-thirds. After the election of the following November the administration had no doubt of what the result would be if action should be put over until the Thirty-ninth Congress should convene. In his annual message the President dealt with the issue. For the first time the voice of the people had been heard thereon. The new House which would take office in March 1865 would surely pass the amendment. Why then "should not the present House, which had failed to adopt it at the previous session, now act upon it favorably? * * * Why not agree that the sooner the better?" The vote was taken on the last day of January 1865. The amendment carried 119 to 56, with 8 not voting, a bare margin of 3 votes. Little wonder that the floor and the galleries were swept with a storm of cheers. Recorded as voting "Yea" were 11 Democrats from the nonslave States. Of the 2 mentioned by Dana, and said by him to have been reckoned as "sure" by Lincoln, English voted "Yea" and Cox "Nay." Of the abstainers 6 had voted "Nay," and only 2 had abstained, in the vote of the preceding June.

NEVADA'S VOTES DESIRED FOR NOVEMBER 1864 ELECTION

While it may not have been necessary to employ log-rolling methods to bring Nevada into the Union, the President and many party leaders were determined that the new State should be admitted

before the November election and they depended on its lone Representative, Henry G. Worthington, for one of the votes needed for the passage of the abolition resolution. The eastern newspapers make the reasons for haste abundantly clear. The New York World on the day Nevada was proclaimed a State declared that the President was counting on the three additional electoral votes to which the new member of the family would be entitled. The New York Herald expressed similar opinions. The Boston Transcript said: "There can be no doubt how the three electoral votes of the new State will be cast." During that black summer of 1864 Abraham Lincoln for once lost confidence in his own destiny. Assuming that he could not be returned for a second term, he had every member of his Cabinet sign a paper, which, as they learned weeks later, contained his pledge to cooperate with his successful opponent for the saving of the Union. Even as late as mid-October his defeatist mood came back at intervals. One evening in the War Department telegraph office he wrote out in his own hand and from memory an estimate of the prospective electoral vote. He allowed McClellan 114 electors and the administration 117. He did not count Nevada although the arrangements for its admission had been completed. Major Eckert added the new State's 3 votes to the President's total.

For Nevada to be admitted in time it was necessary to modify the Enabling Act and to use extraordinary means to get the Constitution of the new State to Washington. Congress thoughtfully provided for both contingencies. The date for the popular vote on the proposed constitution had been set too late in the act. Governor Nye forwarded a memorial to the national capital suggesting that this vote be set forward 4 weeks, so that the voters might pass on the constitution on the day that Nevada would elect county and territorial officers. Between this date and the Presidential election there would be an interval of 2 months. The poll must be canvassed by the Governor, the United States District Attorney, and the territorial chief justice, and certified to the President in Washington together with a copy of the constitution. Also the new State must organize the districts for the national election.

CONSTITUTION TELEGRAPHED TO WASHINGTON

To complete the process of admission, resort was had to the wire. The trip from Carson City to Washington was no easy journey in those days. On December 15 the first State legislature elected William M. Stewart and James W. Nye as Nevada's Senators. They traveled by way of Panama and took the oath of office in the Senate Chamber on February 1, the day after the adoption in the House of the abolition amendment. Worthington, elected earlier, came across the prairies to railhead, and was sworn into office on December 21. Both Secretary of the Navy Welles and Attorney General Bates record in their diaries that on September 30, Seward, the Secretary of State, produced at a Cabinet meeting a telegram from Governor Nye announcing the adoption of the Constitution, and urged that the President accept this notice as sufficient warrant for the issuance of the proclamation of admission. Other members of the Cabinet deprecated this idea and Lincoln adhered to the letter of the law. The terms of the act could be fulfilled only by using the Overland Telegraph Line, which had been completed a couple of years before.

That dispatch is on file in the National Archives. It covers 175 pages and embodies about 15,000 words. Another copy was forwarded by overland mail and express riders, and a third by the roundabout ocean trip from San Francisco. On March 3, 1865, the legislature appropriated for payment of the telegraph bill, $3,416.77. Two Morse operators tapped out that immense message by the dot-and-dash system. One was Frank Bell, the district manager at the time of the California State Telegraph Co. He was appointed Lieutenant Governor in 1889, and succeeded to the Governorship on the death of the incumbent. All day long on October 26 he bent over his key. The message was relayed at Chicago and Philadelphia and was received in Washington on October 28. The President issued his proclamation on the last day of that month. Nevada duly cast her electoral vote for Lincoln and Johnson on the Union ticket.

NEVADA RATIFIES THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

For the adoption of the thirteenth amendment, the ratification of Nevada also was considered imperative. With 36 States, 27 ratifications would be necessary, and there was apprehension that the amendment might fail unless Nevada could be counted upon. The day after the House passed the resolution Illinois ratified the amendment, 2 more States ratified next day, and 3 others the third day. Nevada was swift but distance was against her. Carson City acted on February 16, providing the fifteenth ratification. By December 9 the required number of States had acted, among them 8 former members of the Confederacy. Before the turn of the year 3 more States had ratified, including 1 more Confederate State.

THE "BATTLE BORN" STATE

For three reasons the admission of Nevada was promoted by President Lincoln, and all three were war measures: To insure the adoption of the abolition resolution in Congress, to obtain a precious cluster of votes for the President in the electoral college, and to supply one more ratification for the abolition amendment. With excellent reason did Bancroft long ago, and the Federal judge of the district of Nevada, Frank H. Norcross, recently, with scores of others between, pronounce Nevada "the battle-born State."

Movement of United States Toward War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 2 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

SERMON BY REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a powerful sermon by a great mind, delivered in New York City last Sunday by Dr. John Haynes Holmes on the subject As We Move Toward War—Some Plain Talk in an Hour of Peril.

With war hysteria sweeping our country, it is refreshing to read a sermon of peace like the one of Dr. Holmes. This is particularly so since a few ministers have joined in the "dance of death" and have had those statements given wide publicity by the intervention newspapers.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AS WE MOVE TOWARD WAR—SOME PLAIN TALK IN AN HOUR OF PERIL

In speaking to you this morning I have in mind two facts which I regard as of the greatest importance to the life of America at this moment. These facts are contradictory, each to the other; but both are real, and one is destined to determine the history of this Nation, and perhaps of the world, for many years to come.

On the one side is the fact, which I believe cannot be disputed, that the people of this country do not want to go to war. There is war in Europe, and in Asia, and on the seven seas—war to the death, of which no one is able to foresee the outcome. And the American people desire to have no part in it. On the contrary, they desire to stay outside of it, and thus "if it be possible, as much as lieth in (them); to live peaceably with all men."

This is not to say that Americans are pacifists. I have good reason to know that this is not the case. Neither is it to say that Americans will not fight if an enemy attacks these shores. I am inclined to believe that our people will take up arms and use them as effectively in defense of their country as any other people in the world. The warmongers of our time know exactly what they are doing when they describe the European war as our war—i. e., a war in defense of our interests, and perhaps even of our survival. But the last war was so described—as a war for democracy, for civilization, for everything that was precious in our American way of life. And we sent our boys across the seas, and suffered more than 250,000 casualties, and threw away over twenty billions of dollars. And when it was all over, we discovered in the peace settlement that it concerned nothing that was of any interest to us at all.

It was a European quarrel, settled in a European way, in utter disregard of our ideas and purposes. What we got out of the last war was the present war—and this time the fighting nations can go it alone. When a scientist in a laboratory tries an experiment and it ends in total failure, he does not try that same experiment all over again, in hopes of another and better outcome. On the contrary, if he is a true scientist in the sense of learning from experience, he says to himself, "Now I know what that means. I don't have to try that over again. This time I'll do just the opposite, and see if that accomplishes anything." That's what the American people have in mind to do in the present crisis in Europe. The last time they went in; this time they propose to stay out. The results can't be any worse—and they may be a good deal better.

So much for the first fact, which is important at this time. This brings us to the second fact, which I have said is contradictory of the first. I refer to the fact—almost too terrible to be believed—that, whatever the American people may desire and intend, this country is moving steadily toward war. Step by step we are slipping in. This war business, you know, is not a case of plunging suddenly into a conflict without warning or preparation. Rather is it a case of gliding quietly in the direction of disaster, like the Niagara River flowing peacefully through the Canadian landscape, then little by little gathering momentum—faster and faster, mile after mile—and only at the last moment plunging over the abyss. The nations of Europe were moving into this war for at least 5 years before the actual outbreak of hostilities in September 1939. We have been moving into this war from the very first moment of the fighting. Indeed, I should say that we started at least 2 years before the fighting began at all—when the President in Chicago made his sensational speech about quarantining aggressor nations. But if

there may be doubt upon this point, there can be no doubt upon the point as to what has happened since the war began.

Let us remember at the outset that, before the war, we had defined our neutrality in terms more rigorous than ever known before in all our history. Laws had been passed correcting every condition which had dragged us into the war of 1914. Citizens were forbidden to enter the area of hostilities, ships were to keep out of danger zones, money was to be denied to belligerents, an embargo was to be laid on arms and munitions. These laws make no sense unless interpreted in the light of just such a war as broke out in Europe a year ago. They were passed in anticipation of this war, and to the end of keeping us out of it. Yet no sooner had the war started, than agitation began in this country to break down these very laws. The first attempt turned upon the embargo against munitions. We all know what it means to sell arms to a belligerent—how we ourselves become a belligerent when we supply the very weapons with which a battle is fought. Yet within a few weeks, by vote of Congress under the whip-lash of the President, the embargo was lifted, and this country was straightway made into an arsenal for the Allies. This was the hole in the dike of our neutrality. Ever since the embargo was lifted, that hole has grown larger, and a larger and ever larger flood of water has come pouring in. First came the excitement over preparedness, and the appropriation of billions of dollars for a fantastic number of ships, a crazy number of planes—an armament on land and sea and in the air which can only be justified in terms of an intention not so much to defend America from attack as ourselves to control the world in our own interest. We propose to outdo Hitler at the very moment when we describe his military machine as, of course, a machine of conquest because not otherwise could it be so large. The next step was the calling out of the National Guard and its induction into the Regular Army—a step never taken before in this country except in the actual event of war.

Then came the Conscription Act, which introduces into this country the European system of compulsory military training in peacetime. Next in order came the agreement with Canada for mutual defense, which is well described by Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard as nothing more nor less than a military alliance, and an alliance with a nation now at war. This is "one of the most unprecedented events in our entire history," says Mr. Villard. "It is the first time that we have sought to make an effective defense union with a country actively engaged in a war in which we are supposed to be neutral." Lastly, as a climax which takes us almost to the brink, there is the disposal to Great Britain of 50 destroyers from the United States Navy, in return for naval and air bases on certain of the British possessions on this side of the Atlantic. This, says the New York Daily News, a paper friendly to the President, is "a virtual act of war against Germany"; and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, an independent Democratic paper, of great influence in the West, goes so far as to declare it categorically to be "an act of war." However this may be, I am ready to take my stand with the Christian Century, the most important religious journal in this country, when it describes this series of events as the "cumulative movement of this country into the European war."

Such is the dilemma of America today—on the one side, a people overwhelmingly opposed to our entering as a belligerent into the present war, and, on the other side, a people being dragged, in spite of themselves, step by step into the conflict.

What is the explanation of such a situation? Is there something about war that tends, like a great fire, to spread? I suppose that there are forces which act in just this way. A war generates excitement, as a fire generates heat; and the one condition, like the other, propagates itself. As there are physical forces, in other words, which act as conductors in the realm of nature, so there are psychological forces which act as conductors in the realm of human nature. Men tend to act alike. Given a vast upheaval in one place, it leads to a vast upheaval in another. So wars and revolutions, depressions and panics, tend to sweep around the globe, and cast all of humankind into one vast convulsion of disaster. But these forces do not act of themselves; neither are they beyond our interruption and control. There is no doom upon men that they must all act together in a given situation. There is no reason in the world why a war should engulf the race, any more than a forest fire should consume a continent. We can stay out of a war if we want to. The trouble is that there are always men, and powerful men, who do not want to. These men, when a war breaks out anywhere in the world, straightway themselves go to war in their own spirits. They feel war, and think war, and talk war, and take sides in the war. Then they identify their own thoughts and emotions and desires with the interests of their country. Because they have gone to war within, they think the country should go to war without. They want to justify and glorify themselves by seeing a private passion become a public policy. So, instead of working to subdue the flames which are devouring humanity, they actually work to spread them. They seek to bring their own land within the area of conflagration. That is what has happened, and is happening today, here in America. We are moving toward war when the people desire to keep out of war, because certain men, and groups of men, are striving to this end.

We are not in the clutch of uncontrollable forces. Our boat has not been caught in the current sweeping toward the falls. It is being propelled into that current, out of the quiet waters where the people would have it lie, by men who know, or ought to know, exactly what they are doing.

Who are these men, who, consciously or unconsciously, are doing the work of war?

First of all, I must name the President of the United States, for I agree with the Christian Century that "Mr. Roosevelt is doing what in his Chautauqua speech in 1936 he said a President could do; by his day-to-day decisions take the Nation into war, whether Congress approved or not." The Christian Century goes on to speak of "the President's long-planned purpose to put the United States into the European conflict." Has the President had any such "long-planned purpose?" I do not know. I can only say that, if he has had such a purpose, he could not have acted in a single particular otherwise than he has done. I have listed for you some of the actions which have been taken in recent months—actions calculated, if not deliberately intended, to take this country inch by inch nearer to the scene of conflict. Imagine if you can a program of war conceived by the most wicked plotter of belligerency which would have been more effective to his purposes than this which has been carried out under the leadership of the President. And more serious than the program itself is the spirit in which it has been advanced. Steadily through all these months the President has been cultivating hysteria. Propaganda of the most alarming description has been emanating from the White House and governmental offices in Washington. As the Germans night after night have been bombing the English, with the idea of "softening them up" for a contemplated invasion, so the administration has been bombing the people of this country with warnings, and fears, and panics, all with the idea of breaking their morale, and therewith carrying them away, as with a flood, into active participation in the war.

In the worst of the depression in March 1933, Mr. Roosevelt spoke to the people, in his inaugural address, words of comfort and reassurance. He told them not to be alarmed, to keep their heads and go their ways, to hold fast the spirit which was theirs. "We have nothing to fear," he said, "but fear." And he acted as though there were no fear, and, in the most memorable period of his career, saved the Nation from disaster. Now this man, in an international crisis much more serious than the domestic crisis of 7 years ago, has forgotten all about his warning against fear. He himself has been cultivating fear, and swiftly plunging the Nation into panic. Before the war began, the President launched a spy scare which was as effective as it was disgraceful and as unfounded as it was disturbing. Immediately after the outbreak of the war he began talking in frightening tones of mysterious submarines cruising along our coasts. These submarines were never identified, never even seen so far as I know, but they served their purpose in enabling the President to fill the people's minds with the idea that this country was going to be attacked by Germany. Later came the announcement by the President that the Germans could invade the United States by airplane—a proposition that has no mechanical or military authority of any kind behind it. Later still the President was talking about the flying distance, in hours of travel, between Greenland and Omaha and Mexico and Kansas City—an extravagance which led millions of perfectly sane citizens in the Middle West to lie awake at night in deadly expectation of the appearance of German bombers over their defenseless cities. Since the fall of France, the President and his mouthpieces have constantly held before the people the picture of Hitler's crossing the Atlantic after he has disposed of Britain and next taking America in his warlike stride.

The climax of this performance of alarm-bell ringing came on Labor Day, at the dedication of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, when, remembering the perilous days of the frontier, Mr. Roosevelt said that "the threat (of Germany) is as close to us today as was the threat to the frontiersmen when hostile Indians were lurking on the other side of the gap." This is not statesmanship, but demagoguery. This is not leading the people in calmness and strength, but demoralizing the people in the spirit of panic and dismay. How long do you think that the citizens of this country, uninformed, looking to their President for guidance, can maintain their resolution not to go to war in the face of these alarms? Are you surprised that they have already been "softened" to the point where they see the President, without consent of Congress, passing over a part of the United States Navy to a belligerent power for use in this war against their enemy, and offer no protest against this open betrayal of neutrality? Will you be surprised if tomorrow the President actually takes us into war, and receives the hysterical endorsement of the populace? Anything can be done with a people if they are only scared enough. And it is because the President has been making it his business in this war to scare the people well nigh to death over Adolf Hitler, that I name him as the first instance of those who are taking this country into war. I make my own the conclusion of Mr. John T. Flynn, as stated in his book, Country Squire in the White House—written, of course before the fall of France, and, therefore, before the increased hysteria which has followed upon that event. "While proclaiming himself the true neutral," says Mr. Flynn, "he (the President) has been inching this country more and more toward the active support of the two great empires. He is now the recognized leader of the war party. There is not the slightest doubt that the only thing that now prevents his active entry on the side of the Allies is his knowledge that he cannot take the American people in yet." How far things have moved since that "yet" was written, I leave to you to estimate.

Secondly, among the influences taking us into war today, I name the private groups of persons, of one kind and another,

which are organized for the furtherance of some belligerent, or near-belligerent, purpose. Let it be understood that I do not question the right of these persons to organize, and work, and carry on propaganda for the ends they have in view. This is still a free country, and any group of men and women who want to serve any cause which represents to them the public interest are free to do so. The man who wants his country to go to war has as much right to his opinion as the man who wants this country to stay at peace. But while still insisting upon the right of persons to work for war, or anything "short of war"—to use the trite phrase of the hour—I would also insist upon our right to understand what such persons are doing, especially if they do not understand themselves. It is from this standpoint that I assert that there are organized interests at work among us to take this country into war.

An example of what I mean is the Committee To Defend America by Aiding the Allies. As France has disappeared since this committee came into being, it is now substantially a committee to defend America by aiding Great Britain. This committee is composed of honest, devoted, and distinguished people, headed by one of our most beloved American citizens, Mr. William Allen White, of Emporia, Kans. They all insist, especially Mr. White, that they are opposed to this country's entering into the war against Germany. But how can they be so opposed? If we can best defend America by aiding Great Britain, how can we more effectively aid Great Britain, and therewith defend America, than by plunging straight into the conflict, and giving the Empire guns, ships, money, men, everything we've got? If we would help Great Britain at all, how can we avoid getting into the war at least to the extent of the help that we give to the British belligerent? These people may think that they are neutral; but everything that they do is tending to break down our policy of neutrality, and take this country sooner or later into the war. And when this final step is taken, this Committee To Defend America by Aiding the Allies will be the first to describe the step as inevitable, and to welcome it as beneficent.

This committee, be it said, is to be praised for working in the open, and letting everybody see and know what they are doing. Other groups working for war, or the things that make for war, are not so frank. They prefer to work in secret. Such a group is the little circle of men who are responsible for the conscription legislation just put upon the statute books of the Republic. This bill, as originally introduced, was not written by Senator BURKE and Representative WADSWORTH, whose names it bore. It was not written by anybody in Washington, either in the White House or on Capitol Hill. The work was conceived, and the measure prepared, here in New York, by not more than a half-dozen men, meeting at the Harvard Club on West Forty-fourth Street. These men were in favor of universal peacetime military conscription as long ago as 1920. Twenty years ago they started just such a movement as this to import into America the military system of Europe. But at that time we were just out of the war, and sick to death of all its disillusionments, and there wasn't a chance. So they bided their time—and saw that it had come when this present war came sweeping down upon the world. Their task was easy, especially as the Government was whipping the Nation into panic and thus preparing the people for what they would never do in their right minds. These men wrote their bill, planned their campaign, raised their money, found their stooges in Washington, secured the support of the President. And the first thing we knew, a conscription measure was in Congress, and the next thing we knew it was a law.

This is the kind of work that is taking us into the war. How many committees, or societies, or groups are there in this country today, laboring to break down the barriers that shut us out of the European struggle? What are the influences, most of them secret, which are undermining the determination of the American people to remain at peace? We hear a good deal about the "fifth column" these days. By the "fifth column" is meant the various groups of aliens and seditionists who are busy, like so many spies, in betraying this Nation into the hands of Germany or Russia. I do not worry about these people. Keep our processes of democracy at work, and they will wither away like so much vermin in the sunlight. The "fifth column" that I fear is composed of perfectly good Americans who want to make this European quarrel our own and who are using every means at their disposal to get us into the war. They succeeded once, in the last war; they may well succeed again, if we be not careful, in this war.

A third influence for war, at work among us at this moment, is business. It is an old story that war is profitable. It is an equally old story that preparation for war is profitable. No explanation of the huge armaments that have accompanied the development of our modern world is quite so fundamental as the fact that the manufacture of these armaments helps business to make money. No solution of the mystery of how wars are financed on such a scale of vast expenditure is quite so adequate as the fact that war sustains itself in terms of its own prosperity. We pay for this prosperity by the awful deflation which inevitably comes when the war has been fought out to a finish; but we forget this, or ignore it, when production is speeding day and night in shipyards and ammunition factories.

Our economy, in other words, is a war economy. What is good for war is good for business. What is bad for war is bad for business. It is almost impossible to conceive of doing away with war, even of disarming the nations, without ruining business as it is organized at this moment. The whole burden, therefore, of industry, as though by a process of gravitation, swings to the side of war. Is it any accident that American business rushed to the support of a pro-war government in Washington when this Government authorized, in a period of a few weeks, an armament program calling for the expenditure of more than $15,000,000,000? Not merely patriotism but Government contracts, capital investments, plant expansions, excess profits had much to do with that decision. In the same way can there be any doubt as to what business would do if President Roosevelt should decide tomorrow to take us into war? It would go right along, not only for general-public reasons but for reasons very special to itself. If the peace sentiment of America is being undermined today, it is partly because of industrial involvements. This is not to say that the American businessman is shouting, like Moloch in Paradise Lost, "My sentence is for open war." Least of all is it to suggest that little groups of wicked men are gathering in Wall Street, like spiders in a web, to plot and plan how this country may be precipitated into the European embroilment. But it is to say that, in the industrial world, opinions are formed, policies fashioned, attitudes determined, in favor of war by influences not commonly realized in the knowledge of our time.

A final influence making for war in this country, much more definite and direct, is that of British propaganda. What this propaganda was in the last war, you know as well as I. It is now a matter of official record that America was flooded with British agents who worked day and night to persuade our people to join the war against Germany, until they disastrously succeeded in April 1917. Now this propaganda agitation has begun again—emanating this time, as last time, from the very highest sources of authority. Only the other day I read an article in as sober a paper as the Survey Graphic, describing the subversive forces that are at work in this country under German or Nazi direction. Among other things it was stated that "every German diplomatic representative abroad is a regional commander of a certain part of the "fifth column." The German Embassy, which includes representatives of all departments of the Ministry for Propaganda and Information, the Gestapo, and the Ribbentrop bureau, assumes the position of a central office in each country." The German Embassy in Washington, therefore, is such a central office. This is pretty dreadful! But why is it not equally dreadful that the British Embassy in Washington is just such a central office for British interests? Is there any question in anybody's mind as to why Lord Lothian was sent to this country as British Ambassador at the outbreak of the war? Can there be any doubt, though there be no evidence, as to what Lord Lothian is doing in this country—and what he wants this country to do?

Ordinarily we do not get any information about this propaganda business. We do not learn the facts until long after a war is done. We shall know, some 25 years hence, what the British are doing here in this present war, just as we know today what they were doing here 25 years ago in the last war. But now and again, quite by accident, something happens to send a ray or two of light into dark corners. Such an occurrence took place a few weeks ago in the case of Sir George Paish, an eminent English economist and governmental adviser, now curiously enough, on a visit to this country. Sir George, it seems, made a call on Senator WHEELER, one of the bravest and truest leaders of the peace party in America, and became somewhat irritated by the course of the conversation—by his inability, apparently, to swing the Senator to the support of Britain's war. As he got up to leave, he said, in a boastful tone, "I got this country into the last war, and I'm going to get it into this war." When Senator WHEELER reported this outburst to the Senate, Sir George Paish denied that he had said it. He declared that he had no desire to have America come into the war at all. But anybody who knows or has ever met Sir George must be convinced at once of the verisimilitude of Senator WHEELER's report. Last year, I had the privilege of presenting Sir George Paish on our forum platform. He proved himself to be a charming gentleman and an accomplished scholar. But he disclosed a rather extraordinary weakness—a tendency to become irritated at his audience during the question period, and to blurt out angry and unguarded replies. He is just the kind of man to make just the kind of statement that Senator WHEELER says he made. Of course, he proposes to get this country into the European war if he can possibly do so. Of course, the other English propagandists in this country—and they are a multitude—are proposing the same thing. I do not blame these Englishmen. They are serving their country's cause, in an hour of dire extremity, as we also would serve ours. But I insist that we know what they are doing—and remember that England's cause is not necessarily our own.

Such are some of the forces which are taking this country into war by undermining the desire and determination of the people to stay out of war. A prowar President, prowar groups of American citizens, the prowar interests of business, and the prowar propaganda of Englishmen. It is these forces which explain the paradox of a country moving into war when its people desire nothing quite so much as to remain at peace. Is there anything that we can do about it? Must the will of the people be betrayed, their desires frustrated? I do not know. It may be too late. In my heart, I have little confidence that we will keep away from the European horror. What is going on is too much like what I remember as going on in 1916–17—only a good deal worse—for me to believe that there can be an outcome today any different from the outcome of a

generation ago. But, while there is yet time to speak freely and openly without penalty of arrest and imprisonment at the hands of a military dictatorship in Washington, I would make clear the nature of our dilemma, and why I would have it resolved in terms of peace.

There are two lines of action before us at this moment. We may go into the war—or we may stay out of the war. The half-way, or three-quarters, business of pretending to stay out, while at the same time giving all possible aid to Britain short of war, is absolutely impracticable. It is a state of unstable equilibrium which sooner or later must tumble into collapse. It is the easy descent that leads inch by inch into the Avernus of arms and death. In the end it must be the one thing or the other—the dire and drastic alternative of war or peace.

If we go into the war, let it be understood what we are doing—that we are adding ourselves, our beloved country of America, to the sum total of the world's ruin. The prospect of ruin at this moment is perfectly appalling. In the year gone by we have seen in Poland, Holland, France, and now in England and Germany what men can do in terms of sheer destruction. In the year ahead we see the looming menace of starvation and pestilence which will kill millions of human beings—depopulate cities, scourge countrysides, and turn vast areas into deserts. How long do you think this can go on? Mr. Churchill talks of sustaining the war until 1941 or 1942, in which latter year he hopes to be able to take the offensive against Germany on the continent. Mr. Hitler, on his side, has said that the Reich is preparing for another 5 years of war. How much do you think will be left of Europe after another 3 or 5 years? And what will so surely guarantee the continuance of the struggle to the last bitter end of attrition and exhaustion as our entrance into its turmoil? What we will do will be to extend the area of the war, prolong its duration, magnify its horror—add thus to the "chaos and black night" which is already waiting to engulf the continent. For there will be no victory in this war. There will be only tears and blood, destruction, and death, and in the end a civilization swept into another and more impenetrable dark ages. If this country goes into the war, it means for ourselves financial bankruptcy, economic ruin, the exhaustion of our culture, the corruption of our spirit, the extinction of our democracy—with nothing gained in Europe to compensate for the loss of man's last great hope upon this planet. If you like this prospect, go ahead. I don't like it—and therefore, to save America, to say nothing of the world, I would struggle to the end to keep this country out of war.

This brings us to the second of our alternatives, which is peace. What can this country do by staying at peace? Well, I'll tell you what it can do! It can stop this war before it has quite reduced the world to chaos. If we enter the war, we can do only what every belligerent must do—namely, fight it through to the bitter end, no matter what is wrecked, or who is ruined. If we keep out of the war, we can do what any neutral and therefore not unfriendly nation can do—namely, use its influence and exert its power to restore reason and sanity to a distracted world. At the moment it would seem as though there were no possibility of bringing this dreadful war to an end before the end of all things. But in a terrific struggle like this, there come strange moments of pause and hesitation, of exhaustion, confusion, and dismay, when all that is needed is friendly intervention to bring a suspension of hostilities. In the Peloponnesian War, for example, which was fought between Athens, the great sea power of the day, and Sparta, the great land power, there were several occasions when the fighting might have ceased; but all the Greek cities were in the war as allies on one side or the other, and therefore there was none to lead the way to peace at the happy moment when peace might have been possible. So the war went on for 27 years, from 431 to 404 B. C., and consummated at last what Dr. Will Durant describes as "the suicide of Greece." So also in the Thirty Years War, which was fought from 1618 to 1648. More than once that ghastly struggle between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany died down, like flames that have no more fuel. Then was the time for disinterested nations to use their influence for peace. Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, or Cardinal Richelieu, of France, might have ended the war, to the incalculable advantage of Europe. But instead of ending the war, these men went into it and continued it, until both sides were prostrate and Europe was all but ruined. The same is true of the last war, which would have come to an end in 1917, with a "peace without victory," had America stayed out instead of going in. And the same is true today.

The belligerent powers can do nothing themselves for peace. In the very stubbornness of pride, they must fight on to the bitter end. But a mighty nation outside the conflict, disinterested, compassionate, insistent, could find some happy moment for appeasement. This is the role which I would have our Nation play. Stay out of the conflict, not to save our wretched skins, not to protect our selfish interests, not to hide in fear behind our bulwarks, but to serve as a friend not of Germany, nor yet of England, but of mankind, and thus bring in the peace the peoples want. You say, there can be no peace with Hitler! I say that, with Hitler or without Hitler, there must still in the end be peace. This war cannot go on forever. And peace, when it comes, as it must come sooner or later, will be either the peace of which Tacitus spoke when he described the Roman conqueror who "made a desert and called it peace," or else the peace for which Robert Burns prayed, when he wrote,

"Peace, thy olive wand extend,
And bid wild war his ravage end."

I can best sum up my idea of the relation of America to this war by saying that I would have it the same as that of the Roman Vatican. This institution is a religious hierarchy of enormous influence and power. It is not only a church but a state. It has public policies as well as theological doctrines. Its members in various countries are loyal to their own governments. German Catholics support Germany, as English Catholics support England and as American Catholics support America. But the Vatican itself is international. It takes no sides in international conflict. Can you imagine the Vatican, if she had them, selling 50 destroyers to England? As well imagine the Vatican, if she had them, giving a hundred bombing planes to Germany. The Vatican is "above the battle." She is concerned exclusively with peace. In this war, as in the last war, if only to end the horror of her own children in different countries slaughtering one another, she would stop the fighting. On the first anniversary of this war, a month ago, the official organ of the Vatican, the Osservatore Romano said, with truth that "not for 1 day from that day of mourning on September 1 has the Vicar of Christ failed to act for the great cause of the reconciliation of peoples, to limit the extent of the conflict, to safeguard those who are in danger of being dragged in, and to alleviate the suffering that every war brings with it."

This is what I would have America do. Our country is not merely a country. It is the home of mankind, the meeting place of all the peoples of the world. We belong not to ourselves, but to humanity. All the earth has a stake in the deeds and destiny of America. Therefore we must act, in this great crisis, not as other nations would act, but as God and His Kingdom would have us act. We must alleviate the vast suffering of this war; we must safeguard those who are in danger of being dragged into the struggle; we must strive to limit, not to extend, the range of the fighting; and we must devote ourselves to "the great cause of the reconciliation of peoples." This is our mission as a democracy to whose borders have fled all the oppressed multitudes of earth, to escape war, and militarism, and famine, and tyranny, and hate. We can fulfill this mission not by ourselves taking up arms and joining in this dreadful fray. Then is the world lost, and we lost with it. We can fulfill this mission only by remaining steadfastly at peace, in the single service of that God who "hath made of one blood all nations of men."

Such is the plea that I would make to America today for peace. Steadily we move toward war. Day by day, almost hour by hour, we draw nearer to the scene of death and doom. Now, if ever, this move must be stopped, and the Nation delivered from betrayal. Clearly in my ears there sounds, like the ringing of a bell, the words of our American laureate, the beloved poet of peace and brotherhood, Mr. Edwin Markham, who died this last spring in his great old age. These are some of the words which I would have echo in your hearts—

"Harken, my America, imperious is your errand, and sublime * * *
'Tis yours to build the world-state in your dream * * *
Yours to shape the mighty deed,
To build the brother-future.
America, rise to your high-born part."

Sugar Allowances to Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED CUMMINGS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

LETTER FROM DR. JOSHUA BERNHARDT

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Dr. Joshua Bernhardt, Chief of the Sugar Division of the Department of Agriculture:

OCTOBER 1, 1940.

Hon. FRED CUMMINGS,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CUMMINGS: Reference is made to your request for information as to the meaning of the phrase "after allowance for normal carry-over" in the following amendment passed by the Senate yesterday (September 30, 1940):

"SEC. 2. The last clause of section 201 of the act approved September 1, 1937, is amended to read as follows: 'and in order that the regulation of commerce provided by this act shall not result in excessive prices to consumers, the Secretary shall make such additional allowances as he may deem necessary in the amount of sugar determined to be needed to meet the requirements of consumers, so that the supply of sugar made available to consumers shall not

result in average prices to consumers in excess of those necessary to maintain the domestic sugar industry as a whole. The amount of such additional allowances shall not be less than the amount required, after allowance for normal carry-over, to give consumers in the continental United States a per capita consumption equal to the average of the 2-year period, 1937–38.' "

It is our understanding that the phrase "after allowance for normal carry-over" in the above amendment would mean an allowance for a deficiency or surplus in carry-over.

Sincerely yours,

JOSHUA BERNHARDT, *Chief.*

Bulwarks for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES F. RISK

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

ADDRESS BY LEICESTER R. F. WATTS

Mr. RISK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following keynote address delivered by Leicester R. F. Watts to the northeastern regional convention of the General Welfare Federation of America, held at the Crown Hotel, Providence, R. I., July 27, 1940:

Today the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness of our citizens are threatened from every side and from within. During the past 9 months we have witnessed country after country crushed under the heel of a ruthless aggressor—a ruthless conqueror drunk with the lust for power. The laws of God and man have been ignored and flaunted by dictators of European warring nations and the "fifth columns" here and abroad. These dictators are never so pleased as when violating their solemn treaties and pledged words and when raining their hell of shot and shell and poison gas upon the God-fearing and God-loving helpless men, women, and children. The sacrifice of the blood of these innocent victims but whets the appetites of these inhuman and fiendish tigers to shed all the blood of all worth-while humanity to further satiate their thirst for more blood and still more blood. Their only god is hate, and their only desire is to continue to rape, murder, and to destroy all that we have been taught to believe and know to be sacred in the sight of good men and a just God. The churches and temples of the Almighty have been profaned and destroyed while his prayerful worshipers upon bended knees cry out in their anguish: "My God! My God! Why hast thou forsaken me?"

The only regret and disappointment these inhuman fiends have is that they have not been able as yet to extend their withering "blitzkrieg" beyond wrecked and ruined European homes, schools, churches, orphanages, and hospitals; beyond the battlements of heaven itself and blast Almighty God Himself from his throne and let Hitler rule as king of kings and lord of lords, and let the deadly bombing planes swoop through the heavens to destroy the angelic hosts and banish forever peace on earth to men of good will. Mankind is being crucified by these arch fiends and murderers. Every home of the humblest followers of the lowly Nazarene is being converted into a never-ending Gethsemane where murderous tanks, shot and shell, gas and incendiary bombs blast and destroy innocent babes, no longer lulled to sleep by the holy lullabys of their mothers' love, but their little bodies are shattered and blasted from the arms and heart of that mother who gave them birth.

Country after country has been engulfed in the flaming jaws of the most bestial Moloch of all time and eternity. Fair France, and now England, is being blasted and blighted by murder from the skies and upon many battlefields as they strive to resist dictators whose only god is an armed and murderous might that feeds upon the pure blood of the children of God, and whose pincerlike jaws have closed upon millions whose innocent blood will never satiate a thirst for gore that is confined to people across the seas. Make no mistake. These dictators, in their lust for power, are just as thirsty for the blood of Americans. Remember Alexander, called the Great, when he had conquered the then known world, is said to have wept because there were no more worlds to conquer.

This situation in world affairs challenges the heart and soul of the United States and of every loyal and patriotic American. We should not tolerate for long any "fifth column" or anyone who is disloyal or not loyal. He who is not for us is against us, and hell itself is too cool a place for such traitors. By the gods, no unpatriotic citizen of this democratic America can be guilty of treason and sedition and go long unpunished. No one crying for free speech may use that privilege to undermine our institutions and laws and give comfort to an enemy, domestic or foreign. The only red in our flag is that of pure, patriotic, undefiled Americanism. No flag of a "fifth column" or other enemy within our gates shall be permitted to prostitute that color by flaunting in the air of this land of the free and home of the brave a flag that would seek to supplant the Stars and Stripes; to supplant patriotism by Hitlerism, fascism, communism, or any other "ism" that would overturn our form of government and give aid and comfort to our enemies. There is no middle ground, no neutral zone, no room in this country for anything but 100-percent Americanism. Our duty as loyal Americans is plain—we must make certain that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

Yes, these are perilous times, indeed, and the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. Moreover, thefe is still another enemy which threatens the very foundations of our democracy. A "sixth column," if you please; and an enemy, to my way of thinking, infinitely more dangerous to our liberties than all of the dictators and the "fifth columns" combined. I refer to those individuals, many of whom are high placed, who would make capital out of the inborn prejudices of many of our citizens, and thus more firmly entrench their positions and perpetuate those systems which enrich the few at the expense of the many. He who puts profits first and his country second is not worthy of the name American. All too many of our great industrialists stand ready to support our preparedness program against aggression, but only if they are guaranteed that such a program will be profitable to them. There must be no appeasement for such—there must be no Munich of any kind for America.

Yes, America must prepare. Yes, Americans must be ready to meet any attack that may come, whether from without or from within, and from whatever source. No enemy must be allowed to gain a foothold in America, or to become a threat to our democratic form of government, or to our God-given rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Let America put her house in order, and there can never be any need for fascism or any other "ism" within her borders. America has the resources and the capacity for work. All that she needs is a better and more equitable distribution of both; and with that accomplished no power on earth can destroy our liberties.

The General Welfare Act, H. R. 5620, points the way. Enacted into law, this piece of legislation will do more to perpetuate America as the greatest country on earth than all the battleships, battle planes, and other armaments that we can build. True, all these things are necessary for the defenses of our liberties; but what future purpose do these things serve unless we are able to solve permanently the problems of unemployment and the other social insecurities which abound in our country today?

I firmly believe that the General Welfare Act has within it at least a germ of the solution of all of these problems, and that when enacted into law, America will find herself well on the road to a real balanced economy and permanent peace. Personally, I do not think that this bill is perfect by any means, but, nevertheless, its basic principles are economically sound. I believe that it would be much improved if the tax provisions of the bill were revised to provide a greater levy against the larger income groups. A graduated tax, with the same exemptions as now provided, in my opinion, would put more of the now unusable savings out of the national income to work and thus create a better and more equitable balance in our social economy. However, these problems are for our leaders to work out in time.

The most important thing at the moment is for all of us to keep our eyes on the ball and follow through. By all means, let us keep our movement nonpartisan in fact as well as in name. Let us all remember to put all blind partisanship aside, particularly during these next few trying months when the professional politicians will be so hard at work trying to play upon our emotions and upon our inborn prejudices. Let us not forget that it is far better to be a good American than either a good Republican or a good Democrat. There are times when statesmanship is needed far more than politics.

We must see to it that none but true, patriotic, and loyal Americans be in positions of trust and confidence. Banish all selfishness and profiteering; let labor and capital each try to outdo the other in patriotic service. Then indeed will this Nation show forth to the world a patriotism pure and undefiled "that will gird this Commonwealth with the resistless splendor of the moral law, the invulnerable panoply of States, the celestial secret of a great nation and a happy people."

"God give us men; a time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinion and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog;
In public duty, and in private thinking;
For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife; lo, Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps."

Address of Hon. Wendell L. Willkie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH A. GAMBLE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

ADDRESS DELIVERED SEPTEMBER 28, 1940

Mr. GAMBLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by the Honorable Wendell L. Willkie, made at Yonkers, Westchester County, N. Y., on Saturday evening, September 28, 1940:

THE TEXT OF WILLKIE'S ADDRESS AT YONKERS RALLY

I come before you tonight to make a report on the progress of the crusade in which we are engaged—the crusade to give this Nation back to the American people.

I have returned from 2 weeks among those people. I have talked with hundreds of them, I have addressed hundreds of thousands and I have seen millions. My faith in them is redoubled. You and I will not let them down.

I think the record will bear me out that never before in the 18 States through which I passed have so many persons turned out to see and hear a Presidential candidate.

No man could receive the attention of such crowds without a sense of humility. I was deeply touched. Yet I know that it is not I who draw them to stand, perhaps for hours, in long, cheering lines. It is something else—it is something in this year of 1940—a challenge which we Republicans must meet.

I have looked down into the faces of the people from many platforms, and when I meet their eagerness and concentrated attention I think to myself: These are the free people. These are the people who have made of democracy the strongest kind of government on earth.

Why are they so eager? Why is their attention so concentrated? I will tell you why!

The American people admire simplicity. They are frugal. They are honest. They love the democratic process. They believe in themselves, and therefore they believe in America.

SEES AN ECONOMIC CRISIS

But these people are living in one of the greatest economic depressions of history. They have seen their industries decline and their standard of living contract. They have seen unemployment accepted as normal, and during the past 4 years they have actually seen it increase. During the last 7 years they have seen the average level of farm prices fall; they have seen the national income hover around the level of 1920 and fail even to reach the level of 1926.

In this depression the New Deal party has come to the American people and has said: We will provide for you, we will take care of the unemployed, we will subsidize your farms, we will be the friend of the common man. Our resources are unlimited. You can live on us.

The New Deal party preached that false doctrine to the free and independent people of America.

Because they were desperate the people accepted that doctrine. They accepted it as an emergency doctrine. They permitted the New Deal to spend $60,000,000,000. They saw the national debt increased by $22,000,000,000. They accepted an enormous increase in taxes, and in the size of the Federal bureaucracy which now employs one-fortieth of the total population.

But these people are honest people and frugal. When they get checks from Washington for produce they haven't grown or for working at something that is wasteful they do not feel right about that. Instinctively they feel that it can't last. They know it can't last. There must be an end to these doles and debts. There must be an end to the emergency.

PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACIES

And then what? What will happen after that?

When they ask this question the people look out to the rest of the world. And what do they find? Why, they find that democracy has collapsed almost everywhere on earth.

And those of them who think most about these things know that the collapse of democracy elsewhere was preceded by the same causes and the same manifestations as we have here in America during the last 7 years.

Those of them who think about these things know that collapse didn't just happen. They know that it was man-made, that it was brought about by the failure of the democracies to make themselves strong and to believe deeply and courageously in their way of life.

Those who think most about these things know that in that failure the New Deal Administration had a share and must bear part of the responsibility. They know that the economic policies of the New Deal helped to disrupt the democracies of the world. They know that the depression in this country helped to pull those other countries down.

I have seen this written in the faces of the people; they know, as freemen, that the doctrines of the New Deal must lead to the end of freedom. Their future is dark and uncertain. Therefore they are spiritually hungry. They are looking for a light. They are listening for a voice.

And who speaks to them? Who lays the issues before them? Who takes them into his confidence and helps them to solve their problems?

RIGMAROLE AT CONVENTION

At this particular crisis in their history the New Deal party captured the Democratic convention in Chicago. It went through a transparent rigmarole about "drafting" a candidate for President.

In this critical hour the New Deal party entrusted the destiny of the great liberal cause of which it has so often boasted to machine politicians of the Bronx, Chicago, and Jersey City.

In this critical hour, when the traditions and institutions of democracy are in special danger, the New Deal party asks the people to scrap one of their most basic traditions. It injects into the campaign the disruptive issue of the third term.

And all this while—all this anxious while—the man whom the New Deal party nominated, the man whose trade-mark is on this depression, the man whose foreign policies helped to disrupt the democratic world—that man is silent. He will not discuss the issues that trouble those people. He will not tell them the truth about their problems. He has placed himself above them. He says: Trust me. Trust me. I can't explain it all to you. You wouldn't understand. Perhaps 10 years from now the archives will explain, but for the present you must trust me. You must believe that I am indispensable.

That is not the kind of political argument that the American people are accustomed to. That is not the kind of debate by which they won their way to freedom.

But that is why the faces that look toward your candidate are so eager. That is why they are so expectant—so full of hope.

Now, my fellow Republicans, it will not be enough for us merely to win this election. We must provide a new leadership.

I have sought on my western trip to indicate some of the elements of that leadership. Because you and I believe that American society must be protected from poverty and from exploitation. I have made certain pledges.

POINTS TO HIS PLEDGES

I have pledged to continue relief until those on relief get jobs; to continue and even to reinforce those guaranties that labor has won; to continue and even to improve those elements of the present farm program, which if our national income could be expanded, would help the farmer to get his just share.

But above all, I have pledged us to make jobs. I have explained to the people that in order to fulfill this pledge we must change our attitude toward business; we must encourage it. We must revise the tax system so that it will create enterprise, not strangle it. We must open the way for new enterprises to make more jobs.

But I have pledged much more than that. Yes; I have traveled through this country—through the wheat and the corn, through its factories and freight sidings, through its crowded cities and its empty desert plains. I have worked in many of those spots with my hands, but now I have seen them all again, and I make this pledge, I pledge a new world.

We have scarcely begun to build this wonderful America. We have scarcely begun to know what we can do with our resources and our manpower. Please believe me—and I have said this to hundreds of thousands—please believe me, ours is not a static society. We shall die if we stand still. Ours is a dynamic society in which 1 must become 2, and 2 must become 4, and 4 must become 16.

We must understand the dynamics of it. We must take this democracy of ours and make it effective. If it is to live it must be effective.

We must keep in our minds the image of that effective democracy in the image of that new world, more fruitful than the one we have, more rewarding, more thoughtful of human life, more cultured; a world which will be better to live in than any world that anyone has imagined so far.

If we are to remain free, we must dare to imagine.

And now I put it up to you, fellow Republicans. I confront you with the question: Can we fulfill those pledges?

They cannot be fulfilled by brain-trust schemes or on chart paper. They must be fulfilled in steel and concrete, and in the flesh and blood of men.

The task that lies ahead of us is the greatest task that has faced any party since the Civil War—since that other time of crisis and despair, when the Republican party did provide the leadership and did save this Union from destruction.

I cannot pretend—we must not try to pretend—that this task can be accomplished without sacrifice. No man can predict what those sacrifices will be. They begin this year with a new burden of taxes for defense, and a new and even staggering additional indebtedness.

But of this we may be sure. The time has come when the Government must cease giving to the people. The time has come for the people to give to the Government.

Our administration will favor every advance to protect labor, to protect the farmer, to protect American enterprise—to protect the people from each other. It is thus and only thus that the precious goal of national unity can be attained.

NOT A GOVERNMENT'S PEOPLE

But our administration will denounce the principle that the American people are the Government's people.

It will insist that the American Government is the people's government.

This task is not one that we can accept lightly. It is a stupendous task. To fulfill it we must rise above ourselves.

To fulfill it we must rise above the clichés and the doles of the New Deal. We must rise above the easy political phrases that are supposed to attract votes. We must make demands upon our constituents, not promise them more. We have only one great promise to make. We promise an effective, an expanding, an impregnable democracy.

We do not make that promise in the petty spirit of partisanship. We make it in the spirit of those great men who, before us, cut off the long arm of tyranny when it reached across the Atlantic to grasp our taxes, our industries, and our political rights.

We do not call it tyranny today. We do not place upon its head a crown, yet the starker words of our twentieth century cannot hide its nature from our eyes, or make it any less the scourge of free and vigorous men.

This is the scourge of government above the people, without the people and in spite of the people.

Let us go forth from this meeting carrying a light that men will see for many centuries. Let us go forth carrying the same light that we can still see when we look back to Abraham Lincoln, the greatest of Republicans: The light of government of the people, for the people, and by the people. With that light, and with that alone, we shall make our way into the new world. With that light, and with that alone, we shall rebuild America.

I thank you very much for this privilege of rendering a report to you. Every place I have gone I have seen the streets filled with hungry people, asking us to lead them. I ask you to join in this cause for the preservation of American democracy.

Address of Hon. Thomas E. Dewey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH A. GAMBLE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

ADDRESS DELIVERED SEPTEMBER 27, 1940

Mr. GAMBLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an address made by the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey, district attorney of New York County, as temporary chairman of the New York Republican State convention, at White Plains, N. Y., on September 27, 1940:

TEXT OF DEWEY'S ADDRESS TO STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Fellow Republicans, I am grateful to you for the honor of serving as your temporary chairman and for the privilege of addressing the majority party of the State of New York.

On your behalf, I wish to pay my respects to our hosts of Westchester County. Year after year, this enlightened community maintains in office the constructive progressive leadership of the Republican Party. It has the great good sense to keep at the head of its government our distinguished friend William F. Bleakley. We are delighted to meet in such a community and to enjoy its hospitality.

I last appeared before this honorable body 2 years ago, when you did me the honor of selecting me as the standard bearer of the party.

Since then, momentous events have occurred. The world has passed from tragedy to tragedy, from Munich to Vichy. Our national debt has risen to staggering proportions. Bureacracy has multiplied until it puts its clammy hand upon the life of every citizen. The unemployed—nine and a half million strong—still ask for the jobs that should be theirs

Yet Franklin Roosevelt, with an abiding cynicism, seeks—without daring to ask for it—a rubber stamp of approval for continuation in power. There is only one thing indispensable about the leader of the New Deal. That is his retirement.

TWO YEARS' PROGRESS

How has the great State of New York fared during the last 2 years of national deterioration and world collapse? First, let me remind you under whose auspices the solid achievements of the last 2 years in New York State have been accomplished. In the State elections 2 years ago the voters returned Republican majorities in both houses of the legislature for the first time since 1930. There were 331,000 more votes cast for the Republican candidate for Governor than there were Democratic votes cast for the Democratic candidate. For the first time since 1922 the Republican Party in this State will this year be at the head of the ballot.

In the short span of 2 years the Republican majority has made real progress for the people of the State. In the field of agriculture, appropriations have been continued for the fight against Bang's disease. A new fight against trichinosis has been begun, and soil conservation has been actively encouraged.

In the field of labor a new spirit, a partnership spirit, has been put into the State Labor Relations Act. Cooperation has been fostered in place of antagonism and collective bargaining has been strengthened.

NEW HEALTH MEASURES

In the field of health, the Mailler commission has done a splendid job in the study of new public-health measures. In the field of business the Ives investigation is being conducted into the causes of the exodus of business from New York State during the years of Democratic misrule. Recommendation for halting this exodus, as well as for attracting new business into the State, will be submitted to the legislature next year.

In the field of education, expenditures have been adjusted so that every section of the State is receiving State aid on the basis of actual need. It is no longer necessary for localities to "spend to get." Now 25 percent of the available State-aid moneys are granted only on proof of their need rather than as the results of past expenditures.

And now to come to the field of finance, in which the failure of the Democratic Party has been most spectacular. I am glad to say that in New York State under a Republican majority the trend toward bankruptcy has been reversed.

The fight has not been easy. The Democratic Governor and the Democratic minorities have fought every step of the way. But in spite of this, the Republican majority has achieved budget reductions and tax revision in 1939 and 1940, saving the people of the State more than $40,000,000.

In the Nation, we are now engaged in a campaign to determine whether the United States shall retain the essential features of a free republic. In this campaign New York has a special interest and a special responsibility. New York will speak in this election, from experience, first-hand experience, with the kind of leadership now offered by Franklin Roosevelt as a gift in perpetuity.

On the basis of its own experience with Franklin Roosevelt, New York now offers the candidate in opposition. New York has reason to know the candidate in opposition, for he is its adopted son. As a result of 12 years' experience with its native son, as Governor and President, New York prefers its adopted son, Wendell Willkie.

The issue between these two men is more than a test between individuals. It is broader than party. Down beneath all the statistics and arguments this campaign presents a deeper issue—the issue of character.

In these crucial times it is fitting that this major issue be stated in simple terms. It is made up of seven offenses against common honesty.

BROKEN PROMISES

(1) Franklin Roosevelt's record of broken promises is unique in American history. The promise of reemployment has been broken to the sorrow of nine and a half million American families. The promise of a balanced Budget has been broken thus far in the sum of $22,000,000,000. This cynical disregard of public pledges has contributed to the break-down of morality in public life. The bland repetition of those promises—those promises which had not been made good—compounded the fraud. Franklin Roosevelt's army of unemployed and their families is almost half as great as the whole population of Great Britain, which today is defending civilization. It is not ethics alone, but staggering human misery that is included in the price we pay for the medieval morals of this administration.

(2) Franklin Roosevelt has preached the false doctrine that the interests of worker and employer are antagonistic. He has professed to believe that when business is beaten down labor will benefit. Both capital and labor have been the victims of these policies.

Moreover, he has constantly pointed the finger of suspicion at one group by speaking much of the sins of some of its members and nothing of the sins of members of other groups.

He has thus compelled millions of honest Americans to believe that they are not wanted in his councils; that they have no voice in government; that is, in fact, their enemy. He has created a vast class of Americans who are in truth citizens without a government—a class of subjects, not coequals. This doctrine is alien to the whole American principle of equality.

(3) He has set himself up as the personal arbiter of the affairs of the nations of the earth, and, one by one, he has cost us their friendship. He has vacillated and blustered without strength or consistency of purpose. Friendly nations have relied upon him in vain and others have been encouraged to predatory action. He has carried on this meddling so furtively that the people of this country have not known, and cannot know, the state of our foreign affairs from month to month or year to year. If, as may be assumed, he

has carried on these relationships with the same craft and indefiniteness as have characterized his dealings with the people of this country, then a large part of the distress that exists throughout the world arises from such conduct of our foreign relations.

(4) Franklin Roosevelt has sought and accepted the support of corrupt political machines in the great cities of America. Where there were no corrupt political machines to carry out his ends he has deliberately used the power of patronage to foster them. As recently as last week, he publicly admitted that free elections are the essence of a free political system. And yet he has deliberately given aid, comfort, and nourishment to corrupt political machines which laugh at free elections. Moral indignation on his part seems exclusively reserved for those who do not carry his banners or give him their votes. His political servants are subject to no moral indignation. Apparently, they are eased out only after they are caught with the first million dollars of fees from defense contracts.

NEW WORDS VEIL FAILURE

(5) Unable to bring about the promised solution of the Nation's economic problems, he has invented a new vocabulary to cover his failures. Unable to alter the facts, he has sought to give sweeter names to bitter facts.

As a nation we grew strong through simple moral concepts. Our self-appointed educators in the White House contemptuously regard our beliefs as "folk ways." They brand American traditions as mere mythology. Economy, they say, presents visions of thrifty Uncle Abner rolling balls of waste string. By world-juggling, this administration has sought to undermine the fundamental principles by which Americans live. Like Dr. Goebbels, they debase the intellectual coinage of the Nation.

(6) Franklin Roosevelt has deliberately sought to identify his personality with the concept of liberal government. He thinks of himself not merely as the servant of government. He thinks he is progressive government. HIRAM JOHNSON has believed in progressive government for more years than Mr. Roosevelt has lived. Yet HIRAM JOHNSON is smeared because he dares to disagree. We are asked to believe that enlightenment began in 1932 with Franklin Roosevelt, and will end when he leaves the White House. This monumental fraud is not liberalism; it is personal government. Where personal government begins, both liberalism and freedom end.

CAMPAIGN OF ABUSE

(7) He has used the power of the Presidency ruthlessly to besmirch every man who has aspired to succeed him in that office, whether within or without his party. Society and the law condemn misuse of public funds. So, too, they condemn the abuse of power to perpetuate any individual in his elected office. Let it be recorded that only ideals and principles survive—and these through the leadership of many men. Where one man would destroy all others who might uphold those ideals and carry on those principles, he believes in no ideals. He believes in no principles. He believes only in his own personal aggrandizement.

I know I speak for the Republican Party in saying that we believe that principles are greater than men and that all of us are mere instruments by which these principles are carried forward.

The things of which I have spoken today do not take into account the long procession of individual blunders, the fiscal heresies, the ever-swelling bureaucracy, the economic failure. I have spoken today only of those fundamentals by which free government lives and without which free government dies.

By these standards this administration has shown itself unworthy of its trust. It has failed in its vital test of character.

Do we, in this world crisis, seek leadership which rests on simple honesty and justice? Will America place its trust in its own essential character? Will it seek leadership which represents that character?

OLD WORLD THEORIES?

Or will it adopt the New Deal theory? Will America, in crisis, choose for the first time in its history an administration which lives by the Old World theory of governmental mastery, which believes in the indispensable man, which puts all its faith in the superman? Will America, at this fateful hour, abandon its own traditions?

The country inevitably will be identified with its leadership, and if that leadership lives for stratagem and spoils, the moral integrity of the country is gone. In the uncertainty and dangers that surround us, we reach out for the eternal verities, the proven touchstones of our American life.

We are asked to deliver our Government and our people into the hands of a cynical and arrogant administration which apes those European governments it pretends to oppose. If a government charged with preserving our freedom finds it necessary to adopt the morals and theories of those to whom we are opposed, then indeed the soul of our Nation is lost. We must not, in resisting totalitarianism, become totalitarian ourselves.

The immortal Dante, of whom we once heard in a Presidential utterance, observed this peril. He describes one of the regions of the Inferno. There a man is struggling with a dragon. As the deadly battle goes on, the man gradually takes on the form of the dragon. Finally, he, himself, becomes a dragon. If not from ourselves, let us learn from Dante. We cannot save America from an alien creed by adopting that alien creed ourselves.

SOUND GOVERNMENT VITAL

We must be sure that the core of the Nation, the heart of its government, is sound.

It is a long night of vigil that we face, and through the watches of that night only the clearest intelligence, the steadiest hand, the most unquestionable integrity, should be on guard. Our national administration is that sentinel to whom we entrust our goods, our lives, our honor. We must look to the integrity of that sentinel, consider its record in less critical times. In more tranquil hours our sentinel failed us. Then, the greater the crisis we face, the simpler the virtues that have survived the years. We are determined to put those virtues into our government once more: Truthfulness in the relations between government and citizen; tolerance and friendliness among all our people; prudence in our commitments; courage in our policies. Above all, integrity, always integrity, in public affairs.

In its search for these qualities the American people are turning to the Republican Party. Its chosen leaders will not fail them. With these new sentinels on guard America will again be safe.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. GILLIE
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 3, 1940

Mr. GILLIE. Mr. Speaker, during the week-end recess of the House, I went back home to Indiana, and while there I saw and talked with many friends of both political parties. I found everyone was distressed over the same matter. No; it was not over the conscription. It was over the danger to our democratic institutions should there be a President who obtains a third term. We all feel that such a procedure would mark the beginning of a break-down of our very form of government. Both men and women of both parties expressed bitter opposition to a third term for the President.

Our forefathers did not work out the fundamental principles on which this country was founded without long and serious consideration and debate. Our forefathers were farseeing, and they knew that if they should throw off the yoke of England, where the rulers received their power through inheritance, and established a new form of government, a democracy, where the rulers would derive their powers from the consent of the governed, they knew that there must be a limit to the time that a President could hold office. Thomas Jefferson even suggested that the Constitution be amended to limit a Presidential term. He felt that this was necessary to continue our free form of government.

If a man is elected for 4 years and can be reelected for another 4 years, and no other limit is set, then he would become so accustomed to the feel of power in his hands that he would seek another reelection, and another, and another, and the Government would descend to one of inherited officials. The Presidency would no longer be an elected but an inherited office. When that time comes, then our form of government would no longer be in existence. We would no longer be a democracy.

This limit of time to a term of office is one powerful safeguard that our forefathers built around this country. If that safeguard is broken down, then we descend to a monarchy, a dictatorship, a totalitarian government, and imperceptibly we shall have changed our form of government overnight—our Government that has been so strong and has stood the tests of a century and a half, through periods of war and rumors of wars, and through the long decades of peace when this country had a chance to grow and develop in strength and become the greatest nation of the world.

Reeligibility makes a President an officer for life.

Thomas Jefferson accomplished many things that distinguished him among the founding fathers, but he did three things that made him immortal. He wrote the Declaration of Independence; he sponsored the American Bill of Rights—his correspondence shows that he deserves credit for that;

he founded the Democratic Party which was called the Republican Party to the day of his death; and he undertook to impress the character of tradition upon the precedent that George Washington had established against a third term. On this point, Mr. Jefferson said:

The example of four Presidents voluntarily retiring at the end of their eighth year and the progress of public opinion that the principle is salutary have given it in practice the force of precedent and usage; insomuch, that, should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views.

Someone has properly said that every dictator from Julius Caesar to Hitler has shattered tradition to seize power. Should Mr. Roosevelt continue to labor under the illusion that he is the only human being in the United States fit to be President, he might seek three times a third term. Did Mr. Roosevelt renounce a fourth term in his speech of acceptance? In the light of that speech, he could not renounce a tenth term or an *n*th term, so long as he flatters himself that he is more indispensable to the integrity and perpetuity of our free institutions than the men who founded them.

Our people have awakened to the dangers facing our beloved country should this bulwark be broken down. We must have no third term.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANTON J. JOHNSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, approximately 1 month from today the citizens of this country will go to their respective polling places to cast their ballots in the 1940 Presidential election.

In the meantime they must make a momentous decision. They will have to decide if they are willing to break the third-term tradition—one of the strongest bulwarks of this Republic. That is a decision of incalculable weight, for once that tradition is broken there is little possibility of ever reestablishing it.

This forthcoming election is no ordinary one. It is not merely the choosing one candidate over another. It can easily resolve itself into the beginning of the end of this representative form of government.

The battle of the ballot box next November 5 is unquestionably the most important development in American politics since the Civil War. The electorate must determine whether it wants to preserve the republican form of government, where every man is the captain of his own destiny, or whether it wants to go into a dictatorship.

The third-term issue transcends all others in this campaign. It is infinitely more important to the security of the Nation than the war and domestic economic issues combined.

Proof that this is true and that large numbers of citizens realize it is found in the wedding of the Republican and Jeffersonian Democratic Parties. Many leaders of these two great American schools of political thought have united in a common effort to repel a foe far more dangerous and insidious to American liberty than the Axis powers ever could be.

It is the duty of every man who understands the peril that is creeping upon this Nation to advise his friends and acquaintances of these facts. If Mr. Roosevelt is elected to a third term, in all probability this will be the last time that we shall ever have a comparatively free and untrammeled election.

Give the New Deal and Mr. Roosevelt 12 years in control of this Government and he and his cohorts will have been able to build up such a powerful political machine that the odds will be strongly against ever upsetting it. A third term means perpetuation of Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal in power indefinitely.

America stands at the cross roads. Our hard won political freedom is at stake. The decision rests not upon Congress but the people themselves. And it is all the more appalling when one stops to realize that this man who has the audacity to try to break one of our finest traditions of government, is a man who has violated practically every campaign promise he ever made to the people.

As the Editor Sees It

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. O. BURGIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

ARTICLE BY R. F. BEASLEY

Mr. BURGIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial written by Hon. R. F. Beasley, editor of the Monroe Journal, Monroe, N. C., under date of October 1, 1940:

[From the Monroe (N. C.) Journal of October 1, 1940]

AS THE EDITOR SEES IT

(By R. F. Beasley)

Poor Mr. Willkie is in a bad fix according to a statement he made in a speech in Detroit Monday night. He said that the New Deal is getting us closer and closer to war, and then summed it up thus: "The closer Mr. Roosevelt gets us to war, the more people say we ought not to change horses in the middle of the stream. How did we get there? The man who got us there is not the one to get us out." That would be good logic if the premise were sound, which it is not. Mr. Roosevelt is not responsible for the situation we are in, and Mr. Willkie's own position proves it, and that is his misfortune, rather than what Mr. Roosevelt has done. What has gotten us near war is that Hitler started out to rule or ruin the world. Mr. Roosevelt may have talked imprudently at times, but Hitler's victory in Europe and his determination to destroy the British Empire and divide the world up among the dictators, is what is pressing us into preparedness and the aid of England. Mr. Willkie not only approves preparedness and more aid to England both as a matter of honest patriotism, and as necessary politics at this time, but goes further and says we should give more encouragement to China. So, when Mr. Willkie says the President is getting us closer to war by doing the things which Mr. Willkie says we should do, his argument loses force.

Mr. Willkie is a mighty fine man, in my opinion, but he is now the victim of circumstances. His trouble is that the war overshadows everything else and he is driven to illegal positions by isolationists in his own party and in a conflict between his own convictions and his campaign necessities. Mr. Willkie seems not to understand that if Mr. Roosevelt has brought us near to war, he himself has poured a lot of water on Roosevelt's wheel. Every time Mr. Willkie announced his position on foreign affairs Mr. Roosevelt stepped up his demands for more. The President was slow about the draft till Willkie endorsed it. He was slow about more aid to England till Willkie endorsed it. And immediately after Willkie said we ought to encourage China, Mr. Roosevelt clapped the embargo on Japan and lent China another twenty-five millions. Mr. Willkie is to be commended for not going sour on the whole thing, seeing that every time he issues an endorsement Mr. Roosevelt grabs it and carries the ball over another line. Mr. Willkie is really in a bad fix.

The hellians are getting ready to pour poison gas on the English to strangle men, women, and children to death. Every time Hitler is ready to do a particularly mean crime he begins to say that the other side is about to do it. That is dictator methods. The Russians said that little Finland was about to cut up the Russian empire and so must be eaten up first. Hitler said the same thing about every country he has robbed and murdered. Now, in Berlin, they pretend to believe that England is going to use gas and are advising the populace to prepare themselves with masks. That means just one thing and that is London is to be submerged in gas provided Hitler thinks he can get away with it. Hitler's crowd

are infuriated because they have not succeeded in putting England out. If every man, woman, and child in the whole British Empire were standing shoulder to shoulder in one vast building, and one huge bomb could blast them out of existence, the German high command would gleefully issue the order to drop that bomb. That is the extent to which their criminal insanity has gone and they are proud of it. Why? Because it is necessary to convince themselves that they are superior to all other people. Hitler once said that they were proud to be called barbarians. Why? Because all men who commit crimes justify themselves one way or another.

The German-Italian-Japanese alliance is simply an attempt to frighten other people and to boost up German morale at home. Italy is telling the United States what it can and cannot do, and yet Italy can't send a single vessel out of its ports for fear of the British Navy. Germany is dividing up the world and can't get out of reach of its own shore guns. Japan is going to bust England and the United States and in 3 years hasn't been able to conquer the Chinese, armed with little more than cornstalks. It is all another big wind, which will remain wind as long as the British Fleet rules the seas and England holds out as its base. England is going to hold out in proportion to the aid she gets from us, and the more we aid her now the less we will have to do in the future in holding off the three grand robbers, Germany, Italy, and Japan, in their determination to divide the world and abolish liberty for the benefit of tyrants and their cohorts. Our way is clear—more and more aid to England, and, as soon as possible, real aid to China.

Article by Bankhead Tells Reason for Backing Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM HOBBS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE WASHINGTON EVENING STAR

Mr. HOBBS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star of September 24, 1940, which is believed to be the last public utterance of the late Speaker Bankhead:

[From the Washington Evening Star of September 24, 1940]

ARTICLE BY BANKHEAD TELLS REASONS FOR BACKING ROOSEVELT—SPEAKER HAD WRITTEN IT AT REQUEST OF ASSOCIATED PRESS

(The Associated Press asked the late Speaker of the House Bankhead to write an article on "Why I'll Vote for Roosevelt." The Speaker agreed and prepared the following article shortly before September 10 when he went to Baltimore where he was seized with a fatal illness. This is believed to be the last public statement written by Speaker Bankhead.)

(By William B. Bankhead)

First allow me to say that I am a firm believer in the wisdom of government by political parties. As a life-long Democrat, I have always voted for my party nominees—national, State, and local—and Mr. Roosevelt is the nominee of my party for President.

I realize, however, that there are millions of Americans who are classed as "independents," upon whom party ties hang loosely or not at all, and who will probably play a decisive part in the coming election.

And there are many sound reasons why I support Mr. Roosevelt, in addition to my sense of party loyalty.

The legislative program enacted by a Democratic Congress, very largely by reason of President Roosevelt's recommendations and leadership, is the best possible proof of his wholehearted espousal of that very essence of Jeffersonian democracy, "equal rights to all men and special privileges to none."

NEW DEAL LAWS HAILED

All informed citizens are familiar with such legislative enactments. Many of them have been deeply offensive to great groups of men and corporations who had become inured to the enjoyment without restraint of special privileges granted them during the many years of prior Republican administrations. Great as has been the clamor against such legislation as the Holding Company Act, the Stock Exchange Act, the Wagner Act, Wage and Hour Act, and many others, it is singularly significant that Mr. Willkie, the Republican nominee, indorses them all. They were so everlastingly right in principle that neither he nor his party dared to recommend their repeal.

Exactly the same situation exists with reference to the Democratic farm program. With all the terrific antagonism and criticism of that program by the opposition party, and especially upon the part of Republican Members of Congress, who bitterly opposed many of its essential features, especially the appropriations for parity payments, how in the name of common sense can the Republican leaders expect the farmers of the country to repudiate the party whose policies have tided them over the worst agricultural catastrophe in our history and which policies the Republican candidate and his party now indorse?

They have not yet forgotten the miserable fumbling of their problems by the Hoover administration. All we ask is that the American farmer just think back to those evil days.

I support Mr. Roosevelt on his foreign policy. He has demonstrated his devotion to peace and to universal brotherhood for all people everywhere. He has uttered time and again his loathing and abomination of war as an instrumentality of settlement of national antagonisms.

He has been one American who has had the foresight to anticipate exactly what is happening in the world today and to warn our fellow citizens against its sinister implications as they affect our national interest. Moreover, he has been a leader who has had the courage to urge adequate national defense to protect the sovereignty of our democratic institutions against assault from any power or combination of powers.

He is urging the Congress to hasten these measures of defense before it is too late, although he is fully aware that his forthright appeal may be a costly political venture. And that, when his reelection to the Presidency is at stake, is a pretty good pattern of a man. He has never equivocated or sidestepped on any problem affecting our national security.

I am for Mr. Roosevelt because in these days of tremendous peril to our land and institutions he is undoubtedly the best equipped man in the country by experience and knowledge of all essential factors to guide and preserve the destiny of the Republic and its people.

This is no time to experiment with a novice in affairs of government, even though he may be a good businessman.

Mr. Hoover and Mr. Chamberlain could qualify in that category.

Labor Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM J. MILLER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

LETTER FROM WILLIAM GREEN

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, during the campaign of 1938 I made a few definite promises. I have kept those promises before me as various legislative matters were presented to the House. Referring to labor security I said:

I stand for the protection of the laboring man and woman.

With my first term as a Member of the House of Representatives drawing to a close, I am more than pleased and proud to have received the following letter from Mr. William Green, president, American Federation of Labor, under date of September 27, 1940:

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The American Federation of Labor has recently brought up to date the legislative records on measures of interest to labor of all Members of the United States House of Representatives.

During your incumbency you have built up a wonderful record, as you have invariably voted in favor of proposals approved by the American Federation of Labor. You have stood steadfast on three occasions on questions which vitally affected the American Federation of Labor, and in consideration of these facts I feel that I should be derelict in my duty were I to neglect to advise our affiliates in your district of the foregoing.

Therefore, I am sending a copy of this letter to the officers of our affiliates in your district with the request that they and their friends give you all aid possible in order that you may be reelected this fall.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

WM. GREEN,

President, American Federation of Labor.

Address By Senator Wagner Before the New York State Democratic Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE MANHATTAN CENTER, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD a speech which I delivered at the New York State Democratic Convention in New York City, on September 30, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Governor Lehman, Chairman Farley, delegates to the convention, I am honored to summon you once again to the cause of democracy.

Two years ago in this convention we hailed the heroic accomplishments of a great President who recognized the dangerous challenge to free government then brewing across the seas. Few in his own party equaled him in foresight, and most of the opposition obstructed him with blind fury. But the American people had faith in his vision and approved his efforts to guard our country's peace. Today we are at peace, and as our defenses mount each day our peace becomes more certain, under the courageous leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

As we watch the untrained political maneuvers of the Republican candidate—who one day calls the President of the United States a war monger and the next day calls him an appeaser—it is only fair to appraise our constructive achievements for the total defense of America's heritage.

We have enacted a neutrality law making greater sacrifices for peace than the laws of this or any other country at any time.

We are building an invincible Army, Navy, and air force, in readiness for any attack against this peaceful hemisphere.

We are mobilizing manpower and industrial power, with equal sacrifice from all and special exemptions for none.

We have sent old destroyers to help keep aggressors 3,000 miles from our shores and acquired new bases to hurl back any aggressor moving nearer to our shores.

The security of the western world is reinforced by economic aid to Latin America.

By these policies, our security is fortified and our peaceful purposes made increasingly clear. We will not become involved in any foreign wars.

Republican spokesmen charge that our foreign policy has cost us the friendship of the nations of the world. We readily concede that we do not enjoy the friendship of the dictators. But President Roosevelt has made America the friend of the common people of all lands, and the symbol of their hope for freedom.

While we guard our ramparts, we are thrilled with the record of democracy's gains in social and economic welfare during the past 7 years. We have diminished the danger of widespread discontent, a danger as threatening as any coming from abroad, by making our citizens free from insecurity in their homes, their farms, and their savings, free from want in time of unemployment and old age, free to organize and bargain collectively, and free to compete in the market place.

Whenever we think of our youth being given a chance for work and education instead of drifting hopelessly on the city streets; whenever we see an elderly couple receiving a dignified pension instead of the bitter crust of charity; whenever we see the new thousands of underprivileged families moving from the slums into new homes that are clean and safe; whenever we hear the throb of expanding factories and see the new millions marching to steady jobs at decent wages—then we grasp the full meaning of the democracy of opportunity established for all the people under the matchless guidance of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In this march of progress, no legislators have labored more earnestly than those liberal and time-proven public servants, JAMES M. MEAD, CAROLINE O'DAY, and MATTHEW J. MERRITT. No Governor has cooperated more effectively than that splendid and experienced executive of whom New York is so justly proud, Herbert H. Lehman.

Thoughtful men and women, seeking to evaluate fairly Mr. Willkie's promise to expand the horizons of national progress, will find their attentions riveted upon the Valley of the Tennesee. There is situated the core of the T. V. A.—combining the poet's dream with the engineer's skill—to harness our natural resources to the public good, to make the desert bloom, and to bring the wonders of cheap electric power to countless homes and farms. Surely no government ever took a more inspiring step to bring to more of its citizens the bountiful blessings that Providence provides.

And what is Mr. Willkie's record on the T. V. A.? He said is was "the most useless and unnecessary of all the aphabetical joyrides." He fought it before Congress, in the courts, and at the ultimate bar of public opinion. He lost in every forum.

Today, with electric lights twinkling in the humble homes of those whom the Republican candidate wants to impress, and with the T. V. A. standing as a mighty arm of national defense, Mr. Willkie delivers his apology. He now says—and I use his very words, appearing in an interview published in the Washington Star, September 15, 1940: "I was a special pleader. I was getting $75,000 a year to be a special pleader." In the heat of his Presidential campaign, Mr. Willkie has abandoned the duty he once assumed to preserve public utilities privately owned, a duty which once made a greater appeal to his sense of social obligation than the service of his country.

Let us be thankful that while the Republican candidate was a special pleader, our President was serving unselfishly the interests of the land we love. And let us never forget that on this great national-defense project, Wendell Willkie was utterly wrong and Franklin D. Roosevelt was everlastingly right.

To review more of Mr. Willkie's unprogressive policies on public issues would be an anticlimax. But we cannot ignore the Republican candidate's labor record and the lack of promise it holds in store for working men and women.

The facts found on the record and upheld where presented to the courts show that three of his own utility companies have openly defied the Labor Relations Act, have opposed free unions of their workers, and have set up and maintained sham labor organizations as instruments of enslavement. Within recent months labor has denounced the situation at a Commonwealth & Southern affiliate as "one of the blackest spots on the utility map."

Such a backward-looking philosophy of labor is a threat to the enlightened self-interest of the whole community. It undermines the sense of justice which is the foundation of industrial peace. The labor laws of the Roosevelt administration have made men contented by making them free. By keeping men free we shall bring ever-increasing industrial peace, business improvement, and speedy preparedness.

On the sure foundations we have laid down American enterprise is going forward to new vistas of pioneering and expansion. Our factories are producing more goods, and the national income can buy more goods, than at any time in our history. The cash income of American farmers has increased from $4,700,000,000 in 1932 to an estimated $9,000,000,000 in 1940. America's business corporations, which incurred a net loss of $3,600,000,000 in 1932, made a net profit of $4,000,000,000 in 1939. Since this administration took office, 10,000,000 more men and women have found work in normal private enterprise.

Against this record of sound industrial recovery the Republican Presidential candidate offers nothing but a bland promise to make unemployment disappear "like mist before the morning sun." We are not yet informed as to the nature of Mr. Willkie's secret weapon. One thing we do know definitely: The New Deal social reforms, long accused by our opponents of impeding economic recovery as well as national defense, are given a clean bill of health by Mr. Willkie.

We agree that in these trying times, there should be a friend of business and a good organizer in the White House. But who is a better friend of business, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who saved our business system in 1933, and harmonized the interests of big busines, small business, the consumer, and those who toil in factory and farm—or Wendell Willkie, who served a far-flung utility system and recognized its interests alone? Who is a better organizer, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who has successfully directed the greatest program of social reform and the greatest peacetime preparedness drive in our history—or Wendell Willkie, who has never organized any large enterprise, who was merely engaged as a utility lawyer to help fight against the Government, and whose efforts to direct his own campaign have spread disorganization and dissension in his own party?

I am profoundly convinced that American business does not want a special pleader in the White House—a man whose economic bias in favor of the privileged few would return us to the days of Herbert Hoover. I am equally certain that stable men of affairs do not want the untried and erratic hand of Mr. Willkie to guide us through the perilous currents of international events. The overwhelming majority of Americans in every walk of life look to the man who promotes unity at home and commands respect abroad.

Seven years of his administration have restored the American people to their democratic faith. Average men and women know that their later years will be more secure than those of their parents before them, and that their children in turn will grow up into a better land than they themselves know today. This is the spirit of progress. This is the eternal promise and realization of America. This is the America that will be preserved and defended by the overwhelming reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Address by Wendell L. Willkie and Introduction by Senator McNary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN R. AUSTIN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT PITTSBURGH, PA., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech delivered last night in Pittsburgh, Pa., by Wendell L. Willkie, Republican nominee for President of the United States, pledging aid to labor, as the speech is set forth in the New York Herald Tribune of this morning. In connection therewith I ask to have printed also the remarks of the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCNARY], the Republican nominee for Vice President of the United States, introducing Mr. Willkie.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Remarks of the Honorable CHARLES L. MCNARY, Republican candidate for Vice President, introducing the Honorable Wendell L. Willkie, candidate for President of the United States, at Pittsburgh on October 3, 1940]

FORWARD, AMERICA!

Mr. Chairman and friends, I am indeed happy to be in Pittsburgh, this dynamic workshop wherein the tools to make America impregnable are being forged, a city wherein the resourceful employer furnishes jobs and the competent worker creates stout products—while all of you are being considerately cared for by the farmers of my West. We of the West owe Pennsylvania much—as a fount of history as well as of essential steel. You, in return, owe us much. Pennsylvania is more than an industrial State. It ranks—and this is a point often overlooked—among the first 10 States in agricultural output. To me, that fact is worthy of oratorical comment—but I forbear. I make haste to reassure you that I am not here to dwell on the farm problem. I do point out that Pennsylvania does not feed itself. Hence, the West is your breadbasket; as you are our iron works.

From that West, from my own young State of Oregon, I bring a reminder tonight of the interdependence of the States, of the sections, of agriculture and industry. We are parts of one whole. A reminder that the fortunes of agriculture and industry rise and fall together; and that, to insure the prosperity of America, we must safeguard the American market for American grain, meat, and fiber as we protect the American market for American steel. The farmer, too, must have his home market.

From the Pacific coast, I bear you also a reminder of our continental span and of the national unity that so blessedly infuses us in these foreboding days. That unity, the miracle of America, which binds us all—one tongue, one law, one spirit—into a single will to be strong, honorable, and resolute before the world and, at home, free.

I remind you also tonight that our crusade to redeem America from New Deal doubt and defeat is united. United as to candidates, as to issues, as to party and to that great body of citizens who, placing country above party, march with us on our historic mission. To us, this continent has only just been occupied—we go forward to develop its abundance; to produce an equitably distributed well-being such as the world has not before seen.

We propose to accomplish this through work, in the fashion of the men who magnified the backwoods Fort Pitt into the mighty Pittsburgh; through courageous thought, through renewing incentives to the energetic, through the freeing of enterprise and, above all, by meeting our problems head-on, demanding solutions, instead of evading them—like a rich wastrel—by writing another check. I wish again tonight, here in Pittsburgh, where, if anywhere, you hear the trend of an America that knows how to work and create, to denounce the dangerous doctrine that America is finished.

Our cause is, I say, historic. Our leadership is equal to our cause. We hear that this is the age of Caesars—of tyrants. The new Caesars in Europe are self-chosen, self-nominated, self-anointed. Last July in Chicago, an American leader chose to violate tradition by seeking to perpetuate himself in power.

Our leader was not so selected. He was handed a mandate in Philadelphia. That was a popular mandate. The voice of the Republican convention was the voice of an aroused public.

From all quarters of the country came the demand for the nomination for the Presidency of a fearless, straight-thinking, competent American; a plain American, professing himself neither a miracle man, nor indispensable—but a man on fire with the desire to sustain and advance the values which have made this country the abode of free men. A man who chooses candor above deceit; who has faith in the judgment of the people. That faith has been repaid as he has moved about among the people these last few weeks. The choice at Philadelphia has been vindicated. I confidently expect it to be ratified next month at the polls.

As a candidate for Vice President, I enlisted under his banner. I hereby renew my pledge of fealty. As a citizen—one among one hundred and thirty-one millions—I gladly confide the troubled affairs of my country to the next President of the United States, God willing, the Honorable Wendell L. Willkie, of Indiana.

WILLKIE SPEECH AT PITTSBURGH PLEDGING AID TO LABOR

Senator MCNARY, Mr. MARTIN, Senator Harris, people of Pittsburgh, no man in the history of America who was ever a candidate for President of the United States ever had a more congenial, delightful, and able associate than I have in Senator MCNARY.

I wanted to talk to you here this evening about labor because the city of Pittsburgh stands for American enterprise.

Courage and hard work have built this city and have manufactured here the sinews of both peace and war. I know of no more fitting place for a man to stand up and talk, frankly and specifically, about American labor than here in Pittsburgh.

You workers of America, organized and unorganized, skilled and unskilled, are entitled to know in forthright language exactly where we stand, and I want to let you.

I want to begin with Abraham Lincoln. He is my favorite character in American history—the gentle, the merciful Lincoln—who fought until he died to preserve the basic concepts of American life.

Abraham Lincoln said:

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is therefore the superior of capital, and deserves much higher consideration."

I stand with Abraham Lincoln. I have earned my bread by the sweat of my brow and I know, as well as any man, the strong bond that unites those who labor.

DECRIES "WAR ON BUSINESS"

But this bond should not lead to war upon business, or upon property. Because, as Lincoln also said:

"Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; it is a positive good in the world. * * * Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own will be safe when built."

I stand for a democratic society based on the Bill of Rights and a system of private property—with full rights to labor.

Let no man and no party claim sole credit for the National Labor Relations Act. It has been in the making for many years. Men like the great Samuel Gompers gave their lives to its principles. This act is the result of a century of bloody struggles, of the sweat and the agony of countless unnamed workers.

It was, and it is, statutory recognition of a simple fact—the right of men to join together—to bargain collectively for better hours, better wages, and better working conditions.

When passed it was long overdue.

The act was passed by the Congress, as the representatives of the people. Its passage gave no candidate and no administration a mortgage upon American labor. No man can buy the votes of American labor. No true leader of labor would try to sell the free ballots of his members.

For my part, I was for the National Labor Relations Act before it was passed—I was for it after it was passed—and I am for it now.

And may I say that my associate, Senator MCNARY, voted for it in the United States Senate.

FOR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

I subscribe, without reservation, to the principle of collective bargaining by representatives of labor's own free choice.

Complete and unequivocal acceptance of the great principle of collective bargaining is, then, one of the foundation stones on which our administration will stand. And we will see to it that any selfish and corrupt force that opposes collective bargaining will have the hard hand of government against it.

However, labor agreements have two parties, the employer and the workers. With increased rights to labor go increased responsibilities. There must be genuine and persistent effort to reach agreements on the basis of facts, not force. And once reached, those agreements must be kept by both parties.

In such agreements, entered into by free men on the basis of facts and in good faith, let us find the foundation for the great America we want to build—the new America—an America big enough for all of us.

Now I will tell you why I think the present administration has let labor down. It has let labor down because it has failed to provide jobs.

It is honest and proper to say here that when the New Deal first took office we all had great hopes for it. I for one had those hopes.

But all our hopes have been dashed on the rock of unemployment. In 7 years the New Deal has been unable to lick the problem of unemployment. Today there are 9,600,000 persons out of work. And that's a quarter million more than were out of work 4 years ago, when the third-term candidate was running for his second term.

The new dealers have come to think of unemployment as the normal course of things. To them the 9,600,000 unemployed are just a statistic. But this isn't a statistic. It's a tragedy. It's a personal tragedy for men who once did useful work who are now desperately looking for jobs—productive jobs at decent standards. It's a personal tragedy for millions of young men and women—and for half a million new ones each year—who have never had a steady job, and whose lives are being warped by the shame of that fact. It is a personal tragedy for those of 50 years or more, who have many years of good active life ahead of them and are desperately hoping for one more chance to catch on, before it is too late.

PLEDGES "REAL JOBS"

And this is our pledge: We will make real jobs for those who now seek them so desperately. We want a real job, at least one real job, in every home. We will give those elderly men the one more chance they are looking for. And for those young people we will make this America of ours once more a land of opportunity.

On January 20, 1937, the candidate for a third term said, on entering office for the second time: "I see one-third of a Nation ill fed, ill housed, ill clad and ill nourished."

Well, what has been done about it? What has been done except to keep them ill fed, ill housed, ill clad, and ill nourished?

You might ask, "What can the Republican Party and Wendell Willkie do about it? We've stopped growing. We have a static economy. We're going backward."

Well, that's just what the New Deal believes. That's just what it has been practicing. And that's just why it can't make any jobs.

In order to make jobs, people have to believe in the future; they have to see America the way it really is—a young country hungry for more goods, more food, more comfort, more work. That's what America is. That's your America and that's my America.

In Seattle, on September 23, I went into the question of how to make jobs for the people of America, and I talked about it at some length.

"INCREASED PRODUCTION"

Production, increased production, by business, big and little, is what makes jobs.

The New Deal has discouraged business—little business far more than big business—until today we are short, here in America, about 700,000 new enterprises. I am in favor of getting those 700,000 new enterprises started, and I will get them started.

I am in favor of encouraging business, not because it is business, not because of profits as such, but because I know that such encouragement will put 9,600,000 men back to work.

We are all for proper regulation, particularly big business, but we are for having those regulations as simple as possible, as efficient as possible. Labor should be for that—and I think it is.

Next to the objective of making our defense strong—a major vital problem that this administration has failed and is still failing to solve—the biggest single American objective is to reestablish our expanding life, our dynamic life.

To start that new expansion we need new enterprises. But what else do we need?

Why, we need good relations. We must have good relations between Government and industry, good relations between Government and labor, and, above all, good relations between labor and industry.

What is the role of labor in an expanding economy? It is the role of a partner in free enterprise.

WAGNER ACT ADMINISTRATION

The American worker expects a chance to negotiate his terms of employment with business. That is right, and I am for it. In my administration I shall encourage collective bargaining as an essential part of the new American way of life.

It is only superficially that collective bargaining is a means of adjusting differences. More fundamentally, collective bargaining is a way of working together, labor and capital, to their common advantage, their mutual, and their joint interest—a higher standard of living for the American people.

But the administration of the act is another thing. Its administration has been condemned by employer and labor alike. The maladministration of this act has been and is one of the most shocking tragedies in the history of American industrial relations. The trouble lies, in the main, not with the act but with its administration.

It would therefore seem to me wise, before materially changing the act, as many suggest, to change the administration of it. This would require some special legislation, but that problem is not insuperable. If a wiser administration of the act does not produce the results that we all want—good relations between labor and industry—then changes in the act would be in order.

This is an extremely important problem. It calls for wise and deliberate action. We must be careful not to sacrifice, by hasty action, the gains already made.

"BETTER UNDERSTANDING"

First, and last, we must understand that the real job of the National Labor Relations Board is much more than the settlement of the 10,000 cases that come before it every year. Its real job is to create a better understanding of the possibilities inherent in collective bargaining. Its real job is to help people to work together; to strengthen—not to disrupt—the basic partnership of industry. If our democracy is to become strong, all those responsible for production, worker, investor, and manager, must be meshed together around a common table.

When the Republicans are elected this fall that is what an efficient Labor Board will do.

And now I want to make a few other points.

First, the healthy spread of collective bargaining makes it more important than ever that the Government be prepared to offer a high-grade conciliation service when industrial disputes arise. The existing conciliation service must be strengthened and improved, and its work should be integrated with the work of the Labor Board.

Second, there should be some decentralization of Federal Government activities in the labor field, because each locality knows its problems best.

Third, the States should be encouraged to strengthen and improve their own procedures for the settlement of labor disputes.

Fourth, and I say this especially to those millions of Americans who are not members of any labor union, I give my solemn word that fair minimum wages, below which no employer can go, will be established, and the law enforced, both in the North and in the South.

And by fair minimum wages I mean just this—that as our country expands, as our resources are developed, as our industries get under way again, we shall expect to see to it that our wage structures rise with the growth accomplished, so that the standard of living of all will rise with our increased production.

I hate starvation wages. I hate the sweatshops. I despise any man who profits unjustly by those who labor. Against such a man I will wield the big stick of Theodore Roosevelt.

Fifth, we stand for maximum hour legislation. And by that I mean that a limit, a ceiling, should be put on the hours a man or a woman may work; a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.

Sixth, we believe in social security and we believe it should be extended to those who do not now enjoy it. But I warn you that there is no security in bankruptcy. Your social security does you no good—absolutely no good—if you are paying it into a government that will not, at the rate it is spending, be able to pay you back.

Seventh, we will tie labor into the councils of our Government. For too long it has been excluded from the council table—for too long it has been treated as a group apart.

In Omaha last week, I told the farmers that if I am elected President, I will convene a White House conference of all our great groups—farm, factory, labor, and consumer—to tackle the job of ending economic stagnation and of preventing a common disaster.

That conference will be the first practical step in giving labor a voice in the formulation of national policy. The economic future of our country demands that this should be done. Fair treatment of labor reinforces that demand.

TWO SUGGESTIONS

Besides these specific pledges I have two suggestions to make:

I think it would be very helpful to labor's cause and to the recovery of America if labor and management could incorporate into their contracts, of their own volition, provision for a cooling-off period, a delay before they commence their economic weapons' use. Where the principles of collective bargaining are really understood and really accepted by both parties, this would seem to me to be feasible. And surely it would help us to avoid much of the misunderstanding that has in the past been so costly.

Secondly, as I would have you freed from coercion by unscrupulous employers, so must you be freed from the control of any crooked racketeers who have found their way into the labor movement.

This is essentially a matter for labor to settle within its own ranks. But whether in office or not you will find me relentlessly opposed to those selfish or criminal leaders who double-cross or exploit their own membership. These must be eliminated from all groups in America, including labor. If they are not eliminated, we cannot have, in the progressive, dynamic days to come, the honest, efficient leadership necessary to fulfill the destiny of the American people.

I am against exploitation of any of you—in any manner, shape, or form—and regardless of whether you are organized or unorganized, skilled or unskilled.

I want a free, strong labor, earning a decent wage, working fair hours, under the right kind of working conditions; labor, free and strong, taking its equal place and standing shoulder to shoulder with agriculture and business to solve the problems of America in the American way.

As briefly and as frankly as I can put it, that is my labor program. I stand for the protection of labor's rights. But we stand for more than production. We stand for jobs, we stand for free labor, free to bargain and free to work.

SECRETARY OF LABOR

If I am elected, I will appoint as Secretary of Labor an outstanding and an actual representative of labor.

The job of Secretary of Labor is a man's job.

And the first job that the Secretary of Labor in a Republican administration will do will be to bring about cooperation within labor itself, to bring peace and strength to the ranks of labor, to help labor with all the means at his command, and to educate labor and employer alike to the true meaning of collective bargaining.

And also, when Senator MCNARY and myself are elected, we will immediately clear out from the Federal Government all Communists and fellow travelers.

Mr. Earl Browder will have no occasion—nor any wish—to recommend me for a third term.

And so, I call upon all of the workers of America, all of the people of America, to join us in the good fight—the fight for jobs, the fight for production, the fight to unite America.

I have gone up and down America preaching the gospel of progress, the desperate need for unity of our people. I have told men and women everywhere that the monstrous doctrine of class against class must be put down. Affirmatively, I say to you that the forces of America—farmer, businessman, and worker—must be geared to work together.

Ours is the task to put the free institutions of free men in free America to work, to give the lie to the strutting bullies of Europe, with their doctrines of supermen, slave classes, and subject races, and indispensable men.

I propose a triumvirate of labor, agriculture, and business—one for all; all for one. That triumvirate will work together. Each will see the other's problem. Each will sacrifice a little for the other. Each will work toward the other's gain. And then I know that there is nothing that can stop this wonderful America, this great dynamic giant. Nothing can stop us then from bursting through our present doubt and discouragement into a world of new hope and new horizons.

People of Pittsburgh, you have given to me today, as the candidate for President on the Republican ticket, an overwhelmingly generous welcome. I am deeply appreciative. But I am doubly appreciative because I know it's because you hold so sacred the cause which I represent—the preservation of the democratic way of life in America.

Government Versus Private Electric Utilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. SCHAFER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, our New Deal bureaucratic Frankenstein governmental monster has our country in its clutches and is successfully endeavoring to transform our Republic into a collective Soviet state, destroy savings, penalize success, discourage thrift, hamper legitimate private business enterprise, destroy sacred rights and liberties, and smother the vital energies of a free people, while shackling them in bonds of political and economic slavery.

Abraham Lincoln said on February 27, 1859:

Let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between right and wrong.

Mr. Speaker, Thomas Jefferson said:

Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread. * * * When all government, in little as in great things, shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will become venal and oppressive.

Abraham Lincoln also said:

The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society.

Mr. Speaker, if our Republic is to survive, we shall have to break the strangle hold of the New Deal centralized governmental bureaucracy in Washington.

Abraham Lincoln said:

I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.

We must also realize that this Government cannot endure permanently half American constitutional democracy and half New Deal socialist autocracy.

Mr. Speaker, we must get the Government out of all fields of legitimate private business endeavor. Let us end all subsidized Government competition with private business. We should unite and take a firm position opposed to Government competition in legitimate fields of private business endeavor and unfair, destructive attacks on private business by Government officials, political demogogs, and other professional agitators and racketeers. The future can hold but little hope for a permanent prosperity, security and jobs with good pay checks for the great masses of our people unless we have an expansion of profitable, private business. We must encourage and not discourage private business endeavor. If we continue to follow the New Deal policy of subsidized Government competition with private business and unfair attacks on it, the time will soon come when private business will be unable to produce jobs for our people, or the tax dollars which are necessary for the New Deal government spendthrifts.

Mr. Speaker, there is no more justification for the Government to subsidize and operate electric utilities than there is for the Government to engage in any other private industry, whether it be the production of food contained in the refrigerator run by Government-produced electricity or the production on the farm of the cotton used in the manufacture of goods washed by electricity generated and distributed by Government agencies.

If every section of the country were to expect Government-subsidized operation of activities which were of particular benefit to them, we might as well go whole hog and replace our American constitutional system of government with the Moscow form of state socialism.

Our New Deal leaders from the President down, while advancing their socialistic government in the electric business system, have vitriolically denounced and condemned the private ownership of utilities. I do not speak for the utilities, nor do I condone some of their practices. However, let us remember that when you destroy the billions of dollars invested in these utilities, you destroy the property rights of our citizens and thereby destroy the accumulations of their labor. Abraham Lincoln truthfully said:

Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable, is a positive good in the world.

Mr. Speaker, we must cease Government competition with private industry and encourage the expansion of profitable private business activities. Unfair and destructive subsidized Government competition with private industry is not alone measured by the huge losses inflicted upon innocent investors in private enterprise, but also by its withering effect upon investment throughout our entire industrial system. While proper Government regulations of business afford a degree of protection to the investor, Government competition destroys not only his investment, but his confidence in the future of free enterprise.

The New Deal socialist government experiments in the field of private business have failed to establish honest yardsticks which would demonstrate that Government operation is either more efficient or economical. I find that in the T. V. A. project our Government new dealers bought a rooster for $500, a jackass for $1,750, and a herd of milk cows for $286 a head. I do not know what $500 roosters, $1,750 jackasses, and $286 cows have to do with the production of electricity unless the administration intends to require that every rooster, jackass, and cow in the land carry an electric bell, or electric headlights and taillights. It must have been a pretty good rooster to cost the taxpayers $500. Perhaps the son of Schechter's black Minorca rooster, which killed Barney Baruch's blue

eagle. Up where I come from you do not have to pay anywhere near $1,750 for a jackass, or $286 for milk cows.

We can also purchase some pretty fine roosters for $2 apiece.

Mr. Speaker, if our Republic is to survive, we must have more sound business principles applied to the business of Government, and less Government competition with and strangulation of legitimate private business. We must encourage private business to expand to the end that confidence is restored and private business enabled to prosper and employ more of our people, and, as a result, unemployment and tax burdens will be reduced in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, if our Republic is to survive, our countrymen must rise up and stop our New Deal crackpots and spendthrifts from using the taxpayers' pocketbooks as guinea pigs in their experimental laboratory of communistic state socialism applied to the electric business and all other fields of legitimate private business endeavor.

Mr. Speaker, under permission granted by the House, I incorporate in my remarks at this point an exceptionally fine address entitled "Fabricated Yardsticks," presented to the accounting section convention at Green Lake, Wis., on September 16, 1940, by Mr. C. E. Kohlhepp, vice president of the Wisconsin Public Service Corporation, Milwaukee, Wis.:

FABRICATED YARDSTICKS

(By C. E. Kohlhepp, vice president, Wisconsin Public Service Corporation)

When "Fabricated Yardsticks" was suggested as an appropriate title for this message it seemed to me that it was a totally inadequate indictment of the phony "yardsticks" which are being used and misused with such a complete disregard of all of our American principles of justice and fair play.

A visit to Mr. Webster discloses, however, that "fabricated" describes the situation with not a little accuracy. The definition reads: "To construct by putting together standardized parts." That doesn't sound very phony but we know that the yardsticks were "constructed," not of "standardized" but rather of synthetic parts. However, let Mr. Webster finish—"to invent; to devise falsely."

I want to stop right here to say that those who constructed the yardsticks knew then, and know now, their imperfections and limitations quite well. They know the yardsticks contemplate ideal conditions present only in a few communities, freedom from much taxation, subsidized power costs (from T. V. A.) lower than most utilities can hope to approximate, average use which cannot be realized for some years, incomplete costs, and et ceteras without end. To some degree, these facts have been acknowledged by T. V. A. people. I cannot understand how they can remain mute when their figures, their "yardsticks," are so grossly misused by so many people. Many uninformed persons have drawn totally unjustified conclusions from yardstick facts. Joseph Swidler, solicitor of the T. V. A., said to the National Lawyers Guild in New York City in May 1940, that T. V. A. rates are saving the T. V. A. area $8,500,000 annually; several weeks ago a prominent candidate for the presidency said the savings are going to amount to $25,000,000 annually. When? As compared with private company rates at that time? What will the lost taxes, not only local, but State and National, amount to at that time?

I ask these questions to emphasize the point that those who continually use and misuse such figures apparently have either no conception whatever of comparative values or they are deliberately trying to mislead the public. T. V. A., Ontario Hydro, and a number of municipal plants are generally the "yardsticks" used to prove that private utility rates somewhere or everywhere are much too high. Following are some of the ignored facts relating to these "yardsticks:"

1. Actual investment is understated or is not comparable, due to multiple use, such as the T. V. A., where only 47 percent of fixed charges are allocated to power.

2. Fixed charges are understated, due to years of debt reduction resulting from compounded effect of little or no taxes and to 30 to 45 percent P. W. A. grants.

3. Return on investment (other than bonds) is completely ignored, yet such equity investment can and should earn a return.

4. If taxes are paid at all, they are only local taxes. Such public systems, whether they pay taxes or "tax equivalents" (which should be considered return on equity investment), do not pay county or State ad valorem taxes, gasoline taxes, State income taxes, Federal capital-stock tax, Federal 3-percent sales tax, or Federal income tax—and they will pay none of the new Federal excess-profits tax, which is really a war tax. The fact that they will not pay this vital defense tax dramatizes, for me at least, the unfair characteristics of such public systems.

5. Interest rates for public borrowing are substantially less than the over-all cost of capital to private companies. Such cheap money, however, means loss of income taxes to States and the Nation, and this is another fact which proponents of municipal and public ownership ignore.

6. Standard of service is frequently lower than that rendered by private utilities.

Because it proves my point so conclusively, I wish to quote, without further comment or debate about accompanying controversial viewpoints and statements, another comment made in the same speech by Solicitor Joseph C. Swidler, of the T. V. A.:

"The T. V. A. yardstick measures the lowest cost at which electricity may be brought to the consumer. It is a fair yardstick if it covers all the costs of doing business in the manner in which our business is carried on—that is, through generation principally at multipurpose projects and distribution through public and cooperative agencies."

One question: To whom is Mr. Swidler's yardstick fair?

Speaking of yardstick comparisons, Dr. Martin G. Glaeser, professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin and one-time chief power-planning engineer of T. V. A., has said:

"T. V. A. operations obviously do not lend themselves to this purpose unless corrective factors are introduced which allow for the differences in conditions. Over-all comparisons of rates, such as Representative RANKIN, of Mississippi, is fond of making, are examples of such inadmissible comparisons. In contrast with the more refined analyses, this is using the yardstick in its naive form. On the other hand, T. V. A. operations, when properly analyzed and put upon a comparable basis, can provide not one naive yardstick but many scientific yardsticks, particularly of unit costs of operation. These can be made useful instruments of regulation in the hands of unbiased and scientific practitioners."

This represents a challenge to the T. V. A. to show in detail, if they can, that their costs are lower.

From a long-term national viewpoint it is unfortunate that the T. V. A. has misused and permitted the gross misuse of its yardstick because, had the facts been faced and honestly presented, lasting good might have been substituted for the heated controversy which has by now irrevocably tarnished anything that T. V. A. may ever accomplish. For example, I believe the T. V. A. has done not only the public but the utility industry, too, a definite service in hammering away at what they call the "vicious circle of high rates and low consumption" and urging the substitution of a dynamic "reduce rates and increase volume" benevolent circle.

One of our leading and persistent misusers of the T. V. A. and other yardsticks is the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN]. Sometimes he uses T. V. A., sometimes Ontario; his latest is Tacoma. Each time he arrives at the conclusion that, of a total national electric bill of about $2,000,000,000, the American people are being overcharged from $900,000,000 to $1,000,000,000. Newspaper headlines, including some of our Wisconsin papers, convey these grossly misleading impressions to the American people. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] goes to the trouble to "compute" what the "overcharge" is in each State. Several years ago we were "overcharging" Wisconsin $25,000,000. We must be making some progress, because his latest (American Forum debate of August 18, 1940) is $17,960,000. Let's look at the gentleman's figures in relation to our actual situation in 1938, the year on which his figures are based:

Wisconsin private electric utilities, 1938

Gross revenue	$54,541,801
Operating expense and maintenance	22,964,160
Taxes	9,206,858
Depreciation	5,971,666
Total	38,142,684
Gross income	16,399,117

Thus it appears that, while Wisconsin electric utilities had available only $16,399,117 for the payment of interest and dividends, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] says we overcharged our customers $17,960,000. To put it another way, assuming that not one penny of bond interest or dividends was paid to the thousands of bondholders and stockholders, it would be necessary to reduce pay rolls by $1,560,000 before the rates could equal the gentleman's absurd yardstick. Or do I hear a suggestion that the $9,206,858 of taxes, 16.9 cents out of each dollar taken in, can be reduced?

Nationally the picture is the same. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BENDER] has pointed out, for example, that in 1938 private utilities paid out $715,000,000 for interest and dividends. On the basis of what T. V. A. pays, they would have paid $37,200,000. Thus they could have passed $677,800,000 in rate reductions on to their consumers. Private utilities paid $325,000,000, or 15.9 percent of revenue in taxes, as compared with T. V. A.'s 5 percent, a difference of $222,000,000. These two items alone amount to $900,000,000, which is almost exactly the amount the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] says the "overcharge" amounts to "on the basis of T. V. A. rates."

As a matter of fact, if the T. V. A. program and methods were used to duplicate the power facilities of the entire Nation, the total

yearly cost to the taxpayer would be so staggering as to far outweigh the so-called overcharge of $900,000,000 to $1,000,000,000.

The best evidence of the absurdity of these fabricated yardsticks is to make more comparisons with his own or similar figures. For example:

1. On the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. RANKIN'S basis of Tacoma rates, municipal systems in the United States which charged their customers $153,330,188 in 1937 should have collected only $67,943,549, and therefore overcharged them by $85,386,639, or 125.7 percent.

2. On the same basis, Wisconsin municipal systems overcharged their customers $2,403,956, or 137.3 percent, in 1937.

3. On the basis of Madison, Wis., rates (where a private company operates), municipal systems in the United States overcharged their customers $25,443,919, or 19.9 percent.

4. On the basis of Madison rates, Wisconsin municipal systems overcharged their customers $859,276, or 26.1 percent, in 1937.

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] knows, or should know, that basically it is fallacious to use the lowest rates of a subsidized and completely, or at least substantially, untaxed public system and compare them with the average rates of private systems in Wisconsin.

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] knows, or should know, that conditions vary so greatly that comparisons of rates in different States and communities must be approached with much caution. Even the Federal Power Commission says "such variations make it advisable to exercise some caution in making comparisons of rates between communities as well as between different types of service."

If electric rates in Wisconsin are too high, as compared with Tennessee or Mississippi, so are watermelons and sweetpotatoes. No doubt the people in Mississippi are "overcharged" by terrific percentages for good Wisconsin condensed milk and cheese. Conversely, Bureau of Labor statistics indicate that Wisconsin labor unions might be gouging the Wisconsin public unmercifully, as is clearly proved by the fact that common labor gets 52 cents an hour in Wisconsin against 32 cents in Mississippi.

Personally, I think Wisconsin is a pretty good State and I think I'd prefer to stay here, even though we do have to pay more for watermelons, and sweetpotatoes, and electricity, and labor—yes and taxes too—rather than join the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] in Tupelo.

The continued and persistent use by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] of his comparisons, in the face of complete proof of their inaccuracy and unfairness, reminds me a bit of a statement once made to me by a prominent legislator now a candidate for high office in this State. The gentleman made certain statements to a legislative committee which were inaccurate, to say the least. I said to the committee that they were wrong and that I strongly suspected the gentleman himself knew they were wrong. Later he "called" me on it, seriously advancing the premise that I had no right to question his veracity, that it was his privilege to make as many inaccurate statements as he wished, and my task—and only task—was to prove them wrong if I could.

Director P. G. Morehouse of the Federal Trade Commission has said "section 15 of the Wheeler-Lea Act requires the advertiser to tell not only the truth, but the whole truth when it is necessary for the protection of the public. Truth itself can be stated in a misleading and deceptive way. The law directs the Commission to take into consideration not only what is said, but what is not said." If this is the test of honesty for advertisers, is it not all the more necessary that public officials and members of our legislative bodies, who are responsible for such legislation, should meet the same test and set an example? The very foundations on which democracy rests require, it seems to me, that information will be honestly disseminated by its leaders.

We do not fear honest comparisons between the costs of privately operated and Government operated electric utilities. We do not ask that the facts be suppressed or withheld from the people. Accurate information and comparisons could not help but be beneficial to the entire electric industry, as well as the public it serves.

We do resent, however, the political claptrap which is broadcast by irresponsible or uniformed individuals, which is aimed at our industry. We resent the broadcasting of misrepresentations, half truths, unfair conclusions, and in some cases deliberate falsehoods. The release of such statements accomplishes nothing excepting to prejudice the customers of the utility industry unfairly.

I am thoroughly aware that but little of what I have said is news to a group of leading utility accountants. Don't forget, however, that accountants have to furnish about 99 percent of the material which is needed to answer propagandists. This fact emphasizes the point, doesn't it, that it is our duty as accountants to keep abreast of what is going on and continually place in proper hands those facts, those weapons, with which we can defend our splendid industry from those who would substitute destruction for sound and fair regulation. Further we must endeavor to finish defending and take the offensive, with information that can be used to aggressively and honestly sell the utility industry and so firmly establish the facts that the fabrications will be harmless.

Overseas Veterans Denounce Favoritism in Granting Military Commissions to the Roosevelt Boys

REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the recent appointment of Elliott Roosevelt, son of the President of the United States, to the rank of captaincy in the United States Air Corps Reserve has aroused the indignation of World War veterans who were members of the first American Expeditionary Force.

Certainly no group in America has a better right to condemn this act of favoritism. These boys who went "over the top" in 1917 and 1918 believe that a commission in military life is awarded on the basis of military knowledge and the ability to demonstrate leadership.

For the information of the Members of the House, and especially directed to the attention of the House Military Affairs Committee, I am inserting herewith a Western Union telegram received from a group of my World War buddies who know what it is to face enemy fire and trudge through the muck and mire of a battlefield.

These men were led by real officers, schooled in the sturdy traditions of our military service.

Is it any wonder they denounce favoritism to the son of the President of the United States?

The telegram from Johnstown, Pa., is as follows:

JOHNSTOWN, PA.

Congressman JAMES VAN ZANDT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Press reports seemed incredible which contained the information that Elliott Roosevelt had been commissioned a captain in the Army Air Corps in the department to procure things for those who will do the fighting, and just a few weeks before the new Selective Service Act becomes operative. Even as a son of President Roosevelt, he should take his chances with the average American boy who has no pull to land him an easy officer's berth.

Since the announcement of Elliott Roosevelt's elevation, without previous service, to the grade of captain, is has been printed in the country's newspapers that James Roosevelt for some time has held a captain's commission in the Marine Corps. How did he get it? Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., another son, has been commissioned an ensign in the Navy. He worked on the Harvard R. O. T. C. team for his Navy honors.

Twenty-three years ago another young man had an opportunity to serve his country. On the day war was declared against Germany by the United States this young man and his two brothers took themselves to the nearest Army recruiting station and signed up for "the duration." One of these American boys entered officers' training camp, earned his commission as lieutenant, and was shipped to France. He was quickly promoted to an artillery captain as the result of splendid service in actual combat.

This young man, Wendell Willkie asked no favors. In fact, he had no one to go to for political preferment to smooth his way in Army service. He enlisted in the American way, served in a combat unit in the American way, and earned promotion in the American way—under fire.

The undersigned ex-service men protest that the commissioning of the Roosevelt sons is unfair to the millions of American ex-soldiers who served in the country's armed forces in past wars and to the young American manhood now awaiting their country's call to duty on October 16, 1940.

And furthermore, according to United States Army officers, the appointment of Elliot Roosevelt as captain in the air service is a violation of Army regulations, because the armed forces today are operating under peacetime regulations as far as the appointment of Reserve officers is concerned, and there is no regulation as far as is known governing the appointment of a man from civilian life to a commission in the United States Army.

And furthermore, the only possible way for a man to be named from civilian life to an Army commission is as follows:

1. To be a graduate of the United States Military Academy or the United States Naval Academy.

2. To be a graduate of Reserve Officers' Training Corps.

3. A graduate of the blue course of the Citizens' Military Training Corps.

4. A warrant officer or enlisted man of the United States Army.

5. The age limit for second lieutenant, according to peacetime Army regulations, is 30 to 35 years, depending on a man's special requirements as to branches of service affected, and no captain is appointed under these peacetime regulations under 37 years of age. The age requirement is 37 to 42 years of age.

We therefore petition the Military Affairs Committee of the United States House of Representatives and the same committee of the United States Senate to begin immediately an investigation of the granting of commissions to Elliott Roosevelt and James Roosevelt, respectively, in the Army Air Corps and in the Marine Corps.

Charles F. Gibbs, 538 Hershberger Road, Johnstown, Pa., Company A, One Hundred and Twelfth Infantry, Twenty-eighth Division; Charles E. Fisher, 1803 Sunshine Avenue, Johnstown, Pa., Company A, Ninety-fifth Transport Corps; Don T. Davis, 413 Grove Street, Johnstown, Pa., Company F, One Hundred and Tenth Infantry, Twenty-eighth Division; Glee Craig, 607 Pine Street, Johnstown, Pa., Company F, One Hundred and Tenth Infantry, Twenty-eighth Division; Hugh M. Mabon, 819 Napoleon Street, Johnstown, Pa., Company B, One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Machine Gun Regiment, Thirty-seventh Division; J. Ross Guyer, 234 Goucher Street, Johnstown, Pa., Medical Detachment, B. and C. School, Camp Lee; Andrew Z. Klonger, 131 Peter Street, Johnstown, Pa., Six Hundred and Thirty-fourth Aero Squadron; Bert Makin, 341 Decker Avenue, Johnstown, Pa., Forty-fourth Balloon Company; Victor C. Campbell, 305 Pine Street, Johnstown, Pa., Ambulance Company No. 2, First Division; C. H. Wilson, 139 Strayer Street, Johnstown, Pa., United States Navy; A. W. Barrott, 195 Hammer Avenue, Johnstown, Pa., Int. Rep., Camp Lee, Va.; Patrick F. Brady, 214 Main Street, Johnstown, Pa., Three Hundred and Sixteenth Division, graves' registration; Fritz Thomas, 339 Walnut Street, Johnstown, Pa., Medical Headquarters, Eightieth Division; A. Breidenbach, 520 Fronheiser Street, Johnstown, Pa., Headquarters Company, Thirty-seventh Infantry.

Star of Bethlehem or Star of Communism and Atheism for United States?—Religious Persecution Lurks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED L. CRAWFORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, positive signs that millions of conscientious church members in the United States may soon feel the lash of the despot's rawhide whip and be forced to bow at the altar of the iron-fisted bureaucrat instead of worshiping at the altar of Jesus Christ are looming clearer and clearer as each step adds momentum to the next.

Four hundred years have passed since the translator of the English Bible was burned at the stake, a martyr to the cause of Christianity. Tens of thousands of noble men and women have bled at the stake, suffered torture, died on the gallows, or starved in prison, because they struggled against the forces of evil rulers in their fight for religious freedom.

Eight years of bloody struggle and bitter hardships preceded the establishment of a constitution in the United States providing freedom of religious worship, freedom of the press, and freedom of speech.

Today under the New Deal influence the freedom of religion is being hampered and glowing instances appear where sacred principles of our Constitution and the plainly spoken words of this Nation's founders are trampled underfoot by those in administrative positions in the Federal Government.

Thank God for fearless churchmen in America today who are utilizing the facilities of free speech and free press to warn the Nation against the threatening dangers growing from a scrapped Constitution, while there is still some recognition by those in power of individual rights.

Let us not be blinded by the activity of a war-minded administration in Washington to the extent that we will stumble into the communistic and atheistic trap of ungodliness.

Prominent churchmen have testified before the Senate committee at hearings on the proposed amendment to the Constitution to prevent future Presidents of the United States holding office more than one term of 6 years. These leaders have emphatically voiced their opposition to three terms of office for any President, expressing fear of totalitarianism under which the religious freedom of Christians has constantly faced serious set-backs, if not complete national destruction as in Russia, Germany, and Japan.

The churches of the United States have caused the New Deal administration in Washington considerable worry because many of the policies and actions of the bureaucrats have been resented by members of all sects. Opposition of the churches to the Supreme Court packing attempt is a well-known example of one of the occasions when churchmen have been at odds with the new dealers.

A number of glaring instances have happened recently which are arousing religious groups to question the motives and purposes of the New Deal. Do the new dealers cherish the thought of curtailed religious activity? Would they substitute atheism for the religions of our citizens? Would they propose we worship false gods? These are some of the questions the church people of our Nation are asking themselves as they ponder the manner in which they will cast their ballot a few weeks hence.

ADMINISTRATOR BANS LORD'S PRAYER

While public tax money has been spent on projects fostering communistic and atheistic ideals, God-loving women have been forbidden to take a few seconds at the beginning of each day on W. P. A. project to repeat the Lord's Prayer. We have reached a point where we pay people to paint murals portraying un-Christian ideals while administrators paid from the same treasury tell another group of relief workers that the Lord's Prayer and Government work do not go together.

This brazen thrust against Christian women occurred down in New Bern, N. C., where I have obtained statements showing that Mrs. I. P. Hodges, district director of the W. P. A., served notice on a group of women at New Bern that the Lord's Prayer could not or would not be allowed at the beginning of the daily operation of their sewing project. Rev. W. B. Everett, pastor of St. Mary's Baptist Church, to which these women belonged, at New Bern, attempted to intercede but bureaucracy overrode his protests, and the women had to discontinue their efforts at a united prayer. Time consumed on repeating the Lord's Prayer is about 30 seconds.

It is well known that the Indians have openly charged that on several occasions the New Deal has refused them their rights to freely practice Christianity which Christian missionaries in the past have taught them. In fact, one southern tribe has openly charged that atheism has been propounded to them through New Deal agents' teachings in the federally operated Indian schools. Another tribe made similar charges in Oklahoma, claiming that an order issued by the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior, which is lorded over by Secretary Harold Ickes, refused missionaries permission to continue their religious instructions to members of their tribe.

SOCIAL SECURITY WITH MUCH SOCIAL

Strip-tease and exciting parties may be the menu of some Social Security workers, but R. M. Barnett, director of personnel, makes religion a test for at least one fully qualified person on the civil-service register who has been turned down because of her religious belief.

It will be recalled an investigation was recently made by a Member of this House of a group of Social Security workers reported to have promoted on Government time a party at which some young ladies daringly went to extremes in shedding wearing apparel.

On the other hand, a young woman from the State of Michigan, certified to Social Security by the Civil Service Commission, was rejected because she desired to partake of church services—not on Government time but using either her annual leave or leave without pay.

This is the agency administered by Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, past national commander of the American Legion. The woman turned down, incidentally, is the wife of a disabled veteran of the World War, her husband having served his country overseas for 2 years in the last great conflict. Thus bureaucracy scores again over the church and the veteran but is one ahead on obscene parties.

Many Catholics resented the remark attributed in the press to the Chief Executive in talking to Mr. Farley to the effect that Mr. Farley could not be elected because of his religion, even if he could get the nomination of the Democratic Party. It will be recalled Mr. Farley was one of the leading contenders for the nomination before the Kelly-Nash, Hague-Hopkins machine got rolling for a third term. Many people feel the remark credited to the President was undiplomatic and would have tended to stir up religious hatred to purge Farley.

In Tampa, Fla., W. J. Davis, of the border patrol of the Immigration Service, joined a church, and because he wanted to arrange his working schedule so he could participate in worship 1 day a week he was released.

This in spite of the fact Deputy Commissioner I. F. Wixom wrote a letter stating:

> There appears to be no reason why this officer's duty schedule cannot be so fixed as to coincide with his wishes.

In this letter the Deputy Commissioner pointed out that this was particularly possible since the time wanted off by Mr. Baker would be likely to fit in conveniently with the program of other men. But religion got another set-back and religion is made a test of a man's working qualifications.

One man and one woman have recently been forced to resign from the Frankford Arsenal at Philadelphia under similar circumstances, and, as an example of the military's iron rule, I have twice in 3 weeks addressed the commandant letters of inquiry relative to them and am unable to even get an acknowledgment of my letters from him.

"NO RELIGIOUS TEST," SAID JEFFERSON

These Federal administrators have brazenly ignored the sixth article of the United States Constitution, which says:

> No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Likewise, they ignore the statement of Jefferson, who said:

> Our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions more than our opinions on physics or geometry; that therefore the proscribing of any citizen as unworthy of public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to the offices of trust and emolument, unless he professes or renounces this or that religious opinion, is depriving him unjustly of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right.

The President's action in connection with Thanksgiving, the result of which is that these United States no longer have a uniform day of Thanksgiving is also resented by many religious groups.

Adding another chapter to his record of precedent breaking, the President shattered the tradition of famous heads of our Nation in order to establish a new day to suit his own ideas. The result is all too well known—the Nation is confused and divided on a day on which Almighty God might be thanked for the blessings of the season.

COMMUNISTS HAVE FREE HAND

Coupled with these incidents is the ease with which atheist-Communists have been able to penetrate and freely act on all relief projects up until Congress recently forced through an amendment to New Deal legislation requiring relief bureaus to dismiss Communists from their rolls. Communists on relief projects have been permitted to inject their atheist-Communist ideas into art, books, in schools, and plays; and they have been handsomely compensated for so doing through the New Deal by American taxpayers. They have been paid fabulous sums of money to inject un-Christian ideals into murals which have supposedly decorated, but which have actually desecrated, many of our Federal buildings. Such murals were painted for the Federal post-office building in Washington, D. C., and for post offices elsewhere, as well as for the Department of the Interior in Washington, air-field depots, and other public buildings.

Recognition of atheist Russia by the New Deal in 1933 also aroused the ire of American church people against the New Deal, while it received the endorsement of many who held religion in contempt. The increasing number of divorces among New Deal leaders and their families has also heightened the feeling of anxiety among the religious people. The repeal of the Volstead Act, regardless of the present regulations for the selling of liquors, quite definitely led other religionists to question the morality of things New Deal.

In the early days of the New Deal administration, many whose faith in the Almighty was in doubt, found profitable berths in the Washington political field. As a single example, without going into many individual cases and personalities, one of the higher-ups in the Resettlement Administration resigned his position as president of an extremely radical college in the Middle West to accept the high position in the New Deal in Washington. According to evidence submitted to a State legislative investigating committee, free love and atheism was encouraged and practiced freely in the college of which he was head and it developed that the New Deal had made grants of funds to it. As another example, a former Communist colony in a northern State was taken over at a profit to the coowners, with New Deal funds, and it continued to exist insofar as the inhabitants and practices were concerned. It has also been charged that in towns built under the New Deal program and taxpayers' funds, there are no church buildings and religion is not encouraged. On the other hand, the new dealers have seen that recreation centers for materialistic interests have been adequately provided.

Many have criticized the evident lack of religious leanings and the lack of churchgoing by many of the administration leaders, charging that they are very poor examples for the people.

In the New Deal "workers' educational field" it has been noticeable to church people that in the Lists of Sources of Material for Teachers, issued by a New Deal bureau in Washington, among the lists is material available from the Communist Party and Socialist Party headquarters, as well as other atheistic sources, and that only two religious sources for material were given. However, these religious references have to do with economic rather than religious subjects. Charges have been made that hatred has been taught in W. P. A. camps and schools and that it has cropped out on W. P. A. writing, art, and educational projects.

Various widely circulated newspapers have called direct attention to instances in which they have found "contempt for religion" being taught on W. P. A. projects. "Religion and constitutional government alike were targets of satire, sneers, and denunciation through the 4-week course offered by the Institute for Teacher Training in the Workers Field"—staged in the east library branch of the Pittsburgh Young Men's Christian Association in September and October—according to one accredited newspaper writer who attended. Another says:

> Girls were taught hatred of America in class at Georgia W. P. A. camp. Russia was cited as a model nation.

Quite a wave of resentment swept over the country when the Department of Agriculture, under the leadership of Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, now the New Deal candidate for Vice President of the United States, issued orders to burn farm crops and livestock. It was considered extremely irreligious to destroy food and other products when people were hungry and when duststorms and floods were destroying crops. The religious people recalled many commands which

are to be found in the Bible, such as 7 fat years and 7 lean years, and the advice to store and not destroy the God-given harvests. It was this Nation-wide resentment which forced the New Deal to discontinue these practices. Today we are witnessing the foolishness of such New Deal destruction through the importing of sugar, cattle, including canned Argentine beef, potatoes, cheese, oats, eggs, dried beans, and so forth, and other products from foreign nations.

Original bills before Congress during the New Deal administration have either intentionally or inadvertently overlooked the church and religious sects. Amendments to these bills have been required to save the church and organized religions from special taxation and New Deal rules or regimentation.

Church people are faced with either revival or no survival. They must awaken to the challenge hurled at them and must move as a body of Christian soldiers against those forces tending to undermine Christian America.

Wendell Willkie's Position on War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARL C. MICHENER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

TRANSCRIPT OF A BROADCAST OVER WRC

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the permission granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the transcript of a broadcast over WRC, Washington, D. C., Friday, October 4, 1940, at 7:05 a. m. My understanding is that this broadcast was electrically transcribed and, as heard over the radio, was as follows:

ANNOUNCER. You are about to hear Mr. Willkie himself answering vital questions of the day.

WOMAN. Mr. Willkie, if you are elected President, will you take us into the European war? What is your stand, Mr. Willkie?

Mr. WILLKIE. If I am elected President of the United States, I shall never lead this country into any European war. As a matter of fact, I shall never lead the country into any kind of a war unless the people through their Representatives in Congress, insist upon it, and I shall also refrain from indulging in extravagant attacks upon other nations. The best way for us to keep out of this war is by rebuilding our domestic economy and by the building of a great national defense. And by bringing our people into one united, common purpose to develop our own country and to keep out of other people's troubles.

WOMAN. You are right, Mr. Willkie, and millions of mothers agree with that stand. We want peace, and that is why we are going to vote for you.

Roosevelt's "Successful Labors"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HINSHAW

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE LOS ANGELES TIMES

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Los Angeles Times of Sunday, September 29:

[From the Los Angeles Times of September 29, 1940]

ROOSEVELT'S "SUCCESSFUL LABORS"

In the language of the Democratic Party platform adopted at Chicago on July 17, paraphrased on major points by Vice Presidential Candidate Henry A. Wallace in his Hollywood Bowl speech last night, the Roosevelt administration seeks a third term on its record of having "labored successfully during the past 7 years to strengthen democracy by increasing our economic efficiency and improving the welfare of the people."

Now, when the New Deal, as represented by its platform and by Mr. Roosevelt's chief spokesman and running mate, says it has labored successfully for 7 years to improve economic efficiency and popular welfare, it can only mean that in that period it has improved all or at least a large part of the factors thereto contributing over what they were during a comparable period before its labors began.

Taking, wherever available, the figures of the administration's own Government departments and, where not available, the next best authority, what does such a comparison show?

For national income, the Department of Commerce figures show a per-year average for the 7 pre-New Deal years 1926 to 1932, inclusive, of $69,062,000,000; for the 7 New Deal years of 1933 to 1939, inclusive, $59,783,000,000, a drop of 13 percent.

Unemployment (American Federation of Labor), 1926–32 per-year average, 4,820,000; 1933–39, 10,617,000. Increase, 120 percent. This was one subject which Mr. Wallace, in his eulogy of administration benefits to workingmen, failed to mention.

Federal taxation (United States Treasury), 1926–32 per-year average, $3,647,000,000; 1932–39, $4,331,000,000. Increase, 19 percent. (This is direct taxation only; indirect has risen to a point where the total of Government revenue from taxes has more than doubled.)

Cost of Federal Government (United States Treasury), per-year average, 1926–32, $3,944,000,000; 1933–39, $7,570,000,000. Increase, 92 percent.

Seven-year rise in public debt (United States Treasury) 1926–32, $1,029,000,000; 1933–39, $20,985,000,000. Rise in per capita public debt, 1926–32, $21.98; 1933–39, $152.41.

Wages and salaries paid, per-year average (Department of Commerce) 1926–32, $46,700,000,000; 1933–39, $37,300,000,000. Decrease, 20 percent.

Interest received by individuals (Department of Commerce) per year average, 1926–32, $5,200,000,000; 1933–39, $3,740,000,000. Decrease, 23 percent. Dividends received by individuals (same authority) $4,860,000,000; 1933–39, $3,740,000,000. Decrease, 23 percent.

Cash farm income (Department of Agriculture) per-year average, 1926–32, $9,043,000,000, which includes no Federal benefits, since none were paid; 1933–39, $7,697,000,000, which includes Federal benefits paid of $442,000,000. Exclusive of these benefits, average per year farm income dropped 20 percent in the second period as compared with the first; counting the benefits in, the drop was 15 percent. Though he has been Secretary of Agriculture throughout the Roosevelt regime, Mr. Wallace's account of its "improvement" of farm conditions was confined to generalities. Income he did not mention.

Value of agricultural exports (Department of Agriculture) per year average, 1926–32, $1,420,000,000; 1933–39, $738,000,000. Decrease, 48 percent.

Commodity price index (1926 equals 100), 1926–32, 87.30; 1933–39, 77.7. Decrease, 11 percent. (Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor.)

Weekly pay roll of factories (Bureau of Labor Statistics) 1926–32 average, $169,252,000; 1933–39, $148,334,000. Decrease, 12 percent. Mr. Wallace said the workers have been better off.

Number of strikes (Bureau of Labor Statistics), per year average, 1926–32, 795; 1933–39, 2,505; increase, 215 percent. Number of workers affected by strikes, per year average, 1926–1932, 301,600; 1933–39, 1,176,500; increase, 291 percent. Mr. Wallace said the Roosevelt "recovery" has been the only one in our history not accompanied by an increase in strikes. He said the Wagner Act has reduced the number of strikes and cited a drop between 1937 and 1938 to prove it. What he did not mention was that the number of strikes under the New Deal increased in every prior year and that, immediately after the Wagner Act was upheld on April 12, 1937, such an unprecedented wave of strikes followed as to make that year the worst in our industrial history. There were 4,740 strikes in 1937, involving 1,860,621 workers and causing a loss of 28,424,857 man-days of work. The number of strikes was 400 percent greater than in 1929 and 100 percent even above 1936. Why didn't Mr. Wallace tell the truth?

Index of industrial production (Federal Reserve System), per-year average, 1926–32, 98; 1933–39, 93. Decrease, 5 percent. (In this the 1923–25 average is taken as 100.)

Average of 60 bond prices (Standard Statistics), 1926–32, 93.8; 1933–39, 85.4. Decrease, 9 percent. Average of 420 stock prices, 1926–32, 122; 1933–39, 87. Decrease, 29 percent. Per year average of new capital issues, 1926–32, $3,520,000,000; 1933–39, $629,000,000. Decrease, 82 percent. Mr. Wallace said that under the rule of the Securities Exchange Commission, investors have been better off.

Dollar value of all exports, per year average, 1926–32, $3,990,000,000; 1933–39, $2,597,000,000; decrease, 35 percent. Imports, 1926–32, $3,369,000,000; 1933–39, $2,134,000,000; decrease, 37 percent.

Dividends paid by corporations (Bureau of Internal Revenue), per year average for last 5 pre-New Deal years (7-year averages unavailable), $7,277,000,000; for first 5 New Deal years, $5,961,000,000. Decrease, 18 percent.

Index of residential building (Federal Reserve System, 1923–25 average equals 100) per-year average, 1926–32, 79; 1933–39, 32. Decrease, 60 percent.

Private construction (Department of Commerce), per-year average, 1926–32, $6,410,000,000; 1933–39, $2,322,000,000. Decrease, 64 percent.

Department-store sales (Department of Commerce), per-year average, 1926–32, $3,931,494,000; 1933–39, $3,256,389,000. Decrease, 17 percent.

Revenue freight carloadings (Association of American Railroads), per-year average, 1926–32, 45,766,000; 1933–39, 32,844,000. Decrease, 28 percent.

In other words, for the average worker the "successful labors to improve his welfare" of the Roosevelt administration have cut his pay check 20 percent and more than doubled the number of him without jobs. The taxpayer (Federal only) has had his burden raised by half and his share of the national debt more than doubled. The investor has had his income from dividends cut nearly a fourth, the value of his stocks has dropped nearly a third, and his investment outlets almost twice. The farmer has lost half of his foreign markets and his cash income from sales of produce is down 20 percent. The number of strikes has increased more than 200 percent and the number of workers affected nearly 300. The railroads have lost more than a quarter of their revenue freight, the home-builder 60 percent of his business, the manufacturer and merchant from 17 to 37 percent in trade. Of the enumerated indices of "economic efficiency and welfare of the people," the boasted improvement is not only nonexistent but every one of them shows a disastrous loss. Will Mr. Wallace or somebody explain?

Loyalty Crusade Through Music for 1940–41

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. SCHAFER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

ARTICLE BY HELEN HARRISON MILLS

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted by the House, I incorporate in the RECORD an exceptionally fine recommendation for a loyalty crusade through music for 1940–41 by Mrs. Helen Harrison Mills, Peoria, Ill., chairman of the International Music Relations Committee of the National Federation of Music Clubs. This recommendation was unanimously approved by the National Board of the National Federation of Music Clubs at its meeting in Milwaukee, Wis., on September 11, 1940.

The article follows:

Your chairman of International Music Relations recommends a new movement for the season 1940–41 as follows:

An inspiring opportunity to be of service to our country in this time of threatened danger from within as well as from without and to help preserve the worth-while things which civilization has given to the human race, awaits every club and individual member of our federation, through the art of music, through folk melodies.

Folk songs and dances have been the means by which the people themselves, in all countries and for generations, have expressed their spiritual longings and their hope of better things. It is this music of the native folk which has molded their thoughts and actions and has undoubtedly given them the vision and courage to break bonds of oppression and seek freedom—in America. And so it is this same folk music which, in new surroundings and among new friends, should arouse in the heart of every foreigner a full appreciation of the blessings they enjoy in our land and a wholehearted allegiance to the American flag above them.

Therefore we recommend that every club and every member of our federation be urged to enter vigorously into what may be called a loyalty crusade—a plan to bring to foreign residents, and to Americans as well, a keener realization of the immeasurable benefits of the American way of life and a desire to demonstrate their gratitude by complete fidelity to American ideals and principles.

The proposed plan is as follows:

1. That each club be asked to give as many folk-music programs or festivals as possible, embracing the music of various nations, with particular emphasis on the story which motivated each tune; its evident influence on migration; the advantages of life in America and the loyalty which should ensue. Always our national anthem, The Star-Spangled Banner, and other American national songs should be featured, together with the American flag. Also, the clubs should—

(a) Open the doors of such programs to foreign residents; secure their cooperation; enlist their talent.

(b) Especially feature brief testimonials or tributes from foreign residents, depicting their own appreciation of what living in this country means to them.

(c) Adopt the following "loyalty collect" (culled from utterances by Daniel Webster), have all members learn it and repeat it in unison at folk and all club programs and meetings, and print it upon programs and club literature:

"I shall know but one country—America.

"I pledge to it my utter loyalty.

"The ends I aim at shall be for my country, my God, and truth."

(d) The loyalty-through-music idea should be carried into the community, with public, civic, social, church, and school groups participating in the folk-music plan and its inferences and its collect.

2. Latin America: At least one program of Latin American music should be given by each club, including a study of such of the native airs as are available, and with direct exchanges of programs between groups of the North and South as soon as this may be effected. This is a most significant field of endeavor. Musical intercourse between the pan-American countries—learning to know each other better culturally—means assisting the Government to solidify the Western Hemisphere and to create that mutual understanding, faith, and fidelity which are so vital to the common welfare of all nations this side of the Atlantic.

Note: Lists of Latin American music available for performance, and of the folk music of many lands can be had upon request from the national chairman.

3. Adequate publicity by the clubs in their own localities should supplement federation publicity in this entire plant. Constantly keeping before each community the allegiance that is due our country from every inhabitant should make that allegiance 100-percent perfect.

A loyalty crusade of this kind, carried on earnestly and with singleness of purpose by our membership from coast to coast, cannot fail to build a firmer unity and security. In the face of serious menace to our democracy no one will wish to sit idle and complacent. We believe our members will welcome such an opportunity to do their bit of personal service at this critical time to help safeguard American freedom and traditions.

Submitted by,

HELEN HARRISON MILLS.

Japanese Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE WASHINGTON EVENING STAR

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Washington Evening Star of September 30, entitled "Contend United States Must Stop Japanese."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of September 30, 1940]

CONTEND UNITED STATES MUST STOP JAPANESE—CORRESPONDENTS SUGGEST MEANS OF MEETING THREAT IN FAR EAST

To the EDITOR OF THE STAR:

Germany dominates the continent of Europe, possesses a military machine unrivaled in the history of the world, and has given the clearest indications of an intention to use that machine for the purpose of becoming dominant throughout the world. Japan, nourished by imports of war materials from the United States and sustained by the proceeds of exports to the United States, is on the point of establishing herself as the dominant power in the Far East and is developing all her energies to that purpose. Japan has joined forces with Germany and Italy with a view of pushing military conquest to its uttermost limits and extending economic domination to those regions where military conquest may be impracticable. There are two major obstacles that Japan must overcome before she can pursue her designs and become an effective partner of the Axis Powers: (1) She must win the Chinese war, where her energies are being dissipated in the conquest of 400,000,000 people, eager and able to fight but lacking the supplies and munitions necessary to carry on much longer an effective war; (2) she must acquire undisputed naval dominance in the South Pacific.

If Japan is successful in overcoming these obstacles, the course of events is marked with substantial certainty:

(a) Japan would seize and absorb Indo-China, Siam, and the Dutch East Indies.

(b) With these possessions consolidated in Japanese hands, there would be no further effective obstacle to the conquest of all British possessions in the Far East, including Australia.

(c) The most that the British could hope for as a result of the present war would be the successful defense of their island against German invasion—a defense which would be rendered even more precarious by the fact that Germany had acquired the Japanese alliance.

(d) With the Axis Powers dominating Europe and Japan dominating the East, economic control of South America by these three would be a probability, and history has shown that economic domination merges by imperceptible degrees into political domination.

In a world where the foregoing events had taken place the position of the United States would not be an enviable one. In the first place, there would be a constant necessity of maintaining a military and naval establishment of wartime proportions, with the attendant disrupting of our peacetime pursuits, dissipation of our national income in armaments and waste of the millions of valuable years in the lives of our young men in military service. Second, our foreign trade would be substantially eliminated, a condition which could not fail to affect, directly or indirectly, every person living in this country. Thirdly, the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine would become an impossibility due to the extent of the pressure that could be exerted upon South America and the extent of our preoccupation with our own defense.

The conditions precedent to the success of Japan in her designs and in her usefulness to the Axis Powers are the conquest of China and naval dominance in the South Pacific. We can prevent both of these conditions from being fulfilled, but this can be done only by an immediate, vigorous taking of the initiative. The steps that must be taken to accomplish this result are the following:

(a) We must deprive Japan of raw materials which she must have to wage effective war. The embargo on aviation gasoline and scrap are steps in the right direction. They should be followed by embargoes on pig iron, copper, oil, gasoline, motor vehicles, and machinery, all of which can now be freely shipped to Japan. Moreover, there should be an embargo on imports from Japan, for without exporting to this country Japan cannot acquire the credits necessary to the acquisition of materials she must buy.

(b) We must give all possible aid to China. This means granting substantially unlimited credits to the Chiang Kai-Shek government. In meeting the Japanese Axis menace it is far better that we provide, gratis if necessary, the munitions to enable the Chinese to fight than that, sooner or later, we sacrifice not only our munitions but also the lives of our young men. The Burma Road is available to transport all supplies the Chinese could purchase. English cooperation in reopening this road is a foregone conclusion since Japan joined the axis.

(c) We should arrange with Great Britain to share or assume control of the Singapore naval base and other British bases in the East, so far as this is practicable from the point of view of sound naval strategy. The United States Navy is now superior to that of the Japanese. This condition may not long continue, for it is probable that there are Japanese ships under construction adequate in numbers, tonnage, and modernity to tip the balance against us. With the United States Navy based at Singapore, Japanese conquest of the East Indies from distant bases would be a practical impossibility.

Warren A. Seavey, Barton W. Leach, Livingston Hall, Eldon R. James, Edward Thurston, James A. McLaughlin, A. James Casner, Philip W. Thayer, E. Merrick Dodd, George K. Gardner, James M. Landis.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., *September 27.*

Third Presidential Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT BY ARCHBISHOP JOSEPH SCHREMBS

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, for the thoughtful consideration of all patriotic citizens, the judgment of a great church leader is herewith submitted. I ask unanimous consent that there may be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from a letter addressed to me by Archbishop Joseph Schrembs, of Cleveland.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIOCESE OF CLEVELAND,
OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP,
Cleveland, Ohio, September 5, 1940.

Even though the Democratic Party in convention assembled nominated President Roosevelt for a third term—and I repeat that I have the highest personal regard for President Roosevelt—I feel deeply that two terms of 4 years each should constitute the limit of tenure of office. I cannot bring myself to believe that any crisis would arise that would warrant a deviation from the established practice that goes back unbroken to our first President, George Washington, nor can I bring myself to believe that our country at any time has been so bereft of competent statesmen and leaders of thought that we are compelled to admit that there is only one man fitted to continue in the Presidency of the United States.

Death has been a factor in the history of our Presidents while in office. We have mourned them as great men and treasured their memory, yet the Government went on with a new President.

JOSEPH SCHREMBS,
Archbishop-Bishop of Cleveland.

Fair Enough

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

ARTICLE BY WESTBROOK PEGLER

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Westbrook Pegler:

FAIR ENOUGH

(By Westbrook Pegler)

NEW YORK.—The effects of the trade of destroyers with Britain and of the military protectorate over Canada may be desirable, but the manner of putting across these deals was so shysteresque that only a nation already reconciled to cunning and mocking dishonesty would accept them without protest. There will be no protest worth President Roosevelt's notice, because the people long ago wearily abandoned principle and surrendered to the what-the-hell philosophy, which holds that any crookedness short of downright criminality is all right if it is clever and produces results.

This attitude of resignation is the result of constant attacks on the morals of the country—first on one front, then on another—ranging in magnitude from a petty but scandalous deal in faked philatelic rarities to the advantage of a few individuals who knew very well what they were doing, to a plain, defiant, violation of law and the Constitution in which the Attorney General of the United States delivered a leering insult to truth.

It will be noticed that most of the comment on the destroyer trade recognizes the dishonesty of the transaction but accepts the results and justifies it on the ground of necessity.

The spirit of the trade was the spirit of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin and, incidentally, of the New Deal, and worse luck, the prevailing spirit of the citizens of the United States.

Wendell Willkie's puny protests will be laughed off by a people who has lost their respect for honest dealing and all but repudiated Congress as a branch of the Government. Not only is Willkie making no energetic campaign as yet, but the President, with the advantage of the initiative and his reckless effrontery, is smothering him with the dust of exciting actions.

It is pathetic that the candidate of the only party of opposition can be brushed off with a raucous taunt about his street address and that his little plea for the Constitution should be derided as the whine of a confused and outclassed challenger, but that is how it is, and we are well on our way.

The crookedness to which the American character has adjusted itself in the years since 1932 has been exemplified no more shockingly than in the Chicago convention of the Social Democrats, in which the Kelly and Hague mobs of civic corruptioneers collaborated with the sanctimonious fakers detailed by the President to run the debauch.

This alliance showed up the cynicism of the New Deal bosses and was thoroughly exposed at the time, but the people took it with a grin and went looking for reasons to suspect Willkie.

This acceptance marks a great change since 1932 and 1933 when popular indignation ran high, as the lynching stories used to say,

against the cheats and burglars of finance. Up to that time the Americans still had the will and the morals to resent crookedness, but steady pressure since then has reduced them to a state of acquiescence.

The appointment of a member of a gang of masked, night-riding terrorists to the Supreme Court was an important test in the campaign to corrupt the people, and since then the going has been fairly easy.

The dealings of Jimmy and Elliott Roosevelt, the exploitation of office for financial gain, the amazing, bold program of petty larceny nepotism in Washington, the corruption of the ballot by bribery with taxes and borrowed money, the bland repudiation of every promise on which the New Deal was first elected, and the swelling arrogance of the embittered failures named to power in Washington all have combined to soften up the American people for the knockout. Given another mandate in November, the New Deal really will go to town, and the Constitution will be rewritten into "pig" Latin and double talk.

Wendell L. Willkie and the Public Power Question

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. LISTER HILL, OF ALABAMA

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, there is much discussion today about the position of Mr. Wendell Willkie, as the Republican nominee, on the public power question. The Alabama Power Co., which serves the people of Alabama, is a subsidiary of the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation, of which Mr. Willkie was the president until his acceptance of the Republican nomination.

Mr. Thomas W. Martin is the president of the Alabama Power Co., but of course Mr. Willkie, as the president of the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation, the holding company which held the Alabama Power Co., was the supreme head of the Alabama Power Co., and was responsible for its policies and its practices.

In that connection I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix an address which I delivered on the occasion of the throwing of the switch bringing T. V. A. electric current to Bessemer, Ala., on December 15 last.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

T. V. A. ELECTRIC CURRENT FOR BESSEMER

I rejoice to be with you on this historic occasion. As I stand here my mind goes back to that day in March 1933 when the then new President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Senator George W. Norris, of Nebraska, Congressman John J. McSwain, of South Carolina, the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, and I met in the President's office at the White House and discussed the dream of Senator NORRIS for the development of the Tennessee River and the Tennessee Valley—a dream for the realization of which Senator NORRIS had so long fought. As a result of the conference, Senator NORRIS introduced in the Senate and I introduced in the House the legislation which brought into being the Tennessee Valley Authority.

We are mindful at this hour of the many attempts of the power companies of the country to destroy the T. V. A. and their many attacks upon the T. V. A. We are mindful of the efforts of these power companies to prevent the P. W. A. from making loans to municipalities for the construction of municipal power distribution systems.

Today as we throw the switch that brings T. V. A. power to Bessemer at T. V. A. rates we celebrate one more triumph that has come to Alabama as a result of the creation of the T. V. A. This triumph has not come without great struggle and devoted efforts on the part of the people of Bessemer. We recall the long, detailed negotiations with the T. V. A. and P. W. A. continuing until just about 30 days ago. In these negotiations there were time after time seemingly impossible difficulties as problem after problem arose that had to be met.

Your patience and devoted cooperation throughout the entire period of the negotiations strengthened and fortified those of us who were fighting side by side with you. We recall the bitter and relentless fight waged by the Birmingham Electric Co. and the Alabama Power Co. to prevent Bessemer and its people from having the benefits and the blessings of T. V. A. power. We know of the efforts of these companies before the Alabama Public Works Board to deny Bessemer its right to secure P. W. A. funds and to build its own municipal distribution system. We know of the efforts of these companies to prevent Bessemer and her associate, Tarrant City, from constructing the high-powered transmission line necessary to bring the T. V. A. power to them. We know the long and expensive litigation that Bessemer was put to by these companies to secure the necessary rights-of-way for the high-powered transmission line. We recall that there were five different injunction suits filed in courts by these companies in their determined and desperate efforts to keep Bessemer from getting T. V. A. power and from owning her own municipal distribution system. Every possible legal device, the dissemination of all kinds of propaganda, methods of every description, every means of every sort, were resorted to by these companies to defeat the great aims and purposes of Bessemer. For year after year, for 6 long years the bitter warfare continued. We contemplate with pride and feelings of deepest appreciation the early pioneers who hewed their path through the primeval forest, drove their white-topped wagons across the rough prairies, and through the defiles of the hostile mountains, fought wild man and wild beast, and gave us this Nation. Today we applaud and celebrate the people of Bessemer, who, in spite of all the sacrifices, the disappointments, and heart-breaking delays, fought on and with the courage, the determination, the heroism, and the vision of the early pioneers led their fair city into the richness of a new day.

For a quarter of a century private electric utilities have exacted and collected from the people what amounts perhaps to the heaviest tax burden Alabama homes and industries have sustained since reconstruction days. The people of Bessemer have broken the shackles and won their freedom from such burdens. The power rates which they will pay will no longer be based upon stock manipulations, financial legerdemain or unconscionable profits, but on true values and honest investments. This means more electricity and cheaper electricity for every home and every family in Bessemer.

Not since Adam and Eve were driven from the Garden of Eden has there been discovered an element of nature with so many possibilities of usefulness and pleasure as electricity. It lifts from the back of the housewife the drudgery of the ages. It carries into the home the news and happenings of every hour the world around and brings sweetness and light to every fireside. Cheap electric rates invite and entice industry and today perhaps more than any other factor promote the growth and development of a city.

I pause here to pay tribute. No cause was ever led to victory, no great battle was ever won without a great leader and a great captain. I pay tribute to that devoted servant of the people, the distinguished mayor of the city of Bessemer, Hon. Jap Bryant, and to those brave and farseeing men, Dr. S. W. Wright, Mr. C. B. Saunders, and Mr. John Antonio, who began the fight for T. V. A. power in Bessemer and who have never wavered in their loyalty to the cause. In winning the victory against perhaps the most powerful and dominating forces of privilege in the State—the public-utility companies—the people of Bessemer have not only served well themselves but they have served nobly the whole State and in particular their neighbors here in the Birmingham area.

An advertisement of the Birmingham Electric Co. which appeared in the Birmingham News of Wednesday, November 29 last, declares that effective December 1 there would be a reduction in the power rates in the Birmingham area which will save the consumers of this area approximately $700,000 per year. The advertisement states further: "This rate slash is the seventh reduction made by this company since 1933." We well remember that 1933 was the year that the T. V. A. was created and that the public power program of the present national administration in Washington was launched. An examination of the record shows that since 1933 the power rates in the Birmingham area have been reduced a total of $1,502,200. Could anyone believe that there would have been any such reduction in these rates but for the creation of the T. V. A., the loans to cities by the P. W. A. for the construction of municipal distribution systems, and the fight that the people of Bessemer have made since 1933 for their own system? The record shows that there have been substantial reductions in the power rates throughout the State of Alabama in all the many cities and towns of the State. Does anyone believe that there would have been any such reductions but for the creation of the T. V. A., the loans to cities by the P. W. A. for municipal distributions systems, and the fight that the people of Bessemer have made?

Because of the heroic fight of the people of Bessemer, I confidently look to the day when every city, town, and hamlet in Alabama will enjoy rates as low as those of the T. V. A. To this cause we stand committed; for this cause we will wage endless warfare. The low rates of the T. V. A. and the resultant reduction of rates everywhere in the four States of Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Georgia, served by the T. V. A. have been the primary cause for the astonishing increase in the generation and sale of electricity in these four States from 4,440,000,000 kilowatt-hours in 1929 to 6,391,000,000 kilowatt-hours in 1938. This is an increase of 58 percent. This enormous increase in the demand for power in these four States has had a marked effect upon the business and prosperity of the private power companies.

Mr. Thomas W. Martin, the president of the Alabama Power Co., speaking in Selma on July 3, last, stated: "An analysis of the growth of the power market in Alabama indicated that within 10 years the demand for power will be 60 percent greater than for 1939." Instead of the T. V. A. destroying private power companies as has been so freely proclaimed, these companies seem to be in their greatest period of prosperity.

Instead of the T. V. A. being destructive of the value of the stock of the individual stockholders of the Alabama Power Co., the record shows that the preferred stock of the Alabama Power Co. is today selling for approximately 300 percent more than it was selling for in 1933. For instance the record shows that in 1933 Alabama Power Co. 7-percent preferred stock was offered for sale at $35 but that there was no market and no purchasers. Some few sales of this stock were made in 1933 at the extremely low price of $28.50. The record shows that today $101.25 is being offered for this stock.

Here in this great Birmingham district one of our first interests and greatest sources of wealth is coal. We are ever eager to increase the demand for it. As we examine the record today we are happy to see that although the use of coal in power-generating plants in the country as a whole was less in 1938 than it was in 1929 by some 5,000,000 tons, the fact is that here in the four States served by the T. V. A. the use of coal for the generation of electric power has increased since 1929 practically 100 percent. The advent and operation of the T. V. A. demonstrates that so far as electric-power markets for coal are concerned the interest of the coal industry lies in the expansion of the use of power such as comes from the effect of T. V. A. rates.

Mr. Martin, of the Alabama Power Co., declared in his Selma speech to which I have referred: "There is very little additional water power that can be developed on an economic basis and it follows that the additional power will have to be supplied from steam plants." Mr. Martin, speaking of coal requirements for the Alabama Power Co. alone stated, "We estimate that by 1950 our coal requirements to supply this volume of power will be not less than 1,000,000 tons per annum." The magazine Business Week, of November 4 last, states that Director David Lilienthal, of the T. V. A., will go to Congress with a plea for new appropriations to build modern steam equipment.

Bessemer's great fight renews our faith in the people. It confirms our faith in democratic government. It demonstrates once more that even in the face of powerful and seemingly unconquerable forces that if the people are informed, that if they are given the facts they will act with intelligence, with courage, and with patriotism. It demonstrates that in spite of the wealth and power of the opposition; in spite of the defense of the opposition by cliques or groups controlled by it; in spite of the opposition's financial hold upon great influences that mold public opinion; in spite of the ruthless and devious tactics of the opposition, the people may be depended upon to see the right and seeing it to do it.

Let all Alabamians take new inspiration from the example of valor and heroism that the people of Bessemer have set for us. Let us resolve that the great program of human welfare and human progress which came into being in 1933 shall continue and that the people's rights and the Nation's resources shall be preserved.

Looting of France

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the New York Herald Tribune of September 30, 1940, entitled "The Looting of France Begins."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of September 30, 1940]

THE LOOTING OF FRANCE BEGINS—OCCUPIED REGION BEING SYSTEMATICALLY STRIPPED OF EVERYTHING OF VALUE

(This is the first of a series of articles written in the occupied zone of France, by a citizen of a nonbelligerent country. Since the writer's home is in France, he asks that his name be withheld. We are glad to vouch for his responsibility.—Editor)

ROUEN (by messenger).—Money is a good subject with which to introduce what is actually happening in France. What people are using for money, what is its purchasing power, its foreign exchange value, its probable future acrobatics? Money is the facet of public policy which most intimately touches the civilian.

In occupied France we carry two kinds of currency in our jeans; French francs and occupation marks. The occupation mark is neither a Reichsmark nor a tourist mark, and is legal tender only in the occupied zone. It has no metal coverage and no worth other than the power of the military authority to impose its acceptance.

Lumbering along with the army of occupation came printing presses on wheels. Notices upon the walls and the voice of the broadcaster informed merchants and hotel keepers that the two-toned brown notes, on stiff-crackly paper, were to be accepted at the ratio of 1 mark to 20 francs. The ambulant presses operate in the provincial cities, grinding out small denomination notes by the million. A finance commissioner regulates their output, so that they shall not drown the market.

I have said that the occupation mark has no metal backing, but, as a matter of reality, neither has the French franc. Since the governor of the Banque de France has become a German, and the gold reserve has been sequestered, the value of the franc is more than shadowy. The above statements apply to currency within the occupied zone, but before this letter arrives in New York the distinction between free and occupied France may have disappeared, and all France be on the occupied footing. Already gauleiters (supervisors) function in cities of the free zone, and the frontier between the free zone and Spain is guarded by German troops.

* * * * * * *

With occupation marks, the military who control France pay themselves the equivalent of 40 francs a day, which is exactly 50 times what French soldiers on active duty receive. With occupation marks, supplies are purchased for the upkeep of the garrisons. With these worthless notes, the shelves of stores are being stripped. Merchants of antiques, jewelry, kodaks, radios, linen, and women's costumes, shoes, are obliged to keep their shops open for business, even though the stocks disappear and no replacements are in sight. On an average, one store in three is empty, and stands with shutters closed. Butter, eggs, meat, grain are purchased in carload lots, before the stuff can arrive at the Paris market. Trains are rerouted direct to beyond the Rhine.

To print money in any volume desired, to be under no obligation to redeem it, and to oblige venders to accept this currency for merchandise of intrinsic value is an invisible form of confiscation. One can call it velvet-glove looting.

The business areas of Tours, Poitiers, Bordeaux, as well as of Paris, are dotted with trucks and trailers bearing the insignia of transport companies of Dresden, Munich, Stuttgart, Hamburg, and Berlin. Loaded to the roof, they are transferring the contents of French stores, hotels, and civilian households into Germany. Yesterday I saw two trucks backed up before Robert Rothschild's home—the famous Richelieu Palace, at the corner of Place de la Concorde and Rue St. Florentine. Men in field-gray uniforms, like a swarm of bees, were packing the priceless collections. I asked what was going forward. "We are carting this junk away, because we need the place for a soldiers' dormitory." The sides of the trucks were marked Bremen.

But it has been the opening of the safe-deposit boxes, and particularly the sneaking way it was done, that has killed the last spark of courage in many a French heart. One of the first acts of the invaders was the announcement that there would be no interference with bank deposits nor with the contents of safe-deposit boxes. The promise was printed in the papers and repeated over the radio in French, English, and German. Citizens were urged to leave their cash and valuables undisturbed. People breathed a sigh of reassurance and accepted the promise at its face value. But it was an anesthetic.

The experience of the present writer may be multiplied by tens of thousands. My wife and I had railway bonds, the coupons of which were payable on August 1. On visiting the bank we were told, without warning, that access to our deposit box could be allowed only in the presence of a finance comptroller. Three weeks later we were advised to be at the vault the next morning with our keys.

Pasted on the door of my box was a certificate, signed and sealed by the legation of my country, which, though small, has a heroic history and is not at war with Germany. The certificate stated in German and French that the contents of the box were the property of a citizen of a nonbelligerent nation, temporarily domiciled in France for purposes of trade. This information did not cause a second's pause on the part of the comptroller. Neither did he know, nor would it have affected him to know, that the contents of that box represented the lifetime savings of the owner, upon which he depended for the education of his children and the support of his old age.

From my box the German removed everything which can be marketed in a foreign currency; stock certificates of Royal Dutch, Rand Mines, Crown Mines, General Motors, General Electric. A jeweler, who weighed and appraised the stones and the gold and platinum in my wife's jewelry, accompanied the examiner. The items were placed in the custody of the bank management until such date as the Reich requires delivery.

The seance finished, and all the boxes rifled, the examiner made a speech. I did not hear well, because of the noise of a Belgian woman who had lost $3,700, everything she possessed.

"What is taking place here today," said the representative of the Reich, "is happening in every banking and safe deposit institution

in occupied France. Here is the reason for it. Germany at present is administering France upon the basis of an armistice. Eventually the peace terms will be arranged. Among those terms it is certain that there will be one requiring the vanquished to pay the victor a cash indemnity.

"After the war of 1914–18 there was delay and complaint, both in the fixing and in the collecting of the indemnity which the Allies solicited of Germany. There was a Dawes plan, a Young plan. No plan was successful. Germany could not be made to pay.

"At the close of the actual war," continued the treasury man acidly, "we do not propose to be hampered by delay, excuse-making, or concealment of assets. The contents of safety boxes and of the bank deposits in foreign currencies are being added up. We shall have a pretty clear notion of the liquid capital of this country. It will be safe in our hands before we begin to discuss peace terms. That total sum will be the initial cash payment on the war indemnity which we shall demand of France."

Hitler as an Issue in the Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES F. BYRNES

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL AND QUOTATION FROM ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I ask permission to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the leading editorial of the New York Times of October 1, under the heading "Hitler as the Issue," followed by a quotation from a story appearing today, October 4, on the first page of the same publication, sent from Rome by the able correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. Herbert L. Matthews.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of October 1, 1940]

HITLER AS THE ISSUE

In his address yesterday to the Democratic State Convention, Governor Lehman sought, as Secretary Wallace had sought before him, to create the impression that the issue of this campaign is the choice between Mr. Roosevelt and Hitler. His precise words were:

"Let there be no mistake about this; nothing that could happen in the United States could give Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and the Government of Japan more satisfaction than the defeat of the man who typifies to the whole world the kind of free, humane government which dictators despise—Franklin D. Roosevelt."

If this says anything, it says that a vote for Mr. Willkie is a vote for Hitler—since it is a vote to help bring about a result which would give Hitler "more satisfaction" than anything else that could happen in the United States.

As a newspaper which has long been active in denouncing Hitler and in recommending American aid for the European democracies which blocked his path—and a newspaper which is now supporting Mr. Willkie—we resent this implication. It is unjust, reckless, and capable of doing great harm to the very cause which Governor Lehman has at heart, and which we share with him.

The implication is unjust because the record shows that Mr. Willkie has been just as straightforward as Mr. Roosevelt in condemning Hitler and everything he stands for. It is reckless because it attempts to arrogate patriotism for the Democratic ticket. It is capable of doing great harm if it is pressed: At home, by dividing the American people; abroad, by inviting the world to interpret the election of Mr. Willkie as evidence that the American people want to "give satisfaction" to Hitler.

[Extract from story of New York Times Rome correspondent, Herbert L. Matthews]

Moreover, the axis is out to defeat President Roosevelt, not as a measure of interference in the internal policies of the United States but because of the President's foreign policy and because of everything which he stands for in the eyes of the Italians and Germans. The coming United States election is realized to be of vast importance to the axis. Therefore the normal strategy for the axis is to do something before November 5 that would somehow have a great effect on the electoral campaign.

American reaction to the tripartite alliance during the past week has been studied very closely here, and it is possible that a trend has been noted that may have encouraged a new move in the same direction. The Italians and Germans are convinced that the United States has often in the past been used to great advantage.

The Voting Record of Senator Maloney on War Veterans' Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAT HARRISON

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

COMPILATION OF LEGISLATION FAVORABLE TO VETERANS

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a compilation of the voting record of the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MALONEY] on legislation affecting war veterans. The Senator from Connecticut has been especially concerned with veterans' legislation, and the problems of veterans, and in connection with their interests he has a splendid voting record. I might add that, in my judgment, he otherwise has a fine voting record.

There being no objection, the compilation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEGISLATION FAVORABLE TO VETERANS SUPPORTED BY SENATOR MALONEY

H. R. 5645. To amend the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916, to provide benefits of pension to reservists and National Guard men called in the Federal service, "except for training."

H. R. 5389. Appropriations for domiciliary care—medical and hospital treatment for persons discharged from Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard for disability incurred in line of duty—compromise of yearly renewable term-insurance suits; creation of special boards for review of World War cases presumptively connected with service; provisions for pending claims; limitation on the reduction of payment in certain World War directly service-connected disability cases and death compensation cases; pensions for certain Spanish-American War veterans, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection (Independent Offices Bill).

On House Resolution No. 185, with Senate amendments to H. R. 5389, Senator MALONEY voted "nay." This resolution was in the nature of a gag rule, which would have deprived Members of the House of a chance to vote on the Connally amendment, which protected the pensions that the veterans of the Spanish-American War had been receiving for years.

Senator MALONEY voted "nay" on a motion to concur in the Senate amendment (so-called Connally amendment) with an amendment substituting language in lieu of the matter contained in the Connally amendment (above).

On a call for the previous questin on Independent Offices Rule (H. R. 5389), Senator MALONEY voted "nay." A "yea" vote would have been against the House concurring in the Steiwer-Cutting amendment (below).

On a motion by Mr. CONNERY to concur in the Steiwer-Cutting amendment, which placed upon the Veterans' Administration a hard-and-fast restriction under which they could not cut ruthlessly and indiscriminately in order to save money at the expense of disabled veterans, Senator MALONEY voted "yea." (The purpose of the amendment was to keep a great many of the presumptive cases on the rolls—prevent a cut greater than 25 percent in compensation payments—protection to Spanish-American War veterans and their widows.)

H. R. 6663. Appropriation act: Title III, veterans' provisions: Restoration, with certain limitations, of rights to compensation and pensions, under prior laws, to veterans and dependents, veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion, and Philippine Insurrection, and the World War; hospitalization and domiciliary care provisions liberalized; and the payment of certain insurance claims (independent offices bill).

On House Resolution No. 299, to discharge further consideration of the independent offices appropriation bill (H. R. 6663), gag rule, Senator MALONEY voted "nay." If this rule were adopted, it would prevent the House from concurring with Senate amendments which were favored by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and by the Disabled American Veterans of the United States.

Senator MALONEY voted "nay" on the Taber amendment, which was a substitute for Senate amendments. (The Senate amendments would restore 90 percent of the pensions and benefits of the Spanish-American and World War veterans, whereas the Taber amendment restored only 75 percent.)

The Senate amendments also provided that salaries of Congressmen should not be raised at that time. Otherwise salaries of Congressmen would, in effect, be raised at the expense of veterans. The Senate amendments provided for the restoration of the 15-percent pay cut of all other Federal employees.

On a motion by Mr. CONNERY that the House recede from its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 14, and concur in the same, Senator MALONEY voted "yea." (This amendment provided for the restoration of full pay to Government employees.)

On a second motion by Mr. CONNERY, that the House recede from its disagreement to Senate amendment No. 22, and concur in the same, Senator MALONEY voted "yea." (This amendment would restore 90 percent of the pensions and benefits of the Spanish-American and World War veterans.)

NOTE.—In the House, argument was offered that to concur in the Senate amendments would be to invite a Presidential veto.

Senator MALONEY voted "yea" to override the President's veto of the independent offices bill (H. R. 6663). This bill (above) "carried with it" legislation restoring compensation to veterans.

H. R. 1. On a motion to discharge the Committee on Ways and Means from further consideration of this bill for the immediate payment of the bonus (Patman Bonus Bill), Senator MALONEY voted "yea."

On final passage of the bill (H. R. 1, the Bonus Bill) Senator MALONEY voted "yea."

H. R. 9936. To compensate the widows and children of veterans who died while receiving monetary benefits for disabilities directly incurred in or aggravated by active military or naval service in the World War.

CONNECTICUT

NOTE.—Counties in Connecticut and amounts which would be paid to the holders of adjusted-service certificates under H. R. 1 (Bonus Bill).

Fairfield	$7,196,524.22
Hartford	7,836,615.17
Litchfield	1,536,367.16
Middlesex	956,330.68
New Haven	8,624,758.89
New London	2,213,957.26
Tolland	533,343.99
Windham	1,006,540.40
Total	29,904,464 83

H. R. 8554. This bill contained an appropriation of $21,250,000 for extending hospital facilities.

H. R. 3410. Independent Offices Act. An appropriation of $925,000 to extend hospital and domiciliary facilities. The act also contained similar appropriation for the payment of compensation, pensions, and emergency officers' retirement—military and naval insurance—adjusted-service certificates fund.

H. R. 9472. For the relief of officers and soldiers of the volunteer service of the United States mustered into service for the war with Spain, and who were in the Philippine Islands after the ratification of the treaty of peace, April 11, 1899.

H. R. 9116. To extend the provisions of veterans' laws and regulations to persons who served in Russia during the World War, and their dependents.

H. R. 6995. Granting pensions to veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, and to their widows and dependents.

H. R. 7199. To provide for the donation of certain Army equipment to posts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

S. 2508. To authorize the naturalization of certain alien World War veterans.

H. R. 8966. Honorable discharge for those World War veterans discharged from the Army for minority or misrepresentation of age.

H. R. 3979. To safeguard the estates of veterans which were derived from payments of pension compensation, emergency officers' retirement pay, and insurance, and for other purposes. (The protection of estates of incompetent veterans and exemption of benefits from taxation, claims, attachment, levy, or seizure.)

H. J. Res. 112. To clarify the definition of disagreement in Section 19, World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended. This resolution applied to all pending suits, and any suit which had been dismissed solely on the ground that denial as described in this resolution did not constitute a disagreement as defined by Section 19 could be reinstated within 3 months from the date of this resolution.

H. R. 4513. To authorize payment of claims for unauthorized emergency treatment of World War veterans.

S. 1301. To provide further for the maintenance of United States Soldiers' Home.

S. J. Res. 200. To extend the period of suspension of the limitations governing the filing of suit under Section 19, World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended. (This act prevented the government from setting up the statute of limitations with reference to certain insurance claims, thus depriving veterns of just claims.)

H. R. 12758. To increase the pension to certain veterans of the Regular Establishment on the rolls March 19, 1933.

H. R. 9863. Hospital and domiciliary facilities: For carrying out the provisions of an act entitled: "An act to authorize an appropriation to provide additional hospital, domiciliary, and out-patient dispensary facilities for persons entitled to hospitalization under the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended," the sum of $4,000,000 to be immediately available.

This act also provided for an appropriation of $1,730,000,000 to be available for adjusted compensation payments. Other beneficial provisions therein concern burial, aid to State homes, and adjusted-service and dependent pay.

H. R. 12869. To liberalize the provisions of H. R. 9936, also to effect uniform provisions in laws administered by the Veterans' Administration—to extend the Employees' Compensation Act to certain World War veterans and other persons. (Provisions relative to World War widows and children, agents and attorneys, administrative provisions, burial, annual income, insurance suits, Florida hurricane.)

H. R. 13001. To eliminate unnecessary expense in the administration of estates of deceased and incompetent veterans, and for other purposes.

H. R. 9870. This bill provided for the immediate payment of World War adjusted-service certificates and for the cancelation of unpaid interest accrued on loans secured by such certificates (Soldiers Bonus Bill).

On a motion by Mr. GEORGE to reconsider the so-called Connally amendment, which provided: "That provisional first and second lieutenants who served as such in the World War, and who were discharged or resigned within 1 year after November 11, 1918, shall be eligible to receive the benefits under the World War Adjusted Compensation Act," Senator MALONEY voted "yea."

On passage over the President's veto of the Bonus Bill (H. R. 9870) Senator MALONEY voted "yea."

S. 210. Honorable discharge for veterans of the Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, and the Boxer Rebellion who were discharged from the Army for minority or misrepresentation of age.

H. R. 5478. To amend the existing law to provide privilege of renewing expiring 5-year level-premium term policies for another 5-year period (without medical examination).

On passage of the bill (H. R. 5478) over the veto of the President, Mr. MINTON (Indiana) said: "The Senator from Connecticut is detained from the Senate on official business. If present and voting, the Senator would vote 'yea.'"

H. R. 6547. To authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works in the vicinity of the District of Columbia. (This bill contained provisions relative to the location of Naval Hospital and Medical School in Washington.)

S. 3503. To liberalize the laws providing pensions for veterans and the dependents of veterans, of the Regular Establishment, for disabilities or deaths incurred or aggravated in line of duty other than in wartime. (This bill increased pensions to 80 percent of the amount received for similar disabilities incurred in wartime; also increased the benefits to dependents.)

H. R. 6656. Making the 11th day of November in each year a legal holiday.

H. R. 8729. Granting pensions and increases of pensions to needy war veterans.

H. R. 6925. To provide for a national cemetery in every State.

H. R. 2904. For the relief of officers and soldiers of the volunteer service of the United States mustered into service for the War with Spain, and who were held in service in the Philippine Islands after the ratification of the treaty of peace.

H. R. 9725. To liberalize the provisions of existing laws governing death-compensation benefits for widows and children of World War veterans.

H. R. 10907. Providing for the vesting of title, and the disposition of personal property left or found upon premises used as Veterans' Administration facilities.

S. 2383. To amend the act authorizing the Attorney General to compromise suits on certain contracts of insurance, to wit: "The Attorney General is authorized to agree to a judgment rendered in a United States court, etc.; upon such terms and for such sums within the amount claimed to be payable in any suit brought under the provisions of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, on a contract of yearly, renewable term insurance which may now be pending or hereafter filed, etc."

H. R. 7520. Honorable discharge for veterans of the Spanish-American War, Boxer Rebellion, and the Philippine Insurrection discharged from the Navy and Marine Corps for minority or misrepresentation of age.

H. R. 8434. To liberalize the laws providing for the dependents of veterans whose death resulted from service prior to April 21, 1898.

H. R. 8837. Independent Offices Act, which contained an appropriation of $4,500,000, for hospital and domiciliary facilities. The act also contained provisions relative to recreational facilities, burial expenses, aid to State homes, improvement of hospitals and homes, military and naval insurance, emergency officers' retirement pay, and adjusted-service and dependent pay.

H. R. 10594. To provide for the creation, organization, administration, and maintenance of a Naval Reserve and a Marine Corps Reserve. (Provisions for pensions for active-duty status in training cases—increasing the number of persons who might become eligible for pension.)

S. 3319. Authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to set aside $196,568 to be equally divided between the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Inc., and the Disabled American Veterans of the World War, Inc., such money to be used to aid and assist disabled, destitute, or unemployed veterans.

H. R. 5030. Granting pensions and increases of pensions to certain soldiers, sailors, and nurses of the War with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, and the China Relief Expedition.

H. R. 6384. To liberalize the provisions of existing laws governing service-connected benefits for World War veterans and their dependents. (This bill increased compensation payments.)

H. R. 9725. This bill also liberalized the provisions of existing laws governing death-compensation benefits for widows and children of World War veterans.

S. 1021. This act extends the benefits of the United States Employees' Compensation Act to members of the Officers' Reserve Corps and of the Enlisted Reserve Corps of the Army who are physically injured in line of duty, while performing active duty or engaged in authorized training, or die as the result of such injury.

H. R. 2296. Provides that any veteran suffering from paralysis, paresis, or blindness, or who is helpless or bedridden, may be awarded compensation under the rules and interpretations in effect prior to enactment of the Economy Act. Where such veteran has died any benefits due him shall accrue to his dependents.

H. R. 4647. Increasing the amount of Federal aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States. The act further includes hospitalization cases, and provides for payment from date of determination of eligibility by the Veterans' Administration.

S. 522. Provides pensions for members of Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard who become disabled due to service therein. If a veteran has suffered the loss of any "members" of his body, additional compensation is provided.

H. R. 7462. Third Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1939, appropriates $32,362.50 for payment of judgments and authorized claims affecting the Veterans' Administration.

H. R. 2310. To provide national flags for the burial of honorably discharged former service men and women.

H. R. 5452. The act provides certain benefits for World War veterans and their dependents. There are provisions relative to hospitalization and domiciliary care—increased death compensation to the widows of veterans whose deaths were due to World War service, and other similar provisions.

H. R. 2875. This act provides that awards of death pensions shall be effective as of the date of the death of a veteran of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, if claims are filed within 1 year after the death of such veteran.

S. 2454. Providing for the relief of disbursing officers and certifying officers of Veterans' Administration from liability for repayment where recovery of such payment is waived under existing laws administered by the Veterans' Administration.

H. R. 2990. An amendment to an act entitled "An act to establish a Civilian Conservation Corps." The amendment authorized continuance of its provisions to July 1, 1943, instead of July 1, 1940, as previously provided.

H. R. 7086. To provide for insanity proceedings in the District of Columbia. Section 6 provides for commitment by the District Court of the insane person to the custody of the Veterans' Administration for care and treatment if the veteran is certified as entitled to such care and treatment by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

H. J. Res. 83. This resolution appropriates the sum of $725,000,000 additional to the W. P. A. for work relief and public works ending June 30, 1939.

Veterans who are in need and American citizens are given first preference in employment.

H. R. 2868. First Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1939, appropriated $2,747.85 for payment of judgments and authorized claims affecting the Veterans' Administration.

H. R. 3743. Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1940, provided a total appropriation for the Veterans' Administration of $561,093,000. Provision for emergency officers' retirement pay and annuities, military and naval insurance, adjusted-service and dependent pay, and for the construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities.

H. R. 3791. National Defense Act: Section 5 provides that all men, other than the enlisted men of the Regular Army, who are called into service in excess of 30 days, and who suffer disability or death in line of duty from disease or injury while so employed, shall be entitled to receive the same pensions, compensation, retirement pay, and hospital benefits, as are provided for by law for enlisted men of the Regular Army.

H. J. Res. 246. This resolution provided an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the year ending June 30, 1939, by increasing the sum from $725,000,000 (H. J. Res. 83, above) to $825,000,000.

H. R. 5219. Second Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1939, appropriated $29,689.24 for the payment of judgments and authorized claims affecting the Veterans' Administration.

H. R. 2320. Extends to veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and Philippine Insurrection, benefits of domiciliary care, medical treatment, burial expense, and protection of yearly renewable term insurance.

H. R. 5765. This act authorizes the commissioning of aviation cadets in the Naval and Marine Corps Reserve upon completion of training, and contains a provision that Government life insurance ($10,000) shall continue when an aviation cadet is commissioned pursuant to this act.

H. R. 805. An act to extend further time for naturalization to alien veterans of the World War under the act of May 25, 1932—to extend the same privilege to certain veterans of countries allied with the United States during the World War.

H. J. Res. 326. Making appropriations for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940. The act contains the following provisions beneficial to veterans:

Section 16 (a) provides that preference shall be first given to veterans of any campaign who are in need and are American citizens.

Section 16 (b) provides for the removal, under certain conditions, from employment on W. P. A. projects all relief workers, except veterans, who have been continuously employed on such projects for more than 18 months.

Section 23 gives preference to soldiers, sailors, and marines, and the widows of such, or the wives of injured soldiers who themselves are not qualified, but whose wives are qualified to hold a position in the Government service.

S. 1643. This act provided that pensions should be administered at wartime rates for disability or death incurred in line of duty as a direct result of the conflict in the Far East.

S. 2866. To provide for allowance of expenses incurred by veterans and their attendants in authorized travel for examination and medical treatment.

H. R. 7733. Providing for increased pensions for veterans of the Regular Establishment suffering service-connected disability incurred in or aggravated by service prior to April 21, 1898.

S. 2756. This act provides that where death occurs in a Veterans' Administration facility the Administration will assume the actual cost of burial and funeral, and the transport of the body to the place of burial.

There are also provisions for the defraying of expenses to and from a Veterans' Administration facility for domiciliary or hospital care to persons unable to defray the expense.

H. R. 5734. An act for the relief of World War sailors and marines who were discharged from the United States Navy, or the United States Marines, because of minority or misrepresentation of age.

H. J. Res. 544. Making appropriations for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June, 1941 ($975,000,000). The bill contains the following provisions relative to veterans:

Section 15 (a) provides that preference shall first be given to veterans of the World War, and the Spanish-American War, and veterans of any campaign—and unmarried widows of such veterans, and the wives of such veterans as are unemployable, who are in need and are American citizens.

Section 15 (b) provides for the removal after 18 months steady employment from the rolls of all workers excepting veterans, unmarried widows of such veterans, and the wives of such veterans who are unemployable.

Section 22 provides that soldiers, sailors, and marines, the widows of such, or the wives of injured soldiers who themselves are not qualified but whose wives are qualified to hold a position in the Government service, shall be given preference in the retention in their several grades or classes.

H. R. 9218. To establish the composition of the United States Navy—to authorize the construction of certain naval vessels and for other purposes.

H. R. 3791. To provide more effectively for the national defense by carrying out the recommendations of the President in his message of January 12, 1939, to the Congress.

On an amendment to H. R. 3791 to provide for 6,000 planes, Senator MALONEY voted "yea."

H. J. Res. 306. To preserve the neutrality and the peace of the United States and to secure the safety of its citizens and their interests. (Neutrality Act.)

H. R. 9850. To expedite the strengthening of the national defense.

S. J. Res. 286. To strengthen the common defense and to authorize the President to order members and units of reserve components and retired personnel of the Regular Army into active military service.

S. 4164. To provide for the common defense by increasing the personnel of the armed forces of the United States and providing for its training.

Nazi Spies, "Fifth Columnists," and Saboteurs Must and Will Be Driven to Cover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact my colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] has finally agreed to penetrate the Nazi and Fascist activities, especially in New Jersey, where recent explosions have occurred, I have not voiced objection to the $35,000 additional appropriation for the committee to continue its investigation. I am satisfied that had my colleague and his committee made an investigation of the subversive activities of the bunds and Fascist organizations last year they would have performed a real service to the country.

I, of course, recognize that the administration in its extreme desire not to have any friction with the Hitler government was probably going slow in taking action on evidence that was being received to the effect that German consular agents throughout the United States have been and are today spreading Nazi propaganda in our country. That they have been disbursing huge funds for the support of subversive, un-American activities there can be little doubt. Baron Von Spiegel's pro-Nazi activities are but one of many similar revelations that have come to light. That the administration is cautious and proceeding slowly but surely might have been responsible for Mr. DIES' action in holding back somewhat.

NAZIS SPENDING MILLIONS FOR PROPAGANDA

I have called attention several times to the fact that millions were being expended on propaganda in this country by the Nazi government, but I did not go into the matter as thoroughly as Col. William J. Donovan, who revealed that $200,000,000 was being expended annually in this country and South America by the Hitler propagandists for subversive and un-American activities, the purpose being to create prejudices, religious hatreds, and discord in our own country. The President has been attacked and misrepresented, all to the end that we would cease in our national-defense program.

Today the American people are commencing to realize the conniving way these propagandists tried to keep the country unprepared. In fact, they have followed the same tactics as they did in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, France, and the smaller nations. I have directed attention many times to these subversive activities on the part of the Nazis and their hirelings in this country as well as to publications which they are financing.

STARNES GOING AFTER NAZI SABOTEURS IN EARNEST

Therefore I am indeed pleased that the chairman of the subcommittee of the Dies committee, Mr. STARNES of Alabama, has started hearings the result of which, if brought before the American people, will cause such an upheaval of opinion against these dastardly Nazi propagandists that all the bunds and other organizations financed, aided, and used by the Hitler government will be forced to run to cover.

An indication of the lines along which Subcommitteeman STARNES is working may be gleaned from the following dispatch in yesterday's Washington Post:

PRO-NAZIS HOLD DEFENSE JOBS, DIES AIDE SAYS

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 2.—A Dies subcommittee spokesman announced today that questioning of visitors to the German-American Bund's Camp Nordland had disclosed hundreds of Nazi sympathizers employed in munitions, shipbuilding, and other national defense industries.

Chairman JOE STARNES (Democrat), of Alabama, made the charge in a public statement on conclusion of 2 days of public and private hearings. National leaders of the bund and State heads of the Ku Klux Klan had been called as witnesses.

During executive hearings, STARNES declared, more than a score of persons, "a cross-section" of 2,000 visitors to the Andover Bund Camp, were questioned and "without exception every witness was employed in defense work."

EVIDENCE OF SABOTAGE

The inquiry unearthed evidence of sabotage, STARNES continued, remarking he did not choose to reveal incidents because that might hinder Federal and local police inquiries.

Questioned later concerning the September 12 explosion at the Hercules Powder Co. plant in Kenvil, Starnes said he was "loath to say anything about that because it might interfere with the F. B. I. investigation." The blast killed 51 and injured more than 100.

STARNES asserted the "abundance of the testimony" showed the bund was an "agent of a foreign power whose sympathies and allegiance are to another government and its policies."

In an open hearing, August Klapprott, eastern department bund leader and manager of Camp Nordland, said the camp property was used by the Ku Klux Klan for a group meeting August 18 last, and bund members attended as individuals.

Arthur Bell, who described himself as State grand dragon of the Klan from 1923 to 1934, during which time he said peak Klan membership was 300,000, said the purpose of the meeting was to "Americanize the bund."

"Did you think it was wise to hold the meeting?" Representative VOORHIS (Democrat), of California, asked Bell, State organizer until 3 weeks ago.

"I did then," Bell replied. "I don't now."

Alton Monroe Young, who said he was a Klan member for 40 years and a clergyman for that time also, testified he had arranged the meeting with Klapprott and was sorry now he had done so.

EVEN KU KLUX KLAN DISOWNS THE NAZIS

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] should know that even the Ku Klux Klan has ordered the removal of Arthur Bell, of Bloomfield, N. J., as an official of the organization in that State. That order will no longer countenance their officers being used by the bund. I insert a United Press report, under postscript of Atlanta, Ga., August 23, and in that connection I congratulate the Ku Klux Klan for having seen the light and for refusing to permit their members to aid or cooperate with the Nazi-Fascist clique so antagonistic to American institutions.

EVEN KU KLUX KLAN DISOWNS THE NAZIS

ATLANTA, GA., August 23.—James Colescott, imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, said today he had ordered removal of Arthur Bell, of Bloomfield, N. J., as grand giant of the New Jersey Klan as a result of the Klan meeting in a German-American Bund camp Sunday.

Colescott said Bell had failed "to adhere to the principles and ideals of the Klan" in allowing an officer of the German-American Bund to appear on the platform at a Klan meeting at the Bund Camp Nordland in Andover and to "address an assembly of the Klan."

Mr. Speaker, even the Ku Klux Klan realizes at last that it has been hoodwinked and misled. I wonder when other organizations that have been playing into the hands of the Nazis will also wake up?

CANDIDATE WILLKIE IS IN THE PICTURE

Mr. Willkie, Power Trust candidate for the Presidency on the Republican ticket, has a place in this picture. It will be recalled that when Father Coughlin offered his aid to Mr. Willkie, the latter declared emphatically that he did not wish the votes of the Coughlinites. But he has made no such gesture regarding other pro-Nazis. More than a month ago the Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter, official mouthpiece of Hitler's supporters in the United States, came out in an editorial endorsing Willkie for President. But not one word has Mr. Willkie uttered in repudiation of the bund's support.

This does not seem so strange if an article Mr. Willkie wrote for the New Republic in its issue of March 18, this year, is examined. At that time Mr. Willkie, then Power Trust magnate and lobbyist, was trying to show what a "liberal" he was. And in this article he defended Fritz Kuhn, the Nazi leader, now in prison for embezzlement, and deplored the way he was treated by the courts.

In the Kuhn case—

He wrote—

one wonders whether legal processes were not abused for political purposes. One naturally asks whether technical violations of the law were not an excuse for removing from society a man whose social tenets were undesirable.

It seems, therefore, from an inspection of his known and acknowledged sources of support that Mr. Willkie is depending almost entirely on the Nazi and Fascist elements in this country. He talks their language, but real, patriotic Americans will not understand it, or subscribe to it.

ULTRAPROGRESSIVES ARE NOT NECESSARILY COMMUNISTS

I regret that up to now much time has been spent by Mr. DIES in besmirching many outstanding progressive men and women, classifying them as Communists, and in branding many labor organizations as being Communist. The unfortunate effect was to sidetrack the investigation from the guilty Nazi offenders and to direct it toward Communists.

It always appeared to me that these attacks were made for the purpose of hiding the Nazi propagandist organizations and those organizations they have been able to influence and use. Consequently, I hope that with all the material and information at hand the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. STARNES] will proceed with all dispatch and bring to light the treasonable activities of the Nazi and Fascist propagandists.

HOW WOULD GERMANY TREAT SPIES OR TRAITORS WITHIN ITS MIDST?

When we review the conduct of Nazi agitators in this country, we cannot escape asking ourselves how long would Germany have tolerated similar treasonable conduct by our official representatives or American citizens within the borders of Germany? The answer is: They would have been thrown in prison, detention camps, or executed. We have been tolerant in this country plenty long enough. It is time either to place all spies and traitors behind bars or send them back whence they came. And this applies to the thousands of Japanese who, each with their camera, are permitted to roam unmolested through our whole country. At the same time, however, do not let us be provoked into taking any step that may give excuse for an attack upon any of our possessions.

Election of President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

LETTER FROM DEAN ACHESON

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Dean Acheson to the editor of the Baltimore Sun, dated September 27, 1940, on the subject of the election of a President of the United States.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[This letter was printed in the Baltimore Sun Wednesday morning October 2, 1940]

SEPTEMBER 27, 1940.

The EDITOR, THE BALTIMORE SUN,
Baltimore, Md.

SIR: In the election which lies before us we shall choose not merely a President of the United States. We shall choose the man on whom must depend the hope of free and decent life throughout the world. Our country, all that we are and can become, our very lives and everything which gives them value, are at stake in the terrific struggle which grips the world and casts its lengthening shadows across two oceans. Only one President in our history has faced decisions approaching those which loom before us. To face them now the next President must have steadfastness in the faith of freedom, courage to act upon that faith, inflexible determination to do all that must be done to preserve it, to reject any compromise with its enemies. He must know, too, that freedom is not the mere absence of the Gestapo knocking at the door at night, it is the way to a better and freer life for the millions of men and women who are America and every country, freer from fear, freer from oppression. The present agency of the world is to determine whether this faith will live or die.

In this time of crisis I believe that the safety of our country and of all it stands for can best be assured by the election of President Roosevelt. His belief in democracy is a fighting faith. He has seen clearly and stated courageously the dangers which threaten us. He has acted to strengthen our defenses and those whose strength is our defense. He has united the country as only a President can do who is trusted by millions of plain people and at whose call they will make sacrifices because they know that the call will be fair.

We are told that there is no difference in foreign policy between the candidates. There is, I think, the immeasurable difference between one who has acted under the full weight of responsibility and one who has not; between one who had had the vision to see the danger even before the crisis fully materialized and one who has merely echoed his sentiments after the storm has broken; between one who has had the courage to furnish the immediate aid vitally needed by those whose battle is our battle and one who has purported to approve of the aid while attacking the only practical method of giving it. We are told that one of our oldest political traditions is threatened. The terrible truth is that the very existence of a free America is threatened.

The times are dark and will be darker before light can break. The time-worn shibboleths of political campaigns are tragically inadequate. Today there is only one test—who can best pilot the ship in this crisis of civilization. For a year now the President has met that test. No one can ask more and no one dare ask less.

Very truly yours,

DEAN ACHESON.

How the Reciprocal Trade Act Affects Wyoming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK O. HORTON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1940

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, House Joint Resolution 407, extends the President's authority to enter into foreign-trade agreements for another 3 years from June 12, 1940.

Search this resolution and you will not find the word "reciprocal," therefore we certainly are justified in believing that these agreements will continue to be made as heretofore, and that, because of the favored-nation clause, the United States will continue to be made the sucker, Santa Claus, and wet nurse for the entire world. A boob nation is like a boob individual, no one has any respect for such a one, rather, enjoys taking a kick at him. For that reason, boob policies are more apt to draw us into war than to keep us out.

We believe in world reciprocal trade, in trading those things which we produce in abundance for those things which we need. But we do not believe in trading what we have in abundance for other things we have in abundance, when such trade destroys great fundamental industries and great community economics. Largely the farmer and rancher is paying the bill for any benefits which certain industrialists may derive under these trade agreements.

I will confine my remarks largely to the livestock interests, and I will not burden you with a lot of statistics, for already your head, like mine, is chuck full of figures and counter-figures. All one has to do is to first determine where you want to go, and figures can be dug up and juggled in such a way as to land you there safely.

But through all this maze one fact stands out clearly—that during the entire trade-agreement period agricultural exports have declined $104,000,000 while competitive farm imports have increased $68,000,000. This startling fact cracks out like a pistol shot in the dead of night to stop dead in its tracks any attempt by the proponents of this act to convince the farmer-rancher of this country that these agreements are of any possible benefit to them. On the contrary, and as I shall prove later on, they have proven to be a curse and are directly responsible for the loss of many millions of dollars to the livestock interests.

Try as you will, juggle your figures as you may, use all the cunning of your New Deal methods, you will never convince

a single hard-headed cattleman that the lowering of the duty on cattle, which made possible ever-increasing imports—which in 1939 reached 753,570 live head—has done him anything but dirt. Seven hundred and fifty-three thousand five hundred and seventy head of cattle, that figure closely approaches the cattle census of either Wyoming, Arizona, Florida, or Washington, and is in excess of the census of either North Carolina, West Virginia, Vermont, Utah, Nevada, South Carolina, Maryland, Maine, and a half dozen remaining Eastern States. Seven hundred and fifty-three thousand five hundred and seventy head of cattle; that figure exceeds the total receipts for more than 100 days at the great Chicago stockyards. But despite these facts, some of you have risen on this floor or before the Ways and Means Committee and have had the audacity to attempt to tell the cattlemen that these imports benefited them.

Well, it has only been an attempt. These stockmen, if anything, are practical, what they know they have gained in the hard school of experience, and better than anyone else—not even excepting the Ways and Means Committee and the Tariff Commission or even Secretary Hull—they understand that unfair competition, brought about by an inadequate tariff creates a glutted market which inevitably means lower prices.

The livestock man also knows and there are apparently those in high office who do not know that the low bids at any market on any day sets the price on all markets for that day.

Our livestock markets are very similar to the stock exchange, and subject to the same influences. They are as sensitive and temperamental as a prima donna. Lack of confidence, lack of faith in Government or man, creates a psychological condition of mind that makes anything possible.

To me that situation spells congressional review of all proposed trade agreements before they become operative as well as the review of existing ones.

Let us see what these trade agreements have done to the livestock interests:

Early in 1936 a trade agreement was made with Canada that reduced the duty on 175,000 heavy cattle from 3 to 2 cents, and later reduced it to 1½ cents with the quota increased to 225,000. No provision limiting the number or time when these cattle could be marketed was made. As a result, starting on March 28, 1936, and continuing through June 15, 1936, we find at the St. Paul market total receipt of 233,342 head of cattle, of which 42,575, or 18.27 percent, were Canadian. During this period, on an average, cattle prices were off $2 per head, which, applied to the total receipt of 233,342, approaches a loss of $500,000 for the St. Paul market alone. Since the low bid at one market sets the price at all markets, and applying this same loss of $2 a head to the combined receipt at all of our great markets, we find that during the first 3 months after the Canadian agreements became operative the livestock interests, because of these agreements, took a loss of $25,000,000. During all of that period you read in the St. Paul livestock reports every day such statements as 80 cars of Canadians, 55 cars of Canadians, 60 cars of Canadians, 125 cars of Canadians, and so forth, as well as the continuous daily restatement that trading was dull, that the market was off, that there was a big carry-over, and the convincing part of the proof lies in the fact that daily the great Chicago market faithfully followed the lead of St. Paul. The receipt of Canadians oversupplied and broke the St. Paul market, and that break was reflected in every other market and definitely caused the loss of the millions referred to above. You cannot tell any informed livestock man, who necessarily knows how these markets react, that the statements made above are not correct.

That is not all. The conditions that existed in 1936 can and will continue during any normal period. Further losses will occur. The psychological conditions existing in the minds of the stockmen of the Northwest is best illustrated by the use of the stock phrase, "Better get your cattle on market, the Canadians are coming." And they get them in and the market breaks, and you, because you refuse to review these agreements, thereby establishing confidence, are responsible. Yes; and there is another cold fact that should be recorded. A great percentage of Canadians are bought by the packers on the farm and left on the farm. Great possibility there in being able to land these cattle in either St. Paul or Buffalo in such quantities and at such times as to break and control the market.

May I note in passing that the cattle associations of every State west of the Missouri and also of the State of Louisiana have by strong resolutions expressed their opposition to these trade agreements? Every one of these State organizations, as well as 2,000 outstanding cattlemen from these States, make up the American National Livestock Association and recognize the same as their mouthpiece. At the annual convention of this organization in January last, at which the presidents of 15, the vice presidents of 16, and the secretaries of the remaining 2 of these State associations were on hand, the following resolution was passed:

Whereas a large majority of our people, and particularly of our agriculturists, are unalterably opposed to reciprocal-trade agreements: Therefore be it

Resolved, (a) That we are definitely opposed to an extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act;

(b) That if said act is extended, it be only on the condition that all new agreements thereunder and extensions of existing agreements be ratified by the Senate in the manner provided by the Constitution.

Without the shadow of a doubt, 99.99 percent of the cattlemen of this country are unalterably opposed to these agreements.

THE ARGENTINE

No discussions of the cattleman's problems would be complete that did not inquire into the proposed trade agreements with the Argentine.

"We ought not spend money we haven't got for things we don't need."—Will Rogers.

This year our Federal running expenses will be five and one-half billions of dollars more than our income. That is money we have not got.

Still, Warren L. Pierson, president of the Export-Import Bank, is at this very minute in Buenos Aires to either purchase outright or provide means of carrying over Argentina's terrific overproduction of corn, meat, wheat, wool, and hides. These agricultural products constitute 98 percent of Argentina's exports, which, translated into farmer talk, means that all but 2 percent of any trade agreement with Argentina is hide off the farmer's back. Those are things we do not need.

Because of the war, Argentina has lost a lot of her European market—62 percent in the case of corn; 11 percent, meat; 25 percent, wheat; 51 percent, wool; and 61 percent, hides.

She is looking to the United States for an outlet. Perhaps you do not think she will find it? We quote from Time magazine for January 1940.

Suddenly last week came news from Buenos Aires that the United States-Argentine negotiations had broken down. The pact had disappeared in thin air. * * * Mr. Hull chuckled in his den. Only the day before he had drawled to an intimate, "Seems we might have to drop Argentine." Foxy Mr. Hull knew that getting his trade-agreement powers renewed is more important than any single agreement, also that he could double back on the Argentine trail after elections next November.

If by any chance Roosevelt is elected, then the American farmers and ranchers will certainly be saddled with a back-breaking unreciprocal-trade agreement with Argentina.

FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE

I wish I were justified in feeling just half as sure as my distinguished colleague from Wyoming that there was no danger whatsoever of having the embargo against fresh meat from Argentina raised.

We do not share that belief for the very simple reason that direct methods are no longer the methods employed by Mr. Roosevelt. He has a way of dealing from the bottom of the deck.

If and when the embargo is lifted, neither the House nor the Senate will know anything about it until after the showdown.

That is exactly what happened in the case of the 50 destroyers and that is exactly what will happen in the case of diseased meat from Argentina.

Mr. Roosevelt has his lawyer Jackson and his Judge Hugo Black, so why bother much about the Congress?

Another little phony opinion by the Attorney General and our market will be flooded with fresh meat from the Argentine, same as it is now with the tin-can cow from the Pampas.

It probably will not come until after election, but it is dollars to doughnuts it will not be long afterward.

Then will follow the dread foot-and-mouth disease.

Let me remind you that every outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease that has occurred in this country has been directly traced to Argentina. It is hardly necessary to remind you of the terrific losses sustained by the finest dairy cattle in this country during the last outbreak, or of the fact that thousands of beef cattle and many thousands of deer had to be destroyed at one time in order to control this dread disease, and that foot-and-mouth, which must inevitably start if we lower the bars on Argentine cattle, is a threat to every cloven-hoofed animal, both domestic and game. This veiled threat is just another nightmare to the cattleman.

CANNED MEAT—HOW I HATE TO TALK ABOUT CANNED MEAT

Why lower the tariff on canned meat? Already the tariff is out of line with the fair rate of 6 cents on fresh meat, because it takes 100 pounds of dressed meat to make 40 pounds of canned. Therefore the tariff should be at least doubled. Press dispatches carried the information that Secretary Hull favored a lower tariff on this item. Scientific attempts to handle the tariff have apparently been cast to the four winds. Small wonder that the farmer feels himself utterly abandoned, a stepchild, if you will, of this administration.

Under the existing tariff, 85,862,876 pounds of canned beef entered the United States during 1939, an increase of 7,265,896 pounds over 1938. I wonder if you really realize what that figure means. Translated into terms of cattle on the hoof, roughly 143,000 wild-eyed, long-horned, tin-can cows stampeded through the 6-cent tariff wall to our shores during the past year. For good luck and for good measure, you can add another 10,000 head in the forms of smoked, pickled, and cured.

Again I ask, why lower the tariff? Not only canned beef, but hides, dog food, fertilizer, and practically all other remaining parts of the blooming critter are to be admitted under the pending agreement with Argentina.

Perhaps we do need more canned beef in this country, but, if so, it is because of the President's superb sales talk for the foreign product. It is interesting to note the effect of his pronouncement that "Argentine canned beef was superior to the American brand," and suggesting that you take a can along so that your family could see for itself on the next picnic. Here is the story:

In June 1939 Argentina exported 2,440,202 pounds of canned beef. This was about the time of the President's sales talk. In July, 500,000 additional pounds were exported, and during August Argentina's exports reached an all-time high of 3,418,566 pounds—more than a million pounds increase in 2 months because of a few kind words by the President.

What this country needs now is a supersalesman who will do for America and American products what is now being done for foreign countries and foreign products. We want a wagon boss; a round-up foreman who is 100 percent for our outfit; one who believes and will broadcast to the world the superiority of the American product, no matter what it is.

WOOL

Several months ago I ran afoul of Assistant Secretary of State Grady during a broadcast over the Government-controlled Department of the Interior station in the Department of Interior Building. This man Grady questioned my statements regarding wool. So, in all fairness, I give you the same statement and figures.

In 1937 we in Wyoming were receiving a nice price for our wool—32 to 33 cents per pound in the grease. Early in 1938 we heard rumors of a possible trade agreement with Great Britain, which, of course, meant wool. Recalling that Secretary Hull, the great free trader, was still in the saddle, and that all other agreements had meant a substantial tariff reduction, the trade, naturally assuming that wool tariffs would be lowered, became so jittery that prices fell and we took a loss of at least 10 cents a pound on our 1938 clip. All this before the new trade agreement became operative. So here you see the psychology of the thing in full bloom. This jittery condition would not exist under congressional review, because the fellows back home would know that you were on the job and protecting their interests.

Wyoming produces some 30,000,000 pounds of wool, on which we took at least a $3,000,000 loss. The Nation as a whole produces some 425,000,000 pounds of wool, including pulled, so that the entire loss approached $45,000,000. This loss was occasioned entirely because of a proposed agreement with Great Britain.

Despite definite assurances to the contrary, a reduction of 50 percent was made on a certain type of wool, with the result that imports of this one item alone increased 785 percent in 1939 over 1938. True, this item is called wool rags over there and comes into the United States under that classification, but once here it goes through a garnetting machine, where it is broken down into its fiber and comes out wool and does replace just that amount of American wool which otherwise would be used. Certainly, the fiber is broken and the wool is none too good, but, nevertheless, it becomes a part of that inferior wool which has replaced virgin wool to such an extent that today less than 50 percent virgin wool is contained in materials sold as 100-percent virgin wool.

Yes; they are wool rags over there, because as such they can take advantage of a tricky tariff provision; but once here and with a little doctoring they become wool, and the woolgrower takes a double loss. First he sees his 18-cent wool protective tariff cut in two; and once cut in two, he sees the ragged things show up here all shiny and bright to compete with and take the place of the virgin wool which he produces. Woolen rags are only part of the story. Other wool items are juggled in the same way—tariff greatly reduced and increases of 164 percent to 434 percent in imports in 1939 over the 1938 figure for these products, all of which compete with our products.

As I write these lines the truth-in-fabric bill has finally passed both Houses, needing only the President's signature to make it law.

The bill requires the labeling of all woolen goods so that purchasers may know of what their garments, and so forth, are made. The bill becomes operative 9 months hence.

After 20 years the efforts of Byron Wilson, secretary of the Wyoming Wool Growers Association, have borne fruit. He and his associates, as well as all western Congressmen, have been untiring in their determination to enact this legislation.

PARITY PAYMENTS

Why have farm prices remained far below parity or cost of production for the 7 years of the New Deal? Here are some of the answers:

In 1932, as a candidate for President, Franklin D. Roosevelt solemnly promised American farmers that he would protect their home market from the disastrous effects of cheap foreign competition. He emphatically pledged that he would not reduce tariff duties on cheaply produced agricultural imports sought to be sold in this country by saying:

> I know of no effective excessively high tariff duties on farm products. I do not intend that such duties shall be lowered. To do so would be inconsistent with my entire farm program, and every farmer knows it and will not be deceived.

Did President Roosevelt keep this promise to American farmers? Let the record speak for itself.

As a part of his good-neighbor policy to foreign farmers, the President negotiated 22 trade agreements with foreign nations and drastically reduced tariff duties on 163 competitive farm products, which made it easier and cheaper for foreign producers to flood our markets with products cheaply raised on foreign soil.

Partial list of foreign farm imports upon which duties were cut 25 to 50 percent: Cattle, hogs, pork, bacon, milk, cream, cheese, chickens, ducks, turkeys, eggs, honey, barley, corn, oats, rye, apples, berries, clover, alfalfa, cabbage, potatoes, and other vegetables, and so forth. All of these products are produced in surplus quantities in the United States. While the Government is spending millions of dollars to remove these domestic surpluses, it permits the importation of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of the same products to glut the market and further depress domestic prices.

A record of several foreign farm imports to the United States for 7 New Deal years

[Department of Commerce Reports, 1933-39]

Product	Imports (7-year total)	Gain to foreign farmers	Lost to American farmers [1]
Cattle.....head..	2,568,610	$66,079,238	$99,079,238
Beef, pork, poultry.....pounds..	885,993,786	163,974,550	219,974,550
Dairy products.....do....	518,067,547	97,760,243	130,313,000
Wool and mohair.....do....	1,425,060,292	290,103,938	385,000,000
Hides and skins.....do....	1,972,141,987	329,276,751	439,034,751
Barley malt.....do....	1,498,553,097	39,820,586	53,093,000
Barley.....bushels..	119,430,020	16,855,522	22,470,000
Corn.....do....	165,063,882	94,703,172	126,237,882
Oats.....do....	20,327,193	6,307,511	8,407,511
Flaxseed.....do....	120,343,301	135,293,478	202,293,000
Molasses.....gallons..	1,580,046,530	75,043,141	100,057,000
Eggs and poultry products.....value..		17,610,216	26,410,216
Potatoes and other vegetables.....do....		129,903,449	173,903,000

[1] United States dollar value American farmers would have received if imported products had been produced on their farms.

United States farm exports declined 9.2 percent in 1933–39, and have now practically stopped. Competitive foreign farm imports to the United States increased 30 percent in same period.

The A. A. A. required American farmers to take 40,000,000 acres a year out of cultivation to produce less. Total reduction, 7 years, 280,000,000 acres. Foreign farmers used over 400,000,000 foreign acres in 7 New Deal years to produce competitive farm crops, valued at billions of dollars, which were sold in the United States. The 1938 acreage in United States for 45 main crops, 342,000,000 acres. New Deal generosity gave foreign farmers our markets for their products for more than 1 year's acreage out of the last 7.

Results of 7 years of New Deal planning: Glutted markets, low prices, and billions of dollars in list income for domestic producers. American farmers will not be deceived. They now know that the first step for agricultural recovery is to protect our home market from cheap foreign competition and that this promised and necessary protection has not been given by the New Deal.

It Can Happen Here

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANTON J. JOHNSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

ARTICLE BY JOHN T. FLYNN

Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, there is an interesting book entitled "It Can't Happen Here."

It now appears that it not only can happen but it has happened in our own representative form of government.

The following article by John T. Flynn appearing in the daily press of October 3 reveals the administration's progress toward a totalitarian state:

PLAIN ECONOMICS

(By John T. Flynn)

CLEVELAND, October 2.—There's hellzapoppin in these parts—particularly in Illinois and Indiana—and all about coal. The Interior Department, which now houses the old Bituminous Coal Commission, has issued a new schedule of prices for soft coal.

Out this way they say it is a direct blow at Indiana and Illinois coal mines. And they allow that it is a direct bid for the support of John L. Lewis. The price of Indiana and Illinois coal has been upped 50 cents a ton. And the politicos and soft coal men cry out that every coal buyer in Illinois and Indiana is going to have to dig into his jeans for 50 cents on every ton of coal he buys as his contribution to buying eastern coal labor's vote for the New Deal.

There is, of course, a more fundamental objection than this charge, which may or may not be true. Actually, the Bituminous Coal Commission is one of the most completely pro-Fascist steps taken by our American Government. And when anyone says, "It can't happen here," we need but point to the Coal Commission—the notorious Guffey Act. And remember there is not a word about labor in that act.

It was passed, not to protect labor, but to enable the producers of coal—the mine owners—to fix coal prices under Government supervision and generally to rule the coal industry.

The mine owners in various regions, through Government-sponsored committees, make up the schedule of prices on soft coal. After that the Government commission approves or alters them. This is a very close approximation of the German or Italian Fascist corporative. If all industries in this country were organized on this basis we would have complete economic fascism.

Fixing coal prices may seem easy. After all, coal is coal—a few differences in grades and sizes. Actually, fixing coal prices involves establishing prices on 500,000 grades and sizes. That seems fantastic, but it is true.

No human organization can do this. And when one tries, it does strange things. The first effort of the Commission to fix coal prices resulted in a scandal. Now the mine people in Illinois and Indiana charge that, while coal can be mined cheaper in Indiana and Illinois, the Commission has imposed a compulsory price increase in coal from these mines from $5.35 to $5.85 a ton, which will be the same price at which coal from Pennsylvania can come in.

And so while the lower cost of the western mines is discarded as a price factor, people in Illinois will be forced to pay 10 percent more for their coal, while mines in their trade district will be deprived of much of their business.

This Coal Commission has not worked very well up to now. If it does get to working smoother, the plan will quickly spread to the textile industry, the steel industry, and others. It is the beginning of the corporative system.

The Federal Debt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FREDERICK C. SMITH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. FREDERICK C. SMITH, OF OHIO

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following text of address by me over the network of the Mutual Broadcasting System, October 3, 1940:

Ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience, the subject I am going to discuss this evening may not be so very popular with some of you. Here in Washington it is very unpopular. If a Congressman seriously discusses the condition of the Federal finances and debt he is liable to be accused of being against adequate military preparedness, or possibly even of being unpatriotic.

Of course, this does not mean much, because long before the question of preparedness came up it was unpopular here to talk about Government economy. So that being accused now of being unpatriotic, because one advocates prudent spending of taxpay-

ers' money, doesn't have the weight it might, if economy had been more popular before.

Anyway, this attitude is both baseless and unfair. There is nothing whatever to indicate that those of us who would keep watch on the Treasury are any less desirous of supplying our defense needs, or that our motives are less pure, than those with whom we may not always see eye to eye. I believe that any person charged with the responsibility of managing taxpayers' money can do no greater or more patriotic service to his country than to keep a watchful eye on its national credit and finances.

Has not the conserving of the credit and resources of the Government, in time of peace, as well as in time of war, always been one of the principal tasks of statesmen? Indeed, if I read history correctly, to so manage these, especially in time of national stress, as to achieve maximum results, and at the same time do the least amount of harm to the economy, has ever been the acid test of true statesmanship—and, incidentally, perhaps of patriotism, too. In so doing, isn't this looking to future generations, as well as that of the present, and isn't this, after all, the very stuff that patriotism is made of?

The wisest and best public officials never failed, under any conditions, to guard with the greatest solicitation the revenues and expenditures entrusted to their care. With respect to the military, they have always been keen in realizing that it can never exceed in strength and effectiveness its source of supply, the Treasury. They have known that this is a country's basic protection, its very first line of defense against external attack. As the Treasury is, so will be the defense. If that is well managed, there will be efficient defense. If not, there can be only inefficient defense. This is so self-evident that it should be unnecessary to mention it.

I consider there never was a time when our country was in greater need of careful watching of our national finances than now. Surely it is generally realized that there has been much inefficient and wasteful spending here in Washington in the last few years. Before the new defense program was started, the Treasury was far from being in the best condition. The public debt was already soaring to dangerous heights.

It appears we are now involved in a most vicious process—a weakened Treasury, yet the need of imposing additional large sums for defense, which in turn weakens the Treasury still further. In this way our first line of defense is being continuously undermined.

This is something all of us do not see, but it is taking place, and if it continues the time will surely come when its evil effects cannot help but be harmful to our defense program.

Is it not, therefore, imperative now that we do everything possible to stop this? Should not all of us now make diligent effort to bring about Government economy, to eliminate all unnecessary and wasteful spending, to make our Federal tax dollar go just as far as we can?

It being the sole purpose of this discussion to urge that we all work to this end, let us consider a few of the more important conditions of our debt and tax problem. Long before the depression the Federal Government showed a strong tendency toward extravagance.

Before the World War it was costing us less than 800 million a year to operate the Federal Government. During the war, of course, the cost went very high, up to 18 billions. After the war it failed to drop back to its pre-war level. The war had done something to fasten new costs upon us, as wars always do. The lowest reached after the war, in 1927, was 3½ billions a year, more than four times the pre-war cost. Then it started to climb again until it reached the high figure of roundly 9½ billions in 1940.

Before the World War the Federal debt was about one and a quarter billion dollars. The war boosted it to 25½ billion. From this point it dropped to roundly 16 billion in 1930. Then it started to climb again and reached the high figure of roundly 43 billion in 1940.

In 1916 the amount of the Federal debt would have been sufficient to buy up one-tenth of all the property in Ohio at its assessed value. Today it would buy all the property in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

The total deficit of all the administrations up to the end of the fiscal year 1930, covering a period of 141 years, which includes the cost of all wars and all our previous depressions and panics, was roundly 26½ billions. The total deficit from 1931 to 1940, covering a period of only 10 years, all peacetime, including but a small part of the new defense costs, was roundly 30 billions.

But think of this, the total cost of the Federal Government, from the time of its founding through 1930, 141 years, was roundly 100 billion dollars. From 1931 to 1940, only 10 years, all peacetime, Congress has spent, appropriated, and authorized to be spent, more than 90 billion dollars. That is, we have as good as spent in the last 10 years almost as much as was spent in the 141 previous years.

The total amount of wealth in the entire United States is roundly 300 billion dollars. So that our Federal Government has in the last 10 years spent almost a third as much money as the total value of all the wealth of our country!

The debt at the end of 1941 will be about 50 billion dollars. By the end of 1942 it will be about 60 billion. This Congress, only since last January, has appropriated and authorized to be spent, 23½ billion. This would be almost enough money to buy all of the property in New York State at its assessed value.

People should also realize that the heavy additional costs of defense are not to be merely temporary. This is to be a permanent program.

I have estimated the annual upkeep and maintenance cost of the conscript army, and the additions involved in the two-ocean Navy program, will be no less than 6 billion dollars.

We have gone in the red 27 billions in the last 10 years, with expenditures running at about 7 billions a year.

Where will the public debt go with expenditures double that amount?

Ordinary receipts have in the last 7 years averaged annually less than 5 billions. Merely to bring expenditures in balance with income will require the addition of more than 9 billions in taxes.

Adding Federal costs to those of State and local governments we are confronted with an annual tax bill of roundly 22 billion dollars. Every year we will have to pay in taxes an amount sufficient to build 4,500,000 homes at $5,000 apiece, or to buy up nearly half of all the farms in the United States at their assessed value.

Farmers, laboring groups, small salaried employees, and the other low-income groups, will have to pay more than 18 billions of this.

The conditions I have described to you are real and can't be ignored. The natural laws of finance will see to that, if we don't. If we continue in our present course a day of reckoning is sure to come. National bankruptcy is certain to overtake us.

We all wish to do everything possible to strengthen our defense. We should appropriate every dollar that is necessary for this purpose.

Because we are compelled to vote large sums for this purpose, if for no other reason, it is our duty and responsibility to be as economical in all of our spending as possible.

Above all, Congress should act immediately to eliminate the enormous waste that is taking place in almost all Government departments.

Here is where a grave wrong is being done to our people, allowing this to continue when our defense needs, as well as our economy, make it so imperative that we conserve to the last penny all of our resources.

My plea is to stop this waste and to eliminate every function that can possibly be dispensed with. Literally billions could be saved without doing the least harm to Government functions. Indeed, I think the saving of them would rather restore efficiency.

When this is done we should levy enough taxes to meet all the costs, no matter how great may be the sacrifice required.

I wish all the people of our Nation would join in an effort to bring this about. Just as we need unity, sacrifice, and patriotism to build a strong national defense arm, so we need unity, sacrifice, and patriotism to build a strong National Treasury.

Bankruptcy is one of the greatest disasters that can possibly befall any people. This was the primary cause of Russia's breakdown in the World War, and therefore of the communism that overtook her. The bankrupt condition of the French Treasury was one of the principal causes of her recent downfall. The bankruptcy of Germany after the war provided an ideal soil for developing totalitarianism. Insolvency of government treasuries was one of the principal causes of the hell that is sweeping over Europe today.

A distressed national treasury, together with excessive taxes, caused the French Revolution. In fact this has had more to do with causing revolutions than all other agents combined. The chronic revolutions in Latin America are traceable almost solely to excessive taxation and bankrupt state treasuries.

We dare not allow this disastrous scourge to befall our Nation.

But, in my judgment, we must act, and act quickly, to avoid it.

Bankers, manufacturers, farmers, working people, or whoever you may be listening in, won't you help in a Nation-wide movement, by organizing your own groups, or communities, to meet this threat of national bankruptcy, and save our country from ruin? Please write me if you believe this should be done. I assure you, I shall do all I can to help.

Thank you, and, good night.

Fort Dix, N. J.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FRANCIS HARTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

Mr. HARTER of New York. Mr. Speaker, I have previously addressed my colleagues concerning the conditions existing at Fort Dix, N. J. Yesterday my colleague the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH] brought in fresh evidence of additional lack of facilities at Fort Dix. The National Guard units

ordered to this fort at least are experiencing the effects of lack of peacetime preparedness for them.

The indications are that housing and heating are lacking, but now we have information showing inadequate sanitary and toilet facilities with a finger pointing at inadequate food. When I voted authority to the President to call out the National Guard I was assured that all facilities to properly house and care for these men would be available before they were put into camps. When the conscription bill was being considered I offered an amendment to provide for a primary training period of 3 months to be had in the vacated armories, well supplied with all facilities to protect the health of the conscriptees. A majority of the membership of the House saw fit to defeat that amendment and now we have this sorry news of our National Guard men being subjected to cold and unhealthful conditions through premature ordering of them to such camps as Dix before facilities have been supplied. We are advised that wooden barracks will not be completed to take the place of unheated tents, ill-suited to the season's climatic conditions, for about 2 months. Make no mistake, if these living and unhealthful conditions are being experienced by our guardsmen the grounds are being laid for more future additions to the veterans' pension rolls and through no fault of those soldiers, but through the fault of our executive department. I would indeed be amazed if any present Member of this House should defend the subjecting of these boys to health-breaking conditions, especially when this country is still officially at peace.

When I spoke on House Resolution 620, I outlined my purpose in introducing that resolution to investigate the conditions at the various forts and camps where our soldiers have been ordered or are to be ordered. We should determine the truth concerning complaints coming to us, fix the blame where it lies, and see that the conditions are remedied before others are subjected to similar unjustifiable conditions. House resolution 620 is before the Rules Committee, and I might say that even before the resolution was printed I directed a communication to the chairman of that committee, urging that it be reported so that we can get quick action. In my humble opinion, such occupancy constitutes a further reflection on preparing for preparedness. Leave having been granted, I now include an editorial from the Buffalo Evening News of October 3, 1940, on this subject entitled "Who Is To Blame?"

WHO IS TO BLAME?

By far the greatest responsibility of the Federal Government at this time is its responsibility for protecting the health and morale of the thousands of civilian soldiers who are being inducted into Regular Army service for a year of military training. These boys don't ask special consideration. They expect to endure the hardships of soldiering and to toughen themselves for their country's service. But they are wards of the Army as well as soldiers. It is the Army's responsibility to keep them sound in mind and body while they are being trained, and to return them to their homes as healthier men and better citizens than before.

It is therefore disquieting to learn that conditions at Camp Dix, N. J., where Buffalo's One Hundred and Seventy-fourth Infantry and other New York National Guard regiments have been quartered for the past week, are dangerous to the health of these boys who have volunteered in the service of their country. A series of articles in the News has revealed that the soldiers, billeted in tents, have been forced to sleep in their uniforms in cold and stormy weather. There is only a single heating stove in the whole camp. Although construction is proceeding on regular wooden barracks, these will not be completed for 2 months. Meanwhile there is fear that the health of the soldiers may suffer.

As a result of the News disclosures, Representative J. FRANCIS HARTER, of Eggertsville, has moved for a congressional investigation of conditions. It must be hoped that Congress will take steps to remedy the situation. Congress, in approving the selective service bill, specifically required that no men could be conscripted for military training until adequate provision had been made for shelter, sanitation, hospitalization, and other things needed for protecting their health. Apparently the enlisted men of the National Guard do not have even this protection. It is a matter which calls for prompt action with remedial measures wherever they are found necessary.

I seriously ask the support of all of the membership in getting House Resolution 620 reported for early action, and, of course, urge your support of the resolution to remedy any conditions before too much harm is done.

The Tax Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JERE COOPER
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 4, 1940

ARTICLE FROM MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the following article from the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal, under date of October 2, 1940, which gives a very clear and concise statement with respect to the excess profits tax bill recently passed.

The article follows:

[From the Memphis Commercial Appeal of October 2, 1940]

AS SIMPLY AS IT CAN BE SAID, HERE'S THE TAX BILL IN BRIEF

WASHINGTON, October 1.—Principal provisions of the excess-profits tax bill, which received final congressional approval Tuesday:

A flat 3.1 percent is added to the normal income-tax rate for corporations earning more than $25,000, making the effective rate 24 percent.

A graduated tax of from 25 to 50 percent is imposed on earnings defined as excess profits. The tax would be 25 percent on excess profits of not more than $20,000; 30 percent on the next $30,000; 35 percent on the next $50,000; 40 percent on the next $150,000; 45 percent on the next $250,000; and 50 percent on all over $500,000.

TWO METHODS USED

Excess profits would be determined by either of two methods. Under one the excess would be the earnings above 95 percent of the average earnings during 1936 through 1939. Under the other the excess would be the amount exceeding 8 percent of the corporation's invested capital, including 50 percent of its borrowed capital. Under either plan the first $5,000 of excess profits would be exempt from the levy.

Corporations completing defense manufacturing facilities after June 10, 1940, are permitted to deduct from taxable income over a 5-year period the cost of such facilities.

LIMITATIONS SUSPENDED

The existing 8- and 7-percent profit limitations on Government contracts for warships and airplanes are suspended during the period the excess-profits tax is in effect. This is conditioned on the length of the emergency declared by the President.

A new system of low-rate Government life insurance for soldiers and sailors is created. This includes draftees and National Guard men on active duty, and policies range up to $10,000. Pension increases also are provided to beneficiaries of the Railroad Retirement Act serving in naval or military forces from the Spanish-American War to the present.

Sugar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED CUMMINGS
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 4, 1940

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, there has been so much talk recently regarding sugar prices. A statement that was supposed to have originated in one of the Departments said that the American public was being overcharged for sugar about $365,000,000. This is such an exaggerated statement that I believe it needs correction.

As there are about 132,000,000 people in the United States, this would mean they were being overcharged about $2.70 each. The annual consumption of sugar in the United States is about 101 to 102 pounds per person, and this would mean that sugar was about $2.70 per hundred too high.

For the 8-year period 1932–39, the average price of sugar in the United States was $5.41 per hundred pounds. If you subtract $2.70, the amount the public is supposed to be over-

charged, you will have $2.71 left to pay for sugar, the refining, all brokerage charges, and freight. I am wondering if any sensible person believes the sugar business in the United States could exist with those kind of prices.

About 295 pounds of sugar is recovered from each ton of beets in the United States. A price of $2.71 per hundred pounds for sugar would mean that you would have $7.99 to pay for the beets, refining charges, freight, brokerage, and all other expenses connected with the industry. Any such price would mean the end of the sugar industry in the United States of both cane and beets.

In 1920 Cuba had all the sugar that was available for consumption in the United States. And did they use this to their profit? Let me quote you the prices for that year:

	Per hundred
January	$17.80
February	18.80
March	18.70
April	20.20
May	25.40
June	26.70
July	26.50
August	22.90

And in December, when the beet sugar appeared on the market it dropped to $10.50 per hundred; and in December 1931 it was $6.50. Do you want to kill the sugar business in the United States and, when I say the United States I include Hawaii and Puerto Rico?

Every acre of beets grown in Colorado pays $25 to the railroads for freight. It furnishes labor for thousands of people during the growing and harvesting, and at a higher rate of wages than is paid in any other agricultural industry in the United States.

I have heard people say recently—and these people were interested in the sugar business—that they would rather have no regulations than the present law. I was told recently by a member of the sugar section of the Agriculture Department, that you could buy refined sugar in New York to export for $1.60 per hundred. This sugar, of course, pays no tariff or processing tax. If, however, you would add to this price of $1.60, the 90-cent tariff, the present rate against Cuba, and the 50-cent processing tax, you would have a price of $3. Sugar has ranged in price from $4.30 to $4.50 most of the time during 1939. This is $1.50 above the price that would prevail were it not for the quota provisions.

In 1933 the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wallace, called a conference of the people who were furnishing the United States sugar, and after deliberate consideration, they signed an agreement, called the stabilization agreement, which provided for quotas similar to those now in effect. That year the world's production of sugar was 27,138,000 tons. In 1938–39 it was 34,719,000 tons. This is an increase of something like 26 percent. If we needed a quota in 1933, is it not more necessary now?

Owing to the war in Europe, there is very little market for sugar there. This means that sugar in Cuba and the tropical islands is backing up. I am convinced that anyone who has made even a superficial study of the present sugar situation must see that the removal of the quotas would mean chaos and absolute ruin to the industry in the United States.

The House has passed a resolution that provides for extension of the present law until January 1, 1942. I believe the Senate will do so soon. I hope the friends of the industry will get together early in 1941 and agree on a law that will give us a reasonable protection, but you cannot have a quota if each of the different interests insists on taking out what they want first and let the rest of us divide what is left. If I could pass a law to suit myself it would give the United States an unlimited right to produce sugar and what was left of a reasonable quota would be appropriated to foreign countries.

Sugar has long been a football of politics. There appears to be something about the business that goes to men's heads who are perfectly sane on all other subjects. They apparently go nutty when you mention sugar. We all realize that it has this effect when it is used in liquid form, especially during the prohibition era. I sincerely hope we will all have clear heads in 1941.

Fairly, and Without Fear or Favor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED BRADLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I told you that if we violate the no-third-term tradition in this Nation we will have wiped out the excuse for denying a fourth, fifth, or sixth term and we will have made probable the establishment of a royal family in America.

We all know that the world is now in flames. We know that it has been aflame in the past. As I look back over the World War days I see certain pictures. I see pictures of the sons of monarchs of England, of Belgium, of Germany, and other nations in uniforms and in some instances actively directing troops at the front, actually facing shot and shell. I see before me the face of one Lt. Kermit Roosevelt, the son of the great Roosevelt—Theodore Roosevelt—shot down in an air battle.

And now coming out of my day dreams, I see before me conscription—conscription in peacetime—for the first time in the history of our Nation. Our President has stated that this conscription law must be administered "fairly and without fear or favor." He is absolutely right. God knows he is right. If it is not administered "fairly and without fear or favor," shame on America, and shame on those who would administer it otherwise.

Mr. Speaker, I have a nephew—a magnificent specimen of manhood, six feet seven and five-eights in his stocking feet, weight 250 pounds, a graduate of Northwestern University, a boy who went through 4 years of R. O. T. C. naval training, a boy who has actively participated at sea on several R. O. T. C. naval cruises, a boy who now proudly is an ensign in the Naval Reserve. Some time ago, his father—my brother—wrote me for advice. I suggested then, and I have before me right now a letter from his father suggesting to that young man that he immediately actively enter the service of the United States Navy. That he follow it as a career. This young man has a lovely wife and a splendid son, and he will be called upon to face shot and shell should this country be drawn into conflict. Though he now has a fine peacetime job with plenty of promotion possibilities, I have no hesitancy in predicting what that young man's decision will be.

I have had other young men within the draft age come to me; I have had letters from mothers, as have we all, asking what the future might hold in store for them or their sons. In no case have I had a letter or a suggestion from anyone attempting to avoid their responsibility to America. American youth is ready to give, to give fairly, and honestly.

Therefore, I say to you, Mr. Speaker, that America was stunned when some time ago son "Jimmie" Roosevelt was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the United States Marine Corps. The furore set up over the commissioning of a son of the President who had had no previous military experience whatsoever—the furore was so great that it even became so distasteful to son Jimmie, that he demoted himself voluntarily to a captaincy.

And now we find, Mr. Speaker, with a conscription bill before us—personally endorsed by the President, and the First Lady of the Land, in glowing terms publicly in the newspapers

and over the radio—we find this conscription bill before us with the statement from the President that it must be administered "fairly and without fear or favor."

And now, what do we find? Out of a clear sky we learn that son Elliott—Crown Prince Elliott, if you please—walks into the office of the Chief of the Army Air Corps and comes out a captain. A flying captain? Oh, no; he is just a "kee-wee," which is known to aviators all over the world as a bird that wears wings but cannot fly. What will son Elliott do? He will be a captain in the Air Corps Procurement Division, because of his "special talents." What are these talents? The Air Corps officially states that is "confidential." Well, actually, no one knows, unless it may be his "special talents" are for securing exorbitant prices for American aircraft as exemplified by his proven machinations with the late Anthony H. S. Fokker to sell airplanes to the Russian Government at a handsome commission of one-half million dollars each. Will he face shot and shell? Will he face the prospect of diving to earth in a flaming plane as did Kermit Roosevelt? He will not. The only shot and shell or flaming planes that he will face will be those that the President likes to state are "on order" or "on paper."

How about son Franklin? I am told that he served 4 years in the R. O. T. C. naval unit at Harvard, and as such—and as my nephew—he carries an ensign's rank in the Naval Reserve. God bless him, and God protect him.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me cite a quotation taken from Gen. Hugh S. Johnson's article of September 25 in which he quotes Capt. Elliott Roosevelt:

No matter what the sacrifices, it is important for all young people to join up and take part in the defense program.

O. K. friends, but could your boy join up in this soft fashion? Try and do it.

Crown Prince Elliott, as a captain in the Procurement Division, will receive a salary of $200 per month and may possibly receive special allowances up to $116 per month. Being a 30-year-old multimillionaire in his own right, we in Washington, of course, assume that he will voluntarily return that salary to the Red Cross or to some other laudable cause.

Yes, Mr. President, America asks—America demands—that this conscription bill be administered "fairly and without fear and favor." Following the traditions of American history, let your own sons take the lead in this measure which you and your family loudly—publicly acclaim.

Attacks on Willkie Campaign Train

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE WASHINGTON EVENING STAR

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence, from the Washington Evening Star of yesterday:

[From the Washington Evening Star of Thursday, October 3, 1940]

CLASS FRICTION SEEN ABETTED BY NEW DEAL—ATTACK ON WILLKIE TRAIN MAY AWAKEN VOTERS, WRITER SAYS

(By David Lawrence)

Unfair and unsportsmanlike attacks on the Willkie campaign train—the throwing of missiles in the industrial districts—may prove more persuasive in awakening the voters of the country to the effects of new dealism, as it is practiced here, than all the speeches the Republican nominee himself can possibly make.

For the last 7 years the doctrine of hate has been preached constantly by the administration and its spokesmen. The workers have been taught to believe that the Republican Party and particularly the managers of industry and business are their potential if not actual enemies. It is not surprising to find some voters mistakenly wrought up now to the point of violence.

Not long ago even in this very campaign, President Roosevelt, in a speech to the teamsters' union, preached class cleavage. Never before has class friction been as pronounced as it is today. Yet the same United States of America existed in the prosperous twenties without ugly feeling and fanatical bitterness.

The reason for the development of the class warfare is that the New Deal has merely adopted the totalitarian technique which is to select some group or class and make them the subject of bitter attacks. In Nazi Germany and in Italy the class warfare has taken on religious and racial grounds whereas in the United States the Government in power has resorted to hate on economic grounds to condemn businessmen and employers as a class.

SATISFACTORY RELATIONS

Long before the Wagner labor relations law was passed, the majority of the employers and employees enjoyed satisfactory relations. The cases where exploitation occurred constituted a small minority yet the administration spokesmen give the impression that every employer is an enemy of his workers.

Some day when the public debt has risen to dangerous levels and the Nation is on the verge of bankruptcy so that, as happened in Germany in 1923, the wage earner's pay envelope is used up in buying a loaf of bread, the workers will discover that the persons who plotted the breakdown of the economic system really had in the back of their minds a form of national socialism not unlike that which Germany and Italy have put into effect.

Radicalism thrives on class warfare, and so does communism. The doctrine of the Communist is to foment class war so that chaos will ensue and then the people in desperation will accept radical experiments. The New Deal has in it many men, including the President himself, who would not for a moment tolerate actual communism. They scoff today at fears that class warfare can hurt America. Indeed, the theory prevails now as always in administration circles that everything can be kept in hand by one man—just so long as the elections are favorable to the administration.

WARNING OF RADICALISM

The argument that the President can control the left wing has been handed out as a reason urging conservatives to support him. But the conservatives who bet on Hitler's ability to hold back the extremists in Germany soon found themselves mistaken. If the juggernaut of radicalism once gets going in America, even Mr. Roosevelt with the best of intentions will not be able to hold it in check.

It is significant that the President rebuked the Government employee who threw missiles at Mr. Willkie. It was a shrewd recognition of the fact that such things cannot go unnoticed in politics. For invariably they react against the party whose supporters resort to that type of thing. The President, however, would make much more progress—and would win more votes—if he took the trouble to study the seeds of unrest in America and particularly the currents of enmity which his constant harping on employer-employee relationships has caused. He does it, of course, just to get votes, but the scars he leaves do not disappear the day after election.

RECKLESS CAMPAIGNING

The technique of condemning the Republicans as unpatriotic and as somehow supporting Hitler is just another piece of reckless campaigning which the New Deal has adopted. If the Republicans on their part wanted to adopt such lopsided reasoning they might argue that if Hitler is to be the campaign issue maybe Hitler and not Roosevelt is to be thanked by millions of Americans for the jobs they are getting every day. Certainly until Hitler woke up America to its defenseless position this last summer, millions of persons were still unemployed.

Some day the American electorate will rally to a doctrine of friendship and brotherhood instead of hate, and some day the workers will understand that there cannot be jobs without managers or investors or creators of jobs. When that time comes the votes of the working class will force a new national unity in America.

English Journals Predict Our Actions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD certain articles

entitled "English Journals Predict Our Actions." I submit one on the Japanese-American situation today for printing and the others will be submitted later.

I wish to call attention to a certain piece of news in the afternoon newspapers, relative to the statement of the Japanese minister, and to note that there are two ways to get into war. First, we can declare war; second, we can provoke someone else to declare war. I feel that the statement of the Japanese foreign minister is but an echo of the speech made by the President in Chicago.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FAR EAST

In recent days, much has been said about the alliance between Germany, Italy, and Japan. Administration spokesmen have tried to dodge all responsibility from their actions in the crisis. I do not uphold the aggression of the east. However, I say that there has been too little attempt on the part of those in control to reach a peaceful solution. Furthermore certain statements made by those directing the policy have been too war-minded and not enough peace-minded.

As in previous discussions of the prediction of the action of the United States as shown by English journals, certain interesting sidelights on the Asiatic developments are noted.

In the first article, I discussed an "educational campaign" by our officials toward involvement.

Note in the excerpts from the London Round Table how the American fleet "would move into Singapore in the event of a Far Eastern threat." This is from a London publication nearly a year and a half ago. Watch and see the actions in the Pacific and see if the predictions of the Round Table are true.

I do not comment on the matter. I shall present the articles and let them be studied in the light of present developments.

Remember how we were advised that Captain Ingersoll was in London to discuss naval construction with the British authorities. But the English journals state that he was over there to discuss "naval cooperation in the Far East." The March 1938 issue of the London Round Table reads:

"Behind this fairly well-known educational activity of the leaders there is a great deal of other movement which would be more disquieting, if it were known to isolationist opinion. The President's discussions with his naval officers have definitely dealt with the possibility of a long-range blockade of Japan. Through representatives, he has been in closest touch with the British Government. Capt. R. E. Ingersoll, chief of the War Plans Division of the Navy Department, spent late December and early January in London, conferring with the Admiralty. His outward mission was to find out what is happening technically in British naval construction, particularly as concerns new battleships and the caliber of guns they mount. Another obvious job was to find out if the Admiralty possesses any information unknown in Washington about the rumored new Japanese battleships, supposed to be of some 46,000 tons and mounting 18-inch guns. But a mission of even more importance to both Governments, it may safely be assumed, was to discuss the possibility and ways and means of naval cooperation in the Far East. Captain Ingersoll's unheralded visit suggests in essence the exchanges of information in pre-war days—or in the last year or two—between Paris and London, but it has no such precedent in Anglo-American relations."

After this discussion of the Ingersoll visit, the magazine says:

"When the general public comes to know of these goings-on, opinion may take fright, reasonably or not."

Then refer to the sentence, "Behind this fairly well known educational activity of the leaders there is a great deal of other movement which would be more disquieting if it were known * * *."

Remember, we were assured there was no secrecy in the conduct of our foreign policies.

The Round Table (founded by Lord Lothian) stated in its June 1938 issue the following:

"Meantime, Japan is being reminded frequently that the United States is still on the Pacific scene by protests at air bombing, by efforts to persuade American manufacturers and exporters not to supply Japan with the sinews of war, and by the keen and palpable interest of public and press in China's successful tactics and the pyramiding internal and external difficulties of Japan."

Would one feel that would aid in good relations between the two countries?

In the June 1939 issue of the Round Table, the magazine answers the question, "The American fleet has recently been concentrated in the Pacific. Why?" in these words:

"The American Fleet has recently been concentrated in the Pacific. Why? Perhaps the best answer was given indirectly in an article that Lord Lothian wrote in the London Observer. He said:

"'Great Britain in the past has seldom had more than one, or at most two, naval enemies to meet at the same time. But today, and so long as the anti-Comintern powers exist as a military combination, she may have to face a naval war in the North Sea, in the Mediterranean, and the Far East at the same time. That is to say, a two-armed man may have to fight a three-armed enemy—a most difficult and, in some circumstances, an impossible task.'

"Transfer of the American Fleet to the Pacific, with much of it to be concentrated at Honolulu, means that the United States is freeing Great Britain from one of its three potential enemies. The American Fleet is taking up the job in the Pacific. It is quite apparent that, even in the present evolving state of national opinion, the United States Government cannot give a hard-and-fast guaranty that its fleet will protect Malaya and Australasia Public opinion will not support guaranties. But statesmen have to make their calculations on the basis of other factors. And in view of all the circumstances it is clear that the United States is taking a stand against Japan. Mere transfer of the fleet, the cables from Tokyo speedily indicated, prevented Japan from cementing an alliance with the axis.

"American naval authorities recognize the difficulties of operation in far eastern waters. But their fleet is tailored for long-range work. It is already based at Pearl Harbor, almost in mid-Pacific. If the Guam proposal goes through it will present a far stronger threat. And there is Singapore to be remembered. Over a year ago an important American officer conferred with the Admiralty in London, and explored the possibilities of naval cooperation in the Far East. There is little doube that part of the American Fleet would move into Singapore in the event of a far eastern threat, and might even go there if Japan made any overt action against the Dutch or British possessions in Malaya. Indeed, some American officers believe that the fleet at Pearl Harbor would constitute a real deterrent to Japanese operations as far south as the Dutch East Indies.

"A stronger British and French line in Europe will certainly stimulate a stronger American policy in the Far East. If the two hands are vigorous and firm in Europe, the one hand will doubtless be firm in Asia. Development of a more active American policy in Asia is fairly recent. Hitherto, interest has been concentrated on Europe. But it is beginning to be seen that if Great Britain's hands can be freed in Asia her European policies will grow more resolute. Hence the importance of sending the American Fleet to the Pacific 1 day after the President's message to Hitler, shortly after the British guaranty to Poland, and shortly before the decision to apply conscription. The interaction of events was very clear. That is the way the United States can cooperate with the grand alliance led by Great Britain and France."

We were advised there was no written or implied understandings or agreements with foreign powers. It seems that this article was very definite in its knowledge that there was some sort of an agreement. Recent statements made since the war hysteria indicate that there was some understanding. These statements were not made for our own readers until they had reached a stage of being educated by the State Department for a stronger foreign policy.

The Round Table told its readers in England more than a year ago:

"Far, indeed, by degrees that have sometimes gone unperceived, has the Roosevelt administration led the American people actively into the world crisis."

Maybe the reason the American readers are not supposed to know is shown in the sentence in the same publication that it would be disquieting if we knew.

Sidney Rogerson, in the Lidell Hart series, discussing English propaganda in the United States, said we would be involved in the European conflict through Japan. Is that plan to be correct?

Other English publications discuss the Far East as it affects the United States, but these shall not be covered at this time.

Again, I note that I am not discussing the advisability of the actions but only attempting to show how accurately the English journals knew what the United States would do long before the action was taken.

A Hindu Views American Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HINSHAW

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, there is a strong, and withal natural, tendency on our part to view foreign affairs from an insular standpoint. Therefore, it is both interesting and frequently instructive to learn the views of those with foreign background. The following is a letter to the editor of the New York Times, published on Sunday, September 15, 1940, written by one Taraknath Das who, from his name, appears to be a native of India. This letter contains information of value

and strikes a note of caution worthy of serious consideration.

The letter follows:

[From the New York Times of September 15, 1940]

TRADE TREATY FAVORED—ONE WITH JAPAN REGARDED AS IN OUR BEST INTERESTS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

During the last few months there have been persistent rumors that Soviet Russia, China ruled by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, and the United States are in tacit understanding about checking Japanese imperialism and its expansion in vast regions of East Asia. Since Great Britain has been very much involved in the present war in Europe, Africa, and the Near East, and shown indications of "appeasement of Japan" by making the so-called Burma Road agreement, the rumor of an American-Chinese-Russian understanding has gained strength. Is there any foundation to it?

To be sure, the American people and the administration in Washington are in favor of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. Many Americans have been led to believe that Soviet Russia is interested in helping China to defeat Japan in her present war in China. As an expression of American disapproval of Japanese imperialism the present administration has abrogated the commercial treaty with Japan, and many responsible Americans speak of an American-Japanese war as inevitable. These things give some plausibility to the rumor of American-Chinese-Russian cooperation against Japan.

AGREEMENT WITH SOVIET

While the United States Government refuses to renew trade agreements with Japan, presumably on moral grounds, on August 6, 1940, it signed a new trade agreement with Soviet Russia, whose record as a treaty-breaking aggressor power is well known to the civilized world. From the perusal of Sir Nevile Henderson's Memoirs it becomes clear that Soviet Russia is at least indirectly, if not equally, responsible for bringing about the present European war. The United States Government has protested against the rape of Finland, annexation of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. Russian expansion is not devoid of dangerous consequences in the field of world politics.

Soviet Russia has acquired control of Outer Mongolia, 1,000,000 square miles in area, which was a part of the Chinese Empire. Soviet Russian penetration in Sinkiang, which is very rich in minerals and in area some 750,000 square miles, is progressing. It is believed that Soviet Russia is getting ready to penetrate into northern Persia. In spite of these things, when the United States Government agrees to renew the trade agreement with Soviet Russia and refuses to extend the same treatment to Japan in matters of commercial relations, many people are inclined to think that at the back of the renewal of trade agreement with Soviet Russia there is some motive of international significance.

Recently the United States Maritime Commission refused the request of Mitsui & Co. of Japan to charter the Waterman Steamship Corporation freighter *Lafayette* to carry a cargo of new steel from an Atlantic port to Japan, and a request of the Mitsui Co. to charter a tanker to carry fuel or Diesel oil from a California port to Japan. The Commission previously had authorized the charter of a tanker to carry gasoline to Vladivostok and had refused similar charters to Japanese concerns on the grounds that the voyage to Japan was not safe. There are not many people who will not regard the reason for refusing the permission as a mere excuse with no foundation.

TANKERS CHARTERED

On August 7, 1940, it was announced from Washington that the United States Maritime Commission had granted the Soviet Government oil trust the right to charter two American tankers, the *Vacuum* and the *China Arrow* of the Socony Vacuum Oil Co. to carry motor gasoline to the Soviet Union.

From these it appears that the United States authorities are favoring Soviet Russia, while they are discriminating against Japan. Here it may be noted that the Soviet Russian Government has been engaged in supplying oil to Germany to the tune of more than a million tons a year. Is there any political reason behind such a double standard?

It might be argued that the United States Government has renewed the trade agreement with Soviet Russia for a year because Russia has agreed that she will purchase at least $40,000,000 worth of American goods during the next 12 months. In return the United States Government has promised to extend favored-nation treatment to the U. S. S. R. However, from the perusal of the following extract from the letter of Mr. Milosoyan, the People's Commissar for Commerce, written to Mr. Thurston, the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States Embassy at Moscow, it becomes clear that Soviet Russia under certain circumstances will not be bound to observe the agreement:

"If, however, restrictions imposed on exports by the Government of the United States should render it difficult for Soviet economic organizations to satisfy their needs in the United States, it may be impossible for these organizations to carry out their intentions. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is therefore not in a position at the present time to guarantee the above-mentioned value of its purchases (of at least $40,000,000) in the United States."

The argument in favor of signing this trade treaty is that since 1935–36, i. e., in the last 5 years, United States exports to Soviet Russia, according to the figures available from the United States Department of Commerce, amounted approximately to $250,000,000, or $50,000,000 annually, whereas imports to the United States during the same period were about $115,000,000, or about $27,000,000 per year. This means that the United States in 5 years sold a total of $135,000,000 worth of goods more to Soviet Russia than she bought from her.

We are often told by American experts on far eastern affairs that China is one of the most important potential markets for the United States. Professor Griswold, of Yale University, recently pointed out that "of American trade with the Far East, Japan's share has been double (at times triple) China's for the past 40 years." It is a fact that during the last 5 years, 1935–39, inclusive, the United States sold to China goods worth about $225,000,000, or about $45,000,000 a year, while the United States import from China during the same period has been worth nearly $525,000,000, or about $105,000,000 a year. This means that in China trade during the last 5 years the United States had an adverse balance aggregating $300,000,000, or averaging $60,000,000 annually.

ONE OF BEST CUSTOMERS

During the last 5 years, 1935–39, inclusive, Japan bought from the United States merchandise worth not less than $1,165,000,000, or about $233,000,000 annually, and during the same period Japan sold to the United States goods worth $815,000,000, or about $163,000,000 annually. Therefore the United States sold $350,000,000 worth of goods more than it bought from Japan. Japan is even today the third best customer of the United States. Japan's favorable balance of more than $60,000,000 annually about offsets China's adverse trade balance.

If we strike a balance regarding the profitableness of American trade with Russia, China, and Japan during the last five years, we find that Soviet Russia and China together bought about $475,000,000 worth of goods, while Japan during the same period of 1935–36, inclusive, bought $1,165,000,000, or more than 2½ times China and Soviet Russia's purchases. In Chinese trade the United States had an adverse balance of nearly $300,000,000. In Soviet Russian trade the United States had a favorable balance of $115,000,000, while in Japanese trade American clear gains have been $350,000,000.

If profitable trade is the only motive for renewing the trade agreement with Soviet Russia, then on the same ground the United States Government should not be reluctant to consider the renewal of the commercial treaty with Japan, whose trade is at least twice as valuable as that of Soviet Russia. The present Administration's refusal to reestablish normal trade relations with Japan, while extending favorable attention to Soviet Russian trade, gives color to the rumor that the trade agreement between Soviet Russia and the United States has been renewed due to international political considerations.

STALIN EXACTS PRICE

Those who are banking upon Soviet Russian support for the foreign policies of the United States should not forget that Stalin does not get into an understanding with a nation for the purpose of serving humanity or philanthropy. Great Britain and France tried their best to get Soviet Russian support against Germany; Stalin's price was Finland, Baltic states, a portion of Poland and a free hand in the Balkans. The Anglo-French powers could not satisfy the greed of Soviet Russian imperialism because they had moral scruples. It has been reported that the Soviet Government has informed Sir Stafford Cripps, the present British Ambassador at Moscow, that unless Great Britain recognizes Soviet Russian annexation of the Baltic states, there cannot be any improvement in Anglo-Russian commercial or political relations.

If the United States wants Soviet Russian support against Japan, it will have to pay a big price to Stalin in the form of extension of Soviet Russian influence in China; or, in other words, the United States will have to agree to virtual control of China by Soviet Russia in place of Japan. Lastly, Soviet Russia would give all kinds of encouragement to the United States about an American-Russian cooperation against Japan, as she did to France and Great Britain against Germany and Italy. This will be done with the avowed purpose of worsening American-Japanese relations, which might lead to an American-Japanese war and afford an opportunity for Soviet Russia to expand in China and other parts of Asia.

It is to be hoped that the rumor of an American-Russian-Chinese understanding against Japan is unfounded; such a policy will be against the real interests of the United States. To dispel such rumors and promote real interests of the United States, steps should be taken to sign a new commercial treaty, a reciprocal-trade agreement with Japan, in the near future.

TARAKNATH DAS.

NEW YORK, *September 12, 1940.*

Longevity Pay of the National Guard

REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of the House a recent ruling of the Comptroller General of the United States, in which he rules that in connection with the proposed mobilization of the National Guard of the United States enlisted men of that service will not be entitled to longevity pay for enlisted service in the National Guard not in Federal service. In this same ruling, however, the Comptroller General finds that commissioned officers of the National Guard are entitled to longevity pay. I maintain that this is a most unjust, discriminatory ruling that will not help the morale of our National Guard in its proposed tour of duty. I have a case in point in my own congressional district and I am sure there are many parallel cases throughout the country. This man, an overseas World War veteran, has been in the National Guard for 23 years. At the present time he is the first sergeant of his battery. During all of these years he has spent 3 evenings a week in the interests of the National Guard. Now he will be called to leave his regular employment and serve his country, all of which he is willing and eager to do. However, a man of his long service is not young; he has a family, is buying a home, and cannot afford to support that home and family unless he receives the extra pay which his long service entitles him to receive. If the Comptroller General's decision stands, this man will be obliged to resign from the guard, which he will be permitted to do, and our Government will lose the services of a loyal, patriotic, experienced soldier, one who has prepared himself for years for the emergency which is now at hand. He feels, and I maintain that he is right, that if longevity pay is to be authorized for commissioned officers, it should be authorized for the rank and file as well.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point the decision of the Comptroller General to which I referred.

The decision follows:

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, September 7, 1940.

The Honorable THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

SIR: I have your letter of August 29, 1940 (dispatched from The Adjutant General's office, September 3, 1940, and received in this office September 4), asking whether in connection with the proposed mobilization of the National Guard of the United States enlisted men of that component will be entitled to longevity pay for enlisted service in the National Guard not in Federal service. Reference is made in your letter to Senate Joint Resolution 286, which became Public Resolution No. 96, approved August 27, 1940. Section 1 of the joint resolution authorizes the President during the period ending June 30, 1942, to order into the active military service of the United States for a period of 12 consecutive months each, any, or all members and units of any or all reserve components of the Army of the United States, and section 2 thereof provides:

"All National Guard, Reserve, and retired personnel ordered into the active military service of the United States under the foregoing special authority shall, from the dates on which they are respectively required by such order to report for duty in such service, be subject to the respective laws and regulations relating to enlistments, reenlistments, employment, conduct, rights, and privileges and discharge of such personnel in such service to the same extent in all particulars as if they had been ordered into such service under existing general statutory authorizations."

Section 58 of the National Defense Act, as amended by section 5 of the act of June 15, 1933 (48 Stat. 155, 32 U. S. Code 4–a), contains a provision as follows:

"The National Guard of the United States is hereby established. It shall be a Reserve component of the Army of the United States and shall consist of those federally recognized National Guard units, and organizations, and of the officers, warrant officers, and enlisted members of the National Guard of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, who shall have been appointed, enlisted and appointed, or enlisted, as the case may be, in the National Guard of the United States, as hereinafter provided, and of such other officers and warrant officers as may be appointed therein as provided in section 111 hereof: *Provided*, That the members of the National Guard of the United States shall not be in the active service of the United States, except when ordered thereto in accordance with law, and, in time of peace, they shall be administered, armed, uniformed, equipped, and trained in their status as the National Guard of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, as provided in this act: * * *"

Section 70 of the National Defense Act, as amended by section 8 of the act of June 15, 1933 (48 Stat. 156, 32 U. S. C. 123), provides an oath for enlisted men of the National Guard in which the man acknowledges he has "voluntarily enlisted this __ day of __, 19__, as a soldier in the National Guard of the United States and the State of ____, for the period of" 3 (or 1) years, etc. Section 71 of the National Defense Act, as amended by section 9 of the act of June 15, 1933 (48 Stat. 157, 32 U. S. C. 4–b), contains a proviso as follows:

"(b) 'National Guard of the United States' means a Reserve component of the Army of the United States composed of those federally recognized units and organizations and persons duly appointed and commissioned in the active and inactive National Guard of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, who have taken and subscribed to the oath of office prescribed in section 73 of this act, and who have been duly appointed by the President in the National Guard of the United States, as provided in this act, and of those officers and warrant officers appointed as prescribed in sections 75 and 111 of this act, and of those persons duly enlisted in the National Guard of the United States and of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia who have taken and subscribed to the oath of enlistment prescribed in section 70 of this act."

Section 111 of the act, as amended by section 18 of the act of August 15, 1938 (48 Stat. 160, 32 U. S. C. 81), provides that when Congress shall have declared a national emergency and shall have authorized the use of the armed land forces of the United States for any purpose requiring the use of troops in excess of those of the Regular Army, the President may order into the active military service of the United States to serve therein for the period of the war or emergency all units and members of the National Guard of the United States, with some additional provisions, and, in a later paragraph, provides:

"Officers and enlisted men while in the service of the United States under the terms of this section shall receive the pay and allowances provided by law for officers and enlisted men of the Reserve forces when ordered to active duty, * * *."

The Pay Readjustment Act of June 10, 1922 (42 Stat. 625, 37 U. S. C. 1), provides pay for the Regular Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Public Health Service, and section 3 thereof, at page 627 (37 U. S. C. 7) fixes the pay of officers below the grade of brigadier general in the National Guard and in the Reserve forces of any of the services mentioned in the title of the act when authorized to receive Federal pay, provides that when entitled to Federal pay other than for armory drills of administrative function pay they shall receive the longevity increase as provided in section 1 of the act, and provides further that:

"* * * In computing the increase of pay for each period of 3 years' service, such officers shall be credited with full time for all periods during which they have held commissions as officers of any of the services mentioned in the title of this act, or in the Organized Militia prior to July 1, 1916, or in the National Guard, or in the Naval Militia, or in the National Naval Volunteers, or in the Naval Reserve Force or Marine Corps Reserve Force, when confirmed in grade and qualified for all general service, with full time for all periods during which they have performed active duty under Reserve commissions, and with one-half time for all other periods during which they have held Reserve commissions."

Section 14 (37 U. S. C. 23) of the act fixes armory drill pay of warrant officers of the National Guard and the pay for armory drills for enlisted men of the National Guard of the sixth and seventh grades and when participating in the exercises provided for by sections 94, 97, and 99 of the National Defense Act. Otherwise than as mentioned herein there is no provision contained in that law for the pay of the enlisted personnel of the National Guard or of the other Reserve components of the Army or the other services mentioned in the title of the act. Section 9 of the act (37 U. S. C. 13) contains a provision as follows:

"* * * Commencing July 1, 1922, * * * enlisted men of the Army and Marine Corps shall receive, as a permanent addition to their pay, an increase of 5 percent of their base pay for each 4 years of service in any of the services mentioned in the title of this act not to exceed 25 percent * * *."

You mention as of possible application a provision contained in section 55 (b) of the National Defense Act, as amended by section 35 of the act of June 4, 1920 (41 Stat. 780, 10 U. S. C. 427), relating to members of the Enlisted Reserve Corps on active duty that

"when on active duty they shall receive the same pay and allowances as other enlisted men of like grades and length of service."

The title of the act of June 10, 1922 (42 Stat. 625), is as follows:

"An act to readjust the pay and allowances of the commissioned and enlisted personnel of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Public Health Service."

Enlisted men of the Regular Army are entitled to count only active service in the forces specifically mentioned in the title of the act of June 10, 1922, and service in the National Guard of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, when not in the active service of the United States, is not included in the title of the act; therefore, service in such a component by enlisted men of the Regular Army is not authorized to be counted. Section 1 of the National Defense Act, as amended by section 1 of the act of June 15, 1933 (48 Stat. 153, 10 U. S. C. 2), provides:

"That the Army of the United States shall consist of the Regular Army, the National Guard of the United States, the National Guard while in the service of the United States, the Officers' Reserve Corps, the Organized Reserves, and the Enlisted Reserve Corps."

Consequently, that although the National Guard of the United States is a part of the Army of the United States, under section 58 of the National Defense Act the members thereof are not in the active service of the United States except when ordered thereto in accordance with law, and the members thereof are required to be administered, armed, uniformed, equipped, and trained in their status as the National Guard of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia as provided in the National Defense Act. There is, therefore, no "service" in the National Guard of the United States until it is ordered into the active service of the United States; when not so in the active service there is merely a liability to service imposed by law upon members of the National Guard of the various States, Territories, and the District of Columbia. Service in the latter component is service in the Army of the United States under section 1 of the National Defense Act only "when in the service of the United States." As stated above, when not in the service of the United States this service may not be counted by enlisted members of the Regular Army, and a status as a member of the National Guard of the United States would not give such men greater rights to longevity increase, there being in fact no service rendered in the National Guard of the United States except when in the active military service of the United States.

Section 111 provides that members of the National Guard of the United States—

"* * * so ordered into the active military service of the United States shall from the date of such order stand relieved from duty in the National Guard of their respective States, Territories, and the District of Columbia so long as they shall remain in the active military service of the United States, and during such time shall be subject to such laws and regulations for the government of the Army of the United States as may be applicable to members of the Army whose permanent retention in active military service is not contemplated by law. * * *"

It is only service which an enlisted man of the Regular Army may count for longevity increase that is authorized to be counted by enlisted members of the National Guard of the United States, and it is only that "length of service" which a member of the Enlisted Reserve Corps may count under section 55 (b) of the National Defense Act. You cite the holding of the former Comptroller of the Treasury (24 Comp., Dec. 120), which, as you suggest, was based on section 111 of the National Defense Act as originally enacted June 3, 1916 (39 Stat. 211). Specific provision has been made as to officers of the National Guard by later laws and the language applicable to enlisted men of the National Guard has been modified. That decision rested upon the language therein construed, and it cannot be applied to the present statutes.

Respectfully,

R. N. ELLIOTT,
Acting Comptroller General of the United States.

The Late Senator Lundeen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSH D. HOLT
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, October 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLES BY MAJ. AL WILLIAMS AND BOAKE CARTER

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I have been informed that last night a certain well-known boudoir peep artist went out of his way over the air to attack our late colleague, Senator Lundeen. I shall not attempt to express my opinion of that action. I think it arouses the contempt of any fair-minded person. But I do wish to put into the RECORD two articles about our colleague, who was ready to stand up for things he believed to be right.

One of the articles is by Maj. Al Williams entitled "Senator Lundeen." The other is an article by Boake Carter. Senator Lundeen was conscientious and courageous. He had the courage to vote against our entrance into the last war, and he was maligned and attacked for that vote, which is now known to be right. He is now being attacked because of his opposition to our being involved in this war. His record will stand against the slurs of those who are warmongering today.

Of course, Senator Lundeen needs no defense, but I do say it is certainly the very depth of lowness for men in this country such as Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson to attempt to assassinate this man's character, especially after he is dead and cannot defend himself. However, I do not think it is necessary to say any more at this time.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR LUNDEEN

(By Maj. Al Williams, Scripps-Howard aviation editor)

When the gallant Ernest Lundeen died recently in the P. C. A. airliner crash at Lovettsville, Va., America lost a fearless, forthright spirit, and aviation in particular lost a stout champion. Senator Lundeen was a tireless worker for a separate air force, and he had seen the handwriting in the skies as far back as 1919. He knew Gen. Billy Mitchell, and he had caught the coloring for his own vision of what the future held in the shape of air war and air power from General Mitchell.

Billy Mitchell was 10 or 15 years ahead of his time. Senator Lundeen was practical and hardheaded enough to weigh and evaluate that factor. He recognized that bringing the vision of Congress into focus with the vision of Billy Mitchell was far from an overnight job. The ordinary human is a comfort-seeking animal, able and willing to rise to full power outputs for limited periods only, and always eager to throttle back to cruising speeds. Billy Mitchell furnished the dramatic crusade, and without extensive plan or effort Senator Lundeen took the road of cold logic and educational argument—at cruising speed.

To attain the creation of the American air power of which General Mitchell dreamed so clearly, Mr. Lundeen understood that vast hordes of specially privileged men would have to be unseated and their holds on the reins of legislative power loosened. Year after year he inconspicuously gained his yardage, netting a first down now and then. His was the up-hill, all-the-way fight, and he knew it.

CALLED TRAITOR

Senator Lundeen was fighting for no personal interest and there was no sly financial group behind him. His fight for air power paralleled the individual campaigns in legislative fields far removed from national-defense reorganization. He was one of the indomitables who stood before the engulfing waves of wild hysteria, promoted so calculatingly, which swept the United States into the first World War. Standing squarely before that flood, Senator Lundeen braved the doped charge of traitor without changing his course one split degree, and just as honestly and courageously he held for the nonintervention of the United States in Europe's repeat order for more blood.

Agree with his stand or not, no real American can deny him the tribute of following his own convictions and courageously fighting for them in the spirit which really built America.

We air people have our own standards of courage. But those standards differ radically from those with which the public mind has been impregnated. Unhappily, the layman has been taught to regard the fearless airman and the pilot who dares try anything once as the epitome of the true spirit of aviation. Those are the airmen we regard with concern and something closely akin to compassion. They are the "yes" men—the action-first boys.

CHEAPEST COURAGE

Our deep admiration is for another sort of flying man—the pilot who possesses the steel-blue courage to push his rudder and turn back from dangers which he has calculated and tagged prohibitive.

There's a deadly fascination in grinning at the bright face of danger. Such a grin is based on animal courage alone, the cheapest type of courage and whose only fear is also of the cheapest kind, the fear of death. Purer and finer, by centuries of careful culture, is the courage of the human who deliberately takes his stand against a wave of public emotion which threatens disgrace, more accurately recognized as the pursuing torture that draws mental and moral blood—and refuses to kill.

I'm not eulogizing, or trying to put pretty words into streamlined formation. It's merely something in the heart of an ordinary airman, something seeking expression, half prayer, half admiration for the spirit of the gallant Senator Ernest Lundeen—for the American who stood with his hands held high in the path of stampeded public opinion.

Senator Lundeen had nothing to gain from his advocacy of a separate air force for this country and the development of real American air power, except the joy of fighting for his convictions and the accomplishment of something which he believed vitally necessary for the safety of his country. Aviation, an idealistic and exacting mistress, again gathers one of her own into her arms.

"And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods?"

CLEARING A NAME—UNJUSTIFIED ATTACK—MEN CAN STILL THINK

(By Boake Carter)

In the years that this column has been in existence its writer has abided by a general rule to refrain from bickering with fellow columnists.

But today this column departs from the general rule to defend the name of a dead man that has been foully smeared.

The late Senator Ernest Lundeen, of Minnesota, who died in a commercial air-line crash recently, declared to his friends shortly before his death that he wouldn't be surprised if, because of his grim adherence to his convictions, he wouldn't sometime suffer the same fate that befell Huey Long.

But I'm quite sure that Senator Lundeen never expected to have his character assassinated after his death.

A few days ago a Washington-written column carried a statement to the effect that Lundeen was under investigation at the time of his death by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for alleged pro-Nazi activities. Said that column: "A G-man, a Department of Justice attorney, and an F. B. I. secretary were on the plane with him and all were killed."

The article then proceeded to assert that suspicion was directed to Lundeen after "many mysterious visits to his office" by George Sylvester Viereck, "famous German propagandist * * * and self-avowed friend of Adolf Hitler's Germany."

The article said that Viereck wrote Lundeen's speeches for insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; that the visitor gave gifts of candy to the Lundeen stenogs. "Justice Department agents were attempting to find out the extent to which Berlin was definitely hooked up with members of this (isolationist) congressional bloc when Lundeen's plane crashed," the article continued.

Shocked to the core on reading the article, I set about checking immediately. Since Lundeen was my friend—I am proud to be able to say that—and since I knew his hatred of Hitlerism, but knew also of his determination to battle doggedly against those elements which desire to drive this country into a foreign war it was impossible for me to believe the truth of what I read.

By the end of a day's telephoning I gathered the facts. I set them down here. I hope they help to clear as fine and decent an American as ever sat in the United States Senate.

Attorney General Jackson denied categorically that the Department of Justice was investigating Lundeen.

From the office of J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F. B. I., I got the following: That the G-man on the plane was en route to his first assignment in the Chicago field office, after his initial training period of 7 weeks. He had sought permission to stop off at Pittsburgh to see his sick father before going on to Chicago. He had no more to do with Lundeen than did the cow that jumped over the moon.

The F. B. I. secretary was not a secretary but a typist, setting out on her annual leave, bound for Cleveland, where she had planned to spend the week end with a girl friend.

The Department of Justice attorney was a lawyer from the Tax Division, without connection whatsoever with the F. B. I. and unknown to them as an identity until she died.

I was told I was the first newspaperman to check with the Bureau for confirmation or nonconfirmation of facts. I was further told that the Director, the F. B. I. itself, and the Department of Justice hoped the foregoing facts in this column would be publicized widely to square Lundeen's name with the public, to square the F. B. I.

"Smears like this one on Lundeen," I was informed from Mr. Hoover's office, "are totally unfair to the F. B. I. We are not a Gestapo nor an Ogpu. We are not engaged in spying on Senators or Congressmen and we don't intend to. We are doing more right now, as a matter of fact, to prove the Americanism of many unjustly maligned people in these days of hysteria than to prove their un-Americanism. Senator Lundeen was not under investigation, and it is a gross slander on him to say he was. The smear he received, putting us inferentially behind the eight ball, is typical of the type of Communist tactics we have had to contend with in our work."

A long-distance telephone call to New York, to find George Sylvester Viereck came next.

"Certainly," he said to me, "I have been in the Senator's office. And why not? We knew each other for 25 years. Yes; he called me occasionally for certification of something he was writing, just as he called his other friends, or the War Department, or the Navy Department, or anyone for information, viewpoints, or opinions.

"When in Washington I dropped in to see him. His office force sometimes worked until early moring. Often I'd ask the girls to run through miles of corridors to the Library, or somewhere else, to get material. And to thank them, I once bought them a box of chocolates.

"If the fact that I knew the Kaiser once, wrote a book about him 25 years ago, disagreed with the interventionists, and gave a box of candy to the girls in the Senator's office for running errands for me, adds up to make both Lundeen and myself Nazis, then the art of character assassination is growing filthier than I imagined."

Finally, a call to Miss Cummings, Lundeen's secretary, now gathering the loose ends of the Senator's affairs in the National Capital.

"I only hope," said she, "that you will point out what a miserable and despicable lie it was—about a man who never hurt a soul in his life and loved this country as much as any man in America—and suffered for it, too."

These, then, are the facts. They are not presented to bicker with other writers, but solely to clear the name of a fine Senator now unable to defend himself. Also to dispel the unjust inference that the F. B. I. is just another Gestapo.

Many men may still hold an honest difference of opinion in America. It is not manly to blast a man's reputation when he's dead, or honest to smear him with whole untruths. But it is damnable to add to the public unrest muck that belongs, not on a news page, but more appropriately in the men's room.

Election Prospects

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SHERMAN MINTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, I ask leave to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Times-Herald, of Washington, D. C., dated the 5th instant, under the heading "It looks like Roosevelt."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Times-Herald of October 5, 1940]

IT LOOKS LIKE ROOSEVELT

We've been studying various Presidential polls conducted by assorted public-opinion sounders, and trying to analyze them.

At this time, a month before the election, all the polls we've seen indicate a Roosevelt victory—not a 46-State landslide as in 1936, but a decisive victory nevertheless.

Some of the headlines over the poll reports in some of the papers don't indicate the same story as do the reports themselves. This is because most of the papers are for Willkie, and some wishful thinking naturally creeps into some headlines.

As for the New York Daily News New York State poll, it is scheduled to begin Monday, October 14, and end Saturday, November 2. The usual care will be exercised to make it an accurate reflection of voter sentiment, and the up-State and New York City returns will be scientifically weighed against each other.

Except for 1928, the News polls have accurately forecast the outcome of Presidential elections in New York State for the last 12 years. In 1928, the News took one poll in July-August and another just before the November election. The earlier one indicated that Al Smith would carry New York; the later one indicated Hoover. Averaging them up, we thought we could still foresee Smith making the grade. He didn't. Since then the News has waited until mid-October, when sentiment has crystallized.

It's valuable to know, if one can, how New York is going to go in a Presidential election. Since 1884, at least, the Nation has gone as New York State has gone, only 1 year excepted. That was in 1916, when Hughes (Republican) carried New York but Wilson was reelected. The Democrats since 1884 have won only once without carrying New York; the Republicans have never won since 1884 without carrying New York.

WHY WE'RE FOR ROOSEVELT NOW

If the election were to be held today, this writer would vote for Roosevelt. We can see so much that Roosevelt has and Willkie hasn't, and so little that Willkie has and Roosevelt hasn't.

The third-term issue seems inconsequential to us. In a world on fire, the only real issue is: Who is the best man we can get for President for the next 4 years?

BIG NAVY BUILDER

One achievement of President Roosevelt's alone would entitle him to serious consideration for reelection. We refer to the fact that he has built up the Navy to such a strength that behind that Navy, if it is skillfully handled, the United States probably has time to build itself an army which can beat off the world, if need be. Not even the President's enemies deny that the Navy was pathetic in 1933 and is in splendid trim in 1940.

HOOSIER WILLKIE

We don't need to list Roosevelt domestic social reforms. They were damned as socialism by Mr. Willkie's friends before Mr. Willkie's nomination. Since then, Mr. Willkie has been saying that he's all for them, but will administer them better.

This is quite a change of heart on Mr Willkie's part. For 11 years before his nomination, he lived at 1010 Fifth Avenue and had his office at 20 Pine Street, in the Wall Street area.

He was a big power utility holding company executive himself; he palled around with men of great wealth; his remarks generally reflected the state of mind of those men.

His conversion to a tousle-haired Hoosier who just dotes on workers, farmers, and white-collarites is a little hard to believe.

One person who evidently doesn't believe Willkie's conversion is real is John W. Davis. Mr. Davis says he is for Willkie. It may be faintly remembered that this Mr. Davis is the Morgan lawyer whom the Democrats nominated for President in 1924, and who was returned to his law practice on election day of that year by a vast majority.

It's a cinch that Mr. Davis doesn't favor Mr. Willkie on account of social security, the Wagner Act, and the S. E. C., to say nothing of the T. V. A., Grand Coulee, and Bonneville Dams.

Third Presidential Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT OF FORMER REPRESENTATIVE JOHN O'CONNOR

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement on the subject of a third Presidential term, made by Hon. John O'Connor, of New York, former chairman of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives, before the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary considering proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States to limit the Presidential term of office.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for the first time in the history of this country the issue of a third term for a President ceases to be academic and becomes real.

The hearings before your subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary are replete with quotations, from dead and living distinguished Americans, emphatically opposing a third term as President for any person, with amplifications of what such a happening might well entail for our form of government and our country. It would be cumulative to requote here the expressions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Buchanan, Johnson, Cleveland, McKinley, Taft, and Wilson, as well as the unanswerable objections of Senator GEORGE NORRIS, of Nebraska, before his apostasy.

The Democratic platforms of 1896 and 1912 were also most emphatic in opposition to a third term for anyone.

In fact, up to shortly before the 1940 Democratic National Convention, held at Chicago, no conspicuous figure in American public life had advocated a third term, except Mr. Earl Browder, the leader of the Communist Party in the United States, who, on May 12, 1939, deigned to inform the American people that "the tradition of the third term in the Presidency must be set aside * * *." That settled it. It may well be that, because of his carte blanche entry into the White House, of course, prior to his "purge," he had much more inside information than Mr. James A. Farley, the one man who had been "indispensable" to the election of Mr. Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936. For it has been published, and not denied, that—

"Early in 1939 President Roosevelt told Mr. Farley he would make a public statement that he would not be a candidate for a third term after Congress adjourned in the summer of that year."

And further, that the President later—

"told Mr. Farley he would make the announcement after Congress convened on January 3, 1940."

In the interim was the confidant, Browder, using his Leninine wiles to prevail upon the President to decide to violate the tradition? Of all people, Browder should have remembered what Nietzsche said:

"Every tradition grows even more venerable—the more remote is itself. The reverence due to it increases from generation to generation. The tradition finally becomes holy."

It is true that there have been President's who entertained the desire to violate the tradition and secure a third term, but none ever succeeded in obtaining the nomination by his party for a third time, either because the party leaders respected the tradition or the particular President had not gathered sufficient people around the public trough to "draft" him.

Anything can happen in Chicago. William Vaughn Moody described the town as—

"Gigantic, willful, young,
Chicago sitteth at the northwest gates,
With restless violent hands and casual tongue,
Molding her mighty fates."

That was the convention site insisted upon by the President, over the protests of Mr. Farley, Vice President Garner, and the Democratic leaders, when the Democratic National Committee met at the Willard Hotel in Washington early in 1940. The stage had been all set for Philadelphia, until Hague and Mayor Kelly were summoned to the telephone and received that familiar message, "Tommy Corcoran, speaking from the White House; it must be Chicago." Whereupon those two former violent personal and political opponents of Mr. Roosevelt stood in the breach. Chicago it was. No one can afford to antagonize the prosecutor.

So the moot question of a third term thus became a reality Hopkins, the Socialist and star boarder at the White House, and Ickes, the court jester and stamp collector, were dispatched to the "Windy City," an appropriate place for a "draft." Private, direct telephone lines were installed in the suites of these two Jeffersonian Democrats, connected with the throne room.

Mr. Farley finally found out they were in town and then learned that what the President had told him on the previous Sunday at Hyde Park, did not go. Caesar was willing.

The job holders were dispatched to the convention, Hatch Act or no Hatch Act. That is how the question of a third term became a living, burning issue before the American people. The President had forced his own renomination by the very means that the founding fathers had feared and sought to guard against.

The "corrupted morals and political depravity" feared by George Washington had actually happened. The "horde of officeholders," referred to by Cleveland, had done the job. Chicago and the world had witnessed—

"The absorbing and diverting interest in the reelection of the incumbent taken by the Federal civil servants who regard their own tenure as dependent on his."

As President Taft said.

What President Wilson had branded as "intolerable," had actually occurred:

"That any President should be permitted to determine who should succeed him—himself or another—by patronage or coercion, or by any sort of control of the machinery by which delegates to the nominating convention are chosen."

Senator GEORGE NORRIS, saw his feared prediction come true, that:

"A President wishing to be renominated, if he wants to use the power that is his, after he has been in office for some time, can compel his party * * * to renominate him * * * he is at the head of the machine that has the entire country within its grasp; he can, through the power that he possesses, using the officials who are under him and who range down to the lowest on the list, round up delegates; he can control conventions as no other man on earth can control them * * *. He nominates himself by using the instrumentality that the law gives him on account of his position; there is no competition; there is a trust; there is a monopoly of the nomination as far as his party is concerned."

The renomination having thus been secured, in the precise way sought by our former statesman to be guarded against, the next innovation desired to be accomplished is the actual election for a third term.

The 300,000 exempt Federal officeholders obeyed the lash of the whip at Chicago. Will the team win out in the last inning on November 5? That may well depend on the size of the "trough." Heretofore there has been pumped into it the billions for W. P. A., P. W. A., etc. A benevolent dictatorship has laid well the ground work.

Harry Hopkins was speaking ex-cathedra when he told Bernard M. Baruch at the Saratoga race track in August 1938, "We shall spend and spend, and elect and elect." The "benevolence" had been tried and found effective. For instance, during the Democratic primary contest in the Sixteenth New York Congressional District in 1938, 3,000 W. P. A. workers were put on the rolls overnight in the hospitals in that very district. Far more than necessary, because the election was decided by a mere 277 votes.

The billions doled out to W. P. A., etc., workers are, however, as a drop in the bucket to what is hoped to be accomplished by the fifteen billions to be spent on "defense." Make room at the trough! Here come the voters!

The "horde of officeholders" are being and will be increased. Balm of Gilead will be one prescription.

The fever caused by "the stab in the back" will be lowered by further appointments of voters of Italian extraction. Exhibit A—Mayor LaGuardia, Chairman of the United States-Canada Defense Commission, solely by coincidence, of course, and also chairman of the "Progressives" for Roosevelt.

Very shortly a citizen of New York City, named Rao, will be appointed to an important public office. It just so happens he also is of Italian extraction.

Mr. James A. Farley's brother has for sometime been offered an appointment at the hands of the President. Of course, there is no connection between this largess and the general public opinion that Mr. Farley was treated shabbily.

Nor would it be any great surprise if the press should shortly announce the appointment of some prominent citizen of German extraction, most likely a resident of St. Louis.

That takes care of the more important racial and religious groups, which are opposed to "four more years of it," but, of course, the Negroes cannot be overlooked. They have been, pretty much, for 8 years. Add to that the many beneficiaries, relatives and others, of billions in defense contracts, not let to the lowest bidder, but "negotiated," with the usual addenda of a proportionate campaign contribution—Hatch Act or no Hatch Act.

The market place around the trough is then jammed. On November 5, the trough is temporarily drained and becomes a ballot box.

The politicians have always said "You can't beat somebody with nobody." But can you beat somebody who has a trough? That's the danger our forefathers saw.

As between the two resolutions under consideration by your committee, I am inclined to prefer a limitation of one term of 6 years for any President with ineligibility for reelection, at any time. If it were not for the established, but too long, term of 6 years for Senators, I would favor one term of 4 years. Unfortunately, like birth control, the provision cannot be made retroactive to meet the present threat.

In the absence of any provision for the recall, the Democratic Party has always advocated frequent elections, by means of reasonably short terms of office or limitations against an official succeeding himself. The Stalinesque "democracy" in control at the moment holds to the contrary.

Eighty million of our people reside in 34 of our States, the constitutions of which have some limitation of that nature, such as Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, etc. Perhaps the preponderance of Southern States is due to the fact that the constitution of the Confederate States provided for one term of 6 years.

To the people of those commonwealths, no man is "indispensable." They believe, as Andrew Jackson did, "If only one man is available for an office, abolish the office." When Mr. Charles F. Murphy was leader of Tammany Hall, and recognized as the most powerful Democratic political leader in the Nation, a prominent citizen appealed to Mr. Murphy to continue a certain public official in office, on the ground that "we just can't get along without him." Mr. Murphy inquired, "What would we do, if he died?" The enthusiastic advocate hemmed and hawed, "Well, of course, if," etc., to which Mr. Murphy replied, "Well, consider him dead!"

The mere suggestion of "indispensability" is a protoplasm that germinates a dictator.

The Gallup Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK O. HORTON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

ARTICLE BY GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, is the Gallup poll following the same graveyard route as did the Literary Digest poll?

In this connection, I include the following by Gen. Hugh S. Johnson:

ONE MAN'S OPINION

(By Hugh S. Johnson)

The political practice about these modern polls is like Shylock with Portia, to praise them when their forecast is favorable and curse them otherwise. I can escape that charge. I have long regarded all these "sampling" polls as a public evil, capable of vicious abuse. They won't tell their exact method. They resist investigations that would reveal more than their "general principles." These are not enough to determine whether in the science of mathematics they stand even on a sound formula of probabilities.

They refer to their record of accuracy. Sometimes it has been remarkable, but since they do not claim accuracy within 3 or 4 percent and many an election has turned on less than that, it is not very convincing—especially since they are very coy in reporting the actual number (not the percentage) of "undecided" answers by location. That clouds their whole result.

I have been an antipoll crusader ever since the 1936 Literary Digest poll, which had convinced the country of its accuracy by the same repeated assertions as Dr. Gallup's. It showed a Landon landslide. I did a little prognostication myself and came within two States of being as accurate as Jim Farley. We were both far more accurate than any of these polls and, as for the Literary Digest, which had threatened me with a suit for libel, it was heard no more.

Now Dr. Gallup, in a critical moment in this campaign and just when it is likely to do Mr. Willkie the most harm with both campaign contributors and sheeplike bandwagon riders, reports 42 States and 499 electoral votes for Mr. Roosevelt and 32 electoral votes in 6 States for Mr. Willkie.

I feel free to say without charge of bias and on the basis of my 4 years' consistent fight against this sort of stuff that it is as dangerous and misleading—if not vicious—as the Literary Digest poll in 1936.

There is a survey in this country based on a different method from Dr. Gallup's more-and-more routine sampling. It is called the Dunn Survey. It has been conducted for years by a scholarly retiring sort of fellow rather than a publicity agent. It is not a poll taken by part-time agents on a theoretically selected sampling and sometimes by tricky leading questions. It is scientific analysis of several factors. He has not attempted to commercialize or publicize it. It has been far more timely, or at least forecast results far sooner, than the Gallup polls.

Its accuracy has frequently been miraculous and it has gone into much more detail in forecasting political results in congressional and senatorial elections. In the 1938 midterm election, it was 100 percent accurate in New York, Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Colorado. It was 99.6 percent accurate in an over-all average percentage for the country. On the plain face of its record of results, I would accept it in preference to any other.

On the same day that this recent Gallup blast of 499 electoral votes for Roosevelt was broadcast—the Dunn survey with several small States absent, which would not have affected the result—showed 331 votes for Willkie, or 47 more than necessary, with a probability of a fair increase.

Moreover, while the Gallup poll gave Mr. Roosevelt New England and all the key States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the Dunn poll puts all these safely for Mr. Willkie—by percentages which in some cases check very closely with the local newspaper polls.

Contrary to every other experience, over the years, instead of being relatively close in percentages, this time the results of these two forecasts are in some cases so divergent as to raise grave questions.

It is too early for this column to repeat its 1936 stunt "Mr. Landon may carry four States, he is only sure of two," but I don't think we are going to hear any more of the Gallup poll after this election than of the Literary Digest poll after 1936. If it becomes appropriate to eat these words, I shall do it as gracefully as possible, but I didn't have any literary indigestion last time and I don't expect to suffer Galluping consumption in 1940.

A Fourth Term for President Roosevelt Even Now Under Discussion

REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, an occurrence which has received but little notice in the press, but which clarifies better than could any other incident the sinister menace of a third term, occurred on August 31 at Hyde Park at a meeting of the Dutchess County Roosevelt Club.

Judge John Mack, of Poughkeepsie, who nominated Roosevelt in the 1932 convention and again in the 1936 convention, and who was scheduled to have nominated him in the 1940 Chicago convention, spoke from the same platform with President Roosevelt. On the platform with them were Mrs. Roosevelt, Gov. Herbert Lehman, of New York, and other notables.

There on the platform with the President, Judge Mack extolled Mr. Roosevelt as the wisest as well as the most righteous of men, and concluded his address, according to press reports later commented on by Frank R. Kent, of the Baltimore Sun, by stating to the audience that Mr. Roosevelt had just told him—Judge Mack—that he had no intention of being a candidate for a fourth term. This was no idle statement, because the worthy judge went on to explain that President Roosevelt did not really want to run for a third term and had told him so 6 months before the convention. He was, said the judge, "drafted against his will," but "he already has told me he will not run a fourth time." Of course,

the Chicago convention drafted Mr. Roosevelt like Richmond took General Grant.

Regardless of his importance as a political figure, it remains a fact that Judge Mack is one of Mr. Roosevelt's closest, oldest, and most intimate friends. When Judge Mack says Mr. Roosevelt told him he would not run for a fourth term, it can be put down that Mr. Roosevelt did tell him that. The statement itself, of course, is not important as to its bearing 4 years hence, because what Mr. Roosevelt promises today may mean nothing tomorrow. But the statement does greatly illuminate the state of the Roosevelt mind, and it shows the sinister danger which lurks in his third-term candidacy, if he is successful, which the whole White House strategy is designed to gloss over.

This statement indicates that Mr. Roosevelt now already assumes he is as good as reelected for a third term, and that he actually is discussing among his intimate friends the question of a fourth term. Nothing could better illustrate the state of mind of the President, whose boldness in trying to shatter the anti-third-term tradition is based upon his own belief and that of some of those around him that there is no one else in the United States who has the intelligence, the energy, and the capacity to govern the Nation except Roosevelt. That is, of course, the only excuse for a third-term campaign. It is the only possible justification for this effort to keep Roosevelt in the White House for 12 years instead of for 8 years.

Every argument, including the utterly false one of his having been "drafted" by the Chicago convention, put forward to justify a third term would be put forward in 1944 to justify a fourth term if Mr. Roosevelt should be alive and well enough to make the campaign at that time. Indeed, his election for a third term would in itself be the greatest and most powerful argument for a fourth and a fifth and even a sixth term for him.

His manner of choosing his running mate, Henry A. Wallace—meaning to say his manner of shoving Mr. Wallace down the throat of the convention against its most violent struggles—shows that he would not hesitate in 1944 or 1948 to shove his successor—either son James or someone else—down the throat of the conventions at those times. The one thing certain is that already Mr. Roosevelt is thinking about the fourth-term question.

Senator Charles L. McNary, Republican Nominee for Vice President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR CAPPER

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. ARTHUR CAPPER, OF KANSAS

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix to the RECORD a radio address delivered by me in a broadcast by electrical transcription on the night of October 6, 1940, over broadcasting station WIBW, on Senator CHARLES L. MCNARY, the Republican nominee for Vice President.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Friends in the radio audience, I am glad that Senator CHARLES L. MCNARY, of Oregon, Republican nominee for Vice President, is going to visit Kansas next week, and take part in the Kansas campaign.

Senator MCNARY and Wendell Willkie, the Republican nominee for President, are leading toward victory in the battle of America.

You know, when we get right down to brass tacks, we Americans are as vitally interested in winning the battle of America as we are interested in seeing the English win the Battle of Britain.

Both battles are of transcendent importance to the future of democratic government; both will have great bearing on the future of this world's civilization.

My hope and prayer is that the people of the United States will realize the importance of the battle of America, and turn out en masse next November 5, and win the battle of America for themselves and for their children by electing Willkie and MCNARY. I honestly believe that the preservation of our form of government, and of the American way of life, is at stake in this campaign.

If America should commit the grievous error of falling for the fallacy of the "indispensable man," then we are well on our way toward a dictatorial form of government.

But I started to say a few words about CHARLEY MCNARY, of Oregon.

From 22 years acquaintance with Senator MCNARY, an acquaintanceship that has become, I trust, close friendship, I would say that CHARLES L. MCNARY comes close to being the most completely rounded out leader in American public life today.

CHARLEY MCNARY is a farmer who has made his own farm pay by specializing in nut growing.

CHARLES L. MCNARY is a lawyer of outstanding ability; he served a term on the Supreme Court of Oregon before coming to the United States Senate. By the way, our life in the Senate has been almost the same length; he came to the Senate by appointment in December 1918. My first term in the Senate started the following March 4.

Senator MCNARY, during his 22 years in the Senate—he now is Republican floor leader—has developed leadership of the highest quality, without ever being noisy, self-assertive, or needlessly controversial.

As a legislative leader, I would classify Senator MCNARY as a student, but not a visionary, both in the field of economics, and in the field of practical politics.

CHARLES L. MCNARY, coming from Oregon, early took a leading part in farm legislation. By the way, it is interesting to note the Republican national ticket this year is headed by men from west of the Alleghenies—Willkie from Indiana; MCNARY from Oregon.

Senator MCNARY's sponsorship of the McNary-Haugen bills in the twenties showed a real grasp of the fundamentals of the farm problem and of the tie-up of the farm problem with the problem of industrial unemployment.

That relationship, unfortunately, has been ignored in practice by the New Deal attempt to solve the farm problem as a separate problem. I say this with a full appreciation of the fact that Henry A. Wallace, former Secretary of Agriculture and now the Democratic nominee for Vice President, also is a student of the farm problem, and in theory and in his speeches and statements fully realizes the interdependence of agriculture and labor. And I will say right now that Henry Wallace has done his level best to better the condition of agriculture. I would not detract in the slightest from the credit due a high-minded man who has had a difficult job and has worked hard and faithfully on that job.

But the fact remains that in practice the New Deal programs, typified by the A. A. A. and the N. R. A., were attempts to solve each problem separately by applying the doctrine of scarcity to increase prices in each field.

The real solution of these interdependent problems—the problems of agriculture and of labor—is in abundant production in both agriculture and industry. I have never believed in the pig-killing program or the acreage-reduction idea.

One reason I have for believing in the team of Willkie and McNary as against the team of Roosevelt and Wallace is that I believe Willkie and McNary have grasped this fact and will work for cooperation, real cooperation, of agriculture, labor, industry, and finance to solve the problem of production and distribution.

What we need in America today is unity, cooperation; not disunity and more class distinctions and more class hatreds.

Senator MCNARY analyzed this difference in approach to the solution of the national economic problem early in his public life. Had the McNary-Haugen bill been enacted in time, I thoroughly believe we would have been on the road to a sound economic program for the Nation, and perhaps would have avoided some of the more serious dislocations in international relations that contributed to the present blood-red haze of madness that is engulfing the world.

The fundamental approach to national balance and prosperity is in a national program of abundance—abundant agricultural production, abundant industrial production. An abundance in both fields will make it possible to regain and retain that free interchange of products of the farm and the products of the factory that was approximately approached in the years 1910–14.

I am going to take the time right now to quote one highly significant statement from Mr. Willkie's acceptance speech, as follows:

"I say we must substitute for the philosophy of distributed scarcity the philosophy of unlimited productivity."

And also the following paragraph from Senator MCNARY's acceptance speech:

"Statisticians find an uncanny correspondence between gross farm income and industrial pay rolls in a given year. * * * Throughout this New Deal cycle, we have been confronted with the related phenomena of depressed farm prices and industrial unemployment. With the farmer producing without profit, the city worker was idle, his consuming power diminished. I have long felt that these phenomena could not be separated, that a sound policy would work toward relieving both these disorders."

I think that we, the people of the United States—and very much we in Kansas—whose future is so much dependent upon a return of

farm prosperity, are fortunate in having the prospect of the team of Willkie and McNary to guide our course through the coming crucial years. Mr. Willkie has proved his executive abilities in the business field. He has courage, as well; also understanding a sense of spiritual values; he has faith in America and faith in the people of America. It is going to require courage and faith, as well as ability and understanding, to carry us through the troubled times that lie ahead.

Senator MCNARY has won his spurs, demonstrated his capacities, in the legislative and governmental field. Both have demonstrated leadership. Both have grasped the basic principle that sound business policies, sound domestic governmental policies, sound foreign-governmental policies, must be based upon sound economic policies.

I believe the time has come in these United States, the time has come in the world, when neither business nor Government can ignore or fight the long time economic trend in order to gain a temporary financial or political advantage. And I am convinced that both Mr. Willkie and Mr. MCNARY are both fully aware of this, and are prepared to cooperate with each other, with Congress, with business, with agriculture, with labor, along sound lines.

CHARLES L. MCNARY believed in, and worked for, conservation of natural resources when mistaken financial and so-called big business interests were shortsightedly more interested in exploitation than in development along sound conservation—I almost said conservative—lines. And Senator MCNARY, in his nearly a quarter of a century in the Senate, never wavered in his devotion to the cause of conservation of natural resources, coupled with development of natural resources.

I tell you, my friends, that farmers and the Farm Belt have a real friend in CHARLEY MCNARY, and a friend who knows his way around.

I have a personal feeling for CHARLEY MCNARY that goes beyond my appreciation of his work in the Senate for agriculture, and beyond my appreciation of his qualities of leadership. I know I can trust him without that trust ever being misplaced. And this goes beyond the fact that his word is good. I feel that I can trust his intentions, his intelligence, his intellectual integrity, and his ability to get results. He has been my seat mate during the last 8 years of our 22 years' service in the Senate.

As you may have gathered by this time, I am strong for CHARLEY MCNARY, Republican floor leader in the Senate and Republican nominee for Vice President.

The American farmer has a particular interest in having friends in Washington, and particularly in the White House and presiding over the Senate for the next few years. No one knows just what is going to happen after the present war, nor even what is going to happen before the war ends. But we do know that changes in foreign relations, both trade and political relations, are going to happen.

The United States has decided to take over the defense of the Western Hemisphere. The cultivation and improvement of our relations with the South American republics is an important part of our foreign policy, no matter how long the war lasts, and no matter what is the eventual outcome. All of us hope that Britain wins the war—and Britain's chances of not losing the war are growing brighter, I am glad to say, as time goes by.

As one who has been a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for 18 years, and a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture for 22 years, let me say there is no part of our population which has a more direct and vital interest in the foreign relations policy of the United States than have the farmers of the United States, particularly the growers of wheat, corn, cotton and tobacco, and our livestock men. Wheat, corn either as corn or meat, cotton, and tobacco must be exported. The livestock men are interested, vitally interested, in keeping the American market for the American farmer.

South America produces largely the same farm surpluses that are produced in Kansas. A State Department more interested in developing political relations with South America than in bettering the American farmer's condition might in good faith deal hard blows to American agriculture. I have not the time to go into this matter in more detail at the present time, but the American farmer, the Kansas farmer, the grower of wheat, and the producer of livestock must know that the man in the White House must be more interested in America than in foreign affairs to protect his interests. I believe Willkie and MCNARY have that primary interest in America and American affairs.

Indications are this Congress will not do much more of moment before election, unless there are big developments abroad. The defense program is well under way. I have supported it 100 percent. I shall continue to do so. But I want adequate national defense as an insurance against war. I think Congress in session is some measure of insurance against war, so I think Congress should not adjourn. I do not believe it will.

It may be that Congress will remain nominally in session, recessing 3 days at a time for the next few weeks. If that is the program, no business will be transacted unless a crisis occurs. But the control of the legislative situation will remain in the hands of Congress. If the 3-day recess plan is adopted, I expect to go home for a few days at least. I am homesick for Kansas. But if I can be of more service here, I shall gladly remain in Washington, because I firmly believe the Congress should be here to watch things in this time of emergency.

My every effort is directed toward building up an adequate defense, keeping this Nation out of foreign wars, and protecting agriculture from the shocks that are bound to come as a consequence of this Old World war madness.

Reciprocal Trade Program and American Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

LETTER FROM HON. LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, OF WASHINGTON, TO A. W. RICKER, EDITOR, FARMERS UNION HERALD

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, I ask consent to insert in the RECORD a letter which I am sending today to Mr. A. W. Ricker, editor of the Farmers Union Herald of Minnesota. In it I discuss the effect of the reciprocal-trade program and American agriculture.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
October 5, 1940.

Mr. A. W. RICKER,
Editor Farmers Union Herald, St. Paul, Minn.

DEAR MR. RICKER: As the editor of one of the most widely read farm papers in the Midwest, I think you will be interested in the following comment:

In his speech of acceptance of the Vice Presidential nomination, my good friend Senator MCNARY took occasion again to express his opposition to the Hull reciprocal trade agreements program. Concerning that program, he said:

"* * * the reciprocal-trade system * * * in the last 2 years, has admitted competitive farm products to the value of $537,000,000 a year. That sum, it is interesting to note, approximates what the Government has paid farmers to reduce acreage and production. Experts estimate that the 35,000,000 acres withdrawn through Government payments from production correspond closely to the acreage displaced by competitive imports."

In making that statement, Senator MCNARY made the following errors:

1. He was wrong in his figures. The records disclose that the total amount of agricultural imports excluding only such items as coffee and tea and other products which cannot be produced in the United States amounted to $1,002,739,000 in 1938 and 1939. This gives an annual average of $501,369,000. So Senator MCNARY was nearly $36,000,000 a year too high in his figures.

2. The reciprocal-trade system did not admit these products. In order to sustain the Senator's position, it would be necessary for the fact to be that before the reciprocal-trade system such imports were not admitted. The facts are that from 1922–35, under the Fordney-McCumber and Smoot-Hawley tariff system the annual average imports of the same type of agricultural products was $762,000,000. That figure exceeds the average annual imports under the reciprocal-trade system by $261,000,000 per year. Furthermore, the records show that in 1938–39, when there were more trade agreements in effect than in 1936–37 the average annual imports of these agricultural products were reduced by $281,000,000 a year.

3. The trade-agreements system has affected a tariff change on only a small percentage of agricultural products. The records show that only 32 percent of these agricultural products have been touched by the reciprocal-trade system. Included in this 32 percent are a number of large items which analysis will show were not actually materially affected by the program. For example:

a. Wheat: The only wheat tariff reduced in a trade agreement was that on wheat unfit for human consumption bought by American livestock producers as feed for their stock. Imports of such wheat in 1939 were valued at $50,000 or only eight-tenths of 1 percent of the value of the total imports of wheat. All other wheat imported can be divided into two classes:

1. Ninety-seven and nine-tenths percent of the total imports was brought in in bond, milled in this country, and reexported after providing business for American millers and railroads.

2. The remaining 1.1 percent of the imports was hard spring wheat brought in by American millers for blending purposes and every bushel of it paid the 1930 tariff rate of 42 cents.

b. Sugar: Included in these figures are imports of sugar from our Territories and outlying possessions. These imports are rigidly controlled by quotas imposed by sugar legislation passed and repassed by the Congress on several occasions. Trade agreements have not and could not increase the imports of sugar above or below these quotas by a single pound.

c. Tobacco: Included among the so-called competitive imports is a large quantity of tobacco. This tobacco is used for blending purposes with domestically grown tobacco. One has only to read the

advertisements of tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes or listen to them on the radio to know that it would take more than a trade agreement to induce tobacco, cigar, or cigarette manufacturers to give up the advertising value of these blends.

4. Even if Senator McNARY had not made all of these mistakes, his statement that "the 35,000,000 acres withdrawn through Government payments from production correspond closely to acreage displaced by competitive imports" would shatter his whole argument.

Senator McNARY states that this estimate was given by experts. He fails to name them. The records of the Department of Agriculture show that not more than one-fourth of the 35,000,000 acres in the United States farm belt would have been required in 1938 or 1939 to grow all the products which Senator McNARY erroneously classifies as competitive. My friend, the Senator from Oregon, is just 300-percent wrong on that estimate. Furthermore, the records of the Department of Agriculture show that the acreage required to produce our farm products which we export to other nations averaged in 1938–39 32,000,000 acres. No one can deny that a large part of those exports resulted from the reciprocal-trade policy. Should we toss away that trade by a return to the ruinous Smoot-Hawley system we would be doing what the Senator's rival candidate, Secretary Wallace, described as "trading dollars for quarters."

5. The basic and obvious fallacy.

However, all these errors in the Senator's speech are not yet its greatest and most obvious fallacy. What he says is less important than what he studiously avoids saying. He has carefully refrained from mentioning, for example, the beneficial foreign-trade concessions obtained through trade agreements for American wheat, corn, pork lard, tobacco, fruits, and many other export crops.

He has dodged the most fundamental and most apparent fact of all—that the cash income of American farmers, excluding Government payments, was 62.5 percent higher and the average price they received for their products was 43.1 percent higher in 1939, under the trade-agreements program, than in 1932 under the Smoot-Hawley embargo tariff. It is to that embargo-tariff policy that he would again consign American agriculture, with the same loss of foreign and domestic markets, the same towering surpluses, and the same ruinous prices and bankruptcy which resulted from it in 1930–32.

Very truly yours,

LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH.

Address of Hon. J. Joseph Smith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

SPEECH DELIVERED AT FARMINGTON, CONN., OCTOBER 5, 1940

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by the gentleman from Connecticut, Hon. J. JOSEPH SMITH, to the congressional delegates, at Farmington, Conn., October 5, 1940:

Mr. Chairman, delegates to the congressional convention, honored guests, ladies, and gentlemen, I am deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon me by this my fourth nomination as our party's candidate for Representative in Congress from the Fifth Congressional District. I am also keenly aware of the responsibility which accompanies election to this high office in these trying times. You have given me a rare opportunity by your support over the last 6 years. I have done my best to merit that support.

During those years we have been faced with the gravest problems of a generation, both in our relations with one another here in the United States, and in our relations with the other peoples of the world.

Our people need no reminder of the conditions which faced us 8 years ago. The collapse of our economic structure, the failure of so many thousands of great financial and business institutions, the loss of the savings of millions, the eviction from home and farm of millions of families, the oppression of labor in sweatshops, the despair and misery which brought us to the brink of violence and revolt present a picture burned deep in the minds of most of our people.

But that picture has now been changed. In contrast to the Republican record of meeting problems by denying their existence, the Nation under Democratic leadership has had the courage to face the problems of insecurity, of unemployment, of unfair labor practices, of shady dealing with other people's money in the securities markets. We have met and corrected many of the abuses ignored by the party of Hoover, abuses which intensified the wild speculative boom of the late 1920's and caused the misery and suffering in the aftermath of the crash of 1929. Yet Republicans today would apparently return to the same policy of inaction which brought on the depression. They would move backward, if at all. The talk at Republican gatherings of "vicious legislation" of the Democratic administration, of "evil laws" passed during the past 8 years, leads us to ask for a frank and detailed statement to let our people know what laws would be repealed if the Republican Party came in power.

We have passed securities legislation to put a halt to the criminal swindling carried on in the stock markets in the days before 1929. Is that legislation to be repealed?

We have set up the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation guaranteeing the accounts of millions of depositors against loss. Are we to abandon this legislation and return to the system of the twenties?

We have guaranteed the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively. We have passed wage and hour legislation to place a floor on wages and a ceiling on hours to stamp out the vicious practices of the sweatshops. Do our Republican opponents consider that legislation un-American or evil? Would they repeal it?

We have passed legislation setting up a system of security against the hazards of old age and unemployment, a system of Federal assistance to the blind, the crippled, mothers of dependent children. Is that legislation to be discarded?

The same question can be asked as to the legislation for aid to the farmers, legislation to save the homes of millions of our people, legislation to encourage sound investment in home building.

The American people believe in progress, they believe in the liberal, humane measures adopted under the leadership of President Roosevelt to relieve suffering, to improve working conditions, to wipe out the abuses of the old system. They approve, in short, of the program which we have enacted into law under the Democratic Party during the last 8 years. Because they approve it, they will not chance the turning over to the Republican Party of the task of carrying on the improvement and development of the various parts of this great program which has been instituted by the Democratic Party under the leadership of President Roosevelt.

A dynamic leadership, a sense of responsibility in the administration and in the Congress to face the serious problems confronting the Nation has been the need of the last 8 years. It has been met by the Democratic Party. On details and on methods we have sometimes disagreed. The need for continued action to correct the abuses of the past and hold the country on the road to recovery, reemployment, and security, to preserve and protect the liberties guaranteed by our Constitution admits of no disagreement.

Today domestic conditions are far better than they were 8 years ago. Employment has risen, the banks and financial institutions have regained the confidence of the people. Earnings of the farmers and of business are at far better levels. The threat of foreclosure of homes and farms has gone. The hours, wages, and working conditions of labor have improved. Much has been accomplished. Much remains to be done. The American people will see to it that progress on these lines continues under the leadership which has made the progress of the last 8 years an actuality.

There is another field which holds the attention of our people today. That is the field of international relations and the security of our people from foreign attack. The revulsion from war after the experience of 22 years ago led to the destruction of our defenses during the decade of the twenties. We have since found to our bitter disillusionment that treaties, that the solemn pledges of the rulers of great nations are worthless when those nations fall in the hands of vain, ambitious, power-hungry dictators. Force and force alone is a protection against their greed. Relying on treaties, eager to avoid expenditure for war preparation, our Government in the 1920's and early thirties neglected our Army, Navy, and air force. The greatest navy in the world was cut to pieces by the torches of the scrap dealers or sent to the bottom by bombs and gun fire after the Washington conference. Paper plans for a reasonably rapid development in the air were never lived up to. The Army was starved until even the capacity to make equipment needed in war had disappeared. Its numbers were cut until no real training of full-sized combat units was possible.

We have worked during the last 8 years to make up some of the deficiencies of our defense. A naval building program was started in 1933 and many ships have since joined the fleet and many more are under construction. The air force has been increased, bases provided for its training and operation. The ground forces have been increased since 1935 until today we have the largest army ever brought together by this country in time of peace. We have provided for the training and equipment of a strong, modern army, air force, and naval force.

In spite of some indifference and resistance we have made progress. Where in 1917 we had but one master set of jigs, dies, tools, and fixtures for the manufacture of Springfield rifles, to take one example, today we have two plants fully equipped to turn out the new Garand semiautomatic, and have begun the construction of buildings and tools for a third.

The program still needs speeding up. We must provide a navy sufficient to defend us against attack in either ocean. We must provide an army and air force strong enough to meet any attack successful in reaching these shores in the meantime in spite of our Navy.

We who have served during this time in Congress, particularly on the military and naval committees, have faced a heavy responsibility. We have been afforded a great opportunity for service. Many of the measures proposed and adopted during this time are substantial con-

tributions to the framework of our national defense. I might mention briefly the Wilcox Act providing bases for the training and operation of the air force including the northeastern base in Chicopee, Mass., to protect our northeastern area so vital to the national defense. We wrote also the Thomason Act to improve the training and opportunity for service in the Regular Army of the graduates of our civilian universities.

We adopted the strategic-materials legislation conserving for our own defense the raw materials necessary to our industry, and providing for the acquisition and storage of reserves for use in case of emergency.

I introduced the educational-orders legislation to equip and train industry in the production of arms and munitions necessary to the national defense. We succeeded in adopting the legislation to increase the Air Corps and the productive capacity of our aircraft industry. We greatly increased the proportion of antiaircraft, one regiment of the increase coming to Connecticut. We adopted legislation for the training of men to man the modern weapons needed for defense in these times. These and many other measures for the improving of our defenses we have been privileged to sponsor, perfect, and adopt.

Today we face a need to bring forward this program of rearmament with all possible speed. We face a need of pushing with all possible speed the completion of the great naval program, and the program of acquisition and fortification of outlying bases upon which we have entered.

Our people are not going to be misled by slogans. The responsibilities to be carried by those elected to office in this year are far too great. On the record of service and ability there can be no question as to the reelection of our great Senator. Author of much sound and effective legislation for the proper regulation of the security markets; worker for the social legislation for the aged, crippled, and underprivileged; fighter for the just rights of labor; strong supporter of every measure for the strengthening of the national defense; a record of conscientious, courageous, and effective service in the interest of the people of Connecticut and of the Nation is held by our truly great Senator, FRANCIS T. MALONEY.

We work in a common cause. We know that the growth of our land, the increase of its prosperity, the preservation of the liberties of its people can best be served by the unity of our people in these trying times. That unity can best be accomplished under the democratic principles which guide our party and its candidates in State and Nation.

I am deeply sensible of the honor you have conferred upon me today. I am sensible of the responsibility of the position I now hold, reelection to which I seek. I pledge to you continuation of my every effort to carry on, develop, and protect the social and economic program for all our people, and to carry on, expedite, and strengthen our national defense so that no enemy or combination of enemies shall ever give serious thought to an attack upon us in this hemisphere.

In view of the critical situation which faces us today, the Congress must remain in session without adjournment or any extensive recess.

More than ever, therefore, we who are now serving in the Congress must depend upon you, our friends and supporters at home, to carry on the greatest part of active campaigning.

The great help you have been in the past and your enthusiasm now leave no doubt as to the successful outcome of the campaign.

Poll Tax Corruption

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE E. GEYER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, many who wish to do away with the poll tax as a prequisite to voting, do so on the ground that it leads to corruption at the polls. The hearings before the Judiciary subcommittee, headed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman WALTER, is replete with testimony proving that these contentions are correct. However, the hearings have not been printed so I am resorting to placing into the RECORD such evidence as I find in the press. I charge that forces opposing the passage of the Geyer anti-poll-tax bill dare not let the information be made public that is contained in these hearings. If the members of this house and the country at large, were really informed as to the effect of this undemocratic procedure practiced by eight of our States, they would demand immediate passage of legislation correcting the evil.

The editorial printed below from the Chattanooga Times gives some idea of what the hearings contain. Tennessee is one of the poll-tax States, and the Times is waging a valiant fight for real democracy in that State.

The editorial is reproduced below:

[From the Chattanooga Times]

FLAGRANT CORRUPTION

At least four counterfeit poll-tax receipts bearing notations showing they were used by persons who voted in the Democratic primary and general county election on August 1 have been turned over to county authorities. It is obvious that fraudulent ballots were cast in the election, and it is clearly the duty of the district attorney general's office to ferret out the perpetrators and to prosecute them. Attorney General Peabody Howard has stated that his office will conduct an inquiry, and Judge Charles W. Lusk has announced that he will instruct the grand jury, which convenes today, to investigate the entire matter.

The discovery of the counterfeit receipts brings into the open a practice which is neither novel nor new. Unscrupulous persons with a self-interest in the result of an election and with a contempt for the democratic process frequently try by two methods to control elections in each of the eight so-called poll-tax States. One method is to purchase bona fide poll-tax receipts and use them indiscriminately by sending hirelings to the polls. The other method is to counterfeit receipts and place them in the hands of corrupt voters.

Discovering the persons responsible for using the counterfeit receipts in the recent county election will not be easy. It is not charged, for instance, that the names of voters on the counterfeit receipts are the names of persons who used them. It is as easy to forge a signature as it is to produce a counterfeit tax receipt. But the district attorney general's office and the grand jury can get to the bottom of this flagrant abuse of the voting privilege if they are determined to do so. Judge Lusk can be depended upon to take a deep interest in the proceedings. Long an advocate of eliminating the poll tax as a voting requirement, Judge Lusk finds in the latest evidence of crookedness confirmation of all he has said about the evils of the poll-tax system.

The advocates of poll-tax elimination have in the existing set of facts an ideal case with which to prove the soundness of their contentions,. Whether the practice is so widespread that it actually determines the result of an election or whether its effect is inconsequential, it makes government by decision of the majority impossible. No citizen's vote is worth anything if crooks can manufacture poll-tax receipts and stuff them into ballot boxes. By showing how this election fraud was perpetrated and who is responsible for it the officials of the county can make out a convincing case for a reform which is long overdue.

Hospital Care for World War Veterans of United States Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE J. CONNERY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

LETTER FROM WORLD WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to present to the House for its consideration the very informative letter I have recently received from the World War Veterans of the United States merchant marine. It is plain that a grave injustice has been done these veterans who served so splendidly during the World War; the Congress has failed during all these years to properly and adequately recognize them. It is my sincere hope that the present session of Congress will rectify this injustice.

The letter follows:

WORLD WAR VETERANS OF THE
UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE,
October 5, 1940.

Hon. LAWRENCE J. CONNERY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CONNERY: The Congress now has before it H. R. 9485, introduced by the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK of Massachusetts. When enacted this bill will authorize the Administrator of

Veterans' Affairs to furnish domiciliary and hospital care and medical treatment to World War veterans of the United States Merchant Marine.

The young men of 1917–1918 who enlisted and served in the all important and vital service of the United States Merchant Marine have never received any recognition for their service which service was deemed of such importance to our country that the Sixty-fifth Congress appropriated $6,250,000 for recruiting and training men.

Those men who enlisted in the merchant marine at that time, upon leaving the training ships following their period of training were assigned to merchant ships and Army transports where they were entrusted with the important responsibility of carrying safely across the oceans war cargo, supplies, munitions, and other materials of war as well as millions of troops.

While rightfully there has been glory, official honor and recognition for those who served during that period in the Army and Navy, it is regrettable that the valiant service rendered by the men of the merchant marine, who in countless instances were engaged in the same duties as the men of the United States Navy, has been permitted to go without recognition during all these years since the cessation of the hostilities of the World War.

The enlisted men of the merchant marine in carrying out their precarious duties on the high seas were at all times subjected to the same hardships, suffering and dangers as those enlisted men of the United States Coast Guard and the United States Navy. But, while the two latter great services of the United States have been fully recognized since the World War, the men of the merchant marine have suffered through the failure of Congress to take proper action in their behalf. That the Congress should have done so is shown by the significant fact that it was a prerequisite to enlistment in the merchant marine that the applicant be a full American citizen. This regulation, as is well known, was not in force in either the Army, Navy, or Coast Guard. Thousands of aliens were permitted to enlist in these branches of the Service and are today receiving benefits which are denied American citizens who served in the merchant marine.

Seamen of the merchant marine faced the piratical submarine and the torpedo, not once, but again and again as a regular part of their duty, and countless numbers of them were shipwrecked, crippled, killed, drowned, or frozen to death.

The service rendered by the wartime merchant-marine sailors was of tremendous value in the proper carrying out of America's part in the World War, for it was this service that was in truth the main connecting link between our source of supply in the United States and our battling troops on foreign soil. Had the merchant marine failed in its duties it would have been impossible for this country to have brought about the final victory.

During the influenza epidemic which was so strongly felt in 1918, this branch of the service, like others of our armed forces, suffered greatly. Many of the personnel aboard training ships, merchant ships, and transports were stricken so suddenly that they died before any medical assistance could be given them. Many of these men were too ill to be moved to hospitals and were forced to stay aboard ships' hospitals. Untold agonies were suffered by these men. Many of those who lost their lives left dependents without support—aged mothers and fathers, wives, and children. Even at this late date numerous veterans of the merchant marine are suffering from the effects of the dreadful disease and are unable to work because of physical handicaps resulting from their service.

Let me quote to you what President Woodrow Wilson said on October 1, 1918:

"The men who go down to the sea in ships have become an important factor in our national life. Their services are extremely essential in handling the ships to carry our soldiers in safety to Europe, in transporting the munitions and food supplies for their maintenance and the material for the sustenance of the armies and peoples of the countries with which we are associated. No more honorable or serviceable task can come to any of our people than that of manning our merchant marine."

Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, said in 1918:

"Service in the merchant marine is absolutely vital to the success of winning the war.

"You can confidently say to the young men who have enlisted in the merchant marine, it is a matter of great delight for me to be able to come as in a sense responsible for the Army and say that the Army needs just this kind of cooperation. The War Department has a very deep interest in the recruiting of seamen for the merchant marine so that that great calling of the past and very necessary calling of the future may have permanent outlook.

"I have recently returned from Europe, and I had an opportunity to observe the sailors, the movements of the cargo. In the first place, I will say to you that a vital necessity of the continuance and increase of the American military abroad for the purpose of winning this war lies in adequate cargo transportation, adequately served. So that if there be any patriotic obligation upon men anywhere to win this war it rests upon all of us who are in any degree associated with the business of getting Europe the supplies which are necessary for the maintenance of our great Army over there. Therefore, it is one of the highest patriotic obligations.

"Our military operations in Europe are, of course, constantly on the increase. The increasing capacity of our troops, transport ships and cargo ships enable us to place in Europe a very much larger number of troops than have hitherto been placed there."

Tribute to heroes of the Merchant Marine by Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the United States Shipping Board, on September 27, 1918:

"It is true that today we lead the world in ship construction, but we must back it up with officers and seamen, training and discipline. We are training from 4,000 to 5,000 men each month to enter the merchant marine, and they are all typical Americans, who have the spirit which Pershing's men showed at Chateau-Thierry. I don't believe the American people appreciate the wonderful work these men are doing to help us win the war. We have every reason to be proud of what we have accomplished so far in the training of men to man our ships."

Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, of the British Navy, said in November 1918:

"The officers and men of the American merchant marine have founded during this war a new and glorious tradition in the teeth of undreamed-of peril. While there has been glory and official honor for the Army and Navy, merchant-marine sailors have been taking their chances down in the forehold and in the lifeboats and on pieces of wreckage in the freezing North Atlantic waters."

Real Admiral William S. Sims, of the United States Navy, in his lecture before the Lowell Institute, on December 11, 1930, praised the officers and crews of the American merchant ships who transported supplies across the Atlantic during the World War:

"The skill and seamanship of these sailors was something that amazed naval officers, and they proved themselves to be seamen in a sense that naval officers never have the opportunity to become. The courage, initiative, and a sense of responsibility, skill in handling ships of all types, and noteworthy seamanship characterized the merchantmen. I'd like to see a bunch of 30 naval officers trying to handle 30 heterogeneous ships as the merchantmen did. Without the merchantmen's skill, courage, and loyalty, the war could not have been won."

The foregoing statements by the President of the United States and other outstanding personalities who guided our destinies during the World War are proof in words of the great value to the well-being of our country of the merchant marine during the World War. The men of the merchant marine are appreciative of these commendatory statements, but words, no matter how kind or praising, are of but little value to the maimed and the sick who have received their disabilities in the service of their country.

The McCormack bill, let me emphasize, does not in any way seek pensions, bonus, or compensation benefits of any kind. It simply calls for a just recognition of the valiant service of the men of the merchant marine by granting domiciliary and hospital care to those veterans of the merchant marine who find it impossible as age advances to adequately or properly care for themselves.

Appreciating any interest you may be able to take in this matter through your own individual efforts or through arousing the interest of your colleagues in Congress, I am,

Sincerely,

WORLD WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE,
NICHOLAS CEFALO, *Legislative Committee.*

Embargo the Export of Douglas Fir Peeler Logs—Here Is An Exhaustible Resource Which Should Be Preserved for Posterity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. COFFEE

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

LETTER OF THE HONORABLE JOHN M. COFFEE AND MON C. WALLGREN, OF WASHINGTON TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, URGING THE FAVORABLE REPORTING OF THE PENDING BILL, H. R. 9141, WHICH PROHIBITS THE EXPORT OF HIGH-GRADE DOUGLAS FIR PEELER LOGS

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, a pending bill, now resting restlessly in the bosom of the House Committee on Ways and Means, should be reported out promptly and favorably by that great committee. In my judgment, there is no conscionable argument justifying the retention of such a measure in slumberland; but, on the other hand, every persuasive consideration urges that prompt action be taken on the bill at once in the interest of conservation and of the development of one of America's most prominent and relatively new commercial enterprises—the plywood industry. Recently the gentleman from Washington, the Honorable MON C. WALLGREN, and I directed a letter to the gentleman from North Carolina, Hon. ROBERT L. DOUGHTON, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, in which we set forth our arguments in support

of our contention that the bill should be acted upon affirmatively and with dispatch by that committee. The letter is self-explanatory, and is as follows:

OCTOBER 4, 1940.

HON. ROBERT L. DOUGHTON,
Chairman, Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: Under date of September 21 the Secretary of State submitted a report to you in connection with H. R. 9141. I have carefully examined the Department of State's report and am desirous of offering some comments in regard to it.

The bill provides for restrictions in regard to the exportation of choice Douglas fir logs of large dimensions which are the basis of the important and rapidly growing Douglas fir plywood industry in the States of Washington and Oregon. It has been definitely and conclusively proved at previous hearings that these logs are indispensable to the American industries involved, and that failing this log supply, the present high standard of living and high standard of wages cannot be maintained. Since the supply of this type of timber is limited and the exportation of these high-class Douglas fir logs is accelerating the exhaustion of this irreplaceable natural resource, all factors involved including timber owners, the log-consuming industries, labor, and the general public, have unanimously recommended that the bill pass. There are two Federal Departments directly concerned with timber conservation, i. e. Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior. Both Departments have given strong support to the bill, basing their arguments on the conservation of timber and the necessity of converting this raw material in America in order to create opportunities for labor. The Secretary of Labor has concurred in these views. The bill has received strong support from other public and private organizations including A. F. of L., C. I. O., American Forestry Association, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and others representing many millions of citizens throughout the country.

The Department of State's objection to the bill is based on three principal points. It denies that there is any timber-conservation feature involved and is directly opposing the testimony given by eminent conservation authorities of the Government, including the late Mr. F. A. Silcox, Chief Forester of the United States Forest Service. It minimizes the importance of the bill to labor, and in substantiation of this claim it advances figures and facts which refer to conditions existing years ago and which, therefore, have no bearing on present date conditions. The Department of State is, furthermore, insisting on employing private figures which it has secured from a source which at the Senate hearing on S. 1108 was proved to represent in part foreign interests opposing the passage of the bill for purely selfish reasons. In advancing these arguments the Department of State has repeatedly disregarded the exhaustive report on the extent and economic consequences of Douglas fir log exports presented to the Congress by the United States Forest Service.

A perusal of the testimony in this case will show that the Department of State has no experts in the field of forest conservation and timber utilization and that the position it takes in this case is directly opposed to the efforts of other Government departments to further timber conservation and increase national employment.

In its report the Department of State makes only vague reference to its objection to the bill on the basis of its effect on the established commercial policy of the United States. This is the field in which the Department of State can speak with authority, and any objection to the bill on the part of the Department of State will naturally be expected to be on the basis of conflict with this country's commercial policy.

It is claimed that the passage of the bill would interfere with the reciprocal-trade program by encouraging other countries to place restrictions on their raw materials needed by American industries. The Department of State seems to overlook the fact that there is not a single country possessing high-grade softwood timber which has not already placed prohibition or restriction on its exports. Canada put such embargo into effect covering the exportation of Douglas-fir logs of any description to all non-Empire countries. The question of tin ore also came up in connection with the hearing on this bill, but the Department of State has consistently failed to explain the circumstances which led it to acquiesce in a plan whereby the British and other tin-ore producers have opposed the exportation of tin ore to the United States and, instead, forcing this country to import the refined metal produced in the British Empire. There are numerous other examples of inconsistency in the Department of State's policy regarding exports and imports of raw materials, and, in the case of Douglas-fir logs, it is apparent that the Department of State has taken a standpoint which is not based on a knowledge of conditions surrounding this trade either at home or abroad.

In regard to the reciprocal trade agreement program the Department of State at one time claimed to have secured important concessions for the American industries depending on the conversion of high-grade Douglas fir logs. This claim was made by the Department of State at the hearing before the Senate Committee on Commerce. No such claims are made at the present time since it was proved that the concessions secured were of no practical value. On the other hand, the Department of State is making no comment in regard to the well-known fact that in every instance where foreign countries are importing our high-grade Douglas fir logs, they have, at the same time, placed prohibitive duties in the way of the importation of the American finished Douglas fir products. Therefore, it is erroneous and misleading for the Department of State to contend that an unrestricted exportation of high-grade Douglas fir logs would be in the interest of the reciprocal-trade program.

In regard to national defense, recent events have placd an entirely different aspect on the Douglas fir plywood situation, and the industry is overburdened with very large orders for defense purposes. In a few months the industry, which already has assumed gigantic proportions, will increase its capacity by about 50 percent, and unless the same protective measures are taken by Congress to reserve the available supply of high-grade timber for our national requirements, we shall without doubt face a serious crisis in regard to high-grade Douglas fir log supply in the future.

It is a serious matter for one Government department to advance theories and policies so entirely opposed to timber conservation measures advocated by the technical services of the same Government. Timber conservation, in a modern sense, is based on wise use and the creation of local industries drawing on the raw material which is perpetuated through adequate forestry methods. It is a matter of common sense that no such results will be accomplished by exporting the cream of our virgin forests for the benefit of foreign nationals and foreign industries competing directly with our national industries and paying wages which are only a fraction of those maintained in America.

It is on this basis that I am strongly advocating the passing of this legislation at this session of Congress because as soon as the present hostilities are over we in this country shall face a serious situation in view of the strong organizations of our foreign competitors in an effort to secure raw materials. We cannot afford to pass up any opportunity of this nature to employ our own people and to neglect any step toward sensible timber conservation.

I desire to direct your attention to the testimony brilliantly given at the hearing by Mr. Oxholm, who is fully informed on the subject matter and who has done highly constructive service for his industry.

Sincerely,

JOHN M. COFFEE, M. C.
MON C. WALLGREN, M. C.

Deportation of Aliens Employed by Bata Shoe Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE J. CONNERY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, the decision of the Department of Justice to expel from this country the alien officers and workers imported from Czechoslovakia as shoe experts some time ago for the Belcamp, Md., plant of the Nazi-controlled Bata Shoe Co. is to be praised. It was the only decision the Department of Justice could have made. The statement of the Department adds one more bit to the accumulating evidence that the Bata Co. operates unfairly and dishonestly.

I do not believe the Department of Justice should abandon its scrutiny of these aliens with the verdict they cannot remain in this country under renewed visitors' permits. As everyone knows, Bata is a Czechoslovakia company, and Czechoslovakia is now under Nazi domination.

I would not be at all surprised that if the Department of Justice follows up its commendable action of today with thorough investigation of the activities of these individuals while in this country under the guise of technical shoe experts, such investigation would disclose "fifth column" machinations.

Let us not be overpolite in guarding ourselves against "fifth column" activities. We know that Germany is probably engaged in such efforts against us at this moment. We should not permit, tranquilly, to depart from our shores any person who, while here, has participated in "fifth column" maneuvers. The dishonesty of the Beta company just disclosed by the Department of Justice certainly gives warrant for such a probe of the workers and officers involved. I think, in common sense, it should be made.

The officers of the boot and shoe workers' union and the united shoe workers' union who have consistently and persistently demanded the expulsion of these alleged shoe experts who secured entry into our country through false representations should be honored for their patriotism and vigilance in watching out for the welfare of the American shoe workers.

I have already requested the Department of Justice to go into this matter thoroughly and as expeditiously as possible.

The Man Who Wants the Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, my very good and able friend, the Honorable Charles H. Burke, former Congressman from South Dakota and former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, today called my attention to the following highly significant editorial in the Chicago Tribune. I think this editorial is so pertinent to the vital issues of the day that all Members should be given an opportunity to read it. It is a factual presentation of some simple truths which a free America should ponder carefully if it has the determination to remain free.

[From the Chicago Tribune of September 17, 1940]

THE MAN WHO WANTS THE THIRD TERM

The man who wanted the third term would not pop out of the clear sky. There would be signals that he was coming. His shadow would precede him. His ambitions would be betrayed by what he had done before he struck out for the thing he wanted. People looking back could say that here was just the man who might have been expected to seek what none of his predecessors ever had—the third consecutive term on a self-exploited doctrine of indispensability.

Mr. Roosevelt gave all the signs. He kicked precedents and traditions about. He pushed the limitations of office aside. He resented constitutional restrictions on his authority. He asked power to reduce the Supreme Court from its place as an independent branch of government. He used Congress as a rubber stamp. He wanted all the departments of government consolidated under his control.

When men disagreed with him he undertook to defeat them at the polls. He made his will paramount. He said he was the issue. Men who did not submit to him were enemies of the Republic. He would be their "master." He fed hot dogs to royalty, congratulated the "red" dictatorship on its achievements, and scolded the other dictators, probably because they didn't seem to recognize that he was one of them.

The man who tried to kick the court around, who tried to kick Congress around, who tried the purge on every man in public life who opposed him, who has wanted absolute authority, is the man who wants the third term. He is just the man who would want it. He would go after it in just the way he has. He would raise a war scare, he would pack a convention, and say that his ambition was his conscience.

Labor Should Be Consulted in All Defense Proposals—England's Morale Has Improved Just to the Extent That the Representatives of Labor Have Been Incorporated in the Government—Emphasis on Trade Associations in Setting Up Regulations for Enforcing the Wage and Hour Law Unfortunate—Federal Labor Statutes Must Be Upheld

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. COFFEE
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, when words come from high places in Washington that all labor and social standards are to be religiously maintained throughout the crisis the labor movement will do well to look behind the words to the governmental actions presumably supporting and enforcing the New Deal labor and social legislation. Take the Wage and Hour Act, for example. Col. Phil Fleming, administrator of that act under Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, has several times during the past two months or so been strong and explicit in his assertions that production in the defense industries will not be helped by the relaxing of wage minimums and hour maximums. Quite the contrary, he has maintained that experience during the last war proved the unwisdom from a production point of view of lengthening the hours of work and trying to reduce wages. He has even taken the lead in giving the lie to the persistent propaganda canard that the recent collapse of France before the bloody Hitler juggernaut was because of the Frecnh labor and social laws.

With those statements of his in mind, and also with similar statements from the President, Secretary Perkins and members of the National Advisory Defense Commission in mind, what should the labor movement think of the press release issued by the Wage and Hour Division, United States Department of Labor, on September 22, entitled, "New Procedure Expedites Wage-Hour Compliance"? That release announces at the outset that—

Every employer against whom an allegation of violation of the wage and hour law is filed, henceforth will receive a form which he is asked to fill out, giving information indicating his compliance with, or violation of, the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The release then describes how, on the effective date of the law, October 24, 1938, the Wage and Hour Division stated:

With a force of less than 25 inspectors, and faced with an ever-mounting complaint load, the Division, in many instances, was unable to send an inspector to investigate a complaint for several months. Sometimes the firm had gone out of business, or the complaining employee had left its employ and could not be located, and many other changes and conditions intervened to make investigation of these "cold" complaints difficult, if not impossible.

A significant fact to cite in reference to this portion of the release is the return to the Treasury by the Wage and Hour Division on July 1, 1940, of an unexpended balance totaling around $387,000. That amount would have provided approximately 180 inspectors if one figures their average salary at $2,300 per year, which appears to be in the neighborhood of the present average rate. The wage-hour appropriation for the fiscal year 1939–40—from which this $387,000 was returned unused—was one which had been increased by the House at the active insistence of the labor movement whose representatives were urged to lobby for it by the wage-hour officials' explanation that no adequate enforcement could be had without more money for more inspectors.

EXAMINATION OF CONSCIENCE

The disingenuousness of the first sentences of the release implying that the employer violating the Wages and Hours Act will gladly fill out a form for the Government setting forth his violation is astounding enough. Subsequent paragraphs are even more amazing. The release goes on to say:

The use of the new form will have the effect of making each complaint a "live" one, in that action will begin immediately with the filing of the charge—

Colonel Fleming said:

Each employer complained against will receive this form, AD–85, headed, "Information Respecting Compliance With the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938." This will serve to advise some employers, who have been inadvertently violating the law, of the existence of the statute and its requirements.

We interject at this point a mild query as to that ancient tenet of our society that ignorance of the law is no defense. And we wonder who but the tiniest backwoods employer does not know about the wage-hour law.

The release continues:

Accurately filled out, it will put the employer through a sort of "examination of conscience" insofar as the wage and hour law is involved. When he has completely filled out the form, he will know whether or not he is complying with the law.

FIFTY-TWO TRADE ASSOCIATIONS APPLAUD

Colonel Fleming then explains that if an employer discovers, by filling out the form, that he has been violating the law and wants to—

Come into compliance immediately and make restitution of back wages due his employees, every assistance will be given him by the nearest Wage and Hour Office.

He then says that—

In no case is this form being used as a substitute for physical or personal inspection of the books of the employer involved. It is merely being used to expedite our inspection procedure and should prove of great value in this respect. Inspections will still be made at the faster rate made possible by our increased inspection force now totalling more than 700.

That may sound plausible to those unfamiliar with the actual field operations of the Wage and Hour Division. But what inspectors are going to be encouraged or permitted to examine employers' books and perform their other duties when regional directors, apparently backed by headquarters in Washington, take the reverse attitude in practice? For example, a letter to a union complainant in New England has been brought to our attention. The letter, which seems to be typical, is signed by Charles R. Hersum, acting regional director, and tells the complainant that no further action is contemplated in the case "since they—the complainant's employers—state they have not violated the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938." The letter concludes with the suggestion to the complainant that the wage and hour law permits the complainant to hire a private lawyer and bring suit against his employers for restitution of back wages he may think are due him or his fellow employees.

Some time after the above letter was received and had been given considerable circulation by the outraged union man to whom it was addressed the same acting regional director, Mr. Hersum, sent him another letter. This second communication—inspired apparently by reports of the spreading reaction of anger among labor ranks to the first one—hastened to assure the complainant that the earlier form letter did not mean the case was closed but simply that no action was contemplated at present. Hersum's identification of the first letter as a "form" one clearly seems to imply that if employers "state they have not violated the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938" union or other labor complainants may expect no aid from the Wage and Hour Division in prosecuting their complaints.

The press release ends with two paragraphs describing the collaboration of business on the new form:

The form has been in use on an experimental basis in some parts of the country for more than a month.

It explains.

It has been submitted to 52 national trade associations, so that they may be able to advise their members, should any question arise concerning the use of the form or its purposes. In all of those contacted by the Division since the use of the form was inaugurated, there has been hearty approval of this new procedure.

HOW ABOUT LABOR AS WELL AS TRADE ASSOCIATION?

No fair-minded student of industry-labor problems can deny, or wants to deny, that the lining up of industry in the enforcement of a labor statute is wise procedure, that social-minded, law-abiding employers should be encouraged to collaborate in forcing their chiseling competitors to abide by the law. By the same reasoning so should the labor movement be encouraged to help achieve enforcement of statutes designed to improve and protect labor's conditions.

In this particular case diligent inquiry fails to reveal any 52 national or international trade-unions to whom the Wage and Hour Division submitted this new form, AD–85, for approval before Colonel Fleming announced its adoption in his September 22 press release. The most that can be ascertained is that certain of Colonel Fleming's associate officials in the Division assert that William Green, president of the A. F. of L., and Sidney Hillman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers president and member of the Defense Commission, were consulted on it at some time during its preparation or experimental use. The organized labor movement is justified in feeling that the consultation thus cited does not constitute a genuine submission of the new procedure to it for consideration. The contrast between this reported consultation and the submission to 52 national trade associations is marked, to put it mildly.

LABOR HAS CAUSE TO BE TROUBLED

Labor reads in the press of numerous resignations from the Wage and Hour Division staff—resignations of men and women it had come to know as most interested in having the act enforced equitably. It sees references in the press to a report filed by Colonel Fleming's personal investigator on the Kansas City regional headquarters—embracing eight States—after a 6-week investigation—references indicating the report was ignored and its recommendations rejected. From the field, labor's own union representatives send in disquieting reports of wage-hour inspectors being ordered to build the statistical record of cases handled and closed by taking the easy, little ones, or even chalking up as closed cases firms exempt from the act. Some of these reports say that inspectors are told they must list three a day or eight a day closed cases for themselves or be in danger of losing their jobs.

Then labor hears from National Defense Commission headquarters that no more defense contracts will be let to industries violating any labor statute—after billions of dollars in contracts had already been let to corporations flagrantly violating such statutes—and that a Labor Board order constitutes evidence of violation of the Wagner Act unless and until a court sets it aside. C. I. O. President John L. Lewis pointedly suggested while conferring with the Bethlehem Steel workers in Pittsburgh that it must be assumed the Attorney General's opinion on labor statute violations will be retroactive because it would be a paradox that some companies with Government contracts were complying with the law while others were not.

And labor, wanting to do its level best in the defense program for democracy in this country and this hemisphere, pieces these press releases, reports, and facts together and is deeply troubled. We think justly so.

One Nation Indivisible With Liberty and Justice for All

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RANKIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

AN OUTLINE OF THE 1940–41 OBJECTIVES OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting an outline of the 1940–41 objectives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which was compiled by Mr. Millard W. Rice, national legislative representative of that organization. This statement is formulated on the basis of resolutions adopted by the Veterans of Foreign Wars at their forty-first annual national encampment.

The matter referred to follows:

POINT 1. PROTECT AMERICA

A. Armed forces:

1. An expanded Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, as well as National Guard, C. M. T. C., R. O. T. C., and other Reserve components, liberally equipped with modernized munitions and scientifically developed, mechanized, motorized matériel, sufficient to withstand any possible aggressive force against the Western Hemisphere.

2. Detailed plans for effective speedy mobilization of manpower, capital, transportation, communication, and material resources for defense of the Americas.

a. Favor (1) the immediate adoption of a system of compulsory training, during time of peace, for all physically fit young men, after the completion of which they shall be transferred to Reserve components, and (a) the adoption of a system, to be applicable during time of war, of universal, selective, compulsory military service as to all physically fit men, when needed.

b. Tax profits out of war, and preparation for war, by steeply graduated personal and corporation income taxes, so as more nearly to equalize burdens of national defense.

c. Acquire island Navy bases for national defense.

B. President and Congress to keep America out of wars between other nations:

1. Apply and defend the principles of nonintervention and noninterference, as embodied in Monroe Doctrine.
2. All United States treaties, agreements, and understandings to be made public.
3. Oppose any referendum on war.

POINT 2. PROTECT AND PROMOTE AMERICANISM

A. Protect our American form of government:
1. Perpetuate our threefold form of government.
2. All Government employees to take oath of allegiance.
3. Provide for registration of all Communist, Fascist, and Nazi-ist and similar subversive groups, including organizations of aliens and those which accept or give funds or other support from or to foreign governments or political parties.
4. Continue vigorous opposition to and investigation of agencies of communism, fascism, nazi-ism and other forms of regimentism, and of foreign propaganda designed to subvert our form of government or embroil us in foreign wars.
5. Expand Federal Bureau of Investigation activities; imprison all spies.
6. Make it a crime to, and dissolve all secret organizations which, advocate or promote overthrow of the United States Government, or which would advance unlawful purposes, by force or violence.
7. No public funds for any school which advocates a foreign ism.
8. No old-age assistance, grants, pension, or other governmental benefits to aliens.
9. Provide reduced immigration quotas as to all countries.
a. Exclude criminals, those likely to become a public burden, and those who believe in use of force to overthrow United States Government.
b. Prevent smuggling of aliens into country by increased border patrols and immigration inspectors.
c. Codify all immigration, naturalization, and deportation laws.
10. Deport all undersirable aliens.
1. Criminals, spies, saboteurs, those ineligible for citizenship, those who advocate use of force to overthrow present form of government, and those who are public charges.
11. Island dependencies not to be admitted as States of United States.
B. Perpetuate ideals of Americanism.
1. V. F. W. members and units to serve in all national-defense activities.
2. Maintain our constitutional rights of free speech, a free press, religious freedom, petition and assembly, and educate all Americans as to value of same as compared with communism, fascism, nazi-ism, or any other ism.
3. Promote general education, of our children, of our citizens, and of those on their way toward citizenship; promote public forums.
4. Promote educational and inspirational activities among our Nation's youth.
5. Cooperate as to all non-controversial constructive community activities.
6. Require every person in United States to be fingerprinted.
7. Advocate adoption of a national flag code:
a. Foreign-made United States flags not to be imported, purchased, or used.
b. Instruct school pupils in proper flag etiquette.
c. Have United States flag displayed on or near all Federal and school buildings.
8. Reduce crime by rehabilitation of criminals.
9. Have the *Constitution, Constellation, Hartford, Olympia*, and *America* preserved as historic naval relics.

POINT 3. PROTECT AND PROVIDE FOR AMERICA'S DEFENDERS

A. Liberalized pensions for dependents of veterans:
1. Pensions of $30 per month for dependent widows of all deceased World War veterans honorably discharged after 90 days or more of service, plus allowances for dependent children same as for children of deceased veterans of Spanish-American War.
2. Pensions of $40 per month for dependent widows of all deceased World War veterans who, prior to death, were suffering with service-connected disabilities, but whose deaths were caused by other disabilities.
3. Pensions of $50 per month for widows of all deceased World War veterans, who died by reason of service-connected disabilities or who had permanent total combat disabilities.
4. Widow to be eligible for pension, if married to and living with veteran for 2 years preceding his death, or if she had a child with veteran as father.
5. Receipt of pension by parents of one deceased World War veteran not to affect entitlement to pension on basis of death of other sons.
6. Pensions to minor children of deceased Spanish-American War veterans until age 18, or until age 21, if attending accredited school.
7. Adequate Social Security benefits for all crippled and dependent children.
8. Eliminate "needs" clause as to widows' pension eligibility.
B. Liberalized provisions for service disabled:
1. Ten-percent minimum rating for combat disabilities.
2. Statutory award of $35 for loss or "loss of use" of a limb in all cases.
a. To be applied where total rating is more than for amputation.
3. Service-connected disability ratings to be increased by 10 percent of basic ratings for each additional 5 years of age, after fortieth birthday.
4. Compensation to be barred by misconduct only if felonious.
5. Restore full compensation for "presumptives."
6. Functional nervous disorders rendering it impossible to follow any substantially gainful occupation to be ratable as permanent total disability.
7. Pensions for service disabled Regulars to be at 90 percent of war-time rates.
C. Liberalized pensions for other disabled veterans:
1. Honorably discharged, 90-day disabled World War veterans to receive pensions at same rates as granted to disabled veterans of Spanish-American War—$20 per month for 10 percent, $25 for 25 percent, $35 for 50 percent, $50 for 75 percent, and $60 for total disability, or $100 if in need of an attendant.
a. To be measured by inability of individual to earn a living.
b. To be barred by misconduct only if felonious.
2. Campaign badge veterans, and their dependents, to be eligible for pensions same as allowed to World War veterans.
3. Veterans who enlisted before July 15, 1903, and served in any of the listed campaigns in any part of the Philippine Islands, to be regarded as Spanish-American War veterans, for all pension purposes.
D. Liberalized provisions for other war veterans:
1. "Bonus" eligibility to be extended to provisional World War officers.
2. Duplicate adjusted-service certificates to be issued where veterans are unable to secure possession of original certificates.
E. Liberalized provisions for Regulars:
1. Personnel provisions:
a. Those who actively serve, and those who shall have actively served, in any compulsory military training, or compulsory service, unit, to be extended the same rights, privileges, benefits, and emoluments as may be provided for those who serve, or have served, in the regular armed forces of the United States, and for their dependents, and also such protection as to reemployment, seniority rights, and such other rights as may be found practicable.
b. Same pay and allowances for enlisted personnel and lower-grade officers in similar grades in all defense establishments.
c. Government insurance for all active members of the United States armed forces.
d. Restore reenlistment bonus retroactively to all active Regulars.
e. Provide retirement pay for ex-temporary World War officers of Army same as for those of Navy.
f. Increase retired enlisted men's allowances from $15.75 to $30 per month.
g. Discontinue deductions from pay of Regulars for maintenance of Old Soldiers' Home in Washington, D. C.
h. Have the rank of brigadier general, and retirement privileges, restored posthumously to Gen. William L. Mitchell.
F. Medical treatment for veterans:
1. Hospitalization for all war, campaign, and expedition veterans.
2. No compensation or pension reduction during first 3 months of hospitalization.
3. Veterans' Administration facilities to be located according to veteran population needs.
a. More general medical and surgical hospital beds needed.
4. Reciprocal hospitalization privileges to be extended to disabled Regulars.
5. Survey Veterans' Administration hospital patients periodically for transferral to domiciliary care.
6. Veterans' Administration facilities to provide highest type of orthopedic and surgical appliances
G. Administration of veteran benefits:
1. Greater uniformity of benefits to be provided among the several groups of veterans and the dependents of veterans where equitable and feasible.
2. All limitation dates as to veteran benefit applications to be removed.
3. Veterans' Administration decisions to be appealable within 2 years.
4. All erroneous Veterans' Administration adjudications to be adjusted retroactively.
5. Accrued compensation or pension to dependents of deceased veterans.
6. Veterans' Administration annual reports to classify beneficiaries as to overseas service.
7. Government insurance policies to be incontestable after 2 years.
H. Service records of veterans:
1. Fingerprints of all war veterans to be classified according to type.
2. Review boards in War and Navy Departments to be authorized to give honorable-discharge certificates.
3. War-service credit to railroad employees for retirement purposes.
I. Burial benefits as to veterans:
1. National cemeteries to be in all States.
2. Grave markers for veterans whose last discharges were not dishonorable.
3. Same burial allowance as to service-connected disabled Regulars and as to campaign badge veterans as now provided for as to war veterans.
J. Employment for all employable veterans:
1. Federal civil-service preferences for veterans as to:
a. Examinations:
(1) Ten points to be added to earned ratings of service-connected disabled veterans, their wives, war veterans over age of 55, and widows of all deceased veterans, and placed at top of register.
(2) Five points to be added to earned ratings of all other veterans and names of war veterans placed next in order on civil-service register.

(3) Quarterly examination privilege for all 10-point persons, for all war, campaign, and expedition veterans, and for 6-year-service veterans.
(4) Age and physical requirements to be waived if otherwise qualified.
(5) Educational prerequisities to be waived if otherwise qualified.
(6) Include war service as part of experience prerequisite time.
(7) Credit experience gained in voluntary civic, social welfare, and veteran service work as if on paid basis.
b. Appointments:
(1) Appointing officer to submit adequate reason for skipping over a veteran to Civil Service Commission; its reaction thereto to be available to the veteran or his representative.
c. Preference of retention, upon reduction of forces, in all Federal agencies, to be based on seniority (to include all active military or naval service).
d. Removal only on basis of written charges; protection against lower job or salary status; transfers with same job classification and salary, as to handicapped veterans, if possible, rather than dismissal or retirement.
e. Reinstatement from furloughed, resigned, or dismissed status, and after recovery from retirement disability.
f. Appeal Board to consider appeals on all Federal employment matters; veteran or his representative to review records and present evidence.
g. Local postmasters to make permanent appointments of veterans in same order as original substitute appointments.
2. Same preferences as to all Federal positions, contracts, public works, P. W. A., W. P. A., etc.
a. Effective preferences as to all needy war, campaign, and expedition veterans, the wives of unemployable veterans, and the widows of veterans, as to all administrative, supervisory, and work-relief employment, for which they are qualified, and available, under the Work Projects Administration.
3. Civil service for all non-policy-making full-time Federal employees.
4. Governmental employment only for American citizens.
5. Optional civil-service retirements for civil-service employees.
6. Compulsory military training for all C. C. C. members under War Department.
7. A census of all veterans in each community and State, cross-classified as to ages, occupations, able-bodied and disabled, employed, partially employed, and unemployed, and as to those:
a. Employed by the Federal Government, by States, counties, and municipalities, with and without civil-service status.
b. Employed under Federal, State, and local relief projects.
8. Urge employers, especially those who are veterans, to extend employment to qualified veterans.
9. A coordinated program of vocational training, and placement in suitable employment, of all unemployed employable older persons, particularly veterans.
10. Effective veteran employment and civil-service preference laws by all States, counties, and municipalities; greater uniformity of beneficial State laws relative to veterans, their dependents, and their organizations.
11. National, State, and local employment committees of V. F. W. to cooperate with other veteran organizations, governmental agencies, and private employers to take such steps as will assure to all ex-service men the opportunity for permanent, suitable, gainful employment.

Twenty-five Valid, Truthful, and Patriotic Reasons Why We Favor a Third Term for Franklin D. Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAYMOND S. McKEOUGH
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. McKEOUGH. Mr. Speaker, first, because Franklin Delano Roosevelt has done a magnificent job for America and the American people—a daring and resourceful leader, whose kindliness and humanity do not hide the high courage which inspired a Nation once before and which is needed to inspire us once more in the dark days that lie ahead.

Until this year the third-term issue has never reached the people in an election. Not one good reason has been advanced why this question should not be passed upon by the electorate. Are they not competent to decide, to judge whether they want to retain priceless experience in the White House, or whether they want a completely confused novice to pilot the ship of state.

Second. Because eminent Republicans saw no danger in a third term until the Wall Street "corporcrats" dragged it out as an election bogey in 1940. Here is the record of some high in the G. O. P., previous to the Philadelphia auction.

William Howard Taft, July 7, 1925:

It would be very satisfactory if Coolidge were to run for a third term. (Life and Times of William Howard Taft, by Henry F. Pringle.)

Senator William E. Borah, February 9, 1928:

There may be times and terms and conditions in which the people would judge it better to have the President for the third time than to change under the circumstances.

Former President Herbert Hoover, August 3, 1927:

However, I still believe, as I stated in Chicago 2 weeks ago, that President Coolidge should be renominated and reelected.

Meaning a third term.

Mark Sullivan, of the pro-Willkie New York Herald Tribune, writing in 1925, said:

Finally there is not now the feeling against a third term that there was 20 years ago. In any event, the suspicion against a third term—whether a third full term of 4 years, or a third term in the sense that Coolidge's could be after 1929, if he should have one—that has largely gone out of American politics.

Third. Because the cry of "dictatorship" is a fraud and a sham, and pure hypocrisy. If Roosevelt is a dictator, why does he permit an election? If Roosevelt is a dictator, why has he never called out the Army?—such as a Republican President did to attack the bonus marchers. If Roosevelt is a dictator why does he permit 80 percent of the American press to work and shout for his defeat? If Roosevelt is a dictator, why can he not dictate to Congress?

No, the dictators were at Philadelphia, and they nominated Wendell L. Willkie. Did he ever go before the people in an open primary, as did his rivals, Taft, Dewey, and Vandenberg? Who dictated the nomination of Senator McNARY for Vice President? Who dictated the nomination of the Honorable BRUCE BARTON for United States Senator in New York? Who pulled the strings for the Hoover-described auction at Philadelphia? Why, Wall Street, and the Power Trust, and the same propaganda machine which spent millions to defeat T. V. A., and the holding-company bill to regulate utility empires like the Insull swindle.

Fourth. Because Franklin D. Roosevelt's triumphant reelection would be the greatest rebuke to the infamous Hitler, and his stooge Mussolini, that has been administered since their dreams of world dominion. Both of the European dictators desire a Republican victory, according to the front page of the pro-Willkie New York Times, and a copyright dispatch printed October 4. Under a Rome date line, the story by Herbert L. Matthews says:

As far as the United States is concerned, the Axis is interested primarily in keeping it out of the war, and in trying to prevent or minimize its help to Great Britain. * * * Moreover the axis is out to defeat President Roosevelt, not as a measure of interference in the internal policies of the United States, but because of the President's foreign policy, and because of everything which he stands for in the eyes of the Italians and Germans.

Fifth. Because Franklin D. Roosevelt is the best-informed man in the entire world on foreign affairs and because his knowledge is directed at one aim:

To keep America at peace.

We are asked to exchange this priceless experience for a man who has never had one day's experience in the business of government, who proves in his public speeches he is fumbling, confused, and bewildered over the state of the world. When he opens his mouth he either puts his foot in it, or Roosevelt's words. Let us call as witnesses pro-Willkie supporters who are truly embarrassed at his ineptitude. First, Raymond L. Clapper, of the pro-Willkie New York World-Telegram.

On September 20 he wrote:

If the Willkie administration in the White House functioned with no more unity, coordination, and effectiveness than the Willkie administration in the campaign, then the Government would be almost paralyzed.

The pro-Willkie Time magazine, issue of September 30:

He had drawn unprecedented crowds, still he had flopped repeatedly.

The same Time magazine, issue of September 9:

G. O. P. politicians last week were sure that the thing they had dreaded all along had come to pass; the holy rolling crusade of Wendell Willkie had gone sour. Last week spreading rapidly through professional ranks was the belief that maybe Willkie was only a fatter, louder Alf Landon.

Sixth. Because Franklin Delano Roosevelt has done more for labor than any President in the history of the Republic; and because labor has made greater strides in the last 7 years than ever before in its history.

You are asked to exchange this superb record for a candidate who has the unmitigated gall to assert that the National Labor Relations Act, and the principle of collective bargaining, belong to no party, although Senator WAGNER and a Democratic Congress made them statute law. They were persistently fought by the Republican Party, and he knows it.

On the same Willkie platform where he made this deliberately deceitful speech was the notorious labor baiter, Tom Girdler. He was in the home bailiwick of the union hater and persistent advocate of spies and company unions, also that of Ernest Weir, the steel magnate who has spent a fortune to keep his employees from organizing. Another friend of labor (?) who has put his millions at the disposal of Willkie is Joe Pew, of Pennsylvania—Sun Oil Co.; how the G. O. P. loves oil—held up in the United States Senate as the personification of corrupt politics. Of Pew, Wendell L. Willkie, before his nomination at Philadelphia said, "I don't know Joe Pew, but I am 100 percent against his policy of turning the Republican Party back to the days of Harding and Coolidge." Last week he was the house guest of Joe Pew, the man he denounced, and that symbol of pure politics is financing his Pennsylvania campaign. Weir, the notorious foe of organized labor, is treasurer of the Republican National Committee, and rounding up the Wall Street checks. These are the friends of labor every 4 years at election time, when they need the workingman's vote.

Seventh. Because Franklin D. Roosevelt saved this democratic United States from the complete collapse of the capitalistic system. In 1933 he rescued the American banking system from the threat of insolvency, restored the confidence of the people in private financial institutions, even saved Wall Street from the wrath of bankrupt investors. Today your bank deposits are insured by the Government, your savings in building and loan associations are protected by a Government agency, Wall Street has been compelled to oust stock gamblers, and fly-by-night promoters must pass the rigid inspection of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Yet this same Wall Street has the effrontery to attempt to run this Government by electing its candidate via the back door. Having a desperate fear of the people and the ballot box, it kept its candidate aloof from the popular primaries, unwrapped him for inspection at the Republican National Convention, which it found easier to control. That candidate is Wendell L. Willkie, who has consorted with the House of Morgan, was the director of a Morgan bank which fought almost every piece of social legislation proposed and enacted by a Democratic Congress. In the development of natural resources for the people, in the establishment of the National Labor Relations Act, in control of stock manipulation, all the sponsors of Wendell Willkie's candidacy have been solidly against such progressive legislation.

Eighth. Because Franklin Delano Roosevelt substituted honest and dignified work via W. P. A. for the Hoover-created bread lines, and because, under the direction of Harry Hopkins, the Government dispensed $9,000,000,000 without one major political scandal. It is the greatest tribute to the honesty and personal integrity of Harry Hopkins in the entire history of the American Cabinet.

Because the Republican candidate does not dare to longer belittle and sneer at the Public Works Administration and W. P. A. which dotted this Nation from coast to coast with useful public works, military highways, airports, hospitals, schools, bridges, libraries, municipal buildings, and began the first big expansion of the American Navy. They have stopped the cries of "boondoggling" and today admit that W. P. A. must be continued. Who should continue it, those who conceived and put through this humanitarian legislation or those who have tried repeatedly to harass and sabotage these laws for the relief of the underprivileged?

Ninth. Because the American state papers of Franklin Delano Roosevelt demonstrate that he is a man of remarkable clarity and vision, and when he speaks the world listens, and ponders. His foreign policies have invariably won the almost unanimous support of the American press.

We are asked to give up this sound and intelligent expression of American institutions and democratic policies for a candidate whose public addresses reveal an absolute lack of information and poor partisan advice. Witnesses: The Chicago Daily News (a pro-Willkie newspaper), which on October 4 said editorially:

The issue before Munich was peace or war. Mr. Roosevelt urged peace, as any American President would have done in the circumstances. It was Chamberlain and Daladier, not Roosevelt, who sold out the Czechs, as everyone knows, including Mr. Willkie.

Either Mr. Willkie actually believed what he said, or he listened to some very bad advice, and we don't know which is the worst.

As a sustaining witness let us call the Philadelphia Bulletin, a pro-Willkie newspaper, which said on September 9:

But Mr. Willkie's course since his nomination has not been wholly satisfactory to those of his supporters who have in mind the country's welfare, rather than partisan advantage. There is too much evidence that he holds the small things so close to his eye as to obscure his vision of the large things.

Tenth. Because Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Democratic Members of Congress put through the farm-relief program to give practical help to the distressed rural areas. This legislation was twice vetoed by Republican Presidents, was fought almost solidly by the Republican minority, became statute law over their opposition.

Yet Wendell L. Willkie says he will retain it and expand it. Do you believe these empty promises as against solid achievement? Do you believe it in the face of the fact that he chose for his campaign manager, the Honorable JOE MARTIN, whom Secretary of Agriculture Wallace charges voted consistently against every piece of farm legislation since he has been in Congress?

Eleventh. Because Franklin Delano Roosevelt has not only led the American people out of the despair of gloom, but because he has been a militant leader of his party.

What qualities of leadership has his rival candidate shown since his nomination at Philadelphia? He screeched his opposition to the proposal in the conscription law to draft industry. All right to take American boys, Mr. Willkie said, but keep your hands off business. Did his Republican colleagues in Congress follow him? No, they joined with Democrats to restrict and control recalcitrant corporations engaged in the defense program. He was against the HAMILTON FISH amendment to the conscription laws. Republican Members of Congress voted almost solidly for it. His running mate, Hon. CHARLES L. MCNARY, is against the Willkie program for the development of public power by private industry. Willkie cannot lead MCNARY, he cannot lead JOE MARTIN to his farm policies, he cannot control his party in Congress. Does this mean unity? Where is the leadership here ?

Twelfth. Because Franklin Delano Roosevelt created hundreds of thousands of jobs to relieve the unemployed, and because this Congress has been solidly behind his defense program, which will not only make America impregnable against the aspiration of tyrants, but also will give the United States the greatest era of prosperity in its history.

Yet we have the spectacle of Wendell L. Willkie, standing before an audience of thousands, making the ridiculous assertion that Franklin D. Roosevelt never created one job in his entire 7 years of administration. How can the American people ever think seriously of a candidate who utters such manifest untruths and downright nonsense. In almost the same breath, he denounces this administration for creating

what he calls thousands of bureaucratic jobs. Where is the consistency here? Or the argument?

To everybody the Republican candidate broadcasts he will get every man a job. Where? He does not say, other than he will find them in business. The same jobs, and more, will be available under the third term of Franklin D. Roosevelt, for all of the commercial reports, business bulletins, and the steady rise of the Federal Reserve Index, show the country is in for a stupendous business boom.

Thirteenth. Because Franklin Delano Roosevelt had the courage and the capacity to place the Nation's welfare above party expediency, and to invite the ablest men, of all parties, to assist him in running the Government.

In his Cabinet are the Republican Frank Knox as Secretary of the Navy, and the Republican Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, and the administration not only retained the able Jesse Holman Jones—Hoover appointed—as head of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, but made him Secretary of Commerce, also. Mr. Jones is the second most powerful man in this administration, has personally directed the spending of more money than any other man in the world, and without the breath of a scandal. Even Republicans concede that Mr. Roosevelt's second in power has the solid support of the business world. On the Defense Advisory Council are such men as Stettinius, Knudsen, Biggers, and other giants of industry, who were never asked about their politics, but were named because they were outstanding men for the jobs.

It is these men that the Republican candidate nightly and daily accuses of falling down on their jobs. Yet in almost the same breath he says he would retain them, but under Willkie they would work better. Perhaps, but the newspapers agree that the most completely disorganized, haphazard, futile, and pulling-in-all-directions group are those running the campaign to try and bring about his election. He is the boss of this job, and the Gallup poll—which shows October 6 Roosevelt leading in 42 States and due for a landslide vote in November—indicates and says Mr. Willkie has steadily lost strength and appeal since he was nominated. Yet he wants to take over control of the Government and run it by the same slipshod methods.

Fourteenth. Because those in Wall Street inspired and circulated the most vicious and damnable whispering campaign that ever was conceived as a weapon against an American President. These same forces are now circulating scurrilous literature about the President's family. Nothing is too vile for the Roosevelt haters to retail to the gullible. Because the American people know what an outstanding, honorable, and upright family the Roosevelts are, these charges fall of their own weight. But they are the genesis of the Roosevelt haters and provide the real source of class hatred in this country.

Nobody will accuse the Republican candidate of encouraging this type of political deviltry; neither can it be denied that those who support his campaign are getting this doubtful assistance from these reprehensible characters. The open and pledged support of the bund has never been repudiated by Republican headquarters, and this organization thrives on circulating lies and Nazi propaganda.

Fifteenth, Because Franklin Delano Roosevelt and a Democratic Congress kept the roofs over and the homes for 1,500,000 familes by loaning $3,000,000,000 for mortgages of home owners, he deserves a triumphant reelection. When foreclosures on homes had reached 1,000 a day during depression, it was Roosevelt who created the Home Owners' Loan Corporation and saved these temporarily distressed people with Government credit. As an anonymous poet said:

So long as there are homes where men may turn at close of day,
So long as there are homes where women are, and children stay.
If faith and love and loyalty are found across these sills,
A stricken nation can recover from grevious ills.

Today we have some banks, insurance companies, building and loan associations which were saved from collapse, striving for the Wall Street candidate, whose party in 1932 believed in the policy of helping big business from the Federal Treasury but let home owners muddle through themselves.

Sixteenth. Because for more than 20 years Franklin D. Roosevelt has made his business public service, as the brilliant Governor of the Empire State as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and as President, he knows the job inside and out. This is the kind of experience that America wants to retain.

On the other hand, Wendell L. Willkie says he will run the Government as he has run big business. The 30 most successful corporations in the United States have had their chief executives or administrative chiefs—such as chairmen of the board—for an average of 18 years. Does big business kick out a man who has done the job well and turn over his desk to a beginner? Does big business establish a rule of thumb that no executive, no matter how successful, must quit at the end of 8 years? Would any big business, in the most critical time of its career, turn over management to somebody who said he could do the job better, though he lacked any experience.

Mr. Willkie's experience has been almost entirely that of a corporation lawyer. He defends financial and corporate structures and is what Wall Street calls a front man or public-relations counsel.

Jack Raper, famous columnist of the Cleveland Press, has the following to say on the subject of Mr. Willkie's candidacy:

We believe we'll back Wendell Willkie, supermagnate of utilities, for President. Willkie helped organize, and is president of, the Commonwealth & Southern, which has outstanding 33,673,328 shares of common stock, more than twice as much as any other utility holding company.

In 1929 it sold as high as $30.50 a share, a total value of $1,037,036,504. Today (about the 1st of June) it is selling at around 75 cents a share, a loss to common-stock holders of $999,531,508.

Unless you can show us where there has been a bigger and a better loss, we will stand by Willkie. He's the man to restore confidence and make America safe for "free enterprise."

Seventeenth. Because Franklin D. Roosevelt has helped big business as well as the small store owner, and consumer, and because he has raised the national income to upwards of 75 billions in 1940, he deserves the rewards of accomplishment.

Wendell L. Willkie asserts daily that business is stagnant, that it is paralyzed, drained, thwarted, in the doldrums, and will refuse to cooperate with this administration. These are frightening words, if the financial records did not disclose that the G. O. P. candidate is building his own man of straw. The records prove the fallacy of his argument. Here is a table which shows the profits made by certain big corporations in 1933 and what they made in the first 6 months of 1940. They answer Mr. Willkie's charge and are worthy of study.

	Net profits for first 6 months, 1933	Net profits for first 6 months, 1940	Percent increase
General Electric	$5,953,605	$25,871,572	334
United Fruit	5,073,000	9,379,000	85
Republic Steel Co	2,929,019	6,449,453	120
Atlantic Refining Co	1,002,000	5,266,000	425
Libby-Owens-Ford Glass	2,157,083	5,176,748	140
Caterpillar Tractor	470,765	3,509,514	646
American Brake Shoe & Foundry Co	241,486	1,266,636	425
Beech Nut Packing Co	744,487	1,461,018	96
Kimberly-Clark Corporation	311,511	1,373,651	340
Container Corporation of America	240,177	1,128,735	369
Hanna (M. A.) Co	394,909	1,104,307	179
Eaton Manufacturing Co	31,253	1,908,348	6,054
Borg-Warner Corporation	335,172	2,830,983	747
General Cigar	441,058	574,068	30

Eighteenth. Because Franklin D. Roosevelt brought electric light and the blessings of modern invention to 2,000,000 farm homes, softening the burden of the housewife. The Democratic platform and this Congress is pledged to extend rural electrification.

The Republican platform adopted at Philadelphia entirely ignored this issue. Why? When Mr. Willkie campaigned through the West he found that those who lived in the American farm homes were grateful for this modern comfort. So Mr. Willkie said, "I am for rural electrification." Oh, yes; he is for it, if private industry is permitted to do the job and soak the consumer. What Mr. Willkie overlooked, and neglected to say, was that subsidiaries of his Commonwealth & Southern had persistently blocked the Government's effort at rural electrification, where possible, by building "spite" lines.

Nineteenth. Because Franklin D. Roosevelt turned the abundant natural resources of America into service for the people. Out in the great West where the Coulee Dam, the Bonneville Dam, and other magnificent Government developments have become reservoirs of service and tributes to progress, they will give this administration the overwhelming vote of gratitude it deserves.

Shall we exchange this Government policy for a candidate who, speaking before the Harvard Business School Club and the Economic Club in New York, on January 31, 1935, said:

> I do not like to make personal references, but I want to say to you that no duty has ever come to me in my life, even that in the service of my country, which has so appealed to my senses of social obligation, patriotism, and love of mankind as this—my obligation to say and to do what I can for the preservation of public utilities, privately owned.

This, in his own words, states Mr. Willkie's views on public utilities. It gives him greater joy than service to his country. Do you wonder that the people out West smiled when he gave lip service and promises to the things that the Roosevelt administration has advocated for 8 years? In the light of his past performances, fighting T. V. A. and other power developments by the Government, the people have a right to ask, "Is this reformation genuine?"

Twentieth. Because Franklin D. Roosevelt stopped an era of stock-market gambling, unbridled speculation, and unsavory promotion that cost the American investment public annually millions of dollars, through the creation of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

This legislation was fought tooth and nail, and through every court, up to the highest in the land, by the same identical forces who are now behind Wendell L. Willkie. He cannot escape their sponsorship, nor does he desire to, since they are pouring out the millions to veneer his corporate record and to give him a camouflaged appearance as "a friend of the people."

Twenty-first. Because Franklin D. Roosevelt and a Democratic Congress wrote into the law of the land the Holding Company Act, designed to stop forever such wholesale swindles as that of the Insull utility empire.

It is a matter of record that Wendell L. Willkie led the fight in Congress and through the courts against this legislation. You may recall that Congress was flooded with bogus telegrams and inspired propaganda, and that the industry coined the phrase "death sentence" in a desperate effort to defeat this measure. Because it passed the Associated Light empire of Hopson collapsed and is now in bankruptcy or Federal receivership. This is interesting, because the same method of wholesale telegrams and national publicity via magazines, subsidized press, was used to bring about the dictated nomination of the Republican candidate at Philadelphia.

Twenty-second. Because Franklin D. Roosevelt is the husband of Eleanor Roosevelt, the Frst Lady of America and the First Lady of the World in the hearts of humanity. Her voice has ever been raised in behalf of the oppressed, the underprivileged, the third of a nation found in need of a helping hand. She has traveled from one end of the land to the other, always with a desire and eagerness to help somebody else. Her vast earnings have been devoted to worthy charities and purposes, and Eleanor Roosevelt has come closer to the hearts of the people than any gracious mistress of the White House in the history of America. The Nation is blessed, and so is our honored President, by the comforting presence and help of a true humanitarian.

Twenty-third. Because Franklin D. Roosevelt, more than anybody else in America, saw the need of a two-ocean navy for defense, and began building up the Military Establishments, while his Republican foes were calling him a "warmonger."

Again it is possible to call upon the Republican, pro-Willkie Chicago Daily News to prove that the Republican candidate's charges to the contrary are so much poppycock. Says the Chicago Daily News in an editorial:

> For 20 years the talk in both major parties was all of peace and defeatism. When Mr. Roosevelt first began to warn us of the war danger, he was accused of warmongering.
>
> The reason we did not begin to prepare in a big way a year ago was that nobody, and certainly neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Willkie, foresaw that France would suddenly collapse. Since then, the present administration has been doing everything in its power to prepare us. Everyone knows that, including Mr. Willkie.

Twenty-fourth. Because Franklin D. Roosevelt has the support of the able Senator Norris, of the distinguished Senator La Follette, of Mayor LaGuardia, of every true progressive in America. As the able Mayor LaGuardia said:

> We now have a rejuvenated Uncle Sam, smiling and friendly, concerned with the welfare and happiness of every home in the land. He is no longer a distant, strange figure in Washington. He is in every State, county, city, and town. He is concerned in keeping families together and a roof over their heads. He is tearing down slums and tenements and building sanitary and cheerful homes. He is concerned with boys and girls being able to continue in high schools and to go to college, through the assistance of the National Youth Administration. He wants to live in peace but will not permit anybody to trample on our rights or destroy our democratic institutions. Roosevelt has regenerated our country. Roosevelt has made America the hope of the world.

Mr. Willkie calls himself a liberal, but it is hard to find one progressive behind his standard. The Republican candidate has prostrated himself before Senator HIRAM JOHNSON, in an effort to win a nod of recognition. But Mr. Willkie seems to forget he has been fighting for, and advocating in Washington, the things that HIRAM JOHNSON has opposed. The California Senator would have to debase his long and honorable record in Congress to support what the Republican candidate has always espoused.

Twenty-fifth. Because President Roosevelt is forward-looking, has the ability to discern trends and world movements, he is always a step ahead of foreign schemers. He keeps up with the parade, and ever since he has been in public life has been leading it.

The Republican Party has always been an advocate of status quo. It has never been conscious that the world has moved, and so have political philosophies and ideologies. So we have the Republican candidate going back 100 years and quoting Thomas Jefferson and George Washington as 1940 arguments for Mr. Willkie.

Well, let us accept the challenge and see what George Washington wrote in a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette on April 28, 1788. He said, among other things:

> As for instance on the ineligibility of the same person for President, after he should have served a certain course of years, I confess I differ widely myself from Mr. Jefferson and you as to the necessity or expedience of rotation in that appointment. There cannot, in my judgment, be the least danger that the President will, by any intrigue, ever be able to continue himself one moment in office, much less perpetuate himself in it. Under an extended view of part of this subject, I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man who, in some great emergency, shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public.

So we have George Washington on the side of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and, ironically enough, Alexander Hamilton, whom Mr. Willkie does not quote, but who was the real father of the Republican Party.

These 25 reasons add up to why the American people are going to reelect Franklin Delano Roosevelt for a third term. He is the greatest President since George Washington, and history will record him with the immortals. We are grateful

to the divine Providence that gave him to America in its trying hours. The electoral votes of 48 States seem destined to ratify these opinions on November 5.

The United States will go forward in peace under the third term of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, since he is on record in these words:

I hate war now more than ever. I have one supreme determination—to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, upon the platform adopted at Chicago.

We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval, or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of Americas, except in case of attack.

God bless America and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, its great and courageous President.

Who Wants the Key to Prosperity?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. ALEXANDER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 4, 1940

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, there is not a person who is interested in our Nation and its future who would not like to discover the key to prosperity and who would not like to assist in inserting it in the proper lock.

In the following pages will be found a discussion of what is wrong with the United States economically and industrially speaking, and especially as regards the so-called hinterland section, the West and the South, and a suggestion is made for the guidance of those courageous and patriotic souls who want to do something about the situation.

I am indebted to Mr. William A. Marin, a Minnesota attorney and rate expert, formerly of Minneapolis but now residing at Crookston, for the material which I have used. His painstaking study and research over a period of many years has alone made possible the completion of such a contribution to the questions involved when considering the twin and monumental problems of prosperity and transportation as hereafter follows.

Mr. Marin, in telling me of his interest, says:

I have spent over 30 years studying freight rates. How I happened to become interested is a story by itself.

In 1907 Grand Forks and Crookston endeavored to get the Soo Railway into these towns by promoting an electrical railway from Erskine through Crookston to Grand Forks. Mr. E. J. Lander was president of the Grand Forks Commercial Club, and we were working together on the proposition.

One day Mr. Lander said to me, "Mr. Marin, there is something wrong with this country, but I don't know what it is. Here in Grand Forks we have been as enterprising and public spirited as any businessmen of any town in the country. We have financed manufacturing concerns, have bought their stock, given them manufacturing sites and bonuses, but every manufacturing concern that has ever been started here has gone broke and quit business. Thirty years ago Grand Forks was a town of six or seven thousand people. Today it is twelve or fourteen thousand. Meanwhile other cities in the country that were the same size as Grand Forks 30 years ago have grown to be cities of fifty or one hundred thousand or a half million. There is something wrong with this country, and I'd like to know what it is."

This set me to thinking, and by accident I stumbled on the freight-rate discrimination of the Twin Cities as against the country towns, and began to study freight rates. I found that the Twin Cities had a great advantage over Crookston, Grand Forks, and Fargo when it came to shipping to local points. I made up my mind that there was no future for Crookston, and when I was offered the management of the Northwestern Jobbers Credit Bureau, I accepted.

As manager of the Bureau, I was trustee and receiver of a number of manufacturing concerns in St. Paul and Minneapolis. I discovered that these concerns had only a local market, and that they could not compete with the large manufacturing companies in the East in official classification territory, because freight rates were just as discriminatory and preferential in favor of eastern cities and against St. Paul and Minneapolis as they were in favor of St. Paul and Minneapolis and against Fargo, Grand Forks, and Crookston.

I then resigned from the Bureau and began to study freight rates and practiced before the Interstate Commerce Commission. The more I studied, the more I became convinced that interterritorial freight-rate structure of the common carriers of the country was what had built up monopolies, trusts, and combinations of interest which were able to depress the prices of agricultural products, and maintain the prices of manufactured goods.

I came to the conclusion that the agricultural interests of the South and of the West were being gradually forced into bankruptcy because of this situation.

I want to call attention to the fact that a number of manufacturing concerns have left Minneapolis and St. Paul because of freight-rate discrimination. The Duebner Shopping Bag Co. left St. Paul and moved to Indianapolis; the Caterpillar Tractor Co. removed to Peoria; the McGraw Electric Co. to Elgin, Ill., and the Tropic Air Heater Co. to Chicago, Ill. The Mars Candy Co., the largest candy manufacturer in the world, moved to Chicago, Ill.

When through rates were made from key cities in the East to points northwest of St. Paul and Minneapolis, it practically killed the wholesale business in the Twin Cities. Before this the rates to Fargo, Grand Forks, and Crookston were on the basis of combination of the two local rates from the East to Minneapolis, and from Minneapolis to these points. Consequently, Wyman Partridge & Co., of Minneapolis; Finch, Van Slyck; McConville & Lindeke Bros.; and Warner—three of the largest wholesale drygoods houses in the country—were forced out of business, to say nothing of McDonald Bros., and the situation Butler Bros. found themselves in a few years ago.

As you probably know, a good many other smaller manufacturing concerns also quit.

But, Mr. Speaker, what you want is the key to prosperity. Here it is:

TRANSPORTATION AND PROSPERITY

SECTION I. THE NEW JERUSALEM

At various epochs in the progress of mankind, from earliest ages to modern times, some one city, community, or nation has dominated the trade and commerce of the civilized world. As the instruments of commerce improved in efficiency and civilization spread, the controlling power became proportionately rich and great. Ancient or medieval times did not produce any city as rich and dominating in commerce as our own commercial capital, or any section of the world develop industrially as the northeastern part of the United States which has been set apart by the railroads of the country and designated by them as official classification territory—the modern garden of Hesperides.

For the past 65 years discriminatory and preferential freight rates have been granted to this favored section which surpass through transportation advantages all that military and naval power has been able to obtain for any dominating power of the past. In comparison no other section has ever been so favored with the control of the greatest and most efficient transportation system since the dawn of history, and no transportation control has been so complete and powerful as that of official classification territory and especially its capital—that New Jerusalem—the city of New York.

In this favored territory are the market places to which the people of southern and western classification territories must come to buy and sell. Here is where, as a result, industry, markets, commerce, finance, wealth, and population are concentrated. Twelve States—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan—with one-tenth of the area, according to the 1938 census, had 45 percent of the population and over 50 percent of the wealth of the country. Although official territory produced only 33 percent of the raw materials, it manufactured 76 percent of the industrial output of the country.

In official territory are located our big cities, great corporations, dominating financial institutions, multimillionaires, trusts, and combinations of community of interests which control the United States.

Politically the United States consists of 48 States and one Federal district, but economically and commercially the country is divided by the railroads into three grand divisions or territories which are again divided into seven hinterland provinces or freight districts. These divisions are artificial and commercial, not economical and political.

That the country is so divided is known only to a comparatively small group of traffic experts or men interested or engaged in transportation matters, so the statement may be somewhat of a surprise to the general public. That it is so divided cannot be gainsaid, although there may be differences of opinion as to the economic effects of this commercial districting of the country.

The common carriers of the country, the railroads, have divided the United States in three parts designated by them as "Official classification territory," "Southern classification territory," and "Western classification territory." These three sections are again divided into seven freight-rate districts, to wit: New England, Trunk Line, Central Freight Association, Southern, Western Trunk Line, Southwestern, and Transcontinental.

Originally, official classification territory was the northeastern section of the United States east of the western shore of Lake Michigan to Chicago and of an imaginary line from Chicago through Peoria and Springfield to St. Louis, and north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers, extending to the Atlantic coast and north to the Canadian boundary. West Virginia and a part of Virginia were added later and now Wisconsin has been attached to this territory.

Southern classification territory is the country lying south of Official and east of the Mississippi River. Western classification territory lies west of the Mississippi River and extends to the Pacific coast.

In the discussion of the economic aspects of transportation we are principally concerned with the original official classification as it existed for about 65 years, the territory east of Chicago and north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers. The limits and boundaries of the seven freight-rate districts are not so important and involve too much technical explanation to be of interest, but these divisions operate to carry out the scheme of discrimination and preference which will be discussed hereafter.

Economic uniformity between all sections of the country is a necessary factor in national unity and a cornerstone of democracy. This factor is lacking in the United States because of a concentration of wealth and industry in official territory brought about by a scheme of transportation discrimination.

This is a serious situation, for economic discrimination has been the cause of many wars and revolutions. The American Revolution was caused by economic injustice. The War between the States in 1861 was fundamentally because of economic differences. Commercial disadvantages, economic disparity, and consequent exploitation have been prolific sources of controversies which have eventually resulted in armed conflict. The people of the United States should be enlightened regarding this condition of affairs so that the problem may receive their serious consideration.

For 153 years we have relied on the Constitution and the acts of Congress to carry out the preamble of the Constitution. We have not realized that during 100 years of this period there was being perfected another system of economic governance which takes from us the economic equality and uniformity we supposed this charter of freedom gave to the American people.

Since the building of the first railroads in 1830 this other system has been developed until it has culminated in a documentary law as important to the people of the United States as the Constitution itself.

This documentary law, book, or work is the Consolidated Freight Classification which divides the country into the three grand divisions already described. This work is the official bible or constitution, or by whatever sacred name it may be called, of the railroads of the United States and is of prime importance to every man, woman, and child in America.

Corollary, like the acts of Congress, the railroads have adopted commodity rates and freight tariffs supplementary to this consolidated classification. To simplify the work of discrimination the country has been subdivided into seven freight-rate territories.

To be truly symbolical of our sectional differences and of our economic inequality, the Nation should have a commercial flag. The Star-Spangled Banner is symbolical of our cultural, racial, and political unity, our past achievements, and our national pride and patriotism. The commercial flag should also be of red, white, and blue—one color for each classification territory. In the blue square should be three stars; one large white star for the dominant official territory and two smaller subsidiary stars for southern and western territories, respectively. Seven red and white stripes would signify that the country is divided into seven freight-rate territories. Thus the true division of the country commercially will be symbolized in this flag, for this is exactly what has happened to us.

To analyze economic equality, three primary factors should be considered. These factors are the three basic economic activities of man: Production of raw materials, industry which transforms raw materials into articles of use and consumption, and distribution which secures to both raw materials and manufactured goods the availability to be used and consumed.

Nature to a considerable extent controls production of raw materials. Some products are raised more bountifully and economically in certain sections because of soil, climate, or other conditions. Minerals are where Nature has placed them. Intensiveness of cultivation, mechanical ingenuity, and increased human activity augments this production.

The South and the West, although sparsely settled and less intensely developed than the East, produce the greater share of the raw materials in this country, leading in wheat, corn, cattle, hogs, iron, copper, cotton, lumber, oil, and many other raw materials. The United States is the largest producer in most basic commodities except tin, manganese, rubber, tea, coffee, and silk. In hard times, with underconsumption, government has been compelled to curtail production in certain lines, hoping in this way to maintain prices for producers.

Raw materials, to be sold and used, must be transported and distributed because the local population where there has been a specialization in production of a certain commodity cannot consume the entire output. The value of the surplus at the place of production is the price at the market, less the freight to market. Transportation is therefore an important consideration in the production of raw materials and in equalizing economic uniformity.

Although production is a primary element of economic activity, it does not of itself present a difficult problem. Production cannot easily be stopped because Nature from man down to the lowest forms of animal and vegetable life instinctively produces. If Nature is checked in one way or in one place, she increases her activities in other ways or at other places so as to balance natural production. The earth each year produces an abundance for the world's use and consumption, and, on an average, production and consumption are about balanced. The problem of production is only difficult in its relation to distribution, for the output of Nature must be delivered where it is most needed.

Distribution solves the problem of production to a considerable extent because its service puts commodities in the place where they can be used. A commodity or article that has been grown, mined, or manufactured has received only a part of the service by which it becomes useful.

Man would not have become so highly civilized unless he had been industrious. Instinctively, man aids the productions of Nature with knowledge and skill developed in millions of years of human activity. Likewise the mechanics of manufacture have developed. In distinction to production which is more or less controlled by Nature, industry is regulated by human agencies.

The essentials of industry are the component parts of the goods to be manufactured. These parts must be assembled before manufacturing can be done. It is difficult to conceive a community possessing all these essentials in the way of raw materials, machinery, chemicals, fuel, power, packing, and the other complements of industry. What is lacking must be imported through transportation. To pay for the imports an exchange of goods is necessary which again involves transportation. The surplus of industry must be carried to the markets.

Other essentials of industry are the facilities required for manufacture such as fuel, power, skill, capital, and management. Backward, poverty-stricken, and semicivilized peoples are handicapped in industry because they lack skill, capital, and management.

In the United States 31 States have coal suitable for use in industry. There are undeveloped water powers in many parts of the country. In industrial skill, youth, either from the South, North, East, or West can be equally trained to become skilled mechanics. No one section of this country has a monopoly on brains, skill, intelligence, and energy, so skill in production and capability of management are equal everywhere. Capital, under an efficient financial system, should be available to each and every locality where there is a demand for its use within the requirements of safety.

The availability of commodities and manufactured goods has been multiplied many times by improvements in transportation facilities. Commerce consists in exchange of commodities and goods between separate localities. The principal agent of this exchange is transportation. With cheap and serviceable transportation, the producer and the manufacturer have multiplied their wants and their efforts. Without distribution of production and manufactures through improved transportation, mankind would have remained savage and uncivilized.

Furthermore, industry builds markets. The demands for raw materials are at the places where these raw materials are used in manufacture. Consumers needing goods must go to the places of manufacture to buy. Thus the market is established where deliveries are made.

A comparison between official territory on the one hand and southern and western on the other proves that industry and markets are overwhelmingly in favor of official. The details of this comparison will unfold as this presentation progresses.

This concentration of industry and markets in one corner of the country has operated to build up an economic disparity between the three sections of the Nation and has destroyed the national economic uniformity which is essential if the United States is to endure as one Nation. The problem which presents itself is difficult and complicated because for 100 years our system of transportation and distribution has developed during which period the economic structure of the country has become fixed and settled. But a fair readjustment is not impossible for there must be an economic reformation which will give commercial equality and uniformity to each and every section of the country.

This readjustment can only be made through the rectification of our system of distribution for in analyzing economic equality up to this point, we find it to be an important element both in the production of raw materials and in the development of industry. Also distribution is an important factor in establishing markets.

An efficient distribution system depends not only on transportation but on other requirements. It requires salesmanship, housing, storage, capital, advertising, banking, elimination of waste, service, accounting, brokerage, speed, and in fact practically every element of successful business operation. The most important requirement of distribution is transportation which in its larger sense is the exchange of commodities and goods from one locality to another, from one section to another, or from one country to another by agencies engaged in the transportation business. Transportation is the phase of distribution which should be given serious thought if we are to solve our economic problems.

It should be as plain as a pike staff that transportation has been one of the most important factors in the development of civilization. It would naturally be presumed, since it is so important, that many works have been written concerning its economic aspects from the inception of history down to the present time. But apparently the economic relationship of transportation in human evolution has simply been taken for granted. Historians and economists seem to have considered transportation akin to the weather—

something that just comes up and happens, so nothing can be done about it.

It was surprising to discover that in the libraries of large cities and of great universities there was not a single work devoted to the history of the economic aspects of transportation; how it affected and developed ancient civilizations; concerned the rise and fall of nations; deflected commerce from one section of the globe to another; remodeled customs and usages; and has been and still is the current generating human energy in trade, production, and industry.

Many volumes have been written on certain phases of transportation but these works deal with the operating, mechanical, and historical aspects rather than with the part transportation has performed as a factor in economics.

In the last 50 years many writers have taken up the subject of railroads and railroad rates. These writers, too, ignore the broader view of transportation as a vital economic factor, narrowing the subject to the history of railroading, operation, mechanics, management, the rate structure, the theories upon which freight rates have been constructed, and Government regulation.

It would be but natural to suppose that since 1929, while the best minds in the Nation have been seeking some solution of our problems, that the economic effect of transportation would have been given grave and thoughtful attention. Its importance seems to be too plain to be ignored. Except for the financial plight of the railroads, their demand for increased freight rates, the coordination of the various transportation facilities, wages of employees, consolidation of certain systems, the chronic cry for lower freight rates, and related ideas, nothing has been said or written regarding transportation and the national freight-rate structure as fundamentally affecting our economic problems. No one has attempted to analyze, explain, or solve the existing transportation discrimination and economic inequality between the three sections of the country. Probably this is because little is known about the subject, for writers and economists take but little interest in transportation. Recently, a former high official of the Government, in a series of articles in a leading magazine, named 10 different problems which he claimed needed adjustment before there could be a return to prosperity, and strange as it seems, transportation was not included in the ten.

The Government advocates the Great Lakes Waterways and the deepening of the channel of the Mississippi River, but these projects are but a partial solution of the larger problem.

The subject of transportation as an economic factor in the past has been and still is, it seems, taboo. It is necessary because of this lack of knowledge and dearth of authorities to relate the history and the part transportation has played in the development of mankind from the earliest times to the present day in order that transportation may be shown in its proper relationship to human problems, both past and present, and its true importance understood.

The subject of transportation is one to which justice can only be done by years of research. A complete work would comprise several volumes. That no writer of the past has undertaken to do this is astounding to one interested in the subject. No reasonable explanation can be given for this neglect or oversight. Perhaps, because for thousands of years the mechanics of transportation have been in a state of formative evolution, conceptions of its economic principles have not become clear. Since man has now utilized land, water, and air as a means of communication and commerce, we are in a better position to judge what it has meant and what it now means to civilization.

It is essential in order to explain the significance of transportation to give a brief history of its function in expanding civilization and commerce throughout the world. From well-known facts of history the economic aspects will be deducted. These facts and deductions are important for in many respects they present striking parallels to circumstances and conditions existing today in the United States.

SECTION II. THE STORY OF TRANSPORTATION

Early man lived by hunting, fishing, and grubbing of edible roots and worms. He was nomadic and sought new regions for the chase, fresh streams for fishing, and better forests for shoots, roots, and grubs. When he did this—as travel is a form of transportation—it was one of the earliest activities of man.

In his wanderings man came in contact with his fellow man, and, if they became friendly, there was an exchange of flesh, fish, and grubs. In this way man learned the rudiments of barter and trade, but probably in the beginning this trade was in raw materials only.

When man began to make articles for use, crudely fashioned out of his limited supply of raw materials, he then had goods by which through barter and trade he acquired the things he did not make. With industry developing, barter and trade increased. The limitation to prehistoric commerce was the radius of the market fixed by the means of transportation and the maximum load of the carrier.

It is not difficult to visualize the prehistoric caveman who lived in the hills and mountains. His production for the purpose of barter and trade was not much more than flints, stone instruments, bone tools, meat, skins, primitive weapons, and pottery. As we are using our imagination, we might as well add to this inventory a little mountain dew fermented from bitter berries growing on the mountainside.

The hillman probably had no fields or no domesticated animals unless he had a wolfish dog as a hunting companion. His pitiful assortment of merchandise was his all, but was no doubt precious in his sight. An ancestry of millions of years had developed in him some of the instincts of trade. His neighbors possessed articles which he desired or needed and he in turn had things they needed. His transportation facilities were limited to what he and his family could carry on their backs. Consequently there was little incentive to produce more than was absolutely necessary for his own existence because his beasts of burden afforded such a limited scope in his small world of commerce. His market area was sparsely settled with traders as poor as himself. The mountain paths, the steeps, gorges, and cliffs made traveling, even without burdens, laborious and difficult.

The hillman, when tempted by the instincts of trade or forced by his needs, if he wished to engage in barter had recourse to his transportation system. He loaded on the back of Mrs. Hillman the merchandise he was shipping to market. In those days Mrs. Common Carrier was not governed by classifications, tariffs, rules and exceptions, and the only government regulation was her husband's club. The hillman, as traffic manager, shouldered his spear and his war club to convoy the shipment, for the dangers, real or imagined, were many.

Wearily and warily the couple climbed and scrambled for a distance of a few miles until they arrived at their market, the cave of a friendly neighbor. The exchange was made, and with neighborly hospitality, a chunk of meat was shredded by powerful teeth and jaws and probably also a potion of the mountain dew enlivened the occasion. Back home before dusk the woman trudged with her return load. It was a hard day's work but the visit somewhat broke the monotony of cave-man and cave-woman existence.

The hill people produced so little and their means of communication was so primitive it did not pay them to make these hard journeys too often. The cave man had little incentive to produce, so he had little to give and little to get in return. The country was wild and rough, the paths were few, so they did not go far in their attempts to trade. In this rugged country prehistoric man engaged more in hunting and fishing than in industry and trade.

A raid on the outlying hamlets of the people living on the plains was far more exciting and profitable than petty trade among his own people. If the hill men could assemble sufficient force, a sudden attack on an outlying hamlet or the ambush of a caravan and then a quick return to the fastnesses of the hills netted larger returns.

The people of the plains had fields and domestic animals. They lived in huts and wooden houses clustered in hamlets and villages. If they were nomadic, they lived in tents. Plains people produced grain, vegetables, meat, wool, hides, cloth, pottery, and other necessaries of life of a primitive civilization. Their standard of living was much higher than that of the people of the mountains. With horses, oxen, asses, and camels they transported much larger loads and for much longer distances than the cave woman. With a greater variety of production and many more neighboring tribes and hamlets in all directions with which to trade, the plains people had better markets than the hill people. Their transportation services and the large market radius were an incentive for them to produce, and therefore multiplied their energies in commerce. Comparatively, the people of the plains were quite prosperous. Because there was a steady demand for what they produced, and they also desired and needed the things they did not produce, there was constant traveling with loaded animals in all directions and often for long distances.

The people of the plains were semicivilized. Contact with the people of the river towns through trade contributed to this advancement. Along the river lived the highest type of prehistoric civilization. The river people lived in houses of adobe or sunburned brick. Many of their temples, public buildings, and palaces were built of stone. Many of the towns contained several thousands of industrious and prosperous people and were walled as a defense against the overwhelming numbers of plains people who sometimes attacked them.

Early in human existence man was absolved from the fear of water. It was necessary to drink water in order to live. Children paddled in the water as children will after a heavy rain has filled depressions in the ground. Man soon learned to swim. He observed trees and debris floating in ponds and streams. He learned that rather heavy materials will stay above the surface of the water and travel with the current or with the wind.

Then he found he was sustained by a log floating in the water and if he fastened several logs together with vines he had a raft capable of carrying a considerable load. With this discovery man began to use rivers as transportation systems.

The dugout boat succeeded the raft. In the evolution of boat building better and larger boats were built until large cargoes were carried up and down the rivers. These boats were usually propelled by oars; later sails were invented.

Transportation on the rivers was an improvement over land transportation by animals. The animals carried but a few hundred pounds over the rough trails and for a limited distance each day. Boats carried loads of several tons and with relay of rowers traveled day and night. The boat did not, like the domestic animal, require food or as much care, was not as susceptible to accident, and was free from disease and death. The river with its branches furnished hundreds of miles of navigable waters. There were many other towns along its banks so that it afforded a large market area for barter and trade with the best and cheapest transportation service in the world.

Because of cheaper transportation service, trade began to concentrate in river towns. On the rivers from their last navigable point to the sea rode a considerable commerce of an advanced civilization enriching the people living on its banks. River towns traded with the people of the plains because the towns were the best markets. The trend of traffic changed from the plains toward the river towns and up and down the course of the rivers.

With enlarged market areas, industry and commerce increased. The towns grew in wealth and population until they became large cities, and in time, through a course of natural evolution, these cities confederated to become empires. Many remains of these past civilizations still stand, intriguing the interest of historians and archaeologists down through the succeeding centuries.

Usually one great city dominated an empire. Through the fortunes of war the domination passed from city to city but each when its turn came demanded and enforced trade priviliges and restrictions discriminatory against its rivals and competitors. Doubtless if the truth could be learned, trade discrimination and monopoly were the most prolific causes of strife in ancient times and meant as much then as a factor in economic equality as it does today. The history of the past concerns more the rivalry of cities for political, commercial, and financial domination than for any other causes. When this supremacy was used for the exploitation of other peoples, the fate of the dominant city was sealed. No city, no matter how rich and powerful, can withstand the overwhelming might of the oppressed for an indefinite period, whether it is Babylon, Athens, Rome, London, New York, or what.

The earliest and highest development of human social evolution concentrated where there was river transportation throughout the year—along the Nile as the great Egyptian civilization. The Babylonians and the Assyrians developed their empires in Mesopotamia where they had a long transportation system on the Tigres and Euphrates Rivers. Other civilizations started and spread from the Indus and the Ganges in India and the Hoang-ho and the Yangtze in China.

In the beginning, river civilizations held merely narrow strips of land along the banks of the rivers. The people back from the rivers were still barbarians who envied the wealth and luxury of the river towns. They coveted the loot these towns would bring. This longing bore fruition in frequent raids and finally in concerted action by overwhelming armies of the numerous tribes of the plains. Then there was a redistribution of wealth and a further spread of civilization. The empires, now including the plains people, became richer and more powerful than they were before. Civilization continued to improve under new leaders who utilized the great rivers for the traffic of a still greater commerce.

Unless modern means of communication have reached them, the savages in the hills and forests remain savages and the same is true of those people of the plains who have not become assimilated with the river civilization; they still remain semicivilized. The towns along rivers and on great caravan routes which connected river empires with river empires continued to flourish and progress century after century until they developed a high degree of civilization; the civilization upon which the wealth and culture of the present day is founded.

Early civilizations on the rivers were many thousand years in developing. For many more centuries prehistoric man sailed down to the mouths of rivers to the sea. When he viewed the limitless wastes of water, the power and majesty of the great waves as they crashed on the shore or with convulsive force sea and tide met the water of a great river, no doubt he was filled with a superstitious fear and awe which for long ages prevented him from attempting to navigate the sea. Because of this fear of the sea and the lack of facilities for navigation, early development of industry, civilization, and commerce was confined to the great rivers.

Human daring has always been the spark which fires the current of man's energy. Who, where, and when were the first people to dare the dangers of the ocean is obscured in the mists of the ages. The first authentic record we have is of the Phoenicians, a Semitic people originating either from the Dead Sea or the Persian Gulf. The Phoenicians migrated to the eastern end of the Mediterranean and initiated a sea traffic which they carried on over the Mediterranean and adjoining seas. They established the great and powerful trading cities of Tyre and Sidon and in a few centuries dominated the trade of the known world.

The Phoenicians occupied only a narrow strip of land along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, but established colonies at various strategic trading points. The most important of these colonies was Carthage, which, after the fall of Phoenicia, became for a time the most powerful commercial city in the world.

It is supposed the Phoenicians coasted along the western shores of Europe and even reached Great Britain, from which they obtained tin. Bronze was an important commercial article, and the importation of tin gave the Phoenicians a monopoly of this industry. Another of their supposed feats was the circumnavigation of Africa.

Whether or not they sailed to Great Britain or around Africa is not so important as the fact that they controlled the commerce of the world. With the cheapest and most serviceable form of transportation, going where other traders could not, bringing raw materials from distant countries and taking their manufactured goods back, the Phoenicians made Tyre and Sidon the central market of the world. The merchants and industrialists of Tyre and Sidon bought raw materials at low prices and sold manufactured goods for handsome profits.

Caravans from India and central Asia and the coastwise traffic up the Red Sea brought to Phoenicia the trade of the Orient. The civilized western world was along the coasts where thousands of Phoenician ships were sailing. No other nation up to this time had controlled such a wide transportation area and so extensive a market for trade. Operating their own ships, low rates could be made for raw materials in and for manufactured goods out.

For about 1,500 years these cities were the principal industrial, commercial, and financial cities of the world. Tyre and Sidon were besieged and captured by the Persians after a siege of 13 years. Then Alexander the Great conquered Phoenicia. In those days both military and naval supremacy was a vital factor in international affairs and commercial superiority could only be maintained by force of arms. After the defeat by Alexander the transportation control of the Phoenicians was practically destroyed.

Before the fall of Phoenicia other nations had learned from them the art or had acquired the skill of navigation. This was especially true of the Greeks, who for several hundred years had been strong competitors of the Phoenicians. Athens for a time was the leading Grecian commercial city. After the Greeks defeated the Persians the practical control of the commerce of the Mediterranean Basin passed to Athens, which, with its colonies, developed the next phase of human progress.

Neither the Phoenicians nor the Greeks knew of latitude and longitude. The mariners' compass had not then been invented. It was dangerous for mariners to sail out of sight of land. The science of navigation as we know it was unknown to ancient navigators. Consequently it was necessary to sail by the sun and stars, coast along the shores, and sail from island to island. The indentured coast line of the Mediterranean, the numerous points, bays, peninsulas, and islands enabled sailors of that time to navigate with reasonable safety for thousands of miles where only occasionally need they be out of sight of land. Then, too, they had access to the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea.

The development of western civilization was along the northern and eastern coasts of the Mediterranean rather than on the southern coasts because the southern coast was more regular and possessed fewer harbors. Again we see civilization developing where there was the best and cheapest form of transportation.

The Athenians succeeded to the trade territory formerly controlled by the Phoenicians. Athens became the central market for world commerce and grew in power and wealth. Thus it was through trade made possible by transportation that the "glory that was Greece" became the marvel of the ancient world and the admiration of succeeding generations.

Athens was greatly weakened by her defeat at the siege of Syracuse. Athens was also defeated by the Spartans. Might still made right and controlled transportation. Then Phillip and Alexander of Macedon conquered Greece. Grecian art, culture, civilization, and commerce were distributed throughout the Alexandrian world. Large numbers of the Grecian people emigrated to the new cities founded by Alexander. Alexandria and other cities then operating the mercantile marine of the world became supreme in commerce. With transportation control lost to the Greek cities, decadence, or rather insolvency, followed.

At the western end of the Mediterranean, Rome and Carthage contested for maritime supremacy. Carthage was destroyed. Grecian and Alexandrian civilization was succeeded by the Roman for the Romans now controlled and dominated transportation throughout the Mediterranean basin.

The Romans were not primarily a trading people like the Phoenicians and the Greeks. Yet Rome profited by trade, for having levied tribute on the entire civilized world, her income was a tax on trade which naturally was fostered in order to bring in as much tribute as possible. In policing the world, Rome protected commerce. She was the one supreme arbiter. The differences which heretofore had been the causes of wars and strifes between small nations were stifled by the Roman power. Rome was great, first, because of her military power, and second, because under her protection navigation of the seas made trade so safe and universal.

In addition to policing the seas, Rome added to her commercial area by building an extensive system of roads throughout her dominions in Europe, Asia Minor, and northern Africa. It is estimated that this road system contained about 53,000 miles of paved roads under Roman military control.

The world rose to new heights of prosperity. The market area of trade had been greatly increased. Transportation facilities both on sea and land had been improved. Trade was free.

The center of civilization and commerce had moved westward. It had passed from the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. The cause of this passing was the inception of a cheaper and better form of transportation which extended a much larger area for markets than was possible on the rivers. Commerce follows the course of least resistance and transportation cost is the principal obstacle which trade must overcome. As water runs down hill, so commerce will flow where it moves more cheaply. The lower the cost the farther the trade radius will extend. When the people of the civilized world discovered a better, cheaper, more extensive, and more serviceable form of transportation on the Mediterranean with tens of thousands of miles of waterways and highways, where before on the rivers there had been but a few hundred, commerce passed over to the Mediterranean. Egypt and Mesopotamia became merely side issues in the world of commerce. Without trade they became insolvent. If there is such a thing as the decadence of people, the cause is insolvency.

The Roman Empire, like Egypt, Persia, Phoenicia, Athens, and the empire of Alexander, had its cycle of greatness and then Rome, too, passed on and became only history. But, the causes for its decline and fall have furnished many theories for historians.

Authorities uniformly agree that the decadence of the Roman people was the cause of the downfall of the Roman Empire. However, the causes ascribed for this decadence are as numerous and as varied as the number of historians. The greater part of Roman history was written many years ago when the world, especially the student and writing world, was not familiar with fundamental and basic economic facts as we know them. When Gibbon and other historians wrote, steam, the railroads, and electricity had not developed transportation to its present high degree of efficiency. Furthermore, science had not developed sufficiently to overcome certain supernatural suspicions which people then universally possessed. The viewpoint of these writers was narrowed by their limited human experience. Now we can understand the causes for the fall of the Roman Empire because, with clearer knowledge and larger experience, we get a different and larger perspective.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire, other nations have had their day and have, too, passed on from greatness and, if not to oblivion, then to third- or fourth-rate places in the family of nations. We know the causes for the rise and fall of nations succeeding the Roman Empire and, with a similar analysis, arrive at the reasons for the decline of Rome.

Eminent writers have assigned the causes for the fall of Rome ranging from mosquito bites, which spread malaria from undrained swamps, to the "wrath of God" visited on the Romans for their sins and immorality.

Volney comes near to a sensible solution when he claims it was conquest which dragged Rome down by the diversions of trade from its accustomed routes. Decline followed the loss of wealth. But Volney does not explain how so great and powerful an empire was conquered and overthrown by mere barbarians.

Brooks Adams in Law of Civilization and Decay gives his reasons where he says:

"By the year 400 disintegration was far advanced; the empire was crumbling, not because it was corrupt or degenerate, but because the most martial and energetic race the world had ever seen had been so thoroughly exterminated by men of the economic type of mind that petty bands of adventurers might rove whither they would, on what had once been Roman soil, without meeting an enemy capable of facing them, save other adventurers like themselves."

Adams thought the Romans were not corrupt or degenerate but had committed the heinous sin of becoming of "the economic type of mind." This is contrary to the opinions of the majority of the best authorities. Gibbon seems to hold a contrary view for he says, "It was a slow and secret poison that entered into the vitals of the Roman people" and although he was speaking metaphorically, it is an illogical explanation without evidence in support. Imagine the wholesale poisoning of many million people for generations and still it was "secret." The reason seems to seek for comment. Again Gibbon says, "The military spirited evaporated," and "the Roman world was inhabited by a race of pigmies." For over 150 years these shallow theories have been accepted as the truth.

Other reasons which have been assigned are race suicide, a free and easy divorce system, immorality, luxury causing physical deterioration, the failure of a democratic form of government, which was supplanted by an autocracy and the adoption of an effete and enervating eastern civilization. In short, imaginary causes and theories too numerous and too visionary to need further explanation in face of the obvious reasons.

Theories, complex, imaginary, and not proven or capable of proof, have been learnedly expounded in volume after volume which in the light of modern experience should be regarded only as compilations of events or literary effusions. Historians have not taken into account the plain economic facts and actual physical conditions which brought about the fall of the Roman Empire.

It is necessary to understand what these causes were in order to clear up a great deal of misapprehension and ignorance which exists as to certain economic fundamentals. Probably it is because of the ignorance regarding these fundamentals that historians and economists have never attempted to write the history of transportation and to analyze its relation to human problems and to the various nations which have at one time or another dominated civilization and, too, have had their fall.

A people or a race do not become decadent or degenerate through power, peace, wealth, or luxury. Human evolution is still working to make a better race of men. If this were not so, the human race would not have made the progress it has since the days of prehistoric man. If this were true, then the cave man or the dweller in a backwoods cabin would be superior in courage, intelligence, vitality, morals, and every other attribute of manhood to the man who lives in a home with modern conveniences.

Historians seem to be infected with the obsession that a people once strong and virile, through luxury, ease, and wealth became weak and decadent. And this, in face of human development in every walk of life, even though the standards of modern life are more luxurious, with more ease, amusements, and comforts than ever the Romans possessed.

The World War proved that people have not become weak, decadent and degenerate. The military spirit does not evaporate and stalwart men do not become a race of pigmies. From August 1, 1914, to November 11, 1918, these supposed weak, decadent, and effeminate men were taken from factories, farms, shops, and offices, where they had been peacefully employed all their lives. They came from nearly all the nations of the earth and after a short period of training, faced the horrors of war, exhibiting unparalleled courage and endurance, suffering more extreme hardships and dangers than soldiers had ever before experienced. They were killed and wounded by millions in the most terrible war in all history up to that time. The Spartan Hoplite, the Macedonian Phalanx, the Roman Legion, the Spanish Conquistadors, or the Old Guard never displayed greater courage, endurance, and tenacity than that shown by the soldiers of the Great War on both sides.

There are causes other than the generally accepted ones for the fall of the Roman Empire. Enough is known of the physical and economic structure of the empire and its relation to the rest of the world to deduce from the evidence sound and practical reasons for its decay. The evidence before us is plain and undisputed. The facts, as hereafter stated, are from works of recognized historians and are sufficient authority for the following historical facts.

The Roman Empire at its zenith extended from Scotland on the north to Mesopotamia on the southeast as far as the Persian Gulf, a distance as the crow flies of about 3,000 miles. From east to west in a straight line was about the same distance. The eastern boundary in Europe was the Rhine and the Danube and the Empire also extended into what is now the southwestern part of Russia. To the east the territory went as far as the Caspian Sea and south along the Red Sea. Egypt and a narrow strip of northern Africa was included in this immense domain. The Atlantic Ocean was the western boundary. About 53,000 miles of paved highways traversed the empire in all directions. The Mediterranean, being circumscribed by the Empire, was known as the Roman Sea. Roman ships patrolled the sea, keeping down piracy and protecting an extensive maritime commerce. Roman armies and fortified posts defended the frontiers from numerous hosts of barbarians who encircled the empire on the land sides.

Ferrero says of the time of Augustus:

"A new era of wonderful economic prosperity now began for the whole empire. The middle classes had everywhere survived the downfall of the dominant oligarchies and now proceeded, though working without general method and for the furtherance only of special interests, to derive every possible advantage from the new order of things as established in the Mediterranean world by the Roman conquest. The reorganization effected by Rome had reduced political expenditure throughout the empire; unproductive capital stored in courts and temples had been distributed, together with state lands, to a large number of holders; forests and mines had been left in the possession of those who had taken them; a system of free exchange had been established throughout the Mediterranean basin; remote nations and regions had been brought into touch with one another; Egypt had dealings with Gaul, Syria with the Danube provinces; Spain with Asia Minor; throughout the Mediterranean the rivalries and monopolies of the old trading powers had been suppressed and communication by sea and land had been thrown open to the world."

The Roman Peace, as it is called, continued for over 200 years after the time of Augustus. Many of the natives of the different provinces and especially those of the upper and middle classes had become Roman citizens. It was an era of prosperity such as the world had never before enjoyed. Roman protection of maritime commerce and the extensive road system had developed the best form of distribution and equal opportunity for trade and commerce. Again transportation was the important factor in a universal prosperity.

This vast Empire was vulnerable on all sides. A frontier of more than 10,000 miles must be guarded; a coast line about twice as long must be protected, and both with the inadequate transportation and defensive facilities of the time. The Roman armies traveled on foot or on horseback and their supplies were hauled on pack animals or in carts. The Mediterranean afforded water transportation, but navigation was precarious in winter, while there were many places of danger on the frontiers far from water transportation.

On all the land sides were millions of barbarians who coveted the wealth and luxury of Rome. Even within its boundaries were barbarian people who had not yet become fully Romanized so that rebellions and wars within the empire were almost continuous.

The necessity of military force to keep rebellious subjects under control and to keep out the barbarians is thus apparent. Then, too, the day of the northern sea raider was dawning and the long coast line was another weakness militating against a successful defense.

Due tribute should be paid to the progenitors of early civilizations. With heroic fortitude they clung to narrow strips of land along rivers or on the coasts of the seas. Inland, outnumbered 100 to 1, they hardly dared venture. But they defended themselves bravely and for century after century maintained their civilizations. If they finally succumbed, the barbarians assimilated their civilizations and were in turn the defenders of human progress against the continued advances of other migratory hordes. Now it was the turn of the Roman Empire to defend civilization against the pressure on its borders of millions of barbarians in Europe and the advancing millions leaving the arid wastes of central Asia.

The barbarians, though still semicivilized, had profited to a considerable degree from Roman civilization. Many had enlisted in her armies as mercenary soldiers and had brought home Roman discipline and military training. To some extent, the barbarians

had accumulated Roman equipment and imitated Roman organization and strategy.

There had been a time in the early days of the Roman conquest when a Roman army was almost invincible. Training, arms, and discipline enabled small Roman armies to defeat hordes of unorganized and undisciplined enemies. Now the day was past when the 10,000 Romans could destroy armies of fifty to one hundred thousand on the battlefield. Probably man for man the Roman armies were superior and better organized and disciplined, but the former disparity no longer existed. The Roman army of Varus was utterly destroyed by Arminius, a German chieftain. Tiberius, in his campaign against the revolting Pannonians, hardly dared to face on the battlefield 200,000 Roman armed and disciplined rebels. Instead he dealt with the insurgents upon methods analogous to those which the English employed in the Boer War.

Rome was forced to increase the size of her armies. This required a larger transportation service for commissaries and equipment. To transport and supply these large armies was a huge physical problem. The point of attack might be at a remote point of the Empire. Before this could be successfully defended, there were attacks on other fronts probably one or two thousand miles distant. To defend each attack required large and well-equipped armies. Although Rome had the interior short lines of defense, yet the frontier was too extensive to be adequately protected with her primitive methods of transportation and supply. Rome needed all the modern means of transportation, and even then a successful defense would have been a difficult task.

The Vandals, forerunners of the Vikings, came through the straits of Gibralter and sacked Roman commerce on the Mediterranean. The sea raids still further hindered transportation of armies and supplies. The Varangians raided the Black Sea and even attacked Constantinople. For over 200 years the Romans made a heroic defense. Time and time again the barbarians were defeated and driven back until it seemed as if the Empire were saved. But the forces of the barbarians were inexhaustible. Lured by the visions of the loot of Rome and the Roman provinces where the wealth of the world was concentrated, they came on again and again with better discipline, greater leaders, and in larger numbers.

Gradually the Roman armies were pushed back from the frontiers and the barbarians became established in certain key cities, thus breaking up the transportation system of the Roman roads. The sea raiders occupied coast cities and continued to raid the Mediterranean. The transportation system of the Empire was destroyed. Trade and commerce between the different parts of the Empire almost ceased, and there was less tribute from the provinces flowing into the coffers of the imperial government. Conditions continued to grow worse, but even with the apparent hopelessness of the struggle against such odds, the Romans defended the Empire to the end. The Roman soldiers, while to a considerable extent mercenary, were not men in whom the military spirit had evaporated or who were pigmies or decadent, but heroes who continued to fight for centuries.

The transportation system, inadequate as it was for the defense of so extended an Empire, had completely broken down. Without tribute and commerce, the Roman government become insolvent—not decadent—for that is contrary to human evolution and experience—and so the Empire was destroyed.

The Empire was too far flung and unwieldy to be maintained in the face of conditions which existed in that day and age; physical conditions, not political or circumstances involving the human equations of courage, patriotism, or fortitude. It takes money to wage wars; transport to move troops thousands of miles and again more transport to feed and supply armies of two or three hundred thousand men. The Romans did not have the facilities to support and transfer large armies far from the central source of supply. The Romans were defenders and not invaders who could live off of the country. They were not able to guard and protect the system which they had. With the loss of the control of transportation, no matter how brave and courageous they might have been—and they were brave and courageous—the Romans were doomed to defeat.

It is possible that in the last days of the Empire, with hardship and poverty confronting the people, with little commerce and tribute they may have lost faith in their Government and hope in the future. Patriotism naturally would wane, for an ill-fed, poorly paid and practically destitute citizen is no asset to a country in time of war and strife or in times of financial depression. But if the Roman became decadent, he first became destitute and insolvent, made so by the loss of trade and tribute when the Empire lost control of transportation.

As to the immorality pervading the entire Roman Nation which either called down the wrath of God on their heads or made them weak or effeminate, there seems to be insufficient evidence to indict an empire of 50,000,000 people. The foundations for these charges are the writings of Roman historians. The probabilities are that these writers wrote in a vein somewhat similar to the writers of the present day who also charge the present generation with immorality and degeneration. With natural pride Roman historians looked back to the conquering days of the Republic and compared the victories of the past with the defeats of the present. From their close perspective they were not able to obtain an economic viewpoint. The only causes they could see were degeneracy and decadence. They are not to be blamed for overlooking economic aspects of transportation for they are as little understood today as they were 2,000 years ago. Modern historians have followed in the footsteps of the Roman writers until the obsession of degeneracy has become fixed.

There has always been and always will be a certain percentage of dissipation and immorality among all peoples of all times. Whether it was greater or less in the last days of the Roman Empire than it is today among modern nations, has its best answer by calling attention to the spread of Christianity for the 400 years before the collapse of Rome. It is therefore fair to assume that the defeated Roman people were no better or no worse than the people of all times. The Roman Empire was not only the city of Rome and Italy, but included Gaul, Spain, Greece, Asia Minor, and other large provinces. A large portion of these people had become Romanized. Were all these people immoral and decadent?

When a final analysis is made, it seems rather incredible to believe that it was decadence or degeneration or any of the theoretical causes cited by historians which caused the fall of the Roman Empire. More likely it was economic and physical causes which are more evident and more reasonable of belief.

The fundamental cause of the rise and fall of all cities, peoples, and empires of the past has been the control or the loss of control of transportation facilities. Transportation builds up commerce and wealth to make a rich, happy, and prosperous people with a market where all the world may come to trade. In former times of conquest, military and naval power dominated transportation. In the last centuries of Rome the empire was faced with an impossible military problem.

The Roman political and economic system was a mistake in policy. Rome depended on tribute rather than on the direct profits of commere. If Rome had built up with her military power a commercial supremacy, trade instead of war, she might have held off the barbarians for a few more centuries. Commerce would have enriched the Roman citizens while constant wars in the latter years impoverished them.

During the time of Augustus, when economic conditions caused a depression in Italy, relief was sought on almost the same theories the United Stats is trying today. Augustus paid out doles and gave free corn to the citizens. Laws canceling debts and confiscating property were enacted. Free lands were given to soldiers and public works were inaugurated. These expedients afforded only temporary relief, for the basic trouble was that the tribute from the provinces went largely into the coffers of a small group of high officials and was not distributed among the people generally. Slaves of the great and wealthy operated industries and farmed large estates. This is somewhat analogous to the underpaid employee today who for a bare living wage earns the dividends for the great corporations in the United States. The slave also received his bare living. If we are patriotic Americans, we must be interested in and alive to all these things. The beneficiaries of this system were the high officials who took all in return for management and capital. The result was that the wealth of Rome was concentrated in the hands of a few and doles and poor relief were necessary.

It was necessary to have dwelt at some length on the history of Rome because it affords, first, an illustration of the importance of transportation in the economic development and in the continued prosperity of a nation; second, it shows how well-recognized authorities have overlooked the economic importance of transportation; third, the parallel between ancient economic conditions and those which confront us today.

SECTION III. WORLD-WIDE MARITIME COMMERCE

The last western Roman emperor was deposed A. D. 476, but the eastern Roman Empire survived until the fall of Constantinople in A. D. 1453. The Germanic tribes and other barbarians who had so covetously sought the riches of the Romans in Italy, Spain, and France, now became the inheritors of Latin wealth and civilization. The barbarians had but recently come from their hovels in the forests. They were untrained in a life of luxury, art, literature, political economy, and Roman Government. To become Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen took nearly 400 years. This period while they were absorbing culture and assimilating with the conquered, has been called the Dark Ages. Nevertheless, the redistribution of wealth, the amalgamation of the barbarians with the Latins and the absorption of Roman civilization, gave a new impetus to human progress.

Venice emerged out of the chaos of the Dark Ages sometime during the ninth century. The Venetians were refugees from the mainland who settled on islands in the Adriatic Sea lying close to the northeastern coast of Italy. In the beginning they probably practiced a little piracy to get a start in life. Being excellent sailors, they developed a merchant marine which in time controlled transportation on the Mediterranean. Venice rapidly increased in wealth and power until she became the richest and greatest trading city in the world of that day.

Venice, together with her less important rivals, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, Amalfi, and Naples, controlled the trade of the Mediterranean Basin, for this sea was still the great water artery whereon sailed the commerce of the world. The Italian ships met the traffic from the caravans arriving at ports on the Black Sea and on the eastern end of the Mediterranean, carrying cargoes of eastern goods to seaports of western Europe. Commerce had extended its radius to the British Isles and the Baltic. There was also traffic up the Red Sea and across by land to Alexandria in Egypt. Venice carried western commodities to the east in exchange, being the market

place between eastern and western civilizations. Out of the profits of commerce, the northern Italian cities amassed great wealth, becoming the world's bankers. Our present system of banking originated with the Florentines.

Another important point in commercial and market control should not be overlooked. Financial power has always been attained by the profits derived from trade. The buying and selling of merchandise is many times greater in volume of money value than all the purely monetary transactions taking place contemporaneously. Money is but a small fraction of the world's wealth, but with rapid turn-over of money a comparatively small amount handles a large volume of trade. The world must go to the market to sell and buy. The market and especially a world's central market like Venice, London, or New York, is in an advantageous position where it can practically fix prices for what it buys and maintain prices for which it sells; buying cheap and selling dear. The market makes a profit both ways and usually a handsome profit at that. When the market buys it crys up the supply and crys down the demand. When the market sells it crys down the supply and crys up the demand. As inside market information or "dope" is a secret known only to the market, the law of supply and demand has been used from time immemorial to manipulate prices in favor of the market. The profits, when inventories have been realized, are thus liquidated into money. These profits accumulate during a long period of market control. Shrewd businessmen and traders, realizing the power of ready money, become first bankers and then financiers.

Money has always flowed into the central markets of world commerce and will continue to do so as long as the world permits the domination of a central market. The evolution is, first, transportation control; next, traders and merchants; and finally bankers and financiers. When Phoenicia, Athens, and Rome were the commercial masters of the world each in its turn was the world's banker. And now Venice, Genoa, and Florence, with the world coming to their doors to trade, accumulated the world's money which they loaned and speculated with as bankers usually do.

We must have markets. Without markets producers would have no place to sell and consumers no place to buy. One central controlling market can dictate prices both for buying and selling to the detriment of both producers and consumers. The ideal arrangement is competitive markets near the source of supply with a large market area of consumption. But this ideal has been impossible of accomplishment because there has always been one city or nation controlling transportation and building up its trade through one dominating market. Favorable discriminatory and lower freight rates for raw materials in and for manufactured goods out than other cities and countries possess, builds up this central market, and destroys the competition of other markets. This discrimination can only be brought about by transportation advantages which the market always seeks and tries to control even to the extent of the exercise of military and naval power. It was the power to control transportation which made Tyre, Athens, Rome, and Venice the richest and most powerful cities of their time.

Columbus discovered America in 1492. He hoped to find a new trade route to China and the Indies and thus break the market control of Venice. But he discovered the New World instead. Vasco Da Gama, also trying to discover a new route to China and India, in 1497 sailed around Cape of Good Hope. Da Gama's achievement opened up a cheaper and better route to the trade of the Orient than the overland way by caravan to the eastern coasts of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. From this time the trade of the world, instead of trending eastward on the Mediterranean as it had, changed westward to America and southward around the Cape of Good Hope. Venice and Genoa became isolated from the traffic routes and organized trade to America and the Orient.

Venice passed into the commercial discard; not because her people had become decadent; not because of political corruption; nor because of the incompetency of her rulers but because she was no longer the mistress of the world's commerce, for she had lost her control of transportation which she had held for nearly 700 years.

Spain did not maintain her commercial supremacy for any great length of time compared to other nations in this respect, even though she had the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru to finance her. The Spaniards were not natural traders and industrialists; they were soldiers and gentlemen. It may be that this new-found wealth of gold and silver was the cause of their undoing. With this wealth they believed they need neither toil nor spin. Another cause of their commercial and industrial weakness was the Inquisition, which drove the Moors and Jews, the trading and industrial population of Spain, out of the country.

Spain had an immense wealth in gold and silver, much as we in turn have today. But gold and silver cannot be eaten, nor can they be used as materials to build ships and equip armies. The Spanish people and government needed cloth, iron, timber, naval supplies, military equipment, and the thousand and one articles of industry which they did not produce. With their new-found wealth they indulged in luxurious living and were too proud to engage in the work of shop and factory. To obtain what they needed, the Spanish people were compelled to exchange gold and silver for necessities and luxuries. The industrial countries of France, England, Holland, Italy, and the Orient were the beneficiaries of Spain's short-sighted industrial policy.

The kings of Spain became involved in futile wars which cost immense sums for naval and military expeditions. Gradually Spain was drained of her gold and silver. The Spanish navy was almost destroyed by the defeat of the Great Armada. Spain was defeated on sea and land. Her colonies rebelled; and eventually Spain, which at one time owned all of South America and a good share of North America, became relegated to a fourth-class power.

Spain neglected industry and commerce and instead depended on gold and silver. Her wars were not for the purpose of maintaining her commercial supremacy but were occasioned by the ambitions of her kings or by religious bigotry. If there is ever an excuse for war, it is if the objective is to obtain or hold economic rights, for these rights mean bread and butter, home and family. Spain did not pursue trade, the backbone of the prosperity of every nation. When she became drained of her wealth she lost both her naval and military power, and was not strong enough to maintain her monopoly of transportation to the Americas and the Orient. Spain was a great and powerful nation until she became insolvent; so again it was insolvency and not decadency that was the downfall of a great nation.

Holland had the next turn at commercial supremacy. In their early development the Dutch were fishermen, and thus became hardy and adventurous sailors. When some enterprising Dutchman discovered a method for curing herring, the fishermen had an article of commerce in demand throughout the Catholic world.

Phillip II of Spain was overlord of Holland. With all his other rich possessions, with the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru, he imagined himself to be the greatest and most powerful monarch in the world and at that time he probably was. A religious controversy involved Phillip in an insurrection of his Dutch subjects. Apparently, it should not have been a very serious affair with the powerful Phillip against the poor "water beggars." Phillip's famous Spanish infantry and his great generals were in the beginning successful on land and almost drove the herring fishermen into the sea. The sea was their natural element so they at once took advantage of the situation. The old proverb says, "It is hard to beat the Dutch," and Phillip soon found the proverb to be true. The "water beggars" developed their herring boats into merchant ships and war vessels and soon had a merchant marine navigating the trade routes of the earth with a monopoly of commerce. Even Spain was forced to buy in large quantities from her ubiquitous enemy. Holland colonized New York and New Jersey. She founded Cape Colony in South Africa and took control of the great islands in the East Indies. The fleets of Spain and Portugal were practically driven from the trade of the Indies and the Orient. Cape Horn is named after a Dutch admiral. Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Antwerp became the greatest commercial cities of the age, and every town in Holland was engaged in trade and industry. Because transportation control is essential to trade and monopoly of commerce accumulates riches, the former herring fishermen became the richest trading nation in Europe.

Holland, after a war lasting about 80 years, gained her independence and became one of the great powers. In 1672 her fleet was defeated in a final naval battle with England. The loss of naval power cost Holland the control of maritime commerce and all her colonies except the islands in the East Indies. Holland continued to be a great trading nation, but commercial and naval supremacy had now passed to England.

England had been coming on. One of her greatest rulers, Henry VIII, quarreled with the Church of Rome. At that time the church in England owned and controlled about one-third of the wealth of the country. Henry and the nobility coveted this wealth with natural human instincts. The quarrel over Henry's matrimonial affairs—Rome was no Reno—culminated in the seizure and distribution by Henry of the lands and wealth of the church. Nobles, squires, and gentlemen became the beneficiaries of the loot of abbeys and monasteries. This idle and unproductive wealth was now set free to work in the channels of trade. The Englishman, being an islander, was by nature more or less, amphibious, so he turned to the sea and to commerce for that was the natural thing for him to do with his new-found wealth.

Through all the ages of human evolution, from the river town to world-wide commerce, one development appears plain, and that is as the radius of transportation facilities lengthened the area of commerce increased. Also, as the area of commerce widened the power and wealth of the nation controlling this commerce became great in proportion.

The discovery of the mariner's compass and latitude and longitude in the thirteenth century changed the science of navigation. The sailor no longer dreaded to sail out of sight of land. It was no longer necessary to coast along dangerous shores or sail from island to island or from point to point. Commerce became universal, and with the spread of trade and the more frequent means of communication between even distant nations the Renaissance began. This revival of civilization, arts, and commerce was due more to the discovery of the mariner's compass than to any other one factor, because it aided in the development of world-wide transportation and freer intercourse among nations.

When world-wide navigation became possible the wealth and power of the nation controlling transportation became almost unlimited.

Each successive nation controlled transportation and thus commerce by the power of its might. With this control commerce was directed to its markets with low freight rates in for what it bought and low freight rates out for what it sold. Not that specific tariffs were made on this rate basis, but the natural result of a monopoly of the carrying trade was to give maritime freight rates advantageous to the market which owned the carriers.

In ancient and medieval times only those goods which had great value in small bulk could be transported long distances. Drugs, spices, fine clothes, cloths, dyes, pottery, articles of luxury, precious stones, and metals were in that class. An extension of trade in bulky commodities came later when the vessels of commerce were improved and the science of navigation was perfected.

History presents in outstanding relief one human instinct—the instinct of loot. Those who have amassed the world's wealth become the envy of the poor and the downtrodden. There comes a time when the barbarian or the proletarian oppressed with poverty and hardship or overcome with envy and covetousness, decides upon action to dispossess those who have and take for those who have not. The poor and the oppressed have everything to gain and very little to lose. They covet despairingly the good living which others enjoy but which is denied them. So the underdogs decide to use force.

The Egyptian and Persian civilizations were plundered time and time again by the people of the plains. The Persians looted Tyre and Sidon. Greece was looted by Alexander. Then the Greeks aided Alexander in the conquest of Persia. Rome conquered the civilized western world and after concentrating wealth within her borders was in turn looted by the barbarians. Spain destroyed the civilizations of the Aztecs and the Incas, dissipating the immense wealth thus obtained in foolish wars and extravagant magnificance. Last comes Henry VIII who, with the confiscated wealth of the church, gave England her first impetus toward world trade and commercial supremacy.

Under Elizabeth and Cromwell the overwhelming power of the English Navy was established. Spain and Holland were crushed as naval rivals. France at one time attempted to establish colonies, develop maritime commerce, and challenge England's naval supremacy; but England was too powerful at sea and France was never permitted to become the naval superior of England. England compelled France to cede the French colonies in America and drove France out of India. She colonized North America, seized India, and with the loot of gold, silver, and precious stones of India, financed an increasing trade with the world. England early developed the steamship; first the old wooden vessels and then the modern steel steamships. Her merchant fleets covered the seas of the earth; the Union Jack could be seen in every port; the carrying trade of the world was in her hands. London became the world's greatest port and the world's market; prices on all articles and commodities were governed by London quotations.

During the period of England's rise, France had been her closest rival. But Louis XIV and Napoleon were more ambitious for land conquest of the neighboring countries in Europe than for mercantile supremacy in trade. Both dissipated the wealth and power of France in European wars. Neither realized that transportation control and supremacy in commerce were what made a nation rich and powerful and that water transportation as it was now developed on the seas was the form in which traffic could be most cheaply and serviceably handled. Without railways the tasks of conquest which Louis and Napoleon planned were impossible.

Napoleon was born about 50 years too soon. If he had been able to build a railroad to Moscow and to other conquered parts of Europe, there might now be a United States of Europe. When Napoleon said, "An army marches on its stomach," he realized to some extent his transportation problem. But he did not vision the greater opportunity of transportation and commerce or he would have maintained naval supremacy over England.

England forged ahead. France lost her colonies and her naval power was greatly reduced. Although France was a larger country with more people, more wealth and greater natural resources when the struggle between them commenced, yet her commercial growth lagged behind England's. The rulers of France overlooked the value of sea transportation which in view of England's determination to dominate could only be maintained by naval power. France lost her opportunity when she turned landward instead of seaward. Even Captain Mahan, a modern authority did not realize the value of sea power in commerce for he does not analyze commercial prosperity as dependent on sea power in his authoritive work, The Influence of Sea Power. But for that matter few either then or now appreciate the importance of transportation as it concerns the rise and fall of nations, and England's progress is probably only another example of her successful "muddling through."

After the introduction of the mariner's compass which then enabled ships to freely navigate the oceans, and up to 100 years ago, the greater share of the trade of the world was carried on the seas. London for two centuries was the world's greatest port and here the finances and commerce of the world concentrated. The British Empire was greater in wealth, extent, and power than the Roman or any preceding empire. The Briton's proud boast was that the sun never set on British Dominions. The pound sterling was the standard of value everywhere in international mercantile and financial transactions. England became a creditor nation to other nations. Her navy was the most powerful afloat; her growl until this year sent a shiver of fear down the spine of other countries and British arrogance was as boundless as British power and wealth.

One hundred years ago, when the navigation of the seven seas had become perfected, maritime commerce had stimulated trade in all the ports of the world. But it was in the seaports and not in the inland towns where wealth accumulated and trades and manufacturing concentrated. In England, London and Liverpool were the great cities; in France Havre, Bordeaux, and Marseille were the principal seaports. Then there was Antwerp, Hamburg, Copenhagen, and Stockholm for the northern countries. Going around the world a survey discloses that commerce and consequently prosperity, was concentrated at the seaports. Florence, Genoa, Venice, Naples, Alexandria, and Constantinople still maintained their superiority on the Mediterranean; Bombay and Calcutta, in India; Hong Kong and Shanghai in China; in South America it was Valparaiso, Buenos Aires, and Rio de Janiero. In our own country the early leading commercial towns were Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans. The only important cities of the world not seaports were Paris and Vienna. Of all the commercial cities London was by far the greatest for the ships of the world sailed in and out of her harbor. London had low rates for raw materials in and low rates for manufactured goods out through control of transportation. Being the market her merchants bought cheap and sold at a profit the goods either manufactured or exchanged.

"Where wealth accumulates and men decay," a striking and poetic sentiment but not economically sound because Goldsmith's village was deserted because trade, commerce, and prosperity had been attracted to the seaport towns by the inevitable law of better and cheaper transportation facilities. Back from the seaport towns there were many deserted villages and dead and sleepy cities while the seaports were bustling with life and activity.

In many sections of the world inland people were still little better than semicivilized, even in the most enlightened countries. In the interior of all countries the people were still agricultural and pastoral. There was still river commerce, but river traffic had dwindled rather than increased with the tremendous development of trade, for the river only furnished a system of transportation which served to feed the commerce of the large city at or near its mouth. Transportation, trade, and industry had again moved to where low freight rates and a larger market radius controlled commerce and eliminated competition. The interior people were still served by the ox, the ass, the horse, and the camel and human beasts of burden.

The Roman roads after thirteen hundred years had become almost obliterated. In France and Italy some of the old arterial highways had been kept in repair, but for the most part the old Roman roads had been neglected, and very few new roads had been built to replace them. The road system of Europe, although better than that of any other section of the world, was inadequate for the volume of heavy trucking the commerce of the times required, so pack animals were largely used in inland traffic.

In 1763 there was but one stage coach operating between London and Edinburgh and as late as 1750 the whole land carriage of Scotland and of a considerable part of England, two of the most advanced countries of the world, were carried on pack horses.

Writers, describing traveling conditions throughout Europe from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, depict the terrible conditions of the roads and the difficulties of travel.

In the United States there were but few what might be called roads until after the Revolution, toll roads were constructed in the Atlantic Coast States. In 1806 Congress authorized the national road to St. Louis but the road was completed only as far as Vandalia, Ill.

The majority of inland cities and towns were squalid and poverty-stricken with little trade and small wealth. Their commerce was with the surrounding farm territory. Industry, as a rule, sought the cheaper freight rates of the seas and waterways. Education, art, culture, amusements, social advancement, luxury, and everything worth while in life was to be found in the wealthy coast cities of trade and commerce. Life was drab, dull, and rustic among the yokels, rubes, and hayseeds of the deserted villages and towns without adequate means of transportation.

Like all general rules, however, there were some exceptions. A number of interior cities in Europe had certain privileges and monopolies granted them by the ruling monarchy which favors stimulated trade and industry. This privilege was in the nature of regional fairs and markets and the franchise was held either by a town, a bishop, or a noble. Certain of these fairs came to be the chief trading places for special products like grain, cattle, wool, fur, and other raw materials. These gatherings at markets, and at fairs brought together the largest possible number of traders from a trade territory.

In 1825, only 10 years after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, George Stephenson in England invented the steam railway. In 1829 the first steam railroad locomotives were imported into the United States from England and put in operation. Now for the first time, a cheap, serviceable, and adequate form of transportation was at the service of the interior country of the United States. Heretofore, inland towns had been off the main channels of trade. The building of railroads started a rapid development of the backward sections of all countries and this was particularly true of the United States with its immense western territories far from the seacoast.

Until 1830 the United States had been a rather unimportant country as far as world affairs were concerned. It is true it had a considerable merchant marine and its ships traded in ports of all countries, but wealth and industry was along the sea coast, the Mississippi River, and the Great Lakes. A few miles back from these waters were undeveloped wildernesses of forest, swamp, or prairie for the transportation facilities were still as primitive as those of the semibarbarians of the plains.

The United States with its extensive territory and its great natural resources, needed only a complete transportation system

to make it the greatest country in the world. Now it had this service in the new invention of the railroad; a transportation system to develop the interior; give inland sections trade and markets and so increase domestic commerce and industry until the United States not only exceeded the world commerce of England but even equaled approximately 50 percent of world commerce.

Without any settled plan or purpose and probably without realizing the true importance of this new vehicle of commerce, the people of the United States started railroad building. In 1830 there were only 23 miles of railroad in the country. In 10 years the mileage increased to 2,818 miles; 1850, to 9,021 miles; 1860, to 30,626 miles; 1870, to 52,922 miles; 1880, to 93,267 miles; 1890, to 163,597 miles; 1900, to 193,346 miles; 1910, to 240,293 miles; and in 1914, to 252,231 miles. Since 1914 the railway mileage has remained practically stationary. Other countries had been building railroads also and in 1914 the total railway mileage of the world was 691,000 miles, the United States having over one-third of the world's total mileage.

Previous to the building of the railroads, the cost for hauling a ton of freight 100 miles by teams and wagons was $32. The Erie Canal cost for carrying a ton the same distance was $1. The canal was a cheap form of water transportation but afforded only a limited area of service. The railroads, with service practically everywhere, have cut the land carriage cost from $32 a ton for a haul of 100 miles to a freight rate level for the country in 1910 of 75 cents a ton for 100 miles. This is a cost comparable with water transportation and places all commercial centers which have the lowest scale of rates in the national rate structure on a competitive basis developing trade with the farthermost points in the country.

The United States, with its coast line, the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River, and the Panama Canal, with hundreds of thousands of miles of railroads reaching into every section of the interior, has perfected the best and most serviceable transportation service of any nation or people since the beginning of barter and trade. It is no miracle that the United States has prospered and become great and powerful—greater and more powerful than any nation or empire in world history—for transportation is the lifeblood of trade and commerce; the foundation of prosperity. Our country has become greater than either the Roman Empire or the British Empire, because we own, guard, and control the greatest transportation system in the world.

Even the greatest nations of ancient times are not to be compared to modern countries in wealth, industry, and commerce. A steady progress has been made by civilization since the first river towns were founded. Egypt and Persia were great and highly civilized empires; but Greece, with the Mediterranean Basin, with a much larger trade area, was even greater than either. The Roman Empire added to the Mediterranean an extensive road system opening up new channels of commerce; so Rome, with an immense trade territory, was again immeasurably superior to Greece in wealth and power.

When navigation became so perfected that ships sailed the oceans, then the world facing on the sea was opened to commerce. England, disposing of all rivals, acquired through world-trade power, wealth, and empire vastly greater than Rome had possessed.

The United States, developing 3,000,000 square miles of rich interior territory with railroads, highways, and waterways, established a transportation system which carries a greater commerce than all the tonnage of world maritime trade.

New York, in its turn, has become the world's market and financial capital. Except New York, no other city has ever had a transportation system of 250,000 miles of railways on which are operated 70,000 locomotives and 2,500,000 freight cars hauling freight in and out of its market at the lowest rates in the world. Besides, New York has the advantage of ocean and coastwise trade and with the Panama Canal shorter routes to important world seaports. Because of these transportation advantages the metropolitan area of New York is the greatest and richest community in the world, with a population of about 11,000,000 according to the 1940 census.

Official classification territory, also possessing the modern milk and honey of a twentieth century promised land, has been handed out cornucopias of prosperity almost equally as great as its capital, the city of New York—the New Jerusalem.

Summarizing this brief story of transportation, we find that transportation has been the foundation of the prosperity of the great nations of the past. Also as transportation services improved and widened their scopes, so, progressively civilization, commerce, and the greatness of nations correspondingly advanced. Transportation was the first step before production, industry, trade, and commerce could be made increasingly profitable.

The dilettante may object to the emphasis placed on transportation and commerce as the most important elements in social evolution and because art, literature, and culture have obviously been ignored, but in such a statement of so important a subject with transportation as the major theme, these related elements to evolution must be left to writers more interested in these other subjects.

Man must have bread, meat, and potatoes or what have you, in order to exist. Art, literature, and culture are important in life as factors in a fuller and happier existence. Nevertheless, when countries were prosperous because of trade, art, literature, and culture flourished side by side with commerce. When these same countries became insolvent, then art, literature, and culture declined also.

Invention has been one of the great aids to human progress. Inventions most beneficial to humanity have been the ones which have improved and increased the facilities of transportation such as the boat, the sail, the mariner's compass, latitude and longitude, steam ships and steam railways, electricity, the automobile and the airplane. Other great inventions which have increased human production, comfort, or knowledge have been stimulated in world-wide use because improved transportation facilities have made them more generally available.

With millions crying for bread, at the present time the practical side of life is more important than the aesthetic. Distribution is necessary to furnish us this day our daily bread. Transportation, the principal factor of distribution, is a fundamental which has been overlooked and ignored by writers while the obvious facts have been staring them in the face. Even today our New Dealers ignore the transportation problem in its economic aspects. Their only solution of the transportation problem is to concentrate control of all forms under the I. C. C. and pour more Government money into the railroads to brace up an unrighteous freight-rate structure which enables one-tenth of the country to exploit the other nine-tenths, a condition of affairs bringing the country almost to the verge of ruin.

SECTION IV. THE RAILWAYS

The story of transportation has been told up to the year 1830. Transportation now enters a new era, the development of railways. Transportation possesses the same economic characteristics whether the carrying be by caravan, water, or rail. The only exception is that private ownership of railways creates monopolies, which is hardly possible with maritime carriage or with land vehicles traversing caravan routes of public highways.

Transportation advantages still continue to make cities and sections rich and great and disadvantages always operate adversely in commerce and industry against the cities and sections where the prejudice exists.

Before taking up the economic aspects of railway transportation, let us see what has been accomplished in 100 years in the United States in building up our transportation system.

This wonderful transportation system maintains 250,000 miles of railroad and 420,000 miles of trackage. On this mileage the common carriers of the country operate 70,000 locomotives, 60,000 passenger cars and 2,500,000 freight cars.

The property of the railroads has been valued by the Interstate Commerce Commission at approximately $26,000,000,000. In 1928 the railroads of the United States hauled over 400,000,000,000 ton-miles of freight. The railroad transportation industry is probably the greatest in the country.

The railroads reach practically every corner of the country with its 3,000,000 square miles and serve over 80,000 cities, towns and stations. The railroads have bridged large rivers and tunneled through great mountains. Physical obstacles of all kinds have been overcome by the highest engineering skill at great cost and expense. Wherever there has been need for the service the railroads have met the demands made upon them.

Patrons are transported with speed, safety, and comfort with all the conveniences and frequently with luxury from one end of the country to the other. The service is continuous throughout the year regardless of weather, and schedules are almost as certain as time itself. Through this agency we are enabled to enjoy fresh vegetables and fruits all the year round. Every delicacy, luxury, and necessity is furnished to consumers of the country on demand at such low freight cost that what were once luxuries for the rich only have become daily needs for the average person. There is no article too delicate or perishable or any commodity too bulky, heavy, or cheap which the railways will not transport to any part of the country with speed and safety at a charge that is probably the lowest of any railways in the world.

For 100 years the railroads have continued to make improvements in equipment and service until a modern streamline motor train is as much the superior of Stephenson's "Rocket" as a modern trans-Atlantic liner to the galley of the ancient Phoenicians.

Supplementing this marvelous machine is one of the greatest traffic waterways in the world, the Great Lakes. Lake traffic carries grain and ore eastward and coal and industrial products westward. Now the Mississippi-Missouri River system has been deepened to a 9-foot channel so as to give the Mississippi Basin a cheap cost waterway. We have 27,000 miles of inland waterways, exclusive of the Great Lakes, some of which are already carrying heavy traffic, and the balance could be made available. Atlantic and Pacific coastal vessels carry an immense tonnage and are connected for intercoastal traffic by the Panama Canal, one of the wonders of the modern world.

But only a part of this vast system has been surveyed, for as a complement to railways and waterways we have over 800,000 miles of surfaced rural highways on which travel over 25,000,000 private automobiles, 5,000,000 trucks, and 100,000 busses. To provide gasoline and oil for autos, trucks, and busses we have a pipe-line system of over 100,000 miles of trunk and service oil pipe lines.

To complete the system, we have thousands of licensed airplanes still needed to satisfy the desire of the American people for rapid transportation service; planes which carry passengers and mail at high speeds over the North American continent.

No wonder, then, we contemplate this great system with a pride and satisfaction which excludes all thought of criticism. We feel that if there is one accomplishment of which we have a right to feel proud, it is this great transportation system, great in its conception, complete in its organization, and efficient in its operation.

That we have such a complete transportation system may be the reason why it has never occurred to us to examine its working

and operation to determine whether or not the system has some important bearing on our economic problems.

We know we produce for all our needs. We manufacture almost every article we use. The third important economic factor is distribution which primarily involves transportation. Is it possible with such a complete system that we may have a transportation problem?

Millions of our people are not receiving adequate wages for their services and other millions are not being paid fair prices for their products. Conditions are such that people cannot exchange with equitable laws of barter and trade. The commerce of one section of the United States with other sections is dependent on a fair system of distribution; that is, transportation and markets. The element of fairness is essential to barter and trade, else with undue and unreasonable advantage to one section there is exploitation of other sections.

We know what our transportation system is like in its physical aspects and have some understanding of its mechanical operation. Probably few persons in the United States have studied and have learned much of its construction and operation in the economic sense. It is a magnificent machine of which we feel proud but have we ever stopped to consider what the operation has cost in dollars and cents of economic loss and consequent human suffering and misery? It is the purpose of what follows to analyze the economic features of the Amercian transportation system as they relate to present-day problems.

A short history of early American railroading is necessary in order to get the proper background and an understanding of the freight-rate structure.

The total mileage of the country was only 23 miles in 1830, but by 1840 this had increased to 2,818 miles. The first roads constructed were short lines. By 1840 the chartered railroad companies numbered 409 so that the average length was about 70 miles. Of all the railroads built in this decade the longest was the Charleston and Hamburg, 136 miles in length, and when it was completed it was the longest line of railway in the world and was considered a marvel of its time.

Railroad building continued rapidly in the Atlantic States for the next 10 years and in 1850 there were 9,021 miles of railroad in operation. Of this mileage the most western was in Illinois in which there was only 111 miles.

The early roads were built by local promoters with local capital. The roads were short lines running from a town through a neighboring trade territory. They were often of varying gages ranging from 2 to 6 feet so that in many cases carload traffic could not be interchanged. Few roads were built, as trunk lines from one large commercial center to another for the roads were more in the nature of local enterprises to develop local trade. For example, a road would be built from Boston to Springfield, Mass.; another from Springfield to New York; or there were three or four short lines between Boston and New York, none of them connecting for interchange of traffic. Short lines were built from larger towns ending at no important terminal. Roads were built in all directions regardless of the volume of freight or the trend of the traffic. Each community was eager to have this new transportation service.

Between Albany and Buffalo, before the organization of the New York Central, a traveler rode on seven different railroad lines in a journey of 300 miles. The present generation, accustomed to travel on through lines, can hardly understand the jumble of numerous short lines and changes and transfers frequently necessary in journeys of comparatively short distances. The present Boston & Maine absorbed 165 small railway corporations to acquire a total mileage of 2,300 miles. The New York Central is the consolidation of 186 short lines and the Pennsylvania system of 618 lines.

By the year 1860 when there was in operation 30,636 miles, the railroads had reached Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati, Louisville, Nashville, and St. Louis. A few short lines run west of Chicago and up the western short of Lake Michigan. With so many short lines of road, water competition of the Great Lakes, the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, the situation engendered a rate problem.

The numerous competing lines in the coast States had by their rivalry for business kept rates on a more or less equal basis because the four great seaports of the country, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, each demanded equal treatment from the carriers and the volume of traffic from each port was so great that their respective demands had to be granted. The freight-rate problem, therefore, was simple until the roads extended west of the Alleghenys.

In competition for western freight, the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes had to be taken into consideration because there was now a heavy traffic to the growing cities on the Lakes. Then the Ohio River down from Pittsburgh was another competitive waterway and to meet the lower cost of water transportation to Cincinnati and Louisville, concessions in freight rates had to be made in order to get the traffic. St. Louis on the Mississippi and Nashville at the head of navigation on the Cumberland were also in the zone of water competition.

To meet this water competition, low railroad freight rates had to be put in effect to points having water transportation. This situation became an important factor in the final adjustment of freight rates in the territory now known as official classification territory. At first there was a good deal of rate cutting, rebates, and rate wars between the lines east to Chicago and St. Louis for in those days there was no governmental supervision of interstate traffic. Finally the rate situation was adjusted on practically a distance tariff basis with the distance and rate between New York and Chicago as the yardstick of measurement. If a shipment was made equal to the New York-Chicago distance, the shipment took the New York-Chicago rate. If the distance was 90 percent of the New York-Chicago distance, it took 90 percent of the rate. If the distance was 110 percent of the New York-Chicago distance it took 110 percent of the rate. Of course there were exceptions, zones, and groups, as there always are in railroad tariffs for seldom is there any hard and fast rule in the freight-rate structure.

Official territory was divided into three freight-rate districts, each having a different scale of rates for traffic within the districts. Between districts the rates were on the New York-Chicago basis.

In course of time freight rates in official territory became fixed and settled for traffic within the territory on certain definite classification and distance tariff scales and because certain usuages and customs of the carriers had become fixed as rules, regulations, and classifications, this section of the country was set apart from other sections of the United States as a lower-rated district but with a rather rigid freight-rate structure. Rates, scales, rules, and classifications have been maintained for the equalization of traffic conditions in this section and it is only when other sections of the country are concerned and its own monopolies are jeopardized that the East demands an elastic system giving it low rates in and low rates out to the most distant parts of the country for their markets.

Although freight rates in official territory are practically on a distance tariff basis plus certain terminal charges, there are, of course, the usual exceptions. Arbitraries, differentials, groups, blankets, and zones are as numerous here as elsewhere.

After the roads had reached the Missouri River the next phase of railroad building was the construction of the transcontinental lines. On May 10, 1869, the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific were joined, completing the first transcontinental line from Omaha to San Francisco a stretch of railroad nearly 1,800 miles long. Later the Northern Pacific, the Santa Fe, the Southern Pacific, and the Great Northern, long lines of railway reaching from eastern terminals at St. Paul, Omaha, Kansas City, and Chicago to ports on the Pacific were built.

The various transcontinental lines, for the most part, were several hundred miles apart for almost their entire length, except where they had the same terminal, either at the eastern or western end.

For nearly 2,000 miles each road had practically no competition in local traffic. Each had a monopoly of its zone. This rivalry between them was principally for through traffic, originating at the terminals.

With this monopoly each road made rates practically as it saw fit, for the Interstate Commerce Commission was not established until 1887. With this freedom of action, the Union Pacific was enabled to meet the competition of sailing vessels around Cape Horn or traffic to the Isthmus of Panama and the Isthmus of Tehauntepec and then by land across to the Pacific and up the coast to San Francisco. By making low rates for the long haul from and to the Atlantic seaports, the Union Pacific stifled this water competition. This was the beginning of the practice of making low rates for long hauls.

The carriers felt there were also other reasons which made this step necessary, or at least after the first long-haul rates had been tried out their subsequent actions seemed necessary. The country west of the Mississippi was then in the first stages of its development. It was, and still is, for that matter, a mining and agricultural country, producing iron, copper, grain, cattle, fruit, and timber. No manufacturing industries had as yet developed and in such an extensive and sparsely settled country it would take some time for industry to be successfully established. The West did not manufacture articles of common use and trade nor did it consume or use in industry more than a small fraction of its immense production of food and raw materials. The market for what the West bought and sold was many miles eastward. The people of the West naturally concluded that low rates to eastern markets would be to their advantage because they must deliver their products to market and take the market price less the freight. Also, the West must purchase in eastern markets practically everything used and consumed of manufactured goods. A low rate west-bound would reduce the ultimate cost to the western consumer, for the West had to pay the freight from the eastern markets. Naturally there was a clamor in the West for low freight rates on these long hauls, both east-bound and west-bound.

The traffic officials of the carriers realized the situation. It was necessary to make low rates for long hauls in order to meet water competition between the Atlantic-coast ports and the Pacific. Also, they were willing to do what they thought would aid in the development of the West and to increase tonnage over their lines. After the railroad had been built and equipped, the cost of moving freight per unit decreased with the volume. The western transcontinental roads, in conjunction with the eastern roads, who also participated in the haul, granted low rates on through traffic on commodities and raw materials east-bound and low rates on through traffic on manufactured goods west-bound. As there was little traffic in manufactured goods shipped to the East, because of the western classification and rate scales, rates were high on manufactured goods east-bound.

The rates appeared to be very low for such long hauls, but this apparent generosity was offset by high rates, even on long through

hauls, to noncompetitive points and high local rates for short hauls and less-than-carload lots on local traffic.

One of the reasons for this discrimination against less-than-carload traffic was that through carload freight for long hauls was loaded by the consignor and unloaded by the consignee and was hauled in carloads and even in trainloads. After the shipment was once started it was of little trouble to the carrier. But the freight bill, even if the rate was low, was a large amount. Local less-than-carload traffic must be loaded by carriers at the points of origin and unloaded at the points of destination; accumulated numerous small freight bills which entailed accounting expense and by some officials the local traffic was considered to be more trouble than the business was worth. Even the high rates were granted as begrudging accommodations to patrons so the charges were not what the traffic would bear but all it would bear.

Through rates, either west-bound or east-bound, were not made on a distance mileage scale such as prevailed in official territory. There were zones and groups in official territory but they were of small area and were made to simplify and adjust the rate tariffs. Under the new theory of low rates for long hauls, the eastern half of the United States on a line drawn north and south through Denver was made one blanket territory. Accordingly the same rates applied from San Francisco to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore as to Denver, St. Louis, Chicago, and all other points in this blanket. Later this line was moved eastward and the blanket was further subdivided into smaller blanket territories for west-bound traffic. The great bulk of east-bound traffic from the Pacific coast is moved on commodity tariffs for foodstuffs, fruits, and raw materials. These tariffs blanket large areas, often extending from the Atlantic seaboard to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. This arrangement permits the western producer to enter far eastern markets and also gives to New York and Atlantic seaports unconscionably low rates for raw materials in.

The Pacific coast is in western classification territory. The discrimination in classification in favor of official resulted in higher rates east-bound for manufactured goods. This gave low rates on raw materials to New York and the Atlantic seaports and also low rates out of these points on manufactured goods to the Pacific coast. Coast rates are high for local short hauls and for less-than-carload lots.

Southern territory presented another rate problem. Early railways in this territory were compelled to meet water competition at ocean and Gulf posts as well as at numerous points upon each of the navigable rivers as far up as the head of navigation. The railways built to the more important centers so that railway competition was added to the problem with also the keen rivalry of the larger commercial centers. The country was a one crop cotton producing section. The manufactured goods used were largely shipped in from the North Atlantic States.

The rate structure which developed has been called the basing-point system. Water competition compelled the carriers, if they were to handle the traffic, to make low rates to the towns designated as basing points. The rates to stations not basing points were determined by adding to the basing-point rates the local rate from the basing point to the destination, a high local rate. Frequently this involved a back haul with a higher charge for the shorter distance to an intermediate point.

An injustice such as this could not long continue under the protests of the places discriminated against. An adjustment was made on the basis of the Baltimore-Atlanta rate as a measure of the charge and distance with a combination of the local rate north of Baltimore to be added from the point of origin or to the point of destination. For cities north of the Ohio River the Baltimore-Atlanta rate applied from the Ohio River crossings plus the local rate north of the river. Arbitraries were fixed for St. Louis and Memphis. The lower local rates in New England and trunk-line territories gave the East an advantage in this market.

Southern territory was given low commodity rates for long hauls northbound. With the discrimination in classification, rates were high on manufactured goods out of southern territories. Local rates were abnormally high for short hauls and less-than-carload shipments. Again there was put in practice the low rates in for raw materials to official territory and low rates out for manufactured goods.

In making rates for the Twin Cities the Mississippi River, the Great Lakes, and the Canadian railways had to be considered. The Twin Cities were made a breaking point for all rates north and west. Rates from the east to the northwest were a combination of the through rate to St. Paul and Minneapolis and the high local rate beyond. Because of the supposed water competition, low commodity rates were made on eastbound traffic. The Twin Cities being in western classification territory and in western trunk-line territory were discriminated against with high rates on manufactured goods out, which prevents their industries reaching national markets, although their geographical location is favorable.

The low rates from the East on manufactured goods made the Twin Cities a large distributing center, but industry did not develop because of disadvantageous rates on classified articles. This rate situation continued until December 1931, when a new rate structure of the Northwestern States on class shipments was established by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Commission prescribed through class rates from certain key cities in official territory to key cities in Minnesota, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana. The Twin Cities were placed in a still higher rated zone. This will probably result in the loss of their trade as distributors to the territory north and west. Chicago and towns east, with through rates, can now ship to this territory at less rates than the combination rate to St. Paul and Minneapolis and the local rate beyond.

The States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona, not having water competition to serve them were left high and dry in the freight-rate structure. This section has been penalized by the highest freight rates in the country. One alleged reason for this is the mountainous topography of this section, but the same consideration is not given to the Allegheny Mountains in the East or to the flat, level territory in the Mississippi Valley. Development of these States has been retarded and will continue to be until the rate structure is favorably adjusted.

To complete the survey, two more sections of the country remain to be analyzed. These are Texas and New England.

Texas is an empire in itself. With such a large extent of country, Texas was able to make an adjustment favorable and equitable to all parts of the State by fixing a system of interstate rates. Texas enacted a law fixing rates on a graded and maximum basis which equalized rates throughout the State. By this system, which need not be explained in detail, commercial conditions were equalized, no one city in Texas having an advantage over the others. Consequently trade is equally distributed among a number of thriving trade centers rather than in one city, which with favorable freight rates, could dominate in business the entire State. For interstate traffic the same discrimination exists against the towns of Texas as against all sections in southern and western classification territories.

New England is given equalized rates westbound on class traffic with New York in order that New England may market its industrial products in the West in competition with manufacturers who are usually closer to the source of raw materials. The blanketing of rates to and from New England has had the effect of decentralizing industry in that section. The rates are no lower to Boston than they are to Hingham, Bingham, and Dingham and as a result factories are to be found throughout the New England States.

The freight classification is superimposed on this jumble of sectional rate differences by the three classifications whose boundaries have been described. Classification is necessary because many articles of commerce have different transportation characteristics which means different transportation costs and ability to pay higher freight charges. The theories of classification are: First, transportation cost; second, what the traffic will bear. Freight classification is further based upon the relations which articles of commerce bear to each other in such respects as character, use, bulk, weight, value, tonnage or volume, risk, ease of handling, and controlling conditions caused by competition. The proper classification of an article is to be judged relatively by the classification of other articles similar in character, quality, and conditions of transportation.

For 50 years or more the differences between the three classifications has imposed discriminations on shippers in southern and western territories and has favored those in official.

The lower the classification, the lower is the rate; the higher the classification, the higher the rate. An article may be classed as second or third class in official but first class in southern and western, thus paying a higher rate is shipped out of either of the two territories than the same article if shipped out of official. An example of these classifications of former years is given below:

Classification

Articles	Rating		
	Official	Southern	Western
Can openers in barrels or boxes	3	2	2
Matches in boxes, less than carload	1	1	1
Ores, copper in bags, barrels, or boxes, less than carload	3	5	4
Rubber, crude in package named carload minimum weight, 40,000 pounds	4	3	2

Other considerations besides actual classification affect the rates but are corollary to classification principles. One of these is the differences in percentages of rates which other classifications bear to the first-class rate. These percentages vary in the different classifications and as a rule the percentages for the lower classes are in favor of official.

Classification rules and regulations also determine whether there shall be charged lower rates for carload shipments than for less than carload. As carload rates in many instances are considerably lower than less-than-carload rates, this ruling is of importance to shippers. The more carload ratings are allowed the greater the advantage to large shipments. In the case of *Interstate Commerce Commission* v. *Del. L. & W. R. R.* (220 U. S. 235 (1910)), the evidence showed gross discrimination in this respect between the three territories. In official there were 5,882 less-than-carload ratings and 4,235 carload ratings, or a percentage of carload ratings of 72.4 percent. In southern there were 3,505 less-than-carload ratings and 773 carload ratings, or a percentage of 22.1 percent. In

western there were 5,729 less-than-carload ratings and 1,690 carload ratings, or a percentage of 29.8 percent.

The mileage rate scale for the various classifications varies in the separate territories, and as a general rule the scale is lower in official than in southern and western. The class rates in the latter sections are high, compared with official, except where lower rates in the South and West will give the East lower rates for raw materials or build up the long haul for the carriers.

The Interstate Commerce Commission for a long time has realized the injustices inflicted on southern and western territories by the discriminations in classification. Commissioner Aitchison in his dissenting opinion, *Consolidated Classification Case* (54 I. C. C. 1), said:

"The net result of the proposed classification leaves so great a lack of uniformity as to many important things that even the excuse of uniformity fails as a justification for forcing an unnecessary and probably harmful rule upon two-thirds of the United States."

In this case the Commission also said:

"Uniformity is an essential part of a general scheme which contemplates greater consistency in rate making and elimination of discrimination and inequalities."

For a long time the Commission has tried to get the carriers to effect one uniform classification for the entire country. Some progress has been made and a great many discriminations have been removed. The present consolidated freight classification is an improvement over the classification of 20 years ago, but there remains to be remedied not only the classifications but also the percentages which other classes bear to the first-class rate, the mileage scales, and the carload rates. All these items should be uniform in one general classification. The prevailing exceptions in favor of official, such as rules 25 and 26, should also be eliminated.

Class rates are generally based upon distance and apply on less-than-carload traffic and some carload traffic of the higher grades. Only a relatively small amount of the country's tonnage moves on class rates. Probably 85 percent of the tonnage in the United States moves on commodity rates. This does not mean the proportion of freight revenue for the class rates is much higher than commodity rates.

Commodity traffic comprises the great staples of production and the essentials of life such as coal, ore, lumber, cotton, livestock, canned goods, sugar, meats, vegetables, oil, cement, and many other basic products. They move at rates which are lower than those charged for classified traffic. Commodity rates, as a whole, bear no definite relation to class rates but in some cases bear a certain percentage relation to some of the class rates as fixed by the tariffs.

When the freight-rate structure had been in effect sometime after the building of the first transcontinental roads, the carriers made a discovery. It was that the profit in the freight business was in the long-haul business at lower rates and not in the short-haul business at higher rates. The short-haul business was only a feeder. The Union Pacific made more profit on a much longer average haul at a lower ton-mile rate than the New York, New Haven & Hartford made on average shorter hauls at a higher ton-mile rate.

Then it was found that commodities had a tendency to be shipped or to flow in certain directions because of market or manufacturing conditions. Cotton moved from the South to New England; cattle and hogs, into Chicago; coal, from Pennsylvania to the Northwest; grain from the Northwest to the East; oil and gasoline, from Oklahoma and Texas to the north and east; and many other commodities in other directions from places of production. The general flow of commodities was in the direction of official territory; the direction and flow of manufactured goods was out from official into southern and western territories. To stimulate this traffic and thus increase profits by long hauls, the carriers continued to develop the practice of low rates for long hauls in the direction of the flow or movement. Usually a number of roads participated in these long hauls so it was not difficult for the carriers to agree to a program carrying out so profitable a policy.

There was naturally a scramble among the railroads to obtain as large a share of this long-haul business as possible. The competition became very keen and because of this rivalry the discriminations through competition became more pronounced and the policies and theories more vigorously pressed before courts and the Commission.

In 1870 the East—official classification territory—had the consuming population, capital, cheap labor, and established industries. Food products and raw materials were in demand in the East. The big industries were in the East with practically none in the West. So the flow of staple raw materials was from the South and the West to the East. Therefore, as the hauls were long, low freight rates were made from the South and the West to the East on commodities. The flow and movement of manufactured goods was out of the East to the South and to the West; accordingly, as these hauls were long, the carriers made low rates on manufactured goods in the direction of the movement to the South and West. To maintain these advantages it has been necessary to keep the principles and theories of the rate structure in status quo, because if the South and West had equally low rates with the East, industry would develop in both these sections and the long hauls for both raw materials and manufactured goods would be greatly reduced in volume.

There are, apparently, many logical reasons upholding the theories of the present freight-rate structure. The structure has been in a process of evolution for 100 years. Each new situation and each problem has been solved as each came up by concession and compromise. Numerous and competing sources of production were seeking markets. Each carrier was entitled to a fair share of the traffic which should and also could move over its line. To reach distant markets interwoven in this competition a certain equilibrium must be maintained and the burden of this maintenance was upon the transportation lines. On these theories discriminatory and preferential rates were established for long hauls that are not in some instances remunerative to the carriers. But private ownership of railways made necessary a fair return on the investment. Each road had to fight the competition of other roads and the waterways and it is the basic principle of competition which has built up an artificial and unequal freight-rate structure.

False economic theory

No economic uniformity throughout the country will be possible as long as the present policy of rate discrimination prevails. Proponents of the system argue that the rate structure equalizes economic conditions, but a comparison of freight rates, wealth, prosperity, and industry explodes this theory.

Another argument used to support present freight rates is that the freight-rate structure is really advantageous to the South and East, because they are given low commodity rates on their raw materials and food products, making wide and distant markets easily accessible. The less the cost of transportation to markets, the more producers receive for raw materials, say proponents of these theories, for prices are governed by the law of supply and demand—an old joke used for the last several thousand years. The South and the West being "backward States" wherein live the "Sons of Wild Jackasses," are not manufacturing and industrial sections. With low rates out of the East on manufactured goods, the backward sections get cheaper articles for their use in the reduced prices which the consumers pay by reason of the greater efficiency of the East and the low freight rates. This is only giving tit for tat. On the other hand, they say, if the rates were more fairly equalized, the producers of staple products would get lower prices, added freight would make raw materials cost more thus increasing manufacturing costs. Higher freight rates for manufactured goods out would again increase costs to consumers. The net result would be lower prices of raw materials and higher prices for manufactured goods. All this is on the assumption that the "Wild Jackasses" of the backward States are not capable of transforming raw materials into manufactured products. The rate experts, the carriers, and the East claim—and the South and the West blindly believe—that the freight-rate structure is more favorable to the South and West than to the East.

But there is another side to the picture. The present freight-rate structure had built up for the Nation one central controlling market. It is a repetition of the same old story of Tyre and Sidon, Athens, Rome, Venice, Holland, and London which in turn have each controlled and had the benefits of a world transportation system. Low rates in are plainly an advantage to the market, for if the rates were high some other place better situated geographically would get the raw materials or if the rates were equalized, there would be market competition. Then the market wants—and gets—low freight rates out for what it sells, plainly another advantage for the market because if it did not have as low or lower rates, buyers would go to other and nearer markets.

The trade area of every market is fixed by the radius of low rates in and low rates out. If the South and the West had low rates out, on manufactured goods, they could utilize their raw materials and transform them into articles of commerce because then they would have a larger trade area for manufactured goods. They would not be penalized by the monopoly of one central market or by the manipulation of the merchants who to some extent fix the prices on raw materials. Instead the South and the West would also have a national market for manufactured goods and a local consuming market for raw materials. Prices would be better for raw materials with shorter freight hauls and numerous competitive markets rather than one far-distant central market with a monopoly on buying and selling. No particular advantage accrues in the long run to producers of raw materials when low rates for long hauls kill close consuming markets and build up distant ones. Although the rates may be low, the freight bills are large.

If raw materials are manufactured near the source of supply and are sold to a near market a part of the freight bill would be shifted to consumers of manufactured goods. As it is farmers and other producers far from market pay the freight both ways.

Expansion of manufacturing in the South and West—and it can be expanded with fair freight rates—means keeping manufacturing profits at home. This is a very important consideration usually overlooked.

The freight-rate structure of the country enables the East practically to monopolize industry and control markets. We will have more about this market control later on. The low rates for raw materials in and for manufactured goods out is very much like a double tariff, one being on imports and the other on exports, or rather it might be called a double bonus for both imports and exports. Then tariffs on foreign imports likewise protect eastern manufacturers from foreign competition. With the powerful influence of market control, monopoly

of manufacture, and profits of trade liquidated into money, the East and New York, its capital, have been able to dictate freight-rate practices of the carriers and always for the benefit and advantage of the East. Furthermore, eastern interests, the railroads, and even the courts, have been able to blind the eyes of the South and the West and have made the people of these two sections really believe in the fairness and equity of the freight-rate system.

The officials of the southern and western roads have also been shortsighted. Had they demanded and obtained low rates or at least equal rates on manufactured goods for the commercial centers on the lines of their roads, industry would have developed. With industry would come increased population and prosperity. How much better off the southern and western roads would be if the Southern and Western States had fifteen to twenty million more people than they have at present.

The pioneers of railroading should not be too severely criticized. In the building up of the transportation rate structure the early pioneers had to contend with many new, difficult, and perplexing problems. In a country so vast as the United States newly developing and with a transportation vehicle of recent invention, freight rates were in the beginning more or less experimental. Human judgment and foresight could not perfectly solve the numerous problems with justice to every industry and to every section.

The first important problem had to be solved when the roads had passed the Alleghenys and were, as we have seen, faced with the water competition of the Erie Canal, the Great Lakes, the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Mississippi Rivers; also, the Canadian Grand Trunk to Chicago, a later development. The competition of the carriers between Chicago and St. Louis to the East was keen.

In the South water competition with Atlantic and Gulf had to be considered. River navigation had built up trade centers which the railroads had entered to participate in the greater traffic which these centers afforded. Rates to Atlanta, Macon, Birmingham, Montgomery, Chattanooga, and other towns had to be constructed on a land-carrier and water-transportation basis with the added competition of rival markets.

Railroads running parallel to the Mississippi had this factor to contend with. In Texas there was also the Gulf ports with shorter distances to inland points. In the Northwest the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River, and the Canadian roads caused another complicated situation.

When the first transcontinental line was built, it faced the competition of steam and sailing vessels which for 20 years had controlled this traffic. North and South on both Atlantic and the Pacific the railroads must meet water competition in the coastal trade. The railroads needed as much of all this traffic as they could get either by fair means or foul or they would virtually cease to exist.

The South and the West were agricultural and mining regions. Their products must be taken to market as cheaply as possible and the cheapness was fixed by water competition either potential or real. Manufactured goods must be furnished them at reasonable costs and long freight hauls were important items in these costs. Again water competition was a factor in fixing the cheapness of these costs.

With so many varied sources of supply, each competing with the other and each demanding rates giving equal access to markets, each carrier needing to build up production and consequently, traffic, granted concessions in rates and especially for long hauls.

Cotton was produced in all the Southern States from the Atlantic to Texas. The markets were Europe and New England. Each section demanded transportation favors in order to get cotton to market and each road sought volume of traffic. Water competition affected rates to interior points because of railroads passing through these towns to seaports must make lower rates where there was water transportation than the cost of transportation actually justified. For merchandise shipped to the South the same situation existed.

The cotton problem in the South is only a fair illustration of the wheat, livestock, oil, ore, fruit, and other commodity problems, in other sections of the country. Again, in shipping manufactured goods into the various sections of the country, the carriers were confronted with the difficult question of water, carrier, and market competition.

The fundamental cause of all these difficulties was the private ownership of the railroads with the necessity for a fair return on the investment. The roads were forced to compete for traffic not only with water and pipe-line competition but with each other. Natural advantages of resources and location were overcome by artificial restrictions on commerce or by concessions to build up traffic, preferably for the long haul. Places having water competition were discriminated against in favor of large commercial centers having both rail and water competition until the water ways serving the less important towns with only one railroad were a negligible factor. As a result some rates were too low and others too high. Discrimination and preferential freight rates developed industry in one area and production of raw materials in another. Artificial barriers have been raised against sections so that trusts and combinations have been able to exploit these sections to their final economic ruin.

The pioneers of the railroad industry have been given credit for the development of the great western areas. They have been crowned as "empire builders." The principles of rate making which they advocated and practiced are supposed to have been necessary to aid this development. Our hindsight, however, is better than their foresight. We see now that the expansion and growth of the United States was due to the invention and inception of the railways as the first adequate transportation service to inland territories and not entirely to the supermen and the manner in which this service was begun and extended. With the invention of the railways, the vigor and enterprise of the American people made this development inevitable. A better and more even growth with fairer economic distribution of wealth and industry could have been accomplished if the selfishness, shortsightedness, and greed of private ownership had been eliminated.

The fraud and dishonesty which pioneer railroaders practiced in financing and building the railroads have been overlooked in this treatise. The immense grants of public lands have not been cited or taken into consideration. All this is water which has flowed over the dam and has no concern with present economic questions, except that when the old gods of transportation sowed the winds of corruption, graft, and discrimination, they left posterity to reap the whirlwinds.

SECTION V. THE FREIGHT-RATE STRUCTURE

The average man becomes bewildered with the intricacy of railway lines, waterways, surfaced highways, and pipe lines traversing the country in a network of hundreds of thousands of miles. A study of a map showing the transportation routes only adds to this bewilderment. If the routes alone are a puzzle, then how can anyone visualize the millions of cars and vehicles traveling over the country at speeds up to 100 miles an hour? Even a partial conception of the magnitude of the traffic in the United States is impossible.

If it is impossible for the man on the street to get even a fair idea of our transportation system from his personal investigation and observation or from any description which can be given, then how much more difficult it is for him to understand in addition the principles and workings of this system, because the system is complicated by hundreds of theories and thousands and thousands of rates, rules, and regulations more intricate than the system itself.

More than 80,000 towns and stations are relatively concerned in the rate structure, and 135,000,000 people are dependent on it for transportation service which today has become a vital necessity.

In 100 years of practical experience, instead of simplifying the system and improving the ease and convenience with which it might be operated, the traffic experts of the carriers, the National Government, and the 48 States have adopted, enacted, and construed laws, rules, regulations, theories, laws, and decisions by the hundred thousand until the complication is beyond human understanding. Numerous traffic theories have been advanced and adopted by transportation and economic experts which because of varying considerations and changing conditions prevailing in so large a country, are different almost from day to day. The Governments, both State and National, the railroads and its patrons are engaged in constant litigation in order to get interpretations of these laws, rules, regulations, and theories. Decisions regarding transportation are being handed down every day but the courts seem rather to confuse than clarify the situation.

It may be enlightening to learn what some authorities think of this complicated affair. W. Z. Ripley in his work, "Railroads," describing classification, only one phase of the traffic structure, says:

"Imagine the Encyclopedia Brittanica, a Chicago mail-order catalog, and a United States protective tariff law blended in a single volume, and you have a freight classification as it exists in the United States at the present time. A few selections from the first and last items of such a document are produced on the preceding pages. They give some idea of the amazing scope of trade. Such a classification is, first of all, a list of every possible commodity which may move by rail, from academy of artists board and accouterments to xylophones and zylonite. In this list one finds algaroville, bagasse, pie crust, prepared artificial hams. Cattle tails, wombat skins, crutches, cradles, baby jumpers and all; together with shoo flies and grave vaults. Everything on, above, or under the earth will be found listed in such a volume. To grade justly all these commodities is obviously a task of utmost nicety. A few of the delicate questions which have puzzled the Interstate Commerce Commission may give some idea of the complexity of the problem. Shall cow peas pay freight as 'vegetables, not otherwise specified dried or evaporated,' or as 'fertilizer,' being an active agent in soil regeneration? Are 'iron-handled bristle shoeblacking daubers machinery or toilet appliances? Are patent medicines distinguishable, for purposes of transportation, from other alcohlic beverages used as tonics? What is the difference, as regards rail carriage, between a percolator and an everyday coffee pot? Are Grandpa's Wonder Soap and Pearline—in the light of claims put forth by manufacturers—suitable either for laundry or toilet purposes—to be put in different classes according to their use or their market price? When is a boiler not a boiler? If it be used for heating rather than steam generation, why is it not a stove? What is the difference between raisins and other dried fruit, unless perchance the carrier has not yet established one industry, while another is already firmly rooted and safe against competition?"

Sometimes a little humor and sarcasm are more enlightening than pages of dry description; so what another writer—the name has been mislaid so that due credit cannot be given—has to say about freight-rate tariffs may be illuminating.

"There are some things spiritual and material in the presence of which ordinary mortals stand dumb. When I stood at the tomb of

Napolean, first viewed the Washington Monument, gazed into the Grand Canyon, words were superfluous. A feeling akin to this arises within when I contemplate a freight tariff with its exceptions, items, notes, commodities, distances, arbitraries, and God knows what. If the thing amazes, what can be the feeling when one views from afar the mind that conceived it? I can approach a superintendent, a general manager, a general solicitor, or a president, if you will, with a certain amount of assurance and composure, but when I approach the portals of a traffic-expert's office, I not only remove my hat, but also my shoes, and like a devout Moslem, chant as I near the throne, 'Great is Mohammed but greater is the man who understands freight tariffs.'

"As long as the freight tariff remains in the railroad general office, while it is a great and wonderful thing, it is harmless and inert. It is only when it is placed in the hands of the country agent, who plays by ear and not by note, that we can fully appreciate the wonderful possibilities. Unless it is carefully interpreted with the aid of logarithms, a microscope, a search warrant, and a college education, the country agent is liable to conclude that the confounded thing provides for the issuance of trading stamps and ladies free on Thursday night when they give away plush furniture and a set of dishes to the holder of the lucky ticket. Seriously, however, the character of the various commodities, the nature and distances of the territories served, the needs of certain industries, and a thousand and one other things so enter into the rate question that a short and simple general-application tariff is as impossible as hip diseases in a snake."

Then a newspaper columnist in the Minneapolis Daily Star adds to the joy of the occasion, thus:

"Some day when I get a good early start, and the weather is not so warm, I am going to write a whole column about freight rates. It is one of the easiest things in the world to write about, because nobody knows anything about it. Freight rates is the art of putting down a figure, just any figure which you think the public has that much money, and then going through several hundred mathematical processes, any process, which will get the required answer. If the answer is off a few dollars per hundred, it can always be corrected with a differential.

"If for any reason you have a few customers who have not that much money, you can still get all they have by making them a commodity rate, equal to their cash on hand.

"One of the highest paid and recognized traffic experts of the West once confessed to me that there was really no definite basis of freight rates, and never was. 'Rates have been fixed purely by the accident of railway expansion,' he said, 'and represent in every case not scientific application of rule, but merely all the traffic will bear.' It is not strange the public does not understand them because nobody else does either."

"The railroads ask fifteen percent
Of increase in the rate,
That they may charge their customers,
And friends for hauling freight.

"I figure: Two times two plus three,
Make seven, does it not?
Right here I gravely pause to ask,
Fifteen percent of what?"

There is as much truth as there is humor in the foregoing excerpts, but they also illustrate the absurdity and complexity of the freight tariff structure.

Notwithstanding the complexity of the freight-rate structure and the difficulty involved in explaining its principles so that the average person can get some comprehension of the significance of the laws and theories, it becomes necessary to inquire into certain matters governing the building and operation of the rate structure. Without some such explanation, the economic application of transportation to present problems would not be clear.

In order that there be economic uniformity throughout the United States, it is necessary that transportation service which means freight rates be on a parity between all sections. The Government has permitted private corporations to perform a public function like transportation and with this privilege has given these corporations the right to charge for the performances of the public service. This charge is a tax upon commerce and a direct tax, too. It is elemental in law that all taxes should be uniform and the National Government and all the State governments endeavor to levy and collect all taxes on an equal and uniform basis. Other public-service corporations, like street railways, telephone, gas, and electric companies, are required by law and their franchises to make all rates and charges uniform. If freight rates were uniform throughout the United States, Minneapolis, Omaha, Denver, Nashville, Birmingham, and all other places south and west, would be able to ship in and out 200 miles, 700 miles, or 2,000 miles the same article or commodity at the same mileage rate scale but no higher or no lower than towns in official territory and also on an equality with New York City. Under the present freight-rate structure there is no such uniformity, and towns in the South and in the West suffer severe discrimination by paying higher rates than eastern towns for the same services.

A parallel illustration of this inequality would be the Postal Service if all mail going in and out of the metropolitan area of New York need pay 2 cents an ounce for first-class mail while the rest of the country paid 3 cents. The volume of business, the flow of movement of mail in and out of New York is so great that the Post Office Department no doubt makes a handsome profit out of this service but Hayville, Mayville, and Jayville are causing losses. If this discrimination were made in the Postal Service, a hue and cry would rise up from all parts of the country, asking Congress to repeal such an obnoxious law. Yet where $1 of excessive postage would be paid in the hypothetical case, $100 are actually paid under the present discriminations in freight rates.

There is no hue and cry now against freight rates, because the general public does not know of existing conditions. Furthermore, the problem of freight rates is so complicated that few have studied transportation from an economic standpoint, and no one has attempted to explain how transportation affects business and economic conditions of the Nation.

The public is of the opinion that Congress has fully protected the rights of the people by enacting laws and by establishing the Interstate Commerce Commission. The highest officials of the Government, most of the Congress, and the courts seem to slumber in the same belief. Relying on Congress and the Commission, the people have become quiescent. But do the laws and the Commission furnish the protection and the economic uniformity which not only justice demands but which are also vital to the country's prosperity and perpetuation? It is necessary to examine the transportation laws passed by Congress to arrive at an answer.

The Interstate Commerce Act passed in 1887 governs commerce between the States and applies to the transportation business of the roads. The rates of the carriers are subject to regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission within the limitations of the act. The powers of the Commission combine legislative, judicial, and administrative functions.

The object of Congress was to compel the carriers to grant reasonable rates and to limit their charges accordingly. The judge of this reasonableness is the Commission. The section of the act fixing reasonable rates is as follows:

"SEC. 1 (5). All charges made for any service rendered in the transportation of passengers or property or in the transmission of intelligence by wire or wireless as aforesaid, or in connection therewith shall be just and reasonable, and every unjust and unreasonable charge for such service or any part thereof is prohibited and declared unlawful."

Congress intended to prevent discrimination in the way of rebates and special rates and favors, a practice which had long prevailed between the railroad companies and the large corporations. The historic example of this corrupt practice is the Standard Oil, which not only received rebates on all its shipments but also rebates on the shipments of its competitors. Section 2 of the act is supposed to prevent these personal discriminations. This section reads as follows:

"SEC. 2. If any common carrier subject to the provisions of this chapter shall, directly or indirectly, by any special rate, rebate, draw-back, or other device, charge, demand, collect, or receive from any person or persons a greater or less compensation for any service rendered or to be rendered in the transportation of passengers and property or the transmission of intelligence, subject to the provisions of this chapter, than it charges, demands, collects, or receives from any other person or persons for doing him or them a like and contemporaneous service in the transportation or transmission of a like kind of traffic under substantially similar circumstances and conditions, such common carrier shall be deemed guilty of unjust discrimination, which is hereby prohibited and declared to be unlawful."

For many years previous to the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act public sentiment had crystallized against discrimination practiced by the carriers in favor of certain sections and large commercial centers. Commodities rates were also preferential to the trusts and certain large shipping interests. To prevent discriminations between localities and commodities, section 3 of the act was made to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. (1) It shall be unlawful for any common carrier subject to the provisions of this chapter to make or give any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to any particular person, company, firm, corporation, or locality or any particular description of traffic, in any respect whatsoever, or to subject any particular person, company, firm, corporation, or locality, or any particular description of traffic to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever."

The three sections quoted are apparently all the legislation, with the addition of the administration sections, needed to compel the railways to put in effect equal freight rates from all places and persons for all articles and commodities of like transportation characteristics. If this were the case, then every town in the South and in the West would have been granted under the act equally as low and equally as high rates as New York or any other town in official territory. If the act accomplished the purposes for which it is to be presumed it was intended, the same rate equality would apply to Hayville, Mayville, and Jayville in Minneosta, Kansas, and Colorado as applies to Hingham, Bingham, and Dingham in New England. But these sections did not so equalize rates. The entire act did not accomplish the purposes which public sentiment at that time demanded in the reformation of the transportation structure.

Congress may have thought it was doing the fair thing when it passed the Interstate Commerce Act. The courts and the Interstate Commerce Commission also seem to think, if their decisions mean what they say, that the act grants substantial justice. Courts and Commission are limited by the meanings, express or implied, in the statutes.

Opinions of those concerned in transportation regarding the efficacy and value of the act vary with their respective interests.

But the average man, if he gives any thought to the subject of freight rates, believes that the transportation laws of Congress, fully and fairly legislate freight rates.

The railways are public-service corporations with practically a monopoly of the largest share of land carriage. The purpose of the act was to compel the railways to treat the public in a fair and businesslike manner. The public should mean all the people, of all places, of all sections, and of all degrees. The act did cure many abuses. Equalization in certain aspects of rate making has been effected. All rates in and out of Minneapolis and other places to each and every shipper and receiver for articles and commodities have the same transportation characteristics and are the same. There is no more secret rebating or ruinous rate wars. This was not true before the passage of the act, for prior thereto the carriers were practicing discrimination and granting rebates and preferences indiscriminately and cutting rates was the order of the day. The law abolished discriminations between articles of freight and branches of business alike in character and between different quantities of the same class of freight in the same classification territory. A number of discriminations, but not all between localities similarly situated have been corrected. The carriers' former elaborate system of secret and special rates, rebates, draw-backs, and concessions have been abolished. The element of uncertainty as to the permanence of rates has been partially overcome. The necessity of published tariffs and the maintenance of published rates have been a benefit to general business. Some glaring inequalities and inconsistencies of early rates have been harmonized.

But when general rate levels between Minneapolis and New York are compared, the comparison conclusively proves that rate equality does not exist. A comparison of rates between Hingham, Bingham, and Dingham and Hayville, Mayville, and Jayville discloses the lack of equality. The act has been ineffectual in establishing rate equality between different sections of the country.

An analysis of the act and of court decisions and findings of the Commission makes it obvious why the act does not operate to establish a Nation-wide uniformity in freight rates.

Section 1 provides that rates shall be "reasonable." Section 2 provides that there shall be no discrimination "for a like and contemporaneous service of a like kind of traffic" performed "under substantially similar circumstances and conditions." Section 3 prohibits "undue and unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage."

The phrases in quotations are the niggers in the woodpile. The efficacy of the act depends entirely on the meaning and construction of these phrases. The courts have uniformly held that the quoted phrases involve questions of fact and not of law. That is, the law does not fix a schedule or scale of reasonable rates, but the facts and circumstances in connection with the particular act of transportation determines whether the rates are reasonable or unreasonable. Then it is the duty of the Commission and the courts after hearing the facts to determine the reasonableness of rates. The Commission and the courts to ascertain reasonableness have applied the wording in section 2 and have held that "the circumstances and conditions" must be given consideration in determining the reasonableness. In the interpretation of the meaning of section 3 they have decided the "undue and unreasonable" prejudice or disadvantage can only be determined when there is "a like contemporaneous service of like kind of traffic under substantially similar circumstances and conditions."

The question as to whether rates are reasonable or unreasonable, discriminatory, preferential, or unduly or unreasonably prejudicial or disadvantageous is not defined in the law but rests upon thousands of differing circumstances, conditions, principles, ideas, theories, and the Lord knows what. This presumed dissimilarity in a million more or less transportation circumstances and conditions enables the railroads, with the authority of Congress and the concurrence of the courts and the Commission, to inflict, as we have indicated, grave economic injustices upon the people of the South and the West.

In a country as large as the United States with a great variety of topography, climate, and production, varying densities of population, concentration of industry and wealth, water and rail competition, there are probably a million or more different circumstances and conditions even for what might appear on the surface a "like and contemperaneous service of a like kind of traffic under substantially similar circumstances and conditions." These may range from a washed-out culvert near Hayville to the bellyache of J. P. Morgan at New York. And "believe it or not," Mr. Ripley, the commerce attorneys of the carriers have at one time or another raised each and every one of the "circumstances and conditions" in litigation before the courts and the Commission.

How the courts and the Commission have interpreted sections 1, 2, and 3 of the act is disclosed by an examination of the reported decisions. Hundreds of cases could be cited and many opinions quoted, but only the citation, quotation, and summaries of a few cases are necessary.

In the case of *Texas & Pacific Ry.* v. *The Interstate Commerce Commission* (162 U. S. 197), the Supreme Court of the United States said:

"While shippers of merchandise are under no legal necessity to use railroads, they are so practically. The demand for speedy and prompt movement virtually forbids the employment of slow and old-fashioned methods of transportation, at least in the case of the more valuable articles of traffic.

"Section 2 contemplates that there shall be a tribunal capable of determining whether in given cases, the services rendered are 'like and contemporaneous' whether the respective traffic is of a 'like kind' and whether the transportation is under 'substantially similar circumstances and conditions.'

"The third section forbids any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage in favoring any person, firm, oorporation, or locality; and as there is nothing in the act which defines what shall be held to be due or unreasonable, such questions are questions not of law but of fact. The mere circumstance that there is in a given case, a preference or advantage does not in itself show that such preference or advantage is undue or unreasonable within the meaning of the act. Hence it follows that before the Commission can adjudicate a common carrier to have acted unlawfully, it must ascertain the facts; and here again we think it evident that these facts and matters which carriers, apart from any question arising under the statute would treat as calling, in given cases, for a preference or advantage are facts and matters which must be considered by the Commission in forming its judgment whether such preference or advantage is undue or unreasonable. When the section says that no locality shall be subject to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever, it does not mean that the Commission is to regard only the welfare of the locality or community where the goods are shipped on the cars. The welfare of the locality to which the goods are sent is also under the terms and spirit of the act to enter into the question."

The same court said in the case of *The Interstate Commerce Commission* v. *Alabama Mid. Ry.* (168 U. S. 144):

"Competition between rival routes is one of the matters which may lawfully be considered in making rates for interstate commerce and that substantial dissimilarity of circumstances and conditions may justify common carriers in charging greater compensation for the transportation of like kinds of property for a shorter than for a longer distance over the same line in such commerce."

The courts have uniformly held in line with the above decisions that competition is one of the most obvious and effective circumstances that make conditions. This case involved the short-haul clause of the fourth section of the act because of the basing point system in the South. Because of this decision it became necessary to amend section 4 and eliminate the clause, "similar circumstances and conditions."

The Interstate Commerce Commission v. *Chi. Great Western Ry.* (209 U. S. 108) is another case which illustrates the interpretation of the courts as to "circumstances and conditions."

"A rate on the manufactured article resulting from genuine competition and natural conditions is not necessarily an undue and unreasonable discrimination against a manufacturing community, because it is lower than the rates on raw material; and under the circumstances in this case there was no undue and unreasonable discrimination against the Chicago packing-house industries on the part of the railroads in making as a result of actual competition and conditions a lower rate for manufactured packing-house products than for livestock from Missouri River points to Chicago."

A Federal court in Michigan in *Detroit, G. H. & M. Ry.* v. *Interstate Comm. Commission* (74 Fed. 803) held:

"Differences in population and tonnage traffic may constitute circumstance or condition of dissimilarity within the meaning of the statute, and it cannot be said that a railroad may not reasonably and without undue preference or advantage or unlawful discrimination collect and deliver at its own expense goods at one city and not at another when the difference in population is 70,000 to 6,000 and in traffic 1,000,000 tons to 55,000."

The facts and holding in another case are also illuminating. Norfolk and Richmond in Virginia are both in trunk-line territory where a large number of railroads center, creating active competition on shipments from the West which justifies low through rates on connecting lines west of the Ohio River. Local rates are charged on the same lines to Wilmington, N. C., which is in southern freight-rate territory and has fewer lines of transportation and less active competition resulting in higher through rates from St. Louis and Chicago than to Norfolk and Richmond. The court held that the different circumstances and conditions of competition warranted the difference in the rates and did not operate undue and unreasonable preference. *Interstate Commerce Commission* v. *Cincinnati P. & V. Ry.* (124 Fed. 624).

The brief statements of the holding in the following cases substantiates the charge that the courts are upholding and legalizing the rate theories of the carriers and that the Interstate Commerce Act has been a fruitless piece of legislation as far as the people and economic equality are concerned. That it has helped the railroads immeasurably is not to be doubted.

Interstate Commerce Commission v. *L. & N. R. R.* (73 Fed. 409):

"Questions of unjust discrimination or undue preference must be treated broadly and practically. The carriers' business is one which involves so many considerations, and the necessity of taking into account so many conditions, that questions of this kind do not admit of any rigidly theoretical rules of their solution."

Burlington Shippers Association v. *A. T. & S. F. Ry.* (109 I. C. C. 694):

"The character or intensity of competition, the specific effect of the rate relationship upon such competition, and the extent to which conditions affecting transportation are properly comparable must be shown in addition to a difference in the rates."

Wichita Wholesale Furniture Co. v. *A. T. & S. F. Ry.* (22 I. C. C. 339):

"Advantages of location, competitive conditions, volume, and flow of traffic and other considerations must be given weight in determining the adjustment of rates into and out of different jobbing points."

Interstate Commerce Commission v. *L. & N. Ry.* (118 Fed. 613):

"When the movement in a certain direction is greatly in excess of the movement in another direction, or there is a substantial difference in the cost of operation because of heavy grades or because tonnage runs largely in one direction, it is conceivable that a discrimination may not be unreasonable."

In the above rulings the factor of competition is more frequently cited than other considerations. This emphasizes the profit motive in the private ownership of transportation. To obtain profit, volume is necessary with also economy of operation. Volume and economy of operation per ton unit go hand in hand.

Profits are main consideration

In these decisions the profits of the carriers are given the first consideration and the rights, profits, and interests of business, individuals, and localities only secondary consideration. Thus in the freight rate structure there is lacking the uniformity of rates giving economic equality to every part of the Nation.

Many other circumstances and conditions besides those mentioned in the decisions quoted are elements of discrimination, preference, and prejudice authorized by law and upheld by the courts and the Commission. To understand how these discriminations are theoretically justified, it is necessary to explain briefly the rate principles which have been adopted by the courts and have been read into sections 1, 2, and 3 of the Interstate Commerce Act.

In what follows only elementary principles will be explained in hope that some idea will be conveyed as to the manner how, in the course of transportation evolution, present practices became fixed and settled. Apparently these principles and practices have the sanction of Congress, the courts, and the people, for they have been so long permitted without national protest. But the light of day has never been turned on the freight rate structure. The evil effects of these theories have never been exposed. But in times of distress with our present economic crisis we should turn to fundamentals in searching for what is wrong with our economic set-up. Our trouble is not production because we manufacture for all our needs. Distribution is the bond servant of both production and industry. With an efficient distribution system giving a fair exchange of commerce to all parts of the country, with market opportunity equal everywhere, we should have no serious economic problems. Then our trouble may be in the third fundamental of distribution. The important element of distribution is transportation. Therefore, an understanding of American freight rate principles is important in studying the problem of distribution.

Competition is probably the most important element entering into the rate-making process. It is the "great big bad wolf" which puts fear into the heart of the railway-traffic expert. Profit in the railroad business comes from increased volume of traffic and as there is only a fixed amount of this traffic to be divided among the various transportation services, every effort is made by each road to get more than its share or at least to hold its own. A road may be parallel to another road or to several roads. A number of roads may center at an important commercial point. Intense competition may exist between these diverse routes. Some of this competition is with direct short-line routes but longer and more circuitous routes are also competitors for the same traffic. Often there is a struggle between groups of lines allied to control traffic against other groups with a like purpose. This competition extends from coast to coast and from the northern boundary to the southern. A far northern road may be a competitor in many cases with a far southern road for transcontinental eastbound and westbound traffic.

The policy of public regulation allows the carriers considerable latitude in meeting competition which accounts for many inconsistencies in the rate structure. This has brought about numberless discriminations in fact, if not in traffic law.

About two-thirds of the United States is circumscribed by water routes. The Hudson River, the Erie Canal, and the Great Lakes are waterways tributary to New York. The Atlantic coast and the Gulf trade is a New York feeder. The Panama Canal connects New York with the Pacific coast. Thus New York has the advantage of water competition for about two-thirds of the circumference of the country. The Mississippi River and navigable tributaries constitute an extensive system of waterways and the port of New Orleans at the mouth of this system has low water rates to New York. The railways seek to divert as much traffic as possible from these waterways to themselves. Because of competition, discrimination in traffic may be justified by the Commission subject to the limitation that it must not exceed the real effect of the competition.

Market competition is supposed to be another element in rate making. Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as market competition distinct from competition between lines of transportation serving the markets. Markets can only compete through the agency which transports their production. The carrier makes the rate from a given market, not out of favor to that locality but because it desires to obtain traffic which will not otherwise come to the railroad. Much has been made of market competition by traffic authorities, but the theory really simmers down to competition of the railroads, or other transportation services.

The so-called market competition is another source of discrimination. The greater part of the waterway system is tributary to New York, the market of the country. Permitting rate reductions because of the two factors of rail and water competition with the theory of market competition, favors New York in the matters of discrimination and, in fact, in the whole freight-rate structure.

It would seem that distance of the freight haul should be a prime factor in determining the amount of the freight bill. It should be worth more as a transportation service to haul a ton 1,000 miles than to haul the same ton commodity 700 miles. Although distance is a factor in many cases, differences in distances are often ignored. Competitive rates may be made without regard to distance. The market competition, so-called, may equalize dissimilar distances where it involves no material increase in transportation expense.

Large blanket territories wherein all rates are equal in many cases practically eliminates the distance factor. An example of this is Chicago and New York in one blanket territory for a certain commodity shipped from San Francisco. The distance for a certain commodity shipped from San Francisco to New York is 3,180 miles; to Chicago, 2,271 miles. This arrangement is a discrimination against Chicago not justified either by water, rail, or market competition or by the cost of the service.

The carriers and the Commission agree upon the theory whereby long-distance rates should be made on the basis of decreasing ton-mile earnings with the increase of the distance. This is a fair plan which, if strictly adhered to on a basis of equality throughout the country, would eliminate many discriminations.

The fourth section of the act provides that the carriers shall not charge a greater compensation for a shorter than for a longer distance over the same line or route in the same direction, the shorter being included in the longer distance. The Commission, under certain circumstances and conditions, may grant relief from the provisions of this section.

The arguments advanced against the distance basis of rate making are that the rates would prevent some very essential products from reaching a market beyond their immediate vicinity, would prevent railways from meeting competition of shorter-line-mileage railways and of water competition, and retard the growth of those sections remote from markets.

Proponents of these contentions ignore the greater evils of discriminatory freight rates to distant markets which in the end destroy the competition of nearer markets, handicaps the manufacture of raw materials into finished products near the sources of supply, and has a tendency to increase production in one section and ruin it in another. The rates for long hauls may be low, but the freight bills are large. Also there is a tendency on the part of the carriers where a monopoly of an industry or of production has become firmly established and competition has been eliminated, to advance rates and absorb a share of the profits of production and industry to themselves.

The observance of distance is the most practicable way of avoiding discriminations. Distance mileage scales would have a tendency to stabilize rates on a more certain and permanent basis which the public would more easily understand. Rates based on mileage would approximate the cost of service and would eliminate many unprofitable hauls and waste in transportation in the way of circuitous routes. It would be the most practicable way in which to harmonize the different rate territories and interstate rates with intrastate rates. Distance rates are the most accurate and reliable measurement for the value of the service .

Ignoring distance as a prime factor in rate making can only be justified in export rates where foreign competition, over which we have no control, must be met by American producers and manufacturers.

In practically every business the cost of an article or of a service is the basis on which it should be sold. This is not true of the freight service. Beside the carriage of freight, the railways are engaged in the transportation of passengers, mail, and express. The different services are rendered over the same tracks with practically the same capital, management, and other fixed expenses. It is difficult to allocate each of these fixed expenses to a particular service. Then the transportation characteristics of articles and commodities vary and some bear little relationship to each other as to transportation costs. An average approximate cost could be arrived at if the carriers installed modern cost-accounting systems. If this was done and the cost basis more generally used, the rate structure would assume an aspect of solidity and permanence; it would eliminate the practice of hauling bulky commodities at less than cost and then making up the loss by charging higher rates on higher valued manufactured goods. In all probability, if the cost of service was ascertained, some of the long hauls at abnormally low rates would cease and discrimination in this respect be done away with also.

The carriers prefer the value-of-the-service theory, which, translated in plain English, means "what the traffic will bear." Under this principle rates are so fixed as to yield to the railway the maximum amount consistent with the further development and trade throughout its territory. Essentially, it represents the principle of monopoly price. The principle is modified to a certain extent to meet competition and to maintain the long haul.

The value of the service is also interwoven with the cost of service, because the value of commodities, risk, bulk, weight, use,

tonnage or volume, and ease of handling are controlling conditions caused by competition.

Operation costs are another factor in rate making and in differing circumstances and conditions. Higher cost in one section of the country than in another naturally makes higher rates. Cost in freight carriage is the unit cost per ton per mile. As these costs vary, so it is presumed rates should vary, and under private ownership, where operation is based on profit to railways, operation costs are given serious consideration. However, if transportation should be first of all for the social and economic welfare of the people, as many authorities think it should be, then uniformity of rate charges and the abolishment of discriminations because of this cost should overcome the consideration of profits.

What is commonly known as the "railroad dollar" in 1932 was divided as follows: Labor, salaries and wages, 45.9 percent; fuel, 5.4 percent; materials and supplies, 17.4 percent; loss, damage, and insurance, 1.5 percent; depreciation and retirements, 6.7 percent; taxes, 8.8 percent; rentals, 3.9 percent, leaving a net railway operating income of 10.4 percent. Out of this income must be paid the fixed charges of interest on indebtedness before dividends are paid to stockholders.

In the same year the ratio of operating expense to operating revenue was 77.06 percent. On an average, revenue is derived roughly; 20 to 25 percent from passengers, and 66 to 75 percent from freight.

Ripley in Railroads, Rates and Regulations (1912) estimates that about 55 percent of operating expenses and 64 percent of total expenses are constant and go on despite the changes in the amount of traffic carried by the railroads. Only about 45 percent of the operating expenses and 36 percent of the total expenses vary in accordance with changes in volume of traffic carried.

Cost of operation naturally varies with different roads. One road on account of its financial set-up with less interest charges may be able to operate more cheaply than another with higher fixed-interest charges. More efficient management is apparently a consideration. Also topography has a part because it may mean lower grades and a straighter and shorter line. Whether fuel is available along the line or must be shipped from a distance is also a factor in operating expenses. Climate, rivers, flood conditions, and taxes may vary operation costs dependent upon whether these conditions are favorable or unfavorable.

Experience has shown that a large-scale enterprise can produce commodities at a lower cost per unit than can a small-scale enterprise and since the price is the same in the two cases of the same grade of commodity, the large-scale concern will realize a larger profit. This is probably more general in its application to railroading than to any other line of business because of the greater percentage of constant and fixed expense. Rate authorities call this principle the "law of increasing returns" which means that so long as the present railway plant can handle efficiently the additional traffic, reducing costs per ton-mile may be anticipated and increasing returns are realized from increased volume.

To obtain increased volume and, therefore, increasing returns, rates are often reduced, especially when there is a long haul involved because the costs of the haul per ton-mile decrease with the distance.

Traffic density affects rates for, as a rule, the greater the density the lower the rates. The Interstate Commerce Commission upheld the theory of density of traffic in the case of *Saginaw Board of Trade* v. *Grand Trunk Ry.* (17 I. C. C. 128), wherein the Commission said:

"Proximity of particular points to the great channels of through transportation and their location on direct through routes, where density of traffic is very great and general operating conditions are favorable elements that cannot be ignored in making rates, and must necessarily tend to lower rates than can be accorded to communities that are removed from these great streams of traffic."

This ruling of the Commission should be borne clearly in mind. It has been followed in many other cases. Upon the theory of heavy density of traffic and the direction and flow of the movement, the courts, the Commission, and the carriers have granted low rates in and out of official classification territory. For the same reasons, with a lighter density of traffic have built up higher rates in and out of southern and western classification territories except on raw materials shipped into official.

In the case of *Meeker & Co.* v. *Lehigh Valley R. R. Co.* (21 I. C. C. 129), it was said by the Commission:

"Increased density of traffic, material decrease of the ratio of operating expense to income, trainload increase, car capacity, and elimination of grade are factors which should make lower rates."

The Commission has followed these principles of rate making in numerous decisions.

Comparing the density of traffic of eastern roads with western roads, we arrive at a clearer understanding for the cause of lower rates in favor of the East and higher rates against the West and South.

Ripley in Railroads cites the following traffic density:

Traffic density—Tons of freight carried 1 mile per mile of road in 1910

Rock Island	581,000
Milwaukee	709,000
Great Northern	814,000
New York, New Haven & Hartford	1,057,000
Wabash	1,322,000
Baltimore & Ohio	2,711,000
New York Central	2,548,000
Lake Shore	3,911,000
Pennsylvania	5,139,000

The first three roads are western roads in western classification territory; the others are in official territory. There is probably a saturation point where cost of the increased volume rises to such a point as to overcome the law of increasing returns, but this difficulty is met by double trackage or even additional tracks if necessary so the strife for increased volume continues. From the above data it is plain that on a traffic-density basis the unit cost per ton is much higher on the western roads than on the eastern. Because of the principles and theories which have become well-settled, freight rates, sanctioned by the Commission, are lower in eastern than in western territory.

To bring the comparisons of traffic density up to date, Moody's Railroads gives the average traffic density for 10 years from 1924 to 1933 of a group of western roads and a group of eastern.

Western roads—Traffic density in tons

Great Northern	958,493
Northern Pacific	841,471
Rock Island	955,382
Milwaukee	955,962
Soo Line	671,922

Eastern roads—Traffic density in tons

Pennsylvania	3,787,003
New York Central	3,301,909
Baltimore & Ohio	3,365,873
Erie	3,901,870

To clearly understand how the traffic flow of the country causing this concentration of density of traffic in the eastern roads is built up we should visualize an open fan. The pivot of the fan is New York City. The traffic of the country radiates in and out along the ribs of the fan, the ribs being the railway systems. En route to this pivot from the edge of the fan are the intermediate cities of Buffalo, Erie, Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Baltimore. Between these cities and New York is a congestion of traffic or "bottle-neck." Practically all rates are built on the basis of low rates in to this pivot for raw materials and low rates out for manufactured goods.

Traffic comes up the coast from Florida and the Atlantic coast States over the Seaboard Air Line and the Atlantic Coast Line to Richmond and Baltimore and then to New York. The Southern Railway system brings traffic northeastward from Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee to Washington on its way to New York. The Louisville & Nashville is another feeder from the South to Cincinnati and thence to New York.

Four through lines from Chicago to New York with their feeders, the Pennsylvania, New York Central, Erie, and Baltimore & Ohio meet the traffic from the Southwest and the West at Chicago, St. Louis, Memphis, Louisville, and Cincinnati on its way to New York. The great southwestern and western railway systems bring freight from the farther Southwest, the Central West, the Northwest and the Pacific coast to eastern connecting carriers which in turn carry the traffic to New York. This north-bound and east-bound traffic is the movement of raw materials and foodstuffs. The flow of manufactured goods is in the opposite directions over the same lines. There is other traffic between other commercial centers and north-bound and south-bound movements, but the density of traffic shows the trend of the freight movement is greatly in favor of the East and especially to New York.

Statistical Series Circular No. 18 issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission November 22, 1927, shows more clearly that the density of traffic both in and out concentrate in the bottle-neck toward New York, the pivot of the fan, and thins out perceptibly toward the outer edges of the fan. From this circular, the following data are selected:

In trunk-line territory which includes New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, District of Columbia, and West Virginia, the revenue ton-miles are 106,171,442,000 tons; average per mile of road operated is 4,145,524 tons. For southern Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana the revenue ton-miles are 71,479,844,000 tons; average per mile of road operated is 3,827,934 tons.

A comparison of the above figures with those showing the revenue ton miles and average density of some of the outlying States shows the following:

Alabama: Revenue ton miles, 5,974,023 tons; average per mile of road operated, 1,228,588 tons. North Dakota: Revenue ton-miles, 2,376,091 tons; average per mile of road operated, 634,308 tons. Arizona: Revenue ton-miles, 2,650,384; average per mile of road operated, 1,220,384 tons. Southern Florida: Revenue ton-miles, 550,426 tons; average per mile of road operated, 615,318 tons. Western South Dakota: Revenue ton-miles, 446,471 tons; average per mile of road operated, 374,820 tons. Washington: Revenue ton-miles, 3,887,906; average per mile of road operated, 677,340 tons.

Total revenue ton-miles for the United States is 426,595,602,000 tons, and the average traffic density is 1,807,654 tons. Trunk-line territory and southern Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana in Central Freight Association territory together have gross ton-mile revenues of 177,651,286,000 or 41 percent of the total of the country. Trunk-line territory has two and one-half times the traffic density for the average traffic density of the country. The facts prove that the flow of movement and density of traffic are in and out of New York City.

Furthermore, the theories adopted by the courts and the Commission and read into the Interstate Commerce Act legalize the low rates in and low rates out. The phrase in section 3 of the act, "in any respect whatsoever," has been absolutely ignored when it might have been construed to mean something protective of the rights of the public.

To show a similarity or dissimiliarity of transportation conditions and circumstances between one section and another, evidence of agricultural and industrial production is often introduced in rate cases. This evidence is in the form of statistics and data showing industrial production, tonnage of freight, per capita wealth value of agricultural products, livestock, the ratio of railroad mileage to population and other evidence which proves the wealth and prosperity of the territory traversed or conversely the poverty of the section depending on which comparison is sought. The theory is that the greater the material wealth of a section, the more freight traffic it will furnish the carriers. Following this line of reasoning, a rich section has low rates and a poor section, high rates; for he "that hath to him shall be given, and he that had not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath." Much has been taken away from the South and the West and given to the East.

Then there is the theory that the carriers are entitled to make charges which will give them a fair return on their investment. Under private ownership this principle is upheld by the courts, and any rate fixed by law giving less than a fair return has been held confiscatory of private property without due process of law.

Sections 1, 2, and 3 of the Interstate Commerce Act, while ostensibly enacted to compel the railways to grant "reasonable" rates, to forbid discriminations in the performance of a "like and contemporaneous service of a like kind of traffic substantially under similar circumstances and conditions," and to make unlawful any "undue or unreasonable" preference, advantage, or prejudice "whatsoever," actually does nothing of the kind. The freight-rates structure is a mass and medley of unreasonable rates, discriminations, preferences, and prejudices which the law does not and cannot prevent. The law only establishes a tribunal which construes the transportation theories of the railways, either for better or for worse, theories built up during 100 years in the practice of greed, fraud, and incompetency. Public welfare has been lost sight of in the solicitude of the courts and the Commission for the protection of the railways in what is called the performance of a necessary public service, for private profit. The obligation of the Government to enforce uniformity of economic conditions throughout the country has been ignored.

Thus the consolidated freight classification has become our economic constitution; the freight tariffs, items, notes, rules, regulations, and exceptions our economic legislation; and traffic theories of competition, value of service, cost of operation, law of increasing returns, density of traffic, flow of movement, and a fair return on the investment the principles of our economic jurisprudence.

All these theories result in a vicious circle. It is almost incomprehensible that Congress, the courts, and the Commission have not realized this to be the case.

A town having only one or two railroads has higher rates than one having five or six. But the town with five or six railroads and with water competition has even lower rates. Commerce follows the course of least resistance; that is, transportation costs. With lower transportation costs the commerce or the lower-rated towns increase, while those of the higher-rated towns decrease. Then the density of traffic and flow of movement becomes greater each year to the favored towns and less each year to the towns discriminated against. The density of traffic creates "circumstances and conditions" still more favorable to the big towns and a greater disparity against the smaller towns. In the frequent readjustment of rates the big towns are given still lower rates and the small towns higher rates. The favored towns continue to grow, while the small towns remain stationary in growth and commerce. In recent rate adjustments rates in the West have been advanced relatively higher than the advances in the East. The final result will be an even greater concentration of commerce in the East within the next generation than there has been in the past.

When one shipper in one section pays more to move the same kind of traffic the same distance than a shipper in another section pays, both to the same destination, the discrimination certainly makes competition difficult, if not impossible. What applies to individuals also applies to localities and sections. The higher-rated sections of the country have not the ghost of a chance in competition with the lower-rated.

The freight tariffs become more complicated each year. Besides the Interstate Commerce Act governing interstate commerce, each of the 48 States have enacted laws regulating intrastate traffic. Many of these laws are changed at each legislative session. The Federal courts, the Commission, and the State courts are constantly handing down decisions interpreting these laws. Frequently new decisions require amendments of tariffs, so that supplements are issued almost daily. What rates were last year does not signify what they are this month or will be next month. As a rule, the correct rate in force must be ascertained by someone experienced in reading the tariffs. The Commission is doing everything in its power to simplify the tariffs by adjusting rates along territorial lines, but no adjustment seems to be permanent or satisfactory to all the interested parties, and because of the complex theories of rate making, discriminations are frequent in the new adjustments.

An entire work would be required to explain in detail the different kinds of rates, the reasons for these differences, and how they affect the theories and principles of rate making. Only a brief mention will be made of the many varieties of rates and charges which are a part of the freight-rate structure.

The classification system has already been described. Besides class rates, there are commodity rates for staple products which usually move in carload lots with a considerable volume of movement. The value compared to weight or bulk being low on commodities, the rates are usually lower than class rates. The principal commodities are grain, ore, livestock, cotton, coal, oil, lumber, and other heavy and bulky raw materials.

There are specific commodity rates, carload and less-than-carload rates, mileage distance scales, import and export, mixed carload, released, proportional, local, joint and through, through rates, zone, blanket, interstate, intrastate, differential arbitraries, seasonal rates, origin and destination groupings, circuitous routes, short-line routes, long and short hauls, fourth-section relief, and others too numerous to mention.

Added to all these different rates and rate elements are notes, rules, items, and regulations, and to practically every one of the rates and rules there are exceptions and exceptions, with supplement after supplement, changing this or that rate, rule, or item.

Minimum weights are provided for carloading, and a load less than the required minimum increases the cost per hundred of the freight, because weight for the full minimum is charged.

At times and with various commodities there is a return of empty cars, because traffic may be heavier in one section than in another. The return of empties is an operation cost which must be considered, and is often advanced to support the justice of low rates west-bound on manufactured goods. The heavy commodities east-bound require more cars than the class traffic west-bound. Rather than return these cars unloaded, a necessary revenue is obtained by lower class rates in official out-bound, thus maintaining manufacturing supremacy in the East and handicapping industry in the South and in the West.

The carriers are insurers against the loss or damage except acts of God, public enemy, acts of shipper, public authority, or inherent nature of the goods, so the value of the shipment and its liability to damage must be considered in determining the rate.

Other matters which affect the determination of rates are: Attractiveness of traffic, car-mile, ton-mile or train-mile earnings, equalizing commercial conditions, equipment furnished, long-continued adjustment, low prior rate, need for revenue, rate in opposite direction, special service, terminal facilities, two-line haul, river crossings, taxes, and other considerations. The items enumerated enter into the theories and principles of rate making, sometimes for higher rates and sometimes for lower rates but always for the jumble and hodgepodge of dissimilarities and differing circumstances and conditions. This state of affairs destroys any attempt at uniformity, equality, or justice—or if justice—only such as the rate theorists may construe and the courts and the Commission uphold.

The ultimate effect brought about by these theories is self-evident. The system has built up a freight-rate structure which grants low rates into official classification territory for raw materials and low rates out for manufactured goods. With water competition centering in New York, practically throughout the entire country, rates more favorable to New York than to any other place have been granted by the carriers.

Thousands of rate comparisons could be produced from the published tariffs to prove that class rates on manufactured goods out of southern and western classifications are higher than class rates on the same articles out of official. There are, of course, the usual exceptions, but the freight level is as stated.

These discriminations apply to all cities and towns not only in traffic with the East but in traffic between cities outside of official territory for eastern cities can ship into southern and western territories at lower rates than the southern basis of comparison. It would be an enormous task to take all the important cities in the South and West in making these comparisons so it will be necessary to take only one city as a concrete example, and then the survey must be limited to a few articles. But what applies to Minneapolis, likewise applies in a general way to Des Moines, Omaha, Kansas City, Denver, Dallas, and other southern and western cities and frequently to an even greater degree to the smaller towns in the more sparsely settled parts of the South and West.

The basis of comparison of the rates to be given will be on the ton-mile earnings which accrue to the carriers from the published rates and mileages. Traffic experts may criticize this method of comparison on the theory that ton-mile earnings are only a basis of comparison when transportation circumstances and conditions are similar and that there are other elements—many of which have been already stated—entering into the making of rates and determining discrimination, preference, or prejudice; that distance and ton-mile earnings alone are not fair methods of comparison, and the Interstate Commerce Commission has so ruled. But the comparisons to be given are not for the purpose of establishing proof as to the unreasonableness or of discrimination of the rates in question as far as Minneapolis is concerned. The examples used for comparison are for the purpose of proving that the rates out of Minneapolis are actually higher in dollars and cents and that Minneapolis pays more than New York. It will be conceded that according to rate theories transportation conditions may be dissimilar. The apparent discriminations against Minneapolis may be justified by theories which may be sound in a rate controversy, but these same theories may not be sound in an economic discussion. To show the economic effect of freight-rate discrimination is the purpose of this work, so that the basis of comparison used is correct. Then, disregarding the theories and principles of rate making, the only method by which one rate can be compared with another as to whether it is actually lower or higher in dollars and cents is by comparison of ton-mile earnings. Ton-mile earnings are the earnings the carrier receives for hauling 1 ton 1 mile.

The comparisons will show the relative differences between rates charged shippers in Minneapolis and those charged shippers in New York to a few selected points on five different articles. These points and the articles have been picked at random and not for the special purpose of proving a few glaring discriminations. Without doubt there are other articles which might have been selected where the discriminations to other destinations would have shown even greater differences. Probably there are exceptions—there always are—where in a few cases Minneapolis may have some advantage over New York, but it is safe to state that these exceptions are few and far between, for the general rate level on classified freight is higher out of Minneapolis than out of New York or out of other cities in official classification territory. Merely the statement that this is true does not prove the charge, but the tariffs on file with the Commission afford ample proof that it is a fact. The rates used in these comparisons are taken from the published tariffs.

In order to ascertain ton-mile earnings it is necessary to have the mileage between origin and destination points, then multiply the rate per hundred by 20, the number of hundred pounds in a ton, and divide the result by the mileage.

The mileages to the selected points are as follows:

	Miles
New York to Nashville	1,011
New York to Birmingham	990
New York to New Orleans	1,345
New York to Cincinnati	751
New York to Detroit	648
Minneapolis to Nashville	854
Minneapolis to Birmingham	1,061
Minneapolis to New Orleans	1,306
Minneapolis to Cincinnati	694
Minneapolis to Detroit	680

The following tabulation gives comparisons of rates on articles named on rates quoted per 100 pounds which were in effect in 1930. The percentages in the last column show how much higher the rates are for Minneapolis in comparison with rates from New York. In building rates it is the practice where a long haul is involved to have the ton-mile earnings decrease with the distance. To avoid any objection that the longer hauls would warrant lower ton-mile earnings, the towns compared are nearly equal as to distance, the small differences not amounting to any material advantage either one way or another. Each town compared is, therefore, practically the same distance from Minneapolis as from New York.

Tabulation of rate comparisons

RADIOS—CARLOADS

	Rate	T. M. E.	Percent
New York to Birmingham	1.72	0.0347	
Minneapolis to Birmingham	2.14½	.0404	16 percent higher.
New York to New Orleans	1.83	.0272	
Minneapolis to New Orleans	2.14	.0404	50 percent higher.
New York to Nashville	1.62	.0320	
Minneapolis to Nashville	1.80½	.0422	32 percent higher.
New York to Cincinnati	1.08½	.0289	
Minneapolis to Cincinnati	1.33	.0383	Do.
New York to Detroit	.97	.0299	
Minneapolis to Detroit	1.25½	.0369	23 percent higher.

ROAD MACHINERY—CARLOADS

New York to Birmingham	0.83	0.0167	
Minneapolis to Birmingham	1.02½	.0193	15 percent higher.
New York to New Orleans	1.09	.0162	
Minneapolis to New Orleans	1.13½	.0174	8 percent higher.
New York to Nashville	.79	.0156	
Minneapolis to Nashville	.87½	.0205	31 percent higher.
New York to Cincinnati	.47½	.0126	
Minneapolis to Cincinnati	.56	.0161	27 percent higher.
New York to Detroit	.44	.0135	
Minneapolis to Detroit	.52	.0153	12 percent higher.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS—CARLOADS

New York to Birmingham	0.83	0.0167	
Minneapolis to Birmingham	1.03½	.0195	17 percent higher.
New York to New Orleans	1.09	.0162	
Minneapolis to New Orleans	1.31	.0200	23 percent higher.
New York to Nashville	.79	.0150	
Minneapolis to Nashville	.87½	.0205	30 percent higher.
New York to Cincinnati	.47½	.0126	
Minneapolis to Cincinnati	.56	.0161	28 percent higher.
New York to Detroit	.44	.0135	
Minneapolis to Detroit	.52	.0153	13 percent higher.

BOOTS AND SHOES—LESS THAN CARLOADS

New York to Birmingham	1.94	0.0392	
Minneapolis to Birmingham	2.55	.0480	22 percent higher.
New York to New Orleans	2.06	.0306	
Minneapolis to New Orleans	2.74	.0412	34 percent higher.
New York to Nashville	1.88	.0357	
Minneapolis to Nashville	2.15	.0503	41 percent higher.
New York to Cincinnati	1.23½	.0329	
Minneapolis to Cincinnati	1.62	.0467	40 percent higher.
New York to Detroit	1.11	.0342	
Minneapolis to Detroit	1.50	.0441	29 percent higher.

ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES—CARLOADS

New York to Birmingham	1.29	0.0260	
Minneapolis to Birmingham	1.32½	.0240	7 percent lower.
New York to New Orleans	1.41	.0210	
Minneapolis to New Orleans	1.51	.0231	10 percent higher.
New York to Nashville	1.21	.0239	
Minneapolis to Nashville	1.10½	.0256	8 percent higher.
New York to Cincinnati	.57½	.0153	
Minneapolis to Cincinnati	.74	.0213	39 percent higher.
New York to Detroit	.57½	.0177	
Minneapolis to Detroit	.70½	.0207	17 percent higher.

The rate on dairy products, carloads, from New York to Minneapolis, is 1.29 or 26½ cents per hundred lower westbound than eastbound. Boots and shoes, less than carload, are rated from Minneapolis to New York at 2.31½, but the rate from New York to Minneapolis is 1.95. Road machinery from Minneapolis to New York is 0.90; from New York to Minneapolis, 0.78.

The mileage scales are higher in the West than the scales in official. The following tabulation compares the mileage scale between New York and Chicago with the rates to points from Minneapolis practically the same distance as the New York–Chicago distance.

Comparisons of rates on equal distance hauls

	Miles	Agricultural implements	Electrical appliances	Boots and shoes	Road machinery	Radios
New York to Chicago	909	0.56½	0.66	1.42	0.56½	1.30½
Minneapolis to Buffalo	933	.60	.78	1.68	.48	1.38½
Minneapolis to Denver	919	1.28	1.22	2.46	1.28	1.93
Minneapolis to Memphis	893	.98½	1.23½	2.27	.90½	1.74½
Minneapolis to Pittsburgh	876	.60	.78	1.68	.60	1.38½
Minneapolis to Billings	892	1.38	2.43	2.85	1.68	2.46
New York to Dallas	1,739	1.32	1.82	3.30	1.49	2.81
Minneapolis to Seattle	1,774	1.72	2.43	4.12½	1.74	2.97

The rates vary without rhyme or reason, for the hodgepodge, jumble, and confusion of the rate structure is full of similar rate inequalities like those given in the foregoing tabulations. Hundreds of thousands of rate vagaries, many a great deal more illogical and inconsistent than those given here, could be cited. The only difficulty is the time and the trouble to research into the tariffs. The rate structure is as full of holes of discrimination and inexplainable inconsistencies as Simple Simon's sieve, and the rate theories supporting these rates hold water just about as effectively.

The rates we have quoted and compared are as late as 1930. For over 40 years the Interstate Commerce Commission has been ironing out the rate system. Without doubt, there has been considerable improvement. The Commission has tried to equalize traffic conditions between the three classifications. Prior to 1887 and until 15 or 20 years ago the discriminations and prejudices against the South and the West were so gross and unconscionable that some action had to be taken. During this period the East has built up its commercial and industrial supremacy. But no fair and equitable adjustment can be made as long as the present rates theories of "circumstances and conditions" are the governing principles, and the railways are operated for private profit.

All we have shown in our rate comparisons is but a small speck on the landscape. A bird's-eye view, if it were possible, would disclose hundreds of thousands of freight-rate discriminations throughout the country, and the large percentage of them would be in favor of official classification territory.

A statement made by Commissioner Lewis in Docket No. 17,000, rate-structure investigation western trunk-line rates, decided April 14, 1931, wherein he concurred in part to the decision of the Commission, discloses the rate situation as it pertains to manufactured goods from Minneapolis and other western cities. Quoting from Commissioner Lewis' opinion:

"I concur in the report except insofar as it fixes rates on eastbound interterritorial traffic. The following table compares the present and prescribed class rates from the Twin Cities to Chicago, 400 miles, with class rates prescribed in eastern class-rate investigation for the same distance:

Classes

	Miles	1	2	3	4	5	A
Twin Cities to Chicago (present)	400	91.5	0.76	0.61	0.41	0.30½	0.38½
Twin Cities to Chicago, prescribed	400	1.23	1.05	.86	.68	.46	.55
Official territory to Chicago	400	.99	.84	.69	.50	.35	-------

"The increase of over 30 percent authorized in the Twin Cities-Chicago rate is no doubt justified, and I take no exception to the fact that the prescribed first-class rate will be 23 percent higher than the corresponding rate approved by us for the same distance from official-territory origins to Chicago. But where an article is fourth class in both classifications, the Minneapolis rate will be 26 percent higher. Where an article is rated class A in the western and fifth class in official, the Twin Cities-Chicago rate will be 57 percent higher. Machinery which is manufactured at the Twin Cities and various other points in the West, is rated class A in

western and fifth-class in official. The Twin Cities situation is but illustrative of that which will obtain from Omaha, Kansas City, Des Moines, and other points throughout the West. I am convinced that such differences as 36 percent and 57 percent are not warranted by transportation conditions, will be unduly prejudicial to western shippers, and will go far toward destroying whatever trade they now have in the East on articles as described."

Commissioner Lewis' prophecy, "will go far toward destroying whatever trade they now have in the East," is fast coming true. Rate discriminations such as the Commissioner cited are only a few of many thousands which have retarded and now come to destroy manufacturing industry in the West.

In the new prescribed rates in the above-cited opinion, 400 miles in official, the first class takes a rate of 99 cents per 100 pounds while in western it takes a rate of $1.23. The other class rates are graded in proportion. When it is taken into consideration that many articles have a lower classification in official than in southern and western, the disparity in rates is even greater than that shown by the distance-tariff scale, in the Commissioner's opinion.

The differences in some of the rates may look small at the quoted rates in cents per hundred pounds, but a difference of 10 cents a hundred on a carload weight of 40,000 amounts to $40. On thousands of cars during a year the differences amount to a large sum. But many of the rates exceed 10 cents per hundred; some rates differ in percentages as high as 40 percent. Probably in many instances the discriminations amount to as high as 75 or 100 percent. When it is taken into account that these differences—with, of course, the exceptions—apply on nearly all manufactured articles, not only out of Minneapolis, but out of every city and town outside of official territory, the discrimination amounts to an enormous sum each year. But these injustices have been practiced for 60 or 70 years while this system has been in effect. What the total amounts to is inconceivable. But the loss in freight rates is but a part of the story. There is still to be considered the advantages accruing to the East in buying raw materials at depressed prices, the monopoly on industry, and the profits which are realized in buying cheap and selling dear—an advantage which the market always has. When the commercial exploitation is included the total amount of the robbery is staggering. But it is not only the money in freight rates and the profits in business which should be considered, but there are besides the enormous losses the South and the West have suffered by this exploitation. The wealth of the greater area has been drained into the smaller one. Not only has the natural wealth been drained, but debts and mortgages to the East promise to confiscate what remains.

What has happened to the Twin Cities is a cross section of what has been the fate of other large commercial centers in the West. Rates on road machinery out of Minneapolis, which are notably higher than out of official territory, was the reason why a large road-machinery concern moved from Minneapolis to a town in official territory.

Ten years ago there were eight large shoe factories in the Twin Cities; now there is only one left. The reason why the shoe factories were forced to quit is apparent when rates on boots and shoes out of Minneapolis are compared with the same class rates out of official. A shoe factory in the Twin Cities could not compete in eastern markets with the high freight rates against outgoing shipments of boots and shoes. Because of high freight rates east-bound—and in every direction, for that matter—local shoe manufacturers were restricted to a limited territory and to small-scale enterprises, while large eastern concerns quoted lower competitive prices not only in the South and East but in the Northwest, right under the noses of the Twin Cities factories.

A manufacturer of shopping bags in the Twin Cities removed his plant to a city in official territory because, when he analyzed his freight rates, he found he could not successfully compete with eastern manufacturers. He found what it cost to make 44 shipments of 100 pounds each to 44 cities in the United States, each over 100,000 in population. The center of population does not so much enter into this calculation because New York and all other cities are on the same basis. This is what the shopping-bag manufacturer found:

The cost from Minneapolis was $74.39; from Chicago, $57.78; from Cincinnati, $54.75; from Lima, $58.30; from Cleveland, $57.82; from Rochester, $59.57.

This was an average higher freight cost out of Minneapolis of about 30 percent and as he had to equalize all freight differentials in shipping east, he found it advisable to move his factory to an eastern city, where he is now prospering because with lower freight rates he can meet competition everywhere.

One of the largest candy manufacturers in the country started in Minneapolis; he invented a new line of candies and built up a large volume of business throughout the country. When eastern manufacturers began to imitate his produce he was forced to move to Chicago because of the high freight rates out of Minneapolis. He is now meeting on even terms a competition which threatened to put him out of business had he remained in Minneapolis.

Wholesaling and distributing houses in the Twin Cities are going out of business because the class rates put in effect in 1931 made through rates from certain key cities in the East to towns north and west of the Twin Cities, so the former advantage as a breaking point which had built up all rates westward on the combination of the Chicago-Twin Cities rate plus the local rate beyond has been eliminated. There are now through rates from key cities in the East so that the Twin Cities must ship on a combination of two local rates higher than the through rates from the East. The Commission has established rate zones in the country north and west of Chicago, with the western zones having higher rates than those to the east. Minneapolis is in one of these higher-rated zones which again increases the discrimination. It was in the case making this readjustment that Commissioner Lewis, who has been quoted, was given the gift of prophecy.

Three large wholesale dry-goods houses in the Twin Cities have gone out of business. Many smaller ones have closed up. Smaller manufacturing concerns have quit. The flour-milling industry is leaving Minneapolis for Buffalo because of the low rates east-bound on wheat—which of course the farmers have been clamoring for—when the industry could be retained in Minneapolis with higher rates on wheat and lower rates on flour. The byproducts could be used in the Northwest for feed for livestock. The packing industry was retained in Chicago and towns west because the Big Four—Armour, Swift, Cudahy, and Morris—were able to compel the carriers to make relatively high rates on livestock and low rates on meat products to the East.

If industries could be built up and retained in the West, farmers would be benefited in nearer markets competitive with the East; shorter freight hauls and a local demand for labor in home industries of the surplus young men and women who each year seek employment in the cities but who must go East to obtain that employment.

But the clamor of the Northwest is for lower rates on their agricultural products to eastern markets and not for equal rates throughout the country on both class and commodities. Rates are not so material if the freight costs each person, community, and section the same to haul the same article or commodity like distances to and from all places. The country was doing business, people were working and getting enough to eat and were not dependent on charity or the P. W. A. or the A. A. A. or the W. P. A. when the cost for transportation in a Conestoga wagon was $32 a ton for a haul of 100 miles. Now when a ton of freight on the general freight level of the country can be hauled the same distance for a dollar, we have a disorganized country. This economic disorganization has been caused by gross inequalities and inconsistencies in the freight rate structure.

The market of the country is in the East where the South and West must go to buy and sell and because of the hauls for long distances, the producer pays too big a freight bill both ways. Raw materials are shipped several thousand miles to be manufactured and then shipped back the same distances as finished products to consumers. One blessing the Conestoga wagon and the ox train conferred—they were not governed by red tape, rules, regulations, and theories, thereby lowering the cost of transportation in one section and raising it in another. Primitive American transportation systems did not enrich one section of the country while they impoverished other sections. In the old days, no matter how high the freight rates were, they were as high everywhere.

Thousands of different cities and towns in southern and western territories could be used as illustrations and the freight rates in effect at these towns compared with New York and other cities and towns in official territory, and all will show substantially similar degrees of discriminations as those shown here against Minneapolis.

The benefits accorded by preferential rates throughout official territory are the causes of the distribution of industry in the towns east of Chicago and north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers. All towns regardless of size in New England have freight rates equalized with New York and because of this equalization industry is distributed throughout New England in Hingham, Bingham, and Dingham. But Hayville, Mayville, and Jayville—South and West—cannot and never will manufacture if the discriminations in present freight rates continue in effect, for there are worse discriminations against the majority of these small towns than there are against the larger distributing centers.

For many years, Minneapolis having the fiction of water competition on the Mississippi, was a breaking point for rates north and west of the Twin Cities. Then the Twin Cities had a consuming market as far west as the Pacific coast. With water competition of the Panama Canal, now that market is gone.

The equalization of freight rates would establish and distribute industry throughout the United States. Not only would this be true of the large commercial centers, but also of the smaller towns. The East naturally opposes any such adjustment because they realize that their industrial control would be jeopardized.

SECTION VI. THE CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH AND INDUSTRY

Economists are much concerned with the concentration of wealth in the United States in the control of a small group. The wealth of the country, income, expenditures, debts, losses, and other economic features have been diagnosed by complicated tables and a multiplicity of statistics. The various analyses are valuable in that they show conditions at different stages in the country's development and the present culmination of an economic catastrophe. But a statement as to the factor or factors which have brought about this disaster are missing.

Doane in "Measurements of American Wealth" says:

"The sum total of what amounts to adverse trade balances between the small communities and larger industrial centers has reached enormous proportions in recent years. This drainage of the locally germinated income has not been neutralized through a compensating return flow on incoming payments. This growing adverse balance between the network of industrial and financial centers, and

the 10,000 to 12,000 small agricultural and semiagricultural communities, has resulted in a mounting indebtedness of almost 40 percent of the population to the external agencies of insurance, finance, and government. That the saturation point was reached by 1924 is clearly evidenced in the total volume of agricultural debt, and stationary and declining resources of the country banks. Here is one of the most outstanding problems confronting American economy."

Doane, while he analyzes and mentions the economic culmination which has evolved during the last 60 years, does not attempt to define the causes which have brought about these conditions. Evidently, neither he nor others who have studied our economic problems have been aware of the inequalities permeating our distribution system. Nor have Doane and other authorities evaluated this concentration of wealth, population, and industry in that section of the country which has been enriched, and conversely as to that section of the country which has been impoverished.

The economic effects of transportation control and monopoly have been entirely ignored. Apparently, American economists do not know that the country is divided into three grand divisions and seven provinces and because of this division and the transportation favors which result, one-tenth of the country has been able to dominate and exploit the remaining nine-tenths. To these writers the United States is one economic entity and in their graphs, tables, and statistics, they deal with the country as a unit and not as three separate and distinct sections as divided by the common carriers of the country. They seem to take for granted that economic opportunity and equality are uniform throughout the country when the reverse is the case. No one has used the statistics available to determine in what section the wealth, population, and industry concentration has taken place. If they had apportioned their analyses to the three different sections of the country, then the true situation would have been disclosed.

The transportation advantages granted to official classification territory and how it was brought about in the course of the growth of the freight-rate structure have been explained. What has been the effect of these transportation advantages and to what extent has the East been enriched at the expense of the South and the West? Ordinary statistics taken from Government census reports suffice to tell the story.

The first study is the concentration of manufactures because manufacturing creates markets for both buying and selling and is of primary importance in the economic set-up. The Market Data Handbook of the United States for 1927 explains the manner of comparison in its introduction wherein it says:

"Manufacturing is a transformation of materials. The economic importance of the processes of manufacture must be judged not by the quantity or the value of the products leaving the factories, but by the addition to the utility or to the money value of the materials. The value created by the manufacturing processes is in most cases substantially the difference between the cost of the materials (including fuel, mill supplies, etc., as explained under 'Cost of Materials') and the value of the products. In comparing manufacturing industries with one another this relation between the value of the finished products and the cost of materials should be kept constantly in mind. The products of one industry may be valued at the same amount as those of another, but one may have added several times as much value to the raw materials as the other, and may, therefore, have been of correspondingly greater economic importance."

A comparison of values added to raw materials by manufacture on a per capita basis—1927 census of manufactures using the 1920 census of population—shows the relative industrial importance of the different sections of the country.

New England in 1927 had a per capita value added to raw materials by manufacture of $402; New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, $415; Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, $394; across the Mississippi River in the high freight rated western classification territory, the added value for the States of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota drops to $124. In North Dakota the added value per capita is only $19.80, the lowest of any State in the Union even though North Dakota has an unlimited supply of lignite coal capable of being used to produce cheap power for manufacturing.

Southern classification territory is only $112 per capita. The 3 Pacific Coast States of California, Oregon, and Washington with lower freight rates because of water competition and the Panama Canal fare considerably better in this comparison with a per capita value of $275.

With the high density of population and high per capita value from the above figures it is evident that the East greatly overshadows the rest of the country in manufactures and industry. This supremacy establishes the East as the country's market. The market profits both in buying and selling and thus the East has the industries, wealth, and population to a greater extent than its location and natural resources would warrant were it not for its transportation advantages.

In 1929 the industrial output of the United States was $70,137,659,353 and of this immense total 6 States—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan—manufactured over 50 percent or $38,173,395,193. The value added to raw materials is nearly 4 times as great in these States as in the Southern and Middle Western States so that the monopoly of industry is quite apparent.

Nor can these differences be explained by the fact that the East has the raw materials, because just the reverse is the case. Raw materials are produced in the South and West and are shipped to the East to be manufactured.

The total income from agricultural, mineral, livestock, and dairy products in the United States for 1927, Government census, was $15,697,716,000. All raw materials used for food or industry come from the earth except that which comes from the sea. Products taken from the sea amount to about $100,000,000 annually. Imports of raw materials from foreign countries have not been taken into consideration. The above value of raw materials is what is used in industry and for food consumption in the United States. Of this amount the Southern and Western States produced $10,697,716,000 or 67 percent of the total mineral, agricultural, livestock, and dairy production. The Eastern States—official classification territory—produced $5,075,067,000 or 33 percent of the total of raw materials.

To the average man on the street it would seem to be practical economy to manufacture near the source of supply of the raw materials, or "on the stump" as it is sometimes expressed, rather than ship the raw materials long distances and then back to the consumers where the materials were produced. But in this country the economic system seems to be contrary to sound practical common sense because if the figures showing the percentages of manufacture and production of raw materials between the different sections are analyzed, they show just the contrary. There can be only one practical explanation for this situation—the rate structure has forced the country out of economic balance.

Further analyzing manufacturing statistics we find the value added to raw materials by manufacture in the United States for 1927 was $27,585,210,400. In official classification territory this value amounted to $20,981,331,000 or 76 percent of the value added. In the Southern and Western States the value added to raw materials by manufacture was $6,603,877,400 or 24 percent of the total; that is, the East produces 33 percent of the raw materials which go into manufacture but manufactures 76 percent of the total industrial output while the South and the West, producing 67 percent of the raw materials, manufacture only 24 percent of the industrial output.

Economic conditions like this do not look right on their face because all the people, East, West, North, and South, are of the same ethnic stocks; the people of one section are just as capable of industrial activity, but not more so, than the people of any other section. All have the same system of government and equal rights before the law but not equal rights in the matter of railway transportation controlled from Wall Street.

There is more to tell of the disparity between the three sections. The States wherein the industry of the Nation is concentrated are Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. It should be noted how these States are located. They are all in one district and are not scattered or separated if coal or the sources of raw materials were the foundations of their industrial wealth. The States named are all within official classification territory, the section which has low rates in for raw materials and low rates out for manufactured goods. The situation is not a coincidence, not a theory, not an index, table, or graph such as are necessary for economic experts to explain their ideas, but is an actual physical fact.

The area of these 12 States is 316,140 square miles and compared to the total area of the United States of 3,026,789 is a little more than one-tenth. According to the 1920 census the population of this 10-percent area was 48,614,870 or nearly 45 percent of the total population of 105,710,620. The total wealth of the United States in 1922 was $320,803,862,000 of which these 12 States possessed over 50 percent or $163,428,234,000. The 1920 census and the 1922 wealth has been taken rather than 1930 because conditions were more nearly normal at that time than they are now. The causes for this concentration of population and wealth are the same preferential and discriminatory freight rates which have also caused the concentration of industry.

Industry is the builder of wealth. Every city or nation which has been industrial has created wealth from the skill of its artisans. To industrial centers comes the raw materials. From them flow the manufactured goods. Producers go to the market to sell; consumers to buy. Two profits are realized; one in buying cheap; the other in selling dear and these profits stimulate the community into greater zeal and activity, again increasing their production and demands for raw materials which again develops the growth and wealth of the community.

It may be argued that agricultural sections do not increase in population as fast as industrial sections; but with equal transportation services and rates the South and the West would also have developed industry.

Also it may be doubted that the freight-rate structure with low rates in for raw materials and low rates out for manufactured goods has built up a concentration of industry in official territory. May there not be other more potent causes natural in their operation which have brought about the growth and development of manufactures in the East? To answer these doubts it is necessary to analyze the essential elements which enter into the successful development of industry.

Raw materials entering into the finished product should be near the place of manufacture. This is self-evident. The East produces only one-third of these raw materials but the low rates for raw materials in places the East nearer the sources of supply than would otherwise be the case. The South and West have these materials at their very doors but still do not transform them into manufactured articles. Location of industry near large consuming markets

is more advantageous than to be near the sources of supply of raw materials.

The East, with its greater density of population and low rates to all parts of the country, possesses Nation-wide consumption. The South and West, with high freight rates prohibiting access to national consumption, has only local markets. Not only do low rates place the sources of raw materials nearer, but they also place markets nearer. Proximity to consuming markets in the United States is not the geographical location but the location in the freight-rate structure. With a railway system of 250,000 miles serving 135,000,000 people, with equally low rates for long hauls both in and out, a factory located near the geographical and population centers would have an advantage over one distant from these centers. With present rates this is not true, for New England with rates equalized with New York, in the extreme northeast has greater industrial development than Kansas in the geographical center and also greater than Iowa, much nearer the population center. New England and the East are brought nearer the consuming markets and areas of production by the low rates in and out.

Another reason given by some authorities is that industry being inaugurated at certain places, skilled artisans are trained in the industry which continues to flourish at the place of origin. But this is a minor reason. The brass foundries of Connecticut survive because of the low freight rates granted New England.

Skilled artisans and mechanics residing in large numbers in industrial districts is another supposed reason. However, the average American farm boy can be trained to become a skilled mechanic, be he either from the South, East, North, or West. A few dollars of train fare will transport trained mechanics anywhere. The mechanic goes where he can earn the highest wages.

Other economists claim the principal cause for the concentration is near access to coal and that coal and industry are closely related economically. Practically all authorities ignore transportation, that is the necessity for low rates in for raw materials and low rates out for manufactured goods or only touch on freight rates incidentally. Whether coal or freight rates are more conducive to success in industry is a matter for further investigation, but be it remembered there is coal in the Midwest area in many States.

However, to determine whether coal is more important than transportation to industry, it should be fair to compare the cost of coal in industry with the cost of transportation in industry. A saving in cost of the most important element in manufacturing should mean more than a saving in cost of a less important element. The importance of the element is in some respects measured by its aggregate cost.

The Carnegie Institute of Technology, volume I, pages 146 to 148, gives a summary of the amount in tons of coal used in various industries, railroads, and other uses. In 1926 the railroads used 143,000,000 tons of coal or 27.7 percent of the entire output. Industry, excluding steel, used 100,761,000 tons. Coal used in coke ovens—a large share of which went into the manufacture of steel—used 68,870,000 tons. Allocating the coal consumed by coke ovens to industry makes the total amount used 169,631,000 tons. In 1926 the average price of coal at the mines was $2.52 per ton, making the total cost of coal consumed in industry $427,470,000.

In 1926 the freight revenue of the railroads amounted to $4,808,-640,798. What part of this enormous bill was for the transportation of raw materials used in manufacturing and for the distribution of manufactures is impossible to ascertain. But the cost of transportation enters into the sale price, the distribution and manufacturing costs even to the delivery of a bale of excelsior for packing or a box of matches to a cross-roads store. Such commodities as milk, hay, feed, ice, fuel, fruits, and vegetables consumed in their natural state and raw materials for export should be excluded from this transportation cost. Probably the revenue from these last items, with a liberal estimate, would not exceed 25 percent of the total freight revenue, leaving the transportation cost to industry approximately $3,600,000,000, or about nine times the cost of coal consumed in industry.

If liberal allowances, exceptions, and objections are deducted against the above estimates, even then the cost of transportation is several times greater than the cost of coal. Coal can be delivered anywhere at the mine price plus the sales and transportation costs. The freight rates on coal are low, but again freight is a transportation cost which to that extent turns the scale in favor of transportation. A 10-percent saving on transportation costs would amount to nearly as much as the entire coal bill of industry. The price of an article to the consumer is governed partly by the transportation cost. If the freight rates are lower, the price should be less and with competition in industry, freight charges are an important item.

It must be conceded that where transportation costs both for raw materials and for distribution are equal the section having coal has an advantage over the location not having coal. But coal is produced in 31 States and in many of these districts there is practically no industry. New England, a highly developed industrial district, has no coal and is no nearer Pennsylvania coal than Minnesota, a low-rated industrial district, is to Iowa coal. North Dakota, with coal, is the lowest in the manufacturing scale of any State in the country. Kentucky, Alabama, and Kansas, possessing coal, are not industrial States. An examination of railroad rates will disclose that each district possessing coal but not having manufactures is handicapped by higher freight rates than the industrial districts either with or without coal. Manufacturing, therefore, does not concentrate near coal supplies unless rail rates are also advantageous. Freight rates, rather than coal, is the more important factor in the location of industry.

It should be obvious that preferential and advantageous freight rates are an aid to industry. And, contra, it should be just as obvious that discriminatory rates higher than those to and from competitive points must be a disadvantage to industry. Jenks and Clark, in The Trust Problem, make this statement:

"Freight-rate discriminations in behalf of favored shippers are very frequently cited as a chief cause for the formation and rapid growth of trusts in this country. There can be no doubt that such discriminations have frequently been made in favor of large shippers, whether manufacturers, buyers of grain, shippers of dresses, meats, or others. In fact, in many lines of business for many years in the United States it was probably true that no person who did not receive some rebate from the printed tariff rates or other favor from the railroads could remain in business, as such rebates or other favors were so frequently given.

"The enormous and dangerous power of the railways by giving special rates in favor of shipments to one town to build up that town at the expense of its neighboring rivals, or to pour wealth into the lap of one great shipper or manufacturer, while bringing by the same process ruin to his competitors, can hardly be overestimated."

If railroad rates, rebates, and special favors build up trusts and destroy competitors, as Jenks and Clark have found to be the case, then freight rates are powerful factors in business competition. If freight rates are preferential in favor of one locality and discriminatory against another, the result is the building up of one locality and retarding the other. Industries in the favored section flourish but fail in the one discriminated against.

The market area of industry is limited by freight rates to the extent these rates permit competition with similar industries in other localities. The freight-rate radius is the important factor. Converse, in Elements of Marketing, says:

"Size of market territories: These may be said to be a function of the differential of market base prices, the freight tariff remaining constant; that is, the higher the price in any market, relative to that of its geographical competitors, the narrower the territory that is economically tributary to it. Conversely, size of market territories is a function of the freight differential, base price remaining constant. Market territories vary inversely with increase either in base price or of freight rates relative to geographical competitors. Also, the principle of justice is recognized in many railroad-rate cases that each community within our borders is entitled to the enjoyment of its natural advantages of location and resources. Sound in economics this rule, if consistently applied, could result in the best location of each plant and in development of just the proper size to serve each market most economically. Without discriminations the Nation would be most efficiently served. The wastes of cross freights in standardized goods would be eliminated. Each locality and each enterpriser in his location would enjoy what might properly be called a natural fostering protection of freight costs to which each citizen is entitled as an economic agent in a free state."

Converse has stated the case of freight-rate discrimination clearly and concisely. But under the present freight-rate structure there is no "natural fostering protection" for the industries of the South and West, such as the people of these two sections as citizens are entitled to in the full enjoyment of all economic rights.

The radius of competitive freight rates limits the trade area. No market can successfully compete with a rival market in a territory where freight rates are unequal, because production costs do not vary greatly and to compete outside the area of favorable rates, freight differentials must be conceded to the buyer and these concessions cut into profits. Equality in freight rates, everything else being equal, gives equal opportunity in distribution. Distribution means sales; sales mean profits. Without profits business is forced to suspend.

With low rates on commodities for long hauls, location near the source of supply is not a controlling factor, but with equalized rates or high rates the near source of raw materials would be important. Proximity to consuming markets is an advantage, but again lower freight rates on manufactured goods out for long hauls the nearer markets become on an actual dollars-and-cents basis. With equalized rates location near the geographical and population centers would be important. New England, New York, Philadelphia, and all other cities in the East have lower freight rates than towns outside of official territory. Consequently, with a larger freight-rate radius these towns have a greater trade territory. Low rates give eastern towns distribution for manufactured goods to every corner of the United States. Again commodity rates on raw materials are very low, while rates on manufactured goods are comparatively high. The discrimination on the high-rated freight is a greater factor than the less differences on low-rated freight.

Minneapolis and all other towns in the South and West have such high freight rates on manufactured goods out confining their market radius to a few hundred miles. Beyond this radius Minneapolis shippers must equalize freight differentials; thus, a large part of the potential market is cut off from their industries. Access to eastern territory is prohibitive because of higher freight rates, but eastern manufacturers are able to compete anywhere in the country with local industries. This has placed strict limitations on marketing territories tributary to industrial centers in the South and West. Large-scale enterprises are almost solely confined to the East and because of volume of production with low freight rates are competitors with the smaller local enterprises which are gradually being

eliminated for the East is steadily growing in industry until eventually it will have an absolute monopoly on the greater share of manufacturing. Some of the larger eastern concerns have established branch factories, but these plants are part of a manufacturing chain controlled from the East.

A number of cities in the South and West do a certain amount of manufacturing; not large in volume or of much diversification, but in some lines there are large and successful concerns. These industries are successful either because exceptionally low freight rates have been granted the manufacturer as a special concession or the manufacturer holds patent rights on his inventions which give a practical monopoly of the product so prices can be fixed high enough to absorb the disadvantage in freight rates. Then some articles are small in bulk and of light weight, but of high value wherein the manufacturing profit is large and freight is an inconsequential item.

Standardized and staple goods wherein freight is a factor cannot, as a rule, be manufactured in southern and western towns in competition with factories in official territory unless there are exceptional circumstances and conditions which enable them to compete against adverse transportation conditions.

With this practical monopoly, the East is the buying market for raw materials and the selling market for manufactured goods. Being the market, the East, to a certain extent, can fix prices on what it sells and depress prices on what it buys. The fixing of prices is an advantage the market has always possessed, and it is not backward in taking all the benefits of the situation.

All deliveries both for what is bought and sold must be made at the market. The South and West as sellers pay the freight to market; as buyers they pay the freight from the market. On long hauls to distant markets, even with low freight rates, the freight bills of the South and West amount to an enormous sum. So the greater portion of the freight bill of the country is paid by the South and the West.

The city of New York, because of tributary water navigation through its connection with the Great Lakes, its location on the Atlantic coast, with access to the Gulf of Mexico and through the Panama Canal to the Pacific coast possesses all the "circumstances and conditions" of water competition, the basis for rate building over almost the entire United States. This theory of water competition has created this fan-like transportation structure with New York as the pivot with low rates in and out of its market. Preferential freight rates have made New York the one great central and controlling market of the country, even though it is offside and far from the geographical and population centers.

With 11,000,000 people in its metropolitan area, New York has become the greatest city the world has ever known. No other city in history has ever had 252,000 miles of railways worth $26,000,000,000, operating 60,000 locomotives and two and one-half million freight cars, hauling 400,000,000,000 ton-miles of freight each year in and out of its market at the lowest rates ever known. Other commercial cities have been mere pigmies compared to this New Jerusalem. London, its only near rival, built up a supremacy in the British Empire by a similar freight-rate structure, the difference being that London has a maritime commerce with low rates in and out while New York has both rail and maritime.

Probably the average person hardly realized the predominance of New York over other cities and markets of the country. That it is the principal and central market of the United States cannot successfully be disputed. A few facts and figures will show how it overshadows all other commercial centers of the Nation.

The market pages of the daily press of the country are fair indexes of the volume of trade and commerce. The market sections of the papers throughout the country are as alike as peas in a pod so let us take the Minneapolis Tribune of April 12, 1935, as a fair sample. The market section of the Tribune quotes New York stock quotation for 712 stocks, 575 domestic bonds, 144 foreign bonds, 289 curb stocks, 320 curb bonds, and 17 foreign curb bonds. Chicago is quoted on only 67 stocks and bonds; Boston, 29, Twin Cities, 20. Seven-eighths of the market news and market quotations are dated from New York. The New York commercial exchanges include money, United States land-bank bonds, foreign exchange, cotton, silk futures, sugar, coffee, rubber, hides, cotton goods, silver, and metals.

Chicago was referred to in a few items as: Outside produce, Chicago futures, potatoes, livestock, and grain. Minneapolis had only its home markets: Twin City produce, South St. Paul livestock, grain, and flour. Other markets are only incidentally mentioned, so evidently to the outside world their markets are of little importance as national markets. No other market in the country makes even a comparative showing with New York.

The New York Sunday Times has seven pages in its financial section. About one-tenth of this space is devoted to markets and market news outside of New York. If other markets are important, they would be more generally quoted not only by the New York papers but by the daily press of the country. An examination of the daily papers reveals the same preponderance of evidence in proof that New York is the one great market of the country.

In 1929 the New York Stock Exchange reported transactions in stock shares to the extent of 1,124,990,980 shares. The par value of bonds traded was $3,020,316,700. Other stock exchanges of the country are not of sufficient importance to have their transactions published.

The New York Clearing House Association reports bank clearings for New York in 1929 amounting to $477,242,282,000, while for the other 15 principal cities of the country the total clearings were $180,259,145,000. In 1932 New York's clearings had dropped to $180,138,464,000, while the total for 172 cities of the country amounted to $256,744,492,000.

Stock exchange transactions and bank clearings are good indexes of market conditions. The evidence shows that no other market is in the same class with New York. The majority of the great life insurance companies are located either in New York City or in the immediate vicinity of New England and New Jersey. Here are the largest banks in the country, together with great financial concerns as J. P. Morgan & Co., and Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Most of the great industrial corporations have their headquarters in New York, and it is a well-known fact that the railroads of the country are controlled from Wall Street.

New York is the home of the Money Trust. This is not actually a trust in the true sense of the word but is rather a community of interest, a network or interrelation of the big banks, financial interests, railroads, industrials, and life insurance companies. Wormser in Frankenstein, Incorporated, outlines this community of interest:

"It has been asserted that 200 corporations today control between 35 percent and 45 percent of the entire business wealth of the United States, excluding the economic assets of the Government, agriculture, and the learned professions. Mr. Gardiner C. Means in a study which appears in the American Economic Review for March 1931, states that these 200 large corporations had combined assets in the year 1927 of more than $67,000,000,000 and controlled almost half the corporate wealth of the country and considerably more than half its industry. During recent years they grew three times as rapidly as the three-hundred-thousand-odd smaller corporations. If the present rate of growth is maintained, in a quarter of a century, if not less, these corporations will own or at least dominate half the national wealth of the United States.

"Moreover, 200 corporations in this country reported 40 percent of the Nation's net income in 1930. This shows the tremendous extent to which these great corporations are participating in and controlling the Nation's business. The income tax returns files for 1930 establish that 200 corporations, representing less than one-sixteenth of 1 percent of the 303,000 corporations filing tax returns, reported more than 40 percent of all net incomes and 45 percent of all gross assets. These corporations include 45 railroads, 58 public utilities corporations, and 97 industrial corporations. The National Industrial Conference Board has asserted that only 3.4 percent of all manufacturing corporations in this country employ more than 250 employees, and only 1.4 percent employ more than 500. These figures establish the domination of a small handful of corporations so convincingly as to refute the possibility of contradiction. When it is remembered that these 200 corporations have no more than a few thousand directors, the immensity of the power placed in the control of a bare handful of individuals, comparatively speaking, is grasped readily."

Laidler in his book Concentration in American Industry reveals the concentration of financial control in a few large banking institutions. Laidler says:

"As a result of these developments, 250 banks held resources in the beginning of 1930 of $33,400,000,000 out of total bank resources in the Nation of $72,000,000,000. Thus 1 percent of the banks of the country directly controlled more than 46 percent of the total national resources. Twenty-four New York banks, or less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the total, have combined resources of about $16,800,000,000, or 15 percent of the total resources in the banks of the Nation, while their capitalization of nearly $700,000,000 is almost comparable in total to that of nearly 20,000 country banks situated in towns of 10,000 or less."

According to Laidler, there were, in 1929, 20 life insurance companies with over $80,000,000,000 of insurance in force, with nearly $415,000,000 of new business paid for and with total admitted assets of $14,726,000,000. All but 3 of these 20 companies are in the East. The eastern life-insurance companies in New York and vicinity are another factor in this community of interest centered here. The life insurance companies are heavy buyers of bonds in the New York market, and their assistance is immeasurable when banks and financial institutions undertake to underwrite large issues.

Laidler adds:

"The most valuable accounts a bank can have (as George S. Mumford, president of the Atlantic National Bank of Boston, declares) are the accounts of the railroads, great industrial corporations, and the life insurance companies."

In addition to all of the above, there should be taken into consideration the community of interest of the railroads, probably the greatest industry in the country with assets of about $26,000,000,000, and with annual incomes in normal times of five to six billions. The financing of these railroads is handled by the two great financial houses of J. P. Morgan & Co. and Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

This concentration of wealth, capital, and financial dominance in New York affords another parallel to what occurred when Tyre and Sidon, Athens, Rome, Venice, Holland, and London controlled the transportation and trade of the world. With low rates in and out of its market, each dominant city in its turn realized on the profits of trade or tribute, the accumulation of the profits being

realized into cash and credits, each market in its turn became the financial master of the world. No nation or city, unless it had control of transportation and consequently markets, has ever been able to achieve financial domination. The turn of the wheel has placed New York on a higher financial eminence than any other city or nation has ever reached.

New York, because it possesses the advantage of water competition is more favored in the rail-rate structure than any other city. There are, of course, the usual exceptions, but the general level is in favor of New York. Official classification territory also has a general lower freight level both in and out. Rate equality prevails in official between all towns and sections but this equality does not pertain to towns and sections in southern and western territories. This uniformity in official has been the cause for the general distribution of industry in all towns in official. Uniformity in freight rates enables Hingham, Bingham, and Dingham in New England to manufacture on an equal footing with New York and Boston as far as transportation costs are concerned. The graded and maximum rate scale in Texas prevents one city from monopolizing trade which would have been the case had the usual rate theories prevailed in Texas.

Because of the rigid and uniform rate structure in official almost every town is more or less engaged in manufacturing with a national market for its production. Many small towns have large manufacturing plants turning out articles of Nation-wide use and reputation.

With industry concentrated in official territory through transportation advantages granted during the last 60 years, it is but natural that wealth and population is centered in this section out of all proportion to the remainder of the country. It may be alleged in contradiction to this statement that the East is an older section and that this growth and wealth is but natural. Furthermore, the per capita wealth of the Eastern States is less than that of the Western States so there cannot be the concentration of wealth claimed. Statistics show that the people of Nevada are the wealthiest per capita of any State in the country with a wealth of $6,998 each. Wyoming is second with $4,663, and Iowa third with $4,274, while Massachusetts has only $3,243; New York, $3,246; and Pennsylvania, $3,187. These figures are for 1922. It may be claimed that the inhabitants in the last-named States are poorer and the States are poorer than the three Western States which have a larger per capita wealth. From this it may be deduced that the wealth and prosperity of the country are in the West and not in the East, prosperity being measured by the per capita wealth.

The usual per-capita figures are not a fair comparison of wealth. All natural wealth is produced from the ground except a portion which comes from the sea. The ground area per inhabitant and also the richness and potential wealth in the ground, whether in soil or in minerals, should also be taken into consideration. It is not a fair comparison to merely divide the wealth by the population. One additional factor should be taken—the ground area per person. It is practically impossible in such calculation to determine the comparative quality and productiveness of the land. But on the basis of land area alone let us make a comparison of New York State with Iowa.

The area of New York is 47,645 square miles, with a population in 1920 of 10,385,227, or 217 to the square mile. In 1922 the total wealth of the State was $37,035,262,000, or $3,436 per capita or $77,717 per square mile. The acreage per inhabitant was 2.9 acres. If the per-capita wealth is divided by 2.9 the result is a wealth per person per acre of $1,184.82.

The area of Iowa is 55,586 square miles, with a population in 1920 of 2,404,021, or 43 persons to the square mile. In 1922 the total wealth of the State was $10,511,682,000, or $4,274 per capita or $18,911 per square mile. The acreage per inhabitant was 14.9 acres. If the per capita wealth is divided by 14.9 the result is a wealth per person per acre of $286.84.

Based on an acreage of land for each person, granting equal productiveness of the land acre for acre, then New York is four times better off in per capita wealth per person per acre than Iowa. Iowa, "where the tall corn grows," is near the geographical center of the country and nearer the population center than New York. If, since 1870, Iowa had been favored with just and fair transportation rates, its wealth, person for person and acre for acre, and total for total, would without doubt have more nearly compared with New York. Other Western and Southern States suffer likewise in comparison with New York or with other States in official territory. The central Western States, with their rich land and immense natural resources of raw materials, should be the wealthiest section, area for area, of any part of the United States. As it is they are the "backward States" inhabited by the "sons of the wild jackasses."

Nor is it because the Eastern States are older and have been settled longer that they are and should be so greatly advanced in population, industry, and wealth; in due time the newer States will catch up with the older States. The differences are too great and too unnatural to be accounted for with such simple reasoning. It should be borne in mind that since 1870 railroad building throughout the country, and especially in the West, has equalized opportunities for development of the Western States with Eastern. The Western States lack not only wealth and population but also industries, the greatest builders of wealth and population. Industries cannot be successfully developed and maintained without equal and competitive channels of distribution for manufactured goods and this means fair and competitive freight rates.

But the disproportionate growth and wealth of the 2 sections is not just the natural effects of time. The population of the United States in 1790 was 3,929,214, and up to 1830, when the real development of the country commenced because of the building of railroads, the population increased to 12,866,020. In 1870 the population was 38,558,371, increasing in 60 years in 1930 to 122,775,046, so that the greatest growth of the country has been during the time railroad mileage was greatly extended throughout the West. This growth was not the natural increase because of births but was caused by an immense immigration. One of the principal inducements for this immigration was the free homestead lands of the West.

For about 30 years, until this free land was taken, the West grew rapidly in population. Since 1900 many of the Western States, though still sparsely settled, have not increased in population in the same ratio with the Eastern States. The Eastern States were so densely populated and intensely developed that the natural opportunities should not have been as advantageous in the East as in the West. In this 60 years the States west of the Mississippi should have grown at about the same rate as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois grew in the first 60 years of their development. As an illustration of this hypothesis, the comparative growth of Ohio and North Dakota should be a fair comparison.

Ohio was first settled in about 1793 at Marietta. Its area is 40,070 square miles. In 1790 the State was covered with a heavy forest of hardwood timber which had to be cleared and burned off and grubbed before the land could be used for agricultural purposes. But little merchantable use could be made of this timber. The population of the United States in 1790 was about 4,000,000, and heavy immigration from foreign countries did not begin until about 1820; so Ohio did not in its early development have a large source of immigration to draw from. There were no railroads until about 1845. The Erie Canal, the Great Lakes, the Ohio River, and local canals furnished cheap water transportation, but not a service comparable to the later building of the railroads. Ohio grew from nothing in 1790 to a population of 1,500,000 in 50 years to 1840.

North Dakota began to develop in 1870. Its area is 70,183 square miles, one and three-fourths as large as Ohio. It is a prairie State with a very rich soil. The sod needed only to be broken one year to be sowed to crops the next. From 1870 to 1900 was a very active period in railroad building in North Dakota. The population of the United States was nearly forty million and North Dakota had this population to draw from with the added attraction of free homesteads for the immigrants. From 1870 there was a heavy immigration into the United States. North Dakota possesses immense deposits of lignite coal which could be used as cheap power in manufacturing. From 1870 to 1920 North Dakota grew from nothing to 646,872 and, although still sparsely settled and practically undeveloped, only increased to a population of 680,845 in 1930, and has declined since then according to the 1940 census.

Ohio is in a low freight-rated territory while North Dakota is in one of the highest freight-rated sections in the country. North Dakota with all its coal has no industries. It is near Minnesota iron ore. It uses a great deal of agricultural implements and Fargo, its principal city, is one of the most important distributing points for farm machinery in the country. But the only piece of farm machinery manufactured at Fargo, and that only in a small way, is a wild oats cleaner. This machine is strictly in keeping with the trend of the times and conditions in North Dakota, because it is to be presumed that the youth of the State can hardly afford to "sow their wild oats."

Like comparisons with similar results could be made of other Eastern and Western States until the Pacific coast States are reached. Trans-Missouri and Intermountain Territories are the highest rated sections in the country and because of freight-rate discrimination, the development of this vast area has been retarded. Not only have these two sections been retarded but it has become necessary for the people to mortgage their homes and farms in order to barely exist. There are practically no industries in these sections although they can be made to produce a vast wealth of raw materials which could be manufactured locally if competitive rates on manufactured goods enabled their industries to reach national markets.

It seems apparent that growth of population, wealth, and industry out of all natural proportions has taken place in official territory where transportation conditions are most favorable and that there has been no such comparative growth and development in the West where transportation conditions are adverse. No other fundamental and important causes have as yet been assigned for these differences except that of Senator Moses, of Vermont, who called the people of the South and West, "the sons of wild jackasses;" and that of Senator Grundy, of Pennsylvania, who designated the South and West as "the backward States." If we are "wild," it is the freight-rate situation which has made us "wild." If these States are "backward" it is because for 60 years we have been exploited by the industrial and financial East. We are "jackasses" because we have so long and patiently endured these afflictions.

SECTION VII. THE DEPRESSION

We who have spent our adolescence and active-business lives in the Hayvilles, Mayvilles, and Jayvilles, west of the Mississippi River, have had some rather interesting and unusual experiences in the

"booming" and building up of these towns. The businessmen of these towns—towns ranging in population from five to fifteen thousand—having come from the industrial East, realized that in addition to agriculture, the towns, if they were to grow and prosper, must be developed industrially.

The men of these towns were aggressive and ambitious. Their first dreams were to make their towns industrial and manufacturing cities. Each place had a wide trade area with the competition of several railroads tapping the section in all directions. Raw materials were near at hand and labor was plentiful at reasonable wages. The outlook seemed favorable for manufacturing.

At Hayville along about 1880 a "commercial club" was organized with much enthusiasm and considerable oratory. A factory was promoted and started. The businessmen subscribed to a substantial bonus for the new enterprise, gave a free manufacturing site, and took stock in the venture. Similar movements occurred in Mayville and Jayville and factories ranging in production from clothes pins to threshing machines started. But in a few years practically every factory went haywire. The "commercial club," greatly discouraged, became somnolent.

After a few years respite during which the businessmen had ceased bemoaning their losses on the first venture, another urge of ambitious enthusiasm infected the businessmen of Hayville. A new club was organized which was called the Twenty-five Thousand Club, for a town of five or ten thousand, if it was to get going, should shoot its arrow at a star. This time several new factories were started with high hopes and expectations and with thousands of dollars of local money raised to float the new enterprises. But these factories were also failures after careers of only a few years. The spirit and enthusiasm of the new club evaporated because of these disappointments.

Three or four years passed in bucolic contentment until the restless and still ambitious younger businessmen started a new organization which they dignified with the psychological name of "Confidence in Hayville Club." There was a general feeling among the younger generation that the failures of the past were caused by the mistakes and lack of confidence, public spirit, and energy on the part of the old fogies who had managed the former promotions. Again new factories were promoted and financed by the Confidence in Hayville Club and again the outcome was loss and failure.

No one in Hayville knew the causes of these repeated failures, but they were nothing daunted by their past experiences. So every 4 or 5 years thereafter a new commercial club was organized and the same futile campaigns were inaugurated. The Civic and Commerce Association, the Boosters' Club, the Industrial Bureau, and the Better Hayville Club, the Junior Association, and also two or three luncheon clubs in successive 5-year periods for the 40 following years were unable to promote industry in Hayville even with the most strenuous and energetic efforts and with the waste of hundreds of thousands of dollars of Hayville money. What has been described took place along similar lines in hundreds of Hayvilles, Mayvilles, and Jayvilles of the Middle West.

Promoters, playing on local pride and ambition, initiated enterprises which often were impracticable and which only served to enrich the fly-by-nights who left town after pocketing their gains. But many of the ventures were well considered and carefully planned and should have been successful if some fundamental economic obstacle affecting local conditions had not made success impossible.

If one interested in the vagaries of human nature, goes to Hayville today, he would find that the old title, "Commercial Club" has been resurrected and the businessmen of Hayville are again subscribing to the stock, have turned over an abandoned factory building and have donated a bonus to a proposed pitchfork factory and again Hayville has visions of industrial greatness.

Although no one either in Hayville, Mayville, or Jayville realized the causes of the repeated failures of their industrial enterprises, yet if freight rates and their transportation problems had been studied and analyzed, the causes would have been found. This last statement may be too optimistic for we, who lived in Hayville for many years and participated in many of these futile efforts tried time and again to tell Hayville that their problem was discriminatory freight rates and transportation disadvantages, but they would not believe and the same indifference or obtuseness may be met with now.

To illustrate Hayville's transportation problem, let us take the case of the clothespin factory promoted by the "Boosters Club" in Hayville. The clothespin factory at Hayville was in competition with several large eastern factories which had national markets and the volume of each of these factories was many times larger than the Hayville factory. With large scale production, the eastern factories were each able to make a greater net profit with a smaller margin of manufacturing profit than Hayville even though Hayville had near access to raw materials and the eastern factories had to ship in their materials from a distance. Hayville's market was limited to Mayville and Jayville and other surrounding towns in a restricted district because of high rates under the western classification for manufactured goods shipped out of Hayville. These rates prevented shipments to eastern territory and thus Hayville was shut out of a large consuming market. The eastern manufacturer had lower distribution costs throughout the country with a lower classification and low carload rates to principal distributing point such as Chicago, the Twin Cities, Omaha, Kansas City, Denver, and other cities as far west as the coast. The wholesale houses of these cities sold clothespins as a part of their general line as cheap or even cheaper than Hayville could sell in its own local territory. Hayville could not ship and sell to these wholesale houses because carload rates on clothespins out of Hayville were the same as less-than-carload rates under the western classification and the freight bill from Hayville for 500 miles was larger than the freight bill from Dingham for 1,500 miles.

A combination of eastern manufacturers, or a clothespin trust, was organized. To put Hayville out of business, the price of clothespins in its local trade territory was cut so low that Hayville could not meet the competition, so the factory had to close. The trust, while cutting prices in Hayville territory, raised prices in Georgia, where there was no local competition, and thus recouped its losses on account of Hayville.

If Hayville had not been located near the source of raw materials, the factory would have been, in any event, a hopeless venture. With raw materials, the promoters naturally thought that a clothespin factory had reasonable chances of success. But the eastern factories had low rates for raw materials in and low rates for manufactured goods out, the rates applying to the entire United States, while Hayville had the highest possible rates—what the traffic would bear—to its nearby markets and everywhere elso on manufactured goods. Hayville had a limited trade area; the eastern factories, a national trade area.

Dingham added insult to injury in its subsequent conduct toward Hayville. Dingham bought its raw materials from Hayville territory, for the clothespin trees near Hayville were of the finest quality and made a nonsplittable clothespin. This material was shipped 2,000 miles at a rate so low that the freight cost per gross on clothespins for the raw materials was almost negligible. After the Hayville factory closed, the only market for the Hayville clothespin trees was in the East, so the combination of eastern manufacturers forced prices so low that the producers at Hayville operated on less than a living margin. The greater share of the clothespin trees have been cut up for cordwood and used for fuel. The sequel is that Dingham bought the machinery, trade-marks, and trade names of the Hayville factory, and today the world is buying nonsplittable Hayville clothespins, made in Dingham.

To define our economic problems more clearly, it is necessary at this time to make another historical diversion. From what has happened, we are sometimes enabled in the repetition of history to grasp more easily the causes of abnormal conditions. The world has weathered many a crisis, and each successive problem has finally been solved for the betterment of humanity.

Down through the centuries of human progress has come periods when the redistribution of the world's wealth became necessary. These redistributions came when long-continued economic abuses brought about a concentration of immense wealth in a nation, a city, or a group of persons. History discloses a number of times when the barbarians or the people, overwhelmed with oppression and poverty, have taken the law of might into their hands and have divided the loot of war or revolution.

The Hykos invaded Egypt and the hill tribes descended on the Babylonians. Nebuchadnezzar besieged and captured Tyre in order to loot the richest city in the world. The conquest of Persia disbursed the wealth of western Asia among the Greeks of Alexander. Goths, Ostrogoths, Franks, Vandals, and Huns—poverty-stricken tribesmen—scattered broadcast the wealth of Rome. The loot of the Church of Rome in England by Henry VIII released unproductive wealth, which was assigned as the nobles and squires of the kingdom, who, with this new capital, made the Britisher a world trader.

The French Revolution confiscated the immense wealth and the estates of the king and the nobility, the division of the estates into small holdings among the people, resulting in prosperity for France. Napoleon exercised poor judgment when he sought military conquest on land rather than commercial supremacy on the seas, for the profits of trade are always greater than the tribute of war and always will be.

The Russian Revolution is another example of the redistribution of wealth among the people, and probably the ultimate result will be to make Russia one of the greatest and wealthiest countries the world has ever known.

After every distribution there has been a revival of commerce and a marvelous growth of wealth and prosperity. The redistribution in England, France, and Russia speeded up the development of these nations. Few realize the parallel distribution which has taken place in our own country. In America we are prone to believe that the capitalistic system has developed the United States, making it the greatest country the world has known. The opinion seems to be quite general that the concentration of wealth in the hands of great capitalists has been necessary in order to accomplish great enterprises in industry and transportation. The United States is frequently cited as a brilliant example of the success of the capitalistic system. That this country has grown great because of the advantages of capitalism is, we think, a conclusion arrived at by a mere surface examination of the economic development of the United States. The real facts are that this country has become great and wealthy rather because of the distribution of wealth among the people than by the concentration of wealth in the hands of great capitalists. The greater the concentration has become, the poorer the people have become.

Let us examine the foundations of our prosperity. The early Colonists were granted lands either without payment or at nominal prices. Prior to the Revolution lands on the frontiers were so cheap that Colonists from Europe or pioneers from the older settled parts of the Colonies obtained all the land needed at prices ranging

from 10 cents to a dollar an acre. Thus land—the source of all the raw materials of wealth—was divided and distributed among the people. In some instances large tracts were granted individuals, but the portion was small compared to the area of the country. In so vast a country these holdings had to be sold at low prices because land was so plentiful and population sparse. When owners refused to sell for reasonable prices, squatters settled on lands and public sentiment being in favor of the squatter, the owner could do little except settle for the going price.

After the Revolution the land west of the Thirteen Original States became the property of the Federal Government. The West was surveyed and lands were either sold by the Government at low prices or were given to soldiers and settlers as homesteads, preemptions, and tree claims.

Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan were not granted to dukes bearing those respective titles; Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa were not given to earls with earldoms of the same names. There were no counts of Missouri, Kansas, or Nebraska; nor marquises, barons, or lords owning and holding in fee simple or in feudal tenure other States belonging to the Federal Government. Instead, 3,000,000 square miles of land were practically given free to the Colonists and to those who came after them—our grandfathers and our fathers—either frontiersmen from the older settled States or immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, or Scandinavia.

Large grants were made to railway companies, but where land was so cheap the railroads were compelled to sell at low prices and furthermore the roads were anxious for settlers along the line of the railway.

The colonization and settlement of America was the greatest and the fairest distribution of wealth among the common people that has ever occurred. Land creates all natural wealth, and in the United States each and every citizen was given the opportunity to create with his labor from the soil his economic independence. The distribution of 3,000,000 square miles of land among the people has been the real cause for the growth and development of this country.

But artificial and unnatural economic theories and practices working economic injustices have deprived the people of the benefits which they should have received from this division of land. Now we are face to face with the most serious concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a group of capitalists that has ever confronted any people. Distribution of wealth made us prosperous; concentration of wealth is leading us to ruin.

The Government made one mistake when it permitted capitalists to grab the mineral wealth of the country and another when it allowed the lumber barons to steal millions of acres of standing timber. But the greatest mistake was to let the ownership and operation of the transportation service on land pass to private corporations. These mistakes gave small groups of men opportunities to acquire immense wealth. With this wealth the capitalists have not only acquired commercial and financial control of the Nation, but political control as well. The capitalists have become as ruthless as the robber barons of the Dark Ages or the feudal lords who followed them. They hope to become the power in absolute control of finance and industry. Because the transportation system centralized markets and industry in one small section of the country and financial control in their New Jerusalem, they have almost succeeded.

The early settlers, the pioneers, and the immigrants who were given free lands have been exploited for 60 years by a market where they must go to sell and buy, paying the freight both ways for long hauls. During all this time, because of market manipulation, the farmers have produced farm products at a loss instead of a profit.

Let us see what happened. The following survey will be confined to the States of Minnesota, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana, a section which is most familiar to us because of an active business and professional experience covering many years. To make a like survey of the entire South and West would require the collaboration of a score of men who have observed and know what took place in their respective sections during the last 40 years. What happened in the Northwestern States, however, is typical of what happened in the other States of the South and the West, for the causes were all the same and the ultimate results have brought about similar conditions.

From 1870 to 1920 the Northwest was growing and apparently prosperous. Only since 1920—barring a few temporary panics—has it become actually bankrupt. It was a seeming prosperity not a true prosperity in the sense that the Northwest was producing agricultural products year in and year out at a profit. This prosperity was only a surface appearance.

Beginning in 1870 there was a rush of settlers to take up the free lands offered by the Government in these four States. Railroads were built throughout the section; towns sprung up everywhere and St. Paul and Minneapolis began to grow rapidly.

After the settlers had complied with the land laws receiving their patents from the Government, they found it necessary to make loans on their lands for the purpose of making needed improvements and buying equipment or paying debts. The many lines of new railroad were financed by the sale of stocks and bonds in the East. The building of the cities and towns was also financed by money borrowed from the East. The eastern farm-mortgage companies made the greater share of the loans to the homesteaders. In Minnesota the lumber industry furnished employment to a large number of men. With the improvement of farm homes, construction of railroads, building of cities and towns—all on borrowed money—and with the lumber and milling industries, employment was plentiful and apparently the Northwest was prosperous. Besides lumbering and milling there were no industries furnishing employment but the rapid development of the country furnished a good substitute for work in factories and shops.

Here are some of the details of this borrowing. The total of farm-mortgage loans in the four States in 1890 was $65,908,278. In 1910 the amount had risen to $169,250,509, and in 1920 to $530,584,629. Abstracts of title to farm lands show that the original patentees usually mortgaged the land for a loan of $500 on a quarter section. Ten years later the mortgage was renewed for $1,000. The next renewal was for $2,000 and the final mortgage, until the panic of 1921 shut off further credit, was on the average for about $4,000. The upbuilding of farm homes and general improvements were a fair substitute for industry; the building continued as long as loans could be gradually increased on each renewal.

The building of thousands of miles of railroads added to this appearance of prosperity. The total issues of stocks and bonds in the capitalization of the six principal railroads of the Northwest, the money from which was presumably used to build the roads, allocating only the capitalization per mile to the mileage in the Northwestern States was $1,268,148,559. The construction was industry furnishing employment as long as railroad building lasted. By 1910 railroad building ceased.

Not being able to obtain statistics for the total of municipal, county, and State loans, mortgages on village and city property and private loans, these figures cannot be given, but a conservative estimate places them at about $1,000,000. These loans were also used in development work and provided more employment also, adding an appearance of prosperity.

It is apparent from this total of $3,000,000,000 borrowed from the East that the Northwest was getting more deeply in debt each year. There was a demand for labor because this borrowed money was used in the work of development. The only real industry was lumbering, but that was only until 1910, when most of the good standing timber in Minnesota had been cut. But $3,000,000,000 of debts had accumulated. Then in 1920 the East shut down on further borrowing, demanded liquidation of loans, and the appearance of prosperity was ended.

When the East refused further credit to the Northwest, the panic of 1921 was brought about. The depression in the Northwest has been chronic since 1921, the panic of 1929 only aggravating conditions.

Farm lands were booming from 1918 to 1920. Prices during and since the war had brought about exceptionally good business conditions and consequent inflation of farm values. The high prices of farm products increased the cost of living in the East and wages must be correspondingly high. Evidently for once the law of supply and demand was working in favor of the farmer. So the "big boys" of finance and industry in the East decided that the high cost of living and thereby high wages must come down. This could only be accomplished by forcing down the values of farm lands and the prices of foodstuffs and raw materials.

The campaign to deflate prices started in 1919. The Commercial and Financial Chronicle of New York, a financial paper and an organ of Wall Street, had an editorial in its issue of December 27, 1919, wherein it advocated bringing down the high cost of living. In its issue of February 7, 1920, it asserts that lowering prices of necessities and the high cost of living should be effected. The Chronicle declaimed against extraordinary wages and salaries then prevailing; called them "pre-war wages and salaries." This is a quotation from this editorial: "But it is economically true we can have, under proper conditions, everything under a low-wage level that we can have under a high."

The Chronicle in an editorial of June 5, 1920, entitled, "The Financial Situation" commended the action of the Federal Reserve banks in raising the discount rate to 7 percent, which it said will arrest inflationary tendencies. It advised that all Reserve bank borrowing should be curtailed and no more paper injected into circulation. On page 1481 of the Chronicle was published a resolution of the New York Chamber of Commerce at a meeting held June 10, 1920. The pertinent parts of this resolution read as follows:

"Whereas inflation and high prices are due in a large part to the following general causes:

"An excessive issue of Government obligations and currencies based on Government credit, an insufficient production, and disorganized means of interchange throughout the world;

"An unlimited demand for goods and an unwillingness on the part of the people to save and the unparalleled increases of bank credits and buying medium at home and abroad: Be it

"*Resolved*, bankers and businessmen should cooperate in a strong effort to combat further extension of credit or additional expansion of currency."

In view of subsequent events and the present condition of the country, the above resolutions appear as if they were the emanations of some practical joker and not from the Nation's leaders in finance and industry. The caliber of the men passing such a resolution is correctly measured by the resolution itself and further comment seems unnecessary.

New York is the mecca of the country's banking cult. The bankers' holy of holies—the gold standard—is here enshrined. Muezzins—bank cashiers—call the bankers of the country to prayer. The country bankers, when they pray, reverently face toward New York. The vice presidents of New York banks are the marabouts who forecast monetary oracles and are assisted by staffs of prophets, sooth-

sayers, and crystal gazers who augur their predictions, forebodings, warnings, and exhortations from these financial mosques. The presidents are in the direct line of descent from Mohammed Morgan and it would be sacrilegious even to collect from them their income taxes, let alone mention them here. The country bank officials are the zealots who disseminate the wisdom of these financial revelations to their customers in the South and West on their return from their numerous pilgrimages to Mecca.

Thus it was that in the fall of 1920 and in the winter of 1921, this unbeliever learned of these prognostications and the financial policies to be pursued by the big banks in New York and the orders given to the bankers of the Northwest. Briefly, the edict was that prices of farm lands must come down and the cost of agricultural products be reduced so that the high cost of living and high wages could be lowered. We were told that money was "tight" in New York. No new loans would be made and old loans must be paid. Businessmen were advised to restrict credit, collect outstandings, curtail all new ventures, and cut expenses.

New York's first step was to raise the discount rates of the Federal Reserve banks—the Reserves always do what Mohammed says—from 4¾ percent in February 1920 to 7 percent in June 1920. New York banks restricted credit and demanded liquidation of old loans. The Northwest, with falling prices for its farm products, insufficient money for business, and with no place to borrow, was "in a hole."

For the last 10 years eastern creditors have been foreclosing mortgages and forcing liquidations on debt-owing from the Northwest which we have not been able to pay nor have we been able to obtain new credit so that we may reengage in business on a profitable basis.

The plans of New York's financial interests were only too successfully carried out. Not only were values of farm lands deflated and the prices of farm products lowered but the Northwest was practically reduced to bankruptcy. Of course, the cost of living in the East went down but the item of wages became of little importance because in a short time shops and factories were closed and there was no employment at any wage for the laboring man in the industrial East. These leaders in finance and industry, the far(?)sighted and shrewd businessmen in the East had simply put their best customer out of business by forcing a quick liquidation which meant bankruptcy. The raising of the discount rates and the resolution of the New York Chamber of Commerce started something which is not yet finished, including the present world situation.

In 1918 and 1919 the country banker who went to the city to borrow, say, $10,000, was pressed by the big bankers of the Twin Cities to take $25,000 or $50,000 or $100,000 as the occasion demanded, for money was plentiful and the big banks were eager to loan. Money was free and easy in New York from which the big city bankers were borrowing in their turn, for New York, it must be understood, is the fountainhead of credit. Hundreds of small country banks became borrowers of money they really did not need but were persuaded to borrow. In turn this surplus money was loaned to local merchants and to farmers. But times were good so everyone was satisfied.

In the summer of 1920 the rumblings of the coming panic were heard in the Twin Cities. Wholesale houses in St. Paul and Minneapolis had orders in the East for millions of dollars of merchandise. These orders could not be canceled. Three large dry-goods houses had orders for $30,000,000 and foreseeing the coming drop in prices, the houses pushed their stocks out on the country merchants for they preferred a doubtful account to merchandise which dropped 40 percent in October 1920 and which would have entailed a loss of $12,000,000. Houses in other lines pursued the same policy. When the drop came, country merchants sustained losses of millions of dollars, while the losses of the wholesale houses were the percentages of their bad accounts. It was a case of save himself who can.

The Twin City banks began hounding the country banker for payment because New York was demanding payment from them. In turn the country bankers tried to collect from their borrowers.

The farmer was the base of the pyramid. Let us see what happened to him. The case of John Olson, of Prairie County, Minn., while hypothetical, is an average case and presents a cross section of what happened to the farmer not only in the Northwest but throughout agricultural districts in the country.

John Olson was a good, honest, and industrious farmer owning 160 acres of good farming land worth, if there was no demand for gold, $150 per acre. If there was a demand for gold the land was worth, as the case has since proved, almost nothing. But in the summer of 1920 the demand for gold was quiescent, so the reasonable value of Olson's land with its fine improvements was conservatively $100 per acre. Olson owned horses, cattle, machinery, and equipment worth $4,000, making his total assets $20,000. He had a first mortgage on his farm of $4,000, owed the First National Bank of Jayville $2,000. and had miscellaneous debts of between $500 and $1,000. The bank held as security a second mortgage on Olson's land and a chattel mortgage on all his personal property. Olson sold his grain early because prices were falling and also because he had bought machinery from the International Harvester Co. for which he had given his note. Three or four different company collectors had been hounding him almost daily for several weeks, so he cleaned up this debt to get rid of the pests. When Olson paid his threshing bill, his hired man, his incidental expenses, and his remaining local bills the proceeds of his crop were exhausted, so he had no money to pay his taxes and his interest on the mortgage. Olson was not particularly worried because the First National Bank of Jayville had at other times when he was hard pressed loaned him money to pay interest and taxes. But this fall the bank, instead, began to press Olson for payment on his note and refused to loan him the money to take care of the interest. The banker was helpless, for almost every farmer in the vicinity of Jayville was in the same fix as Olson. The pressure of the big city banks was getting stronger, so the banker was having many sleepless and worried nights. No new loans on real estate could be made to refinance old loans, for the East had shut down tight.

Promptly, after Olson's default in the payment of his taxes and interest, the life insurance company in New York, holding the first mortgage, started foreclosure. Just before the redemption period expired, the bank foreclosed their chattel mortgage. The bank could not redeem from the life insurance company's foreclosure because the bank had so many similar cases and to take care of them all would have taken more than its total assets. Only a few hundred dollars was realized out of the chattel mortgage and the balance on Olson's note was charged off by the bank. John Olson moved to town, lived in a shanty and did odd jobs around the village.

The big city bankers urged the Government to come to the aid of the country bankers. Through their influence they were able to enlist the assistance of the War Finance Corporation. The managers of the Corporation in the Northwest were the officials of the big banks in the Twin Cities. Country banks in debt to one of these banks were able to get loans to pay off their debts to the big Twin City banks provided the banks turned over to the War Finance Corporation as collateral security their very best paper in ample amount. When the loans came due, the hard-boiled Finance Corporation proceeded to collect the collateral.

After the best of the Jayville bank's paper had been turned over to the War Finance Corporation, under such subnormal conditions, the bank had little good paper left. Deposits kept falling, for the prices of farm products were still on the decline and farmers needed their savings for living and operating expenses. A panicky feeling was spreading around Jayville as people knew about the War Finance Corporation taking over the bank's paper. Not only did the farmers become bankrupt, but the merchants who had taken part of the losses off the shoulders of the wholesale houses also went into bankruptcy and their debts to the bank were uncollectible. The First National Bank of Jayville was compelled to close its doors. Hayville and Mayville banks, facing similar situations soon followed. And this is how the country banks were rescued.

The big city banks, their loans to the country banks having been paid by the loans granted to country banks by the War Finance Corporation, weathered the panic. Again it was save himself who can.

Multiply the cases which have been used as average examples by hundreds of thousands or even more, all occurring during 1921, 1922, 1923, and 1924, in the South and in the West, and some idea may be conveyed of what happened and what conditions have been and still are in these two sections since 1920.

The Republican Party refused relief to the farmers when it turned down the McNary-Haugen bill. Relief then might have saved the farmers. But no, government should not discriminate between one class and another. Later, the Republican Party decided if anyone was to be helped or saved, it should be the banks and the railroads. So the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was born.

We know what happened. Hundreds of thousands of farmers lost their lands; thousands of banks closed; thousands of businessmen failed, and millions of men were without work leaving families without food, clothing, and shelter.

The Northwest, dependent on the East, did not have enough money to transact normal business and had no place to borrow. The lumbering industry was gone, the milling industry had moved to Buffalo, and with no other industries worth mention, no more railroad building, and no more building of homes and improvements of farms, mechanics and laborers had no employment during these years. In large numbers labor left the Northwest to seek employment in the East.

Values dropped to almost nothing. Property could be bought for less than the amount of the first mortgages. In many cases, incomes from properties were not enough to pay the taxes. Taxes became delinquent. Rents dropped. So many were out of employment that wages were next to nothing. Men were willing to work for their board. Families doubled up. Those who still had incomes supported those who had none. Credit was shot to pieces, for banks did not dare loan when there was no value to assets.

The causes of the panic of 1921 have been related because this was the beginning of all our later financial troubles. These are actual events—physical conditions brought about by well-known physical acts.

A majority of the people of the South and West did not have money or income to buy clothing, boots and shoes, hats, furniture, machinery, and the thousand and one other articles manufactured in the industrial East. The "big boys" of finance had killed the goose that for 60 years had been laying golden eggs. For 60 years the nest had been robbed, and now that the goose was killed, the East, too, was suffering from hard times. The "big boys" did not, nor do they know even now, how or why all this happened, for economic foresight and reasoning are too much for their cash-and-carry brains.

The golden eggs laid by the goose, now deceased, had been no small eggs either. What these eggs were worth in dollars and cents may be enlightening. To show the value of the eggs we must quote a few simple statistics, figures which can be verified from the Market Data Handbook issued by the Department of Commerce for the year 1927.

The total value of manufactures in the United States in 1927 was $62,718,347,289. Exports of merchandise or manufactured articles for that year amount to $4,865,376,000, leaving the net amount of manufactured goods used and consumed by the people of this country, about $58,000,000,000. The total of manufactured goods in the States east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers—exclusive of Wisconsin—was $43,919,608,062, and the total of manufactured goods for the remainder of the country was $18,798,739,227. What part of this $43,000,000,000 of eastern industrial products was purchased by the South and West it is impossible to determine exactly, because the South and the West used a portion of their industrial products for home consumption and sold a part of what they produced to the East. The East used a portion of their production and sold the surplus to the rest of the country and still purchased some of their needs from the South and West. The per capita amount of goods consumed was about $550 per annum which would leave the East with a domestic surplus of about $16,000,000,000. One person's guess is as good as another's but let us guess at a reasonable estimate of one-third as the amount of production of industry bought by the East from the South and the West. This one-third or about $6,000,000,000 should be deducted from the East's consumption and added to the amount sold the balance of the country. Adding this one-third to the $16,000,000,000 of surplus of manufactured goods sold by the East to the South and West, the amount is approximately $22,000,000,000. This allocation also carries out approximately the per capita consumption of $550 per annum. This twenty-two billion was the domestic market of the East—official classification territory—for 1927, under depressed conditions in both the South and the West. In normal times this market will buy at least $30,000,000,000 annually from the East—a mighty valuable nest of golden eggs.

In 1931 the total value of manufactured goods fell to $41,000,000,000, or a drop of about one-third. This drop means a corresponding decrease in the purchases made in domestic commerce and in eastern sales to the remainder of the country, or a loss of golden-egg value of between eight and ten billion dollars. This difference was principally caused by the lack of buying power in the South and West because of greater depressed business conditions than even in 1921 and 1922. When the East in 1920 killed the goose, the golden egg she was laying had a potential value of about $30,000,000,000. Now the golden eggs are reduced to a subnormal value of about $15,000,000,000.

The greater portion of the income of the Northwest was from the sale of agricultural products. The farmers trading with Hayville, Mayville, and Jayville, received such pitifully low prices for their products that they had but little purchasing power with the local merchants. The merchants, not selling to the farmers, need not buy in quantity from the Twin City wholesale houses. In other sections of the South and the West business was likewise affected so that there was also less buying from wholesale houses in Omaha, Kansas City, Denver, Atlanta, Dallas, and other commercial centers. The railroads, had but little of the high-rated merchandise to haul between distributing centers and country towns. Anyway the short-haul business was going to the trucks because the carriers had played "whole hog" with the less-than-carload business by charging all the traffic would bear. The wholesale houses, having a very much reduced volume of business need not order in quantity from the manufacturers in the East, so there was a greatly reduced tonnage for the railroads from the industrial cities of the East for long hauls of high-rated freight to commercial centers in the South and West. Manufacturers, having their former markets greatly reduced with no new orders, were forced to limit their output and even to close their factories. This resulted in idleness for a large number of factory hands. The factory hands had but little money to buy food so the prices of farm products kept falling. The vicious circle has continued to get worse and no doubt the success of the New York Chamber of Commerce in lowering the high cost of living and wages has exceeded their utmost expectations.

The remedy is to again establish fair prices for producers of raw materials. Relief and assistance to banks, railways, and other large corporations is not the remedy. Prosperity is worked up from below and is not handed down from above. The New York Chamber of Commerce, or the "big boys," have never handed down prosperity or anything else to the people or to the farmers. Their idea of prosperity is big dividends and low wages and low prices for raw materials.

New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other large industrial centers felt the depression with their market of golden eggs reduced from thirty to fifteen billion dollars. Not only were the big manufacturing cities affected but the killing of the goose was acutely felt in Hingham, Bingham, and Dingham. From what has happened since the goose was killed, it should now be apparent even to the "big boys" and the New York Chamber of Commerce—the New York Chronicle is impossible—that if we are to have real prosperity in this country, every section must have its just and fair share of that prosperity. To paraphrase the words of Lincoln, "This country cannot be prosperous with one-half rich and one-half poor." Each section is dependent on the other, for the way the country has been divided by the transportation system, makes one section industrial and the other agricultural. Each is the market of the other.

When farmers marketing their products in the little village of Vesta, in fertile Redwood County, in the south-central part of Minnesota, receive 7 cents a bushel for corn, 32 cents for wheat, 8 cents for oats, 10 cents for potatoes, 8 cents per dozen for eggs, 75 cents to $1 a hundred for cattle, and 1½ to 2 cents a pound for hogs, how can these same farmers with such shameful prices buy clothing, boots and shoes, furniture, hardware, paints, barbwire, machinery, or anything else? What the farmers need they are forced to go without. The prices paid to the farmers of northern Minnesota, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana are even lower than the prices paid to the farmers at Vesta because of the longer hauls to market and the higher freight rates in these more sparsely settled sections.

The Northwest must deliver to the market to sell and pays the freight to market. The Northwest, when it buys, takes deliveries f. o. b. the market, and therefore pays the freight to its doors. On long hauls to distant markets the freight charges amount to a large sum, which comes out of the pockets of producers if the item of freight is analyzed to its final result. A national freight bill of from four to six billion dollars a year has been paid by the farmers, and to pay it they have had to mortgage their farms to eastern loan companies and life-insurance companies.

Let me again repeat, three primary elements compose the economic activities of mankind. They are production of raw materials, the manufacture of materials into articles for use and consumption, and the distribution of raw materials to places where they are used in manufacture, and then the distribution of the manufactured goods to consumers. All other economic activities are only incidental to these three, for all other trades and professions get their incomes from people engaged in production, manufacture, and distribution. The farmers, miners, livestock raisers, and fishermen pay the freight to market. The incomes of cities and towns are derived solely from the costs of manufacture and the expense of distribution. Manufacture and distribution costs are added to prices. The consumption of townspeople is paid for out of the earnings in manufacture and distribution. The surplus over the amount used by the townspeople is sold to producers of raw materials who pay the freight to their doors. The farmers, therefore, pay the freight bill of the country, except probably a portion is paid by town consumers in the transportation of manufactured goods between towns, but even that comes out of the incomes of manufacture and distribution, the base of the pyramid being the producers of raw materials.

SECTION VIII. PRICES

The most important factor in our economic set-up is the prices paid to producers of raw materials. The producers pay the largest share of the freight bill of the country. They delve from the earth the basic wealth of the Nation. Manufacture and distribution of production engages in commercial activity all the people of the cities and towns whose incomes are derived from making the raw materials available for use and consumption. When producers are prosperous, the workers, business and professional men and people of the towns generally are also prosperous. Producers, if they are to thrive, must receive adequate prices covering the costs of production plus reasonable margins of profit.

The problem confronting the Nation is one of fair prices for raw materials and how these prices are to be brought up to such standard and maintained on an average. High prices only when there is a shortage of production will not solve the problem. The price level from year to year must be fair and reasonable.

In discussing prices, one man's opinion is as good as another's, if not a little better. Therefore, we shall not be backward in expressing opinions. Recent authorities have analyzed price fluctuations by tables, graphs, indexes, statistics, and averages of various staple commodities the comparisons showing prices, supply, and demand. But it seems that all these experts accomplish are showings of continual price fluctuations which bear some relation with other commodities or other circumstances and conditions as prices rise and fall. What actually causes these price changes is still a mystery to anyone except the expert who advances his particular theory or to anyone still believing in the law of supply and demand.

Authorities on prices and marketing seem to ignore the fact that there are human agencies connected with all the affairs of life and that physical factors are agencies to be considered. Power, greed, manipulation, dishonesty, conspiracy, foolishness, and other human weaknesses enter into all commercial transactions in more or less degree. Apparently, economists have disregarded the physical factors brought about by the actions of men or by conditions through some physical evolution, economic mistakes, or gross ignorance which have operated to dislocate or to alter certain fundamental equities.

Every authority examined has ignored the fundamental element of distribution in its effect on prices and more particularly have they overlooked the factor of transportation.

The more the subject of prices is discussed, the more confusing it becomes because there are so many divergent and complicated ideas. In time of financial crisis, when it is probable that physical causes and conditions have brought about the depression, practical reasons rather than theories should be given more thought and consideration in seeking the causes and in finding a remedy. All theories are useless unless they can be put to some practical application.

Prices is an intangible subject not capable of being analyzed by actual experiments, so conjecture and supposition are the chief arguments in support of the numerous theories which have been advanced. Mills in Behavior of Prices, explains how difficult the price problem is when he says:

"Then there emerges those profundities, complexes, involutions, analogies, differences, and dependencies which both harass and encourage the research worker. In all work in biological and social sciences these complexes are intensified by the omnipresent fact of variation, a reflection of the presence of numerous forces behind the phenomena we are observing."

Mr. Mills is right; the subject of prices is a "tough proposition." After wrestling with Prices by Warren and Pearson and with Mills' Behavior of Prices, it became apparent that the subject is even more complex with more of those profundities to the average reader than Mr. Mills probably realized. The indexes, equations, formulas, tables, graphs, averages, cycles, and what not are as complicated as the tariffs of the freight-rate structure and even less intelligible, plausible, and practicable. Fortunately, another authority, Bassett Jones wrote a book entitled "Horses and Apples." In this book Jones shows that Messrs. Warren and Pearson are about as befuddled as the average reader will become on reading Prices. Certainly, nothing can be stated which would be much more absurd than the attempt, as Jones puts it, to add two horses and two apples, which apparently Warren and Pearson try to do in arriving at their averages.

Warren and Pearson seem—one cannot be certain—to stress the value of gold as a determining factor in the rise and fall of prices. That is, when there is a demand for gold, prices fall. When there is no demand for gold, prices rise. So they compare prices with gold and if prices are high, then there is no demand for gold; but if prices go down then it is because there is a demand for gold. Gold, they seem to infer, is not only a unit measure of value or a standard of exchange, but is also a commodity, the value of which goes up or down and prices of other commodities rise when the value of gold is low and prices fall when the value of gold is high. Probably the supply and demand of gold is the controlling feature of their theory. They do not seem to admit that the rise in commodity prices decreases the purchasing power of gold as a unit or standard of exchange or the fall in prices of commodities, increases the purchasing power of gold. They claim the value of gold either up or down, makes prices go up or down.

To debate the gold theory of Warren and Pearson would, we think, be as foolish as the old argument, "Which came first, the chicken or the egg?" Warren and Pearson seem to be in a similar dilemma, for they cannot prove whether the chicken of gold came first or the egg of commodities.

Warren and Pearson present an interesting theory, but if they are right, what is the remedy? Certainly the confiscation of gold by the United States would not be effective unless all other governments likewise confiscated gold so that throughout the world there could not possibly be any demand for gold. If this haunting specter, "Demand for gold," is eliminated, then some other medium or standard of exchange must be substituted. This substitute must be money and credit. Then the ogre to be feared would be the "Demand for money and credit." Prices would rise when this ogre was sleeping and was not even dreaming of money and credit. When this ogre goes on a rampage demanding money and credit, then prices fall. The Government would be compelled to confiscate money and credit and the country would revert to physical barter and trade of prehistoric man. With such a merry-go-round theory we are getting nowhere, as we now know the solution of our commodity price problem.

Some economists contend that whether prices are high or low is immaterial. They claim that if prices are high for what is sold, prices are also high for what is bought; there is the same relativity when prices are low. However, these economists overlook the debts of producers of raw materials because with low prices just that much more of their production is required to pay taxes, interest, and debts. Furthermore, the fluctuations in prices from high prices to ones that are abnormally low cause periods of heavy losses that the high prices, which usually are for short periods, do not offset. If producers were out of debt and a low-price average could be maintained, not only on what they sell but also on what they buy, this theory might be partly true, but it would be also necessary to adjust taxes and freight rates to the low prices. But producers are always in debt, and because they are so numerous and so widely scattered they cannot combine and organize to maintain fair average prices. Then there is the uncertainty of the volume of production because of the many factors involved. On the other hand, the manufacturers can organize and combine to maintain prices and can more easily control volume of production.

High prices to producers are similar in principle to the law of increasing returns and increased traffic density of the railroads. Producers have certain fixed and constant expense. Costs of production after the overhead is paid does not increase in proportion to the amount produced or the price paid. The additional revenue is clear profit.

Under present marketing conditions prices of raw materials are depressed while prices of manufactured goods are either advanced or maintained. There is, as a rule, no fair relationship of prices, so the prosperity of the country depends on fair prices for the farmer, the miner, and the stockman. The industrialist seems to be quite able to take care of himself.

Too many factors enter into the rise and fall of prices to justify any authority taking the demand for gold, debt, the law of supply and demand or any one factor as a predominating cause. Price fluctuations are caused by three primary elements. One is psychological which creates the speculative price. The second is manipulation whereby certain dominating parties by schemes and devices enter into conspiracies to control prices. The third is that old and generally accepted doctrine, "The law of supply and demand." Numerous other factors enter into each of the elementary divisions so that in the final analysis there are a multitude of causes for price fluctuations. At times prices rise to extravagant heights and apparently without rhyme or reason and then drop so low that the purchaser at any price asumes a liability. Then prices seem to rise and fall in cycles. Besides there is some relation between prices of different commodities and this connection is frequently a disturbing factor. The safest ground to take is that there are no rules, regulations, notes, or items, principles or tangibles by which prices can be determined.

In the last 15 years there have been three notable examples of speculative prices caused by the phychological factor. The first was the land boom in Iowa and the Central West in 1919 and 1920. The second was the Florida bubble in 1926. Third, the Wall Street speculative craze in 1929.

The Iowa land boom was predicated on war prices for agricultural products. It started in Iowa and spread throughout the Central West. Equities were subject to first, second, and third mortgages, contracts for deed, and options. In Iowa $150 an acre land went as high as $1,000 per acre. The boom spread to other States. In Minnesota, South Dakota, and North Dakota, wild land worth not more than $10 an acre rose to $50 an acre. The problem of the speculators was not how much land they could buy and pay for with their capital but how many equities they could get hold of through loans from banks on options, contracts, and mortgages. Bankers, businessmen, and farmers were infected with the virus of land speculation. No physical, business, or financial conditions justified the sky-rocketing of prices. Reasonable judgment and foresight should have told the speculators that wartime prices could not continue indefinitely. Also, even with high prices of agricultural products the lands could not bring any returns on the prices for which they were being sold. The increase in land prices was, therefore, merely a state of mind—a psychological phenomena.

In speculation there seems to be peaks above which psychology does not rise. After this peak is reached, a rapid reaction takes place and the hopeful speculative state of mind becomes as depressed as before it was buoyant. When the speculation began, there was a wide margin of safety to bankers and capitalists who financed the operations of the men starting the speculation. But, this margin narrowed as prices continued to rise and incumbrances were piled on incumbrances. Bankers and capitalists lost confidence in the narrowed margin of safety. Then came the ultimatums against inflation and credit, broadcast from the financial mosques of Wall Street. Bankers decided, all too late, that they had gone too far in financing this crazy speculation. But, once begun, it was difficult to stop. But, finally, they were compelled to stop. A change in psychology or rather the reaction of psychology, lack of confidence, and the financial demands for a margin of safety, broke the boom. Farm lands dropped to prices lower than they had been for many years. Loans on farms, made at reasonable pre-war valuations, were foreclosed, and in many cases the owners were unable to redeem. Financial conditions had become acute because of the panic of 1920 and 1921. If farm lands anywhere in the United States are worth $300 to $500 per acre, that land is in Iowa, but prices dropped to $100 an acre and even as low as $50. This reaction was not warranted because the substantial worth of Iowa farm lands should have made values more stable. This reaction is another illustration of the psychological as it affects prices.

During the Florida boom, the east coast was platted in town lots from Jacksonville to Cape Sable, a distance of about 400 miles and, in some cases, for 10 miles back from the waterfront. Central Florida and the west coast were also platted. Although there are no statistics available to verify the statement, probably enough lots were platted in Florida to provide a winter home for half the families in the country. Again, it was a contagious psychology like that in Iowa which blew the speculative bubbles so big that it suddenly burst. A reaction similar to that in Iowa followed. When the peak was reached, bankers and capitalists found themselves in a like predicament that the western bankers and capitalists had been in during the Iowa land boom. Holders of Florida real estate ceased paying taxes, though many properties were worth at least the tax assessments. Because of the many natural advantages Florida possesses as a winter resort, this property will again become valuable.

The Wall Street speculation craze was a like psychic phenomena to the Iowa land boom and the Florida bubble. Human nature with its gambling instincts and its greed for gain is much the same whether in Iowa, Florida, or New York City. It may have been the "Coolidge prosperity" myth which started the stock boom. Stocks soared to prices so high that anyone who could figure that two and two make four should have realized the impossibility at these high prices that the stocks would pay a reasonable return on the investment. Again came a similar mental reaction. Many of these stocks are now so low that investors are afraid to buy, although with a return of prosperity, some of the stocks should be a good investment. Which ones are in this category, many would like to know.

Not only has psychology played hide and seek with prices of lands, lots, and stocks but it has done the same with commodities. "Old Hutch," Armour, Leiter, Patten, Cutting, and others have been factors in speculative prices of wheat, cotton, pork, and corn.

When prices are low, production naturally falls off. With lowered production and a normal demand, if there is no manipulation, prices gradually begin to rise. Then enters an era of new production and

speculation. To finance production and speculation, the borrowing of money is necessary. In the first stages of this advance in prices, the margin of safety to lenders is rather wide and they loan with a feeling of security. But as prices advance, more money per unit is needed to finance new deals. The margin of safety narrows, for the lenders realize at last that there is a price limitation, for prices cannot always continue to rise. When the margin of safety reaches the danger point, financial backers become panic-stricken; call in their loans and refuse to grant more credit. And so the boom breaks—just like that.

Other mental states and associations of ideas contribute to the depression of prices. Fear is an obsession not easily overcome, especially fear of an imaginary danger. Of all imaginary fears which possess bankers and capitalists, fear of debt is the least eradicable. The Nation has been preached to and preached at, warned against and haunted with dire prophecies of disaster because of debt. There is, of course, a limitation on debt and that limit should not be recklessly exceeded. Although debt is a liability of the debtor, it is likewise an asset of the creditor. A bank deposit is a liability of the bank but an asset to the depositor. Who would disclaim against a bank's desire to increase its deposits and thus its debts?

Losses on debts in the ordinary course of business are small compared to the volume of business transacted. Doane states that outstanding accounts and notes receivable amount to eight and one-half billion dollars, and the losses on the amount outstanding are 4.2 percent. The average volume of business in the United States is approximately $100,000,000,000 per annum. According to Doane's figures, the annual credit losses are three-tenths of 1 percent of the volume of business. These figures compare with the actual figures in the wholesale and retail trades, and the same percentage probably applies to miscellaneous trades and professions. The large losses in this country are not caused by dead beats, commercial crooks, or the Dillingers but by the big flotations of worthless stocks and bonds through presumably reliable financial houses.

Under normal conditions, debts should not be so greatly feared. A debt, when interest is being paid, when it can be renewed or refinanced, when the assets of the borrower have values capable of liquidation so that the debt can be enforced, is an aid to commercial activity and not a bugaboo to frighten the wits out of economists and financiers. Debt is derived from credit. Money and credit in free circulation give business momentum. The turn-over of money with the extension of credit increases the volume of trade, which in turn advances prices because of the steady demands of commerce.

Bankers, when they restrict credit as a general policy and refuse to refinance loans dig the pit which they themselves fall into. In 1920, when the financial interests in New York City called loans and refused credit and raised the Federal Reserve bank's discount rate, they brought about the panic of 1921. Commerce slackened, prices dropped, assets could not be liquidated, and loans on the banks' books became frozen assets, made so in the first place by the general fear and the refusal to loan and renew. Banks are automatic ice machines.

Bankers ought to know that money is not like bread, meat, and potatoes. Money is not eaten or digested. Keeping its original form, money comes back to the banks in its general circulation. Money lying in vaults is unprofitable to banks, but after the situation has been "gummed up" by the bankers, they do not dare to loan, because values are so low that the extension of credit is dangerous. Credit extended on a fair and reasonable basis creates debts beneficial to trade and prices. A sudden reversal of credit policies, especially when these policies come from a central financial control like that of Wall Street, spreads over the country, creating panic and disaster. Policies too reckless at one time and too conservative at another congeal debts into frozen assets.

The rapidity of the money turn-over makes the volume of money available for business. Five billions of circulating medium turning over 20 times a year is equivalent to one hundred billion of money for business. If the circulating medium turns over only 5 times a year, there is only twenty-five billion of money for business. Credit stimulates this turn-over. When banks, through fear and with mutual understanding curtail credit throughout the Nation as was done in 1920 and again in 1929, the money turn-over is so reduced in velocity that all business is demoralized. With reduced volume of business, prices fall and the vicious circle of low prices for producers, no business for merchants and wholesale houses, the railroads have much less traffic, and closing of factories starts the revolving to still lower prices for producers and less and less business all around.

What is needed is stabilized credit control which by some means should be managed by the Government and not by private bankers and financiers of Wall Street. With stabilized credit, prices, and values would become more fixed and settled. One suggestion occurs at this time and that is that a maximum discount rate for Federal Reserve banks should be fixed by law. Probably this maximum should not exceed 4 percent. It is New York's influence and control of the Federal Reserve banks' discount rate that enables bankers to combine to restrict credit. When in 1920, the rate was advanced from 4¾ percent to 7 percent and State and national banks throughout the country following the lead of New York, began to close in on credit, the panic of 1921 was brought about. The East was successful in reducing the high cost of living and high wages, but the ultimate result was not only to wreck the country, but almost the entire world.

The financial control of New York City has been built up through profits of trade liquidated into money and credits. The transportation structure has made New York the Nation's market. To break this financial control, markets and industry must be distributed among other large commercial centers. But this can only be done by the equalization of railway freight rates on a level with New York.

One analogy and comparison used by Warren and Pearson is somewhat appropriate to the subject of transportation. In several of their graphs they compare the rise and fall of prices in the United States with the rise and fall of prices in England and the curves of the two camparisons are almost identical. The reasons Warren and Pearson give for this similarity is, of course, the demand for gold which apparently was equally acute or equally indifferent at the same time in both countries. But they did not take into consideration the similarity of transportation conditions affecting both London and New York. Although the freight-rate structure of the British Empire is built on water transportation and United States on rail, the principles of low rates into the market for raw material and low rates out for manufactured goods is the same. London is the market for the empire just as New York is the market for the Republic. It is a well-known fact that there is a community of financial interest between the two markets, so much so, that Messrs. Morgan, Wiggin, Mitchell, Dillon, and other financial magnates are reported to turn up their trousers whenever it rains in London. Financial "cold feet" seems to be an affliction contagious between the two great monetary capitals. A graph of "cold feet" would no doubt show a similarity of dips and rises between the two cities.

The British Commonwealths protected themselves against the discriminations in transportation by the enactment of protective tariffs on manufactured goods. Minnesota, Kansas, and Alabama, and other States of our Union cannot do this, so they are unable to foster infant industries against the competition of the East.

Manipulated prices are artificial rather than the natural result of the law of supply and demand, a law which has become sort of a catch-all through which every price influence must pass and in which one may hope to find all shades and varieties of price determinants. Price factors are sometimes natural and sometimes artificial and often a combination of both.

While it is evident from graphs and averages which indicate and compare prices with the supply of a particular commodity that prices fluctuate with the volume of production, yet the tables cannot take into consideration that constant and continued manipulation may cause depressed prices under average normal conditions. That is, manipulation can only be successfully conducted when conditions are normal. A scarcity of production forces prices up regardless of all efforts of depression. Manipulation may be able to fix average prices so low that there is little or no profit to producers of raw materials and commodities.

In stock and bond markets, especially on the New York Stock Exchange, manipulation of prices as a factor is generally admitted. The outstanding cause of prices moving up or down on the stock exchange is that they are manipulated by pools, bankers, investment trusts, or by large operators. Some interested parties claim that stock-market changes are a response to legitimate supply and demand, but their claims are not taken seriously. These statements are merely sales talk, not statements of fact. On the stock market the manipulation is carried out through wash sales, matched orders, rumors and tips, and pools and combinations.

The general run of price authorities are of the opinion that it is virtually impossible to control prices of raw materials. This may be true, but complete control is not always necessary in order to depress prices. There is a material difference in the ability to control and the ability to depress prices. If trusts and combinations of large interests absolutely controlled prices, the fact would be so apparent that proof would not be necessary. That large industrial concerns with immense buying powers are able to depress prices by devious and secret practices is more difficult to prove, for deception and fraud must always be secret and underhanded to operate successfully.

There was a time when the trusts, confident in their might, boldly attempted to control prices of certain staple products. Dissolution under the Sherman Act forced them to desist from openly practiced price control. Since that time the constituent companies, formerly members of certain trusts, have been more circumspect.

The antitrusts cases under the Sherman Act shed considerable light on the practices of the trusts and the methods they employed to depress prices to producers.

In the case of *Swift & Co.* v. *United States* (196 U. S. 375) the Supreme Court of the United States said:

"In order to restrain competition among themselves as purchasers of livestock, defendants have engaged in, and intend to continue, a combination for requiring and do and will require their respective purchasing agents at the stockyards mentioned, where defendants buy their livestock (the same being produced and owned principally in other States and shipped to yards for sale) to refrain from bidding against each other 'except perfunctorily and without good faith' and by this means compelling the owners of such stock to sell at less prices than they would receive if the bidding really was competitive.

"For the same purposes the defendants combine to bid up, through their agents, the prices of livestock for a few days at a time 'so that the market will show prices much higher than the state of the trade will warrant,' thereby inducing stockowners in other States to make shipments to stockyards to their advantage."

Further particulars showing how the market was manipulated in the buying of livestock are given in the case of *United States* v. *Swift & Co.* (188 Fed. 92). Armour, Swift, and Morris had organized a concern called the National Packing Co. The court gives the substance of the conspiracy in its statement wherein it says:

"They agreed—

"First. They would not compete in the purchase of livestock and would make uniform bids for animals of like grades.

"Second. That the three groups adopted a uniform system of determining the sale prices of dressed beef by adding to the cost of the animal on the hoof certain fixed and excessive charges to cover operating expenses and by deducting certain inadequate allowances for byproducts.

"Third. That each group would direct its sales agents to sell at the prices figured according to the agreement or, if not at that price, at a certain other price also agreed upon. That by agreeing on the amounts to be paid for the livestock, and upon the amounts to be deducted for byproducts, and in reaching a uniform sale price, they have eliminated all competition in the fresh-meat industry between the three groups of defendants. That they were large operators in interstate commerce, and by a combination among themselves they have agreed upon a system which restricted the business of each individual group. The medium through which all the groups collected information and operated was the National Packing Co., organized, owned, and directed by the groups collectively. Its office furnished a common meeting ground, and there the total business done by all the defendants, by agreement, would be equalized from time to time, each being permitted to share according to its financial interest, and prices were kept up by increasing or decreasing shipments to particular territories according to market conditions. The whole plan, from its inception, appears plainly to be one to eliminate competition as a factor in fixing prices among the three groups of defendants, beginning with the agreement not to bid against each other and, in fact, to bid exactly the same amounts for like grades of livestock, determining a uniform selling price and ending with fixing a uniform sale price and an apportionment among themselves of the total business done."

In order to prevent future abuses of this nature, Congress enacted the Packers and Stockyards Act. Section I (e) prohibits anyone to—

"Engage in any course of business or do any act for the purpose or with the effect of manipulating or controlling prices in commerce or of creating a monopoly in the acquisition of buying, selling, or dealing in any article of commerce or of restraining commerce."

Since the passage of this law all trusts and combinations of interest have been compelled, when they violate either the spirit or the letter of the act, to proceed secretively and furtively. For that reason it is now practically impossible to secure evidence of any open violations of the law. But there may be still a few innocents who believe that the hands of the big interests have lost their cunning. There has been no improvement in market conditions since the passage of the act. Prices of staple commodities dominated by large industrial concerns are still low when average prices are considered. Long since the packers have learned the tactics and technique of the game, they have been playing on livestock producers and to believe they have now reformed is to stretch credulity to the breaking point.

Crude-oil producers have also been the victims of the oppressive tactics of large purchasing concerns. In the *Standard Oil case* (221 U. S. 1) the court's conclusion was:

"The inference that no attempt to monopolize could have been intended and that no monopolization resulted from the acts complained of, since it is established that a very small percentage of the crude oil produced was controlled by the combination, is unwarranted. As substantial power over the crude product was the inevitable result of the absolute control which existed over the refined product, the monopolization of the one carried with it the power to control the other."

The case of *Federal Trade Commission* v. *Utah-Idaho Sugar Co.* (6 Federal Trade Commission Decision 390) shows to what lengths a corporation through combination and community of stockholders will go to destroy competition in buying from producers. One of the purposes of this combination was to eliminate competition in the purchase of sugar beets.

The tobacco industry presents another interesting phase of the business methods employed by large purchasers of leaf tobacco from almost helpless producers. The original trust was the American Tobacco Co. The trust was dissolved by the Government in the case of *United States* v. *American Tobacco Co.* (221 U. S. 106 (1911)). Then, presumably, the old constituent companies went their separate ways. The evidence shows the crossing of their pathways.

The Court's decree directed the dissolution of the trust. The decree was complied with by the trust reverting to four of the original constituent members, the American Tobacco Co., Liggett & Meyers Tobacco Co., R. J. Reynolds & Co., and P. Lorillard & Co., and three snuff companies, the American Snuff Co., Weyman, Bruton Co., and George W. Helme Co., besides a half dozen other smaller companies engaged in activities relating to the tobacco trade. The trust's foreign interests were divided between the Imperial Tobacco Co. (Ltd.) and the British American Tobacco Co. (Ltd.). All of the above companies were operated in close relationship according to the findings of the Federal Trade Commission in its report of December 11, 1920, of the Commission's investigation of the tobacco industry.

The constituent companies bought from 50 percent to 75 percent of American leaf tobacco of various grades. Prior to the dissolution, the 29 individual defendants in the suit owned about 50 percent of the common voting stock of the trust. After the reorganization into 14 companies that were formed under the decree, these same 29 individuals owned in the aggregate from 28 to 45 percent of the voting stock of the several companies. At the time of the Commission's report 8 out of 10 of the original largest stockholders or their families retained large holdings in the disintegrated companies, their aggregate stock ownership in the Big Four and 3 large snuff companies amounting to nearly 300,000 shares.

The Trade Commission in its investigation report, section 7, page 58, said:

"According to the testimony of numerous tobacco producers, dealers, warehousemen, and buyers, as well as correspondence of the large manufacturers, and dealers, one of the most important causes of the decline in leaf tobacco during 1919 and 1920 season was 'holding off' the market and 'buying under cover' indulged in by the large tobacco manufacturers. The effect of these practices varied, but was more apparent in those markets where companies using the methods were important purchasers. As a general proposition, it is recognized by those experienced in the trade, that 'holding off' the market, even temporarily by any concern which purchases a substantial percentage of the tobacco sold on that market will have a direct effect on the prices being paid. Also it is recognized that where a large user buys its requirements 'under cover' through a dealer already on the market, competition is lessened and the price is affected."

In its investigation of wheat-flour-milling industry, the Federal Trade Commission, in its report of June 3, 1924, found that 5 large flour-milling companies operating 49 mills and each producing in excess of 2,000,000 barrels, had an aggregate production of over 25,000,000 barrels, or nearly 23 percent of the country's total, and 8 companies with 87 mills each producing in excess of 1,000,000 barrels, had a total of almost 30,000,000 barrels, or 27 percent of the total.

In the cotton investigation, 1924, the following is a quotation from the findings of the Trade Commission:

"Frequent criticisms, both oral and written, were made to the effect that three large cotton merchants were working together under some sort of a 'gentlemen's agreement' in future operations, and that they were thus able at times unduly to influence the course of futures prices to their own advantage. Such criticisms were in some instances made by cotton men of high reputation in the trade. The Commission did not obtain any definite proof of these practices."

A reading of the evidence before the Commission seems to establish that there was some kind of an understanding or collusion between the three large concerns, but this the companies strenuously denied. But men have been hanged on weaker circumstantial evidence.

The two important cotton exchanges are New York and New Orleans. Dallas and other important cities in the South are large "spot markets," but New York is where cotton futures deliveries are made. Regarding marketing conditions in the New York market, the Trade Commission found:

"It is an obvious conclusion that from the foregoing that the situation in the New York market is bad for the cotton trade."

The Commission said further:

"The strongest claim for a futures market is that it furnishes a safe hedge for cotton merchants. This the New York market does not always do. In fact, it is frequently manipulated, its prices being forced out of line. It is a truism to say that for some years past the New York futures market has failed to perform satisfactorily its chief function.

"There are valid objections to abolishing the New York futures market. New York has an important advantage over any other city in the United States; it is the financial and trading center of the world. It is stated by some cotton merchants that New Orleans has a better contract than New York in that delivery takes place at a large spot market, but the volume of trading in futures at New York is much greater than that at New Orleans."

Here is concrete evidence of market control in New York if any such evidence is needed. Not only is the cotton trade controlled from New York, but many other staples are dominated by the exchanges of this market.

A historic illustration of the power of large industrial combinations to depress prices is the struggle between American rubber manufacturers and the British Government when the latter attempted to maintain prices of crude rubber through the Stevenson plan. By far the larger consumers of crude rubber are the American concerns. James Cooper Lawrence, in The World's Struggle With Rubber, describes the action taken by the American companies:

"American manufacturers who, to protect the operation of their plants, had made normal forward commitments for high-priced rubber, found themselves at the end of 1926 facing heavy losses from those commitments. In 1927 a rubber-buying pool representing all the larger manufacturers undertook to at least eliminate American buyers' harmful competitive bidding against each other for normal supplies of crude rubber."

Through this pool the recovery of old rubber and Dutch competition, the American companies were able to force the price of crude rubber from $1 a pound to 17 cents a pound.

If the large consumers of rubber were able to control and depress the price of rubber against the efforts of the British Government to uphold prices, the task of the pools and combinations to depress prices of wheat, cotton, livestock, tobacco, oil, sugar beets, and other staples should be comparatively easy as against the helpless American farmer.

The foregoing evidence at least is strongly circumstantial that the big interests in the past have been able to depress prices and have planned and schemed to do so. Through past experience they have learned the practice and procedure necessary in schemes and conspiracies to manipulate prices. That they have desisted in these practices must be denied because recent prices of raw materials indicates the contrary.

The large industrial corporations could pay higher prices for raw materials. A note in Moody's Industrialists for 1934 states that the American Tobacco Co. on May 3, 1934, made a marketing agreement to purchase 18,500,000 pounds of stemming grades of cigar-leaf tobacco at prices 100 percent higher than last season and that this agreement had received the tentative approval of Secretary Wallace.

The combination of industrial corporations consuming a certain staple creates almost the exclusive purchasing demand or at least a large percentage of the buying power and any secret combination or "gentlemen's agreement" is the most important of all market factors. If these combinations were fair, honorable, and patriotic in their dealing with producers and paid fair average prices instead of manipulating prices to a depressed average, the depression would soon be ended and the wheels of commerce would soon start rolling.

The argument is often advanced that if the trusts and large manufacturers, working in harmony, depress prices of staple products, other competitors can buy as cheaply as the trusts, either one carload or a hundred. But the trusts may buy 10,000 or 50,000 carloads and their aggregate profits correspond. What if the small buyer can buy at the same price? There is no comparison in the amount of ultimate profits. Besides the trusts have other advantages over the small-scale enterprise which more than make up for the price equalization.

It is to the interest of these combinations to buy their materials as cheaply as possible because there is less capital invested at low prices and again there is a greater opportunity for a wider margin of profit. The trusts cannot fix prices to consumers too high, but consumers do not object to reasonable prices regardless of what producers get. The margin of profit is between the low prices that can be depressed on raw materials and the prices the trusts can squeeze out of consumers. If raw materials are purchased at low prices a subsequent rise in prices of these materials justifies another advance in the prices of manufactured products which again means additional profits.

The general run of authorities seem to be more concerned with the abuse of trust fixing of prices on finished products than the abuse of depressing prices of raw materials. When these authorities were writing, conditions prevailing now were unthought of then, so it never occurred to them to investigate this phase of the trust question. We know now that the depression has been caused primarily by the low prices of farm products so we should by this time realize that trusts and industrial combinations are a greater menace to the country because of their efforts to depress prices to producers than to maintain prices to consumers.

Industrial trusts and combinations are aided in their machinations by the Money Trust. The interests of the big New York banks, life-insurance companies, industrials, and railroads are all interwoven by interlocking directorates, stockholdings, business relations, and other mutual interests.

The methods employed to depress prices can only be briefly outlined. Many of the details are obscure because the perpetrators dare not let their actions be bared to the light of day. No one but the high insiders know the complete story.

The large industrials being users of immense quantities of raw materials, with that leverage alone exert a powerful influence either for good or ill on the market, each in its own particular line. By tacit agreement, "gentlemen's agreement," or through buying pools, those in the same business and closely related through stockholders or directors, may plan not to compete with each other in bidding on the market. They may agree what the maximum offers will be. They may hold off buying or buy under cover or through agencies instructed to keep prices down and then allocate purchases among themselves. In this way they eliminate competitive bidding.

Wealthy corporations employ highly paid experts as buyers and technicians who are equipped with complete data and with laboratories to test qualities of products. The experts know the opportune time for buying, the state of the market, supply and demand, the favorable areas in which to buy, and the values and qualities of the products. They have every facility to aid them. This is a laudable and businesslike policy.

Through market and produce exchanges, the trusts practice long and short selling either to steady or depress the market or hedge on their buying or their failure to buy. The fact is well-established that long-and-short selling through exchanges affects the market. Nothing prevents the trusts from taking advantage of produce-exchange operations.

Many large concerns own and operate producing areas and though they may not be large enough to control or monopolize production, yet they may be sufficient as competitors with other producers, to appreciably affect the market. The Standard owns oil lands; the United States Steel Co., 75 percent of the ore lands in the Lake Superior district; rubber companies own rubber plantations; the United Fruit Co., banana plantations; Ford, timber, coal, and iron areas.

With large storage capacities or with great holdings of producing areas, trusts buy in immense quantities when commodities are cheap, feeding the market and selling short on the exchanges so as not to raise prices. The accumulation is stored for future use and this visible surplus is also a future price determinant. Cash resources and financial connections enable them to reduce the cost of storage to a low-interest charge. The Standard has immense oil-storage facilities at strategic points. Chesterfield cigarettes announces over the radio that it has in storage a 4-year supply of leaf tobacco worth $100,000,000 in warehouses 4½ miles long. According to Moody's, one flour-milling company has over 36,000,000 bushels of grain-storage capacity. With this storage they are able to hold off buying and thus depress the market. Also, with their supply assured they can sell short to depress prices still further.

Farmers and other small producers are always hard pressed for money and must sell, as a rule, when their crops are ready for market. The big buyers take advantage of this situation.

Through subsidiary corporations or unknown agencies the great industrial corporations are able to carry through devious schemes to depress markets for staple products.

Add to all which has been said on the subject the further fact that the large corporations are heavy shippers and the favored customers of the railroads. Trusts, banks, and railroads are all in this community-of-interest group with interlocking directorates, and transportation favors are another result bound to follow in the operations of this ring. Where the trusts' plants are located there is almost certain to be a flow of traffic, and volume of tonnage entitles the big shippers to low freight rates, both as consignees and consignors. Traffic experts call this market competition rather than trust control.

Traffic advantages again aid the trusts in establishing centralized markets for it is much easier to control one dominating market than a number of competing ones.

The Report of Commissioner of Corporations on Transportation of Petroleum, 1906, showed that the Standard Oil Co. had the advantage of lower rates made from points where it alone had refineries than from points where there were refineries of independent firms. The railroads may publish obscure and complicated tariffs with rates so constructed that only the big and favored corporations can take advantage of the lower rates. The big shipper is furnished cars during a car shortage while the small shipper is ignored. Then there is the favoritism of prompt service and the discrimination of delayed service. Harry G. Brown in Transportation Rates and Their Regulation summarizes the situation, thus:

"Discrimination among shippers is practiced in evasive ways, partly because of its illegality and of popular disapproval. These ways include blind billing, false billing, use of special equipment such as tank cars by favored shippers at secret rates, making discriminatory rates read from insignificant points so that others than the favored companies shall not know of them, allowing large sums for services of terminal railroads or sidings owned by corporations, and various other concealments and evasions."

Even to one on the outside, the above possibilities are apparent, but there may be other more secret and subtle schemes and devices practiced which are known only to those on the inside.

It would seem that the evidence shows that large industrial interests, to a considerable extent, are in a position to use their immense power and resources to at least regulate with a downward tendency the prices of staple products when it is in their interest to do so. The result of these practices when prices are depressed eventually redounds to their loss in the decreased buying power of producers who are also consumers of the finished products. But human greed looks to the present and not to the future, and, as a rule, trust magnates are no smarter nor are they any more farsighted than the average man.

Western farmers for the last 40 or 50 years have been conscious of the manipulation of prices. Nine farmers out of ten believe they are being exploited by the millers, the packers, and other industrial combinations. This sentiment has been the cause of various farm movements such as the Granger organizations, the Populist Party, the Nonpartisan League, and the Farmer-Labor Party. Probably a similar sentiment prevails with the cotton growers in the South, the oilmen in the Southwest, and the fruit growers on the coast. Definite evidences of this exploitation, the causes and means and the practices have never been pointed out, but their hunch has had a strong basis of fact. They have been absolutely right. The subconscious minds of millions of people do not lead them far astray after an experience of 40 or 50 years with manipulated prices.

Supply and demand is presumed to be as hard and fast a rule as the laws of the Medes and Persians. As a physical factor it is generally agreed to be the chief element in the regulation of prices. This is no doubt true to a certain extent, but supply and demand may be affected by variants such as the psychology of speculation, the demand for gold, margin of safety, demand for credit, and conspiracies to manipulate prices. Even if all other considerations merely affect to a certain degree the operation of the law and then only in normal times with average production and consumption,

the variations are important. A fair average price is of the utmost importance to producers. A small percentage of depression in prices may mean losses while if the prices were this percentage higher, profits would accrue which in the aggregate would amount to an immense sum. Overproduction is the exception rather than the rule and this is true of both underconsumption and scarcity of production of basic commodities. There is a fine balance year in and year out throughout the world in supply and demand. If there was always an oversupply, the accumulation of surpluses would be enormous. Experts on prices, because of these exceptional peaks or dips which are always followed by a corresponding price change, take supply and demand as the governor or safety valve of the market. We cannot entirely agree with this conclusion.

In a study of prices, the world's production of a commodity is estimated together with the surplus on hand, and this is the basis for determining the world's supply. The average consumption which fixes the demand is approximately known. From this data estimates are made of the decline or advance in price. The world's price on wheat, it is alleged, is fixed by Liverpool. The price to the American farmer is the Liverpool price less the freight and brokerage.

But prices are often governed by the competition of offerings. A large supply offered on the world market at less than the prevailing price, breaks the market. This is so self-evident to need no further explanation. It is true that we meet competition with wheat from Canada, Argentine, Australia, and Russia, but it is just as true that we compete with them.

The United States is the greatest producer of basic commodities and staple products of any nation in the world. According to Government statistics, the world production of cotton 1932–33 was 24,000,000 bales of which we produced 12,994,000 or 54.1 percent. In 1930 out of a world production of 5,112,000,000 pounds of tobacco, we produced 1,647,000,000, or 32.2 percent. The percentages for other commodities are as follows: We produced 52.2 percent of the world's corn; coal, 28.8 percent; petroleum, 59.9 percent; pig iron, 40.1 percent; steel ingots and castings, 43.3 percent; copper, 35.4 percent; lead, 33 percent; zinc, 32.3 percent. The United States is the largest producer of cattle and hogs, and is third in sheep. In 1930 we were second to Russia in wheat.

Our domestic prices are depressed by manipulation and the result is that our surplus offerings are exported at prices also depressed. Without doubt, world experts use American production and prices as a factor in determining the world price. When the largest production is offered on the world market, does not this have a tendency to determine world prices rather than world prices controlling our markets? There is probably no positive and logical answer to this question. One trying to answer is in the same dilemma as Warren and Pearson in their demand for gold theory and the debaters in the country schoolhouses whose question, "Which came first, the chicken or the egg?" has not yet been satisfactorily answered. One line of reasoning seems as logical or illogical as the other. But the query should, at least, give some food for thought.

The law of supply and demand is not invulnerable. It has been set aside, modified, or reversed by decrees of dictators more powerful than the law. When the dictators in New York in 1920 raised the Federal Reserve bank discount rate from 4 to 7 percent and refused to renew debts and grant credit, the backbone of business became paralyzed and the law of supply and demand was set aside. At once prices took a sharp dive and continued to decline with the restriction of credit regardless of the law of supply and demand until 1929 when there was another credit panic and prices of staple products dropped still lower. No such pronounced changes in supply and demand can be pointed out to justify the declines in prices. The law of supply and demand does not hold prices to an equivalent level when credit has been practically eliminated. Contraction or restriction of credit therefore is the most powerful decree which the dictators of New York possess in the manipulation of prices.

The law of supply and be damned

The law of supply and demand is a righteous law, an equitable law, a law that should be enforced and obeyed. But in view of all the circumstances affecting its operation, we would suggest an amendment to the title more fitting and of more correct application. It should be called the law of supply and be damned.

The early settlers of the West were given free homesteads, preemptions, and tree claims. The hard labor of men, women, and children, with frugal living and few enjoyments, developed a rich and fertile country. A rather small percentage of the pioneers became well-to-do. Once upon a time a number were wealthy, but when property and real estate in the West became liabilities instead of assets, they, too, are now among the down-and-outers. For 60 years the farmers of the West have been exploited by manipulated prices and discriminatory freight rates. Instead of farming at a profit, they have been operating, on the average, at a loss. Instead of being able to improve their farms, support and educate their families, and provide a competence for their old age out of the profits of operation, they have been forced to mortgage the free lands given them by the Government. With a fair and reasonable margin of profit to the farmer during those years, this accumulation of mortgage debt would not have been necessary. Gradually and steadily for 60 years, through mortgages and debts, the value of the lands and the original distribution of the wealth of the country has been drained from the farmers into the coffers of the capitalists in official classification territory.

Political equality, homogeneity of culture, and economic uniformity are essential for national unity. In the United States the first two are possessed by the people in general, but the third has been bestowed only on the people of one section of the Nation. Economic unity and uniformity have not been granted to all the people because the freight-rate structure has divided the country into three separate economic units, with greater rights granted to one section than to the other two. This disparity has enabled one-tenth of the area of the United States to exploit the other nine-tenths. The result of this exploitation has been a bitter and disastrous experience. Conditions at the present time are too well known to everyone to need description.

We realize what has happened, but why and how it has happened and the causes have become obscured in a fog of theories which no one but an expert can understand and no two experts agree nor can they understand each other. The difficulty has been that none of the experts has even suspected that physical causes which might be traced have been at the bottom of our troubles. They have all been seeking something intangible, when the physical factor as big as a mountain, looms up before them. These experts seem to know little about our transportation problems and our freight rate structure. They know nothing of the exploitation of the South and the West by industrial and financial interests of the East. They take it for granted that we are one Nation of 48 States with equal economic opportunities in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness. No one with actual and practical experience with western people and western conditions for a long period of years and with a knowledge of the freight rate structure has taken the time and the trouble to research the physical causes underlying the depression.

We do not assume to be the only one who knows and understands all about the difficult problems the situation presents. We do think, however, that we have presented a major phase which has not yet been covered by any authorities. Because of an opportunity and an environment of many years, we are in a better position to actually know western conditions and what has brought these conditions about than men who have confined their knowledge and research to books, tables, graphs, and statistics in colleges, in economic institutes, or in Government bureaus.

The causes which have brought about this financial and economic holocaust are physical and, therefore, the remedies must be physical. Transportation is a physical structure with its component parts of railways, waterways, and highways. The nature and the operation of the transportation structure can be shown by actual facts rather than by multiplicity of intricate theories. Only an iota of the evidence which could be produced has been presented here.

The causes of present economic conditions may be numerous and each in itself may present a difficult and complex problem. No single human mind is capable of grasping clearly and discussing exhaustively the many phases to be analyzed. If a new angle has been presented in this work, the solution of the problems may become more complicated than before. Each authority, discussing his particular viewpoint, should charitably concede something of merit to others, for there are theories enough for all. Even pure abstract theories may have their value, especially if the ideas are attractively presented, for discussion will finally bring about some solution of our problem.

For many years the country has suffered with the chronic affliction of maladjusted freight rates, and when exposed to epidemics of war, foreign loans, bond sales, stock frauds, demand for gold, and the Lord knows what, the Nation almost succumbed. The assigned causes only hastened a little prematurely what was bound to happen eventually because of our defective transportation system.

It may be asked, Who is to blame for the building up of a transportation system which has caused such havoc and disaster? Who should be abused and charged with the crime? Who should be made to pay the penalty? The answer is, No one. Because no one man or set of men is responsible. Our transportation system has been 100 years in the building. During that time hundreds of thousands of persons have been working on the structure as architects, superintendents, and builders. Thousands of legislators have made thousands of rules and regulations and hundreds of courts have interpreted these laws with thousands of decisions. Thousands of experts have put on the finishing touches. Everyone tinkering with the structure had a pet theory, idea, or vagary or some ax to grind or someone's ox to gore. The multiplicity of men and ideas which have contributed to the building of the freight-rate structure are innumerable. No one man or set of men possessed the genius or the diabolical ingenuity to conceive a transportation scheme of such intricacy and complexity. When the system was started there was no intent to build up one section at the expense of the others and thus arrange a plan whereby wealth and power could be centered in the hands of a small group of powerful financial magnates. Like Topsy, the system "just growed."

In this work it has not been charged that freight rates are too high and that the carriers are robbing the people. Such charges seem to be the favorite sport of those who criticize the railroads. It should be borne in mind that commerce must pay the actual cost of transportation, either by a fair charge, which will bring a fair return on the investment after paying the expense of carriage, or, if this is not done, then commerce must suffer the penalty

of poor and inadequate service. There is another expedient, subsidizing carriers for the loss if charges are too low, but the subsidy comes out of the people through taxation, and in the final analysis is borne by commerce.

We are not contending for lower freight rates but for equitable freight rates, at a charge giving commerce adequate service but a service and charge in all respects alike to all people in each and every section of the country. Only by this equalization of freight rates can we attain the economic uniformity which is necessary for the welfare of our country.

Because the present freight-rate structure has been so long in effect and production and industry has become fixed on a basis of present rates, the solution of the problem is not so easy as it might seem.

SECTION IX. THE REMEDY

Antecedent to the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, various States had enacted laws and established State commissions regulating and supervising the railways. But the Supreme Court of the United States held that State regulation could only be applied to intrastate commerce and that the States had no control over interstate traffic. In the central West, a great deal of dissatisfaction prevailed against the railroads because of high freight rates and discriminations practiced in favor of large concerns against small business and lower rates to large cities than to the smaller towns. Agitation became so strong that national regulation was apparently necessary to allay this discontent. The United States Senate in 1886 appointed a select committee, of which Senator Cullom of Illinois was chairman, to investigate the railroad situation and report to Congress.

To understand transportation conditions prior to 1887 and the ideas prevailing at that time, with reference to the railways and national regulation, it is necessary to quote at some length certain excerpts from the Cullom committee's report.

The purpose of the committee's investigation was to place the facts before Congress so that existing wrongs could be remedied by proper legislation. The burden of the complaints before the committee against the railroads was the practice of discriminations against persons and places, which, it was charged, built up the strong against the weak, concentrated business at great commercial centers, and fostered monopoly and the control of commerce in the hands of a few.

The intentions of the committee were undoubtedly sincere and honest, but at that time general sentiment had not crystallized with the idea that government was obligated to maintain economic equality and uniformity throughout the Nation regardless of private interests either in industry or transportation. The committee realized that transportation conditions were concentrating wealth and power in the hands of a few. The known facts should have convinced them that regulating laws should be passed abolishing these discriminations and closing up at once and for all time every loophole which might permit such injustices to continue. That they did not so realize is apparent from the report.

On page 7 of the report, the committee said:

"The policy which has been pursued has given us the most efficient railway service and the lowest rates known in the world; but its recognized benefits have been attained at the cost of the most unwarranted discriminations, and its effect has been to build up the strong at the expense of the weak, to give the large dealer an advantage over the small dealer, to make capital count for more than individual credit and enterprise, to concentrate business at great commercial centers, to necessitate combinations and aggregations of capital, to foster monopoly, to encourage the growth and extend the influence of corporate power, and to throw the control of commerce of the country more and more into the hands of a few."

The above was written in 1886, when all the evils which have since that time grown up like a Frankenstein were only getting fairly started. In the last 40 years the ratio of growth of centralized control and concentration of wealth has increased much more rapidly than it did previous to 1887. Evidently the evils which caused such conditions must have continued to exist, or the remedy applied at that time would have been effective to abate the abuses.

In a way the committee recognized the obligation of the Government to establish a State controlled transportation system, for on page 41 of the report it says:

"The only reason for the existence of railroad corporations, is that they might undertake a duty which the State was unable or unwilling to perform, and to that extent exercise a public function. The State granted authority to railroad corporations to thus levy a tax upon commerce, even with the expressed or implied reservation that these charges should be reasonable. Such corporation is in the nature of a monopoly."

The railroads strenuously opposed national regulation. The committee answered the arguments of the carriers in that part of its report on page 176:

"It is argued by the railroad representatives that arbitrary or oppressive rates cannot be maintained; that they are adjusted and sufficiently regulated by competition with rival roads and water routes, by commercial necessities, by natural laws of trade and by that self-interest which compels corporations to have due regard to the wants and the opinions of those upon whom they must depend for business; that such discriminations as exist are unavoidable; that the owners and managers of the property are the best judges of conditions and circumstances that affect the cost of transportation and should determine the compensation they are entitled to receive; and that in any event, the common law affords the shipper an adequate remedy and protection against abuse or any infringement of his rights.

"This answer fails to recognize the public nature and obligation of the carrier and the right of the people, through governmental authority, to have a voice in the management of a corporation which performs a public function. Nor do the facts warrant the claim that competition and self-interest can be relied upon to secure the shipper against abuse and unjust discrimination, or that he has an available and satisfactory remedy at common law."

On hearings before the committee, a large number of shippers appeared and lodged their complaints against the practices of the railroads. On page 182 of the report the committee summarized the gist of these complaints against the carriers:

"It will be observed that the most important, and in fact nearly all, of the foregoing complaints are based upon the practice of discrimination in one form or another. This is the principal cause of complaint against the management and operation of the transportation system of the United States, and gives rise to the questions of greatest difficulty in the regulation of interstate commerce. It is substantially agreed by all paries in interest that the greatest disideratum is to secure equality so far as practicable, in facilities for transportation afforded and the rates charged by the instrumentalities of commerce. The burden of complaint is against unfair differences in these particulars as between different places, persons, and commodities, and its essence is that these differences are unjust in comparison with rates allowed or facilities afforded to other persons and places for a like service under similar circumstances."

The report then goes on to explain the difficulty in establishing uniformity and its conclusion is that any such uniformity is impossible under private ownership with its conflicting interests. Such uniformity could only be made possible by the Government operation of the railroads in the same manner that the Postal Service is conducted.

The committee analyzed the theories of similar circumstances and conditions as affecting rate problems and it is upon the views expressed in the following quotations that the Interstate Commerce Act was made to read "for a like and similar service of a like kind of traffic under substantially similar circumstances and conditions."

"It is sometimes argued that any discrimination on the part of the common carriers is necessarily unjust; that there can be no such thing as a just discrimination. This is not the theory or principle of the common law, which is that all who are situated alike, must be treated alike. But all cannot be situated alike, and the rule therefore only holds good when limited to transactions of the same character, connected under similar circumstances and conditions. * * *

"Discriminations are common in commercial transactions of every description. They are as inevitable as are the differences in character and appearance of individuals. The merchant is not under obligation to treat his customers alike, and may discriminate in prices charged for similar articles, having regard only to his own interest as he views it."

Upon this fallacious and illogical reasoning of the committee in its report to Congress, the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 was enacted, thereby legalizing unreasonable rates, similar circumstances and conditions creating preferences, discriminations, prejudices, and advantages because the act ratified the innumerable dissimilar and unlike circumstances and conditions in transportation services prevailing throughout the United States. The law became a nullity insofar as it was effective in removing the principal abuse—discriminations between places.

The committee's view was correct when it stated that the railways performed a public function which the State was unable or unwilling to perform and which the State therefore delegated to private corporations with the authority to levy taxes upon commerce. The conclusion that only through Government operation could all freight rates be equalized was sound. But when the committee applied the common-law theory that inequality must exist because discriminations are justified under different circumstances and conditions in transportation and because all are not situated alike and cannot be treated alike and the rule only holds good when limited to transactions of the same character, conducted under similar circumstances and conditions, the committee's legal conclusion was based on a wrong premise.

The common-law rule of transactions between private persons or corporations does not hold good in transactions between a monopoly exercising a public function and private persons. The law is well settled that the rates of public-service corporations shall be uniform. A public-service corporation having a public duty to discharge, undoubtedly is bound to exercise such office for the equal benefit of all; it is a duty owing to the community. Partiality is legitimate in private business, as one court said, but how can it square with the obligations of a public employment? In 1884 in Senator Cullom's own State of Illinois, Judge Baker in *St. Louis A. & T. H. R. Co.* (14 Ill. App. 579), said:

"One of the duties imposed upon a common carrier is, that he is bound to carry for a reasonable remuneration, and is not allowed to make unreasonable and excessive charges. He cannot, like the merchant or mechanic, consult his pleasure or caprice in the conduct of his business and cannot even by special agreement receive an excessive and extortionate price for his services."

Instead of applying the common law of business dealing between private persons, the committee should have considered not only the monopoly and public function features but also the principles of the laws of taxation. It is a general and fixed principle of law that all taxes shall be uniform. Section 8 of article I of the Constitution of the United States provides:

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

Like provisions are in State constitutions. The charge of freight rates is a tax on commerce and the principle of uniformity should prevail. With this initial error, the committee started off on the wrong foot and since that time, instead of keeping step with the law, we have been out of step along with the Cullom committee.

The evidence before the committee proved that freight rate discrimination builds up the strong against the weak, gives the large dealer an advantage over the small dealer, makes capital count for more than individual credit and enterprise, concentrates business at great commercial centers, necessitates combinations and aggregations of capital, fosters monopoly, encourages the growth and extends the influence of corporate power and throws control of commerce of the country more and more into the hands of a few. Yet this committee when the opportunity was presented, to prevent the practices which they plainly saw were concentrating power in the hands of a few, "fiddled while Rome burned," with the weak and futile theory of the common law rule of private dealings rather than with the sounder and broader view of a monopoly performing a public duty and charging a form of taxation which on principles of equity and justice should be uniform throughout the land.

I. C. C. futile and useless

The result: Congress enacted a law which since 1887 has legalized discriminations and thus the exploitation of the people by throwing the control of commerce into the hands of a few—a law that has been futile and useless to protect the economic rights of the people except in some minor respects.

The law abolished improper discriminations between articles of freight and branches of business alike in character and between different quantities of the same class of freight in the same classification territory. A number of discriminations, but not all by any means, between localities similarly situated have been corrected. The carriers former elaborate systems of secret and special rates, rebates, draw-backs, and concessions have been done away with. The element of uncertainty as to the permanence of rates has been partially overcome. The necessity of published tariffs and the maintenance of published rates have been a benefit to general business. No longer can the carriers avoid their responsibility to shippers in refusing to pay damages where more than one road was involved in the haul. Now the carriers are responsible for the acts of their agents and must perform their contracts according to the published tariffs. It is easier to enforce the liability of carriers, and shippers need not depend on the decision of the carriers in cases of loss and damage. Some glaring inequalities and inconsistencies of early rates have been harmonized.

But after over 50 years of the administration of the act, the rate structure is still a jumble of illogical and discriminatory rates of endless variety and complexity, bearing no consistent relation to the cost of transportation or to commercial needs. There are still three classifications, each with different ratings, percentages, carload rates, and mileage scales. A recent case before the Commission—Western-Southern Class Rates, Docket, 26150, illustrates the present situation. This case shows that southern ratings vary from 40 percent to 400 percent of western, and eastern vary from 50 percent to 363 percent of western. Rate levels of any given class vary unduly in the several territories. Rate levels in classifications fixed by the Commission vary—mileage scale rates—in which all classes are related by percentages to first class. In the South this level varies from 135 to 140 percent; West, from 120 to 150 percent for like distances, and lower classes bear percentage relationship.

Local and through rates are unreasonably high at noncompeting points. The most important phase of rate maladjustments has not been eliminated, that is the practice of discriminations between individuals, business, commodities, and localities. Rates for short hauls are relatively high and for long hauls relatively low. Commodity rates are still on much lower levels where they were depressed by past competition than the rate levels where competition was not so keen. Large shippers and great commercial centers and old established industries are favored with lower rates than smaller and newer shippers and localities.

The Interstate Commerce Commission is exceedingly slow and cumbersome and tends to freeze the patterns and levels of rates throughout the country, thereby handicapping the channels of trade and opportunities of economic development.

Prior to 1887 the control of commerce, which creates profits and wealth, was being more and more concentrated in a comparatively small number of great corporations controlled by small groups. The evidence is conclusive that this was caused by transportation discriminations in favor of great industries, aggregations of capital and large commercial centers, while prejudicial to individuals and to smaller business and localities. The growth of this concentration became alarming in 1887, but since that time and up to the present, the ratio of increase in this concentration, has been still more alarming. There is no doubt that there has been a greater concentration of wealth and power in the country since 1887 than there was previous to that time. It is unnecessary to go into details to prove the foregoing statement as the evidence is overwhelming on proof and also is a matter of common knowledge. A number of recognized authorities have proved this to be the case. But one authority who has studied this concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few should be quoted.

Senator NORRIS of Nebraska (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, February 23, 1933) had this to say concerning interlocking directorates of the big financial interests of Wall Street:

"The House of Morgan directly through these banks I have named, and which the House of Morgan controls, has 219 directorships in miscellaneous corporations. The House of Morgan has 215 directorships in insurance companies. It has 425 directorships in manufacturing and mining companies. It has 423 directorships in transportation companies. It has 318 directorships in public-utility companies. This makes a total of 2,242 directorships held directly by the Morgan Banks in the various kinds of corporations that I have named.

"I do not have the names of the various corporations here, as I do in the analysis of the Chase National Bank. I do not have that simply because I do have time to complete this, but if we had the names of these various corporations and put them on there, we would find that, to a very great extent, they would correspond with the corporations named on this chart for the Chase National Bank. In other words, these banks, by their interlocking methods of directorships, when they combine, can control practically any corporation of any size in the United States. I do not care whether it is a banking institution, whether it is operating flying machines, whether it is engaged in mining, whether it is engaged in any line of manufacturing, that statement holds true as to practically all of them in the United States.

"Now, Mr. President, I want to take up this other chart. I have here on this chart what is named 'The Spider Web of Wall Street.' It has on it the following banks and trust companies, showing connections with other corporations and with other banks:

"First, J. P. Morgan & Co., the Guaranty Trust Co., the Bankers Trust Co., the First National Bank, the Central Hanover Bank, the Irving Trust Co., the National City Bank, the Chase National Bank.

"This chart contains the names of 120 corporations of various kinds that are connected with one or more of these banks. It does not tell the whole story by any means, Mr. President, it represents interlocking directorates on July 1, 1932, between 8 leading banking institutions in New York City on the one hand, and 120 major corporations on the other.

"I want to say to the Senator from Kentucky, however, and to other Senators, that this list of corporations here does not come anywhere near naming all of them. This chart, in round numbers, is about 8 feet square. If I had a chart large enough to contain the names of all the corporations that are directly or indirectly controlled through interlocking directorates by these 8 banks, and if it were big enough so that you could read it, there is not wall space in the Senate Chamber that would hold it. Instead of 120 corporations we would have thousands of corporations. You can well see, even from one of the institutions I have given from this chart, that this is so.

"It demonstrates very clearly, in my judgment, that the control of all business of the United States is drifting rapidly toward corporations. Especially when we consider the development and advance that has been made in this control as shown by me a short time ago, it demonstrates, it seems to me, that all of us soon will be hired men, working for the same corporation.

"Mr. President, if the Government of the United States today wanted to take over the railroads of this country, they would have to see only one man, just one, J. P. Morgan. That is true of almost any other corporation. Morgan and his associates would be able to enter into the deal if they wanted to, and compel a sale if they wanted to. They can control in any of these corporations the lowering or raising of wages; they can change the conditions of labor; they can raise or lower the price of the output of any of these manufacturing establishments simply because they control the money of the United States.

"The railroad officials are only their servants. The president and the officers of the various manufacturing corporations are compelled, whether they like it or not, to obey the mandate that comes from Wall Street. Then will someone have the courage to deny that there is a Money Trust?

"J. P. Morgan, with the assistance and cooperation of a few of the interlocking corporations which reach all over the United States in their influence, control every railroad in the United States. They control practically every public utility, they control thousands of corporations, they control all of the large insurance companies."

Senator NORRIS is an outstanding practical economist. His research in public questions involving the rights of the people has been thorough and his motives are not to be questioned. His exposé of the concentration of wealth in a small group of men is proof of the results of a discriminatory transportation system which has enabled these men to dominate the country commercially and financially and in many respects, politically.

The problem confronting the country is a proper readjustment of the freight-rate structure. Congressmen and Senators from the entire Nation should rise up and do this. In readjustment, freight

rates throughout the United States should be placed on a uniform basis. All discriminations as to sections, commodities, classes, industries, in fact every possible discrimination and inequality should be removed. Rates for the same article or commodity hauled the same distance should be no higher or no lower in one section of the country than in another. The theory of similar circumstances and conditions as these conditions are supposed to affect rates should be entirely discarded.

Apparently the solution of the problem would be the enactment of laws compelling the common carriers to put into effect equal rates throughout the country on a distance tariff basis, under one general classification with equal commodity, class, and mileage rates everywhere. But there are many reasons why this plan has not and of itself alone cannot be put in effect. At the present time with the big war orders, however, it would be as good as can ever be found, because the strong opposition which it will meet always from certain sections and certain powerful interests would be less now on account of the war situation.

In the East there are several thousand cities and towns where industries have been built up because of the present freight-rate structure. On a rigid distance tariff basis or on any equalized basis, the trade area of these towns would be curtailed by the elimination of their present rate advantages, resulting in a reduction of their output. Hundreds of thousands of men are dependent on these industries.

Then there are the producing areas of foodstuffs and raw materials whose area of consumption has been extended to a wide area and to densely populated consuming markets. These producing territories, to a certain extent would be cut off from their former markets, and other districts more advantageously situated would control these markets.

Different articles of manufacture require raw materials from varied sources. The added cost of freight on some materials would increase the cost of manufacture so that competitors in districts nearer the source of supply would have an advantage.

For export trade of foodstuffs and raw materials, the cities nearer the seacoast would attract the marketing and interior cities would be at a disadvantage with rates on a distance tariff.

The competition of markets is another consideration. Changes in established rates might affect the desirability of old markets in favor of new ones. Natural advantages of water competition, geographical location, and nearness to production would prevail and the artificial markets created by discriminatory freight rates of the past would no longer compete with more favorable locations.

Water competition with railways at thousands of different points further complicates the situation. The competition of the railroads is another objectionable feature to this plan. The railways would not be able to meet water competition and thus would lose an immense tonnage which they need to be prosperous. The short-line road would control traffic a part of which is so necessary to the circuitous routes which could not compete.

Changing conditions of crop production or changes in business conditions, new consumption, or other variants too numerous to mention frequently affect the rate situation.

With the private ownership of the roads the elements which make up the theories and principles building the freight-rate structure could not be discarded because it is absolutely necessary for the carriers to earn a fair return on their capital. Then the theories which have been briefly explained would come into play, leaving the country just where it started in 1887 and where it is now.

Freight rates now in effect have been built up on these principles worked out during the last 50 years. These principles have served to stabilize the freight-rate structure and therefore stabilize business conditions throughout the country both of industrial and agricultural production. To do away with this system now and replace it with a rate structure based upon equal freight rates to everyone and everywhere, it is argued, will be destructive to long-established industries and work hardships upon millions of people dependent on these industries.

There are several factors which apparently it is impossible to overcome. They are the differences in the physical make-ups of the carriers, in their financial set-ups, the territories traversed, costs of operation, densities of traffic, volume of business, flow of movement, nature of freight handled, whether high or low rated, and the right to a reasonable return on the investment.

One road in good financial condition, traversing a rich territory with a dense volume of traffic and running in the direction of the trend of the traffic, well managed, and with a profitable class of freight can carry traffic at less cost and consequently for less charge and with more profit than another carrier which does not have these advantages. The freight charges of the weaker road of necessity must be higher than the charges of the stronger road. It would not be fair to either the roads or to the public to make the freight rates over both roads the same. If the rates were made high enough to bring a fair return on the invested capital to the weaker road, the earnings of the stronger road would be so great as to be virtually robbing shippers. In any event, there would be a great public clamor against the high rates. The people must be protected from transportation monopoly and the attempt to protect them is one reason for Government regulation of common carriers. On the other hand, if rates were made low in order that the stronger road would receive only a fair return on its invested capital, this being done to protect commerce from excessive charges, the weaker road could not exist and would soon be forced into bankruptcy.

The recapture clause in the Interstate Commerce Act intended to equalize these conditions did not accomplish its purpose and has been repealed.

The differences in volumes of business and densities of traffic have been explained in a preceding chapter. The 10-year averages already given showed that four big eastern roads have about four times the traffic density of the western roads. All have large capital investment in right-of-way, grading, tracks, stations, terminals, locomotives, freight cars, shops, and equipment on which there are certain fixed charges of interest, taxes, maintenance, and depreciation. These fixed charges may vary somewhat but not nearly so much as the density of traffic. With these differences a freight level could not be fixed for all the roads on the basis of equal mileage scales throughout the country.

Other reasons might be advanced to show that equality of freight rates on any basis is impossible unless the purpose is to wreck the country. Although it may be admitted that the present rates are economically unfair to the South and to the West, yet our country has been so developed and is so physically constructed that any other than the present plan of freight rates is impracticable. A low level would not be fair to many of the railroads and a high level would not be fair to the public. Furthermore, to change now, would be to ruin the whole industrial and economic structure; a radical change, it is argued, would cause disaster to many sections of the country, East, North, South, and West.

How to crack this nut is the enigma which must be solved. Any proposed plan will meet with hundreds of objections, some of which have been mentioned and many more which as yet have not been thought of.

The freight-rate structure with its inequalities and discriminations, has built up certain vested interests in one section of the country; vested, rich and established and in control of industry. A vested interest in the United States is a right most sacred under the theory established in the Dartmouth College case and a right accrued should not and cannot be taken away. In both our legal and in our economic structures we have built up through the years a theory that a vested private interest is more sacred than public welfare, although the august Supreme Court of the United States mentioned public welfare in the Minnesota Mortgage Moratorium case. Industry has become established in one small corner of the country; here it has become vested. Becoming vested, the right is seemingly invincible.

It would seem that in the rectification of freight rates, the public welfare should be at all times the first and greatest consideration. Vested rights must give way to public welfare. The purpose of a reconstructed freight-rate system is to give equal and just freight rates to all parts of the Nation and equal opportunity to every person to earn a fair income either in production, industry, or distribution in all sections of the country and for the enjoyment of a decent American standard of living without forced contributions from the Government, or charity grudgingly and penuriously bestowed. In short for uniform economic equality for all the people of this great Nation. With a country so rich and so developed, this should be possible of accomplishment if it is gone about on practicable and sensible lines.

A fair statement of the solution should be, What plan will accomplish the greatest good to the greatest number? To any plan proposed there will be objections for it is impossible if any plan is adopted, that someone will not suffer. But objections which show only that certain interests and certain localities will be adversely affected in favor of the now unfavored localities, and that unfair advantages which they have long enjoyed will be taken away, are not sufficient reasons against the plan if the greatest good to the greatest number is the final result.

Under our present economic structure built up through trial and error for the last 50 years through false theories of traffic regulation, 100,000,000 people are merely existing. These people are the victims of the mistakes of government. The privilege of railway transportation was mistakenly granted to private corporations. Then when an economic adjustment of transportation rates became necessary the Cullom committee improperly interpreted the theories of law and the principles of economics. Relying on the committee report, Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act legalizing the iniquities of discrimination as already practiced by the carriers. And, as if this were not enough, the Commission, and now our highest courts have blindly followed an old crooked cowpath which will eventually lead to economic destruction.

The problem can be solved, but it can only be done by doing what the Government should have done at least 75 years ago, that is, to take over and operate the railroads, as most other important nations have done.

The Government owes a social obligation to its people to maintain transportation facilities for the service of commerce. It is through the free and unrestricted interchange of commerce that a country becomes prosperous. Restricted or discriminatory transportation is a commercial barrier. This duty of government has been recognized from time immemorial. Fortified cities were built along the caravan routes to protect trade. Early maritime nations built harbors and wharves for the use of traders and fortified these harbors to protect their commerce against attack. Jetties and lighthouses were erected. Naval supremacy was maintained against commercial rivals and for protection of commerce against pirates. Rome built surfaced roads throughout

the empire for military and commercial uses. Modern nations have maintained harbors, dredged rivers, built roads, bridges, and canals, and have supported large navies with the purpose of aiding their people in transportation and trade. Nations with more modern ideas of transportation have government-owned railroads which, as a rule, have been successfully operated for the sole benefit of the nation.

Railroad partisans claim that the Government should not deepen rivers, build locks and dams, construct canals or hard-surfaced roads, and then permit competitive transportation through these facilities with the railways. This, they assert, is subsidizing waterways and highways at public expense and creates a competition with the railways which is unfair and unjust. The answer to these contentions is that the functions of transportation are an obligation of government when that form takes the nature of monopolistic enterprise such as the railways. Rivers and roads should be improved to be useful for all purposes to the people. The railroads, by the grace of government, have been granted special rights and privileges of untold value. The railroads should be satisfied with this gift. It is unfair for them to demand that the highways and waterways be limited to noncompetitive business for the carriers' benefit. Where transportation service is cheaper and more convenient by either water or by trucks, the public should be entitled to that service regardless of the profits of the railroads.

Perhaps the general sentiment of the country is against Government ownership of the railroads. This sentiment is based principally on the feeling that private railroad enterprise is more honest, free from political contamination, and more efficient than Government operation would likely be. A study of the history of American railroads certainly does not absolve them from many charges of dishonesty. At political manipulation, corruption, and fraud they have been outstanding factors. Their present top-heavy capital structures, the waste and extravagance of the past, the inside profits of their big executives, and the financial exploitation of Wall Street does not entitle them to any gold medals for efficiency, or patriotic ideals.

Federal operation and control during the World War is generally presumed to have been a dismal failure. It should be borne in mind that Government control during the war was an emergency measure and not some carefully worked-out plan. Furthermore, the railroads were run by former officials of the roads and only under the supervision of a Director General. Besides, the failure was not as bad as reported. What happened during the war is not criterion for what may happen if a carefully conceived and deliberately executed plan of Government ownership is effected. The present emergency is almost as great as a real war emergency, and while it does not require the same immediate urgency, it presents as great a necessity.

Opposed to Government operation will be the usual objections to Government engaging in private business. But transportation is not a private business but a public function which the Government is obligated to perform in a manner most beneficial to the Nation. Conditions of the last few years have put the Government in more different kinds of business than 6 years ago anyone would have dreamed possible. Our Government is not only in business but it has become the greatest charitable and eleemosynary institution in the world, the greatest since the Roman Empire gave the citizens of Rome free corn and passes to the circus. All this because of the break-down of our economic structure. The way to get the Government out of private business in other lines is to build up an economic system of equitable barter and exchange through the equality of distribution, bringing back prosperity to the whole country. Domestic trade and commerce must be revived. Barter and trade—commerce and the fair exchange of production with honest prices for both materials and manufactured goods—are dependent upon an honest and efficient distribution service. In the United States this service is attempted to be furnished by land carriage of the railways. There is no possible substitute which can compete with them both in cost and in service. But it is necessary to rebuild our distribution service from a new freight-rate foundation, if our economic structure is to be strong and enduring. Economic equality must be uniform throughout the Nation.

Rectification of transportation wrongs existing for the last 60 or 75 years can only be remedied by Government operation of the railways. Under private ownership it is impossible to equalize freight rates and it is this equalization that is of the greatest importance. Necessity will force the Government into one business and that the greatest and most important to the welfare of the country. Then Government may be able to get out of doling charity and operating other business when the people of the Nation in every section are industriously following their usual occupation in which they are receiving fair and reasonable returns.

It is unnecessary to enter into a discussion of Government ownership of railways. At this time we should be more interested in the economic aspects of transportation than in the academic question of Government ownership, for this question cannot be settled by debate; an actual test is necessary. Dire necessity has obviated the propriety of debating the subject. We cannot let people starve while a few contentious spirits and those motivated by self-interest spout and write in violent disagreement. What follows will be confined to the economic benefits to be derived from Government operation of the railways with the equalization of freight rates. An analysis of public ownership of the railroads must be condensed into a few general statements. A number of recognized authorities have written on both sides of the question. These works should be consulted by anyone desiring more information, but as far as we have been able to learn, no writer has realized the necessity of Government ownership because of the freight-rate situation.

Although it may not be generally conceded that the United States has a transportation problem, yet it cannot be honestly denied that it has a railroad problem—the present financial plight of the railroads. Many railroads are in receiverships or in bankruptcy. According to 1933 Moody's, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had authorized loans of $407,839,428. The railroads then demanded a rate increase of $170,000,000, claiming that the present wage scale and the new pension plan required it, and that this demand must be met or they cannot operate so as to realize any returns on their capital investment. Operating revenues fell from $6,373,000,000 in 1929 to $3,168,000,000 in 1932. It looks as if we not only have a railroad problem, but also that it will be necessary for the Government to take over the railroads whether or not it wants to do so. Government financing has become necessary if the railroads are to continue operating.

The plight of the railroads became so serious that in 1933 Congress passed the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, and under this act President Roosevelt appointed Joseph B. Eastman, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Coordinator of Railroads. The Coordinator's duties were to investigate the conditions of the railroads and transportation generally and report to Congress if there was need for a radical or major change in the railroad industry which could be accomplished by Federal legislation.

In his report to the Commission, January 20, 1934, Mr. Eastman goes into the matter of Government ownership of the railroads. The substance of his statement as it pertains to Government ownership is as follows:

Public ownership and operation of railroads is not inconsistent with the American theory of government. Public ownership and operation would abate the evil of extravagant expenditures on branch-line extensions and acquisitions, new hotels, expensive passenger stations, and other wasteful and unnecessary expenditures. Management and operation of the industry would be united, and financial domination would cease. Practical safeguards could be enacted to prevent political interference either for political patronage, interference with rate adjustments, or pork-barrel expenditures to benefit certain localities. The administration of such an immense system is a problem about which Mr. Eastman is not so certain as to whether or not it would be efficient. Competition of railroads, which is a prime cause of waste, would be eliminated. Government operation, to a large extent, would effect labor-saving economies. The cost of acquisition would be an important consideration and would of course impose a strain on the national finances.

A tentative plan for operating the railroads is outlined in appendix II of the Coordinator's report, in which he suggests:

A corporation to be organized named the United States Railways; properties to be acquired through bonds of this corporation guaranteed by the Government. The corporation to be managed by a board of trustees appointed by the President. The United States Railways is to be conducted after the manner of a private corporation and upon a self-sustaining basis, as far as possible. The trustees are to have full control over salaries and wages, subject to the right of collective bargaining by the employees. An unpaid advisory council of 24 members is part of the proposed plan. Taxes are to be paid the Federal Government and the States on a uniform basis to be aproved by the trustees. The trustees are to have the power to issue bonds for new construction and betterments and to purchase other transportation agencies. Sinking funds are to be provided for all bonds. Rates charged are to be sufficient to produce net earnings to meet all charges, including the sinking fund. The Interstate Commerce Commission is to have jurisdiction over all rates, accounting, certificates of new construction, and the acquisition of other transportation agencies.

Mr. Eastman seems impelled to suggest the nationalization of the railroads, if such a step should became necessary, more because of their financial plight than because of the necessity for rate adjustments on the basis of uniform rates. He does not mention in this report rate adjustments or the equalization of freight rates. He does say this:

"For some time it has been evident that the present complex rate structure is based on principles which cannot with advantage be applied in the face of the competition which other transportation agencies are offering and that radical adjustments are necessary. Yet there has been little attempt to deal collectively with this question as far as freight rates are concerned."

But it is the freight-rate structure, outmoded, outworn, complex, inefficient, and inequitable, that will in the end compel Government ownership in order to effect the necessary readjustment. When the public, and especially the South and the West, realize what private ownership of the railroads has cost the country in economic loss and in the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and in the general break-down of business brought about by transportation discriminations, it is going to demand Government ownership as a right. It has been explained previously how this readjustment cannot be made under any plan of private ownership.

Mr. Eastman has an interesting comment in one part of his report, wherein he says:

"Much has been said of the domination of the railroads by large financial interests. Certain New York financial houses,

chiefly J. P. Morgan & Co. and Kuhn, Loeb & Co., have for a long time had a practical monopoly in the marketing of securities of many railroad companies. This has given them a position of affluence and at times domination in railroad affairs. Apparently they interfere very little in the ordinary routine of railroad management and operation, but on occasions they are important factors in the selection of directors or executives or may exercise an influence on the purchase of supplies or upon other policies."

The nationalization of the railroads and the equalization of freight rates is a problem which must be carefully considered and worked out in detail by men experienced in railroad operation, finance, rate making, and other lines of business and industry related to the transportation question. At this time, it would be impossible and impracticable to give any detailed plan other than that which has been outlined which would be worthy of much consideration. The plan and details can be worked out later after public sentiment demands nationalization and it is then evident that Government ownership must be effected. At the present time this sentiment must be created by a general study and discussion of the subject.

In a general sense, equalization of freight rates means rates on a distance tariff basis but it need not be on a strict mileage scale regardless of the length of the haul. The principle of decreased ton-mile earnings with the longer haul could be adopted, or the Texas plan of graded and maximum rates might work out to better advantage. There must be some elasticity of freight rates in a country of so great extent but this elasticity should be of the same tensile strength in every section.

A number of authorities have at times considered the freight-rate problem. As a rule they admit that rates to be fair and just should be more uniform but the task of rationalizing the rate structure seems to them to be one of almost insurmountable difficulties. They believe the present rate structure has tended to serve as one of the principal factors in molding past industrial development. Although industries and communities have been in many instances artificially encouraged by unduly favorable freight rates, they think that the sudden removal of these advantages might lead to serious industrial disorganization. A radical revision of the structure of rates would inevitably result in the dislocation of long-developed channels of trade, the substantial weakening or destruction of specific enterprises and business centers, and the necessity for a sharp realinement of producers and markets. Practically all of these authorities hesitate to advise the remedy of equal and uniform freight rates even though they concede the inequities in the present system. They fear that the remedy would be worse than the disease.

But these men wrote before the present depression. Conditions have so changed since then that old opinions of pre-depression days should now be cast into the discard. Subsequent research by these same authorities might alter many of the impressions, if what has happened, and the causes, were carefully checked.

Some localities would no doubt suffer hardships by reason of any adjustment of freight rates. Any plan involving changes, either gradual or radical, will adversely affect some business or some locality. But is it demanding too much to ask that the South and West each be put on an equal footing with the East; not with preferential rates in their favor like the East has had for so many years, but only on an equality? The answer to this prayer by the opponents of equalized freight rates will be the argument that past and present discriminations have made the East rich and prosperous and have built up in its cities and towns great industries upon which they are now dependent to maintain themselves and to grow richer while the South and the West grow poorer; if equalized rates are put in effect, the industrial East can no longer exploit the rest of the country. Furthermore, the South and the West will go into the manufacturing business for themselves. Perhaps the East will be hurt some because the South and the West are nearer the source of raw materials and with equal freight rates will be able to successfully compete, but if it cures the depression, wouldn't it be advantageous to the East? If there is a dislocation of industry because of rate adjustments, where will these industries go? Not to Canada or Mexico or out of the country, of course, but out of official classification territory where they are not concentrated to be generally distributed throughout the land. This dislocation of markets, industry, enterprise, and business centers really means a redistribution and decentralization and all in the best interest of the whole Nation.

Some eminent authorities have expressed their opinions of the grave injustices inflicted by the present freight-rate structure. This is what Commissioner Woolley, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, said in his paper in the Annals, November 1919, page 166:

"Apart from these ratings (the freight classifications), however, there are hundreds of exceptions, commodity rates and special commodity rates, which were established under pressure of both transportation and commercial competition, and with little reference to transportation costs. Here again the railroads, whether intentionally or not, are indirectly engaged in creating artificial commercial advantages in the form of freight rates and in like form imposing unjust burdens and inequalities. These are the very evils that legislation providing for rate regulation intended to eliminate, but I venture the suggestion that they will never be eliminated until we have established a uniform rate structure universally applicable."

The following is the dicta of Commissioner Franklin P. Lane in the 1911 California Fruit Case (22 I. C. C. 157–158):

"Perhaps the United States will one day declare a policy of its own in this regard? Primarily it is a matter of national concern and not of railroad policy as to what system of rate making shall obtain, so long as the carriers receive a reasonable return upon the value of their property. The people may say (1) that railroad rates shall be made so as to carry all products into all markets within the four lines of the country; or (2) that, after a certain narrow limit is passed, the whole of the land shall be one zone; or (3) a system of rates that will keep producers and consumers as near together as possible and eliminate waste in transportation. These are national questions. They go into the very future of our industrial life. Upon their determination depends the character of farm products and the nature of the industries in the various sections of the country. The railroad, by its rates, may make each portion of the country largely independent of the remainder, or it may make of the Nation one economic and industrial unit, each portion thereof doing best what Nature has fitted it best to do. This fundamentally is the difference in the philosophy which underlies the two methods of making rates which have been given consideration in this case. Without any expression of policy from Congress, we accept the policy which the railroads themselves have made, considering that upon the whole the results arising from such policy do not conflict with the provisions of the law. There is no doubt in my mind but that the Commission could not itself prescribe a blanket similar to that obtaining here and which we are approving because neither the carriers nor the shippers wish it destroyed."

Both Mr. Woolley and Mr. Lane were men of high attainments whose opinions are entitled to serious consideration. They are of the few who years ago realized the injustices of the present rate structure. Their opinions coincide with the views herein expressed. The implication in Mr. Lane's statement is that Congress has legalized the rate theories of the carriers and the Commission is forced to approve rates which they would not do otherwise. Both men foresaw that a just and fair rate structure equalized throughout the Nation to remove artificial advantages within the four lines of the Nation is necessary for the very future of our industrial life. How prophetic were the words of these men!

President Harding was deeply concerned in the drift from the farms to the cities and the concentration of industry. He realized that this was because of the transportation system. In an address to Congress December 6, 1921, the President said:

"The base of the pyramid of civilization which rests upon the soil is shrinking through the drift of population from farm to city. For a generation we have been expressing more or less concern about this tendency. Economists have warned and statesmen have deplored. We thought for a time that modern conveniences and the more intimate contact would halt the movement, but it has gone steadily on. Perhaps only grim necessity will correct it, but we ought to find a less drastic remedy.

"The existing scheme of adjusting freight rates has been favoring the basing points until industries are attracted to some centers and repelled from others. A great volume of uneconomic and wasteful transportation has attended and the cost increased accordingly. The grain-milling and meat-packing industries afford ample illustration, and the attending concentration is readily apparent. The increases in concentration are not limited to the retarding influences in agriculture. Manifestly the conditions and terms of railway transportation ought not to be permitted to increase this undesirable tendency. We have a just pride in our great cities, but we shall find a greater pride in the Nation, which has a larger distribution of its population into the country where comparatively self-sufficient smaller communities may blend agriculture and manufacturing interests in harmonious helpfulness and enhances good fortune.

"Such a movement contemplates no destruction of things wrought, of investments made, or wealth involved. It looks only to a general policy of transportation of distributed industry and of highway construction to encourage the spread of our population and restore the proper balance between city and country. The problem may well have your earnest attention."

Calamity howlers will be loudest in their opposition to equalized freight rates. But will a readjustment result in any great calamity? The rates for the long hauls could still be maintained on decreased ton-mile earnings as the length of the haul increased, or the Texas system could be used. Rates on the basis of decreasing ton-mile earnings should be no higher or no lower in and out of New York, Minneapolis, or any other city or town. With this system of rates, waterway competition with the railroads would develop with a reduction of the total freight bill of the country. The United States railways if found necessary could take over the more important water lines or could concede that where freight moves more cheaply over a water route, the sensible thing is to let it move that way. Thus the bugaboo of water competition will be eliminated.

It is also to be doubted if any great and immediate disaster would happen to eastern industries. The East has large-scale enterprises and long-established manufacturing plants capable of producing in large volume at low costs. These industries are located in a densely populated section with a consuming market close at hand. Eastern manufacturers would have a distinct advantage for a number of years over the smaller and newly established plants in the South and West. Southern and western manufacturers would have no better rates for access to other markets than the eastern concerns would have. New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, being served by seaports, could export more cheaply than inland western towns. The Atlantic States would be able to build up an export trade. Foreign commerce could be stimu-

lated by low ocean-freight rates for eastern manufacturers by subsidized American bottoms. Low ocean-freight rates would offset the handicap of the new rail-freight rates. New England and the North Atlantic States, being more distant from sources of supply of raw materials, would be under a handicap. However, for export manufacturing low rates on raw materials manufactured in transit for export could be made. For 10 years, or even longer, the East might have a distinct advantage in manufacturing over other sections of the country, regardless of rates, and in many lines could always successfuly compete.

How far eastward the new rates would operate to the disadvantage of Eastern industry, is problematical. Probably not farther than Pittsburgh, and equalized rates ought to benefit Cleveland, Detroit, and other central industrial cities. Chicago, because of its geographical location, would be benefited rather than injured. The center of population of the United States in 1930 was near Linton, Greene County, Ind. Manufacturing towns in western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois are so near this population center and have also favorable geographical locations, so equalized rates should benefit rather than injure their industries. If western industries are developed, certain markets for centrally located manufacturers will be curtailed by western competition. But what right has any section to demand a monopoly of industry and deny the opportunity to others? If calamity is visited on far eastern industries—the argument of the East—the strongest competition to the Central States will be eliminated.

California fruit growers will be incited to become alarmed because the proposed rates will give Florida an advantage in eastern markets. As the rates are now, oranges from California are given low rates equalizing rates on oranges from Florida. But is this fair to Florida which, because of its favorable location, is thus shut out of her natural markets? Low water rates through the Panama Canal will still hold good to the Californians and it is only markets distant from this water competition which will be affected. However, consider how the proposed rate reformation will eventually benefit the people of California. We must look into the future. Industrial growth west of the Mississippi will in the course of years considerably increase population in that section by many millions. Industry will also increase the population of California and the Pacific coast. This increase would mean a great deal to the orange growers of California with a nearer market and less freight charges. The additional ten to twenty million people would increase rather than decrease the prosperity not only of the orange growers but also of all the people of California, industrially, commercially, and as a winter resort for millions of new neighbors.

The same reasoning applies to the wheat, cotton, livestock, oil, ore, and other producers of staple and basic commodities throughout the country. A general distribution of industry means a general distribution of population, wealth, and prosperity after the period of readjustment is passed.

The proposed changes, if effected, will take time to become economically beneficial. The evils of discrimination have been existent for many years. It may take years to effect a cure. But what is 10, 20, or 50 years in the history of a nation? What has been proposed is not a get-rich-quick quack remedy but a plan to assist economic evolution and to bring the country to a permanent basis for future prosperity. It may take a generation before the full effect of the change is realized. But the reformation will come—for it must come—and the surest and best way to bring about a general prosperity is the nationalization of the railroads and the equalization of freight rates.

The people of the South and West should not be beguiled by impractical substitutes for rate equalization. North Dakota tried a State flour mill, but, like the businessmen of Hayville, the authorities did not first study the transportation problem. With low rates on wheat eastward and higher rates on flour, the mill cannot sell with profit in the consuming markets of the East in competition with Buffalo. Upton Sinclair proposes that the State take over idle factories in California; but these factories are idle because of discriminatory freight rates. The State of California will not be able to overcome this handicap any more than the private owners were able to do. The Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota advocates a cooperative Commonwealth which includes State-owned factories. But where are these factories to sell their production? With freight rates against them and eastern concerns able to undersell any factory either private or State-owned right in Minnesota, where are the markets?

Then there are others who want new money, and lots of it. But what will happen then? Of course, just what has happened in the past. With the market in New York, the money of the country will be drained to the market just as it has always been drained. The only difference will be billionaires in New York instead of only multimillionaires.

All of these illusive and home-made remedies are being offered, but they are as chimerical as the ideas of the commercial clubs of Hayville, Mayville, and Jayville—half-baked and impossible of success—without freight rates enabling industry, either public or private, to reach markets in competition with the East.

Nor will the Great Lakes Deep Waterway or the Mississippi River 9-foot channel entirely solve our transportation problem. Both waterways are frozen some months of the year. The Mississippi runs crosswise to the trend of traffic. Of course, they will help, for certain seasonal commodities can be transported at less cost over these waterways than by rail, but for 12 months in the year the railways reach over 80,000 stations in the country while the lakes and rivers reach comparatively few. For a national distribution of manufactured goods, and that is the problem, competitive rail rates are necessary because waterways cannot fulfill the requirements of service and access to all parts of the country.

Among the Government's plans for rehabilitation and relief of the South and West are the construction of immense power plants at Muscle Shoals, Ala.; Fort Peck, Mont.; and two on the Columbia River. Electric power is to be developed at these points for the benefit of each particular section. But when developed what is to be done with all the immense power generated? The small towns and farmers can use but a small fraction of this power. It cannot be successfully used for manufacturing plants for no manufacturing can exist even with cheap power with high freight rates for manufactured goods and in competition with low rates in favor of eastern competitors. Unless freight rates are adjusted and equalized on a Nation-wide basis so as to give access to national markets, the surplus power over and above the small local consumption will be useless in developing industries. The radius of markets for these power projects is limited by present high freight rates to a sparsely settled trade area of a few hundred miles.

With equalized freight rates all of the above projects would have reasonable chances for stimulating the growth of industry. In course of time they will cause an almost miraculous development in adjacent territories. Many of the quasi-charitable public projects would not be necessary with the return of prosperity to private industry in the South and West.

If we are to have the dawn of a new prosperity, the South and the West must join hands to exert every possible political pressure to bring about an act of Congress nationalizing the railroads. Railroad officials and financial and industrial interests profiting by private ownership are naturally opposed to Government ownership. The big financial and industrial interests in New York and in that part of the East included in New England and the North Atlantic States will oppose to the bitter end any attempt to change the freight-rate structure now so favorable to these sections. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan should favor the proposed changes, for the advantages in general will be greater than any disadvantage of possibly higher freight rates to certain markets. An effort will be made to array these States against the proposed reform. Producers of staple products and raw materials will be told that their markets will be destroyed.

To overcome this opposition, it will be necessary for the public to obtain a better knowledge and understanding of freight rates and freight-rate principles and also the economics of prices and markets. Until people realize the manner in which they have been exploited for so long, there is little chance that public pressure will be strong enough to be effective. How to arouse this public sentiment and understanding of so complex and difficult a subject as transportation is almost as much of a problem as the rate readjustment. It may take a long time, but some day this understanding will come.

SECTION X. CONCLUSION

Those opposed to the equalization of freight rates, no doubt, will claim the gift of prophecy. They will foretell that if freight rates are made uniform throughout the United States, the greatest economic catastrophe the country has ever known will be inflicted upon us. But the causes of this supposed-to-happen catastrophe are of the same nature as the causes which have brought about all social upheavals of the past—a series of economic wrongs and social injustices, each one a calamity, until a climax is reached. The climax may be a catastrophe, but it may also be one necessary to destroy human slavery, for economic exploitation is merely a species of slavery.

The country's error in permitting private ownership of the railroads; the mistaken economic and legal interpretations of the Cullom committee; the ignorance or carelessness of Congress in enacting the Interstate Commerce Act; the adherence by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the courts to wrong case and precedent rather than to sound legal and economic reasoning; the concentration of finance, industry, and wealth in the hands of monopolists of great wealth; and the control of markets by these small groups have been a series of calamities.

Rights of the people to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness have been almost destroyed by this series of economic wrongs and social injustices. If a freight-rate readjustment takes some of the monopoly of industry and markets from the East to be distributed throughout the country, thereby righting economic wrongs, it is a catastrophe to be welcomed, for it would not be nearly as disastrous as civil war or revolution, which certain prophets portend.

Sometimes by reviewing the past and analyzing what has happened, what may happen can be foretold to a certain extent. The economic and transportation history of the United States has been briefly told and analyzed, although such a complex and extensive subject rightly should require as many volumes as there are sections in this work.

A short review of the transportation factor recalls to mind that because of preferential, discriminatory, and prejudicial freight rates granted to one small corner of the United States by the railroads, Congress, and the courts, a manufacturing industry and market control has been built up for this section which virtually amounts to a monopoly. Through this centralization and monopoly a small group are now in control of great combinations of capital and have secured to themselves enormous incomes, wealth, and power. The rich are growing richer and the poor, poorer.

Because freight rates are discriminatory and prejudicial against the South and the West, neither of these sections, bountifully endowed with raw material, manufacture their materials into

articles of commerce which they need and use. One comparatively small section of the Nation—about one-tenth—has 45 percent of the population and over 50 percent of the national wealth. Nine-tenths of the land area—the richest in natural resources—possesses only a small fraction more of population and a little less than half the national wealth. The one-tenth is the prosperous part of the country; the nine-tenths are the backward States, inhabited by "the sons of wild jackasses."

The evidence shows what favorable transportation rates have done for one section of the country. It should be fair to speculate what might be brought about if the transportation system was reformed and freight rates were equalized throughout the country.

Without doubt there would be a gradual movement and distribution of manufacturing to southern and western cities located nearer the sources of the greater share of raw materials. Each and every city would have freight rates equally as low or as high as the rates given New England, New York, and other States in official classification territory. With an equalized national freight rate structure, markets for manufactured goods of the South and the West would be national instead of local.

Large commercial centers south of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers and west of the Mississippi River and also the small towns such as Hayville, Mayville, and Jayville, would become little manufacturing cities and towns. All of these places would become competitive markets for raw materials. New York and Chicago would be forced to bid competitively for raw materials and could not so easily depress prices. The trusts and combinations, having competition throughout the country, could not so successfully manipulate commodity prices. With this Nation-wide competition of a hundred or more industrial and manufacturing markets demanding supplies of raw materials, producers ought to get fairer prices than they have been receiving for the last 50 years. Better prices would stimulate the development of many dormant natural sources of staple products. With competitive markets close at hand, with shorter hauls and smaller freight bills, additional savings would benefit producers. The farmers, under improved conditions, should get a margin of profit and in time should be able to pay off their mortgages.

Southern and western manufacturing towns, being nearer the sources of raw materials and now having a wide market area, could manufacture in scale and volume and as cheaply as the eastern trusts and combinations thus selling in competition. The prices of manufactured goods would be on a competitive and not on a trust-controlled basis. This would naturally mean lower prices for manufactured goods, helping the farmer a little more toward a margin of profit.

The present transportation system of long cross hauling often by circuitous routes, is a waste of hundreds of millions of dollars each year in freight alone. With local markets, manufacturing, and consumption, this waste would be largely reduced. Manufacturing costs would be lowered because long hauls and cross hauling both of materials and goods increases manufacturing costs on virtually every article manufactured. A billion saving on freight and several billion more in manufacturing costs would enable the United States to compete in the world's markets with any nation on the earth. The transportation waste in this country probably exceeds our total world trade. If the country needs export markets, this is one way to secure them because the lowest bidder does the business.

Manufacturing would become general throughout the country, and not only would the large cities of the South and West stand on an equal footing with the great industrial cities of the East but Hayville, Mayville, and Jayville would be on an equal footing with Hingham, Bingham, and Dingham. Local industry would create a demand for the surplus labor of the youth from the farms so it would not be necessary for this labor to go East where it has been going for the last 15 or 20 years. Towns developing industries will grow in population, giving farmers a nearer and larger consuming market.

These developments should certainly result in an increase of population for the "backward States"—with prosperity the young people could afford to get married, which they cannot afford now—increase the values of farm lands, and with more and better farmers, if farming is made profitable. The transformation will increase buying power by billions and billions. Instead of underconsumption, there will probably be a lack of production in many lines.

In normal times the buying power of the South and West amounted to approximately $30,000,000,000. This market meant steady employment to the factory workers of the East. When, through the depression, the demands of this consumption were reduced to fifteen billion, the factory hands in the East were laid off with consequent misery and distress. With a national prosperity, production should increase from the seventy billion in 1929 to one hundred billion, the demands of the "backward States" to fifty billion. What this increase means to the laboring man need not be demonstrated. What the additional tonnage means to the railroad employee is just as self-evident. The prosperity of labor depends largely on the prices paid to producers.

From the data on production and consumption, it is apparent that our present difficulty is underconsumption and not overproduction. The United States in 1929 manufactured and consumed over $70,000,000,000 of industrial production so the 41 billions in 1932 means underconsumption. The South and the West purchasing in normal times 30 billions from the East and only 15 billions in hard times, is further proof of underconsumption. To attain normal conditions, prices of staple products must be on a cost of production plus a reasonable profit basis. This would revive buying power. But fair and adequate prices for basic commodities will never be paid by a trust and combination market controlled from New York. To break this market control, equalized freight rates creating competitive markets in 50 or more large cities in the United States is necessary.

It is possible in this speculation with sound reasoning to conceive other substantial benefits. A countrywide distribution of markets and industry should tend to curb and control the money power of New York. Many large eastern plants would have to be relocated in the Central States or in the South and the West or large branch factories established. Smaller concerns, striving on equal terms, might give the trusts and combinations serious competition. The profits of commerce would no longer be centralized and liquidated in New York and the money of the country drained in that direction. If this realinement relieves the Nation from the financial control of New York, the greatest blessing to the Nation will be brought about.

Eastern farmers are also penalized by the present freight-rate structure. The fertile lands of the Mississippi Valley produce agricultural products at less cost than farm lands in the East. With low freight rates on agricultural products for long hauls east-bound, eastern farmers have competitors in western farmers for the large eastern consuming market. Depressed prices for western farmers also makes depressed prices for eastern farmers regardless of world prices. With near markets and short hauls, the eastern farmers, were it not for this competition at depressed and manipulated prices, would receive better prices for their products. For many years a central market with manipulated prices has kept the eastern farmers in a situation similar to that of the western farmers.

With increased prosperity the actual freight tonnage would be larger but it would not be necessary to ship raw materials from where they are to where they are not, manufacture these materials at places distant from where they were and then ship them from where they were not, back to where they were. With manufacturing near the sources of supply a great deal of this wasteful cross hauling would be done away with.

With one railway system freight would move directly over the shortest available route. Because of the competition of the carriers a good share of the traffic is now hauled by circuitous routes as each road, because of freight division, seeks to obtain the longest haul. Mr. Eastman states that between New York and Chicago there are 44 possible different routings. A shipment from Minneapolis to Portland, Oreg., may be made for one and the same rate over various routings ranging from Winnipeg and Vancouver in Canada on the north to Galveston and El Paso on the south. Railroad executives have admitted that they have made hauls of 700 miles over their roads in competition with the shorter line haul of 200 miles. Any number of hauls are from 500 to 1,000 miles longer over circuitous routes than over the shorter lines.

Another advantage of a single system would be the elimination of freight divisions. No longer would the larger and stronger roads be able to hog the greater share of the freight bill on two or three line hauls.

Loree in Railroad Freight Transportation makes the statement that half the total traffic of the United States is concentrated on 25,000 miles of road or less than 10 percent of the whole mileage. He also claims that 30,000 miles of railroad in the United States is unnecessary and should not be operated.

With the nationalization of the railroads large sums wastefully expended would be saved. In the final analysis the producers pay the greater share of the freight bill of the country. A saving of freight bills of a billion or so would be welcome to producers and would again help farmers to pay off their mortgages. The saving in manufacturing costs would be of material assistance in foreign trade.

The purchase of railway supplies, material, and equipment could also be greatly reduced in cost. Wall Street could not then dictate that companies which they also control, as the Baldwin Locomotive Works, the American Locomotive Works, the United States Steel Co., should practically monopolize the trade of the railways. The United States railways could either purchase from the lowest bidder or operate its own locomotive and car works and manufacture its steel rails.

Any political manipulation under Government ownership could not be much worse than the inside exploitation of the railroads by executives and financial institutions. There would be no more subsidiary companies or subleases or secret understandings in which the executives of the railways were financially interested. Hundreds of millions would not be paid in commissions to New York financial institutions in refinancing frauds.

If all this foolishness, waste, injustice, discrimination, and other evils existing in our present transportation system are done away with, will it not be better for the country?

Is it opinionated to believe that with equal and uniform freight rates the South and the West will be able to manufacture their raw materials and then sell the manufactured goods to all parts of the country?

Is it vague speculation to believe that if local manufacturing plants and enterprises are established in our cities and towns, their population will increase and prosperity will follow?

Is it unfair to demand justice and equal treatment from our Government so that a share of the national prosperity will be brought to us? Are we not entitled to economic equality with official classification territory? If we are not, then tell us why not.

A hue and cry will be raised from certain quarters against any suggestion or plan to equalize freight rates. Even if Government ownership is brought about, the East will demand the continuance of the present rates. As a compromise the East may concede a small measure of justice. With financial and political control of the Nation, the East is strongly entrenched in its present position. With the certain opposition of the East, our differences become serious. If railroad rates are so important to the welfare of the East, are they not just as important to the South and the West?

Let it be hoped that reason and justice will govern minds of men, but justice—substantial justice—can only be granted through an absolute equality and uniformity of freight rates in the rebuilding of our transportation system by means of Government ownership and operation of the railways of the United States.

Transportation and prosperity walk hand in hand. Without equal transportation opportunities a country or section is handicapped in the development of its natural resources and is limited in its market area for trade of its industries.

The discrimination between the three different sections of the country is a matter of fact and not of fancy. The charge cannot be honestly disputed by anyone having a knowledge of freight rates. This discrimination cannot be justified on any grounds in its economic and political application. Traffic experts with the rate theories of private ownership may be able to justify and prove anything—even that black is white. But the condition of the Nation during our present crisis is all the proof that is necessary.

It is obvious that there is some fundamental disturbance in this country which must be corrected. No one has been able to point out what are the causes of the depression with evidence and facts the average person can comprehend. Practically every theory advanced has been exploded and every remedy tried has proved a failure. This is because we have researched among theories and not among fundamentals.

The three economic fundamentals are the production of raw materials, the manufacture for use and consumption, and the distribution of production and industry to consumers.

Our distribution system is economically unsound, and it is in the reformation of that system wherein lies our hope of a returning prosperity.

Mr. Speaker, the Tennessee Valley Authority made an investigation of interterritorial freight rates as it affected the Tennessee Valley. They discovered that regardless of the fact that the Valley had cheap power, coal, iron, and limestone, that it could not build up an industrial section because of the preferential freight rates in favor of official classification territory.

They caused an investigation to be made by experts and a report to the President May 28, 1937. The report quotes a good many freight rates which proves this discrimination. On page 51, the report said:

For nearly three generations, or since the earliest days of the railroad, the country has been accepting influences and conditions which have made a workshop region of one section of the country, with the other sections, as marked off by the present territorial rate boundaries, being largely in a position of contributors of raw materials and semifinished products to the industrialized region. This has been true, despite the fact that certain areas of the present rate territories possess in one way or another excellent opportunities for the development of industries which would bring to those areas a greater measure of economic and social stability. Otherwise, if we continue a heavy concentration of manufacturing in one region with its ever-present concommitant of drainage of raw materials from the others, we may expect eventually to have an exhaustion of natural resources in many areas, without leaving to the population which will have devoted itself to exploiting such resources any great tangible means to represent the wealth which they will have shipped away. There is too much evidence on every hand of this very thing at the present time.

The above quotation is practically a summation of what has happened in Minnesota.

We have been deprived of our wealth in timber, and now our iron ore is fast being taken away from us without any adequate return to the people of Minnesota.

Our lands are not as fertile and productive as they were 50 years ago. The cost of restoring the soil to its former fertility is impossible when the farmers cannot realize the cost of production. They have no surplus funds to build up the soil.

Everyone should get this report and read it carefully. It is the interterritorial freight-rate problem of the United States report of the Tennessee Valley Authority, May 25, 1937.

Dedication of Franklin D. Roosevelt School, East Park, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered on October 5, 1940, by the President of the United States, in connection with the dedication of the Franklin D. Roosevelt School at East Park, N. Y., and two other schools in that community.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

As I have been sitting on the platform here today, I have been thinking of the time nearly a century and a half ago when Gov. Morgan Lewis, who lived here in the town of Hyde Park, was chiefly responsible for starting the Union free-school system for the children of the State of New York. This township, therefore, can claim a kind of sponsorship for free and universal school education in New York.

My mind has gone back also to the days when I used to spend many hours as a small boy holding my father's horse in the village of Hyde Park while my father attended meetings of the school board. Long before those days—back about 1870—my father had helped, with very great pride, to build the red-brick schoolhouse over in the village, where it still stands; and it was considered a model for its day.

These three new schoolhouses emphasize how much more complex our civilization is today than it was 70 years ago. Education now requires equipment and instruction that was unthought of then. For that reason we were all under the necessity—the painful but willing necessity—of paying out many hundreds of thousands of dollars to substitute modern equipment for what we must admit was out of date.

May I bear tribute to the taxpayers of this town of Hyde Park and of the northern part of the town of Poughkeepsie, for their willingness to do a new job of school construction rather than a repair job. If our old schoolhouses, scattered throughout the districts, remained useful to the community for three score years and more we can be confident that in all human probability these three new schoolhouses will still be used and busy 100 years from now. To the trustees of the consolidated district also, all of us owe a deep debt of gratitude, for they have shown the finest spirit of cooperation. Personally I am very happy that without any additional cost we have built these buildings of the native field stone of old Dutchess County, most of it stone which for two centuries has served a useful purpose as a part of our famous stone walls.

Finally, we are all happy that the trustees, with rare foresight, have secured adequate acreage for the schools, enough for expansion in the century to come that I have spoken of. Every boy and girl in these schools will have elbow room, plenty of space, and plenty of air for sports and games and recreation of all kinds. The next generation will not have to worry about buying athletic fields or about the high cost of adjoining property.

These three new schools symbolize two modern government functions in America, each of which is proving itself more and more vital to the continuance of our democracy.

One of them is an old function, based on the ideal and the understanding of the founding fathers that true democratic government cannot long endure in the midst of widespread ignorance. They recognized that democratic government would call for tne intelligent participation of all of its people, as enlightened citizens—citizens equipped with what we used to call a "schooling." From their time to our own it has always been recognized as a responsibility of government that every child have the right to a free and liberal education. These buildings can well be dedicated to that old function—the American institution of universal education.

In the last decade this right of free education, which has become a part of the national life in our land, has taken on additional significance from events in certain other lands. For a large portion of the world the right no longer exists. Almost the first freedom to be destroyed, as dictators take control, is the freedom of learning. Tyranny hates and fears nothing more than the free exchange of ideas, the free play of the mind that comes from education.

In these schools and in other American schools, the children of today and of future generations will be taught, without censorship or restriction, the facts of current history and the whole context of current knowledge. Their textbooks will not be burned by a dictator who disagrees with them; their teachers will not be banished by a ruler whom they have offended; their schools will not be closed if they teach unpalatable truths; and their daily instruction will not be governed by the decrees of any central bureau of propaganda. They will get not all of the story part of the time, or only part of the story all of the time—they will get all of the story all of the time.

Here will be trained the young people of a nation—not for enforced labor camps or for regimentation as an enslaved citizenry, but for the intelligent exercise of the right of suffrage, and for participation as free human beings in the life of the Nation.

These buildings are also a symbol of a second and a newer responsibility which our democracy has assumed as one of its major functions. As you know, they have been paid for in part by the taxpayers of the consolidated district, and in part by the Federal Government in accordance with the purpose of the Federal Government to give work to many Americans who could find no work.

Eight years ago, at a time when our national economy had been prostrate for several years, when starvation and bankruptcy had almost become the order of the day, Government for the first time took on this new responsibility. There were some in those days who chanted that nature had to run its course of misery, that deflation could not be stopped, and that the depression was only the working of natural economic laws in a system of free enterprise.

The American Government decided to reject this philosophy of inaction and irresponsibility and indifference to the destitution of its citizens. In its place was substituted a new doctrine—that the Government owed a continuing responsibility to see to it that no one should starve who was willing to work but unable to find work. That was the responsibility, the duty, which the collective strength and will of all of the people imposed upon themselves, to alleviate the suffering of their fellow beings and to stimulate recovery in their national economy. That responsibility expresses itself in the example which stands before us here.

This Nation is now dotted in almost every one of its 3,200 counties with schools, to the construction of which the Federal Government has contributed—new schools, useful schools, schools to replace outworn schools, schools that were needed by the communities where they were erected, schools for which the communities were willing to contribute their own share out of their own pockets.

There is not a single person in the United States who has not seen some new useful structure—a hospital, a bridge, a town hall, a highway, an airport, a dam, a sewer—one of the hundreds of thousands of new necessary improvements which were built in the United States—illustrations of the results of giving employment on useful projects.

The public wealth of the United States—the property of every man, woman, and child—has been increased in hundreds of ways. Idle funds of the Nation have been put to work so that idle hands could be put to useful tasks.

Into every project went money for wages; the wages were spent at local stores; the stores replenished their stocks; and the wheels of industry and business moved faster. Into every project went materials for construction—materials from all parts of the country. For example, while our own local neighborhood provided the stone for these very schools, and perhaps the sand and gravel for the concrete foundations, almost everything else used was made in some other part of America.

In terms of dollars and cents, no sounder investment could have been made for the American people. But the material return from that investment was not the most important gain. There came with it a development of morale, a new hope and courage, a new self-respect among the unemployed—a definite gain in the fiber and the strength of American life. In building for the well-being of America, we have built for the defense of America as well.

To you of the younger generation who are now attending these schools. I offer my very sincere congratulations. You have the privilege of improving your education in institutions which have the best of modern equipment and high standards of instruction and curriculum.

You have advantages which your fathers did not enjoy. But we do not begrudge you them. For it will be the obligation of the youth of America to maintain under the more strenuous conditions of modern life our cherished traditions of democratic freedom.

You live in a more complicated world than your fathers. Your lives will be much more intimately tied with the lives of those in other cities, in other towns, and in other States.

You are a vital part of an America which, more thoroughly than ever before, thinks in terms of national unity. That unity is steadily improving in the desire for general education.

The older school district units throughout the Nation are being merged into consolidated districts, in the cause of better education. They in turn are operating in a State system, which is constantly striving to improve standards and facilities. Finally, with the aid of the Federal Government itself, education is coming to be regarded throughout the country as part and parcel of the general well-being of old and young alike, and as a necessary factor in raising the standards of American life.

All of this is typical of the knitting together of our people in every State and every county and every town, in a unity so necessary to our salvation in these days of great emergencies which threaten the democracies of the world.

American-Japanese Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. ELBERT D. THOMAS OF UTAH

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address delivered by the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] on the American Forum of the Air on Sunday last in regard to American-Japanese relations.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

For many years we have had talk of war between the United States and Japan. The war has never occurred and there is no reason why it should. The Japanese people consider themselves beneficiaries of American friendship, and the American people, while they have acted harshly at times toward Japan, have never acted unjustly.

The present threat of war comes now as a result of the alinements in the world-wide revolutionary struggle. Japan and America are the two nations which have little reason to join in this revolutionary movement. Japan and America should stand together in maintaining economic, social, and political freedom. But Japan has now allied herself with those who do not want economic or any kind of freedom. Japan did not need a new ideology to adjust her internal political affairs. The change which has taken place there in control of her government has been a backward step, not a forward one. By this action in Japan, no one's rights have been bettered, no one's economic condition has been improved, no one's political well-being has been advanced. The spirit of exploitation and conquest seems to control, and Japan now has accepted almost entirely the single-willed technique of the dictators of Germany, Italy, and Russia. The new alliance can mean nothing else. Japan was not hurt by the Treaty of Versailles. She, like Italy, gained much. Japan was not hurt by the Washington treaties. There again she benefited, for these treaties recognized her commanding leadership not only in the Far East but also in the world. In the world, she herself sacrificed that leadership. In the Far East, she has chosen to substitute conquest for leadership. She seems to want to force a submission rather than lead. As a great admirer of Japan and a friend of the Japanese people, I am sad over this.

That Japan, a victor, should ally herself with Germany, which was a defeated country, and make common cause with that defeated country, leaves Japan in an inconsistent position. Today she is confused, as many persons are, by slogans, such as a new order. The old order is constantly changing, but a new order will not come by reverting to the ways of the barbarian. Since the Manchurian and the Chapei incidents. Japan's history has not been an enviable one. Her latest act is in no sense one of self-defense or self-protection. It is one of aggression. To be an aggressor and to be allied with other aggressors in invasion of harmless and peace-loving peoples, ruthlessly slaying and bombing fleeing men, women, and children, burning whole cities, and transferring into wandering nomads millions of industrious, settled workers on two continents—this is a picture of which no nation in its right mind can be proud. Yet Japan today seems proud. Even war should not do that to people. I do not wish to stigmatize any nation as brutal; but if such actions are not recognized as brutal, what becomes of man's moral sense? From the standpoint of morality, then, this last alliance must be condemned. I care not what others hold; I know there is a moral force. Truth is real, and if the mists of fear now blot it from the sight of our people that does not in any sense destroy it.

Americans today should speak out with brave and courageous words, as they have in times past. Why is it that we Americans have dodged the responsibility of the destiny which is ours? What has become of the great teachings of our youth, when we held that one with God is a majority? Shall we turn our backs upon

those teachings and allow our lives to simmer away in indifference? Should American rights not be maintained? Should not morality be preserved? Should not brutality be driven from the earth?

Long ago I pointed out that if we refused to maintain the concept of the freedom of the seas, the time would come when we might have to fight for the control of those seas. That day seems to be near. America, founded by those who fought for right and to establish justice, cannot stand in a world controlled by ruthless brutality.

American-Japanese Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON, OF COLORADO

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] before the American Forum of the Air, on Sunday last, on American-Japanese relations.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Japan is now, and has been for years, engaged in a war upon China; her sole purpose being to subjugate the Chinese people and to rob them of their natural resources. The world has never witnessed a more barbarous, cruel, and brutal campaign against an innocent people than Japan's invasion of China. Up to January 1, 1939, 600,000 Chinese soldiers and 75,000 Chinese civilians had been killed by Japanese brigands; nearly 2,000,000 soldiers and civilians seriously injured and 40,000,000 Chinese refugees driven from their homes; hundreds of missions, schools, and hospitals and tens of thousands of houses destroyed; scores of cities looted; and hundreds of industries conscripted without compensation. Twenty-three percent of the total area of China—and China is larger than the United States—has passed to Japanese control and this vast area includes much of China's richest agricultural lands, her principal trading ports, most of her modern industrial plants, and two-thirds of her entire railway mileage.

For 70 years Japan has been the most imperialistic nation on this earth and what she is doing today is merely a continuation of her bold plan to consolidate Asia under her domination. So long as her militarists control her destiny, and imperialistic ambition continues to be her passion, she will be an outlaw in the family of nations. Promises and treaties are only made by her to be broken. She has given assurances repeatedly that she would not violate the territory of China but her signature on a treaty means less than nothing.

Fortunately for the world Japan is woefully short on essential war materials but unfortunately for China other nations have come to Japan's rescue. Other nations have supplied her with the sinews of war. Without these imported supplies she could not have continued her war against China for 6 months. What two nations do you imagine helped her most in her war on unoffending civilians? Your first guess is Germany and Italy but that guess is dead wrong. The two nations that have supplied Japan with essential war materials are Great Britain and the United States of America. These two "holier than thou" Christian democracies have supplied the pagan assassin of women and children with 90 percent of her sinews of war. The United States, the chief advocate of the open-door policy, and the original sponsor of the Nine Power Pact, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact, in open violation of these policies and treaties has made it possible for Japan to continue her criminal assault upon China.

Japan, the United States, Great Britain, and other European powers pledged China in a solemn treaty to respect her territorial integrity. China did nothing to cause that pledge to be modified and yet the United States has broken it by extending China's tormentors every assistance needed in their campaign to destroy her.

Great Britain succeeded, in the Versailles Treaty, in having Japan awarded the property of Germany located in China and since has fostered and promoted an international policy of appeasement toward Japan. The United States has acquiesced somewhat reluctantly in this British appeasement policy and has contented herself with more or less harmless scoldings. Now that Japan has joined the Central European Axis, we have placed an embargo on one essential war material—scrap iron—from going to anyone except England and points on the Western Hemisphere after October 16, 1940.

I do not favor declaring war upon Japan or giving Japan cause to make war upon us but I do demand that we discontinue selling to any nation violating the Nine Power Pact any essential war material whatsoever. This is the least that we can do. It is not only our right but it is our duty to stop supplying outlaw powers pillaging and sacking China, in direct violation of their treaty with us, essential war materials. We must ever keep in mind that Japan could not have continued her war against China without our help.

The Harry Bridges Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENT E. KELLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, when it finally occurred to me that the bill for the deportation of Harry Bridges, without due process of law, was to receive serious consideration on the floor of the House, I at once thought of the measure as clearly a bill of attainder. I therefore turned to the Annotated Constitution and read carefully the definition of a bill of attainder from that authoritative source.

I reread section 8 of the Constitution, noting as I had remembered the matter that that section provides that "no bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed."

I then turned to the definition of bill of attainder, which I found on page 281 of the Annotated Constitution of the United States of America, 1938 edition, which was "A bill of attainder is a legislative act which inflicts punishment without judicial trial." Herein I give a much fuller quotation taken from the case of Cummings against Missouri.

I then undertook a review of what bills of attainder in England had really done, and the considerations which lay behind the action of our fathers who wrote the Constitution, which impelled them to make this specific prohibition that the "Congress should have no right to pass a bill of attainder or ex post facto law."

Through the very able cooperation of two young lawyers in the Government service I was enabled to go back to the very beginning of that subject and to dig out some of the examples of the injustices, the horrors, resulting from the bills of attainder that were well known to the writers of the Constitution.

I quote some of these records for the consideration not only of the lawyers of the country but of the American people, because an attempt is being made to persecute the men in the Congress who had the courage to stand up and vote against the great majority of that body on the Bridges deportation bill. I am doing this for the benefit of the people, I repeat, but quite as much for the benefit of my colleagues in the House.

I cannot but believe that if the Members of the House had had the time to devote to a study of this bill that it would have received no consideration at the hands of either the committee or the other members of the House.

I excuse the lawyers who voted for this bill of attainder on one ground and one only, and that is that they had overlooked their early training and early knowledge of the origin and reason for the Constitution; that they had forgotten what a bill of attainder is; that they overlooked the fact that, while Congress has full power to pass a law on any subject it pleases, that the courts alone, under the Constitution, have the full duty and responsibility of applying that law, of hearing the cases under it according to the rules of evidence, and passing judgment on whoever may be affected. But that the Congress itself has neither the right nor power to try any private individual for any offense under any law.

I had and now have no desire to protect any individual in the breaking of any law, but as a Member of Congress I have every duty, every obligation to see to it that the body of which I am a Member shall under no condition step over into the

realm of that other independent body, the courts, to usurp their authority, their obligation, their duty, and their rights.

I have gone to considerable length to discuss the legal points, even though they have no right to be considered in this matter under our Constitution, which literally forbids the Congress to pass any such bill as the bill against Harry Bridges.

I have no brief for Harry Bridges any more than I have for Thomas Lamont. I do know, however, that Harry Bridges was tried under the law and was not convicted. I also know that if the Congress should assume to punish one man by banishment they would have as good a right to inflict any other punishment on any other man as they did to inflict banishment. Not only would they have the right to inflict banishment on a labor leader like Harry Bridges but they would also have the same right to punish Thomas Lamont for saying that "fascism was probably a better system of government than our own." I do not agree with Mr. Lamont, but I would make any and every sacrifice necessary to see to it that he did not suffer except through the due processes of law administered by the courts of this country.

To me the whole thing is a moral question, a moral obligation, a matter in my estimation involving patriotic duty, and to my colleagues I desire to call their attention back to the debates on the Bridges bill, if the expressions of any of our Members can properly be classed as debates.

It was in my judgment and in due consideration for the opinions of my colleagues that they were giving way to prejudice unworthy of the Congress.

And that can be overlooked only on the ground that for 150 years no such bill had ever been presented to the Congress for its consideration; and that the lawyers, making up 82 percent of the House, had overlooked completely and entirely the history of the whole horrible period in which bills of attainder were passed, and that because the matter had not been brought to their attention, there having been no discussion in the House since the Constitution had been written, the facts had been forgotten. I have stood constantly and now stand for the passage of much stronger laws against the men and organizations which seek to sabotage the United States Government or to criminally conspire to mislead public opinion.

But I shall continue to insist, to vote against, and to oppose any attempt on the part of the Congress to deny to any man the right of trial by jury, or to encroach upon the rights, dignity, and responsibility of our courts. I shall continue to obey the provisions of the Constitution in the making, judging, and administration of our laws. I am quoting the letters of Attorney General Jackson, a great lawyer, and of Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D., one of the great minds and hearts of America, whose knowledge of law, common sense, and human rights is the equal of any man in America:

HAS THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES THE AUTHORITY TO DIRECT THE DEPORTATION OF ALIEN HARRY RENTON BRIDGES?

Under the provision of this bill the Congress of the United States, without investigation and hearing as to the facts, is being empowered to direct the Attorney General to take into custody forthwith and deport Mr. Harry Renton Bridges, "whose presence in this country Congress deems hurtful." Should this bill be enacted into law, it will be the first of its kind since the establishment of the Republic, and for this reason it is highly important to calmly and carefully consider at this time the legal and political aspects of the proposed measure.

Before discussing the nature of the bill, it is necessary to first dispose of a few preliminary questions.

First, the proponents of the bill adduce and it cannot be denied that the Congress has the absolute power to prescribe by law the classes of aliens subject to deportation. Congress has made such provision and has described the classes of aliens whose deportation is mandatory. Under this law, aliens have been deported and are regularly being deported.

The proponents also contend that the Congress may at any time extend the scope of the law. That Congress has such authority is not questioned. The Congress has recently exercised such authority in the adoption of H. R. 5138, which was signed by the President on June 28, 1940. Should Mr. Bridges come within purview of the law, the machinery for his deportation is available. About a year ago the Secretary of Labor instituted deportation proceedings against Mr. Bridges. The Secretary appointed Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School as chief trial examiner. Mr. Landis conducted a hearing for 9 full weeks, and after 7,724 pages of testimony and the presentation of 274 exhibits concluded that from the evidence established, Mr. Bridges was neither a member of nor affiliated with a party engaged in subversive and un-American activities. The results therefore did not warrant deportation.

The second question, Is Mr. Bridges, as an alien, subject to the protection of the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States? The Constitution speaks of "We the people of these United States." The liberties guaranteed are not couched in terms of citizenship. The liberties are guaranteed to the people of the United States; that means all people, all persons, citizens, aliens, or otherwise classified. And the liberty most sacred and most zealously guarded is the right to a fair, just, and speedy trial. This right insures the opportunity to be heard in open court and the right not to be summarily deported. A long list of respectible authority supports this contention, a recital of which is here deemed unnecessary.

Now as to the question, Does Congress have the power, never before exercised, to direct by legislation the deportation of a specific individual? The courts have never passed on the question specifically. However, as indicated in the report by the Committee on Immigration in H. R. 9766, the proponents of this legislation contend that Congress has the absolute power to direct the deportation of any alien or class of aliens whose prosence in this country is obnoxious or objectionable. In support of this position it cites: *Haw Moy* v. *North*, 183 F. 89; *Skiffington* v. *Katzeff*, 277 F. 129; *N. Fung Ho* v. *White*, 259 U. S. 276; *Ping* v. *United States*, 130 U. S. 581; *Ex parte Crawford*, 165 F. 830; *Wong Wing* v. *United States*, 163 U. S. 236; *Bugajewitz* v. *Adams*, 228 U. S. 585.

But upon a close examination of the language in the cases cited, without now going into a detailed discussion, the courts in each instance passed upon the constitutionality of general legislation, under the terms of which all of the constitutional rights of the aliens were duly protected either in the statutes or in the procedural regulations promulgated under such statutes. Thus, the view of the proponents of the bills is not only unsupported on authority, but on principle. And furthermore, it is my belief after a careful analysis of the law, statutes, and decisions from early common law to date that such legislation if enacted would not only be a bill in the nature of but by all examinations and tests would in essence be a bill of attainder prohibited by the Constitution of the United States.

That deportation is the loss of a right and a punishment sufficient to come within the classes of rights lost and punishments suffered by persons subjected to bills of attainder is best expressed in the words of James Madison.[1] He said: "If the banishment of an alien from a country into which he has been invited as the asylum most auspicious to his happiness, a country where he may have even the most tender connections, where he may have invested his entire property * * *, where he enjoys, under the laws a greater share of the blessings of personal security and personal liberty than he could elsewhere hope for; if, moreover, in the execution of the sentence against him, he is to be exposed not only to the ordinary dangers of the sea but to the peculiar casualties incident to a crisis of war and to unusual licentiousness on that element and possibly to vindictive purposes, which his immigration itself may have provoked; if a banishment of this sort be not a punishment and among the severest of punishments, it would be difficult to imagine a doom to which the name could be applied."

On the basis that deportation is such a punishment, what is a bill of attainder, the kind which the Constitution prohibits in article I, section 9, "No bill of attainder shall be passed"?

To understand the legal aspects and background of a "bill of attainder" and its relation to the resolution under discussion, it is necessary to briefly review the history and development of the constitutional prohibition.

"Attainder" comes from the Latin term "attinctus," meaning "stained or blackened." References to attainder are found in early legal treatises and discourses. It evolved as an act or a bill to deprive persons and classes of persons of civil and property rights upon conviction of a heinous crime.[2] Conviction itself did not constitute attainder, but it was the disabilities, disqualifications, and disfranchisements annexed to the conviction by a so-called extra ex-post facto legislative act; conviction under penal laws was one thing, a bill of attainder quite another.

Attainder was not necessarily limited to the life of the individual or class of individuals involved. In many cases such bills were extended far beyond the life of the convicted one, so that he could neither inherit lands nor hereditaments from his ancestors, nor retain those he was already in possession of, nor transmit them by descent to any heir. However, in 1798 the British Parliament enacted legislation limiting the force of attainder by declaring, "No attainder should work corruption of blood or forfeiture longer than the life of the convict."

It is to be borne in mind at the start that this discussion does not deal with attainder through judicial process. Although some writers of law deal with the subject of "judicial attainder," the phrase by its very nature seems anomalous. Judicial determination

[1] 4 Elliott's Debates 55. See also *United States ex rel Klonis* v. *Davis* (13 F. (2d) 630); *N. Fung Ho.* v. *White* (259 U. S. 276); *Fong Yue Ting* v. *United States* (149 U. S. 697).

[2] 4 Stephen's Comm. 446; 1 Tom. Jac. Law Dic. 163.

of the guilt, conscience, right, or wrong would connotate the weighing and deliberation of the rights involved under the laws of the land.

Judicial determination implies a certain amount of due process, and certainly no one can quarrel with a judicial process as a means of preserving order of society. Punishment meted out when a crime has been judicially ascertained is basic in our society, and the safeguards are ample to guarantee the accused of judicial process. The attainder with which we are concerned, however, is the arbitrary enactment by a legislative tribunal doing what only the courts of justice can rightfully and lawfully do.

Wooddeson,[3] in his series of lectures on bills of attainder, has this to say: "In these instances (bills of attainder), the legislature assumes judicial magistracy, weighing the enormity of the charge and the proof adduced in support of it, and then deciding the political necessity and moral fitness of the final judgment." Such bills are generally adopted to exigencies unprovided for in the criminal codes, and Professor Wooddeson continues on by classifying such bills as follows: (1) Bills making a material innovation in the crime; (2) bills making no innovation in the crime but changing the rules of evidence; (3) bills against undesirable persons and enforced in summary manner without indictment or trial by jury; and (4) bills creating some forfeiture or disability not incurred in the ordinary course of law. Generally a bill takes on the characteristics of one of the above categories, but may not necessarily be confined to one, as a bill may be aimed at a particular class of persons and may at the same time also change the rules of evidence against persons standing charged with certain violations. Neither are the bills, as in olden times, confined to persons convicted. Such bills have been enacted to deprive even innocent persons of hard-earned rights and liberties; the bill thus advancing to a stage where it has been used as a weapon by persons politically ambitious. I can go on to recite hundreds of cases where such power has been used in a most oppressive manner, but a few of the instances will suffice.

The outstanding case occurred during the reign of King James II. While in Ireland he altered all terms of contracts in the kingdom. He assumed powers which belonged only to the whole legislature. Yet the commons in Ireland did not remonstrate. There was no power, however unconstitutional, which they were not willing to concede to him, as long as he used it to crush, plunder and torture the Protestant English. In the state of such hate, frenzy, prejudice, and hysteria they were not satisfied until they had obtained James' reluctant consent to a portentous law, a law without parallel in the history of civilized countries—this was the great Irish Act of Attainder of 1689.

A list was framed containing between two and three thousand names. At the top was half the peerage of Ireland. Then came baronets, knights, clergymen, squires, merchants, yeomen, artisans, women, and children of even very tender ages. No investigation was made. Any member who wished to rid himself of a creditor, a rival, a private enemy, one under slightest suspicion of being a rival or enemy, gave in the name to the clerk at the table, and it was generally inserted without formality or discussion. The only debate of any account, if it can be considered as such, was with reference to the case of the Earl of Strafford. He had several friends in the house who offered to come to his aid, "but a few words from Simon Lutrell settled the question. 'I have,' he said, 'heard the King say some hard things of the lord.' This was thought sufficient, and the name of Strafford stands fifth in the long table of the proscribed."[4] It was difficult to prove that he violated any of the treason laws, and to make sure that the earl would not escape, he was immediately imprisoned. He spent 4 wearisome years in the tower, being physically and spiritually tortured, before he was finally sent to the scaffold.

Days were fixed before which those whose names were on the list were required to surrender themselves to such justice as was then administered to English Protestants in Dublin. If the person failed to appear by the appointed day, he was to be hanged, drawn, slaughtered, and quartered without a trial, and his property to be confiscated, none of which could be inherited by any of his heirs, however close or remote. That nothing might be wanting to the completeness of the atrocity, extreme care was taken to prevent the persons from knowing that they were attainted, until the day of grace fixed in the act was passed. The roll of names was not published but was carefully hidden under lock and key. Some Protestants who still adhered to the cause of James, but who were anxious to know whether any of their friends or relations had been proscribed, tried hard to obtain a sight of the list; but solicitation, remonstrance, even bribery proved to be in vain. Not a single copy got abroad until it was too late for any of the thousands who had been condemned without a trial to obtain a pardon. Among the attainted lords was Mountjoy. He had been induced, by the villainy of Tyrconnel, to trust himself at Saint Germain's. He did and was thrown into a dungeon. He was left there to rot, and the Irish Parliament was not ashamed to enact that, unless he could, within a few weeks, make his escape from his cell and present himself at Dublin, he should be put to death. Thus ended a chapter in history of the most sordid, reckless, and tyrannical barbarity.[5]

During the long history of England all but very few reigns were without bloodshed even after the adoption of the Magna Carta and the civil rights and liberties granted thereby. In 1461 the first Parliament of Edward IV passed a bill of attainder including the names of 153 persons among whom were 14 lords of the Lancastrian party. Although some of those attainted were already dead, and some others sought refuge in other countries, most of them lost their heads on the scaffold and on the block, others were imprisoned for life, and those persons who could not be secured lost their estates. The properties were immediately seized and added to the riches of the crown. No trial, defense, or opportunity to be heard as guaranteed by the Magna Carta was afforded any of those attainted. The act was signed and the axes began to fall. Among those attainted during this period were Henry VI, his Queen, and young son. Edward IV was not a believer in frequent sessions of Parliament. He called them only when he was in need of revenue or on occasion when he wished authority to deal with his enemies. In 1478 he again summoned Parliament to consider the case of the King's brother George. He deserted Warwick in 1470 and fought for his brother Edward on the fields of Barnet and Jewkesbury. But after some years the King's suspicions were aroused, and thus suffered condemnation and execution without trial. Tradition reports that after much indecent exposure, he was drawn and then drowned in a butt of wine.[6]

Cases of this description were also numerous during the reign of Henry VIII, and among the victims was Cromwell, who is said to have first advised that monarch to resort to this objectionable proceeding. Even the dead were attainted as in the case of Richard III. The last infliction of capital punishment in England under a bill of attainder was upon Sir John Fenwick, in the reign of William and Mary. It is worthy of note that in the preceding reign Sir John had been prominent in the attainder of the unhappy Monmouth.[7]

I have gone at great length to cite all of these cases to show this species of legislation which the framers of the Constitution hoped to avoid. "These acts upon all whose parts are stamped the worst features of factious malignity and tyranny, call for no further criticism. As illustrations of the principles of such bills as defined by the text writers, they are perfect; as monuments of the wisdom of our fathers in declaring that never, never should any such find place in our legislation, it is hoped they may prove more lasting than marble or brass."

Bills of attainder were also not foreign to the several assemblies during our Colonial period, and were especially rampant during the Revolutionary period, when everything was staked on success, and when public safety would not permit too much weight to scruples concerning the private rights of those who were not aiding the popular cause. But, of course, because of the abuse of the power the question came for debate before the Constitutional Convention.[8]

On the floor of the Convention it was argued that the Government of the United States was to be one of enumerated powers,

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[3] Wooddeson's law lectures, delivered at Oxford during the year of 1777, appearing in vol. II, pp. 621–648, lecture No. 41.

[4] V. Macaulay's History of England, 213.

[5] An act of a pretended parliament assembled in Dublin, attainted of high treason, 1690; an account of the transactions of the late King James in Ireland, 1690; King iii. 13; memoirs of Ireland, 1716.

[6] Larson's History of England and the British Commonwealth, p. 242.

[7] Macaulay's History of England, ch. 12. Ibid., ch. 5. See also 6 How. State Trials 391, an act for banishing and disenabling the Earl of Clarendon; 15 Brit. Stat. at Large 68, an act to inflict pains and penalties on Francis, Lord Bishop of Rochester; 15 id. 65, an act to inflict pains and penalties on John Plunkett; 29 id. 241, an act to incapacitate John Burnett; Charles Hannington; Thomas Haselgrove; Ralph Moor; Thomas Parsons; Thomas Snook, Jr.; Thomas Hannington; John Robinson; William Cheesman, George Brown; John Parsons; John Curl; Frederick Dean; William Dean; Samuel Tuppen; John Sawyers; Thomas Crowter; Thomas Pockney; Joseph Dedman; John Dean; John Whiting; William Stevens; John Bawcomb; Robert Parker; John Hogsflesh; John Purse; John Dean; Thomas Jennings; John Snook, Jr.; Richard Tilstone; William Turner; Walter Sawyers; Charles Mitchell; John Jarmand; John Wood; Friend Daniel; William; Gratwick; Nathaniel Hillman; Thomas Roberts; John Ashman; William Cooter; Thomas Frost; Michael Smith; Richard Carver; Michael Durrant; Emery Churcher; Walter Broad; Richard Stoneham; James Bennett; Clement Freeman, William Jupp; Thomas Crowter; John Barnard; James Mitchell; James Millar (otherwise Miller); William Newnham; Jeffrey Carver; Randall Button; James Carver; John Martin; John Dedman, Sr.; William Jennings; William Hards; Thomas Gear; William Rushbridge; Henry Robinsons; and Henry Hannington; 8 id. 444; 13 id. 306; 10 id. 397; 3 How. State Trials 158; 13 Brit. Stat. at Large 286; 8 id. 44; 10 id. 6; 13 id. 213; 18 id. 455; 15 id. 66.

[8] See Belknap's History of New Hampshire, ch. 26; 2 Ramsay's History of South Carolina, 351; 8 Rhode Island Colonial Records, 609; 2 Arnold's History of Rhode Island 360, 449; *Thompson* v. *Carr* (5 New Hampshire 510); *Sleght* v. *Kane* (2 Johns. Cas. 236). See also 1 Elliott's Debates 322–334 for the various recommendations by Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island.

and it was thought that a bill of rights to correct such abuses ought not to be incorporated into the Constitution. Mr. Hamilton argued: [9] "For why declare that things should not be done which there is no power to do? Why for instance, should it be said that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained, when no power is given by which restriction may be imposed? I will not contend that such a provision would confer a regulating power; but it is evident that it would furnish, to men disposed to usurp, a plausible pretense for claiming that power. They might urge with a semblance of reason, that the Constitution ought not to be charged with the absurdity of providing against the abuse of an authority which was not given, and that the provision against restraining the liberty of the press afforded a clear implication that a right to prescribe proper regulations concerning it was intended to be vested in the National Government. This may serve as a specimen of the numerous handles which would be given to the doctrine of constructive powers, by the indulgence of an injudicious zeal for bills of rights."

It was also argued that bills of rights were necessary only between kings and subjects,[10] and not when provision is made for the people to ordain and establish a constitution guaranteeing that when persons managing the opinion of government can be turned out by popular action.

Reasoning like this was specious, but it was far from satisfactory to many of the leading statesmen of the day, who believed that "the purposes of society do not require a surrender of all our rights to our ordinary governors; that there are certain portions of rights not necessary to enable them to carry on an effective government, and which experience has nevertheless proved they will be constantly encroaching on, if submitted to them; that there are also certain forces which experience has proved peculiarly efficacious against wrong, and rarely obstructive of right, which yet the governing powers have ever shown a disposition to weaken and remove." [11]

The Convention thus adopted a Constitution creating not only a Government of enumerated powers but with specific guaranties. Thus, in addition to other guaranties, article I, section 9, "No bill of attainder shall be passed."

In construing this provision, Story says,[12] "bills of attainder, as they are technically called, are such special acts of the legislature as inflict capital punishments upon persons supposed to be guilty of high offenses, such as treason and felony, without any conviction in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings. If an act inflicts a milder degree of punishment than death, it is called a bill of pains and penalties. But in the sense of the Constitution it seems that bills of attainder include bills of pains and penalties, for the Supreme Court said in *Fletcher* v. *Peck* (6 Cranch, R. 138), 'a bill of attainder may affect the life of an individual, or may confiscate his property, or both.' In such cases, the legislature assumes judicial magistracy, pronouncing upon the guilt of the party without any of the common forms and guards of a trial, and satisfying itself with proofs, when such proofs are within its reach, whether they are conformable to the rules of evidence or not. In short, in all such cases, the legislature exercises the highest power of sovereignty, and what may be properly deemed an irresponsible despotic discretion, being governed solely by what it deems political necessity or expediency, and too often under the influence of unreasonable fears or unfounded suspicions."

The Supreme Court of Kentucky [13] in a very early case says: "Bills of attainder have generally designated their victims by name; but they may do it also by classes, or by general description fitting a multitude of persons. Either mode is equally liable to moral and constitutional censure. They have generally been applied to punish offenses already committed, or for criminal omissions thereafter incurring. A bill of attainder is not necessarily an ex post facto law. A British act of Parliament might declare that if certain individuals, or a class of individuals failed to do a given act by a named day, they should be deemed and treated as convicted felons and traitors. Such an act comes precisely within the definition of a bill of attainder, and the English courts would enforce it without indictment or trial by jury."

Thus if the legislature should pass a law declaring that all persons who on a certain day fail to file affidavits to the effect that they keep the Sabbath laws should be deprived of suffrage, this would be a bill of attainder. The bill would, of course, be couched in language of a general law, but would in fact be a special act applying only to those who could not take such an oath. In other words it would be no more a general law than an act which should declare that every person who on a certain day has not filed an affidavit that he never answered to the name of John Smith, shall suffer death as a traitor. Such an act would apply only to John Smith, notwithstanding its form. It would be legislative judgment, and nothing else.

Daniel Webster, in the Dartmouth College case [14] discussing due process and the law of the land, said, "If such were the case, acts of attainder, bills of pains and penalties, acts of confiscation, acts reversing judgments, and acts directly transferring one man's estate to another, legislative judgments, decrees, and forfeitures in all possible forms would be the law of the land. Such a strange construction would render constitutional provisions of the highest importance inoperative and void. It would tend to establish the union of all powers in the legislature. There would be no general permanent law for courts to administer or men to live under. The administration of justice would be an empty form, an idle ceremony; judges would sit to execute legislative judgments and decrees, not to declare the law or to administer the justice of the country."

The leading case to have come before the Supreme Court of the United States is *Cummings* v. *The State of Missouri* (71 U. S. 277). The case involved the suspension of certain civil rights by the State of Missouri for an act which was not punishable at the time it was committed. Mr. Justice Field, in delivering the opinion of the Court, held that a bill of attainder is a legislative act which inflicts punishment without judicial trial." In these cases the legislative body, in addition to its legitimate functions, exercises the power and office of judge; it assumes in the language of the textbooks, judicial magistracy; it pronounces upon the guilt of the party, without any of the forms or safeguards of a trial; it determines the sufficiency of the proof produced, whether conformable to the rules of evidence or otherwise; and it fixes the degree of punishment in accordance with its own notions of the enormity of the offense." [15]

Thus do the authorities uniformly declare—and the position has not since been amended—the rights against legislative encroachment have been zealously guarded. They are forbidden to do what their courts of justice, interpreting and executing the criminal law, can rightfully and lawfully do. The Congress of the United States, as well as the legislative bodies in all States, are empowered to enact criminal laws. It can define crimes. It can affix punishment to such crime, but no criminal law or legislative act can ascertain and name a guilty party. Criminal laws must be prospective in character. They cannot say that persons committing acts heretofore valid are guilty of criminal action, but they can say that those who thereafter commit such acts shall be subject to the penalties provided for on conviction.

But aside from the personal harm to any one individual, and especially to Mr. Bridges in this case, questions of policy should likewise be considered. Ours from the very beginning is a Government of division of powers, and this system of checks and balances is to be maintained. Certainly the Court will not permit an encroachment by the legislature on its prerogatives.

We also cannot help but concede that a legislative body, from its number and organization and from the intimate dependence of its members upon the electorate renders them peculiarly susceptible to popular clamor, and thus places them in a position where they could not deliberate upon a criminal charge with coolness, caution, and impartiality, especially in those cases in which the popular feeling is strongly excited—the very class of cases which, of course, have come and are likely to be presented for legislative action.

In this brief account we have seen that these practices were resorted to because an obnoxious or undesirable person was not subject to punishment under the general law, or because in proceeding against him in this manner, some rule of the common law requiring a particular species or degree of evidence might be evaded and a conviction secured on proofs that a jury could not accept as overcoming the legal presumptions of innocence. Whether the accused should necessarily be served with process; what evidence shall be admissible or inadmissible; whether the rules of law should be followed, either in determining what constituted a crime, or in dealing with the accused after conviction "were all questions which would necessarily address themselves to the legislative discretion and sense of justice, and the very qualities which are essential in a court to protect individuals on trial before them against popular clamor, or the hate of those in power, were precisely those which were likely to prove weak or wanting in the legislative body at such a time. And what could be more obnoxious in a free government than the exercise of such a power by a popular body, controlled by a mere majority, fresh from the contests of exciting elections, and quite too apt, under the most favorable circumstances, to suspect the motives of their adversaries, and to resort to measures of doubtful propriety to secure party ends?" [16]

And to conclude that such action would constitute a bill of attainder, let me quote from the closing arguments of Mr. S. T. Gloner, attorney for the plaintiff in error in *Blair* v. *Ridgley* (41 Mo. 61 (1867)), "It is fair to conclude that it is an infliction by a bill, by legislative or convention ordinance, of the same disqualifications and disabilities, or some of them, which constitute judicial attainder. In other words, it is an attempt to attaint one or more

[9] Federalist, No. 84.

[10] Magna Carta provides: "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold or his liberties, or his free customs, nor be outlawed or exiled, nor in any manner destroyed, nor will we pass upon him or condemn him, unless by the legal judgment of his peers or the law of the land." Subsequently, by act 25 Edward, sec. 5, ch. 4, "none shall be taken by petition or suggestion made to the king or his council, unless it be by indictment of lawful people of his neighborhood, or by process made by writ original at the common law. And none shall be put out of his franchise or freehold unless he be duly brought to answer and forejudged by course of law; and if anything be done to the contrary, it shall be redressed and holden for none." And, the statute, 42 Edward, sec. 3, ch. 3, declares, "No man shall be put to answer without presentment before justice, or matter of record of due process, or writ original according to the ancient law of the land."

[11] III Jefferson's Works, 201.

[12] II Story on the Constitution 216, sec. 1344 (5th ed.).

[13] See 1 Dana 510.

[14] 65 N. H. 473.

[15] Page 323. See also *Ex parte Garland*, 71 U. S. 333.

[16] Cooley's Constitutional Limitations, 537.

persons by a legislative act, contrary to the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, to the same effect that such persons might be attainted judicially."

From the foregoing there can be no doubt that the proposed legislation does constitute a bill of attainder.

I quote with hearty approval the letter of the Attorney General with regard to the Bridges deportation bill:

JUNE 18, 1940.

Hon. RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
Chairman, Committee on Immigration, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: This is an answer to your request for the views of this Department concerning the bill H. R. 9766, which provides:

"To direct the deportation of Harry Renton Bridges.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That notwithstanding any other provision of law the Attorney General be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to take into custody forthwith and deport forthwith to Australia, the country of which he is a citizen or subject, the alien Harry Renton Bridges, whose presence in this country the Congress deems hurtful."

If this bill were to become law it would be a historical departure from an unbroken American practice and tradition. It would be the first time that an act of Congress has singled out a named individual for deportation. It would be the first time that Congress, without changing the general law, simply suspended all laws which protect a named individual and directed the Attorney General to disregard them and forthwith to deport "notwithstanding any other provision of law." And it would be the first time since the alien and sedition laws a century and a half ago that any law would provide for a deportation without a hearing or without, indeed, the slightest pretense toward giving the accused what our Nation has long known as due process of law.

The extraordinary character of the bill upon its face is even more impressive viewed against its background. This same alien has been accused, investigated, and tried at great length, and judgment has been rendered that he has not been proved guilty of the charges made against him. By this bill the United States would deny faith and credit to its own duly conducted legal proceedings.

We have in this country, subject to the jurisdiction of this Department, some three and a half million aliens. One of our great tasks is to assimilate them into our native culture; this can only be done by a deep respect for our processes and tradition. How shall we teach this respect if the Government itself will not abide by a decision in an individual case, and makes acts whose nature is not specified, but which must have been lawful when done, the basis of deportation without hearing? What becomes of equality before the law, of the impersonal and impartial character of our Government, if it is to select unpopular persons to suffer disadvantage or punishment?

I do not consider now whether such a law would violate the constitutional prohibition against congressional enactment of bills of attainder, or ex post facto laws, or the provision of our Bill of Rights which declares that "no person * * * shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." I do not now try to determine whether the language of this act would work an unconstitutional suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. Nor do I inquire as to any breach of treaty engagements to render fair treatment to nationals of friendly powers lawfully in this country. The law makes me legal adviser only to the President and the executive departments, and my predecessors have held that they could not with propriety also render legal opinion to a separate branch of the Government.

But, apart from any question of power, I cannot, as head of the Department affected by this bill, answer with anything less than emphatic disapproval your request for views upon it.

The Congress has almost unlimited powers over aliens. It has embodied its policies in general laws. If it is convinced, as I am, that recent experiences show the need for additional safeguards, by all means let us have them. We, who are administratively responsible for dealing with these problems, have advocated greater legislative precautions. But there is no condition, existing or threatened, which needs arbitrary legislation prescribing no rule of conduct, but merely imposing banishment by legislative flat. The interests of this service can be best protected by enactment of clear and fair rules of conduct that aliens may know, so that those who obey may be unmolested and those who disobey may be expelled. And let any man be heard in his own behalf before he is doomed to exile.

Harry Bridges may be all that this bill implies of him. But certainly he does not deserve a place in our history as a martyr. He is insignificant compared to the issues presented by this bill. Our forefathers objected to a government where "whatever pleased the prince had the force of law." The report of the House committee comes close to reverting to this when it says that deportation "without assigning any reason is inherent and asserted by this bill."

As an American I would not, for the sake of my own liberty, deny the protection of uniform and indiscriminatory laws, and of fair hearings to even the humblest or meanest of men. As an official of the United States, I cannot in good conscience do other than recommend strongly against this bill.

With personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT H. JACKSON,
Attorney General.

JULY 6, 1940.

Hon. WILLIAM H. KING,
Chairman, Committee on Immigration, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KING: Some of us are so greatly disturbed over the action of the House of Representatives in passing the bill for the forthright deportation of Harry Bridges that we are requesting the opportunity for a hearing on the bill before the subcommittee of the Senate to which it has been referred. We regard this bill as a grave infringement of the spirit as well as the letter of the Bill of Rights. In all probability, it violates the due process clause of the fifth amendment; for the Supreme Court has held in at least two cases that the word "person" in the fifth amendment includes aliens, even natives of China (*Wong Wing* v. *United States* (163 U. S. 238), and *Li Sing* v. *United States* (180 U. S. 495)). In its present form the bill would deport Harry Bridges without a hearing or any kind of proceeding that could be regarded as due process.

Even if it be not unconstitutional, the bill is revolutionary, arbitrary, and extremely dangerous as a precedent. If Harry Bridges can be deported in this fashion, so can any other alien whom Congress does not like, when it succumbs to the factitious hysteria of the moment. Congress should hesitate long before it sanctions this unwarranted innovation and creates this horrendous precedent.

Harry Bridges is a pest and a nuisance. While he has stimulated the unionization of large groups of workers on the Pacific coast and obtained for them considerable economic benefits, he has done much more harm than good to the cause of organized labor as a whole. Nevertheless, he is as much entitled to the protection of the Constitution and of the regular forms of law and judicial procedure as any other alien. The fifth amendment does not say that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, "except aliens who have become undesirable." In fact, the Bill of Rights was designed in no small degree for the benefit of such unpopular persons as Harry Bridges. Respectable persons seldom, if ever, need the protection of the due process clause. It is the unrespectable, the unpopular, the despised minorities, the politically weak, and the socially helpless who stand most in need of this protection. The Bill of Rights is based upon the fundamental, ethical principle that even members of the foregoing classes are human beings, endowed with a moral and indestructible dignity of personality, and requiring civil protection for the fundamental rights of personality. In this respect, the United States differs sharply and completely from totalitarian countries. In the present critical situation, we ought scrupulously to refrain from any act which would enable the totalitarian states to point at us the finger of scorn and to assert that we care no more than they for individual human rights.

So we hope and trust, dear Mr. Chairman, that the subcommittee of the Committee on Immigration will afford the opportunity of a hearing to those who hold the views set forth in the preceding paragraphs and likewise to those who approve the passing of the bill by the House of Representatives.

Sincerely yours,

Rt. Rev. JOHN A. RYAN, D. D.

Wendell Willkie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. NORRIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY GEORGE SANFORD HOLMES

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by George Sanford Holmes, published in the Bridgeport (Conn.) Sunday Herald of October 6, 1940, entitled "Willkie's Free Press 'Principles' Backfire."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Bridgeport (Conn.) Herald of October 6, 1940]

WILLKIE'S FREE PRESS "PRINCIPLES" BACKFIRE—CANDIDATE'S OWN COMPANY IN SOUTH CHARGED WITH SUBSIDIZING PAPER

(By George Sanford Holmes)

WASHINGTON, October 5.—National newspaper week and events in Congress have combined to focus attention upon the views and acts of Wendell L. Willkie, G. O. P. Presidential candidate, upon the subject of freedom of the press.

The United States Senate, during the past week or so, has echoed and reechoed to charges and denials that one of the Willkie-controlled utilities in Tennessee secretly subsidized a friendly paper and helped destroy an unfriendly one.

Defenders of Willkie say that attacks on his record while president of the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation are attempts to "smear" him, and that he cannot be held responsible for the death of the Chattanooga News, a Tennessee paper that boldly criticized Willkie for his fight against the T. V. A. and opposed the political activities of the Tennessee Electric Power Co. in Chattanooga municipal elections.

The Tennessee Electric Power Co., before its sale by Willkie to the T. V. A. for a handsome figure, was a subsidiary of the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation, the giant holding company presided over by Willkie.

According to the charges made on the Senate floor by Senator GEORGE W. NORRIS, Nebraska Progressive, and Senator KENNETH MCKELLAR, Tennessee New Dealer, the Tennessee Electric Power Co. brought about the collapse of the Chattanooga News by surreptitiously pouring both money and advertising into the Chattanooga Free Press, a rival newspaper friendly to the utilities. Replying to the charges, Senator STYLES BRIDGES, New Hampshire Republican, declared them false and that the News died of anemia.

The issue is a vital one. When all is said and done, a free press constitutes the real cornerstone of democracy. Every newspaper in America and every newspaper reader has an interest in the attitude of the Republican candidate toward the press.

If his political praise of a free press does not square with his business practices with respect to it, the voters have a right to know.

The only information to guide them is to be derived from Willkie's speeches and writings and Willkie's acts and business record.

Reference to these sources of light on Willkie's position can hardly be stigmatized with justice as "smearing." Try as he will, the G. O. P. candidate cannot run away from his record nor can his defenders suppress it.

So embarrassing is this record becoming, especially on the subjects of power and civil liberties, and so sensitive to criticism has Willkie grown, that he has apparently donned a campaign hair shirt that gets more uncomfortable day by day.

Mr. Willkie's record should be an open book to the voters of this country, especially that portion of it while he was in Wall Street, at the head of one of the largest utility holding companies in America, overseeing the activities of numerous operating units dealing directly with the public and with local, State, and municipal governments.

It is in the light of that record that the voters must judge the value, to them, of Willkie's utterances on the subject of freedom of the press, such as, for instance, the following message he sent to William N. Hardy, chairman of the National Newspaper Week Committee:

"There is nothing more essential to the preservation of a free American democracy than the preservation of a free American press. News, accurate and unbiased, is the daily bread upon which a democracy feeds. Pervert the news and control the views of the press—these are the first aims in the would-be dictator's efforts to undermine democracy. Lies and controlled propaganda are the stuff upon which dictatorships feed and grow fat. Freedom of the press is the staff of life for any vital democracy."

These words might be taken at their face value, say Willkie's opponents, if they coincided with the Republican candidate's conduct of the affairs of the vast utilities empire he managed before deciding he was the one indispensable candidate of the Republican Party to recapture the White House. But do they? The answer is not exactly flattering to Willkie.

Definitely, in the view of those who have studied the record, not only in the Tennessee case but in many others involved in utilities propaganda, the facts make Willkie's lofty phrases sound pretty empty to the man who has to pay his electric-light and gas bills promptly—or else.

For it is not only as a reader of daily newspapers but as a consumer of electric current that the average voter is concerned in the proven discriminatory tactics of the Willkie company in Tennessee and in the millions diverted to insidious propaganda by the power interests.

Docket No. 2225, decided February 10, 1939, in the files of the Railroad and Public Utilities Commission of the State of Tennessee, discloses certain unpleasant facts regarding the activities of the Willkie-controlled Tennessee Electric Power Co., that lead to inescapable conclusions.

These facts are that the company was found guilty of violating the State law by employing discriminatory practices in efforts to assist the Chattanooga Free Press financially. The inevitable conclusions are, despite denials on the Senate floor, that the Willkie concern was not at all hot and bothered about the principle of free press or fair competition but was determined to get rid of a hostile newspaper, by building up a tractable one and proceeded to do so with the funds of the stockholders and in defiance of law.

Naturally, to infer that Willkie did not know what this subsidiary was doing is to reflect upon his intelligence and the reputation for business ability which he claims with more pride than modesty.

Whatever interpretation Willkie's spokesmen in the United States Senate may place upon the activities of his Tennessee subsidiary, the record itself reveals a sordid story of secret payments, secret discounts, and excessive advertising appropriations made by the Willkie company to a favored newspaper and obviously, to the detriment of its chief rival.

Whether the latter folded up from "anemia," as charged by Senator BRIDGES, or as the result of animosity and persecution from the Tennessee Electric Power Co., the attitude displayed by the company stands out in startling contrast to Willkie's protestation that the hope of America lies in the preservation of a free press.

In effect, what the company did, as revealed by sworn testimony and State official records, was to pump money and credit into the Chattanooga Free Press, a semiweekly trade or shopping paper, owned by the Home Stores, Inc., a grocery chain operating 40-odd units in the city of Chattanooga, and develop it into a full-fledged daily.

An intense controversy had developed in Chattanooga, in 1936, over the acquisition of a municipal power system, and sentiment in favor of it had grown so strong that the power company, smarting under criticisms of the Chattanooga News, looked around to find an organ of its own.

If the city should provide its own system, it was obvious that it could acquire current from the T. V. A. and reduce rates to subscribers.

So the Tennessee Electric Power Co., undoubtedly with the sanction of its officials, all the way up to Willkie, in Wall Street, subsidized the throw-away sheet, made it into a regular newspaper with large circulation and favored it with business, advertising, and concessions that eventually put it over in a big way.

Realistically speaking, the Willkie utility did a swell job, but it was tough on the opposing paper, the News, which went under and incidentally, upon the cause of freedom of the press, which Willkie says he loves.

In putting the skids to its rival and boosting the Chattanooga Free Press into the category of regular newspapers, the records show that the power company used all the artful devices characteristic of the utilities, as revealed by the Federal Trade Commission in its long probe of utilities propaganda activities under the famous Walsh resolution.

It not only made a contribution of $10,000 in cash to the Free Press, according to the testimony, through one of its attorneys, Silas Williams, but it flooded the paper with utility advertising, at very high rates and on top of all that, allowed the paper to pay up delinquent bills and yet receive the discount, as if the money had been laid down on the counter at the end of every month. Any householder, in Connecticut, would certainly appreciate the similar privilege, of letting his electric bills run a year or so behind and then receive his discount when he paid up.

Not only did the company furnish power to the newspaper, with no apparent attempt to collect, but it performed the same favor for a long period to the Home Stores, Inc., original sponsor of the publication.

This might have gone on forever, as intimated by the State Railroad Commission, with the evident intent of letting the statute of limitations intervene eventually, when suddenly all the delinquent bills were paid up promptly and the discount received.

The reason? Well, early in 1938, Congress got busy and voted to investigate the propaganda efforts to hamstring municipal power developments by the utilities, and when this information reached Chattanooga, there was a rush to the business office of the power company to pay up back accounts.

The resolution to probe the activities of power interests seeking to prevent towns and cities from acquiring distributing systems passed the House on March 30, 1938. On March 31, 1938, the newspaper organ of the Tennessee Electric Power Co. settled its delinquent power bill, to the tune of $6,574.85.

This was mighty quick work, as soon as the Willkie forces got wind of the fact that they were in for a congressional probe. The Home Stores, however, according to the record, continued to owe long-delinquent bills aggregating around $13,000.

The Commission found, moreover, that during 1937, the power company employed another slick little way of slipping secret financial help to the Free Press in the form of a $10,000 payment, ostensibly for stock, through one of its attorneys, but actually as a rebate on its unpaid bills. Says the citation on this count:

"In order that $10,000 of the sum charged to the Home Stores, in which sum was included the account for energy consumed by the Chattanooga Free Press, might be rebated for the use and benefit of the Chattanooga Free Press, the Tennessee Electric Power Co. arranged to pay one Silas Williams, an attorney, under the style and guise of counsel fees, the sum of $10,000, payable in installments of $2,500 each, which installments were paid on September 15, 1937, October 7, 1937, and December 13, 1937, all of which said Williams shortly thereafter turned over to the Chattanooga Free Press in ostensible consideration for the issue to him of certain shares of stock in said newspaper-publishing corporation."

Examination into this whole messy deal further disclosed that while the kept newspaper was being allowed to run behind in its bills to the power company, the latter was paying as high as $1.11 cents per inch for advertising in its subsidized organ, and that it was meeting the advertising bills promptly, in order to keep the cash flowing into the veins of the utility sheet. The State commission minced no words in branding this trick an unlawful rebate.

Thus official records of the State of Tennessee reveal how the Willkie companies operated when they went after an unruly newspaper which they couldn't control through advertising or influence. The records are public, and may have some bearing upon the importance of Willkie's declaration that "Freedom of the press is the staff of life for any vital democracy."

Indispensable Principles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY RAYMOND MOLEY

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Raymond Moley, contributing editor of Newsweek, on September 17, 1940. The topic of the address is Indispensable Principles.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDISPENSABLE PRINCIPLES

(By Raymond Moley)

One hundred and fifty-three years ago today, the Constitutional Convention in Independence Hall completed its work. The signatures of the delegates were affixed to the Constitution. The document itself was submitted to the supreme test of time and circumstance. Each year Americans pause to pay it tribute. Almost alone among the written instruments which set up the government of a democracy, it still stands firm.

I take as my text a statement of the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in which he quotes a predecessor, Woodrow Wilson. Speaking in November 1932, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"A great man left a watchword that we can well repeat: 'There is no indispensable man.' But there are indispensable principles."

Let us then discuss those principles today. For the moment, let us forget all about the personalities in this political campaign. Let us consider our system of constitutional government. Let us find, if we can, the principles that men live by here in the United States—principles of which our Constitution is vital, living evidence.

PRINCIPLES MEN LIVE BY

What are principles that men live by? What, for that matter, is the meaning of principle itself? Reduce the question of principle to the case of an individual and one of the problems he faces. A man does not govern his life by chance. He learns, as the years pass, and profits by what he learns. He learns that there are some things that he cannot eat without distress. He learns that there are some games he cannot play. He learns that there are ways of doing his work better. He learns how to conduct his relations with other people. Out of the accumulation of individual experience he creates rules for himself. As time goes on, those rules become principles of living. He finds that by observing and respecting them he saves himself untold trouble and discomfort. He doesn't have to argue out thousands of individual decisions with himself. He depends upon his principles. Ultimately he lives not only with but by them.

A nation is not a man. Yet some analogies are valid. A nation, like an individual, finds that there are some things that are good for it and others that are not. It learns that there are things that make it sick, and things that can destroy it. By the process of trial and error, then, it creates principles which, as in the case of the individual, it does not have to rediscover every day. It learns to live in the light of these principles and to pass them on from generation to generation.

Now a nation establishes a government to serve it in certain ways. The form of its government inevitably reflects the characteristics of the nation itself—the composite characteristics of its people. And when its people have a love of both liberty and order it places upon its government certain limitations, certain restrictions which are partly written and partly unwritten. These restrictions and regulations express the principles by which the nation has determined to live—the principles that have arisen from demonstrated need. They are as practical and as essential to the nation's life as are the principles by which an individual lives. Of course, in and around these principles there is woven a profound sentiment. What was first discovered by the mind through trial and error comes to be cherished by the heart. But the ultimate attachment is not mere sentiment. It arises from necessity.

PRINCIPLES BASIC TO TRADITIONS

A tradition is the emblem, not the substance of a principle. We do not respect the tradition per se; we respect the principle that has made the tradition. And so we find it wise not to live by tradition alone. We even learn to challenge tradition occasionally, to pull aside the veil and examine what lies behind it. If what we find there is still valid as a living principle, we continue to respect the tradition. We do not, like Hamlet, dash our sword into the curtain and kill the living being behind it.

The men and women who came to this continent and set the patterns of our civilization were, for the most part, citizens of England. Into their national life there flowed the river of principles which over the centuries Englishmen had learned that they could not live without—principles that went back through hundreds of years of history, back to Runnymede, back beyond to the dawn of collective human life. And when, in the process of attaining their independence and setting up a permanent government, the American people adopted a Declaration of Independence and a Constitution, they did not create new principles: they seized upon some of these principles by which they had lived and put them down in writing. The Constitution was not a substitute for the principles of those people. It was not an all-inclusive catalog. It was a skeleton framework on the basis of which a stable government was to be established.

CONSTITUTION NOT COMPLETE

That the makers of the Constitution regarded it as something less than a complete statement of the principles under which Americans might be expected to live is indicated by the fact that they provided an amending clause, which was almost immediately used to incorporate in the Constitution a Bill of Rights. But that is only part of the evidence. Infinitely more important are the letters and papers of the founders, which make clear their belief that there were numberless principles by which Americans would live—principles that were not specifically incorporated in the Constitution. Certainly they did not feel that every individual who might be born and have his little life in the subsequent history of the Nation could reach for and claim whatever power was not specifically prohibited by the letter of the Constitution.

The artful third termers, just as in their attempt to pack the Supreme Court, now in a cowardly way hide behind the excuse that they are not challenging something that is written in the Constitution and that therefore their scheme is legitimate. Let us put the knife of reason into that flatulent assumption.

A thousand years of Anglo-American history stand behind us when we assert that liberty has lived by what is unwritten just as surely as by what is written. The whole structure of what is called the English Constitution is, in the main, a tradition. As Burke said 150 years ago: "If civil society be the offspring of convention, that convention must be its law. That convention must limit and modify all the descriptions of constitution which are formed under it. Every sort of legislative, judicial, or executory power are its creatures. They can have no being in any other state of things; and how can any men claim, under the conventions of civil society, rights which do not so much as suppose its existence—rights which are absolutely repugnant to it?"

The British Cabinet is a tradition. The power of the Prime Minister is a tradition. But these are traditions that rule an empire.

The body of the common law was not specifically taken over by the Constitution. But violate it if you dare.

The Monroe Doctrine grew and attained its validity as a tradition. But we will spend our blood and treasure to preserve it.

The independence of the Supreme Court, we were correctly told 3 years ago, is a tradition. But those who told us that learned, to their sorrow, that this tradition had the strength of eternity in its foundations.

I wonder if these same enemies of tradition stopped to think, when they met in Chicago 2 months ago, that the very body that put the President in nomination was itself a tradition—a convention in both senses of the term. Our party system itself is outside the Constitution. But we are governed through parties.

IN EXTRAORDINARY TIMES REVERT TO PRIMARY PRINCIPLES

These comments that I have made are truisms. I state them here not because I believe you do not know them. I know you do. Perhaps they should be taken for granted. But in extraordinary times things cannot be taken for granted, and these are extraordinary times. Things that we took for granted for centuries are vanishing before our eyes. The more extraordinary the times, the greater the emergency, the more appalling the crisis, the greater our need to revert to the primary principles by and through and with which we have lived as a Nation.

It is worth noting that when Jefferson saw the Constitution he expressed two specific objections: First, that it contained no specific guaranty of private rights; second, that it did not prohibit the perpetuation of the Executive. Partly as a result of his first objection the Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution. But his second objection met with an obstacle. Men found it hard to agree upon the precise formula by which the tenure of an Executive should be limited. And because time pressed, government was established and proceeded under the Presidency of Washington.

PRECEDENT AND THE THIRD TERM

Some of those who advocate a third term tell us, triumphantly at this point, that Alexander Hamilton was the vigorous opponent of the kind of constitutional prohibition Jefferson wanted. That's true, although it is strange to hear the third termers summoning the shade of Hamilton to the assistance of Roosevelt. It's also true, however, that Hamilton expressed himself, with all the passion of which he was capable, as favoring a life-term for the Presidency. His opposition to a limitation on Presidential reelection was part and parcel of his belief that the President should be reelected for life.

Is this, too, part of the third termers' argument? If they accept the conclusion, they must also accept the premise. And do they dare to argue that the Hamiltonian beliefs about Presidential tenure were accepted as a principle by the makers of the Constitution, by the Americans who accepted the Constitution, and by the generations of Americans who have lived under the Constitution?

They do not. They cannot. In the face of the historic facts, they cannot defend such a fallacy. They know what every American school child knows. They know that when Washington contemplated retirement at the end of 4 years, he incorporated a statement of the principle of limited tenure in the draft of his proposed farewell address. They know that Jefferson again and again expressed himself on the principle and actually lived by it, for he renounced a third term. And so too, they know, did his successors.

One of the greatest of those successors, Andrew Jackson, in six out of eight Presidential messages, advocated a constitutional limitation upon the President's term. A half century had passed since the making of the Constitution when Jackson laid down the powers of his office after two terms of service. The principle, Americans believed, had been established for all time to come. Another century passed, and, despite challenges that met with sharp and decisive defeat, the principle endured. For us today it has become part of the American tradition. Cherished by Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, and a host of others, it has passed into our hands to keep or reject.

THE GREAT DEAD JUDGE US

Whatever else may be obscure, it is plain that the great dead have instructed us on this point of Presidential tenure. Perhaps it would be gratuitous to add that we do not judge the great dead. The great dead judge us.

Still, the fact remains that the tradition is being challenged in this year of our history by a President. And we need not shut our eyes to the irony of the situation. The man who is making that challenge enjoys, as the incumbent of the Presidential office, the prestige and the glamour built up by the very men whose wisdom and whose prayers he deliberately chooses to reject.

But the whole argument for a principle is by no means historical. If it can be defended only by quotation, it has ceased to have validity for us. When the proposal is made to set it aside, we have an obligation to ask whether the principle is still dictated by considerations which we are quite as well able to judge as were the fathers of our country. It is not what the fathers said; it is what we, the sons, can see.

It is a fact, and perhaps this is a tribute to the elasticity of our written Constitution, that with the present Supreme Court the present administration can now get around almost every written stricture in that document. The administration has met devastating defeat only when it tried to get around strictures that are unwritten. But this is not only a commentary on the strength of the unwritten constitutional guaranties, but a warning that if they too are to be cast aside, nothing will remain to hinder the progress of an executive machine swollen with power and intent upon mastery of the Nation. Nothing can stop it. Nothing will be beyond its reach.

THIRD-TERM TRADITION ROOTED IN HUMAN NATURE

The eternal verity in which the third-term tradition is rooted is human nature itself. What is the freedom which our written and unwritten principles of government protect? Is it freedom from animals, thunderstorms, the waves of the sea? No! Freedom from the wrath of God? No! These are not the freedoms for which people have struggled to organize themselves in states. Wherever the flame of human aspiration has lighted the way to a better order among men, they have bled and died to end the tyranny of the one or the few over the many. It is freedom from human beings for which they have fought—freedom from human beings possessed of too much power and ruthlessly using that power to acquire more power. All the actors in this drama are human beings. And it is a drama that will go on to the end of time, for there will always be a few who, by seductive methods, by promises, by the blandishments of bribery, of flattery, or by stark, vicious force, will try to subject the many to the will of the one or of the few.

Constitutions and their traditions are born of the strength and frailties of men. It is precisely because power needs specification, precisely because power is an unfailing narcotic upon human beings, that constitutions and their traditions come into being.

THE WARNINGS OF EXPERIENCE

There is a moving passage in a great book that has recently appeared. Hidden for a hundred years, it is the story of Napoleon's campaign in Russia, written by one of the most loyal of Napoleon's subordinates, Caulaincourt. Caulaincourt knew Russia because he had lived there as ambassador. He knew the rigors of its climate, the dangers of its desolate steppes. He warned Napoleon never to take an army far into that country. But it was too late in Napoleon's career. He had drunk of the cup of power to the dregs. And so he turned on his faithful follower first with ridicule, saying that he, Napoleon, knew the climate of Russia. It was like the climate at Fontainebleau, he said. And then suspiciously, he charged Caulaincourt with divided allegiance. Caulaincourt had spent too long a time at the Russian Court and hesitated to see his friend, the Czar, overthrown, Napoleon said bitterly. Against this torrent of arrogance the words of experience and knowledge were helpless. Napoleon took his army to Russia. And there, as Caulaincourt had predicted, the icy storms, the barren plains, did what no man had up to then succeeded in doing. Napoleon escaped with a horse, a sled, and a still faithful though brokenhearted Caulaincourt. Napoleon's army had vanished.

Here is a tale, written at first hand, of what happens to an individual in whom the virulent poison of power has been operating. The great multitudes who voted Napoleon into office, who kept him there and who increased his power by plebiscites were not madmen. They were human beings. They believed in Napoleon. They thought he was different. They thought that he would bring them peace and order and prosperity—a better way of life. But the poison of ambition closed the doors of his mind.

THE FRIGHTFUL DANGER OF PERSONAL POWER

My friends, that was a little over a hundred years ago. Napoleon followed that pattern that has been reenacted over and over again in the history of the world. Jefferson and Madison and Monroe and Jackson were not ignorant of the history of human affairs. They were not unaware of the freightful danger of personal power. I need not press the point here. You and I, all of us, have seen it operate on our contemporaries. We have seen the windows close in men's minds. We have seen kindly, friendly, tolerant human beings, because of the flattery, the "yessing" of those around them, become convinced of their own infallibility. We have seen the possession of power blur over the distinction between personal triumph and the exaltation of principle. We have seen it create a growing identification of self with the will of the people.

To illustrate further, let me read you a few sentences written by one of our leading living historians. He writes as follows:

"He could not turn back. He was indispensable to the Republic. * * * The passion of moral reform, with its apparent altruism, seems to offer a curious anomaly in human nature; yet is not the desire to shape mankind to one's own ideals the quintessence of self-assertion? How various, subtle, and unconscious are the disguises the ego assumes, and how imperative its appetites. * * * The virus of power had entered his veins * * * in its most insidious form, as (the conviction of) an inalienable responsibility."

Does this suggest anything to you? Of whom do you think those words were written? They were written of Savonarola, who lived in the fifteenth century. And the profound and tragic human frailty they describe did not pass away in the fifteenth century and more than it passed away in the eighteenth century.

"MUST," "PACK," "PURGE," AND "PERPETUATE"—THE FOUR HORSEMEN OF AUTOCRACY

Consider, now, the instances in which this issue of personal power has currently been involved. The first has been the attempt to lay down to Congress a list of specifications for its action. We all remember those "must" bills. So we call it by the name "must." The second we call "pack"—the attempt of the Executive to get the immediate power to create in the Supreme Court a majority of his own choosing. The third we call "purge." It involved the power of the Executive to destroy the political careers of those legislators who would not conform to the Executive's will. The fourth we shall call "perpetuate"—the effort of the Executive through a subservient party and a distracted people, to override the principle that has kept any other President from serving more than two terms.

There they are. Four words describe them—"must," "pack," "purge," and "perpetuate."

Say them over slowly. Consider their inferential meanings. Are they pleasant? Do they reflect the spirit of tolerance, a respect for the rights of others? Are they, as you ponder them, consistent with the American tradition? Or do they call up suggestions offensive to a free people?

They violate self-respect. They undermine that balance of power in our Constitution. They are four signs that the danger of individual power never passes. They are the four horsemen of autocracy.

And yet, they all travel under seductive banners. Congress is told that it must pass laws in the sweet name of humanity. The Court is to be packed to make sure that humane laws passed by Congress will always be found in conformity with the Constitution. Voters are asked to purge Members of Congress because these Members have presumably stood against the interests of liberalism. We are instructed to continue an Executive in office because he is indispensable. How various and subtle indeed are the disguises which power assumes.

Set aside the judgment of Congress and substitute for it Executive judgment. Then try to make the independent judiciary subservient in the interpretation of these laws. Then strafe those legislators who refuse to obey. Then attempt to preserve the bureaucracy which has been built in the image of one man's purposes. These efforts follow an appallingly logical course—the course that begins with an aspiration and ends with a person. It begins with an ideal and ends with a single will. Certain ideas are indispensable. Then compliance is indispensable. And finally the leader is indispensable.

FATE OF ADHERENTS OF DOCTRINE OF PERPETUATION

If anyone has any illusions as to what would ultimately happen to the country should it accept the doctrine of perpetuation, he would do well to reflect on what has already happened to the political party to which the perpetuators give a certain nominal allegiance. Recall, if you can bear the recollection, the quadrennial conclave of that party in Chicago last July. Nominally, it was a

convention of that Democratic Party which pledged itself, in 1912, to a single term for the President. But the Democratic Party which made that pledge is dead. The thing that met in Chicago this summer was a chain gang moving to the practiced bawling of machine henchmen. The men and women who composed it did not think: they nodded. They did not vote their convictions. They surrendered to their appetites. They did not select a candidate. The candidate selected himself.

Who, in the face of that travesty, can still be proud to be a so-called Democrat? There are those, of course, whose party loyalty is so great that they blind themselves to the fact that what is called Democratic is no longer a party. There are those whose party prejudices are so strong that they forget they are Americans. Where, at this moment, are those Senators bearing the label Democratic, who, 12 years ago, uttered a clear-cut approval of this tradition of two terms?

What would Jefferson have thought of that convention—Jefferson, the patron saint of the party, Jefferson, whose name, when mentioned by the dean of the party, was hooted and booed? The Chicago superintendent of sewers had more influence over that gathering than the sacred memory of all the Presidents who had ever borne the name Democratic. It was not a convention. It was "a hissing and a desolation."

THIRD-TERM ISSUE AVOIDED

Note also the way in which the attempt to override the third-term tradition has been presented to the people. Outside of the blundering statements of a few satellites of the President during the past year, the issue was not put forward as such. The issue was avoided until the very last moment. Even in the convention that so slavishly obeyed the Presidential will, the issue was avoided. The speeches of the favored stooges of the administration before that convention skipped it. The platform ignored it. The President's acceptance speech skirted it. The acceptance speech of the candidate for Vice President did not mention it. Every effort is still being made by the supporters of the third-term attempt to evade discussion of it. They are afraid of the issue. They hope—and I think it is a vain hope—that they can get by without a specific defense of their attempt to destroy the tradition.

In the President's acceptance speech we were given as the only reason why he felt he should not seek office a third time, a statement of his own convenience. He had had other plans. He longed to return to his books, and his library, and his rolling fields. There was not the slightest intimation that he was reluctant to take the step because something precious in the American tradition was involved. His choice was presented as a purely personal choice, wholly unrelated to a principle. After wrestling alone in the night hours with his desires for retirement, he was permitting the country to avail itself once again of his services. For there was, presumably, a call to duty, an inescapable conviction that no one else could carry on.

Were we given any reason to suppose that this conviction will ever disappear? There was no pledge that there will be no fourth term. No, indeed. A renunciation of a fourth term would have raised the issue of why there should be a third term. And that subject, as far as possible, is to be given the silent treatment.

The President has since refused to debate the issue, or any other issue, with his chief opponent. He is too busy. His Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ickes, informs us that the occupant of the presidential office is too exalted to engage in a discussion of the principles under which that office exists. We are expected to acquiesce in the theory that, in creating the office of President, we exempted those who hold it from the obligation of democratic discussion. But the presidency is not a substitute for democracy. It is one of the many means through which democracy works. No one who holds that office has a right to invoke it to justify a failure to conform to the principles of democracy.

ADMINISTRATION REJECTS LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE

Oh, yes; Mr. Roosevelt will have spokesmen—among them dozens who ring the changes on the argument of experience. Well, we have seen 7 years during which this administration has apparently rejected the lessons of most experience—including its own. We have had one side of the rule of trial and error. We have the trial and we have had the error.

But when have we had that salutary sequel of trial and error—the rejection of methods that have clearly failed, that have clearly proved to be unsound? In neither policies nor appointments have we seen conspicuous evidence of respect for experience. On the contrary, time and again we have seen administrative and quasi-judicial powers vested in those whose outstanding characteristic was complete innocence of experience. We have seen policies persisted in long after events have proved them wrong. We have seen a shifting of direction so endless that all we can expect in future is that we shall push perpetually beyond the frontiers of experience.

If we are expected to believe that the President's knowledge of foreign affairs makes him indispensable, we have the right to ask how, over the past few years, he has brought to us the values he must have gained by his presumed knowledge of Europe. He must have known that Germany was building up her military power and that England and France were failing to match that power. Still he neglected to prepare us for the dreadful situation these facts had to produce. Only when everyone who could read or listen knew that it was upon us, were we told what defense was urgently needed. Are we to reward such a neglect of experience with a further extension of power—in the name of experience? There are some men whose experience has been such that we are sure we can dispense with their service.

Can the record of billions which could have been used for the Army's mechanization as far back as 1933—billions which were used for "made work" relief—can this be the test of indispensability? Or can the record of a President who did not, until a few weeks ago, seek funds for a two-ocean fleet be the record of indispensability? Or can the record of a President who, as recently as August of this year, permitted tax laws to obstruct the speed-up of airplane production be the record of indispensability? Or can the record of a President who twice said he wished Congress to adjourn this past June be the record of omniscient indispensability?

NO MAN CAN BE A JUDGE IN HIS OWN CAUSE

There is a principle other than the third term principle that we can profitably remember in the weeks that lie ahead. It pervades every statute and every judicial decision of this Nation. It guides, or ought to guide, the action of every person who has sworn an oath to the Constitution. That principle is also involved in the present campaign. It is the principle that no man can be a judge in his own cause. The decision about Mr. Roosevelt's indispensability does not belong to Mr. Roosevelt. It rests with us, the people.

The doctrine of the indispensable man is not a pleasant one. Down the ages it has been a concept with a sinister parentage and a dark history. It suggests the old-world belief in the superman, the leader above question, the compelling single will. Two thousand years ago that belief was answered with the injunction: "All ye are brethren * * * but he that is greatest among you shall be thy servant."

WHAT WE NEED IS A HIRED MAN WHO KNOWS HE IS A HIRED MAN

That sacred word, and not Nietzsche's theory of the superman, is the basic concept of democracy. Democracy holds that the people and the people alone shall make definitive judgments, and that the right to hold executive authority shall neither be hereditary nor perpetual. If America rejects that tenet, it rejects democracy. And it rejects it at its deadly peril.

We need to be on guard against the seductive word "leader." Translated into certain European languages it has a fearful connotation. What this country needs is a good, honest, industrious, competent hired man—a hired man who knows he is a hired man, a hired man who, after a few years, is not likely to think he owns the farm.

There is no crisis before this country so great as this: that we, as citizens, may lose the capacity to sit in judgment upon our own destiny. If we have a rendezvous with destiny, let us, and not our hired man, keep that rendezvous. We know what we want. We know what we want to defend. Our need is to get someone who can get plain things done.

Someone said of General Grant that he never wasted time trying to find a substitute for victory. Lincoln had other generals whose mastery of strategy was so great that they never got around to engaging the enemy. Grant saw his problem in simple terms. It was to move forward, engage the enemy, and stop when victory was in hand.

Third termers have had a dozen theories of unemployment, but we still have unemployment. What we need is a President who will not try to find a substitute for our necessities. We want competent administration—not a new theory of leadership.

LEADERSHIP IN THE CONSTITUTION!

Leadership, yes! But leadership in the Constitution—in the Constitution and its tested traditions. Leadership, yes! in the good sense and idealism and integrity of American citizens. We cannot quitclaim that responsibility of leadership in favor of any public servant. The issue rises above party, above prejudice, above personal affections, above hysteria and above fear. Save our principles and we save our liberties. To defend principle is the truest defense of America.

Men can live without leaders, but they cannot live without principles. Men are finite, principles are infinite. Men can replace men. But men cannot replace principle.

No Excuse For Loafing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 22, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, the folks back home are fully aware of the fact that there is something other than defense legislation for this Congress to consider and enact.

By an overwhelming majority the House sent to the Senate the Smith amendments to the so-called Wagner law and the

Walter-Logan bill. The rules of the House forbid any comment on the action or inaction of the Senate on these two matters.

There is, however, no reason why the House should be made to wait patiently and as long as may be necessary for the Senate to take action upon these two measures. The good-neighbor policy might be applied in Washington with perhaps a greater degree of success than it has had elsewhere.

The attitude of the folks back home is well expressed in an editorial from the Sturgis Daily Journal, Sturgis, Mich., dated July 31, 1940, and which I here quote:

CONGRESS NEEDN'T LOAF ON THE JOB

Congress went back to work this week, after a 3-day recess, ready to vote itself another surcease from labor and the heat. It took vacations during the national party conventions. Now the excuse for further recesses is that the spade work on new defense and special tax measures must first be done by committees.

But is there no other important business demanding attention? For 7 weeks the House amendments to the Wagner Act have been bottled up in Senate committee. The House passed them by a 2-to-1 vote.

This proposed revision is not so sweeping as it should be, but it would loosen the autocratic grip of the Labor Board, give a squarer deal to both employers and labor and thus tend to promote peace in industry at a time when better relations were never more essential to the country's welfare.

The Walter-Logan bill, also passed by the House, to curb administrative abuses by Federal agencies and give citizens their day in court, has been ignored by the Senate to date.

Certainly there is no reason why the Senate should not finish up this work now. If there are any differences between the bills, as passed by the House and Senate, they will have to go to conference—a fact which makes it all the more necessary to get them out of the way before new vital measures claim the attention of Congress.

It Looks Like Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SOL BLOOM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Times-Herald of Saturday, October 5, 1940:

[From the Washington Times-Herald of October 5, 1940]

IT LOOKS LIKE ROOSEVELT

We've been studying various Presidential polls conducted by assorted public-opinion sounders, and trying to analyze them.

At this time, a month before the election, all the polls we've seen indicate a Roosevelt victory—not a 46-State landslide as in 1936, but a decisive victory nevertheless.

Some of the headlines over the poll reports in some of the papers don't indicate the same story as do the reports themselves. This is because most of the papers are for Willkie, and some wishful thinking naturally creeps into some headlines.

As for the New York Daily News' New York State poll, it is scheduled to begin Monday, October 14, and end Saturday, November 2. The usual care will be exercised to make it an accurate reflection of voter sentiment, and the upstate and New York City returns will be scientifically weighed against each other.

Except for 1928, the News' polls have accurately forecast the outcome of presidential elections in New York State for the last 12 years. In 1928, the News took one poll in July–August and another just before the November election. The earlier one indicated that Al Smith would carry New York; the later one indicated Hoover. Averaging them up, we thought we could still foresee Smith making the grade. He didn't. Since then the News has waited until mid-October, when sentiment has crystallized.

It's valuable to know, if one can, how New York is going to go in a Presidential election. Since 1884, at least, the Nation has gone as New York State has gone, only 1 year excepted. That was in 1916, when Hughes, Republican, carried New York, but Wilson was reelected. The Democrats since 1884 have won only once without carrying New York; the Republicans have never won since 1884 without carrying New York.

The New Deal Foreclosures on Farms in Wisconsin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. REID F. MURRAY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. Speaker, the New Deal is prone to give itself credit for things they did not accomplish; and, also, to blame others for their own shortcomings.

The New Deal drove 91,135 farmers from their farms and homes because they could not pay an average interest of $112 on an average loan of $2,800, while at the same time they built 90,436 housing units for the people of the boss-ridden cities that cost $4,359 per unit and had the Federal Treasury subsidize these units on an average of $193 per unit for 60 years. In other words, 91,135 farmers were driven from their farms because they could not pay $112 interest, and 90,436 homes were provided and $193 of the rent was paid out of the Federal Treasury each year for each unit. More people lost their homes than were provided homes and $1,680,000,000 is added to the public debt. This is one more example of the cross-purposes of the New Deal and another example of the fake humanitarianism of the New Deal, and another example of the false so-called social gains of the New Deal.

The following figures, obtained from the Farm Credit Administration for the full years 1928 to 1940, furnish indisputable evidence of these facts:

TABLE 4.—*Federal Land Bank of St. Paul and Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation—real estate acquirements in Wisconsin organization through June 30, 1940 (number)*

Period	Federal land bank [1]	Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation [2]	Total	
			Number [1]	As a percent of estimated number of borrowers
Organization through Dec. 31, 1927	246		246	3.3
1928	183		183	2.5
1929	136		136	1.9
1930	278		278	3.9
1931	298		298	4.3
1932	264		264	4.0
1933	242		242	2.8
1934	91		91	.3
1935	287	1	288	.8
1936	518	79	597	1.7
1937	145	76	221	.7
1938	361	291	652	2.1
1939	641	715	1,356	4.5
Total	3,690	1,162	4,852	32.8
Average			373	2.5

[1] Excludes properties acquired by voluntary deed from the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation.

[2] Excludes properties acquired by deed from the Federal land bank.

Farm Credit Administration, Division of Finance and Accounts, Aug. 5, 1940.

Why have these farms been foreclosed and acquired?

The most important reason for the farmer's inability to hold his farm has been the low prices he has received for his product under the New Deal. Cheese averaged 17.5 cents per pound the 7 years before the New Deal and 14.7 cents per pound the last 4 Republican years; 13.2 cents per pound the first 7 years of the New Deal, and only 12.7 cents per pound the last 2 years of the New Deal.

According to United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin 200, pages 33 and 41, I find the farm price of butter was 35 cents per pound the 7 years before the New Deal, 32 cents per pound the last 4 Republican years, and only 26 cents per pound the 7 years of the New Deal.

If the farmer could not pay an average mortgage of $2,254 with 14- to 17-cent cheese, how can he be expected to pay an average mortgage of $3,062 with 12- and 13-cent cheese?

The tariff on cheese was reduced 2 cents per pound on Cheddar cheese on January 1, 1936, and 14 times as much Cheddar cheese was imported as the year previous. The tariff was again reduced another cent in 1938, and the following year 3½ times as much was imported.

One State—Texas—increased its cheese production by 500 percent while it was drawing $365,000,000 from the United States Treasury for not growing cotton and other crops.

The New Deal checks in Wisconsin per farm on the basis of total farms was $39 per farm per year under the A. A. A. for the 6 years 1934 to 1939. This includes the $7 per farm parity payment per farm for 1 year.

The farmers sold their cheese and butter for 25 percent less under the New Deal; and lost in milk checks alone many times more than the subsidy checks received, not to mention the increased indirect taxes they are called upon to pay.

The cross-purpose schemes of the New Deal have already placed an invisible mortgage of over $1,000 on every farm in America by the increasing of the public debt.

We appropriate 10 times more to put new land under irrigation; we appropriate millions to pay 25 cents per bushel export bounty on wheat and $7.50 a bale export bounty on cotton; we appropriate millions to buy agricultural surpluses and turn around and import 10 times more of the surpluses than we buy up; we spend $500,000,000 a year to control production, and then appropriate more millions to create surpluses, and we call this agricultural merry-go-round the New Deal. The money has not only been promised but spent for many people for the next two generations, by these New Deal processes. Let us vote them out before they take all the farms and all the property away from the people of this country.

Why We're for Roosevelt Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SOL BLOOM
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Times-Herald of Saturday, October 5, 1940:

[From the Washington Times-Herald of October 5, 1940]

WHY WE'RE FOR ROOSEVELT NOW

If the election were to be held today, this writer would vote for Roosevelt. We can see so much that Roosevelt has and Willkie hasn't, and so little that Willkie has and Roosevelt hasn't.

The third-term issue seems inconsequential to us. In a world on fire, the only real issue is: Who is the best man we can get for President for the next 4 years?

One achievement of President Roosevelt alone would entitle him to serious consideration for reelection. We refer to the fact that he has built up the Navy to such a strength that behind that Navy, if it is skillfully handled, the United States probably has time to build itself an Army which can beat off the world, if need be. Not even the President's enemies deny that the Navy was pathetic in 1933 and is in splendid trim in 1940.

We don't need to list Roosevelt domestic social reforms. They were damned as socialism by Mr. Willkie's friends before Mr. Willkie's nomination. Since then, Mr. Willkie has been saying that he's all for them but will administer them better.

This is quite a change of heart on Mr. Willkie's part. For 11 years before his nomination he lived at 1010 Fifth Avenue and had his office at 20 Pine Street in the Wall Street area.

He was a big power utility holding company executive himself, he palled around with men of great wealth, his remarks generally reflected the state of mind of those men.

His conversion to a tousle-haired Hoosier who just dotes on workers, farmers, and white collarites is a little hard to believe.

One person who evidently doesn't believe Willkie's conversion is real is John W. Davis. Mr. Davis says he is for Willkie. It may be faintly remembered that this Mr. Davis is the Morgan lawyer whom the Democrats nominated for President in 1924 and who was returned to his law practice on election day of that year by a vast majority.

It's a cinch that Mr. Davis doesn't favor Mr. Willkie on account of social security, the Wagner Act, and the S. E. C. To say nothing of the T. V. A., Grand Coulee and Bonneville Dams.

River and Harbor Bill (H. R. 9972) a Substantial Contribution to National Defense—Industrial Production in the Northeast Dependent on Additional Electric-Power Facilities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS D. CULKIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Speaker, the pending measure is an authorization bill providing for the improvement of certain river and harbor in the interest of national defense. Last year in vetoing the river and harbor bill passed by Congress, the President stated that he would approve a national river and harbor bill that contained authorizations which would aid in the national defense. This bill was born of that suggestion. Upon receipt of the veto message the United States Army Engineers contacted the various departments of the Government, including the Army and Navy, and queried them as to what they regarded as virtually necessary to the problem of national defense. This proposition includes not only the physical defense of our land areas but also a proper provision for the industrial expansion required for the manufacture of munitions. In response to a query of General Robbins, of the engineers, the National Power Policy Commission sent him a letter, copy of which is included herewith:

NATIONAL POWER POLICY COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C., May 29, 1940.

Brig. Gen. THOMAS M. ROBINS,
Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, Department of War, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR GENERAL ROBINS: Reference is made to your request over the telephone yesterday as to the need from a national-defense standpoint for the channel improvements at Oswego Harbor, N. Y. (H. Doc. No. 96, 76th Cong., 1st sess.).

Studies by the staff of the National Power Policy Committee show that the steam-electric station now being constructed by the Central New York Power Corporation at Oswego will be greatly needed for national-defense purposes to assist in supplying electric energy to the basic industries and war-material plants in the Buffalo-Rochester-Syracuse, Schenectady war-material area. In fact, without further expansion of generating capacity, this area is today short of the capacity required to carry the probable war load.

The Committee's staff also reports that the harbor improvements proposed in the Report on the Reexamination of Oswego Harbor, N. Y., prepared by the District Engineer at Buffalo, May 19, 1938, are necessary to permit the most economical delivery of coal by lake carrier to the Oswego steam-electric station.

The proposed improvement in the Oswego Harbor should therefore be included among the rivers and harbors projects having a definite national defense value.

Very truly yours,

LELAND OLDS, *Vice Chairman.*

This communication had to do with the channel improvements to the Oswego Harbor, N. Y., House Document 96, Seventy-sixth Congress, first session. The Central New York Power Corporation, a utility corporation, has built on the channel a steam plant costing approximately $16,000,000. This plant was built largely at the suggestion of the President, who desired that the heavy industries be stimulated by the purchase of machinery and equipment. The President also desired pools of power to be created for the purpose of taking care of the pre-wartime load in the consumption of electric current. This plant consists of two units, with more to be built, and when completed will generate 240,000 horsepower of electric energy. At this time I desire to call to the

attention of the House that the letter of the National Power Policy Commission states that the section involved, including the densely populated manufacturing area between Buffalo and Schenectady, is today short of electric energy to carry the probable load. In this letter we have the very encouraging example of the Power Policy Commission, headed by Secretary Ickes and including Mr. Lilienthal, Director of the T. V. A., laying aside their alleged prejudices against private utilities and actually recommending that this project be included. The channel in question will serve the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad, which is already exporting some 300,000 to 500,000 tons of coal to Canada annually. The plant itself, with two units in operation, will consume 300,000 tons of coal.

The station of the New York State Naval Reserve and the Diamond Match Co. will also be served, plus other industries which may eventually settle along the channel banks. The utility in question, under the project authorization, is required to spend $750,000 for a turning basin, and its disbursement for other phases of the harbor improvement will run its disbursement up to at least $1,000,000.

In other words, it makes a 100-percent contribution to this channel which will be used by present and future industries and by the New York State station of the Naval Reserve. The annual savings estimated by the engineers amount to $276,000. These savings will, of course, under the rules of the New York State Public Service Commission, be reflected back to the public in reduced rates. That should be a tremendous factor in the matter of the House arriving at its decision on this conference report.

Of vastly greater importance at the present time, however, is the shortage of electrical current which is borne out by the statement of the National Power Policy Committee that without further expansion of generating capacity the manufacture of munitions, airplanes, guns, and tanks will be seriously retarded and interfered with. I am able to assure the House with positive certainty that under the present condition and with the limited depth of water approaching the plant the operations of the plant are seriously interfered with. I urge the House to adopt the conference report to put in work the projects agreed to by the conferees. My colleagues will be making a substantial contribution to the national defense in the production field if they adopt that course.

Westminster College's Institute of Public Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, September 24, 1940

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, one of the notable developments in modern education is the trend away from the cloistered isolation of the purely classical and academic, toward an active and practical knowledge of the immediate everyday world and contemporary events. The college of today is supplementing its courses in Sanskrit and Greek and the ancient philosophies with intimate studies of the political and economic questions of the hour and is preparing its students to take their place in a fast-moving world equipped to participate in discussions precipitated by the current broadcast or the morning newspaper.

An interesting instance is the announcement by Westminster College of the latest program of its Institute of Public Affairs. In commenting on this departure from the beaten track of the average curriculum, Dr. Franc L. McCluer, the president of the college, has just released:

IN DEFENSE OF THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE

This hemisphere, pledged to free life through democratic principles, must defend its democracy. To make this defense secure, the nations of the hemisphere, already bound together by treaty and trade agreements, must be bound also by the stronger bonds of common understanding and friendship. We must be good neighbors.

Yet when a world cataclysm calls our attention to the fact that we must gird ourselves in a broad hemispheric defense, we find that we are almost complete strangers to our neighbors on the north and on the south.

This is no new discovery, but its truth has been uttered so frequently in Washington that the cultivation of better understanding of our Canadian and Latin American neighbors has become an accepted part of our policy.

WHAT CAN A COLLEGE DO TO HELP?

Students in American colleges constitute the most fertile section of the public for the cultivation of improved understanding and appreciation of neighboring countries.

Westminster College therefore wishes to devote the program of its Institute of Public Affairs to an examination of the culture, customs, language of, and interdependent facilities for, defense among the nations of this hemisphere.

Last year Westminster College, through its Institute of Public Affairs, undertook to awaken a keener political sense among collegiate Americans. When the year was over it had brought many nationally and internationally famed political leaders to the campus at Fulton, Mo., and had broadcast their messages over coast-to-coast networks of the National, Columbia, and Mutual Broadcasting Systems to students throughout the country.

Preparatory to the crucial November elections, the college has stimulated a healthy interest in politicians and in political issues.

This year the Institute of Public Affairs proposes to extend the scope of its study.

Its theme will be the defense of the Western Hemisphere.

Its study will deal with the economic, political, military, and cultural means to that defense.

Its method will be that which proved so successful last year: Presentation of outstanding authorities to audiences at the college campus and over Nation-wide radio hook-up.

A LITTLE MORE DETAIL

This inquiry will include the study of Canadian and Latin American customs; of importable and exportable commodities; of treaties and of possible military and naval cooperation.

The institute will encourage the formation of pan-American college groups and seek to stimulate travel groups in Canada and in the Latin American countries during the summer vacation period of 1941.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull recently called upon all Americans to make Spanish their second language.

As America's foremost advocate of Pan Americanism, the Secretary of State or the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Sumner Welles, will be invited to keynote the series of addresses. Diplomats in Washington for Canada and South America and journalists from our neighboring countries will be invited to participate. A member of the Canadian-American Defense Commission and such men as Samuel G. Inman, noted authority on South America, and Thomas J. Watson, of New York, will be among other speakers to be invited.

Representatives of the Department of War and the Navy Department and Mr. Edward R. Stettinius will be invited to climax this series of addresses.

It is believed that this program of addresses, broadcast from the Westminster Institute of Public Affairs, will bring to students and to citizens the country over a keener understanding of the problem of defense of this hemisphere, and that this understanding will itself be a vital factor in strengthening this defense.

Cost of Tent Camps and Other United States Army Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT J. ENGEL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF WAR

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Hon. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, and two statements from War Department giving break-downs on tent camp and temporary barracks construction.

OCTOBER 1, 1940.

Hon. ALBERT J. ENGEL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ENGEL: Referring to your letter of September 24, 1940, I am forwarding herewith a detailed break-down of buildings and

utilities which will be provided in divisional camps and cantonments. The estimated costs are shown for the various facilities that will be provided, and these figures form the basis of the costs of $320 and $450 per man.

You will note that the estimate for cantonment construction is based on the triangular division at peace strength, and the construction for tent camps on the National Guard division at war strength. You realize, of course, that the more men the less cost per man because of the spread of utilities, and conversely the smaller the cantonment or camp the greater cost per man. We have taken these particular units as a basis for our estimates.

I note in your letter that you refer to the costs of certain buildings in Panama. Our situation now requires us to develop entirely new areas, including the provision of basic utilities and the construction of a variety of buildings for services and recreation. In the case to which you refer only individual buildings were constructed.

A comparative cost, if you should wish to use it on temporary barracks is found on the sheet headed "Triangular division—8,083 men" which shows that the cost of barracks and mess halls combined would approximate $140 per man.

I trust that this will give you the information which you have requested.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON,
Secretary of War.

Estimate of construction cost of a "permanent" tent camp for a National Guard division of 924 officers, 11 warrant officers, and 18,033 enlisted men

Item	Number required	Unit cost	Total cost
Tent frames and screening:			
Enlisted men (average 5 men each)	3,643	$75	$273,225
Company headquarters and supply	332	75	24,900
Stockade (for 2 percent of camp and guards)	82	75	6,150
Officers (2 officers each)	522	45	23,490
Fence, stockade (linear feet)	2,000	1.50	3,000
Mess:			
170 enlisted men	122	5,000	610,000
170 men (stockade)	2	5,000	10,000
118 men (officers)	10	3,900	39,000
Lavatories:			
Enlisted men (200 size) L–5	117	$4,500	$526,500
Stockade (250 size):			
L–2	3	1,500	6,100
L–3		2,300	
Officers (50 size) L–2	10	1,500	28,500
Officers quarters:			
Q–7	1	3,400	3,400
Q–8	3	2,700	8,100
Administration building (Division) A–22	1	5,000	5,000
Administration building (regiment and brigade) A–10	14	4,000	56,000
Fire station (F–2)	2	7,000	14,000
Post office (PO–2)	1	6,500	6,500
Post exchange (1 per regiment and division):			
E–2	4	5,500	22,000
E–3	8	8,200	65,600
Theater tent (2,200 seats)		9,600	9,600
Service club, SC–3	1	32,500	32,500
Recreation building (1 per regiment and Sp. tr.) RB–1	10	8,500	85,000
Storehouses, regiment S½–9	11	3,850	42,350
Warehouses (7½ square feet per man):			
SH–13	14	18,900	264,600
SH–18	2	20,000	40,000
Motor repair shop (1 per 100 vehicles)	17	7,500	127,500
Gas and oil station (12,000 G./M. R. S.)	204,000	.35	71,400
Utility shop, SP–11	1	12,000	12,000
Infirmaries (1 per regiment and special troops), I–2	9	6,800	61,200
Hospital (4 percent of camp), 750-bed on 1,000 plan		721,725	721,725
Laundry (20,000 patron)		200,000	200,000
Bakery, Bak–4	1	58,000	58,000
Refrigeration plant, 80-ton	1	100,000	100,000
Incinerator, 10-ton	1	20,000	20,000
Radio building and equipment	1	10,000	10,000
Telephone, including TT–2			39,350
Utilities			1,257,715
Magazines at $10 per man			180,000
Target ranges			75,000
Total			5,139,405
Per capita cost			285
Add 12½ percent for increased cost of materials, etc			35
Total			320

Estimate of construction cost of a "permanent" tent camp for a National Guard division of 924 officers, 11 warrant officers, and 18,033 enlisted men—Continued

Estimated cost, triangular division, 8,083 M

Type	Plan No.	Capacity	Unit cost	Units required	Total cost	Unit cost per man
First priority:						
Water					$130,000	$16.08
Sewer					80,100	9.90
Roads and walks					125,000	15.46
Grading and drainage					34,898	4.31
Electricity					120,000	14.84
Telephones					40,000	4.94
Railroad					50,000	6.18
Total					579,998	71.75
Barracks	700–1165	63	$7,000	127	889,000	109.98
Mess halls	700–1116	118	3,900	65	253,500	31.36
Company storeroom	700–322	126	1,800	65	117,000	14.47
Company recreation	700–378	126	1,800	65	117,000	14.47
Officers' quarters and mess	700–306 Q–28	40	16,000	11	176,000	21.77
Warehouse	700–322 SH–8			11	22,000	2.72
Do	700–326 SH–18			2	40,000	4.94
Motor shops	700–314 SP–2		8,500	7	59,500	7.36
Utility shops	700–318 SP–11		12,000	1	12,000	1.48
Administration	700–253 A–22		5,000	6	30,000	3.71
Guardhouse	700–260 GH–2		2,800	6	16,800	2.07
Fire house	700–277 F–2	3 pieces	7,000	3	21,000	2.59
Hospital		350 B				
1 administration	700–431 A–2		7,000	1	7,000	.86
2 nurse's quarters	700–456 Q–4	24	8,450	2	16,900	2.09
1 officers' quarters	700–455 QM–8	20	12,000	1	12,000	1.48
4 barracks	700–433 B–4	60 M	7,150	4	28,400	3.51
1 mess hall	700–444 M–12		21,750	1	21,750	2.69
1 clinic	700–435 CL–2		12,000	1	12,000	1.48
7 wards	700–462.1 W. 1		14,400	7	100,800	12.47
4 wards	700–462.1 W. 2		16,000	4	64,000	7.91
1 ward	700–462.1 W. 3		16,000	1	16,000	1.97
1 storehouse	SH–6		12,300	1	12,300	1.52
Do	SH–7		8,000	1	8,000	.98
1 mortuary	MO–1		5,500	1	5,500	.68
1 heating place			60,000	1	60,000	7.42
Covered walks			8,100		8,100	1.0021
Post exchange	700–297 E–2		5,900	6	35,000	4.33
Theater	700–344 TH–1	904	51,000	1	51,000	6.30
Post office	700–298 PO–1		5,000	1	5,000	.62
Radio and telegraph station			10,000	1	10,000	1.23
Incinerator		5–T	10,000	1	10,000	1.23
Gasoline storage					60,000	7.42
Total					2,297,550	284.24
Total, first priority					2,577,548	[1] 356.00

[1] Per man.

Estimated cost, triangular division, 8,083 M—Continued

Type	Plan No.	Capacity	Unit cost	Units required	Total cost	Unit cost per man
Second priority:						
Cold storage	BAK 1	75-T	$355,652	1	$355,652	$44.00
Bakery				1		
Laundry				1		
Total, second priority					355,652	44.00
Total, first and second priority					3,233,200	[1] 400.00
Add 12½ percent due to increased costs of materials, etc						50.00
Total						450.00

[1] Per man.

Votes and Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE E. GEYER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

ARTICLE BY JAY FRANKLIN

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article from the Washington Star in the column of Mr. Jay Franklin.

This article is very timely in that it points out that if we expect people to volunteer to defend democracy, we should really give them democracy to defend. This argument is very similar to the one I presented when I offered my amendment to not require the payment of poll taxes for those who were conscripted into the Army. The other arguments that Mr. Franklin presents are certainly timely and well worth the attention of this House. The article follows:

[From the Washington Star of September 7, 1940]

WE THE PEOPLE—GUARANTY OF VOTES AND JOBS URGED FOR ALL MEN WHO CARRY GUNS FOR UNITED STATES

(By Jay Franklin)

If a young man is good enough to carry a gun for the defense of his country he is good enough to have a secure job in American industry and he is good enough to vote in American elections.

That is the distressingly simple proposition which has confused the counsels of the administration and has produced the gallant attempt to represent the milk and water principles of the Russell-Overton amendment as a red-blooded "draft of industry." It also accounts for the growth of an ambitious plan to use conscription as a means for vocational training of the draftees.

There are two skeletons in our national cupboard—two defects in the American way, which injure total defense and encourage Hitler to believe that if Britain falls America would be easy.

The first is the practical denial of adult suffrage and democracy in wide areas of the Nation. Much has been said to denounce the poll tax in Southern States, by which not only the Negroes are barred from the ballot box, but a majority of the whites as well. But Northern States and the Nation itself are equally to blame. The entire population of the District of Columbia, a population larger than that of several States, are not allowed to vote even to control their own municipal affairs, let alone for representation in the Congress. And so the Capital of the world's greatest democracy is disfranchised. Elsewhere complex statutes for residence and registration have deprived millions of American citizens of their practical rights to vote. There have been attempts to forbid citizens on relief to vote in several Northern States.

MASS UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

Do we expect the young men of America to rush to the defense of a system which forbids them a voice in the management of their country?

Equally bad is the continuation of mass unemployment. Our great industrial concerns recognize no obligation on the part of private business to provide jobs for everyone. For young men of draft age the rule has been "last hired, first fired." At the same time the dollar-minded representatives of business in the Congress and throughout the States have repeatedly blocked or whittled down measures to provide Government employment through W. P. A. and similar spending programs. The C. C. C., the N. Y. A. are good, but not good enough if the best prospect for half of our young men is a job on the W. P. A. With oceans of work to be done both for defense and for improving America itself, there should be jobs for everyone.

Do we expect the young men of America to rush to the defense of a business system which does not offer them jobs, homes, hopes, marriage, and opportunities? Have our business leaders forgotten the eviction riots, the penny auctions, and the bloodshed of 1932? Do they believe that we can stop Hitler with a nation which does not meet the primary obligations of organized society—to offer its youth work and marriage?

REMEDY SUGGESTED FOR EVILS

There is a remedy for these evils, and it is a remedy which can be applied either as a rider to the national service bill in conference or as separate legislation. This rider should simply state that all those eligible for selection under the conscription bill and all volunteers in the regular armed forces of the United States shall be entitled to vote in all American elections, except when disqualified by illiteracy, insanity, or previous conviction for crime.

At the same time, the measure should guarantee that all men who serve in the National Army or the Navy, whether drafted or volunteers, shall, at the expiration of their service, be guaranteed full-time jobs at prevailing wages by the Government of the United States if they are unable to find employment in private industry.

It is my considered judgment that, without these fundamental provisions in the program for total defense, the young men and women of America will continue to hold back and may become tinder for any strategic measure of subversive propaganda that the totalitarians may direct against our institutions.

Unless we make America worth defending by the average young man, America will not be well defended or defended long. Mr. Roosevelt would be well advised to shift some of his attention from the Battle of Britain to the battle of America if he expects the mass of the people to rise and defend our somewhat moth-eaten heritage of democracy and economic opportunity.

Appropriations of the Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN TABER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, the following is a statement of the total amount which will come directly out of the Treasury as a result of the bills that have been passed so far in the present (third) session of the Seventy-sixth Congress. These figures include contract authorizations, so-called war loans to be made by the R. F. C. which will either not be paid back, or will have to be paid through Government contracts.

TABLE I

Direct Appropriations		$14,249,369,887.10
Reappropriations		81,099,718.00
Permanent Appropriations		3,965,049,289.00
Appropriations from R. F. C. funds		277,000,000.000
Special funds		15,869,750.00
Total cash appropriations		18,588,388,644.10
Contract authorizations		3,387,941,510.00
R. F. C. loans:		
To war industry	1,000,000,000	
To South America	500,000,000	
		1,500,000,000.00
Total available in all ways		23,476,330,154.10

This is the largest sum ever made available for the Federal Government with the exception of the World War years.

The following table shows a break-down of the amounts made available for each department in the last five sessions of Congress:

TABLE II

Title	74th Cong., 2d sess.	75th Cong., 1st sess.	75th Cong., 3d sess.	76th Cong., 1st sess.	76th Cong., 3d sess.
Agriculture	$195,565,606.00	$933,783,873.00	$1,089,219,344.00	$1,391,193,433.00	$1,189,960,963.00
District of Columbia	43,500,000.00	47,760,641.00	49,392,686.27	52,386,688.00	53,256,901.00
Independent Offices	2,934,751,000.00	1,170,770,677.00	1,596,695,182.00	2,298,240,640.00	1,409,409,314.00
Interior	116,425,195.00	187,464,006.07	869,065,496.84	223,288,005.00	175,313,170.00
Legislative	23,314,428.00	24,153,536.78	21,762,583.50	22,556,079.00	24,279,820.00
Navy	526,546,532.00	527,829,458.00	552,460,494.00	825,942,201.00	1,493,342,750.00
State, Justice, Commerce, and Labor	115,012,400.00	127,357,877.00	132,044,795.00	[1] 123,730,220.00	111,934,280.00
Treasury-Post Office	992,524,892.00	2,971,846,413.00	3,954,343,138.00	4,836,097,211.00	4,461,798,310.00
War Department	527,446,844.00	612,329,767.00	685,577,797.00	549,019,562.00	1,822,571,757.00
First Deficiency	368,234,000.00	948,795,868.89	30,111,009.77	23,765,041.98	92,035,408.52
Second deficiency	2,675,397,537.96	99,737,540.14	291,673,522.50	204,420,059.89	139,466,777.23
Third deficiency		154,611,238.72		225,347,110.82	
Urgent deficiency				3,099,377.00	57,541,300.00
Interior deficiency	35,000.00				
Emergency relief		1,974,000,000.00	3,772,405,000.00	1,822,557,150.00	1,282,711,357.00
Public acts					
Public resolutions		472,271,660.00			
Private acts					
Rural Electrification Administration	50,000,000.00				
Miscellaneous	10,000,000.00				
Permanent appropriations	1,505,957,086.82	[2]			
Relief deficiency			250,000,000.00	825,000,000.00	
Insect control			2,000,000.00	1,750,000.00	
Sugar and crop loans			74,250,000.00		1,188,920,569.00
Labor Department				30,831,470.00	328,642,417.00
War Department:					
Nonmilitary				306,182,464.00	
Supplemental military				293,895,547.00	
Employees Compensation Commission				2,000,000.00	
Treasury Department, printing, etc				276,400.00	
Petroleum Commission				20,000.00	
Supplemental deficiency					254,790,776.00
First supplemental national defense					1,768,913,908.00
First supplemental civil functions					287,590,014.35
Housing					338,263,902.00
Second supplemental national defense					4,045,102,532.00
Third supplemental national defense					1,450,483,928.00
Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans to South America					500,000,000.00
Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans to industry					1,000,000,000.00
Total	10,129,710,521.78	10,252,892,556.60	13,371,001,048.88	14,061,598,619.69	23,476,330,154.10

[1] Labor Department made a separate bill this year.
[2] From this year on, permanents carried in the total shown for the various bills.

Of this grand total, less than $500,000,000 was spent before July 1, 1940, and a very large percentage of it will be expended during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941. I would estimate the expenditures for military purposes will run nearly $8,000,000,000 and that the expenditures for nonmilitary purposes will run about $7,000,000,000. The Treasury estimates of revenue for the fiscal year 1941 are approximately $7,000,000,000. This will leave a deficit of approximately $8,000,000,000.

The national debt on June 30, 1940, was $42,971,043,955.92. For September 30, 1940, it was $44,072,940,246.73, and on August 31, 1940, the debts of Government-owned corporations were $9,161,012,253, a total debt of upward of $53,000,000,000. The assets of the Government-owned corporations, properly depreciated, would not exceed the amount of the liabilities of these corporations. I doubt very much if they would come anywhere near paying them.

The following table shows a break-down of the appropriations of this Congress into regular, permanent, reappropriations, contract authorizations, and special funds for each department of the Government:

TABLE III.—*Appropriations and contract authorizations incurred by the third session of the Seventy-sixth Congress (1940)*

Agriculture and farm credit:		
Regular	$918,603,918.00	
Permanent	112,052,045.00	
Reappropriations	9,305,000.00	
R. F. C. funds	150,000,000.00	
		$1,189,960,963.00
District of Columbia:		
Regular	48,765,080.00	
Permanent	3,873,821.00	
Contract authorizations	600,500.00	
Reappropriations	17,500.00	
		53,256,901.00
Independent offices:		
Regular	1,120,240,528.00	
Permanent	279,027,166.00	
Contract authorizations	2,000,000.00	
R. F. C. funds	2,000,000.00	
Reappropriations	6,141,620.00	
		1,409,409,314.00
Interior:		
Regular	$135,383,330.00	
Permanent	13,505,940.00	
Reappropriations	16,203,900.00	
Contract authorizations	10,220,000.00	
		$175,313,170.00
Labor-Federal Security:		
Regular	1,023,282,690.00	
Permanent trust	140,176,723.00	
Permanent annual	9,550,000.00	
Special fund	15,869,750.00	
Reappropriations	41,406.00	
		1,188,920,569.00
Legislative:		
Regular	23,671,220.00	
Permanent	608,600.00	
		24,279,820.00
Military:		
Regular	1,499,323,322.00	
Permanent	18,799.00	
Contract authorizations	323,229,636.00	
		1,822,571,757.00
War Department civil functions:		
Regular	222,718,717.00	
Permanent	2,423,700.00	
Contract authorizations	103,500,000.00	
		328,642,417.00
Navy:		
Regular	1,308,171,138.00	
Permanent	2,430,000.00	
Contract authorizations	182,741,612.00	
		1,493,342,750.00
State, Justice, and Commerce:		
Regular	107,149,000.00	
Permanent	4,185,280.00	
Reappropriations	600,000.00	
		111,934,280.00
Treasury and Post Office:		
Regular	1,032,801,095.00	
Permanent	3,397,997,215.00	
Reappropriations	31,000,000.00	
		4,461,798,310.00
Supplemental deficiency:		
Regular	252,340,776.00	
Contract authorizations	2,450,000.00	
		254,790,776.00

TABLE III.—*Appropriations and contract authorizations incurred by the third session of the Seventy-sixth Congress (1940)*—Con.

Urgent deficiency, regular		$57,541,300.00
First deficiency, regular		92,035,408.52
Second deficiency:		
Regular	$85,891,777.23	
Contract authorizations	53,575,000.00	
		139,466,777.23
Relief:		
Regular	1,157,711,357.00	
R. F. C. funds	125,000,000.00	
		1,282,711,357.00
Supplemental national deficiency:		
Regular	1,479,777,147.00	
Contract authorizations	289,136,761.00	
		1,768,913,908.00
First supplemental civil functions:		
Regular	227,332,013.35	
Contract authorizations	60,258,001.00	
		287,590,014.35
Housing: Regular	338,263,902.00	338,263,902.00
Second supplemental national defense:		
Regular	1,793,372,532.00	
Contract authorizations	2,251,730,000.00	
		4,045,102,532.00
Third supplemental national defense:		
Regular	1,324,193,636.00	
Contract authorizations	138,500,000.00	
Reappropriations	17,790,292.00	
		1,450,483,928.00
R. F. C. loans:		
South America	500,000,000.00	
Industry	1,000,000,000.00	
		1,500,000,000.00
Total		23,476,330,154.10

The following table gives the number of employees in the Federal Government beginning June 30, 1930. These figures indicate a steady increase, and it must stop. There has been an increase of 450,610 since the Roosevelt administration came in, an increase of nearly 100 percent.

TABLE IV

1930	560,456
1931	571,368
1932	570,000
1933	577,170
1934	580,181
1935	751,269
1936	810,418
1937	871,236
1938	855,210
1939	925,260
1940	1,011,066

The Roosevelt administration has succeeded in putting out of business hundreds of manufacturers and businessmen, especially in the smaller organizations. It has thrown out of work millions of men. It has prevented the successful operations of farming, mining, and business. It has endeavored to make more acute and more direct the distress of the people of the United States by what it calls social legislation, but which in fact has lowered the standard of living of the American people, reduced employment, and thrown millions on relief.

The debt limit has been raised to $49,000,000,000, which will be reached before the end of the fiscal year.

I make no criticism of the appropriations which have been made this session for national-defense purposes, totaling approximately $12,000,000,000. I only wish that we had a Secretary of War and a Secretary of the Navy in charge of their Departments and competent to see that the defense money was honestly and efficiently spent. The worst part of the story is that defense money is being spent for other purposes than defense and our expenditures for relief are still going on in spite of the fact that unemployment is on the decrease because of war preparations.

At the present time for the month of September, the Roosevelt administration is showing a build-up in the Work Projects Administration, in the C. C. C., and in the N. Y. A., designed to assist the administration in the approaching election. There could be no greater breach of faith with the public than this operation.

The Roosevelt administration has expended over $60,000,000,000 to bring distress upon our people. Is it not about time to stop?

A Cross Current of Opinion on the Pending Selective Service Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY L. MOSER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, September 7, 1940

Mr. MOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following cross-current of opinion on the selective-service bill expressed in letters received from constituents, responses thereto, and supplementing remarks previously inserted:

A letter from an Irish-American constituent:

READING, *July 31, 1940.*

Mr. GUY L. MOSER.

DEAR SIR: I think it is near time I am making an effort in writing to you. Well I consider it a good excuse this time, as I am aware how busy all men are in office. I know you have not got much time to bother. Well Mr. Moser I sure was enjoyed when I read about Mr. Roosevelt's nomination. That's all he needed to put him where he belongs for 4 more years; I also think that no man with any common sense should run against him, even if he did have a chance.

Now is the time we need a man with brains and experience; and that's what our President has. And for yourself and all others holding office there, should be left there for at least 4 more years. Think for "1" anyhow there should be no election whatsoever and according to the fight on this draft measure, I should say it should be passed in flying colors, as I guess you know yourself how many young men is laying around pool rooms and other places—they are no good to their parents nor to their God or country, they are only a burden to everybody. I should know, I got a couple myself. Mine don't break the law or anything like it, but like the most of them they don't like work. So I think it would be a great help for to give them some training in the Army or Navy and take the lead out of their feet what their parents can't do. I could tell you plenty but I know you are too busy now. So I will say good bye and good luck.

Yours truly,

——— ———.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 2, 1940.*

Mr. ———,

Reading, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. ———: I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of July 31, and note your observation with respect to compulsory military training. I appreciate your viewpoint, coming from one like yourself, who has manifested a personal interest in my public life, and I assure you that I will ever strive to continue to merit it.

Your enjoyment expressed in the knowledge that President Roosevelt was nominated to run for a third term is also noted. I cannot share with you the observation that you made, that you think we should not have any election whatsoever. You must realize that I took an oath to the Constitution of the United States and that Constitution provides for these elections whether they come at a time that meets with universal approval or not, and I am sworn to uphold that Constitution.

I note with interest your observation on the bill proposing compulsory military training, and from the position you take, I may feel constrained to pass your viewpoint to the Committee on Military Affairs, because you doubtless have arrived at your own conclusion after mature deliberation and sincere thought on the subject.

Thanking you for your highly complimentary attitude and with cordial greetings, I remain

Sincerely yours,

GUY L. MOSER, M. C.

Another Irish-American writes:

READING, PA., *September 9, 1940.*

HON. GUY MOSER,

Representative, Fourteenth Pennsylvania District.

DEAR SIR: Being one of your constituents and having discussed the conscription bill with many others in my district, I think it is imperative for you to support this measure as it was presented, and kill the amendment to delay for 60 days. The sponsor of that

delay measure is HAM FISH, who, as you know, on his last European trip was hobnobbing around with such people as Hitler and his premier, Von Ribbentrop. He was even loaned Hitler's plane to fly from one part of Germany to another, and any United States official that pulls those kind of tricks is not worthy of the support of free people. In fact, I think it would be dangerous to this country. On the other hand he may be supporting Hitler. This is no time for delay. When Hitler decides to move he don't wait 60 days; he moves at once; that's speed and that's what swept six or seven countries right off the globe in a few months. So don't let us be caught like that. Hoping you will kill that delay measure, I remain, one of your earnest workers in your last two compaigns.

——— ———.

Mr. ———
Reading, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. ———: Your letter of the 5th inst. was duly received but too late to answer stating my position before voting on the selective service by conscription bill. I am very happy to know you approve the enactment of this bill into law and equally glad my voting fitted the position you took, especially with reference to the amendment offered by Congressman "HAM" FISH. It has not been denied that he rode in Von Ribbentrop's plane from Berlin to Oslo. Despite that fact he is a good American and an ex-soldier, but happens to be a Republican partisan and critic of the administration with an objective of its inuring to the benefit of his party. The roll-call vote to defeat his amendment lost by only five votes Saturday evening. I am very certain the amendment will be stricken out in conference this week.

The question is not a 60-day delay for you and I well know and understand it will take fully that long to actually become effectively operative. There was a chance for Mr. FISH to play politics for his party as he saw it and seized on the chance. His voting in the committee was indicative of political carping, but when the roll was called on the passage of the measure, Congressman FISH, the patriotic Congressman, voted for the bill, not as a partisan but as an American.

You are quite right Mr. Hitler hasn't waited 60 days when he wanted to strike down a little nation standing in his path or way.

Assuring you of my pleasure at hearing from you and with cordial greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

GUY L. MOSER, M. C.

Two typical Irish-Americans from Pennsylvania having thus expressed themselves, a German-American constituent is recorded:

READING, PA., *September 5, 1940.*

The Honorable GUY MOSER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. MOSER: It's a great disappointment that the House hasn't already passed the conscription bill. I know a great deal of pressure is brought to bear by groups who haven't the security and liberty of our country at heart. And those groups evidently have been taking advantage for a long time of the fact that we average citizens haven't realized their power or their purpose.

We don't want conscription either—but we need it. People shy away from castor oil, too, but you know how necessary it sometimes is.

I have confidence enough in our Berks County Representative to feel sure you realize how essential it is to prepare for an eventuality that will quite probably arise. And we don't want to be caught with our pants down.

This nonsense of Senator REYNOLDS about the squirrel hunters of North Carolina holding the eastern seaboard is so infantile I can't understand how he's even learned to lace his own shoes.

The tragic lesson of 1 year of war should have taught any man who can read and hear just what we're up against.

Sincerely yours,

[SEAL] ——— ———.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 9, 1940.*

Miss ——— ———,
Reading, Pa.

DEAR MISS ———: Your letter of September 5 could not be answered last week, as you can imagine, due to the force of circumstances and exactions on my time.

While I appreciate the confidence you express affecting the position of myself as the Congressman representing Berks County, I feel that your stricture on the House of Representatives is not justified. We started on this bill last Tuesday and finished it on Saturday night—5 days. The Senators, one of whom has your criticism, many of whom discussed matters less relevant to the subject matter of the bill, than what you ascribe to the Senator from North Carolina, in their unlimited time for debate are prone to overlook their constitutional obligations in matters relating to the common defense and general welfare of our Nation, while they praise the people they represent for the purpose it may serve. The limited time for debate holds a Member of the House to his subject if he would address himself to it at all.

I quite agree with you in your comparison of an equal fondness for conscription as contrasted to castor oil, but if we are to spend billions of dollars for national defense, it would be criminal negligence not to man the equipment with men trained in its utility for its intended purpose.

With cordial greetings and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

GUY L. MOSER, M. C.

Another typical product of Pennsylvania Dutch thus expresses it:

HARRISBURG, PA., *September 5, 1940.*

DEAR MR. MOSER: It has just been announced on the radio that the House of Representatives has voted to postpone the draft for 60 days while Roosevelt appeals for volunteers.

You know and so does every other Congressman that such a vote has only two meanings. First, to embarrass the President, and, second, to put off a decision on the matter until after the election. You know and so does every other Congressman that the volunteer plan will not be a success. All of which sums up to the fact that the present Congress is the most cowardly and incompetent since the days of the Congress that crippled Abraham Lincoln's plans for reconstruction of the South at the close of the Civil War. A very large number of Congressmen are so blinded by their hatred of Roosevelt that they will do anything to embarrass him, even to the point of sacrificing their country's national safety.

I for one am tired of this petty, contemptible kind of action. And I am certain that the vast majority of the American people feel the same way I do. We want adequate preparedness and we want it now! We want an adequate army, and we want it now, and not the day after election. And we expect every eligible man to be subject to the draft and to serve if called, be he rich or poor. We also expect industry and finance to be subject to draft as well as the manpower required.

I trust that my ideas will receive consideration, and that the Congressman from Berks County will cast one vote for the United States of America.

Sincerely yours,

——— ———.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 20, 1940.*

Mr. ——— ———,
Harrisburg, Pa.

DEAR MR. ———: It will interest you to know that your letter of September 5 was duly received at my office on Friday, September 6; that I put it in my pocket, took it with me to the floor of the House of Representatives, gave it to the late Speaker Bankhead to read, who commented upon it, "Yeah, that fellow has the answer exactly right."

The amendment of Congressman FISH having already been adopted in the committee, I kept your letter with me awaiting a propitious time when I might feel impelled to inject myself into the debate on the issue and read it into the RECORD, but it did not arrive. On Saturday evening, September 7, immediately before Chairman WARREN, of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, surrendered the gavel to Speaker BANKHEAD and we knew we were going to have a roll call and therefore a record vote on the so-called Fish amendment, I again discussed your letter with Speaker BANKHEAD, entering into an agreement to be on my feet when he asked whether a separate vote was demanded on any amendment and if he deemed the moment propitious, he would recognize me inquiring as to my purpose in arising, whereupon I would propound a unanimous request to read your letter in the manner and form you adopted immediately before the vote was taken.

I was on my feet when the moment arrived, but the leadership believing the amendment would be defeated without this interjection, the roll was called and the amendment stayed in the bill by five votes, but was rejected by the conferees, and the conference report was agreed to by the two branches of the Congress.

The Speaker is now deceased and in his grave, but I believed you would be interested in knowing the consideration your letter received, though the Speaker missed his calculation when the roll-call vote was lost by such narrow margin.

With best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

GUY L. MOSER, M. C.

This Pennsylvania German—Berks County Dutchman—having heard the radio broadcast, did not wait until he returned to Reading but wrote immediately from Harrisburg.

Mr. Speaker, supplementing my remarks of November 2, last, it is desired to include the result of a personal investigation of the rise of the ubiquitous professor, Dr. George W. Taylor, in the Department of Labor, where with Earl Constantine their recommendations carried influence, consideration, and weight greater than any accorded a sitting Member of Congress on a department of the executive branch of the Government. The Wage and Hour Division reports "that he was selected as a member of the textile committee in September 1938, during the very early stages of our operations. He was not appointed to this committee because of any recommendation of Mr. Constantine but because Mr. Oppenheim,

director of the industry committee branch of the Wage and Hour Division, who had come to know Dr. Taylor very well during the N. R. A., felt that Dr. Taylor had, to an outstanding degree, the qualifications desirable for a public member.

Significant unto itself, however, is the selection by Earl Constantine and Dr. Taylor, of my late rival at the polls for the committee appointments, after having vaunted himself in campaign advertisements and literature as stated, is the more recent disclosure and publication that Dr. Taylor collected $15,000 for his impartial services and my late rival $1,500 for his impartiality from the C. I. O. in collective-bargaining agreements of the hosiery industry.

Mr. Speaker, supplementing my remarks of June 16, it is desired to now point out the Ben Rubin, who classified himself as educational director of the Workers Alliance, registered as a Communist at the Berks County Courthouse in Reading, Pa., on May 2, affirming he was born in New York and lived in Pennsylvania 1 year and the district 6 months in order to qualify as the Communist candidate for Congress in the district I have the honor to represent, but in the matter of the correctness of the affidavits to his petitions, representations to signers of his petitions, and in the face of sworn declarations of numerous persons whose signatures were allegedly appended to his petitions, they had not signed them and denounced them as forgeries, on the action of the State election bureau he has gotten himself into difficulty with the district attorney and was committed to jail in default of bail on charges of forgery and perjury.

An Estimate of the National Grange's Services to Agriculture and the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS D. CULKIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

SPEECH OF HON. FRANCIS D. CULKIN, OF NEW YORK, DELIVERED BEFORE THE LOWVILLE GRANGE, LOWVILLE, N. Y.

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech delivered by me before the Lowville Grange on September 30, 1940:

Members of the Lowville Grange, I was greatly honored by the invitation of Mrs. Stanton, lecturer of your grange, to be present tonight and to address you on the subject of Americanism. This is, of course, a fruitful theme and has to do with the question of sound citizenship and the continuation of free institutions in our beloved America.

May I say primarily that there is no organization in the United States that has played a more important and vital part in the upbuilding of the country than the Grange. I have seen its organization at Washington in full action during the 12 years last past. During that period and, indeed, during its entire history, reaching back almost three-quarters of a century, the Grange has held firm to fundamentals in its consideration of the problems of agriculture and of the entire country.

WHAT THE GRANGE STANDS FOR

The Grange, nationally and in all its branches, represents a membership of 800,000 real Americans, schooled in the American way of thinking. It believes in agriculture as a way of life as well as a way of making a living. It believes in the family-size farm, in the American market for the American farmer, in gaining for agriculture its fair share of the national income. Hand in hand with this program has gone an unchanging and resolute adherence to the principles laid down by the founding fathers and having to do with the essentials of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." I know of no national organization that has done more to make the free institutions permanent.

At Washington, while avoiding political entanglements and not alining itself with partisan groups, the Grange has had the respect and esteem of members of both parties, and its representatives are always heard with respect and consideration by the committees of the House and Senate. My contacts at Washington with National Master Taber, Fred Brenckman, national legislative representative, and Fred Freestone, the chairman of the executive committee, have always been a source of reliable information and inspiration on pending legislation. These men have their feet on the ground and are making notable and permanent contributions to the cause of agriculture and sound national development.

THE PROBLEM OF TRANSPORTATION

My chief contact with the Grange in legislative matters has been in the field of transportation. The present problems of the farmers nationally are vitally tied up with the cause of low-cost transportation. When it is remembered that transportation constitutes the heaviest service charge the farmers have to pay, the reason for this is apparent. Last year the farmers received only 39 cents out of every dollar spent by the consumer for food. It is a severe reflection on the transportation service of the country that those who perform this service receive vastly more than the share that goes to the farmers or the producers. To my mind this has been one of the glaring and inexcusable defects in our economic system. It has been my viewpoint that by solving this problem of transportation the economic ills of the farming group, both East and West, would be largely solved. In fighting to cure this economic crime I have worked in close collaboration with the leaders of the National Grange and have been tremendously impressed by the clarity and force of their presentation of this question.

Let me illustrate how vitally transportation affects the farmer. In one part of the West, particularly during the depression years, it cost the farmer all he got for a bushel of wheat to carry it 100 miles, and he had to go 1,000 miles to the market. In the State of Washington a farmer wrote me that he had $20,000 worth of apples on the trees, that his transportation charges to market were $15,000, and barreling, handling, and sampling the apples eight thousand additional, making a total disbursement of twenty-three thousand and leaving him with a net loss of $3,000 on the transaction. I have been greatly impressed with the importance of curing this condition, which is a grave reflection on our economic system.

NATIONAL BUREAUCRACY

Down in Washington we are cursed with a continuing growth of bureaucracy which seeks more and more to regulate the life of our citizens. Bureaucracy in the transportation field is very much in the saddle. Repeatedly they have sought legislation turning over to them the control of all types of transportation, including even the farmers' trucks. I have battled vigorously against that procedure and thus far we have succeeded in slowing down the attempt to create a monopoly of transportation in America to regulate even farm trucks. It will gratify you to know that the Grange nationally has stood foursquare against this iniquitous procedure.

GRANGE'S ACHIEVEMENTS

The achievements of the Grange in the field of national legislation during the past 70 years have been legion. The national leaders of the Grange have been wisely chosen and are men of outstanding ability. Their influence, however, would reach the vanishing point except for the influence of the local granges of which your organization is typical.

Let me enumerate briefly some of the Grange's achievements:

(1) The Grange led the successful fight starting in 1876 which resulted in the establishment of a Department of Agriculture with its head a member of the President's Cabinet.

(2) The Grange initiated and led the movement for the establishment of the rural mail delivery. Due to its continuing efforts there are today 35,000 rural-mail routes in the United States and the aggregate distance daily traveled by the rural carriers is 1,500,000 miles.

(3) The Grange advocated the establishment of a parcel post which brings rural service on merchandise to the entire country.

(4) In the field of agricultural colleges, experimental stations, and research and vocational agriculture the National Grange has played a dominant and beneficial part for the advancement of its people.

(5) In the establishment of a farm credit system its vigorous work and agitation has resulted in the reduction of interest charges to 3½ percent instead of the conventional 6 percent.

(6) The members of the Grange in this locality will be interested to know that the Grange almost from its inception directed its energies toward the enactment of legislation prohibiting the manufacture of oleomargarine, or colored imitations of butter, and has performed a valuable service to the health of the Nation by opposing the manufacture of imitation butter, filled milk and cheese, substitute cooking compounds and other like products. On that question I would like to sound a personal note. I have long advocated the abolition of the manufacture and sale of butter substitutes. I have done that after the example of little Canada which more than 10 years ago passed similar legislation. It is my idea that a nation fed on synthetic food is not good either in the arts of peace or when the drums of war are sounding. I could go on without end discussing this phase of the question but time, of course, prevents.

(7) The Grange was a pioneer in the long crusade which resulted in the admirable Food and Drug Act which puts an end to intolerable abuses and protects the life and health of the American people.

(8) Back in 1875 before women's suffrage was thought of the Grange admitted women to its membership and was a potent factor in extending suffrage to the gentler sex. From its inception the Grange practiced its own teaching by admitting women to the order on full equality with the men.

(9) In the field of tariffs the Grange has been a stalwart influence in the purpose of giving the American farmer the American market. It has steadfastly opposed the trade agreements of the present administration by which foreign agricultural products are admitted to the American market, breaking down the price structure and inevitably lowering the American standard of living. It has stood foursquare for the constitutional power of the Senate and the House in tariff making.

(10) In the present administration the Grange struck some telling and effective blows in preventing the President from packing the Supreme Court. To my mind, the outstanding statement against this iniquitous procedure was that made by Fred Brenckman, legislative representative of the National Grange. When the history of that event is written the story will be told that the part that the Grange played in defeating this proposition was most effective and telling.

(11) The Grange early denounced marketing monopoly and sought the elimination of it through the avenue of legitimate cooperation.

I have fought shoulder to shoulder with them on that issue and have likewise taken the position that if the marketing monopolists, particularly in the dairying field, were duly disciplined, pursuant to law, the north country dairymen would speedily come into a living price for his product. It is an eternal truth that while the north country dairymen are playing an important and vital part in the life of our people he is not getting sufficient returns to pay his taxes, live comfortably, and educate his worthwhile child. It is a wholesale indictment of the present marketing procedure that while the dairymen are in this sad condition the milk monopolists are paying high dividends on their very much watered stock and pay colossal salaries to their officers. It is my theory that this condition can be cured by law and in my fight against this economic injustice I have had the firm and unqualified support of the Grange leaders.

These are some of the achievements of the Granges at Washington and in the country at large and it is but timely on an occasion like this to pass them in review and to show that your organization has rendered high service both to agriculture and the Nation.

STRONG IN CIVIC FIELDS

In spiritual and civic fields the Grange's accomplishments have been no less outstanding. They have carried the torch of sound Americanism and good citizenship for the past 70 years and have been an ardent and effective factor in a long-range program of pure living and high thinking. In the present crisis you and your organization are the background of Americanism which augurs well for the continuance of free institutions.

WAR-TORN WORLD

With all the world in flames the part you play is a most important one, elevating as you do the standard of citizenship, not only by your precept but by your example. If the Grange were present in Germany, Russia, and Italy there would be no war in Europe today for the reason that there would be no dictatorship. Here in America an amazing but most dangerous sequence to this struggle in Europe is the world-wide movement on the part of left wingers recently arrived on our shores to bore from within and strike down the liberties of all citizens. These persons make up the "fifth column" and both Stalin and Hitler are maintaining these breeders of treason in the United States. These groups which aggregate a million people are guilty of common treason to the American Government and operate with complete devotion to the foreign dictators. They are completely disloyal to American institutions. Last year I had the pleasure of voting funds to the Dies committee for the purpose of investigating the activities of these groups. I voted added moneys this year to the same committee and I desire tonight to commend the splendid achievements of this congressional committee. One of these groups is the Communist Party which has been described as the vanguard of Stalinism. Its effect on America has been disastrous and is the result of much loose thinking.

One of my committees at Washington is the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. We have to do with the construction and operation of a merchant marine capable of servicing the Navy in time of war and carrying products of the soil and manufacturing to foreign shores. Some 2 years ago the Communist Party, which is under the direct command of Stalin, attempted to take over, and did take over in large part the crews operating these ships, which were for the most part Government owned. Our committee had made a careful investigation into these conditions, and the majority of us came speedily to the conclusion that some affirmative action was necessary to cure these conditions. For myself, I have a complete hatred of these groups who, while enjoying the privileges of a free America, are attempting to destroy its free institutions. I have come to the conclusion that the procedure to be followed is to dissolve such political parties as the Communist Party and the bund and to make membership in such organizations a crime punishable by proper imprisonment. I think that Congress is rapidly moving toward that viewpoint.

I believe that we have been overliberal and overkind in our treatment of these civic perverts who would destroy the Republic. It is a regrettable fact that up to the present time the "fifth column" movement in the United States has been given encouragement by certain high Government officials in Washington. They have lent the great prestige of their names to these subversive outfits. That situation is being partially cured by reason of the frightful conditions abroad, and the impending destruction of the democratic way of life.

DEPORT COMMUNISTS

Personally, I believe that the day of soft-thinking is past, and that America must become thoroughly national in spirit and in thought. Let those who are not in sympathy with the American plan of life shake the dust of America off their feet and go back to Germany or Russia. If they do not do this I would impound them somewhere on a desert island and thus save the youth and adults of the country from the danger of infection. To my mind these groups constitute a more serious danger to Americans than the armed forces of Hitler and Stalin. It is my positive belief that they must be dealt with accordingly. In America's present condition it is gratifying to know that we have within our borders over 800,000 Grangers steeped in and loyal to the best American traditions.

Belgian-American Pigeons Necessary for Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, during the World War a group of American soldiers, certain of destruction under the heavy shell fire which kept them cut off from the main body of our troops, fought bravely on to hold their advance position in a war-torn spot in the Argonne Forest called Grand Pré. This group was the famous Lost Battalion, and its commander, Major Whittlesley, had already been wounded by shrapnel when the final effort was made to establish communication with headquarters to inform it of the place where the battalion was trapped and so badly in need of aid.

This final attempt to pierce the enemy's lines was successful, and the carrier of the message became one of our Nation's most-honored heroes, ranking in historical importance with the famous runner who brought news of the ancient Greek Battle of Marathon or with he who carried that famous message to Garcia in the Spanish-American War. Libraries contain biographies of this hero of the Argonne Forest, and a place of honor has been given him in the National Museum at Washington. And yet this great National hero, Cher Ami, was not a soldier at all, but a mere carrier pigeon!

How this bird, released from its basket by the men of the Lost Battalion, flew its courageous flight of 40 kilometers to Rampont, flew it although struck by shrapnel and 1 leg shot off, flew it to deliver the message that brought reserve Allied troops in time to turn the battle at this crucial point of the war is now history. Furthermore, it is history that we cannot afford to forget today when our country once more is compelled to devote its energies and resources into the development of a national military defense second to none.

After the entrance of the United States in the last war, General Pershing, commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, ordered that 20,000 homing pigeons be sent to the poppy fields of France to act as messengers for American troops. In the course of the war the Allies used 300,000 birds which required 5,000 trained pigeoners for their handling, while the Germans had 3,000 handlers and 150,000 birds. The story of Cher Ami, while the most famous, is only one of the many that might be told to reveal the effective performance of the Pigeon Service of the United States Army during the war. In that engagement new techniques were developed, among them that of the moving loft, which further increased the effectiveness of this invaluable military adjunct.

England also found the carrier pigeon a vital means of communication during the war, and in 1919, the Air Ministry reported:

That their "service rendered" has been of inestimable value there is no doubt, and pilots and observers are to be found everywhere

who owe the saving of their lives to these little winged heroes. Heroes they are, for on occasions they have fought their way through the most adverse weather conditions carrying messages which meant everything to those who liberated them. * * * As a rule pigeons are not used until all other means of communication fail. Therefore their messages in many cases hold the balance between life and death.

Later, with the flight of Cher Ami, the Air Ministry might have added:

And they sometimes hold the balance of a decisive battle, perhaps even of a war, as well!

Pigeons have been kept by man for various purposes since prehistoric times and are therefore one of the earliest birds to have been domesticated. Egyptologists have found them represented in works of art 46 centuries old. At first they were called doves and appear to have been bred as pets or for food, but by the time of ancient Greece they had been put to use as carriers of messages and even served the Greeks in some fashion like the modern newspaper, for it is recorded that people in the villages would gather around their town's pigeon cote to await news of the events at the Olympic games. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon all mention pigeons in their writings and indicate a familiarity with them.

Nour-ed-deen, Mohammedan ruler of Syria and Egypt from 1145 to 1174 A. D., appears to have been the first, however, to have established a regular pigeon service for postal use. By 1250 A. D. a regular pigeon postal service had been established across Persia, and in 1249 pigeons were used to inform the Sultan at Cairo that Louis IX had landed troops at Damietta on his invasion of Egypt. All of us today are familiar with the extensive use of pigeons that was made by the London banker, Nathan Rothschild, during the years of Napoleon's power. The pigeon posts that Rothschild established in France and nearby countries enabled him to obtain information about Napoleon's measures and campaigns well in advance of everyone else, and as a result he was able to speculate intelligently and successfully. Rothschild's idea was taken up by others, and regular pigeon posts were established between Paris and Brussels and other cities to keep bankers informed of fluctuations in the money market.

Thus we see that the first stimulus to the extensive development of pigeon breeding in Belgium came as the result of the use of the bird to perform the services of the modern telegraph. As a matter of fact, in 1849, after a telegraph line had been established from Berlin to Aix-la-Chapelle, but none existed between the latter point and Brussels, Reuter established a pigeon post to fill this gap, thereby expediting communication by a saving of 8 hours. This pigeon post did much to establish the fame of Reuter's telegraphic bureau.

The people of Belgium, however, not only developed the use of homing pigeons as a means of communication, but they also took to the breeding of them, both for practical ends and as a hobby. Numerous pigeon clubs were established throughout Belgium and prize stock and racing contests were held frequently. The great contribution of Belgian fanciers to the development of the homing pigeon is testified to by the fact that the basic variety of homing pigeon, the forerunner of the modern homer, bears the name of Antwerp because the fanciers in that section of Belgium were the first to develop this new type of racing pigeon, introducing it to English fanciers. The Antwerp, however, as it is known in England and America today, is a modified bird, larger, and properly classed as a heavy variety developed by the English fanciers. In Belgium itself Antwerps are known as Smerles, Cumulets, Demi Becs, and so forth, of which the former have long been regarded as the most important for carrier purposes because of their unequaled speed and great endurance. In both Belgium and France annual races are held, which are a national pastime in each country. The races in Belgium are held over distances of from 200 to 500 miles, although a flight was once held successfully from Rome, Italy, into Belgium—a distance of 900 miles—with the Alps intervening.

Mr. Speaker, from boyhood I have been familiar with the great interest taken in the breeding of pigeons by the many fanciers and sportsmen among my friends of the Belgian colony in Detroit. I have often heard them tell of the amazing flights of their birds and of their stout persistency in their flight homeward, sometimes for distances of 900 miles. Yet, Mr. Speaker, familiar though I have been all my life with their record in sporting flights, I was greatly amazed and impressed the other day when I decided to check on their efficiency and usefulness under war conditions. The following record, referring to the flights of the birds during the World War, is taken from an official Government document of the British Air Ministry:

The number of messages which have failed to reach their destinations is less than 5 percent, and of this 5 percent a considerable proportion has been due to ignorance of the pigeon's capabilities, the method of handling, or improperly attached messages.

Here in the startling testimony of efficiency during the last war I find an irrefutable argument for the need of the continued development of this pigeon service of the United States Army. It is a branch which is too apt to be ignored in this time of emphasis upon the mechanization of troops, yet while speed of communication is essential, secrecy is often more so, and messages sent by radio or telephone or telegraph may be intercepted, while even the most modernly equipped carrier of dispatches may be captured and the letter he carries taken from him. It is in this connection that the pigeon can be of invaluable service even today, and it is by no means to be discounted as too slow for modern warfare when we recall that Cher Ami's historical flight of 40 kilometers was made, badly wounded, in about 25 minutes, while another famous bird, the Mocker, with one eye destroyed and his head a welter of blood, carried a message from the Beaumont front which enabled the Allies to silence enemy guns in 20 minutes. Many of these birds have flown short distances at the speed of a mile a minute.

Within recent months, one of America's leading experts on the use of pigeons for wartime communications, Capt. Ray Delhauer, of Ontario, Calif., has succeeded in efforts to make the use of this bird even more effective. Retired from active Army service in 1925, Captain Delhauer has spent the last 15 years conducting experiments in cross-breeding hundreds of white and gray pigeons, trying to perfect a bird with feathers which will blend with a cloudy background and be invisible to enemy observers. Last August, he presented officials of the War Department at Washington with samples of his new "camouflaged" birds, whose splotches of white and gray would make it almost impossible to see them against the clouds as they winged their way across enemy lines, carrying important messages. While Captain Delhauer has succeeded in already producing this bird of cloud-mottled camouflage, he has advised the War Department of the need for further development of this idea, suggesting that it be carried further and that differently marked birds be developed for use in the varying conditions of the terrain and foliage encountered by the Army in warfare.

Captain Delhauer further told the War Department that although mobile pigeon lofts are standard equipment with some military units, certain branches of the service have been neglecting the importance of the birds as a means of wartime communication. He pointed out that only about 1,400 birds are maintained by the Army at present, although in the World War this country sent 20,000 birds overseas and might have used more had they been available. I feel that the suggestions of the captain should be made a matter of public record so that the pigeon breeders of America may consider this new problem of camouflage. I am certain that the many loyal pigeon fanciers and clubs of my district, especially in the Belgian colony, will gladly respond to any requests our Army may make of them in its effort to build up the pigeon service. The patriotism of these Belgian-American fanciers of the Fourteenth District of Michigan is such that I know I can promise their generous cooperation, and the skill of their ability as breeders is so great that they will doubtlessly be able to contribute to the Army some of the most splendid stock in America.

National Labor Relations Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABE MURDOCK
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 26, 1940

Mr. MURDOCK of Utah. Mr. Speaker, on September 23, 1940, the gentleman from Illinois, Representative DIRKSEN, made the following charge upon the floor of this House:

> The chairman of an executive agency, the National Labor Relations Board, made confession that their lobbying activities in order to get more out of this Congress are in contravention of a statute (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, p. 12473).

In order to keep the record straight, it is my duty to call attention to the fact that that statement is completely incorrect. I do not charge the gentleman with deliberate misstatement. I notice that he cites as his source for this charge the United States News, and perhaps he believed the statement when he read it in that publication. But the statement is still incorrect, and in justice to Mr. Madden and the Board, the record must be corrected.

There are only two occasions on which Mr. Madden testified concerning these so-called lobbying activities in connection with the Board's appropriations. One was before the Smith committee investigating the Board, and the other was before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House. I refer you to his testimony on those two occasions, and I defy any Member of this House to read that testimony and show me wherein Mr. Madden made any confession that the Board violated any statute. His testimony before the Smith committee appears at volume II, pages 698–700, and volume III, pages 1–10, of the verbatim record printed by the Bureau of National Affairs. The testimony before the Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee appears at pages 596–604 of the printed record of those hearings.

Mr. Madden did testify that he considered it a serious question of policy whether the Board should let the labor unions know that the Board's 1937 appropriation was being cut in half, or whether the Board should sit idly by and let its work be crippled without informing those who were relying upon the Board to protect their rights under this statute (Smith committee record, vol. II, p. 699). He did not at any time confess to a violation of any statute.

It is not my purpose to enter into a legal argument about the statute in question, but I do want to point out two things. First, the statute, passed in 1919, has never been enforced against any agency, and indeed was apparently generally unknown until it was dug up in connection with the investigation of the Board. The gentleman from Virginia, Chairman SMITH, of the Smith committee, in fact, stated on the record that "it is a matter of common knowledge that departments and agencies of the Government have a custom of doing a good deal of lobbying when their appropriations are at stake" (Smith committee record, vol. III, p. 10). In other words, here is a practice, right or wrong, which has been engaged in for years by many agencies, under both Republican and Democratic administrations, without any action being taken, and now the Board is singled out for special criticism. I do not say that it was necessarily right for the Board to do what it did, but I do say that we must recognize that if the Board was at fault it was no more so than many other agencies.

Secondly, it is by no means clear that the statute in question was violated by the Board's actions in 1937. The Smith committee itself was in doubt on the question, as the gentleman from Virginia, Chairman SMITH, publicly admitted (vol. III, p. 10), and asked the Attorney General for an opinion. The Attorney General replied that the statute was one of "uncertain application," and suggested that since everyone, including the Smith committee, seemed to be in doubt about it, it would be well for Congress to rewrite the statute so as to say exactly what they want it to mean, and not leave the matter in a state of confusion. By this time, Chairman SMITH had apparently changed his mind as to the doubtful nature of the question, and he wrote the Attorney General that he thought the statute was "clear and explicit." These letters are printed in the appendix to the intermediate report of the majority of the Smith Committee.

I have had, as the House knows, a splendid opportunity to observe Mr. Madden and his work. He was, in my opinion, a public servant of the very highest type, and I know that he would never knowingly violate a law. I think it very unfortunate that a man of his splendid character and integrity should be so attacked, and I believe the attacks upon him are the result of his intelligent, honest, and courageous administration of the National Labor Relations Act.

Is United States To Be Incorporated in British Empire?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE GAELIC AMERICAN

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial:

[From the Gaelic American, New York, September 28, 1940]

IS UNITED STATES TO BE INCORPORATED IN BRITISH EMPIRE?

Is an Anglo-American alliance, offensive and defensive, the goal which is aimed at by President Roosevelt? Undoubtedly this scheme was discussed last summer by the President and King George VI of England at Hyde Park. The proposed alliance would change the course of American history and make the United States the secondary partner in an imperialistic project to control the world. Will our American institutions be scrapped in favor of imperialism and world domination in partnership with the British Empire?

The rumored negotiations between the United States and Great Britain were discussed in the House of Commons on September 19th when Richard Stokes, a Laborite member, in regard to the proposed Anglo-American union, asked the following question:

"Whether, in view of the approval of the policy of leasing bases to the United States and that of closer cooperation between the United States and the British Empire, he will give assurance that before any union of the kind proposed to France be put forward he will give an opportunity for the fullest possible discussion by the House."

Major Attlee, speaking for the Government, replied:

"The Prime Minister is prepared to give assurance that if ever any such far-reaching scheme is put forward as suggested in the question, every opportunity will be given for discussion by the House."

An alliance or union on similar lines was offered to France before her surrender to Germany and was rejected by Premier Paul Reynaud before his resignation. The discussion in the House of Commons on an Anglo-American alliance aroused general comment in Washington, where it was revealed that already conversations regarding bases in the Pacific have been going on between Secretary Hull, Lord Lothian, and the Australian Minister, Richard G. Casey. A special dispatch to the New York Times of September 20 refers in part as follows to the discussions being carried on between Secretary of State Hull and England's representatives:

"WASHINGTON, September 19.—Conversations have been going on between the United States Government and representatives of the British Empire as to the possibility of an informal but closer cooperation of the English-speaking parts of the world, particularly with regard to joint use of naval and air bases for mutual defense, diplomatic circles learned today.

"It was pointed out, however, that the United States Government has adopted, as part of its basic defense policy, the thesis that war should not be permitted to come close to the shores of this country. The right of this country to use of bases in Africa, from which any attack upon South America presumably would be launched, and in the Far East, would be of great value, it was asserted.

"Diplomats in Washington said that no formal alliance in the usual sense of the word had been considered. What is being discussed is merely an arrangement on bases which might be handled

by Executive action as far as this country is concerned. No final decisions are expected until November, diplomatic sources said."

As England is hard pressed at home she is not in a position to protect the part of her empire in the Far East, and the Washington administration is taking steps to safeguard her possessions in China and the Pacific. It is very evident that strict neutrality is not observed and is secondary to giving all possible aid to England.

No longer will England exercise a dominant role in the world. Driven out of Europe, she no longer is regarded by the other powers, big or small, with fear or awe. To regain her former prestige, in her desperation, she is anxious for an alliance or partnership with the United States to regain her shattered control of the world. Will America step down from her high estate to save "perfidious Albion" and relinquish her own place as an example in freedom and democracy to all the world?

The price is high and the return is doubtful. It would be a tragedy if America would embrace imperialism and exchange its free institutions for those which have resulted in periodic wars in the Old World. The America that we have known and which had been the pride of past generations would be exchanged for imperialism and totalitarianism. Who would like to see such a retrogression by a people who have been an example in freedom to all oppressed peoples?

The British-American proposal discussed in the House of Commons and on the same day in Washington recalls Carnegie's prophecies in his book, Triumphant Democracy, published in 1893. His words are as follows:

"The only course for Britain seems to be reunion with her giant child or sure decline to a secondary place, and then to a comparative insignificance in the future annals of the English-speaking race, which is to increase so rapidly in America.

"Let men say what they will, therefore, I say that as sure as the sun in the heaven once shone on Britons and Americans united, so surely is it one morning to rise, shine upon, and greet again the Re-United States, the British-American Union."

Another British imperialist, Cecil Rhodes, the diamond kind, also worked for an English-dominated world. His first will directed that a secret society should be endowed with the following objects:

"The extension of British rule throughout the world * * * the colonization by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labor, and enterprise, and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the valley of the Euphrates, the islands of Cyprus and Candia, the whole of South America, the islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain, the whole of the Malay Archipelago, the seaboard of China and Japan, the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire."

Carnegie's prophecy and Cecil Rhodes' will embody the ambition of the English ruling caste to include the world in the British Empire. These two imperialists devoted large portions of their immense fortunes to carry out their ideas.

The present administration in Washington seems to have come under the spell of Carnegie and Cecil Rhodes. Already the preliminary steps have been taken to incorporate the United States in the British Empire. The subtle deal for submarine and aerial bases in exchange for destroyers is the first step for an alliance with Great Britain. Our Roosevelts, Hulls, Stimsons, Willkies, Lehmans, and LaGuardias prefer participation, even a secondary role, in a world empire to freedom in an independent Republic. The departure from American institutions is daring and revolutionary. The voters are not consulted and the demand that they be given a voice before taking such a momentous step is certain to be ignored and ridiculed.

Are Americans willing to go back under the British flag, repudiate the War of the Revolution, and rejoice at being dragged at the chariot wheels of empire? Will the people wait until the American flag is hauled down before they wake up to the danger with which they are confronted?

If American institutions are to be preserved for ourselves and our posterity, there is no time to be lost. The time for action has come. Send Americans to Congress, not rubber stamps or yes men. The country is in danger. Snap out of your long slumber and act now while you have a country to save and defend.

Important Legislation Before Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD J. GEHRMANN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, there is evidence that Congress will adjourn, or at least recess, within the next few days. The reason given is that now all that can be done for national defense has been accomplished. I was in favor of sidetracking everything else when it appeared that speed was absolutely essential to get our defense program under way, so as to be prepared to meet any possible attack from any possible outside source. But we have done that now, and yet most of us agree that this is no time to run out on the people that sent us here to represent and speak for them. They want us to stay here as long as the conditions are in this uncertain dangerous state. But while we remain here, why then do we not take up some pending measures that vitally need to be considered, for the relief and security of millions of our people. There are bills such as the Townsend plan to provide security for the aged, and at the same time create millions of jobs for the now unemployed. A number of us have tried our best to urge Members to sign the petition on the Speaker's desk. We still need more signatures. Why cannot we force this bill on the floor for consideration? Even if some Members do not favor the bill as it is written, they will have a chance to offer amendments that might make it better, and to their liking.

I consider the most important bill now pending is the Townsend bill, because when this defense spending or temporary boom ends, we will be faced with a much worse depression than ever before. Unless we do something about it now, provide for those past 60, so that the younger people can have their jobs, I hate to think what our problem will be a few years hence, without Congress recognizing it now. The same thing is true about the farmers and home owners. We should consider some of the important bills pending before we adjourn.

We must pass legislation to make their homes secure, by lowering interest rates, rearrange and refinance delinquent loans, and extend the payment period over 30 or 40 years. There are several such bills pending and I wish to mention only a few that I introduced along these lines. First, I have for several years worked toward the cost-of-production principle, and my bill, H. R. 2376, is still in committee. Several others have the same bill pending, and we have a petition on the desk, hoping to force it out for consideration. Everybody agrees that principle is sound, and until that is adopted, farmers will be foreclosed by the thousands each year. Then the gentleman from Wisconsin, Congressman HULL, and I introduced the so-called dairy bills, H. R. 6500 and 6530, which were demanded by all Wisconsin farmers as well as dairy farmers all over the country. We succeeded in having short hearings before House and Senate committees, where a large number of farmers appeared. The House committee refused to report it, and it is still pending in the Senate committee.

Do you not think that dairying is entitled to consideration by the Congress, when its value is more than the two next largest farm commodities combined? Another bill important to the dairy industry is H. R. 5475, which I introduced early in the session. That bill would regulate the importation of dairy products, and would subject them to the same sanitary and health regulations that our own farmers are subjected to. Why should we permit these products, including livestock, to be brought into this country in competition with ours and not be forced to show that the cattle have been inspected and are free of disease the same as ours must be? Then the most important bill to more than half of the farmers of this Nation is the bill introduced in the Senate last year by Senators WHEELER and LA FOLLETTE to refinance farm mortgages at a low interest rate. I introduced the same bill in the House on June 19, 1938, as H. R. 6910. Since then several similar bills have been introduced by others, including Mr. JONES, the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture. The Senate bill was passed by that body early this year, but the House committee has not seen fit to bring it on the floor, in spite of the efforts of a great many Members from agricultural States. I do not care if it is my bill or somebody else's bill that finally is considered. All I want is to bring it up for consideration and passage so that those thousands of distressed farmers can have their indebtedness reamortized over a longer period and at lower interest rates.

The same thing is true of the home owners; several bills are pending that would do the same for them, that should be taken care of now. These are vitally necessary and im-

portant bills, and Congress should take them up now while we are in session, and the defense program is disposed of. Another bill pending since last year that I introduced is H. R. 7092. That would increase the import duty on dairy products, and would aid our farmers in that it would keep foreign countries out unless the price went up considerably higher than it has been for a long time. Ever since I came to Congress I have tried to do something to relieve thousands of farmers that received one or more of the so-called feed and seed loans during the drought years. My bill this session is H. R. 988, which I introduced early in 1939. A number of similar bills are also pending. I have always believed that these were loans made in an emergency, and should have been treated as all other emergency help to our people were treated, and the farmer should be permitted to repay them with work on local projects similar and under the same conditions as W. P. A. Most of those still pending will never be repaid in cash. It costs the Government all or more than they will ever collect to carry them, and keep men out in the field harassing the farmers in an attempt to collect them. We have canceled many billions of dollars to foreign nations and corporations, why not cancel a hundred million of these old feed and seed loans, or at least permit them to be repaid with labor on public projects.

Thousands have lost their farms because of cream-check assignments for these emergency loans, which caused taxes and interest to become delinquent, and eventual foreclosures. There are a great many other equally important things for us to do before we talk about going home until after election. The people have sent us here to take care of their interest. Our major business this year of course was to provide for preparedness. It was right to drop everything else until that was done. We have taken care of everything for the protection of our Nation that those in charge and who should know indicated to be necessary. The world situation at this time appears to me to be much more dangerous for America than at any time since this war started. I believe it is too dangerous for us to leave here even for 1 week. How can the people have confidence in us if we run home to look for votes, when our country may become involved any day? Let us remain here and take up some of these most important bills still pending, that vitally affect the lives and welfare of all our people. I shall refuse to vote for adjournment or even recess; we have work to do, and we should remain here until the new Congress comes here next January.

Some Observations on Our Farm Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL M. WHITTINGTON

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

TIMELY OBSERVATIONS ON OUR FARM PROGRAM BY O. F. BLEDSOE, SUCCESSFUL COTTON GROWER, AND PRESIDENT, FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT, OF THE STAPLE COTTON COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION OF GREENWOOD, MISS.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I know of no citizen of the Cotton Belt who is more familiar with the problems of producing and marketing cotton than my able constituent, Mr. O. F. Bledsoe, of Greenwood, Miss. He is one of the best-known and most successful cotton growers in the belt. Some 20 years ago he founded the Staple Cotton Cooperative Association and has been the president of that association through the years. He has given much thought not only to the problems of cotton growing but to agricultural questions generally. He points out that our policy with respect to agriculture is unsound. He maintains that agriculture is entitled to equality with industry. He suggests a ratio that will solve the problem. He maintains that excess raw materials can be exchanged for imported raw materials without any drain on the Public Treasury; import duties would thus balance export subsidies. I commend his observations to all interested in the solution of farm problems.

Mr. Bledsoe has recently forwarded to me an article on the farm program. Under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include this article, to wit:

Let agriculture take the most charitable view of the aspirants for our leadership and give full credit for intellectual honesty, which is the rarest virtue, and reduce the question to one of economic common honesty.

When this Government was organized the population was 90 percent agricultural and 10 percent industrial, with an ordinary standard of living. Our infant industry was protected with a mild form of artificial price structure that would not unduly interfere with the exchange of our excess agricultural units of wealth for needed industrial products of other nations. From these early days industry has done a wonderful job in building up a higher standard of living with a tremendous consumption of human labor, and now our national population is 76 percent industrial and 24 percent agricultural.

During our 150 years of growth to 131,000,000 population agriculture has increased its plant to maintain 1 ton of food and 32 pounds of fiber per capita to feed and clothe the Nation, with a continuous excess as insurance against famine. After the industrial exceeded the agricultural population our leadership continued to raise our artificial price structure until it has now reached $9,000,000,000 above world prices, and the agricultural labor-hour can buy only one-third as much of industrial labor-hours as in other highly industrialized nations of the world.

The 76-percent industrial majority must eventually realize that all labor performs a dual function of producing and consuming units of wealth and that the distribution of the greatest volume of units of wealth consisting of the necessities and comforts of life produces the highest standard of living and that any device that hinders this economic process is a deterrent to the welfare of our civilization.

There are two proposals by the present aspirants for our leadership, both of which are based on obtaining funds from the United States Treasury, obtained by domestic taxation, and neither of which provides full economic justice. Both straddle and becloud the issue for fear of alienating the 76-percent industrial population. One proposes equality solely on domestic consumption, a political arrangement, while the other provides partial equality on present production. Both are based on political doles and political centralized control from the United States Treasury—a sure method to wreck this form of government that we inherited from our forefathers. Both promote the trend to curtail production of agricultural units of wealth and to adjust our agricultural plant to domestic consumption, with utter disregard of what will happen to our excess agricultural lands and excess agricultural labor.

Both agree on the size of the food factory or farm, with utter disregard of size required to procure managerial ability, coordination, and mass production—the basic foundation of American success. Both agree to put this into effect by government purchase of family-size farms and give the farmer 40 years to pay for it, with a very cheap rental charge for the money. Is this a democratic governmental function or sound economic policy, or are they both lost in an economic jungle?

From the viewpoint of simple economic honesty, the leadership of this Nation should meet this issue squarely with mental honesty and without fear of the 76-percent industrial majority of our citizenship. Give American agriculture an equal exchange ratio with the other agricultural producers of the world, and the efficient American farmer will build up a standard of living that will redound to the benefit of our entire population, and there will no longer be a farm problem.

The agricultural minority wants only to be treated with common honesty. We do not want a political dole out of the United States Treasury. We only want economic justice. If the leadership of this Government honestly thinks that an artificial price structure is best for us all, then agriculture should have a fixed equal artificial price above world prices for its total production of units of wealth, and all importations should be taxed up to the artificial price level. Prior to World War I, our agricultural exports serviced our foreign debts, and now in order to produce a balanced economy, our excess agricultural raw materials should be exchanged at world prices for our imported raw materials without removing any domestic tax money from the United States Treasury, as the import duties would balance export subsidies. Trade between nations is now a governmental supervised function.

In our domestic economy agricultural and industrial labor are as economically interlocked as Siamese twins, and our national prosperity is controlled by agricultural and industrial parity. This method of forcing agriculture into economic slavery will go down in history as the greatest economic blunder that was ever foisted on a peaceful and acquiescent minority, and at the same time is the basic cause of recurring depressions in our domestic economy.

Our peaceful agricultural minority lives in the eternal hope that common honesty and economic justice will eventually prevail for the benefit of our entire Nation. We have as yet not lost faith in equal rights to all and favors to none.

Now is the opportune time to fix all prices with equality and prevent the disaster caused by World War I and remove agriculture out of the Government Treasury.

Gold, the Government, and Danger—Devaluation, Repudiation, Inflation, Devastation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. PLUMLEY

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, the average man wonders why all the gold is owned by the Government and stored at Fort Knox.

He wonders what it is all about, and why, and what will happen.

If no person in this country can possess any gold and the other countries go off the gold standard, will it make the accumulated gold worthless—a pile of metal of no commercial value in exchange? he asks.

I have tried to explain the situation to those who have inquired of me by saying that the greatest danger lay in the fact that the Government owned the gold and that the power of further devaluation of the dollar surrendered to the President constituted the threat of inflation or repudiation.

Now comes Harry Scherman with his comprehensive statement in the book entitled "The Real Danger in Our Gold," which under the heading "Gold, the Government, and the economic future" is very ably and concisely, yet understandingly reviewed by D. W. Ellsworth, who says:

The real danger in our gold, according to Mr. Scherman, is not that other countries will decide to do without it, thus leaving the United States with a huge quantity of "worthless" metal, but that its possession by the Federal Government constitutes a temptation to repudiate the national debt through further devaluation of the dollar. In support of this argument he marshals an interesting array of facts. First, our monetary gold stock continues to expand to new high records, and the larger the gold stock the greater the paper profit that can be made by devaluing the dollar. Second, our national debt also continues to expand to new high records, with further expansion inevitable because of the defense program; and the greater the debt the greater will be the temptation to repudiate it. Third, the present administration has already devalued the dollar once; there is no guaranty that it or some future administration will not devalue it again.

Gold, far from being internationally "valueless," is still the only internationally acceptable money. That is one reason why foreigners have been able to use it liberally for transferring their wealth from politically unstable countries to the United States, which at the moment is regarded as the safest country in which to own property. The circumstance that makes our gold hoard unique in economic history is its sole ownership by the Government. For the first time in a democratic country, according to Mr. Scherman, the private possession of gold has been forbidden by law.

This law is dangerous because it gives the President the power to determine, within certain limits, the gold content of the dollar. If private citizens were permitted to own gold, there would be an automatic check on the use of this power, because as soon as private citizens began to fear further devaluation, they would demand gold, and its possession would serve as a protection against dilution of the purchasing power of paper currency and bank deposits.

The present law makes paper currency legal tender for all debts, public and private. With gold ownership prohibited, our paper currency is fiat money, which is the most dangerous kind of money any country can have. Mr. Scherman calls attention to the fact that the framers of the Constitution voted down a provision which would have given Congress, the President, or the Federal courts the power to declare paper currency to be legal tender. Mr. Scherman might have added that in all probability the Supreme Court, in deciding in favor of the Government in the gold-clause cases, did so mainly because a majority of the Court believed that to insist upon a strict interpretation of the gold clause would cause severe economic disturbance, so there was no just way of rectifying an unjust fait accompli.

With private gold ownership prohibited, tnere is no automatic restraint on deficit financing by the Federal Government.

The Treasury at present sells bonds to banks, thus acquiring deposits on the books of the banks. As the Government checks out these funds for defense projects, work relief and other purposes, the recipients buy goods from producers, who put the proceeds back in the banks. It is a race between Government debt and bank deposits, hence the spectacle of "idle money" and "excess reserves." Experience shows that undue expansion of deposit currency is fraught with danger. If private gold ownership were permitted, there would be an automatic restraint on deposit-currency expansion, because when individuals became alarmed over the rise in the public debt, they would demand gold. That would bring about a rise in interest rates, making it increasingly expensive for the Government to go into debt.

The Germans have threatened to abandon the use of gold after the present war, but to do so they would either have to find a new commodity which would be acceptable as money in settling international balances or else they would have to use the barter system. No other commodity as generally acceptable as gold has yet been found, nor is there any immediate likelihood that one will be. The use of the barter system by Germany thus far has been as an admittedly unsatisfactory substitute for an inadequate gold supply. Hence there is no danger that in the longer future our gold stock will be rendered valueless by the widespread use of international barter.

In any event, the prohibition of private gold ownership has already made it necessary for the Federal Government to establish arbitrary methods designed to control prices to prevent runaway markets in periods of increasingly active demand for goods. Bureaucracy begets bureaucracy, and it is Mr. Scherman's belief that in its efforts to substitute arbitrary for automatic controls the Government will find itself compelled to extend its present powers so that the final outcome will be the complete subjugation of private enterprise. This, of course, means the end of free enterprise and the emergence of a totalitarian state, as in Germany and Italy.

Mr. Scherman evidently set out to explain the complex factors in our present gold situation in language which would be understood by the layman. He has succeeded. There are errors, but they are comparatively unimportant, and his main contentions and conclusions are sound.

Mr. Speaker, a subservient Congress granted the Secretary of Agriculture the right to impose taxes. They gave to the President the authority to fix the value of money, a power so great over the lives of men as never heretofore to have been enjoyed, save by a complete despot. And this is America.

God save the state.

National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK O. HORTON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the most vital task facing this country is to defend it adequately and quickly. The axis powers are soaking Europe in blood; they are laying the world waste. And America, rich and desirable, still stands defenseless.

What I am about to say is not said in a spirit of petty criticism. The matter is too serious for that. It is said in the hope that this country can avoid the tragic delays of England under Chamberlain; that it can escape the fate of France.

And how has the United States, under its present leadership, set about organizing the machinery for her own defense?

The President appointed, at the end of May 1940, a National Defense Advisory Commission. The function of this Commission is to advise the National Defense Council, which, in turn, is a council composed of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.

The Defense Advisory Commission consists of William S. Knudsen, advisor on industrial production; Edward R. Stettinius, advisor on industrial material; Ralph Budd, advisor on transportation; Chester C. Davis, advisor on employment; Sidney Hillman, advisor on employment; Leon Henderson,

advisor on price stabilization; Harriet Elliot, advisor on consumer production.

On this board of seven, it would be hard to find four better men for the immediate job of arming this country than Knudsen, Stettinius, Davis, and Budd.

But what is its function?

First: Note that this group of seven is purely advisory to the Council of National Defense.

Second: Note that, of the membership on the Council for National Defense, Ickes, of Interior; Madam Perkins, of Labor; and, until very recently, Wallace, of Agriculture, and Hopkins, of Commerce, constituted a four-to-two voting strength against Knox, of Navy, and Stimson, of War. War and Navy are in the position of finding themselves a hopeless minority on the Council.

Congressman MARTIN DIES, chairman of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, has given us plenty of cause to suspect the impartial judgment of these four. His committee recently revealed that Ickes, Hopkins, Wallace, and Mme. Perkins are supporting on their Department pay rolls pinks, reds, and outright registered Communists. Ickes employed 34; Hopkins, 15; Wallace, 106; Perkins, 54.

And do not lose sight of what Communists stand for. Their cause is the destruction of private industry, the overthrow of this form of government. The gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, further stated, according to a recent San Francisco release, concerning the Madam and Ickes that:

> If these leaders in the Government continue to lend aid and comfort to the enemy, I favor every American driving them out of office.

Those are strong words, but they are backed up by a full knowledge of the peril this country faces from the silent, sly, and relentless enemies within her Government.

And if that is not enough to show the sympathies and leanings of the majority on the Defense Council, there are in this country right now 700 deportable aliens sheltered by Mme. Perkins and her Labor Department. These four, with their voting strength on the Council, have the power to do what they jolly well please with any program their Advisory Commission might suggest. In such hands rests our national safety.

And who heads this Council for National Defense and the Advisory Commission?

There is no head.

Unless it is the President of the United States and he is too busy being a candidate to pay attention to such matters. He was away from the White House 25 days out of 40 during July and August. And it looks as though he will not be home much this month either. A ship without a captain in a sea of submarines.

And why is the Advisory Defense Council still a board without authority?

Have we forgotten the lessons of World War No. 1?

This situation must be corrected at once if our defense program is to proceed rapidly and efficiently, as it must in order to keep us out of war. It is only the strong who survive.

National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK O. HORTON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, we have all seen the great Republic of France, complacent behind her Maginot line fold up like an old umbrella before the might of Hitler. It came as a shock to all of us. It was inconceivable that her Government had failed to know the irresistible weapon for destruction that had been forged across their borders. The French Government knew their country was inadequately equipped for defense against it. The French bureaucracy had bogged the nation down in indecision, political bickering, and theoretical social experiments. Therefore we are impelled to point out, not in a critical spirit, the symptoms of France's political disease in our own defense program. We must escape the fate of France. We must not permit a second Chamberlain in this country.

The apparent fact that the national-defense program is bogging down cannot be laid at the door of Congress.

Let us look at the facts.

Congress votes the money for defense. It has considered and voted upon requests for specific sums it has received from the President. It has always been assumed that these specific sums are arrived at by a process of investigation and consideration—not by whim. The RECORD will show that the Congress, during the last 7 years, has provided all but 1 percent of the total amount that was requested for Army, Navy, and defense. The President has been, and still is, in a position to know better than any man exactly the peril to our national safety. If his Chief of the Budget requests too little, he has full knowledge of it.

The President, Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin all rose to power contemporaneously—Hitler, actually within a few months of the President. Up to that time we had all been believing that we had done and finished a job in World War I. We had been busy demobilizing—settling down in factories and farms—readjusting to the pursuits of peacetimes. Had we not just finished making the world "safe for democracy"?

But with the coming of Hitler, a new situation arose. And Mr. Roosevelt knew just what it all meant better than anyone in this or any other country.

But, knowing what he must have known and what he knows today, he has nevertheless consistently docked the Army and Navy requests for funds before they ever got to Congress. Through the instrumentality of his Budget Chief, slashes have been made in the Army and Navy's defense requirements of which the Congress could have little or no knowledge. What little Congress has found out makes one wonder what the whole story is. But this we do know:

On May 24, 1940, the roads of Belgium and France were choked with civilians fleeing before Hitler's Panzer divisions.

On that same day Admiral Moreell, Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, Navy Department, testified at hearing on Senate amendments to the Navy Department's appropriation bill of 1941.

He said that before estimates ever reached the House, the President's Budget Chief had eliminated a Navy Department request for $3,000,000 to build a sorely needed breakwater for our air base at Coco Solo station in the Panama Canal Zone. Without this breakwater, heavy bombing planes could not get off the water in rough weather (pp. 108–109 of the House supplemental hearings on Senate amendments on Navy Department appropriation bill for 1941.)

On June 4, 1940, the very day an army of freemen was fighting its way off the beach at Dunkerque, General Marshall, Chief of Staff, was testifying before the subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee for 1941 regarding reductions in his estimates made by the President's Chief of the Budget. In reply to a question as to what the original Army estimates had included, he said:

> We asked beyond that amount for $240,000,000 for critical items of equipment required for the protective mobilization plan, $205,000,000 for essential items of equipment for that force, $35,000,000 for seacoast defenses, $45,000,000 for increased arsenal and depot facilities. * * * The War Department felt that it was time to get ready (p. 65).

On the same day this testimony was being given, President Roosevelt told his press conference Congress might as well pack up and go home—they were only staying in Washington to make speeches. On September 13 of this year, with unit after unit of National Guard being mobilized for intensive defense training, the Congress discovered that

an item for housing for these men had been specifically turned down by the President's Chief of Budget to the tune of $128,000,000 and added this amount to an appropriation bill. Hearings on the third supplemental national-defense appropriation bill for 1941, statement made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

Congress made this appropriation without the approval of the President's Budget officer and entirely on its own. But for the alertness of the Congress, the National Guard might have found it tough going this winter. But the President had not informed the Congress of these things.

But we do know this: That General Marshall, in referring to the 70,000 men maneuvering in Texas and Louisiana last spring, said:

> There are absolutely no reserves of material or men. * * * If they were bombed actually instead of theoretically, there is no duplicate truck to take the place of the one destroyed. If our pilots who are operating in these maneuvers today are shot down, we have not the replacements in actual pilots to take their places. The Army's lack of guns and fighting equipment makes it impossible for the United States to capitalize on its greatest natural asset, manpower, because without adequate materials a soldier is in a hopeless, tragic situation on the battlefield.

It would seem impossible to ignore the statement of General Wesson, Chief of Ordnance, that—

> The Army is so short of ammunition and the situation is so serious that it ought to be emblazoned on the Flatiron Building so that the public would know.

These shocking disclosures were made but a short time before the President said to Congress "Pack up and go home and quit making speeches."

During the past 8 years more than $8,000,000,000 have been appropriated for our defense program.

The records show not more than eighty-five millions of that amount were spent for active defense weapons.

Recently it was disclosed on the floor of the House that unknown thousands of dollars of our national-defense funds were being spent for engraved solid silver finger bowls for use on battleships "on order." And this when our doughboys were using a sewer-pipe cannon to maneuver with because they lacked the real article.

The President knows all this and much more. He cannot help knowing our national-defense needs.

Wake up, America! There may be time enough yet. But there is not time enough for a second Chamberlain.

National Labor Relations Board

REMARKS
OF
HON. HARRY N. ROUTZOHN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. ROUTZOHN. Mr. Speaker, whenever any of these new dealers are caught in the act of perpetrating any of their newly conceived political perfidies they rush to the press with alibis and other mendacious pleas of utter innocence.

When on last Friday I referred to Robert Jackson as a "pliable" Attorney General and implied that he, in conjunction with Sidney Hillman and the National Labor Relations Board, were preparing to sabotage our national defense and/or lay the foundation for the Government to confiscate industry as well as give impetus to the organizing efforts of the one national labor organization favored by the Labor Board, I spoke advisedly.

The correctness nor the effectiveness of the Attorney General's allegedly curbstone opinion need not be argued, as they are obviously beside the real issue. The facts are:

First. That Attorney General Jackson, by his neglect to prosecute Messrs. Madden and Smith, members of the National Labor Relations Board and the secretary, Nathan Witt, for their violation of the law against governmental agency lobbying, is guilty of conniving with the Labor Board.

Second. That the maladministration of the National Labor Relations Act by the National Labor Relations Board has been condemned by a 2-to-1 vote by the Members of the House.

Third. That Sidney Hillman, although a member of the National Defense Advisory Council, is chairman of the Textile Workers of America, an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, of which John L. Lewis is the titular and actual head, Hillman being vice president thereof.

Fourth. That the C. I. O. will continue, throughout our national-defense program, to prosecute a militant plan to organize all industries engaged in or available for defense work, just as it is now seeking to organize the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

Fifth. That the testimony before the Smith committee clearly shows that the National Labor Relations Board, in its eagerness to assist the C. I. O. in the labor organization of industrial plants, has exceeded its authority by assuming powers that Congress never dreamed of granting to it, and thereby has, by fiat, usurpation, the use of extra-legal power, and by official coercion, blackjacked industries into accepting its decisions as final.

Sixth. That the Attorney General in referring to the right of appeal from the decisions of the Board overlooked or is not informed of the fact that the decisions of the National Labor Relations Board are final on all disputes relating to representation and that these representation cases constitute a large portion of the adjudicated cases before the Board.

Seventh. That in complaint cases, involving other violations of the National Labor Relations Act, wherein appeal is provided, Mr. Hillman, Mr. Lewis, and the Labor Board could use the dismissal of a single employee as a violation sufficient to compel submission to their demands, or in the event of refusal subject the employer to the Attorney General's ruling that the decision of the Board until reversed would preclude the alleged offender from carrying on with Government contract work.

Many other reasons can be assigned, but I deem the above sufficient to point the danger of entrusting our national defense to the National Labor Relations Board decisions.

The Army and the Navy heretofore have refused to be a party to such a conspiracy, although they were approached first by the Board, and they advised the Board in writing that they lacked authority to withhold contracts because of any unfair labor practices on the part of any contracting party.

Also, the Acting Comptroller General of the United States, in a written opinion, states:

> There is no authority for rejecting bids merely because of bidders' noncompliance with the requirements of the National Labor Relations Act or for the inclusion in advertised specifications or contracts of a requirement of compliance with the said Act with right reserved to reject all bids or cancel contracts upon failure of such compliance.

He further states:

> The Congress has provided the means of enforcing compliance with the requirements of said National Labor Relations Act, but the withholding of Government contracts from a violator of such requirements is not one of the means so provided.

Furthermore, on the 29th of March, 1939, the President of the United States, in a letter to John L. Lewis on this very subject, said "the only unquestionably valid" method of accomplishing this was by action of the legislative branch of the Government.

In the light of the above, the ruling of the Comptroller General, the action of the Army and Navy Boards, and the letter of the President, with all of which they must, or should, have been familiar, just what are Mr. Hillman, Mr. Jackson, and the Board attempting to pull?

Arrest and Deport Harry Bridges Now

REMARKS
OF
HON. C. ARTHUR ANDERSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, during the past several months Congress and the entire Nation have worked diligently and successfully to build up our defense in the face of imminent peril. We have doubled the Navy, trebled the Army, and greatly multiplied the Air Corps; but we have overlooked one of the most essential and vital links in the entire defense system—the American merchant marine.

Our merchant vessels are indispensable to the defense of this country and are an essential adjunct of the United States Navy.

One of the greatest calamities that ever hit this Nation was the disintegration of the American merchant marine. We had achieved unchallenged mastery of the seven seas with the far-famed American clipper ships when we were a much younger Nation than we are today. But gradually, through neglect and indifference, the American merchant marine not only relinquished its predominant place but almost vanished from the sea.

Happily, we have taken effective steps to re-create the American merchant marine and we are well on our way to another conquest of the sea. American vessels, employing American labor, are once more carrying American goods to the ports of the world.

Despite the progress we have made in placing more and better ships on the sea flying the American flag in the last few years, we have fostered through neglect and indifference one of the most inherently dangerous conditions that has ever confronted this Nation. We have permitted Communists, under the leadership of the public enemy No. 1, Harry Bridges, to obtain a death grip upon the American merchant marine.

It is no longer a secret that Communists dominate and absolutely control the merchant-marine communications system of this country. Men who are actually, openly, and admittedly working to sovietize America are in full control of marine communications and threaten absolute communization of our entire merchant marine from top to bottom. This fact can be established by sworn records on file with the United States Government.

The Government of the United States has positive evidence that Harry Bridges is not only a Communist, in spite of what Miss Perkins and Dean Landis may think, but he is actually a conspirator to commit the crime of murder.

Harry Bridges and a number of his National Maritime Union cohorts, nearly all of whom are admitted Communists or fellow travelers, actually plotted, planned, and contrived to murder the head of a rival union. There is ample positive documentary proof of this fact.

This same group planned, plotted, and partially carried out sabotage of one of our largest liners in the Panama Canal. This fact is also well established by positive documentary evidence on file with the United States Government.

Outwardly and openly and with no attempt to disguise their purpose the Communists operate and maintain a school only a few miles from West Point to educate men to sovietize the American merchant marine. Many of Harry Bridges' chief aides are honor graduates of this Soviet school which openly advocates and plans the destruction of our form of Government.

Why, with all the ample evidence to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that Harry Bridges is a Communist, a coconspirator to commit murder, and a party to a scheme to overthrow this Government, is he permitted to remain at large in this country? What influence does this man have that enables him to escape prosecution and deportation? With what officials of this Government does he have that influence?

I have information from a highly reliable source that Harry Bridges is about to resign his union position and flee beyond the jurisdiction of the United States to carry on his insidious plan to sovietize America. Lest this public enemy No. 1, this despicable Communist, this would-be murderer get the chance to flee our country without being first brought to justice for his crimes, I deem it imperative that Harry Bridges be taken into the custody of the Federal Government at once. Tomorrow may be too late to make this culprit answer for his crimes. Tomorrow may be too late to save the American merchant marine from irreparable ruin.

I stand ready to prove every statement I have made by sworn records that repose today in the files of the United States Department of Justice. What prevents us from doing our duty?

Capt. Elliott Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STEPHEN BOLLES
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. BOLLES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and include two letters from former service men in my district, also extracts from the Janesville Gazette and Racine Journal Times.

CAPTAIN, MY CAPTAIN
(From the Janesville Daily Gazette)

The serious side of Elliott Roosevelt's appointment to a captaincy in a division where he has no qualifications, at a salary of some $3,000 a year, including fixed expense allowances, is illustrated in a letter made public today by STEPHEN BOLLES, Representative in Congress from this district.

This letter, written by L. E. Hayes, of Janesville, has a touch of humor, but the point is too realistic to be taken lightly.

Mr. Hayes writes:

"DEAR STEVE: After spending 4 years studying electrical engineering at Armour Tech, I enlisted in the Army air service in 1917 at the time we entered the World War.

"I spent 18 months in the air service, and most of the time as a flying instructor, with a first lieutenant's commission. When the armistice was signed I was asked to remain in the Army; I told them I would if they would give me a major's commission. The matter was dropped.

"Since they are giving out captains' commissions indiscriminately at this time to inexperienced people, such as Elliott Roosevelt, it would seem that with 18 months' service and a first lieutenant's commission in the Reserves, I should be entitled to a general's commission.

"Will you see what you can do about this matter?

"Yours very truly,

"L. E. HAYES."

For a full appreciation of the discrimination involved in doling out the captaincy in question, it is noteworthy that the Government now spends approximately $12,000 on training a man to become a pilot with a second lieutenant's commission. All have technical educations which run into four or five figures of cost. Now a man with neither the technical education nor the training grabs off a job above what any of them ever was offered.

One of the letters referred to is included in the above. The second follows:

The Honorable STEPHEN BOLLES,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. BOLLES: Please add my voice in the protest of many others in the commissioning of Elliott Roosevelt captain in the Army.

I, like many others, have spent the last 8 years in the National Guard trying to get a commission and have been unable to do so. I have completed the necessary correspondence and cannot support a family on a staff sergeant's pay. I then applied for a lieutenant's commission in the Army Reserve, stating that I had 8 years' experience in communications work in the National Guard, hold a class A

amateur radio license, am corps area net control station for 75 meters in the Army amateur radio system, with the special Army call of WLTX.

With this experience I cannot get a commission in the Army Reserve, but the President's son gets one with no experience. What kind of an army are we building up? I hate to think that politics can get in on anything as vital as our Army.

I don't expect you to do anything about it. Of course, if you get a chance to blast that kind of thing, I hope you will do it.

Very truly yours,

MAURICE C. SAYRE,
Supervisor of Music, Whitewater Public Schools, Whitewater, Wis.

The following is a letter to the editor of the Racine Journal-Times on the same subject. It covers matters of importance to every volunteer and conscript:

[From the Racine Journal-Times]

We are brought face to face with a problem of national security and it behooves one and all to use all faculties to decide on our course of action.

We have at the present time as President of the United States one who dictates from an office chair all foreign and domestic policies. As far as I know, I am of the opinion, he consults no one but himself. Our Congress and Senate are either asleep or afraid to take action. We know that he is Chief Commander of our Army and Navy, etc., but I want to ask you this question, "Are we going to submit to this kind of thing?"

Our ears are listening to war, war, and more war, and that war may not be just now but from all reports we are involved in a mess of foreign politics.

Our Army and Navy are not up to par * * * what of our defenses? Way back when * * * instead of all these useless Government agencies such as W. P. A., etc., that give only starvation wages, our Government should have seen fit to build our Army and Navy and coast defenses instead of throwing away billions on useless work. Now * * * billions more for national defense.

We, as soldiers, worked hard for any recognition by our Government and used all our energy to do our duty. Now thousands are crippled and ill, mentally and physically. We saw the error of many politically appointed officers, failures in everything but drawing their pay. Now our President appoints his sons to positions of safety with no consideration as to fitness or experience but the old royalty way of presenting a title to some friend or relative.

You mothers and fathers can see through this picture which is unfolded to you * * * what is the answer? Franklin D. Roosevelt's sons will be S O S or on "seats of safety" while your sons will be the targets for the enemy.

I served in the United States and A. E. F. and saw untold suffering, and have no desire to see it again. If our country is in danger I will be at the front and not sitting in a chair with spurs to keep my feet from falling off the desk.

Very truly yours,

W. C. HANSON.

The Late Honorable Heartsill Ragon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FADJO CRAVENS
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. CRAVENS. Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to add my tribute to the memory of a great man, a conscientious legislator, a judge of the highest type, and, above all, a true and sincere American. The unexpected death of Heartsill Ragon at Fort Smith, Ark., on September 15, 1940, was a shock to his host of personal friends throughout his native State and the Nation.

His passing was a distinct loss to the Federal judiciary and to the general civic welfare. At the time of his death he was the United States district judge for the western district of Arkansas, to which position he was appointed after a long and distinguished career in the Congress of the United States. During his service in this House he won and held the respect and admiration of his colleagues. At the time of his appointment to the bench he was the ranking Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. Although his service upon the bench was comparatively brief, he nevertheless commanded the respect, admiration, and devotion of the entire bar. In spite of the arduous labors incident to his judicial duties, he could always find a way to give of his time and substance to any movement having for its purpose the alleviation of suffering or the betterment of conditions in his State and city. His service upon the bench, as well as here, was marked by fairness, courage, tolerance, and dignity. Despite the high honors that he received, he never lost his touch with or concern for the common man nor failed to offer a helping hand to those engaged in the eternal effort to improve the common lot.

Character in another is something that can be felt but cannot be described in words, something that is ever present, intangible but potent, something that escapes every effort to be adequately defined. I am keenly aware of the total inadequacy of words or phrases to fully portray the rugged, kindly character of Heartsill Ragon. May it suffice to say that he was a man. A man imbued with each and every fine attribute that goes to make a truly great human being. Although his stay with us was short, he leaves, through his enduring accomplishments for good, his permanent mark upon our times.

Together with my colleagues I join in expressing my deep and sincere regret in the passing of our comrade and in paying my tribute to his real greatness.

How Will You Give Jobs, Mr. Willkie?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KENT E. KELLER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, England became powerful in the hands of statesmen. They were skilled craftsmen in public affairs. Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain were certainly great business executives. When they took over the English Government it was probably the most powerful government on earth. But when they handed it over to their successors they had reduced its reputation, its influence, and its power until they left it struggling, as it is at this hour, struggling to live and to preserve the spirit of democracy which made it great and powerful in the hands of those who understood democracy and statecraft.

Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Chamberlain thought they could sell English enemies a bill of goods, but the enemy sold them down the river. They did not agree with Mr. Roosevelt's bold and decisive defense of democracy. They had to learn that any other attitude is fatal to survival. But Mr. Willkie says that Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy has lost this Nation's influence abroad. Influence with whom? Mr. Hitler? Just what would he have Mr. Roosevelt say and do to improve this Nation's influence with Mr. Hitler? Influence with Mussolini or Japan? Mr. Willkie should inform us what he would say and do to win the confidence of the Axis Powers and thus increase our influence.

We have a very vivid memory of Mr. Baldwin's and Mr. Chamberlain's cultivation of these powers to increase British influence. Has Mr. Willkie a different scheme? If so, the vital interest of this Nation requires him to say what he would do differently than Mr. Roosevelt has done, and to say what he would say differently than Mr. Roosevelt has spoken.

Mr. Hoover was an able business executive and a great engineer. He was not a skilled craftsman in public affairs. He promised but failed to keep a chicken in every pot and a car in every garage. He was the first private business executive that either party ever nominated for President. Alf Landon was the next private business executive nominated for President. Wendell Willkie is the third private

business executive to be nominated without previous experience in public affairs.

Mr. Willkie's great and good friend, Mr. Lippmann, says that Mr. Willkie has not yet established his leadership in his party, and that until he does so he cannot expect the public to believe he can redeem his pledges. He has made magnificent promises, even as did Mr. Hoover. He has promised every family a job. How will you do it, Mr. Willkie, how? Is it a secret? The American people are listening and want to know how.

There are only two ways in which he can give every family a job. One, to persuade private industry to put this man to work. The other is to tax private industry so that the Government can put him to work. Mr. Willkie says that his plan of unlimited production will put this man to work. But there are no restraints on private industry and there have been no restraints on private industry for 50 years which prevented unlimited production, excepting the "monopolated" restraints which they put on themselves. If Mr. Willkie can remove the private monopolies which his friends and supporters are maintaining, he may put more men to work. But if his friends and supporters will not abandon their threat of monopoly, then Mr. Willkie's promise is an idle political promise without any basis for redemption.

In Pittsburgh in the heart of the great steel industry Mr. Willkie stood for the freedom of men to work. That kind of freedom gave the Bethlehem Steel workers in 1933 an average of $13 per week and the president of the company $1,000,000 per year for 10 years. That is freedom to work with a vengeance. We know the million-dollar-a-year man is for Mr. Willkie. But what about the $13-a-week man's freedom to work?

Mr. Hoover was a good automobile and poultry salesman. He did not tell us just where he was going to get the chickens or how he was going to buy the automobile for us. We had faith that so great a businessman could "bring home the bacon," including the chicken and the car. We have learned that we should have asked him to tell us precisely how he intended to do these things. He went so far as to say that we were about to abolish poverty, but again, he did not say how. While hugging the fond hope of abolishing poverty to our bosoms, we were unexpectedly engulfed in a collapse of business which brought extreme poverty to millions of people, while our Government was still guided by the master hand of Mr. Hoover, the man whose vain promises paralyzed the confidence of the American people.

This hope of banishing poverty from our land is vain only if we insist upon doing the same old things economically which have wrought ruin in the past. It is, indeed, vain if we insist on going back to the customs, laws, and abuses which wrought panic and poverty and rags.

This hope, however, is somehow valid if we hold in mind that we can in fact produce all the food we can eat, all the clothes we require, all the houses we need for comfort, and sanitary living, all the conveniences we may enjoy. We can provide all the leisure for stimulating thought. The endless travel for broadening our outlook on life. The joy of peace and contentment.

We can and some day shall really banish poverty through the democratic processes of exchange of thought, the laying aside of the greed which grasps more than can be used. The selfishment which denies to our fellow men the same opportunity which others demand for themselves. We can produce all we can use of everything we desire sufficiently to work for. It is a question of a fair division of what we all produce. Yes; we can banish poverty and still retain our capitalistic system. It is a question of making adjustment and sacrifice.

But we must certainly remember that the issuance of a blank check by Mr. Hoover on the bank of hopeful thinking brought only bitter regrets, sorrow, and disappointment to millions of our people. And the same class of promise from Mr. Willkie cannot fail to produce the same result. For a man to stand up and promise to give a job to every family, without telling exactly how he is going to do that marvelous thing, is either to deceive himself, or to attempt to deceive the voters of this country.

For 10 years I have stood on the floor of this House asking my Republican colleagues how they are going to provide the jobs for the millions of men who lost their jobs under the complete governmental control of their party. Not a one has ever answered; not one can answer, simply because they do not know how.

If they have known or know now, they have kept it a deep, dark secret from the American people. They have made wry faces and nagged and criticized some of the things the Democrats have done. But as a rule when it came to a record vote, they have voted for nearly everything the Democrats have proposed.

But here comes Mr. Willkie, telling what he is going to do, evidently without telling any of the Members of this House. He is going to do it, but he will not tell how. And I insist to Mr. Willkie as I have to my colleagues to tell how.

Yes, there is one Republican Congressman who told how. For the moment I had forgotten it, how he would bring back prosperity. I refer to the leading economy thinker on the Republican side of this House, the ranking Republican member of the Appropriations Committee, the Honorable JOHN TABER.

He would turn back the question of relief to the States. He would withdraw all aid to the N. Y. A., the C. C. C., and the W. P. A. Yes, sir; every bit of it. Not a single young man or young woman should be helped to an education or a job; not a C. C. C. boy should be enabled to help his parents nor his community by his services, nor be permitted to develop the discipline which would help him to a job in industry; no man in need would have a W. P. A. job in building roads, schoolhouses, levees, lakes, streets, waterworks, sewers, and the thousand and one other useful things for the permanent use of their localities. No, no; this great Republican leader would put all the money in the vaults and not spend a cent till all our debts were paid. That may be Mr. Willkie's idea, too, as I have not heard him express himself on W. P. A. So I do not know what he will do.

Our sad experience compels us to ask Mr. Willkie how he proposes to redeem his policy of a job for every family. We remember that when Mr. Roosevelt came in in 1932 he made no such promises, but he did promise action. He redeemed that promise. He restored confidence. We have taken long strides toward the good of domestic security. At the same time, he led us in long strides toward security against the menace of a power-crazed world abroad. He is still engaged in those activities. His performance has outstripped his promise. His performances have been greater than his promises.

The last few days of the campaign, the same "blitzkrieg" that nominated Willkie is to be used in an attempt to "blitzkrieg" him into the White House. The Republican National Committee is going to rent every vacant window in every State they consider doubtful (?) and are to put those windows full of advertisements saying: "This building would not be vacant if Willkie were President." They are not going to advertise the more important fact that another big businessman, Mr. Hoover, emptied them of their tenants. They are not going to tell that many of the buildings now occupied by thriving businesses were vacant when Roosevelt came in.

I am proud of a President who, daring a world of criticism and jealousy and hatred, stood on the ramparts and warned us in such burning words that they awakened us to the danger which we were facing. If he had been less understanding, less courageous, less patriotic; if he had lacked vision or enterprise for America; if he had sat with folded arms and complacent mind, we would all be sleeping still—in a dream of security with the certainty of a horrible awakening.

The Midwest and the National-Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES F. McLAUGHLIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES F. McLAUGHLIN, OF NEBRASKA

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address on the subject "The Midwest and the National Defense" which I delivered from Washington, D. C., over a nation wide hook-up of the blue network of the National Broadcasting Co., on Saturday night, October 5, 1940.

President Roosevelt has declared repeatedly and vehemently "I hate war." If there is one point of universal agreement among the people of the United States it can safely be said to be upon that declaration "I hate war." The Kellogg Pact to which our country enthusiastically subscribed outlawed war as an instrument of national action. The desire of this country for peace is so pronounced as to be an integral part of our national character. It is ingrained in our very nature.

But just as we as individual citizens are realistic enough to protect our individual property by insurance against damage or destruction by fire or by other forces of nature and just as we uncomplainingly pay taxes to support fire departments and police departments to safeguard ourselves against loss of property or loss of life and limb, so are we realistic enough to provide for adequate national defense against damage as a result of invasion or attack by the military or naval forces of any other country on earth.

In the present Congress we have appropriated more money for national defense than in any other peactime period in our Nation's history. This action is no evidence of belligerency on our part. It does not reflect a warlike attitude. The country continues to approve the sentiment repeatedly voiced by President Roosevelt "I hate war."

This hatred of war, however, is not to be mistaken for weakness nor for reluctance on the part of the American people to engage in war if war is necessary for the protection of our country against attack. The spontaneous reaction of the Congress to the enormous expenditures necessarily involved in the defense program shows unmistakably the sentiment of the country. It was demonstrated that billions must be expended if the United States is to be adequately prepared to defend herself. These billions were appropriated by the Congress wellnigh without dissent. The people of this country are determined that their Nation will present a united front. The whole program will be integrated into our national life economically and socially, and the individual citizen, wherever located, will do his part wholeheartedly to the end that sound and adequate national defense will be a reality. Whatever sacrifice is needed will be forthcoming. The impact of the national-defense program on the life of the individual citizen will result in the development of a sterner sense of individual responsibility to his Nation and to his Government.

The era of preparedness and adequate national defense into which we are moving has made us all realize that our Nation is an entity which functions in such a way that the good of the whole is dependent upon the good of each part. Every section of the United States has an essential place in the whole structure. The Middle West has a valuable contribution to make to the orderly and effective functioning of the national-defense program. It has a decidedly important place in the picture. In the experience of other countries abroad we learn the lesson of its strategic value. The experience of those countries has demonstrated the imperative need for protection. It has taught two lessons, namely:

"Decentralize industrial activity" and "remove vulnerable plants and facilities to the interior of the country."

The location of plants, factories, and air bases in the Middle West is to the best interest of the Nation in its defense program. The great plains area occupies an ideal position as a site for such facilities. Situation in the physical center—the heart of the Nation—it is the lease accessible, the most invulnerable spot geographically in the entire country.

The Seventy-sixth Congress has stayed in Washington in active session up to the present time, and Members of Congress from States comprising the Central West group have been working, and are continuing to work diligently to assist the Government in the national-defense program by making crystal clear the manifest advantages of that group of States as a location for vital defense industries and facilities.

I have referred to the Midwest generally. I now refer specifically to the State of Nebraska because as a native-born Nebraskan and a Representative in Congress of a Nebraska district, I know its qualifications and its characteristics and what it has to offer. Nebraska is located equidistant from the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and equidistant, substantially, from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. It possesses all the physical requirements for large-scale industry; transportation of all types, ample electric power, adequate food supply, sufficient present housing facilities, subject to expansion if necessary, under the national-defense housing program, and accessibility to fuel and to raw materials. Intelligent and capable men and women of Nebraska are available to perform the labor necessary to the proper functioning of any industrial plant which may be placed within the State's borders.

In the program of decentralization of industrial activity and the removal of vulnerable plants and facilities to the interior of the country, Nebraska supplies the solution. It is the ideal location for plants and facilities in the national-defense program which so imperatively need the geographical protection which extreme distance from the Nation's borders so amply affords.

Nebraska presents peculiar advantages as a site for a central airplane supply or concentration base. Its geographical and protective advantages, so apparent when considered in connection with its availability as a site for industrial plants, are magnified when weighed in connection with the country's physical plant need for air defenses.

Omaha, Nebr., is located on the leading transcontinental air routes east and west, north and south. It has long been an outstanding point on the aerial transportation map of the United States States. It was recognized at an early date by the United States Government as a strategic air position of vital importance. When the air-mail system of the Post Office Department was inaugurated, Omaha was selected as the national Air Mail Service headquarters and continued to be the center of Air Mail Service activities until these activities were consolidated with the other national post-office functions in the city of Washington.

Very recently the Omaha Airport was recognized by the War Department as one possessing military importance in the national-defense program. Extensive improvements in this airport will shortly be commenced under Government supervision. The citizens of Omaha, alert to the importance of the city as an air center, and conscious of its future potentialities as a civic asset as well as a militarily important facility, are engaged in a movement to vote bonds to finance the expansion of the field by the addition of a large tract of land adjoining the present airport area.

Other cities in Nebraska and other Midwestern States have well-equipped, improved, and lighted airports which have had recent recognition by the Civil Aeronautics Authority. They likewise have much to offer to the Government in its national-defense program.

The people of the Middle West, as patriotic citizens, are asking what they can do to further the Nation's welfare and security in the present effort to strengthen defenses. They feel they have something to offer. It is their belief that their remoteness from the sea coasts and the other national borders is a qualification of highest importance as a protective feature in connection with the choice of sites for plants and facilities in the defense program. They are interested in what they can give rather than in what they can get. However, in the location of plants and facilities it is not only proper but highly desirable that a sound, well-balanced national economy should be sought. In this connection it should be borne in mind that the Middle West has suffered its most prolonged and most destructive drought during the period covered by the 10 years last past. In some locations these drought conditions have continued for 7 consecutive years. Great as has been the aggregate governmental relief, much is yet needed, and the demand is urgent.

The tier of States extending north and south in the very center of the Nation, including North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma, have suffered most disastrously from drought. Significantly these five States lost population during the past decade, as shown by the 1940 census, as compared with 1930. Can this condition safely be permitted to continue? Is it not obvious that the migration of home-loving people from these States, a movement which has attracted the attention and aroused the sympathy of thoughtful men and women everywhere, must be stopped if a sound, well-balanced national economy is to be preserved? The location of defense plants and facilities in this area will serve a twofold purpose, namely, that of preventing further imbalance in population and industry and of giving to the Government that protection to essential war plants which the experience of European countries has shown to be so necessary to adequate national defense in these modern days, when stress is laid on mechanization in military activity.

Despite adverse drought conditions, the Middle West continues to carry on with its accustomed vigor. The people have retained their courage and their healthy philosophy. They want to help their country. Industrial establishments, large and small, stand ready and eager to do their part in the national program. The desirability of participation of smaller factories in this program has been recognized by the Congress.

The Judiciary Committee of the House, of which committee I have the honor to be a member, recently reported favorably a bill designed to permit small companies to be put in position to finance the performance of contracts through the assignment of claims on con-

tracts. Prior to this time the law forbade assignment of claims on Government contracts. This amendment had the approval of the War and Navy Departments. When this bill becomes law small companies in the Middle West and elsewhere will be able to borrow on their claims arising out of contracts and thus be in position to engage in governmental work which formerly was open only to the larger and financially more powerful companies.

The people of the Middle West echo the words of President Roosevelt, "I hate war." Without relaxing in the slightest degree that hatred of war, they offer, in the face of national peril, to do their utmost to cooperate in the present program of national defense. In that spirit they submit to the country the patent fact that within the borders of their section of the United States lie the most logical locations for fully protected, strategic airports and facilities and for national-defense industrial plants.

Many Events in America Today Cast Shadow of National Socialism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. GILLIE
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

ARTICLE FROM CHICAGO JOURNAL OF COMMERCE

Mr. GILLIE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Chicago Journal of Commerce of October 4, 1940:

[From the Chicago Journal of Commerce of October 4, 1940]

MANY EVENTS IN AMERICA TODAY CAST SHADOW OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

(By Phil S. Hanna)

The old adage to the effect that coming events cast their shadows ahead is being demonstrated these days in many ways that are easily overlooked in the excitement of the election campaign. The demonstrations are in the form of public statements released from time to time by those who expect to play a big part in the complete socialization of industry, which they expect will come to pass if things go right on November 5.

This week the S. E. C. quietly set up a situation in the Associated Gas receivership affair which in effect defies the order of a court, and seemingly starts the wheels in motion for a showdown between the power of the S. E. C. and the power of the courts. If the matter reaches the Supreme Court of the United States, and that body holds as it has recently held in similar cases, it will uphold the S. E. C. This will be another weakening of our court system.

The statement of Sidney Hillman, another defense commissioner, which came out October 3, declaring that defense contracts will not be awarded to firms alleged to have violated the Wagner and the Walsh-Healey laws. Abide by the bias of a 3-man board or else no defense business!

Now with these in mind, consider another incident in the Senate on September 30. The Senate had unanimously approved a law to impose severe penalties for sabotage of national-defense materials in much the same way that it once approved the Walter-Logan bill.

The next step, as is already being planned by the members of the so-called war party of administration schemers and insiders, will be for the President to issue a proclamation declaring that since industry is unable to cope with the labor situation, and since defense materials are being destroyed by saboteurs it will be necessary for the Government to take over this or that plant.

Once started, the "taking over" process will not stop just with the first offender. Any manufacturer who is signed up on a fixed-fee basis and is unable to deliver under his contract because of saboteurs or labor disruptions will have no recourse. He will have Mr. Henderson holding a club over him if he tries to raise prices to offset his higher costs, and he will have the "industry conscription" law staring him in the face from another direction.

What will the normal individual operating a plant do in such a case? He will simply welcome conscription of his industry as the easiest way out of a bad situation. And that, according to our notion of things, is exactly what the New Deal is aiming at.

The voice of the manufacturer so caught between the devil and the deep blue sea will be stilled, and the New Deal propaganda machine will lead the people to believe that the said manufacturer voluntarily gave us the ghost. This, we believe, is the devious way by which the powers that be expect to bring about socialization of industry and thereby not only make good on its promises to the Labor Party but cover up its mistakes of the last 8 years. And while thinking of mistakes you wonder if consciousness of their existence has not had something to do with the third term.

The Economic Truth of Food and Wages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILL M. WHITTINGTON
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 7, 1940

CONSTRUCTIVE COMMUNICATION FROM O. F. BLEDSOE, OF GREENWOOD, MISS., TO DEAN CHRIS L. CHRISTENSEN, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, EMPHASIZING THAT THE REMEDY FOR AGRICULTURE IS A FAIR EXCHANGE BETWEEN AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL LABOR

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, my neighbor and friend, Mr. O. F. Bledsoe, of Greenwood, Miss., is a successful cotton grower and also the founder and president of the Staple Cotton Cooperative Association, of Greenwood, Miss., now the oldest and the most successful of all cotton-cooperative associations. He is not only a capable executive, successful producer, but he is a thinker and has devoted many years to the study of agricultural problems. I urge careful consideration of his constructive conclusions.

On September 20, 1940, he wrote a letter to Dean Chris L. Christensen, Department of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., and enclosed him a communication entitled, "The Economic Truth of Food and Wages," in which communication he urged that the American system produces an unnatural relationship and that the remedy for agriculture is a fair exchange between agricultural and industrial labor.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the said communication, to wit:

THE ECONOMIC TRUTH OF FOOD AND WAGES

The world today is the same as it has ever been, with the exception of industrial gadgets and products. The rise of industry and a higher standard of living and concentration of human life are the natural results of the invention of the steam engine and turbine, which locates near the natural fuel of coal mines, and the invention of the electric generator and turbine, which locates near water power. This in turn severely unbalanced agriculture and laid the foundation of continuous trade in agricultural and industrial labor hours.

Agriculture promotes peace, and industry promotes trade war by serving a dual function of manufacturing the necessities of a higher standard of living, as well as war materials and machines which in turn reduces the standard of living built up either through prompt, heavy taxation or eventual invalidation, both of which rock the foundation of any form of government. Agriculture being peaceful and in the minority, industrial desire is always to produce a peasant condition in agriculture, and has thus far been very successful, as its influence extends through all of its distributors, even to the cross-road country store.

Through advertising industry naturally controls the press and radio, and the people are continually fed predigested partial economic truths, and our Government promotes this production by a subsidy to the press of $1,200 per worker, while agriculture is doled a mere $69 per worker for curtailing production of real units of wealth and forcing unemployment.

Industry is provided with an artificial price structure $9,000,000,000 above natural world prices, while being fed by agriculture at world's prices. This produces an unnatural relationship between agricultural and industrial labor hours here in the United States and has undermined the faith and morale of the American farmer—the foundation and backbone of this country. This unmoral and unnatural advantage of industry insidiously permeates the whole fabric of our Government, and there is no leadership in sight that will meet the issue squarely with economic and mental common honesty. If there is a change in our form of government, it will be caused by industrial greed and a group of well-intentioned myopic economic and political experimenters.

An illustration of unintentional bias of the press:

"FOOD AND WAGES

"Just how well does America live today?

"The magazine Factory Management and Maintenance not only asks this pertinent question but it proceeds to answer it effectively.

"It answers it by giving the number of pounds of food the average factory worker in various countries can buy with the money he earns from 1 hour's work.

"The figures used are those compiled by a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers who visited Europe to get detailed information on wages and prices in various countries.

"The answer is:

"Bread, United States, 7.5 pounds; Italy, 2.8; Germany, 2.5; Russia, 1.9.

"Butter, United States, 1.6; Italy, 0.3; Germany, 0.5; Russia, 0.2.

"Beef, United States, 2.1; Italy, 0.5; Germany, 0.9; Russia, 0.3.

"Potatoes, United States, 35.1; Italy, 9.2; Germany, 20.5; Russia, 7.3.

"Coffee, United States, 2.6; Italy, 0.1; Germany, 0.3; Russia, 0.1.

"When it comes to a market basket containing 24 foods the basket answer is:

"United States, 2.83; Italy, 0.65; Germany, 1.02; Russia, 0.40.

"Americans don't have to wait until Thanksgiving to be thankful."

Why should the American farmer be thankful when, stated the other way, the above quotation says that for every hour of industrial wages the American farmer purchases when he buys industry's products, he pays 7½ pounds of bread compared to the German farmer's 2½ pounds of bread for an hour of industrial labor—the American farmer can buy only one-third as much with his labor as the German farmer.

An unbiased press report would have brought out the economic truth that the American farmer in exchange for 1 hour of industrial labor has to pay the following percent more or receive proportionately less than other farmers, as follows:

	Italy	Germany	Russia
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
In bread	270	300	400
In butter	530	333	800
In beef	420	230	700
In potatoes	380	170	480
In a market basket containing 24 foods	430	270	700

Under this economic status it seems to the efficient American farmer that American industry should enjoy a tremendously high standard of living, while being furnished about 1 ton of food per capita at the United States exchange ratios by the sweat and human labor of American agriculture. This information will never be blown into your ears with a fireside chat over the radio, neither will the press of the Nation dare tell this economic truth in headlines, front lines, or bylines.

In order to perpetuate peasantry and these exchange ratios of industrial and agricultural labor, the Government will buy a family-size farm or food factory and give the farmer 40 years to pay for it with a very cheap rental charge for the money. Cheap money is not the cure for agricultural injustice. The remedy is a fair exchange between agricultural and industrial labor. The removal of this economic slavery is within the control of the food farmers of the United States with the aid of the fiber producers.

After this war is over, the great question is—What is going to happen to the peaceful American farmer with excess agricultural land and excess agricultural labor? If the cotton South is reduced to domestic consumption it means only 10 million acres of cotton with 30 million extra acres and 4½ million extra laborers seeking an existence. This is the present trend of adjusting agriculture to industry. The adjustment of agriculture to domestic consumption and artificial prices is not the answer, because it forces the reduction of the volume of units of real wealth and idleness of excess acreage and agricultural labor. What is going to be the answer of the present food-producing farmers of the United States?

N. Y. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. SHANLEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

LETTER FROM RICHARD A. BARRETT

Mr. SHANLEY. Mr. Speaker, with so much deserved stress on national defense it is helpful to know that our N. Y. A. has had the vision to foresee many of the bottle-necks in the program and has attempted to remedy them as far as is within their scope. The following letter to me from an efficient State director, Richard A. Barrett, bespeaks that foresight:

I noted in last Sunday's paper that the President has submitted a supplementary request for funds for the N. Y. A. in the amount of $40,000,000, which is included in the new defense appropriation bill for $1,700,000,000. I should like to present for your information the effects such an appropriation would have on our operations in Connecticut for whatever use this information may be to you in arriving at a decision.

The supplementary appropriation will be used primarily to expand the work-experience program for unemployed youth along lines that are closely related to national-defense needs. The group that will be served to the greatest extent by this expansion is the young people between 17 and 21, or just below the draft age. In Connecticut the additional money would enable us to double our employment from slightly over 2,000 to slightly over 4,000 youth workers. It would also make it possible for us to purchase the necessary equipment and other facilities needed to put a good proportion of these young people at work in metal trades workships where they will acquire experience that is directly related to the industrial needs of the State both at present and for the future production of armaments.

Specifically, if we secure this extra money we will develop approximately 15 workshops, which will include machine-ship equipment, sheet-metal equipment, and welding equipment. Our young people will be assigned to these activities and will be engaged in producing goods and articles for city and State departments while at the same time they acquire valuable skills.

We know that such an activity is both feasible and practical since for the past year we have been operating an experimental set-up along these lines at our Resident Center, Nepaug Village, near Farmington, Connecticut. Here we have had approximately 75 boys engaged in the three varieties of shops mentioned above. I know that you will be interested to learn that private employers have been absorbing this group so rapidly and so eagerly that we have no week go by without approximately 10 percent of our enrollment leaving this project for private jobs. This condition has existed over the past 3 months.

At the present time and with our present appropriation we have not been able to extend the same technique of N. Y. A. operations to local communities because of the expense of the installations, but this supplementary appropriation would enable us to do so.

Further evidence of the desirability of our being able to make this proposed expansion is the fact that even with the present business activity the Connecticut State Employment Service still reports a total of 15,000 boys between the ages of 16 and 25 registered in its offices as unemployed and such registration, of course, never represents the full measure of all unemployed.

It is my hope that you will find this information useful to you, and if you desire any further particulars, I shall, of course, be glad to supply them.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD A. BARRETT.

A Brief Explanation of the New Excess Profits Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the excess profits tax law just passed by Congress is very complicated. Several Members have done me the honor of suggesting that I make a brief outline of this law and insert the same in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is a violent presumption on my part to assume to clarify this complicated law in a brief statement. I hope you will not condemn me for trying.

Briefly, the bill does:

1. Suspends the Vinson-Trammell Act thereby suspending the law which levies an excess-profits tax on profits from shipbuilding and airplane contracts.

2. Permits a corporation which makes improvements to assist in national defense, to charge the cost of these improvements against its income at the rate of 20 percent for 5 years.

3. Sets up a system of war-risk insurance for those enlisting in the armed forces of the country similar to that provided for the World War soldiers.

4. It levies an excess-profits tax and also increases the general corporation tax.

It is the fourth of these items to which I shall direct your attention. The above statement of the other three items is sufficient for a general explanation.

While this law is heralded as an excess profits tax law, it is in reality a revenue law with a tax directed at those corporations making large profits. It is referred to by some as a law to prevent the creation of war millionaires. It will not prevent the creation of war millionaires except to the extent that it will place an additional burden on the backs of the producers of the country. Most of the millionaires made after the World War were made by speculation and by get-rich-quick combinations. This law will not affect millionaires made in this way. It only affects corporations and does not affect partnerships nor individuals.

As an argument in favor of the law, it must be remembered that this law, by reason of the exemptions granted therein, only applies to about 70,000 of the 470,000 corporations in the country. At the present time, all corporations are subject to a normal income tax. Those earning less than $25,000 pay a somewhat smaller rate than those with larger earnings.

Under this law, the first $5,000 subject to excess-profits tax is exempt. Of those 70,000 with net earnings of more than $5,000, a large number would be exempt by reason of a provision of the law which allows an additional credit of 8 percent of the corporation's invested capital or 95 percent of the average earnings over a base period of 4 years—1936 to 1939, inclusive—whichever of these plans is elected by the taxpayer as the plan under which it wishes to be taxed. Let me repeat, the corporation finding itself subject to tax under this law can elect whether it will accept the average-earnings plan for its basis of taxation or whether it will accept the invested-capital plan.

If it accepts the average-earnings plan, it will compute its taxes from a base figure which it will arrive at by taking an average of its earnings for the years 1936 to 1939, inclusive. The base is not the real average but is an average arrived at by following a formula written in the law. The formula provides that, if in any one or more of these years, 1936–39, inclusive, the corporation has suffered a loss, it may compute any one of those loss years as zero but it must divide the total of the others by four. It goes without saying that the taxpayer would select the largest loss as the zero year. For instance, if, during these 4 years, a corporation earns as follows: 1936, $17,000; 1937, it loses $1,000; in 1938, it loses $4,000; and in 1939, it earns $20,000, the taxpayer will omit from its calculations its greatest loss which is $4,000 that it lost in 1938, and it will then total the $17,000 earned in 1936 with the $20,000 earned in 1939 for a total of $37,000. From this it will deduct the $1,000 lost in 1937, which would leave it a balance of $36,000, which, divided by 4, will make an average of $9,000.

If the corporation accepts the invested-capital plan, it may include as a part of its invested capital 50 percent of its borrowed capital, and it is allowed an 8-percent exemption.

The following is a set-up for an easy example:

	Actual amount	Amount recognized for purpose of excess-profits tax
Equity invested capital (money and property paid in for stock, plus earnings "plowed back" into the business)	$150,000	$150,000
Borrowed capital	100,000	50,000
Total, invested capital	250,000	200,000
8 percent of invested capital		16,000
Earnings in base period 1936–39, after payment of corporation income tax:		
1936	17,000	17,000
1937	−1,000	−1,000
1938	−4,000	0
1939	20,000	20,000
Total	32,000	36,000
Average	8,000	9,000
95 percent of average		8,550
Earnings in 1940, after payment of corporation income tax	50,000	50,000

If you will follow these computations through, you can easily see how this plan works in similar cases. Of course, there are many complications which may arise by reason of mergers and affiliate corporations.

Now, let us see which would be the better plan for this taxpayer to follow. We start with its current income of 1940. We assume that after payment of its regular corporation normal income tax, the income subject to excess-profits tax will be $50,000. Then, we take off the specific credit of $5,000, which leaves a balance of $45,000.

If we follow the average-earnings plan, we will be entitled to a credit of $8,500. Deducting this $8,500 from the $45,000, we have a balance subject to excess-profits tax of $36,500.

If we follow the invested-capital plan, we will be entitled to a credit of 8 percent of the total invested capital of $200,000, which is $16,000. Deducting this $16,000 from the $45,000 we will have a balance of $29,000 subject to excess-profits tax.

Under the average-earnings plan, the amount subject to taxation would be $36,500 while under the invested-capital plan the amount subject to taxation would only be $29,000.

This taxpayer, no doubt, would decide to pay his excess-profits tax on the invested-capital plan.

The following is the rate schedule which, under this new law, is applicable in the case above cited. This schedule is the same regardless of which plan the taxpayer elects:

Tax of 25 percent on the first $20,000.

Tax of 30 percent on the amount between $20,000 and $50,000.

Tax of 35 percent on the amount between $50,000 and $100,000.

Tax of 40 percent on the amount between $100,000 and $250,000.

Tax of 45 percent on the amount between $250,000 and $500,000.

Tax of 50 percent on the excess over $500,000.

In the case of the example corporation hereinabove referred to, the tax on its $29,000 of excess-profits net income would be as follows:

25 percent of the first $20,000, or	$5,000
30 percent of $9,000, or	2,700
	7,700

Making a total excess-profits tax of $7,700.

I have previously referred to the fact that the bill carries an increase in the normal corporation income tax as regards corporations with net incomes in excess of $25,000. No change is made in the normal rates affecting smaller corporations. It will be recalled, however, that earlier this year, under the defense-tax bill, Congress raised the rates on all corporations by 1 percent, and then imposed a 10-percent defense tax on top of this. The following table shows the rates of tax which will be applicable to various classes of corporations on income earned during the calendar year 1940:

	Rate under existing law (including First Revenue Act of 1940)		Additional tax under excess-profits tax bill	Total
	Permanent rate	Additional rate under defense tax bill		
Not over $25,000:	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Up to $5,000	13.50	1.35		14.85
$5,000 to $20,000	15.00	1.50		16.50
$20,000 to $25,000	17.00	1.70		18.70
Over $25,000	19.00	1.90	3.1	24.00

In the case of corporations up to $25,000 net income, the rates are applied by brackets. In the case of corporations with net incomes over $25,000 the rate specified applies to the entire net income. A so-called notch provision is included to ease the sharp increase in the tax in the case of corporations on the borderline above $25,000 net income.

REVENUE YIELD

According to estimates furnished by the Treasury Department, the revenue yield of this excess-profits-tax law, based

on corporate incomes for 1940, will range between $405,000,000 and $525,000,000. Of this total from $185,000,000 to $295,000,000 will come from the excess-profits tax itself, and from $220,000,000 to $230,000,000 from the 3.1-percent increase in the normal tax on corporations with net incomes over $25,000. In succeeding years it is estimated that the yield from the excess-profits tax will more than double. Since approximately half of the revenue from the bill will come from the increase in the normal corporate income tax, it is evident that the bill is as much a revenue bill as an excess-profits-tax bill.

No Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES F. RISK

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. HARRY SANDAGER, OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. RISK. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address delivered by the gentleman from Rhode Island, Hon. HARRY SANDAGER, at Providence, October 6, 1940, over station WPRO:

Ladies and gentlemen and all thoughtful citizens of Rhode Island, on this Sunday evening, when you are about to retire after a pleasant October day, the subject of politics may seem to you like an ill-fitting nightcap. But I do not intend to discuss politics as much as I shall talk about American tradition.

The burden of my remarks will not be directed to Republicans necessarily, but to independents and old-line Democrats who are not New Deal job holders and who therefore have the right to think and act as they please. I ask for their indulgence for the next 15 minutes because I believe in this campaign the citizens of the United States are facing a decision which may affect the future liberty of not only themselves but of generations to come.

This decision is whether or not the American public will support President Roosevelt in seeking, after 8 years in the White House, a third term. This is something which no other President has ever done before. It is a violation of American tradition. It is a distinct departure from the action and advice of many great Presidents, from the Father of his Country, George Washington, down to Calvin Coolidge.

This issue, as I shall endeavor to point out before I go off the air, is a basic conflict between sound American tradition and the ambition of one man and his family. It will become clearer as we look at our history and the lives of the great men who welded this Republic into a component whole.

The attempt is being made to scoff at this flaunting of our precedents. Arguments are advanced to the effect that it is idle to cling to tradition; that there is no law against the third term; that the President has been drafted for the emergency; that he is indispensable; that there can be no worry about dictatorship as long as we have free elections.

Let us examine those arguments in the order in which they are usually made. Tradition doesn't amount to anything? Why, it surrounds us from the cradle to the grave and daily, by its force and power, governs our very lives. It is so closely allied to religion itself that sometimes it is difficult to tell where religion leaves off and tradition begins. What is respect for women, respect for old age, respect for the flag but tradition? A lawyer will tell you that many of our laws are unwritten—traditional in their very essence. Previous procedure and rulings, inherent rights and privileges guide our judges in their decisions much more than the laws written in our statute books.

The third term is not expressly provided against in our Constitution, that is true, but historians tell us that the only reason why the restriction was not written into it was because the Convention at Philadelphia was violently divided upon the proper terms of years for Presidential tenure of office. Some delegates wanted 7, others 6, others a limit of two terms of 4 years, and so finally the founders struck off the document without settling this particular question. However, the action of the early Presidents and their writings on the subject make the two-term limitation a virtual postscript to the Constitution.

It remained for Washington to set the precedent at two terms, but Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party, established it. Jefferson not only consistently refused to consider a third term, despite the urgings of the legislatures of several States, but on occasions innumerable he expressed himself most forcibly about it.

In 1809 he said:

"If the principle of rotation in office be a sound one, as I conscientiously believe it to be with respect to this office (the Presidency), no pretext should ever be permitted to dispense with it, because there never will be a time when real difficulties will not arise and furnish a plausible pretext for dispensation."

He also said:

"Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after 8 years. I shall follow it. And a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to anyone after a while who shall endeavor to extend his term."

I cite Jefferson because he is regarded as the patron saint of his party. Next among the famous Democratic Presidents comes Andrew Jackson. He maintained the Jeffersonian principle and even went further. In his inaugural message of December 1, 1834, he urged a single term of 4 to 6 years and said in part:

"Could the office be limited to a single period of either 4 or 6 years I think our liberties would possess an additional safeguard."

Third on the list of Democratic greats comes Grover Cleveland, who has increased in stature and in the affection of all thinking Americans as the years roll on. Cleveland was prophetic in 1894. Listen closely to these words of his on the third-term issue.

"When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public office once gained, and more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent when a horde of office holders with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with trained political assistance, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for reelection the most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent action which must characterize a government of the people."

When you hear that you could almost believe "old Grover" was here today to again warn us.

And finally we come, in the list of great Democratic Presidents, to Woodrow Wilson, who said in 1913:

"It is the 'illicit powers' of the Presidents, not their legitimate influence with the country, that the advocates of a constitutional change (to a term of 6 years) profess to be afraid of and I heartily sympathize with them."

These are the words of four Presidents of whom the Democratic Party is most proud. They were men the greatness of whom everybody acknowledges. They were lovers of liberty and sensed the very danger which the New Deal chieftain has placed squarely before us in this election. In his appetite for continuance in power he is proceeding against the advice and judgment of the wisest and most famous of his party predecessors.

I could, of course, cite Republican Presidents who have declared for limitation, including Garfield, McKinley, Hayes, and Taft, but the record of the Republican Party on the third term is clear—no convention has ever approved it.

The last Republican President to express himself on the subject was Calvin Coolidge, who in 1928 disposed of the talk of his candidacy by the laconic six-word phrase, "I do not choose to run."

But in that year the United States Senate decided to take no chances that Coolidge might be drafted by the Republican Convention. Six months after the terse Coolidge utterance, the Senate, which at that time was about evenly divided in party strength, passed the La Follette resolution declaring "that the precedent established by Washington and Jefferson and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the Presidential office after the second term has become, by national concurrence, a part of our republican system of government and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 56 to 26 and of the Democratic Senators who supported that resolution, 17 of them are still Members of the Senate. Four of them, GLASS, HARRISON, LA FOLLETTE, and WHEELER have come out openly and have declared against the Roosevelt third term. Another Democratic Senator, BURKE of Nebraska, who was not in the Senate in 1928, recently introduced a resolution limiting the Presidential tenure to a single term of 6 years and during the hearings which have been held, eminent educators, jurists, and prominent old-line Democrats have testified in favor of the Burke bill and have expressed their violent opposition to the Roosevelt tradition-shattering bid for continued power.

Now for the argument that the President has been "drafted for the emergency." Little time need be wasted on that. Anybody who listened in on the Democratic National Convention in July knows that the convention did not draft Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt drafted the convention. He planned it that way. He even would not let the boss-ridden delegates go home until they had sullenly accepted his choice for Vice President.

The fact that this is an emergency presents no valid consideration for the plea that Mr. Roosevelt is indispensable and that we cannot spare him now. There were wars in Europe when both Washington and Jefferson declined a third term. Other democracies today have learned, to their bitter sorrow, that to cling to one man in a crisis may be fatal. We witnessed that only this year. France changed too late; Great Britain barely in time.

The lagging progress of our rearmament program is the best answer to the argument of indispensability. And dispensability meets another challenge. Can it be possible that this great Republic of ours, the richest and most powerful in the world, is so bankrupt

in brains that one man and one man only is fit to conduct the affairs of the United States in these times of peril?

Finally we come to the argument which the New Deal third-term candidate offers for himself. At Philadelphia on the twentieth of last month, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"And remember that no dictator in history has ever dared to run the gantlet of a really free election."

The very fact that we have to be assured that his unprecedented candidacy contains no threat of ultimate dictatorship, fails, on the basis of past performances, to be reassuring. When we recall the dictated convention at Chicago, when we recall the Roosevelt contrast in promise and performance ever since he has been President, there is valid cause for doubt and misgiving.

Three years ago he attempted, in violation of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, to pack the Supreme Court. When he failed because members of his own party in Congress did not support him, he used the great powers of his office the following spring in an attempt to purge in the Democratic primaries Senators who had the temerity to balk his will.

He has a penchant for change in the established order of things. Only last fall he startled some people and amused others by violating tradition in changing the time-honored date of our American Thanksgiving Day. The Governors of many States, including our own, adhered to tradition, so we had two thanksgivings. As long as we are talking about "three's," who knows but what this fall the American people will elect to pick out a third Thanksgiving Day for themselves and make it November 5?

It is his love of personal power, his utter disregard of tradition and the very Constitution itself that has aroused the distrust of Republicans, of Independents, and of Democrats. That is why Democrats now are reechoing the warnings of those famous Democratic Presidents of the yesteryears—Jefferson, Jackson, Cleveland, and Wilson. If a third term, why not a fourth? Why not a fifth? Why not a sixth? Why not for life?

History reveals that one-man power is a gradual development. Every dictator overseas we know about today started in the same manner by denying he ever would be a dictator. He expressed concern for the people and a desire to make them happier and freer. Then steadily and surely, step by step, he moved along the path of absolutism until the people finally awoke to discover that their liberties were gone and they were no longer free.

Even in this Republic of ours the violation of a third-term tradition may mean the violation of other traditions. It may be a time bomb which in it fulmination will blast skyward the very foundations of our democracy. It may be loaded with dynastic dynamite.

If the American people have any remaining reverance for our history, if they retain a vestige of pride in our great past, if they have not utterly lost hope in our future, they will, on November 5, settle for all time this third-term question and bury it deep with the other dangers which have imperilled our free institutions in past years.

The robust ambitions of one man and his family are not so important that the lessons and teachings of our American history can be flouted and ignored. The American people must keep their liberties while they can.

The President is not indispensable. On the contrary, there is every reason for a new leadership. We need a change here to meet a changed Europe; we need to rearm, to prepare, and to hold desperately to what we have. We cannot flounder along and be lulled to a false sense of internal and external security by soothing words and bland assurances. American liberties are in danger. There must be no third term.

Mercy Flights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED BRADLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, among other duties, our famed United States Coast Guard is charged with "the protection of life and property at sea." Within a comparatively few years past, our Coast Guard has been actively employing aircraft in the discharge of this particular duty. The flying personnel have achieved an enviable record, and they are to be most highly commended.

During the past 3 months one of the Coast Guard's patrol planes has been stationed in my district on the Great Lakes, making survey flights looking toward the eventual establishment of a Coast Guard air station on the Great Lakes, which was authorized by an act of Congress some time ago. While engaged on this survey patrol, they were several times called upon to make mercy flights. On one occasion, several men were rescued from a small craft which had floundered in the Straits of Mackinac in heavy seas. During the recent annual yacht races on Lake Michigan several boats became temporarily lost on their return trip to Chicago and were located by the patrol plane which found them stranded on the beach as a result of a heavy and sudden storm.

On another occasion, a Coast Guard man attached to the Sault Ste. Marie station had become unfortunately involved in a serious automobile accident. His back was broken and the patrol plane rushed him to Detroit, where a landing was made at Selfridge Field and an ambulance carried the injured Coast Guard man to a hospital where unfortunately he died shortly thereafter.

The most spectacular service, however, was that occasioned by the request for the rescue of a badly burned American from a lake far north in the Canadian wilds. It appears that during a storm on a small lake, the oil cook stove on the craft upset and put the boat in flames. An open oil can stood nearby and fearing an explosion, one of the crew grabbed the can, which then caught fire, and leaped overboard with it, but in so doing was himself horribly burned. His only chance of survival lay in prompt hospitalization. Through the cooperation of the Canadian Government with our own, this Coast Guard patrol plane was dispatched north and the man rescued and rushed immediately to a hospital in Milwaukee; a mercy flight of some 750 miles, accomplished through bad weather, and another tribute to the Coast Guard.

The pilot of this plane was Lt. (Jr. Gr.) A. E. Harned, now stationed at the United States Coast Guard Air Station at Elizabeth City, N. C. His very capable crew was R. M. (first class) Stephen J. Brodman, A. M. M. (second class) William Rettig, and A. M. M. (third class) Ovie Tillis.

Lieutenant Harned and his crew have done a very commendable and yet routine job this summer. They are a credit to the service which they so honorably represent and whose duties they are so meritoriously discharging. On behalf of the people of my district, with whom they came in contact and who are familiar with their work, I most heartily congratulate them and salute them on the completion of a job well done.

It appears that long distance mercy flights are not a new experience for Lieutenant Harned who, it seems, completed sometime ago one of the longest, if not the longest, mercy flight on record in the history of the Coast Guard.

Under the permission granted me this afternoon, Mr. Speaker, I include in my remarks, at this point, an article taken from the United States Coast Guard magazine of the December 1938 issue, which describes a most remarkable flight from St. Petersburg, Fla., to a Canadian steamer off the coast of San Salvador, with a landing made in heavy seas, late at night, and a return flight to Miami with a stricken sailor. Much of this flight—over land and sea—was made under most unfavorable flying conditions. Again I extend my congratulations to Lieutenant Harned. It is noted that he was recommended for the Distinguished Flying Cross for this flight. I likewise note in the article that he pays a full and most deserving tribute to the splendid members of the crew which accompanied him on that dangerous mission.

"THEY MADE IT"—THE STORY OF A GREAT MERCY FLIGHT

(By Ed Lloyd)

Scarcely more than a month ago six members of the St. Petersburg Air Station embarked on an all-night flight that established a new long-distance record for Coast Guard mercy hops. A Hall flying boat, manned by Lt. A. E. Harned, Ted McWilliams, A. M. M. first class (copilot); Avery Brace, A. M. M. first class; Joe Sabala, A. M. M. first class; Walter Dykes, A. M. M. first class, and Louis J. Lyons, Ph. M. first class, took off from St. Petersburg at 4:30 one Monday afternoon in response to a radio appeal from the Canadian steamer *Reginolite*, 380 miles southeast of Miami, in the waters of San Salvador. The *Reginolite* had requested emergency treatment and hospitalization for a sailor, Edison Bowes, suffering from undetermined intestinal trouble.

The Miami Air Station had no plane capable of making the flight so it became the lot of the giant Hall boat at St. Petersburg to span the Florida peninsula and continue southward to the scene of distress, a distance exceeding 500 miles; a round trip of 1,100 miles. The Hall boat, carrying 850 gallons of gas and equipped to fly 2,000 miles, landed alongside the *Reginolite* shortly before midnight and was in the air again 30 minutes later with Bowes being made comfortable in one of the plane's bunks. The stricken

seaman was rushed to a Miami hospital and soon thereafter the big Hall boat was on its way cross country to St. Petersburg, arriving about noon with its tired and sleep-starved crew.

All members of the rescue crew are veterans of Coast Guard aviation with the exception of Louis Lyons, PhM1c, who had recently been transferred from the cutter *Tampa*. Lyons, known in all corners of the service as "Pee Wee," is a seagoing veteran of Bering Sea patrols, international ice patrols, the old destroyer force, and all other types of arduous Coast Guard duty other than aviation. He had been attached to the air station only 3 weeks at the time of the epic flight and his impressions of Coast Guard aviation, as brought forth in the following personal interview, will be of interest to the many sea-going guardsmen who have had no opportunity to observe rescue planes in action. Lyons was interviewed immediately after stepping from the plane and his reactions are both interesting and humorous.

"Doc, now that you're back, tell me did you find this mercy flight very much different from the mercy trips you've made aboard sea-going cutters and in the old destroyers?"

"Gee, Ed, if you mean speed, gosh, yes! Just think how long we'd be under way in one of the old 'tin cans' that could knock out 25 knots at best. Why, in this case we'd have been more than a day arriving at our destination and picking up that poor fellow. With this big Hall boat slipping through the air at about a hundred per, we got where we were going at midnight. You know we left the station about 4:30 that afternoon. That's making onions in any man's language, should you ask me."

"What were you thinking about on your way down there, Doc?"

"Everything, to be honest with you, except putting the sheckles on the bangtails. Of course, I was more or less wondering just how ill this fellow really was. You understand I had some suspicions as to what might be wrong with him but I was preparing myself for any eventuality."

"I suppose you carried every kind of pill imaginable for every ache and pain you could think of?"

"No, Ed; I didn't. I knew before we left that this was a medical case and that the patient had been given some medication by the master of his ship according to radio advices. The main idea was to get him to a hospital without loss of time. I did slip a little bottle of pills into my pocket for emergency's sake, along with something that would boost the old pump along in case such action was necessary. You know, Ed, when you start off on this sort of trip, it's really hard to say just what will be needed most and in this case it was just a matter of snap judgment mixed with a lot of common sense."

"They tell me, Doc, that this is the first time you have ever been up in a plane. Is that right? And how did it impress you? Just how did you feel about it?"

MAIDEN FLIGHT

"You're right, Ed, it was the first time in my life I ever got higher than the twenty-ninth floor of a metropolitan skyscraper. How did I feel? That brings to mind this incident. Just before I joined the Navy back in 1920 I was working for the Coal Production Co. in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and I still remember the first time I descended into the pits, a matter of 1,450 feet. I got on the cage with a lot of other fellows, some of whom had spent as many years in the mines as I was old at the time, and one of them who knew that I was green as grass said, 'Hang on, buddy, we're going down.' In an instant I felt myself dropping and I grabbed into a little handle. Well, to make a long story short, Ed, you can go back to Wilkes-Barre today and still get my fingerprints off that handle iron. It was just the same yesterday. Someone in the Hall boat yelled, 'Hang on, Doc, we're going up.' We started shipping, skipping, jumping, and what not, and you can bet your life that Doc hung on. No kidding, Ed, I can take, with a little dusting powder, my own fingerprints off one of the bunks in the Hall boat. They're still there and they'll be there."

"Was there any sight on the whole trip that particularly impressed you?"

"Believe me, there was, Ed. And this is no advertising publicity either, but, boy, to look at Miami from the air at night is certainly something worth while. We were flying over that city at about 7:30 or 8 o'clock and the town was lit like a church at a wedding. It was certainly a beautiful sight and, of course, seeing such a sight for the first time added to the grandeur of the whole thing."

"After you left Miami what was your next destination?"

HEADED SOUTH

"We flew across to Nassau and then headed south. From there down there was little to see because fog and rain obliterated such sights as might ordinarily have been visible."

"Some of the fellows tell me the land was a bit rough down at San Salvador. Is that right?"

"Let me tell you about that, Ed. I first realized we were heading down for the drink when the pilot passed the word back to the radio operator to wind in his aerial. Well, I'm sitting on a bunk, the landing lights are on, and pretty soon I see something greenish which I recognized as water coming up to meet us, and before I have a chance to call my brain back from a recess period the boat hits the aqua, and I guess we're making plenty of knots because yours truly gets jolted, and I mean jolted not jilted. Quicker than you could say scat, I start looking for some hand swabs as I expect to find little streams of water oozing through crevices and what not but the old girl is just as dry on second observation as a collection pan in a hobo camp on Sunday. She can take it I'm convinced."

"Some of the guys in the plane tell me you got a little greenish under the gills down at San Salvador, Doc."

"Listen, Ed. I've been in some pretty tough blows in my time but had the PH-2-V-165 done many more of those duck jitterbugs while we were down there, Mrs. Lyons' little boy Louie would have been, once again, a seasick sailor and no fooling."

"Well, Doc, now that the whole thing is over would you care to go through the same experience again?"

"Say, Ed, with these guys I'll go through hell and atmosphere any time they say the word."

"You know, Doc, that trip established a record in Coast Guard aviation."

"That's what I hear, Ed, but you know the service; you're one of us and you know that it isn't records we're trying to set up. It's lives that count with us."

"Thanks, Doc. You're a grand Coast Guard man."

"You're welcome, Ed. I hope you get a chance to go on the next big hop."

[Editorial in St. Petersburg Times]

COAST GUARD FEAT

Efforts to win official commendation for Lt. A. E. Harned—St. Petersburg Coast Guard aviator who recently successfully completed the longest aerial errand of mercy in the history of the Nation's oldest armed service—should not stop short of the award of the Distinguished Flying Cross to this heroic young airman.

High courage is a byword in the Coast Guard marine and air forces; hazards are part of the daily task.

But there was something above and beyond the call of duty, something especially fine and brave on the part of the young lieutenant and his crew of five in responding to the distress call that arose from the Canadian freighter *Reginolite* which was then midway between San Salvador Island and Crooked Island passage in the West Indies.

Nearly 200 miles in a seaplane overland where motor failure easily might have spelled disaster. On into the darkness of night and storm. Three hours of blind flying in pitch blackness. Locating the freighter, with only a radio beam to guide them. Landing in the angry waves. Transferring a stricken sailor from ship to plane. And then the desperate hazard of taking off from the rough sea, in the darkness, for the return flight to Miami where the patient was hospitalized and his life saved. Five hundred and sixty miles nonstop on the trip down; three hundred and eighty miles in storm and darkness coming back.

The Coast Guard has a saying, "You have to go out, but you don't have to come back."

Lieutenant Harned and his men knew the chances were that they might not get back, but they went ahead and did the job just the same. They not only went out, but they came back, too.

The bravery of all of them deserves the highest commendation, but particularly to the young lieutenant on whose broad shoulders the supreme responsibility rested, there should come fitting recognition.

The Distinguished Flying Cross is the symbol with which a grateful nation recognizes the brave deeds "above and beyond the call of duty" of its military and naval fliers. Surely, Lieutenant Harned's heroism falls well within the requirements for meritorious achievement necessary to receive this most valued of all flying awards. We would like to see him get it, and we hope the well-deserved award will be promptly forthcoming, for he richly deserves it.

MEDALS AND MEN

Elsewhere in this December issue of the United States Coast Guard magazine appears an illustrated account of the recent flight made by Lt. (Jr. Gr.) A. E. Harned and a crew of 5 men from St. Petersburg Air Station. Nowhere in that account, however, appears the one thing that this writer, as an enlisted man, will remember long after all other details of that epic flight have departed into the limbo of forgotten things.

I have reference to an off-the-record statement made by Lieutenant Harned when he first learned that he was to be recommended for the Distinguished Flying Cross. Said he, "The five enlisted men who accompanied me should not be forgotten. Without the constant vigil of Ted McWilliams, as navigator, and Avery Brace, radioman, we could not have reached our objective. Their aid was indispensable at all times, but more especially during the hours we flew 'blind.' And the performance of the plane's engines in the air was a tribute to Plane Captain Joe Sabala, A. M. M., first class, and Walter Dykes, A. M. M., first class. Lyons, Ph. M., first class, acquitted himself capably in administering to the stricken seaman under difficult conditions. I cannot help but feel that any award or commendation I may receive will be a hollow one if these men do not receive adequate recognition for their splendid performance of duty."

The Distinguished Flying Cross has been awarded only three times in the history of Coast Guard aviation. It is an award symbolic of all that is splendid and honorable in man. It marks its recipient as a man of courageous accomplishment, a man worthy of genuine respect and admiration from persons in all walks of life. No man more truly deserves that medal than does Lieutenant Harned and we trust that the Secretary of the Treasury will acknowledge this fact. Indeed, the Distinguished Flying Cross is a treasured thing.

But in the final analysis, as the passing years cast their mystic shadows over events, the thing which will most intimately follow

Lt. (Jr. Gr.) A. E. Harned throughout his service career—the thing that will bring him the deepest satisfaction and the most genuine personal happiness—will be the treasured spot he has won for himself in the hearts and minds of his enlisted associates. It will not take long for the simple tale to spread throughout the length and breadth of the Coast Guard of how Lieutenant Harned's first statement was one of praise for his enlisted companions rather than the perfectly normal reaction of personal pleasure at the thought of receiving a treasured and rare award.

Again we say, medals and awards are symbols of accomplishment. As such they are highly desirable, but medals and awards fade into insignificance when compared with the more difficult task of winning the wholesome respect and affection of one's fellow men. Regrettably few are the persons in any walk of life who succeed in achieving such recognition. Some men have won medals. Some have won the good-fellowship of their associates. Few men, however, have been fortunate enough to win both.

If the American Government awards the Distinguished Flying Cross to Lt. A. E. Harned—a reward richly merited—that officer will be one of the rare individuals to have achieved the dual glory of visible official decoration and invisible personal honor in the hearts of the men who can most accurately appraise him—the enlisted persons.

In view of this flight and the likewise truly remarkable flight made this summer into northern Canada, may I say, Mr. Speaker, that I sincerely hope that the Distinguished Flying Cross may be bestowed upon Lt. A. E. Harned in the not too distant future. Highly coveted as this medal must of necessity be, surely the fact remains that it is little enough tribute that we the people of America can bestow upon those who so meritoriously discharge their duties to us at our command.

Book Exposes Vast Hague Machine Built in Hudson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KEAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

ARTICLE FROM ATLANTIC CITY PRESS

Mr. KEAN. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with permission to extend my remarks I herewith submit a review from the Atlantic City Press of a book written by a former Democratic member of the New Jersey Legislature who is now a member of the faculty of Dartmouth College, which should be well worth reading by every student of government.

The review follows:

[From the Atlantic City Press of October 3, 1940]

BOOK EXPOSES VAST HAGUE MACHINE BUILT IN HUDSON

New York.—Mayor Frank Hague, of Jersey City, whose powerful Democratic machine is currently under fire by Wendell L. Willkie and by Senator Robert C. Hendrickson, Republican candidate for Governor of New Jersey, today received attention from another source.

With the New Jersey State Legislature attempting to compel the Democratic boss to comply with the recently enacted law requiring the installation of voting machines in Hudson County, hub of his Democratic machine, Mayor Hague's troubles may multiply as a result of revelations contained in a book published today by Houghton Mifflin Co. and entitled "The Boss: The Hague Machine in Action."

The author, Dr. Dayton D. McKean, former Democratic member of the New Jersey Legislature and now a member of the faculty of Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., reveals the secret pay rolls of Jersey City and Hudson County which have never before been made public and which Hague's political adversaries have tried in vain to obtain time and again.

TWO ORGANISTS AT JAIL

McKean, formerly a member of the faculty at Princeton University, states that he is not at liberty to reveal how he obtained access to the nonpublic records, but in detailing Hague's 1939 pay roll he lists among other items:

Two organists on the county jail pay roll at $1,000 a year each, a "superintendent of vacuum cleaners" at $4,000, priests, preachers, and rabbis at various salaries, and a judge who is both a clerk in Mayor Hague's office at $4,000 a year and a jurist for an additional $7,000.

McKean declares that "in 1939 Jersey City had 3,643 employees and Hudson County 2,598. * * * The city and county together pay in salaries not less than $15,042,690. * * * Annually it costs more, not only per capita but as a total, to govern Hudson County with 651,000 people (1930) than adjoining Essex County, with 950,000, and it has done so every year since 1921. * * * It takes 1,819 people to govern Essex, but 2,598 to govern Hudson. Essex has 19 employees for each 10,000 population; Hudson has 39. The pay roll in Essex is approximately $2,000,000 a year under that in Hudson."

COPS, FIREMEN, IN LUXURY CLASS

Hague's policemen and firemen are paid the highest salaries in the United States and their chiefs $9,000 each, also highest, according to McKean. There are many salaries that exceed $10,000, while the mayor himself draws only $8,000. The author charges that the inflated pay roll, which far exceeds that of any other American city of the size of Jersey City, has brought the municipality to the verge of bankruptcy, while it is the highest taxed city in the United States with more than 40,000 population.

Mayor Hague's enthusiasm for a third term for President Roosevelt is made clearer when it is shown how New Deal financing has saved Jersey City from collapse, according to Dr. McKean.

The amazing political machine, which McKean charges controls newspapers, churches, civic and fraternal organizations, and the county bar and medical society is examined in detail.

The gigantic Jersey City medical center is discussed in a chapter called Turning Hospital Beds Into Votes; Socialized Medicine Under the Hague Machine. The writer shows that the medical center costs about twice as much to operate as the most de luxe private hospitals. He brings out how the hospital is politically controlled by the mayor himself, who has an office in one of the buildings; how politicians are favored in hospital service; and how "it is practicable to have children literally born into the (political) organization, obligated to it from the first squalling moment."

The rise of Mayor Hague himself from the slums of the horseshoe section of Jersey City is told in a style as cool and lucid as a legal report.

Throughout the book the mayor's own words, inimitably ungrammatical, are used wherever possible. He is presented as a streamlined boss, whizzing through all the red lights of the Democratic tradition, a highly languorous figure to American liberty.

HEAD OFF CRITICISM

"One method" used by the Hague machine to block criticism, says the author, "is to put priests, preachers, and rabbis on the city and county pay roll as chaplains with salaries that are generous, considering the part-time nature of the work they do. The highest salary appears to be paid to the Rev. John E. Heindel, Protestant chaplain at the Hospital for Mental Diseases, and at the county jail. He receives $2,500 a year for his services. The city police and fire departments have each two chaplains, one Protestant and one Catholic, at $2,400 apiece. The employees of the Bureau of County Mechanics would seem to need spiritual guidance more than those of any other agency, for they have three chaplains at $2,100 each, one Protestant, one Catholic, and one Jewish. * * * Then there is Rabbi Isaac Siegal, who is one of the most important Jewish leaders in the county; he is the 'special inspector of kosher meats,' employed by the county bureau of health and vital statistics at a salary of $2,600. Other preachers and priests have been listed as 'utility men' on the pay roll, and one was even called a plumber's helper."

The huge police force, the author shows, makes up a large part of the pay roll. "There are (on it) 698 employees, the largest number for any American city with from 300,000 to 400,000 population."

TAX RATE HIGHEST IN UNITED STATES

According to the author the result of the work of the Hague machine is that, "There is no city in America with more than 100,000 population that has an adjusted tax rate to equal that of Jersey City; it is the highest-taxed city in America. In 1939 when the adjusted rate in Jersey City was $48.38, the rates in some other large cities were: Boston, $39.80; Chicago, $33.74; Pittsburgh, $28.48; Los Angeles, $27.95, and New York, $27.14. In this group of municipalities are some that have been governed by unsavory political machines, but no machine has been as expensive as the Hague model, not even the one in Chicago, not even Tammany. Among cities of its own size the Pendergast machine in Kansas City collected less than half as much for city purposes as the Hague organization."

"A whole book," says the writer, "might be written about Hudson County elections. Reading over the reports of the various committees that have investigated Hudson County and the testimony obtained by them one may well come to believe that every kind of election fraud has at one time or another been practiced there, except perhaps the chain-ballot system."

Summarizing, the author says, "After the ballots are cast weird things happen to them in Jersey City. Sometimes large black marks appear upon them (especially upon Republican ones) so that they are void; or rubber-heel marks show up to spoil them; or corners are torn off; or someone takes them into a dark corner to unfold them on an ice box before they are counted. * * * Again, groups of people manage to surround the person calling off the vote, crowding challengers to the door, while the man who reads the ballots aloud has throat trouble so that he can hardly be heard. Sometimes the doors of the polling places are locked—in violation of the law.

"The prosecution of anyone connected with the organization in Hudson County is very difficult. * * * In spite of reams

of testimony and hundreds of affidavits no adherent has ever been convicted of an election fraud.

"No visitor stays long in Jersey City," observes Professor McKean, "without feeling the atmosphere of suspicion and tension that exists there."

The Third-Term Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL M. LECOMPTE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

LETTER BY NOEL W. MONTZ IN THE KEOKUK COUNTY (IOWA) NEWS

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I desire to include a public letter written by Mr. Noel W. Montz, of Sigourney, Iowa, that appeared in the Keokuk County News of September 28, 1940, on the subject of the third-term tradition. The article is entitled "Keokuk County Farmer Believes the Election of Willkie Necessary for Preservation of Democracy." Mr. Montz states that he supported President Roosevelt heretofore and makes no apology, but as a patriotic, forward-looking citizen he sees danger in overturning the time-honored precedent against more than 8 years for one man in the White House.

The statement follows:

[From the Keokuk County (Iowa) News of September 28, 1940]

KEOKUK COUNTY FARMER BELIEVES ELECTION OF WILLKIE NECESSARY FOR PRESERVATION OF DEMOCRACY

(By Noel W. Montz)

I will vote for Wendell Willkie for President of the United States. I am going to do everything within my power to promote the success of his candidacy. I believe his election to be the one and only important issue before the American people. The ever-present farm problem, the great problems of distribution, the problems of unemployment, the problems of national defense, the C. C. C., the P. W. A., and all the other alphabetical combinations combined, however important they may be, are but secondary to preservation of our American democratic life.

Eight years ago I declared I would support Mr. Roosevelt. I make no apology that I did. I would do it again. No one with positive assurance can look into the future and read its answer in every detail. At that time our national economy was at a standstill; today it is at the point of complete catastrophe. For 160 years a practice of not more than two terms in the Presidency has been followed and developed until it has become one of our finer traditions. Today that grand tradition is impudently and impertinently assailed on the grounds of a manufactured hysteria.

Mr. Roosevelt argues that a nation without ideals is a nation whose years are numbered and yet he proposes to destroy one of our finest. This two-term tradition throughout more than a century and a half of our existence has grown to be a part of our way of life and our past appraisal of this tradition is coexistent with the caliber of our opinions on freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom in enterprise. In the very face of this two-term tradition, there are those who argue that there is no more reason to change his tenure of office than to change a satisfactory county clerk, a president of the local literary society, or hired man, but as they do so they only make an unbecoming and unworthy comparison. It only proves the losing of our ideals.

By the grace of everything I believe in, I am not in 1940 going to vote to do away with this tradition that has lived up until now through every minute of our national existence. If I did this I believe I would be voting a real approach to a change in our form of government to that or worse than that of European totalitarianism.

Let us see what a further study of the present situation might logically lead us into. We only need to lose our democracy step by step. Those who argue that a third term is necessary in this present emergency only need to study the following page of that philosophy, to readily give their consent to a fourth, and so on. Emergencies are readily manufactured. We cannot preserve our democracy by permitting ourselves to be coerced into reelecting Mr. Roosevelt on the grounds that it would be patriotic to break this two-term tradition. To me this issue alone is a paramount reason to retire Mr. Roosevelt this November.

However, there are other good reasons. Mr. Roosevelt's administration claims to be the sole guardian of our sacred democratic rights. Is there anyone who believes that Mr. Roosevelt secured his nomination in a democratic manner? Is there anyone asking himself the honest question (and permitting his own conscience to be the judge and jury to his answer), was the conduct of the Chicago convention other than a disgraceful farce, an effrontery to the principles of genuine democracy? I have never read of anything like the Chicago convention. I hope it will be the last. I hope that we will never have to witness any political party at any time in the future conducting a similar one. What a travesty; the worship of democracy there. But that is not all. They carry the principles of their democratic processes to our very hearth stones.

Recently the farmers held their township and county elections relative to the A. A. A. farm program as they selected the officers for the 1941 crop year. Those who attended recall the procedure and to those who did not, let me assure them that its conduct was most exemplary. The selection of the delegates to the county convention, the alternate delegate, the three township committeemen and the two alternate committeemen were each in turn nominated by ballot and each in turn elected by ballot, the procedure was followed in the county in the same manner. Not one small detail was omitted, not one democratic method forgotten, not one propriety neglected. A model in every respect.

But here our thinking stops and here, too, our democratic methods stop. The men in the State office, the men in the regional office, and the men in the national office are all appointed men. Beginning at the State office, the executive and policy-formulating end begins. The men, our neighbors, who we have so assiduously selected, are merely checkers and clerks. Upon occasion, I lamented this cessation of the democratic methods in the county with the assertion that ballot method should be used clear through to the top, but not including the Secretary of Agriculture. I was rather vigorously told that to do so might upset the plans and might place in office men not competent, thereby ruining the farm program. In other words, the principle of democracy, which is so loved and protected by the administration, was not to be used any farther than would tickle the gullibility of us farmers. May Heaven help us when we become satisfied with such a thin display from those professed guardians of our rights.

It is on the air and in the air, "now don't be ungrateful, don't forget the 'guy' who fed you." I am not one who in any way will ever recommend the crime of ungratitude as a virtue. But I do have every right under the shining sun to question the value of those friends, who for the purpose of perpetuating themselves in office overrode every principle of democratic decency in the Chicago convention, and who now come in sackcloth and ashes seeking our loyal support in their crusade to preserve our great gains and our rights and liberties.

Mr. Wallace at great length denounced the regrettable political philosophy existing in Europe; that only one man among 60,000,000 people in Europe was qualified to serve his people. He screamed this flaming truth and proved it by asserting that Roosevelt was the only one qualified among 130,000,000 people to guide his people. "Consistency thou art still a jewell."

As I said before, we will only lose our democracy one step at a time. But only a little further development of their methods and they will save us so well we won't have anything to say about it at all.

Recently a number of my friends elected me chairman of the Willkie Club. I wish to thank them for their kind opinion and assure them of my appreciation. However, I will be unable to serve in this capacity at this time. But I wish to extend my assurance in behalf of the candidacy of Mr. Willkie as the one single dominating issue before us today.

NOEL W. MONTZ.

A City and a Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENT E. KELLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, when a new crop of Congressmen come here to Washington they are inspected by two sets of men with great care—first, the newspapermen; second, the older Members of Congress—older Members in point of service. The older Members look over the new men with a lot of care because they want young men who can help them run the affairs of Government, and who, they think, can come back until they grow into usefulness. They know it takes time to become a really useful Congressman.

The newspapermen on the other hand look them over to see who, out of the whole bunch, is likely to become "the best copy"—that is, who is going to go the farthest and affect most the governmental activities, a matter of interest to the news gatherer.

Back in 1937 I was reading the Philadelphia Record and came across a very short list of the new Members who, the Record considered, would make good in Congress. A few days afterward the Merry-Go-Round here had a similar list made up of some other men. However, both the Record and the Merry-Go-Round spoke with unusual favor of a man from San Diego. I had lived for a considerable time in San Diego with my ailing wife and came to love San Diego more than any of the other western cities.

San Diego occupies a remarkable situation. It is capable of extraordinary development. It is near the Mexican border with its favorable relation to the Japanese current, its lovely climate which has caused many to believe from early times that it would ultimately become a place of importance.

Now, let us see how the growth of San Diego is tied up with political party administrations—we have only to look to the fact that Brother Bill Kettner came in with Woodrow Wilson's Democratic administration and stayed the full 8 years. It is to his vision and foresight that San Diego points the beginning of its naval development. Working with the chief of his party, Kettner started San Diego on its path to naval glory. He brought the naval training station, the North Island Air Station, and the marine base; and he went out with Woodrow Wilson with whom he had worked for the upbuilding of San Diego.

Then Phil Swing, another fine character, came in on the Harding landslide; and he went all the way through the 12 years of 3 Republican administrations—and working with his three Republican chiefs he achieved two splendid successes for his section of California—the All American Canal and the Boulder Dam.

San Diego had been wise in going along with Woodrow Wilson's Democratic administration in sending a Democrat to work with that Democratic administration. It had been wise in going along with the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover administrations, sending a Republican Congressman to work with these Republican administrations. But when Roosevelt came in in 1932, San Diego, for some reason, overlooked its opportunity, and for 4 years got exactly "what the boy shot at." Then the people of San Diego awoke to the fact that this is a party Government, and properly so, and that only by working with administrations in power can the most be accomplished along many lines. This is very natural, especially in a place which is seeking exploitation of latent possibilities on the grand scale which San Diego desires and of which it is so preeminently capable.

So, in 1937, when I read in the Philadelphia Record that the gentleman from California, ED. IZAC, was a representative for San Diego and a Democrat, I was, of course, immediately interested in the man, as I was already interested in the city. I met the gentleman from California, Mr. IZAC, and found, to my great delight, that he not only is a man of education, vision, and energy, and real fighting ability but above all tremendously interested in San Diego. He is not only a graduate of our Naval Academy but a naval officer with several years' experience, some of the most adventurous ones in the history of the Navy. He has been out of the Navy long enough, through retirement on account of his health, to look at it in the broadest possible way. Yet since his retirement he has maintained his contacts with officers of the Navy so that he is listened to with genuine consideration on anything he proposes.

It was not very long until the Members of the House awoke to the fact that a splendid, new Progressive had come onto the stage—that he was a real Roosevelt man and he was so recognized by other Roosevelt men and by Roosevelt himself. So he went to work to get for San Diego and Imperial County exactly what he went after. His first term he got something over $4,000,000 for dredging San Diego Bay. He helped Imperial Valley in developing water and power on the All American Canal. He sponsored labor legislation; he fought for old-age pensions, school funds, W. P. A. and P. W. A., and made possible the building of schools and relief for the unemployed.

As his time of service increased and his acquaintance extended he was able to get more and more for the development of San Diego. He got $2,000,000 for a fleet school at destroyer base; $3,000,000 for barracks and other construction necessary for the marine base. He got $2,000,000 for naval training station improvements, barracks, and so forth; seven million for hangars, shops, and so forth at the naval air station. He got $2,000,000 for floating drydock for destroyer base; three million for the graving dock, destroyer base; two million for shops, sea walls, cranes, and so forth, for the destroyer base. He got $3,000,000 for the new dredging program which is about to be started and another million dollars for seaplane facilities.

The gentleman from California, ED IZAC, stands so close to the friends of the Navy, both in Congress and out of it, that his work is becoming more and more important as time goes on. He is not yet 50 years old. He has real courage, a persistency in thinking and he gets things done by force of logic and sense of fairness because he knows his subject from A to Z.

I have been here a few years myself, and I want to say for him that I know of no other man with the same length of service who has accomplished more than the gentleman from California, ED IZAC. It would be a remarkable thing to return the gentleman from California, ED IZAC, to Congress and make a drive for the completion of the greatest naval base on the Pacific coast. That is exactly what San Diego can do if its interests are looked after by men who know naval and the future of naval influence in relation to our preparedness program.

There is no use of sending an old man to Congress for his first term. Occasionally one comes up. Of course, the Members all greet him and say "Hello, Pop," properly respect him, and make the old man feel good. That is as far as it goes. They know he cannot come back long enough to accomplish anything. He is simply done before he starts, and that is that.

I do not need to depend upon my own opinions in relation to what the length of service means in Congress. Everyone knows that all really big things are obtained by the men who have served here long enough to know how to get the interest and consideration of the administration and the committees who handle all these matters. A man's usefulness increases here just in proportion to the length of time he serves and in proportion to his knowledge of his subject.

Summarizing the record of the gentleman from California, ED IZAC, the following figures show how much money he brought into his district during his 4 years in Congress: 1937, $5,000,000; 1938, $8,000,000; 1939, $9,000,000; 1940, $22,000,000. The next 4 years is the most important period in the history of San Diego. If the gentleman from California, Congressman IZAC, is retained in Congress, San Diego people have every reason to expect it to become the greatest naval base on the Pacific coast. That Roosevelt is to serve 4 more years there is not a single doubt. He naturally and properly wants men in Congress who will work with him. And quite as naturally he will work with them. The gentleman from California, Mr. IZAC, has shown what a real "go-getter" he is. And that, above all things, is what San Diego needs.

Wendell Willkie and Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES H. LEAVY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

ARTICLE BY RICHARD NEUBERGER

Mr. LEAVY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I herewith include an article written by a prominent

young newspaperman and writer of the Pacific Northwest, Richard L. Neuberger, which appeared recently in the La Follette Progressive magazine of October 1, 1940, and deals with the subject of public power in the Northwest, and gives Wendell Willkie's attitude in regard thereto.

The article is unusually pertinent in view of Mr. Willkie's recent visit to the Northwest wherein he made statements that at least permit the inference that he is in favor of public-power development in that region. His failure to comment upon the United States Government's construction of transmission lines and substations that will make the power from Grand Coulee and Bonneville available for distribution for either public or private agencies naturally raises a great doubt if Mr. Willkie really meant that the people should have the benefit of cheap electricity from these giant projects. With adequate transmission facilities owned by the Government, the people that want cheap public power will not be at the mercy of the Power Trust.

Transmission lines will give to the people cheap public power and Mr. Kinsey Robinson, President of the Washington Water Power Co., in testimony before House and Senate committees unqualifiedly stated that the private utilities would not permit their transmission lines to become common carriers of electrical energy. The statement of Mr. Willkie in reference to completing these dams and cheap power, therefore, means nothing unless he would go one step further and subscribe to the present extensive program now under way by the Grand Coulee and Bonneville administration in the construction of transmission lines and substations and other essential facilities for getting the power from the point of generation to the point of distribution.

The article follows:

[From La Follette's Progressive of October 1, 1940]

WENDELL WILLKIE AND PUBLIC POWER

(By Richard L. Neuberger)

At last Wendell L. Willkie, Republican candidate for President, has announced his position on the bristling issue of hydroelectric power. Standing in Portland, in the heart of the vast Columbia River Basin, he promised to complete the great projects which President Roosevelt's administration has reared at Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

Willkie assured his listeners "that the power generated in connection with such projects should be sold for the benefit of the people." He also said that the people of the region should decide by referendum whether they want the power distributed by public or private agencies. He implied that the Federal Government should be neutral in this controversy, accepting any mandate reached by the voters of a particular locality.

All this sounds very convincing. One might almost think that Willkie was a disciple of public power development instead of being a man who achieved a national reputation opposing the Tennessee Valley Authority. Willkie's power speech requires careful analysis, particularly in view of the fact that he has been presented to the country as a character of great sincerity. Power is a national issue, an issue important to the entire United States.

STORY WAS DIFFERENT ONLY 3 YEARS AGO

Willkie said he would finish construction of Bonneville and Grand Coulee. Yet in the New York Herald Tribune for January 25, 1937, he was quoted as contending that Government dams for power purposes were "uneconomic and fallacious." And in the New York Times for October 31, 1937, Willkie condemned the whole New Deal power program. "A brief list of these projects already under way," he wrote, "indicates the confusion and complication of the whole program." Among the projects he listed were:

"There is the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River, being built by the Reclamation Bureau.

"There is the Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River, being built by the Army engineers."

Then Willkie went on: "All these water-power plants are being built in utter disregard of the fact that in most parts of the United States it is cheaper to generate electrical energy by steam produced by coal than it is by water power." He also said of the great projects, "They will cripple the business of the private companies and enable the Government to take over the industry."

When was Willkie sincere, when he denounced Grand Coulee and Bonneville in 1937 or when he promised to complete them and operate them for the people in 1940?

WILLKIE TRIES TO FALL BACK ON M'NARY

Willkie also talked about letting the people decide between public and private power as if that were something new. Long before Wendell Willkie appeared on the horizon of politics the men and women of the Pacific Northwest had the right to determine by referendum whether they wanted to buy their electricity from public or private agencies. In 1902 the electorate of Seattle voted to build its own plant on the Cedar River; Wendell Willkie was then a grammar-school boy of 10.

In his power speech Willkie made much of the "wise council" of his running-mate, Senator MCNARY, who is immensely popular in the far West. He should have used some of that "wise council" before delivering his speech. Willkie implied that the Government should be absolutely neutral in the choice between public and private distribution of power. "That's your business," he told his audience.

Here is a clause from the Bonneville Dam bill, which Senator MCNARY introduced: "In order to insure that the facilities for the generation of electric energy at the Bonneville project shall be operated for the benefit of the general public, and particularly of domestic and rural consumers, the Administrator shall at all times, in disposing of electric energy generated at said project, give preference and priority to public bodies and cooperatives."

THE VOTERS' CHOICE ON THE POWER ISSUE

This does not sound as if Senator MCNARY was neutral as between public and private power, particularly inasmuch as the next section of his bill provided that until 1942 at least half the Bonneville power output must be reserved for "public bodies and cooperatives."

Senator MCNARY has always been a sincere friend of public power projects. Wendell Willkie has yet to do anything which would place him in this category. The choice of people who endorse the Government's power program lies between President Roosevelt, who constructed Bonneville and Grand Coulee, and Wendell Willkie, who opposed Bonneville and Grand Coulee 3 years ago and now wants the chance to complete and operate them.

A Battle Cry for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. LAMBERTSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

LETTER FROM MRS. W. H. WENDLING

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter, which is typical of many which I am receiving:

TOPEKA, KANS, *September 30, 1940.*

DEAR MR. LAMBERTSON: I want to urge you to continue to raise your voice and use every influence in protest against our present foreign policy which seems bound to land us in war before we know what has happened. I feel that it is unnecessary, unfair to us all, and disastrous to our country. Let us not take Roosevelt lying down.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. W. H. WEIDLING.

Address by James L. McDevitt, President of Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

SPEECH DELIVERED AT PENNSYLVANIA AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS' CONFERENCE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY] I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix to the RECORD the remarks of Mr. James L. McDevitt, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, at the Pennsylvania Amalgamated Clothing Workers' conference held in Philadephia on Saturday, September 21, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, officers, and active workers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, it is a rare treat and a privilege to have this opportunity this morning.

As the chairman stated in his introductory remarks, I am from the other side in the house of labor. But I think most of you who know me know that I have never really come to the point where I could make myself believe that underneath it all there was any real division in the ranks of our movement, and today I am sure you and I are going to agree when I say that if there was ever a necessity for solidarity, that necessity exists at the present time.

When I came to touch on that point, I thought I'd take a few moments of your time to review a little of the history of the labor movement in the fields of politics here in Pennsylvania and what your organization has done to make our people, your people and our people, more conscious of their political responsibility to the labor movement.

If your memory goes back to 1936, you'll remember the kind of campaign we waged in Philadelphia, Charlie Weinstein and your officers, along with the other officers of the labor movement. They went out and campaigned from door to door and helped to bring about that splendid majority of 210,000 for President Roosevelt in 1936.

Coming on in 1937 you took part in the campaign of that year and helped to bring the election of New Deal officers here in the city of Philadelphia; that is, contract officers.

Unfortunately, in the year of 1938 we weren't successful in convincing our people that it was just as important to go out and fight in 1938 as it was in 1936, because the welfare of our people in this State, particularly with respect to labor legislation, was in serious danger. You'll remember we campaigned from one end of the State to the other, and we said to our people, "If you elect Arthur James, he will burn all of the labor legislation enacted by the last session."

I know when we made that statement, even though we quoted the words used by the candidate himself, that many of our people were skeptical about that. They thought that was a piece of political bunk, as it were. But we quoted the candidate's own statement and today I can appear before you and say that what we said then was the truth, and that while the Governor has failed to carry out practically every promise he has made, he has done one thing, he kept the promise he made with respect to labor legislation. He did exactly what he said he would do. It's a matter of record. You have now on the statute books of Pennsylvania such amendment as workmen's compensation—you know how serious it is. I don't need to go into detail. Where you used to get 500 weeks for permanent disability it has been reduced to 200 weeks, and if you have a partial disability, you are reduced approximately 33⅓ percent. That can be credited to the Governor.

You know what he did with the Labor Relations Act. You know what he did with the Van-Alsburg bill. You know what he did with the relief recipients. You know what he did with the anti-injunction bill. You know all of those things. So that it did happen in Pennsylvania, the most serious blow the organized labor movement has ever suffered in its history in this Commonwealth.

May I repeat for your information what happened when we were in the closing hours of the State legislature. After they had made two attempts to put through those seven major bills in opposition to the labor movement and its interests, they made their third and final attempt and did succeed in putting through that program. It was then we found it necessary to go over to the Governor and appeal to him as humble citizens of this Commonwealth. As the spokesman for the group I told the Governor how serious these measures were, what a serious effect it was going to have on the membership of our organizations throughout the State and how the labor movement would resent it if he saw fit to sign those measures.

During the course of our talk the Governor found it necessary to get up from his desk and looking us all square in the eye said, "Well, the New Deal has tried out six experiments," and with the most vindictive look I have ever seen in a man's eye that held an office of public trust he said, "they have tried out six experiments and they have all failed. I'm going to try out the seventh." He tossed his head around a minute and he said, "Tighten up your belts." I said to him, "Governor, what do you do when you tighten up to the last notch? When you sign those measures, you will have reached the last notch."

A little further on in our discussion we were finally advised that the Governor saw fit to sign them all, and upon leaving the Governor's office we told him that it was a most unfortunate thing but that we would have cause to remember it all our lives, and that I, as a missionary in the labor movement, would deliver that message from one end of the State to the other, and I assure you, since the closing of the legislature, I haven't failed to get across the message to our people, and I don't propose to fail from now on.

So I point out to you what happened in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania—legislation that's the very life and blood of your organization, of the welfare of your people, your families, can be so ruthlessly thrown aside because of the leadership of such men as that in public life.

Now, who are those men? They're the men who are now campaigning for Wendell Willkie. They're his associates. They're his supporters. Can you in your wildest dream imagine for a moment that Mr. Willkie is going to be anything different than Arthur James? Of course you can't. Not when you consider that he's associated with Mr. Weir, that he's associated with that grand, venerable gentleman up here, Mr. Grundy. You can't foresee for a moment that there'd be any possible chance of him agreeing with our philosophy when he associates with Mr. Pew.

So you see the message I want to deliver this morning is that it did happen in Pennsylvania, and you and I are paying the price. Don't let it happen in Washington. I know when I say this to you this morning that you're going to leave here, after listening to the eloquent speakers we have here today, excluding myself, convinced that this is no mere political campaign, and you haven't listened to any political bunk. We simply say that if we don't get out on the line and fight in 1940 as we did in 1936 we are going to suffer defeat.

We listen to the Gallup poll; we listen to many speakers on the radio and in public gatherings, and we hear them say that with each day the President's popularity is rising. It is rising because of your activity, and you have got to keep that activity going, because the minute you let up the forces of the millions—I don't mean the millions in persons; I mean the millions in money—are going to be there with everything at their command to step in and take advantage of any laxity on our part.

We're not fighting for any political candidates today. We're fighting for our very existence, for a continuation of the New Deal and all that it stands for. We don't need to go over that. The other speakers have spoken of those gains. You and I are so familiar with them that nobody need tell us. But it is our job to go out as missionaries and tell our neighbors what to do, no matter how young or how old, and if they're not registered, see that they do, and see that they go out on election day and cast that ballot in the interests of the preservation of the forces of liberalism in this Nation and to reelect the greatest humanitarian in the history of this country as well as the world, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. [Applause.]

I'm going to conclude, and in doing so I just want to give you a very brief report of the score card, as it were, to date with respect to the standing of the labor movement in this present campaign. Last night I met with practically every labor leader in the city of Philadelphia, with very few exceptions, and, of course, they are 100 percent for the reelection of the President, and they have started out today to find five or six fellows who are missing. Now, I didn't attach any importance to that, because they probably had other appointments, but they have organized so well that they want a reason from those fellows today.

You're going to find, in addition to your activity, every labor leader in this district without exception, to my way of thinking, actively out on the line campaigning for the reelection, not only of the President—if you succeed in reelecting the President and you don't support those who have stood so loyally by him, there isn't any point gained, because the President can't put through the legislation that you and I enjoy today without the assistance of such men as Senator GUFFEY and the other Congressmen from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. [Applause.]

So much for the national situation. You must also remember that on that ballot you will be electing at least half of the members of the legislature, and was I ever anxious in my life to see some people defeated? Never as anxious as I am now to see just about half of that legislature moved, because it was my responsibility to interview each one of them and give them labor's platform and try to convince them to vote in the interests of our people. Instead of listening to me as the representative of organized labor, many and many of these fellows, the majority, as their actions indicate, went down the line with the other side in opposition to organized labor, and I promised them in return for that that they would have our unqualified opposition at the polls in November of 1940, and I know that you're not going to fail.

Don't let that little committeeman come up to you and say, "Look, you know Pat O'Brien, pretty good fellow; he's running for legislature. Gee, you can get parking tickets fixed, go to the magistrate and have something fixed for you. He fixes everything, including the plumbing at times." [Laughter.] They're going to try to sell you and your people that story. Don't listen to them. Take their legislative record. Take the advice of the labor movement and vote only for those who have been approved by the labor movement. And they didn't have to do any fixing for us. We didn't ask any jobs. We didn't want our plumbing fixed. What we wanted was our legislation. We didn't ask in the '37 session for anything over and above what we had already obtained under the New Deal. What we asked was that they leave it alone—let us have what was ours. That's the thing that they took away from us.

So I say all of these fellows are on that ballot. Make sure when you go in to vote that you make no mistake. Pull that New Deal lever and we'll repay every one of these people who treated us so ruthlessly in the 1939 session, and we'll also repay Congressman GARTNER and a few more of those in Washington who have consistently voted against labor and the President's program.

I am going to conclude by saying to you that I deeply appreciate this opportunity of speaking to you, and if I don't speak to you again before the election, afterward we can get together as we did the last time, in 1936, if you'll remember. I got together with Charlie Weinstein and the crowd downstairs after that successful election, and I know he remembers that night. But I never saw a happier crowd of men and women in my life, nor have I seen more smiling faces in an audience than I have seen here today. I am thinking to myself that I hope I have the opportunity of meeting with the boys and girls after election day to carry on the second celebration.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Business and Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TOM CONNALLY
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE JESSE H. JONES

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I ask leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by Hon. Jesse H. Jones, Secretary of Commerce, October 7, 1940, on the subject Business and Government.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT

Good evening ladies and gentlemen listeners-in, I want to talk a little politics—as one interested in the welfare of our country, just as you are interested in the welfare of our country.

This is the time of year when business is interested in politics. It is the time of year when politics inspires many misleading statements about business for partisan purposes. I have been a businessman, as most of you know, all of my life, almost 50 years now, and have operated in many lines with my own funds for my own account, taking my own risks. I have been in business in good times, and I have been in business in periods of depression. I have been in business during many political campaigns where facts are often distorted by overzealous candidates.

I think I understand business, and the point of view of men in business, and, while I have never been actually in politics I have had a good deal of experience with politics, and with men in politics, and I think I understand the point of view of men in public life—the President, Members of Congress, Governors of States, and other officials. I know that they are all interested in preserving our form of Government and in promoting the welfare of all the people. For the last 8 years I have been dealing with men in both public and private life. I have been the Government lending man, and just recently the President and the Congress made me Secretary of Commerce as well, so that I would be in more intimate association with the President and his Cabinet in shaping administration policies.

There is no conflict between the responsibilities of the Secretary of Commerce and those of the Federal Loan Administrator. These are not really two separate jobs. One represents business at the Cabinet table, the other Government in business—business of a constructive nature, though, and not in competition with private enterprise, as some would have you believe, but supplementing, bolstering, and helping private enterprise, stimulating business, making jobs for men who otherwise would not have jobs, doing many things in business and finance that private capital and private initiative have been unable or unwilling to do.

In my 8½ years in the R. F. C. I have had a good share of the responsibility in providing credit for business, industry, and agriculture, credit that could not be had from private sources and credit that the country could not well have done without. Not being in politics, I have had no ambition other than to be a competent workman. My sole purpose has been to do what I could for my country in aid of recovery. I hope therefore that I may be able to make some contribution to clear thinking in this political period, by relating the attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward business as I have observed that attitude. I know the R. F. C. has never made a loan, large or small, that the borrower could get on fair terms from private sources. Yet we have loaned more than $10,000,000,000 without any net loss to the taxpayers.

Government and business are necessarily interdependent and must get along. Government makes it possible for business to operate, and business must support government through its earnings. The Government must be the umpire. It represents all the people. There always will be occasional irritations where some in business are annoyed at what they consider Government interference. There always will be Government representatives who unnecessarily antagonize business. There always will be some in business who transgress the laws, willfully or through misinterpretation, and there always will be prosecutors who are more interested in securing a conviction or winning a case than in correcting an abuse. But all of these are the exception, and none of us, in spite of these occasional annoyances, would be willing to trade our form of government for that of any other country in the world. If everyone followed the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule, we would have no need for laws and would have none of these irritations. But they don't.

I can best illustrate the Roosevelt administration's attitude toward business by talking some about the activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation on whose Board I served from the time of its establishment in February 1932, appointed first by President Hoover as a Democratic member of the Board, and as its chairman for 7 years under President Roosevelt.

It is generally conceded that the R. F. C. has helped, and in numerous instances saved, business—big business, medium-sized business, and little business—the business, the investments, the employment, and the means of livelihood of people of every political faith, Republicans, Democrats, and independents alike. Whatever it has accomplished has been because it is the principal vehicle through which this administration has served and saved business.

The President and the Congress used the R. F. C. in the bleak days of the bank crashes and business failures which greeted President Roosevelt when he assumed office. They used it to restore the price of farm commodities, which were at an all-time low in 1932. They used it to meet disasters, and they used it to finance the construction of useful public projects that are self-liquidating, projects that had long been needed, bridges, tunnels, aqueducts, and many municipal facilities. They used it to make work, to build homes, and to save farms and homes from foreclosure. They used it to reduce the heavy burden of debt and charges on drainage, levee, and irrigation districts. They used it to help the railroads, whose securities are largely held by savings banks and insurance companies. In other words, by you and me. The used it to finance rural electrification and rural rehabilitation. They used it to finance the construction of new buildings and to refinance old ones, and to provide a market for F. H. A. insured home mortgages. They used it to help insurance companies and building and loan associations. They used it to finance the orderly marketing and the export of surplus agricultural commodities. They used it to finance our export trade when this trade could no longer be financed from private sources.

The R. F. C. has been used by the President and Congress through the various stages of recovery, as it is now being used to strengthen the Nation's defense in a situation which unhappily aggressor nations have forced upon us.

We are now engaged in lending for the accumulation of reserve supplies of rubber, tin, manganese, and many other critical and strategic materials which will be necessary in case of an emergency. We are building and financing plants for the manufacture of airplanes and other supplies for national defense.

Most of these are loans and investments that private capital cannot take the risk of making. It is clearly a Government responsibility and the risk should be taken by the Government—it is for all the people.

In addition to the R. F. C., the Federal Loan Agency includes the Federal Housing Administration, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, the Home Loan Bank System, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, the Export-Import Bank, the Electric Home and Farm Authority, the R. F. C. Mortgage Company, the Disaster Loan Corporation, and the Federal National Mortgage Association. These are all Government agencies, business financing institutions, that have been necessary to provide credit without which we would have had chaos, or a greatly reduced standard of living, or both.

Of the more than $20,000,000,000 Government credit that has been injected into the bloodstream of our economic life during the past 8 years through these Federal credit and lending agencies, there will be no appreciable net loss. The loans will pay out. On the contrary, because of this credit and the other manifold activities of the Roosevelt administration, the annual national income has been raised from $40,000,000,000 in 1932 to $70,000,000,000 in 1939, with a further estimated increase for 1940. This increase in national income has brought about better living, better housing, more work for people who must work for a living, and this includes most of us, and a better chance of security in old age.

It took more than just a lot of money to do all of this. It took business ability comparable to that found in private enterprise, and it took a high form of patriotism, businessmen willing to work for the common good at large, personal and financial sacrifice. It took vision and courage and leadership and intelligent planning. The President had the vision and furnished the leadership. The Congress had the courage to pass the legislation. The men and women in the various agencies have administered the laws and done the job.

In a general way the country knows that the Home Owners' Loan Corporation saved a million homes from foreclosure in 1933. It knows that the Federal Housing Administration has made possible the construction of millions of new homes. It knows that the Commodity Credit Corporation has prevented farm commodities from having to be sold at sacrifice prices, and has held commodity prices at fair levels for the past 7 years. It knows that the R. F. C. saved bank depositors in every county in the United States through bolstering the banks, that business and disaster sufferers and a great many others have been helped—but they may not realize that every man, woman, and child in the United States has been directly or indirectly helped through Government aid to business under the Roosevelt administration.

And what we are apt to do is to forget just how tough things were when President Roosevelt took office. I cannot forget. At the R. F. C. in 1932 and 1933, I saw too many people in distress, people from every section of the country, and from all walks of life. And I know that President Roosevelt did everything within his power to pull us out of the terrible bog we were in. Again, some of us are unwilling to admit how good things are now. As a matter of fact, most business is making money and several million more people are on the pay rolls of business than were at work 8 years ago. The President's long experience in Government made

it possible for him to furnish the leadership that was necessary to accomplish all this.

And it has long been my thought that experience in government in public life is as necessary to success as is experience in business or in the professions, and that a man coming directly from the business world without experience in public life, regardless of how good a businessman he might be, could not make the best public executive, whether it be in the Presidency or a lesser office. One reason for this is that men are in business, particularly big business, primarily to make money, which is in no sense to their discredit. Their training is along this line rather than thinking about the welfare of the whole flock. The successful public official, like the successful businessman, is usually the one who starts at the bottom, being elected first to some local office and from there probably to the State legislature, then to the Congress or the governorship. Through this procedure or course of training he gets experience in dealing with public problems, problems that affect all the people, the great majority of whom are never able to accumulate anything beyond living expenses. More than that, he acquires experience, particularly in dealing with men in public life, and it is through these men and women in public life that government operates.

Usually as he administers one office successfully he is promoted to another and higher one. The case in point is that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who started as a very young man in local politics and has successively occupied important positions of trust in his county, his State, and his Nation. He is well known to you, and the experience he has gained over this long period in dealing with public questions is an invaluable asset at this particular time when the world is on fire and dictators are on the march.

The Funeral of Governor Horner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. SCOTT W. LUCAS, OF ILLINOIS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask leave to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] on the occasion of the funeral of the late Henry Horner, Governor of Illinois.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On this sad and solemn occasion, I speak in humble tribute to the memory of a great and distinguished Governor of our State, as well as a great and distinguished son of Illinois.

I speak also in tribute to the memory of a close and personal friend. Because Henry Horner was my friend, because we shared an intimacy which I shall always cherish, my sorrow is of a double portion.

The illness which was to end his life became first known to the world just 2 years ago when he carried too far his exertions in behalf of a cause I chanced, at the moment, to represent. In that campaign he brushed aside all previous warnings from physicians that he must temper his zeal to the physical limitations which had come upon him. With utterly characteristic disregard of self, he spent himself in toil for those principles he felt to be at stake.

And while I cannot pretend that it was for me, so much as for his own high principles, that he sacrificed his physical security, I nevertheless recognize his act as a solemn obligation upon me, and a hallowed memory to inspire me for the rest of my life.

Yet, it is not mere personal loss that I stand here to express. In death, as in life, Governor Henry Horner belongs to Illinois. His great soul, his warm heart, and the record of his glorious achievements in behalf of Illinois take their place now in the history of our State, to give added luster to the annals that tell of such Illinoisans as Lincoln, to whom our departed leader was so devoted as a student.

Search the history of this or any other State as diligently as we may, and we shall never find trace of a man more devoted, more conscientious, more self-denying in the service of the people than was Henry Horner.

Coming to the chief executive's desk at Springfield in vigorous health, he literally wore himself out in diligent striving for the betterment of the State that he loved. His temperament and his character were such that he would not rest while official tasks remained to be done. Had he assumed and discharged only half of what he did, he still would have ranked among the great Governors of Illinois.

As it was, because conscience and zeal drove him relentlessly to give the task of government such attention to detail, such personal inquiry and direction, history seems certain to rank him as our greatest Governor.

Surely that will be the verdict if greatness is measured not only by the yardstick of tangible accomplishment but by passionate and sacrificial devotion to duty, by the solemn realization of the responsibilities of the office, and by still another gage. That other gage is the deserved respect, high admiration, and the affectionate regard which he inspired in the hearts of all the people of the State.

If to win the love and the esteem of your fellow man is the true goal of life, then, indeed, did Henry Horner achieve in full measure the stature of true success.

Then, indeed, may we say that we were privileged to know and have as our leader and servant one who was truly a man. For, while our State has known many great leaders, none has been more beloved in his lifetime by the people than was Henry Horner.

Perhaps it was because he so understood the people, the humble and the wretched equally with the strong and the prosperous; perhaps it was because there existed in that once stout heart a rare compassion, a unique understanding of the humors and sorrows of life, that the people so loved him. For love him the people of Illinois did—in every part and in every section.

That Henry Horner was a man capable of winning unusual response in the hearts of his fellow beings will be well understood by the people of Chicago, this, his native city. For he lived here among you, from his birth in November 1878, until the people in their wisdom summoned him to the capitol of our State at Springfield 54 years later to assume the office of Governor.

You in Chicago knew him as boy and as man. You saw his character flower and develop, mainly under the tutelage of a mother for whom he bore such a love and such a devotion, then and during all the years of his life, as to make their beautiful relationship a thing for poets to dwell upon. His intimates who, in his long illness, visited his bedchamber at the mansion, will always remember how the portrait of his mother looked down upon him from the wall, and how her spirit seemed to be hovering above him protectingly.

The unfailing honesty of thought and of purpose; the unswerving fealty to responsibilities, private and public; the bottomless compassion for the weak, for the helpless and for the friendless; the understanding heart that received and inspired human fellowship, as such a quality, is given to few men; the fierce passion for justice, for tolerance, and for right doing in all fields of human relationships—these were the attributes of Henry Horner that he received from his mother and that marked him all his life.

These secrets of his character were well known to the people of Chicago. You recognized him, with the sure sense that a democratic people possess, as one of those only too few

> "Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
> In public duty, and in private thinking."

That is why for 18 years you kept him on the bench of the Probate Court of Cook County. You knew that so long as Judge Horner presided over that court, the widows, the orphans, and the helpless could depend on justice, could depend on the law seeking out the truth and administering it with both dignity and sympathy. And never once was your faith misplaced.

With each passing year, as his reputation as the perfect judge grew to State, then to national, fame, your faith in him was constantly renewed and strengthened.

As a judge he devised new ways and charted new paths—his famous Horner plan for aiding veterans of the World War was an example—for his was that kind soul forever restless if there was need for action in behalf of human betterment. And especially did he show a gentle interest in small children, in both his public and private capacity.

Yes; you people of Chicago knew this Henry Horner well, the judge who understood so well that "when mercy seasons justice * * * it is an attribute to God Himself."

You knew, too, still another side of our departed friend—the careful scholar, the natural orator, the gentle humorist whose smile was like a morning sun, the genial philosopher, the inspiring optimist and humanist. And you were aware, too, of still another side—the fierce, though fair, antagonist when his high principles were challenged. You saw him as the vigorous warrior in the never-ending battle for social justice. For the usually gentle, genial Henry Horner could be a fighting lion when the occasion demanded. For he was one among—

> "Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
> Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
> Men who possess opinions and a will;
> Men who have honor, men who will not lie."

Such was the man the people of Chicago knew, and such was the man you gave to the State at large.

If now, now that he is back with you, never again to leave the bosom of his home city, if you wonder how it was with him during the last years which he spent away from Chicago, serving the State, let me bring to you this testimony: All Illinois had come to claim him as its own.

He was looked upon not as a Chicagoan but as he had fondly hoped to be looked upon, as a Governor of the whole State. For Illinois had taken him to her heart—all Illinois, the Illinois of the rural areas, the little towns and hamlets, as well as the Illinois of large cities.

Henry Horner was a living symbol of human tolerance. He embodied a great American principle, and that principle is exemplified most forcibly here today as we witness the participation in this service of a rabbi, a priest, and a minister. Henry Horner, by his

life, and by his service, has shown us how great and how true is the American promise.

Illinois is a finer and better State because he lived and labored among us. Illinois is stronger spiritually and materially because he lived. Illinois is further advanced in the scale of civilization and the practice of the democratic theory of government because he sat in the Governor's chair. We who survive him are a more tolerant and a more sensitive people because we have known this great, this patriotic, and this noble soul.

The people of this State are richer in tradition because he assembled and then gave to the State the largest and most important collection of books about Lincoln ever gathered by one man.

This was his parting gesture to the State, to give it his own Lincoln library—a treasure of great monetary, but of infinitely greater educational value—a gift that will stand forever in Springfield as a connecting link between Lincoln and generations of citizens yet unborn.

Governor Horner, this final act of generosity is the culmination of your sacrifice to your beloved State. But, sir, no material token is needed to insure for you that immortality on this earth reserved only for the great ones among men. We could not lose you entirely. Souls such as yours cannot die. Only the flesh goes. The sustaining spirit remains. And well have you deserved your peace and your rest.

Farewell, good friend. And now, to this noble son of the prairie who goes to sleep in its bosom, I say again farewell in behalf of the mourning millions in Illinois and the Nation.

Senator Wiley States His Reasons For Voting For Wendell Willkie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT BY HON. ALEXANDER WILEY, OF WISCONSIN

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by myself, recently appearing in some of the newspapers of the country. The statement contains some of the reasons why I shall vote for Wendell Willkie.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY I INTEND TO VOTE FOR WENDELL WILLKIE

1. The country is in great need of a change in leadership—a leadership that will fulfill what it promises.

2. I do not believe in violating the third-term tradition, which has virtually become an unwritten law through sanctification by Washington, Jefferson, and many of our great national leaders.

3. Willkie and McNARY give us a well-balanced team. Both men are practical, clear-headed; they will fearlessly face issues and apply common sense, workable ways and means of solving our national problems.

4. Willkie was the people's choice, nominated by a convention unbossed and untrammeled. Roosevelt was Roosevelt's choice, the result of a bossed convention dictated to by the Chief Executive not simply as to first place but as to second place.

5. The situation demands a self-made man, one who knows how to do things, how to spend in a trusteelike manner the people's money. The situation demands a man who knows the problems of labor because he labored; the problems of management because he has managed; the value of money, industry, thrift, integrity because he was educated in the university of hard knocks—such a man is Willkie.

6. Willkie believes in team play, in unity, in cooperation. He knows past and present history. He does not believe in turning people against each other, in dividing this Nation of ours into opposing groups. He believes in ambition, thrift, industry, courage, doing things. He could get preparedness. He made a success of every undertaking he entered upon. There is in his soul not simply the dreamer, the poet, but there is also a spirit of the builder. America needs now a builder.

7. This man has respect for constitutional government. There is no sham in him. He would not under the disguise of a claimed emergency put a brake on business industry, attempt to pack the Supreme Court, excuse a third-term candidacy, nor would he announce that he never had any desire or purpose to be a candidate a third term for office just before his nomination before a convention that was packed for him with a Harry Hopkins engineering every move thereof—such attempted deception is not in the make-up of Mr. Willkie.

8. Willkie is sane, sensible, and realistic. He would not surrender this Government to a group of amateur experimentals, collectivists, and socialists. He would make the taxpayers' dollar get 100 cents in return. He would improve the lot of labor, the farmer, and capital through horse-sense methods. In like way he would handle the problem of the unemployed. He did that with a billion-dollar organization that was bankrupt, satisfying labor, management, the consumer, and the stockholder, not by raising prices but by cutting them in half and by recognizing that there are certain fundamental principles in business and economics that must not be violated.

The Late Senator Lundeen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK ENQUIRER

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, Mr. William Griffin, editor and publisher of the New York Enquirer, has always been an outspoken advocate of the United States keeping out of the wars of Europe and Asia. He gave to the country the story of Winston Churchill—as shown in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for October 21, 1939.

Griffin's patriotic stand for the United States deserves high commendation. He is a world traveler and a student of international affairs.

His editorial, entitled, "Patriot and Statesman," in which he discusses our respected colleague, the late Senator Lundeen, appeared in the Enquirer.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Enquirer of September 23, 1940]

PATRIOT AND STATESMAN

In the airplane crash which occurred on August 31, with tragic consequences to 25 passengers, at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains, the Republic itself suffered a national loss in the death of Ernest Lundeen, United States Senator from Minnesota.

All realistic Americans agree that Congress as at present constituted represents the lowest grade to which our National Legislature has ever receded. Patriotism and statesmanship are rare qualities under the Capitol dome these days. Senator Lundeen was one of the few men in the Seventy-sixth Congress possessing these qualities in abundance. His sudden and ghastly death came upon him at a time when he was valiantly, forcefully, and fruitfully carrying on the great fight to which he devoted his talents and his life—the fight of an America true to herself in all things.

If, instead of Ernest Lundeen, it had been one of those Senators who are acting and speaking as though the loved America of the Senator from Minnesota were again a dependency of the Union Jack, upon whom death so swiftly descended in the smash-up which deprived the Republic of one of its greatest sons, there would immediately have pierced the skies, in all quarters of the land, an insistent charge of sabotage.

Who would rush to make this accusation, in order to inflame the people and make them an easier prey for the war makers? They are those in official quarters and their confederates who are carrying on the work of Benedict Arnold.

They are the men and the women, the laity and the clergy, who with a zeal and lack of moral responsibility sufficient to make the devil himself envious, are bent upon embroiling our country actively in England's war, submitting her to a Hitlerian dictatorship, and destroying forever the manifold freedom won for her by those who refused to subscribe to the infamous creed of the man whose devotion to England led him to betray his country.

Arnold, it will be remembered, was the original "aid for England" man in the American service.

On the eve of his unforeseen and ever-to-be-lamented death, Ernest Lundeen, speaking in the Senate against the Burke-Wadsworth bill (one of whose purposes is to create a huge army of American boys to spill their blood for the purpose of keeping the British imperial crown on the empty head of the descendant of George III who now wears it), expressed himself in this manner with regard to the anti-Americanism which is being practiced in our land today:

"I will say to the Senator that if Andrew Jackson were alive today some of the editors and full-page artists who are publishing adver-

tisements calling for aid to Great Britain at the expense of the United States might find themselves on the scaffold; Andrew Jackson would hang them. He once threatened to hang one of the greatest Americans because he hinted at secession. We need more firm measures against such men who come over here. They are good, patriotic Englishmen. They are for the British Empire, of course, and I honor them as citizens of another country; but I do not honor their activities here, and I do not want those who work with them to seek to involve America in war in behalf of another nation."

Ernest Lundeen was one of the loyal, enlightened, and steadfast few in Congress on the fateful crucifixion day of 1917 who voted against plunging this Nation into the World War. What a different aspect America would present to herself and to the world had Congress followed the beseechings of Ernest Lundeen and his anti-war colleagues on April 6, 23 years ago. If those forces of foreign evil and domestic treason against which Ernest Lundeen was so heroically fighting when death snatched him from the Nation's battle, are successful in maneuvering us into active war again, the tragic fate of the Senator from Minnesota will have been a far happier one than that of those who live to see the destruction of the United States of America.

It remains with the American people, and no other power, to save the Republic for which Ernest Lundeen labored so nobly and so well. His life work in behalf of a self-reliant, self-respecting America is one of the finest chapters in the history of American statesmanship and is a solemn incentive to the voters of the land to exercise much greater care in choosing their public representatives.

President Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SHERMAN MINTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE PHILADELPHIA RECORD

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial under the heading "This Nation is fortunate," advocating the reelection of President Roosevelt, published in the Philadelphia Record of this date.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Philadelphia Record of October 8, 1940]

THIS NATION IS FORTUNATE

For the good of the Nation Franklin D. Roosevelt should continue to serve as President of the United States.

The Philadelphia Record advocated his nomination and election in 1932, and again in 1936, as it now urges his reelection for a third term.

Ten years ago, November 6, 1930, to be exact, the Record congratulated Roosevelt on his reelection as Governor of New York by the largest majority in the history of that State. We said:

"Roosevelt won because he is a man of unimpeachable integrity and a competent administrator. The huge vote was a magnificent demonstration of the public's ability to recognize sterling merit.

"Roosevelt won because the voters recognized his simple honesty, his courage, and his competence.

"He is a leader who leads. The Nation is fortunate to have such a man available with 1932 just around the corner and a Republican administration markedly deficient in strong leadership."

After 10 years we have the same opinion of the man and his importance to the Nation.

Then in the spring of 1932 came a barrage of propaganda that this man Roosevelt was incompetent, mentally and in every other way, for high office.

We traced the propaganda to its source, the very efficient utility lobby—but the reports became so insistent we thought we had better check up on them. It was one thing to compliment the Governor of a neighboring State and another to back him for the Presidency. So we sent a representative of the Record up to Albany to look Roosevelt over.

The Governor submitted cheerfully to a careful cross-questioning on his political creed, then in turn asked about the Pennsylvania political situation, finally wanted to know where the Record would stand.

"Frankly, Governor, this visit is to find out whether you are as incompetent as the utility lobby would have us believe," said the Record man.

"Stick around and find out for yourself," said the Governor.

At lunch that day the Governor had as guests the president and chief counsel of the New York Central. Conversation turned to railroad financing. The Governor had the railroad men groggy on facts and figures of their road and every other railroad in his State.

Roosevelt has an encyclopedic knowledge of government and economics. He has a pigeon-hole mind, which turns with lightning rapidity from soil erosion to battleship construction, to employment statistics, to reciprocal-trade treaties. He has a photographic memory. He is a master of American history.

On details of government Roosevelt is the best equipped man who has ever sat in the White House.

He has held down the hardest job in the world for nearly 8 years, and thrived on it. He performs with more efficiency and energy today than he did during his first year in office. This is proof in itself that he is master of his job. No man could stand that gruelling strain if he were not extremely able.

Roosevelt has a natural gift for political leadership, of which he gave proof when, fresh from law school, he entered the New York State Senate and successfully bucked the Tammany Hall machine. To this natural aptitude has been added 30 years' experience as legislator, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, candidate for Vice President, and 12 years as Governor and President.

He has the courage to carry through against odds. He has the self-confidence to act quickly and on his own responsibility in an emergency.

He is intellectually honest. He has played politics but he has never trimmed on an essential issue.

He is a kindly man. His great love for his fellow man manifests itself in a tense effort to give the underdog, "the forgotten man," fair play.

Lastly, and most important of all, Roosevelt is a true American, who believes in the Bill of Rights, who abhors dictatorship, and who will never appease the axis.

Because this country faces a graver emergency today than it did 10 years ago, we can repeat with added emphasis and conviction what we said 10 years ago, "The Nation is fortunate to have such a man available."

We are not blind to Roosevelt's faults and shortcomings.

He has made blunders, and we have criticized him and his administration for them.

He has made mistakes in the selection of his subordinates. Every President is allowed a margin of error in that respect. But Roosevelt has been inexcusably slow in getting rid of the weak sisters in his administration. We sense that he hasn't the heart to fire, but that is no virtue in a top executive.

Roosevelt's most obvious blunders have been made in his monetary policies.

There is humor in that aspect of the campaign. Willkie will not take advantage of the one big weakness in Roosevelt's record because the errors have all been made by following Wall Street's advice.

The depression of 1938 was artificially produced by deflationary measures designed to protect us against an inflationary mirage.

But it was Winthrop Aldrich, head of the Chase Bank, and fellow Wall Street pundits who demanded such action.

The opposition could take Roosevelt to task for permitting Fort Knox to become the dumping ground for most of the gold in the world. But the last thing in the world that Willkie's Wall Street friends want is a change in our gold policy.

Roosevelt is a conservative on monetary policies, a fearless fighting liberal on every other phase of government.

In a fireside chat during his first term Roosevelt said that he hoped to bat 75 percent. He has averaged well above the standard he set for himself.

Roosevelt is not indispensable.

But it would take time to find his equal and more time to train him up to the job.

The Record is proud to support President Roosevelt for a third term.

In our opinion he is the best man available for the hardest and most important job in the world.

Farm Income and Farm Prices Before and After 1932

REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMPTON P. FULMER

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. FULMER. Mr. Speaker, so many statements have been made by Members of Congress, especially Republican Members, as well as statements by those who are engaged in campaigning against the Roosevelt administration, including statements made by Senator MCNARY, who is the Republican candidate for the Vice Presidency, which are so misleading

that I am anxious to place in the RECORD the real facts as to the actual merits of the farm program under the New Deal.

Opponents of the farm program have been hard pressed in their attempt to argue away a gain of nearly 100 percent in farm income and average gains of almost 50 percent in farm prices since 1932. One of their standard devices is to compare the average of the last 7 years with the previous 7 years or with the previous 12 years. Farmers can meet these critics on their own ground.

The best measure of agricultural prosperity is farm purchasing power. It takes into consideration cash farm income as well as prices, interest, and taxes paid by farmers. In the last 7 years farm purchasing power has averaged exactly 5 percent more than the average of the previous 7 years. It has averaged slightly more than 5 percent above the average for the 12-year period 1921–32. In 1939 farmers were able to buy as much of things they need as in 1929 and 72 percent more than in 1932.

More important than averages for selected periods, however, are the trends of farm income and prices. Since 1932 agriculture has been recovering from its worst depression with the aid of a national farm program, handicapped by world conditions which blockaded exports. In 1921 there was also a significant agricultural depression, but farmers had no program and depended for recovery on exports and business improvement. If we compare the trends in the 8-year periods 1932–40 and 1921–29, we have an excellent study of agricultural recovery with and without a national farm program.

Farm income gained 38 percent from 1921 to 1929. Farm income gained 90 percent from 1932 to 1940. Estimated cash farm income for 1940 includes Government payments.

If the 1921–29 rate of recovery had prevailed in the last 8 years farm income in 1940 would be less than $6,500,000,000. The latest official estimate of farm income for 1940 is nearly $9,000,000,000.

Thus, farmers this year are about $2,500,000,000 better off under the national farm program than they would be without it.

During the last 8 years farmers have gained a total of $15,000,000,000—an average of almost $2,000,000,000 a year—over and above what they would have received at the 1921–29 rate of recovery without a farm program.

Opponents of the farm program like to average up prices in the past 7 years and compare them with averages for the preceding 7 years. This kind of comparison is misleading, because it ignores four extremely important facts:

First. The national farm program inherited the Nation's worst agricultural depression in 1933 and had a long way to go for anything resembling fair farm prices.

Second. The trend of farm prices was downward before 1933 and has been upward since then.

Third. World trade barriers and the war have crippled farm exports in recent years, while foreign loans boosted farm exports during the 1920's.

Fourth. The high prices paid by farmers in the late 1920's cut down a great deal of the purchasing power of the prices received by farmers.

The fourth of these factors can be straightened out by expressing farm prices as a percent of parity. The parity measurement takes into consideration prices paid by farmers and farm interest and taxes, as well as prices received by farmers. It shows the buying power of individual farm products in relation to the 5 pre-war years 1909–1914, a period selected by Congress as the normal or parity period when farm and nonfarm prices were well balanced and stable.

Suppose we meet the critics of the farm program on their own ground by comparing the last 7 years with the previous 7 years, showing farm prices as a percent of parity.

The price of wheat averaged 71 percent of parity in the marketing years 1933–1939 compared with an average of 61 percent of parity in the period 1926–1932.

Corn prices have averaged 78 percent of parity during the last 7 years, compared with 64 percent of parity during the previous 7 years.

The price of hogs averaged out at 76 percent of parity in the years 1933–1939 compared with an average of 69 percent in the period 1926–1932.

Beef prices have averaged about the same percent of parity in these two periods, but the latest market report for September 1940 showed beef prices at 113 percent of parity—in other words, 13 percent above the parity level.

Butterfat prices, on the average, have been at a somewhat lower level in the past 7 years than during the previous 7-year period, but the rising level of butterfat prices brought the September figure to 84 percent of parity, which is nearly equal to the 1926–32 average of 87 percent.

The price of cotton stood at about the same percent of parity during both of the periods that are being compared. The remarkable thing is that cotton prices have not been far lower than they actually were during the past 7 years, considering that cotton exports have dropped more than 75 percent in value during the last 15 years.

To tell the whole story about farm prices under the national farm program, we should in fairness add conservation and parity payments to the prices of the basic farm products. These payments to participating farmers in 1939 boosted the return from wheat 28 cents a bushel, the returns from corn 15 cents a bushel, and the returns from cotton nearly 3½ cents a pound.

Allowing for conservation and parity payments, the farmers who participated in the A. A. A. program received average returns of 86 percent of parity for wheat, 85 percent of parity for corn, and 80 percent of parity for cotton on the 1939 crop.

In the 1932 marketing year, before the Triple A was launched, the price of wheat averaged 37 percent of parity, corn 43 percent of parity, and cotton 46 percent of parity.

That is a true measure of the gains in farm prices under the national farm program.

The Tennessee Valley Authority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEEAN

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, at the request of the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], who was compelled to leave the Chamber, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very excellent editorial from the Nashville Tennesseean of September 19, 1940, entitled "Thirteen Million Dollars to the Good." It is a discussion of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Nashville Tennesseean of September 19, 1940]

THIRTEEN MILLION DOLLARS TO THE GOOD

Last year, before a congressional subcommittee holding hearings on the question of replacing utility taxes in the Tennessee Valley region, opponents of the T. V. A. declared that "a few bankrupt counties would be very enlightening."

Even more enlightening it now must be to these gentlemen, who complacently anticipated serious tax embarrassment to the valley people, to observe the contrary fact.

For what actually has arrived in the valley, after the first full year of general T. V. A. power distribution by public agencies, is not penury but prosperity. What has arrived is an annual net saving of $13,000,000 to the power consumers, over and above a tax replacement which comes within a few thousand dollars of the total taxes formerly paid through the private utilities.

The valley savings computed by T. V. A. are made up of a $9,000,000 reduction in power costs as the result of T. V. A. rates and a $4,000,000 net profit in the operation of municipal and cooperative distribution systems. In addition, these systems, out of their

annual earnings, have made large investments in new plant and substantial retirements of their original-purchase debt, all of which may be classed as profit of operations.

Against this tremendous increment (which takes no account of new private property values and new tax sources which have come into existence through industrial expansions attributable wholly or in part to T. V. A. power) there is to be placed a net tax loss in the six valley States of only $51,000.

The world has other things to do than to wait around with those who hope to chortle over bankrupt counties from these eventuations.

There was in the beginning only one palatable justification for continuing to collect taxes through public-power services. That was to prevent the sudden dislocation of revenues to which our governing units had become accustomed. Also, it could be contended in theory, the collections should have been continued for the sake of the yardstick—the people voluntarily continuing to pay tax equivalents in their power bills in order that power costs in this area might fairly be contrasted with power costs outside of this area.

Now we find T. V. A., the municipalities, and co-ops paying into the tax pocket of the public treasuries $3,280,000 to replace taxes amounting to $2,631,000 formerly paid by private companies on the same properties, an excess of present payments over all former property-tax payments of $649,000.

This excess, subtracted from the $700,000 formerly paid by the private companies in taxes supplementary to the property tax, leaves the $51,000 net tax loss mentioned above.

Payments in lieu of taxes by the T. V. A. itself now exceed by $527,000 all former ad valorem taxes collected on power property acquired by the Authority.

Lest there should be any confusion, or more misrepresentation, it is well to point out that the $3,280,000 in tax replacements now being paid by public power agencies in the valley comes directly out of the pockets of power consumers in the valley. T. V. A. pays on the basis of a percentage of its gross receipts from its power sales, that is, out of operating revenues. The municipalities and co-ops likewise make their payments out of operating revenues. The ultimate consumers' bills cover the whole lot—and at the same time the total power bill of all the consumers is $9,000,000 less than it would be under rates prevailing at the time of the beginning of T. V. A. power distribution.

We hope these conditions in the valley in 1940 are adequate answer alike to those critics of T. V. A. who dote on yawping "Subsidy!" and those nice people who would relish the sight of "a few bankrupt counties" as a reproach to public-power enterprises. T. V. A. itself this year will have revenues of $15,000,000 from power sales to the people of the valley. The municipalities and co-ops set up their power services in the most orthodox way (their bonds are held by untold numbers of "widows and orphans") and their systems are paying their way solely by the sale of power to the people of the valley.

Those who have sought to alarm taxpayers elsewhere in the Nation may cease. The T. V. A. is the soundest business investment ever undertaken by Congress. The people of the valley region who are benefiting most by it will pay for it. They are paying for it.

Meanwhile the use of electric power in the valley States jumped 20.2 percent in July alone, and up to the end of July had increased, from 8 years ago, an amazing 120 percent.

Speaker Bankhead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARENCE CANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, September 19, 1940

Mr. CANNON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, there have been 47 Speakers of the House. I have seen nine of them presiding in that chair. WILLIAM BROCKMAN BANKHEAD was the forty-sixth Speaker in that long and distinguished line of historic men.

James Bryce, in his American Commonwealth, says that the greatest Americans are not chosen President of the United States. For the same reason, more often than not, the greatest men in the House of Representatives are not chosen Speaker. But Speaker BANKHEAD did not fall within that rule. It was my privilege to note him the first day of his service in the Sixty-fifth Congress. And from that day until the tragic close of his eventful career he was in stature, in commanding presence, in intellect, in debate on the floor, and in council in the committee room, one of the outstanding figures of the Congress. He attained preeminence on this floor through sheer ability and dynamic personality.

He came of a noted family. His was a distinguished heritage. But it was a democratic heritage in which advancement came only through service. A little while ago I stood in Westminster Abbey, where sleep so many of England's honored dead, and then wandered through the crypts of St. Paul's Cathedral where the dust of English heroes is entombed. In Westminster the names of those illustrious by accident of birth predominate; in St. Paul's, those whose fame and renown rests upon the greatness of their own achievements. Were there an American Westminster and St. Paul's, WILLIAM BROCKMAN BANKHEAD would rest among the honored dead of the Republic who through devotion to duty and through their own merit have rendered exceptional service to their day and generation; have wrought most mightily for their country and their time.

So notable was his service in the House that when the hour struck he was by common consent unanimously elevated to the Speakership, a position second only to the Presidency itself in its importance and influence on legislation and in its weight in the scales of government.

He administered that exalted position through one of the critical periods of American history. His accesesion to office came in the midst of a struggle to readjust the economic life of the Nation. Before that readjustment could be completed the situation was further complicated by the outbreak of the war in Europe. As result of conflicting domestic and world conditions, Congress throughout the term of his Speakership was constantly faced by emergencies requiring tact and wisdom, assiduous application to duty, and indefatigable labor. He met the situation courageously and efficiently, but he was already living on borrowed time, and the ordeal slowly sapped his once inexhaustible vitality. The end came suddenly and dramatically. He fell full helmeted and on his shield, dying as he would have preferred to die—in the midst of his work and at the high tide of achievement.

Who is the happy warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
* * * * *
'Tis finally, the man, who lifted high,
Conspicuous object in a nation's eye,
* * * * *
Who, with a toward or untoward lot,
Prosperous or adverse, to his wish or not—
Plays, in the many games of life, that one
Where what he most doth value must be won.
* * * * *
This is the happy warrior; this is he
That every man in arms should wish to be.

—*Wordsworth.*

Willkie's Tour of the West

REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES F. O'CONNOR
OF MONTANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, I am going to take up this minute in reading an editorial which appeared in the Big Timber Pioneer in which I know you are all interested. It is entitled "Finished the West":

FINISHED THE WEST

Wendell L. Willkie completed his tour of the West with a grand finale in eastern Montana and North Dakota. For a man who has spent most of his early career on "my farm" in Indiana he has seen about as much of the West, between naps, as a traveling hobo.

At Miles City he told them that just 30 years ago he came into that city in a boxcar, the usual method of travel of what in late years has developed into the hitch hiker. How he got there and why he was there when he was, as shown by his biography, attending high school in Indiana is not known; but like the bedbug, he "got there just the same."

At Glendive he climbed into the engine pulling his special train and became an engineer and fireman, figuratively speaking, en route to Mandan, N. Dak.

En route, near Medora, he passed a signboard stating that Theodore Roosevelt once ranched there. How he failed to connect himself with the sign is hard to determine, except that he may have been looking out of the engine-cab window on the other side.

However, he made up for it at Mandan. His greeting reminded him that at one time he had been dishwasher, later night cook, in a restaurant in that locality.

The Pioneer got its worst disappointment in his remarks regarding that part of North Dakota territory. At the north entrance of the Mandan station is a reminder of Col. Theodore Roosevelt, in the form of a statue to the colonel, showing a horse weighing not over 800, and the colonel, weighing not over 140, astride the animal and armed to the teeth.

This paper had expected that Willkie would jump on behind the colonel and have a snapshot taken of "Me, Colonel Roosevelt, and the Marquis de Mores when we punched cows in the early days near Medora."

No such thing happened, but Willkie sure peddled "the bull" whenever the train halted.

The Vicious Circle or New Deal Corruption Prevents Adequate National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 21, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, legend has it that, sometime before Revolutionary War days, Rip Van Winkle, going up into the Catskill Mountains of New York, slept for some 20 years and awoke to find a strange, strange world, to which he had difficulty in adjusting himself.

THE NATION HAS BEEN SLEEPING

For, lo, these many years, the American giant has been sleeping. At last, jarred by the shock of a conflict in the Old World which has destroyed nations, altered the boundaries of countries, and which will enslave their people, he has awakened to the fact that not only is he living in what to him is a changed world but that he is living in a day and age when not only his liberty but his very existence is threatened.

Samson of old yielded to the wiles of Delilah and, betrayed by her blandishments, awakened to find himself shorn of the strength necessary to preserve his liberty. To pay for his folly he served until his death as the slave of the Philistines.

TOO COMPLACENT

America, accepting as her right and not as a reward for her industry and her thrift nor as a gift from the gods, ease, prosperity, happiness, freedom, and liberties unknown to the other peoples of the world, has fallen into a like error. For many, many years, we have assumed that we were the chosen people of destiny; that always the good God would guide us on our way, would protect and perpetuate our prosperity and our freedom.

By our sloth, our indolence, our reliance upon others, our unwillingness to fend for ourselves, we have become soft, weak, lacking in moral and physical courage to meet the realities of a new, grim world.

Somewhat like the children of Israel of old, who wandered for 40 years in the wilderness and who from time to time were made to feel the chastising hand of their God, we, too, now come to the time when we must pay, in sackcloth and ashes as it were, for our disregard of the teaching of the fathers, for our lack of thankfulness for the beneficence of, and our disobedience to, the Divine Being who has guided, guarded, and protected us through the years.

A FALSE PROPHET

We, as a Nation, have listened to the teachings of a false prophet. We have worshiped at the feet of false gods. We ignored the fact that days and years of plenty are followed by days and years of scarcity; that, if man would eat, man must work; that, if he would prosper, he must save.

Being made in the image of our Creator, we disregarded the example of the ants, of the squirrels, and all of those creatures of nature who provide against the future. The admonition, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise," has been no part of our creed. We have been dumber than the dumb beasts of the field.

DECEIVED

We listened to the story of the forgotten man; to the fairy tale of the "more abundant life"; to the heresy that we could save by spending; that we could create by limiting production; that we could eat more abundantly by destroying food; that we could go on forever borrowing and spending against the future and that the day of payment, the day of reckoning, might be indefinitely postponed.

Yes; never was a fool more deeply involved by his own folly than have been the American people by their faith in the one who came with a charming smile and honeyed words to steal away, not only the sound foundations on which their prosperity, their happiness, and their liberty had been builded, but, as it now appears, their existence as a Nation.

BETRAYED

Never were a people more completely betrayed by false promises, by the painting of a glowing future, by pledges of a life of ease and abundance.

No master magician by sleight of hand or legerdemain ever more completely fooled a trusting audience than did Franklin D. Roosevelt betray the American people by his tricks, his experiments, his use of unsound methods, which so long ago had been tried and found worthless as to be again considered new.

TEMPTER

As the Saviour himself was taken up into a high mountain and shown the glory of all the kingdoms of the world and promised dominion over them, so, too, our people were tempted by promises of dominion over all the good things of life, to be theirs without work or effort, if they would but fall down and worship the false doctrines of the New Deal tempter.

To our shame be it said that we yielded and followed, indolently, joyously, down the primrose path of wasteful spending, and now find at its end that we must take up and carry on the accumulated burdens which we had refused to assume.

Yes; Rip Van Winkle awoke in what to him was a strange, strange world; a world which to him just was not real, but which to everyone else was a very matter-of-fact world.

As the proverb has it:

How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? When wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?

Samson awoke from his trustful sleep to find himself bound and helpless in the hands of his enemies. So, too, witnessing the destruction of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, and what may be the death struggle of the British Empire, have we awakened to find ourselves wholly unprepared to meet the forces of the Old World conqueror; to find ourselves helpless in the hands of Communist labor racketeers; bound with the bonds of so-called social legislation.

INCOMPETENT LEADERSHIP

To make the tragic picture more terrifying, we find ourselves, at a time of real danger, led by a man who, for more than 7 years, has demonstrated his utter lack of competency to solve the comparatively easy problems which have confronted us here at home.

No need to call the roll of his failures. Each is too painfully apparent. For each we will pay in back-breaking, heart-rending toil.

A Nation overburdened with debt; with industrial strife seething and boiling just below the surface; with "fifth columnists" in the very Government itself, boring relentlessly from within, we find ourselves not only unprepared, not only bankrupt, not only torn by class hatred which he has nurtured during his administration, but confounded and confused by a policy which has been demonstrated in France and England to be the cause of their lack of preparedness, of their

inability to meet the foe on equal terms; policies which have given France into the hands of her conqueror; which have Great Britain with her back to the wall, fighting for her existence.

A VICIOUS CIRCLE

A vicious circle of political corruption, which, if continued, will destroy us as a Nation, prevents the mechanical production which is necessary if we are to meet the foe on equal terms.

The disregard of party ethics, as shown by the attempted purge of his own party members; of common honesty and common decency, as evidenced by the spending of relief funds for political purposes; the denial of civil rights as by the refusal to protect men in their right to work, has destroyed the moral fiber, the will to sacrifice, the courage to endure, which are necessary if we, as a Nation, are to survive.

Everyone concedes that only through the exercise of courage, physical, and moral—only by endurance—only through the ability to intelligently begin and successfully carry through mental and physical tasks, can we adequately prepare for the future.

Yet this administration deliberately, premeditatedly, ignores natural laws, the causes of disaster in other lands, and insists that it will accomplish the impossible without sacrifice or added effort on the part of anyone.

YIELDS TO SUBVERSIVE GROUPS

To perpetuate itself in office, it has, through the N. L. R. B., denied the right of free speech to our citizens. Through hospitality extended by a member of the Chief Executive's family to—by approval publicly shown of—by the appointment to high office of those sympathetic with an organization which would overthrow our Government by force, this administration has encouraged those who have almost completely destroyed our ability to manufacture munitions of war.

By favors shown through governmental agencies and committees, Franklin Roosevelt has enthroned a dictator over labor, who now not only throttles industry but denies to the American citizen the right to earn a livelihood, to contribute his toil in unstinted measure to the defense of his home and fireside.

In this country the unbelievable has happened. It has come to pass that man cannot work until he has paid tribute to an organization in which Communists exercise a large measure of authority.

Who of our forefathers; who of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; of those who placed their names upon that immortal document, the Constitution of the United States, would have believed that ever would come the day here in this land of ours, where, in order to exercise his right to work, a man would be compelled to join any kind of an organization?

MAKES PREPAREDNESS DIFFICULT

Who would have believed that the day would come when the Nation, confronted by a danger which threatened its destruction, would submit to a labor dictator who refused to let men work at tasks necessary for the preservation of their jobs as well as for their homes and nation, except during the hours and on the terms prescribed by him?

The man who refuses to permit American labor to work unlimited hours, except at extra pay, for the protection of his own home, his own country, is a traitor to the country and should be dealt with as such.

Since the necessity for preparedness has been recognized, we have, in industries which are essential for our preparedness program, had strike after strike for higher wages, shorter hours, a closed shop.

A closed shop in time of great national danger! Think of it! A closed shop, where only those who belong to a certain union or who become members of that union are permitted to work to furnish the arms and the munitions, the food and the clothing, the transportation, which our conscripted soldiers must have, if they are to give battle successfully.

All but the favored few must shoulder arms, endure the hardship, meet the danger, as privates in the ranks; execute the orders of their commanding officers; while those who stay at home, working in safety, living with their families, in their own home communities, are to be permitted to make the treasonable demand that they will work only for a compensation fixed by themselves, during hours determined by them.

FAVORITISM AND UNJUST DISCRIMINATION

It is unjust to levy upon the already overburdened taxpayers, many of whom are compelled through force of circumstances to work during long hours for an inadequate wage, additional taxes, a substantial portion of which is to be used in the payment of a wage several times as large as those received by the taxpayer—a procedure which inevitably increases the cost of every gun, tank, airplane, warship, or other article of national defense.

Is it not only foolish but a criminal disregard of the measures necessary for the preservation of our Nation to continue a course which assumes that we can compete, by a 30-, a 40-, a 42-, or a 44-hour week, with those who labor from 60 to 70 hours per week in the production of implements of war?

No one would willingly, unnecessarily, follow the course of Hitler, who treats his people as work animals. But our ancestors cheerfully, courageously, took upon themselves the burden of longer hours, more grueling toil, than that assumed by any German, in order to win and to preserve for us the liberties which we have enjoyed.

We, unless we be utterly selfish, should be willing to assume a like burden to preserve for ourselves and for our posterity the heritage so dearly won and preserved for us.

LEVIES TRIBUTE ON WORKINGMEN FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES

The administration sees to it, through the enactment of laws administered by its agencies, in all too many instances that no man shall work on a Government contract or in private industry until he has joined the union, paid tribute to that union.

In return the union contributes a part of the dues so collected to the political campaign which continues the administration in office. And, to complete the vicious circle of political corruption, the administration then causes to be enacted and enforced laws which make possible the existence, the continuation of the union, and the enslavement of and the denial of civil rights to the private citizen, while forcing other citizens to take up arms to defend the homes and lives of those who are rendering the soldier's task more difficult, perhaps impossible, of accomplishment.

Take a look at this vicious, corrupt, political circle.

Through the enactment and enforcement of Federal legislation and through Federal agencies, such as the N. L. R. B. and the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, this administration forces American citizens, who desire only to exercise their right to work, to join a union and pay tribute to it.

In return for this aid the union contributes hundreds of thousands of dollars to the war chest of the administration. And the circle is complete when the administration, in return for these political contributions, refuses to permit the enactment of legislation which would protect the civil rights of the worker.

Build the Superdrydock in Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, Hon. John Cashmore, the energetic borough president of Brooklyn, is leading a civic campaign which deserves the support of every resident of Brooklyn. It is a campaign designed to bring to Brooklyn

the new ten-million naval graving drydock. To assist him in his efforts, the borough president has named a committee of Brooklyn's business, professional, industrial, and civic leaders. They have pledged their assistance to him, and will aid in his presentation to congressional leaders and naval experts of arguments showing the advantages of Brooklyn as an ideal center for this drydock construction. This campaign is also designed to get the work of construction under way as quickly as possible because it is so essential to the completion of the Government's naval defense program.

The port of New York, the busiest seaport in the world, unfortunately does lack adequate drydocking facilities for giant commercial liners and for the future 45,000-ton battleships now being built for the United States Navy. It is most essential to our plans for a two-ocean fleet to have adequate rebuilding and repairing facilities for the ships which will constitute our first line of defense.

It is all important that such a drydock should be constructed in Brooklyn in the port of New York, and, further, that a site approved by naval experts be chosen for the building of such a drydock.

The men and women aiding Mr. Cashmore in this campaign are motivated by a high sense of patriotic and civic duty. All Brooklyn is behind him in this fine undertaking. They honestly feel Brooklyn possesses the ideal water-front sites for the new drydock, and also feel that the construction of such a project would be of great material economic benefit to the community. Every Brooklyn Congressman is engaged in this campaign. Mr. Cashmore has not only the good will but active support of every resident of Brooklyn in his campaign to bring home this drydock.

The people of Brooklyn are fully justified in their belief that Brooklyn possesses superlative sites and facilities for this drydock. Brooklyn has an industrial water front equal to any of the greatest harbors in the world. It also possesses a history of building ships from the time of this country's birth. Master shipbuilders have worked on Brooklyn water fronts for generations. The *Monitor*, forerunner of the steel-clad ships of today, was built in Brooklyn during the Civil War. Some of the greatest vessels in the world, naval and commercial, have either been constructed, refitted, or repaired in Brooklyn's drydocks by skilled Brooklyn workers. Shipbuilding in Brooklyn has been a career for thousands of patriotic American workmen who are following in the footsteps of their fathers and their grandfathers—master shipbuilders of other generations.

We have machine-tool shops, railroad, and other rapid-transportation facilities, skilled workmen, and all those necessary tangible ingredients essential to industrial efficiency. And industrial efficiency, let me emphasize, is most desirable in these critical days when our Nation is rushing the construction of ships and other armaments of the national-defense program.

As Mr. Cashmore publicly pointed out, the channel depth along Brooklyn's water front is sufficient to provide safe passage for the largest naval or commercial vessels built, building, or contemplated. Naval experts agree that safe depth of channels is a very important requirement in the selection of sites for drydock construction. No other section of our port of New York equals the advantages of Brooklyn. No other port on the Atlantic seaboard can hope to compete with its natural marine facilities.

Together with my Brooklyn colleagues in Congress, I shall continue unswervingly to support Mr. Cashmore and his committee in this fight to bring to Brooklyn the new naval graving drydock. It will mean, from a community standpoint, thousands of jobs for Brooklyn workmen, a material increase in workmen's income, with a proportionate rise in community-purchasing power.

I urge every resident of Brooklyn to give his active assistance to Borough President Cashmore and the public-spirited members of the committee in this effort to bring to Brooklyn what may very well become a permanent major industry.

Those who are serving on the Brooklyn committee for the construction of the superdrydock are as follows:

BROOKLYN COMMITTEE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUPERDRYDOCK

1. Eugene F. Moran, chairman, rivers, harbors, and piers committee, Maritime Exchange, 17 Battery Place, New York City, and director of the Army and Navy floating equipment in the port of New York during the World War.
2. Albert B. Hager, vice president, Atlantic Gulf & Pacific Co., 13 Park Row, New York City.
3. David L. Tilly, Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, 66 Court Street, Brooklyn.
4. Hon. Thomas H. Cullen, Congressman, 215 Congress Street, Brooklyn.
5. Jacob C. Klinick, president, Kings County Savings Bank, 539 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn.
6. Harry Kenyon, president, Bay Ridge Dock Co., Fifty-seventh Street and First Avenue, Brooklyn.
7. Hon. Lewis H. Pounds, chairman, Brooklyn Civic Council, and former president of the Borough of Brooklyn, 32 Court Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
8. Henry D. Roulston, vice president, Thomas Roulston, Inc., 100 Ninth Street, Brooklyn.
9. Hon. John J. Delaney, Congressman.
10. Walter Rothschild, president, Abraham & Straus, 420 Fulton Street, Brooklyn.
11. Thomas A. Swift, secretary, Downtown Brooklyn Association, 32 Court Street, Brooklyn.
12. Frank D. Schroth, president, Brooklyn Eagle, Brooklyn.
13. Hon. Emanuel Celler, Congressman.
14. Mrs. William H. Good, 880 St. Marks Avenue, Brooklyn.
15. Mary E. Dillon, president, Brooklyn Borough Gas Co., 2909 West Seventeenth Street, Brooklyn.
16. George A. Barnewall, vice president, Brooklyn Trust Co., 177 Montague Street.
17. Charles D. Behrens, president, Brooklyn Real Estate Board, 44 Court Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
18. Joseph W. Catherine, president, Chauncey Real Estate Co., 149 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn.
19. Harry Marcus, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Bedford Avenue and Beverly Road, Brooklyn.
20. Edwin P. Maynard, Brooklyn Trust Co., 177 Montague Street, Brooklyn.
21. Daniel A. McAteer, president, Kings County Medical Society, 4316 Eighteenth Avenue, Brooklyn.
22. David Martin, Bossert Hotel, Montague Street, Brooklyn.
23. Arthur W. Gelston, executive secretary, Brooklyn Real Etate Board, Inc., 44 Court Street, Brooklyn.
24. Dr. Harry S. Rogers, president, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, 99 Livingston Street, Brooklyn.
25. George Dressler, Wallabout Market Men's Association.
26. James G. McDonald, president, Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.
27. George Butterly, president, Brooklyn Young Men's Chamber of Commerce.
28. Harland B. Tibbetts, president, Brooklyn Heights Association.
29. Edward E. Fay, president, Society of Old Brooklynites.
30. Philip A. Benson, president, the Dime Savings Bank of Brooklyn, DeKalb Avenue and Fulton Street.
31. Ignatius Byrne, M. D., Greenpoint Chamber of Commerce.
32. Harold W. Osterhout, president, Kings County Bankers Association.
33. Maj. Benjamin H. Namm, the Namm Store.
34. James F. Foye, president, South Brooklyn Board of Trade.
35. Albert W. Byrnes, president, the Traffic Club of Brooklyn.
36. John Rayher, president, Wallabout Market Merchants Association.
37. Henry L. Davenport, president, Home Title Guaranty Co.
38. David J. McLean, president, the Brooklyn Citizen.
39. Mrs. Helen M. Fawler, president, Women's Civic League of Brooklyn.
40. E. I. Dannemiller, president, Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Bush Terminal.
41. Rear Admiral F. R. Lackey, New York Naval Militia.
42. Walter Hammitt, vice president, Frederick Loeser & Co., Inc.
43. Fred J. Zeitz, president, Martin's, Fulton Street.
44. Irving T. Bush, president, Bush Terminal.
45. Emmet J. McCormack, treasurer, Moore-McCormack Lines, Inc.
46. Benjamin W. Blakey, with Benedict & Benedict.
47. Harold Berder, president, Grand Street Board of Trade.
48. Frank Russel, president, Montauk Club.
49. Hon. Joseph L. Pfeifer, Congressman.
50. Hon. Andrew L. Somers, Congressman.
51. Hon. Donald L. O'Toole, Congressman.
52. Hon. Eugene J. Keogh, Congressman.
53. A. B. Babcock, American Sugar Refining Co., 51 South Second Street, Brooklyn.

A Timetable of Dictatorship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK O. HORTON
OF WYOMING
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

[From the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government]

The green light for this program has been given. Only the election of Wendell Willkie can stop this mad rush to destruction.

A timetable of dictatorship

The steps [1]	France	Germany	Italy	Mexico	United States
Wasteful public works	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Concentrate power in 1 man	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Undermine and control courts	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Excessive subsidies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Government by Executive orders	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Partly.
Encourage subversive forces	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Impose confiscatory taxes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Restrict private investments	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Pile up debts and deficits	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Impose planned economy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Foster class conflicts	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Government controls banks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Paralyzes industry	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Excessive borrowing	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Increases Government jobholders	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Huge national debt	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Conscripts Army	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Weakens private business	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?).
Destroys labor unions	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?).
Regiments farming	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?).
Regiments labor	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?).
Dictatorship	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	

[1] Truly liberal methods such as Federal Housing Administration, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Federal Security Agency, Wagner Act, social security, etc., should not be confused with these steps.

It is later than you think. Every dictatorship that has been established maintains the appearance of legality in the country in which it exists.

Steps like these over here led to dictatorship over there.

This table was compiled from material which has appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD from time to time.

Wasteful public works: Passamaquoddy Dam in Maine abandoned after spending $7,000,000; likewise Florida ship canal; Government hospital costs $22,000 per bed against $5,000 privately built. Whether waste or graft, we, the people, pay the bill.

Concentrate power in one man: President can now, without asking Congress, close every bank, every stock and commodity exchange and stop stockholders and bondholders from marketing their securities. He can change at his personal discretion the value of insurance policies, savings, wages, and prices of farm and other products through taking the power to control money, which the Constitution places in Congress.

Undermine and control courts: The President, displeased with the Supreme Court, ordered Congress to pass a law empowering him to increase the number of judges; failing in this, he packed the Supreme and lower Federal courts by appointing men with biased viewpoints. "We have built up new instruments of public power. In the hands of a people's government this power is wholesome and proper. But in the hands of political puppets of an economic autocracy such power would provide shackles for the liberties of the people."—President Roosevelt's message to Congress, January 3, 1936.

Excessive subsidies: In 8 years the Federal administration has spent $32,000,000,000, under Executive direction to subsidize various groups.

Government by Executive order (instead of by laws made by Congress): In 3½ years 115 Federal Government agencies issued 14,889 rules and administrative decisions which have the effect of laws, beyond control of the courts. The men who made these laws were not elected by the people, and many of them are radicals who do not believe in our form of government.

Encourage subversive forces: Communists and other radicals have been encouraged in the White House and appointed to Government jobs. A committee of Congress investigating un-American activities has been hampered by, and refused the help of, executive departments.

Impose confiscatory taxes: Taxation generally has been doubled. One special tax was the "undistributed-profits tax," enacted to force corporations to pay out their reserves so that the Government could collect more income taxes. Business thus stripped of its reserves could not expand and give employment. As a result, plant extensions for purposes of national defense as well as developments that would make more jobs cannot be privately financed.

Restrict private investments: The extension of Government control has surrounded business with uncertainty and great risk. Businessmen are terrorized by Government-encouraged strikes, fear prosecution and conviction by unfair commissions appointed in Washington, and fear of uncertain and increasing taxes taking a large portion of the profits while investors must shoulder the losses. Money that would otherwise take risks and make new developments and create jobs lies idle in the banks. Because Government takes so much, this system of free enterprise is being brought to a standstill.

Pile up debts and deficits: In 1933 the national debt was $21,000,000,000. Seven years later it was $60,000,000,000, exclusive of present rearmament outlays. Every working day since 1933, on the average, the Government has spent $10,000,000 more than it took in; each year, $3,000,000,000.

Impose planned economy: Since the signing of the Declaration of Independence, we, the people, have always planned. We took the profits and shouldered the losses. Government-planned economy means that people lose their freedom to act for themselves and men in politics become their bosses. It means killing pigs and plowing under wheat while millions are poorly fed. It means plowing under cotton while millions are poorly clothed.

Foster class conflicts: Karl Marx, the founder of socialism, said that brotherly love had been tried for 2,000 years and failed, and that a more dynamic force, the antagonism of class against class, must be used to accomplish his program. Building class hatreds to gain political support has been employed more during the past 7 years than in the country's entire previous history. Workers have been made to feel that those who make jobs are their enemies. Such words as "Tory," "economic royalist," and "rugged individualism" have been promiscuously applied as smearing epithets, and taxpayers' money has been used to pay for smear propaganda.

Government controls banks: The Federal Reserve Banking System has been placed under the domination of the President, and banks are no longer free to control their own policies. The Government itself is competing with private banks. The Government has 39 agencies in which men politically appointed use the taxpayers' money and credit to make loans to compete with ordinary banks.

Paralyzes industry: In the years 1929–32 we, the people, invested an average of $3,500,000,000 a year in new enterprise. After 1933, when the Government tried and failed to prime the pump, we, the people, only ventured an average of $900,000,000 a year. That is why industry was paralyzed.

Excessive borrowing: Government has forced banks to invest in Government securities, thus displacing investments in private interests; also it has forced down rates so that savings-bank depositors now get only 1½-percent interest instead of 4 percent, and 64,000,000 holders of insurance policies are badly hurt.

Increasing Government jobholders: 1932, Federal jobholders, 583,000. Today there are 1,011,000 Federal officeholders, 17,174,000 recipients of relief, 2,370,000 engaged in work and construction projects, and thousands more look to government.

Huge national debt: In 1933 government debt per family of five was $780. It is approximately $1,720 per family today. Counting the obligations of Federal agencies, as well as the direct debt of the Treasury, it will be by the end of the current fiscal year about $2,300 a family.

Weakens private business: Instead of approximately eighty to ninety billion dollars of annual production as from 1926 to 1930, business has been so weakened and production lowered that the annual income averages less than $70,000,000,000 with widespread unemployment.

The New Deal and the Negro

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, America's most bitter heritage is its Negro problem.

That was the situation that presented itself from the Civil War up to the turn of the century. The failure of the Civil War to free the Negro people economically and socially has brought the problem down to our own day in nearly as aggravating a form as it presented in 1861.

Because of special forms of oppression—race discrimination, economic distinctions, and cultural hindrances—millions

of Negro citizens occupy the lowermost rung in the social and economic life of the United States. Over one-half of the Negro population is engaged in agriculture; 80 percent are farm laborers, sharecroppers, and tenants, while only 20 percent are part or full owners of farms. Thus agriculture, and particularly farm labor, is the basis of the economic life of the Negro people.

Let us turn back the pages of history as affecting the Negro and see how far they have gone up that ladder, economically and educationally.

Immediately following the Emancipation Proclamation, which was purely a war measure, issued by virtue of President Lincoln's power as Commander in Chief of the Army and seeking the destruction of property used by the enemy in the conduct of the war, the Negro was led to believe that he would obtain the land—40 acres and a mule. This would have brought security to those who had been slaves. But until this day nothing of the kind happened.

Only very slowly and with much difficulty was it possible for some former slaves to purchase a bit of land. The reconstruction program instituted immediately after the war was a recovery program which did not help the Negro. It injured him. The Negro needed economic training, educational opportunities, and the friendship of the southern whites, without whose good will his civil rights could not be protected. These things the Republicans did little to gain for him, though a slight effort in this direction was made by the establishment of the Freedmen's bureau. Instead they placed in his untrained hands the vote. The political power thus given him turned him from the task of building his economic life. Its abuse won for him the fear and hatred of the whites.

By 1910 only one-fourth of the Negro farmers owned land—and then it was usually very little and, moreover, the most heavily mortgaged. During the World War an acute shortage of labor developed in industry and an energetic drive was made to obtain Negro labor. The great exodus of Negroes from the South began. Negroes poured into southern industry in large numbers, also. They were not permitted to advance to higher paying jobs and were forced to the lowest status of all industrial workers. And so by 1930 there were approximately 40,000 less Negro farm owners than in 1910. Between 1920 and 1930 Negroes lost about 2,750,000 acres of land and homes. A crisis was here. From the beginning of the crisis in 1930 to March 1933 over one-half a million forced sales and foreclosures took place in the Southern States. This struck at the door of the Negro landowner all over the country. Their meager economic security was at stake.

It was at this stage in 1932 that another emancipator—President Franklin Delano Roosevelt—came to their rescue, to the rescue of millions more, through his recovery program. It was another reconstruction. Did it help the Negro this time? Yes; it did. It was a New Deal for the forgotten man. President Roosevelt had kept his promise made in an important address delivered at Howard University, where he declared:

> As far as it was humanly possible the Government has and will follow the policy that among American citizens there should be no forgotten men and no forgotten races.

The Federal Government, through the National Farm Credit Administration, poured tremendous funds into the South to save the farmers. In 9 months alone $300,000,000 went there. Additional funds have been poured there and in other parts of the country since that time. Negro farmers were benefited from this New Deal program. In fact, since 1932 the Federal Government has made numerous social and economic reforms that have brought untold benefits to the forgotten man, chief of whom are the Negro.

Today we have many social and economic changes that have brought new hope to the Negro. We have social security, unemployment insurance, home relief, housing legislation, education, labor, and health laws, banking insurance, old-age insurance, C. C. C., A. A. A., and W. P. A., along with other reforms that came to the aid of the colored people. All this was part of a fight to save democracy.

The Negro people have shown every desire and have given every encouragement in the struggle to preserve and extend democracy in America. They are doing their part in the fight to keep freemen free. The struggles of the last 2 centuries, both in peace and in war, were and are devoted largely to overcoming the aristocratic position as applied to individuals.

In establishing the equal right of every person to development, it became clear that equal opportunity for all involves this necessary limitation. Each man may develop himself so far, but only so far as his doing will not interfere with the exercise of a like right by all others. Thus liberty came to mean the right to enjoy life, to acquire property, to pursue happiness in such manner and to such extent only as the exercise of the right in each is consistent with the exercise of a like right by every other of our fellow citizens. Liberty thus defined underlies twentieth-century democracy. The solution of democracy is education in democracy.

The Federal Government, under the New Deal, has not closed its eyes to the solution of democracy in education—has not closed its eyes to the advancement in education by members of the Negro race. One should take note of what Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, said recently in a radio broadcast on the question of the Negro in education:

> No other people have ever made such a broad and quick advance in the same space of time.

Recognizing this, the Federal Government, under the New Deal, was willing to make use of Negro leadership in governmental channels where it can be used to the best advantage of the race. Several appointments were made to high-paying jobs in the service.

The latest appointee is Dr. T. Arnold Hill, a native of Richmond, Va., a graduate of Virginia Union University; he was drafted in 1938 as a consultant for the Works Progress Administration, and is now appointed as assistant director in the Division of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration. Dr. Hill is only one of several Negroes whose services have been enlisted by the Government since 1932.

Previously Negro consultants to Federal agencies could always be counted on the fingers of one hand, but today the number has so multiplied that there is hardly a branch in the executive set-up in Washington that does not carry at least one Negro adviser. Thanks to the New Deal.

We have Director Mary McLeod Bethune, who heads the Negro Division of the National Youth Administration. A partial list of Federal appointees includes Dr. Robert C. Weaver, now with the Council of National Defense; Dr. Frank S. Horne, acting special assistant in charge of race relations with the United States Housing Authority; Emmer Martin Lancaster, special adviser to the Commerce Department; J. Arthur Weiseger, special economist in the Department of Labor; William L. Houston, special assistant to the Attorney General; George W. Crockett, Jr., special assistant in the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor; Joseph R. Houchins, special adviser in the Bureau of the Census; William J. Trent, racial relations officer in the Personnel Division of the Federal Works Agency; and Edgar Brown, special adviser with the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Appreciating the fact that Negroes were lacking in training in executive, supervisory, and white-collar jobs, jobs that meant dignity and prestige as well as better pay for the Negro—the New Deal had schools instituted in Washington, D. C., where the Negro man, woman, boy, and girl could learn the art of executive responsibility and develop capacity for duties of a supervisor. In the Department of the Interior and in the Administration of Public Works more Negroes are employed than ever have been employed in any department of the Federal Government.

No group has been quite as fortunate in the blessings received as the Negro. In jobs, education, hospitalization, agriculture, home relief, social security generally, and housing they are not among the forgotten men nor the forgotten races. Federal allotments of more than $35,000,000 for 855 educational school buildings for Negroes in 24 States, jobs

for more than 250,000 Negro boys in the C. C. C., help through the Farm Credit Administration went to thousands of Negro farmers throughout the land; 80,000 Negro students were aided by the National Youth Administration through W. P. A. grants and loans; more than 8,000 hospital beds have been made available to Negroes throughout the country, and in the field of housing where the Negro's need has been the greatest among the "ill-housed one-third"—all these and more are the result of a promise made good by our President—the Lincoln of today.

He has turned his eyes to every Negro community in this great Nation and has tried to aid their housing problem as far as was humanly possible. On April 20, 1940, the New York Amsterdam News, a Negro newspaper, reported the United States Housing Administrator, Nathan Straus, as saying, "Whenever I go to discuss housing with the President he never fails to ask, 'How are the houses for the colored people getting along?'" This was said by Mr. Straus at the laying of the cornerstone of the South Jamaica housing project, New York.

The President's interest in Negro housing has manifested itself in that more than half of the 450 housing projects to be set up in the United States will be found in Negro communities. Negroes represent 9 percent of population. Just to mention a few of these projects in operation—

Andrew Jackson Courts in Nashville, Tenn.; Brewster, Detroit; College Court, Louisville, Ky.; Dixie Homes, Memphis, Tenn.; Durkeeville, Jacksonville, Fla.; Harlem River Houses, New York City, N. Y.; Liberty Square, Miami, Fla.; Smithfield Courts, Birmingham, Ala.; Stanley S. Holmes Village, Atlantic City, N. J.; and at this date we have under construction the Kingsboro Houses in the Bedford Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, N. Y., the community which I have represented for the past 18 years.

In all those years I have supported legislation in all those social reforms. I have voted for the antilynching bill. I have sponsored a resolution against discrimination in enlistment in the Army, Navy, and Air Corps because of race, creed, or color. Efforts were being made to effect discrimination in the Air Corps. I fought against this and introduced an amendment to the Draft Act, so that insofar as the Air Corps was a part of the Army or Navy there should be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color. It was adopted subsequently by the adoption of the draft joint resolution. There will no longer be discrimination because of race or color in our Air Corps.

With all those social reforms, we have today one national asset which the present administration has preserved intact against the crisis—the good will and dependability of the greatest single minority in the United States. Lincoln freed them, but Roosevelt feeds them, houses them, and gives our colored citizens jobs, opportunities, help, and education at a period when conservatives and reactionaries are seeking for any and every excuse to reduce the aid to the underprivileged of this great and wealthy country.

In conclusion I wish to make special mention of a gentleman of the Negro race, Mr. Albert L. Clarke, who hails from the district I represent. For several years I have noted the keen interest shown by this gentleman, and the organization of which he is president, the Bedford-Stuyvesant Health and Playground Council, in the field of housing, recreation, and health improvement generally as affecting his community and his brothers.

His study of these conditions through surveys was presented to the New York City Housing Authority. After a careful examination of the facts, the authority was convinced of the need of a public low-rent housing project for the community and applied to the Federal Government through the United States Housing Authority for a loan. No time was lost in the approval of the application. Today we have the largest public-housing project in a colored community under construction, in Brooklyn, N. Y. Another forward step by the New Deal in the fight to preserve democracy. Others who have worked with Mr. Clarke are Rev. Theo. Alcantara, W. Leon Chapman, Marion Davis, Clifford O. Clarke, Belle Douglas, Rebecca Norcom, and Fay Freedman; also N. A. Houghton. Special mention must be made of such vigilant newspapers as the New York Amsterdam News, the New York Age, the Brooklyn Eagle, and the Brooklyn Citizen for their support of council's program through press reports and editorial comments. The Negro people are standing on the threshold of a new era. Literature, art, science, and commerce have but just begun. There is no finality. There is no limitation. Intricate and complicated problems of government and society are demanding solution. Social and economic injustice must be fought. Liberty in religion and democracy must be upheld. Truth, freedom, and reason must be enshrined. There are greater things to be than have been. You and I must prepare ourselves to do our part. You have a "new leaf" before you. Be true and honest with yourself. All that sage or philosopher can now say to you is "Look into your heart and write finis."

What Is the Future of American Youth Under the New Deal?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. GRANT

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. GRANT of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, what is the future of American youth today under the New Deal?

Does the youth of America want a pick and shovel future under the W. P. A.?

Does the youth of America want a future in the barracks of the C. C. C. at $30 a month and board?

Does the youth of America want a future in the Army at $30 a month under rigid discipline and regimentation?

Does the youth of America want a future of toil and sacrifice to pay off the debts being piled up by the wasteful New Deal administration?

Does the youth of America want to face a future in which there will be no chance to launch into private business because it will have been rendered so hazardous as to offer no field for a life work?

Does the youth of America want to face a future in which there will be little or no chance to acquire property, a competence for wedded life, children, or old age, the accumulation of honestly earned property and wealth?

If the youth of America want a future filled with the opportunities of past years, then they must reject the New Deal and vote Republican in November.

Food Stamp and A. A. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Wallace, the Democratic candidate for Vice President, on his recent campaign visit to Portland, Oreg., my home city, falsely stated in a public mass meeting that I voted against the agricultural appropriation bill, which included the food-stamp plan. His exact statement, as given in the Oregonian of October 2, is as follows:

May I remind you that Mr. ANGELL (Republican Congressman from this district) last spring voted against the agricultural appropriation bill which included the food-stamp plan.

This statement is absolutely false. It seems unbelievable that Mr. Wallace did not know that it was false, because he was the head of the Department of Agriculture at the time and watched this legislation with the keenest of interest. He was especially interested, because his agricultural program and the program of the President were opposed to each other.

The record vote on the food-stamp plan, as carried in the agricultural bill referred to, is roll call No. 104, appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 9, 1940, at page 5902, which shows that I voted against the motion of my distinguished friend from Missouri [Mr. CANNON], who led the New Deal forces in an endeavor to cut down the appropriation for food stamps from eighty-five millions to seventy-two millions, the seventy-two millions being the approximate recommendation of the Budget and the President. My vote, together with many others from the Republican side and some Democrats, prevented the slash in the appropriation for the food stamps, as proposed by the President and the Budget. I also voted for the bill.

It seems apparent that the distinguished candidate for the Vice Presidency on the Democratic ticket is engaged in a little purging on his own behalf in the districts of Members of the Congress. In doing so, however, he does not seem to be circumscribed by being obliged to keep within the truth in attempting his purge.

Mr. Speaker, the Democratic candidate for Vice President has no real honest reason to present to the people of my district why I should not be reelected and has therefore resorted to deliberately false statements to defeat me. I do not believe that the voters of my district will be deceived by the opponent of our beloved fellow citizen, Senator CHARLES L. MCNARY, candidate for Vice President on the Republican ticket. The people of my district will resent a carpetbagger coming into our district and attempting to regiment the voters of Oregon and telling them how to vote. Oregon does not believe in dictatorship.

Economic Defense of This Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, an economic defense board with broad functions in the field of tariff regulations and of foreign commerce is provided for in a bill which I have introduced today in the House of Representatives.

The bill provides for the creation of an Economic Defense Board of six members to take the place of the United States Tariff Commission as at present constituted, the transfer to the Board of the functions now exercised by the Tariff Commission, and the consolidation under the new Economic Defense Board of the various foreign-trade and financial activities of the Federal Government now carried on in many scattered Government agencies and establishments. Among its provisions in this latter connection is that providing that the chairman of the Economic Defense Board shall be chairman ex officio of the board of trustees of the Export-Import Bank of Washington.

The Board will have the power now exercised by the Tariff Commission of recommending to the President that tariff duties be raised or lowered not to exceed 50 percent to equalize the difference between the landed cost of foreign imports and the reasonable selling price of similar or competing articles in the United States; to arrange barter transactions with foreign nations to dispose of surplus commodities; and to assist the President in the negotiation of future trade agreements. The bill further provides for the termination of the present trade-agreement authority, and of the so-called Hull agreements negotiated under it, and requires that future trade agreements be submitted for congressional approval before they become effective, and that they be based on the conditional most-favored-nation principle.

The stated purpose of this bill is to provide for the economic defense of the United States and to protect our markets, foreign and domestic, against the enormous economic dislocations caused by the wars now raging in Europe and in the Far East, and against the even greater stresses and strains and the greatly intensified competition which may be expected to follow in the post-war period. Specifically the bill seeks to protect American agriculture, industry, and labor from unfair and destructive competition in the home market and thereby to maintain American price and wage levels, working conditions, and living standards against competition from countries employing low wage or forced labor or having depreciated currencies. It further seeks to provide the United States with the means of effectively preserving and developing its export trade in the face of disturbed world conditions, present and prospective, and in competition with state-controlled foreign economies. It also seeks to restore to the Congress its constitutional control over the regulation of foreign commerce and the adjustment of tariff duties.

The need of such a bill seems self-evident. It was foreshadowed in the opposition last winter to the extension of the administration's trade-agreement program and the free-trade principles under which that program has been administered. I took an active part in that opposition. But whatever the original merits of that controversy may have been, it is now painfully apparent that the Hull program itself has become largely obsolete in a world increasingly ravaged by war and must be superseded by an active policy of economic defense, which includes returning to our traditional trade policy of protection, coupled with reciprocity based on the conditional most-favored-nation principle.

The need of economic defense is now doubly and triply emphasized by the world-shaking events of the past months which have forced upon us the necessity of an effort of national preparedness unequaled in our history. One of the most important phases of the entire question of national defense is economic defense. Yet, for 7 years both military and economic defense have been neglected, and while belated steps are being taken to build up our neglected military defenses, no comparable steps are being taken to provide the indispensable economic defense. I am not the first to point out the need of economic defense as an integral part of our national-preparedness effort. Former President Hoover made it the subject of an important recent address before the University of Pennsylvania, and it is likewise the subject of the very timely and enlightening recent study made by the United States Chamber of Commerce and published under the title, "Our Foreign Trade in Relation to the War," which states that consideration must be given to the defense of internal as well as the encouragement of external trade, and recommends the establishment of a foreign-trade department and a reappraisal of the trade conditions, trade methods, and trade policies with which we are and shall be obliged to deal.

It is my conviction that no adequate preparation is being made to protect the American market and the American economy either now, while the hostilities continue, or after their cessation. I point out that, on the contrary, the administration has declared its purpose of continuing and expanding its trade-treaty policy which would further expose American prices, wage levels, and standards of living to the ravages of a world competition which is now 90 percent conducted under totalitarian trade methods. These methods include the use of forced labor and of low-wage, long-hour practices, depreciated and manipulated currencies, subsidized exports and dumping, and rigid state control of exports and imports. The nations using such methods now include not only such countries as Japan, Russia, and Germany, but also practically all of Europe, Great Britain, Canada, and most of the nations to the south of us.

In fact, the only concrete suggestions made by the administration on the score of economic defense has been an abortive suggestion that we buy up the agricultural surpluses of South

America, that we lend foreign countries half a billion dollars, and that we revise the sanitary regulations set up in protection of American producers and consumers, thus to further facilitate imports of competitive food products.

I further point out that, while the administration has given lip service to American labor and American agriculture, it has nevertheless permitted and encouraged competition of a destructive nature, and I suggest that this bill provides an opportunity for the administration to demonstrate its sincerity in a practical way.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include as a part of my remarks the following analysis of the economic defense bill:

Section 1: Short title: "Economic Defense Act of 1940."

Section 2: Declaration of policy: (a) To promote effective policies and provide efficient machinery for the economic defense of the United States; (b) to protect domestic producers against unfair and destructive foreign competition in the home market; (c) to provide the United States with the means of effectively preserving and developing its export trade; (d) to encourage the exchange of products between the United States and foreign countries on a mutually advantageous basis; (e) to provide adequate governmental assistance in promoting foreign trade; (f) to restore to Congress its constitutional authority over foreign commerce and tariff duties; (g) to promote foreign-trade policies which will supplement and conform to domestic policies; (h) to provide for separate and unified administration of the foreign-trade activities of the Government; (i) to eliminate overlapping and duplication of effort and reduce expenditures in connection with the administration of foreign-trade activities; and (j) to maintain records of the commercial and financial relations of the United States and each foreign country.

Section 3: Creates an Economic Defense Board of six members, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and to be selected so as to afford the broadest possible representation to agriculture, industry, labor, finance, commerce, and transportation. Not more than three members may be members of the same political party. Each member to devote his full time to the business of the Board, at a compensation of $10,000 per annum.

Section 4: Abolishes present Tariff Commission and transfers functions and personnel to Economic Defense Board.

Section 5: Sets up new and improved flexible tariff machinery for adjustment of duties up or down in accordance with a definite legislative formula based on the difference between the import price of the foreign article and the American wholesale selling price of the comparable domestic article. New formula avoids complications and delays of present flexible tariff formula, which is based on difference in foreign and domestic production costs. Machinery for readjustment in rates can be set in motion in same manner as under present flexible tariff; that is, by the President, by Congress, by the Board, or upon motion of any interested party. Board would then conduct investigation of competitive conditions, in the course of which it would hold hearings and give parties interested an opportunity to be heard. After investigation, Board would report its findings and recommendations to President. If the President finds the increase or decrease which is recommended to be justified by the results of the investigation, he proclaims the change in duty, and it becomes effective after 30 days. The present limitation that no increase or decrease can be made in excess of 50 percent is retained. However, in cases where the Board finds a further change to be justified, it makes a report of such fact to the Congress for appropriate legislative action. The 50-percent limitation relates to the duty fixed originally by Congress, and not to the existing duty, which may have been changed under prior flexible tariff provisions or under the Trade Agreement Act. The import price in the case of foreign articles is defined as the price paid by the importer, including the cost of transportation to the United States, but exclusive of tariff duties. The American selling price of domestic articles is defined as the price at which a domestic article is freely offered for sale to all purchasers in the principal market of the United States, in the ordinary course of trade and in the usual wholesale quantities. In the case of agricultural commodities, it is provided that the American selling price shall not be deemed to be less than the parity price therefor. The purpose of the new flexible tariff provision is to maintain at all times tariff duties which conform to the rate-making formula prescribed, and to provide for the prompt and scientific readjustment of rates in accordance with such formula.

Section 6: This section repeals the present Trade Agreement Act, and provides for the termination of the trade agreements made thereunder on the earliest date on which it is possible to do so under the terms thereof. In its place, a new authority for entering into trade agreements is set up. It is provided that the President shall have authority to enter into negotiations with foreign governments with a view to the arrangement of trade agreements wherein reciprocal and mutually advantageous concessions may be secured, such agreements to be submitted to Congress for approval before becoming effective. The President is directed to consult with the Economic Defense Board in connection with the negotiation of such agreements, and in making concessions to foreign countries is limited to those recommended to him by the Board. The Board, in turn, is charged with recommending only such concessions as may be made without injury to any substantial branch of domestic agriculture, labor, or industry, and no reduction can be made in excess of 50 percent. Notice is required to be given of the intention to negotiate a foreign-trade agreement, and provision is made for public hearings before the Economic Defense Board. Hearings would presumably be held again before the appropriate congressional committees when the completed agreement is submitted to Congress for approval. The President would be empowered to extend the benefit of American concessions to third countries only in the event the Economic Defense Board finds that by such action concessions of comparable value would be extended to the United States by any such third country.

Section 7: This provision empowers the Board to arrange barter transactions between the United States and foreign countries or between the nationals of either country. This authority carries no power to make changes in rates of duty, except such as may be made under other provisions of the act.

Section 8: This section sets forth the general powers and duties of the Economic Defense Board, which include (a) the coordination of all foreign-trade activities of the Government; (b) the collection of trade statistics; (c) advising the President and the Congress on matters affecting foreign trade; (d) the power to approve, forbid, or modify any foreign-trade transaction in which any Government agency is a party; (e) carry on negotiations with respect to specific trade transactions with any person interested in obtaining governmental assistance with respect to foreign-trade transactions; and (f) assist the President in the preparation of commercial, trade, or financial agreements with foreign countries.

Section 9: This provides for an investigation by the Board in cases where any foreign government discriminates against American nationals in connection with the payment of obligations contracted by it or its nationals, and for a report of its findings and recommendations to the President and to Congress.

Section 10: Transfers certain foreign-trade functions from the State Department to the Economic Defense Board.

Section 11: Provides for the further reorganization of the foreign-trade activities of the Government with a view to the unification of foreign-trade activities of the Government under the Board, the elimination of overlapping authority and duplication of effort, and the reduction of expenditures. The President, after investigation, would be required to transmit a plan of reorganization to the Congress in accordance with the provisions of the Reorganization Act of 1939.

Section 12: This section provides for the continuance in effect of all pending proceedings.

Section 13: This section provides that the Economic Defense Board shall make a report to Congress annually.

Section 14: Defines the term "Government agency."

Section 15: Separability clause.

Section 16: This section provides that the section setting up the Economic Defense Board shall take effect upon enactment, and that all other provisions of the act shall take effect in 60 days.

Fool's Gold

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE AMERICAN SURGICAL TRADE ASSOCIATION JOURNAL

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the American Surgical Trade Association Journal of September 1940:

In recent years many schemes have been cooked up in Washington to protect the people against all human woes. One of the most persistent recently has been the idea of letting the Government take over distribution of the benefits of medical science, either free or at bargain rates.

Laws to put this idea into operation have been proposed to the United States Congress and State assemblies. Advocates claim that great numbers of our people are denied medical care because they are unable to pay for it and that, as a result, national health is seriously endangered.

On the surface, the idea of free medical service, with the Government footing the bill, looks beautiful—an ingot of purest gold handed to a needful people on a silver platter. But what's underneath? Let's scratch the surface.

Government, Federal and State, cannot itself foot the bill. It hasn't a penny of its own. Every dollar it spends for social or

other service is exacted from the people in taxes or borrowed by issuing bonds.

If social medicine comes in the same form as social security, the workingman will pay for it in both a pay-roll tax and in the increased price of goods.

Let's scratch the surface again.

When the Government takes over any service, it puts a political bureau in charge. A Government-operated health program would employ thousands of bureaucrats, clerks, and stenographers, whose salaries and expenses would boost taxes. Political overseers would make sure that doctors served many patients and served them fast.

Worse still, Government health programs encourage hypochondriacs and spongers. A doctor who resigned from one group health experiment said that patients were so numerous they had to be driven through the clinic like sheep. There were so many calls for service, often of a trivial nature, that people who really needed attention had to wait.

Our present system has provided an abundance of service. We have in the United States many more physicians than the combined number in most of Europe.

We have nearly 200,000 unoccupied hospital beds, about 32 percent of the total number available. Both doctors and hospitals have stood unqualifiedly for the treatment of everyone who suffers whether or not he can pay.

All told, private medicine has done a magnificent job. Our average life expectancy is the highest ever enjoyed by any great people. The death rate has fallen in 100 years from 27 to 11.2 per 1,000. Scourge diseases are under increasing control. Infant and maternal mortality rates are dropping.

If you feel, as many informed people do, that agitation for Government health legislation is unnecessary and unwise, why not say so in letters to your Congressman and Senator? If you will reflect that Federal control over medicine is but the first step toward bureaucratic domination of your own industry, you may begin to realize the downright necessity for this action.

Violations of the Wagner Labor Relations Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM T. SCHULTE
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. SCHULTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following resolution and letter:

STEEL WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE,
SQUARE DEAL LODGE, NO. 1066,
Gary, Ind., October 2, 1940.

For your information, Local Union No. 1066, of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, assembled in regular meeting, unanimously passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION

Whereas Federal Government defense orders are being placed with firms who are constant flagrant violators of Federal laws, namely, Ford Motor Co., Bethlehem Steel Co., Republic Steel Co., and others; and

Whereas to our knowledge these companies have violated the Wagner Act and have refused to abide by orders issued by the National Labor Relations Board; and

Whereas Republic Steel Co. and Bethlehem Steel Co. have also violated the Walsh-Healey Act by refusing to pay minimum wages for employees: Therefore be it

Resolved, That you be requested in your official capacity to eliminate companies who are in violation of Federal law from participation in the allotment of national-defense orders.

We do this in good faith and in sincere cooperation with the national-defense program, with complete understanding that we do not wish to, in any manner, hinder the program in any respect. It is our firm belief that law violators should be punished and not pampered.

Please give this resolution your sincere consideration.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN NORMAND, *President.*
JOHN RUSAK, *Secretary.*

GARY, IND., *October 3, 1940.*

Hon. WILLIAM T. SCHULTE,
Congressman, First District, Indiana, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have information that the Bethlehem Steel Corporation has received Government defense orders totaling approximately $1,000,000,000, while still refusing to recognize the Wagner Act. We union steel workers are able to make these products and have contracts with many large and small steel plants. Is the Wagner Act a Federal law worthy of administration?

We would like to know why these contracts were let to Bethlehem Steel Corporation. We expect the Wagner Act enforced 100 percent by the present administration.

Indiana steel workers are anxious to have this matter corrected and would appreciate a favorable reply.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN OGLESBY,
Executive Board Member, I. S. I. U. C. of C. I. O.

Gov. Luren Dickinson's Faith in God and the Power of Prayer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT J. ENGEL
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT VALLEY FORGE ON MICHIGAN STATE SUNDAY, JULY 16, 1939

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpts from an address delivered by me at Valley Forge, Pa., on Michigan State Sunday where I represented Gov. Luren Dickinson, of Michigan.

I am very proud to represent the Governor of Michigan here today, and to bring you his greetings. I would rather represent him here today than any other man in America, because he above all others represents those Christian ideals upon which this Nation was founded, because he dares publicly to profess and practice that Christian faith professed by Washington and the founders of our Nation, because, like Washington at Valley Forge, he has the courage to get down on his knees and pray to Almighty God for help, wisdom, and guidance in the solution of the great problems which confront him and his State.

The governorship of Michigan has become one of the most difficult tasks in the Nation. Governor Dickinson's predecessor, a young man 53 years of age, died, it is said, a martyr to the work imposed upon him. When the present Governor took the oath of office he was nearly 81 years old. Everyone wondered how long he could stand up under the terrific burden.

When a newspaperman called me at Washington and asked me how long I thought the Governor of Michigan would be able to act I replied that Governor Dickinson, in my judgment, would complete the term of office. My newspaperman friend asked, "How can a man nearly 81 years old carry a burden under which a younger man fell?" I answered, "Governor Dickinson's unlimited faith in God will carry him through."

He lives on a little farm a few miles from Lansing, in the little community where he was born. All his life he has believed in the power of prayer and religion. When he became Governor, the newspapermen found him in the little country Methodist church (surrounded by great pine trees planted nearly a century ago by his father), teaching the same Sunday-school class which he had taught for 50 years. They published pictures of him on his knees, praying. When he left the capitol each day at a certain time, they followed him home and found him sitting by the bedside of his sick wife, calmly and serenely reading the Bible.

When he attended baptismal services of a church in the State, he gave the new convert the hand of fellowship. These things were not new to him as Governor. He was simply living the life and doing the things he had done for 50 years. When I was in his office shortly after he took his oath of office and asked him how he felt, he turned to me with a smile and said, "You know, Congressman, every church in Michigan is praying for me," and he showed me a letter written by a minister of a little church in the wilds of northern Michigan, pointing to the words, "Brother, we are all praying for you." The churches of Michigan, big and small, will never know what those prayers have meant and mean to Governor Dickinson. Luren Dickinson today is in better health and is stronger than he was the day he took office. His unlimited faith in God will carry him through.

There are those in Michigan and in the Nation, including Communists, who would and do ridicule the Governor and look upon him with scorn. There are those who laughed and scoffed when he attended a revival meeting. Newspapers and magazines referred to him slurringly and slightingly with sarcasm.

They can ridicule and laugh and scoff at the Governor of Michigan, but those pictures of the Governor teaching that little Sunday-school class have been an inspiration to thousands of Sunday school teachers not only in Michigan but all over the Nation. They can laugh and scoff when they hear that the Governor attended a revival meeting and held out a hand of fellowship to a downtrodden soul which found comfort and courage in a new faith in God; they can look with scorn at the Governor who has the courage to kneel publicly in prayer, but thousands of men and women in Michigan and all over the Nation have found in the action of the God-fearing Governor a new courage to profess publicly a faith in God professed by Washington, Franklin, Lincoln, McKinley, and the

founders of our Nation; a faith in God which somehow today requires courage to express. Governor Dickinson represents the old-time religion professed by the founders of our Nation. He represents that faith in God upon which our Nation was founded. He appeals and prays for help and guidance to that God to whom Christian men and women in all ages have prayed.

As they heaped ridicule on the beloved Governor of Michigan because he had the courage to kneel down in public prayer and ask God for strength and guidance, so would they have ridiculed Washington as he knelt in the snow in the silent solitude of the forest at Valley Forge and asked his God for strength and guidance and courage to carry on.

If some of these scoffers had the power they would exile the Governor of Michigan because he prayed for strength and guidance, and they would have exiled George Washington for having professed his faith in God and for having called upon his God for strength and guidance.

Let me remind the Communist, the Socialist, and the nonbeliever that this Nation was founded and the Constitution was written by men and women and their descendants who were exiled from foreign countries, seeking the right to worship God. The right of freedom of speech, freedom to worship God, trial by jury, and every other right contained in the Constitution were written with a pen dipped in the blood of martyrs who fought and died for those rights for hundreds of years.

Let me remind them that this is a Christian Nation. We still worship God. We still pray to Him to help and comfort. We still have holy marriage. We still have holy baptism. We still return the spirit of our beloved dead to God who gave it.

All the plots and plans and intrigues of Stalin, Lenin, Browder, Benjamin, and all the forces of communism, socialism, and bolshevism cannot make this a Godless, Christless, atheistic, communistic country subservient to Stalin and Russia. God will never permit Russia to replace the Stars and Stripes with the red flag of revolution and communism.

Quo Vadis, Uncle Sam?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE BERGEN (N. J.) EVENING RECORD

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Bergen (N. J.) Evening Record:

[From the Bergen Evening Record of Monday, September 30, 1940]

QUO VADIS, UNCLE SAM?

The new German-Italian-Japanese alliance has now published to the world and particularly to the United States its intention to seize, subjugate, and control all of the earth, excepting the Western Hemisphere and ostensibly Russia, and to incorporate it in these nations' spheres of twentieth century influence and empire. Not unlike the infamous gangsters of America's prohibition era, Germany's Hitler, Italy's Mussolini, and Japan's Son of Heaven have decided to chisel in on the British, Dutch, and French Empires and to parcel them out among themselves in accordance with traditional highjacking technique. Uncle Sam is duly warned not to interfere—or else.

Thus a hapless family of nations, comprised of 2,000,000,000 human beings, is now finally disillusioned and must face the fact that there is only one international law and its name is force. The racketeering axis partners boast of the military might of Germany's 80,000,000, Italy's 40,000,000, and Japan's 80,000,000 alleged supermen, and figuratively tell the other 1,400,000,000 humans of Europe, Asia, and Africa that they may be permitted to exist as subject peoples and burden bearers around the castles of these imperial dreamers but that to live with them in civic equality is unthinkable among supermen. "Heil to our heaven-sent conquerors" will doubtless become the national salutation of the future in international gangsterland.

Stalin, the silent man of Moscow, who protected Hitler's eastern front while he enslaved all the rest of continental Europe, must now belatedly see that a victory of the new axis in Europe and Asia will place him between a future German hammer in Europe and a Japanese anvil in Asia, between which he can be pounded to a pulp if and when the British Empire falls. Possessing the manpower to fight on those two fronts, he would lack the industrial and manufacturing resources to adequately supply his armies to fight a total war against either of them. With Britain eliminated as a European war factor, Russia would become an axis victim even before the defenseless portions of the British-Dutch-French Empires were formally gathered into the axis fold. Meanwhile she is again menaced by the old German-Italian-Japanese anticommunism pact, which quite apparently was merely held in abeyance in August 1939 to enable Hitler to sing his siren song to Stalin as a prelude to his conquest of Poland. The territory which Hitler so lavishly gave to Stalin as the price of his acquiescence can, if and when Britain becomes powerless in Europe, be retaken by Hitler for Germany whenever the spirit or the dishonor among thieves moves him. That is now Stalin's great headache—gold bricks bought by smart suckers always are.

But what of the United States in this mad world of international gangsters? Doubtless 95 percent of the American people want Britain to win and survive. A preponderant majority doubtless want to give her all possible material aid to achieve that result. But only a small minority want to gamble our New World heritage in another foreign crusade in behalf of anybody or anything.

Potentially the most powerful and actually the richest nation in the world, the United States is comprised of 132,000,000 citizen-partners whose near or remote ancestors left blood-soaked Europe and its ever-recurring wars for economic advantages and empire to seek individual opportunity, freedom, and peace in a new world. Many of them died to give birth to or to preserve those ideals, and they bequeathed to this generation a heritage to use and, more important still, to preserve for its posterity. In discharging that trusteeship it must therefore determine whether that heritage is now menaced by the latest pronouncement of the ungodly axis trio and, if so, how best to meet that menace—not for Britain or China or any other foreign nation but for the United States.

In at least partial fulfillment of that sacred obligation it is building a fleet that will ultimately exceed the naval power of the combined Axis partners; it is expanding its airplane industry to achieve supremacy in the air; and it has started training a huge conscript army that ultimately will be a match for any invading army it is likely to encounter in the United States. That summarizes briefly the preparations under way for ultimate defense at home if and when Hitler and company succeed in devious ways their wonders to perform in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Britain's ability to checkmate Hitler's threatened invasion of England across 25 miles of English Channel seems convincingly to answer the fear-inspiring propaganda of American Anglophiles that the United States is in danger of an axis invasion across 3,000 miles of Atlantic or 6,000 miles of Pacific Ocean. If vulnerable and industrially concentrated England can halt Hitler at the channel now with 6,000 planes and the menace of its powerful navy, the far-flung and potent United States, with its future air force of triple that strength and its future double-strength Navy can more easily stop a combined axis invasion force before it gets within 500 miles of our American shores.

So of those who are suggesting that America's interest would best be served by an active alliance with Britain the question may reasonably be asked: Where should we fight—and why? Shall we send an expeditionary force to continental Europe to be annihilated as were the French-British armies this spring? Shall we send our fleet to the North Sea, which Britain still dominates on the surface? Shall we send it to the Mediterranean—and why? Shall we send it 6,000 miles across the Pacific to fight Japan, and if we do so, how are we going to maintain it there? Shall we send it to the untenable Philippines or 8,000 miles to Singapore or the Dutch East Indies, possibly to immobilize it there for months or years to the detriment of our home defenses? Shall we send it 8,000 miles to Australia-New Zealand with the same possible hazards—and why?

And finally, if we do all that and defeat all of America's potential foes in Europe and Asia, what do we do then? Are we then expected to exhaust our human and material resources for the next 50 years to police Europe and Asia, or are we going to hand all the conquered areas and peoples back to the old imperial status quo? Those are all questions which the American people must ask themselves before they start on a road which has no turning and which inevitably must convert an impregnable democracy into a tenuous and highly vulnerable world empire or disclose it as the most altruistic national sap in international history.

I View My Responsibility—On the Record I Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 3, 1940

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, in a democracy such as we have in these United States and such as we are determined to preserve in these United States there is a responsibility which we all must assume, rich man and poor man, citizen and public official. From that responsibility there can be and there should be no escape. In fact, from responsibility there should be no desire to escape, because as the learned Justice Louis D. Brandeis pointed out on so many occasions, "responsibility is the great developer." For us, the Members of Congress, trustees for the public interest, that responsibility

becomes so great that to think of it is to make us shudder. It is well, therefore, that Congress has adopted the practice of opening its sessions with prayer to Almighty God for help and guidance, because without that help the possibility of success in our efforts would vanish entirely. Unfortunately, I fear we are inclined to deal all too lightly with that practice of prayer, it has become too much of a formality and to have all too little meaning for each of us.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF A REPRESENTATIVE

As I think, Mr. Speaker, of the obligation I have to the good people of the Fourteenth District of Michigan who intrusted me with the authority to represent them, and the responsibility I have to render an account of my stewardship, the magnitude of the task we have assumed appalls me. I have no apologies to make, because I have tried to do my best, and with what ability the good Lord has given me I have tried to represent my constituency. My record as chairman of a subcommittee of the powerful Appropriations Committee speaks for itself. On it I stand, as I must, and by it I desire to be judged. On the record, I am asking to be returned to Congress and to pursue this work, because I know now I am far better equipped to carry on than when I first came to Congress.

AMERICA'S WAR

Mr. Speaker, we are at war, and have been at war since those dark days of 1932. Fortunately, we are not at war with our neighbors in other countries, and we are determined that we shall not be at war with them. I hope we all have learned that wars of force, of military powers, never solve a problem; that inevitably they lead only to the demand for more force and more military wars. We are preparing ourselves, spending tremendous sums of money in developing our military strength, and I have supported all of these measures, but supported them with only one thought—that they would be measures to discourage and prevent military war; that they would protect our people from the threat of force and of military war.

The war in which we are engaged and where the enemy is far more dangerous to us and our democracy than is an enemy without our borders, is the war on economic and social conditions in this country. Long ago we were warned by great thinkers, and on many occasions, that if our country were destroyed, it would be destroyed by forces from within, rather than from without, and that fact seems so obvious that we should not have to labor it. But I think that fact has been brought home to us in recent days and by an example which will make for all time to come the once famed Maginot Line of France another Tower of Babel, a symbol of the futility of man putting his trust in crass materialism.

THE EXAMPLE OF FRANCE

We know now that France was not conquered by Germany. We know now that the famed Maginot Line of concrete and steel was about as much protection for France as it would have been if it had been constructed of paper. We should know more than that. We should recognize that the Maginot Line actually was a menace to France because it helped to induce the people of France to rely on that kind of protection. It built up in France a sense of protection in something that was false and I think it was one element in the development of a materialistic philosophy in France which led to the disintegration and decay which is inevitable for all such philosophies. The flesh still dies and only the spirit or soul still lives. France built its Tower of Babel and France unfortunately and tragically has been humbled to the ground.

DARK DAYS

It has become commonplace, in this country, Mr. Speaker, to talk of the dark days ahead of us. There are dark days, yes, days which are darkened by the uncertainties which tend to make us hysterical and I think some of the hysteria is inevitably associated with the smudge we have permitted to come over our hearts and our souls and our minds.

We have authorized the expenditure of tremendous sums of money to build a wall of steel around our country, but let us hope and pray we are not building another Maginot line. We may well fear that eventuality unless we, while we are building this wall of steel, turn more often and with greater determination to attacks on the problems within our country.

THE ROAD TO PEACE

Mr. Speaker, there was a message given to us some 2,000 years ago which has become largely just a collection of words for many, but it is a message so logical and so true we would do well to repeat it every morning and be guided by it throughout every day. The angels sang at Christmas time not only a benediction to the world, they also sang a promise and they sang a very logical warning. They pointed out the path to all of us when they voiced the phrase, "Peace on earth to men of good will." There is the road clearly marked out for us in our struggle for peace. Therein lies the story of the futility of the Maginot line and of walls of steel. We can have peace, but we can have peace only by practices of good will toward our fellow men. Give me a society where every man will live a life of good will toward his fellow men and all the dictators of the world combined will not destroy us.

So while we prepare our defenses to protect our people from the threats of force, I hope we will keep in mind the lesson of the Maginot line and continue to attack those social and economic sins, the sins of bad will toward our fellow man.

THE NO. 1 PROBLEM

I think first, of course, of the problem of unemployment. I think of the distress in every home where those who want to work—and there are few men and women who do not want to work—are denied the opportunity to work.

We have built up a society where a large part of our people must depend upon a daily wage to get their bread and millions of our people are denied the opportunity to work. That kind of a society cannot long endure, Mr. Speaker. That is obvious. It must be obvious to every man who thinks. It should be obvious to those who have been blessed with the goods of this world and with the opportunity and the time to think. It should consume their every waking hour. In fact, it is so obvious that it must be evidence of lack of intelligence on the part of those men who are not concerned over it and who are not giving everything they have in them to help solve the problem.

SEEKING A SOLUTION

Mr. Speaker, during this session of Congress, a group of some 70 Members of this House organized a conference on unemployment and they pledged themselves to an incessant war on conditions which helped to cause unemployment. More than that, those Congressmen pledged themselves to continue the war if they were returned to the next Congress, and knowing how they worked, how they gave their hours at night when they might have been resting, to study and investigation and to conferences, I am confident they will carry on, and God grant they will carry on. They have made a beginning and I believe a very interesting and a very remarkable beginning.. They have outlined a program for action by Congress and by the various States which should take all the time of the next Congress. I do not intimate or contend that I contributed greatly to the work of this conference, but I tried to do my part, and I pledge myself to continue to work with this group in the next Congress.

THE NEED FOR TEMPORARY RELIEF

Mr. Speaker, in 1939 we appropriated $2,582,600,000 for so-called relief, to help grant a meager income to our unemployed; and in 1940, we appropriated $1,157,711,357 to be spent in 8 months, if necessary, for similar relief work. I voted for those appropriations and I am proud of my vote, but in voting for them I recognized two things; first, that the appropriations should have been much larger and that the relief given was all too small; and secondly, that this theory of relief must be only a temporary measure and that it held out for us no hope for solution of our problems. I know my Republican friends opposed and denounced these appropriations and offered nothing in substitution for them, and that members of the Republican Party are committed

by their acts in these sessions of Congress to continue to oppose them. I am sorry for their attitude.

Mr. Speaker, I shall continue to support relief measures until we develop methods whereby workers may get jobs in private industry. It may be popular now to blame private industry and to denounce private industry for its failure to provide jobs, and criticism may be justified, in part. But, again, I insist that it is no more possible to indict all private industry than it is to indict an entire nation. There are leaders in industry who are just as much concerned about this problem as you and I, and I will not be a party to wholesale indictments.

THE VALUE OF RELIEF—A STRONG WEAPON

Mr. Speaker, our Republican friends who have denounced the relief program have not dealt constructively with the question. In fact, they have helped to mislead our people.

The money spent for relief projects has not been wasted in any sense of the word. It has helped to keep families together. It has helped to preserve the morale of our people, and that is a most important contribution to the welfare of our country. But, in addition, the relief money has resulted in the development of great wealth in this country. The public improvements which have resulted from the money spent for the work by our less fortunate citizens have given to all of us far more of wealth than any of us realize. Roads, schools, hospitals, airplane landing fields which have suddenly become of the greatest value to us, recreation facilities—I could not begin to enumerate the developments of wealth which have come as a result of those expenditures. Do you know that over a billion dollars of emergency funds have been spent for direct national-defense purposes? Additional billions of these funds have been spent for roads, bridges, transportation, power plants, warehouses, docks, and other facilities which are indispensable to total defense. More than anything else, I want to remind my Republican brethren that to some extent we have salvaged something which, once wasted, could not be recovered. The waste we might all well abhor and fear is idleness of man. To some extent, we have prevented that waste. The tragedy is that in an emergency, when things must be done quickly, we could not develop a program and a method of financing it so as to put all our idle men and women to work at jobs and at wages which would make us proud of the accomplishment.

Mr. Speaker, I insist on looking on relief measures as only a temporary expedient. I know this administration has regarded them only as temporary measures—measures to hold the ship together while we work industriously to strengthen the ship itself.

DEMOCRATIC RESPONSIBILITY BROUGHT ACTION

Would my Republican friends repeal the Wage and Hour Act, for example? They must answer they would not, because, while we have the tremendous industries we now have, the Wage and Hour Act will be not only a protection for the worker but a protection for the employer who wants to deal fairly and soundly with his employees. Incidentally, through thus dealing fairly and soundly with them, he will inevitably help himself. I remind you that after all the years of talk and the many political platforms and the promises, it was not until the Democratic administration took over the responsibility of government that we got a Wage and Hour Act.

Would my Republican friends repeal the National Labor Relations Act? Their leader in the House, my good friend the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], proudly declares he voted against it and would vote against it again. But I defy my Republican opponent to pledge himself to vote for repeal of this act. I grant there have been errors in its administration; I grant that it can be improved and must be improved; but I do not want the act repealed, and I shall vote against its repeal or its emasculation. In fact, the act itself is an indictment of the wickedness of our society. In some future day the historians will write that it was necessary for the Government to adopt legislation and set up machinery to insure the workers of the right to organize and bargain collectively, and the readers of those histories will be amazed, I am confident. It is difficult to believe that it was necessary to pass legislation in order to force recognition of this right of labor, a right that should be as freely conceded as is the right to breathe the air.

We have established the foundations for an old-age retirement system and for unemployment insurance. Again I concede these laws are by no means perfect and that they are just a beginning but would my Republican opponent repeal them? He dare not say he would. Certainly we are going to find errors in administration. Certainly we are going to find it necessary to amend the laws. Certainly we are going to have to liberalize the benefits of these laws. But I remind my Republican friends again that after all the years of talking, it was not until a Democratic administration received control of the Government that we got these measures. Let my Republican friends who criticize begin by telling why their party and its administrations, with their years of opportunity, did nothing toward establishing this system of protection for those who are compelled to work for wages and to seek work for wages.

ON OUR WAY

But in spite of all these gains, we must continue our progress. Our old age pension system must be improved and extended; the amount of the pension should be increased, and above all, given in a manner that respects the dignity of the recipient. The benefits of social security should be broadened and extended, and unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Although we are "on our way," we have not yet reached the objective which we seek. Not yet has every man, woman, and child in our land the security and high standard of life which should be possible with America's resources, manpower, and democratic form of government.

THE CREDIT UNION—ANOTHER WEAPON

But Mr. Speaker, I want to turn to one thing more in which I am greatly interested. During this administration and through one of its activities, we have begun to develop organizations of the greatest importance to help men to develop and control their own lives and thus govern themselves. I want to refer to one of those achievements, the development of the credit union and the help given by this administration to the credit union.

Mr. Speaker, I do not think there is any business which is so much an example of our wickedness, as is the loan shark. Just to think that our society permits a condition to exist where men and women are ground down to the point where they must borrow in little—pitifully little—sums of money to meet emergencies, and then permits business to make those loans and to make them at rates of interest such as those which caused Christ to declare that some men in Jerusalem had made His temple into a den of thieves.

Well, we have begun to do something about that. With the very active aid of this administration and with the help of State governments, we have encouraged our people to develop the credit-union idea. I think most of you are familiar with those organizations, whereby men and women pool their little savings and lend money to themselves in time of emergency and where any profit from those loans goes back to all the members of the organizations. It is a most remarkable development, probably one of the most constructive developments of the last few years, and I hope that all the people of my district will be interested in them. The parish church should have a credit union, the labor organizations, all of them should have credit unions, any group of people who are associated in any way in their daily work or their affairs of daily life, should have a credit union.

I am citing the credit-union idea because I think it does several things. In the first place, it nurtures the idea of saving and of individual thrift. In the second place, it helps to teach the members concerning savings and money and the use of money. And in the third place, and most important of all, it is an instrument to develop individual character and individual responsibility. If we are to make a success of democratic government, we must always keep in mind

the development of individual character, we must make use of every opportunity to encourage a sense of individual responsibility—as Justice Brandeis said, the "great developer."

OUR SAFEGUARD

A nation, Mr. Speaker, can only be the sum of the individuals who make up that nation. We can study our people and read the future of our land. To understand life as it is lived by the rank and file is the duty of those who would properly legislate. That duty, it seems, has been recognized in the development of the program accomplished. The objective of that program is that peace and security may be established for all the people in our land and thereby the success of democracy assured. Honor, honesty, industry, and righteousness will guarantee America's future.

The Third-Term Unwritten Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARENCE J. McLEOD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER

Mr. McLEOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of October 8, 1940:

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of Tuesday, October 8, 1940]

UNWRITTEN LAW

Whatever arguments may be valid in favor of a third term in the Presidency can be used with equal cogency in favor of a fourth or a fifth term. Once the 150-year-old precedent against the third term is broken down, the way is opened to a continuous tenure as long as the President in office cares to make it.

The anti-third-term precedent is almost as old as the Republic itself. It was set by Washington, vigorously reaffirmed by Jefferson, and obediently followed by every other President down to 1940. Now, for the first time, a Chief Executive nearing the end of his second term has so dominated the actions of his own party as to compel it to renominate him for a third term.

Franklin D. Roosevelt conceives himself to be America's indispensable man, the first of his kind since the foundation of the Nation. In one sense this President fulfills a direful prophecy—that there would arise some day a Chief Executive so convinced of his usefulness and so hungry for power that he would exercise the great influence of his office to perpetuate himself in office as head of the Government.

The question of limiting the Presidential tenure was thoroughly discussed in the Constitutional Convention. Finally came the decision to omit any specific limitation, leaving the Executive eligible for reelection.

George Washington was presiding officer of that convention. Elected first President of the Republic under the Constitution, he recognized the danger inherent in the fact that no limitation had been fixed. At the end of his first term he was ready to retire, but was dissuaded. Long before the conclusion of his second 4 years he announced his determination to retire to private life.

There is plenty of evidence that had Jefferson been a member of the Convention he would have fought for the inclusion of a constitutional provision limiting Presidents to a single term. He criticized the new plan of government for its failure to include such a condition.

The Sage of Monticello, third President, looked on the Executive office as potentially so powerful that its incumbent might some day so far forget the relationship between democracy and the principle of rotation in office as to build himself into the role of the country's ruler for life.

Thus Jefferson, great Democrat that he was, retired after 8 years, though he could have had a third term without effort.

Came Madison and Monroe, two terms each, and another strong party man, Andrew Jackson. Jackson, retiring after two terms, was satisfied that "our liberties would possess an additional safeguard," were the executive limited by law to a single term of 4 or 6 years.

Buchanan, last Democrat in the White House till long after the Civil War, told his colleagues while yet a Member of Congress that "the example of Washington * * * has forever determined that no President shall be more than once reelected."

Cleveland, twice President, and Bryan, thrice candidate for the office, accepted the prevailing sentiment opposed to the third term.

The Democratic platforms of 1896 and 1912 recognized the perils which lie in the possible re-reelection of the Chief Executive.

We confine these citations largely to Democrats, remembering that to the Democratic Party Mr. Roosevelt owes everything he has ever got in politics. But, equally forthright declarations might be quoted from such Republicans as McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and others.

The dangers foreseen by the earlier Presidents and statesmen as they spoke against the third term are tremendously increased in these later days. The power of the Executive has been expanded. The Federal pay roll is immeasurably greater, the number of bureaus larger, and the tendency to center authority in the Presidency constantly more emphatic.

One may imagine Jefferson, Democrat, seer, and statesman, speaking directly to the future Franklin D. Roosevelt when he wrote:

"The example of four Presidents voluntarily retiring at the end of their eighth year and the progress of public opinion that the principle is salutary have given it, in practice, the force of precedent and usage; insomuch that should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of his ambitious views."

With one possible exception—that of Washington—it may be safely argued that America has never yet had an indispensable man. Certainly it has none now.

We appeal from Mr. Roosevelt, new dealer, to Mr. Jefferson, Democrat.

Who Is Wendell Willkie?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM T. SCHULTE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. SCHULTE. Mr. Speaker, who is Wendell Willkie? Upon what background, what experience, and what training does he base any claim to fitness as a candidate for President of the United States? The people have a right to know.

Six months ago few people had ever heard of Wendell Willkie. Even here in Indiana, which he left almost 20 years ago, few people know Wendell Willkie. Some of his schoolmates at Indiana University remember him as an advocate of socialistic theories. Then some of his Democratic friends in Indianapolis remember him as a young lawyer looking for a job, and one of the outstanding Democrats in Indiana obtained a job for him in the legal department of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., at Akron, Ohio. He became a Democrat.

After several years we find him chief counsel for Commonwealth & Southern, a utility holding company, one of the chain controlled by the House of Morgan. During the time that Mr. Willkie was chief counsel for Commonwealth & Southern holding company and since he has been president of the company, from 1933 until 1940, the records of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee and of the National Labor Relations Board tell the story of the continued warfare between these Willkie companies and organized labor. And oh, how labor remembers him as its enemy.

Despite what Mr. Willkie may now say about his friendship toward labor, his record and the record of the Willkie utilities is decidedly antilabor. That is why practically every workingman is for Roosevelt.

The American people know nothing of Mr. Willkie, except what Mr. Willkie himself and his clever publicity men have told us about him. He modestly admits that he is a successful businessman with a capital "B."

He came into prominence during the time the utilities were maintaining a lobby in Washington against the enactment of the Federal law regulating utility holding companies. He gained further prominence in his opposition and the opposition of the Willkie utilities to the establishment of rural electrification. At first professing friendship and cooperation with Government development of the Tennessee Valley Authority, he later opposed the Government "yardstick" for measuring utility rates, and as a result of this tilt, finally sold out his Tennessee utility to the T. V. A.

Remember Mr. Willkie operated a monopoly, he reduced rates when he was forced to reduce rates by the Government, when competition became keen he turned tail and sold out. He never met a pay roll; he never operated an industrial plant; his sole experience in business has been as a lawyer, a corporation lawyer, representing the Morgan interest. His stock in trade has been stocks and bonds.

Mr. Willkie never lived on a farm and never operated a farm. He never owned a farm until 1935, and since that time he has purchased five farms, all except one, at forced sale, in Rush County.

He hires a woman as a farm manager.

So, as a matter of fact, although he has a luxurious office on Wall Street, Mr. Willkie, is neither a businessman, as we know businessmen, neither is he a farmer.

Mr. Willkie, has never had a day's training in any public office, nor in connection with any Government activity. His viewpoint toward the Government, is the viewpoint of the $75,000-a-year corporation lawyer. His political philosophy, if any, is a hodgepodge of conflicting ideas. There is not one single new or constructive suggestion made in his entire contradictory Elwood speech. In that speech, he rolled the Republican national platform into a football and kicked it out the window.

He declared the Democratic program is directly opposite to his own political philosophy, and yet he accepted and approved each enactment of the Democratic program.

What his own platform is, nobody knows.

We do know, however, that Wendell Willkie believes that his kind of big business should run the Government in this country, but we, the great mass of the common people of America, propose to do that job ourselves.

In his daily statements, Candidate Willkie is fond of referring to the "American way of life" and declared that the "pernicious doctrines" of the last few years must be completely eliminated from America.

Just what does Candidate Willkie mean by the "American way of life" and these "pernicious doctrines"?

Is it that "American way of life" prior to 1933 when your savings were wiped out in the crash of closed banks and bankrupt businesses?

Can you remember the "American way of life" with 18,000,000 men and women tramping the streets looking for jobs which were not there?

Can you remember the "American way of life" in the march of the bonus army on Washington and its resultant reception of tear gas, bayonets, and machine-gun bullets? Do you recall the "American way of life" when thousands of men and women marched upon the State House here in Indianapolis, to be met by National Guards called out by Governor Leslie?

The "American way of life" to which Mr. Willkie refers recalls the thousands of young men and women running in packs over the country, committing crimes for a livelihood, sleeping in boxcars, in doorways; it recalls the thousands who found shelter and rest on park benches, in haymows; it recalls the poorhouses crowded with the aged; it recalls the thousands who found their "American way of life" in jumping out of hotel windows.

What Mr. Willkie means is a return to the roaring, irresponsible, mad days of the 1920's; those days of inflated land and security values; those days when thousands were built daily in the sale of worthless and inflated foreign securities and stocks; those days of bank speculation with depositors' money; those days when the farmer was at the mercy of the grain speculators, when his debt kept mounting and his taxes soared.

Mr. Willkie and the Republican leaders, of course, would like to return to those ways of American life, for they were the days of special privilege, of unbridled license, when there was no thought of the welfare of the masses of the people. Of course, Mr. Willkie wants to eliminate the doctrines of the past 8 years, for he wants to return to that "American way of life" when big business with vested interests was able to manipulate the stock and the money market at the expense of the investing public. Willkie wants a return to the "American way of life" when there was no adequate regulation for utilities or of dizzy speculation, when phony bond issues and bogus stocks and monopolistic enterprises reeled through the country boisterous and hell-bent until the ill-fated crash of 1929 sent the Nation to an abysmal pit of the Hoover panic. Those were the days that Mr. Willkie likes, the days when the natural wealth and natural resources of the Nation itself were looted at will, when Government officials were the forerunners of the gangsters, and, after pillaging the Nation, they sneaked into the "little green house on K Street" in Washington to split the spoils.

If you please, Mr. Willkie, we, the American people, will take our present way of American life, together with doctrines which you call "pernicious," in preference to your "American way of life."

STUDY THESE FACTS

There is an old adage to the effect that if you say something often enough you get to believing it yourself.

Just because Mr. Wendell Willkie is deceived about himself is no reason why other people should be deceived about him.

In an election as important as this election, the public has a right to look beyond a man's word into his life-long associations and deeds. These are the vital clues to his character, to the forces behind him and to the adequacy of his own mental visibility to deal with the crushing realities with which the President of the United States is certainly confronted. Naturally, Mr. Willkie as a candidate for President will not go out of his way to present to the voters his own less-attractive side. He does, however, owe the voters of Indiana and the Nation an obligation not to offer them views which are in fact opposite from those by which he has been guided in the past and would continue to be guided in the future if he were elected. After first being a Socialist, then a Democrat, and a hard-working organization Democrat at that—Mr. Willkie waited until about the last possible moment to become a Republican and still have a chance of becoming the Republican nominee for President.

His life has been like that, his life has been one of opportunist. During his college days he preached socialism, and after college he applied for the job of socialist city attorney at Elwood. Although today he assumes the post of "I came up the hard way," as a matter of fact, the way was about as hard as any Indiana boy whose family is able to send all six of its children through a university and help launch them in life.

From the time he became a corporation lawyer, about the middle twenties, Willkie assumed the role of a great liberal seeking the liberation of the masses, he wanted new freedom and yet despite what he said he was the front man and the mouthpiece of the largest corporation in America. Utility corporations which as a class have one of the worst records for shady practice in American history. While professing this great liberalism Willkie was a warm admirer of Sam Insull, he looked up to this utility empire builder and all of us here in Indiana are familiar with the growth, the methods, the fall, and crash with the resultant suffering to thousands of stockholders of that empire.

Wendell Willkie was a utility lobbyist in Washington; as a lobbyist he was successful and in 1929 he set up the law firm of Weadock & Willkie, general counsel for the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation; if the firm had any other clients nobody ever heard of them. Wendell Willkie became the symbol of big business. He fought their battles; spoke their pieces, utilities of the Commonwealth & Southern chain were continually at war with organized labor; they hired labor spies, they bought tear gas for use against labor in strikes, they fought organization of their men into unions and fostered company unions. He was elected just recently to the board of J. P. Morgan's bank for bankers, the First National of New York, which is so exclusive that it is not even a club

for mine-run millionaires, and we have not heard of his resignation from that board either.

So his association with the ring of financiers referred to as the spider web of Wall Street is just one more instance of Willkie's characteristic readiness to shift before the clock strikes, a characteristic for which psychologists have a name, his acts and deeds during the past speak louder than his words of today. His masters know him.

The trouble today, as it has always been with the Republican leadership, is that they do not know what the people are thinking. When the framers of our Constitution worded that immortal document they prefaced it with the words, "we the people," and the Republican leadership, the Tafts, the Weirs, the Pews, the Mellons, the Watsons, the Mark Hannas, the Sinclairs, the Falls, the Hoovers, the McWhirters, the Hillises, the Willkies, and the rest of the big wigs, prefer to twist those ringing words into "we the leaders of the Republican Party."

They know only what their little clique thinks.

They believe this Nation is just prey for the little handful of privileged few whose passion it is to gain control of natural resources and industrial productivity for their own selfish ends. They have sought to monopolize the wealth of the Nation and the vehicle of their monopoly has always been the Republican Party. But where there is one of these tycoons and industrial barons there are a million people like you and me—workers in factories, clerks in the shops and stores, farmers, cleaners and pressers, workers in groceries and butcher shops, in the drug stores and filling stations—just common people, if you please, living along the highways and streets of America. There are 130,000,000 of us. When the Constitution challenged "we the people" it meant these 130,000,000 and not the handful of G. O. P. leaders who have, since the reactionary Republican Party was born, sought to usurp the provisions of the Constitution for their own private and selfish purposes. "We the people" have a champion. That defender of the rights of the common people of America is the Democratic Party. Since its founding by Thomas Jefferson, 150 years ago, its principles have lived and ever grown younger as it has come closer to the hearts and minds of the people it serves.

Today, as never before, the Democratic Party is serving "we the people"; it has put an end to the loot and pillage by the privileged few. It has stopped the reckless squandering and the speculating with the Nation's wealth. And today "we the people" are getting some of this wealth for ourselves, for our own benefit, and the benefit of our children.

The Democratic Party believes in liberty for all the people, not license for the few; it believes that government is for the protection of the weak and restraint of the strong; it believes that the investment of billions of dollars, thirty-three billions to be exact, in the past 8 years in the welfare of "we the people" in the conservation of our lands, our forests, our water power, and in our own well-being, is an investment that will bear high returns in future citizenry and future national wealth.

The Democratic Party believes in the capitalistic system, but in profit for all business, not just for big business. It believes in a greater distribution of the wealth of the Nation and that one of the obligations of government is the security of the aged; proper training, wholesome environment, and opportunity for youth; that labor has an inherent right to bargain for its worth; that the farmer has the same right; and that under this program for labor and agriculture both these great blocs of our population are slowly but surely reaching that degree of purchasing power, of bargaining power, and betterment of their standards of living to which they, as free-born Americans, are entitled.

"We the people" have obtained these benefits in 8 short years, and we will reap further gains for the masses of our people during the next 4 years under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

New Deal Trade-Agreement Program Designed To Aid Foreign Farmers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, among the greatest failures of the New Deal, in its many makeshift experiments with our economic life, has been the collapse of the foreign-trade experiment. This scheme was evolved as a help toward bringing agricultural prices to parity. The program has been no more successful than the other New Deal ventures into a managed economy. Farm prices still are far from parity. The trade agreements have helped farmers, it is true, but they are the farmers of other nations.

The much-touted foreign trade-agreement program was designed to increase our export trade. This was to be done not only by granting and receiving improved treatment for internationally traded commodities, but also by eliminating the barriers to international trade which had been growing in height since the last World War.

To achieve the purpose of lowering these trade barriers, the President was empowered by a "rubber stamp" Congress to make agreements in which the United States was to guarantee most-favored-nation treatment, and to suspend application of the lowered duties to the commerce of any country which discriminated against our trade.

Let us take a look at the record. In 1932, the bottom of the depression was reached. Since then exports have recovered in varying degree. In 1931, the total exports stood 51 percent higher than they were in 1932. But farm exports were smaller by 9 percent. Last year farm exports made up only 23 percent of all exports—the lowest percentage since we first began sending goods to England in the early days of the Colonies.

It was in 1935 that the trade treaties went into effect. The year previously, under the Smoot-Hawley tariff, the value of farm exports was $787,000,000, or 40 percent of all exports. In only one of the trade-treaty years, 1938, were farm exports larger than in 1934. But that was the year we saw the subsidized exports of more than 100,000,000 bushels of wheat and 6,500,000 bales of cotton.

Imports were even more discouraging. The trade treaties reduced the duty on 1,100 articles, put 100 on a stand-still basis, and earmarked 150 for the free list. See what happened. In the 5 years preceding the trade treaties, imports of competitive agricultural products were valued at an annual average of $495,000,000. In the first 5 treaty years, the average imports rose to $616,000,000, an increase of $120,000,000 a year. In their total effect the trade treaties, by reducing agricultural exports and letting in competitive farm imports, have caused a net loss to the American farmer of $237,000,000. Sure, the trade treaties are helping the farmer. But not the American farmer. It is the cheap-labor farmer of Mexico, Asia, Canada, and Africa who is being helped.

According to New Deal claims, these so-called mutual-benefit pacts have been made with 20 other countries, representing 60 percent of our foreign trade. Have the agreements guaranteed equal treatment for our goods in the trade-agreement countries? Most assuredly not. March 1, 1939, trade-agreement countries were parties to 98 exclusive agreements from which the United States received no benefit. Thus had grown up a network of exclusive bilateral agreements around the very markets in which the United States was guaranteed equal treatment. Under the law, this should be sufficient reason to terminate any agreement, but, to date, the President has terminated none.

In the trade agreement with Brazil, the United States was guaranteed most-favored-nation treatment. Yet, of Brazil imports from all countries in 1934, only 14 percent originated in Germany, compared to 23.6 percent in the United States. But in 1937, Germany's percentage of the total had risen to 23.7 percent while the United States share had dropped to 23.1 percent.

The only method by which Germany would have increased her share of Brazilian imports was by an expansion of her bilateral barter methods of conducting trade. The United States, of course, was excluded from these deals.

The net result was that this country received equal treatment in that part of the Brazilian market not reserved to Germany. Is this what is meant by the unconditional most-favored-nation policy?

The President has the power to deny lowered duties to the products of any country which discriminates against our trade. Since July 1, 1935, the countries of the world have concluded 822 basic bilateral agreements and 559 supplementary ones. Thus far most-favored-nation treatment has been denied to only two countries—Australia and Germany. In the case of Australia the practice, followed by that country's import licensing, was abandoned in a little more than a year.

Germany was denied most-favored-nation treatment because her bilateral trading methods were opposed to our trade policy. It must be remembered, however, that it takes two countries to make a bilateral agreement. So there is no reason why most-favored-nation treatment should not be denied every country which is a party to a bilateral agreement.

Faced with these obvious facts, the State Department answers by pointing out that to deny these countries equal treatment would merely start a series of trade wars. This statement is true and is supported by the weight of evidence.

But with its answer the State Department is delivering the most damaging blow imaginable to the trade-agreements program. The only course now left is to allow these discriminations to continue.

It is apparent to any fair-minded man that the reciprocal trade-agreements program is not only not the "only legal machinery ready to start the reconstruction task," as the Democrats claim, but it is doomed to failure. The only sound and practicable method of achieving the ultimate reconstruction of world trade was endorsed and prompted by President Hoover when he laid the groundwork for the world economic conference. That conference was sabotaged at the last minute by President Roosevelt early in his administration, as all know, when he followed the will-o'-the-wisp idea of tinkering with the gold standard. We all see the results now.

Only when the nations of the world are sincere in their desire to eliminate barriers and are willing to sit around a conference table and effect a solution, only then can international trade be opened up. And with the opening of international trade, international good will will follow.

Rough Sledding for the Ranchers of the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK O. HORTON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, during the entire New Deal unreciprocal trade agreement period, agricultural exports have declined $104,000,000 while competitive farm imports have increased $68,000,000.

This startling fact cracks out like a pistol shot in the dead of night to stop stark in its tracks any attempt to convince the western rancher that the New Deal has done him anything but dirt.

Here is what the New Deal has done to you as a rancher from 1933 to 1939:

Department of Commerce report, 1933–39

Products	Imports, 7-year total	Gain to foreign farmers	Loss to American farmers
Cattle.....head	$2,568,610	$66,079,238	$99,079,238
Beef, pork, poultry.....pounds	885,993,786	163,974,550	219,974,550
Dairy products.....do	518,067,547	97,760,243	130,313,000
Wool and mohair.....do	1,425,060,292	290,103,938	385,000,000
Hides and skins.....do	1,972,141,987	329,276,751	439,034,751
Barley, malt.....do	1,498,553,097	39,820,586	53,093,000
Barley.....bushels	119,430,020	16,855,522	22,470,000
Corn.....do	165,063,882	94,703,172	126,237,882
Oats.....do	20,327,193	6,307,511	8,407,511
Beans.....pounds	8,498,000	6,168,000	6,902,000
Wool, unmanufactured.....do	25,418,000	116,806,000	180,291,000

During the past year while the Surplus Commodity Corporation was spending $30,000,000 of your tax dollars to get rid of certain surplus farm commodities, these New Deal trade agreements permitted foreign countries to ship in $90,000,000 worth of these very same commodities. It just does not make sense.

President Pierson of the Export-Import Bank is now in Buenos Aires with his pockets stuffed full of newly appropriated dollars to the tune of half a billion.

Looks as if the long fought-off trade agreements with Argentina were being made ready for after-election ratification.

It is dollars to doughnuts that by hook or crook the embargo against importation of foot and mouth diseased beef from Argentina will be raised.

That is more hide off the ranchers' backs, for such action will expose every cloven-hoofed animal, whether domestic or wild, to the devastating foot and mouth disease.

Make no mistake about it, a victory for the New Deal ticket is a victory for the foreign farmers and ranchers of the Argentine, Mexico, and Brazil,

We are voting not to adjourn Congress for, as Dave Lawrence says in his column, "Dictatorship begins when Congress packs up and goes home."

Payments Under Agricultural Conservation Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

ARTICLE PREPARED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, a study of the table below, which was prepared by the Department of Agriculture, discloses that the owner and operator of a family-size farm receives very little out of the New Deal farm program. Large commercial farmers receive the big checks.

Large landowners in the South and elsewhere are ejecting tenant farmers from their lands to go into big-scale commercial farming in order to obtain all cash benefits under the Federal A. A. A. program. Tenants and sharecroppers are being displaced, and day or seasonal farm labor is hired when needed. This practice is stopping tenant farmers from receiving Government checks, and placing millions of them on public relief.

Size of payments under agricultural conservation programs

Size of payment	Number of payees by size-of-payment groups				Percentage of payees by size-of-payment groups—cumulative			
	1936	1937	1938	1939[1]	1936	1937	1938	1939[1]
Under $20	1,003,625	1,104,841	1,252,186	1,426,464	26.062	29.980	23.940	24.780
$20.01 to $40	[2]1,036,628	779,922	1,182,387	1,278,129	[2]52,981	51.140	46.540	46.980
$40.01 to $60		501,656	842,247	847,747		64.750	62.640	61.710
$60.01 to $100	[3]827,445	558,190	889,413	921,748	[3]74.468	79.890	79.640	77.720
$100.01 to $150	385,708	315,430	453,812	519,043	84.484	88.450	88.310	86.740
$150.01 to $200	209,105	154,303	251,770	308,339	89.914	92.640	93.120	92.100
$200.01 to $300	197,282	135,687	181,312	231,924	95.037	96.320	96.590	96.130
$300.01 to $400	83,372	56,738	77,789	97,196	97.202	97.860	98.080	97.820
$400.01 to $500	42,168	28,885	37,662	47,342	98.297	98.640	98.800	98.640
$500.01 to $1,000	52,334	37,072	47,893	59,700	99.656	99.650	99.716	99.677
$1,000.01 to $2,000	10,359	9,441	11,059	13,982	99.925	99.910	99.928	99.920
$2,000.01 to $3,000	1,425	1,952	2,103	2,614	99.962	99.963	99.968	99.965
$3,000.01 to $4,000	655	597	749	977	99.979	99.979	99.982	99.982
$4,000.01 to $5,000	308	311	372	464	99.987	99.987	99.989	99.990
$5,000.01 to $10,000	385	353	429	571	99.997	99.997	99.997	100.000
Over $10,000	115	95	141	(4)	100.000	100.000	100.000	(4)
Total	3,850,914	3,685,473	5,231,324	5,756,240				

[1] Preliminary. [2] $20.01 to $50. [3] $50.01 to $100. [4] Payments limited to $10,000.

Office of the Administrator, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Oct. 1, 1940.

Willkie or War!

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. HESS
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. HESS. Mr. Speaker, this Nation faces a fateful choice which it cannot avoid. In brief, that choice is Willkie or war.

Despite the denials which have been made by New Deal speakers, including the third-term candidate himself, every move made by the administration appears to be headed in one direction. That direction unfortunately appears to be war. Bit by bit evidence accumulates which cannot be contradicted, that a war-minded leadership seeks the road of imperialism.

If any further evidence were needed, Mr. Speaker, that evidence was provided by the Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, on October 5. In an address before the graduates of the National Police Academy at the Department of Justice, Navy Secretary Knox boldly and dangerously declared that he was warning the "international brigands" that if a fight "is forced upon us we shall be ready."

"America has never tamely submitted to intimidation," cried the Secretary of the Navy, rattling the saber until it could be heard around the world. "If a fight is forced upon us, we shall be ready for them. We have never lost a war yet."

These remarks followed an assertion in Tokyo on October 4, by the Japanese Premier, Prince Konoye, that any challenge by the United States to the axis division of world leadership would bring a "fight to the finish."

Mr. Speaker, these are not only words of war; they are a challenge to war. The pity of it is that men like Secretary Knox who utter these challenges, who rattle these sabers, who jingle these spurs are not the men who do the fighting and the bleeding and the dying. The men who have to do the fighting and the suffering and the dying are not heard from, very often, until sword rattlers like Secretary Knox and the rest of the new dealers have done their ill-fated work.

Although this challenge by our Secretary of the Navy to Japan and the axis to fight was uttered several days ago, not one single rebuke or modification has issued from the White House. The Secretary of the Navy is recognized all over the world, including Japan, as an official spokesman for the President of the United States and for this Nation.

The Republican nominees for the House of Representatives and the Senate want to keep this country out of war. We want an adequate defense. We want to maintain our rights. But this is no time to be trading challenges and epithets and threats with the saber rattlers of other nations.

Therefore, I say to you, Mr. Speaker, and no member on this floor can deny it, that this Nation at the ballot boxes next November must make a fateful choice. It is—Willkie or war!

There Is No Plan—Remarks on National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK O. HORTON
OF WYOMING
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the only logical conclusion that can be reached on our muddled national-defense program is that there is no defense program. There is not much idea of what is being done or who is going to do it.

The appropriation of billions of dollars, especially if it is requested without any general idea of how it is to be used, is the merest first step.

At his press conference on June 4 of this year President Roosevelt said he saw no reason why Congress should remain in session. That press conference was reported in the next morning's newspaper, as follows:

> President Roosevelt said he saw no good reason why Congress should continue in session for the duration of the emergency as desired by Republican Members. Sarcastically he said the situation does not require Congress to remain in session except for the laudable goal of giving speeches.

It is hard to believe that a man as profoundly informed as he must have been on the course of world events, failed to the foresee any need for the United States Congress—the only agency of Government which could supply the country with the money necessary to prepare it for defense.

The very day before the President made this cavalier statement to the press, he had placed before Congress the request for $906,004,499 for the fiscal year 1941 and contract authorizations amounting to $317,736,761 for the Army and Navy.

He could not seriously have expected Congress to give consideration to such an appropriation in 1 day. Was it possible that he thought that the money for national defense could wait?

Six days later there came to the Congress a request for three lighter-than-air craft, of 1,000,000 cubic feet.

The next day a message came asking for an addition of $50,000,000 to the relief bill to be used by the Red Cross to aid destitutes in other lands.

June 14: A request for $98,800 more for the Coast Guard.

June 19: A request of $43,500,000 for Army airplane motors. Also $25,000,000 for T. V. A. for national-defense purposes.

June 20: A request for $135,000 more for military intelligence.

June 24: An appropriation of $50,000,000 to establish marine and war-risk insurance.

July 1: A message recommending the passage of an excess-profits tax.

July 10: More national-defense appropriation amounting to $2,161,441,957 cash and $2,686,730,000 in contract authorization.

July 22: $500,000,000 for the Export-Import Bank for economic defense of the Western Hemisphere.

July 30: More money for the Navy for the fiscal year 1941 amounting to $75,750,000 cash and $46,230,000 contract authorization.

August 5: Still more for the Navy for the fiscal year 1941 amounting to $28,786,000 cash and $19,075,000 contract authorizations.

August 22: Supplemental naval appropriation for the fiscal year 1941 amounting to $6,315,000.

August 24: Another supplemental appropriation for the Navy for the fiscal year 1941. Amount, $210,000.

September 14: Emergency supplemental appropriation for national defense for the fiscal year 1941. Amount, $1,733,886,976 cash; $207,000,000 in contract authorizations.

Thus we have the spectacle of the President, after seeing no reason why Congress should not go home, asking it for appropriations and contract authorizations totaling $8,911,900,000. Either the money was not needed, which is obviously absurd in the face of War and Navy chiefs' testimony, and in light of our pressing need for defense, or else the President had no idea what our defense requirements were or would be. The most charitable conclusion to draw from all this is that the President does not understand the complex task of building an armament industry any more than he has understood the problem of getting men back to work by revitalizing American industry.

But money to spend is only the beginning. It is how it is spent that matters. And if we do not wake up to the possibility that there is, after all, no plan, no rhyme or reason to the President's whole defense program, that money will be thrown away just as surely as money has been thrown away for the last 7 years priming the pump of our national economy. This country must be made too tough to tackle. We cannot look across the ocean and stay calm about defense. If we are not too tough to tackle, and quickly, too, Hitler and his allies may figure it is our turn next.

Picking Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES F. O'CONNOR

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE BIG TIMBER PIONEER

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Big Timber Pioneer:

Willkie endorsements seem to be picking up, several having been obtained in addition to prominent Democrats who bolt the party every 4 years.

Sioux Indians in South Dakota have endorsed him, a promise having been made that if he gets in he will discharge John Collier, Superintendent of Indian Agencies.

Several units of the Carpenters Union in Chicago have also given him an O. K., probably with a belief that if he is defeated they will be given a contract to construct Republican coffins the day after election.

The National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS DELIVERED SEPTEMBER 23, 1940

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by me over the radio on September 23, 1940:

In talking to various people I find that many points in the conscription bill have not been made clear to the public, particularly the fact that the draftees were inducted directly into the military service of the armed forces of the United States and were liable to serve anywhere in the Western Hemisphere or in our island possessions. Few realized that the term of service could be extended indefinitely, even in peacetime, by the mere declaration by Congress that "the national interest is imperiled." Other people apparently had not understood that the evidence showed that the mechanized equipment necessary for a modern army would not be available until 1942, according to statements by William Knudsen, of the Defense Commission, and Chief of Staff Marshall. Basically, the problem involved requires an answer to two questions: First, how imminent is the danger we face from abroad? Secondly, how dangerous is the threat to our domestic institutions and our form of government at home through the adoption of this permanent policy of requiring service in the armed force? I was discussing some of the issues which had to be considered in reaching an answer to these two questions at the time my last broadcast closed. The next subsidiary question I was going to discuss and will discuss now is, What is the imminent danger that we face from abroad?

Just what is the imminent danger that we face? Practically none of the experts, including Secretary of the Navy Knox and Secretary of War Stimson, have stated that frontal attacks would be made on this country. They indicate their disbelief that such would be the case. They indicate, and in my opinion it is clearly so, that our difficulties will arise in Central and South America. The general opinion is that there will be a trade war probably, followed or even accompanied by armed conflict. So the purpose of the army that we are planning to raise is to protect American interests in Central and South America, Canada, and Alaska. I am not at all sure that this fact is clearly understood by most of the people. It is nevertheless the case, and I do not think that any person who has studied the subject could think of contradicting this statement. Consequently the basic idea upon which the conscription bill rests is intermittent warfare with Hitler in various spots of South and Central America. However, this will only be necessary if the British Isles fall and then only if Hitler gains control of the British Navy. Consequently, adequate aid to Great Britain is a much more vital and effective method of meeting this anticipated future danger than is peacetime conscription as distinguished from military training. If these two eventualities should come to pass, and if it should be necessary to send expeditionary forces into other nations, then surely such expeditionary forces require skilled professional soldiers rather than 12-month trainees. The basic assumption to justify peacetime conscription must be that if England falls there is imminent danger of economic penetration in South America, followed by military infiltration resulting eventually in armed conflict between this country and Hitler. This is clearly an eventuality we must take into consideration and which we cannot ignore.

But for the probable purpose for which it will be called upon to perform, what we need is a highly skilled professional army. To go back to the start, the basic questions are: How imminent is this danger from abroad? How grave is this threat to our liberties at home? In deciding these questions it is necessary to attempt to evaluate the situation as it exists today, taking into account all the facts, and also to judge what may happen in the future both on the domestic and foreign fronts. We are dealing with intangibles and imponderables that aren't subject to measurement or to weighing. Naturally, people reach different conclusions.

Any immediate defeat of Hitler must be accomplished through the medium of England holding out during this winter plus the enforcement of the British blockade and the conditions that blockade

produces on the continent of Europe this winter by creating a lack of food. It was for that reason that I voted to appropriate one-half billion dollars for the Export-Import Bank to try to help control South American trade during this winter. I have no illusions as to the likelihood of this country getting this money back because our experiences with South America have been very illuminating in this respect, and not very satisfactory. But if we can control this food supply we can reenforce to that extent the British blockade and perhaps end the war satisfactorily. One reason why these questions should be considered at this time is because at the rate we are going there is very little question in my mind that by the middle of next year we will have a pretty totalitarian type of government in this country. Already the shadow of Hitler has cast a pall over the customary rights and privileges of American citizens and if this pall does continue indefinitely the result may well be the acceptance of a modified form of totalitarianism from within, no matter what happens from without. It will certainly be so if we don't understand what is going on. This is not a particularly pleasant prospect and few seem to be willing to point out the exact dilemma which does confront us.

Since the Nation has decided that peacetime conscription is necessary at this time and thereby has decided that the dangers from abroad outweigh the domestic dangers they create we must all unite whole-heartedly in rendering the policy as effective as possible. We have already, to a great extent, taken the risks inherent in such a policy by the enactment of this legislation. From now on our purpose must be to get the maximum benefits which it offers, and at the same time try to eliminate the risks. This we can do by recognizing and understanding just exactly what they are. That is my purpose in calling them to your attention. I want to be sure you have the picture completely because the same problem will be presented again.

I am not at all anxious to sell the American people a bill of goods on any particular topic or subject. My purpose is to try to point out the arguments pro and con and show them the situation so that they can decide for themselves the issues which confront them. It does seem to me that all too frequently the presentation of facts is not designed to secure impartial judgment from those to whom they are presented, but rather is for the purpose of persuading them to adopt this or that viewpoint. Totalitarianism has a double attack.

We must recognize both of these attacks and distinguish between them. We must also distinguish between the kind of threat which each produces. In the first place, there is the danger of the force of an active and expanding military totalitarianism reaching us either through economic methods or through military methods. Everyone is alive to this danger. I can assure you that I neither ignore nor underestimate it. We are guarding against it by sending arms, ammunition, airplanes, boats, etc., to help the British. In that way we seek to thereby check the attempted expansion of this active force at the eastern border of the English Channel. To guard against this, we have acquired the right to establish naval and air bases on certain English possessions on this hemisphere, which, when established, will create a cordon, a barrier against attack on us through which it will be difficult for any foe to penetrate. This barrier at points is as far as 1,000 miles from our shores. To guard against this we have adopted a third line of defense through our defense appropriation and defense program in this country. When our naval and air forces reach completion in 1943 and 1946, respectively, and when the newly acquired air bases are fortified, we will have come a long way toward establishing an impregnable position. So I say we are fully alive to this aspect of danger from the expanding forces and armed might of totalitarianism.

But in the second place, there is the aspect of the clash of ideas—the struggle of philosophies of totalitarianism and regimentation on the one hand, against individual freedom and initiative and enterprise and democracy. Against this danger we are not so fully alive. You can't see or feel ideas in the same way you can feel and see armies. But if you watch and study what is going on, you cannot fail to see their jar and their impact. Too many people say we must adopt a dictatorship in order to preserve democracy. Too many people, even in the Senate of the United States, talk of "out-Hitlering Hitler." To the extent that we adopt Nazi policies in peacetime, to that extent we admit that nazi-ism is superior to democracy. To that extent we incorporate nazi-ism into our democracy. We see the obvious but temporary advantages which accrue to the speed and precision which can only be gained by one-man control of a regimented people, but we overlook the basic facts which the study of the history of the past two centuries both in this country and in England discloses, and that is that the great developments in science, invention, and industry have occurred in these countries where free enterprise and free initiative of a free people have been able to expand. We also forget that those same people during that same time won for themselves the highest standard of living which ever prevailed in any part of the world. We may talk all we want about defending ourselves against the visible force of totalitarian countries, but if Hitler scares us into nazi-ism, self-imposed, that is little better than a similar system foisted upon us by him. The problem that confronts the United States and our representative democracy today is to resist the impact of the armed might of totalitarianism, but at the same time to combat successfully the impact of the doctrine of totalitarianism upon our domestic institutions. In a free country this can only be done by a thorough understanding of just what we must face and just what the problems are.

The Shepherd Counsels His Flock

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

ADDRESS OF THE MOST REVEREND EDWARD MOONEY, ARCHBISHOP OF DETROIT

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday night in Detroit, at a Knights of Columbus banquet, a most distinguished gathering was privileged to hear the following timely address of the Most Reverend Edward Mooney, archbishop of Detroit:

This gathering, as well as the occasion which brings us together here tonight, is interesting and inspiring. This is, to use a liturgical phrase, a transferred feast—it was originally set for October 12, a national holiday proclaimed to honor the memory of Columbus and mark the anniversary of his discovery of the continent which has become the home of our Nation. We are the guests of one unit of a great international organization which honors the name of the intrepid navigator. I might note in passing that if the occasion had the personal character given it in some of the news items which have appeared about this dinner, it would not, to my mind, be either interesting or inspiring. It might be, in fact, boresome and depressing. Personally, however, I am very happy indeed for the opportunity thus given me of meeting all of you and making the acquaintance of many whom I have not had occasion to see in the discharge of duties which leave little time for social life.

I would like to speak briefly to you on some thoughts which Columbus Day suggests. I have no thought of retelling the story of Columbus, which we all know at least in broad outline. I am minded rather to speak of the work of Columbus and of the home which a new nation has built for itself on the continent he gave to the world. The magnificent venture of Columbus which opened up a vast area to European colonization suggests to my mind another magnificent venture which climaxed the era of European colonization on this continent, and gave to the world what Lincoln, in unforgettable phrase, has termed: "A new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Like the venture of Columbus, it was apparently born of the circumstances of the time. It was the genius of the men, who made it that gave this political venture its distinctive character. It was new and bold in this: That for the first time in history it set up a government on an explicit and formal recognition of certain inalienable rights that no government can abrogate, and of the proposition that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. It would be an exaggeration to say that this was a new political philosophy; in fact it was publicly taught in a Roman university by a Jesuit philosopher and theologian in lectures that were published in 1576, just 200 years before the Declaration of Independence. But the solemn declaration of the founding fathers was the first formal and written recognition of these fundamental principles in the establishment of a nation.

This summary statement of an outstanding historical fact suggests two reflections which I would briefly put before you. The first is that the origin of our Nation on the basis of the formal acceptance of these democratic principles of government gives a new and distinctive character to American patriotism. In older countries, patriotism is colored to a far greater extent by values that are sentimental, by love of the land, by reverence for monuments that dot the countryside and express a traditional culture, and by pride in historical achievements that make a nation's glory. American patriotism is essentially devotion to an ideal—an ideal that can perhaps be best summed up in principles of religious and civil liberty. There is a practical conclusion from this thought; it is this: That the last immigrant who was cleared through Ellis Island, if he is in his heart resolved to become an American citizen and pledge sincere devotion to the Constitution of the United States and the principles it enshrines, is as good an American as the descendant of forebears who disembarked from the *Mayflower* at Plymouth Rock, or from the *Ark* and *Dove* on the shores of the Chesapeake at St. Marys. He is in fact a better citizen than a scion of the colonial family who toys with movements that are subversive of our American Constitution and destructive of our American ideal.

Another observation I would make has to do with the maintenance of the human rights which make up our American ideal and are guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Anyone who reads history cannot be unaware of the fact that in the growth of a Nation there is a gradual development in the application of its fundamental principles. Thus, to give an instance in point, it took 85 years for the recognition of the essential equality of all men before the law to bear fruit in the abolition of slavery on American soil. It may fairly be questioned whether the principle of religious liberty

has even yet been fully implemented in all phases of our national life. And so for other fundamental principles—their application is often gradual and subject to controversy.

In this matter of the gradual application of admitted principles touching guaranteed human rights, let me recall that the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness involves, according to the witnesses of both reason and history, the right to property. In saying this I am thinking of the modest property which is essential to the happiness of the many, even more than of the vast property which is the privilege of the few—and carries with it its own peculiar responsibility. I am thinking, too, of the right to property as well as the right in property, and therefore of a correlative duty we all have in a changing economy to cooperate in establishing conditions which make it possible for the ordinary citizen, who is willing to work and to save, to accumulate property which represents security for himself and his family.

This same right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness implies the right of every man to have his dignity as a human person respected. Man is not made for industry, but industry for man. Man is not made for the state, but the state for the man. Thank God, in our Republic the state is founded on the recognition of the truth that man's inalienable rights come not from the state but from the Creator. May our Federal and State Governments ever maintain this sound position and enforce its maintenance in all relations of our social, industrial, and political life. To insure this in a democracy, one thing more than all else is necessary—a highly cultivated sense of right and wrong and a sincere disposition to follow that sense in the Nation and in its component parts, in the Government and in its citizenry, in rich and poor, in its employer and employee alike.

Our country is now engaged in a mighty effort to throw the full force of its vast resources into the greatest defense program of our history. This is only a common-sense move for self-protection in what is fast becoming a bully's world. The reason that prompts us to do it is so obvious that our Lord made a parable of it: "When a strong man armed keepeth his court, those things are in peace which he possesseth." But the strong man armed has a special need of a keen sense of right and wrong to keep him from becoming a bully. And the strong nation armed has a special need of cultivating in its citizens a keen sense of right and wrong lest its very strength betray it into thinking that might makes right. Around the world today men are in imminent danger of losing their capacity of being shocked at the sight of brute force standing over the prostrate form of trampled right. Without a keen sense of right and wrong they are in danger even of admiring the efficiency of brute force, instead of abhorring its callousness. Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium are mute and martyred witnesses to the international need of this sense of right and wrong.

We have a national need of it, too. That is why the most dangerous symptom in American life today is the general lack of systematic cultivation of the sense of right and wrong. Every year hundreds of thousands of young American men and women are finishing their education and taking their place as determining units in a democratic society without ever having had any formal instruction in what is right and what is wrong, or why it is so. There is, it is true, a tradition of what we like to call the American way of doing things. It warns us against the agitator who would whisper hate or cynicism. It puts us on our guard against anyone who would thrust into our hands the torch of terrorism or the bludgeon of violence. One likes to think, as well, that it condemns every act or system in which the strong oppress the weak. The tradition is based on principles of right and wrong. But without a general and systematic inculcation of these principles in the rising generation, how long will that tradition last? Through the lack of any such inculcation, how much is that tradition already weakened?

On one point let us make no mistake. Academically, these principles of right and wrong that underlie our American tradition do not go beyond the field of natural ethics. Practically, however, no people has ever kept a clear hold on them except through the medium of revealed religion. Historically it is evident that the moral code revealed by God to Moses on Sinai, confirmed in content, refined in motive, and buttressed in sanction through the fulfilling revelation of God in Christ, has been the one means through which these fundamental principles of right and wrong have been kept definite in themselves and made effective in human society. Chesterton, in characteristic paradox, gave expression to this profound and practical truth when he said, "Take away the supernatural and you have left not the natural but the unnatural." Was it not an instinctive Christian perception of the same truth that inspired Washington to voice the warning that "reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle"?

If Washington were writing his Farewell Address today he would, I am sure, stress the further point that experience forbids us to expect that religious principle can be generally inculcated in any other way than the way in which the principles of reading, writing, and arithmetic are inculcated; i. e., by formal education that is part of the school training which a child receives. In this connection, I shall make a statement that is very broad but utterly obvious to anyone who reads history. It is this: "No nation with schools was ever blessed with the maintenance of religious principle in its citizens unless those schools made provision for the instruction of children in the religion of their parents." Washington did not stress this further point for the simple reason that it was taken for granted in his day. It was in Washington's day, in 1787, that Congress enacted the Northwest Ordinance, which until 1835 continued to be the basic law in what is now our State of Michigan. That ordinance contained this significant provision: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Does not the plain reading of these words make us think of schools in which religion, morality, and knowledge were to be taught? Does not the same plain reading of these words prove that Washington and his contemporaries simply took it for granted that religion, morality, and knowledge were to be taught in the schools which were thus to be forever encouraged? Can any possible reading of these words twist them into an encouragement of the kind of school in which religion and morality are rigidly excluded in the pursuit of knowledge?

Here let us guard against a misunderstanding. When a Catholic spokesman pleads for the restoration of the religious and moral element in American education, he is immediately suspected of making a special plea for the allocation of tax funds to the support of the parochial schools. Right now I am not thinking of our parochial schools. Their future is safe in the generosity of Catholic parents who appreciate what they give over and above the bare essentials of religious and moral instruction, in the fair-mindedness of our fellow citizens as the recent history of Michigan attests, and in the justice of our courts.

No government in the Union need worry, no government in the Union does worry about the parochial schools as carrying any threat to the maintenance of our American free institutions. Frankly, I am thinking of our public system of education which belongs to all of us and must, in varying degree, be used by all of us. Any government that takes to heart the warning of Washington may well worry about our present public system of education as carrying a dire threat to the maintenance of our American free institutions. We may all well worry about the soul of America. For the soul of America is in imminent danger of being starved, its sense of right and wrong is in imminent danger of being blunted in a system of public education that makes no provision for the religious and moral training of its future cititzens. And America without a sense of right and wrong cannot continue to be the America of Washington; America without a soul can become a Russia overnight.

We who are gathered here tonight are heirs to a Catholic tradition which fosters, with a preciseness and authority that are unique, the cultivation of a sense of right and wrong. To hold to that tradition, to make it count in our own everyday lives, to hand it on to our children with its same clear sense of right and wrong, to bend every effort to get our fellow citizens to face the facts and, in a way that is fair to all, to seek a solution of the questions that touch the soul of America; this is, I am convinced, to make an invaluable contribution to the permanence of a nation conceived in liberty which represents for us the crowning result of the work of Columbus.

Compulsory Military Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL, OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech, which I delivered over the radio on September 16, 1940.

Good evening, friends of the Nineteenth Congressional District.

Last Saturday Congress passed and sent to the President for his signature the compulsory military training and service bill. It is the first time in the history of the United States that we have adopted compulsory military service in the armed forces in peacetime. I want to discuss the bill a little.

In the first place, I want to make clear the distinction between voluntary enlistment as now being conducted; secondly, the call for volunteers; and, thirdly, compulsory service. At present we are securing men for the Army by voluntary enlistment. Under this method the Government offers various inducements to its citizens so that they may decide to take Army life as a career and enlist for a 3-year term subject to reenlistment at the end of the term if they so desire. Up until last May there was a limit placed upon the number of men who could enlist in the Regular Army. In May these restrictions were lifted and the voluntary enlistments jumped from 9,492 in May to 23,442 in June and to 31,985 in July. Estimates for August indicate that August enlistments will be over 40,000. An increase from $21 to $30 in pay will shortly be effective

and should be a further stimulation to enlistments. A call for volunteers is issued by the President at a time when a war or a national emergency requiring the use of troops confronts the country. It has been used extensively in this country in the past, but it has never worked satisfactorily and has been open to serious objections.

Compulsory military service consists of the registering of available manpower within certain limits and the drawing by lot of those men. We adopted this method during the last war, and it has been almost universally agreed ever since that this method will be adopted if and when we get into another war. The men so conscripted go directly into the Army and are held there during the duration of the war or emergency. This type of conscription is entirely different from military training, and this fact has been universally recognized. Indeed, in its first convention in 1919, the American Legion, at Minneapolis, Minn., adopted certain resolutions on military policy. These resolutions came as near expressing the universal opinion of all war veterans as any statement I can now recall. The Legion had clearly in mind the distinction between military training and military service, because their second resolution said: "We favor the adoption of military training, and that the administration of such policy shall be removed from the complete control of any exclusively military organization or caste." And the third resolution said: "We are strongly opposed to compulsory military service in time of peace." Personally I favor the system of selective service in wartime. It is unquestionably more adequate, more fair, and more reliable than the method of issuing calls for volunteers. The basic questions presented by the conscription bill was, Should this country take a long stride toward establishing totalitarian government at home in order to protect itself against possible attack from totalitarian nations abroad? Should we establish a permanent peacetime conscription policy and throw sixteen and one-half million men under the risk of being called to service at a time when most of the evidence available indicates we are not prepared to house, clothe, or equip them? My experience is that most people tend to overlook the very real dangers which are presented by either alternative. People who oppose peacetime conscription have a tendency to ignore or minimize possible future danger from Hitler. People who favor conscription tend to take the view that we can adopt totalitarian methods and shed them at will, yet history in many, many instances has indicated that this can rarely be done. Personally I feel that there is danger on both sides, but that the danger of going totalitarian at home, and thereby losing the rights and liberties we seek to preserve, in the very process of trying to preserve them, is greater and more certain. With our attention riveted on the horrifying strength of the German war machine, it is only natural that we have constantly in our minds the impending danger from that direction.

The other danger is invisible, unseen, and has not been experienced personally by any of us in our lifetimes and so we tend to regard it as remote, nonexistent and impossible. Nevertheless, it is real and present and deadly dangerous. It was brought home to me very clearly during the debates in the Senate and to a lesser degree by the debates in the House in which some speakers clearly indicated their opinion that we must establish a dictatorship to preserve democracy. Senator MINTON said straight out in the Senate hearings on this bill that we must "out-Hitler Hitler." Senator PEPPER, of Florida, has stated in a public interview that he thinks Congress should vote a dictatorship because the Congress can vote it out again when it so desires. If this is so, then history for the past 5,000 years is all wrong. It is this strong undercurrent of sentiment that has made me alive to the dangers of this policy.

Let me call your attention to certain phases of the bill. It has been so universally called a military-training bill that people generally are of the opinion that the required service is limited to 1 year. As a matter of fact, the plain provisions of the bill can require as much as 10 or more years of service for those selected under its terms. Again, those who are drafted are immediately placed right in the Army of the United States. If Congress then declares that the national interest is imperiled, they remain in the Army until Congress repeals that declaration. No declaration of war, not even a declaration of emergency by Congress is required, not even a declaration that the Nation is imperiled, but merely a declaration that the national interest is imperiled, and then the boys are in permanently. Furthermore, this is not in any sense of the word an emergency measure, although the measure runs only until 1945 and must be renewed then. The bill sets out that this is a permanent policy of the United States quite clearly. The draftees may be trained or may be called upon to serve any place in the Western Hemisphere. While it is stated that not more than 900,000 will be called into service, yet we immediately place under the risk of call 16,500,000 men to say nothing of the effect upon their parents and relatives. Doing this, of course, vastly affects their lives and the social, economic, and spiritual structure of the Nation. Furthermore, the President of the United States can call these men into the Regular armed service under complete military control each year at the rate of 900,000 per year, subject only to the restriction that Congress must first vote the appropriation to take care of them. But when Congress once adopts the policy of peacetime conscription it is very doubtful that Congress would hesitate to vote appropriations to carry that policy into effect. Personally I am most doubtful as to the wisdom of this policy at this time, but since we have adopted it, I intend to vote the necessary appropriation to make it effective. We have agreed to take the risks by passing the bill, so now we must bend every effort to get its benefits.

Since the Nation has decided that the policy is necessary and that the danger from abroad outweighs the domestic danger it creates we must all unite wholeheartedly in rendering the policy as effective as possible. Let me call attention to some of the questions which are involved in reaching a decision of whether peacetime conscription should be adopted at this time. What practical benefit will we get from it? Secretary Knox has testified that the Navy does not need additional manpower, in fact has a waiting list of 7,000 men and that he did not expect that the Navy would have any trouble getting all the enlistments it required in the future. The Army does not have facilities to house or equip any appreciable number of conscripts at this time and probably will not have the housing until next spring, if then. Just a short time ago it was stated that only 75,000 troops could be completely equipped with modern mechanized equipment and William Knudsen has said it would be 1942 before there would be complete equipment for 750,000 and General Marshall's testimony substantiates this. We have more than that many men on hand right now, counting estimated enlistments. Need for conscripting additional manpower will therefore not be necessary before the present available forces are completely and thoroughly trained as a sound nucleus around which to build a larger fighting force and until we have the equipment with which to train the manpower we draft. The European war has demonstrated that a small force of highly trained soldier mechanics properly equipped, and thoroughly conversant with the operations of the machines they use, can defeat many times their number of partially trained civilian conscripts regardless of how courageous the latter may be. What is needed is not so much men trained in squads right and other movements needed on the parade ground as it is for a highly trained permanent force sufficient in number to man expertly the new weapons as they are produced. We must not overlook the fact that Belgium, Holland, and France all had compulsory military training in peacetime. In arguing on behalf of conscription, the fate of these countries is pointed to, but the fact that they had conscription and had had it for years, is ignored. Conscription is no sure cure-all in itself. Now that we have conscription, it is more essential than ever to get the supplies to justify it. The experience of Great Britain in sending masses of trained soldiers into France without adequate material convinces me that even highly trained troops must be properly equipped.

After the World War America looked with supreme disfavor upon conscription for service in the armed forces in peacetime. England avoided including the conscription program for service in her armed forces until the day war was declared; previously she had a program of conscription for training only. Canada has only recently passed a conscription act, and in it has limited service of her conscripts to her own borders. In other words, in every country identified as having a democratic form of government peacetime conscription for service has not been used. Wartime conscription is definitely limited by the very psychology of the situation to the duration of the war. In 1918 the armistice virtually ended wartime conscription. Permanent peacetime conscription for service in the armed forces, once established, almost invariably becomes a fixed and enduring policy. My own personal view is that this matter could be handled by voluntary enlistments, as we are now doing, at least until such time as the amount of equipment on hand exceeds the amount of men available. I do not believe in a call for volunteers, because that method is inferior to the system of selective service and is apt to cripple industry by getting men whose services are valuable into the armed forces when their services are more valuable in some key industry. If a definite emergency or a definite war situation does arise, then selective service can and should be adopted immediately, as was done in England. In the meantime the problem of getting trained men can be met through the system of military training, where the obligation is only for training and not for service with the armed forces except in the event of war or an emergency. Such a method would meet every defense need and yet not risk a military dictatorship. Naturally, everyone wants to promote national defense in every possible way.

I see that my time is about up, and I am sorry that it is, as I have a number of things I should like to discuss further on this subject. However, I shall be back again next Monday night at this same time and this same station.

Good night.

Increase of Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. L. L. MARSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following table showing imports of manufactured items in 1932 and in 1939. I feel that the American laborer and businessman are entitled to

know to what extent the imports have been increasing while our unemployment rolls have also been increasing.

Value of imports of selected finished manufacturers, 1932 and 1939

	1932	1939
Clocks and watches, etc.	$1, 561, 000	$10, 137, 914
Musical instruments	1, 656, 000	3, 935, 412
Scientific and professional instruments	1, 265, 000	1, 746, 061
Photographic goods	2, 409, 000	7, 898, 292
Soap and toilet preparations	2, 038, 000	3, 015, 203
Explosives	371, 000	409, 924
Pigments, paints, and varnishes	1, 445, 000	1, 518, 872
Medicinal and pharmaceutical preparations	2, 530, 000	5, 505, 870
Automobiles and other vehicles	641, 000	2, 041, 575
Agricultural machinery	989, 000	3, 093, 775
Asbestos manufactures	286, 000	9, 152, 054
Clay products	4, 375, 000	8, 457, 775
Glass manufactures	3, 667, 000	5, 155, 777
Petroleum manufactures	28, 276, 000	43, 540, 828
Paper manufactures	94, 135, 000	126, 793, 442
Wood manufactures	2, 915, 000	12, 348, 150
Miscellaneous textile products	8, 442, 000	10, 464, 212
Rubber manufactures	888, 000	182, 436, 603
Cotton manufactures	26, 969, 000	37, 564, 891
Flax, hemp, and ramie manufactures	19, 873, 000	25, 252, 622
Wool manufactures	11, 539, 000	18, 554, 694
Silk manufactures	5, 933, 000	7, 655, 469
Rayon manufactures	2, 621, 000	11, 307, 753
Tobacco manufactures	3, 535, 000	3, 638, 164
Industrial, office, and printing machinery	4, 890, 000	7, 973, 231
Electrical machinery	1, 949, 000	1, 989, 964

Hon. Jesse H. Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT THOMAS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

ADDRESS BY GEORGE A. HILL, JR.

Mr. THOMAS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the remarks of George A. Hill, Jr., member of the Commerce Department's Business Advisory Council, and president of the Houston Oil Co., of Houston, at the council's dinner, October 3, 1940, in the Mayflower Hotel, concerning the Honorable Jesse H. Jones, are most appropriate.

Along with President Roosevelt, few men in the history of our Government have been so signally honored. The high honors which the Congress recently so willingly bestowed upon Mr. Jones by retaining him as head of the R. F. C., with his Cabinet duties as Secretary of Commerce, bespeak the confidence that the Nation as a whole has in his ability, integrity, and leadership.

The statutory functions of the Department of Commerce are to foster, promote, and develop the foreign and domestic commerce, mining, manufacturing, and shipping industries, and the transportation interests of the United States.

The Secretary of Commerce has supervision over the Bureau of the Census, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Inland Waterways Corporation, Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, National Bureau of Standards, Patent Office, Weather Bureau, and the Administrator of Civil Aeronautics within the Department of Commerce.

In addition, the Secretary is chairman of the Foreign Trade Zones Board and the United States Golden Gate International Exposition Commission. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Textile Foundation; Council of National Defense; Federal Board for Vocational Education; Smithsonian Institution; Migratory Bird Conservation Commission; Foreign Service Buildings Commission; National Munitions Control Board; United States New York World's Fair Commission; United States Coronado Exposition Commission; Export-Import Bank of Washington; National Archives Council; Commodity Exchange Commission; Committee on Regulations, Insecticide Act; Central Statistical Committee; National Resources Committee; National Emergency Council; and the Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics.

The activities of the Department include population, agricultural and other censuses; collection, analysis, and dissemination of commercial statistics; promotion of foreign and domestic commerce; coastal and geodetic surveys; enforcement of the navigation laws; inspection of vessels; establishment of commodity weights, measures, and standards; supervision of the issuance of patents and the registration of trade-marks, prints, and labels; the promotion and development of air commerce, the establishment and maintenance of aids to air navigation, the certification of airmen, the inspection and registration of aircraft, and the enforcement of rules and regulations issued pursuant to the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938; supervision of the issuance of weather forecasts and warnings for the benefit of agriculture, commerce, and navigation, including weather service for aviation, and the publication of climatic statistics; development of inland waterway transportation; and supervision of the operation of Government-owned barge lines, and numerous other functions concerning these activities and related subjects.

In the past the Department of Commerce has had its powers and duties administered by Secretaries of Commerce of great capacity and distinction; but, without in any way detracting from the abilities and capacities of the predecessors of the present incumbent, it may be recorded as sober fact that no man, throughout the history of this great Department, has ever come into the responsibility of its administration clothed with as long and as diversified an actual experience in public and private administration of business, commerce, and industry; with as detailed and as intimate an actual knowledge of the important and variegated instrumentalities of commerce; with as tireless and as assiduous and as prolonged a devotion to the solution of the problems of business, industry, and commerce under the American system of individual initiative and free enterprise; and with as conspicuous an achievement, starting from scratch, and fortified solely by an endowment of the natural qualities that have brought great distinction and great achievement to Jesse H. Jones.

Many of you are familiar with the unprecedented and unparalleled public record of Mr. Jones since he became a towering figure on the national scene after his original appointment by President Hoover on the Board of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, at the time of its creation. The people of the United States have since learned to properly evaluate and appreciate, in his distinguished public service, the unremitting diligence, the penetrating and far-seeing insight, the broad understanding, the astute negotiation and quiet execution, the strong will, and indefatigable application, the faithful and patriotic devotion to national duty which have marked his public career; but few of you have been privileged to know, and to have observed, over a period of 35 years, the steady, painstaking, arduous, embattled, and brilliant march to the heights that this country boy from Tennessee has waged in the private field of commercial, civic, patriotic, and philanthropic fields of endeavor.

Jesse Holman Jones began his business career in the State of Texas a poor boy with no means except nature's bounty—a powerful and commanding physique, strong, rugged character, a powerful mentality, a clear vision that extended beyond the most remote horizon, a superb courage, and an energy almost without limit.

Among the earliest enterprises which he entered was the lumber business, in which he early became a successful leader. As a natural sequence his instinct and capacity to build found continuing expression in the construction and operation of great office buildings, hotels, theaters, apartment buildings, and many specialized structures, to accommodate the banks, publications, mortgage companies, and commercial institutions that he developed. As he progressed in his career he became the head of an ever-widening group of commercial activities, until the important properties which he had builded in Houston and throughout Texas extended to most important properties in New York City as well, and until these varied expressions of his building genius represented a gross property valuation in excess of $100,000,000.

In his stride he developed one of the greatest banking institutions of the South and one of the greatest newspapers in the region, and a great radio enterprise in the region of his principal commercial and business activities.

Paralleling this activity, Mr. Jones was doing more than his part as a farseeing civic leader and industrial builder. In 1913, when the plans were being laid for the development of Houston as a great inland port, Mr. Jones became the chairman of the Houston Harbor Board, serving without compensation, and saw steamship service finally established in 1915, and the commencement of the city's rapid advancement until it is now the third port, in tonnage, in the Nation.

In the first World War, in July of 1917, Mr. Jones was appointed director general of the Department of Military Relief of the American Red Cross. This department was one of the major divisions of the Red Cross, and comprised bureaus of camp service, canteen service, motor service, sanitary service, medical service, and construction, and during the 18 months in which he supervised its activities, remarkable results were obtained in safeguarding the health of soldiers and sailors and in contributing to their mental, moral, and physical well-being. Among these achievements were the maintenance of canteens and rest stations at 700 railroad and embarkation points, the improvement of sanitary conditions around camps, the organization of 51 base hospitals, and the recruiting of 45 ambulance companies of 124 men each, which were turned over to the Army. He performed this task with such ability, zeal, and success that he was appointed a member of the Red Cross war council in December 1918, and rendered valuable service during the period of demobilization. The following spring he was an American delegate to the Red Cross Conference at Cannes and Geneva, and was among those instrumental in the organization of the League of Red Cross Societies of the World.

At about the same period, Mr. Jones, realizing the importance of adequate and unified support of the various relief, character building, and charitable institutions of the city of Houston, became one of the leading organizers of the Houston Community Chest, and has always been a liberal donor to the charitable, cultural, patriotic, and business institutions of his city.

As a strong and vital force in the national councils of his party, Mr. Jones was selected in 1924 as chairman of the finance committee for the Democratic Party in its campaign of that year. In 1928 he electrified the country by posting his personal check for $250,000 to secure the national convention of the Democratic Party for the city of Houston; and in the ensuing campaign he transferred a campaign committee deficit into a surplus.

In 1932 the preeminent business capacity of Mr. Jones was so well known that he was one of the members of the Democratic Party nominated by President Herbert Hoover for membership on the newly created Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and after the inauguration of President Roosevelt in 1933, Mr. Jones became the chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and for more than 7 years has revealed to the Nation a record of outstanding service that has not been exceeded by any man in public life. The story of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation during the early period of his administration, when its operations encompassed the salvation of innumerable banks, railroads, insurance companies and industrial units, is one of the brilliant public achievements of our time.

You are all familiar with his surpassing accomplishments as Federal Loan Administrator. When all of the great lending agencies of the Government, including the R. F. C., the Federal Housing Administration, and the Export-Import Bank were placed under his jurisdiction, with his agencies expanding and his duties increasing, we are now witnessing the great aid being extended to our national-defense program, through the exercise of the functions of these extraordinary national facilities.

All of these accomplishments are due to the possession by Mr. Jones, in a remarkable degree, of those qualities of head, heart, and mind that mark him as a forthright, brilliant, astute, patriotic citizen of his city, State, and Nation, and possessing withal a humility that opens up the avenue of learning from his humblest adviser; that contains a loyalty that binds to him innumerable associates and employees who have a faithful attachment; and a liberality that seeks to preserve faith and hope and self-respect in the search of jobs for his supplicants, instead of the passing gift or dole; and a sense of stewardship over what has come to him in worldly goods, for the use and benefit of the community served and the contented workers involved. Likewise, Mr. Jones has been a good steward in public life. The people's business he has cherished as closely as, even more closely than, his own. He has not worked tirelessly and with prolonged hours, with the great problems of finance which came before the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, in an effort to make a name for himself. He already possessed national fame. He conceived of this work as a great public duty and he has preserved the public interest in the highest degree.

The Nation is to be congratulated on the elevation of Jesse Holman Jones to the post of Secretary of Commerce, and the Business Advisory Council, with Mr. Jones as Secretary of Commerce, can accept his patriotic leadership with much satisfaction and great confidence.

The Foreign Policy of the New Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR YOUNGDAHL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. YOUNGDAHL. Mr. Speaker, under the above heading the New Deal has come out with a bit of political propaganda which goes even further than usual in its New Deal insolence. For instance, the New Deal says that its foreign policy is to keep us out of war; to keep alive and preserve American rights; to prepare for any eventualities in the two Americas against foreign aggression, making full use of the capacities of the American people for defense.

What American does not want to keep out of war? What American does not want to preserve all American rights? What American does not want to make full use of our mighty capacities for defense?

In abrogating to itself alone the desires which burn in every American breast, the New Deal attempts to make a division of patriotism, to set itself on high as the only group appointed to lead the defense of America.

Any loyal American will resent this impudent assumption. The loyal American believes there can be no division in either political party over our hopes for a solution of the dangers besetting us.

As a matter of fact, there is no division over this question of defense. But there is a question, a mighty big question, terrible in its portent, how this defense can be brought about. And here there is a division wide enough for anyone to see.

That question is how we can best go about keeping out of war, how we can preserve American rights the best, how we can make use of our capacities for defense. Can these three goals, for which every American yearns with heart and soul, be brought about by the Government going it alone, along political lines, or by Government and business working hand in hand in the spirit of cooperation toward the common end?

Without question the second method is the way to achieve results. Another question follows naturally. What party is better able to bring about this cooperation vital to a successful defense? Is it the party which fights private enterprise, as the New Deal has been doing? Is it the party devoted to business baiting, to restrictive and unfriendly legislation, to vituperation and sterile planning, such as has characterized New Deal actions the last 7 years?

Or will this cooperation which we must have to make our defense program a success be brought about by the party which has worked to prevent excesses, which has fought the concentration of political and economic power in Washington, the party which is headed by a man who can get cooperation from business because he knows business and is a businessman, the Republican Party headed by Wendell L. Willkie.

The answer is plain. Wendell Willkie knows the strongest defense we can have is putting in order our house at home. He would mobilize the country to end economic stagnation, he would have the four horses of the farm, the factory, labor, and consumer, pulling evenly on the common load.

Contrast the records of the two men who are asking to be elected in November to guide the destinies of this Nation the next 4 years. President Roosevelt is a man without business experience. Despite family influence, his business life was a failure before he got into politics. By contrast, his politics was successful. It became a habit with him to think of every issue in political terms and he could not break this habit when it came to national defense. This is shown by his speeches on preparedness and by the muddled actions he has taken to rearm this country.

Consider Wendell Willkie, a self-made man who came up the hard way through business life until he reached the top. But an amateur in politics. Wendell Willkie thinks in terms of getting things done, not in how someone's political fortunes might be advanced. He would never think of attempting to fool the people with easy talk of military supplies "on order"; of suppressing for political purposes vital preparedness information such as that contained in the report of the Stettinius committee for mobilizing industry in national defense.

I want to lead the fight for peace—

Says Wendell Willkie—

I know how to lead that fight. I will lead this Nation back to work. The first step toward peace is to put a job in every home. The second step toward peace is to mobilize American industry for the production of armaments.

And he can get the job done.

But with America armed, Wendell Willkie would not use that strength for warlike purposes. He has pledged the American people many times that he would never send an American boy to fight on European soil. He abhors war with the horror only a man who actually has engaged in the bloody business on the battlefield itself can have. He says:

Like a great many Americans, I saw what war was like at first hand in 1917. I know what war can do to demoralize civil liberties at home. And I believe it to be the first duty of the President to try and maintain the peace.

The trust of America can safely be put in such a man.

Patriotism and Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER A. LYNCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

ADDRESS BY THE VERY REVEREND ROBERT I. GANNON, S. J.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the centenary of Fordham University. Established under the patronage of that great American churchman, diplomat, and patriot, Archbishop John Hughes, of New York, Fordham University holds a warm spot in the hearts of all New Yorkers, regardless of their religious beliefs. Fordham has sent her sons, trained and disciplined under the Jesuit system of education, into all walks of life, bringing distinction to themselves and honor to their alma mater. Fordham is proud of them and they are proud of Fordham. Among those who today have achieved public honors are the distinguished jurors, Judge Thomas J. Brogan, chief justice of the State of New Jersey; Judges John J. Loughran and Albert Conway, associate justices of the Court of Appeals of New York, and Justice Edward J. Glennan, of the appellate division, first department of the New York Supreme Court. In the political life of the country, a son of Fordham, Hon. Edward J. Flynn, is chairman of the National Democratic Committee. The late Hon. James J. Dooling, a classmate of mine at Fordham, who graduated with me in 1915, was the predecessor of our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York, Congressman CHRISTOPHER D. SULLIVAN, as leader of that great organization known throughout the country as Tammany Hall. Our colleague, the distinguished gentleman from the Twenty-first New York Congressional District, Hon. JOSEPH A. GAVAGAN, is also an alumnus of Fordham and a classmate of mine. Fordham's class of 1911 gave to the church the present Archbishop of New York, the Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman, and the Reverend Joseph A. McCaffrey, wartime chaplain in the First Division and successor to the immortal Father Duffy as chaplain of "the fighting Sixty-ninth."

In times such as these, when we are feverishly making preparations for the defense of our country, when the youth of the land is awaiting the call for military training it is well to know that this great Catholic university has long recognized the necessity of mental, moral, and physical training. "Mens sana in corpore sano," a sound mind in a sound body has long been one of the fundamentals of a Jesuit education.

More than half a century ago Fordham commenced its military training. Its regiments were outstanding military units. From 1890 to 1893 Lt. Clarence R. Edwards, United States Army, who later became major general and the idol of the glorious Yankee Division in the World War, was professor of military science and tactics there. Fordham has honored the memory of General Edwards by naming its extensive drill field "Edwards Parade."

Today Fordham has a Coast Artillery unit of the R. O. T. C., numbering 535 students. The R. O. T. C. is drawn exclusively from the student body of 1,200 of the college of arts and sciences; students of the professional schools are not eligible. I am informed that had it been possible in the past to have had more training officers, practically the entire eligible student body would have been in the R. O. T. C., and I am speaking of military training at Fordham before conscription was enacted.

Incidentally, Mr. Speaker, I understand there will be no C. M. T. C. next summer. I hope that this does not presage the abandonment or even curtailment of the R. O. T. C. On the contrary every encouragement should be given to expand the R. O. T. C. and appropriations should be made to properly equip the necessary facilities for their instruction.

After the United States entered the World War in 1917 the Fordham University Ambulance Unit was organized and recruited from the student body of Fordham. It was one of the first American units to go abroad and rendered most distinguished service.

The president of Fordham University is a native New Yorker. He is universally regarded as one of the leading educators of our country, as a profound scholar and gifted orator, as a sterling patriot and devoted priest, and one who enjoys the deep respect and admiration of all the people of the city of New York. It is with this illustrious background of the patriotic service of Fordham University that I include in my remarks the address of the Very Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S. J., the distinguished and scholarly president of Fordham University, delivered on September 22 last over the coast-to-coast network of the Columbia Broadcasting System, as follows:

The man in the street was not much interested in last week's conference at the Jewish Theological Seminary. It was an excellent thing in itself and reflected great credit on the institution. But, after all, it was not meant for the man in the street. If he happened to notice in the Times that a much-publicized physicist had reduced Almighty God to a formula, he probably remarked to his wife, with an American penetration which transcends all graduate schools, "You see, now, Mary, what a fool a first baseman can make of himself on a golf course." The rest of the reported proceedings he left for the leisured classes.

But there was something else brought to focus by these scientists, philosophers, and theologians which was worth noting by every modern man, whether in the street or up in an ivory tower, and it was this: That too many of our influential leaders in the world of thought have no respect for common sense, have no desire, that is, to be consistent. They have a curious weakness for denying only fundamental truths, for selecting only indispensable dogmas to store up in the attic of forgotten things. The less important secondary truths which depend on these fundamentals are often still in favor, though like Mahomet's coffin, they are floating now on air. The typical modern still chatters sympathetically about the nobility of human nature, about the necessity of defending one's country, and the democratic principle and all that sort of thing, but the first page of the catechism on which all of these ideals finally rest is brushed aside as superstition.

For example, in last week's conference, no agreement could be reached on the existence of God. Some delegates could not get even as far as the god of Spinoza—that was too fundamental; but they found no difficulty in affirming something that depends on the existence of a personal God; I mean the supreme worth and moral responsibility of the individual human person. They all admitted that man had rights which could not be taken away from him by the state because they had come from a source superior to the state. They all admitted that he had duties toward that power which was the source of his rights. But instead of pushing on to the logical foundation of those rights and duties, many of the delegates were content with the emotional thinking of the French Revolution.

For them, patriotism and the democratic principle rested on nothing more final than blind nature and the equality of man. Desperately modern in all externals, yet perfectly content with the dated thinking of Jean Jacques Rousseau, Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite! Why do they refuse to see in that old charmer, a dangerous romantic who was building up an ideal, the equality of man, on sentimental rather than on rational foundations, and why do we see it so clearly? Because they are always trying to avoid a fundamental truth and we are not. We know that no two men are equal, physically, mentally, morally—that, aside from the vague fact that both are rational animals, the only true equality among men is a spiritual one, which Rousseau could not recognize. We know that the real reason for man's equality with man, the only real reason why some poor peasant in the mountains of Haiti is the equal of Winston Churchill is the fact that both were created for perfect happiness; that both were created to enjoy God fully for all eternity, a destiny so breathlessly wonderful that it dwarfs all accidentals, physical, social, economic, intellectual; a destiny which brings us all not only dignity but freedom. For, if Churchill and the Hatian peasant have the same goal in life and that goal is God-given, none has any right to prevent either of them from reaching it, and none can withhold from them anything that they need to achieve it. In other words, they are free. Moreover, the goal in each case is equal—perfect happiness, and God has seen to it that each of them has the necessary grace to attain it. That is why they are not, in the eyes of God, as two ill-matched dogs would be in ours, a thoroughbred and a mongrel with nothing in common but a name; that is why they are equal. Here, then, we have something for the common-sense man in the street, though it may not appeal to the men in the ivory towers. Here we have a perfectly satisfactory basis for the democratic principle; more than that, the only one. Take God out of the picture and men are not equal, men are not free. We enter the era of dog eat dog, where rights and duties are determined by force. Ignore the eternal destiny of men and all your reasoning about the good, the noble, and the true becomes purely sentimental, a product of the emotions rather than of the intellect.

This explains why patriotism in general and the democratic principle in particular were in the discard a few years ago among our self-conscious thinkers but have lately been set on pedestals again. The fact was that the thinkers were not thinking; they were merely feeling. They were emotionally opposed to a war of defense and emotionally attached to Russian slogans. They were emotionally contemptuous of religion and emotionally exasperated with American life. Then came the revolution, but not the one they were waiting for. Almost overnight the most powerful figure in modern times arose to obscure the sun and to threaten sensible men and intellectuals alike with a regimentation far more severe than our grand old traditional law and order. The result has been very interesting. For now the country is almost united again in its determination to defend the democratic principle and even our most radical colleges are saluting the flag. Patriotism is rising again from its sleep of 20 years, but whether for good or ill remains to be seen.

Last Monday the President signed the Selective Service Training Act, and by the first of the year 400,000 young men will be taken from normal pursuits and put under arms. Everyone recognizes that this peacetime draft brings us to a turning point in our history. It will probably result in a great gain for the country, but it may be the beginning of the end. For either millions of our finest youth, the fathers of our next generation, will be given clear notions on their real purpose in life, notions that will not only preserve but enrich the finest ideal of government in the world, or we shall see developing around us a fanatical nationalism and a soulless militarism that will improve on any European model. It all depends on the use that is made of the first page in the catechism. For patriotism, like the democratic principle, if it is to mean anything, must spring from a clear grasp of man's purpose in life; from the fact that he is a spiritual being with a supernatural destiny; that his destiny is the only thing that matters supremely, that everything else in the world, including his church and his country, is meant as a help toward that destiny.

After all, what is this country that we sing about? "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing." What is this country for which, under some conditions, we must be ready to die? "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" is carved on almost all of our war memorials. "It is a sweet and glorious thing to die for one's country." Does that refer to a group of mountains and lakes and rivers? Rocks and rills and templed hills? No; they form only the backdrop. No one is asked to lay down his life for the Palisades. A man's life is worth more than any natural beauty, and besides, when Athens fell, the isles of Greece lost none of their ancient charm. Our lordly Hudson would be just as beautiful under another flag. Is my country, then, the cornfields of Kansas, the vineyards of California, the mines of Pennsylvania? No; they are obviously meant for the use of the country. Is it an army, or a navy, or a group of rubber stamps, or a dictator? Evidently not. My country is a human thing. It is we the people, not living in solitary caves with each man's hand raised against the rest, but gathered in millions of little homes, fathers, mothers, children; the little homes clustering together in townships, villages, and great sprawling cities, where we the people are working together for the good of all, the real good, the lasting good, eternal happiness. We may not always realize what we are doing for one another, but the fact is that when we cooperate to establish social order and give one another a chance to exercise our natural and legal rights, when we make it possible for one another to develop physically, mentally, and morally, we are really making it easier for one another to save our souls. So that my country is not the place my ancestors came from or the people they once lived with. Sentimental as I may be about the Lakes of Killarney, and the grand Irish people with the soft tongue of them—God be their reward! It is not even my own birthplace or the people I used to live with, or people who look like me or talk with my peculiar accent. It is the group of families with which I have permanently cast my lot, families of every race, religion, and color; families which here and now are working for my happiness as well as their own. My group of families, my country, is called the United States of America. We have chosen a beautiful flag for ourselves—red, white, and blue—which is very dear to us, but only because it is symbolic of the fact that we are all working for one another's happiness. Some of us have chosen to be the public servants of the rest, and to plan and carry out measures necessary for this happiness of ours. And others have been chosen to take up arms and fight against those who would take our happiness away from us. What return, then, does justice demand of me for all that I owe this group of families? It demands, in a quiet and rational tone, a return of love and service which is called patriotism. This usually involves inconvenience and some small sacrifice. It may involve suffering and even death. But dying for my country is not dying for the Palisades; it is dying for the only thing that really matters—perfect happiness; and when we think of perfect happiness, death seems such a little thing.

Will these ideas, then, be part of the training of our boys in patriotism and democracy, as they are called to colors year after year? If so, we shall have a generation growing up not only sounder in body but keener in mind and finer in soul for their military training. Straight thinkers; grand neighbors; patriots; servants of God. But what if the inconsistent intellectuals are allowed to shape the course? What if they begin by tearing up the first page of the Catechism and saying, "We don't know why man is here," or "We don't care why man is here," or "Man is here for his own health, culture and comfort, but when you are told to march, march! The password is, 'My country right or wrong.'" In this event, each new recruit to the Army will react according to his temperament. The equality of man and love of country will be phrases to some, obsessions to others. Some will be all for a dominant class or a dominant race, with contempt and hatred for everyone else. Some will demand a blind accord with the policies of the majority, no matter how ignorant, dishonest, or cruel the majority may be. The cry will be: "My country, right or wrong." What country? It doesn't matter. The majority to some, the ruling class to others. Working together for what? Wealth, material progress, military supremacy. But what becomes then of the lasting happiness of families? It does not exist. Lasting happiness involves a belief in God. If such be an example of what we can anticipate in this peacetime training for war, it might be better business to submit to foreign conquest here and now. We should then at least be able to keep our cities and our bodies intact, and, since the individual must lose his freedom under any godless government, red or white, it will not matter much to him what language is being spoken at the time in Washington. In reality, however, the outlook is as bright as ever. The strength of our country lies now, as always, in the common sense, the natural dignity, and the religious conviction of the man in the street. For 50 years we have watched certain schools and colleges and universities trying to break him down, trying to confuse him on the meaning of life, trying to substitute emotion for reasoning, trying to befog the issue. They have succeeded, however, only in overcrowding the ivory towers. The streets are as well lighted as ever. We have full confidence in the success of the national program because we have full confidence in the people.

The Evolution of a Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL W. SHAFER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. SHAFER of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in 1932 Mr. Roosevelt declared "There is no indispensable man," but in 1940 he permits himself to be considered the indispensable man.

On September 23, 1932, he asserted the industrial plant of the country was mature, old frontiers had vanished, and that "a ruler bore responsibility for the welfare of his subjects."

In his 1933 inaugural address he voiced a hope "that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us." But—

That if Congress should fail in its part of the task, he would seek "broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe."

On May 7, 1933, Mr. Roosevelt, in a "fireside chat," proposed a new relationship between Government, industry, transportation, and farming, "a partnership in planning, and a partnership to see that the plans are carried out."

On May 12, 1933, was enacted the A. A. A., giving the President tremendous power over agriculture.

On June 13, 1933, was enacted N. I. R. A., giving the President vast power over business and industry. Mr. Roosevelt's emphasis became more personal. "I am asking the employers of the Nation to sign this common covenant with me," he said.

On October 7, 1933, Mr. Roosevelt removed William E. Humphrey from the Federal Trade Commission, an independent, bipartisan, semijudicial commission, because "I do not feel that your mind and my mind go along together." This removal was declared by the Supreme Court to be illegal and unconstitutional.

On May 27, 1935, a Supreme Court which included the great liberals, Brandeis and Cardozo, unanimously held N. I. R. A. unconstitutional. Following this Mr. Roosevelt attacked the Supreme Court decisions as resting on a "horse and buggy" interpretation of constitutional law.

On July 6, 1935, Mr. Roosevelt showed his attitude toward the Constitution by writing the chairman of a Congressional Committee concerning the Guffey coal bill, saying:

I hope your committee will not permit any doubts as to constitutionality, however reasonable, to block the suggested legislation.

In his 1936 annual message, he finally revealed the full details of his political philosophy:

We have built up new instruments of public power. In the hands of a people's government this power is wholesome and proper, but in the hands of political puppets of an economic autocracy such powers would provide shackles for the liberties of the people.

In 1937 Mr. Roosevelt attempted to pack the Supreme Court and destroy the independence of the judiciary. At the same time, he proposed a plan of government reorganization that would have given him complete power over all independent agencies of government. Mr. Roosevelt wanted "definite assurance that the three-horse team of the American system of government will pull together"—which meant according to his will.

Thus we can trace the clear evolution of a policy which inevitably led to the demand for a third term. It may well be described in Mr. Roosevelt's own words:

We planned it that way.

The Republican Party opposes the usurpation of power.

The Indispensable Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT L. VREELAND
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. VREELAND. Mr. Speaker, the doctrine of an indispensable man is new in America. It is the basis for the third-term drive. It depends on the claim that experience makes a man indispensable.

It is true that the present third-term candidate has had:

The experience of breaking more promises than any public official, living or dead.

The experience of declaring more crises and emergencies, and of creating more fear in his two terms as President than any other President in history.

The experience of spending more money than any other President without solving a single domestic problem.

The experience of incurring the biggest public debt in this country.

The experience of keeping the rate of spending over the head of the rate of income, although Federal revenues have been almost trebled in the 8 years of Roosevelt's administration.

The experience of building the Federal pay roll to the greatest size in the history of the Nation.

The experience of expanding the New Deal political bureaucracy to unprecedented proportions.

The experience of exercising more powers than any other peacetime President.

The experience of seeing new enterprise remain stagnant longer than in any other period in the Nation's history.

The experience of seeing more Americans unemployed for more years than ever before in the history of the Nation.

The experience of having gone to greater lengths and of having more successfully divided the Nation by sectional and class jealousies, prejudices, and hatreds than any other President in history.

The experience of having attempted to destroy the independence of the Federal judiciary and to subjugate the courts to his personal will.

The experience of attempting to drive out of public life all members of his own party, as well as of the opposing party, who honestly and conscientiously opposed any of his desires or policies.

Republican candidates for the House of Representatives reject the doctrine of an indispensable man.

The Republican Party rejects the doctrine of an indefensible man.

A Timetable of Dictatorship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES SECCOMBE
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. SECCOMBE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following table from the Mill and Factory magazine:

A timetable of dictatorship

The steps [1]	France	Germany	Italy	Mexico	United States
Extravagant public works	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Concentrate power in executive	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Undermine independent judiciary	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Excessive subsidies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Government by decree	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Encourage subversive forces	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Impose confiscatory taxes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Restrict private investments	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Unbalance budget	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Impose planned economy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Foster class conflicts	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Control of banks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Destroy morale of industry	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Excessive borrowing	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Enlarge bureaucracy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Huge national debt	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Pile up hopeless deficits	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Conscript army	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Nationalize industry	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?)
Regiment farms	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?)
Regiment labor	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?)
Dictatorship	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?)

[1] Truly liberal methods such as Federal Housing Administration, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Federal Security Agency Wagner Act, social security, etc., should not be confused with these steps.

It is later than you think. A third term will be the most direct course to dictatorship.

Every dictatorship that has been established maintains the appearance of legality in the country in which it exists.

Condition of American Cemeteries in Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. MILLER
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I have this day placed in the hopper a resolution asking that the Speaker appoint five Members of the House of Representatives to ascertain and report back to the present session of Congress or, if time will not permit, to the next session of Congress, on the present condition of American cemeteries in Europe.

My attention has been called to the fact that at least two American cemeteries in France were badly shelled during the present war. Undoubtedly the Battle Monuments Commission has personnel in Europe that can secure the desired information at little or no expense. The soil of our American cemeteries in France is sacred ground and should not be permitted to remain in its present torn-up condition a day longer than absolutely necessary.

It is my hope that the committee which I have asked be appointed will make recommendations, not only for the restoration of the cemeteries in need of such restoration but that they will consider the advisability of returning the remains of our honored dead who gave their lives in the World War to the United States for proper interment.

The resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That a committee of five Members of the House of Representatives be appointed by the Speaker of the House to ascertain

all possible information regarding the present condition of American cemeteries in Europe, and

That the said committee study the advisability of restoring these cemeteries or the possibility of returning the remains of our honored American dead who gave their lives during the World War to the United States for proper interment.

Further, that the committee or any subcommittee thereof shall have power to hold hearings and to sit and act within or without the District of Columbia, whether the House is in session or has adjourned or is in recess; to take testimony; to have printing and binding done; and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable within the amount appropriated therefor.

The American Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM W. BLACKNEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. BLACKNEY. Mr. Speaker, during the closing days of the Seventy-sixth Congress, it is more apparent than ever that the American people, in order to safeguard their constitutional form of government, must renew their allegiance to that country which, for 150 years, has pioneered the way in individual liberty and in constitutional government.

While European kingdoms, monarchies, and republics are being destroyed, or their form of government materially changed, the American Government, under its Constitution, still continues. We are the youngest of the great nations of the earth and, at the same time, the oldest consecutive government existing.

This is due largely to the fine constitutional background built by our forefathers, and also due to the love of liberty which has permeated the American people since 1776; but we must remember that no government is automatic, that it depends upon the intelligence, the initiative, and the integrity of its people. We must remember that the duties of citizenship must be exercised alertly in order to preserve liberty in this country of ours.

In the midst of the European conflict abroad it is certainly wise, and the manifestation of good judgment, for the American people to formulate clearly their opinion of America's position in that great struggle.

Some time ago, in a speech delivered in Congress on the subject America First, I stated:

> If there ever was a time when the American people should be sane and sensible and sober, it is now. If there ever was a time when the American citizen should not allow himself to be swayed by war propagandists and war mongers, it is now. If there ever was a time when the American citizen should think in terms of his country, its welfare, and its future, it is now.
>
> Day by day, in every way, the drift toward war is more apparent here in Washington. Propagandists in and out of Congress are saying in loud and vociferous tones that the United States should declare war against Germany.
>
> You will remember that in 1917 the then propagandists said that we should enter the World War "to save the world for democracy."
>
> After losing thousands of fine American boys and spending billions of dollars, we came to a realization of the fact that our efforts to preserve world peace were futile. Any student of history knows that the pages of history are dotted with the ever-recurring and insistent wars incident to Europe. America has been particularly free from participation in these conflicts except in the World War of 1917 and 1918.
>
> Now, the question arises, Should America embark in this European conflict? Are the fathers and mothers of America willing that their boys should be sent to fight on European soil? Judging from the letters that I am receiving, the answer to both of these questions is an emphatic "No." The United States has all the problems that she can safely handle without participation in European conflicts.

This is still my opinion today.

I think that we can all agree that the United States should promote its own national defense to such an extent that no nation on earth could safely attack us. I have voted for increases in the Army and the Navy and the air force, and for appropriations to accomplish that purpose. I did so because I want my Government properly protected.

I voted against the conscription bill, however, because I thought it was unwise, un-American, and entirely too drastic. We were told repeatedly that our volunteers were coming in faster than the Army could assimilate them; we were told that, even if no more volunteers enlisted, it would be necessary for 200,000 of our present staff to be housed in tents during the winter months. For that and other reasons I voted against the conscription bill. In my judgment, it was not necessary for national defense; had it been, I should have favored some form of conscription made in the American way. I did not want to see my country adopt the dictatorial tactics of certain European countries. I wanted it to preserve our great American heritage, solving our own problems in the way adapted to America.

I desire to call the attention of the House to the growth of radicalism which is steadily increasing in America. The Dies investigating committee, for which I gladly voted, has repeatedly presented to the American public facts and statistics showing the growth of communism and other isms in this country. This committee has shown clearly and explicitly that many of these Communists are now on the public pay roll, being paid by taxpayers' money, and yet are at the same time hostile to the American form of government.

I believe that the time has clearly come when American citizens must take cognizance of this fact. If we are to preserve our American institutions for our children and our children's children, then surely we must expect loyalty on the part of our citizens and on the part of those who seek refuge in this country.

All honor to those foreigners who have come from foreign lands to become American citizens, who have become American citizens, and have been loyal to the Constitution and the flag. For them I have but words of praise; but to those other foreigners who have come here to preach their nauseating doctrine of hate, who refuse to become American citizens, who accept the privileges of our Government without assuming its responsibilities—for that class of people I have the utmost contempt and the strong arm of the Government should see that they are returned to the land of their birth.

America is big enough for those fine people from all lands who have adopted the American way of living and the American principle of life, but is not large enough for those who are endeavoring to undermine our Government and set up under the Stars and Stripes a totalitarian form of government hostile to American soil.

I sincerely hope that the citizens of this country are fully awakened by the revelations of the Dies committee to know that something must be done, and that soon, to check the subversive elements in this country.

It is unfortunate that a President may allow his officials to refuse to aid the work of a committee of Congress investigating subversive activities for 2 years without aiding that committee in the fine work that they have been doing; but we stand today just where we stood 2 years ago, when this committee started to function, with Communists on the pay roll of the Federal Government and with an implied protection to many of those who do not favor the American way. It is time to protect America in this respect.

A national campaign properly conducted is a great school of instruction for the American people. This campaign should be conducted with dignity on the part of those participating and should be met with equal dignity by citizens interested in their Government.

One of the major issues in the present campaign is the question of the third term. I desire to quote from the Washington Daily News in their issue of October 7 on the subject of the third-term pitfall:

> To urge an alleged indispensability of Franklin D. Roosevelt as a reason for breaking the no-third-term tradition tends, we think, toward an abject and dangerous betrayal of American democracy.

It suggests partial surrender to the very form of apparent popular acquiescence that helped put one-man power in the driver's seat elsewhere in the world.

For this Nation to assume that it has only one man fit to be its President would be to declare a poverty of electoral competence contrary to fact and fatal to democratic future.

It would be a first step toward inviting that self-perpetuation of personal government which has been the essence of black-shirt and brown-shirt regimentation.

Crisis?

This is not the first crisis the United States has had to meet. Nor is there any guarantee it will be the last. There is always a crisis.

If a third-term precedent were established, future crises, external or internal, actual or manufactured, would become pleas for continuing in office any President who chose to use, for self-perpetuation, the power, prestige, and political patronage of the office.

The very nature of the present crisis—world-wide challenge to democracy—is the strongest of all reasons why American democracy should give resolute proof that it does not have to throw overboard one of the oldest of its traditions, thereby encouraging a world trend toward government by men instead of government by law.

Experience? If the experience gained by a President in two terms should become convincing argument for giving him a third, then the same argument would progressively grow stronger for a fourth term, a fifth—and presently for life. To get away from that, this Nation was founded.

Nor does a President's two-term experience ever eclipse the experience of other highly equipped Americans who have observed and studied the results of his policies and who may be more competent than he to hold American democracy to its true course.

Of course, it is true that the Constitution itself does not prevent a third term, but our great leaders, beginning with Washington and Jefferson and Jackson and many others, have steadfastly taken the position that no President should have a third term. A party that has only one man capable of being President, and that for a third time, is certainly in a bad condition; and the Nation that finds itself with only one indispensable man for President is equally in a bad condition. If a President can set himself up as the candidate to succeed himself for a third term—under the guise of emergency—by the same token that President could continue in office for the fourth term, or longer, and thus we would gradually find that our constitutional government was being undermined and dictatorship resulting therefrom.

To me there is no indispensable man. The indispensable part of the American Government is an earnest, sincere electorate, loyal to their Government and vitally interested in its continuance in its constitutional form. These are the indispensable elements in our Government and as long as our American citizens manifest an earnest interest in our Government, studying its problems pro and con, using their clear, definite judgment for the best interests of our country, then our Nation is safe and America will continue to be the land of the free and the home of the brave in the American way.

Third Term a Menace to the Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH A. GAMBLE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. GAMBLE. Mr. Speaker—

I think we should have another change in the Constitution that would take away a great deal of the danger that comes from a reelection two or three times of the same man to the office of President; but at the present time, under our political conditions here, to be President a man must first be nominated by one of the dominating parties.

In theory it is possible to be elected otherwise; as a matter of practice it is an impossibility. So a President wishing to be renominated if he wants to use the power that is his, after he has been in office for some time, can compel his party—whatever party it may be, either one of the dominating parties—to renominate him. That is almost universally conceded. Again, it is possible that may not be true, but in all probability, taking the doctrine of chances, that is true. He reaches out with his mighty hand into every hamlet, every crossroads, and every post office; every United States marshal, every United States district attorney, all the judges, all the United States officers everywhere are his appointees. Take human nature as it is, and not as we would wish it to be, and every one of those officials feels somewhat of a personal obligation to the man who gave him his position. If we eliminate all feelings of partisanship, of jealousy, of selfishness, and just take men and women as they are, honest as the bulk of them are, they would feel friendly to the man who gave them their positions. But that is not all, for we must take into consideration the selfishness, the jealousy, and the avarice of political machines.

He does not have to be, but if he wants to be, the President is at the head of the machine that is in power; he is at the head of the one that has the entire country within its grasp, within its grip, and can through the power that he possesses, using the officials who are under him and who range down to the lowest on the list, round up delegates; he can control conventions as no other man on earth can control them. We know that to be true. If Presidents were nominated at a primary, it would not be so bad, but they are not nominated in that way; they are nominated at national conventions, where the rank and file of the people have practically nothing to say as to what the program shall be. He nominates himself by using the instrumentality that the law gives him on account of his position. * * *

If a President of the United States were allowed to renominate himself, as he could, it would mean—not perhaps in my lifetime, or it may not be in the lifetime of anyone here—but it would mean ultimately the establishment in this country of a monarchy upon the ruins of our present republican form of government. * * *

Suppose he is all that some of those think who follow him when they think he is going to be * * * reelected—the most powerful person on earth, one who could not do any wrong, one who is perfect. Suppose all that; still, that is no argument * * * why we should not prevent, if we can, Presidents from being reelected to a third term.

Mr. Speaker, these are not my words. They are the words of the venerable and liberal Senator from Nebraska, the Honorable GEORGE W. NORRIS, as he was speaking before the United States Senate on February 7, 1928, in favor of the anti-third-term resolution introduced by the Honorable ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, Jr., of Wisconsin, which was passed by the Senate on February 10, 1928.

The Republican Party today concurs with the opinion expressed by Senator NORRIS in 1928.

Third Term Fraught With Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES HAWKS, JR.

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. HAWKS. Mr. Speaker, on February 7, 1928, in the Senate, the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr., brought up a resolution which read as follows:

Resolved, that it is the sense of the Senate that the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions.

Resolved, That the Senate commends observance of this precedent by the President.

The last sentence was dropped from the resolution as finally enacted, Mr. Speaker.

It is not my purpose to discuss this resolution at great length. Its terms are simple; it speaks for itself. Furthermore, the anti-third-term tradition is so deeply rooted in our history that to discuss the subject elaborately would be unnecessary in this body. * * *

The feeling with respect to the third term of a President is not based upon an idle fear. The power and the prestige of the Chief Executive have grown continuously since the foundation of our Government. Students of politics, both American and foreign, properly regard the President of the United States as the most powerful individual in the world. Establishment of the precedent that one man may continue to wield this power for longer than 8 years would mark a definite step toward the abrogation of popular government.

Once the precedent has been broken that no one should hold the office for more than 8 years, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to prevent reelection for 12, for 16, and perhaps for 20 years. * * *

I believe that the Senate of the United States will recognize the gravity of this situation and will by a substantial majority place

itself on record in support of this sound declaration in favor of sustaining the tradition which has played such an important part in our history. I sincerely trust that the resolution may be brought to a vote.

Mr. Speaker, these are not my words but the words of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, the Honorable ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, Jr., as he spoke them before the United States Senate on February 7, 1928, when he introduced his anti-third-term resolution. Today these words express the sentiment of the Republican Party.

Japan's Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LAWRENCE J. CONNERY
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 8, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE BOSTON GLOBE

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to present for the consideration of the House membership the following very informative and interesting editorial which appeared in the Boston Globe of October 7:

[From the Boston Globe of October 7, 1940]

JAPAN'S GAME

The classic procedure of German policy under Hitler is now being repeated—this time partly for the benefit of the United States. It consists in bursts of diplomacy staged so as to muster the greatest possible amount of drama, sudden crescendos in the Axis press calculated to stimulate terror and uncertainty, multiple threats against all mortals who demur, a series of military feints against several objectives, and finally a major attack delivered at a point selected beforehand.

This explains why Japan, Hitler's ally, has undertaken new excursions in insolence during the past week with respect to the role of the United States in the Pacific. Tokyo's job is to emulate Tokyo's partner at Berlin—for the maximum benefit of both. It is the expectation of Japan's Government that the result will be to rattle the United States, to split opinion here on our basic policy, and to diminish the flow of supplies to Britain lest these jeopardize our peace.

In short, the three totalitarian powers are proceeding upon an assumption that the United States, in this latest phase of world unsettlement, will react toward axis threats, European and Asiatic, precisely as Great Britain reacted between 1931 and 1940 before Churchill grasped the reins of leadership.

Today Englishmen are spending their nights in bomb shelters and subways, while their armed forces are fighting for survival. Britain's retreat in policy has carried her back to her own hearth.

Despite this plain record of 9 years' standing, the new Axis Allies expect this Nation to pursue a similar course; the United States is supposed to be unable to read the lesson; and "appeasers" among us are depended upon to see that we respond in a manner satisfactory to the contrivers of the policy. The issue is raised, for this purpose, in the Pacific. There, a second-rate power, which has been resoundingly defeated five times since spring by the armies of free China, believes it can frighten into acquiescence a Nation which has dwelt on the shores of the Pacific for a century, a Nation whose seamen opened that great ocean to commerce, a Nation possessing the most formidable and efficient Navy afloat.

This expectation is doomed to disappointment. Nevertheless, champions of "appeasement" for Japan have already become vocal among us. Their arguments are simplicity itself. Our primary interest (they urge) lies in the Atlantic. What happens in Europe, they insist, will provide all the answers to what will happen everywhere else. And in order that this Nation may keep its attention focused upon the Atlantic world exclusively, they urge that "an adjustment of relations" be sought with Japan, so as to postpone or delay any meeting of issues in the Pacific until those in the European and Atlantic areas are settled by force, one way or another. Their idea is that Japan, whose record of utter bad faith is unmatched by anything in post-World War annals, even in Europe, can be counted upon to oblige us.

The history of the past 9 years stultifies this argument, even if it were not annulled by use of ordinary common sense. Japan's avowed aims are unlimited. Her word is as worthless, under her present rulers, as Adolf Hitler's. She guaranteed Manchuria. She guaranteed China. She pledged the status quo of Indo-China only last July and that of the Netherland East Indies. She has listed the Philippines as prospectively hers, together with Guam. Her controlled press has likewise stipulated retreat from Hawaii as a desirable concession. Her official plans turn ultimately toward this hemisphere; and within a week she has implemented arrangements for this adventure with her axis partners.

The policy of this Nation in the Pacific has been an honorable one and a long one. Our rights there are equal to those of any nation on earth. Our safety depends upon maintaining that policy and those rights, if need be with every ounce of force at our command.

UNCLE DUDLEY.

The Gallup Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK B. KEEFE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, this is the season of polls and political prophecies. From one end of the country to the other, professional and amateur vote-samplers are busily engaged trying to evaluate the public opinion which it is expected will be accurately reflected only on November 5. Aspirants for public office, eager to grasp at any straw as justification for hope, point to the hundreds of so-called polls and straw votes as an infallible indication of the public mind.

With individual hope always fathering the thought, many otherwise astute politicians forget the collapse of the so-called infallible Literary Digest poll. In their haste to form conclusions, many individuals, whose thoughts are controlled by their own desires and wishes, overlook the fact that in practically every large national poll the tabulations indicate that the results on November 5 will be determined by the large percentage of independent thinkers and voters who up to the present time have expressed themselves as being undecided.

On Sunday, October 6, we were given the benefit of the so-called Gallup poll published in the Washington Post and other papers throughout the Nation. We were also furnished the results of a Nation-wide survey conducted by the Washington Star. The Gallup poll is supposed to reflect public opinion secured by some process which has not been explained to the American people, whereas the Star compilation appears to be the result of surveys made by special correspondents in each State in the Union.

It is extremely interesting to note, in view of the results arrived at by the Star, their choice of leads to head the reports of their various correspondents. The following are typical headlines: "Illinois rising Republican tide intensifies Democratic efforts" and "Flynn flies to confer" and "New Jersey G. O. P. jubilant over Hague's burning of poll books" and "Republicans united, attack Wisconsin's wrangling Democrats" and "Rain and good crops help Kansas G. O. P." and "Nebraska views pancake poll as sign Midwest is for Willkie." Based upon these reports, and all other political correspondents, the Star on October 6 sums up the situation as follows:

Electoral votes sure for Roosevelt	124
Electoral votes leaning for Roosevelt	113
Total	237
Electoral votes sure for Willkie	20
Electoral votes leaning for Willkie	72
Total	92
Doubtful electoral votes	202

Now let's look at Dr. Gallup's guess. He lists the results as follows:

Electoral votes sure for Roosevelt	499
Electoral votes sure for Willkie	32

Surely, if we are to assume the infallibility of the Gallup poll, then it is "all over but the shouting."

Strange as it may seem, however, the boys who are really politically smart are not being fooled by Dr. Gallup and his so-called poll.

In the Merry-Go-Round published under date of October 6, Pearson and Allen have this to say:

[From the Washington Times-Herald of October 6, 1940]

WASHINGTON DAILY MERRY-GO-ROUND

(By Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen)

Privately, Democratic chieftains are uneasy—and that includes the President himself.

They are afraid that the various polls and surface talk are creating a dangerous optimism in Democratic ranks that may lead to defeat.

The insiders are avoiding "it's all over but the shouting" talk. They believe that the election still is in the making and that it is entirely possible something might break to change the picture radically.

For one thing, the Democratic managers are worried about the Italian vote. Roosevelt's famed "stab in the back" crack deeply offended Italians, and Wendell Willkie has played smart politics with this. While he has mentioned Hitler several times by name, Willkie has never referred even by inference to the Fuehrer's partner, Mussolini.

Also, a large portion of the Irish vote, normally Democratic, is off the reservation. This is due in part to resentment at Jim Farley's treatment and to Roosevelt's pro-British policies.

The hostility of left-wing labor elements also is causing concern. These can be crucial in a close contest in a key State like New York, where the labor vote licked Tom Dewey for Governor in the hot 1938 battle. The left-wingers, taking their political cue from the Communist Party line, are not for Willkie, but neither are they for Roosevelt.

Secret polls they have made for their own information show Willkie holding better than his own in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Illinois, with Roosevelt trailing, Gallup reports. The President has to carry these States to win.

Another reason for inner Democratic concern is that unless Roosevelt wins decisively, the party is apt to lose the House and some Senators. To insure a Democratic House and to save certain doubtful Senators, Roosevelt has to win by a big margin, which so far insiders do not see in the cards.

That is why, behind the scenes, they are strongly urging the President to climb off his no-politics pedestal and do some vigorous campaigning. They want him to make a swing through the Midwest and deliver six or eight major speeches.

This comment, coming from two of the Nation's most astute political observers, clearly manifests and reflects the attitude of those who are politically smart.

An analysis of the Star results clearly indicates that this election is not "in the bag," as Mr. Michelson and his Democratic publicity associates would try to have the public believe. The 202 electoral votes which are listed as doubtful in the Star compilation of October 6 manifestly control the outcome of the coming election.

Because of the build-up of the infallibility of the so-called Gallup poll, it appears sensible to analyze Dr. Gallup's results. To begin with, it seems passing strange that the Gallup poll should be so far out of line with every other poll which I have been able to study. I am inclined to the belief that the very obvious leaning of Dr. Gallup toward the New Deal is reflected in his interpretation of public sentiment. However, Dr. Gallup is unusually astute in one respect at least, for he has prepared himself in advance with a perfect alibi in the event his prognostications blow up, as did those of the Literary Digest. In his October 6 statement he said:

Actually, on the basis of the vote in 1936, the survey indicates that Mr. Willkie needs to change less than a million and a half votes in the States north of the Mason and Dixon's line to win. Today's Institute Survey reveals that a large group of undecided voters, numbering about 4,000,000, may hold the answer to the question. Approximately 1 voter in 11 (9 percent) says that he has not yet decided on his vote next November, and supplementary surveys show that as many as 27 percent of President Roosevelt's current supporters are not definitely sure they will vote for him.

He further says:

It is well to remember, meanwhile, that a margin of error is involved in every sampling operation due to the size of the sample itself. In 13 State, local, and national elections since 1936, the institute's average error from all causes has been 3 and 4 percentage points.

Thus, it will be seen from Dr. Gallup's own statement that with approximately 9 percent of the voters undecided and with 3 percent to 4 percent margin for error, the conclusions reflected in his poll are meaningless at this time. It will be further noted that in the event the percentage of error and margin of undecided voters swing to the election to Mr. Willkie, Dr. Gallup has very effectively provided himself in advance with a self-created alibi.

This perhaps explains the attitude of the insiders as reflected in the quotation from the Merry-Go-Round heretofore referred to. The smart boys are not accepting Dr. Gallup's sugar-coated figures, because close analysis indicates that he has left too many loopholes. Let us examine this poll somewhat more minutely.

On August 4 Gallup gave the electoral votes of 24 States to Mr. Roosevelt and 24 States to Mr. Willkie. On October 6, he gives Mr. Roosevelt the electoral votes of 42 States and the votes of 6 States to Mr. Willkie. On August 4 Gallup says Willkie had 304 electoral votes and Roosevelt had 227. On October 6 he says Roosevelt has 499 electoral votes and Willkie only 32. What has Dr. Gallup discovered in these 2 months to explain the switch of 272 electoral votes—6 more than enough to elect a President—in the short space of 2 months? Are the American people so mentally unstable in their thinking that their brains do a complete somersault with every change of the moon? Of course, it must be understood that we passed through the equinox in that period. Perhaps that explains everything and perhaps Dr. Gallup alone was smart enough to see it.

Here is how Dr. Gallup divided the States on August 4:

Roosevelt: Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Montana, Nevada, California, and Washington.

Willkie: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and Oregon.

It will be observed that 2 months ago Dr. Gallup did not think Roosevelt could carry a single State east of the Mississippi River and north of the Ohio and the Mason and Dixon's line. On October 6 he did not think Willkie could carry any at all in that area except Maine and Vermont. He was, by his own analysis, wrong one time or the other on 12 of the 14 States in that region. These 14 States have a total of 240 electoral votes. The 12 on which he changed his mind have 232 electoral votes. At one time or the other he was wrong on 232 electoral votes in that area alone. When are we to believe he is right, and when are we to believe he is wrong, and how are we to know which is the right time and which is the wrong time to believe his figures?

Two months ago Gallup gave Willkie the electoral votes of 10 States west of the Mississippi, with 64 electoral votes. Now he says Willkie will only get 4 of those States, with 24 electoral votes. He was certainly wrong one time or the other on 6 of those States, with 40 electoral votes, which, added to the 232 electoral votes east of the Mississippi, makes 272 electoral votes on which he has changed his mind.

Dr. Gallup says in effect that Roosevelt has gained in percentage points between the first all-State Gallup poll published August 4 and the fourth poll published October 6, as follows:

	Percent
New Hampshire	11
New Mexico	11
Maine	9
New Jersey	9
Iowa	9
Montana	9
Oregon	9
Rhode Island	8
Idaho	8
Delaware	7
Maryland	7
West Virginia	7
Minnesota	7
South Dakota	7
Colorado	7
Nevada	7
Massachusetts	6

Percent—Continued

Connecticut	6
Ohio	6
Indiana	6
Illinois	6
Kentucky	6
Tennessee	6
North Carolina	6
Louisiana	6
Wyoming	6
Washington	6
Pennsylvania	5
Virginia	5
Florida	5
Kansas	5
New York	4
Michigan	4
Wisconsin	4
Missouri	4
Arkansas	4
Georgia	4
Arizona	4
Vermont	3
Alabama	3
Oklahoma	3
Utah	3
California	3
Mississippi	2
Texas	2
South Carolina	1

The Gallup poll says in effect that Roosevelt is 3 percentage points stronger on October 6, 1940, than he was at the polls on November 3, 1936, in the States of Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Florida. He says Roosevelt is 2 percent stronger in North Carolina and Georgia and 1 percent stronger in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Alabama, and Texas than he was at the polls on November 3, 1936. Dr. Gallup further says, in effect, on October 6, 1940, that Roosevelt is as strong now as he was in 1936 in Rhode Island, South Carolina, Mississippi, Arkansas, and New Mexico. It will be noted that 11 of these 17 States are in the South. What about the deflections in that section on the third-term issue alone?

Gallup admits on the face of his figures as compared with the 1936 election that Roosevelt is weaker today than he was 4 years ago in 31 States; that he has just about held his own in 5 and has increased his strength from 1 to 3 percent in the other 12. The following are the percentage losses that Gallup says Roosevelt has suffered:

Percent

North Dakota	23
Wisconsin	15
Nebraska	15
Oregon	13
Washington	11
California	11
Utah	11
Minnesota	11
Idaho	10
Montana	10
South Dakota	9
Colorado	8
Indiana	8
Ohio	8
New York	8
Michigan	7
Wyoming	7
Nevada	7
Illinois	6
Missouri	6
New Jersey	5
Pennsylvania	5
Kansas	5
Iowa	4
Massachusetts	3
Connecticut	3
Maryland	3
Oklahoma	3
Arizona	3
Louisiana	1
West Virginia	1

In the face of these findings previously made, Dr. Gallup now says Roosevelt has been gaining the last 2 months in 46 of the 48 States.

Dr. Gallup says that Nebraska on August 4 was 56 percent for Willkie, and on October 6 it was 57 percent for Willkie. However, he states that South Dakota on the north was 60 percent for Willkie August 4, and but 53 percent for him on October 6. Iowa on the east was listed 57 percent for Willkie August 4, and 52 percent for Roosevelt October 6. Kansas, immediately to the south, was listed as 56 percent for Willkie August 4, and but 51 percent for him October 6. Wyoming, to the immediate west of Nebraska, was listed as 51 percent for Willkie August 4, and 55 percent for Roosevelt October 6. What was going on in these four States bordering on Nebraska to shift South Dakota 7 percent in Roosevelt's favor, Iowa 9 percent, Kansas 5 percent, and Wyoming 6 percent, while Nebraska showed a Willkie gain of 1 percent?

Take New York State as a further illustration. On the first of the 4 Gallup reports New York was 52 percent Willkie. On the second report it still was. Then on the third report it was 52 percent Roosevelt. And again on the fourth report 52 percent Roosevelt. Thus is indicated a total shift in New York State of 4 percent.

Massachusetts, on the other hand, to the east, went from 54 percent Willkie to 52 percent Roosevelt. Connecticut, also to the east, went from 51 percent Willkie to 55 percent Roosevelt, a shift of 6 percent to Roosevelt in both these States. New Jersey, to the south of New York, shifted 9 percent from 54 percent Willkie to 55 percent Roosevelt, and Pennsylvania, also to the south, shifted from 52 percent Willkie to 53 percent Roosevelt. How is it that New York remained more nearly stationary than its 4 major adjoining States?

What has developed of which only Dr. Gallup knows to cause the 5 great industrial States of the Lakes region—Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin—to reverse themselves in the short period of 2 months? There certainly were no signs of reversal in the September primary returns of either Michigan or Wisconsin. Michigan's primary was on September 10, and Wisconsin's on September 17. We from Wisconsin know that the Republican Party polled more primary votes than the combined votes cast in the Democratic and Progressive Party primaries. In Michigan the Republicans were well ahead of the Democrats in their primary totals. Yet on September 20, 3 days after the Wisconsin primaries, and 10 days after those of Michigan, the Gallup poll threw both of these into the Roosevelt column, after having recorded them for Willkie on August 4, and again on August 25.

On August 4, and again on August 25, the Gallup Poll rated California as 54 percent for Roosevelt. On September 20 it rated California as 58 percent Roosevelt and on October 4 at 57 percent Roosevelt. The voters of all parties in California went to the polls on August 27, 2 days after the second Gallup report, and in the senatorial primaries gave Senator HIRAM JOHNSON, Republican, the nominations of all three major parties, he receiving 64 percent of the total vote cast in the three primaries. With the Democratic Party having a registration of approximately 900,000 voters more than the Republicans, or 60 percent of the total registrations, in the primary contests for nominations for seats in the House, Democratic candidates received only 52.5 percent of the votes cast to 47.5 percent for Republican candidates—this in the face of the fact that no Republican primaries were held in four districts where Republican incumbent Members of the House were unopposed. Had primaries been held in those four Republican districts, there is no doubt but that the Republican congressional primary vote for the State as a whole would have been more than 50 percent of the total cast. And yet Dr. Gallup in his poll report of September 20 raised his estimate of the Democratic strength from 54 percent to 58 percent in the face of the Republican primary showing on August 27, just 3 weeks before.

Primary results of many other States disclose as glaring contrasts and contradictions of these Gallup poll guesses as do those of Michigan, Wisconsin, and California just cited. The unfortunate part of it is that we here in Congress, nor the voters back in the States, have no means to verify the accuracy or inaccuracy of the claims made in these poll reports. Dr. Gallup does not lay the facts and figures down to let the people know how he arrives at his conclusions. The people of this country after many years of straw votes

have become accustomed to accept the figures placed before them without much question.

As hereinbefore stated, we saw an example in 1936 when after many years of accurate forecasting, the poll of the Literary Digest completely blew up. The innuendoes growing out of that fiasco brought about the death of what had been for many years one of America's leading and most dependable magazines of public opinion. Today there are suspicions in many quarters as to what may have happened to the Gallup poll. Is the Gallup poll to go the way of the Literary Digest after November 5?

Not being a prophet or the son of a prophet, but with complete assurance that the American people will decide the issues of this campaign while casting their ballots in the secrecy of the voting booth, I am reasonably certain that they are not going to be stampeded by the inaccurate conclusions to be drawn from the so-called Gallup poll.

In the Candidacy of Wendell L. Willkie the People Have Their Opportunity To Preserve Their Historic Principles and at the Same Time To Secure an Able Administrator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ROLAND KINZER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE BALTIMORE SUN

Mr. KINZER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include therein an editorial appearing in last Sunday's issue of the Baltimore Sun.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered printed in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

[From the Baltimore Sun of October 6, 1940]

Invariably, the wisest of Mr. Roosevelt's predecessors have been concerned over possible abuse of the powers of the Presidency. No one can know so well as the men who have filled the Presidential office its immense resources of purse, patronage, and prestige, and there is an extensive literature of Presidential statements on the necessity for written or unwritten limits upon the continuance of these resources in the hands of any man. Grover Cleveland, nominated three times for the Presidency and elected for two nonconsecutive terms, went so far as to question the wisdom of reelection for a second term. He wrote:

"When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public office once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of officeholders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political assistance, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for reelection the most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent action which must characterize a government by the people."

Against that sober statement of danger from one of the great figures of American history, a man who knew thoroughly the nature of politics in local, State, and Federal Government, thoughtful voters will set certain facts taken from the record.

When Mr. Roosevelt assumed the Presidential office, the total of Federal civilian officeholders was 572,091. In 7 years he has increased that total to 1,023,341. That is an increase of 451,250 under Mr. Roosevelt. It is an average increase of approximately 10,000 Federal officeholders for each of the 48 States. But this does not begin to tell the whole story.

When he assumed office there were no W. P. A. workers. He instituted W. P. A. to provide relief for the unemployed, but after 7 years of the New Deal the unemployment problem remains, and there are still 1,687,196 W. P. A. workers who receive money from the Federal Government. In addition, after 7 years of the New Deal, there are still 300,000 young men in the Civilian Conservation Corps who receive money from the Federal Government. In addition, there are still 679,544 young men and women in the National Youth Administration who receive money.

And, in addition to all of these, after 7 years of the New Deal there are—according to figures given by the New Deal—no less than 6,000,000 farmers who are receiving money from the Federal Government, which brings the total of men and women who receive Federal checks up to 9,690,081.

We shall not discuss at this time the economic consequences of Mr. Roosevelt's policies. It is known to all that, to meet salaries and subsidies of all sorts, he has tripled Federal taxes in his 7 years in office. It is known to all that this tripling of taxes has not been nearly enough to cover his expenditures, and that his borrowings have doubled the national debt in 7 years. It is known to all that, after these gigantic expenditures to buy prosperity, the New Deal itself estimates that in trade and industry there are 9,000,000 men and women unemployed, while the farm problem remains the farm problem. But we are not now discussing the economic consequences of Mr. Roosevelt's policies.

We call attention now to the political consequences. Mr. Roosevelt has increased, beyond all comparison with any of his predecessors, the powers of purse and patronage that reside in the hands of the President. He has increased, beyond all comparison, that "horde of officeholders" who, as Mr. Cleveland said, "stand ready to aid with money and trained political assistance." He has created, not increased, an even larger army of Federal beneficiaries on farms, in C. C. C. camps, in the Youth Administration, and in the W. P. A., who receive checks from the Government. His total of direct beneficiaries is now no less than 9,690,081. And that Mr. Roosevelt uses these powers politically cannot be denied. Here in Maryland we have only to remember the whipping into line of officeholders and the sudden allotment of public funds during the attempted senatorial purge of 1938.

So the people come face to face with two massive facts. One, they have in office a President who in two terms has multiplied incomparably those powers of purse and of patronage which caused the wisest of his predecessors to urge upon their countrymen written or unwritten limitation on the period of service of any President. Two, the President who caused this incomparable extension of the powers of purse and of patronage is the first President in American history who has been nominated for a third term—nominated in a campaign in which the great job-holding party machines were united from coast to coast in his support.

There you have it! What to do?

If Mr. Willkie did not possess the unusual moral and intellectual strength which he has demonstrated again and again, the need of restraining Mr. Roosevelt's career of extravagance, reckless ambition, and assumed indispensability would provide a reason for voting for the Republican candidate. But, in fact, it is possible in this election to place a restraint upon Mr. Roosevelt's extravagance, reckless ambition, and assumption of indispensability by voting for a definitely superior man.

On the fundamental problem of producing the goods that will preserve our standards of living and will also supply imperative needs of defense Mr. Willkie has shown a maturity of mind and of principle that makes Mr. Roosevelt's somersaults seem adolescent. In foreign affairs Mr. Willkie not only has shown, at every stage, clear perception that our ideals and our welfare will be protected by British victory; he has also stated his opinion without regard to consequences.

In the candidacy of Wendell L. Willkie the people have their opportunity to preserve their historic principles and, at the same time, to secure an abler administrator.

Legal Aspects of Oil Pipe-Line Separability Imperative for National Welfare and National Defense—That Monopolistic Interlinking of Oil Pipe Lines and Producers and Refiners Be Broken—Legal Phases Discussed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. COFFEE

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice for many months has been preparing to file action under the Sherman and Commerce Acts against 22 integrated oil companies and some 300 of their subsidiary companies.

When the Attorney General was ready to file the action, one of the most serious and far reaching of any actions ever filed under the laws mentioned, the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense took a hand in the matter, suggesting that filing of the action might have an adverse effect on national defense as the companies being prosecuted for violations of the law might become indisposed to cooperate in national defense.

I have previously brought to the attention of Congress the fact that oil advisers to the Council of National Defense are representatives of the largest oil corporations of America; in fact, on the council are representatives of some of the very companies named in the bill of complaint the Department of Justice is prepared to file.

The report of the Advisory Commission carries two implications of a character which the American public and this Congress cannot ignore; by suggesting that prosecution of the alleged violators of the law might thereby feel constrained to refuse or refrain from cooperation in the defense of this country they place the Nation on notice that they must be permitted to continue their alleged violations; by this same suggestion they tacitly admit that the big oil company defendants are guilty as charged by the Attorney General.

When Senators Borah and GILLETTE, in the first session of this Congress introduced S. 2181, a bill designed to accomplish in part what the projected action of the Department of Justice was designed to effect, a special assistant to the Attorney General, Dr. Forrest R. Black, was loaned by the Department to the Senate subcommittee which was studying S. 2181.

Dr. Black has had 15 years' experience in teaching political science and law and is the author of Ill Starred Prohibition Cases, with a foreword by Clarence Darrow—1931—and has published more than 60 legal articles in law reviews and such magazines as Vanity Fair, Plain Talk, The New Republic, The Nation, and so forth, the latest of which is an article in the June 1940 issue of the Cornell Law Quarterly.

This last-named article is highly pertinent to the proposed action of the Department of Justice against the oil companies and reveals, beyond any question, that the Department has a copper-riveted case against these violators of our Federal laws. This article is of such a revealing character that I ask to have it inserted in the RECORD.

This article supplies all the legal background needed to convince every Member of this House of the necessity for the adoption of House Resolution 575, introduced by me on August 21.

If 22 large oil companies are all-powerful enough to intimidate the Council of National Defense and, through this Council, to muzzle the Department of Justice, in that event it is past time for Congress to inquire into the matter of who really runs this Government—the people or the special interests which so openly and brazenly, over periods of many years, flout and make a mock of the laws enacted by the American Congress.

The article by Dr. Black is as follows:

OIL-PIPE-LINE DIVORCEMENT BY LITIGATION AND LEGISLATION

(By Forrest R. Black)

One of the strangest chapters in any comprehensive history of the struggle for government regulation of business in America must be reserved to relate the successful strategy of the major oil companies in escaping or thwarting Federal regulation of their interstate oil-pipe-line carriers. In résumé, that story might be stated as follows: Oil-pipe-line carriers escaped Federal regulation in the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887[1] and in the Elkins Act of 1903.[2] Both of these statutes were limited to rail or rail and water carriers only and sought to prevent discriminations and rebates. The next great wave of common carrier reform culminated in the enactment of the Hepburn Act of 1906.[3] Here, again, oil pipe lines scored a victory by escaping the commodities-clause section of that act, but appeared to suffer a defeat by having impressed upon them the common-carrier status in the so-called pipe-line amendment of the act. But later developments have demonstrated that the Hepburn Act, in its entirety, must be characterized as a Pyrrhic victory for the public, insofar as oil pipe lines are concerned.

More than a quarter century elapsed, and on April 3, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in an open letter to the Governors of 17 oil-producing States, said:

"The report of the Independent Petroleum Association Opposed to Monopoly recommends 'the enactment of emergency legislation by Congress divorcing oil pipe lines engaged in interstate commerce from other branches of the oil industry.' I am of the opinion that this is a reasonable request and that such legislation should be enacted at as early a date as possible."

More than 6 years later, Senators Borah and GILLETTE, on April 17, 1939, introduced in the Senate of the United States a bill (S. 2181) to prohibit interstate common carrier pipe lines from transporting commodities in which such carriers have any interest. It should also be noted that in the early days of the Roosevelt administration, Congress amended the National Industrial Recovery Act, authorizing, under certain circumstances, pipe-line divorcement under section 9, clause (b), which provided that "the President is authorized to institute proceedings to divorce from any holding company any pipe-line company controlled by such holding company which pipe line by unfair practices or by exorbitant rates in the transportation of petroleum or its products, tends to create a monopoly." But no action was ever taken under this section.

To revert to a more detailed analysis of the earlier attempts at regulation, it should be noted that the commodities clause is important for the reason that it was the first legislative attempt to divorce production and transportation. On May 7, 1906, while the Hepburn bill was before the Senate for consideration, Senator Elkins offered an amendment prohibiting any common carrier from engaging in the production, manufacture, buying, furnishing, or selling of any commodity in competition with any shipper over its lines. As passed by the Congress, this section was amended so as to substitute for the words "common carrier" the words "railroad company." Senator Tillman, commenting on this change, said: "It simply means in plain English that the Standard Oil Co. has got in its work. * * * We release the Standard Oil people entirely from the control of the provision which divorces the producers of commodities from the transportation of commodities."[4]

The pipe-line amendment of the Hepburn Act provided that "this act shall apply to any person or persons engaged in the transportation of oil or other commodity, except water and except natural or artificial gas, by means of pipe lines, or partly by pipe lines and partly by railroad, or partly by pipe lines and partly by water, who shall be considered and held to be common carriers within the meaning and purpose of this act." But in spite of the fact that the common carrier status of these pipe lines has been legislatively declared, administratively interpreted[5] and judicially upheld,[6] the uniform practice of the major pipe-line companies, in the language of the Supreme Court of the United States, has been to carry "all oil offered, if only the offerers will sell at their price * * *."[7]

Although the pipe-line companies have been filing tariffs with the Interstate Commerce Commission ever since the decision in the Pipe Line cases in 1914, because of the dominating position of the major oil companies who own 92 percent of the pipe-line mileage and because of the passive attitude of the Government, we have the strange result that the major pipe-line companies have not in fact performed the primary function of a common carrier, i. e., the transportation of other people's goods. And during this period of a quarter of a century, there has only been one formal complaint filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission by an independent oil producer who desired to take advantage of the common-carrier facilities of a pine-line company. In *Brundred Brothers* v. *Prairie Pipe Line Co.*,[8] the prospective shipper complained of the rates and of the tender requirement of the pipe-line company. The Interstate Commerce Commission held that the rates were reasonable, but that the minimum tender requirement of 100,000 barrels was unreasonable, and suggested 10,000 barrels as a reasonable minimum tender requirement. The aftermath of this partial victory of the only independent oil producer who has ever made a formal complaint before the Interstate Commerce Commission is interesting. The Prairie Pipe Line Co. immediately canceled the particular tariff between the two points in question: the prospective shipper's oil was not carried; no further complaint was filed and there the matter rests.

Dean Pound has stressed the distinction between "law in books" and "law in action,"[9] and here indeed is a significant illustration. It is our thesis that the fundamental explanation of this anomaly[10] lies in the fact (a) that the major oil-producing companies, who control the pipe lines, are in a position to and do establish the market price for oil in the production field, and (b) that they control the market price at the point of destination, and (c) that the differential between the two prices is not sufficient to cover the cost of transportation in conformity with the tariffs filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission. As we see it, the most vulnerable point in the pipe-line set-up today grows out of the fact that the major pipe lines are acting in the dual and inconsistent roles of carriers and owners (dealers) of the commodity transported, and that they are using the pipe-line charges as a driving wedge to prevent others from marketing oil lawfully produced, and in order to consummate that objective they are deviating from the published tariffs required by law and are attempting to assume the loss as a dealer rather than as a carrier. If this charge can be established by evidence it is our contention that there is a possibility of partial

[1] 24 Stat. 379 (1887), 49 U. C. C. A., secs. 1 et seq.
[2] 32 Stat. 847 (1903), 49 U. S. C. A., secs. 41–43.
[3] 34 Stat. 584 (1906), 49 U. S. C. A., secs. 1 et seq. For a general discussion of the legal status of oil pipe lines, see Scharfman, the Interstate Commerce Commission (1931) vol. II, pp. 96–105.

[4] 40 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 9101 (1906).
[5] In the Matter of Pipe Lines, 24 I. C. C. 1 (1912).
[6] The *Pipe Line cases*, 234 U. S. 548, 34 Sup. Ct. 956 (1914).
[7] Id. at 560.
[8] 68 I. C. C. 458 (1922).
[9] See Pound, Law in Books and Law in Action (1910), 44 Am. L. Rev. 12.
[10] Other contributing factors may be tender requirements, storage facilities, etc.

relief by litigation under existing statutes, but this relief will not be as effective as divorcement by legislation.

Before attempting to explore the possibilities of litigation under existing statutes, one point by way of background must be emphasized. If the pipe line is owned and controlled by the oil producer and thus occupies the dual and inconsistent roles of public carrier and private dealer, then under these circumstances (1) the so-called reasonableness or unreasonableness of the transportation rate is immaterial insofar as the producer-owner of the pipe line is concerned, for the reason that his profits are determined by the differential between the selling price and the production cost (which includes refining and marketing costs) plus the transportation cost, and not plus the transportation rate. The transportation rate is a matter of bookkeeping only. But (2) the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the established transportation rate is pertinent to other shippers, and in a monopolistic market the amount of the transportation rate may constitute the driving wedge which will place the independent producer in a position where he cannot afford to take advantage of the common carrier status of the pipe line to market his oil which has been lawfully produced. By force of circumstances, he is compelled to sell his oil at the pipe line at a dictated price.

As early as 1891, the Interstate Commerce Commission, in a case involving the coal railroads, made this point very clear in *Coxe Brothers & Co.* v. *Lehigh Valley R. R.*,[11] but the most succinct statement of the proposition was made by the Commission in 1911 in the case of *Meeker & Co.* v. *Lehigh Valley R. R.*, when it said: [12]

"* * * The record shows that the only line of demarcation between the Lehigh Valley Railroad Co. and the Lehigh Valley Coal Co. is one of bookkeeping. Assuming, for purposes of illustration, that the cost of mining anthracite coal is $2 per ton and the cost of carrying it to tidewater is $1 per ton, it follows that the cost of coal at tidewater would be $3 per ton; and, if the published rate were $1 the independent operator and the railroad coal company would be on a fair competitive basis so far as the cost of mining and transportation are concerned. But, as between the railroad company and its coal company it matters not whether the profit comes from mining or transporting the coal. So, therefore, if, instead of the $1 rate above mentioned, the railroad company were to establish a rate of $1.50 per ton, the railroad and its coal company could still sell coal at tidewater for $3 per ton, standing a deficit of 50 cents per ton in the mining price and making an equal profit in the transportation price. But, the independent operator cannot recoup himself in this manner, and the best price that he could make at tidewater would necessarily be the mining price of $2, plus the carrying charge of $1.50, or $3.50; and he would enter the market at a disadvantage of 50 cents per ton as compared with the railroad and its coal company. It is obvious that such an advantage would enable the railroad company and its alter ego, the coal company, to monopolize the field of production and the selling market."

I. DIVORCEMENT BY LITIGATION

Although, in the literature dealing with the problem of the divorcement of the production from the transportation of oil, it is generally assumed that this is a matter exclusively within the province of legislation, it is our contention that a partial relief can be secured by litigation. The analysis that follows is predicated upon an assumed state of facts outlined, supra. Two possibilities of divorcement by litigation will be considered: (A) The rebate-device sections of the Interstate Commerce Act and (B) the Sherman Act.

A. Litigation based on the "rebate device" sections of the Interstate Commerce Act

(1) Statutory Provisions

Section 2 of the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U. S. C. A., sec. 2) provides:

"SEC. 2. That if any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act shall, directly or indirectly, by any special rate, rebate, drawback, or other device, charge, demand, collect, or receive from any person or persons a greater or less compensation for any service rendered, or to be rendered, in the transportation of passengers, or property, subject to the provisions of this act, than it charges, demands, collects, or receives from any other person or persons for doing for him or them a like and contemporaneous service in the transportation of a like kind of traffic under substantially similar circumstances and conditions, such common carrier shall be deemed guilty of unjust discrimination, which is hereby prohibited and declared to be unlawful."

Section 1 of the Elkins Act [13] (49 U. S. C. A., sec. 41 (1)) provides:

"SEC. 1. * * * It shall be unlawful for any person, persons, or corporations to offer, grant, or give or to solicit, accept, or receive any rebate, concession, or discrimination in respect to the transportation of any property in interstate or foreign commerce by any common carrier subject to said chapter whereby any such property shall by any device whatever be transported at a less rate than that named in the tariffs published and filed by such carrier, as is required by said chapter, or whereby any other advantage is given or discrimination is practiced. * * *"

(2) The New Haven Doctrine

The most apposite decision that can be utilized as a basis for divorcement by litigation under the Interstate Commerce Act is *New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.* v. *Interstate Commerce Commission*.[14] The New Haven decision antedated the Hepburn Act.[15] It applied to railroads, but the effect of the pipe-line amendment of the Hepburn Act [16] makes the doctrine of the case applicable to oil pipe lines. The question of statutory construction of the pipe-line amendment immediately arose. Did the concluding clause of that amendment confine the Commission's jurisdiction to pipe lines that were technically common carriers by virtue of their own conduct (i. e., a holding out as such), or did it impress upon all pipe lines engaged in interstate transportation the status of common carriers and subject them to control? In the matter of Pipe Lines [17] the Interstate Commerce Commission held that, regardless of their previous status, the obligations of common carriers were impressed upon them, even though they were built over privately acquired rights of way and even though, by resorting to the policy of refusing to carry oil unless it was first sold to them, they were apparently engaged in transporting only their own oil. This broad construction of the pipe-line amendment was affirmed by the commerce court in the case of *Prairie Oil & Gas Co.* v. *United States*, where the court held: [18]

"The concluding phrase is not a limitation or restriction, but, on the contrary, was plainly inserted for the purpose of fixing the legal status of the persons and corporations included in precise terms in the preceding description, to the end that they should be regarded and treated as common carriers subject to the act. * * * So far as the debates in Congress when this amendment was pending may be resorted to for any purpose, they tend strongly to confirm the conclusion above expressed."

The Supreme Court of the United States was in entire agreement with both the Commission and the commerce court on the point of statutory construction. In the Pipe Line Cases, which is the leading authority construing the provision of the Hepburn Act applicable to oil pipe lines, Mr. Justice Holmes repudiated the Pogue [19] and Splawn [20] contentions that pipe lines were "plant facilities" and said: [21]

"The provisions of the act are to apply to any person engaged in the transportation of oil by means of pipe lines. The words 'who shall be considered and held to be common carriers within the meaning and purpose of this act' obviously are not intended to cut down the generality of the previous declaration to the meaning that only those shall be held common carriers within the act who were common carriers in a technical sense, but an injunction that those in control of pipe lines and engaged in the transportation of oil shall be dealt with as such. If the Standard Oil Co. and its cooperating companies were not so engaged, no one was. It not only would be a sacrifice of fact to form, but would empty the act if the carriage to the seaboard of nearly all the oil east of California were held not to be transportation within its meaning, because by the exercise of their power the carriers imposed as a condition to the carriage a sale to themselves. As applied to them, while the amendment does not compel them to continue in operation it does require them not to continue except as common carriers. * * * Its evident purpose was to bring within its scope pipe lines that although not technically common carriers yet were carrying all oil offered, if only the offerers would sell at their price. * * * Those lines that we are considering are common carriers now in everything but form. They carry everybody's oil to market, although they compel outsiders to sell it before taking it into their pipes."

In the New Haven case the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad made a contract with the New Haven Railroad to sell to the latter during a period of years a specified amount of coal at the price of $2.75 per ton. The Chesapeake & Ohio bought this coal for $2.47 per ton, leaving a balance of 28 cents per ton for transportation costs. The published tariff on these shipments was $1.45 per ton. The ques-

[11] 4 I. C. C. 535, 569, 571, 572 (1890).

[12] 21 I. C. C. 129, 154 (1911).

[13] Sec. 3 of the Elkins Act, as amended, which was part of the Hepburn Act of 1906, provides that, in addition to other penalties provided by the act, any person, etc., who shall knowingly receive any rebates, direct or indirect, shall forfeit to the United States a sum of money three times the amount of money so received or accepted.

[14] 200 U. S. 361, 26 Sup. Ct. 272 (1906).

[15] The New Haven decision was handed down on February 19, 1906, and the Hepburn Act was approved on June 29, 1906; 34 Stat. 584 (1906), 49 U. S. C. A., secs. 1 et seq.

[16] The pipe-line amendment provides "that the provisions of this act shall apply to any person or persons engaged in the transportation of oil or other commodity, except water and except natural or artificial gas, by means of pipe lines or partly by pipe lines and partly by railroad, or partly by pipe line and partly by water, who shall be considered and held to be common carriers within the meaning and purpose of this act."

[17] 24 I. C. C. 1 (1912).

[18] 204 Fed. 798, 805, 806 (Commerce Ct. 1913).

[19] Pogue, Economics of Pipe Line Transportation in the Petroleum Industry (1932).

[20] The Walter M. W. Splawn Report on Pipe Lines, H. Rept. No. 2192, 72d Cong., 2d sess. (1933), pt. I, p. lxviii. A recent ex parte report by Examiner E. Paul Kelly, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, submitted to the Commission February 1, 1940, entitled "Reduced Pipe Line Rates and Gathering Charges," has revived the Splawn "plant facility" thesis in spite of the holdings of the Interstate Commerce Commission (*In the Matter of Pipe Lines*, 24 I. C. C. 1 (1912)) and the Supreme Court of the United States (*The Pipe Line Cases*, 234 U. S. 548, 34 Sup. Ct. 956 (1914)).

[21] 234 U. S. 548, 559, 561, 34 Sup. Ct. 956 (1914).

tion for decision as formulated by the Court was stated as follows: "Has a carrier, engaged in interstate commerce, the power to contract to sell and transport in completion of the contract the commodities sold, when the price stipulated in the contract does not pay the cost of purchase, the cost of delivery, and the published freight rates?"

The Chesapeake & Ohio claimed that it could assume the loss, i. e., the difference between $1.45 and 28 cents (as a dealer and not as a carrier), and thus evade the requirement of the statute relating to the conformity to the published rates. The Court said: [22]

"In view of the positive command of the second section of the act, that no departure from the published rate shall be made, 'directly or indirectly' how can it in reason be held that a carrier may take itself from out of the statute in every case by simply electing to be a dealer and transport a commodity in that character? For, of course, if a carrier has a right to disregard the published rates by resorting to a particular form of dealing, it must follow that there is no obligation on the part of a carrier to adhere to the rates, because doing so is merely voluntary."

The Court, in effect, accepted the contention made in the brief for the Interstate Commerce Commission [23] "that the law will presume in such a factual situation that the resulting loss was sustained by the corporation in a capacity as carrier and not in its capacity as vendor-shipper; in other words, that the merchandise was transported for less than the published rates." The Interstate Commerce Commission brief pointed out, "that if the law did not raise this presumption from the facts recited, it would follow either (1) that it must be left entirely to the carrier to say whether the loss was sustained as carrier, and hence, whether the goods were transported for less than the published rates or whether the loss was sustained as vendor—which is to leave it to the carrier to decide whether it has violated the statute, or, (2) which is only a shade less absurd, the law must presume that the loss was sustained as vendor."

The Court said, at page 392:

"The all-embracing prohibition against either directly or indirectly charging less than the published rates shows that the purpose of the statute was to make the prohibition applicable to every method of dealing by a carrier by which the forbidden result could be brought about. * * * Indeed, the inevitable result of the possession of such a right by a carrier would be to enable it, if it chose to exercise the power, to concentrate in its own hands the products which were held for shipment along its line and to make it, therefore, the sole purchaser thereof and the sole seller at the place where the products were to be marketed; in other words, to create an absolute monopoly."

It is to be noted also that the Court took the position that the statute, without a commodities clause, provided in effect for a divorce of production and transportation where the published rates were departed from in this type of case. On this point the Court said, at page 399:

"It is urged that if the requirement of the act to regulate commerce as to the maintenance of published rates and the prohibitions of that act against undue preferences and discriminations be applied to a carrier when engaged in buying and selling a commodity which it transports the substantial effect will be to prohibit the carrier from becoming a dealer when no such prohibition is expressed in the act to regulate commerce, and hence a prohibition will be implied which should only result from express action by Congress. Granting the premise, the deduction is unfounded. Because no express prohibition against a carrier who engages in interstate commerce becoming a dealer in commodities moving in such commerce is found in the act, it does not follow that the provisions which are expressed in that act should not be applied and be given their lawful effect. Even, therefore, if the result of applying the provisions as we have interpreted them will be practically to render it difficult, if not impossible, for a carrier to deal in commodities, this affords no ground for relieving us of the plain duty of enforcing the provisions of the statute as they exist."

In the later case of *United States* v. *Delaware & Hudson Co.*,[24] which was the first case construing the commodities clause, the Court comments on the New Haven case and corroborates the point that in that type of case the Interstate Commerce Act meant identically the same thing without the commodities clause as with it. The Court said, at page 410:

In that case (*New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.* v. *Interstate Commerce Commission, supra*) after much consideration, it was held that the prohibitions of the Interstate Commerce Act as to uniformity of rates and against rebates operated to prevent a carrier engaged in interstate commerce from buying and selling a commodity which it carried in such a way as to frustrate the provisions of the act, even if the effect of applying the act would be substantially to render buying and selling by an interstate carrier of a commodity which it transported practically impossible.

Let us recapitulate the significance of the New Haven case in supporting cur thesis that it is possible to divorce production and transportation of petroleum and its products by litigation under exising statutes.

1. The New Haven case antedated the Hepburn Act.

2. The congressional legislation in force at the time of the New Haven decision applied only to rail and rail and water carriers.

3. The effect of the pipe line amendment to the Hepburn Act clothed interstate pipe lines with a common carrier status and subjected them to the same statutory regulations as interstate carriers by rail and rail and water. (In the Matter of Pipe Lines, The Pipe Line Cases, supra.)

4. This common carrier status impressed upon the pipe lines a public obligation "as a public agent to give equal treatment to all." (*New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.* v. *Interstate Commerce Commission, supra.*

5. The commodities clause, which constituted the first congressional attempt to divorce production and transportation in the railroad field, was a section of the Hepburn Act.

(6) There was no commodities clause involved in the New Haven case as applied to railroads, and the Congress has refused in the Hepburn Act and in later legislation to make the commodities clause applicable to oil pipe lines.

(7) The New Haven case dealt with a situation wherein the railroad was acting in a dual capacity as carrier and as owner (dealer) of the commodity transported, and wherein the selling price of the commodity in question, stipulated in the contract, was not sufficient to pay the cost of purchase plus the cost of delivery in conformity with the published freight rates. The Court held that the railroad could not evade the requirements of the statute relating to conformity to the published rates by assuming the loss as a dealer rather than as a carrier.

(8) The effect of the pipe-line amendment, as construed in the Pipe Line cases is to extend the New Haven doctrine to similar situations wherein the pipe-line companies are acting in a dual capacity as carriers and as owners (dealers) of the commodities transported. It follows that in a case wherein the pipe-line company acts in the dual capacity of carrier and dealer and the published rates are departed from, the statute, in the absence of a commodities clause, will be construed in effect so as to provide for a divorce of production and transportation (*New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.* v. *Interstate Commerce Commission; United States* v. *Delaware & Hudson Co., supra.*

(9) Under the assumed state of facts the pipe-line companies run afoul of the statutes by reason of the practice of deviating from the published transportation tariffs. The New Haven case prohibits the subterfuge of assuming the losses as dealers rather than as carriers.

(10) If the major oil companies are taking advantage of their relationship with the pipe-line carriers, so as to dictate the market price at both ends of the pipe lines, and having thus created an artificial price structure, are using the pipe-line charges as a driving wedge to prevent others from marketing oil lawfully produced by them, either in the field or at the point of destination, unless it is sold to the major companies at a dictated price, then under these conditions the doctrine of the New Haven case is applicable and may be utilized to prevent the further destruction of competition on the part of the independent producers.

(3) The Broad Mandate of the Elkins Act Is To Insure Like Treatment for All Shippers and Every Conceivable Device That Frustrates That Mandate Is Outlawed by the Statute

The words "rebate" and "device" are not words of art having a precise and definite legal meaning and the forms of "rebate," "drawback," "concession," "discrimination," or "other device" by means of which "an advantage is given or discrimination is practiced" are so varied that it is impossible to classify them into distinct types. The result in each case is predicated on the peculiar facts established therein, which have the purpose and effect of deviating from the published rate and violating the mandate that all shippers be treated alike.[25] In *Louisville & Nashville R. R.* v. *Mottley* [26] the Court characterized the broad purpose of the Elkins Act "to cut up by the roots every form of discrimination, favoritism, and inequality," and the Interstate Commerce Commission has declared that it was the purpose of Congress "to strike through all pretense, all ingenious device, to the substance of the transaction." [27] In *United States* v. *Hocking Valley R. R.*[28] the Court pointed out that:

"Of course, it is not practicable for Congress to set a limit on human ingenuity in the devising of schemes obnoxious to the act to regulate commerce by attempting a description of all possible methods. The act accomplishes its end by directly and unmistakably condemning results, wherefore every devisable plan to produce the objectionable conditions is under its ban. Surely our jurisprudence is not so inept and feeble that a statute exhibiting a definite purpose to meet palpable mischiefs must be construed so narrowly as to oblige Congress from time to time to amend it that its provisions may be kept, at the best, only in the immediate rear of a

[22] 200 U. S. 361, 391, 26 Sup. Ct. 272 (1906).

[23] Records and Briefs, U. S. Supreme Court, vol. 2, October term 1905, pp. 29–31.

[24] 213 U. S. 366, 29 Sup. Ct. 527 (1909).

[25] Some of the leading cases that have given this broad construction to the Elkins Act are *Armour Packing Company* v. *United States*, 209 U. S. 56, 28 Sup. Ct. 486 (1908); *United States* v. *Union Stockyards*, 226 U. S. 286, 33 Sup. Ct. 83 (1912); *United States* v. *Michigan Portland Cement Co.*, 270 U. S. 521, 46 Sup. Ct. 395 (1926); and see *American Express Co.* v. *United States*, 212 U. S. 522, 29 Sup. Ct. 315 (1909); *United States* v. *Standard Oil Co.*, 148 Fed. 719 (N. D. Ill., 1907).

[26] 219 U. S. 467, 31 Sup. Ct. 265 (1911).

[27] *Association of Bituminous Operators of Central Pennsylvania* v. *Pennsylvania R. R.*, 10 I. C. C. 385, 402 (1904).

[28] 194 Fed. 234, 251 (N. D. Ohio, 1911), affirmed, 210 Fed. 735 (C. C. A. 6th, 1914), certiorari denied, 234 U. S. 757, 34 Sup. Ct. 675 (1914).

procession of new methods born of the fertility of human invention and designed to circumvent that legislative will which it attempts by each amplifying amendment to express."

In *Chicago & Alton R. R.* v. *United States*,[29] the court said that "under the Elkins act the standard of comparison is the published rate. It is only necessary to prove that the favored shipper has had his property transported at a less rate than that published and filed." In *Vandalia R. R.* v. *United States*,[30] the court stressed the "subtle disguises" under which rebates have been enjoyed. "That the full tariff rate is collected at the time of transportation does not negative the possibility of a rebate in respect thereto. The rebate may be in a lump cash sum in advance (*United States* v. *Union Stockyards*, 226 U. S. 286, 33 S. Ct. 83, 57 L. Ed. 226) or by later or earlier indirect payments (*G. R. & I. Ry. Co.* v. *United States*, 212 Fed. 577, 129 C. C. A. 113)." In *Armour Packing Co. v. United States*,[31] the Court gave a liberal interpretation of the word "device,' saying:

"And we find the word device disassociated from any such words as fraudulent conduct, scheme, or contrivance, but the act seems to reach all means and methods by which the unlawful preference of rebate, concession, or discrimination is offered, granted, given, or received. * * * A device need not be necessarily fraudulent; the term includes anything which is a plan or contrivance."

(4) Devices, Although Legal Per Se, Are Outlawed When They Constitute Integral Parts of a Plan That Violates the Statute

We have seen how the New Haven case establishes the proposition that a carrier may not evade the prohibitions against rebating by becoming a dealer in a commodity which it transports, even though there is no express statutory prohibition against this sort of dealer-shipper relationship as such. So the legality of the following ingenious devices, considered separately, is unquestioned: (a) Stock ownership of the pipe-line company by the major oil-producing companies, (b) with its alleged insulation of liability by virtue of the creation of a separate corporate entity, and (c) the right of the directors of the pipe-line company to declare dividends out of profits. But when the devices of stock ownership, corporate entity, and the "kick-back" in the form of dividends are parts of a plan whereby the owner of the pipe lines is permitted to ship at cost, while all others must pay the published transportation rate, then we have a continuing violation of the rebate-device sections of the Elkins act which is inherent in the very nature of the pipe line set-up.

That this ingenious scheme is not entirely novel is established by several cases. In *Colonial Salt Co.* v. *Michigan, Indiana & Illinois Line*,[32] a boat line, incorporated as a common carrier, was owned and operated in the interest of a salt company; it published no rates except upon salt in cargo lots, and it used as terminal facilities the docks and warehouses of the salt company by whose agents and employees all shipments had to be handled. It was held that the boat line was a mere device to defraud the law, and payments made to it by connecting rail carriers in the guise of divisions were rebates.

An examination of findings of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the Colonial Salt case establishes a striking similarity between that case and the case of the pipe lines controlled by the major oil companies. Harlan, Commissioner, pointed out (1) the relatively small amount of money originally invested in the boat line, (2) the tremendous profits accruing from its operation, (3) that the boat line and its dock facilities were the private facilities of the salt company that owned the boat line and were not public facilities, (4) that the general offices of the boat line were also the general offices of the salt company; and (5) that the salt company and the boat line constituted one investment in the same general interest. Commenting on the above analysis, Harlan, Commissioner, at page 363, said:

"It is clear from this statement of facts that by turning its facilities over to an incorporated transportation company which handles substantially nothing but its own salt, the salt company has received extraordinary returns, which give it extraordinary advantages over its competitors. The situation resolves itself into another of the growing number of instances where a large industry, by the mere taking out of a charter under the loose laws of some State, gives to its private facilities the appearance of being a public carrier and then uses them as a device under the guise of which it may receive, and complaisant railroad companies may pay, rebates to the industry, and also as a club by means of which hesitating and reluctant lines may be forced into the same unlawful relation with the industry under the threat of a large traffic that may be lost by their refusal to meet its demands."

In the Matter of Division of Joint Rates to Terminal Railroads,[33] it was shown that the International Harvester Co. owned the Illinois Northern Railroad and that connecting lines paid an exorbitant charge to the railroad for switching service. The Commission said, at page 401:

"It is urged that all this is simply an arrangement between two connecting railroads; that there is no negotiation with the shipper, and no payment to the shipper. This is a mere play upon words. The Illinois Northern Railroad Co. and the International Harvester Co. are one and the same thing. It is entirely immaterial whether this money goes in the first instance into the treasury of the International Harvester Co. or that of its creature, the Illinois Northern Railroad Co. That subterfuges of this sort cannot avail has been often decided, and was affirmed within the year by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Interstate Commerce Commission* v. *Baird* (194 U. S. 25, 49 L. ed. 860, 24 Sup. Ct. Rep. 563), in which it was held that it made no difference whether certain contracts were entered into with a railroad company itself or with a coal company the stock of which was entirely owned by the railroad company."

In Freight Forwarding Investigation,[34] the Interstate Commerce Commission held that:

"There can be no doubt but that the object of the New York Central in acquiring stock control of the Universal was to use the latter to serve the purposes of the former as a forwarder, and this record is convincing that that purpose has been and is being carried out to the point where the Universal must be regarded as a mere instrumentality or department of the New York Central. Obviously, a common carrier by railroad may not be permitted to establish a separate corporation for the purpose of granting concessions or discriminations or of granting rebates from the lawful tariff rates, all of which would be in derogation of the statute if practiced by the carrier in its own name."

(5) The Scope of Injunctive Relief Under the Interstate Commerce Act

The possibility of divorcement through the exercise of the equity powers of the Court will be discussed in greater detail in the portion of this study dealing with the Sherman Act. However, it should be noted that in the New Haven case under the Interstate Commerce Act (a) the Chesapeake & Ohio was perpetually enjoined "from taking less than the rates fixed in the published tariff of freight rates, by means of dealing in the purchase and sale of coal"; (b) the Court emphasized one of the weaknesses of divorcement by litigation as contrasted with divorcement by legislation when it denied the contention "that whenever a carrier has been adjudged to have violated the act to regulate commerce in any particular it is the duty of the court, not only to enjoin the carrier from further like violations of the act, but to command it in general terms not to violate the act in the future in any particular"; and (c) the Court took the position that on the question of the scope of equity powers, a Sherman Act case *Swift & Co.* v. *United States* (196 U. S. 375, 25 Sup. Ct. 276 (1905)) could be relied on as a precedent in a case under the Interstate Commerce Act.

B. The Sherman Act as a basis for litigation

(1) The pertinent sections of the Sherman Act to be utilized as a basis for litigation are section 2 and section 4.

Section 2 reads as follows:

"Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding $5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding 1 year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court."

Section 4 reads as follows:

"The several district courts of the United States are invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of sections 1 to 7 * * * and it shall be the duty of the several district attorneys of the United States, in their respective districts, under the direction of the Attorney General, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations."

(2) The second section is broader than the first, for it inhibits monopoly accomplished by some other means than the particular restraints named in the first section, to wit, "contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce * * *." Chief Justice White speaking for the Court in *Standard Oil Co.* v. *United States*, held that the second section was "intended to supplement the first and to make sure that by no possible guise could the public policy embodied in the first section be frustrated or evaded."[35] In developing this point, he said:

"Undoubtedly, the words 'to monopolize' and 'monopolize' as used in the section reach every act bringing about the prohibited results. * * * In other words, having by the first section forbidden all means of monopolizing trade, that is, unduly restraining it by means of every contract, combination, etc., the second section

[29] 156 Fed. 558, 562 (C. C. A. 7th, 1907), affirming 148 Fed. 646 (N. D. Ill., 1906), affirmed without opinion by divided court, 212 U. S. 563, 29 Sup. Ct. 689 (1908).

[30] 226 Fed. 713, 716 (C. C. A. 7th, 1915).

[31] 209 U. S. 56, 71, 28 Sup. Ct. 428 (1907).

[32] 23 I. C. C. 358 (1912).

[33] 10 I. C. C. 385 (1904).

[34] 229 I C. C. 201, 293 (1938). Other cases wherein an unsuccessful attempt has been made by the defendant to utilize the corporate entity theory to evade the prohibitions of a statute are: The commodities clause, *United States* v. *Lehigh Valley R. R.*, 220 U. S. 257, 31 Sup. Ct. 387 (1910); *United States* v. *Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R.*, 238 U. S. 516, 35 Sup. Ct. 873 (1914); *United States* v. *Reading Co.*, 253 U. S. 26, 40 Sup. Ct. 425 (1919); the Elkins Act, *United States* v. *Milwaukee Refrigerator Transit Co.*, 142 Fed. 247 (C. C. Wis., 1905); *United States* v. *Cleveland C. C. & St. L. R. R., R.* 234 Fed. 178 (N. D. Ill. 1915); the Interstate Commerce Act, *In the Matter of Alleged Unlawful Rates of the Chicago Great Western and Other Railroads*, 7 I. C. C. 33 (1897). Other leading cases for disregarding the corporate entity are *Southern Pacific Terminal Co.* v. *I. C. C.*, 219 U. S. 498, 31 Sup. Ct. 279 (1910); *C. M. & St. P. R. R.* v. *Minneapolis Civil Association*, 247 U. S. 490, 38 Sup. Ct. 553 (1917); *Electric Bond & Share Co.* v. *S. E. C.*, 303 U. S. 419, 58 Sup. Ct. 678 (1938).

[35] 221 U. S. 1, 61, 62, 31 Sup. Ct. 502 (1911).

seeks, if possible, to make the prohibitions of the act all the more complete and perfect by embracing all attempts to reach the end prohibited by the first section, that is, restraints of trade, by any attempt to monopolize or monopolization thereof, even although the acts by which such results are attempted to be brought about or are brought about be not embraced within the general enumeration of the first section."

(3) Under the assumed state of facts, the major oil companies through their domination of the pipe-line companies, are controlling the transportation of oil in the areas served by their lines and are "monopolizing" or "attempting to monopolize" the production and distribution of oil in violation of section 2 of the Sherman Act.

(a) The Essential Elements Constituting Monopoly

"* * * the idea of monopoly is not now confined to a grant of privileges. It is understood to include a 'condition produced by the acts of mere individuals. Its dominant thought now is * * * 'the motive of exclusiveness or unity'; in other words, the suppression of competition by the unification of interest or management, or it may be through agreement and concert of action.[36]

"A monopoly of trade embraces two essential elements: (1) The acquisition of an exclusive right to, or the exclusive control of, that trade; and (2) the exclusion of all others from that right and control." [37]

(b) Section 2 Outlaws the Monopolization or Attempt To Monopolize "Any Part" of the Trade or Commerce Among the Several States

In *Standard Oil Co.* v. *United States*[38] the Court said: "The commerce referred to by the words 'any part' construed in the light of the manifest purpose of the statute has both a geographical and a distributive significance, that is, it includes any portion the United States and any one of the classes of things forming a part of interstate or foreign commerce."

In *O'Halloran* v. *American Sea Green Slate Co.*[39] the Court said: "* * * [To constitute a violation of the statute] it is not necessary to show that a complete and United States wide monopoly has been actually created, or that the entire trade or business and production of an article has been brought within the control of the combination, or ever will be. It is no defense for such a combination to show that there is still some competition and some competitors, and that the acts of the combination do not wholly and entirely control interstate commerce in the article, or absolutely fetter it. If the combination be one in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States to any substantial degree, it is within the condemnation of the statute."

In *United States* v. *E. C. Knight Co.*[40] the Court said:

"* * * all the authorities agree that in order to vitiate a contract or combination it is not essential that its result should be a complete monopoly; it is sufficient if it really tends to that end and to deprive the public of the advantages which flow from free competition."

(c) The Process of Integration as Practiced by the Major Oil Companies Contains the Germ of Monopoly and Is Not a "Normal Method of Industrial Development" Which Would Be Permitted by the Sherman Act

The fusion of the functions of production, transportation, refining, and marketing of petroleum and its products in each of the major oil companies is inherently monopolistic and the resulting concentration and control constitutes a potential weapon for fostering further restraints on trade and commerce in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The old Standard Oil Co., which was dissolved in 1911,[41] had only carried the process of integration into the fields of transportation, refining, and marketing. Today the 22 major oil companies, which transact more than 85 percent of the total business of the industry (with the exception of the Standard Oil Co. of Kentucky, which is a marketing set-up), have extended the process of integration into all 4 branches of the industry.[42]

However, the control of the pipe line, or transportation branch, is the ultimate keystone in the arch of monopoly. The unusual susceptibility of the petroleum industry to monopolistic mastery lies in the fact that control of refineries means control of the entire industry, for the fundamental reason that crude petroleum has no consumer value [43] and refining is controlled ultimately by the control of transportation facilities. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., recognized this fact and acquired this control of refining through railroad rebates. By this device, in the decade from 1867 to 1877, he increased his control of the refining business from 10 percent to 90 percent of the entire industry. Since railroad rebates have been outlawed, the new device to obtain this control is the pipe line.[44] Today the 22 major oil companies control 85 percent of the crude pipe-line mileage and 17 of these companies control 96 percent of the gasoline pipe-line mileage.[45]

Although the Sherman Act does not prohibit a "normal case of integration of industry" [46] or a "normal method of industrial development," [47] it does forbid a practice whereby the pipe-line companies controlled by the major oil-producing companies are virtually the sole purchasers and sellers of all oil produced in the area which they serve.

The Supreme Court, in upholding a decree which dissolved, under the Sherman Act, the ho'ding company in *Standard Oil Co.* v. *United States*, emphasized in the following words the distinction between "normal methods of industrial development" (which were permitted by the statute) and "new means of combination" (which made for monopoly): [48]

"Because the unification of power and control over petroleum and its products which was the inevitable result of the combining in the New Jersey corporation by the increase of its stock and the transfer to it of the stocks of so many other corporations, aggregating so vast a capital, gives rise, in and of itself, in the absence of countervailing circumstances, to say the least, to the prima facie presumption of intent and purpose to maintain the dominancy over the oil industry, not as a result of normal methods of industrial development, but by new means of combination which were resorted to in order that greater power might be added than would otherwise have arisen had normal methods been followed, the whole with the purpose of excluding others from the trade and thus centralizing in the combination a perpetual control of the movements of petroleum and its products in the channels of interstate commerce."

(d) The Major Oil Companies, Through Their Control of the Pipe Lines, Are Utilizing a Technique in Which the Latter Instrumentality Places Them in "a Dual and Inconsistent Position of Public Carrier and Private Shipper"

The characterization of "a dual and inconsistent position of public carrier and private shipper" was first used by the courts in the anthracite-railroad cases.[49] In the New Haven case the Court characterized the coal-company railroads as a set-up in which the railroads became "virtually the sole purchasers and sellers of all the coal produced along the line of its road." The analogy between the anthracite railroads and the major oil-controlled pipe lines is emphasized by the characterization of Mr. Justice Holmes in The Pipe Line cases Although the Court in these cases held that the pipe lines were common carriers in law, it pointed out that in fact the uniform practice of the major pipe-line companies has been to carry "all oil offered, if only the offerers will sell at their price."

In *United States* v. *Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R.*[50] the Court said, "The commodities clause of the Hepburn Act was intended to prevent railroads from occupying the dual and inconsistent positions of public carrier and private shipper." It is true that the commodities clause does not apply to pipe lines, but we have shown that the doctrine of the New Haven case, which antedated the Hepburn Act, has been extended by virtue of the pipe-line amendment of the Hepburn Act so as to be applicable to pipe lines, and the Supreme Court in the Delaware & Hudson case has intimated that the effect of the New Haven doctrine was to hold that the Interstate Commerce Act meant the same thing without the commodities clause as with it.

(e) This Dual and Inconsistent Position of Public Carrier and Private Shipper Leads Inevitably (1) to the Imposition of Excessive Rates and (2) These Excessive Rates are Used as a Weapon of Monopoly

This charge is not a theoretical one, but is substantiated by the practices of the anthracite-coal railroads and the major oil companies' controlled pipe lines. The best evidence that pipe-line rates are excessive is the well-recognized fact in the oil industry that over the years deficits in the divisions of production, refining, or marketing have been liquidated by profits in the pipe-line division. From 1927 to 1934 the pipe-line division of the major oil companies, having only 7.1 percent of the industry's investment, produced 86 percent of the industry's total net profit.[51]

The long struggle between the independent shippers and the anthracite railroads over freight rates was discussed at length by Mr. Justice Lurton in the first Reading case. The effect of excessive rates in building up of the railroad coal companies was stated as follows.[52]

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[36] *National Cotton Oil Co.* v. *Texas*, 197 U. S. 115, 129, 25 Sup. Ct. 379 (1904).

[37] *United States* v. *Trans-Missouri Freight Association*, 58 Fed. 58, 82 (C. C. A. 8th 1893).

[38] 221 U. S. 1, 61, 31 Sup. Ct. 502 (1911).

[39] 207 Fed. 187, 191 (N. D. N. Y. 1913).

[40] 156 U. S. 1, 16, 15 Sup. Ct. 249 (1895).

[41] *Standard Oil Co.* v. *United States*, 221 U. S. 1, 31 Sup. Ct. 402 (1911).

[42] This fact was brought to light in the hearings before the temporary national economic committee which report now appears only in mimeographed form.

[43] Kemnitzer, The Monopoly Problem in the Petroleum Industry of the United States (an address delivered Oct. 25, 1938, at the Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill., before the National Oil Marketers Association. The thesis is developed more in detail in his book, The Rebirth of Monopoly (1938)).

[44] Tarbell, The History of the Standard Oil Co. (1904), cc. 3, 5.

[45] These estimates have been prepared by the Department of Justice based largely on Interstate Commerce Commission reports.

[46] *United States* v. *Winslow*, 227 U. S. 202, 33 Sup. Ct. 253 (1913).

[47] *United States* v. *Joint Traffic Association*, 171 U. S. 505, 507, 19 Sup. Ct. 25 (1898).

[48] 221 U. S. 1, 75, 31 Sup. Ct. 502 (1911).

[49] *United States* v. *Reading Co.*, 226 U. S. 324, 340, 341, 33 Sup. Ct. 90 (1912).

[50] 238 U. S. 516, 525, 35 Sup. Ct. 873 (1915) (italics supplied); see also *D. L. & W. R. R.* v. *United States*, 231 U. S. 363, 370, 34 Sup. Ct. 65 (1913).

[51] Ryan, Can Marketing Produce More Profits? World Petroleum (Dec. 1937) 26. Investment in production was 42.7 percent; in marketing 22.6 percent, and in refining 27.6 percent. These figures are based on the cost studies of the United States Tariff Commission and of the Petroleum Administrative Board.

[52] *United States* v. *Reading Co.* 226 U. S. 324, 359, 33 Sup. Ct. 90 (1912).

"* * * obviously, buyer and seller were not upon an equal plane. The former had control of freight rates and car service. The seller must pay the rate exacted and accept the car service supplied him by the buyer, or appeal to the remedies afforded by the law. If the rate of freight to tidewater was onerous and was imposed upon the coal produced by the defendants and their allied coal producers without discrimination against the coal of the independent shipper, it would nevertheless bear upon the latter oppressively, since the rate paid would find its way into the pocket of the defendants. Therefore it was that the higher the freight rate, the greater the inducement to sell to the carrier companies."

In the Anthracite Rate case the Interstate Commerce Commission held: [53]

"[The rates] were established at an excessive basis, and clearly it was so done for the purpose of eliminating the independent output as a factor of competition in the markets with the railroad interest's output. * * * Reviewing this whole series of transactions they seem merely parts of a plan to publish in tariff form rates which were excessive and which presented a barrier against shipping by the small shipper, the independent operator, and then, by methods which in effect were secret, to reduce those published rates on the shipments of the coal company that had railroad affiliations."

In this connection, the declaration of Mr. Justice Holmes, speaking for the Court in *Swift & Co.* v. *United States*, should not be forgotten: "It is obvious that no more powerful instrument of monopoly could be used than an advantage in the cost of transportation." [54]

(f) The Contentions, if Established, That the Oil Companies, Through Their Control of the Pipe Lines (1) Have Had No Evil Intent and (2) Have Not Thereby Raised the Price of the Product Are Not Valid To Escape the Prohibitions of the Statute

The law is firmly settled that while a bad intent may render acts otherwise innocent illegal, a good intent can never afford legal justification for doing that which is prohibited. "If the necessary result is materially to restrain trade between the States, the intent with which the thing was done is of no consequence." [55] "It is too late in the day to assert against statutes which forbid combinations of competing companies that a particular combination was induced by good intentions and has had some good effect." [56]

Specifically, the failure to raise prices, or even a lowering of prices, cannot justify a restraint or monopolization of trade. On this point the Court in *United States* v. *Trans-Missouri Freight Association* [57] said: "In this light it is not material that the price of an article may be lowered. It is in the power of the combination to raise it * * *."

(4) Under the assumed state of facts, the most apposite decision that would tend to show that the major oil companies through their control of the pipe lines are violating sections 2 and 4 of the Sherman Act is *United States* v. *Lehigh Valley R. R.*[58] In this case the Lehigh Valley Railroad Co., in combination with the Lehigh Valley Coal Co., a subsidiary created and operated as a mere agency or instrumentality of the railroad company, deliberately entered upon the policy of purchasing and leasing the anthracite-coal lands in Pennsylvania tributary to its extensive railroad system, and of buying up the stocks of corporations owning such lands, for the purpose of controlling the mining, transportation, and sale of the coal to be obtained therefrom and of preventing and suppressing competition, especially in the transportation and sale of such coal in interstate commerce. Mr. Justice Clarke said, at page 269:

"* * * this policy was continued after the passage of the Antitrust Act with increasing energy and tenacity of purpose, with the result that a practical monopoly was attained of the transportation and sale of anthracite coal derived from such lands.

"The area of the anthracite territory is so restricted that to thus obtain control of the supply of such coal on a great system of railway (the amount transported exceeded one-fifth of the entire production of the country for the year before this suit was commenced) by a combination of corporations, such as we have here, and by such methods as we have seen were employed, effected a restraint of trade or commerce among the several States and constituted an attempt to monopolize and an actual monopolization of a part of such trade or commerce in anthracite coal, clearly within the meaning of the first and second sections of the Antitrust Act as they have frequently been interpreted by this Court."

(5) The scope of injunctive relief under section 4 of the Sherman Act.

(a) The Decree Should Be Broad Enough To Make It Effective

In *Northern Securities Co.* v. *United States*,[59] Mr. Justice Harlan said:

"All will agree that if the Antitrust Act be constitutional, and if the combination in question be in violation of its provisions, the courts may enforce the provisions of the statute by such orders and decrees as are necessary or appropriate to that end and as may be consistent with the fundamental rules of legal procedure."

Mr. Justice Holmes, in *Swift & Co.* v. *United States*,[60] warned that "we * * * are bound by the first principles of justice not to sanction a decree so vague as to put the whole conduct of the defendant's business at the peril of a summons for contempt. We cannot issue a general injunction against all possible breaches of the law." But on the other hand he pointed out that "a bill in equity is not to be read and construed as an indictment would have been read and construed a hundred years ago, but it is to be taken to mean what it fairly conveys to a dispassionate reader by a fairly exact use of English speech. Thus read this bill seems to us intended to allege successive elements of a single connected scheme. * * * The defendants cannot be ordered to compete, but they properly can be forbidden to give directions or to make agreements not to compete."

(b) The Distinction Between the Scope of Injunctive Relief (1) in the Case of a Simple Violation of the Statute and (2) the Creation of a Condition Which Is Not Only a Continued Attempt To Monopolize, but Also a Monopolization in Violation of the Statute

Ordinarily, where it is found that acts have been done in violation of the statute, an injunction restraining such acts in the future will be an adequate means of relief. However, this may not afford adequate relief. Thus, in *Standard Oil Co.* v. *United States*,[61] the Supreme Court said:

"But in a case like this, where the condition which has been brought about in violation of the statute, in and of itself, is not only a continued attempt to monopolize, but also a monopolization the duty to enforce the statute requires the application of broader and more controlling remedies. As penalties which are not authorized by law may not be inflicted by judicial authority, it follows that to meet the situation with which we are confronted the application of remedies twofold in character becomes essential: First, to forbid the doing in the future of acts like those which we have found to have been done in the past which would be violative of the statute; second, the exertion of such measure of relief as will effectually dissolve the combination found to exist in violation of the statute, and thus neutralize the extension and continually operating force which the possession of the power unlawfully obtained has brought and will continue to bring about."

(c) Where There Is a Continuing Monopolization in Violation of the Statute, Dissolution of the Illegal Combination Is a Proper Injunctive Remedy

In the case of *Northern Securities Co.* v. *United States*,[62] Mr. Justice Harlan, speaking for the Court, said: "This, it must be remembered, is a suit in equity, instituted by authority of Congress 'to prevent and restrain violations of the act' (sec. 4); and the Court, in virtue of a well-settled rule governing proceedings in equity, may mold its decree so as to accomplish practical results, such results as law and justice demand." It will be noted that in the Northern Securities case the Court did not stop with enjoining the securities company from voting the shares of one of the two railroads but enjoined it from voting the shares of both, thereby completely dissolving the combination.

In *United States* v. *E. I. du Pont de Nemours Co.*, Judge Lanning, after referring to the remedies adopted in the Standard Oil case, said, "Both of these remedies are as clearly demanded in the present case as they were in the Standard Oil case. The existing combination in the explosives trade is one in restraint of interstate commerce. * * * It has also attempted to monopolize, and has monopolized, and is now in the possession of a monopoly of a large part of the explosives trade in the United States. Our decree must therefore be one which will forbid future acts violative of the law and compel a dissolution of the combination existing in violation of the law." [63]

In *United States* v. *American Tobacco Co.*,[64] the nature of the relief to be granted was again given consideration, and it was there concluded that the only effectual remedy was to dissolve the combination and the companies comprising it, and for that purpose the cause was remanded to the district court to hear the parties and determine a method of dissolution and of recreating from the elements composing it "a new condition which shall be honestly in harmony with and not repugnant to the law."

The most succinct statement of the dissolution doctrine, which if applied to the oil companies would mean a divorcement of the production and transportation activities of that industry, is found in the case of *United States* v. *United States Steel Corporation:* [65]

"It scarcely need be again said by us that where the evil effects of past undue restraint or monopoly continue to be effective and harmful when the proceeding is begun—that is, where 'the inherent nature of the contemplated acts' is such as to bring about their continuance and repetition, or where, to use the expressive language of the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil case, a 'perennial violation' of the act exists—the jurisdiction to restrain present and prevent future violations vests under this section, and

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[53] 35 I. C. C. 220, 232, 242 (1915).
[54] 196 U. S. 375, 402, 25 Sup. Ct. 276 (1905).
[55] *United States* v. *Reading Co.* 226 U. S. 324, 370, 33 Sup. Ct. 90 (1912).
[56] *International Harvester Co.* v. *Missouri* 234 U. S. 199, 209, 34 Sup. Ct. 859 (1914).
[57] 166 U. S. 290, 324, 17 Sup. Ct. 540 (1897); see also *United States* v. *Joint Traffic Association*, 171 U. S. 505, 19 Sup. Ct. 25 (1898).
[58] 254 U. S. 255, 41 Sup. Ct. 104 (1920).
[59] 193 U. S. 197, 344, 24 Sup. Ct. 436 (1903).
[60] 196 U. S. 375, 396, 395, 400, 25 Sup. Ct. 276 (1905).
[61] 221 U. S. 1, 77, 78, 31 Sup. Ct. 502 (1911).
[62] 193 U. S. 197, 360, 24 Sup. Ct. 436 (1904).
[63] 188 Fed. 127, 154 (C. C. Del. 1911).
[64] 221 U. S. 106, 31 Sup. Ct. 632 (1911).
[65] 223 Fed. 55, 59 (D. N. J. 1915), aff'd, 251 U. S. 417, 40 Sup. Ct. 293 (1920).

if, to prevent continuance of such continuing wrongs a dissolution of the unlawful combination is necessary to make the relief effective, the original combination will be dissolved."

II. Divorcement by legislation

Judge Learned Hand has pointed out that legislation is to be preferred to litigation (under existing statutes) as an instrumentality for divorcement for the reason that the former "will obviate the difficulty of detecting actual offenders (who are departing from the published rates in cases where the facts are peculiarly within the carrier's knowledge and the differential between cost and sales price, which would cover transportation cost, is a mere matter of bookkeeping) by prohibiting a kind of business in which offenses are most likely to arise." [66] However, if an effective legislative divorcement of the production and the transportation aspects of the oil industry is to be achieved, it is our thesis that that consummation cannot be reached by what might appear to be the obvious method of amending the commodities clause of the Hepburn Act and inserting therein the words "pipeline carriers." In a series of veering interpretations [67] of the commodities clause (which is limited to railroads), the Supreme Court of the United States has whittled away its efficacy as an instrumentality of divorcement. In the latest case in the series,[68] Mr. Justice Stone, in a powerful dissent concurred in by Mr. Justice Brandeis and Mr. Justice Cardozo, said:

"If the commodities clause permits control such as is exhibited here, one is at a loss to say what scope remains for the operation of the statute. Whatever views may be entertained of the soundness and wisdom of the decision in *United States* v. *Delaware & Hudson Co.* (which was the first case construing the clause) it neither requires nor excuses our reduction of the commodities clause to a cipher in the calculations of those who control the railroads of the country."

Based on a review of the commodities-clause cases, the legal staff of the Interstate Commerce Commission has reached the conclusion that the commodities clause "falls far short of really divorcing transportation from production," in the following respects: [69]

(a) "The commodities clause does not necesarily prevent a railroad company from holding some or even all of the stock of a manufacturing, mining, or producing company.

(b) "The commodities clause does not necessarily prevent a railroad company from transporting articles or commodities manufactured, mined, or produced by a company some or all of the stock of which is owned by the railroad company.

(c) "The commodities clause does not necessarily prevent a railroad company from owning and operating coal mines or other manufacturing, mining, or producing companies.

(d) "The commodities clause does not prevent a holding company from owning some or all of the stock of a railroad company and also some or all of the stock of a producing company which ships over the subsidiary railroad company, so long as the holding company refrains from going too far in the exercise of its control over the railroad company."

The vice of the commodities clause lies not in any lack of constitutional power but in its particular phraseology.[70] Starting in 1909, at least 10 annual reports of the Attorney General of the United States [71] have criticized in no uncertain terms the shortcomings and the "illusory prohibitions" of the commodities clause. However, the late Senator Borah, until the last Congress, was a convert to the belief that effective divorcement of the transportation and production aspects of the petroleum industry could be obtained by merely amending the commodities clause and inserting therein the words "pipe line carriers," and he introduced several bills [72] to that effect. The author of this article, acting as legal adviser to the special subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in conjunction with Mr. Paul E. Hadlick, secretary and counsel of the National Oil Marketers Association, caused Senator Borah to abandon the attempt to amend the commodities clause, with the result that the Borah-Gillette bill, introduced in the Senate of the United States on April 17, 1939,[73] has "teeth" in it and is substantially identical with the long-forgotten Adamson bill,[74] introduced into the House of Representatives in 1917.

It is believed that the Borah-Gillette bill will avoid the loopholes that have developed in the interpretation of the commodities clause of the Hepburn Act and will, if enacted, bring about a more effective divorcement in the oil industry than was ever accomplished by the former act in the railroad field. The Borah-Gillette bill covers four factual situations: It makes it unlawful for an interstate pipe line common carrier to transport any petroleum or the products thereof (a) produced, purchased, manufactured, or refined; or (b) the control of which, or any interest in which, direct or indirect, shall have been thereafter acquired in any manner for the purpose of dealing therein; or (c) as to which there is at the time of transportation any contract, option, or understanding for the subsequent acquisition of control thereof or of any interest therein, direct or indirect; or (d) from lands which at the time of production were owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, wholly or in part; and all of these four factual situations are subject to the following four controls: (a) By such common carrier; (b) by any person, firm, or corporation subject to its control; (c) by any person, firm, or corporation to whose control it is subject through stock ownership or otherwise; and (d) by any corporation or association which has the same controlling shareholders or members or that otherwise is subject to the same control. A further safeguard is found in the definition of the term "control" which means "actual or legal power or influence over another person, whether direct or indirect, arising through direct or indirect ownership of capital stock, interlocking directorates or officers, contractual relations, agency agreements, or leasing arrangements."

(1) The Borah-Gillette Bill Will Plug the Loopholes in the Commodies Clause Exposed by the Case of *United States* v. *Delaware & Hudson Co.*[75]

The Attorney General of the United States in his report for 1909 [76] pointed out the loopholes in the Delaware & Hudson case in the following words:

"The Court, while upholding the right of Congress in the exercise of its constitutional power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, to absolutely prohibit a railroad company engaged in interstate commerce from carrying in competition with other shippers commodities in which it is personally interested at the time of such transportation, nevertheless decided that this prohibition did not apply to the transportation of commodities owned by another corporation, where the only interest which the carrier had therein at the time of such transportation arises out of its ownership of capital stock in the corporation owning the commodities so transported. The decision does not necessarily determine the application of the statute to cases where the commodities transported are owned by a corporation, all, or substantially all, of whose stock is owned by the carrier corporation at the time of transportation, and especially where the carrier shall have transferred all of its interest in such commodities to a corporation formed for the express purpose of evading the prohibition of the commodities clause, and all or substantially all of the stock in which is owned by the carrier."

(2) The Borah-Gillette Bill Will Plug the Loopholes in the Commodities Clause Exposed by the Case of *United States* v. *Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R.*[77]

The Attorney General of the United States, in his report for 1917, said: [78]

"I stated in a previous report that even should the Government be successful in this case (the Lackawanna case) in the Supreme Court, the commodities clause would still fall short of accomplishing its purpose—the divorce of transportation from production. This is not less evident now that the case has, in fact, been determined in favor of the Government, since railroads are still able to claim that the clause does not prohibit them from engaging in production along their lines, provided only that they sell the articles produced before transporting them.

"I therefore urge an amendment which will prohibit a railroad from transporting in interstate commerce articles which it manufactured or produced, or which were manufactured or produced by any corporation controlled by it or affiliated with it by having the same controlling stockholders, irrespective of whether such railroad or such controlled or affiliated corporation has an interest in the articles at the time of transportation. It is also necessary, if transportation and production are to be completely divorced, that Congress prohibit any railroad owned or controlled by a producing or trading corporation, and not operated merely as a plant facility, from transporting in interstate commerce articles produced or owned by such corporation.

"A bill to carry out this recommendation was introduced in the Sixty-third Congress, third session, by the Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate Commerce (H. R. 20470)." [79]

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[66] Hand, The Commodities Clause and the Fifth Amendment (1909) 22 Harv. L. Rev. 250, 254.

[67] *United States* v. *Delaware & Hudson Co.* (213 U. S. 366, 29 Sup. Ct. 527 (1908); *United States* v. *Lehigh Valley R. R.* (220 U. S. 257, 31 Sup. Ct. 387 (1911); *United States* v. *Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R.*, 238 U. S. 516, 35 Sup. Ct. 873 (1914); *United States* v. *Reading Co.*, 253 U. S. 26, 40 Sup. Ct. 425 (1919); *United States* v. *Elgin, Joliet & E. Ry.*, 298 U. S. 492, 56 Sup. Ct. 841 (1935).

[68] *United States* v. *Elgin, Joliet & E. Ry.*, 298 U. S. 492, 512, 56 Sup. Ct. 841 (1935), criticized (1937) 22 Cornell L. Q. 427.

[69] Confidential memorandum of J. Stanley Payne, Assistant Chief Counsel, Interstate Commerce Commission, addressed to Chief Counsel, March 12, 1937, p. 19.

[70] The following authorities discuss the deficiencies in the phraseology of the commodities clause and point out its weakness: Ripley, Railroads; Finance and Organization (1923) 453; Kibler, The Commodities Clause (1916) 137; Hand, The Commodities Clause and the Fifth Amendment (1909) 22 Harv. L. Rev. 250, 264; The Commodities Clause Decision (1909) 9 Col. L. Rev. 522, 533.

[71] Reps. Att'y Gen. (1909) 4; (1910) 7; (1911) 14, 15; (1912) 23–24; (1913) 25–26; (1914) 5–6; (1915) 7–8; (1916) 7–8; (1917) 7–8; (1927) 26, 27.

[72] S. 573, 74th Cong., 1st sess., January 10, 1935; S. 1398, 75th Cong., 1st sess., February 8, 1937.

[73] S. 2181, 76th Cong., 1st sess. (1939).

[74] H. R. 20470, 63d Cong., 3d sess. (1917). This bill applied to railroads only.

[75] 213 U. S. 366, 29 Sup. Ct. 527 (1908).

[76] Pp. 3, 4.

[77] 238 U. S. 516, 35 Sup. Ct. 873 (1915).

[78] P. 8.

[79] The Borah-Gillette pipe-line bill is identical with H. R. 20470, *supra*, note 74, which applied to railroads only.

(3) The Borah-Gillette Bill Will Plug the Loopholes in the Commodities Clause Exposed by the Case of *United States* v. *Elgin, Joliet & E. Ry.*[80]

In this case although the Court found that the United States Steel Corporation owned all the shares of the Elgin, Joliet & Eastern Railway and all the shares of the Illinois Steel Co. and of the other subsidiary companies which ship over the Elgin, Joliet & Eastern, and thus had the power to control both the railroad and the shipper corporations, it nevertheless held that the instances of the exercise of the control were not adequate to support the claim that the Elgin, Joliet & Eastern must be regarded as the alter ego of its sole stockholder, and that there was no violation of the commodities clause. The Court distinguished the Reading case upon which the Government relied, and reverted to its earlier decisions in the Delaware & Hudson and Lackawanna cases to the effect that "the mere power of control, the possibility of initiating unlawful conditions, is not enough."

It would appear that Attorney General Sargent in his report for 1927 [81] had in mind an Elgin type of case when he said:

"In recent years industrial and manufacturing corporations have acquired ownership or control of numerous railroads, comparatively small in size, but important, nevertheless, because of their strategic locations and the large volume of interstate traffic hauled by them. While operating as and enjoying all the privileges and powers of common carriers, generally speaking these roads are but mere departments of the industrial corporations which own or control them and whose traffic is transported by them. The statute does not forbid the ownership of the roads by corporations, yet the evils of discrimination and preference resulting from such ownership are equally detrimental as when the carrier owns the manufacturing or producing company.

"Amendment of the commodity clause was recommended in the annual reports for the years 1910 to 1917, and a bill for this purpose was introduced before the Sixty-third Congress, third session (H. R. 20470)." [82]

It is submitted that if the Borah-Gillette bill becomes a law, a repetition of the Delaware & Hudson, the Lackawanna, and the Elgin doctrines will not occur.

The Gravy Boat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED BRADLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, when we had under consideration the Hatch bill, which the newspapers promptly dubbed "the Hatch clean-politics bill," I recall that the very learned and splendid chairman of our Judiciary Committee, the Honorable HATTON W. SUMNERS, of Texas, remarked that the trouble with that bill, no matter how noble its intentions, was that its provisions had to be enforced by the party in power in the Government. That, therefore, if not enforced it might help to continue in power any such political party which deliberately permitted violations of this act to go unpunished.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we find the Democratic candidate for the Vice Presidency, the former Secretary of Agriculture, making many wild charges in his campaign trip over the Nation, and at the same time we find many evidences of transgression of the spirit and letter of the Hatch Act on the part of Federal bureaucrats, notably those in the Department of Agriculture.

Under leave to extend my remarks and to include therein a letter from a constituent, I quote at this time a letter which I recently received concerning the political activities of Federal bureaucrats reaching down into county agriculture committees.

ONAWAY, MICH., *September 3, 1940.*

Hon. FRED BRADLEY,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRED: I suppose maybe I should call you Congressman BRADLEY, but I've known you, and your father before you, for too many years to be that formal. Now, I don't want to appear critical, but there are some questions I'd like answered, and you are the only one I know to go to with them. I've asked several people here at home, and they don't know the answers, but they'd like to. I thought you folks in Congress passed the Hatch Act to protect the people from being exploited politically with their own money. Right now it doesn't appear to me that you accomplished very much, or else some of the politicians are pretty slick in avoiding the law.

For instance, about 2 weeks ago all the county and community committeemen that we farmers elected to run this farm program for us here in this county were ordered to attend a meeting at the county seat. I hear it was the same in other counties. Now, I suppose you know that these committeemen got paid for their time, and their pay, of course, comes out of the money that Congress appropriated for payments to the farmers that take part in the farm program. One of our committeemen invited me to go along with him, so I attended this meeting, too. I'm glad I did, because I learned quite a lot, or at least I think I did.

The meeting was ordered held by a field man of the State committee. He started the meeting by assuring everyone that there was no politics connected with the farm program. He then spent nearly 2 hours pointing out to these committeemen what a wonderful job the present administration had done and was doing in helping us farmers. Loans, payments, gifts, and grants! He made it sound pretty promising until he got around to intimating that these committeemen, and I suppose he intended they should tell it to the rest of us, had better not take any chances on missing the gravy boat, when it comes time to vote next fall.

I remembered reading that the farmers' share of the national income was the lowest last year that it had ever been, and I got to wondering if maybe this meeting was political after all. Do you suppose it was?

Then I got to thinking about how all of these 30 or 40 committeemen would get paid for listening to what I thought was a political speech, made by a man on Government pay. Don't that money have to come out of taxpayers' pockets, or is it taken out of the money that is supposed to be paid to us farmers for taking part in this farm program?

Frankly Fred, I can't afford to have too much taken out of my check. As I understand it, I'm to get the payment for not raising so many potatoes and other crops. Now that I've cut my acreage, I don't want the payment cut, too, because I've got a family to support and taxes to pay, too.

I don't believe that anyone objects to the idea of these committeemen getting paid for their time. After all, someone has to do the work. Only it didn't seem to me that this meeting could be called work, or that it had much to do with the farm program, when this field man intimated that America was in grave danger of invasion by a foreign country unless the present administration was kept in office.

Well, maybe I shouldn't have kicked, but before it was over this field man ordered all the committeemen from this county to meet with all the other committeemen from northern Michigan on September 3, at Gaylord, where they were to have the opportunity of listening to a Dr. Montgomery. The field man described Dr. Montgomery as being a tobacco-chewing, whisky-drinking, poker player from Texas.

I don't mean to be critical of the committeemen that we elected to run this farm program for us here in this county. They've done a pretty good job as far as I can see, and they can't be out working for the rest of us farmers without being paid for their time. And if they are ordered to go to a meeting they are supposed to go. For all they know, the meeting might have something to do with the farm program. After the meeting at the county seat, I asked a lot of the committeemen that I knew personally, what they thought of the meeting. They all said they thought it was political.

And their pay isn't too large, either. They get $4.50 a day, and pay their own mileage and expense. Even at that, I hear that the State committee has been kicking about these committeemen costing too much. Probably these local committeemen don't feel so very good about being criticized for getting in too much time at $4.50 a day, and still having to go to political meetings and be paid for it.

I wonder how they would feel if they knew that the field man or representative of the State committee that comes around every once in a while gets paid $10 a day, plus $4 a day for expenses, plus 4½ cents a mile for his car. I got to wondering about his pay, so I asked a man from Lansing that I know, and that is what he told me. Of course, it may not be right.

Say, for Pete's sake! Don't that come out of my payments too, that I'm supposed to get for not doing so much farming? And who is paying this poker player from Texas to come to northern Michigan? Is it the taxpayer, or is it us farmers? Or is it both? And what does this field man do to earn his $10 a day, plus $4 a day plus 4½ cents a mile? That certainly sounds to me like the gravy boat going by.

With kindest wishes, I am,

Yours very truly,

E. B. SMITH.

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[80] 298 U. S. 492, 56 Sup. Ct. 841 (1935).

[81] Pp. 26, 27.

[82] See supra, note 79.

Abe Lincoln and the Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK O. HORTON

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, this is how a great man warned against the coming of the "indispensable man." This is how one of our great Presidents would have felt about the third term.

Abraham Lincoln, in a speech made in 1832, 108 years ago, said:

Ambitious men will spring up who will find no gratification in supporting and maintaining an edifice that has been erected by others. They will scorn to tread in the footsteps of any predecessor, however illustrious. * * * When such a man appears, it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to government and laws and generally intelligent, to successfully frustrate his designs.

The Congress Looks Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS OF HOMER D. ANGELL, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM OREGON, OVER MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM, NATIONAL HOOK-UP, OCTOBER 7, 1940

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address which I delivered last night over the radio:

THE CONGRESS LOOKS AHEAD

Through the courtesies of the Mutual Broadcasting System, I am glad to discuss tonight some of the problems which face the Congress and which lie ahead of us.

The Seventy-sixth Congress has been in session longer than any other Congress in recent years. This was caused by the world upheaval which has now spread over all of the Old World. Since early in June, when the President announced that the Congress should adjourn, many of us have felt that to do so would be a grave mistake. The Congress alone is charged with the duty of providing for our national defense and standing guard at the gates to see that no foreign war comes to our shores. It also is responsible as the representative of the people to keep this country out of foreign entanglements which may lead to war. With Congress in session America has the best assurance that these objectives will be accomplished.

Although our preparedness legislation, in the main, has now been passed by the Congress, wisdom still requires that the Congress remain in session. It would be a grievous mistake to adjourn at this time. There are 3 months left of the Seventy-sixth Congress, and much can happen in that time. The unsettled condition now existing in the Far East may directly concern us, and the Congress, if for no other reason, should stay on the job to make certain that we are not led into any commitments or complications that may lead us into the war.

For my own part, as a Member of the Congress, I maintain that we should bring our preparedness plans to completion at the very earliest date, so that this Nation may be impregnable against invasion or attack from any source. Let us make our defenses so strong no dictator will dare attack us. The Congress has done everything within its power without partisanship to accomplish these ends. We have appropriated and authorized over $15,000,000,000 for this purpose, and have provided for a two-ocean Navy and have enacted legislation to increase the personnel of our forces to 1,400,000 men through military conscription for training and service.

With these objectives accomplished, the Congress is still confronted with tasks of equal importance and more difficult in their solution. It is to these problems which face us as a Congress that I want to direct your attention. Black war clouds are hovering over the whole earth. Peaceful nations throughout the Old World have fallen before the march of the invader. The world is not only in turmoil with death and destruction on every hand, but millions of the people of many nations are in dire want and suffering. We, in the Congress, have done and are doing everything within our power to keep the ravages of this devastating war from our shores. We must not now desert our post of duty. We must continue to stand guard and keep Congress in session until the war ends.

We cannot, however, overlook the fact that some day, sooner or later, the clouds of war will disappear and peace will again come over the face of the earth and the nations now employed in war will recall their legions of death and again take up peaceful pursuits. When that day comes, America, too, must demobilize its forces, which we are now gathering in such feverish haste. The great munition factories and industries devoted to production of battleships, guns, planes, tanks, and munitions must then cease their activities and the millions of men and women engaged in carrying forward the preparedness program will again be turned back into peaceful pursuits. When that time arrives, we in America will be confronted with the greatest problem with which we have had to contend, namely, to transform our whole industrial machine from a war basis to a peacetime status.

The Congress has done all within its power to prepare our country to overcome any assault upon it from without, through military defenses. It is as equally important to prepare this country against the economic collapse from within. Our first line of defense must be a strong internal economy, with prosperous industrial and commercial enterprises, a sound fiscal policy, and an employed and happy citizenship.

We cannot escape the ominous facts that for some 10 years we have been unable to throw off the depression, that 10,000,000 of our workers have been unable to find employment, that over 20,000,000 are being still compelled to secure relief at the hands of our Government, that huge sums are still going from the Federal Treasury in an endeavor to afford temporary relief to these victims of the depression, that our Federal debt is now approaching $50,000,000,000 and with the added cost of the preparedness program bids fair to reach seventy-five billions.

Not only is one-third of our people underfed, underclothed, and ill-housed, but two-thirds of them are unable, with their present income—an average of $69 per month per family—to supply the necessities of life.

A study made of the income of the United States during 1935 and 1936 by the Government discloses these startling facts with reference to our national consuming power and the deplorable economic condition of our people: 4,000,000 families, or 14 percent, had an average income of $758; and 7,000,000 families, or 23 percent, had an income of only $826 a year, or $69 a month for an entire family.

These disclosures show not only a lack of purchasing power but underconsumption so critical as to threaten the health and welfare of a large portion of our population. The American family is still the keystone of American democracy. If the American way is to endure, we must preserve at all costs the economic and social security and independence of the American family. If it falls, the whole structure falls.

This study further shows that in the lowest income American families, 14 percent received only 6 percent of the food and 42 percent of the families received only 26 percent of the food. The low-income group spent approximately a dollar a week per person for food—about 5 cents a meal—whereas the families receiving $100 a month spent more than twice as much, or $2.18 per person a week for food. As a result of this survey it is found that if these American families getting less than $100 a month for an entire family had their income or purchasing power increased to $100 a month, the expenditures for food would be increased by $2,000,000,000, or an increase of 51 percent. This would not only provide markets for our farmers, but it would also protect the health and preserve the lives of this major portion of our American citizens and give them the opportunity and ambition to carry on with renewed faith in our democracy.

The tireless energies of the human mind have wrought unceasingly, by inventions, scientific discoveries, and new processes, to extend the scope of human activity and accomplishment in the field of technology. Through such processes has America developed the American productive system to its present marvelous perfection. In the United States today through the use of the physical sciences and mechanical arts, the major part of the goods and services consumed are provided by scientific processes and power machinery. Our workers are able to produce a much greater volume and variety of goods than heretofore to provide food, clothing, and shelter, as well as a higher standard of life to our people. Our productive capacity per man has multiplied manyfold. In supplanting handicrafts by scientific process and mechanical devices, a maladjustment has taken place in manpower or labor, resulting in unemployment and loss in purchasing power. The loss of purchasing power in the workers displaced has thrown the industrial machine out of balance. To restore this balance, purchasing power must be recovered. Fewer workers being required in productive enterprise to supply our wants, it follows a portion of the body of workers must be retired.

The United States census for 1890 shows that at that time 75 percent of all our people over 65 years of age were gainfully employed. At the present time 75 percent of them over 65 are not gainfully employed or self-supported. At the present time 75 percent over 65 are not only dependent upon others for support and are not employed but practically no persons of that age can secure a new job. This problem facing America and the Congress today, critical as it is, will be intensified manyfold when the World War

ends and the soldiers and munition workers return to peace pursuits, "when the tumult and the shouting dies and the captains and the kings depart," and the nations of the earth are bled white and are tired and weary of fighting, these citizen-soldiers and war workers of America will be knocking at our doors for a place in our economic life. What will America have to offer them? In that tragic hour, will we have the answer? Will we then be able to maintain the American way of life and American standards of living and put back into private enterprise these millions of American citizens? We must begin now to find a solution to this momentous problem we will have to face. This is a challenge to the Congress. It should permit no delay in seeking a solution. The country demands a united, independent Congress of free men, not defending, apologizing, nor seeking personal advantage, but with a full sense of personal responsibility, uniting in a common cause to put our economic structure on a firm foundation and to restore prosperity to America and put idle capital and idle men to work. It is on the doorstep of Congress. The Congress must look ahead and find a solution. Years of experimentation have come to naught. Years of deficit spending without avail. Our unemployed are still here. Five million youths are becoming skeptical and critical of our American way. Ten million unemployed are still living from hand to mouth.

America is hungry, and yet our warehouses are bulging with surplus food. The tragedy of it all is America is still the richest nation on earth. She is blessed by Providence with abundance. We have two-thirds of the world's monetary gold and are fast acquiring the balance. We have unmeasured natural resources. We have an abundance of factories, machines, tools, and raw products with 10,000,000 unemployed expert workers clamoring to work. We have 130,000,000 customers in our own broad land needing desperately the products of these idle factories, untilled fields, unworked mines, and decaying forests. We always have consumed approximately 96 percent of our production, only 4 percent going abroad. If America should recover tomorrow its full purchasing power every surplus commodity would disappear at once. We would have an undersupply. With all our blunders and failures now seeming about to engulf us, America has had a record of achievement for almost 150 years without parallel in the history of mankind. America is sound at heart. Our foundations are still secure. We can and must throw off this blight on our democracy. For one, I am not willing to admit defeat. We can and will, by the combined unselfish efforts of our people, put America back to work, provide useful occupations for our young Americans, and respectable employment for all our unemployed in private industry, and dignified and secure compensation for our senior citizens, who, through the years, have labored that we of today might have this America which we all cherish and defend.

The foremost problem which should confront the Congress at this time is to begin the ground work for a solution of this outstanding problem. If our democracy and free enterprise are to survive, it is apparent to all that this fundamental economic problem must be solved. We cannot wait until the World War ends and this country is ready to demobilize its forces and return to peaceful pursuits. We must prepare in advance to absorb the shock and strain that will take place at that time and be prepared to put back into private employment the millions of our people who will be turned footloose when the preparedness machinery stops and our soldiers lay down their guns and come tramping home.

I implore you, my fellow Americans who are listening to me tonight out over the broad lands of our beloved America, stretching from coast to coast, to uphold those of us in the Congress in our efforts to keep the Congress in session, to keep America free from the ravages of war, and to save our democracy.

Tribute to Senator Glass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSIAH W. BAILEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 9 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

TRIBUTE BY ROBERT M. HANES, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN BANKERS' ASSOCIATION

Mr. BAILEY. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a deserved tribute to the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], paid by Mr. Robert M. Hanes, president of the American Bankers' Association, in an address delivered before its recent convention.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In a most striking manner the proceedings of this convention will reveal that the city of Richmond, Va., has been the scene of momentous events in our annual conventions of the past. Yesterday we celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the American Institute of Banking. It took place at the Richmond convention of 1900.

In October 1914 the fortieth annual convention of the American Bankers' Association was held in Richmond. An outstanding feature of that convention was the address made by the then chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, the Honorable CARTER GLASS, of Virginia. During the year previous CARTER GLASS had written a bill, and succeeded in having it passed, establishing the Federal Reserve System. In that address he outlined the structure and operating methods of the Federal Reserve banks.

For over 50 years previous to 1912, students of banking had complained of our antiquated currency system with its inelasticity and immobile reserves. Because of this condition the growth of industry was being retarded by periodical money panics. While many recognized these shortcomings, no one seemed to possess at once the intelligence to outline a remedy and the power to bring about a change. The country had long looked for such a man. CARTER GLASS, of Virginia, was the answer.

For a number of years CARTER GLASS had been a member of the powerful Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives. During that time he had studied with great care the perplexing questions confronting our currency system. He considered these problems a challenge. You know that Senator GLASS is not afraid of any man or problem if he feels it is his duty to meet the challenge presented. So he set about to devise a plan which would remedy the shortcomings of our money and banking system.

A few days after the election of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States, CARTER GLASS wrote him and asked for a conference to discuss currency reforms. The newly elected President invited Mr. GLASS to meet with him on the afternoon of December 26, 1912. This eventful meeting took place a few miles from this spot, at Princeton, N. J. In Mr. Wilson's home that afternoon, during Christmas week, CARTER GLASS spent several hours outlining his ideas which would eventually be crystallized into the form of a bill providing for the Federal Reserve System.

There was remarkable agreement between these Virginians as to the general outline of the System, and the newly elected President charged CARTER GLASS to go ahead with his ideas. The task required intelligence of a rare sort, for it dealt with complex financial questions. It also demanded a comprehensive grasp of commerce and industry and their relationship to finance since they would be vitally affected by any such legislation. CARTER GLASS met all these tests. After an intense legislative struggle during the course of which he proved himself a master of financial problems, as well as of legislative strategy, the bill finally became a law, and the Federal Reserve System was established.

Through the years, many members of this association have come in contact with Senator GLASS. As an opponent we have found him fair and fearless; as a friend he has been helpful and stimulating. While the Federal Reserve System stands as a monument to his ability, it is by no means the sum total of his contributions to banking law. Time does not permit me to review his active legislative career which is well known to us all.

During the past decade, Senator GLASS has found it necessary, on occasion, in public interest to disagree with even some of his own party. His pronouncements concerning the structure of our representative form of government, the type of fiscal policies it should pursue, the traditions it should observe, the character of statesmanship it is entitled to require, have found ready and sympathetic response from the members of this association. We honor him today, and, in so doing, we honor ourselves. His contributions to our national welfare will live on forever in the history of our times.

Senator GLASS, as spokesman for the American Bankers Association, I am privileged to present to you this scroll. We have written on parchment sentiments which, in some measure, are an expression of our deep debt of gratitude to you. We cherish the hope that in years to come this will remind you of the fact that during these troublesome times your public service has been an inspiration to us all.

War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 9 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON, OF COLORADO

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD

an address which I broadcast on October 5, 1940, on the subject "Hate War, My Countrymen."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HATE WAR, MY COUNTRYMEN

It is humiliating to be caught waving an empty pistol again, and especially is it humiliating to have Japan of all peoples call our bluff. In the circumstances, it will require great strength of character to control our angry passions in this latest international crisis. We are proudly demanding in a boisterous tone the "status quo" in the Orient with no method other than war to enforce our demand. Yet in the same breath we piously repeat, "We hate war." Now, do we or do we not hate war? Do we hate war enough to keep out of the Far East, or will we hover around the strangely fascinating, enticing, enchanted Orient like the moth around the light until we are burned to a crisp in another world war? That question we must resolve and resolve quickly.

I have a very old friend who is putting a lot of money into the acquisition of a big red nose. As he gulps down a drink he shudders and quivers and twists his face in agony, and hisses, "I hate whisky," and then he orders another whisky. His statement that he hates whisky is not very convincing, and neither is the statement officially issued periodically and often, "I hate war."

Actions speak louder than words, my friends. It isn't enough to chant with the crowd "I hate war." War is not inevitable. War can be avoided. America can escape from the scourge of war if her statesmen will but measure up to their exalted positions. The defeatist, the weakling, the selfish, and the ambitious, would have us believe otherwise. They say, "War no longer can be accepted or rejected as a matter of free choice." Men who utter such a statement of despair have small faith in America's ability to mind American business.

If we are not free to accept or reject war, we are slaves to every war that breaks out any place upon this quarrelsome earth, and if that be true we are slaves indeed. If we are not free to accept or reject war, we should do something constructive right now to correct that deplorable situation. Obviously, that something is to build our defenses on the land, and on the sea, and in the air, so strong that the pestilence of war can be effectively isolated from these shores, and in addition determine once and for all that we will not be drawn into other people's wars. Down with the spirit of defeatism and despair, and up with the spirit of confidence backed by dry gunpowder and straight thinking. May America express her hatred of war, not with lip service and hypocritical words, but with tanks and guns and ships and planes. A good defense is not enough. It must be coupled with wise diplomacy to insure American peace.

I know of no real statesman in all the world who gives the first World War credit for solving the causes of that war. Winston Churchill made this striking observation concerning it:

"Victory was to be bought so dear as to be almost indistinguishable from defeat. It was not to give security even to the victors."

And Briand said:

"In modern war there is no victor. Defeat reaches out its heavy hand to the uttermost corners of the earth and lays its burdens upon victor and vanquished alike."

Benjamin Franklin is the author of this gem: "There never was a good war nor a bad peace."

The unneutral foreign policy of the United States in open violation of our own laws, has dragged us progressively step by step to the hellish war raging in Europe, now in its second year. The aggressors have been very careful not to molest us in any way. They are smart enough not to stir up a hornet's nest, and they have gone to great lengths to not offend us by word or deed. We understand well enough that they are not being discreet in their treatment of us because of any regard for our rights or because they love us. Exactly the opposite is true. They are merely being realistic and sensible. An invasion of America in the immediate future by any known aggressor or combination of aggressors would be the most insane, asinine, and reckless military venture imaginable. It would be almost as fantastic as an expedition from Mars. Hitler has proven that he is thoroughly bad, but he has not given any indication so far that he is reckless. Our house is not on fire, and it will not soon be on fire if we are wise enough to go about its protection in an effective and rational manner. Five years from now our situation may be changed, and especially will that be true if we fail to keep abreast of the times with our defenses. We do not need to proceed to strengthen our defenses in frenzied and hysterical haste, but neither do we have any time to lose. In our hearts we know that if we get into war now, we must go thousands of miles to fight. We also know that we are neither prepared nor equipped to fight such a war successfully. Nothing is quite so reckless in its terrible consequences to all that we hold worth while as to engage in a war likely to be unsuccessful. When we go to war there must be no failure. France, anticipating help from across the Atlantic, and from Russia, declared war on Germany when she herself was not prepared, and poor mistaken France is now no more. England declared war on Hitler and prepared afterward, and her great Empire is tottering and staggering from the impact. We must avoid such a debacle. We must profit from the unfortunate experience of others.

This is a golden time for America to return to old-fashioned slogans and principles. "Look before you leap," "count 10 before speaking an angry word," and "stop, look, listen" should be the watchwords of this Government. May we have the intelligence and the foresight to count the costs before we go to war—the cost in blood and treasure and ideals. We should know before we take up the sword that our participation is certain to change our form of government into a temporary dictatorship with every indication that it will remain a permanent dictatorship. No one has imagination enough to estimate the blood and sacrifices and burdensome taxes it will require to prosecute to a successful conclusion a long-drawn-out war. Our entrance into the war now raging in the eastern continents would leave its mark upon every child born and unborn in our land. Yes, indeed, we should count the costs. In the last World War we escaped relatively easy, for both sides were almost exhausted before we entered. In that war France, Belgium, Italy, Russia, and Japan were on our side. This time all of these countries will be either impotent or against us.

God never intended that we should police the world. Such a policy, unless accompanied by a program of exploitation to make it pay its own way, would break the back of every American taxpayer in a short time. We will not stoop to a policy of foreign exploitation, or of compulsory and imposed commerce, therefore we cannot undertake the job of policing the world. To police the world would require a navy 10 times the size of our Navy, and an army of millions, and we simply cannot finance such an undertaking.

Our sphere of influence is not world-wide. We are not an imperialistic nation, and we have no ambition to build a great empire of far-flung colonies. Our natural aspirations are not for protectorates and foreign dominions. Our policy has ever been to live and let live. We desire trade based upon free and voluntary cooperation and not a commerce that is imposed upon a subjected people. In that particular we are unlike every European power, including Great Britain.

Think seriously, therefore, my countrymen, before the die is cast. I plead with you to hate war enough to keep our soldiers out of Europe and Asia. We must hold ourselves in readiness to succor a bleeding world when hostilities finally cease. Starving and discouraged humanity will need our assistance and our cooperation in that dark hour. Civilization, my friends, depends upon how much we really hate war.

Political Campaign of 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 9 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. HENRY A. WALLACE AT MISSOULA, MONT.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address delivered by Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Democratic candidate for Vice President of the United States, in Missoula, Mont., on Thursday, October 3, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The political campaign of 1940 is a continuation of the struggle between Wall Street and Main Street that has been going on in our country for over 70 years.

During all this long struggle, we Americans have been trying to protect capitalist business, which includes agriculture, against the growing powers of high finance. There is a difference between business and high finance, which the finance men always want you to forget. Capitalist enterprise is a familiar process of producing and selling food, clothes, automobiles, and other useful goods and services. It is certainly the most efficient system for producing these things that the world has yet discovered. But high finance is not much concerned with producing real things. It is concerned rather with manipulating stocks, weaving an intricate web of controls—a web that the ordinary farmer and the ordinary working businessman cannot understand. When the web of high finance snares the little businessman in its meshes, he is helpless. He never knows what happened to him, except that he is out of business, or is reduced to a salaried job as the servant of some unseen distant power.

All of us know that this description is no flight of fancy. You have seen it happen, to yourself or to men you know. You have seen free enterprises licked up by the advancing octopus, just as Denmark and Holland were licked up by the dictator.

There is this important point about finance, as against capitalism, that we must not overlook. Capitalist business, as we all know it, is

anxious to produce and sell. It is dynamic, forward looking, competitive, with a vitality of its own. But often the profits of finance are most easily gained by controlling production, by forming monopolies to hold up prices, by creating artificial scarcity. Businessmen, engineers, production managers, caught in the control of financial masters are forbidden to follow their natural desires, forbidden to expand, forbidden to reduce prices.

The influence of the giant financial empires, such as the public-utility holding companies, does not stop with setting high prices to consumers, and drawing off the income from the legitimate operating companies at the bottom of the pyramid. Congressional investigations have uncovered a bad record of political manipulation. High finance men have sought to control State legislatures and State public-utility commissions. They have put pressure on Members of the Congress, both in Washington and at home. Any man who fights them takes his political life in his hands.

They have tried to bring pressure on newspapers and magazines, through buying or refusing to buy advertising space. This was the chief method used by Commonwealth & Southern to kill off the Chattanooga News for the crime of supporting the T. V. A. They have hired college professors to spread propaganda under the guise of disinterested scientific reporting. They have tried selling doctored schoolbooks to infect the minds of children. They have sold the stocks of their companies to thousands of small investors who did not know that the insiders were skimming the cream, and then called on these innocent investors to help protect the insiders. I have time to give you a few figures that show how severely the innocent investors suffered from the effect of holding-company finance. The total of holding-company securities in 1929 was over $19,000,000,000, resting on a foundation of operating companies worth less than 12 billions. By the end of February 1933 the total of holding-company securities had declined to a market value of less than 3 billions; a loss of 16 billions to investors. Commonwealth & Southern stock, sold to the public at $24 a share in 1929, dropped to $2 by 1932.

Whenever an attempt has been made to prevent a repetition of this unhappy experience, and to protect the stockholders of the legitimate operating companies, the holding-company men raise an outcry that Government is attacking business. In the confusion of the conflict many of the honest men in banking and finance, and even some real businessmen, are drawn in on the side of those whose actions are against the interest of business and of the public.

I think perhaps the best way to dispose of this propaganda of the holding company and other high-finance interests is to tell you a story that I got yesterday from a friend who has just been on a vacation in the mountains of this State. In a little village the general-store keeper told my friend that business had not been so active as it was 15 years ago, but that he had made a better profit.

"You see," he said, "in those days the gold mines around here were operated by promoters so as to sell stocks. I got a lot of trade but also a lot of bad debts. Since this S. E. C. was invented, the mines are operated by miners. It is slower, but they pay their bills. I make more myself this way."

The Republican standard bearer promises to bring prosperity and full employment, by more and bigger financial operations, not by the slow but sound growth of real business. I say that the lesson of the boom and crash of the twenties ought to be enough, that we don't want any more of that.

Instead of pouring money into Wall Street, the policy of the Roosevelt administration is to pour it into Main Street and onto the farms, where it will fertilize the soil from which all true prosperity grows. True finance and legitimate big business will prosper through such a program.

Republicans say that we are throwing the people's money away, pouring it down rat holes. This is strange talk from a party that made no effort to keep the people's money from being poured into Wall Street before 1929. As compared with Wall Street, is Montana a rat hole? Has the $585,000,000 that we have spent or loaned here been thrown away? You know that it has not.

You know the good that has been done by the $65,000,000 of Triple A money, the $25,000,000 of F. S. A. loans and grants, the $108,000,000 of Farm Credit money, the $16,000,000 of Commodity Credit loans, and the $37,000,000 of C. C. C. work in the forests.

You know, too, that the Nation-wide programs that have brought money into Montana, such as the housing program, were not money thrown away. New Deal housing is far less speculative, and far less liable to waves of bankruptcy and depression, than the real-estate booms that flourished for a day and then dried up, during the Republican normalcy era.

With a reasonable allowance for human mistakes, there has been more sound value protected or created by the Government money than was created by the speculative orgies of the great stock-market boom.

If the Republicans had been in power during the past 7 years, you would have had very little of this money. I know, because when my father was Secretary of Agriculture he found it impossible to persuade the Republicans to do the kind of thing we are doing now. There would have been a few emergency crop loans, loans on farm land at 5 or 6 percent interest, but nothing in the way of benefit payments, crop insurance, wheat loans, or the rest. My father tried to get crop insurance and the McNary-Haugen bill, but the Republicans would have none of it. They believed in the starve-them-out policy. Read Coolidge's vetoes of the McNary-Haugen bill. In fact, when my father sent Dr. Henry C. Taylor, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, to travel out here in 1923 and promote what later became the McNary-Haugen bill, President Coolidge ordered my father to call him back.

The eastern wing of the Republican Party, which is and for many years has been in control of the party, has no understanding of the problems of the West. If you talk to them privately, you will find that they think that people really oughtn't to live here. I didn't really understand this until I saw my father in action as Secretary of Agriculture and watched the failure to put across the McNary-Haugen bill at the Republican Kansas City Convention in 1928. Those experiences, combined with the false Republican tariff policy, made me a Democrat.

But I didn't really understand the width and depth of what the Democratic Party stands for until I met Franklin D. Roosevelt. Above everything else, the Democratic Party is the party of the farmers, the workers, and the small businessmen. It is the party of human beings. Roosevelt appreciates this fact more than any other man I ever met. Under his leadership during the past 7 years we have built the sound foundations of a great house—a house of security, of prosperity, and of peace.

Labor's Stake in This Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 9 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT BY HON. ALEXANDER WILEY, OF WISCONSIN

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by me on the subject Labor's Stake in This Campaign, which will be published by the American Forum.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Labor has the same stake in this campaign that every farmer, merchant, professional man, and industrialist has. What is that stake?

1. The maintenance of our freedoms—freedom of worship, freedom of speech and the press, freedom of contract, trial by jury, the right to own property, etc.

2. A healthy rehabilitation of our economic life, not caused by "shots in the arm" but by a leadership that will coordinate labor and capital and management.

3. A rehabilitation of our Government, resulting in effectuating those objectives set down in the Democratic platform of 1932 and 1936, balancing the Budget, reemploying the unemployed, protecting the farmers' markets, reducing the cost of Government, reducing bureaucracy, reinvigorating business and industry, reducing the national debt, etc.

4. Preparation, adequately and economically, of the national defense.

5. Preservation of the Constitution and the legislative, judicial, and executive departments of our Government, together with the unwritten constitution—"no entangling alliances and no third term."

THE REAL STAKE

How best can this stake be preserved, is the issue. Because during the Roosevelt administration there has been certain legislation placed on the statute books which marks an advance for labor, labor is told that to preserve these gains it should support the Roosevelt administration.

By looking at the real stake involved, it must be definitely clear to anyone that these values must be preserved in order to preserve the gains made by labor under all administrations. Labor's real stake in this campaign is the stake of all of us. It is the stake of a free America, a land of equal opportunity. It is the stake of individual liberty, of democracy, and perhaps of peace.

Tyranny is abroad in the world. It rests heavily upon the brow of many nations. Why? Because men extended their control and power over the nations. What will happen to labor's gains and to all the real American values if here freedom should be succeeded by tyranny, peace by war, the Presidency by dictatorship?

What would happen to labor's gains if the country's credit should collapse? What happened to the workers of Russia, Germany, Italy, in the aftermath of war and inflation? In the last 7½ years the administration has run this Government into the red an average of two and a half billion dollars a year, and this year there will be a deficit of between six and eight billion. These are facts which labor should consider.

TRY SOMEONE ELSE

It is apparent that the present "master builder" hasn't done the job that we hired him to do. Isn't it about time that we try someone else? Labor knows that in any business which continually loses money it won't be long before the business is out of business and there aren't any jobs. Even so with Government if it keeps on the way it is going. How long will labor or any other segment of our society be secure in its rights?

In Germany, Italy, and France there is no 40-hour week, not even an 8-hour day. There are no unions. I know that American workmen do not want to sit back and lose their gains. They do not want to lose their right to organize and bargain collectively. Yet in each of these countries these rights have disappeared. Why? A man who got more and more power took the rights away.

We know that if America is economically healthy and is at peace labor will not lose its rights. We know that if this country gets into a war labor risks the loss of its rights. Let us hope that neither war nor a further unhealthy economic condition will come to America. Let us vote in November to prevent their coming.

NEED SYMPATHETIC LEADERSHIP

I am an unqualified believer in unions and in collective bargaining. The best way to diffuse wealth is through the pay envelopes and the salary checks of workers. It is the judgment of many of the best thinkers in this country that with our tremendous resources and tremendous demands, that America would under a sympathetic leadership, a leadership that was sympathetic with men who can balance budgets, who can create national wealth, who can develop enterprise, America would have gone up "prosperity row" long ago and would have released from the ranks of unemployment her millions for jobs that would be waiting for them.

In America's tomorrow there is needed, in order that labor's stake may be protected, a man at the helm in this Government who understands the problems of labor and management, capital, and the farmer, because he has lived in the ranks of all of them.

I know that workers, at least those I have talked to, are opposed to creating idlers, leaners, and chiselers, and they realize that some day there is going to be a reckoning. These men know that farm values have been going down and farm incomes, except among the favored few, are below subsistence levels, and they feel there has to be a change.

They know that along with the farmers', labor's stake "will go out the window" entirely unless conditions are remedied. Therefore they are calling for a new leader, a practical man, a man who took a bankrupt holding company and made it a valuable concern, satisfying the stockholder, the bondholder, labor, and the consumer by cutting the rates in half, not by increasing the rates.

And they are saying that the country needs someone who can do that very thing for our country. All Mr. Willkie did was to coordinate labor and capital and the consuming public.

NOT THE EASY WAY

The easy way will not protect labor's stake. We have had the easy way now for 8 years. We know now that we "cannot dig ourselves out of a hole by digging deeper." Let us climb back to solid ground and not follow the will-o'-the-wisp ways of this administration—deficits, spending, idle money, idle factories, idle men, etc.

I would not strip labor of its gains under the cloak of national defense or through any other channel. My whole concern is with the thought that labor may lose its gains through involvement in war, or through a democracy that is weakened by unsound and unhealthy political and economic methods.

I believe sincerely that this is no ordinary campaign. Labor's stake is the stake of the Nation. America needs someone like Wendell Willkie to do the job.

Danger of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 9 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

LETTER BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter which has been sent by me to a number of persons dealing with the danger of American involvement in war.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEAR FRIEND: I regret to say that the United States of America is closer to war today than at any time since 1917.

There is an effort to play down the war danger at this time, but Washington is planning—planning to go to war, planning to take the boys, planning to have M day. I do not like the secrecy by which these moves are being made. I feel the fellows who have to die should know why. I feel the people of this country have a right to know.

This is no scare letter. My conscience will be clear when I tell you what I believe. I studied whether or not I should write this letter. I did not want to cause any alarm, but I just cannot sit back and say nothing when I see these things happen.

Right here I want to say that I hope I am wrong. I think our entrance in war would be a tragic mistake. It would not preserve the ideals for which we are supposed to fight. It would destroy them.

Let us have billions for national defense but not one cent for involvement in the wars of Europe or Asia.

Of course, I shall not be in the Senate long, but as long as I am a Member I shall do all in my power to keep my country at peace. I do not want the boys of this country to die for "dear old Dang Dong" in Indochina.

I am preparing certain speeches and certain data in one document as to my viewpoint on this matter, and I want you to have a copy if you want it. It will be a compilation of a number of speeches. If you want a copy, just write asking for it or just sign your name and address to this letter and you will be sent your copy.

America's hope lies in peace, not war.

Sincerely,

RUSH D. HOLT.

Support of President Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 9 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY DOROTHY THOMPSON, IN WASHINGTON POST, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1940

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article published in today's Washington Post, written by Miss Dorothy Thompson, on the Presidential election.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post of October 9, 1940]

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION—MISS THOMPSON COMES OUT FOR ROOSEVELT

(By Dorothy Thompson)

It is fair enough to ask a commentator and critic of public affairs what her stand is in the forthcoming election. I have been reluctant to state mine. I have wanted to be absolutely sure that it was mine—without any shadow of wavering. I think I reached a quick decision before this campaign began, back in May, in France, when I saw two-thirds of the French Republic folding over the other third and know that the great crisis was coming to a head. In that moment, I think, I knew that Roosevelt must stay in office and see this thing through. I indicated my feeling about this in a cable from Paris at that time.

But I waited, and watched the campaign, read the speeches and statements and watched the course of events and kept an open mind.

This column, in the 5 years in which it has appeared, has often criticized the Roosevelt administration, and sometimes very sharply. On the issue of the Supreme Court bill, the manner of the spending program, on the silver policy, and the production versus purchasing-power theory, and on some of the tax measures and the arguments and means used for enforcing them, this column has not seen eye to eye with the administration. If I look back over those criticisms, there is not a great deal which I would rescind today, although I would modify some of my criticism. I know better now, than when I started to write, the difficulties of achieving perfection, the innumerable unsatisfactory compromises that have to be accepted in the adjustments between interests and ideas in a democracy.

And I have said before, and I say again, the mistakes of the New Deal have been mistakes along a road in the right direction in pursuit of the right aim, the extension of the economic benefits of this society, with a large degree of economic equality, to a larger section of the whole people, under a large measure of popular con-

trol. The means used have sometimes been erroneous and the spirit too often punitive and bitter.

But here we are, and the year is 1940. We have behind us 8 terrible years of a crisis we have shared with all countries. Here we are, and our basic institutions are still intact, our people relatively prosperous, and most important of all our society relatively affectionate. No rift has made an unbridgeable schism between us. The working classes are not clamoring for Mr. Browder and the industrialists are not demanding a man on horseback. No country in the world is so well off.

The very election campaign—a campaign which this column dreaded, fearing that in the fight we would present a spectacle of disunity and division to hawkeyed aggression—has demonstrated a deep, internal, spiritual health. The readers of this column may expect no virulent attack on Mr. Willkie. It has no acrimonious words for him. I have known him for several years. He is a very good human being. The things he loves and believes in are the things most of us love and believe in. He has courage and idealism and sincerity and spiritual grace.

Whatever the outcome, he has rendered his country a service which it should remember forever with gratitude. With a stubbornness reminiscent of the President himself, he has refused to throw into this campaign the issue of peace or war, knowing what a distortion such a campaign would make of the real issues in foreign policy, knowing how dangerous such a campaign would be to our world position. If now and then he has slipped a little, and seemed to carry water on both shoulders, the pressure has been almost overwhelming from those who know what political capital could be made of such distortions, and who would rather win with Willkie than save America. Mr. Willkie, himself, does not want, I think, to win that much.

They do this country no service whatsoever who try to make this campaign a fight between Roosevelt and Hitler or between Willkie and Stalin. Only in our quadrennial orgies of overheated partisanship could such preposterous ideas be rife. The truth is that if Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie were to sit down in the same room together and tell each other what they really think, there would be more agreement between them than difference—and the difference would be due to temperament and a variety of experience rather than philosophy. The President is a man whose life has been spent in affairs of state; the contender is a man whose experience is varied, but has been chiefly in the field of business. Both love this country more dearly than they love their lives, and for both "country" and "democracy" are synonyms. God must love America that this is so.

Both suffer more from their friends than from their enemies. And both are contending for a position that no man would envy them. Our hard times are ahead of us.

But I shall support the President because I think he has assets on his side that nobody can match—assets for this Nation in this time.

The President knows the world. He knows it, in the most particular minutiae, better than any other living democritic head of a state or former head of a state. The range and precision of his knowledge—military, naval, political; his understanding of conflicting social forces; his grasp of programs—all these impress every person whose life has been spent in foreign affairs with whom he talks.

No new President could acquire this knowledge in weeks or in months or in 4 years. It antedates the Presidency. Mr. Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1917. His passionate interest in the Navy, and, through it, in world affairs, has never relaxed.

The President is a man of peace. No one who saw and talked with him, as I did, after the outbreak of the war, and in June, in the midst of the collapse of France, and saw how the war had stricken that naturally insouciant personality, marking his face with suffering, could ever dare to say that he is a warmonger.

The President tried to help world peace, tried to keep it by every possible means, and by the only possible means short of delivering all democracies over to the dictators—the use of the American weight for peace. It was not his fault that the customary and traditional behavior of America made it impossible for any administration to commit America for peace. Those who are loudest screaming "warmonger" are most responsible for that condition.

The President can be a very great man in times of emergency. He was a great man in 1933, and he has been a great man since the overwhelming crisis in June. He has met that crisis, that swift and dangerous disaster, with speed, timing, and immense courage.

He is the first President in our whole history to dare to call for conscription in the midst of an election campaign. In that he threw his political career into the scales. If some of Mr. Willkie's partisans—I will not call them his supporters—have their way, this issue of life-and-death importance to the Nation will yet be exploited against the President and against our common safety.

While others talked of unity, the President moved swiftly to make unity real. He reorganized the Cabinet. He changed the most controversial figures in it. Hopkins gave place to Mr. Jesse Jones, about whom, in the circles hostile to Roosevelt, there is no controversy whatsoever. Miss Perkins plays a minor role today. The most important labor figure is Sidney Hillman, the representative of labor on the Defense Board, and no one who knows the labor bureaucracy is likely to challenge the statement that he is the most enlightened and statesmanlike labor leader in the country.

The President gave two of the most critical Cabinet posts—War and Navy—to two great patriots and two Republicans, one of them the man who, as Vice Presidential candidate 4 years ago, made the sharpest attacks upon his policy. Not since that titanic conservative, Alexander Hamilton, handed the election of 1800 to his hated rival, the liberal Jefferson, to save and unite the Nation in a time of crisis, has a political leader of America made a more magnanimous and wholehearted gesture. Those who say he did it for political considerations have dry hearts and limited imaginations. The President knows that more than his career or his party is at stake.

He unified the defense with Canada, making a military and political move of first-class statesmanship and importance.

He made a deal on air bases which is worth billions for the defense of these shores. In this he was conspicuously aided by Mr. Willkie, for the destroyer deal would perhaps have been too daring without the support of the contender. For this Mr. Willkie shares the orchids.

The President gathered to the defense counsel representatives of the great steel industry and of the great motor industry—neither of them his partisans—and in dealing with the industrialists in matters of defense production he has been generous in the extreme. Short of handing them Capitol Hill, he has complied with every reasonable demand.

The present Cabinet could hardly be improved from the viewpoint of national unity.

And every move he has made has been in the weeks preceding an election. If he did not consult Congress on the destroyers, he is submitting everything he has done to the crucial test of the polls. This is not the way dictators act. They do not have elections.

He possesses the greatest single asset that any leader of a Democratic State can have in a crisis like this—the confidence of the rank and file of workers that he will not use conscription and defense to betray democracy itself and destroy their freedom.

Mr. Willkie might also in time to come have that confidence. I think he would. But he does not have it now. He would have to win it, and in winning it some of his supporters would be his greatest liability. Roosevelt has it, and time is of the essence.

Finally, the prestige of the President throughout the democratic world, what is left of it, free, and what still hopes and believes and struggles under tyranny, is immense. The blemishes on a personality are more visible the closer one is to it. From afar they diminish and the figure is seen in relation to larger issues, and in the frame of the world and his times. In that frame the figure of the President looms above that of any statesman, except perhaps Churchill, whose stature grows under fire.

Among our friends in Latin America, Roosevelt is the most popular President who ever sat in the White House.

These are assets that we have here and now; they are the result of accumulation; they are already on the ledger. Beside them, it seems to me, the question of a third term and a thousand other considerations become very minor indeed. Democracy is destroyed from within by the destruction of its content, not by its viability under new forms. The third term is a tradition. It is not a constitutional matter.

These are briefly the reasons why this column will support the President.

Congress Should Not Adjourn

REMARKS

OF

HON. MERLIN HULL

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, from press comment and common report it is assumed that this Congress has completed its work and that it would be ready for adjournment except for the emergency created by the war in Europe. As a matter of fact, Congress is not ready to adjourn and should not adjourn.

The people evidence their concern over the possibility of adjournment by pouring in upon their Representatives thousands of letters and telegrams, urging that in view of the foreign situation, and the dangers confronting us on account of it, Congress shall remain on the job, ready to undertake any new responsibilities which may come. In troubled times when the minds of the people are alarmed over what may happen and what may come, they voice a new confidence in

their National Legislature. They want us to remain here to help allay the fear and distrust of the future, which daily is augmented by news reports from abroad and those from our own country, some of which are reliable and authentic and some distorted by the propaganda sent out by well-organized publicity systems. The people who sent us here with a mission to perform simply ask that we shall not desert our posts in the face of a national danger of possibly greater moment than any other in our history as a nation. Not only should we remain, but we should do so with a definite purpose of accomplishment while we are here.

Many billions have been appropriated for national defense, but their expenditure has been only fairly begun. Contracts amounting to $7,000,000,000 have been awarded for preparedness. Except for fragmentary information about these contracts gleaned from press reports, nobody in Congress knows much about such contracts. Assuming that they have been awarded with great care and caution to insure against waste and extravagance and that national interest has been guarded against graft and profiteering, the history of waste in the World War should be warning that only by constant vigilance on the part of Congress as well as on that of administrative departments the moneys shall be well and efficiently spent. Congress appropriated the funds. It has performed only a part of its function if it fails to make doubly sure that the outlay of billions shall obtain the national protection which the people demand.

In the press of today is the story of the letting of contracts for construction of housing and facilities for the enlarged Army. A single division of the War Department is said to have an even billion dollars to spend for that purpose. It is alleged to be awarding "fat contracts" on a "fixed-fee" basis. That basis may be different than the "cost-plus" contracts upon which many millions were wasted in the World War, but it may not work out as planned. Thousands of contractors are awaiting action, hoping to obtain a slice of the billion-dollar awards. Assuming there is full integrity in this big job, may it not be possible that a supervision of war contracts in a most general way by Congress might be of great value?

Congress should neither adjourn nor recess until a joint committee has been selected which would have power to inquire into and investigate fully all expenditures for national defense, not with the idea of interfering with the progress of the work, but that Congress and the people may know what is going on. We should have such a committee busy while the money is being spent, and not wait until charges of scandals shall force such an inquiry after the expenditures have been made.

Then, too, it must be remembered that in the past 5 months Congress has given its attention to preparedness for defense while very important legislation of great importance to the people has remained locked up in committee. Farm legislation has suffered particularly on this account. National political conventions have again passed on the problem of restoring prosperity to agriculture. But in the Committees on Agriculture in both Senate and House are measures which should be considered before adjournment.

Farm problems are urgently in need of attention and solution. The matter of food for all the people, and raw materials for our industries, is a most important part of an efficient national defense. The importance of the program for preparedness has continued the present session for months beyond the usual time for adjournment. It may well remain in session to take up farm measures.

The dairy parity bill, sponsored by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Congressman GEHRMANN and myself, and which has the support of thousands of dairymen, remains blocked in the Committee on Agriculture, where it has been more than a year since the first hearings were held. The present farm program for cotton, corn, wheat, rice, and tobacco helps meet the problems of only a small part of agriculture. Two million dairymen whose products are greater in volume and value than the cotton, wheat, rice, and tobacco crops combined, are entitled to consideration, and without their being included no farm program can meet the agricultural situation. There still is time for Congress to act on the dairy parity bill if those in control will permit its consideration.

Farm mortgage indebtedness still awaits action to prevent foreclosures which will add greatly to the more than 100,000 farm families which have been evicted from their farms by foreclosure proceedings. The platform pledges of political parties pay no farm debts and provide no livelihood for farmers without farms. My own farm debt adjustment bill (H. R. 6871) still is in committee, along with the later measure, the Wheeler-Jones bill, upon which extensive hearings were held. Political pledges are useless without performance, and the time for performance as to farm indebtedness is right now.

The Lemke "cost of production" bill is still another farm measure upon which hearings have been held but upon which there has been no further committee action. The Schulte bill to raise the barriers against the sale of western milk in the city of Washington also awaits the action of the Committee on the District of Columbia. There are still other bills pending which embody the principles of glorious promises of previous political conventions. Congress may well remain on the job and take them up.

Both major political parties promise expansion and improvement of the social-security laws, and some outstanding political leaders are announcing their support of the Townsend bill. That bill also is locked up by committee procedure and control. More than 180 Members have signed the petition to discharge the Ways and Means Committee from that control of the measure, and at least that number are anxious to obtain action at this session. There is ample time to take up the Townsend bill. Why adjourn without doing so?

Regardless of what this Congress has done, how much it has accomplished for national defense and along other lines, there still is much more to do. We should not desert our responsibilities by adjourning with so many problems untouched and without attempts at their solution.

Roosevelt Party To Curtail Free Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

ARTICLE BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article carried by the Associated Press:

EFFORT MAY BE MADE TO RESTRICT PRESS, KROCK WARNS—WRITER SAYS NEW DEAL REGARDS NEWSPAPERS AS UNTRUTHFUL AND UNFAIR

(By the Associated Press)

SYRACUSE, N. Y., October 7.—Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of the New York Times, warned the New York State Society of Newspaper Editors today against efforts he said "may soon be made" to restrict the American press.

In an address before a luncheon meeting of the society he accused the national administration of "the viewpoint that the press is untruthful and unfair," and added:

"Like any statute, the Bill of Rights can be made to conform to a new prevailing philosophy and political purpose. From my personal observations and experiences during the last 7 years I do not trust the current philosophy when applied to the ancient freedom of the press."

Mr. Krock said that while "many American governments have gone to war with at least a section of the press," these were "amateurs by comparison."

"The New Deal," he asserted, "has perfected a formula.

"Its basis is the President's press conference. * * * The first layer imposed on the basis of the press conference consists of official favors surreptitiously extended to syndicated columnists who are 'sympathetic.' * * *

"The next layer in the structure is composed of the battalion of Government press agents. They work night and day, at public expense, to circulate every Federal act in favorable terms, to gloss over errors, and to conceal what for any reason is not desired to be known.

"The capstone was set in place by the President himself. It is composed of technical denials of substantially true news stories and steady implications that the press is unreliable and often venal."

Pointing out that the freedom of the press "in the American sense" is unknown elsewhere in the world today, Mr. Krock declared:

"It is well that the least indication of a wish on the part of the Government to censor news or news comment by any process—withholding, closing sources, private pressure, social beguilement—is taken by the press as a major challenge, and that the public, chief beneficiary of and colleague in this liberty, should be given warning."

Mr. Krock said the American newspaper and its makers, "in repayment for liberties without parallel, must seek and deserve the friendship of the public alone, to whom the Government belongs."

"By doing so," he continued, "the press may be able to preserve its freedom against efforts to restrict it which may soon be made, efforts more definite and more ingenious than have ever been made before."

Such an effort, he said, would not succeed "unless the checks and balances of the two-party system and the interplay of the three coordinate governing branches are swept away."

Hymn to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

SONG BY GILBERT H. WILSON

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, it is with sincere pride that I have asked permission to insert in the RECORD with my remarks a hymn to America, written by a citizen of the Twelfth District of California, Mr. Gilbert H. Wilson. On July 4, 1918, Mr. Wilson led the singing on the east plaza of the Capitol, which was participated in by President Wilson, his Cabinet, the Congress, and some 50,000 American citizens. His spirit is evident in the lines which follow:

HYMN TO AMERICA

America, America,
Land of the brave and free.
Our manhood strong and mighty,
Shall stand for liberty.
With faith and true devotion
To thee our flag's unfurled.
March onward and forever
'Till truth shall rule the world.

America, America,
Thy martyr's sun shall rise
To shine upon all nations,
Where prostrate freedom lies.
O may our hearts united
Be ever true to thee
For America our homeland
Our praise shall ever be.

America, America,
God give us joy to serve,
To follow where Thou leadest
Our Nation to preserve.
Far flung the voice of freedom
Shall ring from sea to sea,
'Till right shall rule all people
And God shall make men free.

Long live America,
Your land and mine.
Long live America,
We worship at thy shrine.
All hail America!
Hail! All Hail!

—Words and music by Gilbert H. Wilson.

A Mandate for War?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL W. SHAFER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

Mr. SHAFER of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following brief editorials:

A MANDATE FOR WAR?

Henry Wallace was the first to voice the novel argument that Mr. Roosevelt should be given a third term because that would make Hitler and Mussolini unhappy. Then Governor Lehman took up the cry. And lately the President himself has given the idea his blessing.

Since the new dealers are raising this as the dominant issue of the campaign, maybe we had better consider its implications and ask where we go from here.

There is no evidence to support the theme that Hitler and Mussolini really do desire the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt—at least none visible to the naked eye of a layman. However, it must be admitted that the administration's insiders know much more than we outsiders do about our Government's foreign relations, policies, and commitments. And conceivably Hitler and Mussolini might also know more than has been confided to rank-and-file American voters. Let us grant, then, that the third-termers know whereof they speak.

Having granted that, another question arises: Why should Hitler and Mussolini want to see Mr. Roosevelt defeated?

Wendell Willkie has been equally vehement in denouncing the European dictators and equally strong in pledging supplies to Great Britain. So Hitler and Mussolini could have no choice on that score. Moreover, on the record, Mr. Roosevelt hasn't been very effective in speeding up America's armament program. And, on the record, Mr. Willkie would be much more likely to get that job done fast.

So there would seem to be only one remaining reason why Hitler and Mussolini possibly could—if they do—prefer Mr. Willkie's election. That would be a belief on their part that Mr. Roosevelt, if he wins, will lead the United States into active participation in the European war.

Before they cast their ballots next month Americans are entitled to ask how much smoke there is behind the New Deal battle cry. that a vote for Roosevelt is a vote against Hitler and Mussolini. One thing is certain: Americans will never consciously give a majority mandate for war.

SING WHEN YOU SEE THE WHITES OF THEIR EYES

The Army is "short on equipment but long on morale," says Maj. Gen. Lesley J. McNair after a cross-country inspection.

The general might have paraphrased his Commander in Chief and said: "High spirits on hand; guns on order."

He Says It With Flowers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

POEMS BY HORACE C. CARLISLE

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, epitomizing the sentiment of many Members of the House of Representatives on a plan for preserving the peace of our Nation and protecting the republics of the Western Hemisphere, Horace C. Carlisle, member of the staff of the Capitol Architect, has reduced the raw facts to rhythm and rhyme. In this time of stress and strain it relieves the tension to consider a wholesome philosophy of government and a program for peace expressed in poetry. I submit for inclusion in the RECORD the verses

referred to and commend them to the Members of the House for reading and reflection:

"They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks."—Micah iv: 3.

MAKE WAR SELF-DESTRUCTIVE AND LET IT END ITSELF

Since the United States of America stands,
Recognized as the foremost Republic on earth,
And is holding, today, in her neighborly hands,
The supreme master key to abundance, or dearth,
She exerts a rare influence, second to none,
Over all the republics in God's western world,
And her national prayer should be "Thy will be done,"
That Old Glory may bravely continue unfurled.

Hence, the United States, through her President, should
Call the other republics of this hemisphere
To provide, and maintain, for humanity's good,
A great army that nations would rev'rence and fear—
With each nation contributing its rightful share,
In proportion to its population and worth—
That the Golden Rule, put into practice, might square
Disagreements 'twixt nations on this side the earth.

Each republic should keep, for protection at home,
Its pro rata of men and munitions of war,
But stand ready, unitedly, should the call come,
To extinguish all armies, whose-ever they are,
That cross over their borders, regardless of cause,
So that nation would war against nation no more,
But would settle disputes, in accordance with laws,
That no western world nation would dare to ignore.

"Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."—Micah iv: 3.

If a man—or a group, or a company—goes
To a neighboring country, regardless of cause,
And there gets into trouble, let him bear his woes,
Or else look for protection to that country's laws—
When a man leaves his country, the risk should be his—
If he wants the protection, as most people do,
Of his own country's flag, let him stay where it is,
That the dreams of the peace that we need may come true.

Let men go, if they wish, anywhere in the world—
Let Americans go wheresoever they will—
But if they go abroad, let Old Glory, unfurled
For America's safety, not follow them still.
We have no right to look to the Stripes and the Stars,
For protection, when in foreign countries we roam—
Peaceful nations too often get drawn into wars
To protect their own wand'rers, self-exiled from home.

When two nations fall out—as they've frequently done—
If they, neither, could cross their own borders to fight—
Sacred honor would triumph, and rights would be won;
For when hatred subsides, justice settles things right—
Yea, whatever the cause of their grievances be,
Father Time, the great healer of life's wounds and scars,
Soon would smooth matters over, and lead them to see
The beginning of peace, through the ending of wars.

"They shall sit every man under his own vine and fig tree; and none shall make him afraid."—Micah iv: 4.

The New World to the Old, by example, should prove
That the profit of war to the winner is loss,
That the peace passing all understanding, through love,
Rids the heart of its hate, at the foot of the cross—
The great western world army should hear but one voice,
And should fearlessly wipe from the face of the sod
Every army that crosses its borders, from choice,
Whatsoever the cause—for the glory of God.

Every New World republic, in time, would disband
Its own army, of which it could have no more need;
For its part of the western world army would stand,
Quartered on its own soil—a protection indeed—
To quell any internal disturbance that might,
From any cause, rise—lest its people be wronged—
But keep ready for duty, on call, to unite
With the western world army to which it belonged.

Then our swords into plowshares could safely be cast,
And our spears could be turned into pruning hooks, yea,
And the peace passing all understanding, at last,
Would spread over the earth, like the breaking of day;
For the nations beyond both the oceans would see,
From a distance, "How sweet 'tis for brethren to dwell,"
Here, "together in unity," fearless and free,
And that peace turns to heaven what war turns to hell."

"In that day, saith the Lord, * * * I will gather her that is driven out, and her that I have afflicted."—Micah, iv: 6.

Each republic, with its own proportionate part
Of its just contribution to this armed force,
Left within its own borders, could stop at the start
Every transocean "ism" at its danger source—
As the outstanding duty upon them imposed,
These detachments of soldiers should camp on the trail
Of all foreign dissenters, especially those
Whose pernicious disloyalty must not prevail.

Each great western world army detachment, of course,
While controlled by its own nation's powers that be
In a way, would be only a loan to enforce
Its republic's demands, and to help keep it free—
With these units of war, organized and equipped
To meet any emergency that might arise,
Ever ready to be, momentarily, shipped
Anywhere, Old World nations would open their eyes.

Then, when Hitler gets through with his damnable wars
On the other side, he'll find the New World prepared,
In the worshipful wake of the stripes and the stars,
Under God, to meet him, unafraid and unscared—
Then, should this hemisphere be invaded by those
Who've wiped neutrals, at will, from the face of the sod,
These united republics could wipe out the foes
Of humanity, under humanity's God.

"And we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever."—Micah IV:5.

Then the great Monroe Doctrine would have greater force
In preserving the peace of the world, everywhere,
For the western world army would check at its source
All attempts at invasion on this hemisphere;
An the weakest republic in God's western world
Would be just as immune to transborder attack
As the United States, 'neath Old Glory unfurled,
Who to invading foes never has turned her back.

No American ship, then, would venture to cross
Either ocean without a gilt-edge guarantee,
By the transocean nations, against any loss
Whatsoever to ships from this side of the sea;
And, since self-preservation is Nature's first law,
The Old World would be forced, of her own free accord,
To seek peace, such as she in the past never saw,
With the western world nations, whose God is the Lord.

Then the peace passing all understanding would spread
Over all the whole world, like the heavens above,
And all nations would bury their hates, and instead,
Would right all of their wrongs at the altar of love—
Every knee then would bow, every tongue would confess
That the Lord, He, is God, and His praise would increase,
Till life's labors of love would be crowned with success,
Through the Golden Rule, lived by the true Prince of Peace.

The Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

ARTICLE BY A CONSTITUENT

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article written by one of my constituents:

THIS LETTER FOR ALL VOTERS AND PARENTS

Sincerely believing that the election for President for third term being the most important and vital since the Civil War time campaign of President Lincoln in that it will be a start to weaken and finally destroy the foundation that has held our Republic together of free men and women and a government by the people for all the people—therefore, this letter to you as below, citizens and parent voters of Mansfield and Richland County.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY L. GOEMANN,
Mansfield, Ohio.

The Almighty God created this wonderful and beautiful world of ours, then created man and woman, with mind and brains and the functions to reproduce, and said you are all created equal, as well as those to come hereafter, and you are the trustees to carry on and develop.

Then he gave Moses and His Ten Commandments engraved on tablets of stone, followed by Jesus Christ to teach us love and humility.

Through human nature and frailties we have developed selfishness, greed, power, and hatred as a basis for ruling the world.

North America is a part of God's wonderful world and our forefathers established in the United States a Republic with a Constitution protecting each citizen, giving freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of church, and right of every citizen to aspire to hold office by the free vote of his fellow citizens, even to that of the President of the United States and that incentive should not be abolished by a subterfuge or political control.

We have in the United States spent billions of dollars for education and are continuing to, which should induce young men and women to prepare themselves for service to their country and for Government positions from the lowest to highest positions, for; with more than 1,000,000 workers now in the employment of our Government, we must have our workers with high ideals, moral standards, and ability, and the incentive to give our American system a high standard, and not just a desire by the worker for any job through any controlled political organization, whether local, State, or national.

It is desirable to have two responsible political parties, but, unfortunately, this is not the case at this time, as, owing to license of speech, we have permitted many subversive elements of "isms" to becloud our judgment.

Democracy has grown tired and soft. It is not democracy in principle that is failing; it is that men and women are failing democracy, as shown by Europe, especially France.

Congress, under our Constitution, has the power to make our laws, and should not delegate that power to the President and bureaus of various kinds.

We need forthright, strong men for Congress whose views are in line with the Constitution and who will enthuse our citizens by their example to do their duty as citizens, or else democracy will fail.

Mr. Roosevelt, in his acceptance speech for third term, stated: "If our Government should pass to other hands next January—untried hands, inexperienced hands—we can merely hope and pray that they will not substitute appeasement and compromise with those who seek to destroy all democracies everywhere, including here," thus placing himself as the only indispensable, loyal man in our country.

What a slap at our education and insult to our capable and intelligent manhood, whether businessmen, bankers, laborers, or farmers.

Parents, do you want your children to aspire to become successful men and women and not lose their incentive in life?

President Washington believed so earnestly in our American system of government—a government by law and not by men—that he declined a third term when the people were unanimous in wishing him to continue in office.

Now to look forward and see an unwritten law and custom in practice for 150 years shattered by a President demanding a third term, saying "I am the indispensable one," is in my judgment not true, for no one is indispensable—he may be missed but we are interdependent on the many, not dependent on one.

The proper way is to amend the Constitution by vote of all the people whether the term of a President of the United States shall be for two consecutive terms, or for a period of 6 years, or unlimited.

Let us make good on the claim of equal opportunity, keeping open the door of opportunity to all who, by a free vote of the majority and not by a minority are elected to office.

Against a possible unlimited continuance of term of holding office for President through waiving a third term now, may not a selfish incentive of some future unscrupulous politician for power deprive us of our freedom?

To what incentive and goal will you as parents at home and educators through the schools and churches lead and guide the children and young men and women along this line?

Our Republic, whose Constitution gives and protects freedom for all and permits individual success, must have sincere support and strong, honest men and women leaders.

Should the above meet your approval, please go to the election booth and deposit your ballot against Mr. Roosevelt for President for third term.

No third term for any man.

All in 7 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARL C. MICHENER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, the New Deal, covering up its failures the last 7 years, has been resorting to a juggling act with figures in an effort to show that the country has prospered under the Roosevelt administration. It relies almost altogether upon the year 1932, the very bottom of the depression, as a base of comparison with what has occurred since.

For instance, it claims that total cash farm income has increased 80 percent since 1932. It says labor has benefited by a 62-percent increase in wages; that business has been revived by billions lent by the R. F. C.; that bank investments now are safeguarded. Trade has improved, the New Deal claims, asserting exports have jumped one and one-half billion dollars, while imports have increased a billion dollars. The national income, this cheerful report continues, has increased from $40,000,000,000 to $68,000,000,000; housing has greatly improved, and unemployment has decreased by 8,854,000, not counting 2,446,000 on Federal work relief. In the matter of security, millions of the aged, the crippled, the blind, and the unemployed, says the New Deal, are assured the many benefits of the Social Security Act.

Probably the figures are fairly accurate, but does anyone believe they tell the whole story? Does anyone in America believe that the agricultural, industrial, and social problems of this Nation have been solved? Of course not.

A careful analysis of the last 7 years will tell the true story and that story indicts the New Deal as having failed on all fronts to end economic stagnation and put this country in shape to withstand the impact of recent world developments.

In the case of the farmer, the only improvement which has occurred in his prices in the last 7 years actually has been with those commodities with which the New Deal has failed to tinker. Total farm income from crops and livestock increased 50.9 percent from 1933 to 1939. The income from livestock—which, with the exception of the pig-killing campaign, was free from government-control schemes—increased 78.5 percent. Income from cotton, wheat, and tobacco, all subject to the most rigid controls and government experiments, increased only 19.3 percent. Farmers still lack $2,000,000,000 of getting their just share of the national income. Can the New Deal take credit for the rise in farm income which has occurred?

The Republican Party accepts with pride the New Deal compliment to the work of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This agency was established by Herbert Hoover and has proven to be the soundest and most businesslike of all the Government lending agencies.

But how about the banks? Are they at their strongest and safest? Quite the contrary. The banks today are in the most vulnerable spot in recent history. From 1933 to 1939, the amount of government obligations held by all the active banks increased from $7,800,000,000 to $18,800,000,000. As early as 1935, Senator CARTER GLASS, father of the Federal Reserve System, and a Democrat, warned:

> It has been represented to me by competent authorities that a depreciation of 10 percent in Government bonds would render insolvent 90 percent of the banks of this country.

Since this statement was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Government obligations held by banks have increased four and one-half billion dollars. The future holds further increases, with greater vulnerability on the part of the banks. No amount of deposit insurance can save us, if Government bonds should depreciate even slightly. It is on this shaky structure our financial system rests. Capitalist, worker, or farmer, everyone must be concerned in a situation which, if not changed by a businesslike administration, can end only in inflation or national bankruptcy.

In regard to trade, while it is true that total export and import trade have increased the last 7 years, an examination of the record leads to doubt that the New Deal trade-agreements program has been responsible. Abnormal conditions abroad have produced abnormal demands for American manufactured goods.

A case in point is that of agricultural exports. Unfortunately for the farmer, the increase in agricultural exports promised by the trade-agreement supporters has not occurred.

In fact, the trade program has actually hurt the farmer. From 1932, the low year in international trade, to 1939, agricultural exports declined in value 1.1 percent. In volume they declined 30.9 percent.

But the thing which really hurt was the increase of imports of competitive agricultural products—products grown by cheap farm labor in other lands and entering this country to undersell our production. In the various trade agreements concluded so far, the duties on 152 competitive agricultural commodities have been reduced, the duty on 95 of these products having been cut 41 to 50 percent. As a natural result, importation of competitive agricultural products has increased 78 percent in value from 1932 to 1939. When this huge increase is coupled with the decline in agricultural exports, it is easily seen the New Deal trade agreements have caused a net loss to the farmer. Expressed in dollars, this loss amounts to $237,000,000. In other words, the farmers of other lands have been subsidized to the tune of $237,000,000 in the American market.

While the Republican Party believes in being a good neighbor, it does not believe in being chuckleheaded about it. If we are going to subsidize any farmers, let us subsidize our own.

Now the question of housing. As late as January 1937, President Roosevelt said: "I see one-third of a Nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." Today the President could say that instead of seeing 33⅓ percent of the Nation ill-housed he sees about 33 percent in that condition. In 1938 and 1939 residential construction was valued at only $2,500,000,000. Considering that residential construction was valued at approximately $6,000,000,000 in 1927 and 1928, with still much to be done, the contribution the last 2 years has been almost infinitesimal when spread over the whole population.

But on unemployment is the New Deal most vulnerable. Here, in the field of unemployment, lies the greatest of all New Deal failures. More pointedly than anything else stands out the New Deal's inability to put people back to work.

The record tells the story. In June 1933, the A. F. of L. estimated that there were 13,843,000 unemployed workers. In June 1940, there were 9,651,000 unemployed workers. In other words, in 7 years the New Deal has reduced the number of unemployed only 4,192,000.

This is an average of 600,000 workers a year. At that rate, assuming that the labor reservoir does not change in size, it would take the New Deal 16 years to eliminate unemployment, or a third, fourth, fifth, and sixth term for President Roosevelt.

Not only that, but the number of persons on relief in this country has been reduced by a ridiculously small number. In 1933, there were 19,677,000 persons receiving relief from all sources. In 1939, the number of persons receiving relief was 19,208,000, a reduction of only 469,000 persons. But even more than that, the total cost of relief, Federal, State, and local, has increased in cost from $1,383,231,000 to $3,867,375,000 in those 7 years.

Thus the actual record of the last 7 years. As President Hoover told the Republican National Convention:

> Battling against all the natural forces of recovery, the New Deal has succeeded in stabilizing depression.

Use of Defense Equipment for Political Purposes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DOW W. HARTER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

Mr. HARTER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me imperative that the Members of this Congress should know and have called to their attention, a matter which many of my New England friends have called to my personal attention.

I have in mind, Mr. Speaker, the fact that Gov. Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, the keynote speaker of the Republican National Convention, used a National Guard airplane, the property of the Federal Government, with the consent of the present Governor of Rhode Island, William H. Vanderbilt, who placed the plane at his disposal, to fly to Rhode Island to address the Republican State Convention in Providence, on Friday, September 27 of this year.

According to the sometimes reliable Providence Journal, Governor Vanderbilt, in an address before the Summer Institute of Social Progress at Wellesley College last July, deplored in what he is quoted as saying, "Our woeful lack of everything we need to defend ourselves," and in the same address is further quoted as publicly stating that, "The eyes of the Nation are turned on our national defense—and what they see is not too encouraging." Yes, Mr, Speaker, it is not at all encouraging to see the commander in chief and the executive of a sovereign State order the use of war equipment to transport a would-be political spellbinder to address a political convention.

As far as I know, Mr. Speaker, not one person in the little State of Rhode Island, or for that matter anywhere, has come to the front to defend the Governor for this wholly political and unpatriotic act. Governor Vanderbilt, always ready to deplore what he infers as, "Our woeful lack of everything we need to defend ourselves," is the last person in this country who should countenance the use of military equipment for a purpose of this kind.

In the past few months the Congress has appropriated billions of dollars for national defense and a considerable portion of the funds appropriated has been used for the construction and purchase of airplanes to equip the armed services of our country. I do not believe, Mr. Speaker, that, when Congress appropriated these funds to equip the Army and Navy with the best of airplanes that money can buy, they believed the equipment owned by the Government and loaned or leased to the States, would be used to transport political orators to political conventions or rallies.

It would, Mr. Speaker, be very apropos for the War Department to thoroughly investigate the use of any war equipment, especially planes, by Governors, or for that matter by anyone, for a political purpose. Further than that, Mr. Speaker, I suggest that the War Department submit a bill to the Governor of Rhode Island with an order demanding that either he or the Republican State organization, which he partly owns and controls, pay for the cost of this trip. As the record now stands, the taxpayers' money has been used to defray the expenses of a political pilgrimage.

The Federal Government, Mr. Speaker, I find has been extremely generous with the State of Rhode Island in appropriating funds for use in constructing their State airport and in allocating funds for the construction of new hangars at this airport. Within the past few weeks the Work Projects Administration completed plans for a new hangar at this State airport in Rhode Island at a cost of approximately $400,000. If this proposed W. P. A. project is completed before election, only Governor Vanderbilt and his colleagues can determine whether or not it will be used as a political meeting place.

Recently, I am advised, the Governor, acting at the suggestion of his State associates, hesitated to allow the use of this State airport, built with Federal funds, to the Army air service, and this, I am reliably informed, has hindered the plans of the War Department in locating temporary air bases in the New England region. It is well to report that only last week the War Department announced the contemplated location of auxiliary air units in other New England States and at airports much smaller and not comparable to the State airport in Rhode Island.

It has been brought out in a syndicated article appearing in a Washington newspaper November 4, 1939, that Governor

Vanderbilt is reported as one of a number of large stockholders in a privately owned air-transportation company.

As an active officer of the Naval Reserve, and I say active, Mr. Speaker, with reservation, Governor Vanderbilt should be the last one to hinder or delay a defense project and further than that, Mr. Speaker, he should be acquainted with Army and Navy regulations well enough to know that equipment owned by these Services should not be used for political excursions. Certainly, Mr. Speaker, no officer of the United States Navy is worthy of promotion who pleads his own cause over the cocktails and teacups of Washington and who as a civilian official in authority, hesitates to issue orders to his subordinates not to use Government equipment, as I said before, for political junkets.

In order that this will not be repeated by political candidates of any party during the present campaign or future campaigns, I suggest to the War Department, Mr. Speaker, that an appropriate order barring the use of Army airplanes or other Army equipment be issued to the adjutant generals of the States.

The press reports that, during the next week, the Republican candidate for President, Wendell L. Willkie, is to visit New England. A public statement by Mr. Willkie to the good citizens of New England, while he is in their presence wooing their votes, as to whether or not he approves of National Guard equipment, owned by the Government and paid for by the taxpayers, being placed at the disposal of political candidates or political orators, for political purposes, would, I know, be welcome. Mr. Willkie's views on this matter would indeed be interesting and appreciated by the good citizens of Rhode Island who for the past week have been listening to explanations and excuses by Republican leaders who have not been at all successful in convincing the right thinking people of Rhode Island, that the commander in chief of their State's armed forces has not committed an act unworthy of any public executive.

Our Foreign Policy Leads to War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, this morning's paper states that the Capital fears that the United States may be at war with Japan and that it may come soon after a week from next Thursday.

Gentlemen, I beg of you to think of that situation. Do you think it possible that the United States could go to war to discipline one nation and that would be the end of it? You know full well that it will mean that once the United States plunges into this war that the whole world will be aflame.

One of the most shocking things that I have experienced in my 2 years as a Congressman is the steady, determined, forward march of this administration toward foreign wars. There has been a concentrated drive on the part of high administration officials, including the New Deal candidate for Vice President, to create a war hysteria in this country. They have sung the songs of hate. Our foreign policy has been one of throwing insults, meddling in other people's affairs, and giving away the American tax dollars in a vain attempt to buy friendship. You cannot buy the friendship of nations any more than you can buy the real friendship of an individual.

I think the country ought to know what the relationship is between the drive to adjourn Congress and send it home, and the secret war plans of this country toward Japan.

The claim that we would be fighting for democracy is the height of hypocrisy. At this very moment our State Department is trying its best to get a working cooperation with Soviet Russia, the most cruel aggressor and dictator nation on the face of the earth. I, for one, will not vote to plunge this country into war to save any other nation or because certain large oil companies and other vast concerns in the Orient want us to go to war.

There are many sincere Americans who feel that Japan should be disciplined, but we cannot get into a struggle with Japan without doing that thing which makes the whole world aflame.

We have a charge to keep in this country. It is to preserve representative government, freedom, individual liberty, and civilization itself. War thrives on dictatorship. It cannot be conducted by a self-governing nation. The United States stands in a position where she can plunge the whole world into war.

It must also be borne in mind that this nation is not prepared for war. Headlines and orders, insulting remarks, and a bankrupt Treasury do not fight an enemy! This country has no chance of remaining at peace until we get rid of that man, who is now a candidate for a third term, whose lust for power makes him a rival of Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini.

Origin and Dangers of Peacetime Conscription

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 9 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, several members of the Senate, who have given much study to the origin and provisions of the peacetime conscription bill recently enacted by the Congress, have collaborated in the compilation of a series of questions and answers on this subject.

As a member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, I ask that this factual material be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACTS UNDERLYING PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION

Question. When did peacetime conscription become law?

Answer. The Burke-Wadsworth Act was approved on September 16, 1940. (Public, No. 783, 76th Cong., ch. 720, 3d sess.)

Question. When did the drive for peacetime conscription begin?

Answer. As early as 1916, a year before we entered the World War, a group of militarists associated with the Plattsburg movement met at the Harvard Club in New York City to plan a conscription campaign. Some of those associated with this effort 24 years ago were Henry L. Stimson, Julius O. Adler, James W. Wadsworth, Grenville Clark, and General O'Ryan.

Question. Did the President originate or recommend the 1940 peacetime-conscription bill when it was introduced in the House and Senate?

Answer. No.

Question. Did the War or Navy Departments originate or recommend the 1940 peacetime-conscription bill at the time of its introduction?

Answer. No.

Question. Who, then, originated and recommended the Burke-Wadsworth bill?

Answer. Peacetime conscription was sponsored by persons active in connection with the 1940 Plattsburg movement.

Question. What is said to be the real purpose of the Plattsburg movement?

Answer. As stated by Walter Millis, one of the editors of the New York Herald-Tribune, the Plattsburg Camps "were designed from the start to be (as their successors still are today) not practical schools of war, but seminaries whence propagandists for preparedness might be distributed through the civil population." (Quoted by Senator HOLT, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 22.)

Question. What was the date of the meeting in New York early this year when the campaign to put over peacetime conscription was resumed?

Answer. A group of persons, most of them the same persons who had favored peacetime conscription in 1916, met at the Harvard Club in New York City on May 22. They used the same room in which an earlier group had met 24 years before. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 22.)

Question. Who attended this meeting?

Answer. Among those present were Henry L. Stimson, Robert P. Patterson, General O'Ryan, Benedict Crowell, Lewis W. Douglas, Julius O. Adler, General Pershing, General Palmer, and Grenville Clark. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 22.)

Question. Was Henry L. Stimson at that time Secretary of War?

Answer. No. He was not named Secretary of War until June 20, 1940, one month after the New York meeting.

Question. When was the next meeting of this group?

Answer. They met again the following day to pass resolutions relating to our participation in the European war. Senator HOLT said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 6): "I have been advised that their statements there were as bellicose as if we were in the war at that time."

Question. What earlier efforts had this group made to establish peacetime conscription in the United States?

Answer. Hon. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, now a Member of the House of Representatives, and then a United States Senator from New York, on March 13, 1917, before we entered the World War, advocated sending an army of American boys to the trenches of Europe.

Again in 1919, following the war, Senator WADSWORTH introduced a bill (S. 3792) providing for peacetime compulsory military service. At that time this bill was supported by Henry L. Stimson, General O'Ryan, and others. It was supported by the New York Times, whose publisher, Julius O. Adler, had been active in connection with the earlier attempts to bring about peacetime conscription.

Question. Who drafted the Burke-Wadsworth bill?

Answer. Grenville Clark, a leading New York corporation lawyer, with other colleagues drafted the conscription bill, based on the World War Draft Act. Senator JOHNSON, a member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 27): "[Members of the Plattsburg group] brought the bill to us. That fact cannot be disputed. They admit it themselves and are very proud of it. * * * It will be recalled that Grenville Clark is proud of the fact that he had a large part in preparing the bill."

Question. What American newspaper was among the first to advocate peacetime conscription and when?

Answer. On June 7, 1940, the New York Times urged peacetime conscription.

On June 8, 1940, Col. Julius O. Adler, of the New York Times, spoke at Princeton advocating conscription and stated that a conscription bill would soon be introduced in the Congress.

On June 19 Colonel Adler appealed to a convention of newspaper editors meeting in New York to wire home editorials in praise of peacetime conscription. (New York Times, June 19, 1940.)

Question. What were the next steps taken by this group?

Answer. On June 20, 1940, the peacetime conscription bill was introduced in the Senate and on June 21 it was introduced in the House.

On June 20, 1940, Henry L. Stimson was named Secretary of War.

Senator JOHNSON charged (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 27): "The day the United States of America selected the Honorable Henry L. Stimson to be Secretary of War the Burke-Wadsworth peacetime conscription proposal became a menace to our liberties. The former Secretary of War * * * bitterly opposed peacetime conscription, and he was, therefore, at the instigation of the Plattsburg crowd, removed and supplanted by a reactionary interventionist from Wall Street, who has been on record for 23 years as favoring conscription in the United States."

Question. Up to this time had the War Department or the President publicly favored this proposal?

Answer. No.

Question. What followed the introduction of peacetime conscription bills in the House and Senate?

Answer. On July 3, 1940, hearings began. Col. Julius O. Adler, Grenville Clark, General Pershing, and General Palmer, all of whom were members of the group which met in New York, appeared before the committee and advocated peacetime conscription.

On June 27 a private meeting had been held in a Wall Street club to raise a $275,000 campaign fund for the conscription drive (New York Times, June 28). On August 5 a letter was addressed to every member of the New York Stock Exchange appealing for $100,000 for use "to help enact the Burke-Wadsworth bill into law" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 22).

Question. Henry L. Stimson, of the conscription group, was named Secretary of War on the day the conscription bill was introduced in the Senate. Had the previous Secretary of War, Harry H. Woodring, supported or urged peacetime conscription?

Answer. No. In fact, after the bills were introduced and after he had resigned as Secretary of War, Mr. Woodring appeared before congressional committees and stated that the Army was and had always been able to build up its required strength through voluntary enlistments.

Mr. Woodring said (in a letter printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 5): "* * * I cannot see the need of compulsory military training at this time. * * * How any fair-minded Member of Congress could say that we have given the voluntary system of enlistment for the United States Army service a fair trial, and that it has broken down, and therefore we need the compulsory service, is beyond my understanding."

Question. Up to the time the bills were introduced and hearings were held had there been any failure on the part of the Army or Navy to fill the quotas they set from month to month?

Answer. No. (See letter from War Department to Senator WALSH, dated August 16, 1940, in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 21.)

Question. What was the attitude of the President while the conscription bill was under debate?

Answer. The President endorsed a selective service military training act on August 2. As late as August 5, 1940, he was reported in Congress as favoring "a draft only if sufficient men cannot be obtained for the Army and Navy through voluntary enlistment." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 5.)

Question. On what date did the President state publicly that he favored the Burke-Wadsworth peacetime conscription bill?

Answer. The President asked for the passage of the Burke-Wadsworth bill on August 24, 1940.

Question. What has been the attitude of Representative WADSWORTH and Senator BURKE toward the European war?

Answer. Representative WADSWORTH has, for a long time, been an advocate of a large standing Army and is known as an extreme militarist. He and Senator BURKE have from the onset favored our participation in the present European war.

Question. Have those who introduced the Burke-Wadsworth bill been supporters of the administration's general policies and New Deal program?

Answer. No; Senator BURKE and Representative WADSWORTH have been among the strongest opponents of the present administration.

Question. What is Secretary Stimson's attitude toward our participation in the present war?

Answer. He has been one of the most ardent advocates of our participation from the very outset.

Question. When and where was peacetime conscription first established?

Answer. In 1807, in the German state of Prussia.

Question. Is the Burke-Wadsworth peacetime conscription act patterned after the Prussian system?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Did our founding fathers advocate forced military service during times of peace?

Answer. Washington and the founding fathers endorsed a peacetime Military Establishment based on voluntary service.

Question. What has been the extent of wartime conscription in the United States?

Answer. Our independence was won without a conscript Regular Army. The War of 1812 was fought by volunteers. The Mexican War was quickly won by a force of volunteers. In the Civil War 98 percent of the Union Army was composed of volunteers, while Confederate conscripts were considered "nearly worthless." A Volunteer Army won the Spanish-American War. Despite the limitations placed on volunteers by the World War Draft Act, over a million and a half men volunteered for service.

Question. Did Canada adopt peacetime conscription?

Answer. No. Not until after the present war was nearly a year old did Canada adopt a measure providing for only 30 days of active continuous military training, to be followed by part-time supplemental instruction at home. Unlike the Burke-Wadsworth Act, the Canadian measure provides that conscripts may not be forced to serve away from the home area. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 12.)

Question. Have Canada, Australia, and New Zealand adopted conscription for military service outside the limits of their countries?

Answer. No. Though Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are participating in war together with Great Britain, conscription for overseas service has not been tolerated by them. (See address by Senator TAFT, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 14.)

Question. Does our peacetime conscription law provide, as has been generally assumed, for military education and physical training in local camps, such as summer training for R. O. T. C. and National Guardsmen?

Answer. No.

Question. If conscription is not a training plan, then what is its purpose, as stated in the law?

Answer. It is a device to enlarge by force of law the Regular Army. Contrary to popular opinion, upon being drafted all conscripts will be immediately inducted into regular military service.

Senator WALSH said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 27): "It is not a conscript bill to train young men physically and in military tactics in the popular acceptance of that term * * *."

Senator TAFT said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 27): "Training has nothing to do with conscription. The question whether or not we shall train men is one question * * * but the present Congress, up to date, has never authorized any men to be trained, and we have never had a training measure before us. We have in the Army as many men as we have authorized."

Question. How long are those drafted under this law to be retained in forced military service?

Answer. The law requires 1 year of service as a minimum, but states the draftees may be retained thereafter as long as the President declares necessary. In addition, conscripts remain liable for 10 years' additional service (sec. 3 of the act).

Question. Was it necessary to have conscription to fill Army quotas?

Answer. No. Up to the present time the Army has never failed to obtain whatever quota it requested by voluntary enlistments.

Senator WALSH said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 27): "The Army has never failed to fill, through voluntary enlistments, any quota it has fixed for volunteers to enter the Army." Senator WHEELER said: "The fact of the matter is that all the quotas, as has been said here, were filled; the Army obtained everything they asked for."

Question. Was it necessary to have conscription to fill Navy quotas?

Answer. No. The Navy has never participated in the move for conscription It has (despite a 6-year enlistment period) a waiting list of thousands of young men who have volunteered, but for whom no places have been found.

On September 25, 1940, Hon. Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, issued the following statement: "At present the Navy does not intend to induct any men in the Navy who do not voluntarily enlist. Sufficient volunteers have been obtained to fill the ranks of required recruits on a 6-year enlistment basis. The number of young men applying have satisfactorily filled the needs of the Navy at this time to meet the demands of the expansion of the fleet and shore establishments."

Question. Have voluntary enlistment methods been tried and found wanting?

Answer. No. General Shedd, Assistant Chief of Staff, United States Army, was asked: "Now, have we ever tried in the Army a voluntary arrangement for a year's service or for 8 months' service * * * or for 15 months * * *?" General Shedd answered, "No, sir." (Quoted in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD August 13.)

The Army's insistence upon long-term enlistments, adherence to exacting physical standards, and other restrictive requirements has not discouraged record numbers of recruits from volunteering their services. All quotas have been filled and all records have been broken.

Senator MCCARRAN said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 22): "We are told that volunteer enlistments will not bring a sufficient number of men to man our ships and to defend our country. Nothing could be further from the truth * * *. The War Department clearly realizes, and admits, that the recruits which they desire can and will be secured through voluntary enlistments * * *."

Senator NORRIS commented (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 13): "* * * It seems to me that the recruiting stations not only have discouraged enlistments but the effect of their action has been to prohibit them."

General Marshall, Chief of Staff of the Army, explained to the Senate Military Affairs Committee that without resorting to conscription the United States will have an Army of more than 900,000 men (hearings on Burke-Wadsworth bill, Senate Military Affairs Committee).

Question. Has the Army permitted 1-year enlistments corresponding to the 1 year of forced service under the Burke-Wadsworth Act?

Answer. No; though for 20 years the law has provided that recruits might enlist for a 1-year or a 3-year period. The Army has accepted only about 166 1-year enlistments. These have been in cases where an applicant has wished to attend Army schools in preparation for West Point. The failure of the Army to accept 1-year enlistments, a willful evasion of the law, was vigorously denounced in the Senate.

Question. Have Army and Navy officials pointed to definite dangers to our defense in justifying the establishment of peacetime conscription?

A. No. Senator ADAMS said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 26): "I have sat in the Appropriations Committee day after day and have heard officials of the Army; I have heard officials of the Navy; and I have yet to hear pointed out any immediate, definite, threatening danger justifying the proposal. It is all hypothesis and speculation."

Senator WHEELER said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 13): "* * * Common sense * * * dictates that the magnitude of these defense measures should bear some justifiable relations to, and be proportioned on, the magnitude and imminence of the dangers which are evident or reasonably calculable."

Question. Are the military and naval experts agreed that conscription is necessary?

Answer. No. Hanson W. Baldwin, distinguished military expert of the New York Times said (quoted in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 13): "* * * The Regular Army, even to fulfill its broadened responsibilities, need be no larger than 400,000 men, if that large. * * * It should not be hard to fill the necessary quotas by voluntary recruiting."

Colonel Frederick Palmer, military expert said: "The danger is that we shall get an extravagant, unbalanced preparedness whose continuance in thorough form we shall neglect when we are lulled into security."

Basil C. Walker, writer on military affairs, said: "* * * A total authorized strength for our Regular Army of 400,000 seems enough. Any provision, plans, or laws looking to a substantially greater figure should be examined most critically, for they would suggest preparation for another great expeditionary force to another hemisphere. Such plans might represent, unintentionally, an undermining of our individual liberties at home."

The naval experts on defense have always claimed a small, efficiently trained army was sufficient for our needs. The Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate, in a report made on May 15, 1940, said: "From the evidence available it appears that if we build and maintain an adequate navy, provide ourselves with adequate air power and a comparatively small, but well trained and highly efficient army, we cannot be defeated. If our fleet, supplemented by our air forces, is able to exercise control of our essential air and sea communications, our Nation is secure. * * *"

The same report stated: "All of these proposed laws and plans (referring to plans to conscript manpower, industrial power, wealth, and so forth) are based upon the false assumption that to defend ourselves it will be necessary for us to build up a huge army and put forth an effort which will strain every national resource to the utmost."

Question. Is peacetime conscription necessary to achieve a sound, adequate, and realistic defense program as envisioned by experts and by those experienced in defense matters?

Answer. No. For the most part conscription was urged by extreme militarists and not by those who have given consistent and sober thought to defense problems. According to the best available advice, the country's chief present defense need is not large masses of hastily trained conscripts. Instead there is pressing need for a limited number of highly skilled and highly trained and highly developed men capable of mastering the means and methods of waging modern defensive warfare. There is no evidence that such men cannot be obtained without resort to conscription methods.

Senator WALSH, chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, has summed up America's defense needs, as presented by experts testifying before his committee. "[First,] we should have a powerful, strong, invincible navy. * * * We are vulnerable only from the water. * * * The next step in our national defense, in my judgment, is the acquisition of a multiplicity of airplanes and particularly bombers, which will supplement our Navy and provide for our defense against air attacks. * * * Thirdly, I believe that the land ought to be dotted from one end to the other with anti-aircraft guns, and with men to man them. * * * If we have a strong navy and these secondary defenses, no enemy can invade the land, no enemy soldier can attack us here, because if they get by the Navy then they will be stopped by the secondary defenses. * * * The next step is the building up of * * * a truly professional army, comparatively small in numbers but of the highest proficiency, an army composed of men who have the long and exacting training that is required of pilots and those who operate and man mechanized ground weapons. * * * Until voluntary enlistments on a fair basis have been tried and there is evidence of a real need, I am not disposed to embrace, in peacetime, the power of the Government to conscript." (From CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 20, 1940.)

Question. Is the need for more recruits really the basis of the campaign to establish peacetime conscription?

Answer. There is strong evidence to the contrary. For example, Secretary Stimson has said: "Conscription is necessary to impress upon the country the gravity of the world situation." In another place he stated: "Government by persuasion is very much slower than government by arbitrary force." General Shedd testified: "* * * We should adopt selective service even if we could fill our requirements by voluntary enlistments." Senator WHEELER has pointed out (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 13): "Nowhere in the testimony will there be found statements by Army officers that the large body of men proposed to be conscripted is necessary for the defense of this country."

Question. Does peacetime conscription ensure our national defense, at the same time safeguarding our democracy and our liberties?

Answer. No. Senator JOHNSON stated (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 27):

"The pending measure adds nothing to national defense. The pending measure subtracts much from a good, sound, sensible, modern national defense, and at the same time it makes an insidious attack upon the principles of the democracy which we cherish. It will not add to our security from abroad, and it does add to our insecurity here at home. It does not add to our liberties. It curtails our liberties."

Question. Is a large conscript army suited to the needs of modern defense and modern war?

Answer. No. Col. William J. Donovan, assistant to Secretary Knox, has pointed out that German tactics have made old Army strategy obsolete. He said: "The German [conscript] masses were not particularly impressive. They did not need to be. It was the spearhead of 50,000 men that beat France."

"All expert opinion is in agreement that it is far more important for our troops to be thoroughly trained and expert in the new mechanical warfare, and ably commanded, than that they be merely numerous. Numbers, in modern warfare, not only do not compensate for lack of expertness, but by multiplying the deficiency they actually increase the danger." (Senator WHEELER, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 13.)

Question. Does conscription provide for the assignment of men to the particular military service for which they are adapted, as some have assumed from the phrase "selective service"?

Answer. No. Actually the law calls for a process of elimination rather than selection. Senator JOHNSON said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 27): "[The Burke-Wadsworth bill] does not select soldiers on the basis of their qualifications to be soldiers."

Question. It has been said that the Army needs hundreds of thousands of skilled mechanics, pilots, and technicians. Will conscription provide them?

Answer. No. "It proposes to give millions of conscripts a year's training in elementary military drills, manual of arms, exercises, and bayonet practice. * * * It will not produce one man capable of operating a single implement of war other than a Springfield rifle and a bayonet. * * * Minutemen went out of style with the flintlock musket." (Senator JOHNSON, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 27.)

Question. Will conscription place a heavy burden on taxpayers?

Answer. Yes. It is estimated that conscription will add from a billion to a billion and a half dollars a year to the Nation's tax bills.

Question. May conscripts be sent on forced peacetime service outside of the North American Continent? May they be used in the jungles of South America and in Hawaii, Guam, the Philippines, and other islands of the Pacific?

Answer. Yes; the bill so provides.

Question. Is peacetime conscription characteristic of a democracy or of a totalitarian dictatorship?

Answer. "Conscription is the hallmark of every one of the countries from which democracy has been banished, and here we are following in Hitler's footsteps. Where is conscription found in the fullest flower, where is it ennobled and glorified as the highest honor of the citizen if not in those lands where militarism and totalitarianism have blanketed the populace and stifled democracy most completely?" (Address by Senator WHEELER in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 13.)

Question. In conscripting men will there be any distinction made between the rich and the poor?

Answer. General Shedd, Assistant Chief of Staff of the Army (quoted in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 13) opposed volunteer recruiting "because you cannot pick and choose the unimportant man." It is no secret that during the World War the unimportant men and the men without special influence fell into the category liable for the first draft.

Question. What effect does conscription have upon the civil rights of those drafted?

Answer. A conscript automatically becomes part of the Regular Army and hence forfeits his civil status, becoming subject to court martial and military justice. In some cases he even loses the right to vote.

Senator ASHURST said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 27): "* * * When a man enters the Army, especially as a draftee, nearly all his civil rights are suspended during the period of his service. * * * In peacetime we propose to suspend nearly all, if not all, the civil rights of these men. Our ancestors remained in prison until their hair fell from their foreheads. They rotted away in prison, they died to establish civil rights, and it is proposed that at one fell swoop these young men shall have, and will have, their civil rights suspended."

Senator WHEELER said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 13): "As soon as they are notified they are drafted, no longer are they free American citizens, subject to civil procedures in civil courts. They become subject to the summary procedures of military law and courts martial. Not only must those conscripted keep their mouths shut and obey orders, but all those who are registered, even though they are not yet in the Army, must live under a pall of fear, and must weigh their words, for the morrow may bring their summons to the Army."

Question. Is there any effective provision in the law that draftees will get their jobs back at the end of their forced service?

Answer. No; loopholes in section 8 of the law render doubtful the conscript's chances of regaining his job. This section of the law affords little protection, since employers are relieved of obligations in the event of changed circumstances. Senate Majority Leader BARKLEY conceded: "I doubt very much whether it (the reemployment clause) could have any legal effect * * * " (quoted in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 13).

Question. Is military service a means of promoting the health of the young men of the Nation?

Answer. No; leading physicians are dubious about conscription as a health measure. They recall that World War figures show that while 39,362 men were killed in action, almost twice as many soldiers, 75,460, died of disease. (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 27.)

Question. May conscription be used against labor unions and as a means of breaking strikes?

Answer. Yes; that discretion exists. Under the selective provisions of the act it is possible to call labor leaders, organizers, or union members to military service should this be desired by those administering the act.

Labor believes that the peacetime-conscription law is undemocratic, and that it has won the support of some industrialists because they admire the way Hitler "has solved his labor problems under conscription." Labor feels that peacetime conscription means an abandonment of programs of social reform in the interest of building a military machine. Labor has also warned that conscription is a step toward war. (See statements of the American Federation of Labor, the C. I. O., and the railroad brotherhoods in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 22, 27.)

Question. Do leaders of the church and of farm organizations favor forced peacetime conscription?

Answer. With but few exceptions, spokesmen from these organizations have denounced peacetime conscription. Senator WHEELER said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 27): "The Methodist Episcopal Church * * * has gone on record against peacetime conscription. Likewise practically all the leaders of the Catholic Church have gone on record against peacetime conscription. Also the Lutheran Church, among the Norwegians and Swedes, has gone on record against it. The American Federation of Labor, the railroad brotherhoods, and the C. I. O. have gone on record against peacetime conscription. I know of no church organization, no labor organization, and no farm organization in the United States which has not gone on record against peacetime conscription."

Question. What were the objectives in the minds of those persons promoting and urging peacetime conscription at this time?

Answer. Undoubtedly, one of the principal objectives was to prepare America for participation in the European war. Another objective was to fasten upon our country what has always been the ambition of extreme militarists—namely, a permanent conscripted army.

Question. What effect may we expect peacetime conscription will ultimately have upon the civil population of the United States?

Answer: Enact peacetime conscription and no longer will this be a free land; no longer will a citizen be able to say that he disagrees with a governmental proclamation or edict. Hushed whispers will replace free speech; secret meetings in dark corners will supplant free assemblage; labor and industry, men and women will be shackled by the chains they have themselves forged; and all this, mark you, while this last great democracy is still at peace. Is this the sort of society for which our forbears shed their blood? Is this the goal for which we strive? (Address by Senator WHEELER in CONGESSIONAL RECORD of August 13.)

Question. Is conscription a step toward war?

Answer. Conscription was urged by many of those who favor immediate intervention in the European war. By providing large numbers of soldiers useful chiefly in overseas action, conscription makes possible the waging of an offensive war on foreign soil. By bringing militarism to every doorstep, conscription will help to substitute the habits and philosophy of war for our traditional American love of peace.

Question. The peacetime conscription bill became law on September 16, 1940. Have subsequent events justified the claim that the voluntary-enlistment method would not enlarge our Army as rapidly as a forced draft of manpower?

Answer. No. An article in the Washington Times-Herald of October 5, 1940, states: "The Army General Staff yesterday was engaged in a drastic downward revision of the number of draftees who would be called to the colors under the Selective Service Act. Lack of facilities to house the conscripts, to say nothing of the lack of equipment for their training, is forcing a change in plans which will bring only a comparatively small number of the 16,500,000 young men in the Nation between the ages of 21 and 35 into uniform. * * *

"With the registration date less than 2 weeks away, officials ruefully acknowledged that probably less than 100,000 will be in the Army by New Years. Army officers acknowledged that such a number could have been brought into service voluntarily, as congressional foes of the Draft Act contended."

Kosse, Tex., Furnishes Over 50 Voluntary Enlistments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUTHER A. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, I am proud of the record made by the town of Kosse, Limestone County, Tex., in the district which I have the honor to represent, in the number of voluntary enlistments in the Army and Navy by the young men of that town. Over 50 young men have recently voluntarily enlisted in the service for defense of their country.

According to the 1940 Census, the population of Kosse is 879.

I wonder if any other town that size in the United States can match this record.

Under leave granted me, I submit herewith a news item giving a list of these patriotic young men:

KOSSE FURNISHES OVER 50 YOUTHS FOR ARMY—SMALL VILLAGE CLAIMS RECORD IN NUMBER OF ENLISTMENTS

KOSSE, TEX., October 5.—This community thinks maybe it has a national record on number of boys who have already enlisted in Uncle Sam's service for the war, when compared to its population with other communities. The town with approximately a thousand people and adjacent communities have already furnished 48 new men with 8 or 10 who were already in the service before the war.

Those who have recently enlisted are: Woodrow Whitlow, W. J. Parrott, Coleman Birmingham, Kenneth Harper, L. F. Jones, Jr., Robert Lee Hardy, George Milstead, Jack Milstead, Noel Hunter, Jim Boggs, N. B. Ware, Blake Lowrey, John Clive Ayers, Cecil Higgins, Leonard Crabb, Bradford McDaniel, James Parrish, Bobby Crabb, J. T. Hollingsworth, Bryce Hollingsworth, Lynwood Jones, Claude Mills, Clark Hensley, Elmo Swinnea, Billy Birdwell, John Loyd, George Payne, Howard Tate, Luther Anderson, Charles Higgins, James Francis, Fred Bradley, Basil Jordan, Charles Robison, E. S. White, Louis White, George Ray, Lewis Wright, John Bullock, Weldon Gorem, Herman Briggs, Raymond Sanders, Arnold Parish, Brooks Lewis, Willie Frenck, William Garland, Andrew Wright, and Howard Alexander.

Where Congress Failed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 9 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM WASHINGTON POST OF WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1940

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Post of Wednesday, October 9, 1940, entitled "Where Congress Failed," involving the National Labor Relations Board.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, October 9, 1940]

WHERE CONGRESS FAILED

Congress has become suddenly excited over the chaotic status of our national labor policy as it affects the defense program. It has good reason for concern, for the lack of a consistent and workable policy in this field may seriously delay the production of necessary weapons. The strange thing is that Congress is only now beginning to see the dangers of the course it has followed.

Several months ago the House attempted to bring some order out of the confusion surrounding the National Labor Relations Board. That was before Congress had recognized the alarming weakness of our national defenses. When it became clear that a major industrial effort was essential to our national security, this legislation should have been given a prominent place among the foremost defense measures.

Actually, it was pigeonholed by the Senate Labor Committee. The Senate appears to have worked under the false impression that preparedness can be attained merely by spending unlimited sums of money and by drafting men into the Army. Even while ordering vast quantities of airplanes, tanks, guns, and fighting ships, the Senate blandly ignored the appeal from both labor and employers for relief from the arbitrary conduct of the N. L. R. B.

So it is not surprising that the defense program is now jeopardized by the administration's chaotic labor policy. Nor is Congress in any position to lay responsibility for this predicament at the feet of the National Defense Commission or the Attorney General. Congress should have modified the Labor Relations Act to make it workable. Its failure to do so comes dangerously close to being an act of sabotage against the defense program.

Months ago the Smith committee investigating the N. L. R. B. made clear that it had lost the confidence of labor as well as employers. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, accused the board of maladministration, bias, lack of judicial conduct, and distortion of the law. "We believe that the act has been administered," he said, "contrary to both its spirit and letter." To this John L. Lewis later added his comment to the effect that the act had been "so administered as to thwart the development and maintenance of stable industrial relations."

Chairman Madden's own correspondence revealed an attempt to blacklist employers even when they had been merely accused of violating the Labor Relations Act. The Smith committee heard testimony to the effect that the N. L. R. B. made its findings on the basis of "substantial evidence rather than on a preponderance of the evidence." Various cases of extra-legal pressure activities against employers, such as aiding a boycott, were revealed.

In the face of a Supreme Court decision, the board undertook to force reinstatement of employees who had engaged in a sit-down strike. The Smith committee even found it desirable to propose an amendment guaranteeing to employers the right of free speech which the N. L. R. B. had jeopardized in some instances.

Yet the Senate has ignored this sore spot in the vast regulatory system which now virtually controls the economic life of the Nation. It has ordered full speed ahead with a gigantic armament program without attempting to remove these grave hurdles in the way of a smooth-working relationship between industry and labor.

It is reassuring to hear from Secretary Knox and Assistant Secretary Patterson that the Navy and Army will not consider Attorney General Jackson's recent informal opinion binding in the letting of defense contracts. In other words, companies may be put to work building arms and ammunition even though they may be appealing to the courts for relief from N. L. R. B. decisions. That sensible attitude will permit the program to go forward much faster than it otherwise could.

There is no reason to suppose, however, that the major problem of labor relations in the defense industries has been disposed of. Until defects in the law have been corrected and its administration is entrusted to a board which can command the confidence of labor, employers and the public the roster of essential defense legislation will remain conspicuously incomplete.

Walter-Logan Bill—Administrative Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS T. MALONEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 9 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

LETTER BY ALFRED JARETZKI, JR., IN NEW YORK TIMES OCTOBER 6, 1940

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an interesting letter written by Attorney Alfred Jaretzki, Jr., which appeared in the New York Times of Sunday, October 6.

Mr. Jaretzki's letter refers to the Walter-Logan bill. He appears to have studied the proposal carefully; and at a time when so many people are so much interested in this bill, I thing it appropriate that these people have an opportunity to read this comment upon it. I do not know Mr. Jaretzki.

I am asking for the insertion of the article in the RECORD only for the purpose of trying to be helpful, as this measure is under consideration.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Sunday, October 6, 1940]

SOME SERIOUS FAULTS ARE FOUND IN THE WALTER-LOGAN BILL—ADMITTING NEED FOR OVERHAULING OF ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES, ONE WHO HAS STUDIED THE MEASURE BELIEVES PROCEDURE RECOMMENDED IS UNWISE

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I read with real regret your editorial of September 25 on the Walter-Logan bill, as it seemed to me quite evident that the writer of this editorial in common with many others has a total misconception as to the bill and its effect.

Perhaps I should identify myself by saying that I am a member of the committee on administrative law of the Bar Association of the city of New York, which committee jointly with the committee on Federal legislation of that association, by the unanimous action of the membership of both committees and after careful study, disapproved the Walter-Logan bill; and that I have written a detailed analysis of this bill, which was printed in the Louisiana Law Review of January 1940.

It may be helpful if I first were to explain in general terms what the main provisions of the bill are. In this connection I might

say that the bill is so loosely drafted that it is impossible in a number of instances to understand what is meant or how it will operate. This is due to the fact that it has never had adequate consideration. It was approved by the Senate committee without hearings and by the House committee after perfunctory hearings only. The body of the American Bar Association approved it apparently on principle, on the theory that it would have detailed consideration and amendment before it became law. Its support stems in large measure from hostility to the New Deal agencies, without distinction between objections to the substance of the law administered and objections to the discretion exercised or abused by those administering the law.

VIEWED AS WARNING

Many who feel—and in my judgment rightly—that the Federal administrative process needs overhauling have endorsed the bill because of their agreement on principle, without taking time to study the bill and its effects. In fact, I have good reason to believe that many who voted in favor of the bill did so as a warning to the administrative agencies, but with the expectation that this particular bill, which they knew to be faulty, would never become law.

In effect there are four main parts to the bill:

1. The bill provides for public hearings on all rules and regulations issued by agencies subject to the act and the publication of such rules and regulations in the Federal Register before such rules and regulations shall become effective. Such publication may be waived upon declaration by the President that a public emergency exists. It is possible that this emergency exemption was intended to cover the public hearings as well and that it is through faulty draftsmanship that this purpose was not effected.

2. Provision is made for review by the Federal courts of any such rules and regulations (in advance of any specific controversy) if challenged as to their constitutionality or compliance with the act under which they are issued.

3. Every single-headed agency (as distinguished from a commission) is required to provide for an administrative board of three, to which appeals within the agency can be taken by persons aggrieved, and in the case of commissions similar procedure is authorized but not required. An attempt is made in a very general way to prescribe the procedure within such agency, but the language of the act in this respect is so confused that it is impossible to tell what the proposed procedure is and what the effect on existing statutes is in this as well as in other respects. Matters which may be brought for review before intraagency boards are excessively broad in scope, far beyond any possible degree of reasonableness; but here again the language is so confused that as to a number of situations of real importance it is impossible to determine whether they fall within the scope of the act or not.

REVIEW SCOPE TOO BROAD

4. Provision is made for a greater scope of review than exists in respect of most existing statutes upon appeal to court from decisions of the agencies. It should also be noted that there are a great many agencies excepted from the scope of the act. Such exceptions for the most part were not made on any logical grounds, but were due to practical considerations of opposition within the American Bar Association itself, which sponsored the act. Groups having to do with specific agencies did not want such agencies to be affected by the act.

Now, as to the first part of the bill, namely, public hearings before the issue of rules and regulations, I believe that there is room for legitimate difference of opinion as to the advisability in the abstract of such public hearings. My own view is that the theoretical considerations which favor such hearings are in many instances outweighed by practical considerations of greater expedition and economy of effort where rules and regulations are issued after conference rather than after public hearing. This is from the point of view of persons affected as well as from the point of view of the agency involved.

Whether or not my view, which is based on experience, is correct, I think there can be no doubt that there are certain types of rules and regulations, either because they are of relatively minor importance or because they affect situations which may require prompt action or for other special reasons, which do not lend themselves to a general pattern.

Thus rules governing the use of radio for the purpose of saving lives at sea and in the air must frequently be adopted in short order and cannot be made at extensive public hearings. Rules issued by the Securities and Exchange Commission providing a complicated form of registration in respect to both the issuance and listing of securities are of so technical a nature as not readily to lend themselves to the procedure of public hearings, even if certain other types of rules issued by that Commission may. On the other hand, existing statutes, as in the case of the Bituminous Coal Act of 1937 and the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938, require in many instances a much greater degree of formality than is provided in the proposed bill.

UNIFORMITY NOT DESIRABLE

It is not to be expected that uniformity is desirable among agencies that carry on quite distinct functions. Thus the Securities and Exchange Commission, among other things, regulates the issuance of securities, stock exchanges, over-the-counter markets, public utilities, investment companies and trust indentures, as well as the conduct of persons in relation to such matters; the Procurement Division of the Treasury exercises proprietary functions incidental to the ownership of property on the part of the Government; the Post Office Department carries on the business of delivery of mail for remuneration; the Veterans' Bureau administers relief; and the Department of the Interior leases lands not primarily for profit but for public service.

It seems to me obvious that a careful consideration of this subject must lead to the conclusion that uniformity is not to be expected in all these different classes of situations, and that only a careful study of the functioning of each agency, such as has been conducted by the Attorney General's committee, can make available the facts upon which to base a conclusion in each instance.

While to some extent the development of variations between the requirements of the different acts under which the agencies function may have been on a hit-or-miss basis and partly due to a difference in approach occasioned by changing points of view between the times of the passage of the various acts, it is nevertheless fair to assume that in the main the subject of adaptability to the particular problems received reasonably adequate consideration in the formulation of the respective laws governing the various agencies. This does not mean that it would not be wise to review these laws, but it does mean that it is foolish to stand on the assumption that uniformity is either desirable or possible without a careful consideration of the subject matter.

FEDERAL PROCEDURE DIFFERENT

What I have said in relation to public hearings on rules and regulations applies also to the other matters covered by the act. This is particularly true in respect of judicial review of rules, wherein addition to the question of its applicability to special situations it must be recognized that this proposal is a radical departure from existing Federal procedure.

Testing the validity of statutes in actions for declaratory judgments is a procedure of growing acceptance in State courts, but conditions under Federal laws are in many respects quite different and of much wider application than under State laws, and it would certainly seem sounder to proceed cautiously with the application of this procedure.

There can be no doubt that the objectives of the third category, namely, the establishment of procedure for internal review of administrative actions, are sound. However, as has been indicated, it goes much too far in the extent to which review is provided for, and again it seems utterly impossible and undesirable to legislate so broadly in respect of so many administrative agencies without a study of the effect of such legislation on each agency. The extent of review within the agency is the same as the extent of matters which are made appealable to the courts, and therefore will be touched on briefly in that connection.

The subject of the scope of judicial review by the courts of acts of administrative agencies is one on which there is great difference of opinion among lawyers and others who have given thought to this subject, and I therefore certainly cannot insist that my own view is right. That view is that the benefits of expedition and efficiency which the administrative process is designed to make possible will be greatly nullified by too extensive an application of judicial review. Not only is there the danger that the courts will be swamped with a detail of work for which they have not time and are not qualified, but there is the further danger that the effect on the operations of administrative agencies is likely to be one of encouraging a legalistic and technical handling of situations which the administrative process is designed to avoid.

Be that as it may, in my mind there can be no doubt that there is ground for distinctions between different types of agencies and different types of situations. For example, some decisions of administrative bodies involve, in part at least, purely administrative decisions, while others are purely judicial in that they involve only such consideration as would normally come before a court.

A decision of the Securities and Exchange Commission refusing approval of the acquisition of securities or utility assets under section 10 of the Public Utility Act of 1935, involving a determination, among other things, that such acquisition would either unduly complicate the capital structure of the holding company system of the applicant or would be detrimental to the public interest or the interest of investors or consumers, or the proper functioning of such holding company system would come within the former category, while an order expelling an individual or firm from the Stock Exchange would probably constitute an adjudication involving no administrative determination. Mind you, this is quite aside from the grave question as to the wisdom of granting so broad a discretion as above to an administrative body, without setting up adequate standards, and the question of the feasibility of this type of regulation, etc.

At the present time there is no right of court review of proceedings of the Veterans' Administration. Obviously, major reasons of policy dictated these provisions. But whether or not these provisions and the policy which dictated them are sound, it must be clear that the existing law was enacted with special reference to particular problems, and that it should not lightly be discarded without any consideration whatever of these problems, as would be the case under the Walter-Logan bill.

BLANKET EDICT DISAPPROVED

Other instances where Congress has in the past apparently concluded that special circumstances required special treatment are in relation to the Civil Service Commission, dealing with matters of Government personnel; the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation under the Department of Commerce, having the power to suspend or revoke licenses of pilots, masters, engineers, etc., and to administer the steamboat inspection laws. Surely an administrative determination dealing with questions of safety of life at sea does not ipso facto call for the same degree of judicial review as proceedings for the suspension of a member from the Stock Exchange. And while employees of the Government are entitled, through access to boards of review, to protection against the possibility of capricious acts of their superiors, there seems to be no need to involve the judiciary in the adjustment of problems of this sort. In any event, these are matters for individual consideration which cannot be dealt with soundly by blanket legislation.

Now the editorial in the Times to which I have referred seems to take the point of view that, it being fairly generally admitted that evils do exist, and that there is danger of excessive bureaucratic power, any remedy is better than none; that the opponents of the bill have made no concrete suggestions, and that uniformity of procedure is in itself so obviously desirable that the burden of proof is on those demanding exceptions.

It would seem to me that the first point cannot be seriously urged, and as a matter of fact I am firmly convinced that the passage of the Walter-Logan bill, far from being even a hastily considered step in the right direction, would do far more harm than good.

The criticism that no suggestions have been made by those opposed to the bill is occasioned, I believe, by a lack of understanding of the situation, which I trust may have been somewhat removed by my perhaps too lengthy, but nevertheless inadequate, review of the bill.

MORE STUDY URGED

The suggestion that has been made by opponents of the bill is that the whole matter be thoroughly studied by competent persons, and their position is that without any such study it is impossible to make any responsible concrete suggestions. No such study had been made prior to the study by the Attorney General's committee, which I believe is not yet complete, or at least not public in its completed form.

And as to the last suggestion, that the burden of proof ought to be on those demanding the exceptions to uniformity, I think that if the burden of proof is on them it has been met. In this connection I refer to the minority report of the House Committee on the Judiciary, to the analysis prepared by Professor Blachly of the Brookings Institution, and submitted to the House committee, to the evidence presented to the House committee by various of the Federal agencies affected, and perhaps to my own analysis of the bill appearing in the Louisiana Law Review of January 1940.

ALFRED JARETZKI, Jr.

NEW YORK, *October 1, 1940.*

Who Pays the Taxes?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, New Deal Vice Presidential candidate Henry Wallace has been telling the people not to worry about Federal expenditures, taxes, and debt. He said that taxes and debts are paid only by the wealthy and not by the rank and file of the people. He does not agree with President Roosevelt, who said: "Taxes are paid in the sweat of every man who labors." As a matter of fact, 25 cents out of every dollar received as wages, salary, or farm income, go to pay hidden taxes when the money is spent in trade. Approximately 75 percent of all taxes are passed on to the ultimate consumer. The former Secretary of Agriculture may fool himself, but he cannot fool the people—for they know that they are paying more than their share of the taxes.

Mr. Speaker, another matter of vital importance to our country. Deceit and corruption, as practiced by leading New Deal bosses like Hague, Kelly, Nash, Pendergast, Tammany, and others, at the expense of the people, must be stopped.

The American people demand honesty in government, elimination of wasteful expenditures, lower taxes, national unity free from class hatred, the opportunity to work at an American wage, business and agricultural recovery free from bureaucratic persecution, adequate national defense to fully protect us from all enemies, foreign and domestic, and the continuation of our Republic as a land wherein free men and women may continue to live at peace in the American way. These thoughts represent my stand for the future America.

Down Into the Hell of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, September 7, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, down into the hell of a war—in no sense our war—the President would plunge us to satisfy his ambition to break the American tradition that no man should be elected the third time to the Presidency, and in order that he may go down in history as America's first dictator.

You will remember that the President authorized Senator BARKLEY to say at the Chicago convention that he "has never had, and has not today, any desire or purpose to continue in the office of President, to be a candidate for that office, or to be nominated by the convention for that office."

The falsity of that statement is shown by the President's own acts. For months, his friends, without rebuke, have driven forward in an effort to create a situation where he could claim that his continuance in office was indispensable to the Nation's welfare.

He said he had no desire for a third term. Some of his most intimate friends and ardent supporters have characterized that statement as an untruth. The American people, as a people, know it to be untrue.

He has given the people to understand that only in the event of a great emergency, threatening the very existence of our Nation, should the third-term tradition be broken. There was no such emergency. So the President, by his threatening attitude, his verbal attacks upon foreign nations and their rulers; by his unneutral acts, which were in violation not only of our own criminal statutes but of the articles adopted at the Hague Convention, has created a synthetic emergency—all for the purpose of justifying his drive to establish himself as our first dictator. If today we are in danger of war, it is because of the President's provocative utterances, his unneutral acts.

By his speech delivered to Congress on May 16, 1940, but addressed primarily to the people of the United States, he frightened them by intimating that not only the seacoast of our land but interior cities were in imminent danger of bombardment.

He told us in effect that we had no national defense; that we were open to successful invasion by a foreign foe. Thus he created fear and war hysteria. Having declared that a limited emergency existed, having frightened our people until they were hysterical, he then began his drive for the powers of a dictator.

Working upon their fears, appealing to their patriotism, he induced Congress, many of whose Members do not trust him, to vote billions of dollars for national defense without imposing proper restrictions upon the expenditure of those sums.

This successful move on his part placed at his disposal more than $10,000,000,000, to be expended where it best might advance his political interests, as was corruptly spent a large portion of the funds appropriated for relief.

The President then took the next step by demanding that he be given authority to call out the National Guard for

training and to send them anywhere in the Western Hemisphere and to our island possessions. The hypocrisy of this move, which was heralded as one for the training of the National Guard for defense, is shown by the fact that, on his demand, all amendments to limit the services of these guardsmen, when called, to the continental United States, the Panama Canal Zone, and our island possessions were voted down.

The chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, explaining the bill, said that, in effect, it was a declaration by Congress that an emergency existed. This was the declaration which the President wanted. It will be his excuse for declaring that a national emergency exists.

The calling of the guard, the passage of the Conscription Act, taken together with his belligerent acts, are equivalent to a declaration of war. So the people of the United States find themselves, by adroit political maneuvering, in a position where, although many of their Congressmen promised, through letter, newspaper articles, and public addresses, that they would never vote to again send American men to fight on foreign soil, they will be conscripted and forced, if Roosevelt wills, to fight and die on foreign soil.

So, once more on the pages of the history of the world was written another chapter, as a chapter was written in the time of Napoleon, when the mad ambition of one man plunged his people into a war which destroyed their national existence.

If this man Roosevelt succeeds in involving us in war, in establishing himself as a dictator, he will go down in history as the man who bankrupted a prosperous nation of more than 140,000,000 contented, happy people. He will go down in history as the man who destroyed the civil and the religious liberty, independence, and freedom which our forefathers won through 8 long years of hardship and suffering and gave us in their stead a totalitarian form of government.

If he succeeds, he will go down in history as the man whose greed for power, whose callousness to human suffering, sacrificed on the altar of his ambition the world's greatest and last true democracy.

Roosevelt should be defeated. He should not be permitted to drag us into the hell of another world war.

Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FRANCIS HARTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

Mr. HARTER of New York. Mr. Speaker, 161 years ago this coming Friday, Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski passed away as the result of wounds received 161 years ago today at the siege of Savannah, Ga. It was the lot of this great soldier to choose to come to the aid of our United States of America from his native Poland to assist the States in their struggle for freedom and independence. To offer one's services to a group of loosely knit Colonies in revolt—in their fight for freedom—truly marks any man as a great patron of the weak. To leave one's native country and travel thousands of miles to lead in battles for the freedom of another people marks such a man as a humane, brave, and great soldier and leader.

Such attributes and such activities define the life path of the man we officially remember on Friday, October 11, 1940. By act of Congress the President of the United States was authorized to proclaim that day General Pulaski's Memorial Day. The President's proclamation has been issued and on this coming Friday marks the day when throughout the great United States of America we are privileged to display the Stars and Stripes in memory of him who gave his all that we this day might enjoy the fruits of freedom in our great Republic.

Dedications, parades, and other acts in honor of this great soldier are to mark the observance of General Pulaski's Memorial Day, but in none of these activities will greater sincerity and respect prevail than in the observance scheduled in our great city of Buffalo, N. Y.—for Buffalo and Erie County. A great pouring out, a great parade, and just tribute will there be paid to this magnificent hero whose blood spilled on our soil has helped to bring forth what we insist is, and will remain, a great Republic—a beacon light for the guidance and hope of all free peoples of this world.

America thanks God and reveres the memory of the General—one of noble Poland's noblest. In cherishing his memory, we rededicate our lives to the continued enhancement of freedom within these shores, praying at the same time that especially during these times of world turmoil God will continue to bless America. General Pulaski, your guiding spirit is ever present urging us to follow freedom for a great and noble United States of America.

Political Tyranny

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 9 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM WASHINGTON POST OF FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1940

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Post of Friday, October 4, 1940, entitled "Political Tyranny," dealing with requirements of Democratic nominees in Virginia.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post of Friday, October 4, 1940

Many friends of Senator GLASS must have been amazed last week when he was quoted as saying that he will vote for President Roosevelt in spite of the Senator's stiff opposition to a third term. Mr. GLASS took a courageous stand against the renomination of President Roosevelt even at the Chicago convention. His opposition to much of the New Deal is also a well-known fact. It would be surprising, indeed, if the senior Senator from Virginia were not accused of voting against his convictions.

What many people fail to realize is that Senator GLASS and other public officials in Virginia are virtually forced to take the stand he has taken. Since 1932 the Democratic Party of the Old Dominion has compelled every candidate for public office to swear his allegiance to all the party's nominees before they can get their own names on the primary ballot.

In other words, a Democratic candidate in Virginia is required to swear on his sacred honor that he "voted for all the nominees of said party at the next preceding general election * * * in which the Democratic nominee or nominees had opposition." He must further pledge that he will "support and vote for all the nominees of the said party in the next ensuing general election."

That sweeping pledge completely robs public officials in Virginia of their discretion at the polls. Like the German people, they may vote for only those candidates chosen by the party. To do otherwise would be to terminate their political careers, for exclusion of a person from the Democratic primaries in Virginia is almost equivalent to banning him from public life.

Party discipline is essential to the maintenance of strong political organizations. In this instance, however, the Democratic Party of Virginia has come dangerously near to acceptance of the totalitarian system. To keep his own name before the voters, moreover, a Senator or Representative under this rule may find it necessary to vote for a racketeer or for hopelessly incompetent persons who may have been nominated by local machines.

If the plight in which Senator GLASS finds himself brings about a reexamination of this vicious practice, at least one good purpose will be served. It is inconceivable that a party organization which cherishes the tradition of Virginia democracy will continue to impose this tyrannical rule upon public servants if the issue is clearly raised.

National Problems—The Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES A. SHANLEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE CORRIERE DEL CONNECTICUT, OF NEW HAVEN, CONN., AUGUST 30, 1940

Mr. SHANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am taking the liberty of including under my unanimous consent a particularly splendid editorial coming from one of our foreign-language newspapers. It is most unjust that in the intemperate accusations and condemnations of all foreign-language newspapers that the vast majority of excellent ones should suffer for the faults of few. I certainly am proud to say that this has fulfilled the best traditions of American journalism and in my estimation can stand the closest scrutiny. It is with pleasure therefore that I put this editorial, written by its publisher, Gino Santella. He has always been a deep student of Washington, and that peerless guide has had a profound influence on his genuine Americanism.

[From the Corriere del Connecticut, of New Haven, Conn., August 30, 1940]

NATIONAL PROBLEMS—THE DEFENSE

We remain firm in our conviction that at the present time no imminent dangers or threats exist against the United States.

This notwithstanding, we agree with those who, with a strong feeling of patriotism and conscientious responsibility, ask for and insist upon an adequate, strong, and invincible national defense, because we believe that, in the face of present-day conditions, might to oppose might represents the best and most practical security.

America for this reason must make herself safe within her large boundaries. The security must be material and spiritual, since the former cannot function if not strengthened and substantiated by the latter. Rather, the first preparation for a strong defense must be spiritual and must emanate from the most tenacious and dynamic patriotism. Not the electoral or superficial patriotism, that is, the patriotism of festive occasions, which is vulgar, false, and dangerous.

It is necessary that we have that patriotism which is inspired by noble and high devotion; by sacrifice and duty. The patriotism which is capable of every human heroism; of every generous action; which does not recognize the Herculean pillars of individual interests, of personal safety, and other human passions.

America, in other words, needs not the hollow patriotism of the politician, which is prompted by personal interests, greed, and ambition, but the loyal, pure, and sweet patriotism of those truly citizens, who love the country not only for the benefits which it offers in material fields, but for what it represents or should represent in the grateful hearts and souls of her children. A pure and holy ideal, a noble inspiration, which must thrill and exalt; a sacred heritage left to us by our fathers, who suffered, who shed tears and blood to give us this country, to give us a free home for the rearing of our families; an altar upon which to kneel and pray; the field necessary for our activities; and unlimited means for developing a high standard of living in the society of mankind.

The American citizens, in going through the pages of their history, of that great and heroic history, will find abundant examples of the most pure and dynamic patriotism, beginning with the Father of the Country, the man who gave all and asked nothing; who lived in Puritan humility, although occupying the highest place in American history; who was the center of the love, passion, and veneration of the millions of people freed from the savage foreigner and foreign tyranny. Freed by his heroic action, by his intrepid and generous heart, which ignored danger and difficulties, even when they seemed insurmountable, and even at the peril of his own life.

Washington was not interested in politics, but in America. He established the formidable foundation of the new Republic which was to become later the most incredible prodigy of modern times. When the moment for battle arrived, even though they were inferior materially, the pioneers, the believers in the destiny of the new Republic, arose and gathered, without discussion, around their great leader and went from battle to battle, creating in a glorious aurora of victory the United States of America.

It is necessary, in this hour of darkness for the world and difficult moments even for this Nation, to go back to the past and review the history of those who nobly sacrificed themselves for the greatness and the future of the country. It is necessary, we repeat, to revive the deeds of our fathers, while in Washington there drags along a deplorable and lagging discussion on conscription; a discussion which does not represent a test of patriotism, of loyalty, and devotion toward America. A discussion which surely will not please, but rather make the great dead of the Nation shudder in their graves.

The approval of conscription by Congress does not require so much discussion, because the main object of the bill concerns the safety of the country.

The events of today, without going back to their origin, impose upon America a strong and practical defense, and toward this defense must converge the will and the acts of the Government and of all the citizens, and each and every one must accept his share of responsibility and fulfill the duty that will be assigned to him.

Any effort tending to distract the will of the Nation from the creation of its defense is unpatriotic. The legislators must bear in mind that, if it is possible to make an airplane in a day, it is not possible to make a pilot in a day.

The soul is something that cannot be molded like any ordinary material in a workshop. The machine would be ineffective and useless without a heart and an intelligence to make it dynamic.

Your Freedom at Stake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. STERLING COLE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

ADDRESS BY GEORGE BARTON CUTTEN, PRESIDENT OF COLGATE UNIVERSITY

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following convocation address delivered at Colgate University, September 18, 1940, by George Barton Cutten, president of Colgate University:

YOUR FREEDOM AT STAKE

In our ears, today, the words of the immortal Lincoln ring with an ominous portent. As he overlooks the field at Gettysburg can you not hear him say, "Government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth"? We wonder. Battles for freedom are never settled: eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and periodically the war has to be refought.

A few years ago it would have been a safe prophecy to predict that autocracy had received its death blow, and that the American way of life, with its foundations rooted in democracy, was joining hands with its sisters across the oceans and gathering the world in its kindly and hospitable arms. Take another look at this same world today. Dictators have arisen everywhere; they have grasped the reins of government and regimented and enslaved their people, abolished free speech, free press, and free religion, dictated every movement of every citizen; even Russia in the days of the Czars would have been an independent and unrestricted people compared with the totalitarian puppets of today.

Not content with extracting the last drop of freedom from their own people, their felonious fingers have reached over to their smaller and weaker neighbors, and with no consideration for the laws of God or the rights of men, by means of invasion, murder, plunder, and rapine, they have reduced these peace-loving peoples to the same serfdom as they had imposed on their own subjects. Might has triumphed—there has been no right. Terror has reigned in every European heart. Justice, if not dead, has been sleeping; kindness, humanity, and sympathy have become obsolete words; ferocity, barbarity, and hate have taken their place.

The slimy dragon has grown by what 'twas fed on, and its rapacious appetite has become insatiable as one country after another has been devoured. Freedom is having its last stand, with the British Commonwealth of Nations and this country as the main bulwarks of liberty. Is it any wonder that our own security is questioned, and fear clutches our hearts?

Having partially recovered from the debauch into which the pacifists and isolationists have seduced us, we are now emerging from the dream of sweetness and good will into the real world of strife and greed. It is just too bad, but we simply did not live in that kind of a world. Our diplomatic protests attracted as little attention as Robert's Rules of Order at Macy's bargain counter. We are now spending billions for defense, we are devoting all our energies to provide instruments of war, we are prepared to sacrifice our lives in order to salvage our ideals and to combat any incursion on our freedom. We are warning the dictator nations to stay away.

In the midst of this confusion and bewilderment and fear there is one question which continually intrudes itself upon us. It is this: Is it worth while to fight the regimentation of European dictators if in the meantime we lose our freedom at home? This danger haunts us!

Trace, if you will, the history of man from the time his ancestors were one-celled mechanisms in the primordial slime, and what is the direction of his advancement? Always toward freedom. First, an immobile organism unable to move from place to place, later with a much confined movement, and then developing limbs so as to become acquainted with the localities surrounding him, until at last by coach, train, and automobile he conquered the land; by oars, sails, and propellers he conquered the sea; and by balloon, dirigible, and airplane he conquered the air, and his last restriction to physical freedom was removed.

Analagous to that has been his political advancement. Only a few days ago in the biological history of man, he was a serf attached to the land with no more control of his destiny than the ox which he drove. He obtained a glimpse of a free life, and King John was compelled to attach his seal to the Magna Carta. Then the struggle, of which man had received the first glamorous taste, was continued through the conflict between crown and barons, the common people and the aristocracy, until finally the people, not to be denied, demanded complete freedom, and, climaxing their strife in our own revolution, they became really free.

Lincoln began his imperishable Gettysburg address by saying that "our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation conceived in liberty," and that is true; let us see how they did it.

The earliest white settlers on this continent were undoubtedly adventurers, but adventurers always had freedom in their blood. When tales of the returned wanderers were heard, the appeal of a new continent stirred the souls of the oppressed—religious liberty appealed to all nonconformists, the call of the land challenged the serf, political freedom summoned the oppressed. Here was the land of opportunity, without restriction or regimentation, except that which was self-imposed.

The result exceeded even the dreams of the most optimistic. No man became a chattel tied to the land and conveyed with it, but each man had his own plot or farm; no man was a slave of another man's business, but conducted his own, if nothing more than as the village blacksmith, shoemaker, or tailor; no man was ruled, but each went to the polls with head erect and voted for his own representative to conduct the public affairs; no man was forced to accept any religious creed or control, but each worshipped God according to the dictates of his own conscience. The fruits of each man's initiative and perserverance were his own, the results of his skill and labor no one could wrest from him, the profits of his foresight and efficiency were his to control and to spend. If he gained by his planning and industry his was the gain, if he lost through lack of wisdom and application his was the loss—that was the keynote of the independence and freedom of the American way of life, that was and must always be the central point of social justice—reward of the efficient, but no bonus to the impotent. Truly it seemed as though in the American way the words of the prophet Micah had been fulfilled when he said, "But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it."

But that kind of America for which our forefathers yearned and worked and fought seems to be out of fashion. Liberties so dearly bought are being sacrificed for a mess of pottage, and the results seem to show more mess than pottage. In the name of planned economy the individual has been jettisoned. No planned economy has resulted, but instead we have accomplished a planned autocracy. Our national economy is really unimproved, we have simply got used to it, and instead we have accepted the yoke of domination and regimentation, making the sacrifice of cherished privileges and rights in exchange for unfulfilled promises.

The technique by which public power has been appropriated by individuals is a familiar one: An emergency has been the excuse. Oh, emergency; what robberies have been committed in thy name; what promises have been shattered in thy service; what rights have been sacrificed on thy altar; what laws have been repudiated on a hint from thee! Every European dictator owes his power to his use of the emergency bugaboo, and centuries of struggle for liberty are chained to its chariot wheels.

The people of this country recognized that the only way to retain their liberty was to maintain their political power in their own hands. This could be delegated temporarily, but never released. However, during the past few years we have seen this power seductively appropriated—always in one direction—until we have awakened to find ourselves under domination instead of being the free people we claim to be. In four ways we have seen this freedom abducted.

I. OVERRIDING CONGRESS

In the first place, by the delegation of undreamed power into the hands of the Chief Executive. During his first campaign, one of the most bitter and virulent strictures which Mr. Roosevelt made of the previous administration was his criticism of excessive spending on the part of Mr. Hoover, and his condemnation of the unbalanced Budget. The most solemn pledges of governmental economy and thrift were made to the electorate. He even definitely stated that he would decrease the expense of the Government 25 percent. It was not long, however, before it was realized that one of the chief sources of power was huge sums of money to spend. This had usually been confined to modest amounts in election years.

Thousands and millions of money were formerly the measure of spending, but not so now. Billions became the standard, much of it borrowed. This was not only demanded of Congress, but the demand included the understanding that it should be expended according to the whims and vagaries of one man. There probably has never in the history of the world been an example of equal waste, extravagance, squandering, and frittering away of other people's money, as the orgy of dissipation of the past few years. The paying of people for not raising crops which they never intended to raise, and the destruction of livestock which would have fed hungry people are but gentle reminders of the waste. Whatever other objects may have been indefinitely in mind, it was undoubtedly realized that this lavish use of money must contribute to the strengthening of the political power of the open-handed spendthrift who controlled the waste. The Congresses which subserviently submitted to the demands were as culpable as the dictator who arrogantly made them.

The farmers, the laborers, the veterans, the unemployed, and other special groups, who sacrificed their liberty for the regimentation which was proposed, now find themselves the victims of such action rather than the beneficiaries; after all, it is the people whose incomes are in the lower brackets who ultimately pay the taxes. The fact that the obligations of the Government have arisen far above the debt limit seems not to have caused the least hesitation or to have suggested the slightest pause. The Christmas spirit need never be dampened so long as other people's money is available to supply the presents. Of course, we give presents only to those from whom we expect some return.

The matter of the control of vast sums of money directly demanded of Congress is but one illustration of the powers which Congress, because of demand, threat, and compulsion, has handed over to the President to such an extent that he, himself, has ceased to think that the will of the Nation is expressed through their elected Representatives, but, to the contrary, through himself. To quote his own forceful, if not elegant, words after his second inaugural address was completed, "That's not asking them; that's telling them," and, naturally, with that point of view, anyone who differed from him was a public enemy.

Probably no better illustration of the usurpation of power could be given than the bootless appointment of Mr. Myron C. Taylor as an Ambassador to the Vatican, an ambassadorship which had been discontinued by Congress and could only be legally revived by Congress, but in which Congress was entirely ignored. Another example of the usurpation of legislative rights by the President has been the conclusion of Executive agreements with Canada on the subject of mutual defense and with Great Britain on the subject of defense bases and destroyers. Undoubtedly such agreements were desirable—very desirable—but the method is questionable. An executive agreement does not technically bind the countries whose executives make it, but it has all the moral obligation and practical implications of a treaty and is a subterfuge by which the executive circumvents the constitutional provisions for treaty making. The Constitution provides that all treaties must be approved by the Senate, but in all these cases the prerogatives of the Senate were never recognized, and the Executive virtually assumed for himself the treaty-making power without the quiver of an eyelash.

Thus it has been that the powers which our fathers planned should be retained by the people through their Representatives have been demanded by and surrendered to the President. Starting as the chief servant of the people, he has emerged as the chief ruler.

II. COMMISSIONS AND AUTHORITIES

The second method by which power has been wrested from the people was more through indirection. A few years ago the President warned us that there had recently been built up great instruments of power. These, he modestly implied, were so gigantic that they could not be trusted to anyone else. He was referring, of course, to the commissions or authorities which had been created by Congress at his demand and endowed with more powers than Congress itself possessed. After the formation of these "authorities" (and really the word was well chosen) they were responsible only to the President.

The Constitutional Convention and accepted American procedure provided a series of checks and balances—Congress to make the laws, the Executive to enforce them, and the courts to decide on their constitutionality and just enforcement. These "authorities," however, outwitted and short-cut these wise precautions. After their formation, they made the laws, they prosecuted supposed offenders, they sat as judge and jury, and they decided on the punishment. Nothing so autocratic and subversive of people's rights was ever before conceived in this country. Even the courts were powerless.

This, of course, was directly in line with the demand of the President that he should control the Supreme Court. Well, there is a limit beyond which even a "yes" Congress cannot be driven, and a boundary to "must" legislation, and Congress, seeing the last citadel of liberty threatened, did rebel, when it finally realized the malicious and insatiable attempt to destroy constitutional government in this country. This final show of independence on the part of our elected representatives gave encouragement to

those whose spirits rise above dictatorship and whose dream of freedom is not for sale.

III. USURPING THE POWER OF THE STATES

The third method of destroying our freedom has been by seizing the powers and prerogatives of the States and municipalities.

There are still people in the South who believe that "damned Yankees" is one word and who always spell "black Republican" with a hyphen. In their presence they never permit anyone to refer to the unpleasantness of 1861–65 as "the rebellion" or "the Civil War" but only as "the War between the States." Children are taught to talk and usually learn their letters from the true and uncontaminated history of the war, and Richmond is still the capital of the Confederacy. Notwithstanding the fact that the outcome of the war definitely settled the fact that this Nation was to be known as the United States, it is still referred to as these United States. Their grandfathers gave their last penny and their last drop of blood, fought in rags, and even permitted their women and children to starve to preserve State sovereignty and yet these grandchildren surrender without a murmur the most fundamental rights of States and even of municipalities to the Federal Government, so long as the demand is made by a so-called Democrat. Strange, isn't it?

It was during the Presidency of that great Democrat, Grover Cleveland, that, except as a war-financing measure, 1862–73, the first attempt was made to wrest from the States the privilege of levying income taxes, but this law was judged unconstitutional. Finally by a constitutional amendment the right was consummated during the administration of Woodrow Wilson. The importance of this action has hardly been recognized for without this our freedom could not be so easily crushed. It is because of the income taxes and its borrowing power that Washington is in a position to buy, coerce, and control the States, as has been so clearly demonstrated and so brazenly accomplished during the past few years. The Federal Government very frankly took the position that any State which refused to take orders from the Washington autocracy would be thereby deprived of the grants of Federal largess in which the subservient States were wallowing.

It was while the people were still stunned by the depression and were willing to try anything on a chance of getting out of it, that the National Recovery Act was foisted on them. This was the most impertinent attempt at a wholesale invasion of State rights ever undertaken by a frontal attack. The most petty businesses were to be controlled from Washington—garages, bakeries, barber shops were threatened with most dire consequences if they failed to walk the line marked out by the New Deal; this act was primarily the New Deal. Was it not a suit instituted for selling sick chickens that finally determined the unconstitutionality of the act? Nothing was too petty for the New Deal to endeavor to dominate.

The frontal attack having failed, the flanking maneuver was tried with greater success, and control by indirection, far more insidious and dangerous, was ordered. Social security, an invitation to ease and uselessness, was the bait used to cover the hook. For example, in order to receive a share of taxes which the Federal Government demanded that they levy, the States were forced to enact unemployment-insurance legislation. Prior to this only one State had unemployment insurance, now every State has and must have it or else be penalized by having all funds for this purpose withheld. These State laws must pass the detailed scrutiny of the Federal Government; even the accounting system is prescribed and the qualifications of the clerks are dictated by Washington. I am not arguing at this time whether or not such a program is desirable or distasteful, I am simply trying to show how the rights of the States have been broken down in order to augment central power.

Not content with larger game, the New Deal even descended to robbing the municipalities of their prerogatives in order to gather power into the hands of the Washington autocracy. The municipality is the unit of purest self-government and freedom, because there the individual can more definitely and directly make his demands, and register his desires, and see that they are carried out. But not so, even the smallest municipality must be on the leash.

The responsibility of caring for the needy of a community was one of the first Anglo-Saxon municipal duties and prerogatives. English poor laws are among the earliest statutes. To place this obligation upon the municipality was both sensible and sane. Every family and every individual was known, and there was no difficulty in separating the unfortunate and worthy from the lazy and shiftless. Jobs could be found or made, accommodations of different kinds could be provided, or, in cases of extreme need, private charity and neighborly good will rushed to the rescue. This was as it should be.

But this did not accomplish the desired result. The simple technique of purchasing votes by lavishing money upon the indigent is Tammany's monumental contribution to the New Deal. Even those Democrats who have always fought against Tammany influence at Washington have accepted the Tammany pattern. Hidden behind a variety of activities, and the bigness of the program, they failed to realize that they were swallowing Tammany in one mammoth dose. They awoke to find a completely Tammanyized Washington so strongly entrenched within the party as to be impregnable. To give or loan money to the municipalities for local distribution would miss the point. Take, for example, the bucolic village in which we live. We have always taken care of our poor and unfortunate, were glad to do so, needed no help, and asked for none. We were perfectly capable and willing to look after our own affairs. Unfortunately, we were not permitted to do so. With an arrogance which would resist the action of acids, the Federal Government insolently interfered and spent money here in a way to injure rather than to help, except, of course, in the matter of influencing votes.

Any attempt to remove power from the small unit and transfer it to a larger unit cripples our freedom and weakens democracy. When Washington steps in and compels us to pay our money, and then condescendingly gives back what politicians consider will accomplish their own purposes, we are robbed not only of our money but of our freedom, and not our wishes but those of a ruling bureaucracy are fulfilled.

It cannot be too emphatically noted at this critical moment that before Hitler could assume the dictatorship of Germany, it was necessary to amend the constitution so as to destroy the sovereignty of the States. Weak local units sap political freedom and invite dictatorship. Concentrated central power is too great a temptation to certain types of mind.

IV. THE THIRD TERM

Now the President's fourth method for shattering the provisions made by our fathers shows the extent to which the greed for power may capture a soul. This assumes a more serious aspect when we note the progressive and cumulative trend toward the increase of power into the hands of the President year after year during his two administrations. Probably no provision which was made by our fathers for continued freedom was more important than the two-term tradition and practice. You may ask, "Why two terms, and if two why not three?" Of course, the two-term limit is an arbitrary one, but, having been set, it marked the boundary of safety, and we can afford to sacrifice much rather than to run the risk of this final encroachment on our freedom.

Starting with General Washington, and continuing with other Presidents who had served two terms, the tradition has been loyally kept and vigorously maintained. Only one attempt to break it has appeared in our century and one-half of history, and that was not for a continuous service. However, the third-term yearning seems to be a family trait. So great is the threat to liberty in this unprecedented action on the part of the President that one prominent writer ventures the opinion that if there is a third term, there will be no further elections in the United States. While this opinion may seem extreme, it at least calls attention to the dangers to our liberties and the possibility of a climax to the building of a power machine. Certainly no European dictator ever controlled an organization more completely than the President bossed his so-called convention in Chicago this year, and his previous continued silence concerning his attitude toward the third term absolutely bound and gagged every other potential candidate.

One dislikes to refer to another matter, but it seems to show to what extent the urge to power can possess a man. If Senator BARKLEY correctly quoted President Roosevelt in his statement before the convention when he declared that Mr. Roosevelt authorized him to say that he "had never had, and has not today, any desire or purpose to continue in the office of President, to be a candidate for that office, or to be nominated by the convention for that office," then the only comment one can make appropriate to the occasion is that Mr. Roosevelt has a unique way of expressing himself, either in this statement or in his actions and attitudes the whole year previous to making this statement. At any rate, his chore boys did not so interpret him. Somebody seems to have been warbling off tune.

However humanitarian, altruistic, and benevolent the planners of the first term of the New Deal may seem to have been, even though at other people's expense, the objectives of the second term have been very thinly veiled. During these past 3 years, their passion for charity and their devotion to the downtrodden have not glowed with a pure flame. Politics, looking steadily toward a third term, has protruded at every pore.

There are only two arguments in favor of this unparalleled menace to our freedom, and they are far from convincing. The first one is our old friend emergency, found so useful by all dictators—ancient or modern. In fact, there is not only one emergency but two. I do not refer to the world crisis brought about by the European and Asiatic wars; that is only interesting as emphasizing the real emergencies. Neither do I refer to the domestic debacle, for even New Deal hysteria finds it difficult to prolong an emergency beyond 7 years. The two real emergencies are of another character. In the first place, there is the emergency in the New Deal party so severe that it is considered that only one man has any chance to continue the party's domination.

The second emergency is found in the fear and dread of an anticlimax. There are some people who can never be less than at concert pitch. How could the central political figure of the past few years continue in the limelight in retirement? He could neither go hunting in Africa like his illustrious cousin, nor could he visit the Kaiser and the European kings—the Kaiser is not receiving this year, and dictators have supplanted kings in most countries. Only a third term, which smashes all traditions and all theories and all practices of our Government, can really supply the publicity conditions—that is, a real emergency.

An emergency situation confronted George Washington and pressed him to serve a third term, but he evidently recognized a greater threat to liberty in a third term than in the combination

of events, as serious as they were, and he heroically refused. The emergency demand has been similarly repulsed by others. Has not England been meeting an emergency and a momentous one? Yet the English have changed leaders, undoubtedly to their profit.

The other argument, and apparently the real one, is that of all the 130,000,000 people in the United States there is only one capable of filling the office of President. All this psychological patter about the danger of an inferiority complex seems to have been overdone. Of course, we do not believe that only one person in our great country is capable of filling this position, and we resent the implication. The rule in business is that when a man thinks he is indispensable it is time to get rid of him. The President, to whom the Democratic Party evidently belongs, could find there a galaxy of able, trained, patriotic men, any one of whom could be trusted with the responsibilities of any known government. It is really fatal to take oneself so seriously.

And now we have heard a lot of high-sounding twaddle about the more abundant life which was to be brought to us by a planned economy and pinned upon everyone by act of Congress. Congress cannot create a more abundant life in any man any more than it can create beauty in the soul of a flower, or an invigorating tang in the heart of a November morning. The more abundant life is the product of a free spirit, and to enact laws to regiment men into a more abundant life is not only a futility but an absurdity. There are more abundant lives in cottages than in palaces, and the saints who fasted knew more of abundance in living than the kings who feasted.

Is there a real man anywhere who would not rather be free in a hovel than regimented in a castle? Freedom is the very breath of the spirit. A man should be free to think his own thoughts and to express them, free to choose his own work so as to give substance to his ideals, free to initiate new plans and to fulfill them, free to sell his services, be he peasant or merchant, free to join his companions in their enterprises or free to travel alone, free to sell his products when he wills and to whom he wills—free to be a man.

When we abstract from men their freedom, when we regiment them into things and numbers, when we kill ambition and the enterprising spirit we put an end to progress, we ring the knell on advancement. Even if we contend that there may be some temporary advantage to regimentation, the stunting or curbing of individuality, initiative, and endeavor is too large a price to pay for it. One invention produced by the genius of an untrammeled intellect may be of more advantage than the labor of slaves for a century. Freedom brings its own rewards in material gains, the spiritual results are extra dividends. To quench the spirit is to rob life of its vitality. Regimentation has never been the spirit of this country in the days of its greatness.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized, and we cannot be too frequently reminded, that the freedom to live our American way is not ours to dissipate. It is a costly treasure held by us in trust. Having been achieved by the longings and sacrifices and sweat and blood and tears of our ancestors, they transferred it to us to be carefully guarded and to be passed on, in turn, to our children and to their children. When our descendants claim their inheritance not one jot or one tittle shall be missing, but like the faithful steward, whom Jesus praised, we shall deliver to them their own with interest. No one must charge us with being dishonorable or delinquent, but our children and our grandchildren must think of us as men of honesty and integrity—as we revere our fathers and grandfathers—because we, like them, are willing to sacrifice ourselves in order that our children might enjoy the liberty which is the birthright and inheritance of every American child, however humble. No finger of scorn shall be pointed at us for betraying our trust, for we shall stand unmoved and steadfast before the proffered bribe, whether it be $30,000,000,000 or 30 pieces of silver.

From the day the Pilgrims landed in Plymouth to the present moment all our great national crises have been concerned with liberty to maintain the American way of life—whether it was with Wolfe at Quebec, Washington at Yorktown, Grant at Appomattox, Sampson at Santiago, Pershing at Chateau-Thierry, or wherever it might be, freedom has been the issue. Another crisis in our history has arrived: This time the threat is not from abroad but from home, it is insidious and consequently more dangerous, but the American people are not to be hoodwinked on that account. They will, they must, decide to combat any threat to their freedom so that government by the people shall not perish from the earth.

Florence Bankhead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUTHER PATRICK

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 19, 1940

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I know a lady who is kindness, refinement, and gentility, and whose soft voice, natural grace, and abiding culture certainly merit a point of reference in the RECORD of this year. She is Florence McGuire Bankhead, the wife of our late Speaker.

All who know Florence Bankhead love her. And how she adored her beloved Billy! For the 26 years of her married life, she was his cherished and constant companion and the becoming bouquet of adornment to the man she so loved. No circle of association was so refined as not to desire the sweet charm of her presence and no rural home was ever so humble that it did not gladly welcome her warming companionship.

She is lonesome now and sheds many a tear in the quiet of her room. The stalwart hero of her life has gone out of it and that which yesterday was such a fine and noble companionship is today but a rich memory.

So wars may rage in the world, politics may pitch and toss, national problems may vex and perplex, but I simply had to step over in the shade of the trees to look for a place to sit for a moment—to sit and think of the sweet, sad little southern woman who so recently bore a casket from Washington, D. C., to Jasper, Ala., to see the body of Billy Bankhead, her Billy, wrapped in the yellow soil of Alabama which he loved so much and so well.

I thank you.

The Third-Term Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. WARREN BARBOUR

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY THOMAS A. REED

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a pamphlet entitled "The Fundamental Issue," by Thomas A. Reed. This is a brief against the third term, as has been sent to me by my friend and associate, Arthur T. Vanderbilt, of New Jersey, former president of the National Bar Association.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE—A BRIEF AGAINST THE THIRD TERM

(By Thomas A. Reed)

"To indulge in such a fantastic idea of my own individual importance would be to betray the common hope and the common cause that has brought us all together this year. A great man (Woodrow Wilson) left a watchword that we can well repeat: 'There is no indispensable man.' But there are indispensable principles without which government cannot serve its purpose."—Franklin D. Roosevelt in an address to the Republicans for Roosevelt League, at the Metropolitan Opera House, on November 5, 1932.

THE THIRD TERM—THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE—INTRODUCTION

The issue defined

For the first time in the history of our country a major political party has nominated a man for a third consecutive term as President. On the only other occasions on which a determined drive has been made for a third term—Grant in 1880 and Theodore Roosevelt in 1912—nomination was refused by the Republican Party. Although Theodore Roosevelt ran in 1912 on the Progressive ticket, the circumstances of the three-cornered race insured his defeat irrespective of the third-term issue. Moreover, neither Grant nor Theodore Roosevelt was a candidate for a third successive term. They had each been out of office for 4 years when the attempt was made to nominate them for a third term. They were at the time simple private citizens with none of the vast power of the Presidential office behind them; and while they might be charged with overambition, their candidacies represented no such threat to republican institutions as the effort of a President in office to get himself a third term. For the first time, therefore, the American people are squarely faced in a Presidential election with the inescapable question, Shall we permit a President who has already had two terms to succeed himself?

Personalities eliminated

This issue should be settled as far as possible without reference to personalities. Like that involved in the Court-packing bill, it transcends all temporary, partisan, or personal considerations. The matter at stake is the preservation of our democratic way of life and our republican form of government. If these are theatened, by giving a President a third term, then no President should ever be elected to a third term irrespective of his qualifications or his lack of them. It would be equally disastrous under such circumstances to break down the tradition that two terms is enough for the honest ambition of any man, by electing a Washington or a Jefferson or a Roosevelt. It is the moral bar to indefinite self-perpetuation of Presidents in office, as it was the moral bar to tampering with the judiciary, which it is important to preserve. The better the ostensible motive for removing it, the more dangerously insidious is the attack.

The proper influence of tradition

The people will not decide against the third term merely on the basis of tradition. There are times when traditions have to be violated deliberately in the interest of the public good. A people who have acquiesced in such breaks with tradition as $15,000,000,000 preparedness appropriations and peacetime conscription will not hesitate to repudiate the third-term tradition unless it has something else than antiquity to recommend it. The third-term tradition, however, has behind it the uniform practice of a century and a half, the considered opinions of our leading statesmen, and the repeated action of legislative bodies and party conventions. So unanimous has been adherence to it that the voice of no responsible public man has ever been raised against it to this hour except under circumstances which suggest the influence of personal or party advantage. Departure from such a tradition requires serious justification. All will agree that it should not be abandoned merely at the desire of an individual or under the influence of passing public excitement.

We propose, therefore, to argue the third-term issue on its merits, without resort to personalities, testing the validity of the anti-third-term tradition in the light of the existing situation.

THE ARGUMENT

We should not permit a President who has already had two terms to succeed himself, because:

A. The repudiation of the unwritten law limiting the reeligibility of a President to a second term would seriously menace the continuance of our republican system of government.

I. The President has developed an increasing power to perpetuate himself in office: The power of a President, by the use of his authority, patronage, and prestige, to promote his own reelection, has been recognized from the beginning. Washington clearly could have been reelected as long as he would have been willing to serve. All students of history would agree with Claude Bowers, Ambassador to Spain and Chile under the present administration, concerning Jefferson:

"By the mere nodding of his head, by silence even, he could have been elected for a third term. Legislatures were asking him to reconsider his decision, and friends were importuning him to remain at the helm."[1]

Jefferson's own opinion was most clearly voiced in his letter to the Vermont Legislature, December 10, 1807:

"That I should lay down my charge at a proper period, is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the Chief Magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years, will, in fact, become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that a representative government, responsible at short periods of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office."[2]

The idea has been vigorously cultivated by third-term apologists that Jefferson was willing to consider a third term under certain conditions. The quotation used as the basis for this claim is contained in a letter written to John Taylor, January 6, 1805. Full quotation of the passage will set at rest any doubt as to the sincerity of Jefferson's opposition to a third term.

"My opinion originally was that the President of the United States should have been elected for 7 years, and forever ineligible afterwards. I have since become sensible that 7 years is too long to be irremovable, and that there should be a peaceable way of withdrawing a man in midway who is doing wrong. The service for 8 years, with a power to remove at the end of the first 4, comes nearly to my principle as corrected by experience, and it is in adherence to that that I determine to withdraw at the end of my second term. The danger is that the indulgence and attachments of the people will keep a man in the chair after he becomes a dotard, that reelection through life shall become habitual, and election for life follow that. General Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after 8 years. I shall follow it. And a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to anyone after awhile who shall endeaver to extend his term. Perhaps it may beget a disposition to establish it by an amendment to the Constitution. I believe I am doing right therefore in pursuing my principle. I had determined to declare my intention, but I have consented to be silent on the opinion of friends, who think it best not to put a continuance out of my power in defiance of all circumstances. There is, however, but one circumstance which could engage my acquiescence in another election; to wit, such a division about a successor, as might bring in a monarchist. But that circumstance is impossible. While, therefore, I shall make no formal declaration to the public of my purpose, I have freely let it be understood in private conversation. In this I am persuaded yourself and my friends generally will approve of my views."[3]

This certainly cannot be regarded as a deviation from the anti-third-term principle which he so strongly advocated in dozens of letters on the subject. Toward the close of his life he wrote in his autobiography:

"The example of four Presidents voluntarily retiring at the end of their eighth year, and the progress of public opinion, that the principle is salutary, have given it in practice the force of precedent and usage; insomuch that should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views."[4]

At a later period Grover Cleveland expressed very effectively the power of the President to secure his own reelection inherent in "the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptations to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent when a horde of officeholders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service."[5]

Today, moreover, the power of the President to perpetuate himself in office is more apparent than ever. It is practically impossible to refuse a President a renomination if he wishes it. Of the last 10 Presidents, 1—Harding—died in the course of his first term. Of the remaining 9, 8—Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Coolidge, and Franklin D. Roosevelt—were renominated, the last for 3 successive terms. Five of the eight actually were reelected while in office.

The events of the Democratic convention in Chicago amply illustrate the power of a President not only to force his own nomination but, against vociferous protests of a large proportion of the delegates, compel the selection of his choice of a successor. For the only essential function of the Vice President is to provide a successor for the President.

The reasons for this tendency to renominate and reelect Presidents are:

a. The use of patronage and other sources of influence now, as we shall see, greatly extended. Senator GEORGE W. NORRIS, speaking in support of the La Follette anti-third-term resolution, February 7, 1928, said:

"He does not have to be, but if he wants to be, the President is at the head of the machine that is in power; he is at the head of the one that has the entire country within its grasp, within its grip, and can, through the power that he possesses, using the officials who are under him and who range down to the lowest on the list, round up delegates; he can control conventions as no other man on earth can control them. We know that to be true. * * * He nominates himself by using the instrumentality that the law gives him on account of his position."[6]

b. The certainty faced by a party of weakening its chances of victory if it casts a reflection on its own administration by refusing to renominate its leader and President.

c. The inability, strongly demonstrated in the past 4 years, of other leaders to build themselves up to presidential rank in the public eye in the face of a President seeking a renomination. To put a blight on other candidates within his party it is only necessary for the President to remain silent as to his own intentions.

II. The tendency of Presidents to "play politics" in their first term in the hope of securing reelection will be extended to the second and succeeding terms. We have long been familiar with the effects upon Presidential policy of the hope of even a single reelection. Powerful temptations exist to placate special interests and pressure groups, to cement the friendship of influential leaders by the use of patronage and other favors, and to settle great problems with an eye to political expediency rather than the permanent well-being of the people. This attitude is shared by a multitude of partisan office holders influenced, to use Cleveland's words, by "benefits received" and "the hope of favors yet to come." The efficiency of the Government is hampered by their absorption in securing the succession of their leader upon whose reelection their own fortunes depend.

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[1] Claude G. Bowers: Jefferson in Power, p. 475, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1936.

[2] The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, issued under the auspices of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, vol. XVI, pp. 293–294, Washington, D. C., 1904.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 56–58.

[4] The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, published by the order of the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library. H. A. Washington, Editor, vol. I, p. 80, Derby and Jackson, New York, 1859.

[5] In a letter dated Albany, N. Y., August 18, 1884, accepting the nomination for President. Letters and Addresses of Grover Cleveland, No. 11, p. 52, edited by Albert Ellery Bergh, the Unit Book Publishing Co., New York, 1909.

[6] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 69, p. 2623.

The first great foreign critic of our institutions, Alexis de Tocqueville, had this to say in 1831:

"Intrigue and corruption are the natural defects of elective government; but when the head of the state can be reelected these evils rise to a great height, and compromise the very existence of the country. When a simple candidate seeks to rise by intrigue, his maneuvers must necessarily be limited to a narrow sphere; but when the chief magistrate enters the lists, he borrows the strength of the government for his own purposes. In the former case the feeble resources of an individual are in action; in the latter, the state itself, with all its immense influence, is busied in the work of corruption and cabal. The private citizen, who employs the most immoral practices to acquire power, can only act in a manner indirectly prejudicial to the public prosperity. But if the representative of the executive descends into the combat, the cares of government dwindle into second-rate importance, and the success of his election is his first concern. All laws and all the negotiations he undertakes are to him nothing more than electioneering schemes; places become the reward of services rendered, not to the nation, but to its chief; and the influence of the government, if not injurious to the country, is at least no longer beneficial to the community for which it was created." [7]

Considerations such as these have played a large part in the widespread support which has been given by well-informed public men to amendment of the Constitution to limit the President to one term of 6 years. The present argument is not concerned with the merits of this proposal, but the persistence and vigor with which it has been advocated is evidence of the consequences of reeligibility which destruction of the two-term tradition would multiply. It should be noted therefore that amendments to this general effect were recommended to Congress six times by President Jackson (1829–34), and by Harrison (1841), Johnson (1865), and Hayes (1877).

The Constitution of the Confederacy provided a single 6-year term for its president.

"The executive power shall be vested in a president of the Confederate States of America. He and the vice president shall hold their offices for the term of 6 years, but the president shall not be reeligible." [8]

Cleveland completed the quotation from his letter of acceptance already referred to with the words:

"We recognize in the eligibility of the President for reelection a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent action which must characterize a government by the people."

The Democratic platform of 1912 favored a single term amendment and one actually passed the Senate 47 to 23 during the short session ended March 4, 1913.[9]

A peculiarly persuasive statement on this subject was made by William Howard Taft in a course of lectures at Columbia University in 1915:

"I am strongly inclined to the view that it would have been a wiser provision, as it was at one time voted in the convention, to make the term of the President 6 or 7 years, and render him ineligible thereafter. Such a change would give to the Executive greater courage and independence in the discharge of his duties. The absorbing and diverting interest in the reelection of the incumbent, taken by those Federal civil servants who regard their own tenure as dependent upon his, would disappear and the efficiency of administration in the last 18 months of the term would be maintained." [10]

The abrogation of the two-term rule would have the effect of continuing and multiplying these evils through each successive term to which a President might be elected.

III. The President's control over the judiciary would be strengthened: The Constitution seeks to protect the independence and impartiality of the Federal judiciary by providing a life tenure for them. As against a President holding office for 4 or even 8 years, this is a fair measure of protection and no one has been able to suggest a better. Seven and one-half years, however, have proved long enough for President Franklin D. Roosevelt to change the complexion of the Supreme Court and even of the Federal judiciary in general.

"Even during the 7½ years of the present administration, five new judges have been appointed to the Supreme Court, and some 55 percent of the judges of the lower courts have been appointed to such courts." [11]

To extend the term of the President to 12 years, therefore, is to provide in another manner than that suggested in 1937, but effectively nevertheless, for packing the courts with judges committed to the particular social, economic, and legal philosophy advocated by a President whose powers of self-perpetuation in office may actually prevent a free expression of public opinion on his policies.

IV. Not only is a third term dangerous in itself but a breach of the two-term rule would remove the only existing protection against indefinite reeligibility: To fully understand the force of this statement it is necessary briefly to review the history of the two-term rule.

a. The Convention of 1787: The Constitutional Convention of 1787 at first was of a mind that the President should be chosen by the Congress for a term of 7 years without reeligibility. When, however, it hit upon the device of the electoral college which was supposed to remove the choice of the President from the arena of politics, it was induced to accept the idea of the 4-year term with no limitation on reeligibility. If the members of the Convention had realized that the electoral college would become simply a recording device they would in all probability not have left the gateway to self perpetuation in office wide open.

"Had the members of the Constitutional Convention dreamed of the enormous patronage and money which would eventually be at his disposal and that he would appeal directly to the entire populace for election to office, the discussion, in my opinion, would undoubtedly have taken a very different turn and both his powers and length of service would have been further curtailed." [12]

b. The precedent set by Washington and other early Presidents: It was, however, left open, until closed by the action of Washington, followed by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, in retiring to private life after two terms. Supported by the cogent pen of Thomas Jefferson, the two-term tradition thus became an unwritten addition to the Constitution.

"The example of Washington, which has been followed by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, has forever determined that no President shall be more than once reelected. The principle is now become as sacred as if it were written in the Constitution." [13]

c. Continuous adherence to the unwritten law: No President has since attempted to secure a third consecutive term until the current contest.

1. Grant: Grant toyed with the idea toward the end of his second term. A letter written May 29, 1875, to Gen. Harry White, president of the Republican State Convention in Pennsylvania, has generally been accepted as a bid for the third term.

"Now for the third term. I do not want it any more than I did the first. * * * I would not accept a nomination if it were tendered, unless it should come under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty, circumstances not likely to arise." [14]

This met, however, with no favorable response.

2. Springer resolution, 1875: In the following December the House of Representatives adopted a resolution introduced by William Springer, Democrat of Illinois:

"That in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States, in retiring from the presidential office after their second term, has become by universal concurrence a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions." [15]

The vote was 234 to 18, 70 out of 88 Republicans present—including James A. Garfield—voting in the affirmative.

3. Democratic platform, 1896: This platform carried this plank:

"We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic, established by custom and usage of 100 years, and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office." [16]

4. McKinley, 1901: Early in his second term, William McKinley made this admirably specific declaration:

"I regret that the suggestion of a third term has been made. * * * I will say now, once for all, expressing a long-settled conviction, that I not only am not and will not be a candidate for a third term, but I would not accept a nomination for it if it were tendered me." [17]

5. Theodore Roosevelt, 1904 and 1907: On the evening of his election, November 8, 1904, Theodore Roosevelt made plain that he had no intention to succeed himself in 1909:

"On the 4th of March next I shall have served 3½ years, and that 3½ years constitutes my first term. The wise custom which limits the President to two terms regards the substance and not the form, and under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination." [18]

Toward the close of his second term he wrote an Omaha paper:

"You are authorized to state that I will not again be a candidate for the office of President of the United States. There are no strings to this statement. I mean it." [19]

The fact that in 1912, after an interval of private life, he again became a candidate for President, does not diminish the significance

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[7] Democracy in America, vol. I, pp. 135–136, the Colonial Press, New York, 1900.

[8] Art. II, sec. 1 (1).

[9] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 62d Cong., 3d sess., vol. 49, part 3, 1913, pp. 2419–2420.

[10] William Howard Taft: Our Chief Magistrate and His Powers, p. 4, Columbia University Press, New York.

[11] William E. Masterson, professor of law, Temple University, before a hearing of a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary on S. J. Res. 15 and 289, September 13, 1940.

[12] James Truslow Adams, eminent historian, before Hearing, ibid., September 4, 1940.

[13] The works of James Buchanan, collected and edited by John Bassett Moore, vol. I, p. 298, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

[14] Edward Stanwood: History of the Presidency, pp. 360–361, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1898.

[15] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 44th Cong., 1st sess., vol. IV, part I, p. 228, December 15, 1875.

[16] Kirk H. Porter: National Party Platforms, p. 186, the MacMillan Co., New York, 1924.

[17] Willis Thornton: The Third Term Issue, p. 62; Greenberg, Publisher, Inc., New York, 1939.

[18] New York Times, November 9, 1904.

[19] Edward Stanwood: The History of the Presidency, 1897–1909, p. 140, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1912.

of his refusal to use the powers of his office to perpetuate his own authority.

6. Coolidge and the La Follette resolution, 1928: Wilson was too ill in 1920 for his reelection for a third term even to be considered. Coolidge puzzled the country with a cryptic, "I do not choose to run in 1928," which only those familiar with the New England vernacular knew to be a specific refusal. Six months later the Senate adopted the La Follette resolution, 56–26.

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions." [20]

A rule so specific, obeyed without question for a century and a half, cannot be partially broken. It must either be preserved or lost altogether. Its very antiquity and the sanctity which has surrounded it makes its breach significant.

"If we turn our backs on the two-term tradition, we shall have no tradition. One election for a third term will not set or establish a three-term precedent. The door would now be wide open and incumbents would be at liberty to stand for any number of reelections." [21]

No one can vote for a third term and salve his conscience with the thought that afterward he will vote for a constitutional amendment legally restricting reeligibility. The election of a third-term President, by putting the people on record in favor of a third term, will fatally obstruct the passage of such an amendment.

V. All the conditions relating to the office of President which have led statesmen and patriots for 150 years to insist on limiting reeligibility to a single successive term exist today in unprecedented proportions.

a. Governmental systems hostile to democracy dominate a large part of the world and seek to dominate the rest by force of arms and insidious "fifth column" penetration. Though at the birth of the Republic monarchy and monarchistic ideas prevailed in most of the civilized world, distance—which meant something in the days of sailing ships—relieved the infant Nation from serious external pressure. It was not long, however, before autocratic notions of government were put on the defensive in Europe, and they remained so until after the close of the first World War in 1918. For a century or more the United States was the exponent of a political philosophy constantly on the ascendant. The voices raised against democracy by the apologists for the lingering autocracies of central Europe raised no new echoes in this country. The underlying premises of popular government seemed to be unshakable. Jefferson's preference for rotation in the Presidency and other offices had a backward squint at George III and the colonial governors. But when the Springer resolution in 1875 spoke of the third term as "fraught with peril to our institutions," it contemplated only such dangers as might arise at any time in any state from the unbridled ambition of its executive. There was no world movement against democracy, no undermining "fifth columnists," no competing philosophies. When the La Follette resolution repeated the same language in 1928 we were equally confident that the most we might have to contend with would be the unrestrained love of power of some hypothetical individual.

Today the situation has wholly changed. We are threatened from within and without by rival theories of government supported by extensive propaganda and prodigious military force. We have to look to the preservation of the purity of our republican form of government not merely by billions appropriated for tanks, planes, and ships, but by considered refusal to abate any of its principles. "* * * at this time, when dictatorships are in the ascendancy, when people in many parts of the world are willingly surrendering their freedom for a minimum of security, when millions are constantly yielding to self-constituted authority, the question of the preservation of our republican principles assumes an importance which it never had before." [22]

Quite apart from any speculation as to whether the opportunities of a third term would be abused by President Roosevelt, they might be abused by a successor more ambitious and less scrupulous than he. Dictatorship is in the wind; we must not destroy such elementary protections as we now have against it.

The powers of the President have been increased to a point where they are scarcely surpassed by those of the European dictators. The balance between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Government has been overthrown by the voluntary abdication by Congress of many of its powers. The President has complete command not only over foreign policy and the Army and Navy, but over the currency, the tariff, commerce, industry, and labor. All that is needed to bring about a dictatorship in the United States is the indefinite prolongation of the term of the President, the first step toward which is the breaking down of the two-term tradition.

The process by which dictatorship is achieved is well illustrated in a prophetic statement written by Prof. J. W. Burgess, famed Columbia University political scientist, in 1912:

"Students should rid themselves of the dangerous American delusion that what has happened to European states in the course of their history and development could by no possibility happen here.

"Comes along a strenuous, vigorous, ambitious, and self-confident personality who proclaims himself the tribune of the people, and seeks to rally around himself as a nucleus of a new kind of organization of the people, as he calls them, but in reality always the more adventurous part of the people, and he appeals to the people to ride down their representative institutions and to take things into their own hands, which always means practically to give things into his own hands, as their self-representative. This is Caesarism, Bonapartism. This is the way it always comes out." [23]

b. The means of influencing the electorate available to the President have been enormously increased. Modern improvements in means of communication and the multiplication of the functions of the Federal Government have placed in the hands of a President, if he is disposed to use them, sources of political power unsuspected by our forefathers.

1. Improved communications: In the days of Washington and Jefferson such political maneuvers as were undertaken from the National Capital were by messenger or letter. It took 4 or 5 days to make the journey by land from Washington to New York and twice that from Washington to Boston. The area and population of the country was smaller than today, but it was much less accessible. As the country has grown the railroad, the telegraph, and the telephone have made it easier for the President to reach the people. Today the radio permits him to sit at ease in the White House and talk with the people at their own firesides throughout the country. And under our present communications system he can command gratuitously, except in the heat of political campaign, all the time he desires over all networks at the most favorable hours of the day or night. It is true that responsible members of the opposition are also allowed time for reply. It is not enough, however, to have the freedom of a network to get a radio audience. The prestige of the Presidential office has an unequaled influence in inducing millions to become active listeners. There is in these days no obstructive interval between the President's purpose and the public ear.

2. Prodigious increase in number of civil employees of the Federal Government. Nothing but estimates of the number of civil employees are available prior to 1883, when the Congress adopted the first civil-service law. It is possible, however, to get a clear idea of the simplicity of government in the early years.

"Contemporary records reveal that our National Government started off in 1789 with only some 300 officers and employees, and that 11 years later, when the new Capitol, on the Potomac, was occupied the total force of office clerks transported thither from Philadelphia numbered exactly 54." [24]

By 1800 the number of civil employees had probably increased to about 1,000.[25]

"Indeed, in 1823, * * * the aggregate number of persons employed in all the departments of the Government throughout the country was less than 10,000." [26] Even by 1830 the number was still not in excess of 20,000.[27] The First Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission (p. 16) gives the number of civil employees in 1883 as 110,000. On June 30 of this year it was 1,011,066.[28] It is true that while the number of civil servants has been growing the population has grown also, but not so fast. The relation of employees to population at certain significant points in the development of the third-term tradition is expressed in the following table:

Date	Significance in development of tradition	Number of civil employees of executive departments	Population of continental United States last preceding census [1]	Persons per civil employee
1789	Washington became President	300	3,929,000	13,096
1800	Jefferson became President	1,000	5,308,000	5,308
1823	Tradition solidified at close of Monroe's second term	10,000	9,638,000	963
1883	Grant third term try of 1880	110,000	50,155,000	455
1896	Democratic platform pronouncement	178,000	62,947,000	353
1928	LaFollette resolution	540,000	105,710,000	195
1933	Roosevelt became President	572,000	122,775,000	214
1940	Roosevelt runs for third term	1,011,000	[2] 132,210,000	130

[1] Fifteenth U. S. Census, 1930, table 2.
[2] From Circulation Statement United States Money, July 31, 1940, Department of the Treasury, Form 1028.

[20] CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 70th Cong., vol. 69, pt. 2, 1928, p. 2253, Res. 128.
[21] William E. Masterson, op. cit.
[22] William Mather Lewis, president of Lafayette College, before hearing, op cit., September 5, 1940.
[23] From a letter to Congressman Gillett, as quoted in article by A. Maurice Low, in Harpers Weekly, May 11, 1912.
[24] F. A. Ogg and P. O. Ray, Introduction to American Government, fifth edition, p. 312. D. Appleton Century Co., New York, 1935.
[25] National Civil Service Reform League, Civil Service in Modern Government, p. 3. New York, 1937.
[26] Practice of the Presidents in Appointments and Removals in the Executive Civil Service from 1787–1883, Fifteenth Annual Report of the U. S. Civil Service Commission.
[27] National Civil Service Reform League, op. cit.
[28] U. S. Civil Service Commission; Civil Employment and Pay Rolls in the Executive Branch of the U. S. Government, June 1940.

3. Other millions now are directly supported by the Federal Government.

"In addition, millions of men receive their livelihood at the hands of Presidential appointees. While there have always been Federal employees, never has anything been seen like the present dependency of individuals on the executive branch of the Federal Government." [29]

(a) In May 1940 the following number of persons were in receipt of relief directly administered by the Federal Government: [30]

Employed on W. P. A. projects	1,963,000
Employed on other Federal works and construction	368,000
Enrolled in C. C. C. camps	270,000
Receiving aid from N. Y. A. student program	476,000
Receiving aid from N. Y. A. out of school works	296,000
Farmers receiving subsistence payments	71,000
Total getting direct Federal relief	3,444,000

(b) The number of individuals receiving social security and similar payments directly through agencies of the Federal Government in May 1940 was: [31]

Monthly benefits and lump sum payments under old age section of Social Security Act	82,200
Beneficiaries under Railroad Retirement Act	144,500
	226,700

(c) The estimated number of payees receiving checks in connection with the 1938 agricultural-conservation program, as of July 1, 1939, was 5,248,796.[32]

(d) The number of individuals or families receiving benefits distributed by State authorities under the supervision of Federal administrative agencies and supported in part by Federal contributions, in May 1940, was: [33]

Individuals receiving old-age assistance	1,957,000
Individuals receiving aid to dependent children	822,000
Individuals receiving aid to the blind	71,000
Total	2,850,000

The aid covered in this table can be practically withheld by action of agencies of the Federal executive, as was well illustrated in the case of Ohio in 1939.

(e) The total obtained by combining the number of Federal employees with that of those receiving benefits administered or controlled by the Federal Executive is significant of the enhanced position of the President in our scheme of government.

Employees		1,011,000
Recipients of relief, work relief, and other similar aids	3,444,000	
Old-age insurance under Social Security and Railroad Retirement Acts	226,000	
Old-age assistance and other assistance under Social Security Act	2,850,000	
		6,520,000
Payees under Agricultural Conservation Program		5,248,000
Total receiving direct financial benefits from the Federal Executive		12,779,000

This is not an exhaustive list. It does not include all persons receiving benefits from the Department of Agriculture in its price-pegging activities; nor those benefiting by H. O. L. C. or F. H. A. mortgages; nor those receiving unemployment compensation under the Social Security or Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts—these latter amounting in May 1940 to 1,236,000. The figure of 12,779,000 is conservative, for those dependent for livelihood or financial favors on the Federal Executive. Assuming that on the average each of these persons represents 2 other members of his family—a moderate assumption—the influence of the Executive extends to more than one-quarter of the people of the United States.

4. State and local governments and with them the political inclinations of State and local political leaders are subject to influence by a large-scale policy of grants-in-aid. W. P. A. wages directly affect workers, but the approval of W. P. A. projects also is of the gravest concern to State and, more especially, local authorities. Many cities would experience insuperable difficulty in meeting current demands upon their resources were it not for the W. P. A., which decreases not only their relief burdens but many other charges as well. Grants from the P. W. A. (45 percent outright gift and 55 percent borrowed at low interest for 25 years) are an attractive means of financing capital improvements. U. S. H. A. loans and grants make it possible to build low-cost housing at a minimum of expense to the local taxpayer. Social-security funds make possible old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children, on a scale impossible for the States and localities acting alone.

Highway grants mean much to hard-driven State governments. These are the typical modern forms of "pork," putting the old-fashioned river and harbor bill far in the shade. And all this "pork" is distributed by the executive branch of the Government. It is not surprising therefore to find even now many State and local officials who think it wise to support the policies of the President. One does not bite the hand that feeds it, as a preliminary to another meal. Without accusing the present administration of using such grants deliberately to buy the favor of State and local machines, the opportunity is there for some President to use in perpetuating his power. The volume of grants to States, individuals, etc., not including appropriations for relief and emergency public works, increased from $42,033,219 in 1920 to $1,038,637,889 in the year ended June 30, 1939.[34] From this figure should be deducted $438,770,192 paid out to farmers under the agricultural conservation program since it has nothing to do with State or local government. On the other hand, there should be added: [35]

P. W. A. grants	$265,026,998
W. P. A. expenditures	2,161,500,655

This means a net of over $3,000,000,000 in 1 year with which to influence the mayors of great cities and the whole category of State and local officials. And in this total there is no allowance for U. S. H. A. and R. F. C. loans, although it is common knowledge that a loan may easily turn into a continuing means of exerting pressure.

5. Unprecedented expenditures for national defense, which, unless the present trends of world politics are reversed, seem likely to be permanent on top of swollen expenditures for other purposes, place in the hands of the Executive a potent means of influencing the political attitudes of businessmen: The last year of Washington's second term (1796) expenditures against ordinary receipts were $5,726,000. In the last year of Jefferson's administration (1808) $9,232,000. When Monroe was about to be the fourth President to retire after two terms (1824) $20,226,000. When Grant was refused a third nomination (1880) $267,000,000. When the Democratic platform blasted the third-term idea (1896) $352,000,000. When Theodore Roosevelt was refused a third term (1912) $689,000,000. When the La Follette resolution, ardently supported by Senator NORRIS, was passed (1928) $3,643,000,000. In 1939, $9,268,000,000. The expenditure of such vast sums places extraordinary influence in the hands of the Executive. And these figures do not include other large sums loaned on favorable terms to businessmen through the R. F. C. and other agencies. On top of similar peacetime expenditures, $13,000,000,000 has already been appropriated for national defense, with more to come. Much of this vast sum is to go into the purchase of matériel. The precedent has been set of appropriating enormous sums to the President to spend in his discretion. We would not accuse the President of a willful purpose to use this power for political ends. But in measuring the possible effects of abrogating the unwritten law against the third term, the fact that the power is there to be used is most significant.

6. Of equal importance is the power of the President to coerce business and labor through a wide variety of regulatory agencies: The timidity of some businessmen in the face of the reprisals to which they are or imagine themselves exposed has been notorious. The operation of many of the newer regulatory agencies is not sufficiently protected from abuse by court review. In some cases, as from the Secretary of Labor's rulings under the Walsh-Healy Act, there is no appeal to the courts at all. Many of these agencies have proved themselves arbitrary and capricious. The National Labor Relations Board, set up to protect the collective-bargaining rights of labor, has aroused the fear and hostility of a large section of labor itself. There can be no doubt that the machinery is at hand through which a President disposed to perpetuate his power could coerce or bribe labor, business, and industry.

c. The ability of the American people to resist usurpation of executive power has likewise been diminished: This is partly psychological, based on the long continuance of the depression and the disturbed state of the world.

"In almost every country, save that last bulwark of liberty except ourselves, the British Empire, we find a vast tide flowing toward one-man government, the resigning of personal freedoms—freedom of speech, the press, religion, and action—because of a crisis which the people seem to be tired of trying to resolve for themselves. It is a tide which has gained amazing speed and momentum and threatens to engulf the entire world." [36]

Now that fear of war has been added to domestic despondency, special efforts must be made to resist the tendency to resign ourselves to dictatorship.

There is also diminished power of physical resistance to executive usurpation. In Jefferson's day all that a band of patriots, determined to resist tyranny, needed to do was to take down the musket from the brackets above the hearth and resist. Distance gave them time for the organization of resistance and the simple means for making it effective were in the hands of any community.

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[29] T. Jefferson Coolidge, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, before hearing, op. cit., September 4, 1940.

[30] Social Security Bulletin, July 1940.

[31] Ibid.

[32] U. S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment, 1938–39, table 6, p. 135.

[33] Social Security Bulletin, op. cit.

[34] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1939, table 60, p. 514.

[35] Ibid., table 21, p. 117

[36] James Truslow Adams, hearing, op. cit., September 4, 1940.

The relative ease with which at a later date the Confederacy organized to resist the forces of the National Government emphasizes this fact. Today, armed civilian resistance against mechanized military forces is a practical impossibilty. A President in "legal" possession of his post, through his power to force his own reelection, could command the military and naval forces of the Nation, and no Boy Scout form of resistance would avail anything. When the political battle is lost to the overweening ambition of an executive, all will be lost. This was true in Germany where the small but effective army cooperated with Hitler's Brown Shirts in quelling all thought of resistance.

B. The three major allegations of the apologists for the third term, that (1) the people can protect themselves against the self-perpetuation of the Executive, (2) we are involved in a crisis in which a change of leadership would be dangerous, and (3) that in this crisis the services of the existing President are indispensable, are all untenable.

It is very significant that the third term has only apologists. No responsible statesman or publicist actually advocates indefinite reeligibility on the part of the President as a principle of good government. The first of the above allegations is an attempt to combat the anti-third-term argument by minimizing the dangers which have been pointed out. The second and third are pleas in confession and avoidance. They admit the force of the anti-third-term case but assert that there are other considerations of overshadowing importance.

I. The people cannot effectively protect themselves against indefinite perpetuation of a President in office except by enforcing the anti-third-term rule: Theoretically, the people might, as long as quadrennial Presidential elections were held, vote out the incumbent at any such election. Practically, they could not continue to do so against a President determined to stay in. The difficulty of building up opposition leadership, already referred to, is one of the most serious obstacles to a successful campaign to oust a President who has had three terms in which to solidify his position. Thousands of leading Democratic politicians have been opposed to a third term for the President. Only a few of them have dared voice their opposition. And now that the nomination has been made, party loyalty has silenced most of them.

The people still can protect themselves from indefinite occupation of the White House by voting now against the candidate for the third term. If they do not do so, they must be prepared to face a future perilous to democracy.

II. While we are undoubtedly living through a crisis of unusual importance, the crisis argument is wholly untenable unless it can be proved that no other crisis of like severity is apt to occur. We have had many crises in American history. Washington retired after two terms, in the midst of a general European conflict in which we were threatened with involvement. He was hardly out of office before we were on the verge of war with France. Jefferson quit the Presidency at a time when our relations with England had already become strained. Civil and foreign wars, and depressions, have occurred with singular frequency. It is to be noted that we are not at war today and that no immediate attack upon us by any foreign power is feasible. Granting, however, the severity of the present crisis, there have been and will be others equally severe. If the occurrence of crisis is a justification for a third term it may equally justify a fourth or fifth term.

"Furthermore, the head of our national executive department is always in a position to discover or create a crisis." [37]

"There are not many times in the life of a republic when there is not a crisis of this or that nature." [38]

"If the principle of rotation is a sound one, as I conscientiously believe it to be, with respect to this office, no pretext should ever be permitted to dispense with it, because there never will be a time when real difficulties will not exist, and furnish a plausible pretext for dispensation." [39]

"The British people do not mind changing their chief executive even in the midst of war. They recently dropped Chamberlain and called Churchill to the post of chief executive. And in the midst of the first World War, they replaced Asquith by Lloyd George, although Asquith had served them as Premier with great success for the unusual term of 7 years." [40]

While we would not accuse President Roosevelt of fomenting the present crisis, there is no doubt that his friends are making the most of it on his behalf. To break down the anti-third-term rule on the ground of crisis is to break it down utterly and forever.

III. No one man is ever indispensable to the life or continued welfare of a great people. Jefferson, who had as good a right as any man to consider himself indispensable, was modestly aware of this.

"That there are in our country a great number of characters entirely equal to the management of its affairs, cannot be doubted. Many of them, indeed, have not had opportunities of making themselves known to their fellow citizens; but many have had, and the only difficulty will be to choose among them." [41]

Jefferson believed in the people and in their power to evolve leadership from among themselves. Such a belief is essential to belief in democracy itself. The doctrines of indispensability and of democracy are wholly incompatible with one another. Belief in the indispensability of one man is the essential foundation of dictatorship.

"The argument in favor of dictators and long terms of office is always the same. It is the allegation that an emergency has arisen and that no one but the actual Chief Executive is qualified to fill it. In Germany this doctrine is carried so far that Hitler is recognized as an infallible ruler and guide of the people. He not only performs for them the official acts of the state, but also does for them their own personal thinking and judging, so that it is unpardonable heresy for them to criticize him or even privately to entertain different views. He is so indispensable that the individual German has no liberty of thinking, speaking, or acting in matters that concern the public." [42]

Concluding an analysis of the character of President Roosevelt, Raymond Moley wrote:

"Ultimately, of course, a man closed off, by one means or another, from free opinion and advice, suffers a kind of mental autointoxication. He lives in a world of ideas generated only by himself, a world of make believe, a world like Prospero's island, where his magic can create things in the image of his own desires—an insubstantial pageant of unanimity.

"That is why the problem of restraining power has always been the central problem of government—the problem that will never be settled in an absolute sense so long as there are men in the world. The traditions that have grown up around the Constitution—the tradition of the right of the Supreme Court to review acts of Congress, the tradition that prohibits tampering with the independence of either the legislative or judicial arms of the Government, the tradition that no President shall serve more than 8 years—all spring from the bitter teaching of experience that power is dangerous. It grows by what it feeds upon, dulling the perceptions, clouding the vision, imprisoning its victim, however well-intentioned he may be, in that chill isolation of a self-created aura of intellectual infallibility which is the negation of the democratic principle.

"Possibly no one who has not seen its insidious attack upon a living and very dear person can feel its tragedy." [43]

We have lost great leaders in times as critical as these. An assassin's bullet laid Lincoln low as the country approached the problems of reconstruction after a devastating civil war. Wilson was paralyzed in the midst of a discussion of our place in international affairs, the results of which have been momentous. But the country survived. Who can doubt that if Franklin D. Roosevelt's term should end abruptly, the United States would carry on? Mr. Roosevelt himself had no doubt of this on November 5, 1932, when, quoting Woodrow Wilson, he said:

"To indulge in such a fantastic idea of my own individual importance would be to betray the common hope and the common cause that has brought us all together this year. A great man left a watchword that we can well repeat: 'There is no indispensable man.' But there are indispensable principles without which government cannot serve its purpose." [44]

CONCLUSION

We, therefore, conclude that the permanent well-being of the American people requires the preservation of the unwritten law limiting the tenure of the Presidency to two terms. This is not because it always has been so, but because under today's conditions such a limitation is more necessary than ever. We cannot afford to play with the safeguards of democracy, with the world in flames. It is the height of folly to sacrifice democracy in the effort to save it from destruction. The first step toward saving democracy is to nail its colors to the mast. And to those who say, "It can't happen here," we recommend consideration of Arthur Krock's summary of Jacob Gould Schurman's testimony before the Burke committee, September 9, 1940:

"Let us imagine an American leader of Bryan's gifts but with Hitler's love of power. Let us assume that all-consuming ambition moved him, after two Presidential terms, to seek a third. Would not dictatorship be a possible consequence of success? Supreme as executive, with growing dominion over Congress and the majority party, the nominator of every member of the Supreme Court and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, he could easily become a 'constitutional' dictator. The risk should not be run." [45]

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[37] Walter F. Dodd, noted lawyer and student of American government, before hearing, ibid., September 12, 1940.

[38] William Mather Lewis, op. cit.

[39] Thomas Jefferson to Harry Guest, June 4, 1809, Writings (Jefferson Memorial Edition), op. cit., vol. XII, p. 224.

[40] Jacob Gould Schurman, former president of Cornell University and United States Ambassador to Germany, at hearing, op. cit., September 9, 1940.

[41] Thomas Jefferson, letter to Mr. Weaver, June 7, 1807, Writings (H. A. Washington, editor), op. cit., vol. V, p. 88.

[42] Jacob Gould Schurman, op. cit.

[43] After Seven Years, pp. 397–398, Harper & Bros., New York, 1939.

[44] Franklin D. Roosevelt, in a meeting November 5, 1932, in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, before the Republicans for Roosevelt League; quoted in Genesis of the New Deal (speeches from 1928 to 1932), p. 60. The quotation from Woodrow Wilson is from his acceptance speech of 1912.

[45] New York Times, September 18, 1940, p. 22.

The Outlook for Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUTHER PATRICK

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

DISCUSSION ON THE AMERICAN FORUM OF THE AIR

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I arise for the sole purpose to place in the RECORD a discussion, The Outlook for Labor, had on the American Forum of the Air on September 8 of this year. Thank you very much.

[The American Forum of the Air, September 8, 1940]

THE OUTLOOK FOR LABOR

(Senator ELBERT D. THOMAS, of Utah; Senator CLYDE M. REED, of Kansas; Congressman T. V. SMITH, of Illinois; Congressman GERALD W. LANDIS, of Indiana)

ADDRESS BY SENATOR ELBERT D. THOMAS

A Democratic debate with Republicans on the question as to which party has done the most for labor would be an extremely one-sided debate. Labor's great gains have practically always been under Democratic auspices, and whenever labor advancement has gone back or has been retarded it has been under Republican auspices. In the history of the two parties the Republican Party always made out that the party that defended high protective tariff defended it as being a system for the benefit of the workingman. Labor's welfare and high tariff have never been related and all thoughtful persons have known this. But those who still live by indirect instead of direct promises will make such claims. For example, today, now that the guaranty is set up as an actual institution, the Republican Party will declare that it favors the technique of collective bargaining; but what did it ever do about it to protect that technique and where does it stand today in regard to the institution which guarantees that technique? It stands in favor of amending the basic law which gives collective bargaining its magna carta. The Republican Party always claimed that it favored higher wages and shorter hours, but it always failed to do anything about higher wages and shorter hours. In regard to the wage and hour legislation, its record is like so much of the rest of its record, based entirely upon emotionalism and expediency. The Democratic Party in contrast gave to the country the present Wage and Hour Fair Labor Standards Act.

This record which we have in the Nation bears up also in the various States.

Both parties have boasted of being a friend of labor. The Democratic Party has acted in fulfillment of its boast while the Republican Party has done nothing about it. The names connected with the great labor acts will illustrate the point. The Adamson Railway Labor Act, developed in Wilson's administration. The Norris-LaGuardia Act, which restrained the injunction abuse, was another. The Wagner Labor Relations Act, the Norris-Thomas Wage and Hour Act, the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, the Thomas-Copeland Maritime Labor Act, the Bacon-Davis Prevailing Wage Act, these are milestones in labor's advance, as are the civil-liberties hearings and the La Follette-Thomas oppressive labor practices bill which has passed the Senate, and the Black 30-hour week, which was far ahead of its time.

To anyone familiar with party affiliations of leading men and women the list is conclusive. The Bacon-Davis Act concededly came from bonafide Republicans. But men like Senators Norris and La Follette, and Mayor LaGuardia, though they may have had occasional listings as Republican, have doggedly pursued their democratic and progressive courses in public life by the aid of the Democratic and against the violent opposition of the Republican Party to such extent that they have had to walk out on the elephant and embrace the donkey and have very properly been proud and willing to do so. For the rest of the record, it is all Democratic.

But there are other types of legislation which Democrats have sponsored and put on the statute books, legislation which means much to labor in the creation of jobs and in making it possible for the worker to create a surplus in savings. The whole list of New Deal acts, such as bank-deposit insurance, the C. C. C., the National Youth Administration, vocational training, education, health and hospital proposals, the Social Security Act, the home-loan structure and the two housing acts and the great list of social legislation which, while it does not specify the laboring man as beneficiary, does nevertheless contribute directly toward a better life for the wage earner.

The Democratic Party by its record has accepted the philosophy of standing on a platform of direct action; that is, we say we believe in bank-deposit insurance because the wage earner should be made secure in his savings. The Republican Party would approach the subject by indirection without consideration of bank failures with their accompanying loss of deposits. They say, "Let the bank make plenty of money and deposits will be secure." The trouble with the Republican method is that hard times and panics came so that banks could not make money and though they had built up great reserves for other things they had failed to build a safety reserve for the little depositor.

Thus, in the history of the two parties, there is a remarkably different attitude toward the laboring man and the wage earner.

Now for 1940. The present administration's record is one of recognized accomplishment. Neither the Republican candidates nor platforms dare even to hint at tearing down this record of accomplishment. Democrats therefore have their record to offer with a promise built on past performance. The Republicans have just this to offer: they say, "We can administer these Democratic institutions as well as or better than can Democrats." Yet the Republican Party has no record of performance of its own, and what is more shameful, not even a record of cooperation and helpfulness as a minority party, as background on which to present their promise.

Thank you, Senator THOMAS.

You are listening to the American Forum of the Air, presenting a discussion on the outlook for labor. You have just heard Senator ELBERT D. THOMAS, of Utah, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

And now we are pleased to present Senator CLYDE M. REED, of Kansas, member of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee and one of the Nation's outstanding authorities on railroad legislation. Senator REED.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR CLYDE M. REED

The full realization of the ultimate goal of labor necessarily requires an understanding collaboration between labor, management, and the Government. Without this understanding labor suffers, and as labor suffers, the Nation's productive enterprise suffers.

It has taken years of continuous work for labor to gain its rightful position at the conference table with management and the Government.

During the past 7 years, however, we have witnessed a trend which has brought the Government more and more into this picture, until today it is on the brink of becoming the dominant figure at this conference table.

Government rarely becomes the patron of a movement without ending as its boss. When the fortunes of labor are too intimately tied to government action, the power of government, under shifting circumstances, may be used to hamstring as well as to liberate the workers. American labor caught a fleeting glimpse of the price workers may have to pay for a too close dependence upon government when the executive of the N. R. A. hinted at the prohibition of the right to strike on the ground that the N. R. A. had make strikes unnecessary.

Where free labor unionism is compelled to look to government to head its activities, the members of the unions may unwittingly find themselves turning from their union heads for leadership to the uncertain fortunes of politics. Finally—and this is what happened in Germany and Italy—the state takes over the complete management of labor and strips labor of all the hard-won gains it has made over many years.

It is this determination of the New Deal administration to centralize control of everything—labor, business, agriculture—in Washington that has destroyed the effectiveness of the laws we have passed during the past 20 years in labor's behalf.

The laws themselves no doubt have provided labor with means for giving workers a fair share of the fruits of industry and better working conditions, but the administration of these laws under Mr. Roosevelt has caused even the leaders of labor to be critical.

The National Labor Relations Act, heartily approved by the heads of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations when it became law, has during the past year or so been under attack by these labor leaders, not as to the intent of the law but as to its administration.

The report of the council of the American Federation of Labor in 1938 had this to say:

"It is with deep regret that frankness impels us to report to you that the National Labor Relations Board has administered the act contrary to its letter, spirit, and intent, with manifest bias and prejudice against the American Federation of Labor and in favor of dual and rival organizations. Our resentment has been aroused and your officers have publicly and officially in most vigorous terms condemned this unholy alliance between a government agency exercising quasi-judicial jurisdiction and the C. I. O."

On the other hand, John L. Lewis, president of the C. I. O., declared on October 9, 1939:

"But when the act is so administered as to thwart the development and maintenance of stable industrial relations, then it becomes necessary to consider and weigh carefully whether the benefits of the act outweigh the dangers which its administration inflicts upon organized labor."

Management likewise has made numerous protests against the maladministration of this law, but despite these protests Mr. Roosevelt not only has refused to take any steps to correct this situation, but has made it evident that he will remain adamant, since his leaders on Capitol Hill have made every possible effort to bottle up all amendments to the National Labor Relations Act, which were passed by the House and which are now pending before a Senate committee. These amendments would take some of

the present arbitrary control from the N. L. R. B., but it is apparently the determination of the New Deal to keep all power possible concentrated in Washington.

Both the 1940 Republican platform and the nominee of the Republican Party for President, Wendell Willkie, have declared unequivocally for the right to collective bargaining and for the principles embodied in the wages and hours law and in that creating the National Labor Relations Board.

It is the administration of these laws that the New Deal has shown its incapacity and has done a disservice, rather than a service, to labor.

Mr. Willkie is a man who knows the problems of labor from both sides, for he knows what it is to toil with his hands as well as his head. Emphatically he has denounced the centralization of control in Washington. When Mr. Willkie becomes President there will be an understanding collaboration between labor, management, and the Government, and the Government will cease the present trend toward the control of labor.

Thank you, Senator REED.

You have just heard Senator CLYDE M. REED, of Kansas, in tonight's American Forum of the Air discussion on "Outlook for Labor."

Our next speaker is Representative at Large T. V. SMITH, of Illinois, noted author and lecturer, and professor at the University of Chicago.

Congressman SMITH.

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN T. V. SMITH

Fellow citizens, the outlook of labor depends, I suspect, (1) upon continued peace, (2) union labor's attitude, its wit to unity, and its will to perfect its democratic processes short of racketeering, and (3) upon aid from the party in power. The last of these is the least of these, though not negligible. Since I am supposed to say something as a political partisan, I shall say what seems to me the truth, i. e., that the political outlook for labor is bright if the Democratic Party stays in power. Nothing is pure white or pure black in party politics, but here is one case where Democratic gray lights up to white and Republican gray burns out toward black. But let me come at the difference through easy stages.

A moral from Calvin Coolidge

You can read somewhere in the legends of Babylon, this story of Calvin Coolidge, the Puritan. To embarrass Coolidge, then a new member of the State Legislature of Massachusetts, a sophisticated older member asked him in public whether it is correct to say "the hen lays or the hen lies." Coolidge replied, "The people in my district turn her up to see whether she lays or lies." Let us do the parties likewise, to see who promises and who performs. We discover at once in the gray of party twilight three sizes of political loyalty with reference to labor. There is, first, the small-size loyalty; second, the middle-size loyalty; and at last, at long last, a large-size loyalty to labor.

Of course no political party in an election year would dare stoop to conquer labor armed with less than the little-sized loyalty.

I. Little size loyalty to labor

The little-size loyalty is the swearing kind. It swears allegiance in sonorous tones to the "principle, the great principle of collective bargaining." The Republican Party has in greatest measure this littlest loyalty. Its latest platform declares, "We shall maintain labor's right of free organization and collective bargaining." (It's easier to "maintain" than to establish, as we Democrats know from Republican opposition to our establishing of what they would now so gallantly maintain.) Their leading candidate matches their latest platform promise. "I believe," said Mr. Wendell Willkie at Elwood, "in collective bargaining by representatives of labor's own choice, without any interference and in full protection of these obvious rights."

So far, of course, so good; but this kind of loyalty does not of itself go very far. It requires only laryngeal justice, conversational courage, so to say. To expect principles automatically to perfect themselves in politics is either innocent faith or crafty folly. To "rear back" and promise a principle is by no means to pass a miracle.

II. Middle-size loyalty to labor

That miracle of political practice requires a law; and here the Republican loyalty to labor begins to peter out. The law upon that subject is ours. It is the Wagner Act for skilled and the Wage and Hour Act for the unskilled. Courage to make principal into law, that is middle-size loyalty in politics. That's the loyalty of the Democratic Party to labor, and these two statutes are our eloquent witnesses to middle-size loyalty. Since Republicans have nothing to match these, we must measure their loyalty by our yardsticks. I am too sympathetic with my Republican colleagues on the spot here tonight to parade the Republican record in Congress on the passage of these laws. It was not wholly bad, but let them dare boast about it. To say the least their record was mediocre when it came time for this middle-size loyalty. But their omission at touching this concrete loyalty to labor turns into downright commission against the full-size loyalty which labor has the right to expect.

III. Large-size loyalty to labor

This full third size of loyalty requires an instrument to make even the law effective. As moral principles become laws only through political courage, so laws pass into practice only through both courage and strategy. The modern way of keeping great new laws from being dead statutes is to make a board or commission responsible for their enforcement. Recall the Federal Trade Commission, the Communications Commission, the Social Security Board, and so forth. The Wagner Act would have got nowhere fast without the National Labor Relations Board to ascertain the jurisdiction of competing unions, to investigate complaints against employers, and to assess penalties under the law. Of course, the Board has been opposed—opposed, forsooth, by those who opposed the degrading of their noble principle into naughty law. Most of the cry against the N. L. R. B. and against its able chairman is not because they've done it wrong, but because they've done it at all.

Republicans in the House voted 143 to 15 against the friendly Norton amendment, but 140 to 15 (though 11 did not vote) for the hostile Smith amendment (not to be confused with the Mr. SMITH who went to Washington from Illinois). Moreover, the Republicans in the House voted 151 to 2 for the Walter-Logan bill, which—make no mistake about it—is out to paralyze with judicial delay this and every other board which our esthetes of inaction want elevated to the immortality of purest principle.

To summarize: The Democratic Party has promoted its loyalty to labor from (1) the purity of principle into (2) the concreteness of law (3) made effective in action by an appropriate board. The Republican Party, as you see, is strong on the weakest loyalty, mediocre on middle-size loyalty, and weak as water on the strongest loyalty to labor.

A hint to the sufficient is wise

Do you remember the crafty city fathers of Podunkville, who voted (1) to build a new courthouse, (2) to build it out of the material of the old, (3) but not to tear the old one down until the new one was ready for use? Do you remember? Well, labor does; for labor didn't build that courthouse.

That was a house not built with hands, eternal in the heavens of pure principle, mere principle, pusillanimous principle.

Thank you, Congressman SMITH.

And now as our concluding speaker in tonight's American Forum of the Air, we present Representative GERALD W. LANDIS, of Indiana, member of the House Labor Committee.

Congressman LANDIS.

ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN GERALD W. LANDIS

The security and welfare of the industrial workers of the United States depends upon the sustained prosperity of the national economy as a whole. Without the expansion of the Nation's enterprise, full employment, higher real wages, and better working conditions cannot be realized.

The Republican Party, throughout its entire history, has been a real friend of labor. It was organized originally to end the most oppressive of labor abuses—slavery.

The leaders of the Republican Party have been building up labor legislation for many years. They have spoken fearlessly, frankly, on the subject of collective bargaining, decent wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. Republican leadership recognized the principle of collective bargaining over 40 years ago.

President William McKinley signed the Erdman Act June 1, 1898, which provided for mediation and conciliation in the settlement of disputes between the railroads and their employees. It prohibited the discharge of a railroad employee because he was a member of a trade union.

A Republican Congress passed the Railroad Labor Act of 1926, which further aided the prompt settlement of railroad labor disputes.

Again the Republican Party sponsored the Anti-injunction Act of 1932, which protects labor from a discriminatory use of the injunction to break strikes. It has fostered high tariffs to keep up wage scales. It has restricted immigration to protect our standard of living. It has opposed child labor. However, I contend that no political party has a monopoly on labor legislation.

In 1936, both major political parties and candidates accepted and endorsed the principle that labor should be assured at least a minimum wage, and that national prosperity depends upon labor receiving a fair share of the value of everything we produce.

Minimum wage and maximum-hour legislation is not new in industry. It has existed in Great Britain since 1916, and has operated successfully to the satisfaction of both employer and employee. Such legislation has become absolutely essential in modern industrial society. As two eminent judges have stated, that what the employer fails to pay in wages necessary to the cost of living must be made up by the community in terms of relief, or in paying for the cost of the social evils which flow from substandard living.

The Wage and Hour Act does not propose to fix all wages, but only a minimum wage floor, slightly above a starvation level. There is no value in having this law unless it is made to apply to low-paid industrial workers. This act would become a mere sham or a fraud if it covered only those workers who already received more than the wage rates prescribed by the act.

What the Wage and Hour Act needs is an opportunity to prove itself. It has been hamstrung from the beginning because of inadequate funds for enforcement in administration. It should be given a chance so that thousands of underpaid workers in this country will have their chance to secure a decent living.

As a member of the House Labor Committee, I contend the Wage and Hour Act should be preserved and strengthened. All labor

organizations are united in preserving this act. Most employers have complied willingly and in good faith with its provisions. They believe it would be a step backward to destroy it. Very few desire to return to sweatshops and low wages.

The Wage and Hour Act will work no hardships, with but few exceptions, to the employer.

In this connection may I say that all parties concerned should be willing to make some concessions to those industries that have thoroughly demonstrated, and that they cannot immediately comply with the law.

All political parties, the Congress, the people, the wage earners, and most of the established stable employers are committed to the principle of minimum-wage and maximum-hour legislation.

There are many persons standing on the side lines who believe the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. could get together if it were not for the clash in personalities of William Green and John L. Lewis. There is a tendency to see simplification by merely finding a way of disposing of the chief persons involved. The cleavage between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. is deeper than mere personalities. This is not the controlling factor. It goes to fundamental issues. Whoever leads the C. I. O. will have to boost and fight for industrial unions, and likewise the A. F. of L. leader will have to boost and fight for craft unions. However, both unions should be allowed to exist and enjoy the rights of collective bargaining.

One of the primary purposes of the Wagner Act is the promotion of industrial peace and the reduction of industrial warfare. I know the Wagner Act is not perfect, but, according to the hearings of the House Labor Committee, over 90 percent of the trouble has been with the administration of the act and not the act itself.

We should not be too hasty in amending this act. No one wants to destroy it or take away from labor the right of collective bargaining.

In times like these, with a great defense program in process in America, we want industrial peace.

I am proud to say that labor has cooperated and will continue to cooperate with the Federal Government in the formation and execution of its preparedness plans. Labor, industry, and Government must go forward with a united front.

Mr. GRANIK. Thank you, Congressman LANDIS.

And this concludes part I of tonight's American Forum of the Air presentation.

And now as part II of tonight's American Forum of the Air presentation Outlook for Labor, we present an informal round-table panel discussion. Our speakers whose opening remarks you have just heard are Senator ELBERT D. THOMAS, of Utah, Senator CLYDE M. REED, of Kansas, Representative T. V. SMITH, of Illinois, and Representative GERALD W. LANDIS, of Indiana.

Senator REED, will you open the discussion?

Mr. REED. Opening the discussion on my first appearance on the Forum of the Air is rather a tough job for a chap who had to leave school at 13, and never saw the inside of a college or a university except as a visitor, to this day, when he is met by not only two radio stars but two college professors on the other side.

However, in discussing labor matters, having employed labor all of my life, I think I might perhaps give my professorial colleagues here tonight some practical information about the operation of employment of labor unions. I happened to publish a newspaper, and I operated a union shop for 25 or 30 years. I happen to be one of the big farmers in the county, and I make enough out of the newspaper to pay the taxes on my farms, and then I happen to be engaged in the mining business a little in Arizona, where I am hoping that I won't lose my shirt, and I have had contact as a worker or as an employer of workers all my life.

I should be very happy to hear the college professors discuss this question from a practical standpoint, because they have had a lot of experience. I have found that there is as much human nature in labor organizations as there is in doctors' associations or medical societies, or even bankers' associations. I certainly agree with Mr. SMITH, who I believe is the prima donna of this organization, that nothing is all black and nothing is all white, but I do call attention to the fact that in the 20 years preceding 1930, of which about 8 years have been Democratic administration and 12 years have been Republican administration, wages increased, according to the Labor Bureau statistics, 200 to 300 percent. That doesn't indicate an unfriendliness either in passing law or in guarding labor conditions.

I happen to have been Governor of Kansas, and I challenge anybody to point to a State that has better labor laws, where the relations between employee and employer are friendlier than has been and is the case in Kansas. And I want to assure my distinguished colleague on my left, whom I very much admire, for whom I have a very deep affection, that we are going to change this question of the Republicans being a minority party next November. [Applause.]

Mr. THOMAS. I thank Senator REED. I am especially grateful to him for getting into the story realm instead of staying with the subject. I think that that merely confirms what we said about indirection and direction. He was learned out at 13, he said, but I am a youngster in this business, too. I didn't even see a microphone until I was 40, and I have learned all I know since that time. But those are not the things that we want to talk about. Congressman LANDIS delivered one of the finest talks in support of the Democratic stand for labor that I have heard. I welcome him into the fold, and it is kind of tough on Senator REED that he is left here all alone. Congressman LANDIS pointed out that no one is opposed to collective bargaining. No one dare say he is opposed to collective bargaining in 1940. But there are plenty of people who were opposed to collective bargaining before the Wagner Act was declared constitutional. And that is the point that we have to make.

The Democratic Party must be given credit for setting up these habit-forming institutions which make it possible for the Nation to conform to these fine fundamental principles. And let me say this, that the head of the American Manufacturers' Association, appearing before our committee within the last 2 or 3 weeks, maintained that he was not opposed to collective bargaining. He always favored collective bargaining, but he favored collective bargaining directly with the employee. I asked him how many of the employees he favored collective bargaining with. "Every one of them," he said, which, of course, knocks the props completely out of the collective-bargaining principles.

Chairman GRANIK. Congressman LANDIS.

Mr. LANDIS. I would like to ask a question. Hailing from the coal fields of southern Indiana, and the center of population of the United States, and having some experience as a former member of mine rescue teams, I of course favor the Wagner Act and the Wage-Hour Act. But some of the things in the past administration I don't agree with, Senator THOMAS. Take the last 7 years of the Republican administration. There were only 5,500 strikes. Under the first 7 years of the New Deal administration, there were over 17,000 strikes. And the per capita national income under the 7 years of the Republican administration amounted to $106 more than it did under the Democratic administration in the last 7 years.

Chairman GRANIK. Congressman SMITH?

Mr. SMITH. I think I ought to yield to Senator THOMAS, if he wants to reply to that before I speak.

Mr. THOMAS. I am awfully glad that Congressman LANDIS mentioned the coal fields, because it gives me a chance to shout for the home team. Utah came into the Union in 1896, January 5. On March 5, 1896, Utah passed the first 8-hour law governing the employment of coal miners, and all miners, in fact. That law became constitutional in 1898, by the decision of the supreme court. There is one of the great Magna Cartas of lobar legislation in the history of the United States. I am extremely proud of that, because that illustrates what I have said before: You have a habit-forming institution started, and in conformity with that habit-forming institution has come progress. Before that time you had an attempt at progress, but it never came because you had nothing direct on which to build.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. LANDIS, I really hate to say anything to you. You have made a fine speech. It was a magnificent speech. But isn't it a fact, really, that this quotation of strike statistics is a double-edged ax? After all, strikes are presumably for purposes of getting privileges that can't be got any other way. We are, after all, talking about labor here tonight. I take it the reason why there were so few strikes in the Republican administration is that they didn't expect to get anything even out of striking; whereas, with the Democratic administration a new machinery was created for adjudication of strikes, and the hopes of workers all over the country actually raised, because they could get something with whatever technique they had.

Mr. LANDIS. How would you account for this, that most of the good times we have ever had have happened under Republican administrations?

Mr. SMITH. You don't call what happened at the end of the last Republican administration good times, do you?

I want to say to Senator REED, while I have the mike, that he need not be apologetic for being an employer, because, after all, we are just bare-footed farmer boys here in Washington, speaking for labor, whatever our past may have been. I apprehend that Senator REED had a very good point, however, in his speech. He fears the influence of government as interjected into what I suppose he thinks ought to be a private brawl between employers and labor, when it comes right down to it. And I think there is some point to that. Government can become too strong for either side. But I wonder, did he mean by that that he would abolish the Wagner Labor Relations Act if he could? That is the major manifestation of government in this field. Or, if not, would he abolish the National Labor Relations Board, which alone has made that act effective?

If not, where has government interfered in the way that he concretely disapproves of?

Mr. REED. May I suggest to the Congressman that he can get a complete answer to that question from Signor Mussolini or Herr Hitler?

Mr. SMITH. We haven't gone to those lengths.

Mr. REED. My first answer is, I want to go back a moment to strikes. There has been one President of the United States since the Civil War that has used the Regular Army in a labor dispute and that was a Democratic President.

So, getting down the line, the question which the Congressman has asked is a very fair question. I think there is as much human nature in union labor as in the employer. I think the Government should act as an umpire when it is necessary, and to the extent it is necessary, and no more.

Mr. SMITH. What have we done, though, that constitutes trespassing over the moderate line of government?

Mr. REED. You have given the United States of America under this administration the most outrageous, the most biased, the most unfair, the most uncertain administration of these labor laws of

any laws within the recollection of a long time. You have made the National Labor Relations Board, by its administrative atrocities, a laughingstock of the country, both to labor and to the employer.

Mr. SMITH. That is fine, Senator REED, but may I repeat, would you repeal either the Wagner Labor Relations Act, which is so outrageous, or the National Labor Relations Board?

Mr. REED. The Representative from Illinois is not going on a straight line. Who said anything about outrageous?

Mr. SMITH. I was quoting the material you used only a moment ago, Senator.

Mr. REED. I beg your pardon. I said that the administration was outrageous.

Mr. SMITH. Well, would you abolish the Board, or what do you propose to do?

Mr. REED. I certainly would throw that Board out of the window just as quick as I could get it out.

Mr. SMITH. Do you think Mr. Willkie will do so?

Mr. REED. If he doesn't he will disappoint me.

Mr. THOMAS. May I break in there. I wonder if Mr. Willkie can overcome the Humphreys decision and throw that board out of the window when he becomes President of the United States.

Mr. REED. If he doesn't, we will have a Congress that will do it.

Mr. THOMAS. You are in favor of impeaching them?

Mr. REED. I am.

Mr. SMITH. I am really concerned about this. If the Government has been so outrageous, and we have done that which far exceeds the proper role of Government in reference to labor, labor is entitled to know it from the Republican Party before the election in November.

Mr. REED. Haven't you just been hearing it from me? [Laughter.]

Mr. SMITH. I didn't know you were speaking for the party. I hope not.

Mr. REED. To the extent that I may speak as a Senator of the United States from our party, I think I am reflecting a fairly general opinion of the citizenship of the United States as to the maladministration we have had from the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. SMITH. Representative LANDIS, do you think that we can get along in this labor field without some sort of board or commission to administer the law?

Mr. LANDIS. I would say we probably need some kind of a board, but I would say the main drawback in the set-up has been the administration of the act. There should be a way to administer it properly. Probably the best-recognized act that compares with it is the Railroad Act, that was passed in 1926. It seems to be handled very well. However, one of the main causes for not administering the act has been, in the past, Congress appropriations have been cut short and they haven't been given enough money to hire the people to run the act.

Mr. SMITH. That is an utterly unfair statement, as both of us know from our experiences in the House. I have the impression, though, with reference to the administration of the act, that we are repeating the oldest story of mankind, namely, when something needs reforming very, very badly, as Colleague LANDIS seems to think the labor situation did, at first when you do something everything is all right and you don't need to do anything about it, and then a little later you admit, "Well, we may need a little change, but what is proposed is wrong in spirit." And then a little later it is all right in spirit, and then it is wrong in method. "And we can do it better than you can." And that is just about what it comes down to.

Mr. LANDIS. I would like to make a comment there on the outlook of labor. We only have eight and a half million organized in the United States, and we probably have 40,000,000 people to be organized, so there is nothing to brag about from either party about labor and unions, because we only have eight and a half million that have been organized.

Mr. SMITH. I thought your emphasis there in the speech was perfectly magnificent, if I may say so, on that discrepancy between those that get the headlines and those who do most of the country's work, after all.

Mr. LANDIS. Of course, one big thing that would help—healthy expansion of enterprise can come only through the steady increase and investing of capital in new plants and new tools at swifter rates. Idle capital and future savings will be risked in industry only if the public policies of Government and the private policies of business unite to make risks reasonable and profits possible. What we need in America today is confidence to start business and put these millions back to work. And then you can have some collective bargaining and all the rights of labor will be enjoyed.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to say a word about Government's interference with labor disputes. Government, of course, is in labor disputes under the provisions of the great labor acts that are operating today. But Government has always been in labor disputes. The only difference is that we don't call on the military as we used to do. Martial law has gone almost completely out of vogue, and the American people, I am sure, are happy over that.

One point that has been made about the organized and unorganized; it is true, there are forty-one or forty-two million laborers in the United States. These people will never be organized, we will never have forty-one or forty-two million people in unions. At the very most today there can't be over eight or nine or ten million organized. There is no need of organization in the majority of labor situations. For instance, there is the corner store where the boss hires a clerk, there doesn't have to be any organization, there doesn't have to be any union; there isn't any collective bargaining, and if there isn't any collective bargaining the clerk ups and marries the boss' daughter, and then there is collective bargaining again.

But in an organization like the General Motors, where you have 135,000 employees in one corporation, those 135,000 employees of course can't marry the boss' daughter, so they have got to have collective bargaining. These institutions are growing up around the natural economic growth of our country, and the Democratic Party is cognizant of that fact, and making its laws conform with what actually is instead of what Mr. Willkie would probably suggest, a sort of watering of labor laws. I am sure, if you put stock in Mr. Willkie, it is going to have some reference to water, and you can't dodge it, and that being the case I think we had better trust what we have got rather than that other type of thing that may come.

Mr. REED. I want to agree with most of what Senator THOMAS said as to where you draw the line as to the need of organization of labor, and where is the need. I beg to remind him, however, of the labor dispute in the Democratic State of Kentucky which ended with the National Guard going down into the Harlan County coal field.

Now, as a matter of fact, the States that have had Republican governments—and they have lost a lot, but they are going to get it back again shortly—Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Kansas—States like those are what used to be known as the normal Republican States. In those States you find the best and fairest labor laws. There labor has made the most progress, receives the highest wages. I don't want to inject an unpleasant feature into this thing, but it is only fair to call attention to the fact that the lowest wages are paid in the United States in that section of the country which is most solidly and overwhelmingly Democratic.

Mr. THOMAS. I have no answer to that. That is a fact, of course, excepting for the Harlan County proposition, and we had no labor organization in Harlan County, or probably there would have been no need of the calling of the military there. I think that after weeks and weeks of hearing on Harlan County in our Civil Liberties Committee no one wants to justify what took place in that county.

Mr. REED. The Senator would agree with me, would he not, that it is a Democratic Party State?

Mr. SMITH. Senator THOMAS, isn't it fair to point out, though, that though it may have been a Democratic State, it was a Democratic national administration that took heroic investigative measures and corrective measures with reference to it?

Mr. REED. If the Congressman wants to know my opinion, if you laid the record of the two parties down side by side from 1856 and brought it down to the present time you would find that both parties had made a lot of promises, some of which neither one of them kept; both parties have done a lot of good; both parties have actually helped labor situations; but the credit side over the long years for the best results for labor has been on the Republican and not the Democratic side.

Mr. THOMAS. It seems to me the answer to that is that simple numbers sum up that I made in the first of my discussion. There are 17 names connected with the fundamental labor laws of our country today. Of these names, there are 2 Republicans, 4 Progressive Independents, and 11 Democrats. That doesn't sound like a great Republican achievement.

Mr. REED. We are more modest about that than you are. [Laughter.]

Mr. THOMAS. I would be forced into modesty if I could only show two out of seventeen.

Chairman GRANIK. I think I see a question from the floor. Your name, sir?

Mr. CHARLES A. MCBRIDE (Philadelphia, Pa.). Charles A. McBride, from Philadelphia.

Mr. LANDIS, you refer to the labor condition—that labor wasn't getting the breaks. Republicans in our town refused $19,000,000 to give labor a break.

Mr. SMITH, can you answer me why the Republicans say that there are still 9,000,000 people out of work now, and there were still 9,000,000 out of work when Mr. Roosevelt went in, and are still out now? What became of the 9,000,000 people, when there are 500,000 children coming out of the high schools every year? That still only leaves 9,000,000, because Mr. Roosevelt has employed those other 9,000,000. Am I right?

Mr. SMITH. That is somewhat involved in statistics, sir, but I think I understand such a remark on the part of those who set somebody to control the collective-bargaining process of those who don't want to be controlled, and put somebody over to control them that doesn't want to control them, either. It seems to me the situation that Senator REED has been describing here.

Chairman GRANIK. I see another question. Your name, sir?

Mr. WENDELL J. PHILLIPS (San Francisco, Calif.). Wendell J. Phillips, San Francisco. I would like to ask Senator REED a question. Senator, you said that there is nothing fundamentally wrong with the Wagner Labor Relations Act. It was simply a question of maladministration, as I understood you. I would like to ask, Why, in your opinion, if that was the case, the Supreme Court of the United States, in at least 90 percent of its decisions on the appeals against the decisions of the Board, have ruled with the Board, and in only 10 percent have overturned the Board's decisions?

Mr. REED. The Government of the United States has changed one member of the Board. He is the Chairman of that Board. And the general understanding is that the Chairman may not be reappointed. Now, not being in the confidence of the administration, I cannot speak with authority, but the decisions of the Supreme Court are based upon that fairly well-known rule of administrative law, that it will sustain these quasi-judicial commissions on findings of fact, without going behind those findings of fact. I think that is the answer to the 90 percent and the 10 percent.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Granik, may I quote from what Mr. Hughes himself said in the first decision touching this. He said: "We consider the procedural provisions as affording adequate opportunity to secure judicial protection against arbitrary action in accordance with the well-settled rules applicable to administrative agencies set up by Congress to aid in the enforcement of valid legislation."

That is the Supreme Court's answer to that case.

Mr. REED. Isn't that what I said?

Mr. SMITH. If that is so, we have said it doubly. Let's get it authoritatively from Mr. Hughes himself.

Mr. LANDIS. Most of our people would be happy if they had a job or felt secure in the job they now hold. We need a driver who will take off the brakes and turn on the green light, and we will jump into an industrial revival which all of Europe cannot duplicate.

The Value of Historic Sites to the Public

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY O. TALLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. HENRY O. TALLE, OF IOWA

Mr. TALLE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered by me on the occasion of the centennial celebration held at Fort Atkinson, Iowa, on October 6, 1940:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, this is a notable occasion. We have met to rededicate an old landmark established a century ago for a unique purpose. On these heights 100 years ago our forbears were busily engaged in the erection of a military post designed to serve as quarters for men of the United States Army. The general purpose was that of all organized government—to maintain law and order—but the specific purpose of this institution was unique in that the soldiers quartered here were commissioned to prevent warlike Indians from destroying their more peaceful kinsmen.

Were I a clergyman casting about for a fitting text to serve as the basis for my remarks, I should choose the pertinent command recorded in Holy Writ, "Remove not the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set." We are obeying that command today. For we are not here to remove but to restore. We are not here to criticize but to approve. We are not here to disparage but to revere.

The building and maintaining of Fort Atkinson in the 1840's was a part of that larger movement generally referred to as the "winning of the West." It was a part of that inevitable pressing forward of people into a region that offered men and women opportunities for betterment. In this area nature in the raw hurled her challenge to people of courage and enterprise. Land, including fertile soil, water, minerals, forests, fish, and fowl beckoned to prospective home builders in so beguiling a manner as to draw to this region the sturdy pioneers who broke sod and tilled virgin soil to convert a wilderness into fertile farms and busy cities.

So ready was the response that after 8 years of service this post was no longer needed for the unique purpose which brought it into being. By then the westward sweep of the white man's civilization had pushed the frontier line beyond the point where we are met today. But these 8 years were purposeful years in the development of the upper Mississippi Valley. It is therefore altogether fitting that we assemble here at this hour to appraise the value of this historic site.

But I should fail utterly in my duty did I not at the outset pay a tribute to those who have labored so faithfully and so well in the work of restoring this landmark. Prof. S. S. Reque, the officers associated with him, and the Greater Winneshiek County League, as a whole, have accomplished a difficult task. They have done the spade work which must be done to get such an undertaking started. The Conservation Commission of the State of Iowa is to be commended for the splendid support given to this laudable enterprise. Without the generous cooperation of the Commission the cost of such an undertaking would have made the restoration well-nigh impossible.

I should be lacking in gratitude did I not on this occasion pay a tribute to Dr. Charles W. Porter and his associates in the Division of Historic Sites of the United States National Park Service, to Mr. H. B. Dillard, director, and Mr. Clarence Brownfield, assistant supervisor of the District of Columbia Historical Records Survey, and to Maj. Miles Reber, of the United States Army engineers, Washington, D. C. In all my dealings with these men I have met with wholehearted cooperation. They have a fine appreciation of the value of historic sites, and they are most willing to be of further expert servive in the restoration of Fort Atkinson.

But in the final analysis, the completion—like the beginning—of this project must be the distinctive task of the Greater Winneshiek County League. How fitting it is that this work should be done by the people who live in this neighborhood. Fort Atkinson belongs, first of all, to Winneshiek County. The task of restoring it is properly a community enterprise aided by funds and counsel furnished by the State and the Nation. In spirit it is like the husking bees and the barn raisings that were so common in pioneer day. It is an undertaking which grew out of an inner urge based on pride in one's own community. Fort Atkinson should be restored in no other way. This is the job of the good people in Winneshiek County. And they will not fail in their task. This fort will be restored so that a chapter in the life of America and more particularly in the Middle West as it was in the 1840's may be fixed for the eye to see, the mind to contemplate, and the spirit to enjoy. On this spot the story of America's making will be told to us and to future generations in a way no textbook on history can teach.

Every other county, village, and city can set itself a similar task, for each one has a part in the making of America. The trails of the Indians, of the traders, of the soldiers led somewhere. Each community was in one way or another connected with every other community by these trails. What one county is doing other counties can do. I have faith that the example set by the Greater Winneshiek County League will have a significant influence in stimulating the development of historic sites throughout our broad land.

My congratulations go out to everyone who is taking a part in this laudable venture. Speed the day when the same splendid spirit shown by the Greater Winneshiek County League may take hold of every other community in the United States. Then the story of America's making will be clear, meaningful, and inspiring. For there is no greater epic, no greater romance than the record of the triumph of our Republic.

The subject assigned to me is the value of historic sites to the public. It is a most fitting subject for this occasion. To evaluate in full degree the significance of restoring and maintaining historic sites would require a more nearly complete analysis than the time at my disposal permits. I shall, therefore, confine myself to three points:

(1) A restored Fort Atkinson will have a definite recreational value. Nature is a great physician. The ideal of a sound mind in a sound body can be realized most surely through communion with nature. Northeast Iowa is one of America's beauty spots. It is restful to the mind and refreshing to the soul to visit this region. How pleasant it is on a Sunday afternoon to see the artistic handcarved clocks of the Bily Bros., to stand on the heights here at Fort Atkinson and let one's mind recall the life of pioneer days, to view the cathedral at Spillville, and to peep in at the Little Church near Festina. These are links in a chain of meaningful objects and institutions. I have visited them so often and each successive visit creates a fresh desire to return. All of these are in Winneshiek County. To enumerate the attractions of all of northeastern Iowa would be too big a task for this occasion.

(2) A restored Fort Atkinson will have a definite educational value. Children who visit this landmark will ask many questions which now for the first time can be answered correctly. They will want to know when and why the fort was built. What materials were used in the structures? Is the stockade today like that of 1840? Why was the fort built here? What Indian tribes lived in this area? What does the term "neutral ground" mean? How many soldiers were housed in these barracks? How did the soldiers live? What did they do? How many of them died here? How long was the fort maintained? Why was it discontinued? These are just a few of the questions which I fancy children may ask. It may even be that some adults will ask these same questions. The correct answers are worth-while information for every American citizen, especially in the Middle West, to possess.

Located near the junction of Constitution and Pennsylvania Avenues in Washington, D. C., is an imposing structure called the Archives Building. Housed in this structure are many of the old records and documents which, pieced together, tell the story of Fort Atkinson. Chiseled into stone at the entrance to this building are the words "What is past is prologue. Study the past." That inscription can be applied most fittingly to this project. The purpose of this restoration is to study the past that we may appreciate better the present and prepare wisely for the future.

(3) A restored Fort Atkinson will serve to inspire patriotism. It will teach us something of the sacrifices of our forebears, the men and women who broke sod, built log houses, established churches and schools, and left to us the heritage of the American way of life. This the pioneers did with a prayer on their lips and a song in their hearts. It will help us to be grateful to the statesmen who put into effect principles of government under which men and women might be permitted to be born, to live, and to labor in an atmosphere of personal liberty. It will help us to appreciate the profound significance of the American's Creed, as we say:

"I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies."

This centennial celebration marks the one hundredth anniversary of the building of Fort Atkinson. During these 100 years our country has flourished and we have come to be the greatest nation on earth. Some say we are growing old, that our day is done, and that the future holds for us little except decay.

I say to you, America is young. America is vigorous. America is enterprising in spirit. Let us not despair. A century is but a brief moment in the life of a great nation. We have just begun. It is for us to keep our country youthful, vigorous, and enterprising in spirit. Lincoln said our Nation was "conceived in liberty." That is a solemn truth. Ours is the only great nation that was conceived in liberty. It is our task today to rekindle the burning love of liberty which actuated the pioneers. The restoration of Fort Atkinson will contribute to that end.

Would Drag Us Into War—English Writer Defends Russian Seizure of Polish and Finnish Territory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, through the courtesy of the House, I am permitted to make some observations on a subject in which all the world is interested, namely, the rape of Poland and Finland.

Several days ago the American press carried some remarks by H. G. Wells, British author, made immediately upon his arrival in New York, that will not strike a responsive chord with thinking Americans who believe in fair play and in the right to self-determination. Mr. Wells is quoted as having defended Russia's invasion of Finland, also that he approved the butchery of Poland. In the march into Poland, Mr. Wells asserted, Russia had merely taken back land awarded to her by the "Curzon line" of the Versailles Treaty in 1920, before the Polish-Soviet war established the frontier farther to the east. As to the invasion of Finland, he added, Russia had done no more than the United States would have done if a small foreign power, armed to the teeth, were situated on Staten Island, its guns commanding the Narrows, and could be used as spearhead of attack against this country.

Mr. Wells' statement is fallacious and does not rest on fact. In the first place, there can be no comparison between the geographic situation of Staten Island to this country and that of Finland to Russia. Staten Island is to all intents and purposes a part of the mainland, as it is connected with the city of New York by tubes and ferries that permit of uninterrupted intercourse between the two, whereas the original coast of Finland was sufficiently far away from the port of Leningrad as to not constitute a menace to the defense of that port. Then, too, Finland had at no time shown any hostile intent toward the Soviet Republic. Notwithstanding Mr. Wells' statement, the American people have branded the invasion an act of unjustified and brutal aggression.

The action against Poland was equally unjustified, and those who are responsible for these acts of rapacious aggression will never be able to convince the world that they were justified by military and political necessity.

Mr. Wells is a brilliant student and typically British. I do not say that critically, but rather because it throws a light on Mr. Wells' outlook. He comes from a country that has been grabbing land in all quarters of the globe for 300 and more years. It is to be expected that he would condone the violation of Finland and the sacking of Poland.

At this juncture it may be of interest to recall that both Poland and Finland were urged to stand up to the invaders, with the assurance that the full power of the British Empire would be behind them. It is my information that Josef Beck, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, had reached an understanding with Germany which, had it been carried out, would have obviated the war. That night, London called Warsaw and told them to stand pat and make no concessions; that they would back them up to the hilt. Unfortunately, poor Poland took that assurance at face value and acted accordingly. What happened as a result is now history that is too painful to review.

It is my information that the same situation holds true with Finland. The brave Finns were also promised help in case of invasion—help that never came and we all know with what disastrous results.

If Author Wells is correct, then why did his Government induce the Finns to put up a fight? Perhaps Mr. Wells can give us a reason.

Mr. Speaker, I do not want to see the United States used as a pawn for the preservation of empires or to help those who seek more territory and power. I want to see America remain neutral and strong enough to take on any and all comers. That course leads to national security and the preservation of our democracy.

He Has Lost Faith in Us—We Have Lost Faith in Him

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 4, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, if we are to have either adequate preparedness or if we are to carry on a war, which the President seems resolved we shall do, we cannot be successful unless we have national unity.

We cannot have national unity under a man who considers himself indispensable; who charges those who disagree with him with ignorance, selfishness, and lack of patriotism; who would destroy our constitutional form of government, and substitute in place thereof a dictatorship with himself at its head.

We cannot have unity because Mr. Roosevelt has lost faith in the American people, in the American form of government. We cannot have unity because the American people have lost faith in him. Where trust and confidence are lacking there can be no united effective effort. We have lost faith because he has not kept his promises to us; he has not been frank and honest with us.

The foregoing has been expressed many times by many men capable of forming an accurate judgment. One of these is Raymond Clapper, a columnist for the Washington Daily News, whose column is carried by other great national dailies. Of Mr. Clapper, David Lawrence, publisher of the United States News, recently wrote:

Mr. Clapper has been consistently friendly to and sympathetic with the New Deal in his writings and was at one time voted by Washington correspondents as perhaps the fairest of them all in his point of view.

Mr. Clapper is regarded by many Congressmen as an ardent new dealer. In this article written by him and reprinted below, it is easy to see that he is deeply grieved by the fact that the President's actions have finally forced him—Clapper—a personal friend of the President, to reach the conviction that Franklin D. Roosevelt is no longer to be trusted. Writes Mr. Clapper:

(By Raymond Clapper)

If my thoughts and reactions are those of the average liberal-minded person, and I think they usually are, then something has gone out of American life this week. At least I have lost something. It was faith in President Roosevelt.

I have faith in very few politicians. But I had it in him. To be sure his day-to-day actions have sometimes seemed ill-advised to me. Sometimes I have said so. At other times I have given him the benefit of the doubt rather than chime in with the yappings of his enemies. Many times my questionings about some of Mr.

Roosevelt's policies have been quieted by one look at his opposition, which was usually so much worse that I thanked God we still had Roosevelt, mistakes and all.

ALLOWANCES FOR SHORTCOMINGS OF PUBLIC MEN

No one who writes about politics expects perfection of a man in public life. Large allowances must be made for the one who is out in the ring, fighting, taking the blows, expending his strength in sweat and blood. It is not for kibitzers in ivory towers to be too critical of the details. I try to make those allowances.

Therefore day-to-day questionings which I may have had about Mr. Roosevelt were concerned mostly with details, with superficial matters of no real fundamental importance.

I have always felt that President Roosevelt was a figure who most fortunately appeared to lead the Nation at a time when it was in direst need of courageous, bold, experimental action in behalf of the masses of America. Our situation was shaky when he took over. His worst enemies can thank their lucky stars that a Roosevelt appeared to save them from their own folly and greed.

CREDIT FOR ACTION THAT HELPED TO SAVE DEMOCRACY

The actions for which Mr. Roosevelt has been most criticized will live in history, I hope and believe, as actions which contributed toward saving democracy, toward making it work, toward making it serve the people for whom organized society and the State exist. No one can ever convince me that in those fundamentals Mr. Roosevelt was mistaken. We can be eternally grateful that he came in to rescue the Nation from the blind, unperceiving course of Herbert Hoover which was wrecking America, without Hoover and his crowd even knowing it. They kept mumbling that conditions were fundamentally sound. Conditions were fundamentally rotten as hell. Roosevelt, against their bitter, endless, stupid opposition, has done what he could—which was more than most men could have done—to correct those conditions.

To me a third term does not seem a healthy thing for us, even under present conditions. But waive that. There is no law against a third term. What shakes me is that statement which President Roosevelt authorized Senator BARKLEY to make to the Democratic National Convention.

This—that he, Mr. Roosevelt—"has never had, and has not today, any desire or purpose to continue in the office of President, to be a candidate for that office, or to be nominated by the convention for that office."

I simply do not believe that. Mr. Roosevelt can cite no action that he has taken to support it. He has not discouraged his official family intimates from manipulating a third term. Never has he lifted a finger to prevent work being done on his behalf. He has known about it. He has allowed it to go on to the present inevitable climax. I have heard him asked at press conferences dozens of times whether he desired to be renominated, whether he approved of work being done in his behalf. He never answered. Sometimes he told the inquiring reporter to put on a dunce cap and stand in the corner.

If Mr. Roosevelt has had any desire to retire, it has been too feeble a desire to impel him into one single action toward that end. In the absence of a shred of supporting evidence, I don't believe that statement.

The urge to power and glory is an overwhelming thing when it takes hold of a public man. Only such an urge could have betrayed Mr. Roosevelt into the monumental and historic deception which he now places on the record. This is a page that I would rather have never read.

Mr. Speaker, as many others competent to judge have stated, the greatest service that Roosevelt could have done to aid the United States in its program of preparedness, to make it safe from aggression, would have been to put aside his third-term ambition; permit the Democratic Party to nominate a candidate; then let our people choose between the two nominees. After an election, we would then have been united under a patriotic President who believed in the American way, the American people; a President in whom the people had confidence. Wendell Willkie is such a man.

Franklin Roosevelt and those surrounding him are trouble-makers. He and his supporters have created class hatred. They have caused the poor and the unfortunate to hate the well-to-do, the more fortunate. They have promoted strife between labor and industry. The President himself has taken the side of one great labor organization as against the other. He has abused, belittled, and charged with ignorance, lack of good sense, of the Christian virtues, and of patriotism, many of those who opposed him.

Under him America never will be united, and if he establishes himself as a dictator by securing, through the use of money and corrupt political practices, a third term, he and those whose continuance in office depends upon his election will discover to their sorrow that the American people still love freedom and that their opposition to un-American methods will continue to the bitter end.

Letter from Hon. J. H. Allen, of Canyon City, Oreg.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER M. PIERCE

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Hon. J. H. Allen, Grant County judge of Canyon City, Oreg.:

CANYON CITY, OREG., *July 30, 1940.*

Hon. WALTER PIERCE,
Representative in Congress, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: Your letter of the 23d instant at my desk this a. m., and I am indeed happy to have your reaction to my article about Hitler. No, Governor, we'll not come under a dictator for some time. Even Roosevelt's third-term adventure is not meeting with the approval some thought it would. The least move toward dictatorship in good old United States is scorned at.

I wish to stress for a few seconds Hitler's murder drive. You'll understand, with his heavy tanks, he just simply crushed all before him in his drive through France. He thought he would take over the French Navy when those people were overpowered, but he was fooled. The Navy sailed away, leaving the tanks at the row's end. The tanks cannot swim nor can he take them across the English Channel without a mighty fleet. He also thought, with the French Fleet, he could go into England and take them as he had taken France; with both the French and English Fleets he could take the world. He has failed; his air raids are badly beaten back; England is growing more powerful each day, while he is weakening.

And, Governor, they are fast approaching a hungry wave in all the lands he has conquered. Have you, and of course you have, held herds of sheep and cattle under control until hunger reached a certain stage, then man and dog power was useless? Yes, Hitler will be hated and hated by his own people. He caught those nations while they were asleep, but today America is turning out thousands of airplanes. England has also whipped up production in planes, etc. No; Murderer Hitler will soon fade from sight. I wouldn'tbe be surprised if within a very few months the whole program will change and Germany will sink far back, maybe into oblivion.

No, Governor; the pioneer spirit which prompted our forefathers to sail the deep sea on the *Mayflower* and to establish a government which has endured until this very day will not perish at the hands of such a murderer. The spirit which our forefathers possessed runs on down through the ages and is instilled in the blood of the American people so deeply that no foreign dictator will ever tread us down. No; Hitler will not even take England now. He has all of America to buck. Every red-blooded person in the United States of America will shed their blood before we shall be conquered. It is all right to fear such outlaws, but allow me to encourage your busy mind that Poland, Norway, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, France, and those other crushed nations will all be set free in the end. Hitler is now puzzled. He does not know what is going on in England, as his spies have either been shot on the spot or placed in places where they cannot spy. His spy system was fine in those other lands, but it is different now. He must soon hear the roar of the last wave which will settle over him forever.

I think it wonderful of you to find time to read the home papers and to find time to ponder over the headaches of our counties.

No; do not get down in the dumps about our Nation being overpowered at this time. But we must prepare for war. Our Army, our Navy, our air force is the fence around our country. Let us build a strong defense. The defense of America means the defense of the democracies of the earth. If we fail to function in the right spirit, if we fail to build until satan's gang fears us, we'll not be doing our duty to civilization. We hold the reins of all the democracies. Our success or failure means just that to all peace-loving countries of the earth.

And a few lines in regard to our national-forest reserves and their methods of preserving timber growth, etc.:

Governor, being a lifelong close observer of forests, I wish to present this bit of further information concerning the fast encroachment of undergrowth and down timber within our once beautiful mountains; where cool, bubbling streams of water flowed are now dry creek beds.

There is a fast growing antagonistic feeling between the stockman and the sportsmen concerning mountain grazing areas. The stockman feels that the increase in wildlife is crowding his domestic herds from the mountains summer range. The sportsmen feel that too many head of sheep, cattle, and horses are grazing the hills, thus crowding wildlife out. In fact, both wildlife and domestic animals are suffering from the effects of the nonburning idea being used by the Forestry Department. If grazing conditions in our national forests were the same today as when the mountain districts were taken over by the Forestry Department, all the wildlife we now have and all the livestock now being grazed on the national forests would have ample feed. It is safe to say that 75 percent of the forage within the national forest have been chocked out by the

methods used by the Department during the 34 years of forestry management.

Young men in the service have been taught that fires in the forest destroy instead of preserving natures own way of sweeping the mountains. The same mountains upon which the pioneer stockmen drove buckboards and wagons through are now dense fire hazards.

The early stockman set fire to every thicket, down logs and congested areas any season of the year when the debris would burn. No valuable timber was destroyed, nor was the ground so deeply burned that vegetation immediately returned to the soil.

Governor, the writer can prove these statements. It is not theory. Theory is what has caused all our trouble in our national forests. We have been asking the Forestry Department for an opportunity to prove that the theory of burning is wrong, but so far we are not able to make a dent in the structure.

By cleaning the mountains of waste matter, undergrowth, etc., in the course of time, we can again rebuild our grazing districts to where both livestock and wildlife can have room; we can bring back water to many of the dry creek beds; we can bring about a union between the sportsmen and the stockman, whereas, if the Forest Service continues to hold down fires and allow further accumulation of undergrowth, down timber, etc., it is only going to be a few more short years until there'll be neither wildlife or domestic animals grazing in the timbered sections. The writer can substantiate these undisputable facts.

With success and happiness to you and your good wife, I am

Gratefully yours,

JESS ALLEN, *County Judge.*

Legislative Record of the Honorable Hamilton Fish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to insert herewith the biography and service record of the gentleman from New York, the Honorable HAMILTON FISH:

HAMILTON FISH—A BRIEF SERVICE BIOGRAPHY AND RECORD ON VETERANS' LEGISLATION

1913–16: HAMILTON FISH served as a member of the New York State Assembly, to which he had been elected as a Progressive follower of Theodore Roosevelt, from 1913 to 1916. Attended Plattsburg Training Camp, 1915–16.

1917–18: Served in the World War as company commander of the Fifteenth New York Volunteers, later known as the Three Hundred and Sixty-ninth Regiment of Infantry. Awarded French Croix de Guerre and American Silver Star for gallantry in action near Sechault, France, in September 1918. Served as major of Infantry in Fourth Division of the Army of Occupation and graduated from the Army General Staff College of the A. E. F.

1919: Discharged from United States Army. Attended the convention, or caucus, of the American Legion held at St. Louis, as a delegate. Appointed chairman of committee of three that wrote the preamble to the American Legion constitution, which has not been changed in one iota to this day; termed by General Pershing as the most patriotic declaration since Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

1920: Elected to Congress from Twenty-sixth New York Congressional District. Introduced immediately a bill to bring back the body of an unknown soldier for burial at Arlington, approved by Congress and signed by President Woodrow Wilson as the last official act of his administration on March 4, 1921. Introduced a bill to designate November 11, Armistice Day, as a national holiday.

1921: Advocated in Congress preference to veterans in Civil Service examinations. Offered amendment for payment of adjusted compensation to veterans from interest payments made on the war debts by foreign nations. Submitted an amendment to the Sweet bill, which was adopted, to increase allowances for attendants or nurses for the blinded, legless, armless, and totally disabled ex-service men from $20 to $50 per month. Advocated and offered an amendment to provide for insurance payments to widows and dependents of veterans killed in action who failed to carry Government insurance. Introduced a bill authorizing the bestowal of the Congressional Medal of Honor and the Distinguished Service Cross upon the Unknown Soldier to be buried in the Memorial Amphitheater of the National Cemetery at Arlington, in accordance with the provisions of the bill he had previously sponsored.

Placed first wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, as author of the bill and as representative of all World War veterans, on November 11, 1921, at ceremonies in the Memorial Amphitheater.

1922: Introduced bill providing transportation to parents and widows of deceased veterans buried overseas and who lost their lives in action. Advocated approval of plan of Allied Patriotic Societies to establish schools for the Americanization of aliens in this country. Submitted to Congress George Washington's views on payment of adjusted service compensation to soldiers, in support of pending legislation. Advocated adequate hospitalization facilities for veterans.

1923: Introduced and helped to secure enactment of a bill creating a special House committee to handle veterans' legislation, known as World War Veterans' Legislation Committee of the House of Representatives.

1924: Introduced bill providing for appropriation for transportation, maintenance, and subsistence to and from burial places overseas for Gold Star Mothers. Advocated 20-year endowment insurance for veterans of the World War. Sponsored bill for appropriations to relieve starvation conditions of women and children in Germany. Advocated additional hospitalization facilities for veterans. Introduced legislation to admit mothers and fathers of naturalized World War veterans who served in the United States Army during the war.

1925: Appointed chairman of a special committee to investigate fake veterans' relief organizations, not functioning in the interest of veterans; supported by American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans, and other legitimate veterans' groups. Advocated erection of monument in France to the members of the Ninety-third Division, A. E. F., killed in action. Introduced bill to replace with granite the marble on Tomb of Unknown Soldier.

1926: Voted to override the President's veto of the bonus bill.

1927: Upheld loan value of adjusted-service certificates for loans through banks.

1928: Introduced bill providing for preference to veterans in civil-service examinations. Sponsored legislation to provide for monthly allowances to veterans confined in hospitals, for personal necessities.

1929: Appointed chairman of President Coolidge's Advisory Committee on Veterans' Preference. Recommendations of this committee resulted in issuance of an Executive order by the President granting preference to all veterans in United States civil-service examinations, and the precedent set was followed by many of the States.

1930: Appointed chairman of Special House Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States (p. 13 of "Isms," compiled by American Legion). Mr. FISH has since been accorded the place of enemy No. 1 by the Communists, Nazis, Fascists, etc., for his continuous and aggressive speeches and actions in exposing subversive activities in this country and his championship of Americanism and our republican form of government. Secured passage of an amendment to the Census Act, providing for preference to veterans in appointing enumerators, supervisors, and other census jobs.

1931: Advocated extension of emergency officers' retirement benefits, and the extension of compensation benefits to provisional officers who served during the World War.

1932. Defended the American Legion over the radio and through the columns of various magazines against charges of lobbying activities, etc. Advocated reduction of interest on loans on adjusted-service certificates to veterans. Introduced bill for readmission of aliens who served in the United States Army during the World War and providing for their naturalization; endorsed by veterans' organizations.

1933: Protested injustices done disabled veterans and dependents under President's economy program; advocated full restoration of benefits to veterans with service-connected disabilities.

1934: Voted to override the President's veto of legislation restoring compensation benefits to disabled veterans, and defended the American Legion against attacks for demanding restoration.

1935: Introduced bill to reduce interest on loans made to veterans on their adjusted-service certificates.

1936: Secured adoption of an amendment sponsored by him for preference to veterans on all W. P. A. jobs; continued by present Congress.

1937: Defended right of veterans' organizations to take strong stand on the Supreme Court issue, in reaffirming their faith in an independent judiciary and constitutional government.

1938: Introduced bill to regulate the formation and activities of alien-controlled military groups in this country, including Nazis, Communists, and Fascists.

1939: Representative FISH was promoted to rank of colonel in Army Reserve Corps. He is the oldest veteran, in point of service, in either the House or Senate. He is the ranking Republican member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and of the powerful Rules Committee.

1940: Is an active member of the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. Supported all national-defense measures including two-ocean Navy and 20,000 airplanes in order to make America invincible from attack by any aggressor nation or group of nations. Served in Army maneuvers in northern New York as an observer for General Drum. Mr. SABATH, the Democratic chairman of the Rules Committee and dean of the House congratulated Mr. FISH on September 23, 1940, and said in the House: "I presume his renomination was brought about mainly because he has supported the President's program of national defense and preparedness. The gentleman has been loyal and has cooperated with me in the Rules Committee in support of all rules that would tend to hasten the preparedness and defense program."

(NOTE.—HAMILTON FISH'S great grandfather, Nicholas Fish, was a colonel under George Washington during the American Revolution, and his first cousin, Sgt. Hamilton Fish, was the first American soldier killed in action during the Spanish-American War while serving with the Rough Riders under Col. Theodore Roosevelt.)

Your Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE S. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Saturday Evening Post:

[From the Saturday Evening Post of October 12, 1940]

YOUR GOVERNMENT

Irresolute, gazing at what is carved on the lintel, the American people now stand at the third threshold. They read:

New American way of life by the democratic process. Enter.

There is a voice saying: "It is your Government that bids you enter. Trust your Government. Has it not brought you the easy way to this point? Would you go back to the hard life of individualism and self-responsibility? Remember what your Government has done for you, and count it all twice, for it shall be doubled."

Beyond that threshold is not any American way of life, new or old; beyond is a new Europe.

What your Government has done for the people may be noted as a statistical fact. At least one family in every four through the entire country now draws sustenance from the United States Treasury. What, at the same time, your Government has done to the people cannot be expressed statistically. We undertake to set some of it down.

Your Government has perfected in this country the European political art of doing with words what the sleight-of-hand performer does with objects. The words are the same, but the meaning is changed. What now is the meaning of democratic process? It means the surrender of individual responsibility to the executive will of Government. Thus liberty may commit suicide, as it has done in Europe, and it is still the democratic process. If that is debatable, we waive it and go on.

Neutrality was the people's resolve. What has happened to it?

A very subtle intelligence disguised as your Government devoured the meaning of neutrality within the shell of it, pretending all the time to have been guarding it. Now, cynically, it exhibits the empty shell. And what are you going to do about it?

By that same intelligence, skilled in the science of suggestion, your Government accustomed the public mind to the thought of war. The people were so acted upon in their emotions, and were not aware, it was being done to them.

Your Government has encouraged one kind of foreign propaganda in this country. Witness, for example, this cool paragraph from a Washington dispatch of the United Press, dated August 10: "The Criminal Division of the Department of Justice plans to start preparation next week of official documents exposing the propaganda operations of Germany, Italy, Russia, and Japan in the United States. Propaganda of other foreign nations, including Great Britain, does not threaten our security, it was said at the Division."

Your Government has secretly collaborated with the British Government by thought and act in a manner which, even if it had not been intended to involve the United States in the European war, could have had no other effect or meaning.

Measures short of war. What, at first, did you understand that formula to mean? That England and France should have access to the private industrial resources of the United States, which would be internationally lawful, would not involve the Government at all, and would still be a tremendous advantage for the Allies, with Germany blockaded? But your Government understood it to mean much more than that; the British Government understood it to mean much more.

The imperious intelligence acting as your Government was resolved to intervene. The British knew that all the time, and kept saying it was not the direction of American policy that was in doubt; only the speed with which it could move. For each act of intervention the public mind was prepared by propaganda. The first acts were a sampling, the adventure oblique. Some Army and Navy planes returned to the makers for trade-in, with the stipulation beforehand that they should be delivered immediately to the Allies. This was an act of war by any neutral interpretation of international law and treaty, covered only, saved from overtness, by a legal subterfuge that quieted the first alarm.

When the Congress had accepted these acts, your Government abandoned the legal subterfuge and went on to strip the American arsenals, until 15 shiploads of arms and munitions out of America's own inadequate defense equipment had been delivered to Great Britian—80,000 machines guns, 700 field guns, half a million rifles—and every fourth man in the British home army had in his hand an American gun. Your Government did not tell you this. Afterward the Committee To Defend America by Aiding the Allies told you.

With the Congress quiescent, your Government perceives that it can go much further. By act of Executive will alone it forms a military alliance with a country at war—namely, Canada—and proceeds to deliver American armaments there. This is done in the name of national defense, and is so accepted. The end forgives the way of it. Nevertheless, it is a momentous fact that the President of the United States, in time of peace, on his own responsibility, can meet the Premier of Canada in his private railway carriage and make offhand a military pact with a country that is at war with Hitler. It passes.

Having done all this, step by step, from beginnings that were not resisted, this now power-happy intelligence representing itself to be your Government has the daring to present to the American Congress what in Europe is called the fait accompli. We have in our language no exact verbal equivalent. The fait accompli is a thing done, concerning which the Executive will says afterward, "So what of it? What are you going to do about it?"

The fait accompli is by nature an act of violence. It may be either political or physical violence. This fait accompli we are talking about was first of all an act of violence committed against the American principle of free, constitutional, representative government.

Suddenly, and again on a railway train in the dramatic European fashion, the President summons the reporters to the vestibule of his private car and tells them he has released a part of the United States Navy to go and fight against Hitler. He reads to them the message, prepared on the train, in which, by courtesy, the Congress will be notified of what he has done. With this message he sends an opinion from his Attorney General. The opinion is that what the President has done, the fait accompli, is beyond the reach of the Congress. It cannot even vote on it.

Two days later Winston Churchill makes a statement in the British House of Commons beginning: "The memorable transactions between Britain and the United States which I foreshadowed when I last addressed the House have now been completed." He is referring to the 50 destroyers the American Government has released to go and fight against Hitler. And he adds that British crews are already there to receive them at the western side of the Atlantic—that is to say, at Canadian ports—by "what one might call the long arm of coincidence." (Laughter at this in the British House.)

What does that mean? It means that before the American people knew it, before the American Congress knew it, the British Government knew that your Government was going to release a part of the United States Navy to go and fight against Hitler, and then present it to the Congress and to the people as a fait accompli.

So you see what else your Government does. As it leads the country to war, saying it will keep it out, it tells you only what it thinks it will be good for you to know, and cannot always afford to tell you the truth, because you may not have been enough accustomed to the idea. As, for example, when the news was out that your Government was negotiating with Great Britain for air and navy bases on the fringe of this hemisphere, it told you that this had nothing whatever to do with the 50 destroyers for which the British had put forth a great propaganda in this country. Simply, that was not so.

In the opinion your Government got from its legal department, kissing away the law, the Attorney General said that such things were customarily submitted for ratification by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. "However, the acquisitions which you are proposing to accept"—air and Navy bases in exchange for the 50 destroyers—"are without express or implied promises on the part of the United State sto be performed in the future. * * * It is not necessary for the Senate to ratify an opportunity that entails no obligaion," nor, he added, any necessity for the Congress "to appropriate money."

Here your Government has involved itself in both sophistry and misrepresentation. The only reason why it is not necessary for the Congress to appropriate money for the development of these air and Navy bases is that the President took care beforehand to get a large sum of national-defense money voted into his hands, to do with as he would. He has the money.

And as for there being no obligation incurred, the obligation is merely this, namely, that we defend the British possessions in this hemisphere. Title to those bases does not pass. The United States has only a leasehold, or the right to use them. As it will be obliged to defend its own bases, so at the same time it will be defending British possessions. In truth, the only reason why this treaty of Anglo-American military alliance was not submitted to the Senate and even more, they wanted the American Government to put forth its hand, as the Irish say, farther than it could draw it back, or, in The Senate cannot touch it.

For the British we have only further admiration. They wanted the destroyers very badly. But they wanted much more. They wanted their possessions on this hemisphere to be defended, and here was Uncle Sam going to do it and give 50 destroyers to boot; and even more, they wanted the American Government to put forth its hand, as the Irish say, farther than it could draw it back, or, in the words of the British press, to "take the plunge."

In that same speech, announcing the memorable transaction to the House of Commons, Winston Churchill cheerfully said: "No doubt Herr Hitler will not like this transference of destroyers. I have no doubt he will pay the United States out if ever he gets the chance."

Thus it was reserved for the British Government to announce to the world the fact that the United States had got into the war, so far into it that it could not back out.

We are not thinking of any of this in the arguable terms of defense strategy. We are not thinking at this moment of the destroyer transaction as an irreversible act of war—which it was, short only of a declaration of hostilities against Hitler. Whether or not it was sometime inevitable has nothing to do with what we are saying.

There is a disaster worse than war. We are concerned only with how it was done. We are thinking of how your Government, instead of telling the people what it meant to do or what it was doing until it was done, by indirection, by subterfuge, by cleverness, by beating the law, uncontrollably pursuing its own will, did involve this country in the European war it was resolved to stay out of.

We return to the threshold where the people stand gazing, still with some irresolution, at the insidious carving on the lintel. Why do they hesitate? Because against the voice of your Government is another, the voice of all the people who have ever possessed freedom and lost it, who have ever achieved self-government and grown weary of it, saying:

Beware of measures short of dictatorship, for they are like measures short of war.

Beware of personal power in the worshipful image.

Beware of this European doctrine of indispensability, and of the saying that to challenge it is treasonable.

Beware of the fait accompli, for it is the last warning.

Beware of the next step, for there is only one more.

United States, by Secret Agreement With British, To Make War in Pacific

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK SUN

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Sun for October 9, 1940:

[From the New York Sun of October 9, 1940]

WILLKIE'S QUESTION ABOUT WAR

Developments of the past 24 hours give a sharp point to the question Wendell Willkie propounded yesterday to the President of the United States: "Are there any international understandings to put America into the war that we citizens do not know about?" To this a further inquiry might be added: "Is the United States about to get into the European war by a back door, say in the Far East?" Any person who has kept half an eye on things taking place in the Pacific must know that these interrogations are not merely rhetorical.

Events of the most ominous character are shaping in the Far East. Only the most naive can fail to attach significance to the complementary nature of yesterday's developments in Washington and London. On the heels of an announcement from London that the British have decided to reopen the Burma Road on October 17, came an announcement from Washington that the State Department had instructed consular representatives in troubled sections of the Orient to advise resident Americans to return at once to the United States.

Most significant of all was the fact that in a statement to the House of Commons Winston Churchill declared that reopening of the Burma Road is in answer to Japan's new alliance with Germany and Italy, but that Japan's allies will not be able to assist that country so long as the British and United States Fleets are in being. Americans must bear in mind the further fact that reopening of the Burma Road is timed to coincide with the effective date—October 16—of the newly proclaimed embargo on exportation of American scrap metal to Japan. To ask the American public to suppose that all this is pure coincidence is to tax credulity beyond any reasonable limit.

It is as plain as a pikestaff that whether acting separately or in concert, the State Department and the British Foreign Office found it expedient thus to make it known on the same day that they are not intimidated by any of the implications of the German-Italian-Japanese compact. The British Prime Minister makes no bones about the British purpose in ending the 3-month agreement with Japan concerning the Burma Road. It is timely to review certain pronouncements at the time that agreement was made. When Washington heard of it, Secretary Hull promptly gave out a statement—on July 16—to the effect that the Government of the United States had "a legitimate interest in the keeping open of arteries of commerce in every part of the world"; that it considered "action such as this" and action recently taken in relation to the Indo-china railway, as "unwarranted interpositions of obstacles to world trade."

On the following day Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons in effect that Great Britain was playing for time in the Far East; that he could give no assurance it would obtain the good will of Japan; that what might later happen in the Orient would be largely influenced by what happened in Europe. That explanation was accepted, although the House of Commons was restive; there were murmurs of "appeasement."

The British Government had made it plain in preliminary negotiations that in agreeing to close the road to traffic in munitions of war destined for China it hoped to promote negotiations for peace between Japan and China. By the same token, reopening it must mean that Great Britain, having abandoned that hope, is determined that China get whatever supplies it can to enable it to continue its resistance to Japanese conquest.

The primary implication of yesterday's developments is, therefore, that Washington and London have put it up to Japan to take the next step. What Japan will do Tokyo alone can say. Upon what Tokyo decides to say may depend events of the utmost moment. In the United States Mr. Willkie's question requires a clear and categorical reply.

National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS D'ALESANDRO, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. THOMAS D'ALESANDRO, JR., OF MARYLAND

Mr. D'ALESANDRO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following address I made over a National Broadcasting Co. national hook-up last night on national defense:

NATIONAL DEFENSE—GOVERNMENT DETERMINED TO AID DRAFTEES IN RETAINING THEIR POSITIONS

My subject this evening is national defense. In recent months much has been said, and much has been written upon this subject. Indeed, so much has been said and so much written that I am loath to talk further upon the subject. I am convinced the time has now come for action rather than words.

Perhaps my time could be most profitably employed in summarizing what has been done by our Congress toward national defense and setting forth the reasons behind our actions.

By way of understanding our problem let me carry you back to the period preceding the outbreak of the European war. In this country and in other countries of the world, largely as a result of the revulsion against the horrors of the World War, there grew up a school of thought that was convinced that war between civilized nations was a thing of the past.

Many able statesmen concluded that the world would never again permit a great war. It was argued with great sincerity and conviction that future disputes between nations would find their solution at the conference table and not on the field of battle.

Those were the days of the League of Nations, of the Kellogg Peace Pacts, of the Disarmament Conferences. Those who questioned, not the good intentions, but the practical wisdom of the new school were accorded little consideration by the people of the democracies of America, England, and France. All were set in their belief that war was outlawed.

As a consequence there was in the Western World a general letdown in the martial spirit of its peoples; preparation for defense fell into neglect. Armaments were allowed to decline to relatively low points. The attention and interest of America and the other democracies were centered on social problems to the comparative neglect of problems of defense.

We were at peace with the world; we knew full well that we had no designs on any other nation. We envied no one, and we wanted nothing that any other nation had. It never occurred to us that any other nation could envy us, or that others might be made greedy by the prosperity we enjoyed.

This, of course, was to overlook the teachings of all history. One can be secure in his holdings only so long as he stands ready to defend them against others who may be without holdings. We closed our eyes to the plight of the peoples of the world who were devoid of prosperity and who were without hope of achieving prosperity under the existing order. We failed to realize that sooner or later the "have nots" would be making trouble.

We saw clearly enough the rise of dictatorships in Russia, in Germany, in Italy, and lately in Japan. At first the statesmanship of the Western World viewed these strange events as of passing importance. We could not believe that in this civilized day any

intelligent people would for very long continue to submit to the tyranny of a dictator. In this view the western nations were, as we so clearly see now, completely in error.

Not only did the peoples of the dictator countries submit to the dictators in matters political, but they permitted their every effort to be channeled into directions mapped out for them by their rulers.

In a word, the totalitarian states were born. From here to launching of foreign conquests was but an easy step for the dictators. Nothing is surer and nothing more usual in the history of dictatorships than involvement in foreign wars. The people living under the tyranny of a dictator must be diverted from their misery by the glamor of war. That's where we are today.

What is to be our answer to this age-old challenge to the peace of the world?

Involvement in the present war? I believe not. Will we be able to remain out of the war? I believe we will. It is true that it takes two to make peace but only one to make war. No matter how much we may pray and strive for peace, others may bring the war to us. That is true, but I still insist we may avoid the war. It is only necessary that we be ever mindful that we are not, and in the nature of things cannot ever be, immune from attack.

In one sense there is nothing we can do about this liability to attack. In another sense there is a great deal that we can do about it.

The greedy one, the bully, may want to attack me, but if I am prepared to ward off his attack and to give him in the bargain a sound trouncing, the probabilities are I will be able to go my way in peace. No greater security can be devised for this Nation than an adequate defense. It is the greatest insurance that we can have against war.

We must be ready for the challenger; if we are ready, the challenger will know it, and we may be assured that, if he must fight, he will carry his fight elsewhere.

In a nutshell, this is the position of the advocates of defense for America. Those of us who have successfully fought to commit our Government to the defense program want no involvements in foreign wars. We want for ourselves no colonial expansions. We want to live in this country under a system of justice, secured by law. We wish for the rest of the world the establishment of a just, a peaceful, and universally respected system of international law.

And over and above all this, we are determined at all hazards that the foreign intruder shall not set his foot upon our native soil. That act would bring war. If it should come, we would want to be ready for the invader. We would want a battleship to match his battleship, a tank to match his tank; we would want a bomber to match his bomber, a rifle to match his rifle. We would want all these mechanical things in ample measure, and we would want them on hand and ready for instant use if the occasion arose.

Then, too, we would want a trained personnel to operate these mechanical arms. Courage and bravery we would have in abundant measure to greet the invader, but courage and bravery alone are no match for the death-dealing tank and bomber. What would be more cruel, more criminal, than to permit a brave but untrained and unarmed man to go into battle against these engines of death? The Pole, the Finn, the Belgian wanted no war, but it came to them. They did not lack bravery and courage, but their bravery and courage were no match for the ruthless foe armed to the death with the frightful instruments of modern warfare.

Modern war is not like the wars of other days. A soldier is not just another man with a gun. My grandfather served in the Army back in the days of the Civil War. He had little training, but he was a good soldier. Yet today, though he were in his vigorous youth, he would be no soldier at all. Bravery, courage, stamina—yes. These moral qualities a soldier must have. But having them, he is, nevertheless, lost if he has not also modern equipment and the technical knowledge and skill to operate it.

The defense program is now enacted into law. I will not tire you with a recital of its details. Suffice it to say that the details of the program have been left to the trained specialists of the Army and Navy.

The program calls roughly for a doubling of the Navy, a trebling of the Army, and a quadrupling and more of the air force. It calls, too, for the establishment in the islands of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans of advanced bases for our air force and Navy. We are determined to keep war away from America.

This enlarged Navy, increased air force, and expanded Army can come only through sacrifice upon the part of the American people. The Congress has accordingly laid a heavy hand of taxation upon the profits of industry. It has been forced to increase the burden of taxation upon the average man. The guiding principle of the Congress has been to impose taxes in proportion to the ability to pay them.

National defense calls for more than financial sacrifice. What about the young men of our Nation who are called upon for military service that they may be trained in the use of these modern engines of war? Ah, there is the real sacrifice. Consider the young man newly established in a business or a profession, or in possession of a good salaried job for which he has been training himself for years. It's no simple matter for him to cut himself away from his established position to go off to any Army camp for a year.

He is entitled to our every consideration. Now that he has been asked by his Government to make this great sacrifice, certain fundamental principles must be observed in the operation of the selective draft. Every care must be taken that his life in the Army shall be a wholesome life.

Our young men must come out of their training service physically and morally improved by their experience. To the fullest measure of its power, the Government must see to it that they shall not be economically handicapped by their service. The Government has a long arm, and it will find a way to see that no employer shall deal unfairly with the trainees upon their return to civilian life.

In the functioning of the selective service, politics, social position, wealth will have no part. The trainees will be selected by blind chance. The law is so drawn that when the selected personnel is assembled, it will constitute a group truly representative of the young men of our Nation.

The new Army will, in every sense of the word, be a cross section of America. The rich man's son, the poor man's son, the son of him who can trace his ancestry back to the *Mayflower*, and the son of the immigrant father, will all find themselves inducted into this Army.

That Army will be democracy in action. When properly trained and properly equipped, it will be a challenge to every foreign foe to stay away from our shores. If it were in being tonight, we could sleep in confidence that no war would come to us in our generation.

One concluding word about the subversive elements. America too long has closed its eyes to those who, while enjoying the best that is in our land, have been secretly plotting its downfall. The Communist, Fascist, and Nazi in our midst, bent on spreading discontent and taking his orders from a foreign dictator, must be ferreted out and exposed.

Freedom of speech, freedom of opinion, we must preserve. But the abuse of these liberties by those who are boring from within, and who seek only the destruction of the American way of life, must be curbed by a firm Government hand, and by a sound public opinion.

With an adequate defense, and a united Nation, America can face the maddened world with serene and certain confidence.

How Congress Can Speed Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Daily News of today:

[From the Washington Daily News of October 10, 1940]

HOW CONGRESS CAN SPEED DEFENSE

It is a wise decision of Congress not to leave Washington at a time when ominous incidents are occurring all the way from Dakar to Singapore.

By being on hand and watchful, one committee of Congress has already performed a signal service to the Nation—by halting in its tracks what appeared to be an inner New Deal maneuver to stop the letting of defense contracts to corporations that are in bad with the National Labor Relations Board. That committee had investigated the Labor Board, knew what an incompetent and bungling agency it is, and foresaw what a mess the Nation's armament-building program would get into if the Board had anything to do with it. The committee's chairman, Representative SMITH of Virginia, straightened out matters quickly by calling on the carpet the Government officials involved and obtaining assurances that the building of tanks, planes, and guns would continue to be the first order of business.

But Congress should not be content merely to sit around and police the administration of laws. The lawmakers have more adequate remedies. Bearing directly upon this particular attempt at bureaucratic meddling with the defense program are two pieces of unfinished legislation—the Logan-Walter bill, to regulate the regulators, and the Smith amendments, to overhaul the Wagner Act and clean out the present Labor Board. Both measures passed the House many weeks ago, by overwhelming majorities, and are now pigeonholed in the Senate.

Nothing would contribute more to speeding up the defense program and to establishing orderly relations between government and business and between industry and labor than for Congress to com-

plete action on these two measures. Since the lawmakers are staying on the job, and since they are hired by the year, why not turn to this unfinished business?

Women in Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JED JOHNSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

ADDRESS BY MRS. WALTER H. MALONEY

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, in recent years many of us have been deeply impressed with the interest and skill with which women now discuss and debate current issues of public interest. There is brought to my attention an interesting debate which took place today at Pierce Hall, All Souls' Church, in Washington.

I am particularly impressed by the argument presented by Mrs. Walter H. Maloney, the charming and talented wife of my good friend the Honorable Walter H. Maloney, who served with distinction as a former member of the Bituminous Coal Commission.

The subject of the debate was, Resolved, That the Democratic Party Should Remain in Power Another 4 Years. Mrs. Maloney opened the debate and presented the affirmative rebuttal. Her arguments are clear-cut, to the point, and confined wholly to the issues of the campaign, without reference to personalities.

The address in question follows:

RESOLVED, THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY SHOULD REMAIN IN POWER ANOTHER 4 YEARS

Mme. Chairman, worthy opponents, and friends, little did I think when I won the prize in Mrs. Butler's class last spring on a talk entitled "Some Ghastly Experiences in a Spotted Career" that I should so soon be adding another spot. But if I did not honestly and sincerely believe in the new social legislation, and the accomplishments of my party; if I did not firmly and with all my heart feel that the security and safety of my Nation depended upon the continuation of its philosophy, theories, and accomplishments, I just could not have the courage to stand up here and talk for it.

Just as the rear-vision mirror in your car is so necessary for safe progress in going forward, so is a short review of the administration necessary to refresh your memories of things which are now so accepted that we forget that they were not always so.

An individual does such wonderful things in the first few years of his life that the following years do not seem so colorful or important. We forget after a child accomplishes the amazing feats of noticing the world about him, sitting up alone, standing, walking, and talking in such a short space that his whole future is based upon these activities. The courage and delight in achievement and the independence are the groundwork of his life. So with the Democratic administration. The work of the succeeding years was accepted to a large extent as the natural outcome of the first 2 years, and by that time despair began to fade, lethargy, and in some cases terror, gave way to renewed hope.

No other President, not even Lincoln, faced so grave a crisis in our political, financial, and social life as did President Roosevelt when he took office in 1933.

The Democratic Party came into power in the period of greatest distress this country has ever known. Distress born of mismanagement or no management at all. There was a Congress without any plan for meeting the great emergency that existed, headed by a President who had no plan or policy that would serve the needs of the time. In fact, he was continually looking around the corner for prosperity; but, alas, it was a blind alley. And now, after 8 years of watching, they still offer no plan or policy.

The Democratic administration, headed by our great President, attacked the depression on four fronts, which are now five. First, by a common-sense and successful business plan; second, with a great social program; third, with a great labor program; fourth, with an agriculture program that meets the approval of both parties; and now the fifth, a definite foreign policy. Again, I say, the opposition party at this time offers no plan to improve or replace that which has been done.

The first and greatest pieces of legislation in aid of business were the Federal Reserve bank bill and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which reconstructed the banking system and guaranteed your deposits and mine up to $5,000, and thus created a new confidence in the American banking system.

Next to the banking laws I believe the Securities and Exchange Commission is the most valuable to business world and the American investor. No one now doubts the wisdom of the S. E. C. Its value is admitted even by those who fought its creation. Because of its provisions of enforced financial honesty, the small investor as well as the wealthy and those who gamble with the money of others can make investments in American securities with the assurance there can be no repetition of the stock market disaster, and the plundering of savings accounts that were once considered orderly.

Much other legislation in aid of business was enacted but I pass it to you for discussion from the floor.

The social-security law is our greatest humanitarian act. At last the country has had the courage to recognize the economic importance of providing old-age insurance. Unemployment compensation, care for dependent children, and aid for the blind. If the Democrats had enacted no other legislation in their 8 years of power, then they would have given a good account of their stewardship.

To illustrate, how very close the administration has been and is to humanity and how it touches you in your everyday life, let me invite you to visit the chamber of horrors in the Agriculture building, and see at least one instance of what your government is doing for you individually. There you will see how the new Food and Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938 is enforced. It made instantly effective, those provisions of the law designed to protect the public against dangerous drugs, devices, and cosmetics. It continued the provisions of the act of 1906 until the new law became effective. The act of 1906 was good as far as it went, but even as great a man as Dr. Harvey Wiley was powerless to do what he must have known was so necessary, because his party did not have the courage or foresight to enact sufficient legislation necessary to actually protect the consumer.

Three weeks after the passage of the present law all sight-destroying eyelash dye was seized, lipsticks imported from Europe were dumped into the turbulent ocean because they contained a dangerous ingredient. Freckle creams containing mercury, pain-killers, and headache pills containing a combination of bromides and acetanilide were confiscated. When I think how blithely I used to take some of these same pills, I feel like the little old lady with the wart, who, after using a certain brand of wart remover, wrote the following testimonial: "After taking six bottles of your wart medicine, I wish to state my head is entirely gone but the wart is still there."

You remember the tragedy of the 93 known deaths from elixir of sulfanilamide; you know the story of the doctor who wanted a sirupy concoction and asked a chemist to find a liquid that would dissolve the sulfanilamide. He did so, this was mixed with sirup and colored with raspberry juice. But do you know what that solvent was? I can't pronounce the official name but you and I know it as antifreeze. Now all new medicines must be submitted to the Government and thoroughly reviewed by competent doctors and under close scrutiny before they are allowed on the market.

The Civilian Conservation Corps not only took the young men 17 to 23 off the roads, when they had no place to go and plenty of time to go there, but it taught them useful skills and provided for a great national improvement plan such as the planting of a billion trees on waste land, stopping soil destruction on a million acres of farming and grazing land, and those of us from the Middle West know what that has meant, we who literally ate dust. Those young men returned to private life in better health and spirit and with the acquisition of useful skills. I mention only these three of many laws that touch human needs.

I wish I had time to sketch for you the history of the reason for the coal law. How 19 times the distressed operators asked and pleaded for some help from the Government, of the cutthroat competition, of the failures, of the plight of the 600,000 miners and their families who had the greatest investment in the industry, their lives. I say their lives because the operators were so poor that they could not afford safe working conditions and great distress resulted. Why the city of Cleveland paid 68 cents for the same coal that the domestic consumer paid $2 for, why highly financed consumers of fuel were able to buy coal as low as 10 or 25 cents a ton that cost some operators $2 a ton to produce. Now, after 3 years of exhaustive and matchless research, prices were put into effect last week. Prices that equal the average cost of production at the mine and below which the owner cannot sell his coal. Thus in time the burden should be evened and the industrial coal will begin to carry its share of the industry burden instead of placing it entirely on the shoulders of the domestic consumer.

No one can overlook the successful handling of the great international emergency with its threat of war which endangers our lives, our homes, and our Government. Not even the more severe critics offer a better plan, and would it not be utter folly to replace an administration that has gained the confidence and respect of the entire world with a leadership unknown in and unacquainted with the intricacies and delicacies of an international situation that can be known only to those who have lived with it for years?

How can one in 10 minutes review the accomplishments of 8 years of his party. Time does not permit even the mention of all of the fine legislation that was so long overdue to the American people. The N. Y. A., railroad retirement law, child welfare, N. L. R. B., wage and hour bill, rural electrification, and many others.

All these important governmental functions are manned by people trained during the last 7½ years and are now skilled public

servants; yet, the only known policy of the opposition party is to replace these trained and efficient workers with new and untried people, which is always the result of change of administration. This is the plan of the opposition because I quote the exact words of a speech of the standard bearer September 30 before the Republican women, "When I 'git' to Washington I will clean house 'of' those boys from Government." Nowhere do they ask a repeal of any of the laws that constitute the record of the present administration. Therefore, I maintain that the interest of the Nation can best be served at this time by the continuation of the present policies and methods of a Democratic administration headed by a great humanitarian at home and a skilled internationalist in the affairs of the world.

REBUTTAL OF THE DEBATE

TRADITION

Our opponents have made so much of tradition, tracing the foundation, not only of this country but of the world even before the time of Christ, on this thing called tradition, this so-called unwritten law. It is not essential that our side defend a third term nor tradition as a policy to win this debate, or to influence voters, but how will our opponents deal with the present international situation for which there is no tradition to follow?

DEFENSE

Our worthy opponents say that our defense policy is unnatural, or, as they word it, "this unnatural condition for defense." Defense has always been a natural thing, a primitive instinct, and let me remind you that in June 1933, not June 1940, but 1933, President Roosevelt asked Congress for a check for $500,000,000 of the first P. W. A. money for defense purposes; however, $283,000,000 was spent for national defense. He began then the building of an entire fleet. There were two airplane carriers, four destroyers, four submarines, four cruisers, and much more. When the next request came for funds, Republicans and isolationists wrote in a provision prohibiting the President from spending one dollar for defense. In May 1939 the President asked for the production of 5,500 airplanes a year. Republicans offered amendment after amendment to defeat the bill, and to restrict the production to 1,000 planes a year. One great trouble with a democracy is its slowness to action. Until the man on the street corner actually sees the need, the hands of the Government are more or less tied. Do you think Roosevelt could have gotten the money for defense in February of 1940? No. In March or April 1940? No. Not until the German tanks crushed down the crosses on Flanders Field did the man on the street, and you and I feel the need for defense. Congress would then have given him the moon if he had asked for it.

BUSINESS

One of our opponents says that business has been choked and that it is afraid to expand. Let me answer that by saying that if they will occasionally read the financial page of the paper—and I care not whether it be a Republican or Democratic paper—they will see that the industries of the country whose stocks are listed in the various stock exchanges show the highest dividends now and have for the last 2 years, since 1929.

BUDGET

The Budget that we have heard so much about can be balanced when States and cities meet their own local needs. In one breath they ask for funds for schools, libraries, auditoriums, etc., and in the next breath they demand that the Budget be balanced. They say women do not like statistics, but I know that is not so. Therefore I want to make a comparison that I know you will understand and be as surprised as I was when I read these figures. In 1929 the national debt was $16,000,000,000, the private debts were $124,000,000,000. Ten years later, 1939, the national debt was forty billion, but the private debt was ninety-two billion, or a reduction of $32,000,000,000 of private debts; the Government assumed twenty-four billions of the obligations ordinarily assumed by private interests. Still business likes to claim that the administration is unfriendly to business. The gross debt, private and public, is billions less than it was in 1929.

DICTATOR

You have brought up the bugaboo of dictatorship. Now a dictator is merely the receiver of a bankrupt nation. If the President had any thought of being a dictator, he had his best chance to be one on March 4, 1933. The American people would have given him his choice of power on a silver platter, and you know that as well as I. He was then hailed as a deliverer. But he only continued his work for legislation to help the people.

And would it not be a calamity for the Nation at this time to have at the helm a man irrespective of how brilliant or able he might be, who is prone to give snap judgment or to give utterance to a statement for which he might have to apologize 4 hours later? In delicate international affairs, 4 hours might mean the difference between war and peace. There is strength, there is power, and there is security, in having a leader who is an outstanding personality, capable of meeting and leading, all types of people on any known topic; who at all times displays the master intellect and addresses himself to his people in the most pleasing manner, correct in English and convincing in methods, with an experience and background unequaled or not possessed by anyone who would replace him.

Choosing a President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, whether we remain at peace or go to war, as Candidate Roosevelt desires and intends, we should select as the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy and as the person who must, if we are to avoid national bankruptcy and economic disaster, successfully solve our domestic problems, and end the warfare between labor and industry, the man best fitted for that task.

Roosevelt has promised much. Experience proves that his promises are worthless. He has failed, as he promised, to reduce the expenses of our Government, to lessen the number of Federal employees, to decrease the number of Government bureaus and commissions, to solve the question of unemployment in spite of the expenditure of billions of dollars, and, for the first time in our national history, we have had a depression extending for a period of 10 years. He has doubled the national debt. As an individual, and before he became a politician and officeholder, Roosevelt was a failure in the two business enterprises in which he engaged.

Willkie, a typical Hoosier boy, because of his ability, received and earned a salary of $75,000 a year, the amount paid the President of the United States. His record is one of achievement, based upon hard work, thrift, a reputation for keeping his promises, for business integrity—a sound foundation.

MONKEYING WITH THE CASH REGISTER

Today let me call your attention to one instance which proves that the President neither keeps his word nor regards as a sacred trust money collected for a specific purpose.

We all know of the drive which has been made to provide funds for old-age benefit payments. The social-security law was passed for the purpose, among others, of collecting from employers, from employees, and, indirectly, from everyone, funds which were to be placed in a reserve fund to be paid as old-age benefits to those who had reached a certain age.

Under this law the Federal Government collected for old-age benefits—not for any other purpose, but for old-age benefit payments—the sum of $2,005,696,643.67. That money was a trust fund, a reserve, so-called. It belonged to the people of the United States, and those of advanced years had a special interest in it. Those who had reached a certain age owned a part of that fund. Those who were approaching that age had a right to expect that the fund would be kept intact for their benefit. Those who had contributed to that fund owned a part of it, for it was their money, paid by them to the Federal Government for just one purpose.

Let me repeat: The administration of Candidate Roosevelt, who is asking you to believe him, to again trust him, collected this sum of $2,005,696,643.67. And then the administration, which is Candidate Roosevelt's administration, used $1,728,100,000 of that fund—money which had been contributed by you for one purpose; money which belonged to those approaching the age limit where it would be paid to them—for the ordinary running expenses of the Government.

It was a misapplication of your money. For a similar act I would be sent to jail. As time goes on those who become entitled to old-age benefit payments will either be denied the payments which belong to them, which are their right and due, or the taxpayers will have to contribute $1,728,100,000 more to replace the money which Candidate Roosevelt's agents have taken from the old-age benefit fund.

In short and without varnish, this administration has misappropriated from this one fund—a fund belonging to the aged—$1,728,100,000. The employee—and Roosevelt has been nothing more than an employee, although he holds the highest

job in the Nation and receives $75,000 per year—has been robbing the till.

The above is just one reason—and there are many more—why you should turn thumbs down on Candidate Roosevelt's desire for a third, and, some say, a fourth term.

Congress Should Not Recess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, in my opinion the Congress of the United States should remain in session, and the attempt to accomplish what practically amounts to an adjournment by the so-called 3-day recesses should be abandoned. Developments in the Far East are all significant. The fact that Japan has made an alliance with Germany and Italy is of far-reaching importance. Since that has happened there have been a number of important developments. The United States Government has put an embargo on the shipment of raw materials, scrap iron, and other commodities to Japan. Great Britain has announced the opening of the Burma Road. The Italian Government has warned the United States against interference in the Far East. And it seems to me that Congress should be in session to take whatever action is proper in connection with future activities which are sure to result by reason of these various steps by the governments involved.

Here in Congress we have plenty of legislative matters which ought to have attention. There is the Logan-Walter bill, which provides the right of appeal to the courts from decisions of administrative boards. No more important legislation has come before Congress during this session. We are literally overrun with boards, bureaus, and commissions, and from their arbitrary decision no appeal is possible. It seems to me that the people of the United States are entitled to have Congress act on this measure without indulging in the fiction of 3-day recesses.

In this connection, just the other day the Attorney General of the United States was quoted as saying that any person or firm which had violated the rulings of the National Labor Relations Board would be barred from Government contracts. This statement was so far-reaching that it led to denials by the War and Navy Departments that any such ruling would be considered by them. The Attorney General of the United States afterward denied that he had indicated he would construe the law as was first announced. If Congress leaves its post of duty, naturally some other board, or bureau, or commission, or Government office may take an arbitrary stand which will seriously interfere with the national-defense program. This program is of paramount importance to our Republic. There should be the fullest cooperation in carrying it on on a 24-hour-a-day basis. No individual and no group should be permitted to slow up such procedure. While Congress is in session the temptation for delays, and so forth, will be very great. Let us stay on the job.

So far as local or domestic problems are concerned, there is pending legislation known as the Harrison-Colmer bill (H. R. 4844; S. 1717). This legislation concerns every county in the United States where the United States Forest Service has acquired cut-over lands, thereby removing the same from the tax rolls. The purpose of this legislation was to have the United States Government contribute to the expenses of the local government and partially make up for the loss of revenue. There should be committee hearings on this legislation. There is an excuse by way of opposition to this legislation to the effect that the Federal Real Estate Board is making a study. So far as I am concerned, this is just an excuse for delay.

There should be no 3-day recesses while bills such as these, together with other pending measures, are before Congress.

Do's and Don'ts in Writing to Your Congressman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. COMPTON I. WHITE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 24, 1940

Mr. WHITE of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, this morning's mail brought to my desk a small brochure from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States purporting the advice to the people concerning relations with the Members of Congress under the title "In Writing to Your Congressman," with the caption "Do's and Don'ts," which I present for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with my suggestions:

DO'S AND DON'TS IN WRITING TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN

When Congress passes a law relating to business, you as a businessman know pretty well what the effect of that law will be.

But experience has shown that Members of Congress do not always know how and why their legislative acts will affect business, unless businessmen write and tell them.

Your views are always welcome, for the men who stay in Congress the longest are those who read and heed their constituents' letters. But there's a right way to write effectively to your Congressman. May we offer these suggestions:

Do—

Spell your Congressman's name correctly.

Make sure whether he is a Senator or a Representative.

State concisely what you think and why—the briefer the better.

Cite specific illustrations, whenever possible, as to effects proposed legislation would have on business, and workers in your community.

Write on your business stationery.

Sign your name plainly. Type it under the signature.

Send a letter rather than a telegram when time permits.

Seize every opportunity to become personally acquainted with your Congressman.

Mr. Speaker, let me suggest to the average businessman that he make it his business to know the man that represents him in the National Capital and casts his vote in the House of Representatives and familiarize himself with his Congressman's record in voting on legislation.

Don't—

Threaten political reprisals.

Write in a captious or belligerent mood.

Remind your Congressman of broken promises.

Attempt to speak for anybody but yourself.

Insert newspaper clippings or mimeograph material.

Send a chain letter or post card.

Quote from form letters.

Write only when you want a favor. Letters of commendation are always welcome.

Try to make an errand boy out of your Congressman.

Become a chronic letter writer.

—Chamber of Commerce of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Speaker, the man who does not understand money and will not study the money question has no business representing you in Congress.

The Making of a Representative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY L. MOSER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 7, 1940

Mr. MOSER. Mr. Speaker, on February 27, 1882, James G. Blaine, of Maine, eulogizing James A. Garfield, a then late President of the United States, before the two branches of the Congress, in an eloquent oration said, in part, as follows:

There is no test of a man's ability in any department of public life more severe than service in the House of Representatives.

There is no place where so little deference is paid to reputation previously acquired or to eminence won outside; no place where so little consideration is shown for the feelings or the failures of beginners. What a man gains in the House he gains by sheer force of his own character, and if he loses and falls back he must expect no mercy and will receive no sympathy. It is a field in which the survival of the strongest is the recognized rule, and where no pretense can deceive and no glamour can mislead. The real man is discovered; his worth is impartially weighed; his rank is irreversibly decreed.

Will Serve Their Country

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

TELEGRAM FROM VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to extend my remarks by including a telegram received by me from the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of Oregon. The telegram follows:

PORTLAND, OREG., *October 9, 1940.*

Hon. HOMER D. ANGELL,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Department of Oregon, are ready and willing to assist in any way possible to serve their country. Particularly during this period of emergency. Having seen military and naval service on foreign soil and in hostile waters, they are eminently qualified to organize and serve in home guard or civilian defense units and offer their services in this connection. They await your instructions or authorization to proceed on any program that may be adopted.

DEPARTMENT OF OREGON, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES,
By LOUIS E. STARR,
Vice Commander and National Defense Chairman.

Capt. Elliott Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FRANCIS HARTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

POEM BY A CONSTITUENT

Mr. HARTER of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following poem prepared and sent to me by one of my constituents. This unfortunate captaincy is causing many thoughtful moments in our great country:

CAPTAIN ELLIOTT ROOSEVELT

(By Guy E. Bradley)

I am a dashing captain
In the good old U. S. A.,
For papa is the President
And always has his way.
He thinks his sons are just too good
To carry gun and pack;
To march and train and drill with boys
From down across the track.
So while those boobs are slaving hard
For just one buck a day,
I'll cock my feet upon a desk
And draw a captain's pay.

Attitude of Dr. Henry Merritt Wriston on Intervention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 11 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a very impressive and remarkable address delivered by Dr. Henry Merritt Wriston, president of Brown University, to a student convocation. This address, Mr. President, is particularly impressive because Dr. Wriston is himself a member of the William Allen White committee to get us into war, but he gives very strong and impressive reasons for disagreeing with some of the efforts of that committee. He points out in unanswerable terms, in my opinion, the fallacy of the conclusion that the United States can intervene in the struggle now going on abroad without sending troops and bringing about inevitably another American Expeditionary Force. He points out that when we get into the war we cannot limit our aid to supplies and ships, as was attempted to be done in the last war, and he discusses the analogy between the events of the last war and the present war. I ask that the quotation from Dr. Wriston, along with an explanatory note as to Dr. Wriston's connection with the William Allen White committee to get us into war, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of October 9, 1940]

FROM ADDRESS OF HENRY MERRITT WRISTON, PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE, R. I., TO STUDENT CONVOCATION

The President of the United States has said (and I do not in the least question his sincerity in the statement) that while he is President he will not send an American boy to fight in Europe. Mr. Willkie (I assume with equal conviction) has echoed that sentiment.

Congress clearly intends to keep an army out of Europe. General Pershing, who led the American Expeditionary Force, is of the same mind. The American Legion agrees heartily, and American public opinion is overwhelmingly of that same persuasion.

But, in all solemnity, and weighing my words with care, I urge you not to be in the least deceived by any of them. They would not deceive you purposely, but they may deceive you nonetheless, and since your lives are concerned, it is the substance of the deceit, not the will to deceive, which is of decisive importance.

There was war in Europe before. At that time also, we were determined to be neutral. In the midst of all the tension, then as now, there came a Presidential campaign. It was won on a slogan which described the past but which was clearly understood to be a promise for the future: "He kept us out of war." That promise, whatever its moral quality, was not kept.

But the parallel does not stop there. While the issue of war was impending, as it is today, there was little or no anticipation that if the United States entered the war it would send a vast army to Europe. It was asserted again and again that the quickest way "to hit Germany is to help the Allies," with money, munitions, supplies. The French Ambassador gave assurance that there would be no need to send "any men to France except a detachment, for sentimental reasons."

* * * * * * *

Even after the British and French missions came to this country it was not realized how large an expeditionary force would have to be organized.

Yet we sent 2,000,000 men overseas. Why were the other factors not enough without the expeditionary army? For reasons growing out of one fundamental factor for which the present situation offers a striking parallel. Then, as now, the Germans had the initiative; the Allies were on the defensive. The defeat of Russia, like the diplomatic reversal of Russia a year ago, and the defeat of France this summer, left the British with their backs to the wall.

It was necessary not only to strengthen the Allied financial structure, it was essential not only to beat the submarine and get food and supplies from America. The decisive factor was to wrest the

initiative from the Germans, carry the war to them, and, by weight of military force, defeat them.

Today the problem is the same. We miss the point completely if we feel that a failure in the attempt to invade England would settle the war. Even if attacks on Gibraltar, Egypt, and Suez were to fail, there still would remain the necessity for gaining the initiative and defeating the Germans.

Mr. Churchill has never been deceived upon that point. He made it both explicit and luminously clear when he said: "We must prepare not only for the summer but for the winter, not only for 1941 but for 1942, when the war will, I trust, take a different form from the defensive in which it has hitherto been bound."

When the time comes to invade Europe, there will still be a nation of less than 50,000,000 which must establish a bridgehead in Europe and attack Germany and its allies, with three times the population and with the advantage of interior lines of communication. Economic power must be supported by man power; equipment must be manned with adequate personnel. Therefore, if we become involved in this war, the determination of Mr. Roosevelt, or the decision of Mr. Willkie, never again to send American boys to fight in Europe will be overwhelmed by the swift pressure of events.

* * * * * * *

It will take only a few days and a few bitter words for Congress to strike out the restriction about using the armed forces in the Western Hemisphere, or mayhap an Attorney General, by some ingenious oversights and some cleverly strained interpretations, will find a way to prove that Congress regarded western Europe as part of the Western Hemisphere.

Prophecy is dangerous; but I run little risk in predicting that if we enter the war, the same forces which kept us from limited participation before will operate, and even more swiftly, again. You cannot have limited war and total war together. It would be fantastic for 46,000,000 British, or, if we include the dominions, 73,000,000, to fight, while 131,000,000 Americans merely produce. The weight of numbers is of vast importance in the military scale. The whole weight would all be thrown in to get a quick victory and a clear decision.

If, therefore, we enter the war, not only will you fight it, but you will fight it on and over the soil of Europe.

That may not be a palatable statement. Many people will feel it is not correct; others will feel in their heart of hearts that it is true, will feel this is not the moment to make it. Both those groups will be composed overwhelmingly of people who will not do the fighting. You who will do the fighting are entitled to hear it; whether you believe it or not is your own business.

* * * * * * *

Are we going to war? If our participation could be limited and partial, the question would hardly be worth asking; only if going to war means total war, as I believe it does, is the question not only worth asking but really of vital importance.

Ambassador Bullitt put it in the most explicit terms last August 18: "War is coming toward the Americas." At what pace? His answer is definite: "It is my conviction that the United States is in as great peril today as was France a year ago. The fighting line of the war for the enslavement of the human spirit is nearing our shores."

Not only is war coming toward us; even more important is the fact that the United States is moving toward war. To establish the truth of that remark one has only to think back over the events of a single year.

Active collaboration and coordination of a neutral with a belligerent to help overcome an actual enemy of one and a potential enemy of the other stretches the concept of neutrality to the point of absurdity. It is amazing that no one has called it an entangling alliance.

It is no wonder, therefore, that now, as in 1917, men are beginning to say that war is inevitable. A considerable group has demanded a frank declaration of war. I assure you that no force will operate more speedily to bring us into the war than a fatalistic feeling that it is inevitable.

A year ago everyone was on the alert to detect and denounce propaganda. It went so far as to be almost a national psychosis. But we have made a marvelous recovery. Not content with foreign propaganda, we set up agencies of our own. One of the men engaged in it told me only day before yesterday that he felt like the proprietor of a marionette show—he stands behind the scenes and pulls the strings, and men do just as he tells them without any apparent reflection or volition of their own.

We have already so far committed ourselves in proclaiming our enmity to all that nazi-ism and fascism and Japanese imperialism stand for, and in identifying our interests with those of Britain, that it would be folly to be unprepared. We have performed deeds which they might well construe as acts of war if they chose.

Now that control of the Atlantic by the English fleet is in peril we certainly need a two-ocean navy. An army is equally a necessity. The events in Europe and in Asia and the American attitude toward them have made the draft inevitable.

From this point on steps toward war should be taken with eyes wide open and with the question always before us, Is this step in the interests of the United States?

It will do no good to overthrow Hitler or Mussolini or Konoye only to have Stalin or Franco or anarchy in their places. I have heard no proposal for a constructive peace since the overthrow of France. In fact, the general attitude seems to be one of utter pessimism regarding the possibility of a world organized for peace upon principles of justice and freedom.

I am ready to grant, indeed, to assert, that the world must see an end to totalitarianism, but that is not an adequate reason for going to war. You must first decide what you will put in its place and what price you will pay to maintain the peace after the victory is won. To go to war for negative reasons alone is to invite again the disillusionment and the disasters from which the world is now suffering.

Gentlemen, think on these things.

AUTHOR OF ANTIWAR ADDRESS IS WHITE COMMITTEE MEMBER, BUT DIFFERS WITH ITS VIEWS

Dr. Wriston, who made the strongly anti-interventionist address printed on this page, is a member of the national committee of the William Allen White committee to defend America by aiding the Allies, and has conferred with the Francis P. Miller "behind the scenes" group, collaborating with the committee. However, he has disagreed with the policies of both groups on occasions.

He says in a telegram to the Post-Dispatch: "Have been sympathetic with many but not all objectives of both groups, but have maintained independent position regarding specific measures and methods." The present address is obviously at complete variance with many of the committee's views.

Dr. Wriston, president of Brown University since 1937, was born in Laramie, Wyo., on July 4, 1889. He was educated at Wesleyan University (Middletown, Conn.) and Harvard. From 1914 to 1925 he was teacher and professor of history at Wesleyan, and later became president of Lawrence College at Appleton, Wis.

The American Price for the American Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRIK SHIPSTEAD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 11 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES L. McNARY, OF OREGON, AT NORTHWOOD, IOWA

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an able address delivered by the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] at Northwood, Iowa, on October 7, 1940, on the subject The American Price for the American Farmer.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I address you today, the friends and neighbors of my late legislative comrade, out of a well of kindly memories. I came to Northwood, in truth, as much in tribute to Congressman Haugen as to plead the cause of justice to the farm producer—a cause which he made so distinctively his own. In a sense this is a memorial gathering. But it is more. The stout fighter whom we honor would not, as you and I knew him, be content with the utterance of the eulogy that springs from my heart. Were he able to command us, he would urge that we link our appreciation of his efforts with a discussion of the cause—the great work which united us for 6 hardworking, misunderstood years in the Congress. He would wish us today to advance that cause.

The farmer has had many friends—true and false—in Washington. None ever was truer than Gilbert Haugen. He represented the farmers and all the people of this district ably and conscientiously. But his constituency transcended the bounds of this rich district in Iowa. Loyally and faithfully he represented all the farmers of America. Farm born and farm bred, he added to his practical experience of the farmer's vicissitudes—of weather and markets—a broad understanding of the Government's relation to agriculture.

I knew him best during the period of his labors in the House to write the so-called McNary-Haugen bill upon the Federal statutes. That failure was not his failure. He did his utmost.

The failure to restore the farmer to a position of equality with other elements in the American economy may be charged to a variety of reasons. We were exploring new economic and social fields. The Senators and Congressmen associated with Representative Haugen and myself were, as seen in retrospect, pioneers. The trails had not yet been blazed. Those high in authority viewed our modest, democratic proposals as radical.

The fact is that we were, in the 1920's, confronted with the symptoms of a profound change in the relationship of American agriculture to the rest of our economy and to the world. Even those of us most closely committed to our cause were only dimly aware of what had taken place. Our opponents declined to see any alteration.

In brief, American agriculture, due in general to the World War, had lost its preferred position in the markets of Europe. Suddenly, we had become a debtor nation. It was, therefore, no

longer convenient for the imperial powers of Europe to take our raw materials as they had during the generations when they were lending us money. They preferred other sources; and, all around the globe, new, large-scale agricultural producers were arising. We had shipped our superior farm machinery everywhere.

The war had broken out vast acreages elsewhere as well as here. These countries, in the main, produced at lower costs. Meanwhile, at home, our population was slowing down; our agricultural plant had been overextended by war demands, it was overcapitalized and the substitution of mechanical for animal power had rendered many millions of acres formerly used for feed and pasturage unnecessary.

The American farmer no longer dominated world markets. Henceforth, although only a few persons saw this, he was to be at the mercy of those markets. In a nutshell, the McNary-Haugen bills sought to redress this disadvantage by removing the pressure of world market prices from the domestic level, protected, as it was, by industrial tariffs.

We sought to retain for the farm producer a price for his domestically consumed crops an American price, one corresponding to the prices he paid for factory products—enabling him then to take a loss on the minor portion of his output sold in foreign markets over which he had no control. The principle was borrowed from industry. Industrialists, protected as to their domestic prices by tariffs, often sold unmanageable surpluses—on occasion creating surpluses for one reason and another—at whatever they would bring abroad.

Few persons, as I have said, understood the basis for farm distress in the early 1920's—although everyone knew that, following the drastic deflation conducted by the banks under leadership of Wall Street in 1920, things were amiss on the farm. The precipitous decline of farm prices in 1921 brought on an epidemic of mortgage foreclosures and failure of country banks.

The agrarian distress was quickly reflected in Congress.

But, of the shoals of bills introduced hastily in both houses, the McNary-Haugen Act alone focused the attention of Congress. Popular there—and, generally, in the northern and western farm belts—the bill evoked formidable opposition elsewhere. Twice, it passed both Houses of Congress. It is a matter of note that a majority of both parties in both Houses approved. It was not a partisan measure. Parenthetically, I might say that I never have regarded farm legislation from a strictly partisan standpoint. In my 23 years in the Senate, I have sought to consider the merits of farm legislation—not its political origin. Thus, I have supported New Deal farm legislation; opposing some that bore the Republican imprint.

Outside Congress the storm raged. Your illustrious Northwood representative and I found ourselves tagged as wild and woolly radicals from the West; to our mild surprise. Grain dealers, commission men, speculators, and exporters raged violently. The classical economists, who have had to swallow far worse during the New Deal years, branded us heretics. Spokesmen for industrial interests and consumers' organizations protested that we wished to burden the poor city dwellers. They were in error. I do not recall that any farm producer, any representative of the half of our population residing in the country, objected to our plan.

The late President Coolidge twice vetoed the bill. I do not—and never have—questioned his motives. Mr. Coolidge believed in the literal inspiration of Mr. Adam Smith. He mistrusted anything that seemed likely to interfere with the orthodox go-as-you-please philosophy. We were unable to surmount his vetoes.

Although defeated, the McNary-Haugen proposals established a principle that found favor later. That principle was that the farmer deserved some relief from the disadvantages pressed upon him by the tariff and his subserviency to world-market prices.

The principle has fretted Mr. Roosevelt and Secretary Wallace. It has been honored in certain parts of New Deal farm legislation.

The principle, although never invoked, may be said to be a sort of monument to the work of Gilbert Haugen and his associates. But whereas the McNary-Haugen Act proposed to work out the principle in a wholesome, democratic way, with a minimum of subsidies—leaving the farmer an independent, self-reliant producer—the New Deal substitute has resulted in regimentation and close controls of production. Under the McNary-Haugen bill the machinery of relief would have been farmer-controlled, farmer-owned, and paid for.

In its stead we have a program Government owned, Government controlled, and paid for out of the Public Treasury.

I shall not totally condemn the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Its virtues outweigh its demerits. The act needs modification so that the producer may exercise a dominant share in policy making and administration.

It needs strengthening to reach the McNary-Haugen goal, namely, the payment of parity prices for that portion of crops domestically consumed. The farmers are not satisfied to trade the $2,000,000,000 a year, the amount lacking in their aggregate income on parity basis during the last 7 years, for the half a billion dollars of borrowed money which has been paid them, on the average, out of the Public Treasury. That would be a poor trade, even if the benefits did not have to be repaid at some future date.

The actual procurement of parity for the farmer implies a segregation of home consumption from the exportable surpluses. That was a commendable objective of the McNary-Haugen bill. Indeed, it was fashioned to stabilize market-price levels against excessive fluctuations and, above all, to secure for agricultural commodities with an exportable surplus a domestic price independent of world prices.

In the language of the farm, it separated the wheat from the chaff. Or, to put it another way, the minority of the crop sold abroad, or the tail, could no longer wag the dog.

I neglected earlier to say that the McNary-Haugen bill elicited the stalwart support of many able critics and observers. We were not altogether crying in the wilderness.

Among our friends, and he was a friend of all who tilled and toiled; one of the most admirable characters I ever have known, was the late Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture in his day. May I note that Mr. Wallace remained a Republican. In his delightful and refreshing book Our Debt and Duty To the Farmer, he wrote, and I quote:

"The weak spot in the agricultural situation is the overproduction of certain commodities, more particularly wheat and pork products, of which we produce an exportable surplus and the prices of which are depressed by the world market." Mr. Wallace wrote also there, and I quote: "The sole purpose of the McNary-Haugen bill was to reestablish and maintain the normal, prewar ratio between the prices of agricultural crops, of which we produce an exportable surplus, and the general commodity price index, thus putting agriculture somewhere near an equality with industry and labor * * *. It would have corrected much of the injustice under which the farmer suffers. What is more important, it would have established a national policy under which the farmer could safely go ahead and produce to the best of his ability with the assurance that he would get a reasonably fair price for the products of his toil."

In this book, Mr. Wallace further elucidated the nature of the plan. He wrote, and I quote: "Nor did this bill contemplate permanent appropriations from the Federal Treasury. An initial appropriation of a considerable sum would have been necessary as a loan, but it was provided that all of the expense of operation and all losses resulting from the marketing of the surplus would be assumed by the producers. Thus, the money originally advanced by the Treasury would have been repaid. It was simply a plan for the Government to help the producers of certain commodities to do what they could not do for themselves." What he wrote then is equally valid today.

I have another good and able friend who also belongs to the Iowa Wallace clan. He is Henry A. Wallace, also a former Secretary of Agriculture and son of the gentleman I have just quoted. This Henry Wallace has been for 8 years an active and influential member of the New Deal party. As a candidate for Vice President on the New Deal ticket, he has been speaking across the continent. In each State, according to newspaper reports, he reminds the farmers—rather pointedly—of the sums which have been paid out in that State in farm benefits.

I suspect that the farmers would rather that these checks had come as a result of higher prices, paid for by the consumer and at once absorbed, than out of the accumulating debt burden of the country.

I regard it as disingenuous to claim for any one party or administration credit for farm payments. You would have to trace out each measure if you wished to attribute credit fairly. In a political campaign, however, sweeping generalizations often are employed. It should be recalled, for example, that a bill looking toward parity passed Congress during the closing days of the Hoover administration. This measure may fittingly be called the precursor of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of the New Deal. I suggest, without thought of irony, that the Hoover Farm Board program for surplus purchases differs only in verbiage from Mr. Henry A. Wallace's "ever-normal granary." Both piled up surpluses. Wallace's, however, are far higher than Hoover's. Mr. Wallace's criticism of the Farm Board, may I interject for the record, has been unsparing.

The present New Deal farm program is a synthetic product. No one should take credit for it. The Agriculture Adjustment Act was hammered out in House and Senate committees, with the expert advice of farm organizations and the assistance of Department of Agriculture experts.

The Government has for the last 2 years attempted to balance agriculture's disadvantages through parity payments. They amount this year to $225,000,000. Iowa gets its share.

I do not recall that the President or Mr. Wallace ever advocated parity payments—or urged them on Congress. They originated, as a matter of fact, in a subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. I am a humble member of that subcommittee. Also in that subcommittee projects were fathered for disposing of surpluses through export subsidies and domestic distribution.

The minimum that the farmers of this country have asked for is an opportunity to earn their fair share of the national income as a reward for their work and management. In the absence of these natural rewards—rewards which should flow out of our system—they have been compelled to seek and accept Government benefits. However, they are mindful that these gifts from the Treasury must be repaid; if not by them, then by their children or grandchildren.

When we begin to levy taxes adequate to meet these payments, as well as to service the debt, I am afraid that the process will react upon our common mode of living. Our high standard of living may well be impaired. I suspect that this obligation of retrenchment will also affect the farmer. We may consume less and less of the farmers' luxury products—meat, fruit, poultry, and vegetables.

The two-price system allows wide latitude in application. Its principle, however, is steadfast. It demands that the farmer receive for his efforts a sum equivalent, roughly, to that received by the city worker. It provides for a free, equitable exchange of goods between

city and country. It enables us to trade our surpluses abroad at whatever price the foreigner can pay, without regard to what a New Deal economist believes or hopes he can pay.

All we require is a formula enabling us to trade abroad without impairing the American standards of living of the American farm producer. We hold that this pioneer venture would enable us to reach that objective.

Much water has passed over the dam since the defeat of the McNary-Haugen bill. Circumstances at home and abroad have changed. I believe the two-price principle remains constant. I truly believe that its application is needed today even more than in the 1920's. I believe it holds the key to agriculture's relationships with the foreign markets. I go further. I believe it would give us an approximate solution of the whole, diversified, amazingly complex farm problem.

Some day—and that day must come soon—the farmer will receive his due. Some day the farmer will have unimpeded access to the American market at the American price. The American people, city and country dwelling alike, wish that. In the 1920's the farmers' plight was not understood by the nonfarming public Projects for his relief met with skepticism or indifference. Today the people are aware that industry and agriculture are in the same boat and that they survive or perish together.

The over-all objective of our crusade calls for a greater, happier, richer America. The objective includes the concept of the independent farmer, producing bountifully, supplying the American market, selling freely in world markets—the free freeholder controlling his own destiny. We do not believe that America is running down. We believe that America has a future and that the farmer is a cornerstone of that future. We believe that, under the inspiring leadership of Wendell L. Willkie, we shall soon be engaged in working out the blueprints of that future.

Our Undefended Economic Borders

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRIK SHIPSTEAD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 11 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES L. McNARY, OF OREGON, AT ULEN, MINN.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excellent address delivered by the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] at Ulen, Minn., on October 5 on the subject Our Undefended Economic Borders.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The New Deal, in 7½ years of makeshift experimentation with agriculture and foreign trade, has failed to restore farm prices to parity. Likewise, it has failed to arm the farmer against the impact of this war which, for the first time, has closed European markets to our grain, meat, fruit, and fiber. At Aurora, I charged the New Deal with those failures.

I do not, of course, exult in them. I never have approached farm problems as a partisan. Always, I have recognized agriculture's basic relationship to our whole prosperity. In our America, agriculture still is king. Half our population, thank God, still is rural. Moreover, I farm the Oregon homestead preempted by my grandfather nearly a hundred years ago. Personally then, I, too, desire wise policies benefiting the farmer and converting our abundance into a blessing. You know that my concern is sincere and objective.

Today I do not wish to dwell on past failure. Let us turn to the future. The war will end one day. The bombs that pound London to dust, night by night—wracking our nerves in sympathy, although here, in midcontinent, we are thousands of miles distant from their roar—will one day cease to drop. When that happens, our economy may sustain a painful shock. The first World War undermined the traditional bases of world economy and trade; this war bids fair to obliterate them entirely. As the most powerful economic unit in the world, we have been threatened with a trade war when peace comes. In any case, our situation will change overnight.

The demand for war munitions, at home and abroad, will halt abruptly. Millions of workers will return to field and workbench in Europe. A Europe regimented and impoverished will require our food and fiber. But Europe will lack normal means of payment. In desperate need of markets, Europe undoubtedly will seek to invade this—the greatest market—with goods produced at coolie and peasant wages. That attempt to make America a dumping ground will gravely challenge the standard of living of every farm and city family in our country.

Peace may come quickly. We all cherish that hope. In all human likelihood the job of coping with a reorganized Europe will rest with the next administration. Mr. Roosevelt's second term, happily, nears its end. Fortunately you still have a voice in saying how the job during the next 4 years shall be handled—and by whom.

While everyone agrees that the outlook is dark, there is a difference of opinion as to the best means of defense. Secretary Wallace recently warned a Minnesota audience to prepare for worse conditions than in 1921 or 1932. He foresaw the probable destruction of our European wheat markets by vastly increased yields in the Danube Basin. Mr. Wallace's formula for defense, expounded over at Redwood Falls, was more spending. The Republicans, he added, could not be trusted to handle our after-war affairs because they would, and I quote, "cut off Federal expenditures." Mr. Wallace's warning was, in part, justified. The Republicans do retain an old-fashioned horror of national bankruptcy.

I reject Mr. Wallace's remedy. Whenever confronted with a problem—in hand or on order—the New Deal reaches for the people's check book. Furthermore, I do not believe that the New Deal—on its record—will be capable of defending the farmer, or any other American producer, against the world-trade struggle that lies ahead.

The New Deal already has our economic borders defenseless. Because of the reciprocal-trade treaties our trade frontiers are unprotected. The trade treaties—supported by Secretary Hull and Secretary Wallace as measures designed to promote peace and benefit agriculture—have failed in both instances. In addition, the trade treaties, by giving us the lowest tariffs since the Democratic Underwood Act of 1913, have lowered our resistance to an after-war flood of cheap imports.

I am more cheerful than Mr. Wallace. I have faith that we may arm ourselves by time-honored, realistic, constitutional methods. We have precedents. At the end of the last World War we were inundated with goods that flowed over the Underwood Act's insufficient barriers. The Congress, which had not then surrendered its constitutional powers to raise revenues and approve treaties, repaired the dike in 1921. I helped write those schedules. As much as any factor they checked the declining spirals of that brief industrial depression.

Everyone, I suppose, favors reciprocity. Republicans should do so. The Republican Party, as far back as President Benjamin Harrison, has fathered the principle. William McKinley, as a Member of Congress in 1890, wrote the first reciprocal-tariff measure.

In McKinley's last public address, just before his assassination at Buffalo in 1901, he favored extension of the principles so long as it did not—and I quote—"interrupt our home production." Therein lies a chief divergence between the Republican and the New Deal concepts of reciprocity. The Republican Party committed above all to the interest of the American producer, holds that no foreign trading is tolerable that sacrifices the home producer. The Republican Party is more concerned with the welfare of a farm family in Minnesota, or any other State in this Union, than of a family—however meritorious—outside of our borders.

The reciprocal-trade treaties, viewed as a lever for increasing exports, are fallacious—however they were intended. I propose to demonstrate that. They have deprived the American farmer of a good slice of the American market—to which he is entitled. They have injured his prices. Actually, they constitute a formula for rewriting the tariff schedules while talking about something else; a cynical example of New Deal double talk. Mr. Hull admitted that in his Farm Bureau speech at Chicago last December. They embody the historic free-trade policy of the Democratic Party. Moreover, they have been used too often for diplomatic—not economic—ends. Through them, we have seemed to be engaged in the foolish business of trying to buy good will.

I do not ask that we harden our spirit against other countries. I am all for being a good neighbor, but am not in favor of being a chuckle-headed neighbor—forever turning the other cheek. No government has the right, as trustee for its people, to prefer the material interest of other countries. Yet the New Deal, under the Hull foreign-trade policies, has served alien interests.

I suggest the case of Argentina. Recently we beheld a revival of the controversy over Argentine live meat, which, as you know, is now barred from this market by a sanitary regulation. In far-away Buenos Aires, Dr. Leopold Melo, chairman of the Argentine delegation to the recent Habana conference and a guest thereafter at the President's Hyde Park home, asserted in public that Mr. Roosevelt had promised him, in private, to lift the Argentine meat ban—and I quote—"after election." Mr. Roosevelt, through a secretary, promptly issued a denial. I do not challenge the President's word. I do cite the well-known fact that, since 1935, Mr. Hull has been endeavoring to lift that ban. Only the Senate has thwarted him.

I need not remind you that Mr. Roosevelt justified the Navy's purchase of Argentine canned beef on the ground that it was—and I quote—"better beef." Nor recall that, under present duties, Argentine canned meat undersells our own even in our cattle country.

The New Deal has been extraordinarily tender toward many foreign countries. What treatment have we had in return? Just the other day, on September 19, the Argentine trade board shut out all American imports—without warning.

This case throws into high light the administration's excessive altruism with other countries. At the moment Argentina acted, Warren Pierson, head of the Export-Import Bank, was bound for Buenos Aires to offer new loans out of the half billion dollars voted

by Congress the other day for ill-defined and foggy purposes in Latin America.

No one knows what that half billion is for; the New Deal doesn't. We may only pray that it is not to be used to underwrite some foreign nation's wheat, corn, and meat surpluses. As a practical matter, I doubt if we can buy hemispheric solidarity. Recent history tell us that appeasement is a futile policy, whether directed at a totalitarian conqueror or a State in our own hemisphere.

I urge another criticism of the Roosevelt-Hull executive tariff-making policy. Plain tariff agreements between nations no longer count for much. Tariff negotiating is not the open-and-above-board procedure it once was. Nations are constantly entering into side, bilateral agreements; imposing sudden embargoes, putting up new quotas. Currencies slide about in relation to other currencies. In fact, the disparity in currency values has nullified in a large measure our protective duties. Advocates of the Hull policies claimed they would give us greater flexibility to meet those and other changes. But the New Deal has evaded its responsibilities to the American producer here. It has neglected to protect us against these injuries except in one case—Germany—and that was a diplomatic gesture, however warranted, rather than economic.

In spite of the manifest harm wrought by the treaties, the New Deal continues to trumpet contrary claims. Last spring Mr. Roosevelt said, and I quote: "That program has brought results, results not only in better markets for our industrial goods, but in better markets for our farm goods; results which are mathematically proved in terms of pounds and bushels and dollars and cents."

I put my comment in charitable terms. The President was misinformed.

I shall not burden you with statistics. In 1932 we reached the bottom of the depression. Since that year exports have recovered in varying degree. Total exports for 1939 stood 51 percent higher than in 1932. But farm exports were smaller by 9 percent. Last year's farm exports accounted for only 23 percent of all exports—the lowest percentage since the first hogshead of tobacco left the colonial James River for London.

The trade treaties went into effect in 1935. The year previous, 1934, under the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, farm exports were valued at $787,000,000. That was 40 percent of all exports. In only one trade-treaty year, 1938, have we exported more farm produce than in 1934. But the fiscal year 1938 saw the subsidized export of more than a hundred million bushels of wheat and six and a half million bales of cotton. The treaties deserve no credit in 1938. In fact, subsidies violate the principle of the treaties.

Exports represent only one-half of a whole. Imports are even more discouraging. In obtaining tariff favors abroad, the New Deal had to trade the protection of the home market.

The treaties have reduced the duty on 1,100 articles, placed 100 on a standstill basis, and earmarked 150 items on the free list. I wonder if you realize how far we have gone on the road toward free trade?

I myself am indebted to Congressman HAROLD KNUTSON, of your State, an able friend of the farmer, for the figures I shall now use. The new dealers condemn the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act. In 1934, under that tariff, we ranked eleventh among all world-trading countries in ratio of duties to imports. But in 1928 we stood ninth highest among the high-tariff countries, and in 1937 we had declined to thirteenth. Great Britain, the mother of free trade, had become fifth highest. While we were headed for free trade, Britain had turned protectionist with a vengeance. In 1937 the British collected $22.84 per capita in customs duties—we collected only $3.56.

Roughly, half our agricultural imports are of products not grown here, such as coffee, rubber, tea, and bananas. The other half is of competitive growths. How have the treaties affected the competitive imports? For the 5 years preceding the treaties average annual imports of competitive farm products totaled $495,000,000. In the first 5 treaty years they rose to six hundred and sixteen millions—an increase of one hundred and twenty millions a year.

The trade treaties, as you will observe, helped farmers. But the farmers they helped live in Mexico, Canada, Asia, and Africa. I would prefer helping the farmer of Clay County, Minn., pay his taxes, lighten the mortgage, educate the children—and even buy a new car.

Those who defend the treaties assert that agricultural imports are minor in comparison with the whole volume of American consumption of farm produce. That is true; but it is a half—or a quarter truth. The American farmer still supplies an over-all of about 94 percent of domestic consumption. Within that gross, however, there exist crop classifications where real harm is worked, and such statistics are cold comfort to cattlemen as they watch trainloads of steers rolling across the northern and southern borders, potentially to hold down prices at South St. Paul, Chicago, and Kansas City. And also to the Pacific coast vegetable and fruit growers, who see ships and cars unloaded with products grown by peon labor.

Wherever we have surpluses the treaties menace our farm price levels. You no doubt are all familiar with the classic story of the arrival of the two boatloads of corn at Peoria, an arrival that depressed the price of corn next day at Chicago 4 cents a bushel. The price went down, as you note, on the whole 3,000,000,000 bushels of corn in America because of the arrival of a few thousand bushels of foreign corn.

War conditions—high ocean freight rates, wartime insurance rates, and the inability of certain low-cost producers to reach our market—insulate us now somewhat from the effects of the treaties. But with peace those safeguards will vanish. We must prepare to defend our borders now, while we still have time. Find means also by which we may engage in rational foreign trade without injury to ourselves. I am in favor of the freest exchange of goods and services around the world consistent with the interest of our producers. We, too, need export markets. But we cannot permanently help other people with lower standards by depressing our own to their levels.

In these critical times, to whom will the American farmer turn? To the New Deal free-traders, sponsoring and administering the reciprocal-trade treaties for reasons often more related to international politics than to his welfare—or to an administration committed to the Republican tradition of protection, an administration believing wholeheartedly that the farmer is entitled, as a matter of justice, to the American market at the American price; an administration determined to care for American interests first and to be a good neighbor primarily with those who are themselves neighborly?

I firmly believe that the administration which will take office next January under Wendell L. Willkie will defend the American farmer against any of these hazards.

Finally, my friends, I believe that a Republican administration pledged to a policy of rugged economy and the preservation of a home market will provide for you a more satisfying and secure way of life.

Position of Dorothy Thompson on Presidential Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 11 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLES FROM THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE AND TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, on the last day when the Senate was in session, day before yesterday, there was inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article by Dorothy Thompson giving the reasons why she is supporting the election of Mr. Roosevelt for a third term, the insertion having been made in the RECORD on the request of the majority leader. I ask unanimous consent that there may be inserted in the RECORD, first, a copy of a cablegram sent from Paris, France, by Miss Dorothy Thompson several months ago, in which she urged that elections be done away with this year in this country and that Mr. Roosevelt be continued in office without having anything more than the formality of an election.

I also ask unanimous consent—and I will make it all in one request—that there may be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter appearing October 10, 1940, in the New York Herald Tribune under the title "Fails To Face the Issue," discussing the position now taken by Miss Dorothy Thompson, and, as a third part of the request, that there may be inserted following the cablegram and letter the testimony given by Miss Dorothy Thompson before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary 3 years ago when that committee was considering the President's proposal to pack the Supreme Court.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald-Tribune of May 15, 1940]

ON THE RECORD—THE 1940 ELECTIONS

(By Dorothy Thompson)

PARIS, May 14.—I write this article as a battle rages in Belgium, on the border between Belgium and France and all along the French-German front, the greatest battle between men and materials and conflicting ideas that has yet been fought in human history. It is a battle involving millions of men and the accumulated wealth of great nations. Whatever its final results, it will be a turning point in the history of the world.

Meanwhile, in America, we are getting ready to hold two party conventions, in which we will nominate candidates for the Presidency. From now until next November there will be, in the usual order of things, debates, party divisions and a spectacle presented to the rest of the world of internal disunity.

That fact has played a part in the selection by the Nazis of this spring and summer as the time to drive for a decision in the war. There is not the slightest question about this. The Nazis timed to strike when the United States was immobilized—politically immobilized.

The gravity of this hour cannot possibly be overrated. It must be said bluntly that it is by no means certain that Britain and France will win this war; it is by no means certain that the blows delivered, as they are being delivered, by forces greatly superior in numbers, airplanes and ruthlessness, having the advantage of strategical positions gained by the occupation without warning of five neutral countries—Denmark, Norway, Luxemburg, Holland, and Belgium—will not be successful, and successful in quick order.

Five years ago the democracies were in an overwhelmingly superior position vis-à-vis Germany. They lost that position not in a moment, but from week to week and from year to year. Nobody deprived them of that position. They gave it away, because of complacency, overconfidence, and unwillingness to face the facts. And now it has brought on the disaster of the war.

In a crisis like this one free men do not save themselves by feeling that they are committed, as by some fate, to a traditional pattern of behavior. They save themselves by asking lucidly, "What is the very wisest thing that we could do?" and then doing it with courage and decision.

It is not wise to employ this summer and fall in a heated political campaign between two parties. It is not wise to make any change in the Presidency or in the Department of State. The common sense of the American man in the street tells him this. The foreign policy of the United States will be during the next 4 years decisive for the whole American continent.

Although there have been many differences between the President and the Republicans on matters of domestic policy—these differences, except for the die-hards, being primarily differences regarding method—there are no essential differences in regard to foreign policy. Differences are being deliberately trumped up in order to furnish campaign material.

The President's handling of the foreign affairs of the United States has been masterly. It has been the only masterly handling of affairs by any democratic statesman of a large power.

Alone among all the leaders of the three great free nations the President of the United States has from the first faced and grasped the whole bitter reality.

Alone among the heads of democratic states the President has been correctly informed, first by a Secretary of State who has great political sagacity and homespun common sense; secondly, by a diplomatic service superior in intelligence and liveliness to the British and the French; third, by a press which has done voluminous and energetic reporting; and fourth, and perhaps most importantly, by his own imagination—by the intuition of his extreme sensibility.

The President has been right. He foresaw what has happened when people were branding him a calamity howler. He has been thinking ahead of events while the rest of the democratic world has been thinking one lap behind them.

In the democratic world he is a figure of immense proportions. The fall of Roosevelt in America would be worse for the cause of democracy and freedom than the Nazi occupation of Switzerland. I say that with weighed words after traveling over a great deal of Europe.

It is not only that Mr. Roosevelt has for the democratic world a magic that that world sorely needs but a change in administration now would inevitably break the continuity of a policy, or, if it did not, would create for weeks and months the fear that it might—and fear in this moment would have the same effect as reality.

Furthermore, every recriminatory debate on that policy would be picked up and used for purposes no Americans desire. There are times when it is good for the citizens of nations to disagree. There are other times when it is necessary to close the ranks, to discipline antagonisms, voluntarily to create that unity which tyranny can force. There are eras in which time moves deliberately and eras when the metronome ticks off destiny with the rapidity of machine-gun fire. We are in such an era.

The Republican Party has a great history behind it. In the two greatest crises of American history, in the critical years between the end of the Revolutionary War and the adoption of the Constitution, and in the ghastly years of the Civil War the makers of American destiny were Republicans. Hamilton, who more than any other man secured the adoption of the Constitution, may justly be called the first Republican, although the party of that name did not yet exist, and its proudest name is Lincoln's.

The Republican Party is properly called traditionalist, but its great moments were when it broke the traditions.

The Constitution founded the Republic. Lincoln—no traditionalist—saved it.

The greatest thing, it seems to me, that the Republican Party could do now for the Nation it has served so often and so magnificently would be to announce, and as quickly as possible, that if the President will accept a third term, it will offer no candidate in opposition to him, but will offer instead only a Vice Presidential candidate.

And if it wants to break the tradition once again, in the interest of the Nation, it might look elsewhere than in the traditional places for a Vice Presidential candidate, and nominate, for Vice President, Wendell Willkie, one of our ablest citizens, a man who thoroughly represents the most enlightened and modern wing of Republican opinion, who is 100 percent with Secretary Hull on foreign policy and who, were a change at this time desirable at all, is certainly Presidential timber.

The people would then have a chance to vote for Roosevelt, modified by Willkie or some other Republican; or Roosevelt, supported by whomever the Democrats might nominate.

The election of Roosevelt plus a Republican ticket would presume a reorganization of the Cabinet to include Republicans—in other words, a government of national concentration. And I personally believe that ticket would win.

It would reassure those who fear the President's impetuosity—which has not been manifest since the outbreak of the war. And it would mean that America continues to be politically mobile and in action, during every minute.

It is also completely constitutional. The party system was invented long after the Constitution was in operation, and the conventions are purely a politicians' instrument, having nothing whatsoever to do with the fundamental structure of our democracy.

It would be large-minded of the Republican Party to do this, but the Republicans may well remember that they governed America best and longest when they were most large-minded.

At any rate—and from Paris, where one sees events moving with the swiftness of a motorized battalion—it is impossible to think of one's self as a Republican or a Democrat, or a Socialist or a new dealer. One thinks of one's self only as a citizen of the land of the free and the home of the brave.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of October 10, 1940]

FAILS TO FACE THE ISSUE

To the New York Herald Tribune:

I have read Miss Thompson's article in this morning's Herald Tribune. Her declaration in favor of a third term for Mr. Roosevelt was to be expected. The sorry weakness of her argument in support of her declaration demonstrates the indefensibility of the cause. In the midst of earth's wreckage and human suffering caused by one-man rule in defiance of law and order there is no defense whatever of Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy. It is the same unholy, lustful, greedy reaching for power that has already brought civilization down in ruins throughout Europe and Asia. It is the horseman of death and destruction, whose wild career the American people must and will bring to an inglorious end at the coming election. The defeat of the third-term idea here in America is as important to mankind as is the victory of England over Hitler ruthlessness. Unless the idea of one-man rule is successfully fought by the forces that believe in the worth of the individual and the dignity of the human soul, and fought now, the Dark Ages will soon again descend upon the world.

She may safely leave the question of Mr. Roosevelt's greatness to the judgment of history. I for one do not share Miss Thompson's estimate, which, to my mind, blindly ignores the essential touchstones of character, such as tolerance, justice, political morality, belief in eternal verities, faithfulness to promises, incompatibility in high office, labor toward national unity, defense of the great cause of human freedom through loyalty to our Constitution and Bill of Rights. A major test of Mr. Roosevelt's lack of stature is found in his inability to waive aside selfish ambition and by his voluntary withdrawal from office to constitute himself a spiritual symbol opposed to tyranny and its whole evil breed.

Miss Thompson dismisses the anti-third-term argument by a single sentence. That is a sentence more than the new dealers give to it. She fails to face the issue that means life or death for the cause of human liberty. She says it is but a tradition. Well, the sole inspiring institution left on earth—the British Government—is but a tradition. Upon its mortal fight for insubstantial tradition depends all that the human heart can possibly cherish. Upon the outcome of that struggle hangs destiny. Tradition is destiny. By their traditions alone are a people great. Engrossing those traditions upon parchment is not the important thing. The day is coming when the anti-third-term tradition will be made a part of the written Constitution of these United States. But its strength and virility and necessity arise, not from its indictment upon a document, but from the fact that it is nigh unto the hearts and ever upon the tongues of every liberty-loving American.

It is because Mr. Wendell Willkie understands these spiritual truths that he must and will be elected to the Presidency of the land we love in its crucial hour.

WALTER LYMAN BRYANT.

NEW YORK, *October 9, 1940.*

STATEMENT OF MISS DOROTHY THOMPSON BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Miss THOMPSON. I have responded to the request to come here today and testify on the question of the proposal to enlarge the Supreme Court because I feel very deeply about the issues involved. I am speaking entirely as a private citizen. I have never been a member of any political party. As a journalist, I supported almost all of the objectives of President Roosevelt during the last administration, though with certain reservations and criticisms mostly concerning method. I regret that I have not a more profound knowledge to lay before this committee.

I am not an expert on constitutional law, and my only justification for taking your time is that I have been for some years, as a foreign correspondent, an observer at the collapse of constitutional democracies. You might say I have been a researcher into the mortality of republics. The outstanding fact of our times is the decline and fall of constitutional democracy. A great need of our time is for more accurate analysis of the pathology of constitutional government, of why constitutional government perishes. A great

deal of such analysis has been made, but the more thoughtful students have not made much impress on public opinion. And there are a great many people in the United States, for instance, who think that fascism is completely described as a plot of big business to seize government and run it in their own interests, through a dictator who is their stooge. Or they think that fascism has come about through some evil man, perhaps an evil genius of overwhelming ambition, bent on personal power, who suppressed free institutions by violence. Or they think that fascism is a peculiar institution of certain peoples, arising from special and limited conditions. For instance, that Germany became national socialist because of the Treaty of Versailles; or that Italy became fascist because she did not get what she expected to get out of the war. Or they think that constitutional democracies have fallen because they "failed to meet human needs" and pass adequate social legislation. I refer to that because that, apparently, is the President's view. That is what he said at his first speech in support of his proposals for reforming the judiciary. He said:

"In some countries a royalist form of government failed to meet human needs and fell. In other countries a parliamentary form of government failed to meet human needs and fell. In still other countries governments have managed to hold on, but civil strife has flared or threats of upheaval exist."

That is what the President said, and apparently the moral of that is that unless Congress is made perfectly free to make any sort of legislation it may hit upon and then pass it on to a Supreme Court representative of the ideas of the majority, we shall see the end of democracy. Also, Mr. Harry Hopkins, in a radio address recently said, "The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy." That is just another expression of the thought that democracies perish if they are curbed, or if they fail to respond immediately to all the economic and social demands of powerful groups of the community.

Gentlemen, I have come to a quite different conclusion about why democracies collapse and give way to tyrannies of one sort or another. This blanket definition of fascism is not very descriptive of what is going on. Italian fascism, German national socialism, the military dictatorship of Pilsudski and of his successor in Poland, the monarchial dictatorship in Yugoslavia, the Catholic and semi-military dictatorship in Austria, the "brain trust" dictatorship in Portugal, and the dictatorship of Comrade Stalin in Russia cannot be described as belonging to any one system of ideas. In hundreds of respects they are completely dissimilar. But each of them was the answer of a particular people, with particular mores and particular traditions to governments which were failing, not to meet human needs—if by that you mean failing to pass social laws—but failing in the first function of government: Failing to keep order and social cohesion and respect for principles. And each of these dictatorships has the same essential function. Its function is to impose social disciplines; to impose those social disciplines by the edict and coercion of a single man and regime of men, because the people themselves had ceased to accept the discipline of law.

I think the disciplines of law are particularly needed in democracies and are especially needed at any moment when a powerful majority is in temporary control of the current political situation almost to the exclusion of minority representation. We have such a situation in this country now. The men who designed the structure of this Republic realized this. They did not believe that the cure for the evils of democracy was more democracy. They believed that the prevention against a democracy running away with itself, the prevention against a powerful majority riding roughshod over the temporary minority and selling short the whole future of the country, the prevention against today's majority mortgaging tomorrow's majority, lay in a written constitution and an independent Supreme Court to interpret that constitution.

There is a reason why Supreme Court judges are appointed for life and removable only by impeachment. That reason is obvious. It was certain that successive Executives and successive Senates would seek to put upon the Supreme Court Bench men responsive to their own ideas. Everybody is human; but it was arranged that the Supreme Court, only by the merest chance, by a very remote mathematical chance, would ever coincide with the majority of the moment. It was so arranged that the Court should represent, not the momentary dominant majority, but the continuity and tradition in American life.

The difference between a regime of pure democracy, which moves from majority to majority, one often overthrowing the other and seeking to destroy all or much of what its predecessor has done—the difference between that kind of government, which I do not think has ever worked on this globe—and our own constitutional democracy is the difference between legislation which is haphazard, which is directed by powerful forces at large in society, and legislation which is somewhat checked by the will to continuity. It is true that the Supreme Court is conservative. I think it is conservative by its very nature. And that, gentlemen, is its function—to conserve. It represents, the opponents say, the past. Yes; perhaps it does. It represents continuity; it demands that today's laws shall be checked against the whole body of law and the principles governing the state, and thus it insures that new laws shall be designed in some conformity with certain long-established customs and ways of life. And just because it represents continuity, because it exerts a constant reminder on the people that they have a past, a past to which they have a duty; just because it reminds them that when they act, however radically, however drastically, they must keep an eye on long-established patterns of law and behavior—just for that reason I think it safeguards the future. For certainly those political democracies, gentlemen, have been proved safest which have the longest and most unbroken traditions. You might say that just because we have a past we can be most confident that we have a future.

The dangers that threaten democracies are two: One is that the legal pattern should be too rigid; that the dynamics in society should shatter themselves against a Chinese wall which can be broken only by revolution. That argument is constantly advanced these days by the advocates of rapid and drastic change. That argument is implicit in the President's speech at the Democratic Party rally. It is the threat of revolution. I am not impressed by that argument. I am not impressed by it, because in the past 17 years I have attended the funerals of many democracies and I have not seen one in which the cause of death could be so diagnosed. This danger confronts absolutist systems, where popular opinion is not allowed to function, where there is no representative government, where insurrection is the only outlet. Mr. Hitler faced such a danger in the summer of 1934; in Moscow, recently, we have had trials indicating that Mr. Stalin has been facing such a danger; or the danger can arise in a sudden and acute crisis such as occurred here, in 1932, when thousands of people were threatened by actual starvation, by bankruptcy, and by the complete break-down of economic life. Such emergencies from time to time hit all republics, and often, during them the constitution is tacitly suspended, by almost universal consent. Such an emergency occurred in France in 1926–27 when the franc fell catastrophically. For 2 years, Poincare was virtually a dictator. It happened here and elsewhere during the war. But wise democracies do not attempt during such emergencies to fundamentally alter the continuing structure of the State or set precedents for new procedures, and they return as rapidly as possible to the traditional pattern of procedure.

I think the second danger to democracies is far greater: It is that reforms, often very good and much needed reforms, should be rushed through at a rate in which they cannot be digested in society. It is the danger that eager and unchecked majorities should set up new instruments of power, before they are equipped properly to administer such instruments. It is that the will of powerful pressure groups, even when such groups embrace a majority of voters, should find expression in total disregard of the feelings, apprehensions, and interests of large and important minorities. All of those things, for instance, would hold true if you analyzed the pathology of the Austrian Republic. There is the danger that radical changes, affecting the social structure, should take place without the guidance or the check of any clear unequivocal principles. I think the greater the demand for popular franchises and rights, the greater is the need for constitutional control. Otherwise, this struggle for democratic rights—or, if you want to call it that, for new economic freedoms—can very rapidly degenerate into a chaotic redistribution of privileges. That again is what happened in Austria. There are always hundred percenters for democracy, those who want pure democracy. They want to do away with every impediment and march at high speed toward what they call a real or modern democracy, or the democracy in harmony with the times. But precisely in such revolutionary times—and we live in one—it is most necessary to have a point of reference, a warrant, an instrument which confidently assures the legitimacy of what is being done. For without such a point of reference, there ceases to be a spontaneous social cohesion and what you then get as sure as fate is social cohesion by coercion.

I am sorry, gentlemen, to take your time by what may seem to be a lot of political philosophizing. But this question is essentially a political, and not a juridical, one, and I do not know how to discuss it except on the basis of a philosophy of politics. I know that the President's proposal is legally constitutional. But I am convinced that it is not politically constitutional.

It strikes the Supreme Court and the Constitution in the most radical and drastic fashion imaginable. Because it proposes to switch the Supreme Bench into line with the current political majority. That was frankly admitted by the President in his metaphor about the three-horse team. It proposes to create a Court whose eyes are fixed, not upon the Constitution, and upon the whole body of existing law, but upon the White House and the ruling majority in Congress. It proposes to make the Supreme Court the instrument of that majority. The proposal suggests that its framers were in a confusion about the functions of society, the State, and the Government.

The Supreme Court is essentially an instrument of the State, not of government, which is a temporary majority running the State machinery. That is to say, it is a part of the entire legal apparatus. It is not there to guarantee that the will of the majority shall be expressed but to see that the will of the majority does not infringe the basic guaranteed rights of any individual citizen who wants to appeal against that will to a higher institution of reference. In fact, the very existence of the Supreme Court is an affirmation not only that every individual citizen has equality before the law, but that any individual citizen may, at some point, assert his equality with the whole political set-up. The conception that the individual may appeal to a court of reference which is above the majority; that he can stand there, all alone, and demand a right which perhaps 99 percent of the people do not want or cherish, is the most grandiose concept of political freedom. It was recognized as such by foreign critics and students of our system of government, such as Lord Brougham, Bryce, and Gladstone. Incidentally, 40 years ago Bryce pointed out that the power of the President to expand the Supreme Court was the weakest point in the whole sys-

tem. And it has reality only if the Court is independent of the Government, and that independence has been arranged for by a way of appointment and removal which gives every mathematical chance of success. If it becomes the instrument of the majority today, what possible guaranty have you that it will not become the instrument of another majority tomorrow? If, in our desire—a desire which I share with many members of this administration—to see a greater national consolidation, to extend the economic control of government over chaotic economic forces—an objective with which in the large sense I am in sympathy—if in order to do that, we pack the Court, what possible guaranty have we that tomorrow a government which believes that a national emergency demands the curbing of free speech, the dissolution of certain political parties, the control over the radio will not pack it again?

We have had times in our history when honest men tried to suppress all civil liberties—we have been told a lot about Supreme Court decisions that have balked social legislation and we are asked to turn back history and remember the Dred Scott case, which, they say, brought on the Civil War. But some of you gentlemen in this committee are from the South, and I wonder if you are lawyers. Do you remember the role that the Supreme Court played in the reconstruction era, in the days of the carpetbaggers, when men like Thaddeus Stevens—who were the radicals of their day—convinced that they were trying to fasten a hideous tyranny forever on the South? In those days the Supreme Court alone stood between the people of the South and a black terror organized by white northerners. In those days the South was in the minority; in those days the North, in its own mind, represented all the forces of national union and solidarity, progressiveness, and enlightenment. And like lots of enlightened, progressive, world-savers in history they were ready to resort to any means whatever to make the forces of what they called justice prevail.

I do not know whether you remember that great lawyer, Benjamin Hill, of Georgia, who said: "The written Constitution is my client, and its preservation the only fee I ask." Who encouraged the desperate people of the South to stick to the Constitution and seek aid and redress through the law and through the law alone? Fighting the military bill, which was to suspend all civil liberties and freedom of the press in the South, and fasten a permanent occupation on it, Hill said:

"The South can fight with the Constitution in her hand. Better to brook the cost of delay for 10 years"—he means by appealing our way through the courts—"than to accept anarchy and slavery for a century."

I do not know whether you remember the Supreme Court decision in the *Milligan case*, denying the right to Congress to suspend trial by jury. "Then," says Claude Bowers, who is an Ambassador of this administration in Spain, "the ringing opinion of Justice David Davis, startling as a firebell in the night, was among the landmarks of human liberty." But against that Supreme Court decision in that day, all the radicals clamored. They turned all their batteries on the Supreme Court, and Harper's Weekly proposed that it be swamped "by a thorough reorganization to increase the number of judges." Thaddeus Stevens, leading the radicals in the North, said of the decision refusing to allow a suspension of trial by jury:

"That decision though in terms not so infamous as the Dred Scott decision is more dangerous in its operation upon the lives and liberties of loyal men. * * * That decision unsheathes the dagger of the assassin. Now, surely everyone can clearly see the need for drastic action."

And the drastic action he proposed was a bill dividing the South into military districts under commanders armed with arbitrary power. Stevens did everything he could to water and diminish the power of the Supreme Court. But I wonder if anyone thinks we would have been better off today if he had been successful.

I have spoken occasionally of the dangers of dictatorship and been roundly trounced for it by my friends who call themselves liberals. I no longer know what a liberal or a conservative is. They say that I go around seeing bogeys. Perhaps I go around seeing bogeys because I have seen, in the last 15 years, so many bogeys suddenly take on flesh. In Germany in 1928 you could hardly find a civilized man who thought that the Republic was in serious danger. I remember in 1928 there was an election, and the German Social-Democrats, who were somewhat "new dealers" in Germany, came into power by a big majority, and Herman Muller became Chancelor. I remember sitting in his office and talking with him about what I thought was the feeling in the country, a feeling of hostility and of disappointment and of rage, because they thought things were going too far, and he laughed at me. "Why," he said, "the Republic was never safer in the world than it is at this moment." Well, it was as dead as a doornail 5 years later. I have never suggested that President Roosevelt is trying to establish a dictatorship. I would not be so foolish. But I have said that if any President wanted to establish a dictatorship, and do so with all the appearance of legality, this is the way he would take. The modern coup d'état, by which so many democratic systems have fallen, does not destroy the legal apparatus of the state. The modern revolution is not made by violence. It keeps it, for the coup d'état wishes to appear legal. It only alters its spirit and its aim. Mr. Hitler took an oath to the constitution of Weimer, and he has never offered another constitution. He has just obliterated it by a series of decrees backed by a supine parliament. He has just changed the rules under which it meets and made race and sedition laws which have caused the expulsion and arrest of part of its membership. You say this couldn't happen here, but it has happened here.

It happened in New York State during the war, when the Socialists were expelled from the State assembly. The courts are all there, in Germany, but they are packed. And Hitler calls his system democracy—you can be put in jail in Germany for saying Hitler is a dictator—and from time to time subjects its ruling to a general plebiscite and gets a mandate from the people. But we call it dictatorship. There is a systole and diastole, an ebb and a flow in the life of democracies. Radical or liberal regimes, particularly if they move very fast and introduce a great deal of legislation which is not based always on any very clear principles but is chiefly designed to meet emergencies of the moment and the demands of powerful groups, and which lead to considerable redistributions of wealth and power, sometimes with chaotic accompaniments—such regimes are almost invariably succeeded by conservative regimes, and the vigor and tempo of the retreat are usually in direct ratio to the vigor and tempo of the advance.

Today we have soil-conservation laws designed to keep land from eroding. Tomorrow another Congress in which you gentlemen may not sit may, in the face of some other emergency, pass a law to conserve natural resources by forbidding the waste of paper pulp and limiting all newspapers to four pages. And then, on top of that, that Congress might conceive that the public enlightenment and general welfare demand that certain edicts of Government shall be published in full in such newspapers—and their publication might consume four pages. And a Supreme Court packed to give all legislation the benefit of every reasonable doubt, packed by the ruling Government, might uphold such a law. That seems utterly fantastic, but I have seen laws just as fantastic as that passed in highly enlightened countries. And all in the name of the general welfare. If I, who believe in most of the President's objectives, protest against these proposals of Mr. Roosevelt and the Attorney General now, it is because I should like to be in a position to protest 4 years from now, or 10 years from now, when somebody else wants to do the same thing for other objectives, and I should like to be able to protest with some sort of moral consistency.

Professor Corwin, who testified here the other day, said, I believe, that the courts are not packed in advance of dictatorships—I think he said in advance of fascism—but are packed afterward by the Fascists. Gentlemen, neither the Italian nor the German dictatorships started as pure dictatorships. Mussolini went in as Premier of a parliamentary government, and it took him 4 solid years to change that government into an authoritarian state. Hitler went in as Premier, in a cabinet where he had no majority—I think he only had 3 seats out of 11—and it was nearly 2 years before he really finished with free institutions. But, anyhow, if you want the explanation of Mr. Hitler, you must look for it in the history of the German Republic, and in the mistakes and failures of the German Republic; and if you want the explanation of Mr. Mussolini, you must look for it in the history of Italy between 1919 and 1921.

I would like to ask a question: Did the German Republic fall because it failed to meet human needs, because it was slow in extending the responsibility of government for the public welfare?

It did not. The German Republic came into being in a moment of national disaster. It was not the result of a revolution. Nobody shed his blood for it. You might say it was a "new deal" in German politics. The Weimar Republic had all the things, did all the things, that the New Deal wishes to accomplish. It had universal sickness and old-age insurance; unemployment insurances and federal relief; vastly extended public parks; playgrounds and sports arenas, subsidized housing for the poor, general trade-unionism guaranteed in law, with wage and hour agreements worked out by collective bargaining, and having the force of law. It raised the standard of health in Germany and more evenly distributed the economic gains. It finally came to control something like 40 percent of the national income. It had machinery for controlling both prices and wages, and it used that machinery; but found, as other democratic governments have done, that that machinery was no guaranty of prosperity. The failure of the German Republic was not a failure to respond to the demands of the masses, but it failed to create loyalty to its own basic principles. Perhaps if there had been a real revolution, for which men had died, the Republic might have survived. But the Republic made no such demands on its citizens. And the masses never regarded this Republic as holding the charter of their liberties, as being something in itself for which they were willing to make sacrifices. They regarded it as the instrument for their well-being; and it perished not because it failed to meet human needs but rather because it guaranteed to meet them, and there came a time when it could not possibly meet them on the scale to which the people had become acccustomed.

The German people were never prepared, psychologically or otherwise, to fight for the constitution and political freedom. They were prepared to fight for minimum wages and maximum hours and social insurance; and finally parliamentary government was first suspended, not under Hitler but under Bruning, a democratic Chancelor. He invoked an emergency decree, giving President Hindenburg power to govern by edict, because Germany was facing an inflation that required Government retrenchment; and Bruning couldn't get a parliamentary majority for retrenchment, because it would mean cutting in too many things that the people needed to have. Hitler came in and used the precedent that Bruning had established. Germany has been governed by decree from that day to this. The masses under the German Republic, in other words, cared more for what they could get out of it than they did for the Republic itself or for the principle of republican government; and

when hard times came and neither the republican government nor any other could go on meeting those demands, it found no one was loyal to it. And then it found something else—it found that the German Republic had cut itself off from many old and deep traditions and codes of social behavior, which in an emergency came again to the surface and proved to have much more vitality and moral strength than the leaders had dreamed. And eventually the German people followed a leader who promised them neither shorter hours nor higher wages, but who demanded sacrifice, and in return promised only one thing: Order and the establishment of a unifying principle—the principle of a unified Germany.

Now, if you are interested, you might go to the explanation of Mussolini. It is to be found in the governments which preceded him. Really, fascism was brought about by a deadlock between capital and labor, whereby no one of the two could win. And that deadlock had been brought about by political policies. Labor was becoming more and more irresponsible, because the labor leaders at the top had an eye on political power, and the leaders of the rank and file were without adequate experience or the discipline of long trade-union training. The employers were frightened to death, both of the strikers and of the Government, which they considered hostile, and they were afraid to invoke old-fashioned methods of suppressing the strikes. At the same time, the government of Giolitti was trying to be clever and extend political power over powerful economic interests by using the militant workers as pressure from the country. The Giolitti government was not willing to break the deadlock, and so this went on until somebody who had been patronizing and advocating the most radical methods of the workers offered his services to the employers and broke it. That man was Mussolini. But Mussolini could not have gone as far as he eventually did if he had not won the collaboration of the last and highest point of reference in the state, or in Italy, the Crown. In other words, Mussolini had to have support in the masses plus the constitutional power in order to effect a legal coup d'état.

Now, I know that many people will say that these are very poor analogies, and they are right. The United States is not Germany and not Italy. This country has a long tradition of free government. And those critics are correct. One must not push analogies too far. Analogies as well as metaphors are always dangerous. But neither can one divorce events in this country from ideas and tendencies which are manifest throughout the world. The problems which we face are not unique. Everywhere constitutional democracies have had to face the question of how to make new integrations between economic and political power. We want power. That is the whole problem, the basic problem, of the New Deal. Everywhere constitutional democracies have had to meet increased demands from the masses for a greater share of the national wealth and for more security. Everywhere there is a demand for more efficient instruments of political power. And accompanying these demands is a growing tendency toward personal leadership and personal government, and for a very simple reason: Personal leadership and personal government are the quickest and easiest way to get the things that people want. It is always easier to change the men than to change the law.

People grow restive under the checks imposed by a regime of law. And yet all history proves that what Aristotle said is correct—that regimes tend to turn into their opposites if the political principle which they represent is allowed to develop to the bitter end. If democracy becomes so pure and so immediate that the popular will is subjected to no standards, it rapidly moves into tyranny.

The whole world today has a new vision of freedom; economic freedom. That actually means a redistribution of wealth which will diminish the privileges of the few for the sake of the under-privileged many. From both a moral and an economic viewpoint that demand is justified and made inevitable by our era of mass production. But that economic freedom—I do not think this can be said too often—will prove a complete mirage unless it is accomplished with the maintenance of political freedom. Political freedom is the condition of all freedom, as the people of Russia have learned, as the people of Italy have learned, and as the people of Germany have learned. They gave up political freedom to get something else which they thought at the moment was very much more important, and then they found out that there is not anything more important. And the first condition of political freedom is that we should stick to a regime of law and not move off the path toward a regime of men.

It is precisely because we live in a revolutionary age that it is most necessary for us to guard with the greatest caution the traditional procedures of government. I believe there is a constitutional crisis in this country. I said so in print last June. I feel very strongly that the way to meet it is to meet it in law and not in personnel. I do not like the constant reiteration that something—anything—must be done now, at this moment, in this instant, otherwise the whole country to going to bust. What social forces are threatening to overthrow everything if they are not immediately conciliated? Who is encouraging them? I do not like the talk about an outworn Constitution or the pillorying of judges as "defeatist" lawyers—judges, incidentally, who are hampered by their very office from defending themselves. Precisely because we live in a revolutionary period, it is no time to break down public confidence in the basic institutions. And I am very sure that this proposal of the President would break down confidence. On the contrary, this is the moment to make clear to the people of the United States that social advances can only be won in conformity with established procedures, which require political effort on the part of the people themselves.

There is one other point I would like to make, and that is that I am apprehensive of the effect which packing the Supreme Court will have upon the State courts. After all, the Supreme Court is not only there to pass on acts of Congress, it is the pinnacle of the whole legal apparatus. You gentlemen know that State courts have been packed with politicians, and that in such States when a lawyer felt that a client was on the wrong side politically he has tried to transfer his case from a State to a Federal court, knowing that there might be one place where men stood above the conflict. That was a common condition in the State of Louisiana during Huey Long's regime. When the supreme court invalidated some of his laws he put in men who would support them. We were all very much outraged by that at the time. I want to ask whether there is any difference essentially from what is proposed here? What effect will this precedent in Washington have on the State courts? Is there anything to prevent a strong Governor from taking a tip from this procedure down here?

I will support heartily as a journalist a constitutional amendment designed to meet the new problems of these times in the constitutional way. I have been convinced for at least 2 years that constitutional amendment would eventually be unavoidable. We are moving toward national consolidation. I think that tendency is necessary and desirable. But it will certainly involve questions of sovereignty as between the National Government and the States, and I do not believe any set of judges will be able to solve these problems on the basis of the Constitution as it now stands, with several hundred volumes of interpretations behind it. After all, the N. R. A. was declared unconstitutional by all nine judges. So was the first Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Act. So was the case of *Hopkins Federal Savings & Loan* v. *Cleary*. So was the A. A. A. processing tax in the Rickert Rice Mills case.

I am, of course, looking at this problem not as an expert but as a citizen and as a publicist, and it seems to me that we ought to be educating the public to the real issues involved, very complicated issues on matters of sovereignty, and interpretations of property rights, instead of telling the public that they are the victims of six malicious old dictators. The only argument against this is that it will take time. I think that if an amendment were put forward, not as a party measure, not as a political measure, but with the backing of a commission of highly respected nonpartisan constitutional experts an amendment designed to meet specific needs, and if the President would put his enormous prestige behind it, it would go through very rapidly. But anyhow, what about spending a little time?

Democracies need to make radical changes with the greatest possible measure of collaboration from all classes in society if there is to be smoothness and continuity, and not abrupt and upsetting periods of chaos. Forty percent of the American voters have almost no political representation today in Congress. Those people ought to be considered a little.

I have always had considerable admiration for British Government, and one thing that has always impressed me has been the willingness of the British people to take time for decisions. Laws which we rush through overnight, and some of them very badly framed and ill-advised laws—and I know a lot of you gentlemen agree with me—would have been investigated for a couple of years beforehand by a British Royal Commission, and then passed only after a great deal of debate. I remember when the N. R. A. codes were being framed that a member of the Cabinet expressed astonishment and pique that a huge and important industry had not come in with a code after 2 weeks, and he asked the question, How can we get all industry under codes in 30 days' time? In England they have codes governing certain industries, which operate pretty well. But I asked Mr. Walter Elliott, the Minister for Agriculture, once, how long it took to get one of them into operation, and he said, "Oh, about 30 years."

We are constantly being told these days that if we cannot have the Supreme Court changed, we cannot even control floods. But I understand that four New England States have just made a joint program for controlling floods in the Connecticut River Valley without even thinking about the Supreme Court, or, for that matter, about the United States Congress. We have been told that we have to have Federal jurisdiction to control labor troubles, but Federal jurisdiction did not help much in the maritime strike, I noticed, in an industry which is unqualifiedly within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. One wonders why, if Federal jurisdiction did not solve that labor situation immediately, we should think that it would work perfectly in settling disputes in the automobile business. Inflation can be controlled through existing agencies and perfectly constitutional policies, but it will cost some sacrifices. But, after all, that is one of the problems of our days, how to get everything done without its costing anybody anything. We are told that unless the Government has power over the courts it cannot be done. All that does not mean that I think a constitutional amendment unnecessary. I think it will be proved to be, in the long run, no matter who is on the bench, provided they are honest men.

We live in a time when many of the functions traditionally resting in society are being taken over by the State, and many of the functions of the State are being taken over by the Government, and many functions of the Government are becoming centered in the Executive. That is unquestionably true. That has been the tendency.

And now you gentlemen are being asked to push that process suddenly a long step further and do it in a hurry. You are presented with a proposal—not asked to help formulate one—which was not in advance discussed even with the Cabinet, to say nothing of being discussed with the responsible committees of Congress. You are being asked to take to yourself somebody's baby—but you don't

Captaincy Not an Issue in Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1940

ARTICLE BY DAVID LAWRENCE

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following article by David Lawrence, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star of October 8, 1940:

[From the Washington Star of October 8, 1940]

CAPTAINCY NOT AN ISSUE IN CAMPAIGN

(By David Lawrence)

Thus far, most of the mudslinging in the campaign has come from the New Deal side, hence, those who would prefer to see the Republicans maintain a clean slate are hoping that political capital will not be made out of the incident in which Elliott Roosevelt was made a captain in the procurement division of the Army Air Corps.

In the first place, it is President Roosevelt who is the candidate for reelection, and not his son, and there isn't a single scintilla of evidence to show that Elliott Roosevelt ever consulted his father before he accepted the captaincy. Indeed, there is every reason to believe the President would have counselled against it if he had been consulted.

For many months Elliott Roosevelt has been making speeches on the air criticizing severely some aspects of his father's administration, and it has been apparent to observers here that the young man was quite independent in his views and never consulted the White House, though a constant reprinting of Elliott's remarks constituted no small amount of embarrassment to the President.

If Elliott had enlisted as a private, he had enough political pull to get himself promoted anyway, and it is an open secret that many young men who have had little training in the Army will become commissioned because they once enrolled in the Reserves. Had the President's son taken his turn in the enlistment rolls, he could have achieved the same end, but he evidently believed he had the capacity to serve as an officer and saw no objection to being commissioned because he had not actually been drafted, and there was no certainty that he would.

COULD ASK DEFERRED STATUS

It has also been argued that even if drafted Elliott Roosevelt could have asked for a deferred status, and judging by the informal reports as to how the rules are to be interpreted, it probably would have been easier for Elliott to have waited until after election and taken his chances on achieving a deferred status. All this merely lends weight to the view that he gave up his business and volunteered as an act of patriotism, for which he does not deserve the criticism that has been visited upon him. As a matter of fact, the draft in the past brought hundreds of requests for commissions in the Army and Navy for young men who volunteered ahead of time so as to get such an advanced status. Unquestionably political pull played its part in commissioning a small minority of boys in the last war and it probably will happen again.

In a sense, the Elliott Roosevelt incident may serve to focus attention on the injury to public morale which comes when insiders get preferment as between swivel-chair jobs and service in the field. Because of the public reaction to Elliott Roosevelt's experience, it is probable that many a Senator and Representative may hesitate now to ask the War Department for preference for the sons of prominent constituents. Likewise, it may be that the same prominent constituents will not embarrass the Senators and Representatives by asking that pressure be exerted in their behalf.

The Army, incidentally, has sent out word that draft boards can interpret the rules about married men rather liberally—and wherever there is justification for deferment it is unlikely that there will be insistence on the drafting of men necessary to their businesses or occupations, irrespective of whether these are related to defense industries.

ACT OF SELF-DENIAL

According to this latest interpretation, Elliott Roosevelt could easily have avoided service altogether for he is married and has occupied a position essential to his business enterprises. So his act in volunteering before the draft constitutes an example of self-denial which might well be commended instead of criticized. The important point, however, is that the President had no responsibility in the matter because he did not know of it in advance and once it was consummated he was in the awkward position of being accused of playing politics if he insisted that his son turn down the commission, and of upsetting an Army order and interfering in Army routine if he assumed that the officers had not evaluated correctly the ability of his own son to become an officer in the Army.

On the whole, the incident, while regrettable in many respects, has no place in party politics and the Republicans would be wise to confine their attacks to the many weaknesses in the President's public record without complicating it with the perennial difficulties of the modern parent in endeavoring to tell grown sons how to handle their careers.

President Roosevelt and the Philadelphia Union League

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS J. MYERS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 1, 1940

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, recently I said to the House that the Republicans were moving heaven and earth to elect a Republican Congress and were pouring money into every congressional district for that purpose.

In proof of the accuracy of my statement I submit a letter addressed by the president of the Union League of Philadelphia to its entire membership. The letter reads as follows:

THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA,
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT.

To the Members of the Union League:

I am writing this letter to you because I am possessed of a strong Quaker concern regarding the Union League and the present campaign. We wrote you requesting a contribution some time ago. Many of the responses were generous, some were pretty close, and some ignored the communication entirely.

The Union League is the largest and oldest Republican club in the United States. Our party has nominated Wendell L. Willkie for President. I believe that you want to see him elected, but most of you are doing mighty little about it.

He can't be put over by letting somebody else attend to it. The campaign committee needs money for radio service and the many other requisites of the campaign, and you personally should do something.

Have you seen to it that every member of your family and household is registered and can vote this fall? Have you done the same thing at your place of employment? And have you satisfied yourself that these people understand why they should vote for Willkie—the benefit to their country and themselves by so doing?

I hesitate to repeat what is very well known to all of you—that this is not an ordinary election at all. We know we need a change in Washington after nearly 8 years, and Willkie is our hope. We can only accomplish this change by individually interviewing electors and securing their support for him.

Another thing: It is useless to elect Willkie without providing him with a Republican Congress to support his policies. You remember Mr. Hoover's experience in the last 2 years of his term.

Our fellow member, Jay Cooke, is the candidate for United States Senator from Pennsylvania. He is a good, upstanding businessman. I have known him for many years, and for 5 of those years served on a bank board with him, meeting weekly. This gave me an unusual opportunity to realize his ability and his merits.

I know him to be capable, and he'll go down to Washington with both feet on the ground, and take care of our interests safely and promptly. But we have got to go out to help elect him, and it has to be done now.

We have some 12 Congressmen in this district to be elected this fall. They used to be all Republicans; it is up to us to see that they are all Republicans again this fall. Have you written or spoken to the candidate in your particular district? Have you offered him any assistance, financially or otherwise, in his campaign, or do you figure he enjoys running all alone?

This necessity for supporting Senators and Congressmen applies to both sides of the river. We have a good many members in New Jersey who become exclusive when I ask them for money, so I hope they are doing their duty by their Congressmen and Senator BARBOUR.

In conclusion, I wish to express to you my serious concern as to the indifference of our members to this campaign. I cannot imagine a greater catastrophe to our country than to have this administration continued in Washington, and I look forward to your hearty cooperation in putting some activity in this situation.

Sincerely yours,

E. LAWRENCE FELL, *President.*

Mr. Speaker, the Union League has long been the most reactionary body in Philadelphia. Its clubhouse is the most luxurious. Its membership comes from the third city's first families and finest homes.

Ultrarespectable gentlemen all, these Union Leaguers, who love their overstuffed arm chairs and delight in swapping "hate Roosevelt stories."

These men were the backbone of the now defunct Liberty League, but, unlike that hybrid political group, the Union League bars Democrats from its ranks. Even the "Democrats

for Willkie" are a trifle too pinkish for Mr. Fell and his fellow members.

It is purely and simply a hide-bound, high-hat political club where Mr. Roosevelt is the emissary of the devil.

To its well-fed membership Mr. Fell makes the tempting promise that his and their fellow member and senatorial candidate, Mr. Jay Cooke, the pleasant, ineffectual, and obedient front man for Boss Pew, will "take care of our interests safely and promptly."

Of course, the League doesn't bother its head about the people's interest, nor does it pretend to be concerned about their heart-breaking struggle to maintain home and family. In fact, the closest its members ever come to the common people is when they sink down in their high-backed, double-cushioned chairs behind the club's big front windows and languidly tilt an eyebrow at humanity passing by.

There is another highly significant paragraph in Mr. Fell's letter. He urges every Union Leaguer to assist his congressional candidate "financially or otherwise in this campaign." Once more the money bags will jingle at election time. Big money and big business are determined to bludgeon and blackjack their way back into power. Glaringly evident is their desperate effort to regain control of the Government which they lost to its rightful repository—the people—7 years ago.

Mr. Fell pulls no punches in his appeal to Philadelphia's economic overlords to see that everyone at the "place of employment" gets out and votes. No more thinly disguised claptrap can be imagined than this "place of employment" dodge. Union League members, as everybody in Philadelphia knows, are 98-percent employers, executives, managers—the ruling class. Mr. Fell's suggestion is nothing more nor less than a plain invitation for his swivel-chair associates to exert the right sort of pressure on their subordinates between now and November 5.

If left to them, the United States Congress is to be bought in the same manner that big business wrapped up and paid for the Republican National Convention in my native city of Philadelphia last June. And these are the gentlemen who seek to hide themselves behind the cloak of Americanism and howl themselves hoarse about dictatorship and class consciousness.

It will be a tragic day for America if this Nation is ever again returned to their power—a slap in the face of democracy; a death blow to the magnificent social advances made under the leadership of that greatest and most far-visioned American of his time—Franklin Roosevelt.

But I, for one, have confidence enough in the common sense and moral integrity of the men and women of Philadelphia to know that all the wealth of all the union leaguers will be of no avail in stemming the rising tide of popular demand that proven minds and experienced hands continue to guide the destinies of the Nation in these critical days.

Yes; Mr. Fell will have his answer on November 5—but not from his brethren of the Union League. Rather will it come from that vast army of thinking Americans who will march to the polls resolute in their conviction that a vote freely cast for President Roosevelt and the entire Democratic ticket is their best guaranty for the future happiness of themselves and their children.

Pan American Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered at Dayton, Ohio, on last Saturday night by the President of the United States on the anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT DELIVERED FROM THE PRESIDENT'S TRAIN AT DAYTON, OHIO, OCTOBER 12, 1940

My friends of the Americas, it is no mere coincidence that this radio broadcast to the entire Western Hemisphere—North America, Central America, and South America—should take place on the anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World. No day could be more appropriate than this day on which we celebrate the exploits of the bold discoverer.

Today, all of us Americans of North and Central and South America, join with our fellow citizens of Italian descent to do honor to the name of Columbus.

Many and numerous have been the groups of Italians who have come in welcome waves of immigration to this hemisphere. They have been an essential element in the civilization and make-up of all of the 21 republics. During these centuries Italian names have been high in the list of statesmen in the United States and in the other republics—and in addition, those who have helped to create the scientific, commercial, professional, and artistic life of the New World are well known to us.

The Americas have excelled in the adventure of many races living together in harmony. In the wake of the discoverers came the first settlers, the first refugees from Europe. They came to plow new fields, build new homes, establish a new society in a new world. Later, they fought for liberty. Men and women of courage, of enterprise, of vision, they knew what they were fighting for; they gained it—and thereby "gave hope to all the world for all future time."

They formed, here in the Western Hemisphere, a new human reservoir, and into it has poured the blood, the culture, the traditions of all the races and peoples of the earth. To the Americas they came—the "masses yearning to be free"—"the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues," cherishing common aspirations, not for economic betterment alone, but for the personal freedoms and liberties which had been denied to them in the Old World.

They came not to conquer one another but to live with one another. They proudly carried with them their inheritance of culture, but they cheerfully left behind the burden of prejudice and hatred.

In this New World were transplanted the great cultures of Spain and Portugal. In our own day the fact is that a great part of the Spanish and Portuguese culture of the entire world now comes from the Americas.

It is natural that all American citizens from the many nations of the Old World should kindly remember the lands where their ancestors lived, and the great attributes of the old civilization in those lands. But in every single one of the American republics the first and final allegiance and loyalty of these citizens, almost without exception, is to the republic in which they live and move and have their being.

For when our forefathers came to these shores they came with a determination to stay and to become citizens of the New World. As it established its independence, they wanted to become citizens of America—not an Anglo-Saxon America, nor an Italian, nor a German, nor a Spanish, nor a Portuguese—but just citizens of an independent nation of America.

Here we do not have any dual citizenship. Here the descendants of the very same races who had always been forced to fear or hate each other in lands across the ocean have learned to live in peace and in friendship.

No one group or race in the New World has any desire to subjugate the others. No one nation in this hemisphere has any desire to dominate the others. In the Western Hemisphere no nation is considered a second-class nation. And that is something worth remembering.

We know that attempts have been made—we know that they will continue to be made—to divide these groups within a nation and to divide these nations among themselves.

There are those in the Old World who persist in believing that here in this new hemisphere the Americas can be torn by the hatreds and fears which have drenched the battlegrounds of Europe for so many centuries. Americans as individuals, American republics as nations, remain on guard against those who seek to break up our unity by preaching ancient race hatreds, by working on old fears, or by holding out glittering promises which they know to be false.

"Divide and conquer" has been the battle cry of the totalitarian powers in their war against the democracies. It has succeeded on the continent of Europe for the moment. On our continents it will fail.

We are determined to use our energies and our resources to counteract and repel the foreign plots and propaganda—the whole technique of underground warfare originating in Europe and now clearly directed against all the Republics on this side of the ocean.

That propaganda repeats and repeats that democracy is a decadent form of government. They tell us that our old democratic ideal, our old traditions of civil liberties, are things of the past.

We reject this thought. We say that we are the future. We say that the direction in which they would lead us is backward, not forward—backward to the bondage of the Pharaohs, backward to the slavery of the Middle Ages.

The command of the democratic faith has been ever onward and upward. Never have free men been satisfied with the mere maintenance of any status quo, however comfortable or secure it may have seemed at the moment.

We have always held to the hope, the belief, the conviction that there is a better life, a better world, beyond the horizon.

That fire of freedom was in the eyes of Washington, and Bolivar, and San Martin, and Artigas, and Juarez, and Bernardo O'Higgins, and all the brave, rugged, ragged men who followed them in the wars of independence.

That fire burns now in the eyes of those who are fighting for freedom in lands across the sea.

On this side of the ocean there is no desire, there will be no effort, on the part of any one race, or people, or nation, to control any other. The only encirclement sought is the encircling bond of good old-fashioned neighborly friendship. So bound together, we are able to withstand any attack from the east or from the west. Together we are able to ward off any infiltration of alien political and economic ideas which would destroy our freedom and democracy.

When we speak of defending this Western Hemisphere, we are speaking not only of the territory of North, Central, and South America and the immediately adjacent islands. We include the right to the peaceful use of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. That has been our traditional policy.

It is a fact, for example, that as far back as 1798 the United States found that its peaceful trade and commerce with other parts of the Americas were threatened by armed privateers sent to the West Indies by nations then at war in Europe. Because of this threat to peace in this hemisphere, the United States ships *Constellation, Constitution, United States*, and many others were fitted out; and they drove the armed vessels of Europe out of the waters to the south of us, and made commerce between the Americas once more peaceable and possible.

We of the Americas still consider that this defense of these oceans of the Western Hemisphere against acts of aggression is the first factor in the defense and protection of our own territorial integrity. We reaffirm that policy lest there be any doubt of our intention to maintain it.

There are some in every single one of the 21 American republics who suggest that the course the Americas are following is slowly drawing one or all of us into war with some nation, or nations, beyond the seas.

The clear facts have been stated over and over again. This country wants no war with any nation. This hemisphere wants no war with any nation. The American republics are determined to work in unity for peace just as we work in unity to defend ourselves from attack.

For many long years every ounce of energy I have had has been devoted to keeping this Nation and the other republics at peace with the rest of the world. That is what continues uppermost in my mind today—the objective for which I hope and work and pray.

We arm to defend ourselves. The strongest reason for that is that it is the strongest guaranty for peace.

The United States of America is mustering its men and resources, arming not only to defend itself, but, in cooperation with the other American republics, to help defend the whole hemisphere.

We are building a total defense on land and sea and in the air, sufficient to repel total attack from any part of the world. Forewarned by the deliberate attacks of the dictators upon free peoples, the United States, for the first time in its history, has undertaken the mustering of its men in peacetime. Unprecedented dangers have caused the United States to undertake the building of a navy and an air force sufficient to defend all the coasts of the Americas from any combination of hostile powers.

We have asked for, and we have received, the fullest cooperation and assistance of industry and labor. All of us are speeding the preparation of adequate defense.

And we are keeping the nations of this hemisphere fully advised of our defense preparations. We have welcomed the military missions from neighboring republics; and in turn our own military experts have been welcomed by them. We intend to encourage this frank interchange of information and plans.

We shall be all for one and one for all.

This idea of a defense strong enough and wide enough to cover this half of the world had its beginnings when the Government of the United States announced its policy with respect to South America. It was the policy of the good neighbor, the neighbor who knew how to mind his own business, but was always willing to lend a friendly hand to a friendly nation which sought it, the neighbor who was willing to discuss in all friendship the problems which will always arise between neighbors.

From the day on which that policy was announced the American republics have consulted with each other; they have peacefully settled their old problems and disputes; they have grown closer and closer to each other, until, at last in 1938 at Lima, their unity and friendship were sealed.

There was then adopted a declaration that the New World proposed to maintain collectively the freedom upon which its strength had been built. It was the culmination of the good-neighbor policy, the proof of what was said by that famous Argentinian of Italian birth, Alberdi, "The Americas are a great political system; the parts draw life from the whole, and the whole draws life from its parts."

Through the acquisition of eight naval bases in territories of the British Empire lying within the sphere of the New World from Newfoundland to Guiana we have increased the immediate effectiveness of the great Navy which we now have and of the greater Navy we have under construction. These bases were acquired by the United States, but not for the protection of the United States alone. They were acquired for the protection of the whole Western Hemisphere. The unity of the American Republics was proven to the world when these naval bases were promptly opened by the United States to the other republics for cooperative use. In that act was typified the good-neighbor conception of hemispheric defense through cooperation by and for all of us.

American radio stations will play their part in the new unity which has been built so solidly between the American nations during the past 8 years. They must be effective instruments for the honest exchange and communication of ideas. They must never be used as stations in other lands are used, to send out on the same day one false story to one country and a different false story to another.

The core of our defense is the faith we have in the institutions we defend. The Americas will not be scared or threatened into the ways the dictators want us to follow.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will halt us in the path we see ahead for ourselves and for democracy.

No combination of dictator countries of Europe and Asia will stop the help we are giving to almost the last free people fighting to hold them at bay.

Our course is clear. Our decision is made. We will continue to pile up our defense and our armaments. We will continue to help those who resist aggression and who now hold the aggressors far from our shores. Let no American in any part of the Americas question the possibility of danger from overseas. Why should we accept assurances that we are immune? History records that not long ago those same assurances were given to the people of Holland and Belgium.

It can no longer be disputed that forces of evil which are bent on conquest of the world will destroy whomever and whenever they can destroy. We have learned the lessons of recent years. We know now that if we seek to appease them by withholding aid from those who stand in their way we only hasten the day of their attack upon us.

The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas, reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is—a major weapon of the aggressor nations.

I speak bluntly. I speak the love the American people have for freedom and liberty and decency and humanity.

That is why we arm. Because, I repeat, this Nation wants to keep war away from these two continents. Because we, all of us, are determined to do everything possible to maintain peace on this hemisphere. Because great strength of arms is the practical way of fulfilling our hopes for peace and for staying out of this war or any other war. Because we are determined to muster all our strength so that we may remain free.

The men and women of Britain have shown how free people defend what they know to be right. Their heroic defense will be recorded for all time. It will be perpetual proof that democracy, when put to the test, can show the stuff of which it is made.

I well recall during my recent visit to the three great capital cities in South America, the vast throngs which came to express by their cheers their friendship for the United States. I especially remember that above all the cheers I heard one constant cry again and again; one shout above all others: "Viva la democracia"—"Long live democracy."

Those three stirring words cry out the abiding conviction of people in all the democracies that freedom shall rule in the land.

As I salute the peoples of all the nations in the western world I echo that greeting from our good neighbors of the Americas: "Viva la democracia"—"Long live democracy."

Defend America First Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR CAPPER

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. ARTHUR CAPPER, OF KANSAS

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address delivered by me on October 10, 1940, as a part of the defend America first program.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am strong for national defense, both military and economic, defense against attack from enemies without, defense against collapse from structural weaknesses within. I want to give my support to the President in this emergency just as much as I possibly can but not to the extent of going into Old World politics and European wars.

The United States, in the world as it is today, must have a well-equipped and well-trained army, a powerful navy, a large air force,

which incidentally, I think should be an air army of itself, not merely auxiliary to the land and naval forces.

But I want this adequate national defense as an insurance against war—not an assurance to some European power that we are going to intervene in Europe's war. I am more strongly convinced than ever before that we must stay out of foreign wars, so far as actual participation with our armed forces is concerned. I notice that according to the latest Gallup poll 85 percent of the American people take the same view.

It has been decided that the United States shall prepare adequately to defend not merely the United States and its possessions, but the entire Western Hemisphere, including Canada.

Being a realist, I appreciate that this commitment (1) to defend South America, (2) to defend Canada, point to the possibility that we may come into conflict with one or more European nations. And I would prepare for that as an eventuality—but I am strongly opposed to seeking that eventuality by intervening in European wars.

Our national-defense program has my hearty support. When we have completed our preparedness, if we do that wisely and well and completely—and I believe we will—Mr. Hitler or any other European dictator will hesitate a long time before attempting to attack the United States.

But there is another question involved to which the final answer has not been given—at least, I hope no secret commitments have been given on this point.

That question is—

Does our own national defense include the defense of Britain, with the logical sequence that it also includes retaking continental Europe from Germany?

My own answer to that is "no." I want to state right now that I do not believe it is advisable. I do not believe it is even possible for the United States to straighten out and then keep straight the boundary lines of Europe.

I realize there are those in this America of ours who feel otherwise about it. There are some, and there are those in high places, who are convinced we have a "rendezvous with destiny," to quote from a Presidential message to Congress. They think we should break in over there and fix things for the quarreling nations of Europe. With that school of thought, I cannot agree. Down that road lie militarism, imperialism, the end of democracy in the United States, the blighting of the last hope of democracy anywhere in the world.

This urge to help run Europe, and the world, is not new in our national life. Washington had to fight it during the days of the French Revolution; thousands of enthusiasts, some of them starry-eyed, some not so starry in their gazing, thought we ought to go to the aid of France.

Succeeding Presidents had to meet it, when the Anglophiles in the United States insisted we had a duty, in self-defense, to help England crush Napoleon.

Our forefathers were made of sterner and, I think, wiser stuff than some of their descendants. They stood out against the demand that we help stop Napoleon.

A hundred years passed, and again came the cry from our industrial, financial, and intellectual leaders that we intervene in Europe. That time it was to stop Wilhelm and his Huns. We yielded to that cry and sent an American Expeditionary Force to Europe, won the World War, and the resultant peace terms made the present war inevitable.

We all know now that our intervention in 1917 did not save democracy in Europe; it did not end all wars. It came close to ending democracy in Europe; it helped breed this present horrible war.

This time only two decades, not a century, elapsed until we again are urged to intervene in Europe—this time to save democracy and also civilization.

I do not know whether we are going to show the wisdom of early American leadership and keep ourselves out of this greatest of all wars or whether we are to emulate the example of 1917 and enter upon a career of militarism and imperialism.

I know how I feel about it. I say the lessons of history, the instinct of self-preservation, the knowledge that such an expedition into Europe would almost certainly end our American democracy and give us a dictatorial form of government which we could not get rid of between the succession of European wars in which we inevitably would be involved. All these tell me that we ought not to intervene in this or any other European war.

Defend the United States; yes.

Defend Canada, if that point comes; yes.

Defend the Western Hemisphere against aggression from any other part of the world; yes.

But intervene in Europe; no.

It would be a tragic mistake, indeed, to go to war to defend the British Isles. I say this despite my great admiration for the English people and their valorous fighting spirit, despite my great sympathy for them in their terrible plight. I say it in the face of the fact that I, in common with every normal American, detest and hate Hitler and his works.

I say to you that our entry into the European conflict would take us sooner or later into a total European war on all fronts. We did that two decades or so ago, with Russia and France as well as England for Allies. Where would we wind up this time? I don't know. Do you? I don't believe anyone knows.

My friends, the way to save democracy, to preserve a Christian civilization, is to save it right here at home. Charity is not the only thing that begins at home. Nearly everything worth while in human history begins right at home.

Anyone not blinded by the hysteria of fear or the even more fatal hysteria of world-power politics knows that the first casualty in a major war would be our own democracy. Modern war, which is total war, cannot be fought successfully under democratic controls.

Just take a look at where we are today, only preparing for war. We have surrendered or have had taken away from us much of our democratic form of government. We see the Executive evading the law, adopting various subterfuges to get things done without consulting Congress. We have conscription of manpower for the Army; Congress has empowered the President to take over industrial plants. We have committed ourselves to a $36,000,000,000 armament program; we are embarking upon a "spend-lend" that covers the Western Hemisphere and will spread to Europe in all probability. All this before going to war—and, in spite of Washington fatalism, I am not ready to admit that the United States actually is waging war at the present time.

My friends, I do not see how we in the United States can hope to remedy the evils that have been accumulating in Europe over 2,000 years of power politics and political blunders, pyramided generation after generation. It is pathetic to see France under the heel of Hitler. It is tragic, Britain fighting so bravely and doggedly against odds. But we in the United States cannot solve the accumulated ills of Europe, no matter how gloriously we might try.

We can, and should, learn some lessons from this European war. Not armies, nor Maginot lines, nor wealth, nor even modern arms and equipment alone can make a nation impregnable. An expanding, dynamic Germany, with all energies bent in one direction, has smashed nations stronger in wealth, resources, manpower—but whose manpower, wealth, and resources were not engaged in producing real wealth, but trying to divide what had been produced in the past. In that there is, I think, a lesson for the United States, if we will but take heed. We must have national unity in a program to build, to create, to go ahead and make our own way—not depend upon Government to divide among us the things already made.

My friends, there is no use trying to dodge an unpleasant fact. We have got to rebuild America—but it will have to be done within America itself, as I see it. Our Nation crashed, economically, partly because we went outside our sphere in the first World War. We have been going through 7 years of hospitalization following the crash. That hospitalization period has had a bad effect on the American attitude, state of mind, if you want to call it that. Too many leaners have been developed; too many who want to "let George do it"; too many who are coming to believe the Government owes them a living.

I say America must rebuild herself, spiritually, morally, as well as materially. We can do it. There are signs of awakening all over the land.

But we cannot rebuild the American spirit, the American independence of thought and action, the American way of doing instead of just being, by engaging in a European war.

I can endorse a program along these lines, I might say, as a starter, for the reviving of America:

First. Stay out of foreign overseas wars, including a war to defend the British Isles. I cannot speak for the Senate, but I am one Senator who will not vote to send American boys across the seas to fight and die in foreign wars.

Second. Build up an adequate national defense—an adequate hemisphere defense—and make the necessary sacrifices to pay for that defense. We must substitute "I'll do my part" for "Let George do it" if America is to be strong; if America, as we have known America, is to survive.

Third. Build up an industrial and agricultural economy, in balance, that will put all of us to work making or serving—not taking—without sacrificing education, humanitarian progress, or the finer things of life.

Fourth, Utilize our idle manpower, our idle capital, our still unused natural resources to build national defense, to utilize our resources, to restore, rehabilitate, conserve our human resources, and preserve democracy.

That would be a program worth while. I believe it can be done. But I tell you we cannot do it by engaging in other people's foreign wars; nor can we do it without getting our thinking out of the reverse spiral in which it has been working for several years past.

To effectuate that program probably will take a crusade. I dedicate myself to that crusade—and so, I believe, will all good Americans.

The Late Governor Horner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

TRIBUTE BY HON. JAMES M. SLATTERY, OF ILLINOIS

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by the junior Senator

from Illinois [Mr. SLATTERY] over radio station WENR, Chicago, on Monday, October 7, paying tribute to the memory of the late Governor Horner, of Illinois.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In this hour of sadness for the people of Illinois, there is no place for political discussion.

The arrangements for this address were made by the sponsoring committee several weeks ago; but I speak to you tonight, not as a candidate for public office, but as a friend who would pay tribute to the finest man he has ever known.

And so very humbly I shall try to speak what is in my heart, and what I believe is in the hearts of all the people of this State, as we contemplate the passing of the leader, the servant, and the friend of Illinois, Gov. Henry Horner.

I know that partisanship sets no limit on the mourning for this great man, and that Republicans and Democrats alike regret that we shall no longer enjoy his wise counsel and his vigorous leadership.

But those of us who have known him since the days of our youth have a deep sense of bereavement which men seldom feel except when death strikes into their very homes. Yet in our sorrow we are humbly grateful for the high privilege of having known him, and for the opportunity to learn, in some small part, the lesson of a life scrupulously devoted to the pursuit of an ideal.

It was my good fortune to meet Henry Horner when we were both young lawyers in Chicago, even before he was elected judge of the Probate Court of Cook County in 1914. Four times he was reelected to that office by ever-increasing majorities, until it became clear that he might have held the place for life had he not been called to a greater service to the State.

And if Henry Horner had left behind him only his record and reputation as judge of that court, he would have written for himself an epitaph of which any man might well be proud. In his years in that office, he protected the rights and the property of widows and orphans and translated into action the wills of deceased testators with an integrity of purpose and a faithfulness of detail that made the name Horner synonymous with honor in Cook County.

Circumstances called Henry Horner to Springfield in one of the darkest hours in the history of our State. Banks were closed, factories were idle, farms were being foreclosed on every hand, merchants were facing bankruptcy, hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children were hungry and without shelter. Henry Horner held it to be the first duty of the State to see that its citizenry had food and shelter. And attacking a problem of relief so serious that it appalled men of lesser courage, Governor Horner threw his tremendous energies into the task, rallied the morale of the people and led Illinois out of the depression.

He saw to it that the hungry were fed, the shivering were clothed, and that distressed citizens retained the roofs over their heads. He kept the schools open. He rescued the State from the threat of disorder and rekindled hope in the breasts of seven and a half million people.

I could devote an hour to a recital of the material accomplishments our State has made under Governor Horner—the abolition of the property tax, the balancing of the budget, and the reduction of the debt, the extension of the school funds, the building of our great system of secondary roads, the modernization and the humanization of our charitable institutions, the reduction of public-utility rates—and still it would not be the story of Henry Horner and Illinois.

Above his material achievements was his contribution to the spiritual growth of the people he loved. He was a deep student of Abraham Lincoln. In his private life it was his enduring passion to know all that he could about the greatest son of Illinois. To that end he assembled probably the most complete collection of books about Lincoln ever to be held in private hands. In these pages he spent long nights studying the lessons of Lincoln's philosophy, absorbing the lessons of Lincoln's idealism. And nothing could have been more characteristic of Henry Horner than to give, as he did some months ago, this great Lincoln Library to the State, making but one stipulation—that it be made equally available to the most profound scholar and the humblest school child.

In public life, it was his consuming passion to make the philosophy and idealism of Lincoln live again in the daily routine of government; and this, too, he has passed on to the people.

He introduced at Springfield a Lincolnian sense of responsibility in government, and a Lincolnian standard of honesty in administration. He restored unity in a State which had been bitterly divided by a sectional clash between urban and down-State interests. By standing forth so unmistakably as Governor of all the people of Illinois he healed old differences and taught us anew the interdependence of the American farm and the American city.

Throughout his career he practiced a philosophy that held that the least of our citizens was entitled to the best efforts of his government, and that no issue was great enough to justify any compromise with truth or honor.

In all the history of this State there is no parallel to the way the people of down-State Illinois took Henry Horner to their hearts. He was almost a stranger to them when in the spring of 1932 he came among them campaigning for Governor. Friends told him it was a hopeless task, that he had no career in State affairs, that down-State would be hostile to any candidate from Chicago, and that he would face an insurmountable wall of prejudice and opposition.

Then these people met Henry Horner. They looked into his earnest eyes; they responded to the warmth of his smile and voice; they felt the firm grip of his handclasp, and in a few months he had become as popular down-State as in his native Cook County. It was this appeal of his honesty and sincerity that won men and women of all classes and of all parties, and in January 1933, Henry Horner was inaugurated as Governor of Illinois.

In his inaugural he announced simply that he would be the Governor of all the State, and he soon proved that he meant it. In the months and years as Illinois climbed steadily out of the depression he showed such concern over the smallest problems of each of the 102 counties, that a wave of public affection seldom equaled in any State, rose around him. From Galena to Cairo he was proclaimed by men of all parties and of all faiths, as the greatest Governor in our history.

And when his most crucial test came in the 1936 primary struggle, the loyalty of down-State Illinois decided the issue and gave to Henry Horner one of the deepest satisfactions of his entire life. Before the impelling force of his record and his personality, barriers of hate and intolerance that had existed in Illinois for many generations crumbled and disappeared. And Henry Horner became a symbol of a new day of tolerance and brotherhood in Illinois. For that, men of good will must honor him always.

Historians of the future will measure the great service of Henry Horner to Illinois. I am not a historian. Preachers and moralists will point the lesson of his good life for those of us who live after him. I am not a preacher.

I am only one of the legion of friends of Henry Horner who tonight are deeply grieved at his passing. That he imposed trust in me is the greatest honor I can ever receive.

I believe that the example and the philosophy of Henry Horner in the service of Illinois will live on in the public life of all those it has touched—spreading the spirit of justice and tolerance and devotion to the common good.

I believe that his record will stand as a challenge and an inspiration to all the future Governors of Illinois, from whatever party or whatever section of the State they may come. His service to the people has not ended with his death. I do not know what monuments or memorials may be erected to him, but I know he has built himself a monument in the hearts of the people he loved.

In some of your hearts tonight will be the memory of noble and eloquent speeches he has given, of State papers which, coming from his pen, were in reality sermons on civic duty. Others of you will be remembering the kindly humor which eternally blossomed from his contact with his fellow men. Still others will be thinking of the sight of him gathering up armies of small children and leading them into the circus when it came to town—his whole being emanating vast pleasure in the happiness of his little guests.

But many of us will remember him best in those moments when he walked in the dust of the great State fair at Springfield, mingling with the people of the whole State—all thoughts of politics, of partisanship completely gone from his mind—nothing in his eye and heart but a limitless and profound pride in the fruits of Illinois labor. I know that in these days at the State fair, whose progress he fostered so notably, he was happiest, feasting his eyes upon the harvests, the proudest products of his commonwealth, forgetting the weight of government for one blissful week in the year, moving among the people as one of them.

There have been only a few men in American life of whom it could be said that they actually and instinctively loved a State as a father loves a son. But there are thousands of you tonight who, like myself, personally know this to be literally true in the case of Henry Horner and the State of Illinois.

Millions of men and women are sad tonight because Henry Horner has died; but they are wiser, kindlier, and happier because he has lived among us.

Notification Ceremonies for Hon. James M. Mead, of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. H. SCHWARTZ

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL JACKSON

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by Hon. Robert H. Jackson, Attorney General of the United States, at the notification ceremonies of Senator MEAD, at Buffalo, N. Y., Hotel La Fayette, on October 5, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I have just read an article in Look magazine in which Alfred Landon gives his estimate of the campaign. He starts with this sen-

tence: "Wendell Willkie stands today where I stood in 1936." He should have added that Willkie is also headed in the same direction.

Mr. Willkie's ineptitudes and confusion, his habit of "misspeaking" himself and of getting himself "misunderstood" are very embarrassing to me. I have been accredited with an involuntary responsibility for Mr. Willkie's rise in the world. In a book by Mr. Willkie about Mr. Willkie and entitled "This Is Wendell Willkie" the foreword states: "Willkie's public reputation as a speaker probably dates from his famous debate with Robert H. Jackson at Town Hall, New York, in January 1938." With characteristic modesty it is asserted that I was utterly outclassed and the conclusion seems to be that Mr. Willkie became a statesman that night. Here in my own community you know that at least 50 lawyers have given me good, clean defeats. It is a pity that these opponents of mine did not realize that high-powered publicity experts could have made Presidential candidates of them. However, since no other Democrat in history has been able to do as good a job of disrupting the Republican Party as this ex-Democrat is doing, we may now be accused of planting him on the Republicans to do an "inside job" on their party.

We may concede Mr. Willkie's greatness as a debater. He does not need the President as an adversary. He furnishes his own opposition. He has been on both sides of every issue that has been discussed.

This grave time is not a moment when the American people will choose one as President because he is nimble in debate or quick in repartee or ready with wisecracks that produce laughter on stunt radio programs or in platform contests.

The great majority of American citizens are not extreme partisans, but before they make up their minds how to vote they really want to know what each candidate stands for.

Half of their task this year is easy. They know and have many times approved the principles of President Roosevelt. They have seen him under fire and know that his principles and convictions are embodied in his career and character. They are confident on the one point on which they are concerned—that he would continue to be the same kind of President in the future that he has been in the past.

The other part of their task is difficult, because they are confronted with a candidate on the Republican ticket who can only be made acceptable if his future would be very different from his past. Hence the first strategy of the Willkie campaign was to get him out of New York and to draw a mantle of silence over his political and financial background in New York. The country has never seen him under the pressures and difficulties of any high public office, his whole background of experience being in holding-company finance. The only public projects on which the country has seen him function were his campaign against the policy of the Roosevelt administration to regulate private utility holding companies and to develop public power resources and the inept conduct of his present political campaign for the Presidency. A great effort has been made to present him to the public as a businessman who knows production. The only experience in business that he has shown is that of an attorney and an executive of a holding company. A holding company produces nothing except stock certificates, and the country has suffered from the overproduction of them. The quality of Mr. Willkie's foresight for the public interest was shown by his efforts to prevent the construction and expansion of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Now we learn from the real production of men on the National Defense Council that the defense of America requires the immediate expansion of the Tennessee Valley system.

That same contrast between known and unknown factors is present in the case of the nominees for Senator. Of the Republican candidate we know very little except his propaganda power through the great concerns whose advertising contracts he handles. He entered Congress promising to repeal a law a day, and most of us wished him well in the enterprise. I have not discovered a single law that he has gotten repealed. In contrast, Buffalo has witnessed the steps by which honest and faithful public service, a sincere devotion to the welfare of the working people, and the highest kind of character have advanced JIM MEAD from each public responsibility to a higher one. I do not need to point out that his career does not rest on unfulfilled promises. Confidence in him as a true friend of President Roosevelt, a staunch supporter of his administration, and confidence in his own character and integrity and devotion to the public welfare assure an easy victory in the senatorial campaign for our friend and nominee, JIM MEAD.

In the face of easy victory we must not overlook the fact that the Republican organization is opening a blitzkrieg backed by the most extravagant use of money ever witnessed in a political campaign. The public is to be bombed with billboard advertising, radio broadcasting, magazine propaganda, and a rain of pamphlets. Two anonymous men hire a full page in the New York Times to announce that they are for Mr. Willkie and that their business is not politics, but they don't dare reveal their names or the business that they are up to. These managers who wear the mask of anonymity seek to stampede the American election in the same manner that packed galleries and the same publicity devices stampeded the Philadelphia convention.

I do not fear this campaign. I welcome it, but I want the Democrats to recognize it. The American people know that the men who put up vast funds to swing elections are not givers of gifts but are making investments which they expect to be paid by amendments to the Labor Act, by privileges in tax acts, and by one or another form of special favor. As a matter of fact, the American people will look upon this vast expenditure with suspicion. They have already convinced the workingman that if men with vast sums of money to spend want Willkie so badly, Willkie has nothing to offer to the average man.

The very regrettable hostility which is being manifested in groups of working people toward the Republican candidate results from the deep resentment over two things. First, the resentment of this attitude on the part of the candidate that he must descend to talk to working people, that he must cuss and swear to make them think him a "regular fellow," that he must picture himself as a "tough guy" to win their esteem. It has been noted and resented throughout the country that only when he talked to workmen did he find profanity and vulgarity in order. Americans are instinctively quick to recognize this as a common form of snobbery. Mr. Willkie has been "talking down" to his fellow Americans, and they resent it. Those who descend, as he does, fail to understand the fundamental aspirations for the good life and for wholesome things that characterize American workmen. They need no outside assistance to uphold the dignity of their own work. And for a President they want a President.

The second cause of this deep resentment is the candidate's sneers at President Roosevelt's education, sneers at his fine command of the English language, and sneers because the President is a member of a distinguished American family—and one, incidentally, which has won its distinction in the field of public service in both political parties. These people, who instinctively feel President Roosevelt's warmth of the heart and clear perception of their needs, resent these things so deeply that Wendell Willkie has lost any opportunity he ever had to create anything like unity among the American people. A man must be suffering from psychopathic delusions of grandeur who pledges to create unity among the American people when he cannot even achieve unity between himself and his running mate, or between himself and his campaign manager, or between himself and the Republican Members of Congress and of the Senate.

The opposition to President Roosevelt generates more heat than light. It leaves us dark as to its real policy. What does Mr. Willkie mean when he promises to repeal "these pernicious laws"? He fails utterly to specify. What do you make of his sneering and cynical references to "candy-stick government"? That wisecrack had long been tossing around Wall Street. It was used there to express their contempt for the entire system of relief of destitution—the W. P. A. and the P. W. A. and the National Youth Administration and the C. C. C. camps, unemployment insurance, old-age benefits, deposit insurance, and home owners' loans. And they used it to express their opposition to the Government's efforts to bring cheap power to the people.

If Mr. Willkie did not mean this by this sneering reference to "candy-stick government," what did he mean. He either meant these things or it was a wisecrack which made no sense at all.

And yet after holding out the terms to those who are paying for his advertising that he would repeal "pernicious laws" and end "candy-stick government," Mr. Willkie has one by one endorsed each and every law of the New Deal before some group which he thought would be interested.

Straws show the direction of the wind, and one day in Washington a straw was tossed into the air. The Conscription Act was about to be adopted with the support of Mr. Willkie, and the young manhood of the country summoned to the colors. It was proposed that industries and plants which refused to produce goods upon reasonable terms to support these boys in their defense of America might also be conscripted. Instantly Mr. Willkie sprang to opposition against conscription of wealth, against putting the dollar on an equality with the men. He issued a long written statement and several oral press conference statements denouncing the proposal. It may truthfully be said that nothing during the campaign aroused him as did this proposal.

The American people knew then that Mr. Willkie stood for wealth as against men. The taking of property for public use was a power which every one of Mr. Willkie's power companies had long been exercising. The power company can take the farmer's corn field, or his meadow, or pasture, or wood lot. It can trim his shade trees and take any other property necessary to give it right-of-way. That power of eminent domain was given to the power companies so that selfish persons cannot hold them up and prevent the expansion of power systems.

But that same protection needed by the power companies Mr. Willkie was not willing to give to his Government.

A few days later, when the political effect of his sincere and candid defense of wealth against conscription began to be felt, he issued a statement that he had been "misunderstood." He has never seen fit to explain what meaning should be given to his written statement if the public did not understand it aright.

Ladies and gentlemen, in this hour the Nation is confronted by great issues. It needs a President who sees our society steadily and sees it as a whole. It is no hour for experimental leadership, no hour for a confused businessman to try suddenly to learn how to lead the forces of public welfare which he has long schooled himself to oppose. Nation after nation has fallen and other nations are threatened. This Nation wants the kind of courage that President Roosevelt showed when he boldly projected our defenses to naval and air bases 500 miles out in the Atlantic so that any aggressor would have to cross the threshold of our defense long before he reached our shores.

President Roosevelt has that quality of leadership which Washington had and Lincoln had. The quality that held men to the struggle for ideals, for great truths, not merely while the going was easy but also when the going was tough. The masses of the people of the United States trust President Roosevelt as they trust nothing else and no one else.

That is why in this great referendum which we as one of the few free peoples left in the world are about to hold, the choice of leadership for the next 4 years will be Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. Willkie's Position on Social Security Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT BY HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER, OF NEW YORK

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement which was issued by the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] with reference to the Social Security Act and some remarks made by Mr. Wendell Willkie a few days ago with reference to that act.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In a radio interview over an NBC network, reprinted in yesterday's Washington Star, Mr. Wendell Willkie made the statement that "those who are now paying in on their social security will never get the principal of the social security when they need it in their old age unless this administration is removed from power."

This statement by the Republican candidate in 1940 is on a par with Herbert Hoover's frantic warnings in 1932 that "grass would grow in the city streets" if Franklin D. Roosevelt were elected to the Presidency. It is on a par with the false pay-envelope propaganda against the Social Security Act encouraged by the Republican high command in 1936 in a last-ditch attempt to defeat Franklin D. Roosevelt for reelection. This latest Republican effort to undermine the people's faith in their own Government is born of the same desperation and the same certainty of defeat. Its perpetrators will suffer the same fate at the ballot box in November.

The best answer to Mr. Willkie's counsel of defeatism and despair comes from the quarter of a million workers who have already received benefit awards from the old-age and survivors' insurance system in the 9 months since benefit payments began. By the end of 1940 regular old-age-pension payments up to $85 per month will be going out to the families of qualified beneficiaries at the rate of about $100,000,000 a year. At that time—only 2 months hence—there will be more than half a million such beneficiaries who can answer Mr. Willkie with monthly checks—the plain and irrefutable evidence of the value of their investments in the social-security system.

To date, over $3,000,000,000 have been paid out under all the benefit programs inaugurated by the Social Security Act. What responsible person agrees with Mr. Willkie that these benefits will be abandoned unless he is elected President of the United States? His claim of a "corner" on social gains comes with bad grace from one whose sympathetic interest in social security dates only from his nomination for the Presidency.

The old-age-insurance benefits, steadily increasing over the years in number and total amount, represent a backlog of security for the aged guaranteed by the United States Government. The benefits are financed by the contributions of employers and employees, paid into a special trust fund established by Congress in the United States Treasury, on the advice of the best experts in the country. Until Mr. Willkie came upon the scene, no American claiming the confidence and respect of his fellow citizens has questioned the soundness of this fund. Its reserves, like those of every other substantial insurance system under public or private auspices, like the funds of universities, charitable institutions and foundations, are invested in United States Government bonds, for the reason that such bonds, to use Mr. Willkie's own characterization in his Los Angeles speech, are "riskless."

Evidently when Mr. Willkie was speaking in the West he did not entertain his present misgivings about the solvency of the United States Government. The fact is that everyone but Mr. Willkie regards United States bonds as the safest investment in the world. Over $14,000,000,000 are invested by America's private banks today in Government bonds—more than twice the investment to be reached by the old-age reserve account at its peak in 1955.

Investors do not share Mr. Willkie's lack of confidence in the credit of the United States since President Roosevelt took office. The average interest rate on United States Government bonds has declined from about 3½ percent to 2½ percent since 1933, a decline in carrying charges which has largely offset the increase in the principal of the national debt. The same United States Government bonds that reached a low of 82 in 1932 were selling for 111 in September 1940. In other words, obligations of the United States Government payable 10 to 15 years hence are selling at a high premium. These tests, conducted on the open market by the financial community itself, are hardly indicative of approaching bankruptcy.

If the social security reserves are not to be invested in United States Government bonds, does Mr. Willkie recommend that the workers of the country put their faith in the securities of the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation, which has not paid a dollar of dividends on its common stock, and has accumulated arrears exceeding $20,000,000 on its preferred stock, since Mr. Willkie became its president in 1933?

If Mr. Willkie is so concerned about the financial standing of the Government, why has he promised one group of voters or another, in one section of the country or another, that he would continue each of the major items of expenditure undertaken by the New Deal?

Social Security was established in America only after long years of hardship, legislative struggle and expert study. The Social Security Act was adopted in 1935 with bi-partisan support, under the leadership of President Roosevelt. It is working today. It will bring to increasing millions a better, happier, more secure way of life. The American people will indignantly reject the studied attempt to undermine that law by a candidate who appears to have lost all faith in America's future.

Implications of the Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. H. SCHWARTZ

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL JACKSON

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD the address delivered by Hon. Robert H. Jackson, Attorney General of the United States, over the Columbia Broadcasting System from Washington, D. C., on October 9, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

One of the amiable weaknesses of Americans is the short-term view of the Nation's needs we take during campaigns. We grow excited over pledges for quick results that are lightly given and soon forgot. We become obsessed with detail. We are entertained with our happy pastime of exchanging personalities. All of this is accepted as a part of our democratic traditions and fortunately passes away in the Christmas spirit that always follows elections.

But there is another way to look at this election. I ask you tonight to look at some of the long-term implications of this election for a free country which is surrounded by dictators—dictators who play for vast stakes and who reckon their policy in terms of decades.

The totalitarian states, whether Communist, Fascist, or Nazi, have based their programs on one major assumption: That capitalism as a way of doing business had become obsolete and that democracy as a way of life was approaching the end of its days. It has been their belief that free countries like our own must disintegrate as a result of their own weaknesses and fail in their own confusion, while the dictators with a singleness of aim and a unity of command ride through in triumph. That has been the major point of their strategy. You will find it in all of their writings, from Karl Marx to Mein Kampf.

In this country they were almost right. There were seeds of danger planted here during the 1920's when every kind of economic folly was encouraged, when every economic excess was smiled upon, and when no thought was given to the reckoning that ultimately had to be faced. Because of that folly and blindness, we suffered during the dark years of 1930, 1931, and 1932, and we came dangerously close to the brink of the revolutionary disaster that swept other countries. The totalitarian prophets were gleefully predicting the break-up of capitalism and the downfall of democracy.

In other countries their prophecies were realized. In those countries there was confusion of policies, there were frequent changes of leadership, cabinets rose and cabinets fell, promises were made and forgot. Humble people, made desperate by suffering, turned from moderate remedies to extreme ones. Ruthless men took advantage of their desperation to destroy freedom.

If things had proceeded in America according to the same pattern the masses of our people would now be so dissatisfied with their Government that they would be ready to abandon democracy. But something very different happened in America. We witness today the masses of the people so devotedly attached to their administration that they are demonstrating deep resentment at the attacks and sneers of a rival candidate. More than at any time in

our memory the masses of the people are determined today to preserve the kind of government which will let them choose for themselves such leadership as that of President Roosevelt's.

In this country, to the amazement and chagrin of the totalitarian planners, there arose out of the despair and confusion of 1932 a new spirit, a positive and vigorous concept of democracy. President Roosevelt pointed out that the way to avoid fulfillment of the dictators' prophecy of failure for democracy was to provide democracy with a social program which would end unrest. He saw that the way to save capitalism was to bring about an economic program which would rid it of its abuses and strengthen it for survival. He saw that a system of free enterprise under which men's savings were swept away in bank failures and in foreclosures upon farms and homes was a capitalist system endangered by its own caprice, and that if it failed to take care of the aged or unemployed it was endangered by its cruelty.

America, under the program of Franklin D. Roosevelt, upset totalitarian calculations of world revolution. Dictators had hoped to see a bitter and disheartened working class in this country that would be unwilling to go to the shops to produce for democracy. They see instead the working people of America solidly behind the President and ready to sacrifice anything under his leadership. They had hoped to see a wave of social upheaval that would impair the institutions of free enterprise. Instead they see the majority of American industry, although opposed to the President politically, generally recognizing that reform was necessary and cooperating for defense.

One can well understand that the dictators would prefer a return to the confusion and the contradictions that characterized the era before 1933. They would much prefer an administration which would ignore the realities of our times as the Republicans ignored them during the 1920's. Throughout the 1920's the fair-weather Republican administrations closed their eyes to these realities. The facts were known: the fact that our illusory prosperity was based on inflation—the fact that technological unemployment was increasing—the fact that men over 45 were no longer being employed in industry—the fact that even then one-third of our Nation was ill-clothed, ill-housed, and ill-fed—the fact that that even then the great majority of the families of America had an income below the decency level. Those facts were known to the Republican big-business administrations of the 1920's. They were vividly presented to President Hoover by his Committee on Social Trends. But the only part of America that the Republicans could see was the stock ticker. And when the bitter reckoning came, there was nothing but sympathy for the homeless, the starving, the unemployed. Neither the Republicans nor big business produced any plan or program to help America. An example of their method of dealing with America's tragedy was to send armed troops to drive the bonus marchers out of Washington. No nation could long survive under that kind of rule, and the best proof that Americans are quick to sense their country's danger is to be found in the 1932 election when America turned the Republicans out to make way for someone with imagination, hope, ingenuity, and social conscience.

Nor have the Republicans contributed anything constructive during the past 7 years. During the entire years of the New Deal they have contributed nothing but negative opposition. The Republican record in Congress has been against every New Deal measure for social progress and economic strengthening, and it is well known that it was the Republicans who opposed every effort of the New Deal during the last 7 years to improve the defenses of this country. I do not glory in the failure of the Republicans to develop a program of their own. I think it has been the Nation's loss that they have had nothing constructive to suggest. But the fact is that in the midst of world upheaval it has been Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal who have given America a positive program of social strengthening. The fact is that the New Deal alone offers America such a program today. Against the threat of the revolutionary totalitarian idea the Republicans have nothing to offer America. You do not have to look any further than the Republican candidate's campaign to prove that he has nothing to offer.

He was hailed at Philadelphia as the indispensable man for the Republican Party—so indispensable that all real Republicans had to be cast aside to make way for him; but he has failed to develop any affirmative policy or any positive leadership. He began by demanding that the President debate with him, but he has shown that there was no need for it. He debates with himself, taking both sides of every issue. For example, in Indiana he asked for a Republican Congress which would repeal some of this "pernicious legislation." At other times he has assured his audiences that he is for the social program of the New Deal. At Yonkers he declared that relief checks must be stopped and, in the same speech, he pledged himself to continue relief and the farm program. He has sneered at the New Deal as "candy-stick government" and promised to end it, yet one by one he has endorsed every single measure of the New Deal.

In foreign policy he is equally confused. One day he scolds Mr. Roosevelt for his forthright statements about the aggressors, and the next day, and sometimes in the same speech, he himself out-Roosevelts Roosevelt in denouncing them. He demands aid for Britain, but when it is given he denounces it as abritrary and dictatorial.

So frequent and numerous have been his contradictions and misstatements that the Louisville Courier Journal has summed up his campaign as a "model of disorganization and crossed purposes." His administration, were he to be elected, would be a model of Republican confusion—confusion which would delight the enemies of democracy.

Nobody will deny that the New Deal has made mistakes. But it cannot be denied that through these dangerous times—which in Europe have produced dictators—the President's leadership has held this country to ways of orderly living and free institutions.

No dictator in Europe dares to call or hold a free election. You are in a campaign to elect a President. You know that there will be no soldiers at the polls to tell you how to vote. You know that the opposition to the President has the most unbridled freedom of speech and of the press and that anyone in this country can criticize the President, or sneer at his fine command of English, or assail him personally without the slightest interference from governmental authority. The President's opponent may provoke his audience into demonstrations of hostility, but he has no suppression from anyone in authority. You know that there are in the air boastful predictions of the opposition, that a great "blitzkrieg" of publicity for Willkie in magazines and newspapers, on billboards, and over the radio, by pamphlet, and by speech making is about to descend on this country like a bombing squadron on London.

For 7 years the same kind of propaganda has been falsely accusing the New Deal of dictatorial aims. But you yourselves know that during all of that time there is not a single freedom which you, as a citizen, have lost.

Seven years of experience with the Republican opposition have shown that the Republican Party has nothing to offer America. Three months' experience in this campaign with Candidate Willkie has shown that he has nothing to offer America. On the contrary, the American people know that Franklin D. Roosevelt's leadership offers America the greatness and the triumph of a working democracy on this continent.

Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURTON K. WHEELER

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY GEN. ROBERT H. WOOD

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, one of the truly important addresses of 1940 was recently made by Gen. Robert E. Wood before the Council of Foreign Relations Association of Chicago, Ill., on the subject Our Foreign Policy. This address gives the answer to the case which has been presented by the William Allen White committee.

General Wood's patriotism is beyond reproach. He is a graduate of West Point. He served in the Philippines. For 10 years he was Chief Quartermaster and director of the Panama Railroad Co. during the construction of the Panama Canal. During the World War he was colonel, brigadier general, and acting quartermaster general of the American Expeditionary Forces with overseas service.

His own Government has awarded him the Philippine Insurrection Medal, the Panama Canal Medal, and the Distinguished Service Medal. In addition, he was honored by the English and French Governments with the Order of St. Michael and St. George, British, and Knight Legion of Honor, French. At the present time he is chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago.

I may add that in 1932 and 1936 he supported President Roosevelt.

What this distinguished soldier and business leader said in this address against our being dragged into war again, either in Europe or Asia, has already made a profound impression upon the country.

Many Members of the Senate and of the House have been greatly disturbed by the trend of foreign policy. General Wood's statement is an outstanding contribution to enable the American people to hear both sides of this tremendously important question and come to a sound decision thereon.

Every home in America which has a son of military age, and all other homes, should study this address and discuss it with friends and neighbors. A copy of the address should be

sent to every candidate for Congress. After the election a copy of the address should be sent to every Senator and Representative, together with an expression of the opinion of the people.

I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I hesitated to accept the invitation of my friends, Dr. Lichtenstein and Mr. Utley, to address this gathering for two reasons—first, because I do not feel on a par as a speaker with the very eminent persons who have addressed these gatherings; second, because my views are opposed to those of a probable majority of my listeners, and, I may, add, opposed to those of some of my dearest friends and relatives. I have a brother-in-law on the William Allen White committee.

But it is one of the beauties of a democracy that in time of peace, at least, men are free to express their opinions and honest men respect opposing opinions if those opinions are sincere and free of ulterior motive, and now is a time for all honest men to express their convictions.

This country is on the eve of momentous decisions. The results of these decisions may be so far-reaching that they may have an effect for good or bad on the life of this country for at least a generation. I am at the stage of life when I do not care as to the effect on myself or my own generation. I do greatly care what the effects will be on my children and grandchildren and their generation.

There are two schools of thought in this country on the subject of our foreign policy. They may be termed "interventionists" and "isolationists." These terms are not exactly descriptive, because all interventionists are not extreme interventionists and most isolationists are only isolationists as to Europe and Asia, but not isolationists as to the balance of North America and South America.

I except from my discussion those who have ulterior motives—anything except the welfare of our country. That would include the Communists who really desire to destroy our Government, the Nazis and members of the bund who put the interests of Germany above those of this country, some ultrapacifists who forget the interests of their country in their desire for peace at any price, a limited number of extreme Anglophiles who put the interests of Great Britain above those of their own country.

These schools of thought are in violent opposition, but there are certain points of agreement among all classes, except, perhaps, what may be called the lunatic fringe of our population.

These points of agreement are:

1. The necessity for a strong defense—a strengthening of our Army and Navy and air force. Our people are practically unanimous on this subject—the only differences are on differences of detail. It is obvious that the richest Nation of the world, in a world of force, must make itself impregnable.

2. The belief that no foreign nation must obtain possession of any part of the two Americas and that the United States must be prepared to defend the North American Continent and at least that portion of the South American Continent as far as the Equator. There is some difference of opinion as to whether military and naval protection should go as far as Cape Horn.

3. Access to our great industrial plant by Great Britain within the limits of the neutrality law; that is, unlimited right of purchase by Great Britain of planes, tanks, munitions of war, and raw materials from private manufacturers, provided she can pay for them and provide her own transportation. And this, I may add, is a very great aid.

Without this aid now being given, England could not long carry on the war, for her supplies of raw materials, her steel-making capacity, munitions, and plane plants are insufficient for a long major war. Without the production facilities of the United States she would be crushed. Theoretically, Germany is entitled to the same privilege—actually, on account of the British blockade, she cannct use our facilities, but she has no right to complain. I believe the overwhelming majority of the citizens are in accord with these three principles. I know I am.

But it is when we get beyond the third point that opinion diverges sharply. The present administration in power, probably the majority of our editors and columnists, a very influential body of of public opinion as represented by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Britain is in favor of our Government turning over some of our flying fortresses, more destroyers, more planes, and merchant ships. Others, even more extreme, favor an outright alliance with Great Britain and a declaration of war on Germany.

Now, what are the fundamental arguments for this point of view? They may be reduced to three principal reasons:

1. The totalitarian state with its ideology, with its record of persecution, is repugnant to our ideals and should be destroyed, even if we have to enter a war to accomplish this result.

2. Our own protection depends on Britain as our first line of defense; and if she falls, we are exposed to the onslaught of a totalitarian combination. Per se, it follows that we must give England all the aid we can, even at the risk of entering the war.

3. If Britain is defeated, it will be impossible for a free competitive, unorganized, and unmanaged industrial system to compete with a totalitarian system.

As to the first reason, you cannot destroy an ideology by waging war on it. The conditions created in Europe by the Versailles Treaty were largely responsible for the rise of Hitler and the Nazi philosophy. The history of Europe for the last 100 years is a story of cruelties, persecutions, injustices. No government was more repugnant to our ideals and ideas than the old Czaristic regime of Russia—it had over many years a series of pogroms, but we remained on friedly terms with Russia. Up to 1917 we had always remained true to the principles of foreign policy laid down by the founders of our country; the policy of keeping aloof from the quarrels of Europe and Asia.

The communistic regime of Russia under Lenin and Stalin was equally opposed to our principles and was detested by the majority of our people. Nevertheless, we have maintained our relations with Russia, and we have certainly had no idea of making war on that country.

A nation cannot be a knight-errant. It must be realistic. Great Britain, during her entire history, has been coldly realistic, and her success in building up her empire has been due to her realism. As individuals we can give vent to our generous impulses or even to our pet hates, but our statesmen, our editors, our molders of public opinion must consider that it is not their individual fortunes and lives that are to be considered, but those of 130,000,000 of their fellow citizens.

Now as to the second reason—our military defense in the event of a German victory. Our country has gone through a curious transformation of thought since May 10. From an underestimate of the military and economic strength of Germany, it has gone to the opposite extreme of overestimating that strength. From some of the remarks heard on the eastern seaboard in June, we would have thought that New York and Boston were in imminent danger of being bombed.

Now the events in Spain, Poland, Belgium, and France showed the major importance of the air arm when supported by tanks, infantry, and a modern army. But Spain showed that bombing of cities, unsupported by an army, cannot win a war or even shake the morale of a population if the nation is of tough fiber like the Spanish and English peoples.

Apparently the Battle of England is demonstrating the same principle. Unless an army can cross the channel, the German air force cannot impose a decision on England. Casualties and material damage—yes. The 15,000 casualties in London so far are but a drop in the bucket for a nation of 45,000,000 people; more casualties were incurred in single days of the Verdun, Ypres, and Somme offensives. The destruction of apartment houses, stores, public buildings do not constitute a blow to the military strength of a nation. If the docks, railroads, power plants, and munitions plants are put out of commission it does affect the military effort, but unless it is done on a gigantic scale the nation cannot be subdued, and all evidence is to the effect that military damage thus far has not been of such a serious character as to severely impair the island's defense.

As for an invasion, at the great risk of being called a false prophet, I doubt whether any invasion will ever be made, and if it is attempted, it will be decisively repulsed. To land 250,000 Germans in England, with mechanized equipment, ammunition, and necessary supplies would be a gigantic operation. Once landed, that force would have to face 1,500,000 Englishmen under arms, fighting on their own island behind strong defenses. And to land those 250,000 Germans means practically complete mastery of the air, blocking off the English fleet, complete control of the channel, none of which objectives have yet been attained after more than a month of intensive effort. To sum up, I doubt whether the island can be conquered, and I am quite sure the British fleet cannot be put out of commission.

Now we come to our own danger of invasion and the perfectly fantastic hysteria that pervaded this country after the battle of France. I think any competent military or naval expert, certainly the vast majority, will tell you that there is absolutely no danger of an invasion of the United States even if Germany is completely victorious, and I doubt whether she will be. The amount of shipping required for the transportation of even 250,000 men of a modern mechanized army with their ammunition and supplies over 3,000 miles of ocean is colossal, and it is to be presumed that our own Navy and air force will not be idle.

If it is impracticable or at least exceedingly difficult for an army to cross 25 miles of channel, what valid grounds are there for supposing that a large army can cross 3,000 miles of ocean to invade a continent?

Some will inquire, Why should it not be possible for Germany to seize bases in Mexico or Central America and attack from those countries? Again, that presupposes an overwhelming sea power. But even if that sea power were present, there would again be the same difficulties of a 3,000-mile-long line of communication for an invading army. And an army once landed must cross an exceedingly difficult terrain before ever arriving at the Texas border. I think that hypothesis may be safely dismissed.

Now we come to the favorite bogey—air attacks. I quote from Maj. Al Williams' recent speech, reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: "Oceans and extended lines of communication are still vital factors in modern warfare. President Roosevelt's panicky flight schedule for the air invasion of America is ridiculous, worthy of Hollywood and certainly not of the White House. To support my argument against the President's wild flight schedule for a foreign air invasion of the United States I offer a single incontrovertible reason. With all their air power, the Germans could not attack and subdue England from air bases 300 to 500 miles

distant. Instead, they seized air bases on the north coast of Holland, Belgium, and France 20 to 100 miles distant from the coast of England. Each and every stage of the fantastic itinerary for the air invasion of America would have to be conquered for the establishment of major air bases for the enemy attempting the job. The President must know this—but apparently the pattern is panic first, and then war."

All of this presupposes a completely victorious Germany, ready at the end of a long and costly struggle to immediately embark on a new and perilous adventure across 3,000 miles of ocean against a nation of 130,000,000 people. The present war represents 7 years of preparation on the part of Germany. So-called total war represents a prodigal expenditure of labor, money, and effort. Steel is rapidly consumed, aircraft and mechanical equipment are rapidly worn out, reserves of all kinds are exhausted, not to mention the wear and tear on human beings. A nation that for 7 years has been given guns instead of butter is apt at the end of this war to demand more butter from its leaders. So on every count it seems inconceivable to me that Germany at the end of the war, even if aided by its allies, who will be in a worse condition of exhaustion than Germany itself, will attack the United States. And if this country, with its 130,000,000 people and its two great natural ocean barriers cannot defend itself unaided by Britain or anybody else, it does not deserve to survive. The great nation that has to trust to others for its defense is on the downward path to destruction.

Now as to our economic problems—an economic war after the war—the loss of our European, Asiatic, and South American trade. I have a high personal regard for Walter Lippmann's brains and ability, but I believe his picture of an unequal contest between a totalitarian economy and a free economy is misleading. After all, when two nations or two continents each have things the other needs, trade eventually results regardless of the feelings each may have for the other. Europe needs us more than we need Europe—our materials and products are more important to her than hers to us. True, Germany has reduced largely its purchases from us, but more from necessity than choice. As far as South America is concerned, we can always obtain the lion's share of the trade of Mexico, Central America, Colombia, and Venezuela, because we buy the metals of Mexico, the coffee and bananas of Central America and Colombia, the oil of Venezuela. In these countries our geographical location must always give us the edge. We can take the coffee of Brazil but not its cotton; so its trade will naturally divide between Europe and the United States. It is in Argentina and Chile that our troubles come. We cannot take the meat, cotton, and wool of Argentina, because we produce those products ourselves. The same applies to the copper and nitrates of Chile. We cannot sell unless we buy, and that is a far greater obstacle than all nazidom. It must not be forgotten that Germany put on an intensive drive for trade in South America in the period 1936–38; and if my recollection of the figures is correct, while Germany's percentage of the trade gained somewhat, the gain was not large, and it was largely at the expense of Great Britain; our trade declined only a fraction of 1 percent. No man can foretell the future, but as long as we have products South America can use and, above all, if they have products we can use, we will get our full share of the trade. As for Asia, the same remarks pertain as to Europe. Japan needs us far more than we need her. Our trade with Japan, incidentally, runs between five and six times the trade of China, whom we are making such great efforts to help. Even if Japan gets control of the Dutch East Indies—and that is not assured—she is going to be more anxious to sell us rubber and tin to obtain dollar exchange than we are to buy the products. And if war with Japan comes, we can get Bolivian tin and develop our synthetic rubber. We are certainly as resourceful as the Germans, who are filling 90 percent of their rubber requirements with the synthetic article.

In 1937 Colombia's trade with us was 168,000,000 pesos, with Germany 40,000,000. Of Venezuela's trade, the United States took 12.5 percent of their imports and furnished 53 percent of the exports, Germany 13.6 percent. Forty-two and five-tenths percent of Costa Rica's imports came from the United States, 23 percent from Germany. Of her exports, 45 percent went to the United States and 19.5 percent to Germany.

As for lack of organization, if needs be, we can meet fire with fire; we can set up export cartels and mass purchasing organizations, and we can do this without danger to our system.

Americans like myself feel that our true mission is in North America and South America. We stand today in an unrivaled position. With our resources and organizing ability we can develop, with our Canadian friends, an only partially developed continent like North America and a virgin continent like South America. The reorganization and proper development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come. And, while I think we should try in every way to maintain the friendship of our neighbors to the south, I think we should also make it clearly understood that no government in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean South American countries will be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States and that, if necessary, we are prepared to use force to attain that object.

Instead of what seems to be a sane objective we are on the verge of throwing our treasure and our blood into a European war, with consequences that no one can foretell.

I respect the honest views of honest Americans, no matter how opposed they may be to my own, but there are two matters that I resent: First is the attempt to smear anyone opposed to what I might call the majority publicized viewpoint of what we should do in this war. When the editor of a pink New York sheet denounces Colonel Lindbergh as the head of the "fifth column" in the United States we have reached the summit of mud slinging. You may disagree violently with Colonel Lindbergh, you may feel he has made serious mistakes, but you have no right to denounce a courageous, patriotic American citizen as a traitor merely because he disagrees with your views. That is as bad as the Nazis, an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

The other point I resent is the way the issue is being presented to the American people. We are being edged into the war without the masses' knowledge. We have the anomalous situation of the polls showing a majority of the people favoring a course that is bound to get us into the war, while the same polls show 86 percent of the same people oppose actual entry into the war. That shows that the minds of the people are confused.

Many of my hearers were adults at the time of the previous war and were familiar with the propaganda that led up to that war. If you want to know the history of that propaganda and its falsity, read a book by Sir Philip Gibbs with the title of "Now It Can Be Told," in which he admitted the outrageous lies that were perpetrated on the American public. And Sir Philip Gibbs was no German but the leading English war correspondent, knighted by his king. The London Economist in a recent issue said it was only a question of time until American public opinion could be brought to the point where we would actively enter the war.

I believe a majority of the people who are advocating aid short of war do not desire us to enter the war. But there are others who do desire us to enter the war, who are taking the necessary steps to prepare the American people for active participation, who would enter it tomorrow if they dared, who are today in practical alliance with England, and unfortunately they are the people who are shaping our national policy today. You hear in Washington today that we are now in the war. You hear predictions from men, and men who ought to know, that we will actively enter the war within 60 days after the election.

The American people should think this matter through. The course we are pursuing is bound to involve us in the war. You cannot play with fire and not get burned. You cannot have your Government, not private manufacturers, transfer its equipment to foreign powers; you cannot have your Government in an unofficial alliance with a foreign power; you cannot be a meddler in Indochina, berate Italy and Germany, without eventually involving the Nation in war; and if war comes, I venture to predict that we will repeat the history of the last war. When the declaration of war was made in 1917 originally it was intended to send only the Navy to the assistance of the Allies.

Joffre came over in the spring of 1917, told the plight of the French Army after the 1917 spring Champagne offensive, where whole divisions of the French Army mutinied, and implored us to send over a token force, otherwise France would collapse. We sent Pershing and the First Division, about 30,000 men. Then came the impending collapse of Russia, frantic calls for more men, then the great German offensive of 1918, and the rout of the British Fifth Army; more frantic appeals, until finally we put under arms 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 men to France, spent $20,000,000,000, and had 150,000 casualties. I need not refer to our treatment by our former Allies after the armistice. They took the loot; we did not even get thanks.

I do not often agree with the editorials on foreign policy in my friend Frank Knox's paper, but there is a recent editorial with which I am in 100-percent agreement. The editorial quoted two recent speeches by both Presidential candidates in which both pledged themselves never to send American boys to France. The editorial spoke of both these pledges as political bunk and very truly stated that if we entered the war we would enter it to win and, if necessary, to win, we would send an expeditionary force—and that is the absolute truth.

The issue should be honestly presented to the people. If we aid Britain, short of war and beyond the limits of the Neutrality Act, it ultimately means war and should mean war. If we enter the war, we must enter it with all our strength in men and money. That is the only way to win a war.

If the military reports from abroad are correct, I feel there is no doubt that Great Britain can defend her island, her dominions like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. She may lose Egypt, the Suez, and Gibraltar, though this is extremely doubtful. So far the Italians have shown no signs of real offensive strength. There is little doubt that England can make a negotiated peace by which she can keep her fleet and her colonies, but which will leave Germany the economic control of western Europe. But she cannot decisively defeat Germany unaided. Her statesmen privately admit that, and say that for her to gain a decisive victory we will have to actively enter the war. One of the great mistakes made by the Allies in this war was that in its first 6 months they thought they could win a safe, economical war, with France sitting behind the Maginot Line and England maintaining its blockade, with little expenditure of blood and a minimum expenditure of treasure. For us to actively enter the war means ships, planes, money, men, expeditionary forces. That is the issue that must ultimately be presented to the American people, and it should be presented openly, honestly, and squarely.

In deciding this issue, the American people should face the costs. We start with a debt of $50,000,000,000. With the enormous cost of waging modern war, the cost of sending forces over 3,000 miles of ocean, of engaging our Navy in the Far East, we would ultimately face a debt of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty billions. Victorious or defeated, we will be faced at the

conclusion of such a war with great economic dislocations—the rich would face a capital levy, the middle classes impoverishment, and the masses a lowered standard of living and the loss of most of the social gains so far secured.

Competent observers believe that if the war is prolonged in Europe over 1 or 2 years, it will result in communism in all Europe, and a species of national socialism in England. If we are involved, it probably spells the end of capitalism all over the world.

I would unhesitatingly say to throw everything we have into a war to defend the United States or our own sphere of influence, which is the North American Continent and part, if not all, of the South American Continent. I do not think the American people should make these sacrifices to interfere in the quarrels of Europe and Asia—old, sick, and overpopulated continents with ancient rivalries that cannot be healed. It is up to the American people to decide whether they want to make these sacrifices to preserve not England but the British Empire, and help regulate Europe and Asia. But they should make the decision with all the cards on the table, not misled by artifice and subterfuge.

But if that decision is given affirmatively, I think you will find Americans like myself, who sincerely believe such a course spells disaster to the Nation, will be at their posts of duty in the service of this country. I am old fashioned enough to believe in the toast offered by Stephen Decatur back in 1816: "Our country. In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but, our country, right or wrong."

Reply to Herald Tribune Editorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM LABOR

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from Labor, the weekly newspaper published in Washington, in regard to an editorial previously printed in the New York Herald Tribune.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Labor of October 8, 1940]

LABOR REPLIES TO INTERESTING QUERY—A HERALD TRIBUNE EDITORIAL DEFENDING MR. WILLKIE PROVOKES A DISCUSSION OF WALL STREET AND ITS METHODS

About a month ago the New York Herald Tribune, citadel of political and economic "standpattism," hotly resented the suggestion that Mr. Willkie was "a Wall Street man." In an editorial under the caption "Saying it with smears" the Tribune declared:

"The truth is, of course, that Mr. Willkie has never had any connection with Wall Street; that he has never had an office in Wall Street; that he has never fraternized with the Wall Street community; that he has never shown either admiration or respect for its wishes."

Otis & Co., one of the largest investment banking houses in America, sent the editor of Labor a copy of the Herald Tribune's defense of Willkie, with the following interesting comment:

"Why does the historic voice of conservative New York business interests find it necessary to absolve the Republican Presidential candidate of any connection whatsoever with Wall Street and to state that 'he has never shown either admiration or respect for its wishes'?

"This heartfelt and emphatic disclaimer constitutes a severe indictment of the New York financial and business community known to the American people as Wall Street—an indictment which would be characterized as an outrageous attack had it come from administration sources. Coming from the Herald Tribune, it cannot be so angrily dismissed, nor can it be ignored.

"Is not the editorial an admission that Wall Street, instead of commanding the Nation's respect as a financial community of unimpeachable integrity, actually has a reputation so offensive to the American public that a Presidential candidacy is 'smeared' by the mere suggestion of any association with it?

"Is not the editorial an admission that the American people resent having a majority of the Nation's large banks, insurance companies, railroads, public utilities, and industrials directed by a few men in a single city?

"Will not this concentration of control lead to complete Government regimentation, if not ownership, of all enterprise unless financial power and business leadership shall become widely diffused throughout the Nation? Should not American business in self-defense rid itself of this Wall Street domination which is so distrusted by the American people?

"An expression of your opinion would be appreciated."

Otis & Co. has done such a good job that the editor of Labor questions if he can make a further contribution which would be worth while.

It is gratifying to find businessmen with large interests becoming aware of the fact that the American people have lost faith in our financial overlords. There is good reason for the people's skepticism.

During the last quarter of a century at least half a dozen governmental agencies, including committees of House and Senate, have made searching inquiries into the way Wall Street conducts its business.

In every instance the most shocking disclosures have resulted. Not only has it been proven that a handful of individuals in the financial district of New York City control the financial and industrial destiny of America but it has been revealed that many of those individuals steal and cheat and lie, rob each other ruthlessly, fraudulently deprive their Government of desperately needed revenue, and loot investors, mostly of the small variety, of billions of dollars.

To cover up their nefarious practices it has been demonstrated that they corrupt public officials, dominate the press, and seek to paralyze public thinking by flooding our country with misleading propaganda of all kinds.

For a long time the masses of our people would not believe these things. But the hard facts have caused them to change their minds.

When they heard the House of Morgan publicly confess that during years when his country was at the bottom of the world's most appalling depression he had not paid a penny of income tax; when they saw the president of the New York Stock Exchange going to prison as a common thief; when they learned that one utility company had spent $1,000,000 in fake telegrams to discredit needed legislation, they decided that Wall Street should no longer be permitted to lead this Nation around by the nose.

If capitalism is to survive in this country there must be a thorough housecleaning. If Otis & Co. can persuade some of the chief beneficiaries of capitalism to undertake the task, well and good. If that is not done, then the people will proceed with the job in their own way and Labor is not prophet enough to forecast what the result will be.

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE L. HERRING

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT SHOWING OPERATIONS AS OF JUNE 30, 1940

Mr. HERRING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement covering the operations of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation as of June 30, 1940.

There being no obection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION AS OF JUNE 30, 1940

Bank deposit insurance has received widespread public acceptance since its inception 6 years ago. Today, bank customers demand insurance for the protection of their deposits in commercial banks. Deposits in insured banks are protected by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation up to a maximum of $5,000 for each depositor in a single right or capacity.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation was established in 1933, following the most severe crisis in banking affairs in the history of the Nation, to provide the safety which had not been provided through previously existing supervisory and rediscount systems. For more than a century commercial banks have operated under State or Federal supervision, but this supervision did not prevent heavy losses to bank depositors during the years 1921–33.

Since deposit insurance became effective on January 1, 1934, insured depositors in suspended banks have been paid off as rapidly as they have presented and proved their claims. Losses resulting from bank failures are now distributed over the entire banking system instead of being concentrated upon certain individuals, groups, or communities.

DEPOSITORS PROTECTED BY THE CORPORATION

During the 6½ years since deposit insurance became effective 306 banks, with deposits of $124,616,000, have suspended operations because of financial difficulties. Of these banks, 3 were subsequently reopened or taken over by other insured banks; 219, with deposits of $83,912,000, were placed in receivership with depositors protected by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and 84 with deposits of $40,291,000, were noninsured banks with no depositors protected

by the Corporation. In addition, 123 banks, with deposits of $347,186,000, were merged with the aid of loans by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The depositors in these banks were fully protected by the terms of the merger agreements worked out with the aid of the Corporation. The loss to the Corporation on loans amounting to $145,584,000 is estimated to be less than the loss which would have resulted had the banks been placed in receivership.

More than 97 percent of the $431,098,000 deposits in the 342 insured banks which were closed or merged because of financial difficulties were fully protected by insurance, security, preferment, offset, or by the terms of the merger agreements. Of the 1,111,535 depositors, only 1,651, or less than one-fourth of 1 percent, held accounts in excess of $5,000 which were not fully protected.

Total disbursements of the Corporation in connection with the discharge of its financial responsibilities in these banks amounted to $219,931,000. These disbursements were considerably less than the amount of deposits protected. In the banks which suspended some deposits which were protected by legal preference or by pledged assets were paid directly by the receiver of the bank or from the proceeds of the sale of the pledged assets, while other depositors' claims were canceled by offsetting claims of the bank against the depositor. In the case of banks merged with the financial aid of the Corporation, the deposits were transferred directly to the new bank, together with the acceptable assets so that the disbursements of the Corporation amounted only to the deficiency in amount between the deposits transferred and the acceptable assets transferred. Losses to the Corporation and expenses incident to these disbursements are estimated at $45,526,000, or 11 percent of the protected deposits in the banks aided.

BANKS AND DEPOSITS PROTECTED BY INSURANCE

As of June 30, 1940, there were 14,461 operating commercial banks, with deposits of approximately $60,400,000,000, and 551 mutual savings banks, with deposits of about $10,650,000,000 in the United States and possessions.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation insured the deposits of 13,483 operating commercial banks, with deposits amounting to $58,425,000,000, and 51 mutual savings banks, with total deposits of $1,428,000,000. The amount of insured deposits in the insured commercial banks is estimated at 45 percent of the total deposits.

LOANS TO FACILITATE MERGERS

The power of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to make loans and to purchase assets makes it possible for the corporation to take action to clear up hazardous situations without the interruption in banking services which might result from suspension and receivership proceedings. When the Corporation eliminates an insolvent or hazardous bank by lending sufficient cash to the bank to enable it to merge with another bank, all of the deposits are transferred to the absorbing bank and made available immediately to the depositors. In making such loans the Corporation takes as collateral the assets which are unacceptable to the absorbing bank and is able to proceed with the liquidation of these assets in an orderly manner, giving due consideration to the customary credit relationships of debtors and to the condition of the community.

The experience of the Corporation in making loans to facilitate mergers has justified this course of action. After the banking holiday in 1933, a number of banks which were in a weakened condition were licensed and admitted to insurance in the expectation that they would be strengthened and restored to soundness. In most cases additional capital was required; in some cases changes in management and operating policies were also necessary. Some of these banks proved to be in such condition that rehabilitation was impossible and such cases constitute a large proportion of the banks which have been merged with the aid of loans from the Corporation. As a result of the Corporation's actions in merging these banks and owing to the manner in which the Corporation is able to liquidate their assets, the loss to the Corporation will be less than would have resulted from suspension and receivership of the banks.

BANK SUPERVISION BY THE CORPORATION

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has been charged not only with the responsibility of paying the insured claims of depositors in banks which close but also with the duty of eliminating hazardous banking situations and of preventing the development of continuance of unsafe and unsound practices.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has a more direct interest in the prevention of bank failures than any other bank supervisory authority for the reason that the Corporation must bear the financial burden resulting from such failures. If insured banks which are known to be in a weak condition are not rehabilitated, it is the Corporation rather than any other supervisory authority which bears the burden of their eventual failure. For this reason the policies of the Corporation have been developed on the principle of meeting hazardous situations as soon as they arise and of taking losses at the earliest practicable moment, so that whatever unforeseen economic development may occur, the banking system will be in good health and depositors will continue confident in the safety of their funds, thus reducing to a minimum the necessity for forced liquidation of bank assets to meet public demands for cash.

The chief supervisory powers of the Corporation are: (1) To examine or review examinations of insured banks; (2) to terminate the insured status of any bank which continues to engage in unsafe or unsound practices or violations of law; (3) to approve or disapprove noninsured banks for insurance and, in the case of insured banks not members of the Federal Reserve System, the establishment of branches or additional offices; and (4) to approve or disapprove any proposed retirement or reduction of capital by an insured bank not a member of the Federal Reserve System. Any insured bank must also obtain the approval of the Corporation before assuming the deposit liabilities of, or consolidating or merging with, a noninsured bank.

RELATION TO OTHER BANK SUPERVISORY AGENCIES

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is the one banking agency having dealings with and a vital interest in, the sound condition of each of the 1,400 insured banks. Since its inception the Corporation has made efforts to bring about coordination of supervisory standards and policies. Officials of the Corporation are in frequent conference with the Comptroller of the Currency and various State authorities regarding the chartering of banks and the preparation and enforcement of regulations affecting the operations of banks. A uniform examination policy has been adopted by the three Federal bank supervisory agencies and a majority of the State authorities. The executive committee of the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks has been constituted an advisory committee of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and its counsel has played an important part in the development and execution of the Corporation's policies.

BANK EXAMINATIONS

The chief means by which the Corporation ascertains the soundness of the banks whose deposits it insures is the bank examination. The quality of the bank's assets, the bank's net worth, and the caliber of its management are appraised by trained and experienced examiners. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation conducts annual examinations of about 7,000 insured banks not members of the Federal Reserve System. These banks are not examined by any other Federal agency. Many regular examinations are conducted jointly or alternately with the State supervisory authorities. The Corporation also reviews reports of examinations of bank members of the Federal Reserve System made by other Federal agencies and may examine banks under the supervision of those agencies by requesting and obtaining the written approval of the Comptroller of the Currency or the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Such requests are usually made in connection with applications to this Corporation for loans to facilitate mergers, proceedings for termination of insured status, or in connection with applications for insurance from banks proposing to withdraw from membership in the Federal Reserve System, but may be made in any instance where such action appears justified from the standpoint of protecting the interests of the Corporation.

The examination procedure of the Corporation was revised in 1938 as a result of efforts to obtain greater uniformity among the various Federal and State bank supervisory authorities. The revised procedure is notable because all insured banks are subjected for the first time to the same set of rules and standards and because it is designed to work without substantial alteration equally well in every bank at every stage of the business cycle. To bankers the chief advantages of the uniform procedure are that assets of banking quality will be valued by examiners on the basis of judgment as to their intrinsic soundness, without regard for temporary market conditions and that bankers will know in what light assets they acquire will be judged by examiners.

TERMINATION OF INSURED STATUS

The Corporation is authorized to terminate the insured status of any insured bank which continues to engage in unsafe or unsound practices or violations of law or regulations. When proceedings are instituted the proper bank supervisory authority is first notified and the bank may be allowed a period of 4 months in which to correct the practices or violations in question, after which it is reexamined to determine the extent to which the corrections have been made.

If the practices or violations have not been corrected, the bank is notified of the intention of the Corporation to terminate its insured status and a hearing is held by the board of directors of the Corporation, or by some person designated by the board for that purpose, at which the bank may appear. If the charges against the bank are sustained and it is unwilling to make corrections, an order may be issued terminating the insured status of the bank. Insured deposits in the bank on the date of termination of insured status, less subsequent withdrawals, continue to be insured for 2 years thereafter. Frequently banks against which these proceedings are instituted agree to the corrections before it is necessary to hold a hearing, or are satisfactorily disposed of in some other manner without the necessity of actually terminating deposit insurance.

Unsafe and unsound practices for which banks are cited nearly always include operation with seriously impaired and inadequate capital and generally include also tax loan and collection policies and excessive volume of substandard assets. Most of the banks which have been cited by the Corporation were operated by weak or incompetent managements.

APPLICATIONS FOR INSURANCE AND FOR APPROVAL OF NEW BRANCHES

Banks in the continental United States granted national charters and authorized to open for business by the Comptroller of the Currency are automatically admitted to insurance by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. National banks in the possessions applying for insurance and certified by the Comptroller of the Currency as to ability to qualify for insurance and noninsured State banks which are admitted to membership in the Federal Re-

serve System are also automatically admitted to insurance by the Corporation.

Noninsured banks which apply for insurance as banks not members of the Federal Reserve System are examined by the Corporation prior to admission. The deposit-insurance law requires that in considering the application of a bank for admission to insurance, the Corporation shall take into account the following factors: The financial history and condition of the bank, the adequacy of its capital structure, its future earnings prospects, the general character of its management, the convenience and needs of the community to be served by the bank and whether or not its corporate powers are consistent with the purposes of the deposit-insurance law.

Similar requirements exist with respect to the establishment of branches of insured banks. National banks and State banks members of the Federal Reserve System may establish branches with the approval of the Comptroller of the Currency or of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, respectively. Insured banks not members of the Federal Reserve System must obtain the approval of the Corporation before establishing any new branch or changing the location of an existing bank.

The Corporation has no express authority over the chartering of banks. The Federal and State agencies having such authority, however, have in general followed the policy of refusing to charter a bank which could not qualify for insurance on its merits. As a consequence, few banks have been chartered which have not been admitted to insurance and few banks have been organized the prospects for which appear unpromising.

The Corporation favors granting adequate banking facilities to communities which need banking services and which can support sound, well-managed banks. On the other hand, the Corporation would be derelict in its responsibility to depositors and to existing insured banks were it to admit to insurance proposed institutions which, in its judgment, were foredoomed to failure.

MAINTENANCE OF ADEQUATE BANK CAPITAL

The Corporation, as the chief agency of protection of depositors and as the chief creditor and chief loser in bank insolvencies is especially concerned with the maintenance of adequate capital in banks. When the capital is small with respect to the bank's responsibilities, vigilant supervision is necessary to prevent dissipation of the capital, accumulation of risky assets and ultimate insolvency. The present rate of assessment was established on the assumption that losses from bank insolvency would be smaller in the future than in the past, but the average ratio of capital to total deposits of the banks in the country has declined over the past 75 years and double liability of stockholders has been largely eliminated, further reducing the actual protection of creditors. While this declining margin of capital protection need not be a matter of concern to those depositors who are fully protected by deposit insurance, it should be a matter of concern to supervisory authorities and to the bankers themselves who may be called upon to choose between adequate capital ratios and a higher assessment rate for deposit insurance.

Through its power to disapprove admission of noninsured or newly organized banks to insurance and establishment of branches by insured banks not members of the Federal Reserve System, the Corporation can prevent the establishment of banking offices by such banks when they do not meet the capital standards set by the Corporation. Insured banks not members of the Federal Reserve System must also apply to the Corporation for approval before they can retire or reduce capital. The Corporation's authority does not apply to national banks nor to State banks members of the Federal Reserve System, so that it cannot exercise uniform supervision over all insured banks with respect to capital and banking offices.

LEGISLATION CREATING THE FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION

The Corporation was organized under authority of the Banking Act of 1933, approved on June 16, 1933. Insurance of deposits by the Temporary Federal Deposit Insurance Fund became effective January 1, 1934, covering 13,201 of the Nation's 15,000 licensed banks. Under the original act and its subsequent amendments insurance under the temporary fund was to continue until replaced by insurance under a permanent plan.

The deposit-insurance law was revised by the Banking Act of 1935, which became effective on August 23, 1935. On that date the permanent plan of deposit insurance went into effect, replacing the temporary plan. To meet the cost of protecting deposits up to the maximum of $5,000 for each depositor in a single right or capacity, insured banks pay an assessment to the Corporation at the annual rate of one-twelfth of 1 percent of their total deposits. This is less than the annual rate of loss to depositors resulting from bank failures during the past 70 years. It has been the Corporation's hope, however, that the present assessment rate will prove adequate for its needs as the result of progressive improvement in banking standards and technique and more enlightened supervisory policies.

BANK SUSPENSIONS PRIOR TO FEDERAL INSURANCE OF DEPOSITS

During the 70 years prior to the establishment of deposit insurance approximately 19,000 commercial banks, with deposits of about $10,000,000,000, suspended operations because of financial difficulties or inability to meet the demands of their depositors. Losses to depositors in these banks have been estimated at about $2,500,000,000, or one-fourth of 1 percent per year of deposits in all operating commercial banks.

In the 4 years prior to the assumption of office by President Roosevelt on March 4, 1933, there were 6,035 bank suspensions in the United States. This figure does not include 3,413 banks which were not licensed by June 30, 1933, following the banking holiday and which are tabulated as bank suspensions. While the banks which were unable to reopen after the banking holiday did not actually suspend operations until after March 4, 1933, the financial difficulties which caused them to suspend had developed prior to that date.

From the close of the banking holiday to January 1, 1934, when the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation began operations, 179 operating banks, with deposits of $145,072,000, suspended. This figure is exclusive of banks unable to reopen after the banking holiday and covers only banks reopened after the holiday which were forced to close again before the end of the year.

Since deposit insurance became effective the frequency of bank failures has been very greatly reduced. Since January 1, 1934, failures have occurred at an average rate of 47 per year, while during the 13 years prior to deposit insurance the average number of failures was 1,139 per year.

The 1940 Mobilization for Human Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the radio address delivered by the President in behalf of the 1940 mobilization for human needs, on October 13, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Chairman Adams, Community Chest workers, friends of human needs, the mobilization for human needs this year is more than ever an expression of our national community spirit. It is, as it always has been, a good cause, participated in by good Americans who represent all sections of our country, all walks of life, all shades of political opinion, all races and creeds.

But in this critical moment of our history we must be more than ever conscious of the true meaning of the community spirit which it expresses. It is a spirit which comes from our community of interests, our community of faith in the democratic ideal, our community of devotion to God.

Wherever men and women of good will gather together to serve their community, there is America. It was true in the first little town meetings in the Massachusetts Bay colony, when the good folk assembled to decide measures of defense against the Indians, and how to build their first school, and how to care for their aged and sick. It is still true in this great national drive all the way across our continent for the Community Chest funds.

Even in the early days when our society centered in the village community, and when every neighbor knew all the neighbors, the care of the poor was in some measure a public undertaking. In colonial America money raised through taxation was often distributed by the churches among the poor. Later the county government and the city council assumed a part of these duties. Then the State itself began taking care of some of the sick. And, finally, in our own day, the National Government was obliged to assume a definite responsibility in giving work to able-bodied needy unemployed.

At one stage in our national history, the baskets of bread and meat carried by housewives to the houses down below the railroad tracks were adequate to temper the suffering of the victims of industrial depression. In those days a group of town businessmen, gathered on the sidewalk at the chief corner of Main Street, could devise some method so that Joe Smith and Tom Jones would be able to buy shoes for their children.

When, however, American industry went on a mass-production basis, it became increasingly difficult for men to find employment on the assembly line; it created a problem in the unemployment of elderly men and middle-aged men too great to be solved by the good will of individual businessmen on a street corner.

When the World War caused the Great Plains to be plowed up for wheat, and the wheat fields turned into dust storms, that drove 200,000 members of the Joad family to California, there was a problem of unemployment and suffering that could no longer be handled by baskets of bread and meat.

Through the industrial era there were created problems of old age; of mass unemployment; of occupational diseases; of industrial accidents; of child labor and sweatshops—too great to be solved by the individual or the family, or by friends or private charity.

These were problems which could be handled only by the joint and common endeavors of the Government of the United States, the

governments of our States, our counties, our towns, and of the organized charities and social-service agencies run by private methods. Government authorities have always required the cooperation of men and women banded together in organizations such as those you represent, to bring the kindly touch of human sympathy to the tragedies of dislocated, broken families.

It is necessary for us to remember the very intimate and human side of these problems. Only in a limited measure can flexibility of administration temper the impersonal quality of general rules of law. Private charity is essential to personalize and humanize the task of relieving suffering. For general rules cannot cover the wide range of ever-varying human needs, because human needs are affected by a thousand matters which do not fit into pigeon holes.

As long as there is illness in the world, as long as there is poverty, as long as families are stricken with personal misfortune, it will be necessary for the good-hearted men and women of America to mobilize for human needs.

This year as never before there is need for an intensification of our efforts. Events abroad have warned us not only of the need of planes and tanks, and ships and guns; they have also warned us of the need of grit and sacrifice, of daring and devotion, and all those intangible things which go to make up a Nation's morale.

When we join together in serving our local community, we add strength to our national community, we help to fortify the structure of our whole Union. That form of fortification—that spiritual fortification—is not to be dismissed lightly by those in other lands who believe that nations can live by force alone.

Human kindness has never weakened the stamina or softened the fiber of a free people. A nation does not have to be cruel in order to be tough. The vigorous expression of our American community spirit is truly important.

The ancient injunction to love thy neighbor as thyself is still the force that animates our faith—a faith that we are determined shall live and conquer in a world poisoned by hatred and ravaged by war.

I ask for your enlistment in the mobilization for human needs, for your wholehearted devotion to the American community spirit. I ask you to prove your good faith in good works.

Twelve Years of Republican Accomplishments Under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 9, 1940

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, oft men's actions pervert to irony, their lives to satire and, combined, to disaster.

LIKE THE NORMALCY OF HARDING

Harding the festive, the affable, the unresistant, the symbol of dubious government which the gang extolled as normal. Like Caesar, Harding, too, had his Brutus, only multiplied. His destroyers were Daugherty, Fall, Sinclair, Forbes, Miller, Doheny, some shielded ones, and the $100,000 black bag.

LIKE THE SILENCE OF COOLIDGE

Coolidge the heeder of his master's voice but, with his own mum. Coolidge the obtuse believer that the frightened guilty would curb their rapacities, the concealer of crude thieveries which only resurged more insidiously with deadlier finesse, the husher-up of scandal, Silent Cal the submissive. His requiem was fashioned by the malefactors of high finance whom he had abetted.

LIKE THE GENIUS OF HOOVER

Hoover the great engineer, the glorified promoter, the quixotic knight-errant ever jousting for honor of his beloved mammon; the rugged individualist who exhorted that "* * * capital in the house of the insiders is often invested to more reproductive purposes than if it had remained in the hands of the idiots who parted with it." But, even by usurped control of his adroit supermen, the investments of the masses did not reproduce; only bankruptcy aborted. His end came by the suffrage of those same idiots—at least 9,000,000 of them with twenty-one billion thrifty dollars that had gone with the wind.

THOSE WERE MELLON YEARS

A cut in taxes went to all burdened with incomes of over $50,000; a cut of $3,000,000,000 was returned from income-tax payments to all oppressed with inordinate riches like the Mellons, Rockefellers, Du Ponts, monopolistic corporations and others; a cut was made in our foreign trade by the shrewd Smoot-Hawley tariff bill that brought on almost a complete cut of markets and friendships with our South American neighbors and an indisputable cut was given normal economies of continental Europe which helped bring on those great entrepreneurs Joe, Benito, and Adolf.

THOSE WERE STATESMANLIKE YEARS

The Lodges and Johnsons, squired by that statesman at large, Borah, possessed wisdom of foreign affairs at their fingertips. They were clairvoyant; they understood unerringly; they judged harshly. They had their eyes wide open to realities; they jeered at dreams of the war-torn world and of that man Wilson for a League of Nations. Wilson left them off the Peace Commission. Their vanities were lacerated. They were eager of ambition, devotees of glory, burning to crown their egoisms with halos as apostles of humanity, but were frustrated. Demagogues were loosed to pander to the war-weary, cunningly to build up prejudices. Charlatans flaunted their pretensions to patriotism the while snaring the unversed into doubt and suspicion. When Wilson urged his country equally with all nations to accept inherent responsibilities in some degree as inherent benefits, his idealism was rent to shreds, and civilization's hope for a juster world and a greater peace was supplanted with envy, mistrust, jealousy. The world which saw in the United States of America strength of ability, born of unselfishness, to secure international unanimity toward judicial determination of its differences instead of through war, now witnessed debilitation of its great promise and a relentless hounding to his grave of the man whose life was sacrificed in service to men. These deceptive soothsayers diverted mankind from promised hope back to the road of despair. To cloak their hoax in color of reality, these Machiavellian statesmen invented the bugaboo "No foreign entanglements," which Washington never uttered. They scuttled $100,000,000 worth of our warships; they rid us of our merchant marine. The little yellow man who struts so big laughed up his sleeve and strutted bigger.

THOSE WERE VIBRANT YEARS

Twelve of them, and full of thrills. Republican oracles vociferated in Congress, in State legislatures, in city halls; they heralded a new day. Business was big, business was getting bigger, and business would become biggest. Unlike the Sphinx, Silent Cal spoke; a new era was dawning; sky-high stocks would go yet higher. Presses were busiest; they printed glowing accounts of the Midas order; others printed stock. All was paper. Everyone bought paper. Money became so much dross. The real thing was stock or bonds—domestic, foreign, any kind. Germany rebuilt its roads, it slums, its cities, its villages; we gave our money; she gave us paper.

The Whitneys, the Hopsons, the Insulls, the Willkies led the debauch of enterprise. They were financial wizards; they led us on and on and on to the sudden ending of the road. There, there was no bottom; we got dizzy and became very, very sick.

Billions were lost and millions were made destitute. The great financiers lost their heads; the banks lost their assets; insurance companies lost their hauteur; big business lost its arrogance; millions lost their jobs; other millions, their investments and savings; wheat sold for 9 cents; freight on potatoes was more than their carload worth; the deficit reached but $7,000,000,000; veterans were chased from Washington with bayonets; homes lost their values; people lived off relatives; some slept in alleys; soup kitchens were quite in style.

Hoover tongue-lashed about rugged individualism, opposed "any direct or indirect Government dole" boasted that "the emergencies of unemployment have been met by action in many directions" and that "the time is ripe for forward action to expedite recovery." He decided to "put some steel beams in the foundations of our credit structure" albeit "we do not require more money or working capital"

Because our currency and bank deposits are protected by the greatest gold reserve in history * * *.

Yet 9,000 banks closed their doors and others awaited like ruin.

Those were days of great chimerical soothsaying full of academics but of no action; days fraught with rumbling un-

rest, boiling discontent, and imminent irruption. The people lost their rugged individualities, but retained their heads and patriotism. They turned their beguilers out and elected Roosevelt.

Roosevelt strengthened the banks; insured people's deposits, and ruined the soft profession of bank receivers.

Roosevelt spent billions to provide work; every State, every city, and almost every village and hamlet in the Union profited by new roads, schools, bridges, public buildings, water systems, sewage plants, erosion works, power systems, airports, parks, and other works that shall serve them for decades to come, and whose value shall come back manyfold. Roosevelt opened vistas of new life for 800,000 young men in C. C. C. camps, he gave financial assistance to small and big business, he saved building and loan associations for their shareholders, homes for millions of families, farms for millions of farmers; he insured financing for millions of new homebuilders and resurrected hope and confidence throughout the land.

Roosevelt stopped stock-market fleecing so as to restore faith in security investments; he put an end to 4-percent and 4½-percent premiums on Government bonds that now pay no more than one-fourth of 1 percent.

Roosevelt placed the human being ahead of property; he gave the Nation social security, old-age pensions, unemployment benefits, minimum wages, maximum employment hours, the prerogative of collective bargaining, and a concept of mutuality between employer and employee.

Unemployment fast is lessening, wages are rising, business profits are increasing, and the Nation has come through sufferings from 12 years of Republican misrule stronger, more hopeful, and more united for teamwork in any eventuality than ever before.

The Nation rapidly is repairing the weaknesses in our defenses committed by Republican belief that this Nation forever can live in a cocoon albeit even a moth must come out into the open world so that it may live.

During Roosevelt's Presidency we have accumulated almost 80 percent of the world's stock of gold. We owe no nation a penny. The scarecrow of the unbalanced Budget is another bugaboo of the Republican mind. Billions of the dollars they weep about as spent shall be repaid from loans to business—the same business whose many vociferous members revile Roosevelt although he saved them from bankruptcy; the other billions stand throughout the country as real assets, as public works, or as the means that saved tens of thousands of families from disintegration, and the Nation from upheaval.

Securities and Exchange Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS T. MALONEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

LETTER BY ARTHUR H. DEAN

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be published in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written to the editor of the New York Times by Arthur H. Dean, counsel for the Investment Bankers' Association, and a member of a prominent New York law firm. It stresses a need for fairness—even in the heat of a political campaign.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of October 11, 1940]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In your issue of October 8 there appeared a full-page advertisement of The United States News, headed "Supposing Mr. Roosevelt is elected for a third term—the record a Chief Executive can make and what the people will say about it at the polls in terms of advice to future Presidents of the United States."

It then stated "the election of Mr. Roosevelt in 1940 would prove: * * * (7) that a President may boldly seek votes by establishing partisan relations with one class of voters and turn over governmental boards and bureaus to personnel friendly to such classes or groups without regard to the principles of fair play in public administration as, for instance, in the National Labor Relations Board, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Communications Commission—and the majority of the American people really don't care."

Without expressing any opinion with respect to the merits of the remainder of the advertisement or as to the accuracy of the statement as affecting other agencies, it does not seem to me proper to permit the quoted statement to pass unchallenged.

As one who has followed the work of the Securities and Exchange Commission since its inception and who in the Dickinson report recommended the establishment of an independent agency to administer the Securities Act and the law affecting stock exchanges, I can testify that the President has not turned the Securities and Exchange Commission over to partisan classes or groups without regard to the principles of fair play in public administration.

While on occasions I have disagreed with and have criticized the Commission for various of its acts or decisions, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove that the Commission has a personnel friendly to any particular classes or groups or that it has acted without regard to the principles of fair play in public administration.

On the contrary, I think the country has been exceedingly fortunate in the Commission's members, personnel, and decisions. I doubt if the country has ever seen any finer type of public servants than Joseph P. Kennedy, James M. Landis, William O. Douglas, Jerome N. Frank, Judge Robert E. Healy, George C. Mathews, Ferdinand Pecora, J. D. Ross, John W. Hanes, Leon Henderson, Sumner T. Pike, Edward C. Eicher, and the various department heads.

Under its present Chairman, the Commission is vigorously pursuing its policy of trying to improve its administration of the acts entrusted to its care.

In the heat of a political campaign let us not forget to be fair.

ARTHUR H. DEAN.

NEW YORK, *October 9, 1940.*

Dutchess County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by the President at the Dutchess County Democratic Committee meeting October 5, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To Jim Benson, to all of you who are attending the dinner tonight, I want to express my regret that I cannot be with you in person.

I hope that your efforts in the coming weeks will be crowned by success. I sincerely believe that you are seeking to give to our county definite improvement in the various forms of local government, and to our freely chosen representative system in Albany and Washington nominees who measure up to high standards, both of integrity and of intelligence.

Wholly aside from any partisan feeling, I am sure that I am not alone in this county of Dutchess in feeling that local government could be very greatly improved in many particulars.

I would have exactly the same feeling if the county government and all town governments were in the hands of people who had been elected as Democrats. I do not think that other people, whether they call themselves Republicans or Democrats or Independents, are complacent about things as they stand today.

All of us, if we are fair-minded, know that very great improvements can be made. All of us know that for the amount of money which the taxpayers of this county pay year after year we could have better planning and better management and that we could get less partisanship for our money.

I trust that in the coming campaign the Democratic candidates for office will stress not so much their democracy as they will their belief that they can give more efficient and honest service than many of those who are their opponents.

Government down at the bottom—local government—very closely touches the lives of every individual citizen or family. No matter how much those in the Federal Government or at Albany strive to plan and carry out improvements, interest in

local government is an essential. Simplification of local government is an essential. Constant local vigilance is an essential. Scrutiny of the records of those who represent you and ask a renewal of your confidence is an essential.

The popualtion of Dutchess County is growing greatly. We represent almost every form of American life. Our two cities are growing; the suburban areas are growing; the villages are growing; and still most of the area of the county is devoted to farming.

That is why I have always placed so much emphasis on planning for the future. We do not want the county of 1960 to represent a "topsy-like" growth, presenting many serious problems which could be prevented by our looking ahead in 1940.

The unplanned history of other counties in this State shows us many examples. Too often this has been due to lack of interest on the part of the voters, and it is essential for us to choose as our officials people who will not only do the grand job called for by the office, but will also think about how they can improve things for the next generation. I am especially interested in the problems of that coming generation, and I am sure that you are also.

Overstatement, personal attacks, and wild promises have no part in our county campaign—any more than in a national campaign. I am very certain that realizing this you will conduct it on the highest possible level of American ethics and decency. May your efforts be understood and approved by the voters next November.

I shall be thinking greatly of my old constituents, my old friends, and my old neighbors.

Good luck to you all.

Stay Out of War—No Recess

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, while I and every Republican Member of Congress from Iowa have been right here on the job supporting the A. A. A. program in all its phases and trying our level best to keep this Nation out of war, Mr. Wallace has been out in Iowa making speeches severely berating the Republican Members of Congress for doing this, that, and the other thing.

I will not say that Mr. Wallace has deliberately lied to get votes for the New Deal, but, just to keep the record straight, I do say he has not told the whole story or been fair enough to give credit where credit was due. I note he failed to inform his listeners that an appropriation for parity payments was excluded from his recommendations to the Budget Bureau for the year beginning July 1, 1940, at the request of Mr. Roosevelt. While at the same time Mr. F. D. R. was demanding more and more billions to spend for every kind of pork-barrel appropriations imaginable, when he should have been spending those billions to build up our national defense long ago, instead of waiting to do all that just before this election.

Now Mr. Wallace and his New Deal spokesmen are running all over the country telling the people that unless the New Deal is kept in power the farm program will cease, and that those so unfortunate to be on relief will starve, or words to that effect. Mr. Speaker, you know and I know that nothing could be farther from the truth. In fact, as most thinking people of America see it today, the greatest danger in this matter lies in the exact opposite. Mr. Willkie and Mr. McNARY have on many occasions assured the farmers and the people on relief that these things absolutely would not happen if they are elected. Unless Mr. Willkie and Mr. McNARY are elected on November 5, at the rate this New Deal has squandered money since 1932, there will very soon be no funds left in the Federal Treasury from which to pay soil-conservation payments, parity payments, commodity loans, or any other benefits to farmers, W. P. A. workers, C. C. C. boys, N. Y. A., or old-age pensions to the needy, let alone to pay the regular expenses of running the Government, and such as is vitally necessary for a strong national defense.

I say it is high time for the American people to wake up, with 12,000,000 people on the monthly Federal pay roll and already a national debt amounting to 40 percent of the assessed value of every home in America, and on top of all that a war staring us in the face, mainly because of the constant meddling by the war-mongering high Government officials in the affairs of most every nation of this earth, a war which could easily cost us another $50,000,000,000, which we do not have any means of raising without complete financial collapse. Even with one eye open anybody can see the road which lies ahead, if they will use their God-given common sense they will see in this present planned, entangled mess, only war, revolutions, bloodshed, suffering, bankruptcy, inflation, dictatorship, and then gone forever will be our free speech, free press, and the right to worship God in our own way.

So, in all earnestness and sincerity I would plead with every liberty-loving American to wake up. I would plead with the American farmer to leave his plow and heed the clarion call in defense of his cherished liberties before they are driven to beat their plow shares into swords as did their forefathers, who went forth into battle to shed their precious blood to defend their liberties and to leave for us the great republican form of government for all posterity to enjoy. After the signing of our great Constitution, one of Benjamin Franklin's colleagues asked him what kind of a government they had established by that document, and Franklin replied, "A republican form of government, if we can keep it." Mr. Speaker, it is our duty to ourselves and our children to keep it without resorting to arms, if by any means we can avoid it. It is much better and safer to resort to the ballot box, which is the American way. In all sincerity I would plead with every mother's son and daughter to exercise their right of suffrage, and to think not only of their welfare, but also the generations yet unborn.

Mr. Speaker, if ever there was a time when I was proud of the knowledge that there is less illiteracy in the good old State of Iowa than in any other State of the Union, it is right now, because, with the most important election of all times but a few days off, we have very good reasons to believe that if every State in the Union goes as Iowa goes on November 5 there will be little need for alarm thereafter, as Iowa is going strong for Willkie and McNARY.

It is most encouraging that a certain popular leader, who has for years constantly urged legislation for more adequate pensions for the aged people of our Nation, has come out squarely for Mr. Willkie. This good American knows and is willing to go on record against an administration which he feels will finally deplete our national finances, leaving nothing with which to care for our people in their declining years of life.

Look at this chart; it tells the whole story in a few words. This chart was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD just recently by my good friend the Honorable JAMES SECCOMBE, Congressman from Canton, Ohio, the home State of that great President, William McKinley, who brought prosperity and security out of chaos after he was elected in 1896. You older men can remember it well. I have often heard my father speak of Mr. McKinley in glowing admiration. He was a great President. Now, read this chart. I need not elaborate on it further:

A timetable of dictatorship

The steps	France	Germany	Italy	Mexico	United States
Extravagant public works	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Concentrate power in executive	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Undermine independent judiciary	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Excessive subsidies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Government by decree	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Encourage subversvie forces	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Impose confiscatory taxes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Restrict private investments	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Unbalance budget	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Impose planned economy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Foster class conflicts	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Control of banks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Destroy morale of industry	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Excessive borrowing	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Enlarge bureaucracy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Huge national debt	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Pile up hopeless deficits	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Conscript army	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes.
Nationalize industry	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?).
Regiment farms	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?).
Regiment labor	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?).
Dictatorship	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	(?).

know whose. And you are told that if you do not adopt this child and accept these proposals, democracy is threatened. I think the question to ask is, By whom and by what?

The four question marks must never be changed to "Yes" for the United States. They will not be changed so long as no President is elected for a third term. That must not happen in America, and I do not believe it will happen for the simple reason that I am confident the great majority of voters know by this time that President Roosevelt has let himself become so involved in all kinds of foreign entanglements from which he cannot unravel himself and would gradually become more involved, to the end that the voters have come to the conclusion it is necessary to take him out of the picture and put in his place Mr. Willkie. Mr. Willkie is not obligated by any promises, commitments, or secret agreements with any foreign nation whatsoever, and by electing him the American people will place America in such a position again that we will not be termed by any European nation as a belligerent. The result will be that we will not become involved in the war, nor will we be penalized commercially after the war is over. That, Mr. Speaker, is the big issue in this campaign, and it is very encouraging to know that the American people are getting the facts. And when they have all the facts in a political campaign they become crusaders for the right; that is what is taking place all over America today. For that reason there is high hope of a new and brighter day ahead.

Congress should remain in session to be ready to meet any situation which might arise to plunge us into war, even though Mr. Roosevelt has been telling us ever since last June that we should get out of Washington. Mr. Speaker, this is no time for Congress to recess, regardless of the campaign now in progress in our districts, at least until we are sure this country can stay out of war.

Social Security Payments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS T. MALONEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM HARTFORD TIMES

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that there may be published in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which appeared in the Hartford Times of last Saturday.

This editorial suggests the need for fairness—and points to the unfairness and misfortune of careless and exaggerated statements—even in the heat of a campaign.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A MISTAKE BY MR. WILLKIE

The Hartford Times is supporting Wendell Willkie as a candidate for the Presidency. That does not mean that it supports everything he says or does. One thing which it distinctly does not support is his assertion to the factory workers of Bridgeport that if the present administration is reelected "you'll never collect a dime on your social security."

Neither Mr. Willkie nor any other person has any inside information which warrants such a dogmatic statement. Social security is the law of the land. The only possible assumption is that the Government will keep its contract.

Whether the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt is efficient or inefficient in the management of the Nation's finances; it is inexcusable to suggest that its return to office means that social-security payments will not be made. It is particularly reprehensible for anyone to attempt to undermine the faith of the people in their Government as a means of destroying their confidence in a particular administration. Such statements are poor business—as poor as the hints that Mr. Willkie is an appeaser or pro-Hitler.

Destroyer Transfer to Great Britain Unconstitutional and Unlawful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of October 13:

[From the New York Times of October 13, 1940]

EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY HELD EXCEEDED IN DESTROYER DEAL—REGARDLESS OF PUBLIC APPROVAL AND ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OPINION, THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS IS REGARDED AS NECESSARY UNDER CONSTITUTION AND STATUTES

[The writer of the following letter has been McCormick professor of jurisprudence at Princeton since 1918. He has written many books on governmental subjects. In 1936 he was a special assistant to the Attorney General and in 1937 was consultant of the Attorney General on constitutional questions. He is also author of a just-published book, The President, Office and Powers.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In the 1872 edition of his famous work on the English Constitution, Walter Bagehot took occasion to mention some of the things that the Queen could do without consulting Parliament. The passage in question reads, in part, as follows:

"Not to mention other things, she could disband the army, * * * she could dismiss all the sailors, too; she could sell off all our ships of war and all our naval stores; she could make a peace by the sacrifice of Cornwall, and begin a war for the conquest of Brittany."

Most American readers of these words will be rather surprised to learn that substantially these very powers have recently been claimed by high authority for the President acting independently of Congress. Such, however, is the case. I refer to Attorney General Jackson's opinion of August 27 advising the President that he had the right, without getting the consent either of Congress or of the Senate, to exchange 50 units of the United States Navy for a lease of certain British defense areas in the Atlantic. Was this advice good law and good Constitution?

BARGAIN APPROVED

No one questions that the bargain struck with Great Britain was, so far as the immediate consideration involved, a good one, nor that it has met with overwhelming popular approval. I venture, nevertheless, to suggest that the latter would not have been quite so widespread had people generally understood the extent to which normal constitutional procedures were departed from on this occasion, and especially had they grasped some of the implications of the grounds on which the Attorney General undertook to justify the departure.

For a parallel to President Roosevelt's course one has to go back to President Lincoln's proclamation of a blockade of the southern ports in April 1861, without consulting Congress. The parallel, however, breaks down in at least three important respects: First, the situation which confronted Lincoln was instant and overwhelming and had to be acted upon at once, whereas the situation upon which Mr. Roosevelt acted had been in existence for some months; second, Congress was not in session in April 1861, and it was in session in August 1940; third, when Congress did meet Lincoln asked for and secured its validation of his action.

NOT IN CONSTITUTION

The Attorney General exonerates the President from the necessity of consulting the Senate on the ground that the agreement under which the 50 destroyers were transferred to Great Britain was an executive agreement and not a treaty. Despite the fact that the Constitution knows nothing about executive agreements, it is nonetheless true that practice since 1900 has caused the line between treaties which have to be submitted to the Senate for its approval, and executive agreements which do not, to become indefinite and hazy. This feature of the Attorney General's opinion I shall therefore discuss no further.

The important question, however, remains, and that is whether the agreement, or more especially the part of it involving the 50 destroyers, required the consent of Congress.

Article IV, section 3, paragraph 2 of the Constitution provides that "the Congress shall have power to dispose of * * * the territory or other property of the United States." The 50 destroyers were, of course, at the time of their transfer to Great Britain, property of the United States. Had, then, Congress enacted legislation which was fairly interpretable as authorizing the President to dispose of them by handing them over to Great Britain in the manner just indicated?

In this connection our attention is directed by the Attorney General to sections 491 to 492 of title 34 of the United States Code, which were first enacted in 1883 and which appear in the code under the caption, "Disposal of unfit or unsuitable vessels"; and to section 14 (a) of the act of June 28 last (Public, 671).

SURVEY PROVIDED FOR

By section 491 the Secretary of the Navy is required to have the vessels of the Navy periodically surveyed as to their fitness by "competent boards of officers of the Navy," upon whose recommendation he is authorized to strike unfit vessels from the Navy Register. By section 492 it is made the further duty of the Secretary to cause such vessels to be appraised and advertised in the newspapers for sale to the highest competitive bidders. "Except as otherwise provided by law," the section concludes, "no vessel of the Navy shall hereafter be sold in any other manner than herein provided, or for less than such appraised value, unless the President of the United States shall otherwise direct in writing."

In *Levinson* v. *United States* (258 U. S. 198 (1922)), which involved the question which of two private bidders was the legal purchaser of a certain vessel, it was held that the President was authorized, by the quoted clause of section 492, to vary the manner of sale as well as the price.

Finally, by section 14 (a) of the act of June 28, 1940, the foregoing provisions were amended by the requirement that "no military or naval weapon, ship, boat, aircraft," and so on, "to which the United States has title in whole or in part * * * shall hereafter be transferred, exchanged, sold, or otherwise disposed of in any manner whatsoever unless the Chief of Naval Operations, in the case of naval material * * * shall first certify that such material is not essential to the defense of the United States."

Was the President empowered by this legislation to transfer the 50 destroyers to Great Britain? Clearly not, for 2 reasons: First, because the transaction was obviously not a sale in the sense of section 492, the manner of which the President was authorized to alter; second, because the destroyers, while they had been earlier stricken from the Navy Register as obsolete, had been later restored to it and were, at the time of the agreement with the British Government, in active service.

Nor, in fact, does the Attorney General, in the portion of his opinion now under consideration, claim that the President derived the powers which he exercised when he transferred the destroyers to Great Britain from the legislation referred to. Thus, in commenting on section 492 and the Levinson case, he says:

"The right of the President to dispose of vessels of the Navy and unneeded naval material finds clear recognition in at least two enactments of the Congress and a decision of the Supreme Court * * * and any who assert that the authority does not exist must assume the burden of establishing that both the Congress and the Supreme Court meant something less than the clear import of seemingly plain language."

And again:

"So far as concerns this statute, in my opinion it leaves the President as Commander in Chief of the Navy free to make such disposition of naval vessels as he finds necessary in the public interest, and I find nothing that would indicate that the Congress has tried to limit the President's plenary powers to vessels already stricken from the naval registry. The President, of course, would exercise his powers only under the high sense of responsibility which follows his rank as Commander in Chief of his Nation's defense forces."

CONSTITUTIONALITY QUESTIONED

And with reference to section 14 (a) of the act of June 28 last, he says:

"Thus to prohibit action by the constitutionally created Commander in Chief except upon authorization of a statutory officer subordinate in rank is of questionable constitutionality. However, since the statute requires certification only of matters as to which you [the President] would wish, irrespective of the statute, to be satisfied, and as the legislative history of the section indicates that no arbitrary restriction is intended, it seems unnecessary to raise the question of constitutionality which such a provision would otherwise invite."

In short, the Attorney General treats the legislation here under consideration as recognizing "the right of the President," by virtue particularly of his power as Commander in Chief, "to dispose of vessels of the Navy," and he suggests that legislation by Congress restrictive of this "right" would be unconstitutional.

The logical consequences of this line of reasoning are, as I hinted at the outset, rather startling. Pursuing it, the President would have the power, subject only to "his high sense of responsibility" as Commander in Chief, to hand over the entire Navy to another government.

Nor is this all. For if Congress' specifically delegated power to "dispose of property of the United States" can be thus thrust aside by the President's vague powers as Commander in Chief—and that notwithstanding his constitutional duty to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed"—why may not Congress' specifically delegated power to "regulate commerce with foreign nations" be similarly thrust aside by the President's power in the conduct of foreign relations? Or, for that matter, why may not any and all of Congress' specifically delegated powers be set aside by the President's "executive power" and the country be put on a totalitarian basis without further ado?

POSITION ALTERED

But the fact is that the Attorney General does not stick to his guns, for in a later paragraph of his opinion he writes: "I have previously indicated that, in my opinion, there is statutory authority for the acquisition of the naval and air bases in exchange for the vessels and material."

As we have seen, however, the legislation which the Attorney General brings forward as bearing on the "right" of the President to transfer the 50 destroyers to Great Britain did not confer any such "right," and is not claimed by him in his discussion of the subject to do so, but only as "recognizing" the President's "right" by virtue of his powers as Commander in Chief. Nor does the Attorney General bring forward any legislation at all which is remotely interpretable as bearing on the question of the President's "right" to acquire "naval and air bases" for the United States. The quoted sentence can only be explained as the product of hurried composition.

We turn now to part III of the opinion in which the Attorney General undertakes to interpret the Neutrality Act of June 15, 1917, and arrives at the conclusion that while the act would forbid the dispatch to Great Britain of certain so-called mosquito boats at present under construction for the Government, it would not prevent the dispatch of the 50 destroyers.

The provision of the act of June 15, 1917, upon which the Attorney General expends most of his interpretative effort is section 3 of title V, which reads as follows:

"During a war in which the United States is a neutral nation, it shall be unlawful to send out of the jurisdiction of the United States any vessel, built, armed, or equipped as a vessel of war, or converted from a private vessel into a vessel of war, with any intent or under any agreement or contract, written or oral, that such vessel shall be delivered to a belligerent nation or to an agent, officer, or citizen of such nation, or with reasonable cause to believe that the said vessel shall or will be employed in the service of any such belligerent nation after its departure from the jurisdiction of the United States."

"This section," the Attorney General declares, "must be read in light of section 2 of the same act and the rules of international law which the Congress states that it was its intention to implement"; and when it is so read, he continues, it is clear "that it is inapplicable to vessels, like the overage destroyers, which were not built, armed, equipped as, or converted into, vessels of war with the intent that they should enter the service of a belligerent. If the section were not so construed, it would render meaningless section 2 of the act, which authorizes the President to detain any armed vessel until he is satisfied that it will not engage in hostile operations before it reaches a neutral or belligerent port. The two sections are intelligible and reconcilable only if read in light of the traditional rules of international law."

DOUBTFUL READING

In short, the Attorney General argues that for section 3 to apply the vessel must first have been built or armed and equipped with the forbidden intention. This reading is certainly highly doubtful in itself and it totally ignores the explanatory caption with which the section appears in the code, and which reads thus: "Sending out armed vessels with intent to deliver to belligerent nations."

But far worse is the affront which the reading offers to common law and common sense. What the Attorney General asserts, in effect, is this: That if A furnishes B a weapon with the knowledge and intent that B shall use it to attack C, A is not particeps criminis unless first, he made the weapon, the second, nursed his nefarious intent throughout the process.

Nor does section 2 present the difficulties which the Attorney General endeavors to conjure up. Its purpose is to authorize executive action of a preventive character, whereas the purpose of section 3 is to impose a rule of conduct upon private persons for whose acts a belligerent would be entitled to hold the United States responsible, just as the United States after the Civil War held Great Britain responsible for the depredations of the Confederate cruiser *Alabama*. Furthermore, while section 2 applies equally to foreign and to domestic vessels, section 3 applies apparently only to the latter. The two sections cover different ground.

IRRELEVANT ARGUMENT

Moreover, to the question of the President's "right" under the Neutrality Act to transfer the 50 destroyers to Great Britain, or, for that matter, the quesion of his "right" to transfer the so-called mosquito boats, the Attorney General's argument is totally irrelevant. If the early portion of the argument was sufficient to establish the one "right," it was sufficient to establish the other "right" also; and the section of the Neutrality Act which he so labors, being intended to control the activities only of private persons and corporations, had absolutely nothing to do with the subject.

On the other hand, when we turn from the Neutrality Act to the rule of international law which the act was intended to implement the Attorney General's argument, while it has some bearing on the main issue of the legal propriety of the President's act, is otherwise open to serious challenge.

The rule of international law which both sections 2 and 3 of the act of June 15, 1917, have in contemplation is the requirement that neutral states shall exercise "due diligence" to prevent their respective territories from becoming a base of operations against either party to a war in progress. And this rule, ever since the *Alabama* controversy, has generally been held to regard vessels equipped for

war not as mere contraband of war which a neutral state may permit its nationals to traffic in at their own risk, but as "armed expeditions" which a neutral cannot permit to leave its shores for the service of one of the parties to a war without incurring liability to the other and without impairing its own neutral status.

OPPENHEIM CITED

But it is the Attorney General's contention that this requirement of international law holds only as regards vessels which were fitted out for war, presumably within the neutral's own territory, by the procurement and for the service of a particular belligerent, and so does not forbid the delivery to a belligerent of a vessel which was thus fitted out in the first instance for some other party or purpose; and in this connection he makes an extensive quotation from a well-known British work on international law, that of the late Professor Oppenheim.

Although, in the main, the passage sustains the Attorney General's position, the circumstance is far from deserving the significance which he attaches to it. Thus Professor Oppenheim himself concedes that the distinction which he makes and which the Attorney General adopts, "although of course logically correct, is hair splitting." But much more important is his further concession that his position is not accordant in all respects with "the three rules of Washington," under which the Geneva arbitration of the *Alabama* claims took place.

One divergence which Professor Oppenheim undoubtedly had in mind occurs in the second clause of the first rule, which declares it to be the duty of a neutral government "to use like [i. e., 'due'] diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above [i. e., 'against a power with which it is at peace'] such vessel having been specially adapted in whole or in part within such jurisdiction to warlike use."

In short, while rule I of the Treaty of Washington—in other words, the American rule—applies to any and all vessels which are adapted within a neutral's jurisdiction for warlike use. Professor Oppenheim's rule applies only to vessels which are thus adapted at the behest of a particular belligerent.

And undoubtedly it must be presumed that Congress in passing the act of June 15, 1917, had American conceptions of neutral duty in mind rather than British.

It, therefore, appears that if an American private person or corporation had undertaken to deliver to Great Britain vessels comparable to the 50 destroyers it would have been the duty of the United States Government under international law and of the President under the statutes to prevent the undertaking from being carried out. But the delivery was, in fact, the act of the President himself and purported to be that of the American Government. The thought must occur to anybody that an act which the United States is under obligation, as a neutral, to prevent its citizens from doing is not one which it is free as a neutral to do itself.

What kind of conduct, then, must a neutral government observe if it would retain the right to be considered neutral? Let us turn for an answer to this question to Professor Oppenheim's work, so much relied upon by the Attorney General. The pertinent passages read:

"Such states as do not take part in a war between other states are neutrals. The term 'neutrality' is derived from the Latin 'neuter.' Neutrality may be defined as 'the attitude of impartiality adopted by third states toward belligerents and recognized by belligerents, such attitude creating rights and duties between the impartial states and the belligerents.'

"According to the present strict conception of neutrality, the duty of impartiality excludes * * * all facilities whatever for military and naval operations of the belligerents, even if granted to both belligerents alike. In former times assistance was not considered a violation of neutrality, provided in was given to both belligerents in the same way, and states were considered neutral although they allowed an equal number of their troops to fight on the side of each belligerent. Today this could no longer happen. From Hague Conventions V and XIII, which deal with neutrality in land and sea warfare, respectively, it becomes quite apparent that any facility whatever directly concerning military or naval operations, * * * is illegal, although granted to both belligerents alike. The duty of impartiality today comprises abstention from any active or passive cooperation with belligerents." (Third ed., pp. 400–1, 422–3.)

Clearly, therefore, the President's action in transferring the 50 destroyers to Great Britain, instead of being reconcilable with the status of neutrality, which it is the purpose of the Neutrality Act to protect, was an abandonment of that status. Nor does this mean either that the action should not have been taken, or that international law forbids it—these, as Professor Oppenheim has taken pains to point out, are questions, not of international law, but of international politics. Nor again does it mean that the National Government is without constitutional power to take such action.

As the Government of a sovereign Nation, the National Government may, so far as either international law or the Constitution is concerned, do anything in relation to another government that another government may do in relation to the United States. But the question remains whether the President was constitutionally entitled to act alone in such a matter, or whether he should have consulted Congress. That the latter is the correct view appears from a variety of considerations.

Thus, to sum up the preceding argument, the President's action transferring the 50 destroyers to Great Britain was not authorized by the act of Congress dealing with the sale and disposal of unfit vessels of the Navy, but was an invasion of the constitutionally delegated power by virtue of which that legislation was enacted.

Secondly, it was also an invasion of Congress' hitherto exclusive power to define for the United States the requirements of international law respecting neutrality.

Thirdly, as a departure from neutral status, the President's action was a step toward belligerent status—a step toward war—and as such as an invasion of Congress' constitutional power to declare war.

BASED ON VAGUE POWERS

Finally, as the President's action confronts us today it purports to be justified by an opinion of the Attorney General which bases the President's action upon his vague, undefined powers as the Commander in Chief of the armed forces and the organ of foreign relations and which impliedly represents those powers as capable of setting at naught the specifically delegated constitutional powers of Congress.

The opinion is thus an endorsement of unrestrained autocracy in the field of our foreign relations, neither more nor less. No such dangerous opinion was ever before penned by an Attorney General of the United States.

What, then, should be done about the matter? The transfer of the 50 destroyers is an accomplished fact which cannot be recalled, nor, indeed, do I know of anyone who would wish to recall it. But the very fact that the act has met with such general approval renders the breach of constitutional forms by which it was accomplished at once the less excusable and the more dangerous as a precedent.

The country, I feel, has paid a good deal in the way of constitutional detriment for its otherwise excellent bargain with Great Britain, and without Great Britain being at all benefited thereby. Is there any way in which this feature of the transaction can still be minimized and rendered innocuous for the future?

NOT TOO LATE

Yes; if the President, imitating Lincoln's course in 1861, would, even at this late date, go before Congress and, admitting the legal and constitutional weakness of his position, ask Congress to ratify the agreement with Great Britain, he would largely atone for his ill-considered procedure and at the same time forestall its furnishing justification for future acts of a similar or even more extreme character.

At the same time he would be striking a blow for popular government and the democratic process. For if these are to survive there must be a deserved confidence from both sides—confidence by the people in their rulers, confidence by the rulers in the people; and the basis of confidence must be candor. The way in which the transference of the 50 destroyers to Great Britain was effected makes it an action lacking not only in constitutional regularity but in elementary candor; and the opinion of the Attorney General greatly aggravates both of these offenses.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

PRINCETON, N. J., *October 9, 1940.*

Columbus Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER A. LYNCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ADDRESS OF HON. WALTER A. LYNCH, OF NEW YORK

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech which I delivered in New York on October 12:

Mr. Chairman, brother Knights of Columbus, ladies, and gentlemen, I was proud as I walked with you this afternoon in your annual march to the statue of your patron in Columbus Circle—proud because I knew that in the line of men, whatever the country of their birth, they were all Americans—Americans without any foreign "isms," Americans who realized the benefits of their citizenship and who were aware of the responsibilities which go with that citizenship—just plain, ordinary citizens of this great city, who, banded together as Knights of Columbus by ties of charity, unity, fraternity, and patriotism, and under the flag and the cross, carry on in a troubled world with the faith and fortitude of Columbus. Just as Columbus stood on the bridge of the *Santa Maria*, peering across the vast expanse of water to find a new world, so do we Americans today peer across the waters—not, however, to find a new world, but, rather, to pierce the clouds of war that hang over Europe and Asia to ascertain whether this country of ours, which has been so good to us, will be drawn into the maelstrom of destruction.

The Knights of Columbus have learned the lesson of unity—into our ranks have come the American-born and those of foreign origin, but against all obstacles we stand as one. Would that America today were as united as this great fraternal order of ours—would that all the Old World prejudices and passions be torn from the hearts of Americans, so that each to himself might say, "This is my own, my native land."

I fear, however, that this will not be so. We are today reaping what we have sown. America has been too indulgent a mother—her present-day youth is too undisciplined. The very tenets of our Constitution that for over a century made America what it is have been used to weaken her. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assemblage have been used as instruments to undermine our Government. In our own public schools in New York City, the pink board of education, which for years has pampered the Communists in our public-school system and out of it removed from its list of approved books a Fascist propaganda textbook which had been in use in our public-school system for the past 7 years. I approve of this action, but the wonder of it is that it has taken 7 years for the board of education to take such action. It would be interesting to know, and it is your duty as patriotic Americans to find out, how many more textbooks of Nazi, communistic, and Fascist propaganda are on the approved list of the board of education of this city. It will be interesting to know if it takes 7 years to remove one Fascist textbook how many years will it take to purge our schools of other foreign propaganda textbooks. It would likewise be interesting to know who is charged with the responsibility of giving the stamp of approval to the textbooks in use in our public schools and whether the person or persons salute the American way or are inclined to the clenched fist or the extended arm. I venture the suggestion that not a single communistic textbook will be eliminated unless such organizations as the Knights of Columbus, the veteran societies, and other patriotic organizations insist that the only ism that is to be taught in our public schools is Americanism and that our public-school buildings shall not at any time be used to spread the pernicious doctrines of communism, fascism, and nazi-ism.

As Catholic Americans who are, as matter of right, the beneficiaries of a liberty that is not found in any other country, it is your duty to be on the alert and to protect and defend the institutions of our country, not only from the enemy without, but from the enemy within. That there has been boring from within, there can be no question. That right here in New York the board of education has been supinely indifferent to the use of our public school buildings by communistic groups is beyond contradiction. I believe in free speech, but I do not believe that our public schools should be the vehicle for communism, nazi-ism, and fascism. The Communists, the Fascists, and the Nazis have a common ground—they are enemies of our American principles of government. They have no place either in the public or private life of our country. Their only purpose is to stir up strife within our midst, so that weakened by internal dissension, they might achieve their nefarious purposes.

Today our Government is feverishly expanding our national defenses. We are preparing to defend ourselves against any act of aggression of the totalitarian governments, which are the products of nazi-ism, fascism, and communism.

Without any pretense of justice, and following the rule of the barbarian, we have seen peaceful countries in Europe overrun by the high-geared war machines of the totalitarian states; we have seen proud France, with one of the bravest armies in the world, brought to her knees, not only by attacks from without, but by the poisonous seepage of treason within. In Asia we see the military caste of Japan waging an unjust and undeclared war against a pitiably weak, but fiercely tenacious China.

America, great, generous, and still God fearing, is in the pincers of the un-Christian nations of the Axis. We are preparing against our hidden fears. The youth of our country has already begun to march, but they march not in goosestep formations but with heads held high and in their hearts and on their lips that old American adage, "In God we trust." We Americans still believe in God; we still believe in the family as the unit of society; we still believe that our Government is for the people and not that the people are for the state; but if those beliefs are to be maintained, if our liberties are to be protected, then I say, let the American father and mother make religion a vital part of the training of their children. Let the American father and mother arise in their indignant wrath and compel our public officials charged with the duty to eliminate these foreign "isms" from our schools. Let the American father and mother themselves remember and instruct the children in their households that there is no place in American life for religious intolerance and bigotry, and that the American way of life is that the majority rules, but that the minority has rights that must be respected.

The people of New York are and have a right to be proud of the Knights of Columbus of this city and State. They have been and are on the alert. They have fought vigorously against the Communists, Nazis, and Fascists in public office and in public schools, and they, more than any other organization, have brought home to the people of this city the dangers that are present in our midst. Arrayed against them were powerful forces in the public life of our community, but, undaunted and unafraid, they carried on. May your efforts be greater, may your zeal and patriotism grow fiercer, may your determination to keep our land a nation under God become more adamant, so that the liberties that have been ours in the past may be the heritage of our children in the future and so that we, too, may hear a joyful "all clear" signal.

Willkie's Speech on Public Power

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ARTICLE FROM KNOXVILLE (TENN.) NEWS-SENTINEL

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I enclose an article from the Knoxville News-Sentinel, written by John Moutoux, one of Washington's most able, accurate, and conscientious press representatives.

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) News-Sentinel of October 13, 1940]

HIDDEN IN WILLKIE'S SPEECH ON POWER IS ONE VERY BIG JOKER

(By John T. Moutoux)

WASHINGTON, October 12.—Ever since Willkie made his Oregon speech, which was generally interpreted as being friendly to public power, fellow newspapermen and others here have been asking me such questions as:

"Do you think he's sincere?"

"He's inconsistent, isn't he?"

"How does his new attitude jibe with his fight on T. V. A.?"

"Can a leopard change its spots?"

There is one answer to all of the questions, and it is so simple that most people seem to have overlooked it.

The answer is: Willkie's Portland speech was not inconsistent with his fight on T. V. A.

HERE'S CATCH

Why, then, did most people, including most newspapermen, interpret Willkie's Portland speech as an about face on the public-power issue?

This is why: Most people, including most newspapermen, haven't lived in the Tennessee Valley during the last 7½ years.

They think that a power system consists of two parts—a generating plant and a distribution system. Since Willkie said at Portland he favored the Government completing the dams—Bonneville and Grand Coulee—and then letting the people in a city decide for themselves whether they wanted private or public distribution, these same people took that to mean Willkie had become friendly to public power.

TRANSMISSION LINES

What most people, including most newspapermen, entirely overlooked was the fact that a power system has three parts, not two, and the part they overlooked was the crux of the fight against T. V. A.

That third part is the transmission line.

Wilkie made no mention of transmission lines in his Portland speech. That being so, it seems only fair to assume that Willkie stands now as he did through his fight on T. V. A.—against Government construction of transmission lines.

And a transmission line, as is obvious, is a very necessary link if a city is to have power generated outside that city.

WHAT HE SAID IN 1933

Willkie's position in regard to T. V. A. was stated by him before the House Military Affairs Committee on April 14, 1933, when the committee was considering the bill to create the Tennessee Valley Authority.

That statement is included in a detailed statement Willkie had prepared for him to reply to the New Republic's Willkie supplement. It seems fair to assume, therefore, that that is still Willkie's policy.

Here is the statement:

"Mr. WILLKIE. * * * But whether or not you gentlemen want to develop the Tennessee Valley, whether or not you believe in the building of hydro plants in the Tennessee Valley for the promotion of navigation and flood control, and incidentally the production of power, whatever may be my personal opinion on that, we are not here in opposition to that, but we say to you that if you make that power we will absorb it into our system as fast as we can, which means that we will, in effect, have to cease the building of generating plants and absorb that power; and I think it has been shown to you that economically, by all the principles of economics, we offer the most economic way of doing it, the cheapest way of doing it, and the widest possible benefit to those consumers. * * *

"* * * I will say this now, that we will enter into a contract with you to take that power and we will pass on any saving that is made on the generation of that power to the ultimate consumer."

(The omissions indicated in the Willkie quotation are not mine but appear that way in the Willkie reply to the New Republic.)

CONSISTENT POLICY

In the statement just quoted you find a policy that has been adhered to consistently and which is not out of line with the Portland speech.

That is, Willkie has been willing all along:

1. For the Government to build the dams, whether those dams are in the Tennessee Valley or out West.

2. To buy that Government-produced power at the dam and pass on to the consumer "any saving made on the generation of that power."

That was his policy before the T. V. A. bill was passed. That was his policy when he was fighting T. V. A. And, so far as is known, that is still his policy.

In the case of the T. V. A., he was willing for the Government to build the dams but he was not willing for the Government to build transmission lines over which to deliver that power to the city gates. That was what the lawsuits were all about.

ASHWANDER SUIT

First there was the famous Ashwander suit. That was the suit in which minority stockholders of the Alabama Power Co., a subsidiary of Commonwealth & Southern, brought court action to block the sale of a transmission line in north Alabama owned by the Alabama Power Co. to the T. V. A. The suit was financed by the Edison Electric Institute, of which Willkie was a trustee. Willkie has since explained that he was not present when the Institute voted to support the suit, knew nothing about it, and would have voted against it had he been present.

In the majority opinion of the Supreme Court upholding the T. V. A., Chief Justice Hughes said:

"The question here is simply as to the acquisition of the transmission lines as a facility for the disposal of that energy."

Again:

"The transmission lines which the Authority undertakes to purchase from the power company lead from Wilson Dam to a large area within about 50 miles of the dam.

"These lines provide the means of distributing the electric energy, generated at the dam, to a large population. They furnish a method of reaching a market. The alternative method is to sell the surplus energy at the dam, and the market there appears to be limited to one purchaser, the Alabama Power Co., and its affiliated interests.

"We know of no constitutional ground upon which the Federal Government can be denied the right to seek a wider market. We suppose that in the early days of mining in the West, if the Government had undertaken to operate a silver mine on its domain, it could have acquired the mules or horses and equipment to carry its silver to market. * * *

"Certainly the Alabama Power Co. has no constitutional right to insist that it shall be the sole purchaser of the energy generated at the Wilson Dam; that the energy shall be sold to it or go to waste."

Applying the words of the Chief Justice, the Alabama Power Co. was perfectly willing for the T. V. A. to operate a silver mine (or white gold, as hydroelectric power is often called) but it was not willing for the Government to buy the mules or horses with which to take that silver to market.

The issue was the same in the later 18-power company case, and because the Court had already settled the matter in the Ashwander case, it ruled that the company had no standing to maintain the suit and therefore upheld the circuit court of appeal's dismissal of the action.

HERE'S SUMMARY

To sum up, in his Portland speech, Willkie said he favored:

1. Letting the Government finish the dams.

On the basis of his testimony before a House committee in 1933, Willkie has never opposed Government construction of such dams.

2. Letting the people in a city decide by referendum whether they want the power to be distributed by private or public agencies.

That is a right or power conferred by a city charter or a State legislature upon a city. Neither the President nor Congress has anything to do with it.

"Long before Wendell Willkie appeared on the horizon of politics," said Richard L. Neuberger, Oregon writer, "the men and women of the Pacific Northwest had the right to determine by referendum whether they wanted to buy their electricity from public or private agencies. In 1902 the electorate of Seattle voted to build its own plant on the Cedar River; Wendell Willkie was then then a grammar-school boy of 10."

"Representative CHARLES H. LEAVY, public power leader from Washington, said in the House that Willkie's statement at Portland 'means nothing unless he would go one step further and subscribe to the present extensive program now under way by the Grand Coulee and Bonneville administrations in the construction of transmission lines and substations and other essential facilities for getting the power from the point of generation to the point of distribution'."

Agricultural Appropriations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Henry A. Wallace, Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, when in Portland, Oreg., my home city, recently, at a public mass meeting stated:

May I remind you that Mr. ANGELL, Republican Congressman from this district, last spring voted against the agricultural appropriation bill which included the food-stamp plan.

This statement was untrue, as I not only voted for the appropriation bill referred to, but also voted to prevent cutting the appropriation for food stamps from $85,000,000 to $72,678,812.

On October 10, 1940, Mr. Wallace wrote me, admitting that his statement was erroneous, and further stating that he exceedingly regretted the error, and asked me to introduce his letter into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Wallace's letter may be included in my remarks at this point, and also that my reply thereto may be included.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
Washington, October 10, 1940.

Hon. HOMER D. ANGELL,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ANGELL: In a speech which I made in Portland, Oreg., I stated that you had voted in the House against the agricultural appropriation bill, which included the food-stamp plan.

I find that this was an error on my part which I made for the reason that my record of your notes showed that on May 9 you voted against parity payments. On the same day you voted for the stamp plan appropriation, and in making my statement I got your two votes of that day mixed.

I exceedingly regret this error, and hope that in order to keep the record straight you will find it possible to introduce this letter into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am sending a copy of it to various persons in Oregon in the hope that the record may be corrected in your own State.

Very truly yours,

HENRY A. WALLACE.

OCTOBER 11, 1940.

Hon HENRY A. WALLACE,
Democratic National Committee,
National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WALLACE: I am in receipt of your letter of October 10, stating that you were in error in your statement concerning me, made in Portland, Oreg., recently at a public mass meeting in which you said:

"May I remind you that Mr. ANGELL, Republican Congressman from this district, last spring voted against the agricultural appropriation bill which included the food-stamp plan."

Your statement carried with it the implication that I opposed the food-stamp plan. As a matter of fact, I opposed the motion proposed by Congressman CANNON of Missouri, who was the Democratic leader endeavoring to cut down the appropriation for food stamps from 85 millions to 72 millions.

You state in your letter that on May 9 I voted against the parity payment and that you confused my votes on the two issues. That statement is also untrue, because I voted for the bill, which included the parity payments. You no doubt are confused on this also, as will be shown by an examination of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 9, 1940, beginning at page 5887, which has to do with the parity amendment. The Senate included in the bill an amendment having to do with parity payments, which included this provision:

"That in expending the appropriation in this paragraph the rate of payment with respect to any commodity shall not exceed the amount by which the average farm price of the commodity is less than 75 percent of the parity price."

This provision would have prevented any of this appropriation going to the wheat farmers of my State and elsewhere, and would have diverted practically all of it to the cotton growers.

This amendment by the Senate was in opposition to the recommendation of the President and the Budget. The President in his message said:

"I have not, however, included estimates for new appropriations for parity payments in 1941. I am influenced by the hope that next year's crops can be sold by their producers for at least 75 percent of parity."

Mr. CANNON interposed a motion that the House recede from its disagreement to the Senate amendment, and agree to the same with an amendment which he proposed, which eliminated the provisions I have above quoted with reference to 75 percent of the parity price. I voted against the Senate amendment and voted with the President and the Budget.

Will you please advise if you are opposed to the Budget and the President's recommendations, as is indicated by the statement you made with reference to me in Portland?

The effect of the Senate amendment with the 75-percent clause would bring about the following result, as stated by Congressman TABER:

"Amount of payments expected to be made in the aggregate out of parity-payment fund as carried in the present Senate amendment:

"Without 75-percent clause—	
Cotton	$78,000,000
Corn	61,000,000
Wheat	54,000,000
"With 75-percent clause—	
Cotton	120,000,000
Corn	43,000,000
Wheat	Nothing."

—(CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 9, 1940, p. 5890.)

I call attention to the fact that the Senate amendment, with the 75-percent clause, will give all the money appropriated to cotton and corn, namely, $120,000,000 for cotton, and $43,000,000 for corn, and nothing to wheat, which is one of the largest agricultural industries in Oregon, which I represent. It seems to me in these trying times, when we appropriate these huge sums from the Federal Treasury, which come from taxes levied in all parts of the Nation, we should not legislate as this amendment does, to give practically the entire appropriation to one section and eliminate entirely the wheat growers of Oregon, of the great Middle West and other Western States, who have been so hard pressed under the agricultural program during your administration as Secretary of Agriculture.

I enclose herewith a statement made by Mr. CANNON of Missouri in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 9, 1940, page 5888, discussing this subject, showing that the American farmer has been sold down the river by the program carried out during your administration. In it he says:

"From the close of the war, down to the present time, farm prices have dropped about 66⅔ percent. Whereas the farmer got $1 for his products at the close of the war, he today gets from 30 cents to 35 cents for the same article. On the other hand, by exactly the contrary process, the wages of labor have advanced, and whereas a man was getting $5 in the trades or in the factory at the close of the war, he is today, in round figures, getting $15 a day * * * Now, the farmer does not object to wages going up. The farmer believes in high wages. He believes the laborer is worthy of his hire. But he does ask that as wages go up the price of the pork chop and the biscuit which the farmer supplies go up with the prices which he must pay for the products of labor. In other words, he asks parity."

I voted with Mr. CANNON, and I agree with him that the farmer is the forgotten man under this administration, and I voted for this amendment against which you complain. I also agree with Senator MCNARY, who down through the years, has been the consistent friend of the farmer, and if his advice and the legislation he proposed in the Congress had been adopted, the bitter experience of the American farmer, of which Mr. CANNON complains, would not prevail today. I hope the country and the Congress will be wise enough to adopt Senator MCNARY'S program.

I will be glad to ask unanimous consent to place your letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in accordance with the request in your letter, together with this reply thereto.

I note that you exceedingly regret this error, and I may say that I do, too, because I understand you made the statement before the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, before whom you appeared, and I am not advised whether it was made elsewhere or not. It is an important matter to me, as I have been endeavoring to represent my district honestly and with all the energy and abilities I possess, and it is exceedingly unfortunate that a gentleman of your official standing should go into my district and at public meetings make such statements, completely false. May I say that, in my humble opinion, such an error with respect to a public record is not a justification for a false statement made under such circumstances by a former high official and one now seeking the second highest office in the gift of the American people, the Vice Presidency. The statement was evidently made for the specific purpose of defeating me for reelection. There could have been no other reason for making it under the circumstances. It was made while I was at my post of duty in the Congress, here in Washington. Of course, mere retraction now cannot recall the false words or remove the false position in which you placed me in my home city.

I accept, however, your apology in the spirit in which it was given.

Very truly yours,

HOMER D. ANGELL, M. C.

P. S.—For your information, I am enclosing copy of an article by Ralph Watson, appearing in the Portland (Oreg.) Journal, in which it is stated that you made the same disparaging remarks about me before a conference of American Federation of Labor leaders.

H. D. A.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Wallace states in his letter that I voted against parity payments. As a matter of fact, this is erroneous also, as I voted for the bill which included parity payments. I voted against the Senate amendment to the bill which included a provision with reference to 75-percent parity, the effect of which was to deprive wheat farmers of any participation in the appropriation. As a result, this provision was eliminated by the House, and the bill, as adopted, has the provision with reference to parity payments under which the wheat farmers of Oregon and elsewhere will share in the parity payments program. Otherwise they would have been completely eliminated.

Massachusetts' Loss of Industry Took Place When Republicans Were in Control of Both State and Federal Governments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE J. CONNERY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. CONNERY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Willkie in his tour of New England particularly stressed in his speeches the fact that Massachusetts in the past has had a great loss of industry, leaving the inference that this occurred under the present Democratic administration. He failed to tell the complete truth—that the flight of industry from Massachusetts took place during the period the Republicans were in control of both the Federal and State Governments. He failed to state what the records show to be the truth, that Massachusetts lost more industry during 1920–29 than any other industrial State in the Union. During this period the Republicans controlled the Federal and State Governments, and did nothing to try and meet this serious problem to Massachusetts. It is political insincerity to try by inference to blame the Democratic Party for a condition that in the main occurred during the Republican regime.

According to the findings of the State Department of Labor, during the period 1920–29, the number of manufacturing establishments in Massachusetts declined 3.8 percent, the number of workers employed in industry declined 20 percent, the total value of industrial production declined 22.5 percent, and the total disbursements for wages declined 22 percent. This happened also during a period of industrial activity.

If we examine the findings of the same Department for the period 1920–33, when a Republican administration was in control of the Federal Government, with more than 10 years of control of the State government, we find a startling story of Republican disregard of Massachusetts. During this period (1) the number of individual industrial concerns operating in Massachusetts declined 20 percent. (2) The number of workers employed in industry declined 43 percent. (3) The total disbursements for industrial wages declined 60 percent. (4) The total value of industrial production declined 62 percent. In addition, and very disturbing, is the decline in invested capital used in Massachusetts industry between 1920 and 1932. From a total of $2,987,620,867 in 1920 there was a decline in this figure in 1932 to $1,888,244,721, a loss of $1,099,376,146, or a decline of 37 percent.

An examination of the loss of industry in Massachusetts as compared with the rest of the country is also very interesting, and shows the reckless disregard of the Republican Party for the business problems. According to the records of the United States Census of Manufacture for the period 1919–29, we find (1) while the total number of industrial establishment in the United States declined 1.6 percent, those of Massachusetts declined 17 percent. (2) While the number of industrial wage earners in the United States declined 1.75 percent, employment in Massachusetts declined 22 percent. (3) While the total industrial payroll for the United States increased 11 percent, that for Massachusetts declined 9 percent. (4) While the total volume of industrial production in the United States increased 13.5 percent, the comparative figure for Massachusetts declined 15 percent. This period can be taken as a normal period of business activity, during which time, with the exception of 1 year the Republican Party was in control in Washington and during the entire period the Republican Party being in control of the State government.

Let us examine some of the basic industries of Massachusetts and see what happened to Massachusetts while the Republicans were in control. In the year 1923 Massachusetts produced 20.9 percent of the country's total number of spindles, but by 1931 our proportion was only 9.7 percent. During this period the Republican Party was in control of the Federal Government and in control of the State government for 10 out of these 11 years. Under President Roosevelt there has been a rapid increase in the textiles of Massachusetts.

In 1920 the textile industry of Massachusetts employed 164,834 wage workers, or substantially 24 percent of the State's entire industrial employment, whereas in 1932 only 61,057 persons were so employed.

Compared with a total annual pay roll for labor alone of $197,749,957 paid out by these industries in 1920, the corresponding figure for 1932 was only $45,406,937, or a loss in wages to those employed alone in this industry of $152,343,020, the entire population of Massachusetts being poorer by that amount.

The amount of money expended by the textile industries for stock and materials purchased in 1920 was $633,514,902 and in 1932 only $70,335,341. This terrible situation has had a very adverse effect upon all other industry located in and upon all the people of Massachusetts.

The market value of the 1920 textile output of Massachusetts was $1,031,104,040. In 1932 it was only $155,854,308, representing alone a decline in productive wealth of $875,249,732.

The value of the output of the cotton and woolen industries of Massachusetts in 1920 represented 23.6 percent of its combined industrial production; in 1932 it contributed only 10 percent of the much reduced total.

In 1920 there were 377 separate establishments engaged in the textile business in Massachusetts; and in 1932 only 221, a loss of 156 operating concerns in this field alone.

Let us examine another basic industry of Massachusetts, the boot and shoe industry.

A study of the Massachusetts census figures for the period 1920–32 shows, first, the number of establishments producing boots and shoes decreased from 518 to 392, a loss of 24.3 percent. Second, the number of wage earners during the same period declined from 69,273 to 43,265, or 37.5 percent. Third, the total wages disbursed by such Massachusetts industry declined from $85,820,835 in 1920 to $36,843,238 in 1932. Fourth, the total value of boot and shoe products for Massachusetts declined from $443,322,965 in 1920 to $126,222,124 in 1932, or a decline of 71.5 percent. Fifth, purchases of materials and supplies dropped from $266,378,621 in 1920 to $60,709,609 in 1932, or a decline of 77 percent.

This presents the sad picture of the decline of industry in Massachusetts during a period when the Republicans were in control of the Federal Government and of the State government for a period of 10 years. Under President Roosevelt, business throughout the country has had a revival, New England benefiting. During the administration of President Roosevelt a careful study has been made of ways and means to assist Massachusetts industry with beneficial results. Compare that with the "do-nothing" policy of the preceding Republican administration.

Mr. Willkie recently, and other Republicans for the past several years, have been inferentially charging that the industrial decline in Massachusetts occurred under the present administration. The records of the Federal and State Governments show that such a charge, whether directly or indirectly made, is false. The people of Massachusetts are entitled to know the truth. If the decline of industry in Massachusetts is due in whole or in part to the policies or actions of the political party in control of our Government during the period of Massachusetts' great decline, then the fault for such decline lies with the Republican Party and not the Democratic Party.

Rush of New Dealers To Get Bankruptcy Jobs Revealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HINSHAW

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE BALTIMORE SUN

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following news item from the Baltimore Sun of yesterday:

[From the Baltimore Sun of October 13, 1940]

RUSH OF NEW DEALERS TO GET BANKRUPTCY JOBS REVEALED—FEDERAL OFFICEHOLDERS QUIT POSTS TO JOIN ASSOCIATED GAS & ELECTRIC RECEIVERSHIP PAY ROLL

(By Paul W. Ward)

WASHINGTON, October 12.—The Associated Gas & Electric Corporation bankruptcy proceedings are proving lucrative to new dealers, a survey of official records in the case indicates.

The corporation, top holding company in a giant utilities structure, whose head, Howard C. Hopson, is now in a New York psychiatric hospital, was forced on to the path of reorganization via receivership by the S. E. C. about 10 months ago.

In the interim, the records show, there has been a rush of Federal job holders from the public pay roll to that of the A. G. & E. receivership, whose expenses ultimately will be borne by the corporation's stockholders.

The records also indicate that in transferring their services from the Government to the corporation pay roll the new dealers have achieved substantial increases in their salaries, which seldom reached as high as $10,000 when they were civil servants and seldom, in fact, amounted to $5,000 a year.

Top pay under the receivership, according to the records, goes to the three trustees, whose annual salary has been set at $36,000 each.

At least two of the three posts have been allotted to stalwart new dealers.

One has gone to Willard L. Thorp, a 41-year-old economist and former Amherst College professor, who was the New Deal's first Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, subsequently was Chairman of the N. R. A.'s Advisory Council and of the National Emergency Council's Consumers' Division and who served for a time as a member of the Federal Alcohol Control Administration. His last New Deal post was that of economic adviser to Harry L. Hopkins until Hopkins resigned as Secretary of Commerce.

SECOND OF TRUSTEESHIPS

The second of the $36,000-a-year trusteeships has been allotted to Denis J. Driscoll, a former New Deal Congressman from Pennsylvania who was appointed by that State's then Governor, George H. Earle, to a 10-year term on the Pennsylvania Public Service Commission when Driscoll's term in Congress ended in 1937. Driscoll, a lawyer, has been a member of the Pennsylvania Democratic State Committee for 23 years.

The third of the trusteeships is now vacant as the result of the death a few weeks ago of Walter H. Pollak, a New York lawyer, to whom it had been assigned. Pollak had held a number of Federal appointments, his last under the New Deal having been that of special counsel in 1936–37 to the Railroad Retirement Board.

Next on the list comes Allen E. Troop, a 40-year-old Democrat, who joined the S. E. C. as assistant general counsel in 1934 and became general counsel before leaving in 1938 to become associate professor of law at Yale. He has been made Associated Gas & Electric general counsel at $24,000 a year.

OTHERS ON PAY ROLL

H. L. Bloomquist, who served the Senate lobby committee as an investigator under Senator (now Justice) Black and later was associated with the S. E. C. and T. N. E. C., is now on the receivership pay roll at $10,000 a year.

Another former S. E. C. employee, L. D. Staver, is on the receivership pay roll at $9,000.

E. J. Howe, who was on the T. N. E. C.'s staff, is getting $1,000 a month out of the receivership.

J. R. Brackett, a former Washington newspaper reporter, who served both the S. E. C. and T. N. E. C. as a press relations man, appears on the receivership pay roll at $8,400 a year.

Altogether, it is estimated, about a hundred men have made the jump from public service to private employment under the receivership. The F. B. I., T. V. A., P. W. A., and the Bituminous Coal Commission have sacrificed employees to the receivership pay roll, the records show.

Credo

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABE MURDOCK
OF UTAH
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

ARTICLE BY ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

Mr. MURDOCK of Utah. Mr. Speaker, democracy is a beleaguered faith today. It is on the defensive because of the powerful challenge of that very opposite faith, totalitarianism. In our death struggle with this new way of living and thinking which has captured the hearts and minds of so many millions abroad, we must first survey our intellectual position and outline our mental ramparts. As many Members of the House well know, few men have done more to give American democracy its intellectual bearings in these troubled times than the able and distinguished Librarian of Congress, Archibald MacLeish. I take pleasure, therefore, in placing in the RECORD Mr. MacLeish's Credo, which was written for use by the Council for Democracy in prodemocratic activities throughout the country. His statement of faith reads as follows:

CREDO

(By Archibald MacLeish)

We believe that freedom is still a cause.

We believe that even now, after all the scorn, after all the violence, after all the victories of the enemies of freedom, freedom is still the greatest of human causes.

We believe this because we believe that freedom is the one human cause dedicated to humanity. It is the one human cause which declares that humanity is not a means to an end but is itself an end. It is the one human cause which declares, and which proposes to demonstrate, that human beings, left to themselves, freed of the authority of masters, whether of the mind or of the soul or of the body, are capable of creating a good society and a humane life.

Other causes in the long history of the human spirit have asserted that humanity is a means and that the true end of human life is something other than humanity—a nation, an empire, a kingdom, either actual or ideal.

Other causes in the long history of the human spirit have asserted their belief in discipline for the sake of discipline—self-sacrifice for the sake of self-sacrifice—asserting that the principle of authority is higher than the human will.

But men have learned in the course of their long history that authority for the sake of authority becomes, in practice, authority for the sake of those who exercise authority, and that discipline for the sake of discipline, becomes, in practice, obedience to those by whom obedience is demanded.

Men have learned this painfully and over many years. They now remember it.

Seeing the rise of tyranny and despotism in every part of the world, hearing again the call to discipline and obedience, watching again the tactics of the preachers of authority, men remember how painfully, and by how many struggles, they have escaped these lies.

They remember how painfully they have learned that the only discipline which men as men can accept in dignity and honor is the discipline they impose upon themselves for the sake of their hope of freedom.

Men remember this in all nations which the rise of tyranny and despotism now threatens or has already overthrown.

They remember it most sharply here.

For it is here in the United States that the cause of freedom has had its greatest victories. And it is here that the cause of freedom has still its highest hope.

The people of the United States have had, and still possess, the best chance any nation has ever had of realizing the tremendous dream of freedom.

True freedom of all men and of all women has never yet been realized on this earth. It may never be realized altogether. But if it is ever to be realized, the people of the United States, with their tradition of political responsibility, their mastery of the skills of industry and agriculture, their ownership of the wealth of the richest of all lands, have a better right to hope for its realization than any other nation has ever had.

The destruction of that hope from without, or its surrender from within, would be an incalculable disaster.

We who have signed this declaration of faith, declare our purpose to oppose by every means at our command the destruction of freedom in the United States.

We declare our belief that freedom is still a cause—still the greatest of human causes.

After all the violence, after all the victories of the enemies of freedom, freedom is still the cause to which we pledge our allegiance, and for which we pledge our lives.

Hon. Lindsay C. Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM P. COLE, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. COLE of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, announcement today and selection by the House of a new chairman of the Committee on Accounts reminds us that the gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. LINDSAY WARREN, the former chairman of that important committee, leaves the House this month after a long and distinguished career to take up his new duties as Comptroller General of the United States. I cannot let this occur without registering in this way a word of disappointment that he has seen fit to voluntarily make the change and to extend my best wishes for his future success and happiness.

It has been my privilege to come pretty close to the gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. LINDSAY WARREN, not only because of our long service together in the House but because for several sessions we lived under the same roof in Washington. I marked him from the very first as a future leader and it is not suprising to me to see him develop in the fashion he has. Always dependable, sincere, and on the job, he is admittedly one of the outstanding Members of the House of Representatives. Many prophesied, if he had not accepted the very dignified position to which President Roosevelt recently appointed him, he would today be the majority leader. I do not know whether this would have been the case or not but if he had remained, he would certainly have continued, if not as majority leader, as one of the leaders of the Democratic side. The gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. LINDSAY WARREN, is a strong partisan and a real fighter in debate, but he never lost his sense of fairness and win or lose, retained the respect of all the Members on both sides of the aisle. He will be missed as much as any Member I know and I sincerely hope, as he graces the important office to which he has been assigned, greater success will come to him than his closest friends now prophesy and that he will furthermore have a future life of happiness and contentment with his devoted family.

Delayed, Not Defeated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GRAHAM A. BARDEN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE RALEIGH (N. C.) NEWS AND OBSERVER

Mr. BARDEN of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer for today:

[From the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer of October 14, 1940]

DELAYED, NOT DEFEATED

The House of Representatives on last Wednesday refused to pass a bill of great interest to tobacco growers. The measure was not defeated, but merely delayed. There were 164 votes for the bill and 107 against it. Ordinarily that vote, which was along party lines,

would have resulted in the passage of the bill. However, there was not time to get the bill before the House under the regular procedure before the beginning of a series of recesses which are expected to continue until after the election. In order to secure consideration at all before the recesses, proponents of the bill were forced to resort to a motion to suspend the rules, which requires a two-thirds vote for adoption.

Refusal of the House to suspend the rules does not preclude late action under the regular rules of the House, for which a majority vote is sufficient for favorable action. Doubtless the bill will be brought up again after the election, and passed.

The delay, however, serves to warn tobacco growers just what they might expect under a Republican administration and a Republican Congress.

The bill is simple, although divided into two parts. One would separate dark-fired and air-cured tobacco into two types, as they should be. The other would change the base period for flue-cured and burley tobacco to 1934–39, a period much nearer comparable to the present than the 1919–29 period now used for computing "parity." The effect, as far as flue-cured tobacco would be to change "parity" from 18 to 22 cents a pound, an equitable figure.

Tobacco growers may and probably will receive favorable action on their bill after the election, because every prospect is that the Democrats will be returned to power. Should the Republicans gain power in that election, the vote on Wednesday shows the kind of attention which will be in prospect for tobacco growers.

My Position on Some Important Public Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. SCHAFER
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I have had the honor to represent the Fourth Congressional District of Wisconsin in the House of Representatives for 12 years. I am a firm believer in the political party system of government with its checks and balances. I have been elected as a Republican and served in Congress as a Republican for 12 years. I am a candidate for reelection on November 5 on the Republican ticket. Mr. Speaker, under permission unanimously granted by the House I incorporate in the RECORD a brief statement which indicates where I stand on some important problems which confront my country and my countrymen.

Mr. Speaker, I have served 12 years in Congress, 2 years in the Wisconsin State Legislature, 2 years as a school board member, and 22 months overseas in the United States Army in 1917, 1918, and 1919.

I shall adhere to my conception of government and continue to serve the people of the Fourth Congressional District as I have during the 12 years I have been their Representative in Congress.

I believe that the United States should stop meddling in the affairs of foreign nations and taking sides in their wars and other controversies as enunciated in the Monroe Doctrine.

We should keep our country out of war in foreign lands and provide for an adequate and effective national defense to keep war out of America.

We should apply more sound business principles to the business of government and have less Government competition with and strangulation of legitimate private business.

We should repeal the New Deal monetary legislation under which American citizens were forced to turn in their gold to the Government for $20.67 an ounce or go to jail for 5 years and called upon to pay many billion dollars in tribute to foreign owners of, speculators in, and importers of gold who now receive $35 an ounce from Uncle Sam.

Economy in government is essential as the real danger to our common country lies within. The extravagant New Deal spending spree on borrowed public money must be stopped. Our Federal Government is rapidly heading toward bankruptcy and inflation which will bring misery, distress, suffering, despair, and chaos such as we have never known.

We should levy substantial tariff taxes on competitive foreign imports in order to increase tax revenues and protect our own industries and the workers employed therein from unfair chiseling competition of cheaply produced foreign products. Taxes should be based on the wealth and the ability of our people to pay.

We must replace the New Deal Soviet conception of unsound destructive government autocracy with the tested American conception of sound, constructive, constitutional democracy, to the end that confidence is restored and private business is encouraged to prosper, expand, and employ, and thereby reduce unemployment and tax burdens in the United States.

The working men and women of the United States are entitled to enter or leave employment and bargain for working conditions individually or collectively through an organization of their own choosing. Employers, employees, and the general public must be protected from exploitation by self-serving professional agitators, racketeers, and political demagogues who prey upon them.

The Government should properly care for our Nation's disabled war veterans, their widows, orphans, and dependents.

Our Progressive and Democrat New Deal brethren have been industriously sabotaging the Constitution of the United States, spending Uncle Sam into bankruptcy, plunging him into the new European war and establishing a New Deal Soviet dictatorship in our Republic. They should not be permitted to continue their nefarious work.

Strengthening Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON SUNDAY STAR

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Sunday Star of yesterday:

[From the Washington Sunday Star of October 13, 1940]

STRENGTHENING JAPAN

In a very real sense the United States has built the formidable Japanese military machine which now looms as a serious threat to us from across the vast reaches of the Pacific. For at least 3 years we have been Japan's principal supply source of the raw and finished ingredients of conquest—the instruments of war which have enabled an aggression-bent nation to trample China and to lay the foundations of that greater east Asia in which other nations would do business on Japan's terms or not at all. Nor have we done this blindly, for it has long been evident that a clash between Japanese imperialism and vital American interests was in the offing.

Japan's aspirations in the Far East, while they have been brought into bold relief by her formal adherence to the Rome-Berlin axis, are not new. Tokio has made no secret of her ambitions; we have simply refused to believe that which was evident on its face, and even today, when the most wishful thinker no longer can conceal from himself the outlines of war in Asia, we are pursuing this incredible policy of strengthening a potential enemy. It is a fact that we have stopped the sale of some vital commodities and that the export of others has been restricted; but it is also true that we are still offering the Japanese all that they can buy of many military essentials, such as copper and crude petroleum. Statistics normally are dull, but they speak eloquently of the part we have played in arming Japan.

The military supplies which we have made available to the Japanese may be divided roughly into two classes—arms, ammunition, and implements of war in the first and the commodities essential to the production of matériel in the second.

In 1937, the year in which the Mikado's legions invaded China proper, we sold Japan nearly $2,000,000 worth of arms, ammunition, and implements of war. In 1938 this figure jumped to more than $9,000,000, of which 97 percent was for airplanes, parts, and motors. After application of the "moral embargo," however, this trade fell off, dropping under a million dollars in 1939 and to negligible figures in 1940.

In the second category, however, there has been a different story. Of these raw materials of war, there are four which are of outstanding importance—iron and steel materials, including scrap; petroleum and its products; copper and power-operated metal working machinery—Japan's deficiency in the last being her most vulnerable point. And yet despite the importance of these commodities, we have been Japan's principal supplier, the record showing that since the outbreak of the China war we have sold the Japanese 64.8 percent of their petroleum and gasoline imports, 68.9 percent of their machine tools, 88.6 percent of their iron and steel scrap and 92.7 percent of their copper.

In the interim since the attack on China, embargoes and licensing provisions have made inroads on these exports, reduced them by an estimated 46 percent. But that is not enough. And while we hesitate to adopt a sterner policy, Japan is making the most of the opportunity which remains open to her.

Exports of copper are still unrestricted. And in August of this year Japan purchased copper worth more than $6,000,000, as against only $8,600,000 worth during the preceding 7 months. A comparison of some of Japan's purchases during the first 7 months of 1939 with the corresponding period in 1940 is interesting. It is as follows: Raw cotton, 407,000 bales, against 491,000 bales; wood pulp, 7,236 tons, against 52,503 tons; iron and steel rods and bars, 36,443,000 pounds, against 73,568,000 pounds; wire rods, 3,996,000 pounds, against 36,945,000 pounds; and steel sheets, 303,000 pounds, against 4,601,000 pounds. When it is remembered that all of these items are of great importance to a nation at war, one must conclude that the Japanese have read the handwriting on the wall, if we have not.

From the standpoint of self-preservation, ultimately if not now, it is essential that we stop at once the sale of any and all materials to the Japanese that can be used by them to strengthen their military position. If the President does not now have authority to embargo all exports of military importance to the Japanese, Congress should be asked to enact the necessary legislation without delay. And, while that is being done, authority also should be sought to embargo, if necessary, all imports from Japan—an economic weapon which would soon make it impossible for her to buy the essentials of war in any market.

Japan has openly allied herself with nations which by their own avowals are the mortal enemies of all democracies. We must open our eyes to the truth, and speedily abandon our fantastic role as architect of our own destruction.

No Just Criticism Can Be Urged Against Elliott Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Paris News, Paris, Tex., October 9, 1940. It relates to the criticism against a son of the President for enlisting in the Army and accepting a commission as captain. It is as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S SON

Being the son of a President has its disadvantages as well as what are called preferred consideration and special treatment. The case of Elliott Roosevelt and his assignment to a position as a captain in a noncombatant position is directly in point.

Young Roosevelt volunteered—he is within the draft age—and was given work that he is capable of doing. He has shown his ability as a businessman in a line of endeavor that has nothing to do with being a son of a President. He is successful in his business and in going into military service he gives up a much larger income than he will receive from the Government. He is one of many who will do that and is entitled to as much credit as will be given others.

The belief that he was made a captain and given an office position because of his relationship to the President is held by some people who will be unable to offer any reason for the belief except that they just "believe that is the reason." Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of other young men, who have no connection with the President or with other influential Government officials, will be given captain's commissions and some of them placed in noncombat service. That was the case when the Nation went to war in 1917 and that will be the case again.

If the youngsters who are calling at recruiting offices demanding to be made captains like Elliott and those who wear buttons expressing that desire would give their time and enthusiasm to fitting themselves for positions of responsibility, they would go further and do the country more service and get themselves more credit. Elliott Roosevelt is a Texan by choice and has shown his interest in Texas in many ways. He has proved himself qualified for responsibility, and the people in Texas who really know him know that he will do the country good service in whatever position he may be placed.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know of any person who has made a greater sacrifice to demonstrate his patriotism in this emergency than Elliott Roosevelt. Going thousands of miles away from his home to the great State of Texas a few years ago, he has carved for himself and family not only a good name but a successful and prosperous business. His income at the time he enlisted in the Army was $6,000 a month. His income in the Army will be $200 a month. This is comparable to a Member of Congress giving up a $10,000 salary to enlist in the Army for $33 a month. It is comparable to the Honorable Wendell L. Willkie giving up a salary of $75,000 a year, which he has been receiving from the Commonwealth & Southern, to accept approximately $200 a month in the Army. It happens, however, that Mr. Willkie in temporarily giving up his $75,000 salary is hoping to be elected to an office that will pay him $75,000 with $25,000 added for expenses.

No one contends that Elliott Roosevelt is not qualified. In fact, everyone knows that he was qualified to be a captain in the branch of the service in which he was accepted. No one claims that any other person, who had the same qualifications, was turned down for the same thing.

Therefore, since his qualifications are evident and there is no charge that he is not qualified, why should there be any criticism of his action, especially in view of the fact that he has, to date, made the greatest sacrifice that has been made, to my knowledge, to render a service to his country in a time of emergency?

If Elliott had intended to use his enlistment for political purposes and he had the cooperation of the officials, as alleged by political critics, it would have been an easy matter for him to have enlisted as a private and received lots of publicity in connection therewith and then after all the publicity was over he could have been assigned as captain in accordance with his age and qualifications. During the World War, it was charged that this was done by one or more prominent national figures.

In order for Elliott Roosevelt to enlist, it was necessary for him to cancel contracts over a 3-year period aggregating more than $200,000. During this 3-year period as captain, he will receive approximately $7,000. Considering the fact that although he is within the selective-service age, that he is married and has two children, and would in all probability be exempt, it occurs to me that it is very evident that the charges have been made purely for political purposes, intended not necessarily to harm Elliott but to harm his father, the President of the United States.

It is my understanding that at least three of the four Roosevelt boys are already in military service. I do not know of any other family that is better represented, and I have never heard of anyone closely related to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who attempted to evade any public responsibility of any kind or nature whatsoever or tried to avoid a fight that was in the public interest.

Elliott's Sacrifice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by John T. Flynn, from the Washington Daily News of Saturday last:

ELLIOTT'S SACRIFICE

(By John T. Flynn)

NEW YORK, October 12.—An important business item in the day's news contained some very melancholy information. It is that

Capt. Elliott Roosevelt, in order to enlist, had to give up an annual earning power of $76,000.

It is interesting to know how young 30-year-old Elliott Roosevelt came to earn $76,000 a year. Certainly nothing this young man himself had to sell commands any such yearly sum as that. What he has had was his relationship to the President of the United States.

It is because he is the son of the President, and not because he is himself, that he could get $1,000 a week for broadcasting for a tooth paste advertising program. He got that $1,000 a week by capitalizing commercially on the Presidency of the United States. And there was a time when that sort of thing was looked down on by the people of this country.

But Elliott also got, according to his manager, $20,000 a year salary as president of his broadcasting corporation. And how did he get into the broadcasting business? He was a very young man, indeed, then—scarcely 25—and with literally no experience or talent to sell to an employer beyond that of other young men who work for $60 a week and consider themselves fortunate.

Well, there were four radio stations in Texas. They belonged to an old oil man who had made a good deal of money out of them. A large-scale publisher wanted to buy those stations. But no one can buy a radio station without the permission of the Federal Communications Commission. The Commission was and is appointed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States. The man who wanted to buy these stations was one of those publishers who was an ardent critic of the President and pretty well settled in the dog house so far as the White House was concerned.

In those days the man who wanted to get a radio license transferred was well advised to be represented before the Commission by some lawyer who had the proper pull, or by some person who was on the inside. Well, who was more on the inside than the President's 25-year-old son? And so this great publisher hired Elliott to represent him as his agent before the Commission, and Elliott had three of the licenses transferred to his employer by the Commission his father appointed.

Then his employer made him manager of some, if not all, of these stations. And thus by this strange alleyway Elliott Roosevelt moved into the broadcasting business. Now he owns the company himself and draws $20,000 a year, and gets another $1,000 a week for broadcasting on a national network.

How much he really gives up remains to be seen. His wife, we are informed, will continue to represent him in the management of the corporation and he will continue to enjoy his share of the profits as the principal stockholder. But all this still does not explain how he came to be a captain in the Army Air Corps, though it does explain how he came to have so much to "sacrifice."

Strengthening Our Hemisphere Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON POST

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, it is highly important that this country do everything possible to strengthen the defense of the Western Hemisphere. Many measures can be taken, and have been taken, to further solidify the friendship between the Americas. I feel that our loans to South American countries will be a real aid in cementing friendship and trade.

This morning I read with approval the following portion of an editorial on this subject appearing in the Washington Post:

[From the Washington Post of October 14, 1940]

OUR FOREIGN POLICY

President Roosevelt's address to the nations of the Western Hemisphere on Saturday night was a vigorous and positive reiteration of American foreign policy. Without any bluster or show of belligerency, the President gave his reply to the German-Italian-Japanese pact. And that reply is total defense of the American nations and their vital interests in the Atlantic and Pacific.

Interest centers particularly in the President's declaration that, in defending the Western Hemisphere, "we include the right to the peaceful use of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans." This statement might be interpreted as a revival of the American doctrine of freedom of the seas. The full text of the President's address suggests, however, that the remark was directly related to defense of the Western Hemisphere.

Free use of the Atlantic and Pacific is essential, of course, to any plan of hemispheric defense. The success of the American republics in keeping aggression from their shores will depend, in large measure, upon the ability of the United States Navy to repulse any overseas attack. In other words, free movement of American ships in the Atlantic and Pacific at all times is the first essential of a hemispheric-defense system. Control of either ocean by an unfriendly power would be an intolerable situation.

It does not follow that the United States has any intention or desire to impose its will upon nations on the other side of either the Atlantic or the Pacific. The President spoke of defending "this half of the world." As for more remote areas, he reaffirmed in unmistakable language the American policy of aiding, by measures short of war, those nations which are fighting against the encroachments of aggressor powers.

No combination of dictator countries, he said, in a patent reference to the German-Italian-Japanese alliance, will prevent this country from aiding Great Britain. He made it plain that appeasement has no place in current American policy. Yet he also reemphasized the American desire for peace and the necessity of carrying out the arms program as the best assurance against involvement in war.

The President undoubtedly succeeded in drawing the ties between the American republics a little closer. His reply to the dictators was firm and rational without being provocative.

Former Congressman Says Democratic Party Is Party of Leadership and Activity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL ROGERS

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ADDRESS OF HON. HERMAN P. KOPPLEMANN

Mr. ROGERS of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. Herman P. Kopplemann, a former Member of Congress:

Ladies and gentlemen of this convention, again, as representatives of the Democratic Party in this district you have met, and again you have accorded me the honor and the responsibility of presenting to the voters the issue of this campaign. I am grateful for the honor. I am proud to have the responsibility and I promise you that to the best of my ability I will add my energy to the campaign which is under way and do everything in my power to return this First Congressional District and the State to the Democratic fold, so that Connecticut may again, as a unit, be joined with at least 45 other States in full and active cooperation with our national administration.

Most of us have known each other for many years. We have met frequently in party meetings and as delegates to conventions. We have agreed and we have disagreed when the issues at stake amounted to no more than political procedure and likewise when paramount questions were under consideration.

But today, as representatives of the Democratic Party, meeting in this convention, we are faced with graver responsibilities than we ever dreamed would confront delegates to a convention of ours.

For years until 1932 the Democratic Party was the party of the opposition. In some respects there was little difference between it and the Republican Party which had the controls. Now the roles have changed. Today ours is the party of leadership and activity. The Republican Party is a minor party crying "me too" to the New Deal during the election campaign, promising that its candidates will carry on in our steps if only the people would give them a chance.

As we look back on former conventions we clearly see that the troubles with which our Nation was confronted then were similar to the troubles which confronted other nations at the same time. But we chose a different remedy than they. Today we remain a democracy—the only real democracy in the world. While self-government is being ridiculed, we dare let the people, protected by secret ballot, elect their representatives and their President. Elsewhere nations have been engulfed. Some have joined hands as aggressors and have tied the hands and feet of weaker nations.

But the countries which became enslaved to dictatorship could not have been so enslaved except for their leadership. And the nations that have not become enslaved to dictatorship can yet go the totalitarian way unless they are given leadership which is firm, uncringing, passionate in its faith in government by the people, with direction which has vision, enriched by knowledge of the past and understanding of the present. Such leadership must have the courage to guide its course, not along a path for an easy, immediate future, but along a path which has the good of future generations as its goal.

Whether or not we express it, we pray that the legacy of our generation will be a better world for the men and women of the next generation, that we will leave them a surer economic and spiritual foundation to meet their problems. It would be a disastrous setback for American civilization if the rising generation meets the

challenges of their time with the cynicism with which the generation which grew up after the World War met the challenges of our time. The evil results of this cynicism are apparent in our own country. Fortunately, thus far at least, its spread has embraced but a small portion of the people, and I repeat that with the unswerving determination that no compromise be made between what is right and what is wrong, its force will spend itself and will never touch our Nation as a whole.

In the clouds that are sweeping in from abroad and in our concern for storms that may yet break, we are prone to overlook, in this election campaign, the fortifications that the American democracy has built for itself during these past 7½ years. These domestic defenses are our first stronghold. They will be attacked first. The continuance of our freedom and the continuance of our self-government will depend on their successful defense. On that will depend future conventions meeting as this one. On that will depend the right of every man to seek public office and the right of the people to vote him in or vote him out.

In the measures taken for reform, for human security, in the steps taken to build a happier America, we have simply strengthened our democratic way of living, have strengthened our faith in the ability and the wisdom of a people to govern.

The fact that today a bank can close and not throw thousands of people in a community into a panic because they know the depositors will be paid, means a sense of security and better nerves for a Nation that may have to meet greater emergencies someday.

The fact that a man and his employer can sit down and bargain together over fair conditions of employment is building mutual respect between the man in overalls and the man behind the desk. That is an essential gain for democracy. It seems strange that one should even remark on this, but the right of collective bargaining, with all its ups and downs during the turbulent years of its infancy, is the most important right of a man who would work and the man who would employ him. In the sphere of industry it is as important as the right to vote in a self-governing nation.

The fact that old people without resources of their own can collect pensions by right of law, that, too, is a bulwark of democracy. We can say all we want about children caring for their parents. You and I know that old people cannot always depend upon their children. We can say all we want about the need of saving. You and I know that it is the rare man who makes enough money during his working years to lay aside a sufficient sum to keep him in his old age.

These are but examples of the steps taken for the buttressing of our democratic structure. The entire list bears repeating. The entire list bears reviewing and rehearsing, especially by our community leaders of democracy, particularly during the campaign periods, but this is neither the time nor place.

But remember that every New Deal accomplishment, whether it was the legislation to control stock racketeering, legislation to force down utility rates, legislation to reform and stabilize agriculture, measures specifically to help the farmer and home owner, pay school teachers, build schoolhouses, all these were deliberately aimed at strengthening and fortifying democracy in this country, to create a renewed zest for self rule, and a zeal to meet any challenge to self rule that may sweep across the waters from foreign shores.

Naturally, we are concerned as to the course of events the world may follow. But there is no cynicism on the part of the vast majority of our people. There is a determination to meet any challenge that may come—and to master it.

We would have preferred to continue building hospitals, bridges, and schools, C. C. C. camps, sewers, highways. But, as I said before, great changes have overtaken the world since we first embarked on this program of national upbuilding.

Today we know that armaments, planes, and battleships are needed to protect the schools, hospitals, and bridges we would prefer to build. Today we know that the storm of aggression and invasion which first appeared like a small, dark cloud on a distant horizon has developed tornado ferocity; that it travels with incredible speed; that we know not where it may next strike.

We, who have not been immediately touched by its furor, know that it can cross the oceans which connect us with the lands it has stricken down.

What it threatens to tear from us is the very thing man has fought for down the centuries—the opportunity to live as a free soul, to enjoy his simple pleasures, to pursue his simple activities without molesting his neighbor and without being molested by him.

What a nation loses by the destruction of bombs can be replaced and rebuilt. But if a nation loses those intangible assets of human dignity and human decency—assets won after centuries of struggle—those things are not easily won back. I often think that when the people of France and Poland and the Netherlands and Germany and Italy and Norway and Denmark regain their freedom, if their oppression won't have left scars so deep that their souls have become wearied and their minds too listless to pick up the threads of their former existence and go on. I often wonder whether we won't have to wait for a new generation to carry on humanity's battle which never ends, and never will end so long as men remain on earth.

I have always worked for peace. Some loved me for it; some chided me for it. Since the Munich Pact of 2 years ago last Monday, my views have changed, as have the views of millions of others.

The other evening at dinner a man I had worked with in the peace movement asked me to promise that if I am elected to Congress I would not vote for war unless in defense of America. As you know, there is but one power in America that can declare war, and that is the Congress. I promised my friend, and I promise you, and through you the people of our district, that as a Member of Congress I will not vote for war except in defense of America.

In that I stand with our President. I pledge my continued allegiance to his leadership, to the program of his administration, and to the platform of our party. I promise my support of measures which will defend the gains that we as a nation have made, confident that in that support I will be aiding in the defense of American democracy.

Our State ticket, headed by Robert Hurley, Senator Maloney, and Prof. Shepard, is composed of candidates of high reputation, splendid records in the service of the public, candidates who will be given the confidence of the public a month from today. It is a privilege to be associated with them.

All of us recognize that the benefits we have gained thus far will avail us little if we lose them now. Our confidence in victory must be supplemented by work.

The morning after past elections, a man would walk down the street bragging that he had won an election bet. Another man would grunt that he had lost an election bet. But neither bet changed the lives of those men. They proceeded as usual about their business. The country continued on its way without any particular difference.

But that has changed. Today an election does make a difference. I am not betting on this election. I am not taking any sporting chances. I want to make certain that in our White House is a leader in whose hands we can rest our security as a nation. I am not taking any chance with a man who asserts he, too, can do the job that must be done. I'm trusting only a man whose experience and whose record in international and in domestic affairs assures me that we can rely on him to carry on our battle for human security.

Again I thank you; I accept your nomination; and with a kind Providence and your help I look forward to victory.

The Roosevelt Party Has "Nazified" the Supreme Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK SUN

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Sun of October 9, 1940:

[From the New York Sun of October 9, 1940]

TODAY IN WASHINGTON—SUPREME COURT TAX DECISIONS ALWAYS UPHOLD THE NEW DEAL

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, October 9.—When the Supreme Court of the United States came back into session this year it sent a shiver of apprehension throughout the country, for the days of the private citizen in getting his day in court, so to speak, are numbered. Statistics of the last term of the court reveal that the taxpayer has less and less of a chance of getting a review of his case if he has been ruled upon adversely by the lower courts and he stands a good chance of having the lower courts reversed if the administration itself appeals the case.

This extraordinary situation which has arisen since President Roosevelt was able to place five out of the nine justices on the highest bench of the land is causing lawyers in many parts of the country to feel that the bureaucrats who rule on tax cases, for instance, need not worry any more about being reversed by the courts. They can be as arbitrary as they like. As a matter of fact with the administration in complete control of the judicial branch of the Government, the finding or ruling by an administration board or commission is just about equivalent nowadays to a final decision.

The tendency of the Supreme Court to uphold the administration is so flagrantly one-sided, as revealed by the statistics, that it leaves one with the impression that either the best lawyers of the country have suddenly lost all knowledge of the law, or that the New Deal's Department of Justice under Attorney General Jackson is the smartest group of lawyers the country has ever had, or that the administration appointees on the Supreme Court still feel they are a part of the New Deal when it comes to the philosophy of taxation.

ADMINISTRATION 100 PERCENT RIGHT

In the last term of the Supreme Court the administration was actually held by the Supreme Court to be 100 percent right in its requests for review of tax cases decided in the lower courts. Twenty-nine petitions for review in Federal tax cases were granted and not a single one was denied. Now it also turns out that the administration won out in 19 of these cases and lost only 5, and the

others have not been determined. Evidently the lower courts have also suddenly lost their knowledge of tax law.

It so happens also that cases involving tax matters arising through State courts have been given the review sought by the administration in nine instances and there was not a single denial. When it came to deciding the cases, the administration won five of the nine, one was vacated and remanded and three were undetermined.

In all other cases apart from taxes where the administration lost in a lower court, the Department of Justice was granted review in 31 and denied only 9. Fourteen were subsequently won by the administration, 3 by the private litigants and 14 are undetermined.

The private citizen who took the initiative in seeking revew by the Supreme Court in cases decided against him in lower courts fared pretty badly. In 144 tax cases 96 were denied review and only 19 were granted. But of those given review and subsequently decided, the taxpayer lost 8 and won only 2. Nine are undetermined. Where the taxpayer was ruled against, evidently the Supreme Court thinks the lower courts know the law.

PRIVATE CITIZEN FARES BADLY

In all other cases apart from taxation the showing for the private citizen was also very bad. Out of 172 cases, private citizens who petitioned were refused review in 148 cases and were granted an appeal in 24. But here, too, out of the 24 that were given consideration the private citizen lost out to the administration in 10 out of the 15 decided.

Thus the administration is being granted review in the largest percentage of cases in 7 years. The fact that the administration is getting such treatment at the hands of what one of the new justices publicly called the reconstructed Court is exciting a great deal of comment among members of the bar.

It does seem peculiar that the administration should be right 100 percent of the time in tax cases in appealing for review. This is a perfect record which in view of the complexity of tax questions nowadays cannot but cause astonishment. But while attributing to the new Court the highest motives of integrity, it would appear that the New Deal majority on the Court has adopted an extreme economic philosophy on taxation in keeping with the revolutionary ideas of their conferees in the New Deal in the legislative and executive branches of the Government.

BOASTS BY ROOSEVELT SUPPORTERS

This trend toward confiscation of private property by unjust administration of the tax laws in violation of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution is not surprising in view of the campaign which President Roosevelt carried on in 1937 against the then-existing Supreme Court. Mr. Roosevelt's supporters have repeatedly boasted since that he won that battle because fate gave him five appointments to make and he chose five Justices from his close friends and supporters. It is frequently contended in Washington that the New Deal need have no further worries about having its decisions reversed by the highest court.

This is not so much a matter of party attitude, but of radicalism. When laws that have been established for generations governing, for instance, the system of making wills and trusts for the widows and children of those who have accumulated savings are upset suddenly so that it is difficult to make a trust estate that will not run the risk of having some fundamental principle reversed arbitrarily, it can readily be understood why the present administration's course that captured the Supreme Court is the subject of widespread discussion among lawyers. They see the rights of the citizen being gradually curtailed, which is what has happened in totalitarian countries under national socialism and fascism.

The Administration's Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID J. WARD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. WARD. Mr. Speaker, the President in his speech to the Western Hemisphere on October 12 again emphasized the fact, which he has stated repeatedly, that this country wants no war with any nation. In that speech he said:

For many years every ounce of energy I have had has been devoted to keeping this Nation and the other republics at peace with the rest of the world. That is what continues uppermost in my mind today, the objective for which I hope and work and pray.

We arm to defend ourselves. The strongest reason for that is that it is the strongest guaranty for peace.

In 1938, the last year of peace in Europe, he stated:

I speak for a United States which has no interest in war. We covet nothing save good relations with our neighbors, and we recognize that the world today has become our neighbor.

The entire world knows of the splendid efforts of the President of the United States, at the brink of the war in 1939, to avert war through communications addressed to the heads of the Governments of Germany, Poland, and Italy. In his speech to Congress on September 21 he said:

The executive branch of the Government did its utmost * * * to aid in averting the present appalling war. Having thus striven and failed, this Government must lose no time or effort to keep the Nation from being drawn into the war.

In my candid judgment, we shall succeed in these efforts. * * * The essentials for American peace in the world have not changed.

We of the United States are one people, of one mind, one spirit, one clear resolution, walking before God in the light of the living.

On January 3, 1940, in his speech to Congress he said:

I can understand the feelings of those who warn the Nation that they will never again consent to the sending of American youth to fight on the soil of Europe. But * * * nobody has asked them to consent, for nobody expects such an undertaking.

Then, on July 10, in his message to Congress:

That we are opposed to war is known not only to every American but to every Government in the world. We will not use our arms in a war of aggression; we will not send our men to take part in European wars.

On September 12, in his address to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters:

I have one supreme determination—to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, upon the platform adopted in Chicago:

"We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval, or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."

I have quoted only briefly from speeches made by the President of the United States, but sufficiently to set forth the administration's foreign policy, with which I am in full accord.

A Farmer Looks at Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE GALESBURG (ILL.) REGISTER MAIL

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Galesburg (Ill.) Register Mail of October 10, 1940:

[From the Galesburg (Ill.) Register-Mail of October 10, 1940]

A FARMER LOOKS AT PRICES

A Knox County farmer and livestock man, who evidently cherishes some decided doubts about the efficacy of New Deal farm policies in raising the general level of agricultural prices, has compiled a table embracing the yearly average price of hogs at Chicago for the 8 Republican years of 1925 to 1932, inclusive, and the 7 Democratic years, 1933 to 1939, inclusive. The figures for 1940 are not yet available, but it is said will probably approximate those of 1939.

These figures show the average price of hogs for the 8-year Republican period was $9.16 as against only $7.52 for the 7 Democratic years, or $1.64 less than the period during which the New Deal's program has been in operation.

His compilation follows:

G. O. P. years:	
1925	$11.80
1926	12.40
1927	10.05
1928	9.30
1929	10.20
1930	9.50
1931	6.20
1932	3.85
Average for 8 years	9.16
New Deal years:	
1933	4.00
1934	4.75
1935	9.25
1936	9.85
1937	10.05
1938	8.15
1939	6.60
Average for 7 years	7.52

"Now you will notice that the average is $1.64 less in the years when they say they have helped us so much. And don't forget the tax that was placed on hogs in 1933 and '34, and all the pigs and sows that were killed off since the great Mr. Wallace took charge. Lest we forget, the importation of Argentine beef and Canadian cattle might also be mentioned. Average sheep prices have held up better the past 8 years than any other class of livestock, and with them there has been no Government meddling," says this correspondent.

A recent article in the Chicago Tribune by Walter Mack, former manager of Governor Lowden's farms, touching on this same question of comparative prices for farm products, takes a typical Republican year—1926—a year which the New Deal finance committee of Congress selected as fair, where the dollar established a fair balance between debtor and creditor, and the year 1940, a typical New Deal year. He finds that in 1926 corn was $1.26, wheat $1.15, and cotton 19 cents, while in 1940 corn is 83 cents, wheat 94 cents, and cotton 9 cents, and asserts that this comparison is all the more disastrous when we recall that prices in 1940 are based on a depreciated dollar. Comparing farm income for the first 6 years of the New Deal, the only ones for which complete figures are available, with the last 6 years of Republican rule, he finds that under the New Deal the total income was $44,649,000,000 as against $52,811,000,000 for the Republican period. The 6 New Deal years include the benefit payments and the 6 Republican years the disastrous depression year, 1932, when prices hit their lowest mark. Yet it is pointed out that in spite of these facts, the total farm income for the Republican years is over $6,000,000,000 greater than that of the 6 New Deal years.

These are matters worthy of the serious consideration of the farmers of this section. It is the conclusion of many farmers that the failure to raise farm income, despite benefit payments and other devices, has been the result of the New Deal policy of hostility toward business and industry, which has kept down purchasing power through the inability of private industry to expand its volume of employment, and New Deal trade treaty policies which have brought in foreign agricultural products to compete in a market already glutted with surpluses because of underconsumption.

Guaranty of Bank Deposits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID J. WARD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. WARD. Mr. Speaker, naturally there has been a great deal of interest in the unfortunate difficulty in connection with the closing of the Savings Bank of Nanticoke which is located at Nanticoke, Wicomico County, Md., in the First District of Maryland, which I have the honor to represent.

Ordinarily, such collapse of a financial institution as occurred at Nanticoke would have caused a great deal of concern. Prior to 1933 it was always true that when a bank closed anywhere in the country the depositors suffered great distress. Such will not be the case, however, with the depositors of the Savings Bank of Nanticoke. No depositor is concerning himself in the slightest degree with what may happen to the deposits he had in that bank, because every person, who had deposits, not exceeding $5,000, will be paid in full.

It seems to me entirely appropriate that I should call attention to the fact that the fortunate condition in which depositors of the Savings Bank of Nanticoke find themselves, as compared with depositors in banks that failed prior to 1933, is due to a Democratic policy which was enacted into law in 1933. At that time, Congress passed a law, providing for the guaranty of bank deposits so that when, unfortunately, a bank should fail, the depositors in such bank would be assured of payment of the amount of their deposits up to $5,000.

I wish also to point with a great deal of satisfaction to the fact that one of the leaders in the effort to have such legislation enacted into law was my distinguished predecessor, now Judge Goldsborough of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. I was wholeheartedly in sympathy with his efforts at the time, and my satisfaction that the fortunate situation of the depositors of the Savings Bank of Nanticoke, because of passage of that law, is greatly increased when I realize that the Representative from the First District of Maryland played an important role in securing enactment of that law.

This is a fair example of the kind of legislation which the Democrats have passed to enactment during the period from 1933 until the present time, all calculated to benefit the people of the United States.

I feel that, without boasting, our party can point to a great record of achievement during the past 7 years, in the enactment of many other laws which have improved the condition of millions of people in the United States.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch Urges President Roosevelt's Reelection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. COCHRAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Sunday, October 13, 1940:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of October 13, 1940]

FOR MR. ROOSEVELT'S REELECTION

The Post-Dispatch, which in 1936 opposed President Roosevelt because of increasing centralization of power at Washington—a centralization which has since proved both here and abroad to be inescapable—now favors his reelection.

The decision is a hard one to make because it involves abandonment of the old American tradition against a third term and because of criticisms of the President which this newspaper has been obliged to make and which it continues to make. If the world situation were not critical and if Mr. Willkie had risen to the heights, as he was expected to do, the third term issue no doubt would be conclusive. As it is, we think millions of citizens with great reluctance will overcome their objections to a third term because the alternative—victory for Mr. Willkie—is a poor alternative.

To say that Mr. Willkie's candidacy is disappointing is to put it both fairly and mildly. He burst upon the country like a meteor last June when the old-line Republican politicans at Philadelphia, much against their will, were forced to accept him as their candidate. A self-made man, a man of winning personality and with a reputation for intellectual power, Mr. Willkie entered the campaign peculiarily free from the obligations to party leaders which have crippled and compromised many a candidacy. It was a refreshing and inspiring thought that a convention manned by politicians could be compelled by public pressure to accept a candidate who was not beholden to them.

In the two months that elapsed between the Philadelphia convention and Mr. Willkie's speech of acceptance, high expections were built up. Many of them collapsed with the speech at Elwood. In this speech, Mr. Willkie, though vowing his devotion to the principles of free enterprise, accepted practically the entire New Deal domestic program. And though he made certain criticisms of the President's methods, he also accepted in detail the administration's foreign policy. "Elwood came and went," says John Chamberlain in Fortune Magazine, "and no sound alternatives to the New Deal program emanated from the Willkie camp. All I got from that speech was an endorsement of the New Deal."

By his sweeping endorsements of New Deal domestic and foreign policies, Mr. Willkie practically removed them from the campaign and thereby robbed his own candidacy of any vital meaning. Mr. Willkie at Elwood was against business monopolies, for collective bargaining, for minimum-wage and maximum-hour laws, for Federal regulation of utilities, of securities markets, and of banking. He was for relief, Federal pensions, adequate old-age benefits, unemployment allowances, and rural electrification. A few days earlier at Des Moines, he had accepted the entire New Deal farm program, although his own running mate, Senator MCNARY, is a severe critic of certain aspects of it.

The Post-Dispatch favors all these domestic reforms. But Mr. Willkie, while professing support of the Roosevelt domestic policies, professed in the same speech his devotion to the philosophy of free enterprise. His speech, therefore, was hopelessly at odds with itself.

If Mr. Willkie is in favor of classical free enterprise—and if that is not what he means, he has failed to redefine the term—he cannot

be in favor of the Roosevelt domestic program. For the very foundation stone of the New Deal is prevention by the Government of abuses in the operation of free enterprise. How can enterprise be both controlled by the Government and free of Government control?

Free enterprise, by the classical definition, means that business will be enabled to operate with an absolute minimum of governmental checks and restraints. The Roosevelt program goes far beyond that minimum. The original doctrine of free enterprise was propounded by the English economist, Adam Smith, more than 150 years ago. Under this doctrine and its modifications grew modern capitalism, but bit by bit, under changing conditions, free enterprise has had to give way to greater and greater governmental regulation and control. To speak of classical free enterprise today is to speak in a dead tongue. To advocate free enterprise while accepting the restrictions placed upon it by the two Roosevelt administrations is contradictory.

In fairness to Mr. Willkie, we do not see how he, or any other Republican candidate, could fail to accept the New Deal domestic reforms. They are here to stay and everyone knows it. But, there are a great many things wrong with these reforms, and the public had a right to expect from the Republican candidate a wealth of constructive criticism concerning them. It had a right to expect from him an analysis of the defects in the farm and relief aadministrations, of the defects in social security, and so on, and of his plans for their correction.

Mr. Willkie has failed to make such analyses. Typical of the unconvincing generalities with which his speeches have abounded, he has said that we need changes in labor and tax laws, but he has not said what those changes should be. In the case of the tax laws, he merely said he would appoint a commission, the old Hoover technique.

Mr. Willkie's choice of Senator McNary as a running mate is not reassuring because the two are in disagreement on various major issues; hence, it is clear, the McNary choice was made to appeal to voting groups not thought favorable to Mr. Willkie.

What the Willkie candidacy boils down to is that he claims he can take over the New Deal and administer it more efficiently than Mr. Roosevelt can. This plus Mr. Willkie's promises. He promises jobs. He promises less expenditure of money, though he also promises to continue exactly those policies of the New Deal which have put the Budget in the red—to continue and to extend them. Perhaps we are on the road to bankruptcy as a result of Mr. Roosevelt's fiscal policies, but Mr. Willkie has no program for arresting this tendency.

With all respect for Mr. Willkie's sincerity, we do not believe he can make his promises good. Granted that the Roosevelt administration has been at times unsympathetic, even hostile, to business, we do not believe that Mr. Willkie's friendly attitude toward business will make sufficient change to solve the unemployment problem. We cannot believe that such immense problems as confront our domestic economy can be resolved by a mere change in Presidential psychology. These things cut deeper.

To sum it up, after careful and open-minded study of the Willkie candidacy, we find it singularly unconvincing, singularly empty of content.

Against Mr. Willkie's promises must be weighed Mr. Roosevelt's performance. We have had 7 years of it, and the assets and liabilities are down in the ledger for all to see. They have been years of great successes and dismal failures.

Of outstanding importance, Mr. Roosevelt has given the people in those 7 years many reforms which should have been granted long ago. He has shown a burning sympathy for the poor. We believe he will go down as America's greatest humanitarian since Abraham Lincoln, and we honor and admire him for it.

Mr. Roosevelt's outstanding failure is that, after 7 years of unprecedented spending, much of it of a reckless nature, he has failed to solve the basic problem of unemployment. Why this problem does not yield to the many attacks upon it is one of the puzzles of our times, and we are sure that Mr. Willkie does not know the answer any more than the President does, or the economists, or the industrialists, or the philosophers, or anyone else.

It appears that the world is in a period of transition and that unemployment is one of the tragedies of a great historical process. Immense advances in technology, among other things, have placed men in the bread line. The problem has not been solved in any industrial country, except by such artificial methods as the dictators employ. Mr. Roosevelt has failed to provide sufficient jobs by natural means, as all other statesmen have failed, but not because he has not explored every avenue of approach.

The third-term issue, coupled with the frequent evidences Mr. Roosevelt has given of dictatorial tendencies, gives us pause. We are opposed to the third term; though, to be perfectly candid, it is an opposition based upon fear more than upon reason. Fear says, Beware. Reason says that it is a question for the people to decide in the most democratic of all processes—the process of the ballot box.

After all, the third-term issue was not decided by the subservient politicians at Chicago, who acted at the crack of the whip. It will be decided by the people themselves at the polls. If the people are against the third term, they can reject Mr. Roosevelt on November 5. It is up to them. And, so long as we have free elections, the people can be against third, fourth, or first and second terms as they please.

We do not believe, however, that the people will permit the third-term issue to outweigh other issues. If, let us say, Mr. Willkie had proved a candidate of great power and ability—which he decidedly has not; if Mr. Willkie and the President were evenly matched—as they decidedly are not; then the third-term issue might very well be the decisive factor. As it is, it is a factor, but only a factor, in many people's minds, one that must give way to factors that loom larger. The Springfield (Mass.) Republican says:

"This newspaper has never held the anti-third-term tradition lightly. Certainly it has not held that tradition as lightly as Chief Justice Taft, Charles D. Hilles, Andrew Mellon, and other leaders of the Republican Party did when they wanted a third term for Calvin Coolidge. They wanted a third term when there was no emergency, no crisis. They wanted a third term when experience in office and the handling of foreign relations did not mean what the experience of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull means today."

Mistrusting the third term, reluctant to accept it as we are, Mr. Roosevelt's frequent exhibition of impatience with democratic processes increases our misgivings. In an effort to allay these misgivings, we have looked at the record. That record is reassuring. It shows that the President has been checked time and again.

He has been checked by Congress. He has been checked by the Supreme Court. He has been checked by the people.

Early in his tenure at the White House Mr. Roosevelt fired Federal Trade Commissioner Humphrey on the ground that Humphrey did not see eye to eye with him. For this he was rebuked by a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court, which in effect characterized the President's "coercive" act as an assault upon Congress. He tried to pack the Supreme Court, making many specious arguments for this, but the Senate stopped him in his tracks. He tried to purge Senators who disagreed with him, like George, of Georgia, and Tydings, of Maryland, but resentful voters swept them back into office with big majorities. Against the opposition of his own Secretary of the Interior, he embarked on the fantastic $40,000,000 Passamaquoddy project for harnessing the wild tides of the Bay of Fundy, but Congress stopped him. With gross impropriety, he wrote to a congressional committee to express the hope that it would "not permit doubts as to constitutionality, however reasonable, to block" passage of the Guffey-Snyder bill. The Supreme Court later declared it unconstitutional.

The record shows the President often tugging at the leash of restraints placed upon him by the Constitution and by custom. The record also shows how unsuccessful he has been in his major efforts to upset the balance of power among the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of the Government, provided for in the Constitution by the wisdom of its authors.

He is still subject to those checks, and we do not believe, regardless of the President's great popularity, that the time will ever come when all those checks will be removed.

Let us not forget that when Woodrow Wilson, on October 24, 1918, while the war was still going on, demanded the election of a Democratic Congress he brought down upon himself a storm of censure both from the Republican press and from newspapers which had been his stanch supporters. It was stated that the war belonged to the United States and not to President Wilson. Wilson's demand of October 24 said, among other things, "The difficulties and delicacies of our present task are of a sort that makes it imperatively necessary that the Nation should give its undivided support to the Government under a unified leadership, and a Republican Congress would divide the leadership." At the ensuing election the Republicans won four new seats in the Senate and 30 new seats in the House, giving them a majority in both branches of Congress. The people's answer to Mr. Wilson's demand was a sharp rebuke.

The record is impressive in showing how our system of checks and balances operates to curb an ambitious Executive. We have faith that the American people will rise as they did against Mr. Wilson in 1918, as they did against Mr. Roosevelt in Georgia and Maryland in 1938, when they feel a President is attempting to use undue influence upon them. In addition to the almost complete failure of Mr. Roosevelt's purge, it should be recalled that the Republican Party scored sweeping victories in the mid-term election of 1938, both in congressional and State races. They gained 80 seats in the House and elected 15 Governors.

We repeat that just as Presidents in the past have been checked by the people, by the courts, and by the Congress, so President Roosevelt, serving a third term, can similarly be checked by the people, by the courts, and by the Congress.

Will Mr. Roosevelt take us into war in Europe or in Asia, or both? We fervently hope not, but there is basis for the belief that, while he may not admit to himself or to anyone else that he wants to take us into war, there is real danger, nevertheless. With a few more Charlottesville speeches and a few more destroyer deals, he might bring about a situation in which war would be unavoidable.

We criticized his Charlottesville speech and his destroyer deal with all the vigor at our command, and we still oppose them. We said that the Charlottesville speech brought us to the brink of war, and we still believe it did. We said his trade of destroyers for naval bases, constituting a virtual military and naval alliance with Britain without approval by Congress, was a dangerous, illegal, and dictatorial act, and, though recognizing the value of the bases, we repeat that it was.

But what can we expect from Mr. Willkie? Mr. Willkie approved the destroyer deal, with some mild criticism as to its method. He has approved every major point of the President's foreign policy.

If Mr. Willkie is less likely to get us into war, he should have said so again and again with the greatest clarity and force, and he should have made it convincing by disapproving some of the

President's measures. He has not done so. Both candidates, of course, are on record against taking us into the war, and so are both platforms, but such mere affirmations have often proved meaningless.

There is no real difference between Mr. Willkie and the President as to their general attitude toward the war.

There is, however, a real difference between Mr. Willkie and the President as to the question of handling our foreign policy. This policy was established by Mr. Roosevelt. It is his own. He has his finger on every phase of it. He has the cooperation and understanding of many State Department and diplomatic officials who would automatically be removed if Mr. Willkie were elected. He has for a long time been in intimate touch with the situation in Europe, while Mr. Willkie has not been. If the President intends to keep us out of war, except in case of attack, as he said in a recent speech, his vast experience and full knowledge of the foreign situation must prove invaluable to that end.

Although we disagree with many aspects of the President's foreign policy, we can see no gain in turning it over to the inexperienced Mr. Willkie. In the delicate situation that exists, he might commit some blunder that would be far more dangerous to the country than anything the President has done. One might favor Mr. Willkie over the President in foreign affairs only if he were opposed to the President's policies, which he is not.

And so, as against the good and the bad in Mr. Roosevelt's record, we find Mr. Willkie offering us nothing better. Roosevelt's foreign policy is Willkie's foreign policy: Roosevelt's domestic policy, with a few minor and obscure differences, is Willkie's domestic policy. If we are to go to war with Roosevelt, so we would go to war with Willkie. If we are headed for bankruptcy with Roosevelt, are we very less likely to go broke with Willkie?

If, as we believe, a dictatorship on the European model is not to be feared, if, as Willkie, concedes, the President's social program, "for the greatest good of the greatest number," has been a good thing, and if, as appears to be the case, Mr. Willkie offers nothing positive, nothing specific, nothing definite which Mr. Roosevelt has not already accomplished—if these things be true, and we think they are, what good reason is there for substituting Willkie for Roosevelt?

Roosevelt, as a President, as a statesman, as a politician, as a leader, is a known quantity. Willkie, after a Nation-wide campaign, is still, in many respects, an unknown quantity. We know the one candidate. We do not know the other.

Therefore, in spite of the dangers and objections that a third term brings up, we favor the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt. In doing so, we urge the President to be on guard against himself and to seek that humility to which he so well referred in Philadelphia recently. There he said:

"If democracy is to survive, it is the task of men of thought as well as men of action to put aside pride and prejudice, and with courage and single-minded devotion and, above all, with humility, to find the truth and to teach the truth that shall keep men free."

United States and Great Britain in Alliance Against Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times:

[From the New York Times]

UNITED STATES, BRITAIN CONFER ON FAR EAST MOVES—LONDON OFFICIAL REVEALS TALKS ON COOPERATION AND JOINT STEPS IN REGARD TO JAPAN

LONDON, October 10.—Great Britain and the United States are canvassing the whole question of cooperation in the Pacific, as well as the possibility of joint action in withholding war supplies to Japan, the British Government disclosed today.

Guardedly answering or parrying questions in the House of Commons, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs Richard Austen Butler refrained from giving the exact status of the discussions, asserting merely that "certain talks have taken place which are of considerable importance." Pressed for an answer as to whether they are continuing, Mr. Butler replied:

"I would not say that they are concluded."

Geoffrey L. Mander, Liberal, asked whether, in view of reports that the United States recently approved the export of up to 1,000,000 tons of oil to Japan, Mr. Butler would consider representations to Washington for concurrent action to prevent further supply of oil to Japan.

"His Majesty's Government understand the prohibition placed by the United States Government on the export of oil relates only to certain grades," Mr. Butler replied. "They [the British Government] are and have been in touch with the United States on the matter."

Mr. Butler failed to answer Mr. Mander's demand for assurances that Britain was not going to "supply materials of a warlike nature to Japan" or whether the British and American Governments were determined to take joint steps in this direction.

"This point is obviously important," Mr. Butler parried. "We fully realize the importance of it."

A New Low in Demagoguery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in addition to establishing a record for broken promises, inconsistencies, contradictions of policy, and deception of the people, the Roosevelt administration has now established another record—that of a new low in demagoguery, dirty politics, and pusillanimous propaganda.

The country was amazed when Henry Wallace, who has always been regarded as a very high-minded gentleman, descended to the demagoguery of asserting that the European dictators, Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin, would be pleased with the election of Wendell Willkie as President of the United States. Although the general public was not so surprised when Gov. Herbert Lehman of New York repeated this charge, because almost any kind of demagoguery can be expected from him, it did begin to be apparent this sort of false propaganda and demagogic appeal was not to be condemned by the White House.

It remained, however, for Mr. Roosevelt himself to put the capstone upon this kind of low political practice when he himself indulged in the same sort of propaganda. Not having the temerity, because of the Nation's innate sense of fairness, to make a direct charge, the third-term candidate took advantage of what undoubtedly was a prearranged question at a press conference in order to put over what he considered some subtle demagoguery.

There is no doubt but what the inquiry at the press conference was a planted question, intended exactly for the purpose for which it was used—to give the third-term candidate an opportunity to repeat the baseless, unfair, unsportsmanlike insinuation that Wendell Willkie is in some way a candidate of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin.

The third-term candidate pointed out a solitary dispatch by a New York Times correspondent from Rome asserting that the European dictators want Wendell Willkie elected. In the very same press conference Mr. Roosevelt dismissed other newspaper statements with an airy wave of the hand and the assertion that they meant nothing, as he always does when a report does not suit him. But the solitary report from Rome he accepted as pure gospel—because it gave him a chance to put over what apparently he considered a sly bit of demagogic political propaganda.

It is amazing to what low levels the New Deal campaign has sunk. The convention at Chicago proved to be prophetic when the Kelly-Nash machine's superintendent of sewers went clear down to those sewers under the convention hall to shout over the microphone, "We want Roosevelt."

The convention, controlled by the odoriferous Kelly-Nash-Hague-Crump-Flynn-Hopkins machine, made it certain Mr. Roosevelt could and would "draft" himself at the convention. They also made it certain he could practice up at being a dictator by shoving Henry Wallace down the convention's throat as his running mate.

The most characteristic technique of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin in their rise to dictatorship was to disunite the people by sectional, racial, and class hatreds, prejudices, and suspicions. Having thus disunited the people, these dictators were able to take over power. They then set up the second phase of their technique—that of accusing anyone who opposed them, or questioned their motives or policies, of being a traitor to his nation and his people. Thus they silenced opposition. The third-term candidate has shown himself a master of this very technique, and he has pursued it assiduously for 8 years.

This unfair and un-American assault on Wendell Willkie by Wallace, Lehman, and the third-term candidate himself is the opening of the second great phase of the dictator technique—that of accusing all opponents of being traitors to the Nation.

It is commonly talked in inside circles in the New Deal by some of the supporters of the third term that it would be no great calamity if this should be the last free election in the United States for a generation or two.

In the face of these unmistakable evidences of the dictatorship technique and practices, the American people had better make sure next November that an end is put to the New Deal, unless they really want this movement to go on into a dictatorship.

It would not be a dictatorship in form, such as that of Italy, Germany, or Russia. If he is reelected, Roosevelt would simply do everything in the same way he traded off the 50 destroyers—Congress would be a mere empty shell; the Federal courts, a majority of the judges of which have already been named by Roosevelt, could be expected to go along, and the result would be an actual dictatorship under the form of a constitutional Republic. But it would be a dictatorship in fact, and the American people would find it out very quickly if they attempted to resist, violate, or ignore any of its edicts.

The Transportation Muddle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, without an adequate transportation system, it will be impossible to adequately defend the wide areas of the United States. The present war in Europe has demonstrated the value of efficient transportation in the "war of movement." American transportation is entangled in a maze of boards, bureaus, commissions, and authorities with overlapping functions. Among some of the agencies now dealing with transportation are the following:

The National Resources Planning Board.
The National Defense Council (transportation branch).
The Transportation Board proposed by Congress (1940).
The Interstate Commerce Commission.
The Civil Aeronautics Authority.
The Maritime Commission.
The Bureau of Public Roads.
The Division of Transportation of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.
The Lighthouse Service of the Department of Commerce.
The Bureau of Navigation and Marine Inspection.
Various other Federal departments and bureaus.
Forty-eight State public utility commissions.
Various local agencies and authorities.

We have, in the past, been thinking and acting only along the lines of civil endeavor. Our railroads and other means of transportation have been built to meet only civil needs. Legislation and the many agencies set up to deal with this problem have been centered on solving civil transportation problems.

The 1940 Transportation Act clearly recognizes the need for some central agency to deal with this problem. However, it provides only for the appointment of a temporary transportation board and this board is asked to review only a very limited number of specific problems, although the board seems to have authority to review other phases which, to it, would seem to require analysis.

The National Transportation Authority, provided in H. R. 6402, introduced by me, on which no action has been taken, is far broader in its provisions. H. R. 6402 recognizes, in addition to the serious civil problem, the great need for military transportation preparation. It is the first proposal made to deal adequately with this important problem. It is far in advance of any other military proposal made since then, to place our military machine with its basic branch, the transportation of troops and materials, on a sound fundamental basis.

In view of the present serious military situation, and the vast effort now being made to provide an adequate and well-equipped military organization, it must be obvious that even the proposed Transportation Authority might be inadequate to deal with the transportation problem, both, from a civil as well as a military standpoint.

We should study the creation of a Department of Transportation which will be the sole future executive agency to deal with the policy and planning phases of our transportation and to prepare, in case of a military emergency, to give such coordination and direction as the situation may then require. We now have no such agency to make adequate preparations.

Grain and Cotton Exchanges Being Used for the Purpose of Gambling and Speculating in Farm Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMPTON P. FULMER

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. FULMER. Mr. Speaker, some days ago, in my extension of remarks, I referred to the gambling and speculating on the cotton and grain exchanges.

Ernst Cohn & Co., commission merchants, New York Cotton Exchange Building, New York, sends out a weekly report, and I want to quote from their statement or what they call their commodity letter which was mailed out last week:

> The crop report as per October 1 was slightly above general expectations, estimating a crop of 12,741,000 bales against the September estimate of 12,772,000 bales. The condition has been given at 72 percent against 74 percent last month. These figures show that deterioration of the crop was much less than normal, but it is generally expected that this month's deterioration may show a larger reduction than usual, as the crop is considerably late. The lateness of the crop is expressed in the ginning figures of 3,924,000 bales against 6,682,000 bales of last year.

Listen to this:

> It is significant that the market did not react on these figures at all, although in normal times we would have seen a considerable decline in prices. As pointed out by us in one of our last letters, the size of this crop has very little to do with the price level. The farmers are guided by the loan value. The farmers are more inclined to put their cotton into the loan as long as merchants cannot offer them a better price than the loan value.

Now, this statement is absolutely in line with what I said the other day; that is, if cotton prices go below the loan figure, farmers would withdraw from the market, placing their cotton in the loan program, and if these gamblers and speculators on these exchanges should decide to unduly advance the price of cotton by buying on the long side, farmers would be in a position to check this type of speculation by placing their cotton on the market, in that in buying the market long, prices would advance above the loan figure.

I want you to get what I am talking about.

You will note that these commission merchants stated that the October 1st report was slightly above general expectations. Whose expectations? The expectations of these gamblers and speculators who are always guessing on the condition of the crop, as well as taking advantage of good weather or bad weather or what they expect to happen, using same as propaganda, so as to enable them to manipulate the market up or down.

This concern further states:

It was significant that the market did not react on this report at all. In normal times we would have seen a considerable decline in prices.

In other words, had it not been for the loan program, these gamblers and speculators would have sold the market down, and I contend, solely, at the expense of helpless and hopeless farmers.

How long are we going to permit these gamblers and speculators to manipulate these exchanges on the grounds that it is good for farmers?

As far as I am concerned, if the Department of Agriculture and the Congress are not going to do something about the manner in which these gamblers and speculators are making millions annually by selling the market up or down, without ever actually owning a single bale of cotton, purely by paper transactions, then I am for actually fixing the prices on our major farm products in line with what we have done by legislation for other groups, and in line with what is being done regardless of the antitrust laws, by all of the large, well-organized, monopolistic price-fixing groups.

If the Department of Agriculture and the Congress are willing to continue to pay subsidies, and if they are willing to increase these subsidies so as to bring about parity prices for farm products, then this may be the easy way out. However, I am wondering how long the taxpayers of the country will stand for this. As previously stated, it is a known fact that all of these well-organized groups not only control their production, in line with purchasing power, but they control their distribution, and they absolutely fix their prices—you can take it or leave it.

We have passed numerous bills permitting price fixing for other groups including manufacturers through retail agencies, whereby they are selling their goods under a trade-mark, or where their goods simply have their names stamped thereon, at fixed prices.

You know just as well as I do, in that everybody markets farm products, that farmers have not a chance of controlling their distribution, or anything whatever to do with fixing the prices of their products.

After all that we have done for farmers under the present administration, farmers today are receiving only about 75 percent of parity. In other words, farmers are expected to pay, for that which they buy, prices fixed on a parity basis with that which they sell, for which they receive only 75 percent of parity. It cannot be done.

Communist Party Barred From Ballot in 10 States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARL C. MICHENER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the privilege given to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an Associated Press dispatch, which is as follows:

Ten States have barred the Communist Party from the November 5 election ballot—four of them on the ground that it favors overthrow of the American form of government.

The 10 are Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Ohio, Washington, and West Virginia.

Another State, Wisconsin, has refused the party places on the ballot because it has failed to poll sufficient votes in prior elections, but has allowed four of its candidates to run as independents.

Earl Browder, present Communist candidate for President, also made the race in 1936. He received 80,159 votes in approximately 35 States.

SEVEN SENATE CANDIDATES

The Communist Party has 7 candidates for the Senate, 21 for the House, 9 for Governor, and 21 for other State offices.

Its senatorial nominees are running in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Virginia. For Governor it has candidates in Connecticut, Iowa, Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Texas.

States banning Communist Party candidates on the ground that the party advocates overthrow of the Government are Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, and Washington.

California has taken action to bar Communists from the ballot, but the law is not effective until 1941 and the party will be on the November 5 ballot.

PARTY LOSES KENTUCKY FIGHT

The party lost its ballot fight in Kentucky, when the courts held that 151 names had been fraudulently signed to Communist nominating petitions and the State attorney general rules this reduced the total names to below the required 1,000.

A circuit court in West Virginia barred the party by injunction, sought on the ground it obtained petition signatures through misrepresentation and fraud.

The Illinois State electoral board ruled the party off the ballot, holding its nominating petitions were defective. It failed to qualify in Ohio because of insufficient signatures on nominating petitions.

The Kansas Supreme Court upheld the refusal of the State secretary to put the party on the ballot after the State's assistant attorney general had argued the party had no legal existence in Kansas since it had not filed candidates for a majority of State offices.

ACTION SCORED BY HAYES

When Arizona denied Communists the ballot early in August Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, called the action "an unconstitutional deprivation of the franchise to a minority group."

Offering legal assistance in behalf of minority party rights, Mr. Hays said restrictions against the Communist and other small parties this year far exceed those in 1936 and 1932.

Roosevelt Heads the War Party

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, Sherman correctly said, "War is hell." The torpedoing by Hitler of a ship carrying refugee children from England to Canada and America shocked the civilized world. The children are dead and thousands of others are prevented from reaching a haven of safety. Thousands of other children will die of starvation this winter in the war-devastated countries overrun by Hitler, because England insists upon maintaining her blockade, which bars American food from saving them. England does this because she believes the food will reach Hitler.

War which demands the sacrifice of the weak and the innocent; which defies the Master's command, "Suffer the little children, let them come unto me," is, as Sherman said, "hell" on earth.

Yet this administration, as most informed persons now agree, is intent upon involving us in the war in Europe. Not content with that, it is now seeking to embroil us in the Far East, and within the week ordered more than a thousand of our National Guard more than 2,000 miles across the Pacific to Hawaii. Our Navy, our safeguard against invasion from Hitler across the Atlantic, is somewhere in the Pacific.

Roosevelt has promised that he will not send American soldiers to foreign soil, but experience has demonstrated that his promises, after election, are easily forgotten. His acts are the acts of a war lord. Willkie has told us that he would not involve us in war. So far as I know, there is nothing in his record which indicates that he will not keep that promise.

Democrats and Republicans in Congress want to stay out of war. Only the new dealers want war. One, a Member of Congress, accompanying the President on his nonpolitical trip through Ohio, said that he not only was for a third term, but

a fourth and a fifth. A C. I. O. headquarters loudspeaker blared, "Roosevelt for a third term and a thirty-third."

So we know that, moving step by step, no longer is Candidate Roosevelt's ambition limited to a third term, but he and his followers are looking toward successive terms. He, a dictator, would, as other dictators have done, lead us into war.

The surest way to avoid war, which would make a few multimillionaires; bring death, suffering, and misery to millions, is to elect as President the man you believe will keep us out of war; return to Congress Senators and Representatives who believe in defending America but not in foreign aggression; who, preparing for defense, will keep us out of war.

If, as President, the American people want a man who boldly announces that he is the only man fit for that office; who is now seeking a third term; who, with his followers, is looking toward a fourth term; if they want war, a war across the Atlantic and a war across the Pacific, it is their right to so determine. But, they should cast their ballots with their eyes open, remembering that the election of a President comes but once in 4 years and that, a dictator once established, there will be no more elections.

A New Scheme To Deceive and Trick the Producers and Consumers—Washington Meeting Called for October 24 and 25—Investigation Demanded

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REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, on several occasions, I have pointed out the immediate and imperative need for legislation to protect producers and consumers from certain unconscionable practices of interstate chain stores. I have pointed out the ways that these gigantic, grasping, expanding interstate corporate chains are fastening themselves upon the economic structure of the Nation like leeches. Only through action by the Congress can the national welfare be adequately safeguarded.

LOWEST FORM OF TRICKERY AND DECEIT

I know that some of my associates from agricultural sections believe that I have exaggerated the seriousness of the problem. But during the past few days there has come to my attention one of the most brazen efforts which any chain store has yet attempted. It is a scheme which at one and the same time will further exploit producers and consumers, will establish a monopolistic control over the fresh-fruit and vegetable industry, will drive independent distributors and retailers out of business, will impair or destroy many of the grower-owned marketing facilities, and will provide a streamlined method of indulging in coercion and commercial bribery. It is what I consider to be the lowest form of treachery and deceit.

A DISGUISED SCHEME

This vicious scheme is cleverly disguised as a cooperative marketing organization and is being advanced by the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. through its subsidiary, the Atlantic Commission Co. The Atlantic Commission Co. has caused one of its henchmen to invite more than 50 representatives of growers to a meeting here in Washington on about October 24, at which the Atlantic hopes to organize its new great pseudo cooperative. The same old tactics of a front organization popularized by "fifth columnists" are used. The representatives whom it has invited include many stooges, men who have been directly or indirectly employed or obligated to the A. & P. or its far-flung subsidiaries and subsidiaries of subsidiaries. They include men bound up to this chain-store concern through various types of marketing contracts, rebates, and other means of commercial coercion.

ESAU'S HANDS BUT JACOB'S VOICE

July 11, 1940, Harry A. Baum, vice president and general manager of one of the Hartford brothers companies, the Atlantic Commission Co., Inc., sent letters to a score or more agricultural leaders, heads of farm organizations, individual shippers, and cooperative groups of the principal producing sections of the country, asking them to meet in New York City on Friday morning, August 9, 1940, at the Belmont Plaza Hotel. In this letter it was stated:

> You may consider this a personal invitation to join us as a conferee on this occasion and to be our guest, we defraying your expenses during the sojourn in New York City.

During the month of September letters were sent to representatives of these different groups, advising that a meeting is to be held in Washington, D. C., at the Mayflower Hotel on October 24 and 25, 1940, for the purpose of completing organization of a national cooperative association to serve the fresh fruit and vegetable industries, in which it was stated:

> Your traveling expenses and hotel bills will be borne by the organization.

These stooges, along with a sprinkling of sincere but misguided producers and shippers from the outlying parts of the country, if the Atlantic's plot works, will organize themselves into an association, will incorporate under a cooperative name, will designate the Atlantic as their market agent, and will pose throughout the country as friends of the farmer.

Behind this cooperative front, the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. and the Atlantic Commission Co. hope to transfer to the expense of the producer a substantial part of the present cost of operation of their fruit and vegetable department. At the same time, the commission company hopes to get enough farm produce under its control to be able to manipulate the prices at which it buys from growers, the prices at which its competitors buy, and the prices at which fruits and vegetables are sold in their own and other retail stores of the Nation.

FARMERS GET LESS OF CONSUMERS' DOLLAR UNDER INTERSTATE CHAIN-STORE SYSTEM

Investigations by the Federal Trade Commission show that there is already too large a proportion of the food supply of the Nation under the control of too few commercial concerns.

The producers today are receiving a smaller proportion of the dollar paid by the consumer for his products than ever before. Before the interstate chains obtained such a monopolistic control upon his market, he received from 53 to 60 cents out of every dollar that the consumer paid for farm products. Since the interstate chains obtained control of so much of the market, he has only been receiving from 33 to 40 cents out of each dollar. This monopolistic system is injurious to both producers and consumers and will, undoubtedly, destroy a major portion of the remaining independent concerns within a few years if not stopped.

Congress has repeatedly enacted laws, with the overwhelming support of both city and rural Congressmen, for the purpose of assisting farmers in their efforts to establish and maintain farmer-owned and farmer-controlled cooperative sales organizations. But it was never the intention of the Members of Congress that a greedy, commercial chain-store organization like the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. should be permitted to hide behind these laws enacted for the benefit of farmers. If this chain-store octopus is permitted to use these laws for the selfish benefit of itself and to the detriment of independent dealers as well as producers and consumers, then Congress certainly has a problem on its hands and remedial legislation must be enacted.

SHOULD HAVE ATTENTION OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

I call this to the attention of the Department of Agriculture and to the Farm Credit Administration in whom Congress entrusted the responsibility for supervision of these laws.

BRAIN CHILD OF BYOIR

This new plan is the brain child of the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co.'s public-relations expert, one Carl Byoir. It is a typical "fifth column" scene; it attempts to use as

rubber stamps a few cooperative managers, who, by reason of having sold much of their products to the A. & P. Tea Co., have lost their normal outlet and thereby become so dependent upon the chain stores that they must accept dictation.

THE JOKER

It is proposed that those victimized and unsuspecting cooperatives will be the incorporators of a new and so-called supercooperative, but the joker is that the cooperative is to market its tonnage through the Atlantic Commission Co. In other words, the Atlantic Commission Co. has one more tentacle through which to suck the lifeblood of the farmers to swell the coffers of the rich, childless brothers, John and George Hartford, who last year counted a profit of $18,000,000. Does an annual profit of $18,000,000 in one retail food operation appeal to you as favorable to the interest of either the producer or consumer?

PLAN TO DESTROY OPPOSITION TO GREEDY SCHEMES

Such un-American monopolistic efforts on the part of the Hartford Bros., the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., and Carl Byoir are a part of the gigantic plan to destroy all present and future opposition to any of their greedy schemes.

OTHER WEALTHY CONCERNS REPRESENTED BY BYOIR

Byoir, in addition to serving the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., is representing other monopolies, such as Freeport Sulphur Co., Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co., Aluminum Co. of America, North American Co., Schenley Distillers, and Continental Can Co. He is, also, the personal representative of C. V. Whitney. Several of the concerns named have been under investigation by the Department of Justice for many years and some of them are now being prosecuted by the Government.

DEMOCRACY AT STAKE

With the obvious intention of undermining Government law enforcement agencies, Byoir has employed at enormous salaries several key men from the Federal law enforcing agencies. That procedure is typical of Hitler's operation; resorts to traitorous means to undermine democracy. Such fifth column work must be stopped.

ATLANTIC & PACIFIC IN BUSINESS FOR PROFIT

Let no one doubt that the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. is in business for its own profit. When this chain store organization pretends to perform any service for any branch of agriculture from which it buys a large part of its supplies, we are justified in looking for a trojan horse. There is plenty of evidence to show how the Atlantic Commission Co. manipulates prices by laying off from buying in certain producing areas long enough to demoralize prices and then jump into the market with block buying orders at ruinously low prices with a take it or leave it attitude against which the growers and shippers have no defense.

MANIPULATED PRICES

I have in mind one of many examples of how it works, given to me by a reliable authority in the agricultural field. For example, the shipping-point price of head lettuce is $1.10. Cutting, hauling, packing, loading, and overhead costs amount to 85 cents, leaving 25 cents for the grower, which is little enough to pay the cost of production. Now, the Atlantic Commission Co. lays off the market for a few days until 75 or 100 unsold cars pile up at the shipping point, and then it steps in with an offer to clean up the whole lot at 15 cents under the market. This may seem generous to the grower or shipper, who knows nothing of the price manipulation by the chain stores. But this so-called generosity has resulted in giving the farmer a thin dime for five dozen or more heads of lettuce, which he has spent a season in growing. Meanwhile holding out on the producing district has built up a temporary shortage in the consuming market and the price goes up. At the appropriate time, the Atlantic Commission Co. offers the lettuce at this manipulated high price to the wholesalers, who are in need of lettuce for their independent customers. Thus this chain-store octopus has manipulated the country's price to its own advantage over farmers and independents, and then it manipulates the city price again to its own advantage and disadvantage of independents. It therefore trims its competitors coming and going.

Such conditions have prevailed in the past and prevail at the present time. We can be certain that these conditions will continue to prevail in an even more aggravated manner when the Hartford Bros., Byoir, and their cohorts gain an even larger measure of control over the fruit and vegetable business through this fake cooperative scheme, which they are now attempting to ram down the throats of farmers.

TRUST THE GOOSE TO PROTECT THE SHELLED CORN

On the surface, the thing that this interstate chain-store concern is proposing is that growers, shippers, and cooperatives cast their volume into a corporation-controlled pool to the end that their shipments will help reduce operating costs. However, what it actually does is to give the tea company a further and unfair advantage over independent growers, and a firmer control over the wholesale produce merchants, who are the only source of supply to the independent grocers.

INVESTIGATION NEEDED

This matter is of such importance as to justify my demand that the Department of Justice thoroughly investigate the origin of this plan, including the names of the schemers, who are responsible for it. There should be an investigation of certain secret conferences, which were held in New York City last summer for the purpose of hatching out this monstrosity. Investigators should also take steps to inform themselves as to exactly what happens at the meeting, which is scheduled to be held here in Washington by the sponsors of the scheme.

I shall also insist that the Department of Justice promptly investigate all testimony submitted at the hearings on House Resolution 1, much of which was produced as the result of coercion, intimidation, and commercial bribery. The records of many of those who testified for the interstate chain stores will not substantiate their testimony.

I shall introduce a bill in the next Congress designed to protect not only independent dealers, but producers and consumers against the monopolistic practices of the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. as well as other types of interstate chain stores.

AN OLD SCHEME IN A NEW DRESS

The method pursued in organizing farm leaders into a "front organization" for Hartford Bros., under the suave and adroit leadership of their representative, Carl Byoir, is typical of Byoir's method of deceiving the public. As a part of the Hartford Bros. scheme he caused to be organized what is known as "the National Consumers' Tax Commission," with headquarters on LaSalle Street, in Chicago. This is a Byoir-inspired organization and paid for by Hartford Bros. It boasts of a million members. Whether the women, who have been beguiled into it, know the true situation or not, the truth is they are "fronts" for Hartford Bros. Many prominent women with good names were hired by Carl Byoir with Hartford Bros. money to act as officers and to decoy leaders of other women's organizations into the group.

Local newspapers all over the country are persuaded to carry items which are of great value to Hartford Bros. without charge, through the influence of some local woman, who is acting for the Chicago group; and, besides, the public is deluded into believing that it is a bona fide organization which releases fair and uninspired information when the opposite is true.

The following statement, issued last week, is self-explanatory:

Opposition to the Atlantic Commission Co.'s newest proposal that it sponsor a gigantic supercooperative marketing set-up in the produce industry is being focused in Washington this week in a series of conferences of which Executive Vice President William Garfitt, of the United Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Association, is the chief instigator. Also active in this drive against what Mr. Garfitt describes as "monopolistic tendencies" is Mr. Robin Hood, the association's Washington representative.

The decision to bring its fight against the supercooperative scheme into the open and to oppose it through every available governmen-

tal agency, as well as in the Federal courts, if necessary, has been reached with the unanimous approval of the members of the advisory board.

OTHER INDUSTRY LEADERS UP IN ARMS

Mr. Garfitt made it quite plain, however, that this is not a single-handed fight on the association's part, but that powerful producing interests, as well as the many smaller businesses throughout the fresh fruit and vegetable industry are solidly behind his campaign and that their identity will be disclosed as a result of the preliminary defensive steps contemplated during his conferences with officials of the Departments of Agriculture and Justice in the National Capital this week.

"My office has been bombarded with letters, telegrams, and long-distance calls from Florida, New York, Texas, Colorado, California, and elsewhere," said Mr. Garfitt today, "demanding that the United take immediate and vigorous action in a matter which every correspondent believes to be the gravest menace the produce industry has ever faced.

"The Atlantic Commission Co. has succeeded," he continued, "in painting to certain producers and shippers what appears a most attractive picture, but we are convinced that these individuals have not looked deeply enough beneath the surface to see, not only the dangers that confront the entire industry, but the helpless position they will put themselves in, if they accept the Commission Co.'s offer."

NOT A COOPERATIVE

"This scheme has been promoted as a cooperative venture in which the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. proposes to make its boasted marketing economies available to approximately one-fifth of the country's produce tonnage in exchange for the advantages of representing it as sales agency. But, try as I may, I cannot find the slightest evidence that the plan is of a cooperative nature.

"A cooperative, as the term is generally accepted in the produce industry, is a marketing organization owned and controlled by its producer members. This supercooperative—or supermonopoly, as one of our board members chooses to call it—will be totally manipulated by the tea company's totally owned and totally controlled subsidiary, the Atlantic Commission Co.

"Under such circumstances, it is not hard to foresee that a marketing set-up disguised in its inception as the farmer's friend can become, at the will of those who control it, an absolute dictator of the policies, not only of those who accept its apparently altruistic offer, but of the prices and practices of fresh fruit and vegetable interests throughout the industry."

OLD IDEA IN NEW DRESS

Mr. Garfitt traced the periodic revival of this supermarketing idea from its earliest appearance some 7 or 8 years ago to the present effort to sell it to large sectors of the producing and shipping interests, pointing out that it has always been misrepresented as the grower's idea.

"We have heard that story so long and so often that it no longer has any news value. Wherever and whenever it has cropped up, a little patient digging has always unearthed pretty conclusive evidence that the plot was hatched in a certain office building in New York City and then planted with some man in a producing section who presented it as his own.

"I believe we have the right to be skeptical, as were the leading citizens of ancient Troy, of 'Greeks bearing gifts.' We have seen the famous Trojan horse dragged out, given a new coat of paint, and used with telling effect on unsuspecting people. In my opinion, this supermarketing project can become the Trojan horse of the fruit and vegetable industry, if we do not thump his sides to find out how hollow he is, and then have a look at his teeth.

"The picture of any great corporate chain organization setting out to perform an altruistic service for any branch of agriculture from which it buys a large part of its supplies, especially when its altruism is offered as a means of making the supplier strong, is a hard picture to paint in view of what we already know about the chains' tendency to get their sources of supply under their thumbs."

QUESTIONS THE HELPING HAND

"Let us not lose sight of the fact that the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. is in business for its own profit. When it offers, therefore, a helping hand to a large part of the produce industry, I believe that every man whose business future is apt to be affected by its scheme has the duty, as well as the right, to inquire into its present motives and the possible use to which it will put its powers in the future.

"As a half-way disguise of the monopolistic tendency such a program suggests to the thinking individual, the plan provides that signers of the commission company's agreement are not bound to consign all their tonnage to it. In fact, they are told that they need not turn a single carload over to it, if they wish to ship through other channels. On the face of it, this seems a fair proposition, but would it work out that way?

"Undoubtedly Atlantic has picked the growers and shippers with whom it wants to do business, and it would be hard for me to imagine a chain of circumstances wherein the Atlantic management would accept cheerfully and without the thought of reprisal any signer's decision to sell elsewhere a block of tonnage the commission company had been counting on. The A. & P.'s reputation for hardheadedness is too well known to justify any such fond delusion."

REPRISALS SURE AND EASY

"Let the grower or shipper who has signed the Atlantic agreement, and who fancies he can operate as a free agent in the future, picture what might happen to his rolling cars in the event that he decided to snatch them back from the commission company. With the tremendous leverage its control of one-fifth of the country's tonnage would give it, such cars could easily be shut out of profitable markets.

"This may seem like a harsh suspicion. Perhaps it is; but we have already seen enough evidence of how Atlantic has laid off from buying in certain producing sections long enough to demoralize prices, and has then jumped into the market with block buying orders at ruinously low prices and with a take-it-or-leave-it attitude against which the growers and shippers had no defense.

"And we have seen how these 'distressed' cars have shown up in consuming markets to put independent jobbers under the thumb of the Atlantic representative in such a way as to give A. & P. retail units a great price advantage over the jobber's independent grocery customers, and to assure to the tea company a profit on the purchase from the grower, another on the sale to the wholesaler, and a third on sales to the consumer."

HOW THE GROWER IS SQUEEZED

The A. & P. spent a small fortune in October 1938 to plead through large advertisements in every daily paper of the land for tolerance of its trading methods. It claimed, among other assertions, that it was the farmer's friend in that it took off his hands, and sold at low prices, a large part of his produce which he might not otherwise sell. The advertisements did not, however, explain how marketing manipulations by the Atlantic Commission Co. often left the farmer high and dry with supplies for which there was no visible demand.

"Here, briefly, is how it works. The current low f. o. b. price of head lettuce is $1.10. Cutting, hauling, packing, loading, and overhead cost 85 cents, leaving 25 cents for the grower, which is little enough—far too little—to pay the cost of production. Now, let such a mass buyer as Atlantic lay off the market for a few days until 75 or 100 unsold cars pile up, and then step in with an offer to clean up the lot at 15 cents under the market.

"At first blush, this is a generous offer. Fifteen cents off a dollar and a dime doesn't sound like much. But when we realize that it has to come out of the grower's two bits, because it simply can't be squeezed out anywhere else, we see that the Atlantic buyer's generosity has resulted in giving the farmer a thin dime for five dozen or more heads of lettuce he has spent a season in growing. If Atlantic's vaunted economies are beneficial to producers and consumers alike, why does Atlantic demand discounts from growers and shippers under the prices paid by independents? Does Atlantic's $18,000,000 profit for 1939 furnish the answer?

HOW THE JOBBER IS TIED UP

"But that isn't all," Mr. Garfitt continued. "This holding out on the producing district has built up a temporary shortage in consuming markets, and the price has gone up, let us say, to $3 a crate. Suddenly, lettuce which it offers to a jobber at $3, and of which it agrees to buy back for A. & P. one-half at $3.25.

"Thus, the jobber has turned 50 percent of the car to the A. & P. at less than his cost of doing business. Consequently, he is forced to market the remaining half of his car at $3.75 per crate or better to realize any profit on the transaction, and this gives the local A. & P. retail units a 50-cent edge on their competition, which is usually enough to break down the price to a nonprofit level.

"Such conditions have prevailed in the past and are prevalent now with the Atlantic Commission Co. controlling only about 10 percent of the country's fresh fruit and vegetable tonnage. What they will be when its pseudo-cooperative plan begins to apply the screws to growers and wholesale distributors alike is anybody's guess. My guess is that they will not contribute to the welfare of farmers, distributors, or consumers.

"We must not lose sight of the fact that such a buying method will enable the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. not only to control the price of fruit and vegetable items moving into its own stores, but will give it a dangerous influence over the prices at which independent grocers can buy and sell, thus setting up a prohibitive price barrier in their sale through all but the chain's own units.

"This ability to influence the price at which an independent can buy, and through it the price at which he can sell, obtains in the tea company's favor even now, and we may be sure that A. & P. will not relinquish the practice when it becomes the sole custodian of as much as one-fifth of the country's produce volume, unless the unexpected happens.

"It has always been a boast of the A. & P. that it sells for less than independents charge. But of what avail is this to the public at large if its underselling depends on the one hand upon its ability to buy from the farmer at less than the cost of production and forces consumers who buy from independents on the other hand to pay more than they should for their green groceries?

"As A. & P. can serve at best only a small percentage of the American public, it seems to me the height of uneconomic practice to put into that one chain's hands the power to influence, if not to dictate absolutely, the price structures of its competitors. In my opinion, our quiescent growers and shippers should take this into consideration, even if they think of nothing else."

POINTS OUT PITFALLS IN PLAN

"Last year," said Mr. Garfitt, "the Atlantic handled 128,000 cars of produce, 81,000 for its parent, the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., and 35,000 for so-called independent wholesalers. We have seen how these independents are imposed upon from inside Atlantic's front office. How much more of their independence they may be forced to surrender may be judged by the ambitious nature of this latest Atlantic scheme.

"The proposition in a nutshell is that, with control of a choice string of shippers, Atlantic can increase its present volume to 200,000 cars yearly. Two hundred thousand car lots is fully one-fifth of our entire production—too great a share, in my opinion, to be entrusted to the mercies of any one concern.

"In exchange for the right to represent these 200,000 car lots in the Nations' consuming markets, Atlantic offers to rebate to the shipper some of the anticipated economies growing out of the greater volume it will then control. But it does not—and here is the joker in the whole plot, as I see it—agree to refund to the shippers any part of the economies on the 81,000 or more cars the tea company absorbs."

WOULD STIFLE INDEPENDENT OUTLETS

"The grave danger of this pseudo cooperative plan is that it will put the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. into an absolutely invulnerable competitive position with respect to the handling of fresh fruits and vegetables, which has already become its chief source of profit.

"Last year the Atlantic Commission Co. handled, according to its own statement, 126,000 cars of produce on which its gross revenue was $28 per car, or the not inconsequential sum of $3,528,000. Of this, $12 per car, or $1,512,000, was reported as net profit available to the tea company to swell the profits realized from the operation of its ten or twelve thousand retail produce departments.

"Now it proposes that a large number of growers, shippers, and cooperatives toss their volume into a corporation-controlled pool to the end that their shipments will help reduce operating costs, and thus give the tea company a further advantage over independent grocers, and a firmer control over the wholesale produce merchants who are the independent grocer's only source of supply.

"KICK BACK" BAIT OF DUBIOUS VALUE

"The dubious bait with which this trap is set is the promise to rebate to the growers and shippers who have signed the agreement any extra savings resulting from the augmented volume Atlantic hopes to market because of its new plan. It does not promise, however, to refund any part of the $12 per car it is now earning on all cars handled, and will continue to earn on the larger volume it anticipates. Nor will it give up any part of the extra saving on cars it handles for the tea company.

"Looking at it from the standpoint of the shipper, and assuming that a yearly volume of 200,000 cars might reduce the commission company's operating costs by as much as $5 per car, which is extremely unlikely, a shipper who turned, say 200 cars over to the commission company which were sold to independents would be entitled to a rebate of $1,000 at the end of the year, while his participation would have helped to raise Atlantic's profit from $12 a car to $17 on the 81,000 cars handled for the tea company.

"Inasmuch as there is no guaranty that there would be any accumulated savings to be rebated at the end of the year, but granting that the average shipper might receive $5 per car, it seems to me this would be mighty poor recompense for the sale of his independence, his relinquishment of old connections, the danger of destroying the independent grocer throughout the land, and paving the way for further expansion of chain-store monopolies. This is a phase of the project on which I fear some of our growers and shippers have not given enough thought."

DOUBTS LEGALITY OF SCHEME

"One of the main purposes of these Washington conferences is to set in motion an investigation by the Department of Justice, the Federal Trade Commission, the Department of Agriculture, and other agencies as to the monopolistic aspect of this pseudo-cooperative scheme. While I cannot speak with legal knowledge, I believe it may be considered a combination in restraint of trade, and that, as such, it may be suppressed.

"The United Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Association has no wish or intention of hampering the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. in the exercise of its legitimate function of marketing foods to the consuming public. But, when it steps in with the overt intention of usurping or of unduly influencing the growing, shipping, brokering, and wholesaling, as well as the retailing of produce, I believe it has gone far beyond any reasonable privilege.

"The national-defense emergency, in which every man, woman, and child in America is vitally interested, demands that foods, especially those highly perishable and seasonal products of the soil, which have so profound an influence over public health and agricultural prosperity, must be permitted to flow in adequate and unhampered volume from every growing area to every consuming market in the land.

"To place in the hands of the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. control of one-fifth of the yearly volume of these protective foods, will mean that it can arbitrarily dictate the affairs of the other four-fifths; that it can determine who shall grow what; where he shall have the right to ship; how much he shall receive for his products; and how much the consuming public shall pay for them. We cannot build a strong system of national defense on any such foundation."

CALLS FOR UNITED ACTION

Mr. Garfitt concluded with a strong plea for a concerted drive by all fresh fruit and vegetable interests to bring the facts underlying the Atlantic scheme into the open. He stressed especially the dangers confronting growers, shippers, and cooperatives who may be tempted by the offer of rebates on their yearly volume, which may or may not follow the surrender of their rights as independent marketers.

"It seems strange to me," he said, "that, for all their claims of being able to market produce more economically than can the independents, they are constantly striving—and often succeeding—in bearing down the grower's price. From what I have heard in producing sections of Atlantic's tendency to step in and buy up distressed accumulations, which its own action has helped to distress, I doubt that many growers have gained much as a result of its intrigues."

"We are in deadly earnest in this campaign. We intend to see it through at any cost."

RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED

As a first step in enlisting the active cooperation of influential groups in the industry, Mr. Garfitt has prepared a set of resolutions, setting forth what he terms the fallacies of the Atlantic Commission Co.'s assertions and pointing out the dangers lurking in its offer to take over the shipper's function. He hopes that many organizations, including all those interested in agriculture, will adopt resolutions similar to the following:

The resolution is as follows:

"Whereas the welfare and security of the people of the United States are dependent in large measure upon the stability and prosperity of its agriculture; and

"Whereas the production and the marketing of fruits and vegetables in their fresh and natural state is the largest single factor in American agriculture; and

Whereas the commercial growing, harvesting, packing, shipping, and distribution of perishable farm produce is the largest employer of labor in the country's industrial structure; and

"Whereas the farm value of such perishable farm produce exceeds that of all cereals, animal products, cotton, tobacco, or any other agricultural commodity which plays a part in our national commerce; and

"Whereas a free and unhampered flow of fresh fruits and vegetables from every producing section of the country to every consuming market is essential to national health and prosperity; and

"Whereas any interruption or curtailment of such free and unhampered movement of farm produce would result in serious unemployment and great loss to both producers and consumers; and

"Whereas the creation of privately owned marketing agencies under the guise of grower-owned cooperatives may mislead certain farmers into turning their merchantable produce over to such pseudo cooperatives for sale; and

"Whereas the operations of such pseudo cooperatives will undoubtedly tend to damage and discredit the standing and effectiveness of the entire cooperative movement in the marketing of agricultural products; and

"Whereas there is evidence that projects are now being inaugurated whereby certain corporation-controlled distributive agencies seek to monopolize much of the country's produce business, and

"Whereas it is questionable whether such monopolistic agencies are able, as claimed, to perform the function of distribution at a saving over those costs of established distributive facilities, and

"Whereas such corporation-controlled agencies have in the past served definitely to depress prices received by farmers, and to increase prices paid by independent retailers and their consumer customers: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this organization record its complete disapproval of any and all plans or schemes tending toward the establishment of such monopolistic control of perishable agricultural products, and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we condemn any and all efforts on the part of mass buying and retailing organizations, which may result in arbitrary control of prices paid to the producer, and those demanded of the retailer, by any one distributive agency, and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we disapprove the efforts of individuals or corporations, whose chief business is the retail distribution of foods, to corner and control the production of any one, or of any group or class of farmers through any plan or subterfuge whatsoever, and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we protest the activities of any and all 'pressure' groups, propaganda organizations or others, which tend to create false and misleading impressions among farmers and consumers as to the efficiency and value of existing distributive agencies, and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we vigorously condemn the development of pseudo cooperatives or other fictitious organizations, which may result in the exploitation of agricultural producers in particular, and of the consuming public in general; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we urge producers and their marketing agents to compare the prices received for their commodities from mass buying and selling corporations with those received from established wholesale distributive firms; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we recommend to such growers and marketers a thorough inquiry into the motives of all proposals suggesting that they grant preferential discounts and brokerage fees to organizations, which are either engaged in the retailing of their products, or are directly affiliated with such corporation-owned retailers; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That we urge the Federal Trade Commission, the Department of Justice and the United States Department of Agriculture, as well as the several State departments of agriculture and their attorneys general, to investigate and to take appropriate action against the monopolistic, as well as the political, lobbying, and so-called public-relations activities of chain-store, and other mass-buying organizations which may be in violation of Federal and State antitrust and fair-trade statutes."

Proposals for Amendment of the Constitution to Limit Tenure of Office of President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RÉSUMÉ OF TESTIMONY BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, hearings conducted by the subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate on proposals to limit the tenure of office of President of the United States, held from September 4, 1940, to September 30, 1940, have now been concluded. The complete record has now been published in permanent form. It is believed that it will constitute an invaluable source book of reliable information on the important question under discussion.

The hearings were held in pursuance of two joint resolutions proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States relating to the tenure of office of President of the United States, Senate Joint Resolution 15 and Senate Joint Resolution 289. The first provides for a single 6-year term and that no person elected to the office of President or who shall exercise the duties of the office by succession shall be eligible for reelection. The second, that any person who shall be elected to the office of President or who shall exercise the duties of the office by succession shall not be eligible to serve in such office after ratification of the amendment if such person has held such office during the whole or any part of each of two separate 4-year terms.

The subcommittee conducting the hearings consisted of Senators EDWARD R. BURKE, Nebraska, chairman; FREDERICK VAN NUYS, Indiana; TOM CONNALLY, Texas; WARREN R. AUSTIN, Vermont, and ALEXANDER WILEY, Wisconsin.

The wide public interest and importance attached to the hearings is possibly best exemplified by the character of witnesses who appeared personally before the committee or who prepared statements to be read and placed in the record of the proceedings.

These included many of the most distinguished names in American life—statesmen, educators, members of the clergy, authors, lineal descendants of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Jefferson Davis, Grover Cleveland, and other great names in the history of the Republic, as well as citizens less distinguished but actuated by motives of high patriotism.

It is especially notable that, despite urgent invitations extended to those who might entertain an opposite view, there was entire unanimity of opinion on the necessity for placing some fixed limit of tenure for the Presidential office.

Following is a list of those who testified in person, or whose statements were read, numbering approximately 50, representing both major political parties and all religious faiths:

Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, former Under Secretary of the Treasury in the Roosevelt administration and the great, great great grandson of Thomas Jefferson.

James Truslow Adams, historian, author of Epic of America.

William Alfred Eddy, president of Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, N. Y.

William Mather Lewis, president, Lafayette College.

Bishop Edwin H. Hughes, of the Methodist Church.

Former Representative Samuel B. Pettengill, of Indiana, chairman, National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government.

Jacob Gould Schurman, former president of Cornell University, Minister to China from 1921 to 1925, and Ambassador to Germany from 1925 to 1930.

Rev. John LaFarge, associate editor, America, national Catholic weekly.

Frederic R. Coudert, Ph. D., trustee of Columbia University and member of the law firm of Coudert Bros., New York City.

Gleason L. Archer, LL. D., president, Suffolk University, Boston.

Representative DONALD H. MCLEAN, of New Jersey.

Walter F. Dodd, attorney, Chicago, Ill.

Clarence J. Hand, attorney, executive secretary, Anti-Third Term Association.

Mrs. Mabel Jones West, president, Alabama Women's Democratic Club, Birmingham, Ala., lineal descendant of Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy.

Dr. William E. Masterson, professor of law, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.

Theodore Graebner, chair of philosophy, Concordia Lutheran Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.

John W. Davis, Democratic nominee for President of the United States in 1924.

Rev. Joseph R. Sizoo, minister, St. Nicholas Collegiate Church, New York City.

Vance McCormick, publisher, former chairman, Democratic National Committee.

Hartley W. Barclay, editorial director of Conover Mast Publications, New York City.

Stanley I. Stuber, editor, United States Baptist, Clifton Springs, N. Y.

Jefferson Hayes-Davis, banker, Colorado Springs, Colo., grandson of Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy.

Hawthorne Daniel, author, formerly of editorial staff of the Commentator.

Edward T. Lee, dean, John Marshall Law School, Chicago, Ill.

Irene Tinsley (Mrs. W. Selden) Washington, whose husband's father was of the Virginia Washington family and who was brought up at Mount Vernon.

George W. Robnett, executive secretary, Church League of America, Chicago, Ill.

Richard F. Cleveland, son of former President Grover Cleveland, Baltimore, Md.

Lawrence E. Nelson, member State senate, State of Utah, who because of the third-term nomination, canceled his filing for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Utah.

Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, minister of Marble Collegiate Reformed Church, New York City.

William Strite McDowell, attorney, Detroit, Mich.

Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Woodrow Wilson.

Oswald Garrison Villard, editor, former editor in chief of the liberal weekly, the Nation.

Nathan Boone Williams, Washington lawyer, native of Arkansas and author of The Dust Bin.

Bennett E. Siegelstein, former member of the New York State Legislature, counsel to the National League to Oppose a Third Term for President, Inc., New York City.

J. W. Creighton, president, Hastings College, Hastings, Nebr.

John A. McSparran, former master of the Pennsylvania State Grange, 1914–24; former secretary of agriculture of

Pennsylvania, 1931–35; Democratic nominee for Governor of Pennsylvania, 1922.

Paulsen Spence, manufacturer, Walden, N. Y.

George C. Peery, Governor of Virginia, 1934 to 1938.

L. L. James, lawyer, Tyler, Tex.

Joseph Lieb, organizer in 1930 of first Roosevelt for President club.

Paul O. Peters, chairman, Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, St. Louis, Mo.

Hon. John J. O'Connor, former Democratic Congressman.

Booth Tarkington.

Most Rev. Joseph Schrembs, archbishop of Cleveland.

Bishop A. W. Leonard, of the Methodist Church, Washington area.

Dr. Young B. Smith, dean, Columbia University College of Law.

Ignatius M. Wilkinson, dean, Fordham College of Law.

Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, president, International Catholic Truth Society, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Emphasis should be placed on the fact that not a single witness appeared to defend a third term for Mr. Roosevelt or a third term for any President, this in spite of the fact that the committee's hearings were open both to proponents and opponents of a third term, and that special invitations were extended to Senator George W. Norris, of Nebraska, once a principal opponent of a third term for any President, but now leading the independents who favor the continuance of Mr. Roosevelt in office, and Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, who was one of the earliest and most vehement advocates of repudiation of the anti-third-term principle.

Sentiment was about equally divided between the two resolutions before the committee, the proponents of a single 6-year term employing as their principal argument in behalf of this amendment the theory that it would serve to divorce the President from politics and from party leadership and would enable him, unselfishly to devote his entire thought, time, and attention to the service of the Nation.

Those advocating a limitation to two terms of 4 years each advanced that solution of the problem principally on the ground that custom had established the principle of two terms, and that the American people would more readily accept an amendment limiting the Presidency to that period.

The statements and testimony of all witnesses were noteworthy for their studious and considered approach to the problem confronting the Nation at this time, many of them representing a tremendous outlay of time and energy and extensive research. While the tradition surrounding the third term was extensively discussed, together with the purposes and objectives of the founding fathers in framing the Constitution, the preservation of the no-third-term tradition alone formed only a part of the arguments advanced.

In the testimony of every witness ran the undercurrent of fear of dictatorship and the destruction of American institutions and the processes of democracy.

The tremendously increased powers of the Presidency in recent years, the almost unlimited patronage of the Presidential office, the billions of dollars made available to the Chief Executive, the influence he exerts over Federal officeholders, recipients of relief, and others, all tend, it was declared, to make it possible for a President to perpetuate himself in office for an unlimited period, or for life, unless a constitutional barrier is erected.

Likewise the theory of the indispensable man was declared to be a myth, created in every land and in every age, to destroy liberties and to impose dictatorship on credulous and unsuspecting citizens. It was also pointed out that in the field of foreign relations—alleged as an important reason for violating the third-term tradition—the under secretaries and career men in the Department of State, in the Navy, and in the Army have the experience, knowledge, and ability to guide any Chief Executive along safe paths.

But probably the best picture of the hearings and the best insight into the sentiment that prompted these witnesses of mature experience and judgment, of high educational attainments and patriotic fervor, to give of their time and abilities to present their views to the American people through the Senate subcommittee hearings is contained in the high lights of their testimony.

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the testimony which I have marked be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The excerpts are as follows:

STATEMENT OF THOMAS JEFFERSON COOLIDGE, FORMER UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, BOSTON, MASS.

One of the most dangerous forms of power exercised by the Executive is the power of the purse. About $4,000,000,000 is voted annually by Congress to be spent by the Executive with wide discretion as to where, how, and to whom this money should go. A tremendous power is put in his hands over local and national elected representatives who desire funds for their districts, and even over their ability to be relected. In addition millions of men receive their livelihood at the hands of Presidential appointees. While there have always been Federal employees, never has anything been seen like the present dependency of individuals on the executive branch of the Federal Government. There is ample evidence that abuses have arisen in spending these funds.

Jefferson wrote of the dangers of patronage:

* * * * * * *

Today we have seen definite and open steps taken to extend the power of the Executive over that of Congress and of the Supreme Court even to the point of interference in State elections and in attempting to appoint additional judges. Thus we see the power of the President magnified out of all resemblance to what was originally intended. He has become the leader of the dominant party. His government has taken over duties of the local and State governments. The executive branch has been given enormous sums to spend directly on individual citizens. To offset this great increase in power which itself may be used to perpetuate the ruler, it certainly would seem wise to limit the time one man may exercise it by a constitutional amendment.

STATEMENT BY JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

I believe that in the world of today, threatened not by the monarchies, which our forefathers feared, but by the far more ruthless dictators and totalitarian governments of Russia, Germany, Italy, and Japan, we should maintain both our usage of a century and a half and have that rotation in office which was so earnestly pleaded for all his life by the great founder of the Democratic Party, Thomas Jefferson, and by Andrew Jackson, Grover Cleveland, and others of that party.

It is true that we cannot live in the past. Each generation has to face new conditions and adjust themselves and their institutions to them, but the garnered wisdom of great men and patriots for a hundred and fifty years is not to be lightly overridden—and what are the conditions of today?

In almost every country, save that last bulwark of liberty except ourselves, the British Empire, we find a vast tide flowing toward one-man government, the resigning of personal freedoms—freedom of speech, the press, religion, and action—because of a crisis which the people seem to be tired of trying to resolve for themselves. It is a tide which has gained amazing speed and momentum and threatens to engulf the entire world. All the more reason for our maintaining all the dikes and bulwarks we have built against it in the past. We have seen how the old ideas as to the Presidency as written into the Constitution have been largely altered. I need not remind you how the President's powers instead of being limited have been increased to an unprecedented and almost incredible extent, never dreamed of when the framers of the Constitution failed to limit his length of service; how he now appeals to the suffrages of all the people; how the number of Federal employees alone has increased from the few score in Washington's day to around a million; how millions upon millions of other citizens are receiving money from the Government and bureau heads whom the President appoints; how he has billions of money at his disposal. Even in the United States the power of one man has become almost overwhelming. The longer it lasts, the more strongly entrenched it may become. If we break with usage and tradition and allow a man to retain such powers for 12 years instead of 8, why not for 16, 20, or for life? Our world is changing fast and it can always be said that there is a crisis.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM ALFRED EDDY, PRESIDENT OF HOBART AND WILLIAM SMITH COLLEGES, GENEVA, N. Y.

As an acute observer of our institutions observed more than 100 years ago, where a simple candidate seeks to rise by intrigue, his maneuvers must be limited to a very narrow sphere; but where the Chief Executive enters the lists, he borrows the strength and the pay roll of the Government for his purposes. It is impossible to consider the course of events in the United States without perceiving that reelection becomes the chief aim of the supporters of the President, if not of the President himself; and as the crisis of election day approaches, his personal interest takes the place of the public good, if

not in his own mind, at least in the interpretation the public places upon his actions.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM MATHER LEWIS, PRESIDENT, LAFAYETTE COLLEGE

The tradition against the third term grew because of the fear that a man in office might become a permanent fixture there. This fear has been realized many times before this. History shows us that when the citizenry of republics in times past has given up its interest in public affairs, has turned it over to a small group or to an individual, those countries have changed into dictatorships, and I need only cite Rome, in the early days, and France, in later days, to prove the point. I am very sure that we in this country will pass through such a transformation if we do not establish limits to tenure in public office.

If a man could be elected President three times, why couldn't he be elected four times, or five, or six times?

Soon the allegiance under those conditions is thrown to a person, not to the party, and certainly not to the Nation, and Caesarism ensues. A free discussion of men and of issues will be, in my judgment, less and less evident in each succeeding national convention, when one man controls the situation, and finally, by a very natural evolution, we have the voice of the people stifled, and we have what is in substance a dictatorship.

STATEMENT OF BISHOP EDWIN H. HUGHES, OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

Let me say this as representing the experience of one whose duties have carried him into all our States—and very often into many of them—and whose opportunities for consultation have been constant, and many, and with all sorts and conditions of men—that never in 37 years when the third term principle as such has been discussed have I heard any man favor it, unless he was definitely influenced by some current conditions that tied him with ardor either to a person or to a party.

I make no exception to that statement.

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I may be allowed an addendum to all that I have written on these pages. In the 8 years that I have dwelt in Washington—8 years almost exactly contemporaneous with the present administration—no man has heard me speak a disrespectful word about our President; nor have I received from him or his closer deputies anything save the most courteous consideration. I appear here for nobody, and against nobody. I have met personally all the Presidents of our country since my young eyes looked with wonder upon the figure of General Grant. With some of them I have had at least an approach to intimacy. But I affirm to you unwaveringly that if any one of them were now our Chief Executive, I should stand stanchly by—

1. The Democratic Party's plank against the third term in 1896. The views of Bryan and Cleveland on the same theme.

2. The Democratic Convention's action on the issue as vigorously expressed in 1912.

3. The overwhelming action of the House of Representatives in 1875.

4. The view expressed in Theodore Roosevelt's Autobiography—written long after he had recovered from the political feeling that defeated his previous word.

5. The opinion of William Howard Taft given in 1915 at Columbia University.

6. The anti-third-term plank as overwhelmingly adopted by the Republican platform in June 1940.

7. The very able speech of Senator NORRIS, delivered in favor of the anti-third-term possibility, in the Senate in 1928—a speech which kept free from current personalities and immediate issues and emphasized the involved principle.

And finally, I should stand so stoutly by the tradition that has remained with our people in all the 165 years of our country's life, as to favor a 6-year term for the President without reelection, all this framed into a constitutional amendment. Thus would we free our national campaigns from wrong arguments based on personalities, and give them over to the discussion of issues and principles that must work above and beyond all the swift processions of our immediate living as a republic.

STATEMENT OF FORMER CONGRESSMAN SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL, SOUTH BEND, IND., APPEARING FOR HIMSELF AND IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO UPHOLD CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

The no-third-term-for-any-President principle is not a mossback tradition. It is basic to the whole concept of free institutions in a free land. Including Louisiana, there are not less than 34 States of the American Union in which some 80,000,000 people now live that have express constitutional limitations upon the tenure in office of the Governor or other important officials. Other States have statutory limitations upon tenure in office. The principle thus expressed is a part of the age-long struggle of free men to prevent a political machine from obtaining an unbreakable grip upon government. It is a mechanism to prevent incumbents in office from using the power of office to perpetuate themselves in office.

In a still more fundamental way it goes to preserve a government "deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed." That kind of government can be maintained only by keeping elections free. Anything that infringes upon a free election impairs and tends to destroy this whole concept of free government. Anything that fortifies and strengthens a free election strengthens free government, which Abraham Lincoln, 76 years ago, called "this last best hope of earth," a phrase which has a deeper significance today than Abraham Lincoln could even dream. This Government of ours may, indeed, be the last best hope of earth.

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It is asked, Why, then, did not the framers of our Constitution write into it a limitation upon the tenure of the Presidential office? The answer is simple. They acted upon an assumption that no longer exists. They attempted to protect the purity of the Presidential election by another means which, in practice, has broken down. Anyone who will take the trouble to read No. 68 of the Federalist Papers can readily understand why our forefathers did not think it necessary to place an express limit upon the tenure of a President. They thought (wrongly as it has turned out) that in another way they had safeguarded the republic against a President using public power to retain power.

I refer to the electoral college. "Nothing was more to be desired than that every practicable obstacle should be opposed to cabal, intrigue, and corruption" by which a President might retain office, to use the words of the Federalist. "These most deadly enemies of republican government" were recognized by our fathers as clearly as we recognize the plunderbund that exploits many of the great cities of today.

Our fathers were ingenious in their effort to protect the people from the abuse of Presidential power in a Presidential election. The people voted for State legislatures; the latter chose Presidential electors; the electors were to choose the President. They were to consider only who was the ablest and best man for the office, uninfluenced by a party nomination or a popular election.

And as the electors, chosen in each State, are to assemble and vote in the State in which they are chosen (i. e., each State group acting separately from all other groups), this detached and divided situation will expose them much less to heats and ferments.

Our fathers understood perfectly what we mean today by "turning on the heat." "The business of corruption," says the Federalist, would find it hard to succeed behind all these safeguards.

In imposing "every practicable obstacle" to every influence that tended to destroy the freedom of choice of an electorate, they went still further. The Constitution of the United States provides that no person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be eligible to be a Presidential elector. This was clearly designed to prevent a sitting President from influencing his own reelection in the electoral college by packing it with his own appointees. The application of this principle today when, in practical effect, people vote directly for President, would be to render ineligible all of the 1,000,000 or more persons now on the Federal pay roll, the majority of whom may have a pecuniary interest in keeping in office the President who gave them their jobs. The same principle might also forbid voting by all persons receiving subsidies of whatever description from the Federal Treasury.

The electoral college was ingenious but, like many other complicated devices, it did not work. By 1820 the people were voting directly for members of the electoral college and parties were nominating candidates whom the electors were morally bound to vote for, thus destroying their independence of choice originally intended.

But if the founding fathers had realized what a frail reed the electoral college would prove to be, who will say that these men who provided so many other checks and balances against the abuse of power would not have put in the Federal Constitution a provision similar to those found in State constitutions?

The no-third-term principle may be described as a postscript to the Constitution. The question now is whether the principle should be written into the Constitution itself. In view of the vast extension of Presidential powers, it is vastly more important now that the principle be maintained than at any other time, not only in the history of America, but indeed the history of mankind. Let any President break this law, written or unwritten, and what restraint of freedom will you then put upon him or he upon himself? Gentlemen, look abroad where the dikes erected by free men have broken down and where power, absolute and unrestrained, is raging through the world like an uncaged beast.

STATEMENT OF JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN

The example of Hitler rising to supreme power in the state by political means and methods and by many years of agitation and propaganda demonstrates what may be possible in the United States. There is no analogy thus far to his rise in American history. But the case of William Jennings Bryan, who had no elements of the usurper and dictator in his composition—a man full of the milk of human kindness and a lover of his fellowmen—shows us how far a typical private American citizen may rise to public notice and in public esteem and influence.

But let us imagine an American political leader of Bryan's gifts, but with Hitler's love of power. Let us assume that he has already reached the Presidency and is driven by an all-consuming ambition to aim at continuance in that office beyond the two terms which custom and tradition and the advice and practice of Washington and Jefferson have invested with the character and force of a provision of the Constitution. Would the attainment of that goal be possible for him?

DOMINATION OF CONGRESS

In my opinion it would be. He would have, possibly 8 years, certainly 4, to make his preparations. Of the three departments of the Government of the United States he is already in possession of one, and that the greatest and most influential where action of any kind is involved. If he is an able, sagacious and skillful party leader, he has probably retained his hold on the party which elected him to the Presidency; and if he has already been elected for a second term he would probably be in complete control of it, especially if in the national elections his party had also gained, or maintained, a majority in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The reelected President, as leader of his party, would be in a position to dictate all important congressional legislation. The bills he desired to become laws would be marked as "must" legislation, and any Congressman who opposed them would be apt to be driven by the President into the political wilderness.

Hitler secured control of the German Reichstag while retaining the forms of legality. The Weimar constitution contained a provision under which the President of the Reich was, in an emergency, authorized to issue an ordinance which should have the force of law. Unfortunately, under the republican regime, when a cabinet could never be formed without the coalition of heterogenous parties, and when responsible government on that account became impossible, free recourse was had to this constitutional provision, which was intended for use only in a great emergency, by President Von Hindenburg and his later chancellors. They paved the way which Hitler followed. But Hitler resorted to that clause of the constitution for the purpose of paralyzing and nullifying the legislature itself.

The same end, as I have indicated already, could be accomplished in the United States, by a President who aimed at the domination of the legislative department of the Government. He would, of course, not have, like Hitler, any constitutional authority for the exercise of such power. But the fact of his possession of the Presidential office and the further fact of his unquestioned leadership of his party would invest him with sufficient influence for the purpose.

CONTROL OF THE JUDICIARY

There remains the third department of Government, the judiciary. And the history of American politics proves that a would-be dictator in the Presidency would find the domination of the courts the most difficult of his tasks. The jurisconsults of Germany tell us that the will of Adolf Hitler is the basis and authority of all law in Germany. With us, law rests on the Constitution, on justice and equity, on custom and common sense. It would be impossible to convert the American people to acceptance of the doctrine that the foundation of law lies in the will of a single person.

But what it is impossible to achieve directly, might conceivably be brought about my indirection. Under the Constitution of the United States the President has the authority to appoint, with the consent of the Senate, judges for the Federal courts. It is not improbable that he would nominate as judges citizens who were in full sympathy with his own political views. As the Constitution sets no limit to the number of judges of the Supreme Court, Congress acting under the leadership of the President, might enlarge that Court so that the President's nominees or supporters should be in the majority. In that way, the will of the President, or at any rate his political philosophy, would come to expression in the Court and might be the controlling factor in its decisions.

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In my opinion, a limit of the term and the entire duration of tenure of office of the Chief Executive is an indispensable condition of the safety and perpetuity of democratic government. It is not less fundamental and imperative than the division of the powers of government or the freedom and independence of the tribunals of justice.

CONGRESSIONAL LIMITATION UNNECESSARY

The necessity for limiting the term and tenure of office of the Chief Executive does not apply to the members of the other departments of Government. The executive department is vested absolutely and in its entirety in one man only. On the other hand, the legislative department is vested in Congress; that is, in the House of Representatives and the Senate. In the case of the executive department, the President is, if I may use an ordinary but pregnant expression, the "whole show." He absorbs in his single person all the powers of the department. In him and him alone are concentrated all the functions and responsibilities of the executive branch of the Government, whether exercised in respect of domestic or foreign affairs, whether discharged in the piping days of peace or amid the dangers and horrors of a world war. In contrast with the President, who is the sole embodiment of the entire executive department of our Government, one Senator out of a hundred or one Representative out of four or five hundred has such restricted powers in our system of government that the American people have never felt any need of setting a limit to the period of time during which, if they choose to elect him, he may continue to serve them.

I do not need to labor the point as regards the members of the judiciary. In all civilized countries it has been found that if there is to be an efficient, impartial, and equal administration of justice, judges must be free and independent, and therefore secure in their tenure of office. To realize these ends, the framers of the Constitution of the United States provided for the life appointment of judges. And I think you will all agree with me that no part of the Constitution is held in higher regard—I had almost said in deeper veneration—by the American people than that guaranteeing the freedom and independence of the judges and the majesty of the courts which declare the supreme law of the land.

LIMITATION, WRITTEN AND UNWRITTEN

I have said that in a democracy it is essential that there should be a limitation of the number of years during which any citizen who has been elected to the Presidency, whether serving for one term or more, should be, in the aggregate, permitted to hold that great office. I now go on to observe that this limitation may be imposed in two different ways. It may be set forth in explicit terms in a written constitution, or it may be prescribed by precedent, custom, tradition, and invariable practice. For a century and a half, from the very foundation of our Republic to the present time, the force of this unwritten inhibition, consecrated as it was by the advice and example of Washington and Jefferson, has been an adequate guaranty and sanction of the rigid limitation of the Presidential term of office.

But a new situation now confronts us. Under our very eyes, but yesterday, that indispensable defense of our democracy has been put in jeopardy. The nature of this menace to our entire system of democratic government indicates the character of the remedy to be applied. It is nothing less than the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution explicitly defining and rigidly limiting the period of time for which in the aggregate any person may hold the high office of President of the United States.

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We are told that the 12-year tenure of the Presidential office is meant only for a great emergency and would not be needed or resorted to on ordinary occasions. Gentlemen, if there is one law revealed to us in the history of government it is this—that any departure from constitutional prescription or long-established and unbroken custom makes a precedent which in the course of time becomes general practice. For this reason the wisest political philosophers from Aristotle to Burke abound in solemn warnings against setting up dangerous precedents, either in the law of the Constitution or in venerable and sacrosanct custom which has acquired the same force and authority.

THE INDISPENSABILITY ARGUMENT

The argument in favor of dictators and long terms of office is always the same. It is the allegation that an emergency has arisen and that no one but the actual chief executive is qualified to fill it. In Germany this doctrine is carried so far that Hitler is recognized as an infallible ruler and guide of the people. He not only performs for them the official acts of the state but also does for them their own personal thinking and judging, so that it is unpardonable heresy for them to criticize him or even privately to entertain different views. He is so indispensable that the individual German has no liberty of thinking, speaking, or acting in matters that concern the public.

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If there is an emergency in the United States today, it is not greater than those emergencies which the people and Government have met and happily surmounted in the past. Yet we are told that this emergency now makes it necessary to extend the tenure of office of the President beyond 8 years. That proposal, however, according to Washington and Jefferson, would itself create the greatest of all emergencies and the most fatal of all disasters.

STATEMENT OF REV. JOHN LA FARGE, ASSOCIATE EDITOR, AMERICA, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WEEKLY

As students of American history and as observers of contemporary events we are heartily in accord with the respect paid to tradition by those who, like the propounders of the very momentous legislation now under discussion, wish to preclude once and for all the possibility of a continued reelection of the Nation's Chief Executive. Our sympathy with their attitude is based not upon any passing political issues and certainly is not aimed against any particular candidates or incumbents. As our periodical has frequently said, we are against the idea of a third term in office for a Washington, a Jefferson, or a Lincoln, or for anyone else, whatever be his affiliations or qualifications.

STATEMENT OF FREDERICK R. COUDERT, PH. D., TRUSTEE OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, MEMBERS OF THE LAW FIRM OF COUDERT BROS., NEW YORK CITY

It is admitted on all sides that there has been a feeling in the American people since the time of Washington that the Presidency should not be permanently vested in one man. That feeling has taken the form of a strong prepossession against a third term for any President, however popular and attractive he may have been.

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Beginning with the examination on principle, there appears today to me to be more reason for this amendment than existed even in Jefferson's time. This is today strikingly brought out because of the complete, abject, and humiliating failure of nearly every democracy among the nations of the world, aside from the democracies of England and the United States. In great countries where democracies had been attempted and had seemed for a time to be successful—and we all know the history of the

eighteenth-century democracies imitating the institutions of America and Great Britain, both on this continent and in Europe, and our great danger today and our reason for preparedness is that democracy had taken the direct or plebiscitary form, which has led to the destruction of democracy itself and the exalting of one individual who is supposed to typify an omnipotent and infallible state.

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A tradition so persistent and carried out by able, popular, and vigorous Presidents cannot be tossed aside for present political advantage to any party. The burden of proof is absolutely upon those who would show that the tradition is without foundation; and what have they done to show it? Absolutely nothing, except to say that the times have changed. Yes; they have changed. They have changed so as to demonstrate that the tradition was never so important as now.

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In an age where representative democratic government is everywhere yielding to militarism and Caesarism, our institutions must be safeguarded in every possible manner. They cannot be too safely guarded.

STATEMENT OF DR. WILLIAM E. MASTERSON, PROFESSOR OF LAW, TEMPLE UNIVERSITY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Those Presidents who did not speak on the subject left us their examples. Thus, during these 150 years of our national history Democratic and Republican Presidents alike have unfailingly and unfalteringly championed the precedent set by Washington, the Father of his Country, and established by Jefferson, the father of the Democratic Party. It has transcended party politics. Whatever other changes may have taken place in the fundamental law of the land, whatever other alterations our other views may have undergone, this precedent has doggedly persisted, both in theory and in practice, in the history of a country that has become a miracle of freedom and opportunity in the midst of a distraught and tyranny-torn world. If it be conjectured that several of our Presidents might have had a third term, and that the people would, therefore, have been willing to override the tradition, it may be answered that the men who filled the office saw from the vantage point which the position afforded, the opportunity which if offered for usurpation of vast powers and intrigue and corruption by an ambitious or dishonest President. They spoke and acted from a wisdom and perception born of experience and knowledge that the people could not have had.

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Election for a third term would open the way for a fourth, the fourth for a fifth, until a popular and ambitious President, through an appeal of personality, might easily perpetuate himself for life through successive reelections that are simply perfunctory and idle gestures. A third term in our day might open the way for a fourth in the next generation, a fifth in the following, until finally life tenure might not seem unnatural but "indispensable." One departure from the two-term precedent would thus launch us upon uncharted seas, pave the way for a life tenure, and engender fears and misgivings as to the Nation's future course. It would be the opening wedge of monarchy, as Jefferson foresaw. This wedge might eventually cleave the heart of democracy. This eventual result could be made entirely possible if lavish spending, patronage, and so forth, are carried so far as to bring about a one-party system. The President is the leader of his party. He chooses its head. He controls it. He can even purge it. Should we then find ourselves with only one party, or with all parties but one rendered inarticulate or reduced to impotency, the President would be in a position to perpetuate himself in the office and run the country through the control of his party and the manipulation of its machinery. This would lead us toward a Fascist system of government.

It has already been pointed out that the electoral college has broken down and that the appeal of the incumbent Presidential candidates is now to the entire population through the four "P's"—the passions, the prejudices, patronage, and the purses of the people. The occupant of the White House can summon to his support corrupt political machines of immense power, and he has at his disposal enormous patronage, millions of positions, and billions of money with which to make the appeal. These corrupt and corrupting influences and controls have already reached staggering proportions in our day. Should the two-term tradition be overthrown, these conditions will become even more aggravated and severe, and make self-perpetuation increasingly less difficult.

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It has been said occasionally, and it is being repeated today that our present tradition, if enacted into law, might deprive the country of the services of a man at a time when his continued leadership is "indispensable" to the welfare and progress, even the life of the Nation. To put the case most strongly, it is said that if we introduce into our governmental form this rigid adherence to the principle of ineligibility, it might lead to severe national loss at a moment of great national crisis and that, therefore, we should avoid this legal restraint and leave to the good judgment and ballots of the people whatever restraints seem desirable for the time being.

There is some merit in this argument. I believe, however, that it assumes something which the majority of the American people are not willing to accept, namely, that when this country is faced with a crisis there can be found only one American who is able to furnish it competent leadership. Two of the greatest figures of our history, who spoke in times of gravest peril, refused to take this pessimistic view of the resourcefulness and strength of the American people. Washington wrote in 1789, when the launching of the new Nation was beset with the greatest hazards, that he would be deterred from accepting the new Presidency by "a belief that some other person who had less presence and less inclination to be excused could execute all the duties fully as satisfactory as myself." He spoke these words not when being pressed to run for a third term but when he was being urged to accept the office in the first instance. When Jefferson was being urged during his second term to stand for reelection for a third, he wrote:

"That there are in our country a great number of characters entirely equal to the management of its affairs cannot be doubted. Many of them, indeed, have not had opportunities of making themselves known to their fellow citizens, but many have had, and the only difficulty will be to choose among them."

Both Jefferson and Washington were the idols of the people, most of whom doubtless believed them to be "indispensable."

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Even if there should come a time when a third term seems desirable, Senator NORRIS has well said:

"* * * while I admit that there might come a time, if we had in our Constitution a provision against a third term, when I might regret it was there, for the time being, on the other hand, I am willing to yield to that extent in order to do away with what I believe to be the greater danger that will come if we established this kind of a precedent."

In other words, it is better to sacrifice the further services of a good man than to hazard the consequences that might flow from a departure from the precedent that we have followed since the Nation was launched.

When we speak of "indispensable" we must make sure that by that term we do not mean "indispensable" to those who have been the beneficiaries of the two "P's"—party patronage and the public purse—or "indispensable" to a party's success at the next election. If there are those who honestly think that there are "indispensables" to the Nation's welfare, it might be answered that that has been thought in past years and at times when this Nation seemed on the verge of disaster. Yet, the people have always rallied to the support of a new leader, and we have always pulled through to dry land. Thus, no man is ever an "indispensable," except in the transitory fears and imaginations of the people. The salvation of this Nation is not in the keeping of any man, even temporarily, but its destiny and its future lie in the strength and character of its people who clothe with executive authority the best man they consider available for the time being.

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I oppose a third term, because 12 years in office will afford any President an opportunity to exert too much influence or to gain too great control over our national judiciary. While the courts themselves can stop by judicial decision the usurpation, by other departments of the Government, of jurisdiction that rightly belongs to them, they have no means of protecting themselves against the impairment or loss of their independence and integrity. Under our Constitution, they are manned by judges appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, a political body, which, with rare exceptions, confirms his appointments. Over a period of 12 years, a President might completely remake our courts to his own liking, through the filling of vacancies caused by deaths and resignations. This would give him control over the courts, and our system of checks and balances would be set aside. Even during the 7½ years of the present administration, five new justices have been appointed to the Supreme Court, and some 55 percent of the judges of the lower courts have been appointed to such courts.

To checkmate such efforts to pack the courts by a President who might not be willing to yield to judicial independence of opinion and thought, his power of appointment should not be allowed to go on indefinitely. Our two-term tradition is certainly more effective as a safeguard against such endeavor than a longer tenure.

STATEMENT OF THEODORE GRAEBNER, CHAIR OF PHILOSOPHY, CONCORDIA SEMINARY, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Political power, when it reaches a certain height, tends to become despotic, and no despotism can permit the free diffusal of religious opinion, for the simple reason that religion, to be religion at all, acknowledges a Power superior to that of the State, to which must be added a conscientious duty of propagating one's religion and of testifying against what the religionist sincerely believes to be falsehood and error. It was particularly the inability of the Nazi state to permit any testimony on the part of the church against any official expression of the state that has led to the present enslavement of religion in Germany and in Nazi-controlled areas. But there is nothing about this peculiar to the Nazi or Fascist mind. Wherever political power is concentrated in a single personage, no matter what the executive's personal religion may be, there must be limitation of the freedom of the church to teach and exercise its discipline.

An unlimited tenure for the office of President, I conclude, involves possibilities not only of flagrant abuse of the party system of government that, in the words of a congressional resolution of

1875, permits departures from sound American tradition which "would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN W. DAVIS, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

We have the right to believe that a tradition so long established and so universally accepted as this, has sound reason behind it. History and experience leave us in no doubt what that reason is. The one thing upon which those who founded this Government and those who have carried it on have all agreed, is that we should never risk the permanent control of our Government by any single man. One hundred and fifty years ago, men had never heard such terms as "Fuehrer" and "Duce," but they knew the hateful thing those words have come to signify. They called it monarchy and they would have none of it. So when the powerful office of the Presidency was created, they fixed for it only a 4-year term. True, they did not forbid a reelection, although I think they would have done so if the great figure of Washington had not dominated the scene. But his example, followed by that of Jefferson and endorsed by their successors, wrote the two-term tradition deep into the conscience of the country—so deep, in fact, as to make it a part of the unwritten, if not the written, law.

Time and again when a constitutional amendment such as the one which you are now considering has been proposed, its adoption has been discouraged by the argument that the two-term tradition was too well settled ever to be disturbed, and that such a tradition is stronger than any form of words. This is not pure fancy, for tradition is, in the lives of men, as well as nations, a powerful force. Many compulsions in our Government as well as in our daily lives are due more to tradition than to law. The action of an elector in the electoral college is an instance. Every member of the electoral college is perfectly free in law to cast his vote for any person he chooses, for the offices of President and Vice President. No provision of the Constitution, no statute, no personal oath binds him to the contrary. And yet, every elector holds himself bound to vote for the candidates designated by the party on whose ticket he has himself appeared. This is not merely as a matter of choice but because of tradition and the fear of the public reproach that a departure from that tradition would bring. And when one reflects, without expanding on the subject, upon the canons of conduct that control men in their personal affairs, it is amazing to find how many of them are rooted in tradition and tradition alone.

But those who have relied upon tradition to govern the length of the Presidential term have left one dominating factor out of view—that is, the factor of human nature. It is the nature of the human animal, most human animals, to love place and prominence, adulation and power. Some, of course, care for all this more than others. Some love it so much that the power they have is never gladly or voluntarily surrendered. The appetite growing by what it feeds on becomes the master passion of their lives. Such men, even while they realize that some day their power must be laid down, can always find a reason why the fatal day must be postponed. In their minds there is always a crisis in which their services are indispensable; always some great work in hand which they, and they alone, can do. Outwardly they may pretend, and usually do pretend, that they groan under the burden and would be glad to lay it down, but in their secret souls they cling to their places like limpets to a rock. Is not history full of just such instances? Need I resort to illustrations?

Moreover, there are never lacking around the throne those who inflame this deep-seated ambition to hold on. The friends and sycophants of the incumbent, whose political lives are linked with his, constantly assure their chief that the public good demands that he should not desert the ship. It is this sort of sweet music that is the curse of kings. While those who oppose him only arouse a dogged determination in his egotistic heart to choose his time and not theirs for disappearing from the scene, is tradition powerful enough to hold spirits like these? Time, past and present, answers "No." And since it is not, let us fix a limitation by the law. "In questions of power," wrote Jefferson, "let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

The tremendous power of the Presidential office must never be forgotten. With the exception of the dictators in totalitarian states, no chief of state in the world today has such power as the President of the United States. How greatly this power has been enlarged in recent years I need hardly remind you. With billions of money to disburse at his will, with places by the hundreds of thousands for him to fill, with scores of discretionary statutes ready to spring into life at his word, with the Army and Navy under his control as Commander in Chief, and the conduct of foreign relations in his hands, where is there another ruler to rival him? Now I lay it down as beyond challenge that any President possessed of these powers, or even one-tenth of them, unless his administration has met with crushing disaster, can cause himself to be renominated, not once or twice, but as long as he chooses, if the basic law does not forbid. With the two-term tradition broken down, and no law to take its place, we have every reason to dread a future occupancy of the White House limited only by the ambition or the life of the tenant.

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I care not how others may feel, but for myself the man has not yet been born of woman—and I use that phrase because it includes both the living and the dead—the man has not yet been born of woman to whom I would entrust for more than 8 years at the most the vast, the expanding, the fateful powers of the Presidency of the United States.

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I think there is 10 times the reason today that there was 10 years, or 20 years, or 30 years ago, for insisting on this principle. I think the whole doctrine of free government is under challenge throughout the world. I think the whole attempt at personal government by individuals has risen to a height none of us 30 years ago had thought possible. If there ever was a time for the American people to stand fast against those doctrines, certainly this is the time. I regret the Senators have changed their minds. I observed that Senator NORRIS has had something to say on this subject, and I harken back to the day when Senator NORRIS and I together were members of the House Committee on the Judiciary, and participated in the particular incident to which I alluded. I think at that time Senator NORRIS had no doubt of the advisability of a strict limitation on the Presidential office. I concede to every man the right to change his opinion, and I would not impugn the good faith of any man who does so, but nothing that has transpired has altered my opinion on the subject in the slightest, but has rather reinforced it.

STATEMENT OF REV. JOSEPH R. SIZOO, MINISTER, ST. NICHOLAS COLLEGIATE CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY

The continuation of one person in the office of President for two or three or four terms, no matter how effective and worthy that person may be, is bound in the long run to affect and alter our political way of life. One often hears our Government spoken of as a Presidential democracy. Whether that is justified, I do not presume to discuss, but I am convinced that we have been and are increasingly drifting to that end. I cannot believe that is wholesome. To ask one man to assume responsibilities which should be assumed by all men is not good for the country. The consequences of that are not hard to imagine. It leads straight into a benevolent patriarchy and that into dictatorship. When we think more of one leader than of the followers something goes out of the fiber of a nation. It is time we shift the emphasis from the President to the people, not because the President is unworthy, but because the people will lose their self-reliance and importance.

We are living in a day when there must be an increasing emphasis on the responsibility of the citizens if our way of life is to survive. Democracy, as I see it, is not a matter of what we can get one person to do for us, but what we can all do together. It is measured, not by what we can get out of it through one leader, but by what we can bring to it as citizens.

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May I say this one more thing: It is quite obvious today that we are too casual with tradition. It is so easy to suppose that the trends of yesterday were all wrong because they are of yesterday, while the trends that are new are good because they are new.

We are disposed to treat so lightly the convictions which were held by those who have made the Nation what it is. I am sure that a people who never look back thoughtfully to the past will find that they have little to pass on to the future.

Through the years of our history the leaders of the Nation have always warned against the peril of a President being maintained in office too long. They knew that power is the most perilous thing to handle, and once possessing it is even more difficult to relinquish. It is so easy when once it has been given to rationalize its continuance. No one can read American history from the day that the Constitution was first debated until our modern times without being impressed that the reelection of a President longer than the proscribed period of the Father of our Country was considered not only hazardous but undesirable. If we value tradition and if the yesterdays of our national life mean anything to us, we should be sobered by the judgments of the past. Our peril in this hour is that we shall be too casual with tradition.

STATEMENT OF VANCE MCCORMACK, PUBLISHER AND BUSINESSMAN, FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE, HARRISBURG, PA.

I therefore desire to submit for your consideration some of my objections to the third term.

1. The third term is more than "just another tradition." For a century and a half it has had the disapproval of the American people. It was opposed by the early fathers for the same reason it is opposed today—the fear of perpetuation of a one-man government. The principle of limited terms in public office is recognized in the constitutions of 34 of the States.

Until this year the third-term issue never reached the people in an election. Hitherto it was rebuked before it reached that stage. The very fact that under modern conditions it reaches the people is evidence of the political power which can be generated under even the two-term Presidential term and suggests the greater political power of the Presidential office if it could be held for three terms by the same occupant.

2. An ambitious President, able to force his nomination for a third term and being elected, could not be trusted to stop then. His own desire for power or his perfectly sincere belief that he and his policies were indispensable for the welfare of the Nation unquestionably might seek a fourth term and a fifth term if age and health permitted.

3. To accept the idea that any man is indispensable as the head of the Government of this Nation can only mean democracy has failed, because if there is only one man capable of administering our Government, his death or incapacity would mean the destruction of the Government. This, of course, is absurd.

That view of indispensability was shared by Mr. Roosevelt himself, who on November 3, 1932, declared:

"To indulge in such a fantastic idea of my own individual importance would be to destroy the common cause that has brought us all together this year. A great man left a watchword that we can well repeat: 'There is no indispensable man.'"

4. The argument against the third term is even stronger today than when the Government was in its infancy, had relatively few dollars to spend and a small pay roll of Government employees to support. Today the situation is vastly different. Millions of dollars are being spent in salaries for more than a million Government employees, for grants to State and to municipalities as subsidies, and fabulously large sums to agriculture and to industry. Add together these sums and the recipients of them and translate them into voting power and instantly we recognize the tremendous influence they could wield on election day. The power over the ballot which could be exercised by the beneficiaries of these enormous funds along with their friends and relatives, is too tremendous to be left in the hands of any President for more than two terms. It would constitute a bureaucracy of such voting strength that it could perpetuate itself in office and leave the citizens of the Nation helpless to correct it.

It is greatly to be regretted that the attempt to break the third-term tradition comes at this particular time when the President and the State Department are exerting every effort to draw into closer union with this country the countries of Central and South America. The acceptance of the third term would be a most unfortunate example to the republics of these countries who in theory are operating under the democratic pattern of government. In the past in this country there has been frequent criticism of the dubious character of some of the democratic governments to the southward. It was often pointed out that democracy in certain of these countries was regarded more as a label than a fact. Claims were made that elections in these republics were conducted by bureaucrats and at the bayonet points of the soldiers of the ruling presidents. There was no free choice, it was said, and the heads of the nations kept themselves in power by the use of their bureaucratic machines and military might.

The presidency of Diaz in Mexico was an illustration, as were many others, who kept themselves in office not because of the wish of the great majority of their people but through the power of bureaucratic and military machines.

Up to this time the United States has been setting an excellent example before Central and South American neighbors of a democracy where no President has attempted to remain in office beyond two terms. If this process is reversed and the United States sets out to break the third-term tradition, it will be a vindication of the actions of the dictators of Central and South America and a disappointment to the real democrats of those lands who have been looking to this Nation for leadership in the process of free government. Thus a third term here may jeopardize the concert and cooperation of all Central and South American nations which are today so urgently sought. Again, if the United States, by turning its back on the limited terms for the Presidency, sets such an example of Hitler ideology before Central and South America, these nations may conclude that as between totalitarian government in the Americas and in Europe there is no choice.

STATEMENT OF STANLEY I. STUBER, EDITOR, UNITED STATES BAPTIST; CHAPLAIN, CLIFTON SPRINGS SANITARIUM AND CLINIC, CLIFTON SPRINGS, N. Y.

As a religious editor, I fear that any third-term administration will, by force of economic circumstances and world conditions, establish here a dictatorship in principle if not in fact, and this would mean the end of religious liberty and the individual conscience. No democracy can endure the loss of these fundamental rights.

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But whoever does it, for the peace and well-being of the country, the office of President must be limited by constitutional amendment. The sooner it is done the safer will be the Nation. For until that day is realized there will always hang over the Nation's life the threat of a President who loves power more than justice, and a party which likes control more than liberty and which will have to be removed from office with bullets instead of ballots.

The Christian church should not enter partisan politics, and the separation of the church and state should always be maintained, but I see no reason why the church should not for the Nation's, as well as for its own welfare, sponsor such an amendment. Just as the church helped to write the Bill of Rights, so now the church can help save it from destruction. Here, indeed, is a real task for such organizations as the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and the National Council of Jews and Christians. Since Christianity as we know it is linked so closely with our democratic system of government, Protestants and Catholics should cooperate to save this country from totalitarianism. And since all religions will endure or fall together in this kind of a world, this is a cause which should unite Christians and Jews against a common enemy.

STATEMENT OF JEFFERSON HAYES-DAVIS, BANKER, COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.

Section 1 of article II of the constitution of the Confederate States of America reads in part as follows:

"SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the Confederate States of America. He and the vice-president shall hold their offices for the term of 6 years; but the president shall not be reeligible. The president and the vice-president shall be elected as follows: * * *

"(See Appendix K, Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, p. 662.)"

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I am not persuaded to believe that the limitation was placed in the Confederate Constitution as a matter of reverence for the tradition that had been set by Washington in accepting only two terms, for had that been the motive it seems to me that the limitation would have simply been fixed at two terms of 4 years each instead of a single term of 6 years.

Whether it was fear of the power of a political party or of the power of a single man, or both, I am not certain; but I do feel certain that it was fear of one or the other, or both, that impelled the restriction. I am further persuaded to believe that the growth of the United States, with its consequent growth in governmental functions and activities, for the first 80 years of its existence had brought about conditions which indicated to many men that its continued growth would require for the general welfare more and more power in the National Government. Realizing the inevitability of this situation, the members of the Convention must have felt that every limitation and restriction which was reasonably possible should be placed upon the exercise of that power, to the end that democratic processes not be restricted or jeopardized.

As I look about me and see the great mass of people who are necessarily dependent upon the National Government for their own personal welfare as distinguished from the general welfare—many of whom feel that for that reason it is necessary to continue in power the party which is responsible for the granting of these personal benefits—I conclude that there was great wisdom on the part of those who were responsible for the limitation.

STATEMENT OF HAWTHORNE DANIEL, AUTHOR

It can be said with little fear of contradiction that only by continuing in office for a period longer than any President has heretofore served can any man succeed in building up about himself a political machine through which he could make himself a dictator. Therefore, no matter how slight some people may believe this danger to be—even though they do not grant that there is any danger whatever—a limitation should be set. Certainly we know that should dictatorship come, it will come only in the absence, and cannot come in the presence, of such a law. And if no danger exists now, certainly none would exist were a limitation set.

To adopt such an amendment would be comparable to taking out an accident policy. It is not so much that we expect to be hit by a taxi that we purchase such policies, as because we understand clearly that we may be.

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The facts that I have cited must be obvious to every thoughtful citizen, and the conclusions are obvious. Danger to the welfare of our country may well come through failure to set a limit to the period a President may serve. Yet the danger we fear cannot come if such periods of service are wisely limited.

The need is plain, and has been stated by many of the leading figures in our political history. Yet that President who occupied the White House for a shorter time than any other offered an argument in his inaugural address only 30 days before his death, which, strong as it is, is often overlooked. Let me quote a paragraph or two from William Henry Harrison:

The following is from President Harrison's inaugural address, delivered on March 4, 1841:

"When the Constitution of the United States first came from the hands of the Convention that formed it, many of the sternest Republicans of the day were alarmed at the extent of the power which had been granted to the Federal Government, and more particularly of that portion which had been assigned to the executive branch. There were in it features which appeared not to be in harmony with their ideas of a simple, representative democracy or republic. And knowing the tendency of power to increase itself, particularly when exercised by a single individual, predictions were made that, at no very remote period, the Government would terminate in virtual monarchy."

Later in the same address he comes more specifically to the point we are considering. He says:

"It is the part of wisdom for a republic to limit the service of that officer, at least, to whom she has entrusted the management of her foreign relations, the execution of her laws, and the command of her armies and navies, to a period so short as to prevent his forgetting that he is the accountable agent, and not the principal—the servant, not the master. Until an amendment of the Constitution can be effected, public opinion may secure the desired object. I give my aid

to it by renewing the pledge heretofore given, that, under no circumstances, will I consent to serve another term."

STATEMENT PREPARED BY MR. JOHN F. VOIGHT, WHO 2 YEARS AGO WAS PRESIDENT OF THE ILLINOIS BAR ASSOCIATION

When all three departments of government are under the control of the Executive, no matter how great or good or experienced he may be, you have arbitrary government; and if there is no limit of time to the period in which he may continue himself in office, and even if no great harm comes to the Republic during such an Executive's tenure of office, he establishes a precedent that may at some future time be used by some successor in the Presidential office to destroy the fundamental liberties of American citizens.

The more solid and substantial reasons for the no-third-term tradition are—

1. The vast appointive power of the President.
2. The vast number of Government employees.
3. The vast uses of public funds to directly or indirectly influence or control votes.

Today, it is said, 20,000,000 people receive money directly or indirectly out of the public funds. It is possible that all or a large part of these may be used to control the elections and perpetuate unwise policies in government and defeat the fundamental principles of democracy and perpetuate an administration in office whose policies would eventually ruin the people and destroy the Nation.

These four great evils in a democracy can thwart the will of the majority. They can utterly destroy democracy; therefore, the no-third-term tradition is a vital safeguard of our form of government ranking in importance with the written Constitution itself.

These vast powers of the Presidential office could be used by a popular President to continue the policy of extravagance and public spending until his financial policy would bring bankruptcy, inflation, and all its disastrous consequences to the Nation; or a popular President might involve us in a foreign war, the consequences of which no man can foretell and which might be disastrous to our Nation and our form of government.

Human nature is the same today as it has been for thousands of years. Power begets power; power breeds arrogance and corrupts the understanding heart. The advice and practice of the fathers of the Republic are before us. For 151 years our beloved Republic has followed their advice and their example, and the rights and liberties of Americans have been preserved when nearly all the world has either been persuaded or compelled to adopt and has succumbed to dictatorships.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN F. VOIGHT.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD F. CLEVELAND, LAWYER, BALTIMORE, MD.; SON OF FORMER PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND

There is no doubt whatever in my mind that if the voters of the United States in 1940 sanction a third Presidential term they will remove our most effective check against the world's present tendency toward concentration of political power. That step is far more significant, of course, than giving President Roosevelt a third term. It is a landmark, a River Rubicon. It is true that in all human affairs after the first momentous overthrow of a restraint, the succeeding moves in the same direction become easy and almost inevitable.

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Thus, we face again in 1940 a clear, unequivocal choice between the advantages of concentrated political power and the advantages of the democratic processes. If the temptation were not so great, because of Mr. Roosevelt's personal popularity and the unprecedented political power which now attaches to the Presidency, there would be no issue. It is perhaps not improper to add that recent attempts made by the Executive to gain control of the judicial and legislative branches of the National Government show that the dangers of concentrated power are real and not imaginary.

I suggest that the so-called founding fathers in the beginnings of our free government and that this committee today were and are concerned not with intentions but with power. It is not necessary to charge extravagantly that Mr. Roosevelt wishes to be a dictator, or to challenge his good faith in any respect. It is enough that he, or any other man who follows him and seeks a third term, should thereby represent that we must repudiate our deliberate choice of the democratic processes, and that we must now feebly confess that our Nation can no longer produce more than one man fit to be President.

I solemnly believe that unless a third term for any man is forestalled by the voters in free election, or by suitable legislative action, we shall pass the great divide between democratic processes and power government.

STATEMENT OF HON. BAINBRIDGE COLBY, NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

The absence of a fixed limitation of tenure, he feared, would undermine the security of republican government. In fact, Jefferson went so far as to declare that should a President consent—I might remark, in parenthesis, he could not conceive of a President actually seeking continuation of himself in office—should he "consent to be a candidate for a third term, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views."

Thus reasoned Jefferson, the man who, above all, in the words of President Roosevelt, "at all times looked the farthest into the future, examining the ultimate effects on humanity of the actions of the present." But, as I say, President Roosevelt has himself made a very great contribution to the case against the third term. By his course as a President-candidate prior to the nominating convention at Chicago, his direction of its proceedings, and his subsequent actions as its third-term candidate, he has contributed a perfect illustration of every danger and evil which Jefferson foresaw so clearly and against which he warned his countrymen so earnestly.

Mr. Roosevelt has taken it upon himself to nullify the precedent of Washington and the tradition established by Jefferson, not by showing either to be wrong but by showing that he does not care what they thought. To their anticipation of grave abuses in any departure from so sound a principle, he has replied by providing the abuses.

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The unceasing tendency of our political development has been to augment the power of the Presidential office. The power to influence legislation, to influence the course of judicial decision, the power of appointment to lucrative office, the unreviewable discretion in the expenditure of the public revenue, the power to initiate policy, the power to determine the great issues of peace and war, and even the future and the destinies of the Nation, are in large measure in the keeping of the President.

In a republic such powers should not be lodged in any man for more than a limited and fixed period, and then only under a strict accountability to the people, at recurring and frequent intervals, for their proper use.

We have seen that a tradition, no matter how cherished by the people, or long established, will not protect them against the use by an ambitious President of the vast resources of his office to prolong his tenure of it. We have seen how a national convention can be seeded and planted in the interests of a third term and how it can be manipulated and forced into the service of a President's ambition, no matter how vaulting, unprecedented, and fraught with danger to our liberties such ambitions may be. Liberty in America and the perpetuity of our free institutions, in the light of the developments of the current year, evidently require a greater protection than is afforded by the "unwritten law" or tradition, however sacred we may hold the latter to be. The will of our people must find expression, it is now perceived, in terms of tougher fiber than a tradition.

We now have reached the time, it is apparent, when this great basic principle of limited tenure of the Presidential office must be safeguarded by an express provision in our Constitution.

We must take up the burden which we have hitherto relied upon tradition to sustain.

STATEMENT OF OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Senator BURKE. A little more than 3 years ago, when the President proposed another epoch-making change in our form of government and made his suggestion to apply force to the judiciary to bring to an end our fundamental conception of an independent judiciary, reliance of those who sought to bring about that change was placed deeply upon the liberal elements of the country that so largely had been supporting President Roosevelt, and it was true then that a very large number of liberal thinkers in the country did close their eyes to the verities of the situation and line up in favor of that proposal. But at once there came a statement from one of the most outstanding of all the liberals in opposition to the proposal, and Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard came before this committee and in terms that could not be misunderstood exposed the proposal in all its horrifying aspects, and I think when credit is given for the efforts that brought to failure that effort to destroy our independent judiciary, a very large measure of credit must go to Mr. Villard, because it was only by rallying liberal and independent thinkers of this country that it was possible to bring defeat to that measure.

So it is particularly heartening and encouraging to me today to be able to present to this audience and for this record Mr. Villard again, and I do so with particular pleasure today because even yesterday a group of liberals called on the President, under the chairmanship of my distinguished colleague in the United States Senate, and pledged to the President the support of liberals in the country. I think it is prophetic that Mr. Villard from the very beginning has taken a position in opposition to this precedent-breaking proposal of the President in exactly the same way that he did to that one that took place something over 3 years ago, and it is with extreme pleasure that we now call upon Mr. Villard.

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Two terms are too long, and three terms seem to me nothing short of treason to the Republic. I have weighed these words carefully.

The present situation illuminates the dangers beyond dispute. We have a President seeking a third term on the ground of a grave emergency, both national and international. But no dictator has ever arisen in any country at any time without proclaiming that a national or international emergency existed and necessitated his taking over the country. Assuming that the President's motives are of the best, that he is genuinely convinced that he was drafted and that he alone can manage the country in this grave crisis, and that he intends to resign as soon as the crisis is over in favor of Henry Wallace, the precedent which will be established if he is elected for the third term will remain to plague the country if the Republic survives a third term and can remain a republic in the midst of the rising tide of autocracy, dictatorship, and totalitarianism the world over. Any unprincipled man deliberately seeking to make himself the dictator of the country would thereafter find

himself in possession of a precedent to warrant him in permanently holding the Presidency.

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Certainly if George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Andrew Jackson were convinced that they were not indispensable to the welfare of the United States in the Presidential office, there is no living man, and there will be none in the future, who should dare to assume that any situation can arise in which he alone can safeguard the state and the welfare of the people.

STATEMENT OF JOHN A. MCSPARRAN, FORMER MASTER OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE GRANGE, FROM 1914 TO 1924; FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, FROM 1931 TO 1935; GREENE, PA.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, to identify myself, I come from the State of Pennsylvania, having been master of the State Grange from 1914 to 1924. I ran for the governorship in 1922 on the Democratic ticket and was secretary of agriculture of Pennsylvania from 1931 to 1935.

I am greatly in favor of an amendment to the Constitution limiting the President and Vice President of the United States to a single term of 6 years. I am especially interested in the idea of a single term of 6 years. The experience of Pennsylvania is worthy of note in this connection. We have had four constitutions in Pennsylvania, the first three of which allowed the Governor to succeed himself. After that long experience a fourth constitutional convention, which was held in 1873, put in a restriction forbidding the Governor to succeed himself. It is very evident that the experience of Pennsylvania under the first three constitutions caused the inclusion of the restriction in the fourth.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE C. PERR, FORMERLY GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, FROM 1934 TO 1938

Section 69 of the Virginia Constitution provides for the election of a Governor for a 4-year term. It further provides that—

"He shall be ineligible to the same office for the term next succeeding that for which he was elected and to any other office during his term of service."

The principle underlying this provision of our constitution was deemed a wise one when it was adopted. Subsequent experience has not prompted any departure therefrom. On the other hand it has been steadfastly adhered to throughout the history of Virginia, as an independent Commonwealth and since her return to the Union after the War between the States.

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I believe our experience in Virginia has justified a strict adherence to the principle embodied in our constitution. I further believe that a majority of the Virginia electorate, if called upon to pass upon the question, free from a political campaign or partisan prejudice, would approve the principle.

If it is a wise policy to follow this principle in the election of Governors, it must follow that it would be a sound policy to adhere to this same principle in the election of our Presidents.

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It may be true that dictators do not arise where free elections exist, but one may question whether elections are entirely free and untrammeled where the Executive, or his partisans without his knowledge, use the lever of power and patronage to bring about a reelection.

The great office of President of the United States should be entirely free from any such suspicion.

STATEMENT OF BISHOP A. W. LEONARD, OF THE METHODIST CHURCH, WASHINGTON AREA

The traditional American custom that under no circumstances shall a President serve for more than two terms of 4 years each is supported by the vast majority of the American people. As late as April 1938, according to the polls taken by the American Institute of Public Opinion, more than 70 percent of the voters of this Nation were against a third term. The same institute, one of the most accurate of its kind in the country, showed on the basis of an actual survey that 79 percent of the voters favored restoring prosperity by helping business while only 21 percent still favored the pump-priming method of spending our way out.

If this was the settled opinion of the great majority of the American people as late as the middle of the year 1938, why should there be agitation now and particularly in view of present world conditions?

A custom established by the accord of 30 Presidents, affirmed by 76 Congresses, and insisted upon for 150 years by the American people has proved its value. It has weathered the storms of personally ambitious Presidents and other men and has come through the fires of Nation-wide debate to be more firmly fixed in the minds of the people.

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To say that in this great country of ours there is but one man who is capable of being President is a sad commentary upon the great American people and an indictment against democracy.

The third-term architects of our destiny as a Nation cannot separate themselves from the charge that selfish motives, both political and personal, are beneath the surface in this agitation.

If a third term is essential, then a fourth term, and a fifth, and on and on, until American democracy is so changed as to be destroyed. All that is needed in the event of such a change is to lead the people to believe there is an "emergency." By the use of modern methods of propaganda and the means toward that end this may be easily accomplished. The New York Times, which has but recently declared itself strongly and unalterably against the third term, has well said:

"The doctrine of one man's indispensability is a new doctrine for this country. It is a doctrine which less scrupulous men in Europe have used to root themselves in power. It is a doctrine which we in the United States have good reason to question, particularly when we consider how the powers of the Presidency have grown, what immense patronage, what gigantic expenditures, what enormous power to perpetuate himself in office is now within the grasp of any President of the United States."

The continuation of one man in the Presidency beyond the 8-year period gives him an increasingly effective control over American life which would mold and fashion the thought and life of the American people according to his pattern. In a democracy no single man can determine in advance what attitudes and positions people may take, without himself becoming in fact a dictator.

For a hundred years generations yet unborn will spend their energies and activities in absorbing the most fanciful and colossal debt the country has ever known. If another 4 years should be added to the already unbearable conditions the future of entire generations would be sealed to an economic servitude that would result in national insolvency. It has been estimated that if we started out at once to pay off our national debt at the rate of $500,000,000 a year it would be almost the twenty-first century before we had scaled down the debt to the size it was 8 years ago. Yet there are those who advocate the election of a President for a third term who must be aware of the fact that such a policy would increase our problems at home and abroad and would pave the way for a totalitarian state.

In such an event our American form of democracy would be a thing of the past, religious freedom would take the same course it has taken in Europe, and our system of education would be under the control of a nationalistic will and no man would dare call his soul his own.

There is one other consideration which from a practical viewpoint has a legitimate place in a discussion of this kind. I refer to the danger of entrenching a Presidential family in the life of a nation for too long a time. Whatever may be the good accomplished by commercializing the office of President of the United States, and no matter to what extent resourcefulness may be employed for securing funds for under-privileged people, the office of the President directly or indirectly was never intended to be used in any such manner or for such purposes. As a rule the families of our Presidents have been quite free from blame at this point. However, when the high office of President is used for the purpose of building up great family fortunes it is time for the American people to make inquiry and take soundings, for such procedure, if long continued will become a degradation to any people.

STATEMENT OF DR. YOUNG B. SMITH, DEAN OF COLUMBIA LAW SCHOOL

First. I believe that the third-term principle prevents the Executive from dominating the judicial and legislative branches of the Government, and maintains the separation and balance of powers provided in the Constitution as safeguard of liberty.

If the President may be elected for an indefinite number of terms a President might, and probably would, in 12 or 16 years have the opportunity to appoint all the members of the Supreme Court—to appoint, in effect, his own Court. This would seriously threaten the independence of the Court. It was this very evil which was sought to be accomplished by the Supreme Court "packing plan" and which was averted by a spontaneous demonstration of popular resentment at the thought of any President thus presuming to control the Court.

Second. Likewise, the abandonment of the third-term principle would tend to destroy the independence of the legislative branch of the Government. No realistic student of government can deny the power which a President has over Congress through his control of patronage and the distribution of Federal funds. The election of a new man to the Presidency at least once every 8 years is an essential precaution lest Congress become through habits of long obedience so subservient to the desires of the President as to lose its independence entirely.

I believe that if a President is permitted to remain in office for more than two terms he can through patronage and the use of Federal funds achieve such personal power and build up such a political machine that freedom of nomination and freedom of election will disappear and the ultimate power of the people will be lost.

In the early days of the Republic, the number of Federal Government employees was small and their votes were not of consequence in a Presidential election. However, as the number of officeholders increased, their votes became a more important factor in elections. By the time of Grover Cleveland, the significance of this factor had become so great that it was one of the main reasons he gave in support of a proposed constitutional amendment to limit the President to a single term of office.

In 1884, when Cleveland made this proposal, there were fewer than 150,000 employees in the executive department of the Federal Government. Today there are more than 1,000,000 such employees and, in addition, there are more than 8,000,000 persons, and the estimate has run as high as 12,000,000, and I am trying to be conservative, who, while not officeholders, receive aid from Federal

sources. If in the days of Cleveland the votes of Federal employees were recognized as dangerous influence, that danger is infinitely greater today.

A President with 8 years of cumulative power over the disposition of jobs and money, if eligible for reelection, supported by a Nation-wide circulation of controlled administration publicity, can forestall any other potential candidate in his own party, can control his party's nominating convention and, having brought about his own nomination, can secure his election through the influence of patronage and the disposition of vast sums of money to people who have come to look to him for support. This might easily result in a political dynasty which conceivably might last indefinitely. An entrenched President could not cnly remain in office as long as he chose but he could also dictate his successor. Freedom of election will thus be destroyed.

The complete answer to the argument often advanced and suggested by the President in his address in Philadelphia a few days ago that there is no danger in a third term because the people always have the right to elect a President of their own free choice every 4 years is precisely that the people will not have such a choice. The election will not be free, and may in time become a rubber-stamp procedure similar to the "elections" used to give an appearance of public support to the policies of European dictators.

Third. I believe that the principle of rotation in office is essential to the proper functioning of a democratic government.

The possibility of electing a candidate every 4 years has vital importance in keeping together the political organization of the opposition. If the continued reelection of a President of one party is a foregone conclusion, the other party, as an effective influence, would be destroyed. A vigilant and fearless opposition is one of the essential differences between our form of government and the Nazi, Fascist, or Soviet form which permits only the government party to exist. Such opposition is necessary to bring proposed laws and policies into the open for public discussion and decision. The safety of a democracy rests upon an intelligent, well-informed public. If the opposition party disappears, what new agency can be expected to perform the necessary task of presenting to the public all the facts and all the arguments against, as well as for, Government proposals?

Every administration is certain to make mistakes which, for political reasons, it is difficult for it to correct. A change of administration at least once every 8 years, even though the new President be of the same party, facilitates the correction of errors without jeopardizing the good that has been accomplished.

Fourth. I believe that the maintenance of democratic government depends upon no one man being permitted to become indispensable.

It is a serious reflection upon this country to contend that its welfare depends upon any one man. The country is not that weak, and no man is that strong.

That President Roosevelt at one time fully subscribed to this view is apparent from the following statement he made in 1932:

"A great man left a watchword we can well repeat: 'There is no indispensable man.'"

And again, the night before his first election, he declared at Madison Square Garden:

"The genius of America is stronger than any candidate or any party. This campaign, hard as it has been, has not shattered my sense of humor or my sense of proportion. I still know that the fate of America cannot depend on any one man. The greatness of America is grounded in principles and not on any single personality."

A President would become indispensable only by his long continuance in office. The longer he remains in office the harder it becomes to replace him with another of sufficient experience. Each year the argument to continue him grows stronger and the transition to a successor becomes more difficult.

The idea of indispensability is a foreign and defeatist conception. In those countries where it prevails it has led to the destruction of democratic government. In this country no one is yet indispensable. We should see to it that no one is permitted to become so.

At no time in American history have the dangers sought to be avoided by the third-term principle been so real as at the present.

Powerful forces are at work throughout the world today to undermine and destroy democratic government. The subversive influence of these forces has in many ways manifested itself even in our own country. This is no time to weaken the protection that we have against its further encroachment, especially in view of the rapidly expanding powers of the executive department of our Government during recent years.

Since 1933 the present administration has succeeded in centralizing in the Federal Government unprecedented powers, thus undermining to a large extent the sovereignty of the States. This development has not stopped with the vast expansion of the powers of the Federal Government. It has also concentrated enormous powers in the Chief Executive, with a corresponding decrease in the powers of the Congress and the courts. So rapid has been this transformation, acquiesced in by the people because of the exigencies of the depression, that, since the popular approval registered in the election of 1936, the present administration has manifested reckless disregard of the theory of checks and balances and has sought cpenly to weaken the influence and powers of the legislative and judicial branches of government.

This attitude is shown by the open and shameless attack upon the Supreme Court in 1937; the reorganization bill proposed in 1938; the practice of sending "must" legislation to the Congress; the attempted purge of recalcitrant Senators and Congressmen; the order to Congress to vote for proposed legislation regardless of its constitutionality; and more recently the scornful attitude toward the presence of Congress in Washington.

That the vast powers already acquired by the Chief Executive have given him an almost complete domination of his own party and that he does not hesitate to control its action is shown by the ease and arbitrary manner with which he eliminated all candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1940 and forced his own nomination for a third term.

During the last 7½ years the present administration has controlled the expenditure of $60,000,000,000. A large part of this vast sum has been at the disposal of the President. Through the expenditure of these funds, the President has already acquired a power over millions of our people which, as a practical matter makes it impossible for them to exercise their independent judgment at the polls. At the same time, the Government has acquired an unprecedented control over the natural resources, the wealth, and the business activities of the country. This control has been vested in hundreds of administrative agencies which are part of the executive branch of the Government and responsible solely to the President.

With the crisis precipitated by the European War, with more than $10,000,000,000 already appropriated for defense in addition to seven billion for other expenses of the Federal Government; with demand for the regimentation of the manpower and economic resources of the Nation in the interests of national defense, and with the delegation of war powers to the President, it is not difficult to visualize what can and probably will happen to our democratic form of government and our way of life if the principle against a third term is discarded. While the present emergency makes it necessary to confer extraordinary powers upon the Executive, this is all the more reason for holding fast to the principle.

The wisdom of the social and economic policies of the New Deal is not involved in the third-term issue. The dangers of continuing any President in office for more than two terms are no less real because the policies he advocates may be sound. These dangers involve not the wisdom of particular legislation, but threaten the fundamental principles upon which our democratic institutions are based.

To those who contend that the present emergency requires the abandonment of this principle in favor of the present incumbent because of his experience and ability, I reply in the words of Woodrow Wilson—"There is no indispensable man," and the emergency can be met without jeopardizing the form of government that has made this Nation great and kept its people free.

STATEMENT OF IGNATIUS M. WILKINSON, DEAN OF FORDHAM COLLEGE OF LAW

The refusal of General Washington to consider continuance in office after completion of his two elective terms, although without doubt he could have been again reelected, was the beginning of our tradition with respect to this office. To be sure, there may be some question as to whether he felt as strongly as did Jefferson the necessity or expediency of rotation in the office of President. However, it is the fact of his refusal to consider his continuance in office after two terms with which we are principally concerned. The adherence by Jefferson to the limitation set by Washington, followed by the observance by both Madison and Monroe of a similar limitation, both of them apparently not even considering the possibility of a third term after having served two elective terms, as well as Andrew Jackson's spirited insistence on the necessity of limiting the service of the Chief Magistrate, which was followed by his own retirement from office at the end of his second term—although undoubtedly, too, it seems, he could have had a third term if he so desired—established, or at least appeared to establish firmly a tradition that the tenure of the President of the United States should not exceed two terms. Without question that tradition has been adhered to and has gathered strength down to the present year, and so no President sought a third elective term or even a second successive elective term where the effect of this would be, as in the case of Theodore Roosevelt, to increase his tenure beyond 8 continuous years in all.

* * * * * * *

We may grant that there may be no danger today such as Jefferson apprehended of the substitution at some time in the future in this country of a monarchy for a republic.

In our day and generation, kings as such are a vanishing race. But we need only look about us in the world today at the chaos and destruction in Europe to realize that kings have been succeeded by something worse, the totalitarian state and absolute dictators of the type that are blotting out all of our heritage of western civilization. While we still have a fair degree of physical isolation in this country—for despite all the advances up to now in aviation, 3,000 miles of storm-tossed Atlantic on the one side and 6,000 miles of the misnamed but none the less storm-tossed Pacific on the other are still a considerable barrier—there is no isolation in the realm of ideas.

The virus of totalitarianism and dictatorship is spreading throughout the world. The danger in our country today, however, to the continuance of our democratic institutions is not to my mind that the proletariat—if I may borrow a European term which unfortunately has filtered across the Atlantic to our shores—led by some bewhiskered revolutionary, will seize the Government, nor yet

that some man on horseback will appear and suddenly and by violence impose on us a dictatorship of Fascist type. It is rather that while preserving the forms of constitutional democracy and republican government in this country we shall in fact have the substance sucked out of them gradually and thus see our great heritage of liberty and local self-government destroyed by indirection.

The great increase in the powers of the Presidency of the United States which has been witnessed steadily throughout the period of our entire national life, but especially during the last decade of economic distress and depression in this country, the development of our two-party system of politics—which, mind you, I do not disapprove—but which was not contemplated or foreseen in its present form by the founding fathers when the Constitution was submitted and adopted, as well as the practical ability of a President in office through the use of the vast patronage of the position and consequent control of the party machinery to bring about his renomination as often as he desires it, all point inevitably to the conclusion that once the door is left open, human nature being what it is, and the love of power being something which tends to grow with its exercise, some President will use it, not merely to secure a third term—that is not the real issue—but a fourth, fifth, and successive terms, and thus in fact, if not in theory, secure to himself life tenure and the exercise of all of the powers of dictatorship. Now that the issue has been squarely raised in our day for the first time in our history, it is well to remember that eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty and to safeguard our institutions for all time by substituting for the two-term tradition a binding constitutional limitation.

STATEMENT OF REV. EDWARD LODGE CURRAN, PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY ON SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 15 AND SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 289, TO LIMIT THE TENURE OF THE PRESIDENCY

No individual is indispensable as a public officer in the Government of the United States of America. Since the time of George Washington, who might have had a third term in the Presidency had he so desired, it has been part of the unwritten law of this country and part of our American traditions to limit the President of the United States to two consecutive terms.

For the good of our country and as a means of preserving our American tradition, it becomes necessary to translate this unwritten law into a concrete constitutional amendment. Dictatorship means continued and absolute control either by an individual or a party. Dictatorships develop out of long-continued one-man or one-party rule. The United States of America is not immune to the dictator bacillus.

A dictatorship does not lose its character because the dictatorial government cloaks continuance of its office by means of a plebiscite, wherein the majority vote for his continuance in office is secured by direct or indirect, political or economic or military pressure.

There is only one reason that can be advanced to justify the departure from our anti-third-term American tradition. This reason is an admission of intellectual bankruptcy on the part of the particular political group seeking to destroy it. There may be other motives for the destruction of our anti-third-term tradition. There may be other feelings. There may be other smoke screens. There may be other deals. But there is no other reason.

The alleged reason that there is only one man in any political group capable of carrying on the principles and the policies of that group and capable of presiding over the general welfare of our Nation vanishes into air with the words that are used to bespeak it.

For 160 years of our national life, the anti-third-term tradition has prevailed. Those who sought to break it in the past have failed. The only safeguard to preserve this tradition and to protect the American people from the birth of dictatorship in the United States, however benevolent the attitude of an American dictator may be, is to place in the constitutional framework and fundamental law of our country an amendment which will define and delimit the term of the Presidency of the United States of America.

STATEMENT OF MOST REV. JOSEPH SCHREMBS, ARCHBISHOP, BISHOP OF CLEVELAND

Even though the Democratic Party in convention assembled nominated President Roosevelt for a third term—and I repeat that I have the highest personal regard for President Roosevelt—I feel deeply that two terms of 4 years each should constitute the limit of tenure of office. I cannot bring myself to believe that any crisis would arise that would warrant a deviation from the established practice that goes back unbroken to our first President, George Washington, nor can I bring myself to believe that our country at any time has been so bereft of competent statesmen and leaders of thought that we are compelled to admit that there is only one man fitted to continue in the Presidency of the United States.

STATEMENT OF BOOTH TARKINGTON

The love of wealth, aside from mere fondness for luxury, is the same as the love of power; for power is the control of, or influence over, other human beings and the wealth they possess or produce. A man possessing power (and being of course an egoist) is as reluctant to dispossess himself, or be dispossessed, of that power as is the wealthy man to part with his wealth. Therefore, men holding high offices that invest them with power are extremely inclined to continue themselves in those offices, and will usually attempt to do so by every possible means.

Historically speaking, I believe this has been found to be particularly true of men of great political ability who have known how to obtain wide popularity among the people by championing them oratorically and by distribution among them of gifts made from the public moneys. Such men, even those with best intentions, have often been persuaded by their own views of their own talents that their continuance in office is necessary for the good of the people. On the other hand, their success has not infrequently been fatal to republics.

Power begets love of more power. For a considerable time some of the earlier Roman emperors, having destroyed the republic, kept up the pretense of being merely agents, as it were, of the Roman Senate and people. "Be emperor," Augustus advised his successor, "but avoid the panoply."

It is to be noted that he appointed his successor, and the appointment of successors is another symptom of danger to republics. The longer a man occupies the Presidency, the more power may accrue to him and the more reluctant he may be to part with it; so that he can face the inevitable prospect of death only if he is able to leave the treasure to a person of his own selection.

This is to say that unlimited occupancy of the Presidency can make the President a ruler, not the Chief Executive; and, when we have a President who may rule us as long as he will (and naturally becomes therefore able to appoint his successor) we shall be subjects not citizens, and the United States will be no longer a republic.

We Should Think, Not Argue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ARTICLE BY PAUL VALLÉE, PAST PRESIDENT OF CALIFORNIA BAR ASSOCIATION

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, no one but a blind Republican partisan will attempt to claim that the third-term question is a final and conclusive argument in favor of Mr. Willkie and against Mr. Roosevelt. No one but a blind Democratic partisan will attempt to brush this matter aside as of no consequence or concern.

The only sensible approach to the matter is to consider this question along with all other factors in the situation and to consider as sanely and calmly as possible all those factors. It is in this spirit that I have asked to include the following analysis of the third-term question by Mr. Paul Vallée, past president of the State bar of California:

THE THIRD-TERM TRADITION A MYTH

(By Paul Vallée, past president, the State Bar of California)

Never in its history has our country, at the end of a President's second term, faced such a crisis as exists today. Never, in a crisis, have the people been called upon to determine whether a President should be elected for a third term. The peril in which the country finds itself today has never confronted a President as he neared the end of his second term. No President has ever before been called upon to decide whether he should stand for a third term at a time of great national danger.

A tradition is a long-established custom. There cannot be a custom without an identical situation occurring time after time. A third-term tradition does not exist. All of the claptrap that is being poured forth about a third-term tradition is pure partisan humbug.

The Constitution is designedly silent on a third term. It does not specify or limit the number of terms that a President may serve. The framers of the Constitution carefully considered and thoroughly discussed all of the questions bearing on whether or not a limitation of the number of terms a President should serve, should be placed in the Constitution. No limitation was inserted. A President was to be eligible for reelection. The reason underlying the action of the framers of the Constitution was that an emergency might arise in which a President should be elected for a third term. A republic was being established—a republic to be governed by the people. Any restriction on the number of Presidential terms was and is inconsistent with a republican form of government. The

people were and must be left free to exercise the right of deciding whether they should keep their President in office.

There is no basis for the assertion that the framers of the Constitution were fearful of reelection of a President or that they were fearful that if a President could be elected more than two terms he would become a despot. The failure of the Constitution to limit the number of terms a President may serve was not an accident or mistake. It was a deliberate omission. No provision of the Constitution was more vigorously or thoroughly debated. If Washington and those who framed the Constitution believed that there was danger to the country in the eligibility of the President to repeated election they are wholly without excuse in their neglect of a great public duty.

Whether a President should serve a third term was before the States in adopting the Constitution. Hardly a murmur against reeligibility was heard for Jefferson wrote "I find it has scarcely excited an objection in America." Madison wrote to Jefferson "The arguments for eligibility without restriction prevailed. The advantages outweighed the dangers."

The Constitution was amended shortly after its acceptance by the States, yet no restriction on the reeligibility of the President. As George Boutwell says, "Jefferson, more than anyone else, was responsible for the first 11 amendments to the Constitution. Yet those amendments are silent in regard to the Presidential office. If Washington and Jefferson believed, as it is now asserted, that a peril existed, who is there to offer a defense, an excuse, or even an apology for the Father of his Country or the Apostle of Liberty? A few words in the Constitution would have settled the question. They are not there. In the Constitutional Convention Washington voted against a 7-year term with ineligibility for reelection. If the men who framed the Constitution apprehended any evils in a third term, they accepted those evils in preference to a limitation of the power of the people in the choice of their President."

All of the Presidents who are quoted in support of the so-called third-term tradition fully understood that a crisis might arise which would demand that a President serve a third term. Washington, in a letter to Lafayette, saw the possibility of a crisis requiring a third term. He wrote, "I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man who on some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the people."

Washington did not want to be President. That is one reason why he refused a third term. He served because of his high sense of duty. He didn't want a second term. At that time he prepared a Farewell Address. It was never spoken. The French Revolution was at its climax. The Farewell Address was discarded. He was elected for a second term. He gave the reason he ran for a second term in his Farewell Address, as the "perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations." They impelled him to abandon the idea of retiring at the end of his first term. The facts do not support the declaration that Washington refused a third term because of any conviction that a President should be ineligible. Near the end of his second term Washington was ill; he felt a decline of his physical powers and winced under opposition abuse. He was vilified more than any President since. He was charged with selling out to Britain. He was threatened with impeachment. He cried that "He would rather be in his grave than in the Presidency." There is no evidence to support the view that Washington meant his action to stand as a precedent. There is nothing in his action which can be said to be the beginning of a precedent.

No great emergency existed at the end of Washington's second term.

Jefferson, who is quoted more than any other in support of ineligibility at the end of the second term, had the same vision as Washington as to the possibility of a great emergency compelling a President to stand for a third term, for he wrote, "There is, however, but one circumstance which could engage my acquiescence in another-term election, to wit: Such a division as might bring in a monarchist." Again he wrote, "I had determined to declare my intention (to withdraw at the end of his second term), but I have consented to be silent on the opinion of friends, who think it best not to put a continuance out of my power in defiance of all circumstances." He fully believed that circumstances might arise requiring a third term. Although Jefferson repeatedly advocated a single term for the President and for all important offices, without reelection, he accepted a second term. There is no more foundation for a third-term tradition in the refusal of Jefferson to serve a third term than there is in Washington's retirement. Jefferson wrote Lafayette that he pined for retirement, that he was sensible of the decline advancing years were bringing on. He said he wanted "a retreat from cares too great for the wearied faculties of age."

No great emergency existed at the end of Jefferson's second term.

Jefferson knew that the people of the United States did not agree with him as to the reeligibility of the President and knew there was no prospect of a change. He wrote, "I readily, therefore, suppose my opinion wrong, when opposed by all." Again, referring to the fact that the Constitution did not declare the President ineligible, he wrote, "But 3 States out of 11, having declared against this, we must suppose we are wrong, according to the fundamental law of society, the lex majoris partis, to which we are bound to submit."

Jackson, like Jefferson, advocated a single term. He repeatedly urged Congress to recommend a constitutional amendment prescribing one term with ineligibility. Yet he accepted a second term. There was no impelling suggestion that he serve a third term.

There was no crisis existing at the end of Jackson's second term.

Whether a President should serve a third term never became a live question until Grant's time. Grant served two terms. Four years later he sought the Republican nomination. He was not nominated. There was no public clamor for his nomination. The country did not face any peril demanding it.

The third-term bugaboo appeared next in 1912. Theodore Roosevelt served part of McKinley's term and a full term. Taft then served a term. In 1912 Roosevelt sought the Republican nomination. Taft was nominated. Roosevelt then organized the Progressive Party and became its nominee. Wilson was elected. But Roosevelt far outran Taft.

No emergency compelled the election of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. The country was not in peril.

Madison, Monroe, Cleveland, and Wilson are the only other Presidents who served two full terms. No one of them was seriously urged to serve a third term. No great emergency existed at the end of the second term of any one of them.

Woodrow Wilson forcibly expressed his views when he wrote, "It is difficult to perceive * * * upon what safe ground of reason are built the opinions of those persons who regard short terms of service as sacredly and peculiarly republican in principle."

No great emergency has ever confronted the country at the end of a President's second term until 1940 when the great emergency confronting the country compelled the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Never have the people been called upon to determine whether the President should serve a third term. The third-term tradition is a hoax, without foundation in history or fact.

The possibility of the Nation being in such peril as to impel the election of a President for a third term has been apparent to Republican statesmen. Spoke the late Senator William E. Borah in 1912: "It requires no greater capacity upon the part of the voter to select or reject for a second term or a third term than for a first. If some great crisis is at hand, as when war is upon us, or if we are confronted with civic problems, involving no less than the happiness of the whole people and the continuance of liberty, and the extended service of some individual who has earned the confidence and love of his countrymen seems desirable, can we safely submit this question also to the voters, and having it submitted, who shall be found as a believer in our form of government to challenge that verdict? Shall the people under such circumstances and in such a crisis find that a ban has been placed upon ability for fear that the people would be unable to distinguish between a usurper and a patriot?"

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, speaking in 1913 on a proposal to fix the term of the President at 6 years and to provide that he should be ineligible to thereafter serve, said: "There is another reason which we hear spoken of, but which I shall not dwell upon, namely, that a provision of this kind in the Constitution of the United States will be a defense against Caesarism, against a permanent President or dictator. The protection of the country against Caesarism or a dictatorship or a perpetual President rests in the character of the American people."

Wrote Thomas Harrison Reed: "There is one fatal objection to any limitation on the number of terms to which a President may be eligible—the folly of changing administrations in a time of crisis."

Mark Sullivan, the Republican political writer, in 1925 wrote: "In any event, the suspicion against a third term * * * has largely gone out of American politics. The nomination of Roosevelt in 1912, though that nomination did not happen to lead to his election, was sufficient evidence of the passing of the third-term bogie."

In 1928 Senator McNary, the present Republican candidate for Vice President, voted against a Senate resolution against a third term.

It has been said that "it is evident that a change of the Chief Magistrate at the breaking out of a war, or at any similar crisis, for another, even of equal merit, would at all times be detrimental to the community, inasmuch as it would substitute inexperience for experience and would tend to unhinge and set afloat the already settled train of the administration." Does anyone believe for a moment that Lincoln would not have been elected to a third term if he had lived and the Civil War not been terminated before the end of his second term?

This is a democracy—a government in which the people rule. The really vital thing is that the people have the opportunity to choose their President every 4 years. Why should the people be free to decide that a President shall serve a second term and yet not be free to decide that he shall serve a third term? Democracy is assuring the people that right—not restricting it. The people have never refused to sanction a third term. They have always refused to limit their power. To say that there is a third-term tradition is to deny that the people still rule. It is to distrust their judgment. It is to contradict our republican form of government.

We are in greater peril than ever in our history. No President, not even Lincoln, has been confronted with a crisis greater than that which confronts the President today. No more tragic or trying times have ever faced the people. Great catastrophes have befallen other democracies and menace ours. Destruction of all we hold precious and dear is threatened. The very spirit and soul of democracy is meeting its greatest test.

The people still rule. It is still their right to say who shall be their leader in this great national emergency.

Election Day, November 5, 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, November 5, 1940, marks as important a day as our Republic has ever experienced in its more than 150 years of existence. On this day it will be the important duty of every qualified voter in the land to go to the polls and cast his ballot for his choice for President for the next 4 years and for Congress for the next 2 years. The issues in this campaign are more fundamental and far reaching than the issues in any campaign in our time and on the size of the vote on November 5 and the decisions made there will depend the future leadership of America and America's destiny. It is the duty of each and all of us to urge every qualified voter to vote in this election, and by the size of that vote convince the world that the American form of government marches forward with vigor, determination, and strength.

Remember, every qualified voter should vote at the general election November 5, 1940.

Let us all remind them of their privilege and duty and let us urge them all to vote.

Hitler and the Pursuit of Happiness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SOL BLOOM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE REDBOOK MAGAZINE BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following article by Pierre van Paassen, which appeared in the November issue of Redbook magazine, entitled "Hitler and the Pursuit of Happiness."

[From the Redbook magazine of November 1940]

HITLER AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

(By Pierre van Paassen)

"'Heil Hitler. This is America speaking.' Before long you will be greeted with this salutation when you turn the dial to the United States wave-length. Those who are belittling our Fuehrer today will listen to him and obey him tomorrow."

One of Dr. Josef Goebbels' key adjutants recently concluded an address to German editorial writers in Berlin with these words. The challenge climaxed a lengthy exposé of the future of America, an exposé which the editor of the Frankfurter Zeitung called brilliant and illuminating. Since then it has served the entire controlled press of Germany as the official Nazi party line, to be followed in its attitude toward the United States.

"If you turn your dial to the United States today," the spokesman for the head of the German Propaganda Ministry said in the course of this talk (he forgot to mention that listening to foreign broadcasts is a punishable offense in Germany), "you will be literally bowled over by an avalanche of lyric oratory. Stentorian voices will boom and fire at you such expressions as 'democracy * * * freedom of the press * * * freedom of religion * * * freedom of economy within the nation and between the nations * * * peace * * * social progress * * * justice.' Don't be deluded. The Americans are not futile sentimentalists. They are hard-headed businessmen who use all this balderdash as a smoke screen. Behind their childish prattle is one dominating thought: Business.

"The time draws near when economic pressure will compel them to change their vocabulary. As we apply more pressure, economic and political pressure, their tune will change. They will realize that they need Europe, the new Europe, much more than Europe needs America, if they want to keep their business going. Unser motto ist, mehr druck." (Our motto must be: More pressure.)

Without any overt act of war against the United States of America, the Hitler government is already exercising an enormous economic pressure on the family life of every American. Without any flagrant breach of international law against our country, the Nazi leaders have initiated a grueling war of nerves against the American people. We are no longer the absolute masters of our own destiny. For we are caught in the vise of a continually growing danger to our national security. That vice is manipulated in Berlin.

Our National Budget grows in direct ratio to the increasing menace of Germany's world-conquering ambition. We are in the position of a fighter who has to keep in constant training, to sacrifice all the pleasures and the leisure of life and be ready to step into the ring at a moment's notice. The nerve-racking part of this situation is, as John F. Kennedy has said, that we have not the slightest notion when Mr. Hitler will ring the gong for the first round. Hitler and his geopolitical advisers are carefully watching our reactions in this long-range preparation against an invisible opponent. Germany's plan against the Western Hemisphere calls this phase the testing phase of the United States. Hundreds of experts in the Wilhelmstrasse are daily clocking and tabulating the reactions of the average American, of business leaders, pedagogues, youth organizations, labor, and the churches to the tightening of the vise. It is against this chart of American readiness and preparedness to withstand the Nazi pressure that the plans for attack on the Western Hemisphere are constantly measured and perfected.

Every day we are becoming more involved in the struggle that the "madman" of Europe has unleashed, not against any single country but against western civilization. Surely, yet almost imperceptibly, the swastika-shaped shadow of the European war is creeping over the map of the United States. Inexorably the tentacles of the monster that has gobbled up one independent nation after another are reaching out for what the master strategists of Nazidom consider the chief prize and final goal in the titanic struggle of the continents.

The Nazi danger to America has passed the speculative stage. It directly affects the lives of millions of American citizens today. No longer is the war in Europe a sideshow, the developments of which we can watch, with varying degrees of interest and emotion, from the safe distance of our grandstand. From an impersonal headline in the newspapers, the war has been transformed into an integral part of our everyday life. It is influencing more of our daily actions than we imagine. It has come home to us. It is knocking at the door of every American, whether he lives in a fashionable New York penthouse or on a Nebraska farm, in a New England fishing village or in an Ohio mining town.

How does this foreign pressure manifest itself in the private life of the average American citizen?

The very same frenzied armament expenditures which have turned one European country after another into a poorhouse are being forced upon the people of this country. The specter of ever-growing taxation, which in Britain amounts to confiscation, is staring us in the face. We are already living under a war economy.

At no time during the first World War was our taxation as high as it is today. One dollar out of every five of income earned during the year 1940 by workers and producers will go toward national defense. As the United States defense program expands—and it inevitably must, to counteract the intensification of the squeeze play that the little corporal from Munich is putting on against us—our tax load will grow heavier. We shall infallibly move toward the British scale of war taxation, which has just reached $1.70 out of every $4 of income. But even that may not suffice. Hitler poured in the neighborhood of $70,000,000,000 into the making of his war machine. Our defense expenditures for this year call for only $10,000,000,000.

Yet I doubt whether the mass of people in the United States sense the connection between the heavy taxation that weighs them down, and Hitler's Nazification of Europe. As prices of cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, automobile fuel, and other commodities rise, does the average American realize that the blue United States revenue stamp actually has been imposed on him by the brown swastika? Or take Mr. and Mrs. Jones, who until now, on an income of nearly $50 a week, were exempt from income tax, but whom the new tax bill has made taxpayers; do they understand that the tragic collapse of the democratic nations in Europe has a bearing on their reduced family budget?

There are millions of American boys and girls whose dream of a college education will go unfulfilled as long as our Nation's resources will be needed to build ramparts against the Hitler threat. Because of Germany's world-conquering ambition, multitudes of young men and women may never have an opportunity to follow the professions for which they have prepared. Careers are being shunted into new and unaccustomed tracks. Business plans which have been maturing for years are being pigeonholed. Inventions that have been nursed for a lifetime will never see the light of day. And many an artistic talent that promised to enrich our culture will never know a blossoming.

Reluctantly we are compelled to answer Hitler's decree for more pressure against America with sacrifices at the expense of our normal American way of life. Unwillingly, against our deep-seated attachment for peace, we are being forced into a peacetime war economy.

How are we going to stand the gaff?

That's what Berlin wants to know, in order to play the more effectively its double game of making life highly uncomfortable for us on the one hand, and, on the other, presenting to us a most attractive picture of the advantages of appeasement. General Haushofer's staff of planners is on the qui vive for any symptom of weakness on our part, any indication of a readiness to compromise with a Nazi-dominated Europe. "The Americans can be softened up more easily than the French," is the new slogan of Germany's international propaganda machine. And there is no denying that Goebbels' plant for the manufacture of public opinion is working effectively on a 24-hour shift.

A special news service for American consumption has been set up in Berlin and all capitals of European countries occupied or controlled by the Germans. Its function is to create the impression that life in the occupied countries of Europe is well on the way to recovery. Normality is just around the corner, the story goes, and countries that did not resist the German invasion—such as Czechoslovakia, Denmark, and Luxemburg—are scarcely aware of the German military control, which is described as discreet and humane.

Is not King Christian taking his morning ride through the streets of Copenhagen, duly photographed by Goebbels' cameramen? Are not the Prague cafes doing a thriving business? And are not the German soldiers spending like sourdoughs in a gold camp, and thus bringing prosperity to Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Liege? Do we not every day read cute human-interest boxes telling of this or that incident of romantic fraternization between a helmeted Fritz and a citizen of one of the conquered lands, or indications that the blond heroes are finding ready favor in the eyes of Czech damsels and Belgian demoiselles?

This is the picture the German Nachrichtendienst fur Amerika tries to convey of Germans in war: ruthless fighters in combat, but soft-hearted and magnanimous Nordic dreamers in peace. Americans, who are known for their keen sense of fair play, and who like to shake their opponent's hand once the tussle is over, should approve of that type of sportsmanship in war, calculates the shrewd Dr. Goebbels.

Quite a few distinguished Americans among them some prominent Government officials, have swallowed the Nazi propaganda hand-outs, hook, line, and sinker. Parrot-like, they are repeating that Hitler's armies of occupation are behaving like perfect gentlemen. German troops are not beating up passers-by in the streets of Amsterdam or Brussels or Paris. They are not violating the women. They pay for whatever they purchase. They do not damage property. In short, they are conducting themselves quite in accordance with the rules of Emily Post's book of etiquette. The implications of such reports are quite obvious. We are to rest assured that no harm will come to us from an eventual direct contact with such chivalrous warriors.

The reality is a little different. Wherever the Germans have installed themselves, they have stripped and plundered and looted as no other army in modern history. It is true that they seek to keep down material damage, once they have occupied a given area. But they merely do this in order to cart away every possible thing of value. The farms of Denmark and Holland are deserted today. The cattle have been slaughtered to provide more meat days for the German people. Sixteen million chickens, ducks, and other poultry have been taken out of Holland alone.

Take the case of the town of Zaandam in Holland. One morning, a long stream of military lorries, most of them captured from the Dutch Army, drove up and stopped in front of the most important lumberyards. German officers entered the offices, asked what stocks of lumber were on hand, ordered the immediate loading of the material, and departed without further ado. This performance was repeated at every lumberyard in the town. When their stocks were gone, the Dutch merchants were holding promissory notes, drawn on the German Reichsbank, in their hands as payment. Four lumber dealers who objected to this procedure were taken for a ride and have not been heard from since. But the next day the German-controlled press described in glowing terms "the generous business transaction" of the army of occupation.

Or, again, take the case of Lyons, the second city of France, and Europe's largest silk and textile center. There Germany's system of plundering reached a climax. In 1 week's time the entire silk stocks were removed to the Reich—a matter of a billion francs in value. In addition, the citizens were charged with the cost of the German Army's occupation, and with the transportation of the goods. I had occasion to speak to a French refugee who witnessed this hold-up of an entire community. It was fantastic, he told me, how the German officers maintained perfect decorum, clicking their heels and saluting the proprietors of the mills they were emptying. The handing over of the receipt took place in the main square, with the band playing Deutschland Ueber Alles and the commanding general saluting Mayor Edouard Herriot. No less than two divisions participated in this operation.

But the worst came a few days after the Lyonese had thus been robbed of their possessions. A new detachment of German soldiers, engineers this time, arrived to dismantle the factories and spinneries, and to ship the machinery, the looms, the bobbins and the spindles to Germany as scrap iron. The German Nachrichtendienst described this outrage, which leaves one of Europe's greatest industrial centers an empty shell, as "a temporary loan of material."

The soldiers of the Third Reich are behaving like perfect gentlemen—but not since the vandals went sacking and pillaging through Europe in the fifth century, has anything more dastardly been witnessed than the "peaceful" stripping that is being carried out by the Nazis today. The Germans do not confine themselves to so-called necessities such as foodstuffs and raw materials. Although there has been little military traffic on the railroads of the conquered countries and of the Reich in the period following the French armistice, the rails and highways of western Europe are clogged with endless caravans of freight cars and trucks transporting the most variegated material to the Fatherland. From Rheims have gone millions of gallons of champagne, from Sèvres the delicate porcelains that were the pride of every Frenchman, and from Rouen the immense linen and cloth stocks. In Holland there is not a stick of furniture left in the factories; the wooden-shoe warehouses have been emptied.

No pretense is being made of keeping the home industries of the vanquished peoples running. After being deprived of the means and tools to make a livelihood, the populations of the conquered countries are left to shift for themselves. Germany is the insatiable ogre who sucks up and swallows everything in his path like some monstrous vacuum cleaner. Time and again Hitler has made it clear that his duty is toward the German people alone: If the conquered peoples sink back into the primitive bareness of life in prehistoric days, it is no concern of the Nazis. The fundamental principle of a German peace is Vae Victis, woe to the conquered. The Nazis are deliberately and systematically reducing the defeated nations to so low a standard of life that the label of "inferior races" will in a very short time fit them perfectly.

Hitler's visit to the museums of Holland, Belgium, and France was by no means a mere courtesy call. The Fuehrer considers himself the supreme arbiter of German culture. He believes that the best of the classic art which has been preserved for centuries in Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum, in the Louvre of Paris, in the Musée Royal of Brussels, and the treasure-houses of Haarlem, Bruges, The Hague, and Antwerp rightly belongs in the capital of world-kultur, Berlin. With a critical eye, the erstwhile housepainter roamed those ancient halls of fame and noted which of the treasures were to have the privilege of being added to the collections in Germany. Commissions of uniformed German Staatskunstgeheimräte, or state art experts, followed the Fuehrer to select the canvases and sculptures that from now on are to adorn the Nazi Kunsthallen. Only the works of non-Aryans, and "degenerate art," which includes masterpieces of the modern schools, are to be left behind. Herr Hitler is hurrying the stripping of the French museums before Mussolini, who has expressed his intention to share in the booty, sends over his Italian connoisseurs to do their picking.

From Norway, ninth-century wooden churches, with their picturesque carved roofs and gables, are being bodily transferred to Germany. In Holland historic structures famous for their ornamental Renaissance facades are being taken down brick by brick, to be reconstructed across the Rhine. The same fate probably is in store for some of the most famous chateaux of the Touraine region in France. Of course, the ironclad censorship, which controls the press of every occupied country, forbids the slightest mention of this wholesale vandalism. Even to talk about it, let alone protest, means flirting with a long sentence in a concentration camp—or with death.

Millions of humble men and women throughout Europe are living under a terror such as the darkest pages of history do not record. The Gestapo—Hitler's dread secret police, which is bound by no law—reigns supreme. When the Germans boast of the strength of their ever-increasing army, they omit to mention that the Gestapo today numbers close to three million men. It is in the hands of this merciless secret Pretorian guard that the fate of Germany reposes. The fighting in the field, however, of which the Fuehrer so proudly boasts, was for the most part done by Austrian, Sudeten Germans, and Tyrolese divisions, under the watchful eye and ready pistols of the Gestapo battalions. It is also the Gestapo which is entrusted with policing the urban and rural districts of Nazi-occupied territories.

The Gestapo spy system extends to every block and every house. Members of the Gestapo are stationed in every hotel, bank, cafe, theater, church, newspaper office, factory, playground, train, and park. They have dictaphones that catch whispered conversations in restaurants and bedrooms. There is no privacy left in Europe. Every man distrusts his neighbor. No one knows whether the streetcleaner, the waiter, or the postman is not a Gestapo agent in disguise and his accuser of tomorrow.

In the first week of the occupation of Paris, the German Gestapo arrested and deported to Germany 17,000 French citizens who had been on the blacklist of the German consulates and embassy. Besides, tens of thousands of refugees fell into the clutches of the Gestapo, which with sadistic triumph carried them back to the concentration camps of Dachau and Oranienburg and the torture chambers of Buchenwald and Spandau. In Amsterdam every journalist, university professor, school teacher, social worker, lecturer, or clergyman reported to have at any time uttered the slightest disparaging remark or word of citicism against the Fuehrer was taken into custody, not to be heard from again.

I know one famous banking house which, because it had refused to subscribe to a German loan back in Stresemann's days, saw its members shot down in cold blood on the first day the Gestapo marched into the city. Merchants and shippers who had refused to deal with Nazi Germany, and young women who had spurned the advances of high German military officials, were dragged out of bed in the middle of the night and carted off in cattle trucks to meet their fate in the sound-proof chambers of the Nazi brown houses.

In Czechoslovakia the terror has reached such proportions that huge concentration camps have had to be established to take care of women and girls driven insane by the knowledge that their menfolk had been sacrificed in the mass attacks in France and Flanders. After Poland, where nightly massacres are taking place, the patriotic Czech people are perhaps the worst sufferers from Germany's "humaneness, magnanimity, and generosity."

Gestapo rule in German-occupied territories means ruthless extermination of all nonconformists.

That is the true picture of the nazification of Europe. Carnage in a pool of blood hidden behind a screen of headlines. The cries of the victims drowned out by shrieking broadcasts that proclaim the great benefits of national socialism. What we are witnessing in the world today is something which differs fundamentally from all the other campaigns of conquest that have gone before. Hitler is not a Napoleon, or an Alexander, or a Caesar. The only historical figure with whom the Fuehrer can perhaps be compared is Mohammed. For the Fuehrer and his followers are animated by the same fiery fanaticism that inspired the irresistible Moslem hordes who overran the better part of Africa and Europe in the early Middle Ages. They were out to impose a creed on the rest of humanity, the creed of one god, and Mohammed his prophet. But whereas Mohammed and his successors promised their followers their recompense in the hereafter, in a sensuous Paradise replete with every imaginable delight, Hitler and his captains promise the German people their reward in this world.

The German people are to be the new ruling class in the world society the German Army is shaping out of blood and iron. A nation which considers itself the elect by virtue of its Nordic blood and superior fighting qualities, has set out to subjugate the human race. All the other peoples are judged to be of an inferior grade. Slavs, Semites, Latins, and the mongrelized Americans are destined to be mere slaves at the service of the godlike Teutons. The national socialist world revolution is on the march, backed by a military machine of such striking power as the world has never seen before.

As the smoke of German propaganda lifts, the outlines of Europe's gorillaman, club in hand, ready for the kill, become clearly discernible. That is why the all-dominating force that cuts across American life from Maine to California is an undaunted will for national self-preservation through an invincible defense.

The Recent Record of Duncan C. McCrea, of Michigan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, in these times, when the veracity of testimony before the committees of Congress is all important both to our economic welfare and to our national defense, it is our duty to exercise the utmost care not only to separate the wheat from the chaff but also to make every effort to avoid being misled by testimony which is born of ignorance, prejudice, or deliberate dishonesty.

In this connection I wish to call attention to an affidavit made by Duncan C. McCrea, who, until recently ousted by the Governor of Michigan, was prosecuting attorney for Wayne County. Mr. McCrea's affidavit was presented to the Temporary National Economic Committee in connection with a hearing of the milk industry. It was accepted as a bona fide statement of a public servant. He was also a sponsor for Mr. George A. Johnson, of Detroit, who appeared in person to testify before the T. N. E. C.

Mr. McCrea's affidavit is a very sensational document which begins on page 3225 of the Record of the T. N. E. C. hearing as exhibit 370. As a sworn witness, Mr. Johnson had some remarkable stories about bombings in Detroit which he said Mr. McCrea ended by calling in the representatives of the major milk companies and threatening to put them behind bars.

It is a matter of fact that no representatives of any well-known milk companies ever attended any such meeting or were so threatened by Mr. McCrea.

In the interest of getting the whole truth into our public prints—the documents from which the National Legislature must draw largely in making the laws under which the American people live—it is essential to point out that Mr. McCrea is under indictment on four separate accounts. These indictments deal with prostitution, gambling, and general racketeering. It was necessary to forcibly remove him from office after the Governor of the State had ousted him.

I wish to make this point. It is inevitable that once in a while any committee of Congress may be victimized because we have neither the time nor the resources to investigate every witness who comes before us. It is, therefore, all the more important that when we find an example of a man like this that he be exposed. There is overwhelming evidence that McCrea has been systematically feeding on the rotten rackets and at the same time has had the nerve to come down here and pose as the protector of economic virtue.

I am sure that Senator O'MAHONEY's committee is unaware of Mr. McCrea's proclivity for crime and I am bringing this matter to the attention of the committee and of Congress so that his statement may be valued for what it is worth.

Accomplishments of the Administration

REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES F. O'CONNOR

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, in the closing days of this session we are hearing a great deal of discussion on matters political. We hear our President and the administration both praised and condemned. We also hear the President criticized for what some Members of Congress call "seeking a third term." I wish to remind the Members of the House that President Roosevelt is not on the Democratic ticket today because of his seeking the job.

If a party ever drafted a candidate for office, the Democratic Party drafted Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'CONNOR. If the gentleman will get me another minute I will be glad to yield.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have another minute so we may ask him a question or two.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman if the request is granted.

Mr. RICH. Does the gentleman mean to say that the President had not planned a third term? I have some remarks here showing that they planned that for the last 3 years, and I would like to put it in the RECORD today if I do not get time to address the House.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is just what I mean to say, because I was a delegate to the convention at Chicago, and when the word came out that no delegate was obligated to vote for him, the convention spontaneously, and with a unanimity unprecedented in the history of this or any other country, nominated him for the Presidency of the United States, and he will be your next President. [Applause.]

I was a delegate to the Chicago convention. At no time did I see any attempt to influence any votes in that convention, either directly, or indirectly by the President concerning his candidacy. When he sent a message to Senator BARKLEY, the chairman, advising him to, in turn, advise the delegates that they were in no way obligated to vote for him, the delegates unanimously and spontaneously nominated Roosevelt.

We heard a great deal of talk about what Washington had to say about a third term, in the beginning of this campaign, by the Willkie followers. They no longer quote Washington because they found that he, on the 28th day of April, 1788, wrote a letter to General Lafayette stating, among other

things, that he differed widely from Mr. Jefferson and used specifically the following language in regard to a third term:

> Under an extended view of this part of the subject, I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man who on some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public.

Is there any doubt in the mind of any impartial person that President Roosevelt is today universally deemed the most capable man to serve the American people as their President? Never in the history of this country has there been a time when experience and capabilities count more heavily than today. This is no time for green hands. The President has unequaled knowledge of naval, military, and political matters as well as an unmatched vision of foreign affairs. He likewise has a thorough grasp of our domestic problems acquired during the nearly 8 years he has so faithfully served as President. He has been a servant of the people. He has tried to lead—not drive. No greater friend of humanity, of liberty, of religious freedom, or of the principles of democracy has ever held public office. Mistakes, of course, have been made, but they were on the right side of the ledger. He was endeavoring to help the common man.

WILLKIE

As to the Republican candidate, seldom do people change abruptly in their habits, customs, likes, dislikes, and ways of life. What did Mr. Willkie say at a meeting held in New York on January 21, 1935, of the Economic Club of New York and the Harvard Business School Club? He said, among other things, as follows:

> I do not like to make personal references, but I want to say to you that no duty has ever come to me in my life, even that in the service of my country, which has so appealed to my senses of social obligation, patriotism, and love of mankind as this, my obligation to say and do what I can for the preservation of public utilities privately owned.
>
> All that I have observed, all that I know, and all that I read teaches me that I could do nothing nobler for the future financial stability and political good of my country or the social and economic well-being of my fellow citizens than to stand firm and unafraid against this foolish fad and fancy of the moment.

No person should be blamed for loyalty to his employer. The question for the voter to decide is, Should a man who is so wedded to privately owned utilities as is shown by this statement of Mr. Willkie's be placed in the position of the Presidency of this country for 4 years when there may be conflict between his duties as President and these great, huge interests that he has been serving so fervently?

It is accepted that when the Government established the Tennessee Valley Authority, Senator NORRIS' pet project, in the words of our late-lamented and universally loved Speaker Bankhead in his notable address at Chicago:

> As a yardstick for the control of excessive power and light rates it has been largely instrumental in forcing the reduction of charges to consumers in the United States of $500,000,000.

Please do not forget that Mr. Willkie was the first witness who appeared in opposition to the Wheeler-Rayburn holding-company bill designed to drain some of the water out of utility stocks. His opposition, however, was without avail. The bill was passed. No longer can huge holding companies milk the operating companies and the public as before.

Incidentally, it might well be called to the attention of the public that the stockholders of the Commonwealth & Southern Utility Co., of which Mr. Willkie was president, have sustained a loss of only $750,000,000 on their stocks on paper. Please do not forget the Insull utility crash in connection with all of this as it is in the picture even though remotely connected.

Might not Mr. Willkie take with him into the office of the Presidency those profound and deep feelings of loyalty and sympathy for huge companies stretching as they do through the 48 States and reaching into every home where electricity is used and lean toward them and other large financial institutions in deciding issues and questions affecting the people and them? Remember Mr. Willkie's main work has been for these great big companies. Let us not forget the old saying that "a leopard cannot change his spots." To boil this matter down, is it not a battle between a representative of all the people, the President, and a former representative of special interests?

Mr. Willkie says we should have a businessman for President. We heard that same language in 1928, uttered by Mr. Hoover. He gave us 4 years of administration under the leadership of a self-styled businessman, leading the Nation to the point where we were on the verge of a civil war, with our banks, many of our business houses and factories closed, our farmers broke and desperate, and bread lines extending for blocks in every city of any size. Do we want to repeat this tragedy with another so-called businessman?

My friends, there are no politics in this matter. Regardless of party let us vote for the man or men whom we think will be best to serve us during these times.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Let us see if the accomplishments of the last 7½ years deserve praise or condemnation by the American people:

First of all the Congress passed the Securities Exchange Act to regulate the selling of stocks. The unsuspecting will no longer be robbed.

As to our farm program, do not forget the prices for farm products and livestock in the spring of 1933: Sheep were selling for 75 cents a head; wool for 6, 7, and 8 cents per pound; corn for 10 cents per bushel; wheat for 29 cents per bushel; cattle and hogs at 2 cents per pound, and so on. Something had to be done.

Congress enacted the soil-and-water conservation program. Our topsoils have been impoverished by the elements and by the reckless exploitation of man. Our soil is a source of all our material requirements. On its being maintained the future life of our country depends.

Farm credit has been provided for. Large loaning companies have in the past brought farmers to a state of universal bankruptcy. The Government's helping hand today in extending credit is his savior. The loans are extended at the lowest rate of interest in this or any other country.

Crop insurance has been provided to protect the farmer against losses by drought, insects, and other destructive causes.

Marketing agreements have been provided for by which producers may obtain agreements fixing prices and providing for the marketing of commodities on an equitable foundation.

The food-stamp plan has given the poor man an opportunity to purchase surpluses at a very favorable price.

Through research into new use and new markets many of our farm products by use of chemistry and otherwise are today being converted into other materials of great use to our people.

Congress adopted a policy of parity payments to the farmers and may I at this point remind you that upon that vote which occurred May 9 of this year, providing for $212,000,000 for parity payments to the farmers, that 183 Democrats, including myself, and 22 Republicans voted for it and 131 Republicans voted against it? You will see some of these last minute so-called friends of the farmer who embrace him every 2 years about election time render him nothing but lip service. This amount appropriated by Congress only brings the farmer's products up to 75 percent of parity. In other words as compared with manufacturers and the sellers of finished products to the farmer he still has a 75-cent dollar. Yet, in the face of this inequality we have the industrial and the entrenched interests fighting this policy.

Rural electrification has been provided for our homes. In my own State thousands of homes are today supplied with electricity as a result of this program.

I wish also to point with pride to the fact that through Federal reclamation more than 50,000 farm units have been carved out of the arid country providing fine homes for a quarter of a million people and this work is just begun. We are making greater uses of our water supply in the West through the policies of this administration than ever before.

This policy has brought water to more than 3,000 farms in my own State of Montana. It has provided support for some 40,000 persons in the rural and urban areas of the projects. No better friend of the West ever occupied the White House than President Roosevelt. He thoroughly understands our problems and is sympathetic to them.

We have supported and passed legislation for the benefit of the World War veterans and their dependents.

Congress has provided for Federal old-age and survivors insurance, unemployment insurance, Federal-State public assistance for the aged, for the blind and for dependent children, public-health service, vocational rehabilitation, maternal and child health and welfare, maternal and child health services, services for crippled children and child-welfare services. When, if ever, were such humanitarian measures adopted by any administration? Of course a baby must crawl before it can walk. Steps have only been taken in these matters, but they are in the right direction. We must also provide for a Federal pension for the aged and to aid recovery.

Provision was made for the Civilian Conservation Corps. Real men have been made out of many an idle youth through this program.

The National Youth Administration is another institution provided for to assist our youth in the lower-income bracket to further their education.

Jobless men and women have been provided for by the Work Projects Administration.

We have written into the laws of this country for the first time in its history the principle of giving labor the right to organize and bargain with employers. The wage-earner's plight has been improved by the wage-hour law, giving a decent wage to both men and women who toil in industry.

The Indians have been given a squarer deal.

No longer are people hammering on closed doors of banks in an attempt to secure their deposits. Every account up to $5,000 today is guaranteed in all National and State banks connected with the Federal system.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to elaborate upon the wheat and sugar-beet program as they apply to my State.

WHEAT

Not that I am satisfied with their workings, but like all other features of the steps taken by this administration, they are in the right direction.

It is claimed by the critics of the administration that the farm income is less now than it was during the Republican administration. In 1932 the farm income was $4,328,000,000. From that year to 1937 it gradually raised to in excess of $9,000,000,000, and in 1938 it was $8,081,000,000, and in 1939 it was $8,518,000,000. During the years from 1924 to 1929 the farm income was artificially stimulated by the loaning of money to foreign countries with which to buy goods, and which money was never repaid. In other words, it was a false and spurious prosperity for everyone and for which we are still paying, and because of it the farmer, as well as everybody else, fell with a crash in 1930 and 1931.

It is claimed that there is no surplus of our high-grade high-protein wheat in Montana, that it is a premium wheat, that there is no reason in limiting the production of this wheat and then permitting the importation of such wheat from other countries.

During the summer months of last year I made the same contention and complained to the Agricultural Department seeking a change in that respect, but I found that we were exporting that kind of wheat. In following through on the matter, I found that 5,000,000 bushels of this class of wheat were exported between July 1, 1939, and June 30, 1940, and that there is no shortage of hard spring wheat today. The supply for the current year is 225,000,000 bushels, which is 110,000,000 bushels in excess of prospective domestic demands. Prices at Minneapolis are now lower than normal in relation to prices at other markets in the United States.

Even during the severe drought years of 1934 and 1936, and the rust year of 1935, the importation of hard red spring wheat was negligible, and under the ever-normal granary program, there should be no shortage of this kind of wheat in the future. I wish to remind the critics of the wheat program that about 90 percent of the wheat farmers in Montana are participating in the program, and there is little evidence that they have experienced particular difficulty in coming within the wheat allotments. It may be said that this year's allotment for Montana is probably as large an acreage as should be grown if adequate protection is given to the soil. As a result of the present farm program prices in the United States have been held 30 to 35 cents a bushel above world levels. In addition to the loans that have been provided for cooperating, producers receive a parity payment of 10 cents per bushel and conservation payment of 8 1/10 cents per bushel on the normal production of their acreage allotments. It would not be possible to maintain our present domestic price level if it were not for the acreage allotments which are an essential part of the ever-normal granary program. I doubt if the McNary-Haugen plan, which did not provide for acreage allotments, would be adequate to meet the situation which now confronts the American wheat grower.

I am at this point calling your attention to the seeded wheat acreage in Montana covering the years 1928 to 1940 and showing that while our population has scarcely increased at all, our wheat production is about the same with a much larger return to the farmer on what he produces because of this program and also he is replacing his soil and the soil of our lands for the future generations which is very, very important. No one dare say we should not conserve our soil. It is one of the best accomplishments of this administartion.

BEETS

In Montana we produce sugar beets on about 78,000 acres today. Our production has increased from 1933 to 1939, inclusive, from 63,000 acres to 78,000 acres. In returns to the farmers the increase has been marked. In 1932 the farmers received $5.39 per ton for their beets. The price has been gradually raised until now beets sell for $6.81 per ton. You will note there has been a gradual expansion of production and price. Since the sugar quota system has been in effect the United States sugar market enjoyed by domestic beet growers has increased while that of Cuba has decreased. Cuba is our principal foreign source of sugar. In fact, from 1925 to 1930 Cuba contributed 43 to 53 percent of our sugar requirements. In 1940 this island will only be permitted to supply about 27 percent of our sugar requirements. No one claims that the program of the administration in regard to the sugar-beet grower is all that it should be. I have been, and am now, one of the strongest critics of a refusal on the part of the Agricultural Department to expand our domestic production. Sugar beets are Montana's best cash crop. Our soils in many parts of the State, when supplied with sufficient irrigation, are peculiarly adapted to the production of high-grade sugar beets. I have been struggling for, and will continue to fight for, legislation for an increased expansion of the production of beet sugar within the United States. I am firmly of the opinion that, were it not during this world crisis, for the farm program, though it is far from perfect, smoke would not be coming out of many sugar-beet factories, and the farmers of this country would be in as deplorable a condition as they were during the business administration of Mr. Hoover.

It is simply inconceivable that any person with any knowledge of the true situation of domestic and world affairs would want to change this set-up and start in all over again on some untried plan, or discarded plan. Is it not more sensible to improve what we are now working on? We all know there is no such thing as perfection. Anyone in legislative life realizes the difficulties that are encountered and the many unsatisfactory compromises that have to be accepted, like it or not, in achieving the desired objective on account of so many varied interests and different views taken by different Members.

Our aim is and should be to extend and improve the present program. Never before in the history of this country has any administration worked so religiously, faithfully, and honestly

to bring about a square deal for the farmer. It is the first real attempt on the part of the Government to help the farmer. He certainly will not forget his friends on election day.

Mr. Willkie says he will carry on this program for the farmer, labor, and the dependents, if elected, but says he will do the job better than the administration which brought these programs into existence, and has worked with them and developed them. My friends, Mr. Willkie is too smart to dare say that he would retrace any step that has been taken by this Government along these great constructive lines.

It is easy to attack. It is easy to criticize. Constructive criticism is always desirable. It is easy to theorize, but giving force and application to one's theory in the form of concrete betterments and improvements, Mr. Willkie would find, if elected President, is quite a different thing, and particularly when he would be compelled to work with 531 Senators and Congressmen all with different views.

I have worked for and voted for these measures and will continue to try to improve and extend this program as long as I am a Member of Congress.

I wish to add that world conditions may suddenly make it necessary to make changes in our farm program from the producing as well as the marketing end. It is not within the range of human vision to at this time say what will have to be done. The present Members of the Congress, in my opinion, would meet any conditions that may come upon us. However, any necessary changes should be founded and based on what has already been worked out—namely, water and soil conservation, farm credits, low interest rates, surplus distribution, research for uses of farm products, rural electrification, marketing agreements, parity payments, commodity loans, crop insurance, and a wider use of the stamp plan.

FOREIGN POLICY

Now as to our foreign policy, we must, during these perilous times, while the world is aflame in Europe, and mad ment for power hold sway—a condition of which we cannot be unmindful—present a united front of one for all and all for one. Never before was there a time when it was so necessary to proceed with unity and cement our peoples together so strong that our enemies from without or from within cannot further imperil this country, or our form of government.

We must keep out of Europe's and Asia's wars and we must prepare ourselves against any nation or group of nations which might attack us by providing sufficient battleships, destroyers, aircraft forces, and so forth, and man them, regardless of cost.

What has our President said upon this subject?

He said he hates war; "that we are opposed to war is known not only to every American but to every government in the world. We will not use our arms in the way of aggression. We will not send our men to take part in European wars."

I believed him when he used those words in his message to Congress. I believe him now. Like him, I will fight to the last ditch to oppose sending any of our ships or any of our men to Asia or any place in Europe to fight in their wars.

Our opponents say they are for conscription. Well, who is not? That question is settled. It is the law. We are all for it and will enthusiastically work for its successful operation.

As the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shows, I took a prominent part in writing into the draft bill the provision giving the Government the right to take over manufacturing industries of war materials which fail to cooperate.

Mr. Speaker, I have supported, voted for, and will continue to vote for all appropriations for which the President has asked, or will ask, to carry out the national-defense program. Among the appropriations for which I have voted is one for $1,600,000,000 to finance the draft law.

I have the utmost faith in our President. He is not trying to lead us to war. He is trying to keep this country at peace. That is our hope, and that is our prayer.

In conclusion, I renew the pledge I have made many times to my people, that I will fight to the bitter end to keep my country at peace.

Congress Should Not Adjourn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

PETITION FORWARDED BY WILLIAM T. WELCH, SIGNED BY 240 PETITIONERS

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I have received a petition forwarded to me by Mr. William T. Welch, a constituent of my district, which is signed by 240 petitioners, asking the Congress to remain in session. The petition reads as follows:

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States and of the State of Oregon, believing that adjournment of Congress at this time would in effect establish a virtual dictatorship in the United States under the present administration for the next 3 months, hereby petition that Congress do not adjourn, and in lieu of adjournment take 3-day recesses.

I submit the petition herewith for the attention of Congress and urge my colleagues to give it full consideration, as I have since early in June opposed adjournment or recess of the Congress during these critical times in our history.

Statements by Prominent Writers Favoring President Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES F. BYRNES
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, October 14 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT MADE ON RADIO PROGRAM SPONSORED BY THE WOMEN'S DIVISION, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a pamphlet entitled, "Prominent Writers' Statements as to Why They Are for President Roosevelt," made on the radio program presented under the auspices of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, on September 27, 1940.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RADIO PROGRAM PRESENTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE WOMEN'S DIVISION DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO., BLUE NETWORK, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1940

Announcer BEN GRAUER. Ladies and gentlemen, the following program is presented under the auspices of the Democratic National Committee. Gathered here for the next half hour, waiting to talk with you, is a group of our country's most outstanding and famous writers and actresses—Marc Connelly, Edna Ferber, Katherine Hepburn, Frank Kingdon, Alice Duer Miller, Elmer Rice, Robert Sherwood, Rex Stout, Frank Sullivan, Hendrik van Loon, and Thornton Wilder. With them is their hostess, our First Lady of the Land, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Ladies and gentlemen, Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Good evening, everybody. Last Sunday afternoon I asked a group of my friends to picnic with us at Hyde Park. As we sat about the open fire at Val-kill cottage, broiling hamburgers and hot-dogs, we discussed the subject each and every one of us believes is of vital interest today. What my friends had to say seems to me so important, that I wanted you all to hear them, and so they have unselfishly joined me here tonight to bring us their message as we celebrate Democratic women's day. We inaugurated this day last year to allow men and women all over the country who are interested in the Democratic Party and the work of the women's division of the Democratic National Committee, to come together and raise funds for this work in every State and city throughout the Nation.

These friends of mine mean a great deal to every person in this country, regardless of political affiliation, and I know you will all be interested in what our guests have to say. And remember, they have joined me here tonight, not because they are members of the Democratic Party, but because they have something they

want to say to you. Because they're outstanding personalities as writers, dramatists, and as actors, you are going to have an interesting opportunity to look into the souls of people who usually show you other people's souls, but rarely bare their own.

First let me introduce Thornton Wilder. Mr. Wilder, in your great Pulitzer prize play, Our Town, you inspired us with your true picture of all the "Our Towns" which make up our country, and with your deep faith in America. Yet the other day at the picnic you told us there was a time when you almost lost faith in America.

Mr. WILDER. That's right, Mrs. Roosevelt. In 1932 I must confess I did almost backslide from faith in our democratic form of government. In the town where I live we vote in the firehouse. On the steps we stop and talk with our neighbors, our grocer, our fireman, and our school teachers. And we suddenly look at one another in a new light. That one single vote we each possess seems a very exciting thing. We enter the booth with a feeling of awe. Many of us remember all the blood that has been shed to make that possible; that slow rising tide of curbs against absolute power.

But 8 years ago I lost that feeling. The country was in confusion and distress. All around us was smoldering resentment. It seemed as though there were about to be an explosion. The Government was frightened, but it was sluggish, timid, and self-centered. I said to myself: It takes the administration in a democracy scores of years to move from any one point to any other point.

My one single vote looked a poor measly thing. I thought that maybe an explosion was best. And then a surprising thing happened. President Roosevelt entered. He acted with promptness and courage. The majority of the agencies he set in motion are still with us. The very opponents who fought them bitterly, step by step, have now incorporated them into their platform of promises. But I think they are best administered by those who shaped them and who lived through the years of adjusting them to the public need.

Now about the voting booth in the firehouse, there is a still larger world of confusion and danger. This time we vote not only with the country, but with the whole world, in mind. It is President Roosevelt who has made me see that democracy can move and create and represent us all; my vote is not only one of confidence, but of gratitude.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mine, too, Thornton. A lot of us felt pretty sour about democracy back in 1932. Our grandfathers must have felt very much the same way when they started to backslide on democracy way back in 1860, just before the Civil War. But in that historic crisis our country was lucky enough to have another great and inspiring leader—Abraham Lincoln.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. You know, Bob Sherwood, one of the things the President and I both found so absorbing in your play, Abe Lincoln in Illinois, was the way you showed how Lincoln in his generation had to face so many of the same problems we must face today. But don't you think some people might wonder why you draw such a close parallel between then and now, when you are supporting a Democratic President? After all, Mr. Lincoln was a member of the Republican Party, wasn't he?

Mr. SHERWOOD. He was, Mrs. Roosevelt. That's one of the first things I learned at my father's knee—for he was also a Republican. But in Lincoln's time, in 1860, the labels were very different. The Republican Party was then devoted to a social reform of progress instead of reaction. It represented the rights of free labor. Remember that Lincoln himself said, "Thank God we live under a system by which men have the right to strike." The Republican Party under Lincoln's leadership stood for essential human rights as opposed to property rights. It was—in fact—a New Deal.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. And what do you feel has happened to the Republican Party since then?

Mr. SHERWOOD. I am afraid it has dedicated itself to the proposition that our democracy is a government of the people, by big business, and for big business. Mr. Roosevelt, like Abraham Lincoln, is for the people. And the people are for him.

Miss FERBER. That is an interesting thing about the American people, Bob. In the long run, they are always right.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. I am glad to hear you say that, Edna Ferber. We all loved your fine books and plays about our country—A Peculiar Treasure, The Royal Family, Showboat. I've known and enjoyed them all. But didn't you say at the picnic that you've never before taken any part in political matters?

Miss FERBER. That's just what I said, Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Then I think we all would like to know what you didn't have a chance to tell us at the picnic. Why are you giving your time and energy to this Presidential campaign?

Miss FERBER. Because it's not merely a political campaign; it's part of the same fight Bob Sherwood wrote so movingly about in his new play, There Shall Be No Night. Today we are all—whether we like it or not—engaged in a death struggle for the life of democracy. Until now I, like most writers, have wanted only to be left alone to work in a small, quiet room without a view. That was called living in an ivory tower. There are no small quiet rooms left in the world. They are filled with the turmoil of a bewildered and apprehensive people. Our ivory towers are shaking like a custard. Together with the rest of this country I've been looking for a leader, I've been listening for that Voice. Suddenly I've realized that that Leader is you, is me, is us. You and I are that Voice we've been listening for. So with that Voice I am going to speak up for what I believe and want.

I've gathered every bit of information I could find concerning the Republican and Democratic Presidential candidates. My reasoning and my instinct and my experience (which is slang for common sense) tell me that the Republican candidate is a befuddled though well-meaning man. To me he appears as unaware of the true condition of this country and the civilized world about us as was that other well-meaning man who came back to England from Munich waving a paper in one hand and an umbrella in the other while he promised joyously that this meant "Peace in our time." He, too, meant well—that other befuddled man. Can you hear those bombs? Can you hear the cries of the boatload of children who sank torpedoed last week in midocean? I belong to no political party. When it comes to electing a President of the United States in this tough year of 1940, I don't care a whoop whether he's Republican or Democratic. I don't care whether he's an aristocrat or a rail-splitter, or even an infinitive-splitter, though I'd rather he wasn't the last. I don't care whether he was born in a mansion or on the farm or in the subway. In an emergency I'd change horses in midstream any day with all the agility I possessed. But this I know: If my horse has proved that he can swim powerfully upstream, and if the other horse is floundering and puffing and snorting in the water, out of his depth, then, even if my horse has twice before carried his load safely across the torrent, the fact that he is called upon to make it a third time won't budge me. I'm going to stay above the flood with the horse I've got.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Thank you, Miss Ferber. I don't think any of us can stress too often that this campaign is one of the most important in our country's history. Rex Stout, you said at the picnic that you thought you were even more out of place in a political campaign than Miss Ferber would be. Why is that?

Mr. STOUT. Well, after all, Mrs. Roosevelt, Miss Ferber at least writes seriously of American problems while I write detective stories to amuse and relax people.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Certainly your detective Nero Wolfe does that, Mr. Stout. But your stories have proved that a mystery writer must concern himself with accurate scientific deduction. Don't you think that same scientific deduction could be applied to this Presidential campaign?

Mr. STOUT. I doubt it very much, Mrs. Roosevelt. In the right hands, politics is certainly an art—an almost miraculous art—but it's never a science. And it's because politics is such a rare art that I have formed an opinion regarding this campaign; that is, if we don't reelect President Roosevelt we ought to be ashamed of ourselves. The White House was no sanctuary for a saint, even in 1861, and never will be. Of necessity, all Presidents are politicians. Try to elect one who isn't. But once in a long while, whether by luck or by the grace of God, we get one who, while performing successfully all the dreary chores of politics, gives us much more. We get a statesman. We get a man who can keep his head in a crisis, and use it. One who is capable of gallant and civilized and courageous conduct in the din and destruction of a world explosion. One who, if he momentarily bounces off the road, at least keeps headed in the right direction. One who is not your President or my President or Wall Street's President or John L. Lewis' President, but our President. Once in a long while we get one like that, and we have one now, and we'd better hang onto him. Not that I believe Roosevelt to be absolutely indispensable. Who is? But if we discard him we have to take the available alternative, named, in this case, Alf Lan—— excuse me, Wendell Willkie. Given the opportunity, Mr. Willkie might some day develop into a statesman; I don't know, and neither does anyone else. At present, judging from what I read in the papers and hear on the radio, he has some distance to go before he even becomes a politician. One here for Roosevelt.

ALICE DUER MILLER. And here's another voter right beside you, Mr. Stout.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Well, Alice Duer Miller, let me congratulate you on your new book, The White Cliffs. I know you're no stranger in politics. In the past you have taken much time from writing your stories to support the President. Have you any new reasons for your stand this year?

ALICE DUER MILLER. Indeed I have, Mrs. Roosevelt—as you must know very well. His foreign policy—that's my new reason. It seems to me—I hardly like to say this because it sounds violent, and I don't want to contribute any more violence to this world—but it really does seem to me as if it were almost unpatriotic not to support the President's foreign policy. All the world is watching to see whether we are united behind it. We are, and I think the best proof we can give of it is to reelect the President.

In London, the other day, you read how a man in the street called out to the most democratic King England has ever had: "You're a great King." And the King called back: "You're a great people." I should think that little incident would be more terrifying to England's enemies than any bomb.

Well, I should be proud if America should give something of the same impression of unity. For a long time the President has been showing us that he thinks us a great and powerful people. Now I should like the world to hear our voices calling back to him that he's a great President.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Dr. Frank Kingdon, I wonder if you would agree with Mrs. Miller. At the picnic you told us of your experiences as a boy emigrating to this country from London. And I know you are one of the leaders of William Allen White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Do you feel as Mrs. Miller does on the President's foreign policy?

Mr. KINGDON. With all my heart, Mrs. Roosevelt. The President has proven that he understands the threats to this hemisphere and what is happening abroad, just as he understands the social and economic problems. He is the man in our public life most aware of the essential meaning of the changes affecting both international relations and life within our society. Ours is a time when a new balance is being established among all groups—national, economic, and social. Throughout Europe and Asia the working of these changes has produced revolutions resulting in dictatorship

and war. It is left for us alone to prove that a nation of free men can meet and solve the problems of a modern state without loss of liberty.

The man to guide us must be one who knows that we have passed out of the simple society of our forefathers in which a sharp line could be drawn between politics and economic interests. We are dealing with a politico-economic state. I do not think that anyone is wise enough to foresee all the adjustments we shall have to make. The important requirement, therefore, is that we shall have right attitudes.

First, that we shall recognize the inevitability of change itself. Second, that we shall maintain an experimental approach to practical politics. Both these are a part of Mr. Roosevelt's equipment.

Because I believe that Mr. Roosevelt has the feel of current trends, because I believe that he cares about people, because I believe that he has the type of mind and temperament to meet change with ingenuity, and because I believe he is determined to solve our needs without imperiling our liberties, I am supporting him with all my heart in this campaign.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Miss Katherine Hepburn, I wish you would repeat to us what you told me at Hyde Park.

Miss HEPBURN. Well, Mrs. Roosevelt, compared with great writers and famous authors like Dr. Kingdon, I am afraid that my opinions actually are not very important.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. On the contrary, Miss Hepburn, I think we all know that a fine actress must truly understand how people think and feel if she is to make them live on the stage or screen.

Miss HEPBURN. Well, I think we are all feeling the same way this year—we are all worrying and wondering about the future of our country, Mrs. Roosevelt.

I have listened to the radio and read the newspapers as all of us must have in an effort to find out what the two candidates stand for. In fact, I feel as if I have spent many hours rocking back and forth with Mr. Willkie on his front porch recalling the good old days and chatting with Mr. Roosevelt by his fireside discussing the present and the future. And it is not because winter is coming on that I am forsaking the porch for the fire. What I have really tried to find out is what these two men's interests are and I have come to this final conclusion: That Mr. Willkie is interested in Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Roosevelt is interested in us.

Mr. CONNELLY. May I second the comments of an actress and add my own impressions?

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Certainly, Marc Connelly. I am sure we would all like to hear what the author of The Green Pastures and so many other plays has to say.

Mr. CONNELLY. Well, I should like to take up where Katherine left off. I realize a great many people like Mr. Willkie. When he came into prominence a few months ago, I certainly had no reason to dislike him; I knew nothing about him. And I've earnestly tried to learn something about him.

Now, I happen to be a playwright and it's second nature for me to observe people and events in the terms of my own profession. To me, Mr. Willkie is an actor. I regard the things he says and the way he looks as a sort of theatrical production. I have the feeling he's trying to convince me of the reality of the character he's playing. Probably he believes in its reality himself; all earnest actors try to believe they are the parts they're playing. But I find Mr. Willkie unconvincing. My knowledge of his background as a utility-holding corporation lawyer won't let me accept him for a moment in the role of a simple, earnest ex-farm boy whose every waking thought is for the welfare of the American people. I don't think he's fitted to play that part.

The world is still a stage and the role of the President of the United States demands extraordinary talents. They include greatness of soul, wisdom from experience, and a genuine love of humanity. The vast majority of Americans know by now Mr. Roosevelt has those qualities, and I think next November they will indicate very emphatically that Mr. Willkie, as we say in the theater, is miscast; he is not the type.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Thank you, Marc Connelly. Here is a brother member of your profession who is waiting to tell us how he feels. Elmer Rice, you have always stressed social problems in your famous plays, like Counsellor at Law, Judgment Day, and Street Scene. How about our social problems and this year's campaign?

Mr. RICE. Mrs. Roosevelt, it is the President's way of resolutely facing and handling our social problems that has attracted me to him more than anything else—his deep humanitarian interest in people—especially in the great majority of our citizens who are neither millionaires nor down-and-outers. The very wealthy among us are a tiny minority. The desperately poor are more numerous, but they are still a minority. In between is the great solid majority of America—people who know where their next meal is coming from but who have to work to get it. That applies to most of us, whether we are engaged in business or in the professions, whether we work in offices or factories or shops or on farms. As an author, I have been chiefly interested in writing about these people—their problems, their struggles, their failures and successes in adjusting themselves to the complex and changing world in which we live. What I admire most about Mr. Roosevelt is his profound concern for these same people. It seems to me that throughout his entire administration, his policy, both at home and abroad, has been dictated by an interest in the welfare of the common man, a determination to make life more secure for plain people, and to make the world a better place for them to live in. And I can think of no greater quality in a President of the United States. And so, as one who likes to write about the average man and the average woman, I am casting my vote for their greatest friend—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mine, too; Elmer Rice. I voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt twice for Governor of New York and twice for President of the United States, and I look forward to voting for him again in November, with similar happy results.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Thank you, Frank Sullivan. As one of America's foremost humorists, have you anything more to add to Mr. Rice's points?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Just this, Mrs. Roosevelt. Other things being equal, I would vote for the reelection of the President solely because of some of the people who are against him. Father Coughlin, for instance. And how could any reasoning voter be otherwise than for the President when Congressman HAM FISH is against him? After all, we're only human. I am going to vote for the President because I believe his reelection will give Benito Mussolini the "willies" and will send Der Fuehrer into a tantrum that will shake the very rocks of Berchtesgaden. I am going to vote for Mr. Roosevelt because I still remember with gratitude the courageous and inspiring inaugural address of 1933, when he brought hope to a Nation close to despair. I am going to vote for him because I like the New Deal. I am going to vote for him because I like Mrs. Roosevelt and I want her to continue to be the First Lady. I am going to vote for him because he sent those destroyers to the English, and for a great many other reasons, too many to tell here; but mainly I am going to vote for the reelection of the President because he is one of the great liberals and humanitarians of our country's history, and he belongs in the company of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, and Lincoln. They would understand him.

Mr. VAN LOON. Well spoken, Frank Sullivan. They most certainly would. They might even understand him better than many of us do today. I wonder, Mrs. Roosevelt, might I be permitted to do a little thinking out loud?

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Please do, Hendik van Loon. As the man who has written so movingly and so richly not only the story of Americans but the story of All Mankind, I know of no one better fitted to think aloud on today's terrible problems.

Mr. VAN LOON. Well, Mrs. Roosevelt, the problem that faces me is the problem that faces literally millions of my fellow Americans who were not born on this side of the ocean. We came here out of our own free will. We found it a good country, and again out of our own free will, we joined this community—we became Americans. We had to work hard, but that was as it should be. We felt that we had to contribute a little more than the others who were already members of the firm, so to speak, and to show in this way that we meant to do our share of the work. But in some subtle ways, we were still tied to the homes of our ancestors—in a sentimental way and in a cultural way. Now the sentimental approach was our own business, but out of our cultural heritage we tried to salvage little odds and ends, revaluate those into terms that were understandable and acceptable to our American neighbors, and in this manner, enrich our common American civilization. Then came this hideous—this obscene thing. It came overnight and against the most solemn promises that had been repeated over and over again, a perfidious and perjuring enemy destroyed what were probably the most human civilizations ever achieved by mankind. No, I assure you, I am not using this occasion to make a plea for my own particular cause. I have a lot of honest friends from Norway—Sigrid Undset, who is here with us in the studio tonight; she will understand whereof I speak. So will all those who are descendants of those people who came here from Norway and Denmark and Belgium and Finland and Poland. They will know what I mean. And here at this point, we find ourselves face to face with that problem which I mentioned a moment ago and which taxes the last ounce of our strength. We want to save the land of our adoption, and we want to save it from a fate which has overtaken the countries of our birth. We would like to shriek it from the housetops—"Be ye prepared. Be ye prepared for our enemy, for the enemy is a cunning enemy. He will lull you into a feeling of security by his plausible but false promises. He will slowly sap your strength and one morning you will find yourself deprived of that which is the most cherished of your possessions—your freedom."

I have these last 4 years heard one voice which in clear and unmistakable terms gave expression to the fears that are in our own hearts. Therefore, at the coming elections and loving liberty as the beginning and end of all happiness, cherishing liberty as the very foundation of that civilization which we proudly call the American way—therefore, at the coming elections, I shall vote for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, because I feel that his words and his actions of the last 12 months have turned him into something more than mere President of the United States of America and have made him—the last and only hope of our common civilization—have made him the defender of the freedom of this world.

Mrs. ROOSEVELT. Thank you. Now the time has come to say good night. We could not have had more sincere expressions of personal conviction than you have heard tonight, and everyone who spoke has been your friend before through the medium of his art. If you are a Democrat listening in tonight, I want to thank you for what you are doing for your party. If you are Republicans or Independents who are trying to think clearly on questions of the day, we who have been on this broadcast hope that we may have contributed to your pleasure, but also to your depth of conviction on the issues of the day. Good night.

Announcer BEN GRAUER. You have just listened to a broadcast presented under the auspices of the Democratic National Committee in honor of Democratic Women's Day inaugurated a year ago at Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt's suggestion. It celebrated that day 21 years ago, in 1919, when women were first admitted to the executive council of the Democratic National Committee, and first given the opportunity to have a say in national party politics.

You have listened tonight while a group of famous American personalities discussed the problems of today with Mrs. Roosevelt. Her guests were Marc Connelly, Edna Ferber, Katherine Hepburn, Frank Kingdon, Alice Duer Miller, Elmer Rice, Robert Sherwood, Rex Stout, Frank Sullivan, Hendrik van Loon, and Thornton Wilder.

The Family Life and Its Preservation Through Legislation Recommended by President Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in the face of a great crisis, the Congress spent the closing days of this session in responding to every call of the President to strengthen the Nation's defenses and to initiate, on its own part, legislation which would both provide the armed forces necessary to meet any foe and still protect our economy and the national welfare.

This was our job and I am proud to be able to say, as we close this session, that it was well done. The next Congress which convenes in these halls will find that we have not shirked our duties and have left its Members no burden of work undone. Instead, we have left them free to meet the great problems which all of us foresee in the dark days ahead.

But I cannot leave this Chamber without recalling to you and to the country the record of the Congresses of the last 8 years. They have been significant years. I doubt if anyone would challenge the statement that more necessary, humane, and vital laws have been passed under this administration than under any administration in American history.

We saw the end of an era, before this administration came into power. Our old world, as we knew it, had collapsed economically and the social distintegration that accompanies any such collapse was well under way. I am not going to review in detail the events which followed the last World War and led to the crisis of 1929, or the bitter years which then ensued. Suffice it to say when this administration took office, it found a Nation almost in desperation, disillusioned with our institutions and almost without faith in government itself. Men, women, and children were hungry; bread lines formed in every city in the country; in the daytime and at night wretched people were without shelter. Millions of unemployed had lost all hope; families were being ejected from their homes at the rate of 1,000 a day. Banks closed by the scores and millions saw their hard-earned savings vanish. On the farms and in the rural villages the same want and destitution prevailed. In every part of the richest nation on earth one found only despair.

Regardless of where all of us live, we will go back to our homes within a few days to very different scenes. Despite all the calamity howlers, recovery has come. In 8 years a nation has been reborn. Its courage has been rewarded; its faith restored. And all of you here have had a part in the job.

From the day the President, as his first act, closed the banks to prevent them from collapse and to provide a period of reorganization, we knew we had a real leader. But no President could have met the crisis of 1933 alone. On the record books of this Congress will be found the legislation which gave the Nation a new lease on life—and to you must go some of the credit. If the Congress of 1933 had only done one job—that of halting the national catastrophe that threatened—and if the succeeding Congresses had only followed through with sustaining legislation to accelerate recovery, they would have deserved praise. But those Congresses did far more; in 8 years they placed on the statute books more constructive social legislation than had been placed there throughout a century. They strengthened old laws and they chartered new ones to make democracy work.

Look back into the past and you can decide just how far we have gone in remedying evils which grew up over decades, how far we really have advanced during these last 8 courageous years. Look as far as you will into the future and you will gain new courage in the knowledge that we at least have laid the foundations for meeting the problems you see there.

Each of the major pieces of legislation passed by Congress in these 8 years is a story in itself, and I intend to list many of them for the record. But in a few brief words I can picture the essence of what we have accomplished.

The wheels of industry are turning again—were turning long before national defense sped them faster. Wages and salaries have risen 62 percent; factory pay rolls have increased 145 percent since 1932. Dividends have increased 55 percent. The national income, according to the Department of Commerce, was $68,500,000,000 in 1939, as compared to $40,000,000,000 in 1932; and according to the Alexander Hamilton Institute it was $71,700,000,000 in 1939.

Men and women have jobs again. If there are many without employment, they at least know that they have a Government which is concerned with their problems and their welfare, and they know that this Congress has labored unceasingly, under the leadership of President Roosevelt, to see that the future holds more security for them and for their children than the past.

The savings of those of small and moderate incomes are safe, insured by Government instrumentalities you established. The most of the millions of young boys who walked the streets and highways of the Nation in utter despair in 1932 are either back in school, or at work, or have had a part in the civilian conservation program which has won so much acclaim. The stock markets, where so many hundreds of thousands saw their savings vanish, have been brought under proper Government regulation and control, protecting the American investor against fraud and heretofore legalized larceny.

Billions have been provided for commerce and industry. Security has been provided for the owners of existing homes. Economical means have been provided for the building of new homes for those able to pay for them. A great program of Government housing is under way for those who, unable to pay for proper shelter, hitherto have been left to suffer and to raise families in degrading slums.

The farmers of the Nation, neglected and deprived of even a decent recognition before 1932, have won a voice at Washington. They have come a long way since 8 years ago, when their products were selling below cost of production and foreclosures were sweeping away their homes and farms by the thousands.

Their markets have expanded, the prices of their products have been increased, Government payments have given them some recompense, at least against tariffs. In 1932 their total cash income amounted to $4,682,000,000, whereas in 1939 they received $7,712,000,000, with Government payments boosting the total to $8,519,000,000. Even more than city dwellers, they have known the relief of low-interest charges, liberal loan plans for home building, and credit to grow crops and means whereby to store them instead of sacrificing them in low markets.

Only in reviewing the past can we fully appreciate the new era of social security which has dawned for this country. Unemployment insurance; aid to the aged, the maimed, and the blind; insurance of savings; encouragement for youth—all of these have been made responsibilities of government. The Government took responsibility, too, for providing work rather than a dole to those who were able to labor, enabling the unemployed employables to retain their self-respect.

No one challenges these accomplishments of the administration. To accomplish this, money had to be spent, and despite the fact that the spending was for the public good and inevitable if our democracy was to be preserved, criticism and misrepresentation have resulted. For that reason I am submitting here a list of Federal expenditures from 1933 to 1940, which reach the vast total of nearly $57,000,000,000.

TABLE 1.—*Federal expenditures, July 1, 1933, to June 30, 1940*

[In millions of dollars]

	General	Recovery and relief	Revolving funds (net)	Transfer to trust accounts	Total
Departmental	3,540				3,540
National defense	6,173	675			6,848
Veterans' Administration	3,900				3,900
Public works	2,300		914		3,214
Agricultural aid	4,229	688	409		5,326
Civilian Conservation Corps	1,220	593			1,813
Social Security and Railroad Retirement Acts	1,238				1,238
Interest on public debt	6,101				6,101
Debt retirement	1,693				1,693
Public works, including work relief:					
Work Projects Administration		8,150			8,150
National Youth Administration		324			324
Others		2,991			2,911
Direct relief		5,263			5,263
Aid to home owners		1,418			1,418
Miscellaneous		286			286
Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund				1,694	1,694
Railroad retirement account				375	375
Adjusted service certificate fund				2,429	2,429
Government employees' retirement fund (United States share)				365	365
Total	30,394	20,388	1,323	4,863	56,968

Based on data contained in the July 1940 issue of Treasury Bulletin.

Critics who are fond of merely pointing to expenditures will notice in that total the billions spent for national defense, for veterans, for public works, agricultural aid, and relief. I challenge them to point out where they would have made reductions. It is unfortunate that, when people criticize Government expenditures, they do not explain that a vast amount of these expenditures go for projects which increase the national wealth and yet which cannot be realized in cash. Let me just list some of these projects and the expenditures which made them possible:

TABLE 2.—*Major work accomplishments*

Durable additions to national wealth:	
Highways and streets	$4,800,000,000
Sewers, waterworks, and public utilities	1,350,000,000
Educational buildings	1,000,000,000
Public buildings	1,500,000,000
Conservation, flood control, reclamation, rivers, and harbor improvement	5,000,000,000
Parks, playgrounds, gymnasiums, and other recreational facilities	1,000,000,000
Public housing and slum clearance	300,000,000
Airport facilities	170,000,000
Total	15,120,000,000

The works accomplished with these sums include:

80,000 miles of new highways constructed.
265,000 miles of city streets repaired.
10,000 new educational buildings erected.
800 new hospitals.
1,500 new town and city sewer systems.
2,400 new water systems.
222 new city-electric systems.
1,200 new post offices.
Norris Dam.
Wheeler Dam.
Pickwick Landing Dam.
Chickamauga Dam.
Boulder Dam.
Fort Peck Dam.
Grand Coulee Dam.
41,000 low-rent-dwelling units constructed.
74,800 low-rent-dwelling units under construction.

The tabulation is not complete without some references to the status of the public debt and the changes in that public debt since this administration took office. For a realistic picture of the present day, I present the following tables:

TABLE 3.—*Status of the public debt, June 30, 1940*

(Source: Daily U. S. Treasury statement unrevised)

Gross Federal debt	$42,968,000,000
Offsetting Treasury assets:	
General fund balance	1,891,000,000
Exchange stabilization fund	2,000,000,000
Proprietary interest of Federal Government in corporations and credit agencies	3,336,000,000
	7,227,000,000
Net Federal debt	35,741,000,000

TABLE 4.—*Changes in the public debt, March 3, 1933–June 30, 1940*

(Source: Daily U. S. Treasury statement unrevised)

Gross public debt:		
June 30, 1940		$42,968,000,000
March 3, 1933		−20,937,000,000
Gross increase in public debt		22,031,000,000
Increase in Treasury assets:		
General fund balance:		
June 30, 1940	$1,891,000,000	
March 3, 1933	−159,000,000	
		1,732,000,000
Proprietary interest in Government corporations and credit agencies:		
June 30, 1940	3,336,000,000	
March 3, 1933 [1]	−2,284,000,000	
		1,052,000,000
Exchange stabilization fund:		
June 30, 1940	2,000,000,000	
March 3, 1933	0	
		2,000,000,000
Total increase in Treasury assets		4,784,000,000
Net increase in public debt		[2] 17,247,000,000

[1] Source: Hearings before Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, p. 727, Revenue Act of 1938.

[2] Includes $2,429,000,000 representing net increase in public debt since 1933 due to prepayment of the bonus.

I now would like to add a significant table concerning the results which have accrued from Government expenditures and Government recovery policies—a table which would be much more effective if it could speak for the year 1940:

	Calendar year		Percentage change
	1932	1939	
National income [1]	$40,089,000,000	$68,500,000,000	+71
	December	*December*	
Wages and salaries [1]	$2,403,000,000	$3,888,000,000	+62
Weekly pay rolls of factory workers [2]	80,384,000	197,089,000	+145
Cash farm income: [3]			
From sale of products	$4,682,000,000	$7,712,000,000	
From benefit payments		807,000,000	
Total		8,519,000,000	+82
Interest received by individuals [1]	5,277,000,000	4,828,000,000	−9
Dividends received by individuals [1]	2,745,000,000	4,253,000,000	+55
	December	*December*	
Total nonagricultural employment [3 4]	27,245,000	[5] 34,940,000	+28
Exports [1]	$1,611,000,000	$3,179,000,000	+97
Federal Reserve Board index of production [3]	64	105	+64

[1] Source: Department of Commerce.
[2] Source: Department of Labor.
[3] Source: Department of Agriculture.
[4] Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System.
[5] This figure does not include the 2,727,000 persons who had work on Work Projects Administration, National Youth Administration, and Civilian Conservation Corps projects.

Add to these figures the fact that bank reserves and bank deposits increased during 1939 to the highest level on record. Total reserves of member banks rose by $3,000,000,000 in 1939, following a rise of $2,000,000,000 in 1938; over the 2-year period, the amount of reserves held by banks in excess of legal requirements increased from about $1,000,000,000 to about $5,500,000,000, the highest on record. At the end of

1939, nearly half of the $12,000,000,000 of reserves held by Federal Reserve member banks were excess reserves.

Everyone knows that business activity now is at a much higher level than at the beginning of the year. Every type of figure which has been used here would be even more encouraging if brought up to date.

It is not my purpose here—nor would it be possible—to list all of the legislation passed by this Congress from 1933 to 1940 and which had a major part in accomplishing these results. I am going to try to give a partial picture of the results themselves—but first I must deal with the subject which has been uppermost in our minds for the last many months, that of national defense.

The complete statistics on the greatest Navy in the world, a two-ocean Navy which will keep our shores safe from any threat of invasion; on a greater air force than any ever conceived, even by the arch foes of democracy now dealing death and destruction over Europe and Asia; and on a great and mobile Army raised from a free citizenry—these must come from other sources. But I am prepared to review briefly what has been accomplished in this Chamber, our part of the job.

I have before me a list of appropriations and authorizations totaling $15,488,739,853, compiled as of September 11. Since that date, appropriations and authorizations amounting to $——— have been added to that total.

We have provided more than $7,000,000,000 for the Navy, nearly $7,000,000,000 for the Army, hundreds of millions of dollars for planes, in addition to the sums allocated for air fleets by those two Departments. We have provided hundreds of millions of dollars for equipment ranging from shoes to oil and coal and food; millions to trained skilled workers; scores of millions for defense housing. We have provided more than $6,000,000 to the Federal Bureau of Investigation to defend us against the foe within our gates, to cope with espionage and sabotage.

No problem of defense has been neglected. I submit here the list of appropriations and authorizations as of September 16:

National defense—1941 appropriations and authorizations as of Sept. 11, 1940

	Appropriations	Contract authorizations [1]	Authorizations [2]	Allocations
1. Army	$4,113,832,901	$2,829,136,397		
2. Navy	2,471,095,068	814,495,612	([3])	
3. Coast Guard	52,233,075			
4. Council of National Defense and/or Advisory Commission	1,000,000			
5. National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	11,200,000	8,400,000		
6. Federal Bureau of Investigation, espionage, sabotage, neutrality	6,346,800			
7. Treasury Procurement Division, purchase of strategic materials	60,000,000			
8. Department of Justice, registration of aliens	3,000,000			
9. Office of Education, labor training	15,000,000			
10. Work Projects Administration, military or Naval projects [4]	25,000,000			
11. Social Security Board, selecting and placing defense workers	2,000,000			
12. Panama Canal, third set of locks	15,000,000		$99,000,000	
13. Civil Aeronautics Authority, civilian pilot training	37,000,000			
14. National defense housing	100,000,000			
15. Reconstruction Finance Corporation:				
Rubber Reserve Co.				$65,000,000
Metals Reserve Co.				100,000,000
Defense Plant Corporation [5]				([6])
Defense Supplies Corporation [5]				50,000,000

[1] Contracts permitted against future appropriations.
[2] Authorized by Congress but no appropriation made this year.
[3] See item 16.
[4] Works Progress Administration is also giving preference to defense projects under its regular program.
[5] Both incorporated at $5,000,000.
[6] No allocation of Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds as of Aug. 26, 1940.

National defense—1941 appropriations and authorizations as of Sept. 11, 1940—Continued

	Appropriations	Contract authorizations	Authorizations	Allocations
16. Navy:				
Act of July 19, 1940, authorizing 70 percent expansion in Navy (no appropriation), estimated cost of authorized expansion: [7]				
Ships			$4,010,000,000	
Planes			600,000,000	
	$6,912,707,844	$3,652,032,009	4,709,000,000	$215,000,000
17. Grand total all items	[8] 15,488,739,853			

[7] Initial appropriation included in item 2.
[8] In addition the U. S. Housing Authority has been authorized to loan to defense projects. As of Aug. 31, $21,450,000 had been authorized in loans or allocations to 12 projects. Tennessee Valley Authority was also appropriated $25,000,000 for the construction of an additional dam in the Tennessee Valley Authority area, necessary for national-defense industries.

This Congress passed its first billion-dollar appropriation in response to a request of the President May 16. Two weeks later another billion was asked and granted, and on July 10 still another $5,000,000,000 was added to the total. As the threat of a world-wide conflagration brought more menace to us, Congress appropriated hundreds of millions of dollars on hundreds of millions of dollars to reach the total which now is on the records. But this administration's concern with national defense did not start with the appropriation of a billion dollars on May 16. It started with the day the President took office.

In the last few weeks we have witnessed a strange phenomenon: the spectacle of men who fought every appropriation and every move for national defense charging that the President of the United States neglected that defense, although every informed citizen knows that he sought for months and even years to awaken this country to its dangers. Facts that cannot be denied tell the whole story.

The Navy and the Army merely were given enough to exist on for many, many years following the World War. They were forced to eke out even that existence from left-overs of the World War days. While I do not criticize either our Presidents or our Congresses for this fact, for all our eyes and hopes were on world peace and no Adolf Hitler had appeared on the international horizon, the fact remains, however, that in 1932 appropriations for the Army amounted to less than $300,000,000 while those for the Navy totaled only $360,000,000.

A sharp increase was not noted until 1936, when total appropriations jumped to nearly $830,000,000, and 1937, when they reached $910,000,000. Had the wishes of the present administration been considered, a far greater sum would have been spent. In 1935 the Public Works bill provided for nearly $5,000,000,000. But a Senate amendment divested the President of authority to allocate a cent of this money for military and naval appropriations such as had been permitted in the emergency appropriations for previous years.

More than $600,000,000 which the Army and Navy then declared necessary were denied. In fact, with the single exception of $15,000,000 allowed in 1938, the President was unable to allocate any emergency funds for strictly defense projects after 1935.

In spite of such restrictions, however, P. W. A. contributed a billion dollars to national defense—moneys used at the discretion of the President before a halter was put upon him. Since 1933, there has been laid down an imposing fleet of aircraft carriers, destroyers, cruisers and submarines; and scores of other ships have left the yards after rehabiliation by emergency funds. More than $238,000,000 was spent to strengthen the Navy by P. W. A. How else, can you tell me, could Americans have boasted as far back as 1938 that their Navy was the most effective in the world?

Factories for production of munitions and ordnance were built with P. W. A. funds. The Coast Guard was given cutters

and airplanes; the National Guard was given armories. Hundreds of facilities were established which today offer a foundation on which a real national-defense program can progress.

Army aviation was given $7,497,000 with which to purchase training planes, engines, radios, and other types of equipment; $22,000,000 was allocated for construction of military airports, 130 planes, costing $7,496,000 were provided for the Navy. Through civil aviation, the P. W. A. strengthened vital links in the national defense; strategic highways, new bridges, and underpasses—all of which will prove of untold value. And it was P. W. A. which provided the funds for the experimental work upon which the mechanization and motorization of our own Panzer divisions will be based.

So when anyone starts totaling up the more than $3,500,000,000 that Congresses have appropriated for the Army since 1933, and the more than $5,000,000,000 appropriated for the Navy—prior to the great emergency program—they can add the billion dollars provided by P. W. A.

This Congress, as you know, has been active on another front. Here are some of the recent enactments aiding Cordell Hull, our great Secretary of State, in the effective conduct of our international relations:

First. The Neutrality Act, its revision which permitted the raising of the arms embargo; its provisions keeping American citizens out of the danger zones, restricting the entry of American citizens into war areas, and permitting the control of exports of arms and munitions.

Second. The act requiring the registration of agents of foreign principals with the State Department, under which persons in the United States acting for foreign governments or foreign agencies must make themselves known to this Government.

Third. The act of July 2, 1940, authorizing the President to control and license exports of strategic materials, conserving materials required for the national-defense program.

Fourth. The act providing for codification of our nationality laws—a reform which has been necessary for a great many years.

Fifth. Provisions in the State Department's various appropriation acts for funds to be advanced to American citizens in danger areas for their repatriation and permitting the making of arrangements to send American ships for their evacuation.

Sixth. Treaties coming out of the Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Lima, Panama, and Habana Conferences which have consolidated our relations with Latin America, and which—like the recent Act of Habana, which will permit the administration of any European possession in the Western Hemisphere if its transfer to another nation is threatened—improve the defensive position of the United States.

Seventh. The unification of the various foreign services of the Government—those of the State, Commerce, and Agriculture Departments.

Eighth. The act requiring the registration of aliens in the United States, which also authorizes the protective measure of requiring the fingerprinting of visa applicants abroad before they are permitted to enter this country.

When we speak of national defense, however, we should not restrict ourselves to a few figures concerning the Army and Navy. When war first broke abroad, some of us waited fearfully for a disturbance in our national life. But there was no panic, nor even a suggestion of panic. Even the stock markets acted almost normally. We learned that the laws passed by a New Deal administration provided all the protection that could have been given by drastic emergency measures.

In other words, we had fortified ourselves against any crisis by the laws we had passed for our own security. Economic forces had been brought under proper Government regulation; savings were protected by the Government; laws existed to prevent wild speculation, and powerful men could not gamble on the fears of a nation. Panic was not merely avoided; it had been made improbable.

I say to you that not in many years could the present administration have been vindicated in the way it has been since this emergency in world affairs has appeared. Look about you and where is there proof of the claim of the dictators that a democracy cannot work in a crisis? To understand how far we have gone in the last 8 years we have only to look back to the outbreak of the World War and recall what happened here then; to realize what has been accomplished we have only to look back 9 years, or 10 or 15, and think what reverberations a European war would have brought in this country then.

All of you here know that this country today is stronger than ever before, that it has the full loyalty of those upon whom it must depend. The ordinary man and woman have a faith in government that they never had before. This is our real national defense—and it will not prove wanting.

The reasons are obvious. They lie in the brilliant, humane, and courageous leadership of President Roosevelt and the legislation which you have written into law in these last 8 years. It is my privilege and my pride to give you the picture of those years.

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

The initials "R. F. C." have become synonymous with the phrase "Government aid to business." Its corollary benefits to the public, to investors, stockholders, and depositors in financial institutions have been as great as to business itself.

The R. F. C. has disbursed $7,849,176,224, September 19, 1940, to private industry in its gigantic task of bringing recovery to this Nation. Of this amount, $6,096,644,875, more than 77 percent, has been repaid. No statement could be made which could better illustrate the effectiveness of the R. F. C. program.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was created in January 1932 as this administration prepared to take over the reins of Government. In the 8½ years of its operations, its total authorizations from Congress have aggregated $14,831,720,884, of which $10,786,982,029 has been disbursed. Included in this latter total were disbursements of $2,937,805,805 for relief and to other governmental agencies. Aside from allocations by directions of Congress, authorized loans and investments aggregated $11,628,322,246, of which $2,$655,279,566 was canceled or withdrawn. Some $1,123,866,000 remains to the credit of private applicants for funds, in addition to the $7,849,176,224 already listed as disbursed.

Under an act approved February 24, 1938, we directed the Secretary of the Treasury to cancel notes of the R. F. C. issued to obtain funds for relief and allocations to other Government agencies; no part of these cancelations was for loans to banks, railroads, insurance companies, or to any other borrower from the R. F. C. and no debt due to the Government was canceled. Cancelations included $1,783,000,000 for direct relief, $200,000,000 for the capital of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, $200,000,000 for the capital of the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation, $125,000,000 for the capital of home loan banks, $97,000,000 for the capital of the Commodity Credit Corporation, and $22,000,000 for the capital of the Disaster Loan Corporation. One hundred and fifteen million dollars went to the Secretary of Agriculture for crop loans, $43,100,000 to the Farm Credit Administration for the capitalization of the Production Credit Corporations and other purposes, $24,600,000 for the Regional Credit Corporations, and $77,546,074.55 to the Federal Housing Administration.

Without detracting from the importance of other lending and investment activities, the outstanding service rendered by the Corporation has been its aid to depositors of banks and the general bank-rehabilitation program. To assist open banks in meeting the demands of depositors and in continuing their operations, it authorized $1,334,787,161 in loans to 5,820 institutions, of which $1,138,233,619 has been disbursed, $50,-

624 remains available to the borrowers, and the balance has been canceled. In addition, the R. F. C. authorized loans aggregating $1,347,554,800 for distribution to depositors in 2,776 closed banks so that they would not have to wait for liquidation of the assets of the banks, and it is estimated that approximately 20,000,000 depositors in closed banks benefited through this aid. In strengthening the capital structure of the banks of the country the R. F. C. invested $1,163,272,206 in the capital of 6,147 banks through the purchase of and loans on the preferred stock of national banks and some State banks that could issue preferred stock, and the purchase of capital notes and debentures of State banks that could not issue preferred stock. The return of depositor confidence and the placing of the banks in a position to supply the credit needs in their various communities is sufficient evidence of the success of this program.

Through September 19, 1940, the Corporation had authorized and made tentative commitments for loans and purchases of securities for the benefit of 97 railroads and receivers of railroads, aggregating approximately $1,454,000,000. This includes approximately $360,000,000 tentative but unused commitments, of which approximately $264,000,000 has been canceled, the roads having made other arrangements; $201,000,000 of the amount was lent to railroads by P. W. A. These securities were taken over from P. W. A. and $187,000,000 of them sold at a profit. Loans to railroads preserved institutional investments in railroad securities and enabled the carriers to maintain standards of operation through capital expenditures that resulted in employment not only on their own lines but in the industrial concerns from which they purchased supplies and equipment.

Some $3,121,738,396 has been authorized or allocated for the benefit of agriculture in one form or another: $440,279,359 to Federal land banks, joint-stock land banks, and Federal intermediate credit banks to provide them with funds to meet the increasing demands of farmers and stockmen; $199,072,647 to agricultural and livestock credit corporations to assist farmers in connection with production and cattle loans. About $100,000,000 was authorized in connection with the financing of sales of cotton, wheat, flour, and tobacco, in foreign markets. In financing the carrying and orderly marketing of agricultural commodities, $1,754,712,000 has been made available for loans to the Commodity Credit Corporation, and $86,061,513 to other agricultural institutions; $23,500,000 has been authorized for loans to the Secretary of Agriculture to acquire cotton, of which only $3,300,000 was actually used and by direction of Congress $517,322,965 has been allocated to other governmental agencies for agricultural purposes.

Authorizations for self-liquidating construction project loans amounting to $629,755,690 have been an important stimulus to employment, not only in the projects concerned, but in the concerns furnishing the materials and the transportation lines carrying them. Some $73,000,000 was for the erection of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge; $208,500,000 was for the construction of a water-distributing system, including the main aqueduct, carrying water from the Colorado River in Arizona to southern California, a distance of 392 miles; $2,580,000 for building the Niagara frontier bridge crossing the Niagara River at Buffalo; $13,000,000 for the New Orleans Public Belt Bridge across the Mississippi; $57,000,000 for the construction of Battery-Brooklyn Tunnel in the city of New York; $40,800,000 for the construction of a turnpike for vehicular traffic from Middlesex to Irwin, Pa.; $21,000,000 to aid in the construction and improvement of highways in the State of Mississippi; $10,200,000 for extension, betterment, and refinancing of the Seattle Municipal Street Railways; and $20,500,000 for the purchase of one-half of an issue of revenue trust certificates secured by an assignment of revenue from the operations of the Philadelphia Gas Works Co.

The RFC Mortgage Company, the $25,000,000 capital stock of which is owned by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, has approved loans aggregating $283,346,169, of which $92,752,149 was for refinancing in cases of distress, $70,646,170 for construction of new buildings, $117,331,577 for the purchase of F. H. A. insured mortgages and $2,616,272 for the purchase of other mortgages. This Company makes first-mortgage loans for the refinancing of indebtedness on urban, income-producing business property, and to aid in the construction of new buildings for which there is a sound economic need. Two hundred and twenty-eight mortgage loan companies, not including The RFC Mortgage Company, received authorizations for loans amounting to $364,210,826 from the R. F. C. so that they might continue their functions without foreclosing the property of mortgagors.

So that building and loan associations could meet withdrawals of shareholders and depositors without resorting to foreclosure on property of borrowers, and in order to put them in funds to continue their functions, the Corporation authorized loans amounting to $137,376,341. In addition, $25,306,796 has been authorized to closed building and loan associations for distribution to depositors and creditors.

The capital structure of 10 insurance companies was strengthened to the extent of $34,475,000. Heavy demands were made upon insurance companies in the form of policy claims, and in order for them to avoid selling their assets at sacrifice prices to meet their requirements, the Corporation authorized $104,439,750 in loans to 133 insurance companies.

The inability of industrial and commercial concerns to obtain credit through normal channels brought the Corporation into that lending field. So that employment could be continued and in numerous instances increased, the Corporation has authorized $552,881,410 to 7,864 concerns in cases where funds were not available at local banks. Of this amount $145,134,152 was canceled or withdrawn due for the most part to the fact that the local banks were willing to make the loans after the Corporation had indicated its readiness to furnish the funds.

Loans to drainage, levee, and irrigation districts have been authorized in the net amount of $109,678,828, the proceeds of which were used to reduce and refinance their outstanding indebtedness or to purchase, acquire, or complete projects. The refinancing activity in this particular relieved distress occasioned by the inability of farmers and landowners to meet the charges related to the bonded indebtedness. The annual assessments for bond and interest charges against farmers have been reduced to about 29.48 percent from what they were; the interest burden from 6 percent to 4 percent. The average debt reduction of the districts was 53.34 percent, and it is estimated approximately 134,622 farms have been benefited from this program.

Pursuant to the authority given to purchase securities from P. W. A., the R. F. C. has authorized the purchase of 3,118 issues of marketable securities in the principal amount of $719,104,498, of which $675,276,498 has been purchased; $534,259,856 of these have been sold or collected at a premium over cost of $26,017,191.

Loan authorizations for other purposes include $25,297,050 to public-school authorities for payment of teachers' salaries due prior to June 1, 1934, and for debt reduction and refinancing; $16,184,520 to sufferers from catastrophes resulting in property damaged or destroyed by earthquake, conflagration, tornado, hurricane, flood, or other catastrophes for the years 1933–36. The Disaster Loan Corporation, organized by Congress to make loans made necessary by floods and other catastrophes during 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, or 1940, has made 22,478 loans aggregating $29,988,122. By direction of Congress the capital and management were provided by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Some $15,493,100 was for the mining, milling, or smelting of ores and for the development of ore bodies; $13,087,000 to State funds created to insure deposits of public moneys resulting in the release of deposits tied up in closed banks needed by local governments to pay employees.

The R. F. C.'s operating expense has been substantially less than 1 percent. It has paid the Treasury $197,223,211 interest on the money borrowed from it to make loans and investments authorized by its directors. After the payment of interest and all expenses, its operating surplus from loans and

investments is $302,897,146, of which $275,843,950 has been collected. This surplus will be more than enough to cover losses on all loans and bank-capital investments.

The R. F. C. authorized 112 loans and commitments totaling $558,959,990 to aid in the national-defense program. Banks participated in 21 of these loans to the extent to $531,491.

Of the total, $338,250,000 has been made available by the Corporation to four corporations created by it under the Act of June 25, 1940—$145,000,000 to the Rubber Reserve Co. to acquire a reserve supply of rubber; $105,000,000 to the Metals Reserve Co. to acquire a reserve supply of tin and other strategic metals; $58,250,000 to the Defense Supplies Corporation to acquire and carry a reserve supply of high-test gasoline, used by airplanes; and $30,000,000 to the Defense Plant Corporation for plant expansion, equipment, and so forth, for national-defense purposes.

The remaining $220,709,990 represents other R. F. C. loans and commitments to aid defense—12 for $188,112,855 to manufacturers of airplanes and parts, largely for plant expansion; 5 for $10,042,500 to makers of machine tools and precision instruments; 8 for $695,500 for development of airports and factilities; 46 for $500,235 for the purchase of 79 training planes in cooperation with the program of the Civil Aeronautics Board to train pilots; and 25 for $21,358,900 to makers of armor plate, army hats and clothing, naval boats, rifle parts, aircraft float lights, and numerous other products for defense purposes.

It is impossible to detail here the functions the R. F. C. will play in the expanding defense program and in our relations with neighbor nations. But the manner in which it has functioned and the contributions it has made to the Nation in the past are proof of its soundness in both conception and management and its ability to meet any problems the future may bring. It represents the greatest contribution to private enterprise any Government ever provided to meet a crisis and stimulate recovery. And yet, there are many who have benefited, who unjustly criticize; who, beneficiaries of governmental assistance which gave them new business life, stability, and success, unthinkingly condemn the assistance and aid given to other groups of Americans adversely affected by the depression. If they but pause for a moment, and view what has happened and is happening throughout the world, they will realize the necessity for the type of leadership we have had during the past 8 years—they will realize that not only courageous but also humane leadership was and is necessary for the best interests of our country. That type of leadership has been given by President Roosevelt and a Democratic-controlled Congress during the past 8 years. The best interests of our country call for the same type of leadership during the next 4 years.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Sound social security is the fundamental aim of this administration. Every step it has taken has been guided by the thought that, coming into office during a period of economic and social disintegration, its chief task was to render such conditions impossible again.

Among the first problems confronted by the President was that of the thousands of young men between the ages of 17 and 23 who were destitute, without jobs or prospects of jobs, with the resultant adverse effect upon their outlook on life. To meet this situation, so obviously frought with danger for the generation on which this Nation soon must come to depend, the President was authorized to establish the Civilian Conservation Corps. And since 1933, more than 2,500,000 young men have been taken off the streets and highways and the energies of a youthful legion have been directed into healthful and useful channels of improvement—for self and for country.

The National Youth Administration followed. Congress legislated a program of aid to students seeking to complete their education and to guide others toward useful employment.

But the broader social-security program enacted from 1935 to 1939 embraces far more than aid for youth. It provides for old-age insurance, unemployment compensation, aid to dependent children and the blind, and, since 1939, the provisions of the Wagner-Peyser Act, under which the Federal Government assists the States in establishing and maintaining public employment services. The Social Security Board—like the other agencies now grouped under the Federal Security Agency—administers this program.

Old-age and survivors' insurance, the primary feature of the Social Security program, is payable to workers reaching 65 years of age, their wives at 65, and to survivors of workers. It is an earned annuity, not based on public charity. In specified "covered" industries, employers must contribute an amount rising to 3 percent of pay roll. Some States require employees to contribute as well. The worker, retiring at 65, receives the rest of his life $20 monthly based on the first $50 of his monthly pay, plus 10 percent of whatever he earned on average between $50 and $250 monthly. That is to say, a man earning $100 per month, retiring now, would receive $25 monthly for the rest of his life. In addition he receives 1 percent for each year he has worked since the plan began. The worker, to qualify, must have been employed about one-half of the time between the beginning of the program and his reaching 65.

Payments began in 1940 on the basis of wages since December 31, 1936. At the end of July of this year, 137,830 persons had been awarded monthly benefits. At present the average monthly payment per retired worker is $22. It is interesting to look ahead to the time when the plan will be in complete operation. Experts estimate that 5 years from now, at the end of 1945, between two and a half and four million persons will be receiving benefits.

To date, more than 50,000,000 individual employee accounts have been established for the purpose of recording wages received in employments covered by the program. Wages aggregating $85,100,000,000, received by about 41,500,000 workers, were reported for the years 1937, 1938, and 1939.

More than 28,000,000 workers have earned some credit toward benefits under unemployment compensation laws which are now in operation in all 48 States, Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia. Unemployment benefits paid under this Federal-State program have amounted to well over a billion dollars during the brief period in which it has been in operation. A weekly average of 1,300,000 unemployed workers received compensation amounting to $53,600,000 for a total of 5,300,000 weeks of unemployment during June 1940.

The Federal Government, in conjunction with the States, is aiding the man temporarily unemployed, so that he will be free to look for work without going on relief. Such a person is given 50 percent of his regular pay, up to $15 a week on pay of $30, for a maximum of 3 or 4 months.

Closely integrated with the unemployment-compensation system is a Nation-wide network of public employment offices, through which workers are aided in finding jobs. This service is available to all employers and workers, regardless of whether they are covered by their State unemployment-compensation law. More than 3,500,000 placements were made through these offices during the fiscal year 1939–40. Of this total, nearly 3,000,000, or approximately 85 percent, were in private employment. During June the public employment service offices received 1,300,000 applications for work, and at the end of the month the active file of persons registered numbered approximately 5,700,000.

With the aid of Federal funds under the Social Security Act, all States and Territories are now making regular monthly assistance payments to needy aged persons. Programs for aid to dependent children and aid to the blind also are being administered with the aid of Federal funds in about three-fourths of the States. Payments to recipients from Federal, State, and local funds have amounted to nearly $2,000,000,000 since the Social Security Act became effective.

For the fiscal year 1939–40, such payments amounted to $585,700,000, of which $453,300,000 was for old-age assistance, $119,500,000 for aid to dependent children, and $12,900,000 for aid to the blind. For the month of June 1940, nearly 2 million recipients of old-age assistance received payments averaging about $20; more than 330,000 families with 799,000 dependent children received payments averaging more than $32 per family; and payments averaging about $24 were made to some 47,000 recipients of aid to the blind.

To give a true picture of the accomplishments of these agencies, I am going to take the liberty of listing a comparison of recent years in tabulated form:

OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS' INSURANCE

1932: No Government insurance protecting workers in their old age.

1940: Social-security accounts established for 50,000,000 workers. Monthly benefits being paid to qualified workers and members of their families. Since the system was established January 1, 1937, benefits paid amount to more than $50,000,000.

EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

1932: Only one State, Wisconsin, had passed an unemployment-compensation law, and this law did not begin to operate until July 1, 1934.

1940: Over 28,000,000 wage earners insured under laws now in effect in every State. Total benefits paid since the beginning of the program amount to over $1,250,000,000.

1932: State or municipally operated public employment offices had been established in 22 States, but there was no national cooperation.

1940: A Federal-State cooperative employment service in operation. Public-employment offices, established in all States, have found jobs for nearly 1,000,000 persons since January 1, 1939.

OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE

1932: About 103,000 needy old people were aided under State and local old-age assistance laws in December 1932.

1940: All States and Territories, with the help of the Federal Government, making assistance payments to nearly 2,000,000 old people. Payments made since the program began amounted to $1,622,758,000.

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN

1932: In December 1932 approximately 113,000 families, taking care of nearly 290,000 dependent children, received this kind of aid.

1940: Approximately 342,000 mothers and other near relatives, caring for 825,000 children, receiving cash allowances. About three-fourths of the States, with the help of the Federal Government, are providing such aid. Payments from combined Federal, State, and local funds since the program began total $382,716,000.

AID TO THE BLIND

1932: About 30,000 needy blind people were receiving this kind of assistance in December 1932.

1940: More than three-fourths of the States are cooperating with the Federal Government to provide aid to some 48,000 needy blind. Payments under this program amount to $50,378,000.

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

The National Youth Administration was formed under authority of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935. It was transferred from Works Progress Administration to Federal Security Agency, effective July 1, 1939.

Its purpose was:

First. To provide part-time employment for school and college students at from $10 to $20 per month.

Second. To provide part-time employment for out-of-school youth—18 through 24 years.

Third. To encourage job training and placement services.

Fourth. To encourage constructive leisure-time activities.

A year-by-year record of the number of youth in two respective categories up to 1939 follows:

Fiscal year ending—	In-school youth aided	Out-of-school youth aided
July 1, 1936	475,000	200,000
July 1, 1937	491,000	344,000
July 1, 1938	372,000	376,000
July 1, 1939	476,000	415,000

During the last fiscal year the National Youth Administration employed 1,187,750 different youth on its programs. Of these, 574,400 were unemployed youth who came from needy families, and who were unable to obtain employment in private industry. The remaining 613,350 youth were given part-time employment in order that they might continue their school education. Of these, 450,585 were in high schools and secondary schools; 158,359 were in colleges; and 4,406 were graduate students.

On the out-of-school work program the youth are employed on a wide variety of projects that provide them with work experience and training, and produce socially useful products. During the year ending June 30, 1939, young people employed on the out-of-school work program constructed, repaired, or improved over 10,800 public buildings; over 6,500 playgrounds; over 1,800 tennis courts; over 1,300 baseball and football fields; and over 6,000 check dams.

For the control of soil erosion they treated more than 136,500 acres of land, built and improved more than 1,500 plant and tree nurseries; planted 1,800,000 trees; stocked more than 3,500,000,000 fish and 60,000 other game animals.

N. Y. A. youth in that year produced 1,600,000 articles of clothing for distribution to needy families; 4,300,000 articles of hospital supplies for public institutions; renovated and repaired 2,200,000 books for public libraries; and served nearly 19,000,000 hot lunches to needy school children who otherwise would have gone hungry or undernourished.

The Congress in October appropriated $20,000,000 as a national-defense item, to expand the National Youth Administration's services to young men and women. This money is to enable N. Y. A. to carry on and expand its increased emphasis on mechanical and manual work. The increase on this phase of the N. Y. A. program was begun in may at the start of the national-defense program, but financed at the outset entirely from regular N. Y. A. funds.

Of the $40,000,000, $7,500,000 was appropriated directly to the United States Office of Education to be allocated through State departments of education to the public-school system. Under this arrangement, the vocational and other public schools will furnish the off-the-job theoretical training to N. Y. A. workers. The remaining $32,500,000 is added to N. Y. A.'s regular appropriation of $102,000,000 to expand and improve the work given to out-of-school youth. Particular emphasis is being laid on the construction of residential projects, in which young men and women, 17 to 25, are to be provided with improved health, work, and recreational facilities.

A new health program designed to provide all out-of-school N. Y. A. workers with examinations and, if necessary, remedial services in medicine and dentistry, is an expanded phase of the new program. The civic-service appropriation bill also carries $53,000,000 for the office of education, which is to be used to expand a program of so-called refresher course in occupations essential to national defense. Such courses were inaugurated in July under a $15,000,000 appropriation made in June, and by October more than 100,000 educational workers, selected mostly from public employment registers and W. P. A. rolls, were being given training to fit them for skilled mechanical jobs. Some employed workers also are being trained for defense jobs requiring more than skill.

This new appropriation will enable this public-school program to be enlarged and carried on through the winter. It will also provide new equipment to public schools furnishing such courses, and $9,000,000 of the total is earmarked for engineering courses of college grade to provide courses

designed to meet the shortage of engineers where specialized training in fields essential to national defense is necessary.

CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

The Civilian Conservation Corps was established by an act of Congress signed by President Roosevelt on March 31, 1933. The first camp was up between Luray and Edinburg, Va., on April 17 of that year.

Since that time approximately 2,500,000 enrollees have served in the corps. These young men and war veterans have developed skills and at the same time improved the condition of the Nation's resources.

There are 1,500 camps in operation, with a maximum enrollment of 300,000. These camps are located in every State in the Union, on farmlands, grazing ranges, reclamation areas, forests, parks, and wildlife refuges. They are engaged in checking soil erosion, improving and protecting forest resources, developing parks and other recreation areas, encouraging the propagation of wildlife and building up a Nation-wide reserve of healthy young men.

Among major work accomplishments of the C. C. C. have been the planting of 2,000,000,000 trees and the construction of 5,350,000 check dams, 44,000 bridges, 78,000 miles of telephone lines and 114,000 miles of truck trails and minor roads. The Corps has spent 5,600,000 man-days fighting forest fires and an almost equal amount of time in forest fire presuppression work.

By the hard, toughening work, regular living habits, and competent medical and dental care, the enrollees have improved their own health and contributed substantially to the betterment of the health level of the Nation as a whole.

Enrollees are required to allot $22 of their $30 monthly wage to their dependents. By this means $590,300,000 has been sent to families whose incomes are in the lowest brackets.

The C. C. C. has participated in many emergency programs, such as flood and hurricane relief and rescues of stranded mountain climbers, lost children and drowning persons. It is now participating in the national-defense program by training thousands of enrollees in skills vital to national defense.

There are in operation 1,500 barrack camps, housing 200 men each, plus 7,500 Indians on reservations and 4,000 territorials in Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Your critics have spoken with many voices, when you were seeking answers to problems which you inherted from administrations who had neglected them over a period of years. But few will listen patiently to any criticism of the monumental legislation which has been enacted to aid the Nation's youth, the aged, the helpless, and the blind. President Roosevelt and a Democratic-controlled Congress have indeed paved the way for a future of real social security for all.

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

In the restoration of public confidence in the investment market, and in checking the orgy of rampant and unbridled speculation, this Congress has written an historic volume of financial reform.

One has only to turn to the dark days of the pre-Roosevelt era to discover the deplorable condition which confronted the Nation as a direct result of get-rich-quick stock gambling and of unrestricted fly-by-night promotion. Those were golden days for the glib securities salesmen, swindlers, bucket-shop operators, and others, who outraged the confidence of the investing public.

These depredations on the American purse were not confined strictly to the itinerant promotor, or the hole-in-the-wall stock salesman. If anything hastened reform it was the knowledge that some of the largest banking and financial institutions in the country—either purposefully or through careless and slipshod investigation of bond and stock issues—had become the active agents for the distribution across the continent of billions in worthless securities. In many cases life savings disappeared down this sordid stream of bogus paper; homes were wrecked, legacies dissipated, and economic chaos resulted from withdrawal of confidence from established markets.

The Securities and Exchange Commission was organized on July 6, 1934, to administer the Securities and Exchange Act. To it was transferred the administration of the Securities Act of 1933, previously administered by the Federal Trade Commission.

Now one would suppose that the purposes of this legislation, honest and commendable in its objective, would have met universal approbation. Yet the deplorable fact is that the congressional effort to give the law "teeth" confronted some legitimate, but mostly unscrupulous, opposition. However, the Congress persisted in the clean-up drive to safeguard the American public, and to purge from business suspicious and crooked mercenaries. Let us examine here what the acts provided.

The basic purpose of the Securities Act of 1933 is to furnish complete and accurate information to prospective investors regarding new issues of securities publicly offered for sale, and to afford protection against fraud and misrepresentation. This is accomplished through the medium of a registration statement, which must be filed by the issuer of each new security offered for sale to the public in interstate commerce. The Commission has the power to refuse or suspend registration in cases where the information given is incomplete or misleading. Further the act provides for civil and criminal liability on the part of issuers and others for violations connected with the sale of securities.

This was a forward-looking and approved step in Government policy. But the administration and the Congress implemented the Federal powers further with the enactment of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934.

Through this act the Federal Government assumed jurisdiction over the national securities exchanges and the Commission was charged with the responsibility for supervising those markets. In general, the purposes of this act are threefold.

First, it is designed to prevent unfair practices in the securities market. To this end the stock exchanges and over-the-counter markets are placed under the jurisdiction of the Commission, manipulation of security prices is prohibited, and trading in securities is subject to the regulation of the Commission.

Second, the act aims to make available currently to the public sufficient information concerning the management and financial condition of corporations whose securities are traded in the securities market to enable investors to act intelligently in handling their investments and in exercising their rights as security holders. For this purpose a registration statement, disclosing full information, is required for each security listed on an exchange. This information is kept up to date through filing of periodic reports throughout the corporation's fiscal year, as well as an annual report at the close of the fiscal year.

Third, the act regulates the use of credit to finance trading in securities. This is accomplished by the regulations of margin requirements and is administered by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. This act also provided further remedies for injured investors and imposes criminal penalties for violations.

Since the Securities Act has been in effect, more than $17,000,000,000 of new securities have been registered with the Commission. This means that the issuers of these securities have complied with the truth provisions of this act.

No amount of distortion can conceal the magnificent truth that this legislation has saved the American investor from being the victim of unscrupulous practice and unscrupulous financiers. This is a piece of legislation that was conceived totally to end evil and vicious methods that an aroused public conscience was not content longer to endure.

This brings us logically to the Public Utility Holding Company Act, designed to break up the ruthless and unconscionable holding companies, which had been allowed to flourish unchecked, and whose record is one of the black pages of our recent financial history. Their ugly and wanton plundering of the stockholders of their subsidiaries under

former administrations was climaxed by the collapse of the infamous Insull utility empire in the Midwest. There was a Nation-wide demand for a house cleaning and Congress responded to the appeal for remedial laws.

Here, recollection is refreshed by a speech I made on August 30, 1935, in which the network radio audience was informed that the Public Utility Holding Company Act had become a law. I said then, and I now repeat:

> That ended the hardest battle I have seen in more than 20 years in Congress. It was a battle against the biggest and boldest, the richest and most ruthless lobby Congress has ever known. That lobby was a professional, mercenary army, long trained in what it was paid to do. It was the mobilization against Congress and the President of contingents which the utility interests have kept under arms for many years in every State legislature. One result of our victory, I hope, may be the permanent destruction of that lobby. The Holding Company Act compels all utility lobbyists under criminal penalties to register publicly hereafter, so that Congress and the public will know them. It also forbids utility companies to contribute to political campaign funds.

How easy it is to recall the mountain of fictitious telegrams that buried Members of Congress, with carefully manufactured opinion and argument designed to wreck the proposed law. Where, I wonder, are these agents of deception today? In what political camp are you likely to find them pursuing their purpose of returning to the freebooting days?

There were die-hards who predicted disaster and were prophets of gloom. They were boasting that they would have the act nullified and that it was unconstitutional. But their threats and their crystal-ball prophecies did not deter Congress. The act was reviewed by the best legal talent available to the Government; it was defended as constitutional by such an eminent authority as the late Senator Borah. I warned utility interests then that if this act, prepared with care and discrimination to safeguard the interests of the investor, the consumer, and the industry, were to be declared unconstitutional, it would be an empty victory for them. In 1940 it is comforting to report the United States Supreme Court, in sweeping decisions already made, has in each case upheld the Congress. It has yet to pass upon the challenge to the "death sentence" clause, but I have no doubt that it will sustain the collective majority opinion of the legislative branch as to its constitutionality.

Now, let us look at just what we accomplished in this law. Broadly, the bill had two main objectives. The first objective was to protect investors and consumers by supplementing State regulation of utility companies with a Federal regulation of interstate holding companies and their subsidiaries which will make it possible for the State regulation to be really effective. The second objective was to strike down monopolies by turning back control of the operating utility business to the local communities which create that business, and by opening up for independent local competitors the supply, engineering, and construction end of the utility business which a few Wall Street companies had been monopolizing for their own profit.

In some respects the Holding Company Act simply provided for these companies the counterpart of the most progressive type of State regulation that has heretofore existed for operating companies, but has been largely evaded by the holding companies. The act in no way superseded State regulation of operating companies. What it did do was to fill a gap in the existing regulatory laws caused by the fact that for practical as well as for legal reasons the States have been unable to regulate the great holding companies which control local operating companies.

Everyone admits that the gas and electric operating industry is a local business and should be locally controlled. But the control of that industry had been centralized and concentrated in a few great financial centers beyond the effective reach of local regulatory bodies. And the experience of local regulatory bodies thoroughly demonstrated that it is impossible to regulate local operating companies which dominate and are the real operators of those local operating companies. You cannot expect an engineer to be able to regulate the speed of a locomotive if you will not let him get at the throttle.

The Holding Company Act plugged up the holes that high finance had driven into State regulation. All public-utility companies, except those that are intrastate in their operation, are now subject to control of the Securities and Exchange Commission. All such companies must register with that Commission and make full and adequate reports and keep their accounts as the Commission prescribes. The issuance of stocks and bonds by holding companies is controlled by the Commission, and this put an end to fictitious write-ups, stock watering, and stock jobbery. The acquisition of utility assets, securities, and other interests by the holding companies are subject to the approval of the Commission, and this put an end to the mad scramble for economic power.

There are 143 public-utility holding companies, with consolidated assets of more than $14,000,000,000, registered with the Commission. Since December 1, 1935, when the Public Utility Act went into effect, around $3,000,000,000 of utility securities have been issued, all of them sufficiently in harmony with the spirit of the law to permit their issuance. In accordance with the simplification and integration provisions of the act, practically every important system has filed tentative plans with the Commission for the integration of its system. A number of voluntary corporate simplification plans also have been approved by the Commission.

Under the provisions of the Holding Company Act the Commission was instructed by the Congress to make a study of investment trusts and investment companies. This has been completed and the Commission submitted to the Congress reports covering various phases of its study. This is the subject of legislation passed by the present Congress and is now law.

I said it in 1935, and it is worth repeating:

> The Holding Company Act strikes the death knell of the giant holding company, declares the emancipation of the American investor and the emancipation of the utility industry.

The day of the far-flung utility empire is in the past. Its absentee management is done. No holding company can continue to hold scattered properties; no holding company can continue to dictate the rates and financial practices of local operating companies from some great financial center. Management must be localized so that the really responsible local management can understand the needs of the local community and be responsible to those needs.

All the tricks used to deprive the security holder of a voice in management of his property has stopped. Pyramiding of holding companies is prohibited, and in no case will a holding company beyond the second degree be allowed to exist. The restriction of the powers and interests of a holding company as provided in this legislation is the very essence of effective regulation.

Title II of the act vests jurisdiction in the Federal Power Commission over all electric utilities engaged in the transmission of electric energy in interstate commerce, and over the wholesale rate of such utilities. Like title I, which deals with holding companies, title II, which deals with interstate operating companies, fills a yawning gap in State regulation. With the rapid increase in the quantity of electric energy that flows across State lines, Federal regulation of interstate operations becomes increasingly important.

Every move to regulate Wall Street has brought vituperation on legislators who dared its wrath. The Holding Company Act, as the most important blow ever struck to end a predatory system, got more than its share. Cleverly, the phrase "death sentence" was coined to discredit this democratic legislation. It was coined by the high-pressure publicists of the Power Trust, not to protect investors but in a futile effort to maintain the Power Trust's profits and privileges, its control over other people's business and other people's lives. But it was used in vain.

The Holding Company Act remains on the statutes, and the Securities and Exchange Commission proceeds with its great work of protecting the investing public. We stand on the

record—a record no amount of partisan charges and deliberate falsification can discredit. I am proud of the part I played in this legislation, and proud of those who voted with me to make it a part of this administration's great reforms.

LABOR'S RIGHTS WRITTEN INTO LAW

While it had been visioned and discussed for many years, the right—not just the privilege—of labor to the principle of collective bargaining, became organic law under the present administration, in what the organized worker prefers to call labor's magna carta, the National Labor Relations Act.

It was the able senior Senator from the State of New York, Hon. ROBERT F. WAGNER, who conceived and sponsored the law through Congress, and who has been its constant and devoted friend through all of the vissicitudes that have accompanied the effort to place it in effective operation.

The Wagner Act has withstood the concerted attack of organized forces who opposed its passage, persistently fought against its efficient application to modern business conditions, and have not ceased opposition, though its constitutionality has been finally established by the United States Supreme Court.

Only the most rabid partisan will deny that the cause of labor has advanced more during the past 7 years than in any previous seven generations. Labor conceded the friendly cooperation of government and will strive with its friends to consolidate these gains.

President Roosevelt puts these truths into vital language in his speech to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, when he said:

> In those same 7 years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence, and in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman, and of society in general, than at any other time in our history. Much of this progress has been due to one thing which this administration from the very beginning has insisted upon—the assurance to labor—of the untrammeled right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly imbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all times. * * *
>
> The principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole, but also of hundreds of thousands of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. A decade ago a minority of employers were willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; today the majority of employers gladly adopt it. * * *
>
> That kind of opposition (to the Wagner Act) comes only too often from those who regularly for 3 years and 8 months block labor's welfare, and then for 4 months loudly proclaim they are labor's true friend—from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.

Again let us examine the record of achievement. The National Labor Relations Act was signed and became law on July 5, 1935. Its purpose was:

First. The prevention of unfair labor practices.

Second. The determination of the desire of employees as to their choice of collective-bargaining representatives.

Now those seem like common goals, to which every patriotic American could subscribe. But the act went further, and specifically outlawed certain practices of unscrupulous employers who were wedded to the policy of oppression, rather than fair play. It forbade:

First. Employer interference with the right of employee self-organization.

Second. Employer domination or participation in administration of a labor organization.

Third. Employer discrimination aimed at discouraging membership in a labor organization.

Fourth. Refusal to bargain with representatives of a majority of employees.

Fifth. Discrimination against employee for testifying under the act.

The National Labor Board, created under the act, was soon attacked by industrial leaders under the direction of the National Manufacturers Association. They organized their own unofficial but powerful supreme court of legal opinion. Fifty-eight of the Nation's most prominent lawyers were enlisted to write a brief declaring the N. L. R. B. unconstitutional. In consequence, persons wishing to avoid the new law took heart; more than 100 injunctions to block enforcement of the act were started. This period of uncertainty—greatly hampering the effective operation of the Board—came to an end in April 1937, when the United States Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Hughes, handed down the now famous decision in the Jones & Laughlin steel case.

Thus fortified by the highest court in the land, the National Labor Relations Board addressed itself to the difficult task of enforcement. As of July 1, 1940, the Labor Board has handled 28,661 cases involving 6,233,319 workers. Of these cases, 25,608, or 92 percent, were disposed of without a formal board order.

First. Twelve thousand three hundred and nine cases, or 48 percent of the total, were closed by agreement between both parties. These involved 2,000,000 workers.

Second. Four thousand three hundred and thirty-one cases (17 percent) were dismissed; workers involved, 1,145,000.

Third. Six thousand nine hundred and seventy cases were withdrawn; these affected 1,300,000 workers.

The remaining 1,998 cases (8 percent), with 684,000 workers involved, were settled in one of the following ways:

(a) Compliance with Board order or trial examiner's report;

(b) Certification after election;

(c) Intermediate report of "No violation";

(d) Cease-and-desist orders and cases.

Since the Board began, 3,257 supervised elections have been held (1,184,781 valid votes cast); 2,806 strikes have been handled and 75 percent of them successfully settled; 849 threatened strikes, involving 195,565 workers, have been averted.

During the early days of the Labor Board, the C. I. O. was formed, presenting difficult problems calling for firm impartiality and fairness. A comparison of the Board's treatment of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. cases shows that from October 1, 1935, to January 30, 1939, the average number of days required between filing and closing a case is 43 days for the A. F. of L.; 50 days for the C. I. O. Figures available for 1935–39 show that 51.6 percent of A. F. of L. cases and 51.1 percent of C. I. O. cases were settled prior to formal action. The basic rule of industrial relations is that strike activity follows the industrial level. However, this is repudiated under the Labor Board's administration as shown by comparing two periods of comparable industrial activity, namely, 1936–37 and 1939–40. The Federal Reserve production index registered approximately the same for both periods. In spite of this, the number of strikes has dropped from 3,840 to 2,147, or 44 percent. The number of workers affected dropped 63.2 percent; the man-days idle, which is, after all, the best index of loss, dropped 66.4 percent. These few figures bear adequate witness to the effective administration of labor settlements under the N. L. R. B.

Those are some of the essential facts, and all of the distortion and biased argument of the Wagner Act foes cannot hide the truth. The act has worked, and the preliminary experience derived from the inauguration and administration of labor's magna carta can only serve to make it a more effective agency for the procurement of economic justice.

Time and again the bitter partisan opponents of the Wagner Act have been challenged to answer the question, "Would you wipe it off the statute books if you regain power?" Not once has it been answered affirmatively. Instead they resort to flimsy charges of maladministration in operation, and in personal abuse of board members. The honest answer is that organized labor would bury any party that would restore the worker to "horse and buggy" days of servitude. Business, labor, and Government have been the beneficiaries of this humanitarian legislation.

While there has been much indiscriminate talk about how the courts have overruled the National Labor Relations Board, the abundant truth, showing that such is not the case, reposes in the official records. Indeed, N. L. R. B. can be justly proud of the way in which its rulings and decisions have been both sustained and affirmed by impartial opinion.

For those who would question this finding, and would like to scan the figures to support it, here is what the files actually show, reduced to a numerical record:

ACTIVITIES: OCTOBER 1935 TO JULY 1, 1940

Cases handled: 28,661 cases involving 6,233,319 workers.
Disposition of 25,608 cases closed:
48 percent closed by agreement of parties.
17 percent dismissed.
27 percent withdrawn.
8 percent closed by compliance with Board decisions, etc.

100 percent

Disposition of cases involving strikes: 75 percent of more than 2,800 cases involving strikes were settled; 849 threatened strikes involving 195,000 workers were averted.

Elections to determine collective bargaining units: N. L. R. B. has conducted 3,250 elections casting 1,190,000 valid votes or 90 percent of eligible voters. (This is 30 percent higher average than in national political elections.)

Court review: 123 Board orders reviewed by United States Circuit Courts of Appeals, 100 enforced in full or with modifications, and 23 Board orders denied. In 348 other cases the court lent their approval of Board orders by the issuance of consent decrees.

Collective-bargaining agreements: Iron and steel: Over 600 written agreements affecting 550,000 workers (over 100 renewals). Largest: United States Steel Corporation, Carnegie, Ill.; Allegheny-Ludlum Steel; Jones & Laughlin Steel; Crucible Steel.

Automobile: Over 600 agreements affecting 400,000 workers. (General Motors renewed recently; affects 130,000 workers.)

Electrical manufacturing: General Electric, Radio Corporation of America, Allis Chalmers; total, 150,000 workers.

Rubber: Over 70 agreements affecting 45,000 workers. Covers largest companies excluding Goodrich.

Others: American Viscose Co., Anaconda Copper, American Smelting & Refining, Sinclair Oil, Shell Petroleum, Cities Service, Standard Oil, Mid-Continent Petroleum, Boeing Aircraft, Consolidated Aircraft Corporation, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, International Harvester, Armour & Co., Cudahy Packing Co., Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co.

Summary: 1. Since 1936–37 fiscal year total strikes have declined 44 percent; number of workers involved, declined 63 percent; man-hours of idleness, declined 66 percent.

2. Membership in trade unions has risen from 3,000,000 (1933) to 9,000,000 (1940). Result: Increased stability in industrial relations.

The personalities and the policies of those who administer the Wagner Act will always be subjected to criticism. Even when that criticism is justified it cannot detract from the virtues of the basic law. For more than 100 years labor sought in vain for the legal recognition of its rights, but they were ignored until the Wagner Act was placed on the statute books. A decade or two from now this legislation will be regarded as one of the historic acts of the National Congress and no legislator who cast his vote in its favor can entirely be denied a claim to statesmanship.

WAGE AND HOUR LAW

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 was passed to eliminate labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standards of living necessary for health, efficiency, and well-being of workers and the elimination of oppressive child labor.

The act establishes minimum wage rates and maximum hours for those employed in interstate commerce or in the production of goods for interstate commerce. It is estimated that 12,300,000 workers are so employed.

The act went into effect October 24, 1938. It created a Wage and Hour Division in the Department of Labor, headed by an Administrator and assigned the child-labor enforcement to the Chief of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

The minimum wage was fixed by statute at 25 cents for the first year of the act, 30 cents for the next 6 years, and 40 cents an hour thereafter, unless it can be shown for an industry by a preponderance of evidence, before an industry committee and the Administrator, that such a wage would substantially curtail employment in that industry. For the first year of the act the workweek was 44 hours, for the second 42 hours, beginning the third year and thereafter 40 hours. The 40-hour week goes into effect October 24, 1940.

To approach or reach the 40-cent minimum in the meantime without curtailing employment, industry committees were appointed to investigate economic and competitive conditions in an industry and recommend the minimum wage. Wage orders must be based on such recommendations. Up to September 16, 1940, 11 wage orders were issued, 10 of them in the textile and clothing industries, the other for the paper industry. These orders establishing minimum wage rates of 32½ cents to 40 cents an hour have increased the hourly wage rates of more than 500,000 workers. Orders affecting the largest number of workers were the textile wage order—cotton, silk, rayon—ordering payment of at least 32½ cents minimum, which increased the hourly wage rate of 175,000 workers, and the apparel wage order, setting a scale of minimum wage rates of 32½, 35 37½, and 40 cents an hour for 25 product classifications of the industry, which increased the hourly wage rate of about 200,000 workers.

The statutory 30-cent minimum increased the rate of 690,000 employees, including many who obtained further increases through wage orders. An extensive survey of the week of April 15, 1939, indicated that nearly 3,000,000 covered workers worked in excess of 40 hours. The figure would probably be well in excess of 3,000,000 workers had the survey been repeated in April 1940, as the Federal Reserve Board's index of production for April 1939 was 95, and for April 1940 was 111. Many of these workers in manufacturing industries were being paid time and a half after 40 hours before this custom was written into a Federal statute. It is estimated that more than 2,000,000 workers will have directly benefited by the act, either through increase in wage rate or shortening of hours, by October 24, 1940.

One hundred and eighty-four criminal actions were instituted for the Wage and Hour Division by the Department of Justice up to July 1, 1940. Seventy-seven of these have been closed. Fines imposed totaled $343,025, of which $200,675 has been paid. Four hundred and two civil actions have been brought to court by the Division's attorneys; 369 of these have been closed with decrees, consented to by the defendants, enjoining them from further violation of the act and from shipping in interstate commerce goods made in violation. Restitutions paid to employees totaled more than $2,000,000.

Criticism of this act again is largely confined to minor policies of administrators or to sniping where there is no public record of the snipes. No man in public life would dare challenge the principle of what we here have written into law. No matter what political fortunes await your future, you who had a part in this legislation have earned the gratitude and respect of millions of your fellow citizens by a permanent contribution to making democracy work.

The Walsh-Healey Act supplements our wage-hour law and requires Government contracts to be let on a basis of an 8-hour day and 40-hour week, at the standard rate of pay. It provides, however, for exceptions, and men and women can be employed at overtime rates without permission from anyone. This law has been attacked as a potential handicap to defense preparations—always with a perversion of its true provisions.

The Walsh-Healey Act merely holds the Government to stipulations which are written into most collective-bargaining agreements and should be written into all of them. Moderate provisions for overtime pay will not affect any defense efforts, and they will help preserve American standards. It is significant that the National Bureau of Economic Research shows that while hourly earnings were 19 percent higher in 1939 than in 1934, the actual labor cost per unit of product is 2 percent less than in 1934. Well-paid labor, working on a decent hourly basis, produces more than cheap labor per dollar spent—a fact it seems hard to impress on some reactionaries but one which today is recognized by this administration and the American people. The principles of collective bargaining, the principles which are written into the Fair Standards Act and the Walsh-Healey Act are here to stay.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

The Wagner Act was not, however, the only contribution of Congress to better labor standards in these recent years. The Railroad Retirement Board was established by the Railroad Retirement Act of 1935, amended in 1937 and cited as the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937. Unemployment insurance

was incorporated in the functions of the Board by the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act of June 25, 1938, amended in 1939.

The purpose of the Railroad Retirement Board is, as the name implies, the administration of a system of social insurance for old age, disability, and unemployment.

From the beginning of operations in 1936 to the end of the fiscal year 1939–40, 124,055 persons received employee annuities averaging $65.25 monthly, or a total of $211,289,811. Besides this, $97,036,043 was distributed among the following: 2,453 survivor annuitants, 4,607 death benefit annuitants, 29,393 lump-sum death beneficiaries, and 48,500 pensioners.

NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

The National Mediation Board was organized under the Railway Labor Act, June 21, 1934, to replace the United States Board of Mediation.

The National Mediation Board occupies the same position with respect to the Railway Labor Act of 1934, as the National Labor Relations Board occupies with respect to the National Labor Relations Act. The Mediation Board intervened in disputes between carriers—airlines as well as railroads—and their employees, enforcing fair standards and the rights of collective bargaining. At the same time the Mediation Board prevents tie-ups in transportation which might otherwise result from unsettled labor conditions in the industry.

Surveying the first 5 years' operation of the Mediation Board, one discovers that of the 1,190 cases presented, 1,101 have been successfully disposed of, leaving only 89 cases on hand. The number of workers involved in representation cases alone totals 325,266 for the period. In the major strike situation developing in 1938, the President appointed an emergency board, as provided in the Railway Labor Act, which decided in favor of the workers in the matter of a proposed reduction in wages by the railroads.

MARITIME LABOR BOARD

The Maritime Labor Board was created by authority of Title X, Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as amended June 23, 1938. Its purpose is to encourage collective bargaining in the industry and to assist in the orderly settlement of disputes through mediation.

Owing to the break-down of collective bargaining in the seamen's strike of 1921, labor relation in the maritime industry continued in an unsettled state from 1921 to 1933. The principle of collective bargaining was revived by the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933. The Government took specific notice of maritime labor problems through the National Longshoreman's Board in 1934, and the National Labor Relations Board in 1935. Establishment of the Maritime Labor Board in 1938, brought to bear on these special problems the full-time attention of an export agency.

Results are reflected in the decline of strikes from 147, with 1,181,413 man-days idle in 1937, to 51 with only 232,633—or one-sixth as many—man-days idle in 1939. The Maritime Labor Board is primarily a mediatory agency designed for the improvement of labor relations in the maritime industry. Figures available for September 1, 1938 to September 20, 1939, show that intervention by the Maritime Labor Board resulted in adjustment of 46 out of the 51 disputes in which it took an active part. Of 24 strike cases, 21 reached a satisfactory settlement.

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

One could not tell the story of this administration or of the Congress in which we have served since 1932 without devoting a good share of it to the measures to aid the underprivileged of this country during the days of depression and even now.

I already have spoken briefly on the subject. But I cannot let it pass with a few remarks. During the most tragic days of 1933, few had the courage to oppose the efforts we made to save desperate people from starvation, keep up their courage, and preserve their faith. But in ensuing years, as recovery gained, many small-minded and despicable souls began to jibe at those forced to take Government jobs to eke out their existence.

Jokes about shovel-leaners drew a few laughs from the more fortunate. The inevitable waste of money, in the sense that it was spent hurriedly on unimportant jobs, drew cries of unfair criticism. Officials who directed this great humanitarian task were pilloried, as the people they salvaged were calumniated. I say to you that there is no prouder chapter in this Nation's history than has been written into the legislative acts on relief and those providing work for people forced to accept relief, granting relief to needy employable persons in a manner that enabled them to retain their self-respect.

Probably no single executive and legislative act in the history of the United States more closely illustrates the concern of this administration for distressed humanity than that creating the Works Progress Administration; nor can its community value in civic projects and betterments be estimated in dollars or in jobs alone. Almost every city, town, and hamlet on the face of America has some substantial evidence of its benefits, with buildings, roads, airports, bridges and viaducts, public-utility plants, schools and activities for improved health initiated under the W. P. A.

The Works Progress Administration came into existence on July 1, 1935. Its stated objective was to provide jobs on useful public works for the unemployed, and, notwithstanding the subtle campaign of its foes to belittle and ridicule this dignified helping hand of Uncle Sam, the results achieved constitute a magnificent record of accomplishment. Here let the record speak:

Outstanding projects of the program in the 4½ years ending December 31, 1939, include the construction or improvement of more than 457,000 miles or roads and streets; 55,534 new bridges and viaducts; 197 new airports and additions or improvements to 372; 23,000 new public buildings, of which 3,985 were schools; 1,470 new public-utility plants; 15,000 miles of new storm and sanitary sewer lines.

If the billions of dollars spent for relief seem like a staggering Government expenditure for the underprivileged, consider for a moment that the vast sum actually helped 7,800,000 different persons employed by W. P. A. during its 5 years of existence—and that this is only part of the story. This was practical help, and its dividends to the Government stretch across this broad country from coast to coast—structures in stone and steel and stucco that will endure long after the captious critics of humanitarianism in Government have faded into oblivion. The maximum employment was reached in November 1938, when 3,363,841 persons were on the rolls. The smallest employment, 1,448,411, was in September 1937. Employment in August 1940 was slightly above 1,700,000.

In the whole history of civilization no similar adventure in public betterment, nor any project of such magnitude involving public agencies has evolved into reality with such a minimum of valid criticism, and with little or no maladministraton. It is a shining tribute to the integrity and the honesty of conscientious administrators, and we who provided them with tools with which to work.

Under the first reorganization plan in June 1939 the venture was brought into the new Federal Works Agency and its name changed to the Work Projects Administration. The late Col. F. C. Harrington of the Corps of Engineers was assigned by the President as Commissioner of Work Projects.

W. P. A. projects are initiated by local public agencies, who are required to contribute a portion of the costs. Projects are approved by W. P. A. on the basis of operating feasibility, and social and economic usefulness. Unemployed persons are assigned to W. P. A. by local certifying agencies, who determine the applicant's need for such employment and his employability. Those enrolled are paid a security wage ranging from $31.20 to $94.90 per month, depending upon the degree of skill and cost of living at the place of residence.

When you roll along thousands of miles of new highways you are often cruising modern roads that the W. P. A. made possible. You may look from your car as your tour widens and see public libraries, recreational buildings, schools, armories, municipal centers, swimming pools, bridges, and underpasses that have come into being through W. P. A. Below the streets, as unseen but essential community assets, are such things as 18,000 miles of sanitary sewers and 12,000 miles of water mains and distribution lines for utilities bear-

ing the W. P. A. label. Under policies of public relief in the past these improvements would have been considered utopian dreams. It took both vision and courage and faith in the great American public to initiate and chart a new chapter in human experience and a glowing innovation in government and utilizing its functions in a period of economic emergency.

One of the strongest arguments for continuing W. P. A. is its adaptability to current needs and its ability to meet emergencies that have arisen through developments in this turbulent world. As an arm of the defense program it has proven indispensable, vital, and efficient.

"One hundred thousand men were employed on projects of a national-defense nature in June," Colonel Harrington reports. "We plan to have five or six times that many at work on preparedness projects by fall, and the defense accomplishments of W. P. A. in the single fiscal year just begun should approach the total of the 5 preceding years."

The W. P. A. program of preparedness has been expanded to employ half a million men. Over the last 5 years 12,000 military and naval buildings and 500 landing fields have been constructed or improved. These, and hundreds of other defense projects, represent an investment of $346,689,000 in Federal, State, and local funds from the inception of W. P. A. in July 1935 to June 1, 1940. They include 85 percent of all airport construction during the period and work on three-quarters of all Army posts.

There are 222 new armories and 36 additions, and the reconstruction or improvement of 356 represent major accomplishments of the defense building program. General buildings constructed or improved for the armed forces include 141 new garages and 533 improved or enlarged; 146 storage buildings and 1,523 improved or enlarged; 35 new administration buildings and 231 improved or enlarged; other new buildings, numbering 1,804, include barracks, quarters, mess halls, kitchens, and barns. In addition, 6,298 were improved or enlarged. On the grounds surrounding these and existing buildings W. P. A. has built, or repaired or improved, 828 miles of roads and 841 bridges and culverts.

Under the W. P. A. airport and airways program there has been constructed for the War and Navy Departments, Coast Guard, and National Guard, 14 landing fields, additions to 5, and improvements to 30. Runways total more than 40 miles in length. W. P. A. has also built 90 buildings, including hangars, improved 479, and made additions to 23.

The sum total in dollars that completed projects represent, and the living value in physical assets which every community shares, is an answer to those who would contend that W. P. A. budgets constitute merely an investment in benevolence. Uncle Sam has helped the needy, but his return has been both substantial and concrete. He has something to show for W. P. A., and so will future generations.

Not only the men breadwinners but women and children have been the beneficiaries of W. P. A. appropriations. Up to January 1, 1,010,000 lunches were served to children in 11,180 schools. And since the beginning of the program 222,000 garments and 68,000,000 other articles have been completed in W. P. A. sewing rooms for distribution to the unemployed.

Neither has W. P. A. neglected to assist communities in expanding and improving educational activities, health, and other public services. Art, music, and other cultural projects have been encouraged. For example, during a 2-week period in January 1940, there were more than 1,000,000 enrollees in the literacy, naturalization, vocational training, and other adult-education classes conducted by W. P. A. workers. More than 200,000 examinations and treatments were made in homes or in medical and dental clinics operated with W. P. A. assistance; 160,000 persons were enrolled in music-instruction classes conducted under W. P. A. auspices.

So the record speaks eloquently for all those who feel that government should have a heart and conscience, as well as the cold machinery of administration. This helping hand has relieved both misery and distress, while at the same time has expanded the purposes and facilities of government, with a more contented people among its intangible returns. The W. P. A. joke has been thrown into the cavern of revealed libels, and the persistent campaign to portray government as a perpetual Santa Claus to the underprivileged has gone the way of most proven fallacies.

In the cultural division W. P. A. has much to show for its appropriations. Among documents that attest help given writers are volumes on buildings survey, marine and historic records. In music it has fostered 22 symphony and 71 concert orchestras, 35 military bands, and 22 choral groups. The W. P. A. art program has allocated to tax-supported institutions or circulation exhibits, 1,400 murals, 50,000 paintings, 90,000 prints, and 3,700 sculptures.

What has W. P. A. done to reduce illiteracy? In 1900 there were 6,180,000 illiterates in the United States. In 1930 there were 4,238,753 illiterate adults, or an improvement of 30 percent in 30 years. Then W. P. A. addressed itself to the problem. In 1940 there are 2,983,753, or 30 percent less, after 5 years of W. P. A. instruction.

In child education, 44,190 children are enrolled in 1,494 nursery schools in the United States. Parent-education classes had 54,955 fathers and mothers of nursery-school children.

As for book education, in 1935 there were 40,000,000 people without library service. Now over 10,000,000 are served by W. P. A. library projects. There are 3,500 branch libraries and 4,500 reading rooms staffed by W. P. A. Books cataloged by W. P. A. number 27,500,000. Workers employed number 25,000. The W. P. A. operates 160 "bookmobiles," carrying library service for the first time into the rural areas of the country. The W. P. A. supplies 35,000 trained recreational leaders to 10,000 communities for planned recreational services. There are 30,000 W. P. A. teachers to provided needed educational services. Each week 1,600,000 Americans acquire useful training through W. P. A. classes.

The Research and Records Division of W. P. A. has compiled oceans of useful data, and the Writers' Division has to its credit 489 books, 28 State guides published, and 20 more coming.

Yes; it has cost the Government money. Yes; it was an experiment in practical relief as against a continuance of soup and bread lines. Yes; there has been some waste, and an occasional instance where some have tried to capitalize on the alleviation of misery.

But the net result and the sum total of accomplishment is something that Congress can point to with an honest and sincere pride. In the administration of all great governments, and in the history of all enterprises that try to progress, mistakes are made, both of the heart and hand. W. P. A. was an experiment that has evolved into the realm of stupendous and glorious achievement. Every Member of Congress, and the administration which conceived this help to the needy of America, has the satisfaction that comes with a deed well done. We could have said, "Let 'em eat cake." We preferred to say, "Let them have work." The work relief program has been a great factor during the past 8 years in preserving and strengthening the family life.

THE SAVINGS OF OUR PEOPLE

In the last few years a great deal has been heard about spending and very little about saving. It probably is true that Americans cannot quite be described as thrifty in the sense the term has been applied to some peoples, but they are beyond all doubt the world's greatest savers collectively. If we had not been a provident people in one sense, even our vast original resources would not have enabled us to spend on such a vast scale as a nation or as individuals.

The savings of most Americans are hard-earned. It is not a matter of pride for us to have to admit that for generations American savers had little protection. Millions suffered in minor panics in past years, but never to the extent they did after 1929 when their savings were literally wiped out of existence. There are few even here who were not at least threatened with the loss of the money that they had put aside for emergencies, and a good share of them lost all they had.

I need not recall in detail the desperate days before President Roosevelt closed the banks when he entered office in 1933.

But this time "something was done about the situation." One of the most significant acts in the history of this country was the establishment of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which insured the accounts of depositors up to $5,000 each. It restored the confidence of the American public in financial institutions. For those people who had seen their hard-earned savings swept away by a catastrophe over which they had no control, faith in men who had won and deserved their confidence in the past, or in institutions which had served communities for generations, no longer was enough. These people realized there were economic forces with which no man and no private institutions could cope. They placed their final reliance on the Federal Government alone, and thus the insurance of bank deposits played a vital part in renewing faith in the Nation's financial structure.

In 1934 Congress met the demand that the same protection be accorded investors in the Nation's thrift and home-financing institutions, long a traditional harbor for the savings of those of small and moderate means. It established the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation to extend to investors in savings and loan associations and similar institutions a protection similar to that given the depositors in commercial banks. The accounts in insured associations were safeguarded up to $5,000 each.

The result of these steps, for which you who served in Congress in 1933 and 1934 can take the credit, can be told in figures. In 1920 the American people had approximately $18,000,000,000 in banks, life-insurance companies, savings and loan associations, postal savings, and postal savings bonds. By 1929 that figure had risen to $44,000,000,000, and in 1930, before the financial crash had had its real effect, they reached a high of $46,000,000,000.

Then came the real depression. Savings went down to less than $40,000,000,000. No one knows what would have happened had this Congress not acted to insure savings. But today, only a few years after faith in our financial institutions was nearly destroyed, the American people's savings in institutions are estimated at $54,609,000,000—$37,000,000,000 above 1920 and more than $8,000,000,000 more than the once high mark of 1930. These savings are distributed about as follows:

Life-insurance companies	$23,350,000,000
Insured commercial banks	12,622,000,000
Mutual savings banks	10,480,000,000
Savings and loan associations	4,756,000,000
Postal savings	1,279,000,000
2½-percent postal savings bonds	117,673,000
United States savings bonds	2,208,000,000

During the 4 years just prior to this administration there were 6,035 bank suspensions in the United States. Since the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has been in existence, bank failures have averaged only 51 a year. When a member bank is forced to suspend business now, the F. D. I C. steps in and reorganizes it in order that as much as possible may be salvaged of its assets, or it liquidates it in the interest of its stockholders and depositors. These depositors have more than a guaranty of their savings. The supervision imposed by the F. D. I. C. and its requirements of reserves and conservative operation are bulwarks against mismanagement and loss.

Here are some significant figures on banks, their depositors, and the F. D. I. C.:

First. From 1921 through the banking holiday of 1933 there occurred more than 14,300 bank failures, an annual average for the period of more than 1,100 failures.

Second. These failures tied up about $7,500,000,000 of deposits; on the basis of available records and reliable estimates, nearly $2,000,000,000 of these deposits have never been recovered by depositors.

Third. Since inception of deposit insurance on January 1, 1934, bank failures have averaged only about 30 per year. Depositors in closed insured banks have been paid the full amount of their insured claims in cash on the average within 10 days after a bank's closing. Disbursements as of December 31, 1939, totaled $140,706,000.

Fourth. Of more than 1,150,000 depositors in closed or merged insured banks, fewer than 1,700 were not fully protected by Federal deposit insurance. These few received immediately the first $5,000 of their claims and will share in the proceeds of liquidation of the bank's assets for recoveries above that amount.

Fifth. Of 61,000,000 accounts in insured banks, 98.5 percent are fully protected by the $5,000 insurance limit. The average balance of the accounts fully protected is about $360.

Sixth. Resources of the Corporation now exceed $480,000,000; its income is now about $55,000,000 annually, derived about $45,000,000 from assessments and the balance from income on its investments. During no fiscal period of its existence has the Corporation failed to make sizable additions to surplus from its income, after caring for all deposit insurance losses and expenses and all administrative expenses.

Assets and deposits of insured banks increased by more than 50 percent during the 6 years of deposit insurance. Assets increased from $43,400,000,000 on June 30, 1934, to $63,100,000,000 on December 30, 1939.

The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation has operated in a similar manner to the F. D. I. C., and with the same results. The 2,600,000 typical Americans in the medium and lower income brackets who have a $2,000,000,000 investment in shares of insured savings and loan associations are protected by the fact that these institutions have had to meet high standards, both as to assets and operation. These institutions have accumulated reserves of $110,000,000, according to requirements of the Insurance Corporation, and undivided profits now amounting to $50,000,000—all designed to meet the problems of lean years and abnormal losses. Supervision of these institutions by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation gives an added protection, while the Corporation itself has $100,000,000 of capital stock and reserves which now have grown to almost $24,000,000. The F. S. L. I. C. has powers similar to those of the F. D. I. C. to assist insured institutions, to place them in proper liquidations, and to manage them or supervise their continued operation under new management.

No savers or investors whose funds are covered by the F. D. I. C. or the F. S. L. I. C. have ever lost a cent. The powers of these two Corporations to help distressed institutions before their difficulties become insoluble is as important in effect as the ultimate protection they give to investors. The knowledge that these Government instrumentalities stand back of insured institutions gives them stability and the confidence of depositors, investors, and the general public. For years runs on banks were tragic occurrences in our community life; they became disastrous in the harrowing days of the depression. Such incidents have faded from our national life. In the comparatively few cases where financial institutions have been closed, the procedure has been accomplished without any sign of panic on the part of the public. Faith in the Government, that cannot be reposed in individuals, has given us the answer to both a community and a national problem.

This legislation has played an important part in preserving and strengthening the family life of America, as well as our economic system based upon the legitimate exercise of individual initiative.

SAFEGUARDING THE NATION'S HOMES—THE FEDERAL HOME-LOAN-BANK SYSTEM

The protection of home ownership is inextricably bound up with protection of the Nation's savings.

Long before the last depression, leaders of the home-financing industry had realized that the Nation's home-lending agencies were isolated units, with no outside reserves upon which to call, even in normal periods; that there often was an excess of funds in one section of the country and yet a scarcity in others; and that there was a very real danger inherent in such a lack of organization of credit in times of emergency. The Federal Reserve System had been established in 1913, bringing a new order to commercial banking and providing new sources of credit for banking institutions; the creation of a land bank in New York in 1915 as a central credit agency for the savings and loan associations of that

State had demonstrated the feasibility of providing long-term credit for mortgage institutions. Leaders in the thrift and home-financing field, impressed by these successful operations, urged a national credit system that would meet their needs in a new day, but it was not until 1932—when the depression gripped the entire country—that legislation was passed by Congress establishing the Federal home loan bank system.

Closely following the pattern set up for commercial banks in the inauguration of the Federal Reserve System, 12 strategically located Federal home-loan banks were organized, each to serve member home-financing institutions in its area. To establish these banks the United States Treasury was authorized to invest $125,000,000 in their capital stocks; other funds were to be realized from the purchase of stock by member institutions of the system and the issuance of debentures by the banks.

It was hoped at that time that the creation of credits would enable harassed institutions to meet their problems. It also was provided that loans could be made to individuals so that distressed home owners would escape the threat of foreclosure that then was hovering over the entire country. But the bank system was established too late to meet the crisis that was upon us at that time. The foreclosure situation had become so desperate that more than a credit reserve was necessary, and in 1933 the Home Owners' Loan Corporation was established to meet the emergency.

I shall tell later the story of that agency and the magnificent accomplishments of the Federal Housing Administration, another great Government instrumentality directed toward a broader home ownership, but first I shall complete the story of what became of the bank system. Helpless as it was in 1932, it was made to function by this administration through the creation of the H. O. L. C., and later the confidence inspired through the act creating the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, which began to insure institutions in the system. Once the H. O. L. C. had taken over a great share of the burden of defaulted mortgages from frozen institutions, the bank system began to draw into a gigantic network the Nation's thrift and home-financing agencies.

Today, that system embraces nearly 4,000 locally owned and locally directed home-financing institutions specializing in home finance, including savings, building and loan associations, cooperative banks, homestead associations, insurance companies, and mutual-savings banks. Their combined assets total more than $4,800,000,000. There is now available to these member institutions a national reservoir of funds from which they can borrow to meet either normal or extraordinary needs. Any one of the banks which is temporarily unable to comply with all the demands for credit which may be made upon it by its own community can call upon other banks with an abundance of funds.

Since the establishment of the bank system in 1932, its 12 regional banks have advanced a total of $630,000,000 to their member institutions for use in the financing of the Nation's homes. More than $23,000,000 was advanced in the month of June alone, and advances outstanding on the last day of that month aggregated $157,000,000. These figures merely illustrate the use of the credit reservoir which has been created for the institutions of the Nation's home-mortgage banking structure; additional funds are available from a vast reserve for any volume of home financing the future may bring.

At the time of the establishment of the bank system nearly one-half of the 3,000 counties in the United States were without adequate home-financing facilities. To correct this situation, Congress authorized the chartering by the Federal Government of locally owned, locally managed institutions to be known as Federal savings and loan associations. They were modeled after the most progressive of existing State-chartered institutions, and were required to adopt the most progressive and economical practices in their dealings with borrowers and investors. Some 650 new institutions were established—only in communities that were not already adequately served by home-financing agencies—and some 750 existing institutions were authorized, at their own request, to convert to Federal charter. At the present time, these 1,429 Federal savings and loan associations hold private-share investments of $1,268,000,000, an increase of nearly 28 percent during the last year alone and of 63 percent over a period of only 2 years.

The great bulk of the institutions that have membership in the bank system, however, are state-chartered savings and loan associations. There are nearly 2,500 such member institutions operating in all parts of the country. The linking of both state-chartered and Federal-chartered institutions into the largest home mortgage credit reservoir in the world certainly can be regarded as one of the soundest programs to serve the American public which has been evolved in the country's history.

The Federal home-loan banks on October 15 will celebrate their eighth anniversary. They have reached a point where we can appreciate their accomplishments and the progress they have made toward their ultimate goal of providing American home seekers with the facilities of obtaining homes within their means.

The member institutions of the bank system in 1939 loaned approximately a billion dollars for the financing of homes; at least $640,000,000 of that amount went for new construction and the purchase of homes; an additional $60,000,000 was loaned for reconditioning, repair, and modernization. In the first seven months of 1940, the same institutions loaned $451,000,000 for construction and purchase, $36,000,000 for improvement of homes.

There is no reason this program should be retarded. Indeed, the functioning of the bank system should contribute significantly to the housing program that must be an integral part of national defense. While a part of that housing may be temporary, where short-time accommodations are needed, and while a part of it necessarily may be subsidized, to house workers near a power plant or shipyard—the rehabilitation of existing structures and the building of new homes by private industry should be the task of private institutions. There is no excuse for the construction of ramshackle, temporary "war villages" when private operators can function economically and where they will put their shoulders to the wheel.

Here the bank system should prove its worth. Its 4,000 member institutions serve every part of the country. Here is where a Government instrumentality and private industry can offer the kind of a teamwork a democracy should produce.

The Congress of 1932 deserves all the credit in the world for seeking, through the passage of the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, to meet a great problem. I for one am proud to say that I had a part in that legislation, but it was those who served after 1932 who get all the credit for making this system work. So most of you here have had a major part in the program.

This legislation has been an important factor in preserving and strengthening the family life of America.

HOME OWNERS' LOAN CORPORATION

And to those who served in 1933, I give tribute for one of the most significant pieces of legislation that ever has been enacted by any Congress—the creation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.

It is difficult to realize that only 8 years have passed since this country was in the grip of such a panic as forced the establishment of the H. O. L. C. Foreclosures were then running at the rate of 1,000 a day. Property values seemed nonexistent as the real-estate market went into almost complete collapse. There was no source of credit for the home owner; those to whom he looked for aid were being themselves forced to foreclose on what they knew were good loans by any reasonable standard, as they tried to meet the demands of investors. Institutions, as well as their borrowers, were in the most desperate plight they had ever faced.

Congress charged the H. O. L. C. with the responsibility of salvaging not only hundreds of thousands of citizens threatened with the loss of their homes, but the mortgage holders of

the Nation. It was a task without a precedent. Wherever the H. O. L. C. opened an office, long lines of desperate people sought aid. Into 3,000 counties of the United States went agents of this new Government agency in an effort to bring relief to victims of a crisis for which they could not be blamed and which they had no power to avert. In 3 brief years the H. O. L. C. made more than 1,000,000 loans, amounting to more than $3,000,000,000—with the average borrower more than 2 years delinquent in both principal and interest, between 2 and 3 years in arrears on taxes, and utterly without private credit.

The Corporation saved its borrowers $200,000,000 in concessions it was able to obtain for them from mortgage holders at the time of refinancing. It directed the spending of $78,000,000 for repairs which made their homes better investments and sounder security, including the expenditures in their loans. And it paid $229,000,000 to wipe out delinquent taxes. It is estimated that H. O. L. C. borrowers to date have saved $400,000,000 in interest alone—the difference between the amount they have paid under their H. O. L. C. rate and the higher rates which they had been paying on first, second, and third mortgages under their previous contracts.

Today nearly 80,000 H. O. L. C. borrowers, all threatened with foreclosures at the time the Corporation stepped into the picture, have paid in $188,000,000 to settle their accounts in full. Of the 765,000 other original borrowers still remaining on the Corporation's books, nearly 85 percent are clearly on their way to debt-free home ownership. In all, borrowers have paid back $800,000,000, or about 25 percent of their entire principal indebtedness. Collections are averaging almost a million dollars in principal and interest every working day.

The accomplishments of the Corporation have not been confined to the relief it extended to its own borrowers. Roughly, $2,750,000,000 of the $3,093,000,000 that the Corporation loaned prior to the close of its lending period June 12, 1936, was disbursed in exchange for defaulted mortgages, the balance going to taxes, reconditioning, loan costs. Of this $2,750,000,000, the sum of $932,400,000 went for the refinancing of defaulted mortgages held by banks and trust companies, $767,900,000 was disbursed to savings and loan associations, $192,000,000 to finance and mortgage companies, and $164,600,000 to insurance companies. These institutions were thus made more liquid and enabled both to show greater leniency to other distressed home owners and to be more liberal in releasing funds to their investors. The rest of the $2,700,000,000 that was exchanged for defaulted mortgages went to individuals and estates, keeping them, too, from adding to the avalanche of foreclosures. The Corporation has since advanced some $150,000,000 to its original borrowers, largely to meet taxes and other assessments which they found themselves unable to pay.

The H. O. L. C. made a vital contribution toward the reformation of the entire mortgage structure of the Nation. Its 15-year 5-percent amortized mortgage revolutionized the home-mortgage field. It not only swept away the old and burdensome second and third mortgages of H. O. L. C. borrowers, but helped abolish such mortgages from the American home-financing picture. The old short-term mortgage loan—renewable only at high fees and which the average borrower rarely ever paid off—also rapidly is being discarded. The low interest, long-term loan now is a recognized part of home financing in this country.

There have been H. O. L. C. foreclosures, of course. The corporation has been forced to acquire between 16 and 17 percent of the homes on which it refinanced mortgages. This was inevitable when you realize that the average H. O. L. C. borrower, when refinanced, was 2 years delinquent in both principal and interest, in arrears 2 or 3 years on taxes, and utterly without private credit. The story of the H. O. L. C. is not of the minority who failed to rehabilitate themselves despite all the aid that could be extended, but of those courageous people who courageously are on their way to debt-free ownership of their homes.

This Congress last year made one last effort on behalf of H. O. L. C. borrowers who were in difficulty. Through the Mead-Barry Act it gave the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which supervises the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, permission to extend the amortization of borrowers from 15 to 25 years. At the same time, the Board itself reduced the H. O. L. C. interest rate from 5 to 4½ percent. More than 290,000 borrowers have had their accounts extended in the hope that they will be enabled to better meet their responsibilities. While we recognize the hardships these borrowers are trying to overcome and willingly give them such assistance as is possible, we can take pleasure in the fact that the vast majority of H. O. L. C. borrowers have recovered to a point where they have not even taken advantage of the aid offered under the Mead-Barry Act.

The record of H. O. L. C. borrowers is a proud one, a heartening proof of the courage and faith of American home owners. We in Congress can indeed be proud of our part in restoring that faith and in paving the way for a broader, safer, and more economical home ownership in the future.

This legislation has played an important part in preserving and strengthening our family life.

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

The Federal Housing Administration was established by Congress on June 27, 1934, following the passage of the National Housing Act.

The Federal Housing Administration does not lend money and does not build homes. It is an insurance agency which protects banks, building and loan associations, life-insurance companies, mortgage companies, and other qualified lending institutions against loss on loans made to individuals or companies for the construction or purchase of residential structures or the repair and improvement of homes and other types of buildings.

Through the mechanism of its loan insurance, the F. H. A. is able to exert an important influence on the entire building, financing, and real-estate structure. In addition to modernizing the form of home-mortgage financing, the F. H. A. has raised the standards of home construction, design, durability, and neighborhood location. The result has been better housing for hundreds of thousands of American families, better neighborhood planning for American communities, and better investment opportunities for American lending institutions.

Since 1934 more than a half-million families have been able to build or finance homes under the F. H. A. plan. F. H. A. insurance on small-home mortgages now amounts to nearly $2,500,000,000. In addition, more than 2,500,000 home, farm, and business property owners have improved and repaired their properties through F. H. A. insured modernization loans aggregating well over $1,000,000,000.

The F. H. A. program has also played a vital role in the substantial recovery in new residential construction that has occurred since 1934. In that year, home construction in the United States amounted to only 55,000 nonfarm dwelling units. In 1939 the total was estimated at 465,000 units. Almost 12,500 lending institutions are approved to operate under the F. H. A. plan, and a large proportion of the home financing of the country is insured by the F. H. A.

The benefits of the resulting F. H. A. home mortgage insurance program apply equally to borrowers, lenders, and builders. Of outstanding importance is the fact that F. H. A. insurance of mortgages is a national rather than a local affair. F. H. A. standards, procedures, and fees are applied uniformly throughout the country. Residential loans have been standardized on the most favorable terms in our history. Interest rates have been reduced and made uniform in all sections of the country. F. H. A. property and locational standards have been developed and applied on a Nation-wide scale.

For the home owner, two great advantages of the F. H. A. plan are the small initial down payments required for the purchase of a home and the provision for equal monthly payments against interest and principal, which frequently permit the purchase of a new home for less than would be spent for the rent of an inferior dwelling. Most families receiving their incomes in weekly or monthly payments find it difficult to accumulate large sums of money at any one time.

In general, however, they are well able to make a reasonable down payment on a home and to carry monthly payments on a long-term mortgage. For homes purchased under the F. H. A. plan, the average monthly payment for interest, amortization of principal, and F. H. A. mortgage insurance is well below $30 per family.

Two plans for home ownership are offered by the Federal Housing Administration. These are the mortgage insurance plan for loans up to $16,000 under title II of the National Housing Act and the Title I insurance plan for loans of not more than $2,500 on new small homes.

Mortgage loans insured under title II may be applied to either new or existing homes. A title II mortgage may not exceed 80 percent of the property valuation, except for loans of not more than $5,400 on new single-family owner-occupied homes constructed under F. H. A. inspection. In such cases the loan may represent as much as 90 percent of the property value. All F. H. A. insured loans must be fully amortized in 20 or sometimes 25 years. No loan may bear more than 4½ percent under present F. H. A. regulations, with an additional one-half of 1 percent annual mortgage insurance premium.

The title I modernization loans of more than $1,000,000,000 which have been insured by the F. H. A. thus far have been used to finance installations of new plumbing and heating equipment, painting and decoration, modernization of store fronts, new roofing, construction of barns and other farm buildings, and numerous other types of work.

The F. H. A. also insures mortgage loans ranging up to $5,000,000,000 made to limited dividend corporations on large-scale housing projects composed of apartments for rent or groups of houses for sale or rent. Insurance under this phase of the program now amounts to well over $100,000,000, with more than 30,000 dwelling units having been constructed.

The F. H. A. program operates on a sound financial basis. Charges against the mortgage insurance funds, established under Title II of the National Housing Act, have been negligible. Additions are made to these funds each year in order to assure an ample reserve against possible future losses incurred through the acquisition and sale of properties. Insurance premiums collected on title I loans are now meeting a large part of the cost of this phase of the program.

During the next fiscal year, the F. H. A. will be entirely self-supporting. Income from appraisal fees, insurance premiums, and other sources will be sufficient not only to pay the estimated operating expenses but also to add substantially to the F. H. A. insurance reserves. Meanwhile, home ownership is being brought to thousands of families who would have found it impossible except through some kind of a "new deal."

This legislation has played an important part in preserving and strengthening our family life.

FEDERAL NATIONAL MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION

The Federal National Mortgage Association, originally the National Mortgage Association of Washington, was established on February 10, 1938, to aid in extending the F. H. A. plan of financing residential and rental housing project building to all sections of the country. The Association has a paid-in capital of $10,000,000 and a paid-in surplus of $1,000,000. Its capital stock is owned by the R. F. C.

The Association aids in such program (a) through the establishment of a market for first mortgages covering properties upon which are located newly constructed houses or housing projects; (b) by facilitating the construction and financing of economically sound rental housing projects; and (c) by making available to individual and institutional investors, notes, bonds, or other such obligations issued by the Association.

The Association, as of June 30, 1940, had authorized the purchase of 46,773 mortgages on homes insured under section 203 of title II of the Housing Act, aggregating $189,602,096. Of this number, it had purchased 46,760 mortgages aggregating $176,416,450, including 10,592 mortgages aggregating $40,509,731 from The RFC Mortgage Company.

This legislation has had a beneficial effect upon the family life of America.

UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY

In 1937 Congress created U. S. H. A. and assigned to it two big jobs: To clear the country's slums, and to provide decent homes for its low-income families. It was the further intention of Congress that these activities should speed up industry and provide work for idle capital and labor.

U. S. H. A.'s activities in the program were limited by law to lending money and supplying advice and technical assistance. The actual planning, construction, and operation of projects was to be done by local agencies. Today there are 497 local housing authorities representing towns, cities, and counties. Their members, usually 5, are unpaid, and represent varied political, social, religious, and business interests. Real estate men, doctors, clergymen, businessmen, and labor leaders pool their energy and experience as members of local housing authorities.

Today, under the U. S. H. A.-local authority system, slums are being cleared, homes are being built for families of low income, and industry, capital, and labor are responding as Congress wished.

U. S. H. A. has entered into loan contracts with local housing authorities for 458 low-rent projects providing 152,511 homes. These communities are in 210 localities in 38 States, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. Homes now under construction or completed total 97,809; 19,263 are ready for occupancy.

For each new U. S. H. A. home built, a slum house must be destroyed. To date, the total number of slum shacks demolished is 34,199. Altogether our program is providing 160,000 sturdy, comfortable homes, and eliminating 160,000 dangerous slum shacks.

Into the construction of the new homes is going about $280,000,000 worth of building material and some 600,000,000 man-hours of labor at prevailing wage rates. Private industry is building the new homes, and private capital, buying both short- and long-term local-authority obligations, is investing an ever-increasing amount of money in them.

Rents per dwelling are low. The average range from $6.32 to $17.86 a month without utilities. The average for the whole program is $12.46.

Only low-income families living in substantial dwellings are accepted as tenants. The average income of tenant families ranges from as low as $442 a year in southern industrial communities to $1,110 in northern industrial communities. The average for the Nation is $759.

Net construction cost per U. S. H. A. dwelling, including plumbing, heating, and electrical installation, averages $2,714, more than 20 percent below privately constructed homes in the same locality. Average over-all cost for house, land, site improvements, architectural fees, and all overhead is $4,321.

The net cost of the U. S. H. A. program to the Federal Government is low. All loans are repaid with interest. Aside from the administrative cost of U. S. H. A., the only cost to the Government is the annual subsidy. The maximum or gross annual subsidy authorized at present is $28,000,000, but operating economies and interest savings will reduce this to a net of about $13,400,000. The actual costs to the Government for each family rehoused is 20 cents a day, or less than $75 a year.

Because of an insistent demand for low-rent farm housing, U. S. H. A. recently started a rural program. Six projects, to provide about 1,300 individual farm homes, have been approved. Each house will be of frame construction on a 1-acre tract of land donated by the prospective tenant. It will rent for about $50 a year. The average net construction cost is estimated to be about $1,537. The first family to occupy a U. S. H. A. farm home will take up their new quarters August 30. The family is from Thomas County, Ga.

Since the passing of legislation, June 28, permitting U. S. H. A. to build or help build defense housing projects, 25 have been approved. They will provide homes for the families of 8,136 defense workers. An additional 8 projects have been proposed. Production time on defense projects has been stepped up to meet emergency demands. Projects approved on July 25 will be ready for tenants in less than 5 months.

The time from groundbreaking to occupancy will be about 120 days.

This legislation has played an important part in strengthening the family life of America.

PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM

When the National Industrial Recovery Act was passed June 16, 1933, it marked the first major step of this administration to bring recovery through aid to the sick industries of the country. At the time it was enacted factories producing durable goods were employing only 44 percent as many men as in 1929; lumber mills about 45 percent, cement mills 44 percent, and steel mills 54 percent. There was no hope that the 6,500,000 skilled workmen who were employed in the great construction boom from 1922 to 1929 could be employed on a public works program, but it was hoped that such a program might stimulate industry to the point where it could take up the slack.

The National Industrial Recovery Administration was declared invalid by the courts, but before it was outlawed it had stimulated a revival of buying and wide-spread employment throughout all industry. The public-works program, which originally was a part of this act, was undertaken in three major divisions:

First. Projects by State and local authorities, or other than the Federal Government.

Second. Projects conducted directly by regular agencies of the Federal Government.

Third. Loans to industries on commercial basis for such projects as the development and improvement of railroads and other private construction work.

Since its establishment in 1933, funds have been provided by appropriations and authorizations by Congress to aid in the financing of approximately a $6,000,000,000 public-works program. Through its systems of loans repayable at 4-percent interest, and its grants, not to exceed 45 percent of the total cost, P. W. A. has aided thousands of communities, from great metropolitan areas to the smallest of cross-road hamlets, to build useful and enduring projects such as schools, hospitals, waterworks, sewer systems, power plants, transmission lines, libraries, playgrounds, public buildings, highways, roads, streets, viaducts, bridges, street lighting—almost every conceivable form of public works. Large allotments also were made to the Army, Navy, and Coast Guard Establishments for national-defense purposes and to virtually every other Federal department or agency for the general welfare of the country. The principal loans direct to industry were for railroad construction and improvement.

There follows a summary, as of July 1, 1940, of P. W. A.'s Federal and non-Federal programs:

	Non-Federal program	Federal program	Total
Number of projects	16,640	17,821	34,461
Loan	$819,005,472		$819,005,472
Grant	1,509,730,461	$1,778,039,972	3,287,770,433
Total allotment	2,328,735,933	1,778,039,972	4,106,775,905
Applicants' funds [1]	1,896,627,781		1,896,627,781
Total cost	4,225,363,714	1,778,039,972	6,003,403,686

[1]Excluding Federal loans.

P. W. A. has provided 2,063,000,000 man-hours of employment at construction sites and 5,157,500,000 man-hours for workers in the production, manufacture, fabrication, and transportation of construction materials and supplies. These figures do not include supervisory and administrative forces of the P. W. A. or the sponsors of the project, nor engineers, architects, draftsmen, clerks, and other office employment working on the details of P. W. A. projects in private offices, nor secondary indirect labor necessary in supplying the added demand for consumers' goods and services.

Moreover, it has been estimated that for every 2 hours of employment on actual projects, 5 hours of employment has resulted in factories, industrial plants, mills, and on transportation. The men employed on public-works projects have worked not for the Government, but for private enterprise at prevailing wages.

It would be difficult to estimate the value to the Nation of the roads, streets, and grade crossing elimination projects carried on by the P. W. A. at a cost of about half a billion dollars; of the bridges and viaducts, wharves, piers and docks, subways and tunnels which accounted for another half a billion dollars. It would be difficult to estimate the value to communities of the 5,000 projects, costing approximately a billion dollars, devoted to sewage-disposal plants, sewer mains, water plants, reservoirs, and mains. Or the 11,072 high-school and elementary-school buildings, including gymnasiums and auditoriums; 1,315 college and university buildings; public libraries, municipal auditoriums, court houses, hospitals, penal and social institutions.

We do know that these projects helped build America, that they were launched with an original appropriation of $3,300,000,000 at a time when industry was prostrate, and that in their wake came national recovery.

It is significant that when an aroused and public-spirited House of Representatives, as soon as it came under Democratic leadership, tried to inaugurate a public-works program before this administration took office, it was defeated by a reactionary Republican Senate and the influence of Mr. Hoover in the White House. The Garner-Rainey bill in 1932 would have provided for the expenditure of $2,000,000,000 on public works. It was passed in the House with a Democratic majority, only to die in the Republican Senate.

BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

If the day ever comes when this civilization is judged by only a few standing walls, future archaeologists at least will not spend their time on pyramids. When they gaze upon the ruins, if you will, of Boulder Dam and the Grand Coulee and Shasta, they at least will know it was a virile and courageous and visionary civilization which existed in the twentieth century.

However, I am content to pass over the verdict of historians with that remark and take more pleasure in the anticipation of the judgment of our sons and daughters, their children, and their children's children. It is putting a great deal of historic accomplishments in prosaic words just to recite the report of one Government agency, but the record will speak for itself:

The engineering work of the Bureau of Reclamation has brought water power and light to western areas with a population of four and a half million people.

One million farmers and townspeople gain their livelihood from federally irrigated land. Another three and a half million get more than half their power and light needs from low-cost hydroelectric developments as a byproduct.

Completion of the Bureau of Reclamation's current constructions program will double the number of people benefited—serving areas with a population exceeding 9,000,000.

True, this is the result of 38 years of work under the reclamation law of June 17, 1902, which was sponsored by President Theodore Roosevelt to bring about a permanent, beneficial development of the West. But you of this Congress are responsible for the expansion of reclamation beyond even Teddy's greatest dreams. It is a coincidence indeed that his cousin should have been the one whose imagination conceived and whose vigor and leadership brought to reality the work of reclamation today.

For the past 8 years the Bureau of Reclamation has shown tremendous activity. Its construction program for the past 6 years has consistently been the largest in its history. As a result, the Bureau has quadrupled its water-reservoir storage capacity in the West. Capacity now totals more than 60,000,000 acre-feet, or nearly 20,000,000,000,000 gallons, compared with approximately 15,000,000 acre-feet 8 years ago.

Since 1932, we have completed Boulder Dam in Arizona-Nevada, the highest concrete dam in the world; Bartlett in Arizona-California, the deepest dam in the world; and Imperial Dam in Arizona-California, feeding the All-American Canal, the biggest irrigation canal in the world.

The Bureau also has begun construction on 13 other dams, 2 of which, Grand Coulee and Shasta, will be the largest, most massive concrete dams in the world. Thirty-three more have been authorized. The dams now under construction or authorized will add a storage capacity of 19,231,492 acre-feet, or 6,000,000,000,000 gallons of water.

This completed construction has brought under regulation one major river system, the Colorado River, and 10 others. Construction under way or authorized will bring under regulation another major river, the Columbia, and 8 others.

The Bureau has completed 3 hydroelectric power plants with an ultimate capacity of 2,040,000 horsepower. One of them, at Boulder, is the largest operating hydroelectric power plant in the world today. Under construction or authorized are 6 others with a total ultimate capacity of 3,360,100 horsepower.

Since 1932 the Bureau has constructed 2,293 miles of canals, ditches, and drains on irrigation projects which, together with the dam construction, have brought about an increase in irrigable acreage, including both reclamation projects and Warren Act lands, from 3,551,479 to 4,115,948.

The cumulative value of crops produced on irrigation projects of the Bureau, including both reclamation projects and Warren Act lands, has amounted to $772,841,749 since 1932. Contrasting then with now, for the calendar year 1931 the crop value was $73,527,429; for the calendar year 1939 it was $114,082,794.

In 1933 there were 105 banks functioning in the towns and cities of reclamation projects with 183,616 depositors and deposits amounting to $226,645,573.

Reclamation construction since 1932 has increased the number of irrigated farms from 43,377 to 52,552, increased the number of towns and cities of irrigation projects from 227 to 258, and the number of persons living on the farms, or in the towns and cities about them, from 696,440 to 903,897.

During the period 1932–40, the Bureau started 3 of its greatest reclamation projects. The Columbia Basin project, Washington, by irrigating 1,200,000 acres of land, will create 30,000 to 35,000 owner-operated farms capable of providing the source of a permanent livelihood to 150,000 persons on farms and 2 to 3 times that number in towns and cities as yet unlocated. The Central Valley project in California will provide desperately needed supplemental water supplies to 2,000,000 acres of rich farming land, 200,000 acres of which is imminently threatened with reversion to desert. And the Colorado-Big Thompson reclamation project will provide supplemental water supplies to 615,000 acres of land.

It is not my purpose to claim credit where credit is not due. To President Theodore Roosevelt and the great western reclamationists of the past, I pay a sincere tribute both for their visions and accomplishments. To our own President, I pay the same tribute. But you and I know that without the far-seeing statesmanship of men now sitting in this Chamber and on the other side of the Capitol, no Executive could ever have launched or carried on this vast program. It is one for which Congress—and, in particular, the great legislators from the West—can take the major share of the credit. I doubt if their people at home will ever forget.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

The Tennessee Valley Authority was established by Congress on May 18, 1933, as a Federal corporation. It was given great responsibilities and broad powers to deal with the control and utilization of water resources in the drainage basin of the Tennessee River, an area of 41,000 square miles and a population of 2,500,000 people.

The act directed the Authority to provide a navigable channel on the Tennessee, to provide means for the control of destructive floodwaters, both in the Tennessee and in the lower Ohio and Mississippi Valleys as well, to produce electric power and distribute it widely at low cost to manufacture, test, and demonstrate the use of fertilizers in soil conservation, to provide for the reforestation of lands, to carry on activities for the agricultural and industrial development of the valley, and to provide for the national defense.

As the nucleus of the development, the Authority was given charge of Wilson Dam and of the nitrate plants constructed at Muscle Shoals, Ala., as a national-defense measure during the last World War. Since that time the Federal Government has invested in the Tennessee Valley Authority project up to June 30 of this year the sum of $270,000,000. For the present fiscal year there has been appropriated an additional $65,000,000, of which $25,000,000 is to start work on an emergency program to provide additional power for national defense.

Since its establishment in 1933, the Authority has constructed six great multipurpose dams, four on the main stream of the Tennessee and two on tributary streams, the Clinch and the Hiwassee Rivers. Four more such dams are now under construction, three on the main river and one on the Holston, a tributary.

The dams completed by the Authority are Pickwick Landing, Wheeler, Guntersville, and Chickamauga, on the Tennessee, and Norris and Hiwassee Dams, high storage dams on the tributaries. Under construction are Kentucky, which will be the largest project and will provide a large amount of flood control on the lower Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, Watts Bar, and Fort Loudoun, on the Tennessee. Cherokee Dam, construction of which was just started on the Holston River, was authorized as an aid to national defense. During the last fiscal year, the Authority operated 12 major hydro projects, 5 of which have been purchased, and 5 major steam-generating stations, 3 purchased and 1 leased, 1 constructed by the Federal Government in 1918, to produce 4,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electric power.

Construction and operation of the Authority's dams has expanded the commercially useful, year-round navigation channel on the Tennessee from the mouth of the Tennessee to Chattanooga, a distance of 465 miles. Releases from storage dams maintain a 6-foot depth in the lower river, which eventually will be covered by Kentucky Reservoir, providing a 9-foot depth. The 9-foot channel will eventually be 650 miles long, with head of navigation at Knoxville.

Even though the deep, slackwater channel is as yet incomplete, freight traffic on the river has shown a steady increase, totaling more than 90,000,000 ton-miles in 1939, far in excess of that for any prior year on record. Actual tonnages moving on the river in 1939 totaled 1,100,000, compared to 750,000 in 1932.

The six reservoirs completed by T. V. A. have provided 4,000,000 acre-feet controlled flood storage capacity and the completed system will provide approximately 10,000,000 acre-feet, the amount recommended by the Mississippi River Commission on the Tennessee for control of floods on the lower rivers. During the 1937 flood, Norris Reservoir alone reduced flood crests on the Tennessee at Chattanooga by 3 to 5 feet on four occasions, saving an estimated $750,000 damage. Norris and Wheeler Reservoirs, the only ones completed at the time, withheld 32,000 cubic second-feet of water from the Ohio during the same flood, reducing maximum stages at Cairo, Ill., by nearly half a foot when levees were being held by inches.

Preliminary figures for the fiscal year 1940 show that the sale of electric power, "paying partner" in multipurpose control of the river, brought in revenues of more than $15,000,000. After provision for all power expenses, including $4,000,000 in depreciation, more than $500,000 in payments in lieu of taxes to States, and $432,000 interest on bonds, there remained a tentative net income of $3,300,000.

Seventy-five municipalities and 34 electric cooperative associations now are distributing T. V. A. power to more than 400,000 residential, commercial, and industrial consumers at rates saving them more than $9,000,000 annually on their electricity bills. Preliminary figures indicate that the combined net income on these distribution operations, after provisions for taxes and tax equivalents, depreciation, and interest, will be about $4,000,000, out of estimated revenues approximating $21,000,000. Residential consumers of T. V. A. are now using an average of 1,350 kilowatt-hours annually, far in excess of

the 890 kilowatt-hour average for the Nation in 1939. More than 14,800 miles of rural line now carry power to 71,000 farm and rural customers.

At the old nitrate munitions plant at Muscle Shoals the Authority has developed improved processes for manufacturing phosphate fertilizers and has introduced new phosphatic products. Up to June 30, 1940, more than 290,000 tons of highly concentrated phosphate fertilizer had been produced. At the end of the year experiment-station tests of T. V. A. fertilizers were being carried on in 46 States of the Union by land-grant colleges and other institutions.

These fertilizers had been used on 30,600 test demonstration farms, comprising more than 4,800,000 acres, in 22 of these States, about 110,000 tons having been distributed for this purpose. In addition, 155,000 tons of superphosphate had been delivered to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration for use in soil-conserving farm practices encouraged by that agency.

Encouragement of soil-conservation practices by the Authority and land-grant institutions has resulted in terracing of more than 580,000 acres of sloping land in the 7 valley States. More than 74,000,000 seedlings grown by T. V. A. have been set out on 50,000 acres of private land during the last 7 years, 62,000,000 of which were planted by C. C. C. camps cooperating with the Authority. About 37,000,000 trees have been planted on T. V. A. lands. Engineering works, such as check dams, to prevent erosion have been completed on more than 100,000 acres.

Research by T. V. A. and land-grant colleges in processing of agricultural products and in agricultural engineering have resulted in many developments designed to aid the farmer in conserving soil or increasing income.

In carrying out its obligations as to national defense the Authority has—

Kept the munitions plant at Muscle Shoals ready, as soon as the signal is given, to be adapted to production of ammonium nitrate for high explosives.

Developed a huge supply of electric power of strategic importance to the Nation, since T. V. A. power is a principal reliance in America's production of aluminum needed for airplane manufacture.

Speeded up its dam-construction program by every device. This means that one of T. V. A.'s new dams will be completed 10 months ahead of schedule and five generators will be added in dams already completed. This supplements the emergency program for construction of Cherokee Dam and a steam plant, plus three new generators at downstream dams.

Assembled facts about needed raw materials essential to the defense program. These facts, which T. V. A. has been developing for 7 years, are ready and have been made available to the country's new Defense Commission and to businessmen upon whom reliance is placed for speedy production of defense materials.

It is almost unnecessary for me to repeat here what the T. V. A. Act means to the Nation in a broader sense than the purposes and accomplishments cited here. It is virtually a reassertion of what should have been a constantly recognized American precept—that the natural resources of the Nation belong to the people as a whole. The domination of a financial oligarchy almost erased that conception of democracy for decades. You, in this Congress who, under the leadership of President Roosevelt, reaffirmed this cardinal doctrine of public ownership of natural resources, had a part in one of the most significant legislative acts of a vital era in this country's history.

No sensible person will deny that the experience in the Tennessee Valley Authority area, showing that, with reduced rates, increased use expands revenues over the frozen level which high rates guarantee, has encouraged the timid private utilities to reduce their rates all over the country. Its influence has been national, but it can be more dramatically measured in the Authority's area where, until August 1939, the majority of electric consumers were receiving their power from private companies.

Take the Tennessee Electric Power Co. as an example: This is the company whose properties were purchased by the Authority last year. Examine the history of that company since 1933, when the T. V. A. began to operate. From 1933 the trend in this company's rates has been downward, and the trend of its revenues upward. In 1933 the average rate paid by residential consumers of this company was 5.77 cents, somewhat above the national average for similar service, while average use per customer was slightly above that for the United States. In 1934, by agreement with the Authority in a contract providing, among other things, for purchase of T. V. A. power, the company inaugurated an objective rate schedule which provided considerable reductions to the consumers.

By 1938, after further rate reductions, the average rate of this company had dropped from 5.77 cents to 2.75 cents per kilowatt-hour, 35 percent below the national average, while average use per customer had reached 1,461 kilowatt-hours, compared to the national average of 845 kilowatt-hours. Over this period, the average annual bill per customer increased from $35 to $40—little evidence that the company has suffered and proof of the theory that lower rates mean more consumption.

The average cost of residential service in the T. V. A. area was 2.1 cents per kilowatt-hour, or about half the national average of 3.9 cents for the year ending June 30. The average residential use per customer was 1,353 kilowatt-hours, about 50 percent above the national average of about 925 kilowatt-hours.

The importance of the Authority to the national defense was specifically recognized by the Congress during the past summer when, on July 31, an appropriation of $25,000,000 was provided to permit the Authority to commence the immediate construction of the Cherokee Dam and a steam plant to provide an increase in power for national-defense purposes. The appropriation was recommended by the National Defense Commission.

Already 1,800 men are at work on the site of Cherokee Dam. Already more than $13,000,000 has been expended or obligated for equipment to be installed within a period which will guarantee the completion of the projects in record time. It will be a spectacular achievement, possible because the T. V. A. is a going concern with a well-trained staff of engineers and workmen, an effective method of labor recruitment, and an efficient purchasing department.

Construction is being speeded up on all T. V. A. projects, and because of its 7 years' work this important region, with its resources in the way of raw materials and human beings mobilized for action, is ready to make its maximum contribution to the permanent defense of this democracy.

Agricultural progress is reflected ultimately in the family life of the farm home. The farm homes of 7,000,000 families are one of the chief sources of strength of our democracy. The increasing security in the farm home, under the National Farm Program, is making possible once more the kind of rural family life so essential to national welfare.

In 1932 family life on the farm was rapidly being undermined by economic security. Farm families were losing their homes through wholesale mortgage foreclosure. Farmers had mountainous surpluses of products which they were unable to sell at home or abroad. They did not have enough income to take proper care of their land. They were unable to pay interest and taxes and had no money to buy goods that make business and jobs in cities and towns.

Contrast with this situation of 1932 the better days of 1940. Farmers have complete Federal agricultural credit service at rates they can afford to pay. Through acreage allotments, marketing quotas, and commodity storage loans they are able to produce and market according to needs for domestic consumption, export-market opportunity, and adequate reserves. Their surpluses are no longer going to waste but are being used to feed the needy. Through production adjustment to eliminate needless soil waste and by treatment of land to control erosion and maintain and improve fertility, they are making real progress in conservation. Because of

the tremendous increase in farm income, farm families again provide an important market for city goods and make an important contribution to national income and national welfare.

MORE INCOME—GREATER SECURITY

Farmers will have nearly twice as much income this year as in 1932. It is estimated that their 1940 cash income will be $8,900,000,000, compared to the 1932 cash income of $4,682,000,000.

The number of forced farm sales has declined 69 percent. The number of farm bankruptcies has declined 76 percent.

CONSERVATION ACCOMPLISHMENT

Through the production adjustment provisions of the national farm program, about 30,000,000 acres of land have been shifted annually from soil-depleting to soil-conserving uses.

More than 80,000 farms, including 48,000,000 acres of land, are operating under complete farm plans for erosion control and good land management in erosion-control demonstration areas.

More than 250 soil-conservation districts have been organized. They include more than 100,000,000 acres of land and a million farms.

Range-improvement practices have been employed on 190,000,000 acres.

Since 1932, 25,000,000 acres of submarginal land have been purchased by the Government. About eight and one-half million acres of this land has been developed for forestry and grazing.

In the western States small water facilities are being developed to supply need for livestock, and, in some cases, to irrigate a small portion of a farmer's or rancher's land.

More than two and one-half times as much land has been added to the national forests in the last 7 years as in the preceding 22 years. Nearly a billion trees have been planted on the 12,000,000 acres purchased.

In the prairie States shelter belt, 127,000,000 trees have been used in 11,000 miles of plantings.

REHABILITATION ON THE LAND

Rehabilitation loans, combined with assistance in developing farm- and home-management plans, have helped 800,000 farm families to again be self-supporting. Of the $370,000,000 loaned, one hundred and thirty million have been repaid.

Low-cost medical plans are available to 68,000 farm families in 30 States.

A total of 300,000 farmers in 14,000 small cooperatives have benefited from community service loans through which they are able to share the cost of expensive equipment which they cannot afford to buy individually.

Camps established for migratory workers now accommodate 10,000 families and units for an additional 2,500 families are under construction.

More than 13,000 tenants have received loans which have enabled them to buy farms of their own.

CROP INSURANCE AND COMMODITY LOANS

The 379,000 wheat crop insurance contracts issued this year protected growers of an estimated 106,000,000 bushels of production.

Through the commodity storage loans the Nation is protected with ever-normal-granary reserves of a fifth of a normal year's crop of corn and a third of a normal year's crop of wheat. Farmers are now able to guarantee this abundance and still protect their prices with the loans.

MARKETING IMPROVEMENT

More than 1,300,000 producers are directly benefited by marketing agreements which help to protect and improve the incomes of producers of fruits, vegetables, and dairy products. The value of crops and of fluid milk being handled annually under these programs is about $300,000,000.

SURPLUSES FOR THE NEEDY

Direct purchases of farm surpluses for distribution to the needy through State relief agencies have totaled more than 6,000,000 pounds. In the last year alone these purchases totaled 1,700,000,000 pounds.

The food-stamp plan, by putting increased buying power into the hands of needy families, has increased the movement of surpluses to the needy through the regular food stores by approximately 400,000,000 pounds.

During the last school year as many as 3,000,000 children received free lunches daily prepared from surpluses acquired through direct Government purchase.

EASING THE FARM-DEBT BURDEN

Since 1932 the interest rates paid by farmers have been reduced by 40 percent. They are now paying the lowest rates that have ever prevailed in this country.

Debt adjustment and refinancing has reduced the farm-debt burden by more than $200,000,000.

Since 1932 the Farm Credit Administration has financed more than 100,000 farmers in the purchase of land of their own.

In the legislation enacted by a Democratic Congress under President Roosevelt during the last 7½ years a new chapter has been written in the history of American agriculture—a chapter in which hope has replaced despair, in which security has replaced calamity, in which family life on the farm is being strengthened and preserved.

In the Congress a Democratic administration has provided the machinery for a national farm program. Throughout the land proper governmental consideration of 6,000,000 farmers has made it succeed. Farmers and Government, under a Democratic administration, have teamed up in an effort that is restoring agriculture to its rightful place of security and equality.

The Republican Party, seeing the farmers' attitude toward the program, has hastened to promise continuation of the farm program in appeals for votes.

It is only necessary to look at the record of the Republicans in the House of Representatives to see how hollow these promises are.

When the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act was passed in 1936 a majority of the Republicans in the House voted against it.

When the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 was passed a majority of the Republicans in the House voted against it.

In the vote on parity payments this year a majority of the Republicans in the House opposed parity payments.

When additional funds were being made available this year for the food-stamp plan a majority of the Republicans in the House voted in opposition.

When funds were being voted for continuation of the appropriation for the purchase of family-size farms for tenants, a majority of the Republicans in the House voted in opposition.

When funds for commodity loans were being voted this year, a majority of the Republicans in the House voted "No."

This is the kind of record on which Republican promises to farmers have to be considered. The farmers of this country know this record and will act accordingly.

The Republicans "talk one way and vote another way."

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

In the early years of this administration only 1 American farm in 10 had electric service. Moreover, the extension of new power lines into rural areas had just about stopped. Representatives of the electric-utility industry proclaimed that the saturation point had been reached, that all the farmers who could be served at a profit to the supplying company were already getting electricity.

But electricity on the farm means much more than it means in the city apartment. It means the opportunity for running water for one thing, and it means power for farm tasks. Properly used, electricity can reduce farm expenses and add to farm income. Applications of electricity which are luxuries in town become money makers on the farm. The city radio brings comfort and culture, but the farmer needs to know what the weather is going to be, and he needs to have market reports. Electric light is a great comfort in town; it is a great comfort on the farm, too, but it makes the hens lay more eggs during winter months when prices are high.

For all these reasons, this administration refused to accept as either just or true the decision that rural electrification had reached a final stopping point. In 1935 the President set up an emergency agency, the Rural Electrification Administration, to do something about the situation. That emergency organization formulated a plan and a program which appeared before Congress early in 1936 as the Norris-Rayburn bill. This bill, enacted as the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, established rural electrification as a proper concern of the Federal Government and laid down a 10-year program of Government loans to pay for rural power systems in unserved areas. Originally the program called for loans of $40,000,000 a year, but twice already the demand from rural areas for loans has been so great that the Congress has made substantial additions to this amount.

So far R. E. A. has made loans totaling about $330,000,000 for building more than 300,000 miles of new power lines in 45 States. These loans have gone to more than 750 different borrowing agencies, principally farmers' cooperatives.

These new power lines already serve more than 600,000 farms, rural schools, and churches, and little country businesses as well as rural industries. When the lines are fully completed, according to the plans already approved, nearly a million of these rural users will have electricity available for the first time. Already the number of farms connected to R. E. A.-financed lines alone is almost equal to the total number served by private power companies in 1935, when R. E. A. was established.

Moreover power companies themselves have been spurred by R. E. A. to increased activity and to some recognition of the social responsibilities inherent in their near-monopoly privileges. They have often adopted R. E. A. engineering practices in building new rural power lines, and their rural extension policies are within the means of the farmer in a far larger percentage of cases.

When R. E. A. came into the picture farm power lines used to cost as much as $1,500 a mile, and more in some cases. Now the average throughout the country is below $1,000 a mile and the average for R. E. A. financed construction is below $800 a mile. Because of the greatly widened horizons created by this one economy alone, literally millions of farm people can get electric service who, except for R. E. A., would probably have been denied it forever. More than 27 percent of American farms now have electricity. Before many months pass the number of electrified farms will be three times as great as it was when R. E. A. was created only a little over 5 years ago. Then fewer than 750,000 farms had service. Now about 1,900,000 are connected to the high lines.

The extension of power lines into rural areas has some very interesting byproducts. The most important of these is happiness. Rural electrification is a tremendous factor in keeping on the farm our most important farm crop—the farm boys and girls born on the farm. The drudgery of pumping and carrying water for every farm and home purpose, of cleaning and filling kerosene lamps, or barking knuckles on the old scrubboard—these may hold sentimental memories for some, but they were not designed to compete with the attractions of cities. But when electricity comes, the farm not only retains the peace and dignity which has always characterized American rural life but assures to the farmer and his family every advantage which is enjoyed by those who live in urban communities.

In addition to lightening the load of the farmer and of his family, it enables him to reduce his production costs and to compete more successfully in the domestic market and in the markets of the world. Our country is greatly indebted to the farmer for the contributions made in its progress. The retention of a broad and sound agricultural activity and farm life is absolutely essential for the best interests of our country. The bringing to the farmers of the country, at reasonable rates, of electricity has had a beneficent effect in this important respect. Against great opposition, the present administration has brought to agriculture this great business and social advantage so highly important in the preservation of American agriculture. For decades prior to 1933 the farmers of America received many promises but very little action. During the last 8 years—under the leadership of President Roosevelt, with a Democratic-controlled Congress cooperating—agriculture, and all other activities allied thereto, have received from the present administration more favorable and sound consideration than was received during the entire preceding history of our country.

ELECTRIC HOME AND FARM AUTHORITY

Created by Congress in January 1934, the Electric Home and Farm Authority has assisted 222,339 families in the purchase of major electric and gas appliances and wiring installations, which have been connected to the lines of cooperating utilities. Its purchases of installment obligations has totaled $31,755,551.

A total of 553 utilities now are making use of the Authority's cooperation to facilitate the purchase of equipment by their customers. Through agreements with these 533 utilities, the Authority's financing facilities are available to approximately 5,500,000 urban and farm families.

These utilities are classified as follows:

Privately owned	45
Municipally owned	157
Cooperative associations, State and Federal projects	351

The last group is composed primarily of cooperative organizations affiliated with the Rural Electrification Administration and the Tennessee Valley Authority. The number of rural-electrification projects cooperating with the Authority has increased rapidly and, as several hundred more are now under development, this trend is expected to continue. As of June 30, 1940, 4,866 agreements with retailers and contractors were in effect, and major appliances and equipment of 405 manufacturers were listed as eligible for financing.

The money used in conducting the Authority's business is borrowed from banks at standard commercial interest rates. General administration expenses, including salaries, office rent, supplies, and so forth, have been paid out of net earnings. After paying all expenses, the Authority has accumulated a surplus of $224,334. In addition, a total of $292,802 has been set aside from earnings as a reserve for possible losses. Actual losses from all causes charged against this reserve amount only to $31,339.

In addition to the accomplishments above enumerated, and perhaps even more important, is the fact that, by offering reasonable installment finance rates and terms to purchasers in competition with the higher rates and more onerous terms offered by private companies, the Authority exerts a very definite and far-reaching influence toward lower finance rates and less restrictive terms the country over. By cooperating only with utilities whose rates for electric power are considered reasonable enough to make the use of appliances by consumers economical, the Authority likewise exerts a similar influence toward more reasonable rates for electric power. The Authority, from the beginning, has pursued the policy of financing the products only of those manufacturers who offer appliances at prices which are within reach of purchasers in the lower income groups.

The Authority has followed a policy which, if generally adopted, would go far toward retarding or even reversing the vicious downward cycle of deflation which has always intensified business depressions. Instead of foreclosing on both dealers and purchasers during periods when it is difficult for them to meet their obligations, the Authority pursues a policy of forbearance, in every reasonable way, through extensions and otherwise. Its experience provides convincing proof that the American people, if given at least half a chance, will meet their obligations even under most difficult circumstances. This legislation also has a beneficial effect upon the family life.

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

The year 1940 marks the twentieth anniversary of the Federal Power Commission. Two decades ago the Federal Power Commission was created by Woodrow Wilson to safeguard and develop the Nation's water resources. For the first 13 years of its life, however, during the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover

administrations, it was handicapped by insufficient personnel and appropriations and unable to discharge effectively the important duties imposed upon it by the Congress.

Under the Roosevelt administration, the Federal Power Commission has become a highly important governmental agency and has effectively demonstrated its ability to foster and protect the public interest. In 1933 the Commission recast its policy in order not only to strengthen the administration of the Federal Water Power Act but, insofar as its then limited statutory powers permitted, to eliminate the abuses that had grown up in the electric utility field. In brief, the Commission adopted the concept expressed by President Roosevelt that a regulatory commission "is not a mere judicial body to act solely as umpire between complaining consumer or complaining investor on the one hand and the great public-utility system on the other hand" but that it "must be a tribune of the people, putting its engineering, accounting, legal resources into the breach for the purpose of getting the facts and doing justice to both the consumers and investors in public utilities." Your enactment of the Federal Power Act in 1935, extending the Commission's jurisdiction to all forms of interstate transmission and sale of electric energy, gave it the opportunity to make this new program effective.

Today the Commission is operating under not one but six acts of Congress and is charged with important duties vital to the public interest and to national defense. It is noteworthy that the Commission, in planning and executing the national power and electric rate surveys more than 5 years ago, had the foresight to so design and carry forward these undertakings as to lay the foundations for national defense and national security in the field of electric power. Nation-wide inventories, research, and investigations in the electric and gas industries have been continued and thus the Commission, in undertaking the national-defense duties directed by the President on June 14, 1940, has been able to proceed with a minimum of delay and organizational change.

In this field the Commission has consistently cooperated with the National Defense Power Committee, the National Power Policy Committee, the War and Navy Departments and with the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense to insure adequate supplies of power in war-industry areas. In performing this important function, the Commission, at the President's direction, has established a national-defense power unit, to plan and assure adequate supplies of electric power for war industries and the protection of power supplies from sabotage or other hostile acts.

One of the Commission's most important achievements under the Roosevelt administration has been the formulation and promulgation of a uniform system of accounts for electric utilities. The system was adopted by order dated June 16, 1936, and became effective, insofar as the major utilities were concerned, on January 1, 1937. Designed by the Commission in collaboration with representatives of the State regulatory agencies, this accounting system has not only brought order out of the confusion that previously existed in utility accounting practices but is segregating the "water" in utility accounts. This uniform system makes possible the annual publication of comparable financial and operating data with respect to the major utilities.

The Commission, under congressional authority, has also undertaken the determination of the original cost of utility properties as a part of its policy in promoting the adoption of the prudent investment theory as a sound and workable basis for the valuation of utility properties for rate-making purposes. In the furtherance of this policy the Commission was permitted by the United States Supreme Court to intervene in the case of *Railroad Commission of California* v. *Pacific Gas & Electric Co.* (302 U. S. 388).

Another noteworthy achievement of the Commission has been the promulgation of standardized annual report forms for electric and gas utilities, adopted in collaboration with State regulatory agencies, which has greatly facilitated the regulatory process.

Consumers and investors alike have profited from the various statistical and other publications issued by the Commission. These include annual publications showing the rates at which electric energy is sold to ultimate consumers in communities of 250 or more population throughout the United States; detailed financial and operating statistics with respect to the Nation's major electric utilities; a loose-leaf national electric-rate book, currently revised, containing, in up-to-date standardized form, the thousands of rate schedules at which electric energy is sold to residential, commercial, and industrial consumers throughout the country; monthly and annual reports showing power production, installed capacity, and fuel consumption; and many other special reports of value to the Congress, regulatory agencies, and the utilities.

Following its declaration in 1934 that "so far as lies within the power of this Commission full cooperation has been and will be accorded all State agencies," the Commission adopted in 1936, under the provisions of section 209 of the Federal Power Act, a detailed plan of procedure with the approval of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners' committee on cooperation with Federal commissions to better utilize the facilities of Federal and State agencies in the regulation of electric-utiltiy companies engaged in interstate commerce. The plan outlines procedure governing joint conferences, joint hearings, or special boards for the consideration of matters of mutual interest, and has effectively served the public interest on numerous occasions.

Under the authority Congress conferred on it through the Federal Power Act in 1935 and the Natural Gas Act in 1938, the Commission has instituted proceedings affecting electric and gas consumers in more than half of the 48 States. Eighteen States have participated jointly in proceedings and, in more than 50 cases before the Commission, State regulatory agencies or cities have appeared as complainants, intervenors, or protestants.

Electric-rate reductions aggregating more than $50,000,000 in each year have been made throughout the country since the beginning of the present administration, and the Federal Power Commission has reported an increasing trend toward uniform electric-rate schedules following the publication of its rate reports. As a result the cumulative savings to consumers under this administration exceed a quarter of a billion dollars on an annual basis.

As a part of its policy to protect investors in electric utilities, the Commission has adopted its General Order No. 62, designed to eliminate excessive underwriters' and finders' fees, insure arm's length bargaining between the parties involved in securities transactions, and encourage competitive bidding in the issuance of securities by electric utilities subject to its jurisdiction. As a further step, the Commission has vigorously prosecuted the congressional mandate to prevent undesirable interlocking directorates in the electric industry and in two notable cases involving large utility systems has established the principle that directors who are negligent of the trust which they are elected to perform or who are shown by their records to be otherwise inimical to the public interest cannot expect the approval of the Commission.

By its opinions and orders the Commission has consistently emphasized its policy that all applications before it for authority to merge, consolidate, or otherwise dispose of facilities will be judged upon the standard of whether such transactions will be in the public interest, which is conceived as embracing the interests of the consumers of electric energy, of the investors in utility securities, and of the utilities involved in the proposed transaction. More than 70 applications for merger have been before the Commission, involving assets of more than $1,350,000,000.

Following a survey that indicated that more than 1,200 hydroelectric plants of more than 500-horsepower installed capacity appear to be operating without Federal authority on streams over which Congress may have control under the commerce clause of the Constitution, the Commission instituted an investigation of these power plants to determine which of them should be required to secure a Federal Power Commission license or other valid permit from a Federal

agency. An outstanding example of the results of this inquiry has been a finding by the Commission, following a hearing, that the 158,000-horsepower Holtwood project of the Pennsylvania Water & Power Co. on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania is operating without a valid permit and must apply for a Federal license.

At the request of the Pennsylvania State regulatory commission, the Federal Power Commission made a sweeping investigation into the charges levied upon electric utilities by various service companies in the Associated Gas & Electric System, including the so-called Hopson service companies. Though hampered at every turn by efforts of the respondents to conceal evidence, confuse issues, or interpose legal barriers, the Commission completed its investigation and made public disclosures of the outrageous practices that pervaded the entire structure of the Associated system.

There are pending before the Commission two major proceedings involving the Niagara Falls Power Co., one of which concerns the determination of the original cost or fair value of the company's huge generating plant on the Niagara River and the other the diversion of water through the project. Both are scheduled for early decision.

The Bonneville Act approved August 20, 1937, brought to the Commission the dual duties of determining the costs of the project to be allocated to power development and the approval of rate schedules at which energy is sold from the project. The Commission is charged with similar duties in connection with the Fort Peck project.

Enactment of the Natural Gas Act in 1938 presented to the Commission the pioneer task of regulating the vast quantities of natural gas sold at wholesale or transported in interstate commerce, and thus greatly increased the agency's duties. In the administration of the act, the Commission has vigorously prosecuted investigations of wholesale rates which affect local consumers, and a number of rate reductions have been effected by the Commission's activities, one of which resulted in a Commission order directing a $3,750,000 annual rate cut by a large middle western pipe-line company. Several cities, including Akron, Cleveland, Columbus, and Denver, have petitioned the Commission to fix just and reasonable rates for gas supplied them, and these cases are pending at the present time.

The Commission was given several important duties under the Flood Control Act of 1938 and conducted special investigations following flood disasters in New England and the Ohio River area. Implemented by the legislation passed during the last 8 years, it has become an increasingly effective agency of government.

CIVIL AERONAUTICS

Other nations, seeking conquest, achieved an early lead in military aviation, but in civil aviation the United States leads the world. The establishment of the Civil Aeronautics Authority by Congress in 1938 was the signal both for the expansion of civil aviation and its proper regulation in behalf of public safety and service. The reorganization measures of this year clearly defined the duties of the regulatory Civil Aeronautics Board and the Administrator of Aeronautics.

The work of the Civil Aeronautics Board covers economic regulation of civil aviation, accident investigation, and the establishment of safety standards, rules, and regulations which are afterwards applied and enforced by the Administrator of Civil Aeronautics. It also provides a judicial function through the suspension and revocation of safety certificates for cause after hearing.

In the matter of economic regulation, the Board has made decisions with regard to contracts and agreements, applications for approval of interlocking directorships, acquisition of control and merger cases, analysis of stock-ownership reports, informal complaints of various kinds, nonstop, airport, and suspension notices, trade agreements, tariffs, operating schedules, establishment of mileage records for Post Office Department use, and regulations of many kinds. It has decided cases involving the adequacy of air-line service, the issuance of certificates of public convenience and necessity for both old and new routes, the establishment of mail rates, the investigation of passenger and express rates, and so forth. Operating statistics and revenues of the air lines are reported monthly to the Board.

The total number of domestic air line route miles is now 37,180; of American-flag line foreign services, 44,470. In the last year, the Board has authorized 3,791 miles of domestic routes, 945 miles of Alaskan, and 11,313 miles of foreign, which are included in these totals.

In the field of overseas and foreign air transportation, services from San Francisco to Auckland, New Zealand, via Los Angeles, Honolulu, Canton Island, and Noumea, New Caledonia, and between Seattle, Wash., and Juneau, Alaska, via Ketchikan, Alaska, have been authorized. After extended hearings, competitive air-transportation services across the Atlantic were determined to be in the public interest, and American Export Airlines, Inc., was issued a temporary certificate providing for nonstop service between New York and Lisbon, Portugal. As the result of the certificates issued, American-flag air lines operate to the four points of the compass, connecting all of the continents except Africa with the United States and providing a regularly scheduled service to each of our Territories and possessions. There has been constant participation by the Board in negotiations conducted by the Department of State, looking toward the extension and development of our international air-transportation services.

Immediately following the reorganization, the Board established a staff unit to assist it in the discharge of the powers and duties of the former Air Safety Board. Primarily these duties involve the investigation of accidents and the ascertainment of their probable causes. The investigation and analysis of accidents by the Board is intended to enable the Board to determine their underlying causes and to take steps to prevent their recurrence. Programs of safety regulation are under way and every effort is being made to reach pilots and bring home to them their individual responsibility for their own and the public's safety. It is important to note that the Board in carrying out its accident-investigation functions, with a single exception, has appointed its staff personnel from the personnel of the former Air Safety Board.

It should be added, because there is widespread confusion about the subject, that while the Administrator of Civil Aeronautics and his staff have been made a functional part of the Department of Commerce and subject to the control and supervision of the Secretary of Commerce, the Civil Aeronautics Board remains an independent agency of Congress. In the exercise of its powers and functions and in its decisions it is subject in no way to the supervision or control of the Secretary of Commerce. The Board, by the reorganization order, is within the Department of Commerce solely for the purpose of receiving certain services of "housekeeping" and certain purely clerical services. The Civil Aeronautics Board continues to submit and support its own budget and to appoint and control its own personnel.

To the Civil Aeronautics Administration—the office of the Administrator of Civil Aeronautics, in the Department of Commerce—falls the task of operating the Federal airway system, conducting the program to train more than 50,000 civilian pilots this year, certifying and inspecting all aircraft and airmen in the interests of safety, developing new techniques and procedures, and planning the development of the airport system of the country.

In 1932 there were only 18,000 miles of airways in the country. Now there are nearly 30,000 miles of airways in full operation in the continental United States. These aerial highways are fully equipped with powerful beacons and radio range and communication stations at regular intervals, all staffed by the C. A. A., to guide pilots of aircraft safely to their destinations. Important components of the Federal Airways System are the 27,000-mile weather-reporting circuit and the 12,000-mile traffic-control circuit. A continuing program of construction, modernization, and improvement adds thousands of miles of new airways each year, and at present important expansions are under way in the territorial possessions.

Designed to build up a reservoir of pilots both for civil operations and for national defense, the civilian-pilot training

program has awakened a degree of enthusiasm in flying never before obtained in this country. The Federal Government pays the cost and the youths of the Nation learn to fly, receiving from highly trained instructors a standardized, controlled, private flying course, coupled with extensive ground-school instruction. In late 1940 some 25,000 certificated private pilots had been added to the list under this program, and by July 1, 1941, 30,000 more will have completed their training. In addition, more advanced training is being given to 9,000 of these graduates, thousands of instructors are being improved in standard, and several thousand ex-pilots who had dropped from the active list are being "brushed up" and brought back to active flying. This is being accomplished with by far the best safety record ever established.

From the design board to its first flight, and then throughout its useful life, the modern aircraft, be it air liner or flivver plane, is the product of a cooperative partnership between industry and the Government. To insure maximum safety for the users of aircraft and the public all aircraft flown in air commerce are issued certificates by the Civil Aeronautics Administration, which, in effect, serve as a guaranty that they are as sound structurally and aerodynamically as aeronautical science and painstaking, rigid inspection can make them. The men who fly and service these planes, and parachute riggers as well, also are certificated likewise after passing rigid tests.

As an indication of the stupendous task involved in this work alone, let it be recalled that there are now approximately 15,000 civil aircraft and 50,000 certificated pilots in the United States, all requiring inspections, certifications, and renewals at specified intervals.

Under the present administration the Federal Government, through W. P. A., P. W. A., and various other agencies, has expended over $190,000,000 on various airport, airway improvement, and air-marking projects. Up to July 1, 3,590 projects had been completed on approximately 2,500 separate sites. By the direction of Congress, the airport section of the Civil Aeronautics Administration, and its predecessor agencies, was required to pass on plans and specifications for virtually all of these projects, no matter by whom constructed.

Exhaustive studies of problems encountered in airport planning, construction, enlargement, and modernization are being made continually. The Administration consults with and advises State planning bodies to the end that our airport system may expand in a manner best suited to future needs. Such notable contributions to safety as deicing equipment, fire-prevention aids, radio and visual air navigation aids have resulted wholly or in part from the efforts of the C. A. A.'s staff in its experimental station at Indianapolis.

RECIPROCAL-TRADE AGREEMENTS

No one today knows what will befall our foreign trade, for European dictatorships and the ominous events in the Far East are tending to abrogate all trade relations and are forcing us into unprecedented agreements with our neighbors to the south. Nevertheless, recent Congresses deserve the credit for courageously attacking problems foisted upon this country through old tariff laws, and particularly the Tariff Act of 1930.

Needless to say, this act had all but stifled marginal industry in this country and had literally strangled America's foreign trade, but after 1933 the new policy of this administration had checked the decline in foreign trade and definite recovery was on its way, spurred on by reciprocal-trade agreements completed by the Secretary of State.

These agreements were for the purpose of "promoting the fullest practical development of our domestic and foreign markets and thus to improve income and reduce unemployment in this country." Original authorizations up to March 1, 1937, were extended through June 12, 1940, and again through June 12, 1943. Twenty-two treaties or agreements were reached with 21 countries in all, 2 with Canada alone. On at least 3,000 items and rates on the tariff schedule concessions have been accorded the United States. Agriculture benefited especially because of the agreements, for it was stipulated that import commodities competitive with the domestic output should be prevented from disturbing home markets. Of the total productions upon which we received concessions on our exports, 46.9 percent were on agricultural products, as against 24.3 percent on nonagricultural and 29.8 percent on all others.

Summarizing the benefits and advantages which accrued to the United States as a result of these agreements—first our markets abroad were reopened with the resultant stimulation to agriculture, industry, and labor; second, the element of goodwill, especially among pan-American countries, became a definite instrumentality for cooperation; third, the concessions granted us as a result of the agreements exceed by far those we have given in return.

The reciprocal-trade agreements would have been a far more significant achievement if the world had remained at peace. They still stand as proof of this Nation's attempt to be a good neighbor in a world where good neighbors have been few.

President Roosevelt and Secretary Wallace both are strong advocates and supporters of this constructive measure. Mr. Willkie has expressed his support of this legislation. Senator McNARY is an avowed opponent of the same. It is regrettable that the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees of the Republican Party are not in agreement on this legislation which is so strongly supported by our people.

Secretary of State Hull has won the admiration of the world for his conduct of international affairs in the present crisis. He deserves almost equal credit for the steps he took toward stabilizing our foreign trade and a good-neighbor policy strangely in contrast with the imperialistic attitude of other nations.

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

Under authority granted by Congress in the National Industrial Recovery Act, the President directed the organization of a District of Columbia banking corporation under the name of Export-Import Bank of Washington in February 1934. It since has been continued by acts in 1935, 1937, and 1939.

The purpose of the bank is to aid in financing and to facilitate exports and imports and the exchange of commodities between the United States and any of its Territories or insular possessions and any foreign country or its agencies or nationals.

The bank is authorized to do a general banking business; to purchase, sell, negotiate, and discount, with or without its endorsement, notes, drafts, bills of exchange, acceptances, including bankers' acceptances, cable transfers, and other evidences of indebtedness and, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, to borrow money and rediscount notes, drafts, bills of exchange, and other evidences of debt; to purchase and sell securities, including obligations of the United States or any State thereof, but not including the purchase with its funds of any stock in any other corporation; to accept bills or drafts drawn upon it; to issue letters of credit; to purchase and sell coin, bullion, and exchange; to lend money and to perform the necessary functions permitted by law in conducting such enterprise or business.

Although the bank has handled but a small part of the export business of the United States, its importance lies in the fact that it has been able to give valuable assistance to those producers and manufacturers who are most dependent upon foreign outlets. The exportation of cotton, for example, has been substantially increased through credits provided by the bank. It is worth noting also that the bank has participated directly in financing the sale of most of the railway equipment exported from the United States during the past 2 years. Any activity which facilitates the sale abroad of basic equipment is of unusual significance for the reason that follow-up orders for parts and additional units invariably result.

From the date of its establishment to June 30, 1940, the bank has made commitments of $436,884,119, of which $119,103,091 has been canceled because the interested American firms failed to obtain the foreign business or were unable

to comply with the conditions of the credit. Actual disbursements have been about $160,043,234 and repayments $61,525,057. Total loans now aggregate $98,518,176.

Although the bank did not operate during the first 18 months of its existence, it has paid dividends upon its preferred stock at the rate of 3 percent per annum through December 31, 1938, and has funds with which to pay dividends accrued to date. Net profit for the fiscal year 1940 was $3,003,186.09.

THE "F. B. I."

The Federal Bureau of Investigation was founded in 1908, but the famed "F. B. I.," as the Nation knows it, was developed through legislation enacted since March 1933. Acknowledged throughout the world as perhaps the finest agency of its kind, it now can cope with crime throughout the country.

Among the enactments which have made it a vital law-enforcement agency are laws dealing with racketeering, kidnaping, killing, or assault against Federal officials, extortion, stolen property, bank robberies, and embezzlement. The famous statute which ended the wave of kidnaping which had swept the country was enacted in 1934; in 1936 the act was broadened to visit penalties on those receiving, possessing, or disposing of any money representing a ransom or a reward. Also, in 1934, the interstate transportation of goods or money or the robbery of any member bank of the Federal Reserve System or any bank insured by the F. D. I. C. became a Federal offense.

In 1935 the F. B. I. National Police Academy was established, offering for the first time the instruction and training given special agents to local, municipal, county, and State law-enforcement officers. Not only has the Bureau been enabled to cooperate with local authorities throughout the country, but all peace officers have been invited to avail themselves of the data on file in Washington.

On May 1, 1940, there was a total of over 12,600,000 fingerprint records and 13,700,000 index cards in the Bureau's archives. Approximately 9,600 fingerprint records are being received in the Identification Division daily from nearly 11,000 contributing law-enforcement agents throughout the world.

More than 2,600 police departments throughout the United States, representing a population area of over 67,900,000, make monthly and annual reports to the Bureau concerning offenses known and offenses cleared by arrest, and the number of persons held for prosecution. In addition, reports are received from more than 1,600 sheriffs' offices, State police organizations, and agencies in territories and possessions of the United States. The total number of participating law-enforcement agencies is approximately 4,300, and the information forwarded, together with the data compiled from the fingerprint cards received in the Bureau, makes possible the collection of comparable crime statistics on a Nation-wide scale. These statistics are issued quarterly in a bulletin known as Uniform Crime Reports which is sent to law-enforcement officials and other interested individuals and agencies.

In the past 15 years a total of $52,370,222.08 was appropriated for the operation of the F. B. I., while savings, fines, and recoveries resulting from the investigative activities of the F. B. I. totaled $251,855,353.35. This does not include the value of the many cooperative facilities to American law-enforcement agencies which are rendered free of charge. Some of the Bureau's accomplishments during the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1939, were:

Convictions in 96 percent of the cases investigated which were brought to trial.

Imposition of sentences totaling over 16,948 years, in addition to 12 life sentences.

Location of 1,890 Federal fugitives from justice.

The assistance through the Identification Division, to various law-enforcement officials in locating 7,933 fugitives.

The F. B. I.'s proud record is too well known to need any further detail.

UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION

The Merchant Marine Act of 1936, which created the Maritime Commission, is an act to further the development and maintenance of an adequate and well-balanced American merchant marine, to promote the commerce of the United States, and to aid in the national defense.

Early in 1938 the Commission adopted a 10-year program calling for construction of 500 ships over a period of 10 years. This was considered the minimum requirement for meeting the problem of obsolescence in the existing fleet and making available additional tonnage where necessary. Today the Maritime Commission is participating in the construction of 162 new vessels for foreign trade. Some are being built in conjunction with private operators, others for the Commission's own account. These latter will be sold or chartered to private operators upon completion. More than 90 percent of these vessels under contract are definitely earmarked for private sale or charter. Of this number 61 have been launched and 44 are already in operation.

Among the ships in operation are the Commission-designed C–2 cargo vessel, which has been demonstrated to be the fastest cargo vessel in the world, and the twin-screw national-defense tankers, which are among the finest and fastest in the world today. The program has been designed to prevent a repetition of the chaotic conditions in shipping which followed the end of the last war. At that time we were left with a great number of slow, though new, inefficiently designed vessels, abnormally expensive to operate. Today's merchant ship has built into her the results of the best and most modern engineering experience. The construction program is based upon standardization of design.

Almost all of the 162 vessels which have been ordered fall into 4 categories; the C–1 cargo ship of about 7,500 deadweight tons, the C–2 of about 9,500, the C–3 of about 11,700, and the national-defense tankers of approximately 16,700 tons. The Commission, as a national-defense agency, has already transferred several of its new ships to the Navy Department and more will be available when the need arises. To date, 3 tankers and 2 of the Commission-designed C–3 vessels have been sold to the Navy Department.

The Commission exercises regulatory functions, hearing complaints against rates, charges, and practices in intercoastal and coastwise traffic and approving or disapproving conference agreements which govern foreign traffic on various steamship routes.

The Commission has two systems of training sea personnel. The United States Maritime Service conducts a 3-month voluntary educational course for both officers and seamen who have had at least 2 years' experience at sea, and a 1-year course for apprentice seamen. The Commission has training stations at Government Island, Alameda, Calif. (for both licensed and unlicensed personnel); Fort Trumbull, Conn. (for officers only); St. Petersburg, Fla. (for apprentice seamen); and Hoffman's Island, New Hork Harbor. There are facilities for training 600 licensed, 3,000 unlicensed, and 500 apprentice seamen annually. The service is administered for the Commission by the United States Coast Guard under rules and regulations prescribed by the Commission.

A cadet training system provides new and young officer material for the American merchant marine. The training period covers 1 to 4 years with facilities for approximately 600 enrollees. Physical and mental qualifications are of a high standard.

The Merchant Marine Act ended years of a vacillating attitude on the part of government toward our shipping problems. It was the most definite step ever taken by a National Congress to assure our place in export trade. Its importance grows in the face of the existing crisis.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

The passage by Congress of the Communications Act in 1934, forced by the part radio had come to play in the world of communications, established the basis for a national policy. When the seven members of the Federal Communications Commission took office on July 11, 1934, the old Federal Radio Commission was abolished, ending the jurisdictions shared by the Commission, the Post Office Department, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and other agencies.

The basic purpose of the new act was to regulate "interstate and foreign commerce in communications by wire and radio, so as to make available to all the people of the United States a rapid, efficient, Nation-wide and world-wide wire and radio communications service with adequate facilities at reasonable charges, for the purpose of national defense, for the purpose of promoting safety of life and property through the use of wire and radio communications." Duties of the Commission include allocation of frequencies for all classes of radio stations except Government; licensing and regulating all radio stations, and all other radio services, and so forth; licensing of radio operators of ship and shore, aviation, police, and forestry services; and regulation of telephone and telegraph companies engaged as common carriers in interstate and foreign communications by wire and radio.

From 1934 to 1937 the Commission functioned with three divisions—broadcasting, telephone, and telegraph—but today it operates as a unit with thorough supervision of all activities. In all, 65,000 radio stations of all types have been licensed by the F. C. C., 5,000 of which are commercial stations. Nearly 50,000 commercial operators and 55,000 amateur operators have been granted licenses.

The F. C. C. has been constantly engaged in research and investigation since its establishment. Its comprehensive report on the telephone industry, ordered by Congress in 1935, led to a reduction in interstate telephone rates in 1937 which effected an annual savings of $12,000,000 to the public. On May 1, 1940, long-line rates were reduced to the extent of $5,300,000 yearly. As reductions effected since the establishment of the Commission were computed on a cumulative basis, the savings to telephone subscribers would amount to more than $95,000,000 by 1941, without considering the increasing traffic.

In 1935 the Commission made certain recommendations to Congress, looking toward the merger of the present competitive telegraph facilities; in 1940 the Commission surveyed both the domestic and international telegraph situations and again urged such consolidation.

The F. C. C. has no power to censor radio programs, nor does the Government exact any fee in connection with F. C. C. licensing and regulation. The Commission merely has been enabled by Congress to bring order to the Nation's communications field and play its proper role in international communications.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

Two important amendments to powers of the Federal Trade Commission, established in 1914, have been made by Congress since 1933.

The first was the Robinson-Patman Act, prohibiting unfair and discriminatory discounts and allowances, which were alleged to be aiding in the destruction of independent distributors and the development of a monopolistic system of distribution of foods and other commodities. In 1938 Congress passed the Wheeler-Lea Act, which permitted the Federal Trade Commission to obtain court orders restraining the advertisement, offer, and sale of food, drugs, devices, or cosmetics which threaten the health and life of purchasers and users, until the facts can be duly and freely determined by proceedings before the Commission.

These two acts have broadened the powers of the Federal Trade Commission in protecting the public against unfair methods of competition and unfair and deceptive trade practices.

FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

Definite steps strengthening the banking structure were taken under this administration through channels in the Federal Reserve System.

Prior to 1933 member banks of the Federal Reserve System were allowed to obtain advances from their Federal Reserve banks only upon the security of Government bonds or short-term paper eligible for rediscount. Thus, banks might have a large volume of sound assets, which they could not use as collateral for Federal Reserve advances. As an emergency measure in the Banking Act of 1933 the Federal Reserve banks were permitted to make advances to a member bank "on its time or demand notes secured to the satisfaction of such Federal Reserve bank." It was further provided that "no advance shall be made under this section after March 3, 1934, or after the expiration of such additional period not exceeding 1 year as the President may prescribe."

In the Banking Act of 1935 the above provision was made permanent. Section 10 (b) of the Federal Reserve Act, as approved on August 23, 1935, reads as follows:

> Any Federal Reserve bank, under rules and regulations prescribed by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, may make advances to any member bank on its time or demand notes having maturities of not more than 4 months and which are secured to the satisfaction of such Federal Reserve bank. Each such note shall bear interest at a rate not less than one-half of 1 percent per annum higher than the highest discount rate in effect at such Federal Reserve bank on the date of such note.

As a result of the above amendment and the Regulation A released by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Federal Reserve banks may now accept as security for advances any sound assets.

REORGANIZATION

Several Presidents have sought authority from Congress to reorganize certain branches of the Government, both to reduce expenditures and to increase efficiency. The first reorganization bill presented by President Roosevelt was blocked largely because of misunderstanding due to misrepresentation. The second one, enacted into law by the Congress, was the first major step taken in many years to bring order among the scores of Government instrumentalities which have been established.

The need for this legislation was paramount. Especially during the critical days since 1929, a number of independent agencies were established to meet emergencies; others previously established somewhat duplicated the work of the newer agencies of government. The painstaking research which has been made into functions of government by this administration should pave the way for many future reforms.

The first two reorganization plans presented by the President and authorized by this Congress established the Federal Security Agency, the Federal Loan Agency, and the Federal Works Agency, to bring under single administrators more than a score of agencies. The Social Security Board, the National Youth Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Public Health Service, and the Office of Education were all linked under the Federal Security Agency. Under the office of the Federal Loan Agency were placed the R. F. C., the F. H. A., and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and its agencies, including the H. O. L. C. The Public Works Administration, the W. P. A., the United States Housing Authority, the Public Buildings Administration, and the Public Roads Administration all were placed under the Federal Works Agency.

Those bureaus directly administered under the President were grouped under the Executive offices of the President. There was a general reshuffling of such commissions as the National Bituminous Coal Commission to bring them into their proper spheres. The Farm Credit Administration, the Commodity Credit Corporation, and the Rural Electrification Administration, all independent, were placed under the authority of the Department of Agriculture.

The third and fourth reorganization plans affected many minor agencies, but the major interest was aroused in the transfer of the Civil Aeronautics Authority to the Department of Commerce. Despite the brief furore caused by that change, the fundamental wisdom of this legislation cannot be challenged. It is obviously the duty both of the President and of the Congress to bring independent agencies under responsible administrative officers whenever it is possible to do so.

The major achievement of reorganizations under the Reorganization Act of 1939 has been the simplification and strengthening of the Government's administrative machinery. The number of agencies reporting directly to the President has been reduced by approximately 20, greater coordination of related programs and activities has been provided, and the President has been given necessary management facilities to

assist him in his enormous task. The importance of these changes cannot be minimized in the light of the present national emergency. Never has it been more necessary that the Government have a strong, efficient, and responsive administrative organization. The value of reorganization has already been demonstrated in the initial stages of preparation for national defense. As the full impact of the defense program is felt, its value will become even more apparent.

These improvements have been accomplished by reduction in expenditures. Large reductions were precluded by the provisions of the Reorganization Act, which prohibited the abolition of functions and thus limited the opportunity for savings to administrative expenses comprising only a small fraction of Federal expenditures. Nevertheless, savings now amount to more than $12,000,000 annually and such savings will increase in the future.

CENSUS LEGISLATION

The regular 1940 population census is being supplemented this year by a national census of housing, according to legislation enacted by this Congress. The need for adequate statistics on housing was affirmed by Government, business, and labor leaders alike, all of whom have a vital interest in the orderly stimulation of the housing and construction industries. Such a census will be all the more valuable in the light of present national-defense efforts.

The Committee on the Census approved, and the Congress passed, an amendment to the provisions of the 1929 Census Act relating to reapportionment of the House of Representatives among the several States. The reapportionment provisions of that act had been nullified by the changing of the date of the convening of Congress, brought about by the Norris amendment to the Constitution. This amendment made effective again an automatic reapportionment after a specified time is allowed for action by Congress. Reapportionment of the House on the basis of the 1940 Census by a fixed mathematical rule, which can be checked by anyone, is thus assured.

There are acts passed by this Congress which are of the greatest significance, of which I have made no mention here. I have merely to make reference to them as a matter of record; they speak for themselves.

They include the so-called soldier's bonus, the provision for $2,000,000,000 in adjusted-service certificates, and the vast appropriations made for disabled war veterans.

They include the repeal measures which ended prohibition in this country, abruptly closed a period of shameful gangster control of many of the greatest of our cities and demoralized civic government.

They include the extension of the civil service to countless thousands of employees—a more determined effort to install a merit system in Government than ever had been made before.

We have spoken with pride of the new agencies we have established. I take pride, too, in the fact that every agency created before 1933 which could be made to function and fulfill a purpose has been encouraged and strengthened by laws which we have passed. The R. F. C. and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board were created before this administration came into office—the F. B. I. many years before. But the first two were merely gestures—and the last without vital power—until we made them work.

SUMMARY

In other years it was possible for me to list a number of the most vital legislative acts in reviewing the accomplishments of the Congress and call it a day. In summing up the last 8 years this has not been possible. I have tried instead to give a broader picture through review of the great agencies of government you created.

The review may seem long drawn out. I am not certain that, because of the necessity of straying from one subject to another, it is not a bit rambling. But no leader of any political party in this Chamber ever had anything like this story to tell.

One looks at the record and feels humble. This is not the work even of the greatest of leaders. It is the work of many, many men. It is the result of hours upon hours of toil and tribulation and searching thought. Eight years ago our world tumbled about us, and we set ourselves, as ordinary men, to the task of rebuilding it. None of us thought the job was done, when we were confronted with another crisis, the like of which the modern world has never known.

As we view the past 8 years—one of the most trying economic periods in the world's history with peoples of other nations sacrificing personal liberty for economic security and obtaining economic serfdom instead—and face world conditions as they exist today, we realize more than ever the necessity for a continuance of the courageous and humane leadership of President Roosevelt.

Democratic processes of Government must serve—and in order to serve they must work. Contrary to the complacent opinions of those who are satisfied with the status quo, and who oppose any necessary change, Government is a living organism. Abuses which appear in a changing economic order must be abolished. When the sources from which abuses arise and are unable or refuse to deal with them, then it is an obligation for government to do so. The regulation and control of economic practices are necessary in behalf of legitimate and honorable business activity. The legislation of the past 8 years relating to business has proved effective. Its objective has been to protect and preserve the liberty of action of honorable businessmen against the abuses that arise from the actions of unscrupulous competitors.

Business is not the only concern of government. The family life is the basis of society and, therefore, of government. Where a strong family life exists, strong and stable government exists. Reasonable economic security is vital to family life. We know only too well that the destructive deflationary forces of a depression directly attacks that economic security—and that this happened in the United States as well as in other countries. If the governmental policies of 1929 to 1933 had been followed by President Roosevelt, everyone with a fair mind will admit that the family life of America would have been greatly weakened, if not destroyed.

Under President Roosevelt and a Democratic Congress, the policies of 1929–33, which failed in the preservation of family life during a grave emergency, were repudiated. As we recall the bank holiday—the saving of the deposits of millions of Americans; the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; the prevention of foreclosure of homes and farms; the extension of home and farm ownership; the Work Projects Administration; the Civilian Conservation Corps; the National Youth Administration, and the other broad measures of social security that have been enacted by the present administration, we realize that under the leadership of President Roosevelt with a Democratic Congress cooperating, the family life of America has been preserved and strengthened to withstand all the vicious forces which have menaced it in the past and which may assume new shapes in the crisis that now impends.

It is while we are still facing that crisis that we are called upon for an account of our stewardship. I have tried here to present that report.

It leaves me still humble, because I wonder if the job was done as well as it could have been by all of us. And yet it leaves me with a great pride. Mistakes we undoubtedly have made; but they were honest mistakes and, by the severe judgment of conscience, I do not believe they were serious ones. They have been more than offset many, many times by the things we have accomplished—the progress we have made.

As we view the past 8 years—one of the most trying economic periods of the known history of the world—with peoples of other nations sacrificing personal liberty for economic security and obtaining economic serfdom and dictatorship instead, and with the world conditions as they exist today, we realize more than ever the necessity for a continuance of the courageous and humane leadership of President Roosevelt.

Democratic processes of government must serve, and in order to serve they must work. Unlike the complacent opin-

ions of those who are satisfied with their status quo, and who oppose any necessary change, government is a living organism. Abuses, the continuance of which are harmful to our people, must be regulated or controlled. When the sources from which abuses arise are unable or refuse to control or regulate them, then it is an obligation under its secondary functions for government to do so. The regulation and control of such abuses are necessary for the preservation and continuance of legitimate and honorable business activity. The legislation of the past 8 years relating to business has accomplished such results. The objective of such legislation has been to protect and preserve the liberty of action of honorable businessmen against the abuses that arose from the actions of unscrupulous competitors; which abuses, if permitted to continue, would have brought about an adverse reaction against all businessmen, honorable as well as the unscrupulous. If all will pause and study the conditions which existed several and more years ago, we will realize and appreciate the fact that such legislation is protective of and beneficial to honorable business activity.

The family life is the basis of society and, therefore, of government. Where a strong family life exists, strong and stable government exists. The origin of a strong family life is—first, religion, and second, reasonable economic security. We know full well that the destructive deflationary forces of a depression directly attack the economic security of the family life. That was what happened in the United States as well as in other countries. If the governmental policies of 1929 to 1933 had been followed by President Roosevelt, everyone with a fair mind will admit that the family life of America would have been greatly weakened.

Under President Roosevelt and a Democratic-controlled Congress, the policies of 1929–33 relating to the preservation of the family life in a grave emergency were changed. As we view the Social Security Act; the bank holiday, the saving of the deposits of millions of Americans; the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; the prevention of foreclosure of homes and farms; the extension of home and farm ownership; the Work Projects Administration; the Civilian Conservation Corps; the National Youth Administration; Rural Electrification Administration; and other legislative activities of the present administration, we realize that under the leadership of President Roosevelt, with a Democratic-controlled Congress cooperating, the family life of America has been preserved and strengthened and enabled to withstand the shock of the vicious deflationary forces of disintegration. And yet there are some who even today attack and condemn the legislation enacted into law and the appropriations made to accomplish this great objective.

We are answerable to the people, to all the people of this great country. In the face of the constant criticism that meets every legislative action, during periods when it seemed we had antagonized every element and had no friends, I sometimes have doubted whether we were doing our job—just as all of you must have doubted. But as I place this report upon the records, I can say to you with all the sincerity in my heart, "It has been a good job; it was well done."

We have authorized the expenditure of billions of dollars. They went to save a nation depressed and demoralized, to make it strong again. No one class has been favored above another. In meeting emergencies of the moment we have erected safeguards against the same tragic conditions ever being repeated in the future. We know that our country today is stronger than ever in its history—and that its institutions are as strong as the country itself.

We can say with pride that in a great crisis we did not retreat. We not only have preserved every democratic tradition in these last 8 years but we have fortified them manyfold. I, for one, go back to my people, as this Congress closes, proud that I have had a part in what this record discloses. I leave with a tribute to President Roosevelt, the great leader of this administration, and to you men and women here who have written a glorious and significant chapter into this country's legislative history.

Wallaces' Farmer Belatedly Announces Opposition to the Hull Program of Importing Farm Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, the attached editorial reprinted from the Sioux City Tribune, which for many years was the outstanding Democratic daily newspaper of the Northwest but which is this year supporting Wendell Willkie, is worthy of careful study. It marks another victory in the long fight to give the American farmer the full benefit of the American market for farm products—it adds another potent supporter to the many farm papers, farm organizations, economists, and political leaders who recognize that the American farmer can never lift the mortgage on his farm with the profits earned by foreign producers on competitive farm products sold to the American public. It moves us one step nearer the day when the American farmer will be recognized in his right to enjoy a protected market for his sales just as he is forced to make his purchases in a protected market.

Wallaces' Farmer is one of the old, established farm papers of the farm belt. It carries the name of Henry A. Wallace, former Secretary of Agriculture, on its masthead as "editor, on leave of absence," and while Vice Presidential Candidate Wallace is now thumping the tubs in favor of the New Deal reciprocal trade treaties it is interesting to note that the paper which bears his name is opposed to them. Probably the paper with its farmer audience more nearly represents the needs of American agriculture than Wallace, the politician, with his political audience. In all events, until and unless the ruinous slashes made by the New Deal treaties in the tariffs needed to protect the American producer are once again restored there can be no permanent, all-inclusive, self-sustaining prosperity for the American farmer. Obviously you cannot curtail production at home while increasing importations from abroad and benefit the American farmer in the long-term scheme of things—a protected market for the American farmer is the first step in producing permanently beneficial results under any American farm program.

Fortunately for the American farmer, Wendell Willkie, Republican candidate for President, recognizes this fact and has repeatedly stated that he favors giving the American farmer the American market to the full extent of his ability to supply it at parity prices. The farmers of America on November 5 have an opportunity by their ballots to do more to keep out foreign farm imports than the New Deal has done after being in full command of the situation for almost 8 years—an 8-year period, by the way, which shows farmer income comparing very badly, indeed, with the previous 8 years of Republican administration. But let the following editorial tell its own compelling story:

WALLACES' FARMER FALLS IN LINE FOR AMERICA

Sioux City Tribune: Renunciation of the Hull reciprocal trade agreements policy by Wallaces' Farmers caused a mild sensation in high political circles in Washington and, no doubt, in agricultural circles in Iowa and elsewhere. The Des Moines publication now takes the same stand the Sioux City Tribune has maintained from the start. This newspaper is proud of its consistent record of 5 years of opposition to the Hull policies.

It should be explained, perhaps, that Wallaces' Farmer no longer belongs to the Wallace family. It represents a consolidation of the Iowa Homestead and Wallaces' Farmer. Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, is listed as "editor, on leave of absence."

Secretary Wallace never has been unmindful of the contradiction between his farm policies and the foreign-trade policies of Mr. Hull. Mr. Wallace has access to the Government records and knows that the Hull policy has been responsible for a gradual increase in importations of competitive and substitute products which have curtailed the farmer's domestic sales and cut down the price of his products.

The record of values and displacements of domestic production by imports for the years 1935, 1936, and 1937, as compiled by the Raw

Materials National Council for the National Reclamation Association shows the following results:

Year	Foreign value	United States displacement	United States acres to produce
1935	$812,660,463	$2,656,310,744	73,461,118
1936	869,765,000	2,209,295,000	75,746,570
1937	1,136,802,000	3,410,406,000	87,234,280

These are agricultural displacements and do not include imports of rubber and other products of the ground which this country does not produce. The major items consist of sugar, wool, and cotton manufactures, petroleum (in terms of fuel alcohol), and, perhaps most important of all, vegetable fats and oils.

The Securities and Exchange Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEWART

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT RELATIVE TO OPERATIONS

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement relative to the operations of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION—ESTABLISHED FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC AGAINST THE PURCHASE OF FALSE AND FRAUDULENT SECURITIES

The Securities and Exchange Commission was organized on July 6, 1934, to administer the Securities Exchange Act of 1934. To it was transferred the administration of the Securities Act of 1933, previously administered by the Federal Trade Commission. Since its creation the Commission has been charged with the administration of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, the Trust Indenture Act of 1939, the Investment Company Act of 1940, the Investment Advisers Act of 1940, and the performance of certain duties in connection with corporate reorganization proceedings in the Federal courts as provided for in chapter X of the National Bankruptcy Act.

The basic purpose of the Securities Act of 1933 is to furnish complete and accurate information to prospective investors regarding new issues of securities publicly offered for sale and to afford protection against fraud and misrepresentation. This is accomplished through the medium of a registration statement, which must be filed by the issuer of each new security issue offered for sale to the public in interstate commerce. The Commission has the power to refuse or suspend registration in cases where the information given is incomplete or misleading. Further, the act provides for civil and criminal liability on the part of issuers and others for violations connected with sales of securities.

With the enactment of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 the Federal Government assumed jurisdiction over national securities exchanges and the Commission was charged with the responsibility for supervising those markets. In general, the purposes of this act are threefold. First, the act is designed to prevent unfair practices in the securities markets. To this end stock exchanges and over-the-counter markets are placed under jurisdiction of the Commission, manipulation of securities prices is prohibited, and trading in securities is subject to the regulations of the Commission. Second, the act aims to make available currently to the public sufficient information concerning the management and financial condition of corporations whose securities are traded in the securities markets, to enable investors to act intelligently in handling their investments and in exercising their rights as security holders. For this purpose a registration statement disclosing full information is required for each security listed on an exchange. This information is kept up to date through the filing of periodic reports throughout the corporation's fiscal year, as well as an annual report at the close of the fiscal year. Third, the act regulates the use of credit to finance trading in securities. This is accomplished by the regulation of margin requirements and is administered by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. This act also provides further remedies for injured investors and imposes criminal penalties for violations.

The passage of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935 followed a 6-year investigation of public utilities conducted by the Federal Trade Commission. The act is designed to eliminate abuses and to provide a greater degree of protection for investors and consumers in the financing and operation of public-utility holding companies. Holding companies are required to register with the Commission and, subject to certain exceptions provided in the act, registered companies and their subsidiaries cannot issue or sell securities or acquire securities or utility assets without the consent of the Commission. The act provides for the simplification of the corporate structures of utility holding companies and the confinement of their business to economically integrated units. The Commission has no power to regulate the rates of public utilities.

The purpose of the Trust Indenture Act of 1939 is to bring all indenture trustees up to the high standard of diligence and loyalty now observed by the more conscientious trust institutions. To accomplish this the act provides that all trust indentures filed as part of the Securities Act registration statements conform to prescribed standards.

The Investment Company Act of 1940 provides for the registration and regulation of all types of investment trusts and investment companies. The Investment Advisers Act of 1940 provides for the registration of all persons engaged in the investment advisory business and prescribes prohibitions against certain abuses which have been found to exist. Both measures become effective November 1, 1940.

The revision of the National Bankruptcy Act in 1938 contains the provision that the impartial and expert administrative assistance of the Commission be made available to the courts in the solution of the complex problems presented by corporate reorganizations under chapter X of the act. Upon its own motion, if approved by the court, or upon the request of the court, the Commission may be made a party in any proceeding under that chapter. In addition, if the liabilities of a corporation in reorganization exceed $3,000,000, plans of reorganization are automatically referred to the Commission for an advisory report; and in any case, irrespective of size, the court is privileged to refer plans to the Commission for an advisory report. In every instance, whether as a party to a proceeding or in connection with its reports, the Commission's functions are solely advisory.

The Commission is given certain powers to control the issuance of securities by public-utility holding companies and their subsidiaries under the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, but as regards all other issues of securities the Commission can merely compel disclosure of information in the light of which an investor may adequately form his own opinion.

Since the Securities Act has been in effect more than sixteen and one-half billion dollars of new securities have been effectively registered with the Commission. This means that the issuers of these securities have complied with the truth provisions of that act.

At June 30, 1940, 131 stop orders were in effect, suspending the effectiveness of registration statements covering more than $97,000,000 of securities. As of the same date, 40 consent refusal orders were in effect for $23,000,000 of securities and 1 refusal order was in effect for $333,000 of securities. As of December 31, 1939, 16 statements were effective under notice of deficiency covering $38,520,000 of securities and 679 registration statements had been withdrawn covering securities in excess of $1,401,000,000.

Under the provisions of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, 2,408 issuers, having securities registered on national securities exchanges as of June 30, 1940, had complied with the registration requirements of that act. These issuers included most of the nationally known companies in the United States, many with activities of sectional or local connection and many foreign private issuers as well as foreign governments and their political subdivisions. There were 2,747 stock issues and 1,411 bond issues registered on national securities exchanges. In addition, 1,194 stock issues and 340 bond issues were admitted to unlisted trading privileges, which means that these securities were subject to exchange trading even though issuers need not comply with the listing requirements for stock exchanges or the registration requirements of the Commission. Sales of stocks and bonds on the 20 national securities exchanges registered with the Commission amounted to $13,462,471,000 during the year ended June 30, 1940.

As a result of amendments adopted to the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, the law provides a system of regulation of over-the-counter brokers and dealers through the formation of voluntary associations of brokers and dealers. Individual brokers and dealers, however, are required to register with the Commission. The National Association of Securities Dealers, Inc., is registered with the Commission as a national association of over-the-counter brokers and dealers. At the close of the Commission's fiscal year, June 30, 1940, there were 6,602 registrations of brokers and dealers in effect.

To guard against the misuse of inside information, the Securities Exchange Act requires directors, officers, and large stockholders of listed corporations to file reports of transactions in securities of their respective companies. From January 1, 1936, to June 30, 1940, 190,000 transactions, involving the purchase or sale of 114,000,000 shares of stock of their respective companies, were reported to the Commission under this section of the act.

In proceedings brought under the antimanipulation provisions of the act, the Commission has expelled two persons from membership on the stock exchanges and has suspended for various periods of time six stock-exchange members. In addition to these proceedings, the Commission generally has intensified its prosecution of fraudulent promoters and securities salesmen, swindlers, bucket-shop operators, and others who abuse the confidence of the investing public. During its sixth fiscal year the Commission initiated 55 proceedings with respect to the enforcement of the Securities Act

of 1933, the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, and the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935.

At June 30, 1940, the registered holding companies represented 57 separate public-utility systems, comprising 144 registered holding companies and including 1,493 individual holding, subholding, and operating companies. The total consolidated assets of these companies as of December 31, 1939, approximated $14,500,000,000. There were 188 operating gas- and electric-utility subsidiaries of registered holding companies with assets of over $5,000,000 and with securities outstanding in the hands of the public. The combined assets of these companies at the end of 1939 were approximately 74.7 percent of the total assets of all registered holding-company systems. They served nearly 20,000,000 electric and gas customers at the close of 1939. During the sixth fiscal year integration proceedings were begun with respect to 9 major utility systems, comprising approximately 58 percent of the total consolidated assets of all the systems registered under the act. Simplification proceedings were begun with respect to three systems. The latest figures compiled by the Commission's staff show that as of December 31, 1938, dividend arrearages on outstanding preferred stock of registered holding companies and their electric- and gas-utility subsidiaries amounted to $510,399,654. Of this amount $362,522,198 represented arrearages on preferred stocks of holding companies and $147,877,456 represented arrearages on preferred stocks of operating companies.

During the first 6 months of 1940, 132 companies with assets aggregating approximately $871,400,000 were brought into reorganization proceedings under chapter X of the National Bankruptcy Act. These figures compare with 159 companies, involving assets of $113,400,000, which entered into reorganization proceedings during the last 6 months of 1939 and with 242 companies, having combined assets of $208,600,000, for which petitions for reorganization were filed during the first half of 1939.

The Securities and Exchange Commission has five members, not more than three of whom may be from one political party.

The Commission has 9 regional offices and approximately 1,500 employees.

Willkie Silent on Civil Liberties in Rhode Island Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. J. HOWARD McGRATH

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by Hon. J. Howard McGrath, Democratic candidate for Governor of Rhode Island, delivered on October 11, 1940, over radio station WEAN.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Fellow citizens, now that Candidate Wendell Willkie has visited Rhode Island, it becomes the duty of every citizen carefully to weigh the message which he delivered. He said absolutely nothing about civil liberties, although he had been vigorous in their defense when speaking in New York and New Jersey. Was his silence in Rhode Island due to the fact that to speak of civil liberties would have embarrassed his host, Governor Vanderbilt? I think that Candidate Willkie might well have talked on civil liberties in this State because the wire-tapping episode has taken on national proportions, and constitutes one of the great offenses against civil liberties of recent political history.

I have read every word of the elaborate reports of Candidate Willkie's visit here. I am pleased that he was given an attentive ear, because now the voters of Rhode Island must help either to elect Mr. Willkie as their next President or continue in office the proven champion of democracy and of the people, President Franklin D. Roosevelt. I feel that the reaction of most Rhode Islanders, after analyzing what Candidate Willkie had to say, is more strongly in support of the reelection of the President.

The most unforgivable statement made by Candidate Willkie was his threat to the aged, to the widows, and to the other beneficiaries of the social-security program—that their benefits would end unless he, Candidate Willkie, was elected President. That falsehood is among the most unfortunate statements ever made by a Presidential candidate, and it comes with poor grace from the nominee of a party which had fought, and fought for years, against the adoption of any social-security program. We in Rhode Island know how desperately, how unfairly, and how bitterly the Providence Journal and Evening Bulletin tried to deceive the voters about social security in 1936, when they went so far as to infer that the Government was going to misappropriate the payments to the United States social-security fund. The answer of the people in 1936 was an emphatic endorsement of President Roosevelt and his humanitarian program. I have no doubt that this endorsement will be repeated in 1940.

This Willkie propaganda against the social-security program is not unlike the propaganda which was generated against President Roosevelt in 1932. You will recall that 8 years ago a barrage of misinformation was let loose by the controlled press. It charged that Governor Roosevelt was incompetent, mentally and in every other way, for high office. That propaganda was traced to its source, the very efficient utility lobby. And today we have that utility lobby working more skillfully through its national network of agents trying to convert the White House into a powerhouse.

In the light of that utility propaganda against the President, it is obvious that for more than 7 years Franklin D. Roosevelt has been working steadily to help the American people build an up-to-date democracy, capable of bringing security to the families of this Nation. Farm income and factory pay rolls, the two strong legs of recovery, have more than doubled. Business profits have been restored. The danger to democracy from within, which threatened the Nation in 1932, has been safely met. The Roosevelt remedy was not a resort to dictatorship, which so many conservatives were demanding in 1933, but simply more democracy. The Roosevelt programs gave more social justice to the people. If that revitalization of the Nation's basic resources, who are its men and women, had not taken place, the Nation would not be in physical shape today to meet the threat that now arises outside our borders.

While Candidate Willkie was telling his Rhode Island audiences that he would wipe out the New Deal because it has hurt the workers and business, we read at the same time in the Providence Journal and Evening Bulletin that pay rolls in Rhode Island are 12 percent ahead of 1939 and the largest since 1929. We also read in the same papers that General Motors earnings are the best since 1928. And then, to top it all, we read that Commonwealth & Southern Corporation has earned more without Wendell Willkie as its president. The report shows that since he resigned as president of this vast utility empire, its earnings have increased over last year's figures.

I think you voters of Rhode Island must distinguish very carefully the hybrid campaign being waged in Rhode Island. The Governor and his associates cheered Wendell Willkie when he said labor and business are the victims of the New Deal. Then the Governor and his associates, while campaigning in Rhode Island, tell of increased pay rolls, better business, and give out statements which are in direct contradiction to their attacks upon the New Deal.

Candidate Willkie is applauded by the Governor and his associates when he calls for the repeal of the New Deal. But they then put their tongues in their cheeks and explain that they would not repeal the labor gains and the social-security benefits of the New Deal. Of course, they wouldn't repeal them, because, in the first place, the American voters will not take the risk by giving them an opportunity; and, in the second place, because these labor gains and these social-security benefits are now a part of the American way.

Contrast Candidate Willkie's oblique statements on labor with the forthright attitude of the President. In the face of hostility from the engines of propaganda fired by privileged business, the President has stated that our national-defense program proposes to defend those principles of political, economic, and spiritual equality which distinguish a free people from a slave state. Contrast Candidate Willkie's demands that big business be placed in control of the Federal Government through his election with the solemn warning of President Roosevelt that no business is above the Government, and government should be empowered to deal adequately with any business which tries to rise above its government.

In this clear statement upholding the principle that industry as well as manpower must be subject to conscription for defense, the President drew the basic line of cleavage between his way and Willkie's way:

President Roosevelt believes the interests of all the people come before the interests of a few of the people. Candidate Willkie believes the interests of a few of the people come before the interests of all of the people, and in this attitude Candidate Willkie is supported and applauded by the present Governor of Rhode Island.

On Sunday night last, I inaugurated my radio campaign with special emphasis upon the complete silence of the Republican State platform on the most vital and important matter of national defense. I stressed the point that Rhode Island must march, shoulder to shoulder, with President Roosevelt in matters of national defense. Now the Republicans who are answering for the Governor explain it was not an oversight, that the omission was deliberate. That makes the failure to pledge State aid in the matter of national defense all the more astounding.

We all know that the President has been moving the Nation ahead with an invulnerable defense policy. We all know that the acute and critical world conditions make imperative a foreign policy strengthened by a national-defense program, and it is to this end that the President must be supported. Can you voters of Rhode Island imagine what would happen should President Roosevelt not continue to maintain our foreign policy and our national-defense program? What would happen if these policies now passed into the hands of a man inexperienced in governmental affairs, but trained only in the financial manipulation of great public utilities?

This Nation is fortunate it has President Roosevelt in the White House. It is more fortunate that he would even consent to run again; but he knows, better than any of us, how delicately democracy hangs in the balance in a world upset by international disorder. Yet in the face of these world conditions, in the face of such challenges to our democratic form of government, the Republican State platform deliberately withholds a pledge to the Federal Government on the challenging issue of national defense.

We in Rhode Island live in a State highly industrialized and geared to the necessities and demands of national defense. Every week hundreds of thousands of dollars in Government orders are stepping up our industrial machine. We have the naval establishment at Newport; we are watching the development of the new northeastern naval air base at Quonset Point; we are reading of the pledges from other public officials to work in harmony with the Federal Government on national defense, but the Governor and his platform builders now say they deliberately defaulted on the common impulse of patriotism and refused to back Rhode Island in a pledge to the Federal Government on national defense.

Of course, that may be in line with Wendell Willkie's philosophy that it is all right to conscript the youth of the Nation, but it is wrong to conscript industry. You voters of Rhode Island see the bankruptcy of moral thinking in such a stand. You voters must weigh carefully your decision. I am convinced you will support President Roosevelt and those who are pledged to support him in Rhode Island when you agree with me that the great crisis which now faces the United States cannot be resolved by one who has had no training in our democratic form of government.

How can you voters of Rhode Island do other than help to reelect President Roosevelt, when Candidate Wendell Willkie, by opposing conscription of industry, in effect, says that he cares not how many of the youth of America are called into the defense of their country as long as vested wealth is left alone? I think you voters will agree with me that it would be most tragic to change administrations at Washington during this historic and critical period. President Roosevelt has demonstrated his capacity for leadership. He is the one real figure in all the democratic countries who has stood up as a great leader. We can thank God for his leadership.

President Roosevelt, even though he be the leader of the Democratic Party, has shown by his actions that he is the President of all the people of the United States. He has not bound himself by the limits of party lines in his choice of those best equipped properly to prepare our country for the shocks which are spreading about us today. We, too, as voters with a devotion to our American form of government, to the democratic principles underlying it, and to the impelling demands of these critical hours, must exercise the privilege of our franchise in just as broad and intelligent a manner.

Had I the time tonight, I would have taken the opportunity to review some of the benefits of the New Deal to Rhode Island. I intend to relate them before this campaign is over. I ask you, in bidding good night, to agree with me that the American way is to support that great man in the Presidency whose every energy, every devotion, and every prayer is for our peace of mind, in every way—politically, economically, and spiritually.

The Issue Before the American People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ADDRESS BY ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following statement made by Hon. Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, on Sunday evening, October 13, before the New York and Brooklyn Jewish Charities, in Brooklyn, N. Y.:

The issue before the American people is not a political issue nor an issue to be decided in a political campaign. It is an issue between the American people and themselves, an issue which involves the vitality and the resources of the American soul.

These, I am well aware, are large and ornate words. They are words which a man would have used at the risk of his reputation for sincerity a dozen months ago. But they are words which none of us can help but use today. History, not rhetoric, has put them in our mouths. History has shown us at late last that the issue which divides our time is far more than an issue between armed forces. History has shown us that it is an issue between worlds, an issue which depends more surely on our souls than on our weapons, an issue which no nation can avoid. Specifically and precisely history has made plain to us a fact we had refused before to see—the fact that the enemy which attacks us attacks us not with planes alone, or tanks alone, or arms, but with violence of belief. And the issue which the people of this country face, the issue which lies between this people and itself, is the issue whether or not those who believe in democracy—those specifically who believe in democracy in the United States—can bring against the violence and fanatical obsession of that invading faith a stronger faith, a more resisting ardor of their own.

Before the Battle of France—a battle which may prove to have been more decisive in our own history than in the history of Europe—fascism had seemed to us a force of weapons driven onward by the fear of force behind. But in the Battle of France we learned, in the words of a manifesto issued by a group of the most distinguished scholars in this country, that the enemy were stronger in arms because they were stronger in heart. It was their fanatical faith that gave them wings and fire. It was the singleness of their purpose that quickened the spearhead of their march. In France also we learned that the weakness of the democracies—the weakness, at least, of the democracy which there fell—was not, as we had wished to believe, a weakness only in arms, only in mechanical contrivances. We learned, in the words of the same manifesto, that the blindness of democratic diplomacy and the helplessness of democratic strategy were the external symptoms of a decay of the men. Lip service to conventional ideals went together with delay and evasion. This they called appeasement. It implied that no conviction is worth fighting for and that the boundaries between good and evil had fallen. Military defeat was the embodiment of moral abdication.

It was the Battle of France which posed the issue we now face. Before that battle we had thought ourselves spectators of a war in Europe. After it we knew the war was not in Europe but nearer—in the darker and more vulnerable countries of men's hearts. And after it we were not certain it was we who were spectators.

But the Battle of France did more than pose this issue. It weighted it—and weighted it against us. Before the Battle of France we had not understood—as a nation we had not understood—that the vitality of our democratic faith was put in issue. After the Battle of France we feared the issue was already lost. We had learned at late last that the war was not, as we had wished to believe, a war between European powers which wanted conflicting things but a war between human beings who believed conflicting things. We had learned that the differences of belief were differences as to the kind of society in which men should live. We had learned that those who believed in the kind of society in which we also believe were opposed not only by weapons, not only by machines but by other men who believed, and believed fanatically, in the total destruction of that society. We had found that in the fighting which followed it was those who believed fanatically in destruction who had been stronger and those who believed in the society in which we believe who had been less strong—less strong not only in their weapons but in their devotion to their cause. And we had wondered. We had wondered whether the sickness of democracy in France would prove to be the sickness of democracy in every country. We had wondered whether democracy, which had been unable to match conviction with conviction and certainty with certainty in France, would be unable to match conviction with conviction elsewhere. We still are wondering. We are wondering whether democracy in the United States has other spiritual weapons than the doubts and misgivings which 10 years of depression and 20 years of skepticism provided for the men of France to fight with.

It is of this fear I wish to speak tonight. And to speak as candidly and earnestly as I am capable of speaking. It is a fear which exists—and which exists in the minds not of foolish or of frightened people but in the minds of responsible men who love this country as well as any of its people love it. It is also an understandable fear, for events which all of us have witnessed make it understandable. It is not a fear, therefore, which scornful men can put aside, or which demagogues can shout down, or which the patriotic societies can suppress with resolutions. It is a fear of which we must take account. But it is nevertheless—or so at least it seems to me—a fear which rises, first, from an entire misconception of the American spirit and the history of the American spirit; and a fear, secondly, which results from a failure to understand the issue of our time in its own terms, in its actual terms, rather than the terms in which the propaganda of our enemies presents it to us.

The actual issue is an issue which puts the vitality of democratic faith over against the fanatical destructiveness of fascism. It is an issue which presents the question whether or not democracy is still a fighting faith this Nation can defend. But the issue which the propaganda of our enemies presents to us is not this issue. It is not an issue between belief in democracy upon the one hand and the frenzy of the Fascists on the other. It is an issue between the frenzy of the Fascists, on the one hand, and, on the other, belief in the kind of world men and money and machines have built and called democracy. It is an issue between the new and iron cause for which the Fascists say a people can forget itself and sacrifice itself and go without and suffer, and, if need be, die, and, on the other side a world of goods and things and comforts and amusements with nothing to believe in but more goods, more things. It is the issue which the propaganda of fascism presented to the people of France. And it is an issue which, if we accept, we accept also certain and irretrievable disaster. For if democracy is not democracy itself, but the thing the Fascists say it is—if democracy is the world of innumerable automobiles, and the best telephone system on earth, and a new gadget just around the corner, and the radios drivelling on in the hotel lobbies 18 hours out of 24, and the simpering legs in the magazine advertisements, and the simpering voices on the movie screen, and the hundreds of thousands of miles

of roadside billboards with the billboard faces, and the 10,000,000 of unemployed waiting for the next boom—then democracy cannot survive attack, for democracy is not a cause that men will fight for.

Those who, calling themselves defenders of democracy, are willing to accept the issue in these terms—those who, calling themselves defenders of democracy, are willing to undertake to defend democracy along the line chosen for them by the propaganda of their enemies—those who, calling themselves defenders of democracy, are willing to say that democracy is heaps of goods and piles of things and ways of making money, and that the fighters for democracy are fighters for these treasures—those who take the issue in these terms are honest men perhaps but foolish men and men who have not very well considered. For this is not the issue. Democracy has never been and is not now and never can become a way of trade, a world of goods, a heap of products, whether those products are of gold or steel or corn or silk or what not; whether the trade is large or small or free or planned or neither. And only a very foolish man, only a man who had no understanding of the word, or what it was, or what it had been, would take the issue in these terms and let his enemies compel him to defend, not the dream of freedom in the mind, not the way of freedom toward the future, but things already made, systems established, ways of trading, heaps of goods piled up.

The true issue is not this issue; and democracy itself is not the world that men and money and machines built in the nineteenth century and called democracy. The real issue is an issue to be fought in the hard and stony passes of the human spirit—the strict Thermopylaes of time where even if a man is killed he cannot die. And democracy itself is neither things nor goods nor fatness and indifference and an empty heart but winter on the Massachusetts Bay and cold at Trenton and the gunfire in Kentucky and the hungry ground. The real issue is an issue between the frenzy on the one side of a herded, whipped-up crowd-begotten cause, and on the other side the single man's belief in liberty of mind and spirit, and his willingness to sacrifice his goods and comforts and his earnings for its sake.

The democratic faith which swept the world—the democratic faith which men believed in and men fought for, the faith which men believe in and will fight for still—is not a faith in things or goods or fortunes. John Milton knew the democratic faith that men will fight for. He spoke of it, not once but often:

"And as for you, citizens, it is of no small concern what manner of men ye are, whether to acquire or to keep possession of your liberty. Unless your liberty be of that kind which can neither be gotten nor taken away by arms—and that alone is such which springing from piety, justice, temperance, in fine from real virtue, shall take deep and intimate root in your minds—you may be assured there will not be wanting one who, even without arms, will speedily deprive you of what it is your boast to have gained by force of arms. * * * For know—that you may not feel resentment or be able to blame anybody but yourselves—that as to be free is precisely the same thing as to be pious, wise, just, and temperate; careful of one's own; abstinent from what is another's; and thence in fine, magnanimous, and brave; so to be the opposite of these is the same thing as to be a slave; and by the wonted judgment and, as it were, by the just retribution of God it comes to pass that the Nation which has been incapable of governing and ordering itself and has delivered itself up to the slavery of its own lusts is itself delivered over against its will to other masters—and whether it will or no is compelled to serve."

John Milton's democracy was a democracy in which men believed. It was a democracy for which a band of sober and unmilitary men fought as armies had not fought before them. It was a faith more powerful than any faith or cause which could be brought against it. It has been a faith more powerful than any other for three centuries of time and on two continents. It is still a faith more powerful than any other. All our history has made this plain. Whenever in the history of this Nation we have given ourselves to the labor of creating upon this continent a life in which every man might have the freedom of his mind we have been confident and certain of our future and assured and asked no questions either of ourselves or anyone. Whenever we have given ourselves to other labors we have lost the meaning of our lives and lost our certainty and questioned everyone, and most of all ourselves.

Three generations back in the thirties and the forties of the last century when the 400-foot side wheelers with the crystal chandeliers and the mahogany bars and the eight-course dinners and the filagree funnels with their sparks like crazy stars went hooting and slapping up the Ohio and the Hudson and the Mississippi, the Americans had no questions about themselves. They had a job to do. They had the toughest job a people ever undertook—the job of clearing and settling and tying together with ships and roads and rails and words and names the largest area lived on as a single social unit by any nation, at any time. They had the job of creating on an undiscovered continent a country where a hundred million men could live in freedom from the rest and from each other. They had the actual and present job of clearing on this continent the quarter sections where a man could build his freedom out of logs and nails. And while they had that job to do they asked no questions. They knew what men they were. They were the smartest, toughest, luckiest, leanest, all-around knowingest nation on God's green earth. Their way of living was the handsomest way of living human beings had ever hit. Their institutions were the institutions history had been waiting for. If you had told them anyone else had a harder hold on the earth than they did, or anyone else believed in himself more than they believed in themselves, they would have laughed in your face. And gone on with their working.

Who they were, what they were, never bothered the Americans. Virginia gentlemen and Boston philosophers and Long Island poets and visiting British lecturers might write and talk and wonder about American manners and American origins and American politics and the American soul. Americans didn't wonder. They knew all about them. They knew about origins. They had all the origins of Europe in their veins before the century was over—all the races a man ever heard of and a lot more besides. Races didn't bother the Americans. They were something a lot better than any race. They were a people. They were the first self-constituted, self-declared, self-created people in the history of the world. And their manners were their own business. And so were their politics. And so, but 10 times more so, were their souls.

The blue-faced ladies of Boston and New York who had wintered in Rome or Paris might deplore the polished brass spittoons in the parlors of American hotels, but the Americans didn't deplore them. The Americans didn't notice them.

The Long Island poet might celebrate the Americans in his own person * * * "of pure American breed, of reckless health, his body perfect, free from taint from top to toe, free forever from headache and dyspepsia, full-blooded, 6 feet high, a good feeder, never once using medicine." The Americans didn't celebrate themselves.

Who an American was and what he was was nothing to talk about. You could see for yourself. An American was a man who had the luck to be born on this continent where the heat was hotter and the cold was colder and the sun was brighter and the nights were blacker and the distances were farther and the faces were nearer and the rain was more like rain and the mornings were more like mornings than anywhere else on earth—sooner and sweeter and lovelier over unused hills.

An American was a man who knew which way to take to reach tomorrow. An American was a man who could let himself in and let himself out and nobody asking him "please"—not even the President. An American was a man who never asked anyone anything—who he was or where he came from or what he did—because it was answer enough to be a man. At least, in America.

That was the way it used to be in this country. That was the way it was while the people of this country were clearing the quarter sections for a free man's fields.

That is the way it can be, once again. For democracy is never a thing done. Democracy is always something that a nation must be doing The quarter sections which were freedom a hundred years ago are now not freedom. Freedom will be somewhere else. But the labor of creating freedom is the same. And the cause is the same. And the faith is the same. And the consequence.

Those who fear for America, thinking of France, can give themselves an answer. Democracy in America will not fall of itself like a rotten apple if democracy in America is democracy in action, not democracy accomplished and piled up in goods and gold. For democracy in action—the unending labor of creating liberty for every man—democracy in action is a cause for which the stones themselves will fight.

There are those, and they are not few, who tell us now that liberty must retire; that democracy must retire; that labor must retire; that the Jews must retire and not be seen and not be Jews; that anything that any man might question must retire; that the Nation must be unified along the cautious shores of silence and beyond dissent.

Let them look out at others who retired, others who waited, others who drew back.

Let them look back upon the history of this people.

In the wars of the spirit—and this we know now is a war in which the spirit is our weapon—in the wars of the spirit there is no defense but to attack. In the wars of democracy there is only one retreat, and that retreat is forward. For in the wars of democracy, in the wars of the human spirit it is faith which will decide the issue. And faith cannot be faith against but for.

Expresses Appreciation to Conference of Mayors for Cooperation With National Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER], I ask unanimous consent

to have printed in the RECORD a letter written by the President on September 12, 1940, to the United States Conference of Mayors, which was then in session in Washington, D. C.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, September 12, 1940.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT LAGUARDIA: I cannot let the occasion of the 1940 Annual Conference of the United States Conference of Mayors pass without expressing to the chief executives of the major cities of our country my personal appreciation of the splendid cooperation which has been extended to the National Government during these past few months. Once each year for the past 7 years you have met with representatives of the Federal Government for the purpose of discussing the many mutual problems facing both levels of government—national and local. And once each year since 1933 I have had the pleasure of either sending a message to you or you have come to the White House to talk with me about our common responsibilities.

Up to last year our main problems have been domestic and internal in character. We have jointly been engaged in building a finer and a better nation—a better land in which to live and to work under the protection and blessings of a democratic system of government.

We have worked with you in providing employment for the destitute unemployed through a sound and humane work program. This has been the American way of providing aid to our needy unemployed. We have put into actual operation a broad program of social security, including old-age assistance, aid to dependent children and the blind, old-age benefits, and unemployment insurance. We have cooperatively developed a public-housing program for low-income groups which has taken those who were forced to live in the slums out of these slums. Notable advances have been made in extending our public-health services and facilities. New opportunities have been given to the youth of our country. Through a gigantic P. W. A. building program, largely conducted by the cities through Federal loans and grants, we have brought to the people of our cities enlarged and more efficient governmental services. I need not indicate to the mayors and other municipal officers of our major cities the great social gains which have been attained in these and many other directions.

As you meet this year to consider ways and means of preserving the progress that has been made you know that your National Government finds itself confronted with an added duty and responsibility. That duty and responsibility, stripped of all its verbiage, involves the basic task of seeing to it that our people in this part of the world continue to live and to work under their own system of government without interference from the people and the governments in certain other parts of the world.

And let me emphasize: This solemn responsibility of building a defense for the protection of our democracy is not only a responsibility of the Federal Government; it is the joint responsibility of all our governments—Federal, State, and local. For while the Government must, of course, assume the leadership for a defense program, successful execution of that program depends in no small measure on the efforts of the communities in all sections of our country.

In the present defense program the cooperation of the municipal governments is proving to be an essential factor. Important work is already being carried on by the cities in an effective manner. Municipal police departments are aiding the Department of Justice on matters of espionage, sabotage, subversive activities, and other law-enforcement duties. Municipal vocational schools in over 400 cities are being utilized in the training of skilled workers needed for defense industries. Municipal airports constitute the backbone of the civilian pilot-training program and certain military air-training activities.

Municipal housing authorities are providing housing for enlisted personnel at Army and Navy establishments and for workers in expanding defense industries. Municipal officials have assisted defense industries in expansion plans and in the location of new plants and factories. Local arrangements for the protection and civil defense of water supplies, power stations, arteries of transport, and other key points have been put into effect. Many cities have enacted laws providing that municipal employees called into active military service shall retain their civil-service status and promotional and pension rights. To function in this whole general cooperative endeavor and at the specific suggestion of the Conference of Mayors made to me last June, there has now been created, as you undoubtedly know, a Division of State and Local Cooperation in the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense.

This demonstration of teamwork shows above all else that unity of action, without partisanship or politics, can be achieved in a democracy when an emergency confronts us.

I am particularly happy to note that for the first time in the history of municipal government in the United States an official delegation of Canadian mayors representing the cities of our neighbor and friend to the North is participating with you in your general discussions. Their counsel and advice are welcomed and should be most helpful.

I send my personal greetings to all of you, and I know that the results of your deliberations will be of importance both to the cities and to the Federal Government.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Hon. F. H. LAGUARDIA,
President, the United States Conference of Mayors, 730 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Involvement in War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON
OF COLORADO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT WRISTON, OF BROWN UNIVERSITY

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, we have become so accustomed to steps ever faster and ever firmer taking us to war that we hardly notice them any longer. Familiarity has bred contempt. Nevertheless, tomorrow, October 16, 1940, Conscription Day, marks the most solemn day in American history since April 6, 1917, if we would be honest with ourselves. Draft Day should be approached with prayer, mediation, and straight thinking. It is time for us to stop deceiving ourselves.

On October 1, President Henry M. Wriston, of Brown University, at the opening of the one hundred and seventy-sixth academic year of that university, made a speech which should be placed in the hands of every registrant tomorrow. I ask unanimous consent to have this great address printed in the Appendix of the RECORD as a challenge to American thought.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News of October 8, 1940]

ARE WE GOING TO WAR?

Again and quite against my will, I must speak about war. When I first referred to the subject before a Brown audience, in the spring of 1937, I reminded those before me that "if war comes and America becomes involved, your lives are at stake." It did not then seem likely.

The year before the President of the United States had asserted, with entire conviction I am sure, that American youth would not have to fight again; that the battles of the future were to be waged not with arms, but with implements of social progress. "We do not need to take up arms; we are not called upon to die; we can carry on a national war for the cause of humanity without shedding blood."

PEACE BY PEOPLES

Not many months after his inauguration he had declared that governments would not make war because peoples would compel their governments to make peace. "From now on war by governments shall be changed to peace by peoples."

One Prime Minister of Great Britain had expressed skepticism whether the army would obey orders to fight on the continent of Europe. His successor was shortly to promise "peace in our time."

PROMISE NO DRAFT

We have not met in undergraudate convocation since the President declared, in all sincerity and with deep conviction I am sure, that there would be no proposal to draft men for our Army and Navy. On May 28 he stated that "there was no thought in Government today to revive the draft system, whether of men or money."

He believed that the United States could make all essential preparations without sacrifice (even of chocolate sodas for the ladies).

He was urging Congress to adjourn and saw no purpose in its session except the amiable (and useless) one of making speeches. It was not until June 7 that the President gave his first inferential backing to the idea of conscription.

MARCH OF EVENTS

I do not refer to these facts to criticize the President, but to give a historical setting to the first point I want to make this morning: You are called upon to make a swift and drastic adjustment in outlook, and you must do that not in the light of any words or promises but by reflection upon the meaning and significance of events.

The President of the United States has said (and I do not in the least question his sincerity in the statement) that while he is President he will not send an American boy to fight in Europe. He has put it in very strong language indeed.

"The simple truth is that no person in any responsible place in the national administration * * * or in any State government, or in any city government, or in any county government, has ever suggested in any shape, manner, or form the remotest possibility of sending the boys of American mothers to fight on the battlefields of Europe." That seems perfectly explicit. In less explicit terms he repeated the promise on September 11, 1940.

Mr. Willkie (I assume with equal conviction) has echoed that sentiment.

RESTRICTS GUARD

Congress has given the President the power to use the National Guard only in this hemisphere (from the eastern tip of Greenland to the westernmost islands of the Hawaiian group), or in the United States possessions.

Congress clearly intends to keep an army out of Europe. General Pershing, who led the American Expeditionary Force, is of the same mind. The American Legion agrees heartily. American public opinion is overwhelmingly of that same persuasion.

But, in all solemnity, and weighing my words with care, I urge you not to be in the least deceived by any of them. They would not deceive you purposely, but they may deceive you nonetheless, and since your lives are concerned, it is the substance of the deceit, not the will to deceive, which is of decisive importance.

To those who belong to my generation, it sometimes seems that we must have slipped a cog in the great continuity and are living over again experiences long past and half forgotten.

THE SAME STORY

For there was a war in Europe before. At that time also we were determined to be neutral.

President Wilson sought to find ways to end the war, and Colonel House, the moral equivalent of Sumner Welles, went about the belligerent capitals seeking a way to peace. Our ambassadors, some of them then, as some of them now, were partisan and not wholly discreet.

In the midst of all the tension, then as now, there came a Presidential campaign. It was won on a slogan which described the past but which was clearly understood to be a promise for the future—"he kept us out of war." That promise, whatever its moral quality of sincerity or insincerity, was not kept—and we went into the war

NO OVERSEAS ARMY

But the parallel does not stop there. While the issue of war was impending, as it is today, there was little or no anticipation that if the United States entered the war it would send a vast army to Europe.

It was asserted again and again that the quickest way "to hit Germany is to help the Allies" with money, munitions, supplies. It was assumed that the Navy could be of great, perhaps of decisive, assistance.

The French Ambassador gave assurance that there would be no need to send "any men to France except a detachment, for sentimental reasons."

CREDITS AND SUPPLIES

When Wilson, in his war message to Congress in April 1917, listed what was involved in American participation, he put first, financial credits; second, the organization and mobilization of material resources; third, an increase in the Navy; and fourth, an army.

Many people felt then, as now, that naval power and economic resources would tip the scale sufficiently to produce an Allied victory. Even after British and French missions came to this country, it was not realized how large an expeditionary force would have to be organized.

Yet we sent 1,000,000 men overseas, planned a second.

Then, as now, the Germans had the initiative; the Allies were on the defensive. The defeat and defection of Russia, like the diplomatic reversal of Russia a year ago and the defeat and defection of France this summer, left the British with their backs to the wall. Then, as now, the Irish situation opened a weak spot in their armor.

It was necessary not only to strengthen the Allied financial structure * * * to beat the submarine and get supplies from America but to wrest the initiative from the Germans and carry the war to them and, by the weight of military force, defeat them.

IDENTICAL SITUATION

Today the problem is the same. We miss the point completely if we feel that a failure in the attempt to invade England would settle the war. Even if, in addition, attacks on Gibraltar and Egypt and Suez were to fail, there still would remain the necessity of gaining the initiative and defeating the Germans.

Mr. Churchill has never been deceived upon that point. He made it both explicit and luminously clear when he said: "We must prepare not only for the summer but for the winter, not only for 1941 but for 1942, when the war will, I trust, take a different form from the defensive in which it has hitherto been bound."

THEY'LL NEED MEN

When the time comes to invade Europe there will still be a nation of less than 50,000,000 who must establish a bridgehead in Europe and attack Germany and its allies with three times the population and with the advantage of interior lines of communication. Economic power must be supported by man power; equipment must be manned with adequate personnel.

Therefore, if we become involved in this war, the determination of Mr. Roosevelt, or the decision of Mr. Willkie, never again to send American boys to fight in Europe will be overwhelmed by the swift pressure of events, just as the events of 9 days altered by the explicit position of the President had theretofore taken on the draft.

IT CAN BE DONE

It will take only a few days and a few bitter words for Congress to strike out the restriction about using the armed forces in the Western Hemisphere, or mayhap an Attorney General by some ingenious oversights and some cleverly strained interpretations will find a way to prove that Congress regarded Western Europe as part of the Western Hemisphere—that Congress really was trying to avoid sending an expeditionary force to Asia.

Prophecy is dangerous, but I run little risk in predicting that if we enter the war, the same forces which kept us from limited participation before will operate, and even more swiftly, again. You cannot have limited war and total war together. It would be fantastic for 46,000,000 British, or if we include the dominions, 73,000,000, to fight, while 131,000,000 Americans merely produce. The weight of numbers is of vast importance in the military scale. The whole weight would all be thrown in to get a quick victory and a clear decision before the forces of disintegration arising from war-weariness could stop the fighting with the issue still doubtful.

That almost happened before. Indeed, some insist that it did happen before—that peace was made too soon, that the armistice should have been signed in Berlin.

WE WILL FIGHT IN EUROPE

If, therefore, we enter the war, not only will you fight it, but you will fight it on and over the soil of Europe. That may not be a palatable statement. Many people will feel it is not correct; others, who feel in their heart of hearts that it is true, will feel this is not the moment to make it. Both those groups will be composed overwhelmingly of people who will not do the fighting. You, who will do the fighting, are entitled to hear it; whether you believe it or not is your own business.

It is not going about the matter backward to have reserved till now the question: Are we going to war? If our participation could be limited and partial, the question would hardly be worth asking; only if going to war means total war, as I believe it does, is the question not only worth asking but really of vital importance.

"WAR IS COMING"—BULLITT

The clearest and most direct answer to this question was made on Sunday, August 18, 1940, by an American Foreign Service officer, whose opportunities for observation and whose influence with the President are both exceptional.

He had the approval of the Department of State, which circulated his speech. Ambassador Bullitt put it in the most explicit terms: "War is coming toward the Americas."

At what pace? Again his answer is definite. "It is my conviction, drawn from my own experience and from the information in the hands of our Government in Washington, that the United States is in as great peril today as was France a year ago. The fighting line of the war for the enslavement of the human spirit is nearing our shores."

PERILS CITED

With his central thesis that war is coming toward the Americas it seems impossible to disagree. War anywhere in the world imperils the peace of the United States. Even so small a fracas as the Ethiopian war produced noticeable tensions. The conflict in the Far East has had profound effects upon our policy and naval strategy; many have come to believe that war with Japan is inevitable.

As war spreads in space the danger becomes more acute; as it continues in time the hazards are multiplied; and as it grows in bitterness and fury the perils are compounded. When war is waged upon the basis of a political theory openly hostile to our own, upon a principle of military supremacy over civilian political management, the danger is greatly intensified.

CANADIAN ALLIANCE

When the war spreads so far that a neighbor (like Canada) whose integrity we have guaranteed is involved, we are on the very brink of a defensive alliance. When other neighbors, near in space or near in a tradition of political orientation (the Monroe Doctrine), give clear evidence of a temptation to join more or less intimately in political ideology or economic partnership with a military aggressor, there is just cause for alarm.

When Denmark was conquered there arose the threat that the strategically important Greenland, part of the Western Hemisphere, might come into the hands of a hostile European power.

When Holland was conquered there was imminent danger that Dutch Guiana and the Dutch islands, Curaçao and Aruba, with their large oil refineries and storage facilities, might come under the sovereignty of Germany.

Such events would constitute a direct challenge to the determination of Congress and the President not to "acquiesce in any attempt to transfer any geographic region of the Western Hemisphere from one non-American power to another non-American power."

GOING TOWARD WAR

Not only is war coming toward us; even more important is the fact that the United States is moving toward war. To establish the truth of that remark one has only to think back over the events of a single year.

A year ago Congress was getting ready a new neutrality bill, described to me by a Senator who voted for it as a cowardly abandonment of our rights. Senator BARKLEY, in supporting it, expressed the temper of Congress accurately: "Because I want no war * * * I propose to vote for a measure which involves the greatest sacrifice ever made by any nation in the history of mankind in order to avoid war." It was the only possible argument in justification of the bill; it came close to a plea for peace at any price.

MORAL PARTISANSHIP

But the seeds of a different attitude were already planted. The President endorsed moral partisanship: "Even a neutral cannot be asked to close his mind or his conscience." The right of expressing unneutral judgments he and others began to exercise.

Moral partisanship and its verbal expression paved the way for material partisanship. The extraordinary rhythm of the struggle accentuated the tendency. The Polish debacle was so swift that sympathy was not mobilized. For a time thereafter the slow pace of the war made words seem safe. * * *

OPINION SWINGS

Then occurred an interlude of first importance in reshaping American opinion. Finland was attacked. The grounds for the attack were transparently flimsy. The nature of the attack was brutal; the defense courageous. To cap the climax, the aggressor was Russia, whose government never had many friends in America. * * * A passionate outburst of anger spilled over from words to "measures short of war" in defense of Finland.

Neutrality seemed a craven device, and a new pattern—a pattern of partisan nonbelligerency on the Italian model—was set. It did not save Finland, but it destroyed the substance of neutrality as a policy.

TEMPO GROWS

When Denmark and Norway, then Holland and Belgium were attacked with the same lightning strokes as Poland, the speed of German success could not again short-circuit American sympathy. Americans had sensed the fact that the fate of Finland somehow menaced the rest of Scandinavia, and blazed into indignation at fresh attacks on weak and inoffensive powers.

Partisanship was implemented by an opinion of the acting Attorney General by which the way was opened to ship arms and ammunition owned by the United States Government to the Allies in great quantities.

Airplanes, which had been going through the absurd legal maneuver of coming down on the American side of an international landing field and then being dragged over the boundary by towlines now, in accordance with another opinion, made nonstop flights to Canadian airports. The National Defense Commission coordinated its work with the Allied Purchasing Commission in such a way as to give great impetus to the manufacture and delivery of supplies to the Allies—as well as to the United States. The refusal of Henry Ford to make airplane engines for a foreign power subjected him to violent criticism.

PLEDGES MATERIAL AID

The President, seizing the leadership of this public feeling, took a vigorously partisan stand in his famous "dagger in the back" speech at the University of Virginia. He declared that "the whole of our sympathies" were with the Allies, and promised to "extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this Nation." His exchange of messages with Premier Reynaud, of France, was obviously designed to keep France in the war if that was at all possible. * * *

He went further still in aid to Britain—specifically through the exchange of destroyers for the lease of naval bases and the acceptance of two bases as a welcome gift from Britain.

ENTANGLING ALLIANCE

By this transaction an act of war and a 99-year entanglement with Britain were united in a single episode. With a touch of humor Prime Minister Churchill referred to the matter in Parliament: "The British Empire and the United States will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage."

He was not to be trapped into using the word "alliance," much less the word "entangling." But the substance of his thought is clear in the next words, serious in tone, and triumphant:

"For my own part, looking out upon the future, I do not view the process with any misgivings. No one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it roll on in full flood, inexorable, irresistible, to broader lands and better days."

The implications of those remarkable phrases were not lost upon his hearers. They should be the subject of careful reflection upon the part of each of us.

Equally far reaching was the Executive agreement with Canada. As early as August 1938 the President had given Canada "assurance that * * * the United States will not stand idly by if the domination of Canadian soil is threatened * * *."

JOINT DEFENSE

By the summer of 1940 * * * a mutual agreement a permanent joint board on defense was set up. * * *

What the nature and extent of that new relationship is to be, we have as yet no clear official intimation. It seems altogether likely, however, that one of the projects under consideration is the training of pilots for the British air force upon the soil of the United States.

After the Canadian-American joint board was set up we entered upon what the diplomats describe as "conversations," with Australia and Great Britain, looking to a new relationship with the Commonwealth "down under" in dealing with Pacific and Far Eastern questions.

About what that relationship is to be, we have unfortunately no official information, but it is probably safe to say that it is even more sweeping and significant than the acquisition of the bases and the Executive agreement with Canada, Mr. Churchill's witty remark about being "mixed up" gives us a better index than is available from American official sources.

CAN'T BE IN AND OUT

Active collaboration and coordination of a neutral with a belligerent to help overcome an actual enemy of one and a potential enemy of the other stretches the concept of neutrality to the point of absurdity.

It is amazing that no one has called it an entangling alliance. It is no wonder,therefore, that now, as in 1917, men are beginning to say that war is inevitable. As a former Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Standley, put it, "Let us drop all pretentions and subterfuge * * * when we are really in a state of war."

A considerable group has demanded a frank declaration of war, and one great daily has declared, "The least costly solution in both life and welfare would be to declare war on Germany at once." I assure you that no force will operate more speedily to bring us into the war than a kind of fatalistic feeling that it is inevitable.

PROPAGANDA

A year ago everyone was on the alert to detect and denounce propaganda. It went so far as to be almost a national psychosis. But we have made a marvelous recovery. Not content with foreign propaganda, we set up agencies of our own.

One of the men engaged in it told me only day before yesterday that he felt like the proprietor of a marionette show—he stands behind the scenes and pulls the strings—and men do just as he tells them without any apparent reflection or volition of their own.

F. D.'S FAMILY IN IT

Propaganda has become so fashionable that the President's family engages in it. As college opens a propaganda film sponsored by the President's son and with a foreword by the President's wife is released across the country, and in a few days you all will have seen Pastor Hall.

What a year ago was regarded as expensive poison is now a profitable part of our regular diet. The transition in emotional orientation is indicated by the change from Robert Sherwood's Idiot's Delight, with Lunt and Fontanne, to his new play, There Shall Be No Night, with the same figures in the leading roles.

Thus far I have studiously made this a historical narrative—as objective as one can in the face of world shattering events. What conclusions may we draw?

MUST PREPARE

The first is that we have already so far committed ourselves in proclaiming our enmity to all that nazi-ism and fascism, and Japanese imperialism stand for, and in identifying our interests with those of Britain, that it would be folly to be unprepared.

We have performed deeds which they might well construe as acts of war, if they chose. Now that control of the Atlantic by the English Fleet is in peril, we certainly need a two-ocean navy. An army is equally a necessity.

Therefore, however one may feel about some aspects of the debate upon the draft, however one may resent that Members of Congress played politics with the issue, nevertheless there was a full, if not a perfectly candid, debate; and public opinion carried Congress forward instead of Congress leading the public.

DRAFT INEVITABLE

The events in Europe and in Asia and the American attitude toward them have made the draft inevitable. And I am assuming that, as sensible men who must face the realities of the world, you will accept that inevitable with good grace.

PUT NO TRUST IN LAW

The second conclusion which I suggest is that we have come thus far on the road to war partly because it seemed so easy to stay out.

We trusted in a law—despite the experience of prohibition.

The neutrality law was more futile in achieving its purposes than that famous amendment.

From this point on steps toward war should be taken with eyes wide open and with the question always before us, "Is this step in the interests of the United States?"

WHAT ARE MUTUAL INTERESTS?

How far are our interests and those of Britain the same and how far are they different? It seems perfectly evident to me that for the last 20 years we have underestimated the extent of the common interests of the British Commonwealth and the United States.

It seems almost equally clear that we are at this moment in danger, at least, of overestimating those common interests and assuming an identity which appears much more realistic in the present circumstances than it will at the peace conference.

That leads me to the final conclusion—and it is the same conclusion at which I arrived a year ago at the opening of college.

WHAT IS THE PLAN?

The object of war is peace.

Many a victory won by soldiers * * * has been lost by the statesmen at the conference table. It will do no good to overthrow

Hitler or Mussolini or Konoye only to have Stalin or Franco or anarchy, for that matter, in their places.

Twenty years ago we turned aside from making common cause with England and France in a tripartite treaty of guaranty. Twenty years ago we turned aside from an orderly structure of the world in a League of Nations.

In the last few years we have turned aside for the third time from our own proposal for a judicial court to deal with international questions of a litigious nature. And I have heard no proposal for a constructive peace since the overthrow of France.

In fact, the general attitude seems to be one of utter pessimism regarding the possibility of a world organized for peace upon principles of justice and freedom and where ethical standards in international relations will be high.

MUST FACE PRICE

It was a great triumph to overthrow the Kaiser. I think the things that he stood for menaced our lives and deserved to be overthrown.

But we ought by now to realize that it was not very sensible to overthrow the Kaiser in order to pave the way for Hitler. The United States has left a permanent scar upon its own life because by war it ended slavery but then proceeded to dodge the problem of the Negro.

I am ready to grant, indeed to assert, that the world must see an end to totalitarianism, but that is not an adequate reason for going to war. You must first decide what you will put in its place and what price you will pay to maintain the peace after the victory is won.

To go to war for negative reasons alone is to invite again the disillusionment and the disasters from which the world is now suffering.

Gentlemen, think on these things.

Section 11 of the Public Utility Holding Company Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY ROBERT E. HEALY

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, at the request of the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER], who is not present, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a very thoughtful and scholarly address by Commissioner Robert E. Healy, of the Securities and Exchange Commission, before the Section of Public Utility Law at the convention of the American Bar Association on September 10, 1940, on section 11 of the Public Utility Holding Co. Act.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

At Boston, in 1936, I had the privilege of addressing this section of the American Bar Association. My subject was the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935. At that time the act had been on the books for about a year. The constitutionality of its principal requirement, registration, had not been passed upon by the Supreme Court. Opinions on that point differed sharply, as the minutes of the Boston meeting will prove, if proof is needed. I refrained at that time from discussing section 11 of the act for several reasons; we had had little experience with it; its principal provision was not operative until 1938; I did not feel that my thoughts on the section were in good order. Since that time the registration requirements have been upheld by the Supreme Court (*Electric Bond & Share Co. v. Securities and Exchange Commission*, 303 U. S. 419). When that case was decided, two Justices, Cardozo and Reed, did not participate. Of the remaining seven, one, Justice McReynolds, appointed by President Wilson, dissented. Of the remaining six who concurred, one was appointed by President Roosevelt, one by President Harding, one by President Wilson, one by President Coolidge, and two by President Hoover.

But section 11 has not been passed on by the Supreme Court or even by lower courts either as to its construction or its constitutional validity. But we have had further experience under that section. We have instituted so-called integration proceedings under section 11 (b) (1) against nearly all the large holding companies and simplification proceedings under section 11 (b) (2) against several. As a result of much discussion the hearing of arguments and what I assume to designate as thinking, I have come to the point where I want to talk about section 11 and not much else besides.

For various reasons, one of them political, I shall deliberately refrain from any extensive discussion of the acts and practices which led to the enactment of the statute. My purpose is to discuss section 11 as a lawyer, to present my views as a lawyer to a group of other lawyers who will understand clearly whatever I am able to state clearly. It should be remembered that what I have to say represents my own personal views and not necessarily those of the other members of the Commission. I plan to canvass several problems which are presented by section 11 and some of the possible answers. Though I do not propose to constantly repeat such phrases as "it is asserted," "it has been claimed," etc., I do hope to treat the subject objectively. My purpose is to make this a lawyer's paper. It will therefore probably be very dull. I hope it may at least stimulate our thinking, yours and mine, as to what the section means and also as to another important phase, i. e., what is the proper procedure under the section? Both problems have the bright face of danger. First, it is always an adventure and often, alas, a misadventure to attempt to say what a statute means. In the end, like the Constitution, it means what the Supreme Court says it means. The meaning of words in statutes is a question of law for the courts. The views of the Securities and Exchange Commission will be given, I believe, great consideration by the courts. Administrative interpretations and practice may often make or break a statute. Sensible interpretation and sane administration make for easier constitutional problems. Yet in the end the meaning of words in statutes is a question of law for the courts. This is but another way of repeating that much worn, but fundamental doctrine, essential to our liberties that ours is a government of law and that uncontrolled and undefined discretion in any judicial or quasi-judicial body is at odds with our system of government. In the second place, the way you proceed in a given case can have an important effect on substantive rights. Problems of procedure are not always lawyers' mumbo-jumbo designed to mystify and confuse the layman.

First, as to the constitutionality of section 11, I wish to say no more than this: That it would be well to have the constitutionality of the section determined; that no valid criticism can be made of any company which seeks such a determination; and next, that although I believe the constitutionality of the principal provisions of section 11 will be upheld, I do not choose to stake my reputation as a lawyer on it for several reasons: One, predicting is a risky business; two, the stake I would risk is too small to make the wager interesting; and three, precedents teach us that when such a wager is lost the legal reputation staked is not lost, for the loser cannot possibly pay up.

As an approach to section 11 let us consider what an integrated system is. The term is defined in section 2 (a) (29) of the act. The definition found in section 2 (a) (29) is as follows:

"'Integrated public-utility system' means—

"(A) As applied to electric utility companies, a system consisting of one or more units of generating plants and/or transmission lines and/or distributing facilities, whose utility assets, whether owned by one or more electric utility companies, are physically interconnected or capable of physical interconnection and which under normal conditions may be economically operated as a single interconnected and coordinated system confined in its operations to a single area or region, in one or more States, not so large as to impair (considering the state of the art and the area or region affected) the advantages of localized management, efficient operation, and the effectiveness of regulation; and

"(B) As applied to gas utility companies, a system consisting of one or more gas utility companies which are so located and related that substantial economies may be effectuated by being operated as a single coordinated system confined in its operations to a single area or region, in one or more States, not so large as to impair (considering the state of the art and the area or region affected) the advantages of localized management, efficient operation, and the effectiveness of regulation: *Provided*, That gas utility companies deriving natural gas from a common source of supply may be deemed to be included in a single area or region."

A mere reading of this definition lends considerable weight to the view that the meaning of this statute, like the meaning of every other statute that the hand of man has written to date, is open to debate. Also that when one comes to decide what utility assets are capable of interconnection, or which ones under normal conditions may be economically operated, etc., or whether a designated one is so large as to impair the advantages of localized management, efficient management, and the effectiveness of regulation, the production of conflicting evidence on these matters should occasion no more surprise than the conflicting evidence which appears in every tribunal in the land dealing with facts. Words are not so completely adequate as to avoid such conflicts. I doubt whether anyone lives who can write a statute presenting no possibilities of substantially plausible differing constructions and no issues of fact.

What do the various paragraphs of section 11 mean? What should be the procedure in a section 11 case?

Section 11 (a) provides that it shall be the duty of the Commission to examine the corporate structure of every registered holding company and every subsidiary company thereof, the relationship among them, the character of their interests, the properties owned and controlled by them, and "to determine the extent to which the corporate structure of such holding-company system and the companies therein may be simplified, unnecessary complexities therein eliminated, voting powers fairly and equitably distributed among the holders of securities thereof, and the properties and business thereof confined to those necessary or appropriate to

the operations of an integrated public utility system." Section 11 (a) deals with two general subjects: (1) simplification of corporate structure, including fairness of voting rights; (2) so-called integration.

On the integration aspect it is important to note that section 11 (a) speaks of the extent to which the properties and business thereof may be confined to those necessary or appropriate to the operations of an integrated system which many assert means one integrated system.

However, the fact that section 11 (a) directs the Commission to determine the extent to which the corporate structure, etc., may be simplified and the business and property thereof confined to those necessary or appropriate to the operations of an integrated system has led several of the large holding companies, and several students of the statute, to contend that the Commission should make a determination as to simplification and integration before the Commission launches proceedings under section 11 (b). The more usual way of administering laws has been generally to make decisions only after hearing the parties involved as to both the law and the facts. Therefore those opposing the predetermination theory under section 11 (a) search the statute to learn whether it requires such a radical departure from their preconceptions.

In that search they come at once to section 11 (b) and say that it is designed to implement section 11 (a); that is, section 11 (a) tells us what Congress wants accomplished; section 11 (b) tells us how to do it; 11 (a) is a statement of objectives; 11 (b) of procedure. They assert that an examination of it discloses that in addition to describing procedure, it substantially modifies even the general objectives set forth in section 11 (a); that the proceedings authorized by section 11 (b) (1) are not to be instituted until "as soon as practicable after January 1, 1938," whereas no date at all is mentioned in section 11 (a). Therefore, it is argued, although the Commission was at liberty to make studies under section 11 (a) before January 1, 1938, it was not at liberty to make any order under section 11 (b) on the subjects dealt with, i. e., simplification and integration, until after January 1, 1938. It is pointed out that section 11 (b) deals with the selfsame subjects covered by section 11 (a) and no others, even modifying the substantive provisions of 11 (a), and that section 11 (a) was not the last word on the subject it covers. Having provided in section 11 (a) that the Commission should determine the extent to which corporate structures could be simplified, and the business and properties confined to those necessary to the operations of an integrated system, Congress in section 11 (b) (1) provided that the Commission could require certain action. However, still paraphrasing the arguments of the opponents of the 11 (a) determination doctrine, it is important to note that this action is to be taken by order. But the statute says that the order cannot issue until after notice and opportunity for hearing. The Commission cannot require any action until after notice and opportunity for hearing. In this it is argued there is no support for the view that determinations are to be made ex parte and issued prior to hearings. Quite the contrary. This is consistent with section 20 (c) of the act, which provides that orders of the Commission shall be issued only after opportunity for hearing.

But what is the action that the Commission may thus require by order after notice and opportunity for hearing? It is that the holding company and its subsidiaries take such action as the Commission finds necessary to limit the operations of the holding company system to a "single integrated public utility system and to such other businesses as are reasonably incidental or economically necessary or appropriate to the operations of such integrated public utility system." This is the principal provision and the very heart of section 11. The general provision is not that companies must integrate. The provision recognizes that the holding companies now control various integrated systems. The great crucial problem posed by section 11 is: How many integrated utility systems may one holding company own? Viewed from this angle the philosophy of the section substantially resembles that of the Sherman Act which President Benjamin Harrison signed for the Republicans in 1890 and that of section 7 of the Clayton Act which President Woodrow Wilson signed for the Democrats in 1914. Support for this view is found in the Senate resolution, (S. Res. 83, February 15, 1928, 70 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD 3054) authorizing the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of utility corporations, wherein that Commission was directed "to report particularly whether any of the practices heretofore in this resolution stated tend to create a monopoly or constitute violation of the Federal antitrust laws."

It is quite evident that Congress was of the opinion that while the operations of operating companies was a matter primarily for the control of the State—and whether intrastate companies should or should not be permitted by law or practice to maintain virtual monopolies within the State was primarily a matter for State determination—the broader matter of how many of these companies in how many States should be owned or controlled by a single holding company was a matter in which the National Government had a legitimate interest and concern.

However, we find that after expressing the general or primary purpose of reducing the ownership of the holding company to one integrated utility system, the act then goes on to provide that under certain circumstances the holding company shall have the right to own more than one integrated system, thus modifying section 11 (a) in substance. These circumstances or standards are described in three subparagraphs of 11 (b) (1) labelled with the capital letters A, B, and C. Thus these provisions are often referred to as the A, B, C standards of section 11.

The language of the section has given rise to the belief in some quarters that the burden of proving the right to own more than one integrated system, or at least the burden of going forward with evidence on that issue, rests upon the holding company, that the Commission's opening case is made out when the staff has proved that the holding company involved owns more than one integrated system, that thereupon the burden shifts to the holding company to establish its right to more than one by proving the conformity of the additional ones to the A, B, C standards of section 11. Since the general policy of the act is to reduce the holdings of particular companies to one integrated system, it is open to serious question whether the Commission can lawfully permit any holding company to own more than one, unless and until the statutory standards are met, just as it seems clear that, if the statutory standards are established, no one can deny the holding company's right to continue to own more than one integrated system. In other words, it is not a matter of Commission discretion, but of statutory right. This is a good point at which to remind ourselves of what the Supreme Court said of another independent agency in *Rathburn v. United States* (295 U. S. 602 (1935)). "It is charged with the enforcement of no policy except the policy of the law."

Once it is established that the respondent holding company owns more than one integrated system, the question has been raised as to who has the right to select or designate the one principal integrated system. The adherents to one school of thought say that this is the prerogative of the holding company, pointing out that in those cases arising under section 7 of the Clayton Act where holding companies have been found in violation thereof by acquiring two substantially competing corporations, the court's decree of divestiture and the Federal Trade Commission's cease-and-desist order has invariably left to the holding company the decision as to which company it should retain and which it should release. Assuming that this school is correct, then a further interesting question is posed: What happens if the holding company refuses to make a choice, to which those of a speculative turn of mind reply that the Commission should make the designation. The other school of thought reasons thus: If a holding company owned one large, important, integrated system and a number of scattered, rather small, and unimportant systems, it would be an offense to the objectives of the act to permit the holding company to designate one of the smaller, unimportant systems as its principal one for no reason except to gerrymander itself into a position where it could retain under Big B, if it also proved A and C, that small system, its one really important system and several of the others, whereas if it designated the important one on the principal one it could not retain so many.

What are these provisions relating to the ownership of integrated systems in addition to one? First of all (and again this is important in considering how far the Commission can or should go in making determinations under 11 (a)) the right to additional systems can only exist, if (to use the very words of the statute), the Commission finds the A, B, C standards exist after—not before, "notice and opportunity for hearing." Now let us see what the A, B, C standards are:

(A) Provides—

"Each of such additional systems cannot be operated as an independent system without the loss of substantial economies which can be secured by the retention of control by such holding company of such system;

(B) (Commonly called Big B) provides—

"All of such additional systems are located in one State, or in adjoining States, or in a contiguous foreign country;

(C) Provides—

"The continued combination of such systems under the control of such holding company is not so large (considering the state of the art and the area or region affected) as to impair the advantages of localized management, efficient operation, or the effectiveness of regulation."

From the point of view of statutory construction, though not of administrative application, probably the most difficult of these sections is Big B. At least three constructions of it have been suggested. They are as follows: (1) All additional systems which may be retained must be located in one State or in States adjoining each other, but such State or States need not adjoin the State or States in which the principal system is located; (2) that the location of all additional systems must be in the same State as the principal system or in States adjoining it; and (3) all the additional systems may be in one State which need not adjoin the State of the principal system, or all the additional systems may be in States adjoining the principal one, or in a foreign country contiguous to the principal State.

To date the Commission has not announced its views as to which of these meanings was intended by Congress. The question, like any other question of Federal statutory construction, can never be regarded as settled until the Supreme Court has decided it. In the meantime, no company has presented the question to the Commission for decision in a given case on a specific state of facts. In fact, one or two of them, which in pending proceedings are in a good position to raise the question or to cooperate in raising it, do not seem at all anxious to learn the Commission's views. For my part, although of necessity I have certain ideas as to how Big B should be interpreted, I refrain from expressing them for the following reasons: First, I am much impressed by the view that interpretations of statutes are best made in the course of applying the statute to specific facts and not by abstract pronouncements. Second—and perhaps this should have been first—I have too often found that my views on the law had to undergo extensive revision

after I had heard able counsel argue. I, for one, am unwilling to join in announcing a construction of Big B until I have heard the arguments of counsel representing the companies whose rights and standing might be profoundly affected by our views as to the correct construction. At the same time I regret that such an occasion has not as yet occurred.

My feeling is that the sooner the meaning of Big B is settled, the better for everyone involved. For example, it seems quite clear that if the narrow construction of Big B is to prevail, a great deal of time and money which would otherwise be spent in trying the A and C issues would be saved. It is even possible that with the meaning of Big B settled, the trial of many issues, as to where and what the integrated companies of a given holding company are, can be simplified or wholly avoided. For example, if a holding company's principal integrated system were in the State of Maine, if it owned additional properties in Nevada, if the Commission's staff contended that the Nevada properties constituted two integrated systems, it would be wholly unnecessary to try that issue if the so-called narrow construction (No. 2, supra) of Big B were adopted. This is so because, since Nevada does not adjoin Maine and since, under the narrow construction none of the Nevada properties could be retained by the holding company, it would make no difference in the pending case whether the Nevada properties were two integrated systems or one. On the other hand, it is argued that if a case were decided on Big B alone, and no evidence were taken on A and C, were the court to disagree with the Commission interpretation of Big B, the case would be sent back to try the A and C issues; whereas if the Commission tried the A, B, and C issues fully and decided all of them against respondents, a decision by the court upholding either of them would end the case. It should also be pointed out that under the terms of the statute all three of the A, B, C, standards must be established; that the nonexistence of any one of them defeats the rights of the holding company to retain the additional systems being considered.

If these views are sound, it seems apparent that until the A, B, C issues have been tried and determined, it cannot possibly be known how many integrated systems a holding company may retain, or even that the holding company must reduce itself to the ownership of one integrated system. If this is so, it follows inevitably that at that stage it is waste effort for the Commission to undertake to find what action is necessary in order that the holding company reduce itself to one integrated system. Why undertake how to do something which may not ever have to be done? How under either 11 (a) or 11 (b) (1) can the Commission even make any suggestions as to what to do until it has been decided that the company can or cannot retain more than one; and if so, how many more? If we assume that a holding company owns five integrated systems, it may succeed in establishing its right to retain three, or perhaps only two, or perhaps four, or all five. How can we possibly know the answer in advance of hearing the company's evidence and claims as to the A, B, C standards? It may be true that we could say to such a company, "In our opinion, you cannot possibly establish the A, B, C standards as to any of the four additional systems, but you are welcome to go ahead and try if it you want to." To me this is like saying, "True, it's your turn at bat, but remember before you step up to the plate we've called two strikes on you."

However, that is what some of the companies seem to desire for several of them have taken a position—which some others do not seem to favor—which results in their requesting, or perhaps demanding, that the Commission state in advance of trial, or even in advance of instituting 11 (b) proceedings, what and where the integrated systems are, what the principal one should be, whether the A, B, C standards are met as to those systems additional to one, and what action the company should take to reduce itself to one or such additional ones as the Commission believes may be retained and to such other businesses as are properly incidental or appropriate. In the U. G. I. case (Holding Company Act, release No. 2065) the Commission held that a determination need not be made under section 11 (a) before proceedings were begun under 11 (b), but that since the company had made such a request as I have outlined, there would be no harm in complying with it, and a majority of the Commission said it would be done. Since the burden of proving where and what the integrated systems are seems to rest on the Commission, I thought it was proper, if the company desired it, for the Commission to state its wholly tentative views on that subject, but for the present I was unwilling to go further. The compliance with the U. G. I. request will take the form of a report, I suspect, and will be ready for delivery before long.

Following A, B, C, section 11 (b) (1) provides that the Commission may permit as reasonably incidental or economically necessary or appropriate to the operations of one or more integrated public-utility systems the retention of an interest in any business (other than the business of a public utility company as such) which the Commission finds necessary or appropriate in the public interest or for the protection of investors or consumers and not detrimental to the proper functioning of such system or systems. This provision is closely, though not precisely, similar to a provision relating to other businesses which is found earlier in section 11 (b) (1). The question has frequently been asked "Why this repetition?" I think the answer may be that the first provision relates to the retention of such interests in businesses other than utilities as are incidental or economically necessary or appropriate to the operation of a single integrated utility system, whereas the second provision relates to such interests as are necessary or appropriate, the A, B, C standards being established, in connection with the retention of more than one integrated system. Obviously, there will be cases where additional businesses can appropriately be retained only if more than one integrated system can be retained.

It has been suggested that a holding company can wait and see how it comes out under A, B, C before expressing the preference as to the selection of its principal integrated system. This suggestion gives rise to the question, How can it be reconciled with the provisions of A, B, C, that under the specified circumstances the holding company can retain one or more additional systems? Additional to what? How can the geographic test of Big B be applied unless the selection of the principal system has been made? How can the tests of A and C be made if it is not known what systems you are dealing with?

If the views already described as to section 11 (a) and (b) are sound, then it would seem that an orderly method of procedure might take the following lines:

The Commission or its staff indicates its tentative views as to what and where the integrated systems owned by the respondent holding company are:

The respondent's counsel indicates how far he agrees and disagrees with this statement;

The trial of the issues, thus joined, proceeds, the Commission counsel taking the burden of going forward. The issues will doubtless present at once a question as to the meaning of Big B, which can be raised in connection with an offer of evidence;

Before proceeding further with the issues, counsel argue the proper construction of Big B before the Commission;

The Commission states its views as to the meaning of Big B.

The trial of issue as to identity and location of integrated system proceeds;

This issue is argued before the Commission;

The Commission issues interim finding as to what and where the integrated systems are;

The selection or designation of the principal system is made;

The respondents, if they so elect, then undertake to establish the A, B, C standards as to all systems additional to the principal one;

After hearing the parties the Commission decides the A, B, C issues;

At this point it having been decided where and what the integrated systems are, what the principal one is, what additional systems the holding company may retain, the Commission is for the first time in a position to determine what the holding company should do to reduce its ownership to the systems whose retention is proper and what nonutility businesses it may retain as incidental or necessary or appropriate to the integrated utility systems.

From this necessarily technical and, I fear, boring discussion of 11 (b) (1), I move on to 11 (b) (2) which deals with the other topic posed by the masthead 11 (a), i. e., simplification and equitable distribution of voting rights. This section provides as follows:

"(b) It shall be the duty of the Commission, as soon as practicable after January 1, 1938:

"(2) To require by order, after notice and opportunity for hearing, that such registered holding company, and each subsidiary company thereof, shall take such steps as the Commission shall find necessary to ensure that the corporate structure or continued existence of any company in the holding-company system does not unduly or unnecessarily complicate the structure, or unfairly or inequitably distribute voting power among security holders, of such holding-company system. In carrying out the provisions of this paragraph the Commission shall require each registered holding company (and any company in the same holding-company system with such holding company) to take such action as the Commission shall find necessary in order that such holding company shall cease to be a holding company with respect to each of its subsidiary companies which itself has a subsidiary company which is a holding company. Except for the purpose of fairly and equitably distributing voting power among the security holders of such company, nothing in this paragraph shall authorize the Commission to require any change in the corporate structure or existence of any company which is not a holding company, or of any company whose principal business is that of a public-utility company * * *."

Here again the order expressing the Commission's requirement cannot, by the express provision of the act, be taken until after notice and opportunity for hearing, again making weight against the contention that determinations on these very topics can be made under 11 (a) before notice and opportunity for hearing. It will be easier to remember the provision of this section dealing with the number of permissible layers of holding companies if we say, as we often do, that this phrase of 11 (b) (2) permits grandfathers but not great-grandfathers. This verbal shorthand has gained for this phrase the nickname "the great-grandfather clause." Its impact will be on those systems with more than two layers or strata of holding companies above the level occupied by the operating companies, and more especially on two or three heavily pyramided systems where the corporate chart resembles the product of a genealogist suffering from dementia.

Continuing with section 11 (b), it is noted that the section ends with the words: "Any order made under this subsection shall be subject to judicial review as provided in section 24." This provision as to appeal becomes of additional interest in view of further provisions. Section 11 (c) provides that any order under subsection (b) shall be complied with within 1 year, but the Commission, on a showing of diligence, necessity, etc., may extend the time for not to exceed an additional year. Under section 11 (d) the Commission may apply to a court to enforce an order under 11 (b). So it is

sometimes argued that the Commission cannot apply to a court to enforce its order until a year has elapsed, though, it is also argued, no such delay would be necessary were the respondents to announce as soon as an order was entered that they did not intend to obey it. However, under the provision relating to judicial review in sections 11 (b) and 24, a petition for a court review of an appeal for an order of the Commission must be filed within 60 days of the entry of the order. So in cases where a review is desired, the year's wait for compliance approximates the time often required for a court review.

As I have stated, the Commission may apply to a court to enforce compliance with an order issued under 11 (b). There seems to be no other method by which the Commission can enforce compliance with an 11 (b) order. But in certain other agencies, such as the Federal Trade Commission, when an application for enforcement of an order is made the respondents are at liberty to urge all available defenses against the order. So the question is asked: "In view of the right of judicial review provided in section 11 (b), is not the respondent in a petition for enforcement under 11 (d) prevented from attacking the Commission order if it has failed to seek the review permitted by sections 11 (b) and 24?" This question gains in interest from a realization that the review provided by sections 11 (b) and 24 is by the circuit court of appeals, whereas the application for enforcement under 11 (d) is to the district court. In the cases where a review has been had in a circuit court of appeals before the application for enforcement is decided in the district court, it seems safe to assume that all the principal defenses available to the respondent will have been disposed of.

In the enforcement proceedings the court acts as a court of equity. It may take possession of the companies and their assets, it may appoint a trustee, it may make the Commission trustee. The trustee, with the approval of the court, may dispose of any or all of the assets and may make such disposition in accordance with a "fair and equitable reorganization plan." These last five words are quoted from the 11 (d) and I shall later remind you of their presence. The plan, however, must have been approved by the Commission after opportunity for hearing. The reorganization plan may be proposed in the first instance by the Commission or by any person having a bona fide interest in the reorganization.

Subsection (e) of section 11 is one of the most important and interesting sections of the act. It may turn out to be also the most novel in certain respects. It was included in the act largely at the instance of the holding companies, particularly the New England Power Association. Its general purpose is to permit the companies to file voluntary plans for compliance with section 11 (b). The existence of huge arrearages of preferred dividends makes this provision of unusual interest and has a similar effect on the provisions of 11 (b) (2). As of December 31, 1938, operating companies, subsidiaries of registered holding companies, had preferred dividend arrearages of $411,737,187 and registered holding companies of $1,168,911,229, not including the amounts of holding companies, such, e. g., as Cities Service Co., claiming exemption as such from the act. Section 11 (e) provides that any registered holding company and any subsidiary thereof may submit a plan to the Commission for the divestment of control, securities, or assets, or for other action for the purpose of enabling such company or any subsidiary thereof to comply with subsection (b) of 11. The Commission is required to approve the plan under certain conditions: First, there must be notice (obviously to security holders and others with legitimate interest) and opportunity for hearing. Second, the Commission must make two findings (1) that the plan, as submitted or modified, is "necessary to effectuate the provisions of subsection (b)," and (2) that the plan "is fair and equitable to the persons affected" thereby. The Commission at the request of the company may apply to a court to enforce and carry out the terms and provisions of the plan. The court, too, after notice and opportunity for hearing, must pass on the same two questions as the Commission, namely, whether it finds the plan "fair and equitable" and appropriate (it does not say "necessary") "to effectuate the provisions of section 11." Under this section as under 11 (d), which is the enforcement section in nonvoluntary cases, the court may take possession of the companies and their assets, may appoint a trustee, may appoint the Commission as trustee to administer the assets in accordance with the plan under the direction of the court.

It is interesting to note that this statute is, in effect, authority for a voluntary reorganization; that so far as the express language discloses, it may come about in the case of a perfectly solvent corporation, indeed in the case of one having no debt. But it does not authorize a reorganization for any purpose but one—it must be necessary to effectuate the purposes of section 11 (b). So to be valid a voluntary reorganization must be necessary or appropriate to effectuate the purposes of section 11 (b). Those purposes, as has been shown, relate first to the number of integrated systems and incidental nonutility businesses a holding company may own, and second, to the simplification of the structure and the equitable distribution of voting power. It would seem to follow that a voluntary plan under 11 (e) can be upheld in those instances where the action voluntarily taken could be compelled by the Commission in adversary proceedings under 11 (b). Since the meaning of words in statutes is a question of law for the courts, it may be that various voluntary plans under 11 (e) designed to simplify the structure of a corporation or a system will have to face a court test as to whether that structure was "unduly and unnecessarily" complicated as a matter of law. It seems equally possible that an adverse proceeding by the Commission against the same company under 11 (b) (2) would have to meet exactly the same test as to legality.

But to be valid under 11 (e) the plan must also be "fair and equitable" to the persons affected by the plan, principally the security holders. The plan must conform to this standard not only in the opinion of the Commission, but Congress was careful to require the court to pass on that question also. It is difficult to read the decision of the Supreme Court in *Case* v. *Los Angeles Lumber Co.* (60 Supp. Ct. 1) and escape the conclusion that the words "fair and equitable" as used in this act, are words of art, just as the same words were held to be in the section of the Bankruptcy Act before the court in the Los Angeles case. In other words, whether the plan is fair and equitable is a question of law. This in turn subjects plans under 11 (e) to the test of the priority doctrine announced in the *Boyd Case* (228 U. S. 482), in the *Kansas City Terminals Case* and related cases (271 U. S. 445), reaffirmed in the *Los Angeles Case*, and explained by obiter in *Securities and Exchange Commission* v. *United States Realty & Improvement* (60 Supp. Ct. 1044), also probably to the doctrine of the *Deep Rock Case* (*Taylor* v. *Standard Gas & Electric Co.*, 306 U. S. 307) explained in *Pepper* v. *Litton* (60 Supp. Ct. 238).

A further reading of the Los Angeles case leads to the view that therein the Court held that, under the reorganization statute then before the Court, the plan not only had to be feasible but it also had to be fair and equitable to the security holders. One was not a substitute for the other. Two tests were presented by the statute. The plan had to meet both of these successfully or be struck down. In the Los Angeles case the plan was admittedly feasible. Nevertheless, the Court disapproved it. It met one test but not the other, and so perished. Likewise under section 11 (e) it can be plausibly argued that a plan to be valid must meet both of two tests: (1) that it is necessary or perhaps appropriate to effectuate the provisions of subsection (b) of section 11; (2) that it is fair and equitable. If the plan fails to meet either of these tests it is invalid. One is not a substitute for the other. The failure to meet either is fatal. Sometimes a plan conforms so very well and so desirably to the test of feasibility or to the test of effectuating the purposes of section 11 (b) that we find it difficult to realize that the test of "fair and equitable" is of equal vitality and consequence. It was interesting to note the surprise caused by the Supreme Court pointing out in the Los Angeles case that a first mortgage is still a first mortgage and that the rights of creditors are superior to those of stockholders, or, in other words, of debtors, and that contractual rights of this character are protected by our laws.

I have purposely refrained from discussing the bearing of the Los Angeles and United States Realty and other decisions on the difference of opinion which has existed for some time between other commissioners and me as to whether priorities are lawfully preserved in reorganizations when secured creditors or unsecured creditors or preferred stockholders are required to accept for their old contracts new securities of the same class as those issued to others whose old securities were of lower grade who make no new contribution. (See, for example, *In the Matter of West Ohio Gas Co.*, 3 S. E. C. 1014, 1029.)

One may sensibly ask after considering these provisions of 11 (e), the section for voluntary action, whether similar provisions are found in 11 (b), (c), and (d), the sections for nonvoluntary action, adverse action by the Commission. It seems plain that an order of the Commission under 11 (b) (1) or 11 (b) (2) to be valid must be one necessary to effectuate the provisions of 11 (b) (1) and 11 (b) (2). In 11 (b) (2) we find no language expressly stating that the rearrangement ordered by the Commission must be fair and equitable. However, 11 (d), which provides for enforcement of 11 (b) orders and the trustee's power to dispose of assets, also provides that such disposition must be "in accordance with a fair and equitable reorganization plan which shall have been approved by the Commission after opportunity for hearing." So here is plain recognition of the fair and equitable doctrine in connection with adversary proceedings under 11 (b). Besides it may be questioned whether Congress would preserve this doctrine in the 11 (e) cases and completely neglect it in the 11 (b) cases. It is doubtful whether it has done so. How receptive the Supreme Court would be to a suggestion that this principle be disregarded even in an adversary case may, in the light of the strong language of the Los Angeles case, at least be questioned.

My paper has grown to such a length that I shall devote little time to the further provisions of section 11. In passing, we may note hurriedly that in proceedings in United States courts in which a receiver or trustee is appointed for any registered holding company or subsidiary thereof, the court may make the Commission sole trustee or receiver subject to the orders of the court, that no other person than the Commission shall be named trustee or receiver without notifying the Commission and giving it an opportunity to be heard. A reorganization of such a company shall not become effective unless the plan shall have been approved by the Commission after opportunity for hearing prior to its submission to the court. Such a plan may be proposed in the first instance by the Commission or by any person having a bona fide interest. The Commission is authorized by rules or orders to require that all fees and expenses in reorganization and similar cases shall be subject to approval by the Commission. The Commission, however, has enacted a rule that in cases in which it appears under chapter X of the Chandler Act it will not exercise this power but will present its views to the court, although the rule reserves to the Commission the right to take a different course where circumstances justify it (rule U–11F–2).

Section 11 (g) controls the solicitation of proxies, consents, and similar documents in respect of any reorganization plan or of

divestment of control, securities or assets, or dissolution. The solicitation must have been submitted to the Commission, unless the Commission itself proposed the plan. The solicitation must be accompanied by a report on the plan made by the Commission after opportunity for hearing or by an abstract of such a report. Many investors seem to have found these reports helpful. We do our best to have them written simply. It is often very difficult to do so when the facts are numerous and complicated. To date the Commission has not in these reports advised the security holder how to vote. It does try to see that he gets all the pertinent truth so that he can exercise whatever powers of judgment he has on the basis of fact and not of fancy.

The solicitation must conform to S. E. C. rules. These rules are designed to develop the truth and such of it as is material.

Prelude to Totalitarianism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED BRADLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ARTICLE BY HARTLEY W. BARCLAY

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in the course of the recent debate on the peacetime conscription bill I stated that, in my opinion, we were Hitlerizing America as a defense against the mad Hitler of Europe. I am firmly convinced that throughout the past 8 years our course has been one step after another toward the complete national socialization of this Nation. After all, national socialism is Hitlerism, and in its essential features its philosophy of government is little different from that of Stalinism or Mussolini-ism.

Under leave to extend my remarks and in line with this thought which I have just mentioned, I include herewith a very interesting article written by Mr. Hartley W. Barclay entitled "Prelude to Totalitarianism?"

PRELUDE TO TOTALITARIANISM—THE EXPERIENCE OF PRE-HITLER GERMANY SHOWS HOW THE IMPOSITION OF GOVERNMENTAL REGULATION OF INDUSTRY PAVES THE WAY FOR TOTALITARIANISM

(By Hartley W. Barclay)

Adolph Hitler could never have risen to despotic power in Germany if German industry had been permitted to operate under a free competitive system during the decade preceding 1932. The important economic controls which were vitally essential to the successful imposition of totalitarianism were placed in Hitler's hands by the actions of the social-democratic government of Germany, which steadily moved the economic life of the nation in the direction of socialization. Social democrats everywhere in the world profess to work toward the same ideals. Their plans, purposes, and methods are varied only by the idiosyncrasies of their leaders. Long before the Nazi party became the dominant political organization of the nation, the social-democratic German Government definitely imposed the idea upon the state that under modern systems of industrial production and distribution, free competition between independent industrial enterprises, each following its own changing interests in an economic environment subject to many influences, was not socially desirable. The German Government, therefore, not only removed restrictions from combinations in restraint of trade but even went so far as to make such combinations compulsory, beginning with the only important raw-material industries.

FIRST COAL AND POTASH

The German system of industrial control represented the acceptance of the principle of regulated private monopoly. Under this plan for example, both the coal and the potash industries carried out sweeping changes in economic methods during the 5 or 6 years just prior to the rise of Hitler. Therefore, they afford ideal examples of the techniques followed which made it possible for Hitler to completely regiment the nation. Also, it is interesting to notice that the coal plan closely parallels the American coal rationalization program introduced through the National Bituminous Coal Commission.

Germany was well pleased with the results of her rationalization program for the coal industry in 1931. The plan had been in effect for 5 or 6 years, and resulted in maintaining a steady price level, an even supply of coal, no labor disturbances, a fair average of dividend payments for operating companies, and a remarkable improvement in operating efficiency through the concentration of production in the best equipped plants. Of course, at that time, the German industrialists had not foreseen the fact that they were merely arranging the control of this vital industry in such a degree of high concentration that it could be seized as a road to power by Hitler. But, similarly, in the United States no one appears to be concerned about the program of the National Bituminous Coal Commission which has as its object the perfection of the application of the same methods as those used to control the coal industry in Germany.

EXTREME POWERS

The Federal coal council, corresponding to the National Bituminous Coal Commission here in the United States, was given power to: (1) Accept, reject, or modify the recommendations of the regional cartels concerning production, prices, and sales of coal; (2) fix prices and to determine the amount to be produced by members of the syndicates for their own consumption; (3) assign production quotas to the regional associations and to divide the market territories among them; and (4) to regulate the granting of rebates and discounts and to inspect the business books and correspondence of all producers.

The basic function of the Federal coal council was that of regulating the entire coal industry. It was composed of about 60 members, 15 of whom represented the coal-mine owners, 15 the coal miners, 5 the coal dealers, 3 the German states operating coal mines, while the remainder represented consuming industries, consumers' cooperative associations, railroads, transport companies, merchant marine, etc. Members were elected for a term of 3 years, one-third going out of office each year. A law gave the Federal coal council practically unlimited powers of regulation. At its whim it could determine who could buy coal and how much they could buy and what price they should pay for it. The law was popularly known as the "law for the socialization of coal."

SQUEEZING OUT THE OWNERS

Under the socialized control of the industry the coal mines were able to introduce extensive modernization practices. Mechanization became a fetish. Before the World War less than 3 percent of the total coal production had been produced through mechanized equipment. By 1928 approximately 90 percent of the total output was extracted through the use of mechanized mine equipment. Despite the fact that no increases in coal prices were allowed by the Government during the period from 1924 to 1928, wage increases occurred with uninterrupted regularity. During the 5-year period following 1924 hourly wages of skilled workers increased 69.4 percent, while those of unskilled workers increased even more. During this same period the price of coal actually declined more than 7 percent. In addition to this squeeze, the coal industry also assumed the burden of paying a steadily growing cost of social insurance corresponding to American social security. These charges were a heavy burden upon the industry. They grew rapidly. For example, by 1927 total expenditures for social insurance amounted to $1,250,000,000, or about 15.5 percent of the total wage payments, 7.5 percent being contributed by employers and 8 percent by employees.

FREE COMPETITION REJECTED

By dividing up the controls of management among representatives of the State, consumers, dealers, and workers, the voice of management was submerged to one-fifth of its former importance. By making it compulsory, the Government recognized socialized control of industry as the best form of economic system to promote the general welfare, definitely rejecting the idea of free competition. The net result of this change was to decrease the number of establishments in the coal industry and to decrease the number of employees. The highest average of dividends in the industry occurred in 1926–27, when they amounted to 4.29 percent of the nominal capital invested. A more representative figure, however, would be the average of 1.86 percent for the year 1925–26.

PLANNED ECONOMY

Thus the German Government was one of the very first to introduce "planned economy" and during the decade prior to 1929 this system stood out in contrast to the national planlessness of industrial life in countries in which unrestricted production under a competitive system was in vogue. The first rewards of centralization were apparently satisfactory. The cartels could obtain large orders and distribute them among their members by agreement. They centralized the buying of raw materials and machinery, tools, and supplies and obtained price reductions which would otherwise have been impossible to obtain. They learned how to exert pressure on transportation companies and to cut down the costs of transportation. They economized on shipping costs by shipping orders from the plant nearest each customer's plant, thus eliminating cross-territory shipments. What advertising remained was standardized and placed through a central agency, thus eliminating the use of advertising space needed to air competitive claims. Finally, the collective planned-economy program enabled the industry to be represented by one spokesman, who could appear before legislative bodies and administrative bureaus, thus presenting a united front on behalf of the industry. But with all these advantages, they lost their most valuable advantage, that of decentralization. Centralization made it a simple matter for Herr Hitler to step in and appoint his representatives to run the entire industry.

THE AMERICAN PARALLEL

With this example of a typical case of economic planning in Germany, a parallel can be cited in the operations of the National Bituminous Coal Commission here in the United States. The Bituminous Coal Act of 1937 declares that "the regulation of the sale and distribution in interstate commerce of bituminous coal is imperative for the protection of such commerce; that there exists practices and methods of distribution and marketing of such coal that waste the coal resources of the Nation and disorganize, burden,

and obstruct interstate commerce in bituminous coal, with the result that the regulation of the prices thereof and of unfair methods of competition therein is necessary to promote interstate commerce in bituminous coal and to remove burdens and obstructions therefrom"; creates a National Bituminous Coal Commission and the office of the consumer's counsel; provides for the promulgation of a code; designates 10 minimum-price areas and 23 producing districts, each with a district board, subordinate to and whose acts are subject to approval, disapproval, or modification by the Commission; empowers the Commission to prescribe minimum and maximum prices and marketing rules and regulations for coal and to classify coals and make price variations as to mines and consuming markets; imposes a tax of 1 cent per ton on the sale or other disposal of bituminous coal and an additional tax of 19½ percent upon producers failing to accept membership in the code; directs the Commission to establish a statistical bureau for each of the 23 producing districts, which bureau shall be operated and maintaned as an agency of the Commisison; to study and investigate the matter of increasing the use of coal and the problems of its importation and exportation; the economical operation of mines with a view to conservation of national coal resources; the safe operation of mines for the purpose of minimizing working hazards; the problem of marketing to lower distribution costs for the benefit of consumers; the necessity for control of production of coal and methods of such control, including allotment of output to districts and producers within such districts.

To perform this work and to continue the operations of the Commission in 1939 a budget of $3,500,000 for 1940 was presented to Congress through the Department of the Interior. The jurisdiction of the Commission extends to all producers of bituminous coal in the United States, whose number is conservatively estimated to be 15,600 and whose production in 1937 was approximately 442,000,000 tons. The Commission's jurisdiction further extends to many thousands of distributors of coal who are required to observe and maintain the prices and rules and regulations prescribed under the act by the Commission. Bituminous coal is mined in 30 States, and in the Territory of Alaska, and its distribution extends through all 48 States and the District of Columbia and all territories and insular possessions and foreign countries. Minimum prices established are said to be not less than 30,000 in total number. The Commission operates and maintains as an agency of the Commission, a bureau in each of the 23 producing districts.

Coal producers are required to report all spot orders, copies of all contracts for the sale of coal, copies of all invoices, copies of all credit memoranda and such other information concerning the preparation, cost, sale, and distribution of coal as the Commission may authorize or require. No operator can withhold any secrets from the Commission. Reports are required from everyone, regardless of whether or not they are code members. These duties require the employment of 1,207 employees by the Commission and the expenditure of $697,775 annually in salaries alone. Additional expenses are required for supplies, materials, communication, transportation, and other overhead operations.

A MOUNTAIN OF REPORTS

The Commission admits having control over all bituminous coal producers and reported in 1939 that it had accumulated approximately 90,000 complete reports on production and distribution costs that included almost every conceivable item. Cost data are submitted by producers under oath. Representatives of the Commission check these costs carefully. Interest on investment is not considered a legitimate cost item by the Commission. Federal taxes are also not allowed as a cost item. The Commission employs 19 directors of statistics, 9 statistical analysts, 24 assistant statistical analysts, and 48 statistical clerks, together with other employees concerned exclusively with statistics totaling 542. The Commission employed in 1939, its own Gestapo of 90 enforcement agents, to conduct their field investigations.

NO PROFIT ALLOWED

The Commission holds that coal producers are entitled to recover the cost of production of coal but they do not attempt to go beyond that in minimum-price schedules. No profit for the producer is provided by the law, therefore the Commission does not allow for profit in establishing the minimum prices.

FORCED COMPLIANCE

As early as in 1936 the operations of the Commission covered almost the entire industry since 95 percent of the known tonnage produced in that year accepted the code. The remaining 5 percent was made up of "captive mine" producers who used their own coal for purposes other than sale, therefore were automatically exempt. In the opinion of Congressman R. F. RICH, this high average of compliance occurred because "everyone producing bituminous coal must come in under this code, because if he does not the penalties are so great that he could not continue producing coal." He continued with his opinion, saying "This law compels the people of this country who are in this business to do things that they do not want to do. You collect a fee from them for the purpose of forcing them to comply and your efforts are getting them up to the point of not going in the hole, but the law does not even try through the Commission to see that they make a profit * * * they are not interested in trying to have them make a profit." This is despite the fact that the law was passed so that producers could avoid losses and save the coal industry.

Let us briefly summarize the facts thus far developed. There is a direct parallel between the national socialization of coal production in Germany and the national social control of coal production in the United States under the National Bituminous Coal Commission. An expert familiar with the operations of the German cartel system was employed by the Commission to advise it authoritatively concerning methods of developing control systems along European patterns and presumably German patterns. The net result has been that, although the American law was passed to insure profits in the industry and to save it from bankruptcy, the operations of the Commission have been conducted without the least consideration of establishing prices which would insure producers a profit. Why, then, was the National Bituminous Coal Commission established and what are the actual purposes of its operations?

COAL—THE KEY TO INDUSTRY

Briefly, any serious study of the operations of the Commission brings the researcher to one inevitable conclusion. The Commission exists for the purpose of centralizing political control over a key industry in America. Without coal available in quantities and qualities necessary for every power plant utilizing steam coal, every coke and gas and byproducts plant using coking coal, and every metallurgical plant using metallurgical quality coal, American industry is completely hamstrung. Labor in the coal-mining industry is completely dominated by one organization. That provides one control lever by which the entire operation of the industry can be threatened. But that is not enough. The national superagency had to be established to provide another lever of control. With these two levers—available and ready for a strong man to grasp them—American coal production is in exactly the same position that the German coal industry found itself when Herr Hitler assumed power. When he wished to impose his centralized control upon all industry in Germany he seized these levers and operated them himself.

Thus centralization of power works inevitably to defeat democratic methods. While the avowed intent of centralization plans may express the highest motives—the effects of centralization are to facilitate, to pave the way for dictatorship. All that remains when complete centralization has been perfected is for the strong man to seize the levers. The levers are there—here in America.

OTHER IMPORTANT PARALLELS

Other evidence points toward the same conclusion. Many of the other practices and policies of the Social-Democratic Party in pre-Hitler Germany directly parallel those of the New Deal. Some of the most outstanding may be briefly listed:

1. Socialization of business and industry caused a sharp decline in the rate of dividend and interest payments. As a factor in the national income, dividends and interest dropped from 12.5 percent in 1913 to 4.3 percent in 1929.

2. The payment of excessive allowances to pensioners and relief recipients increased tremendously, rising from 3.1 percent in 1913 to 12.1 percent in 1931.

3. The share of the national income received by entrepreneurs substantially declined from 36.2 to 22.7 percent for the total returns of entrepreneurs in agriculture, trade, and the professions.

4. In a large measure all German industry lost its freedom of action. Under the social-democratic government it was held that instead of working for profit, industry works primarily for the people's government. Private enterprise was allowed to remain nominally in existence because its services were vitally needed by the state. The state, however, regulated it and told it what it must do to promote the interests of the state, as those interests were defined by the political party then in power.

5. Private long-term security issues were regulated, finally virtually extinguished. By 1928 private issues had fallen to 294,000,000 reichsmarks; in 1929, to 8,000,000 reichsmarks; and by 1931, just before Hitler assumed power, the total annual volume issued was only 1,000,000 reichsmarks.

6. Cells of subversive organizations (Nazis) were organized in trade-unions so that they could seize control of the unions and subjugate them when the Nazi putsch for power occurred.

7. The investment funds of the banks were quietly forced into Government bonds for the financing of public works and Federal activities through coercive persuasion to purchase Government bills and securities. Thus creation and distribution of capital was controlled by the social-democratic government.

8. Governmental expenditures on direct work creation measures included the following familiar varieties:

A. Suburban settlement buildings.
B. Subsidies for the repair of buildings.
C. Construction of large public buildings.
D. National loan for small-home building.
E. Aids in modernization of homes and buildings.

9. The introduction of social-democratic collectivist ideology occurred under highly abnormal and strained conditions and the existence of these conditions was used as the pretext for justifying the assumption of extraordinary powers by the state.

10. The inspiration of collectivism under Social-Democratic rule provided a springboard for intensifying the collectivism under Nazi rule.

11. The volume of exports declined substantially, from 15,927,500,000 reichmarks in 1913 to 5,739,100,000 reichmarks in 1932.

12. Economic planning was found to be impossible of attainment without putting industry in a strait jacket.

CONCLUSION

The cogs and gears, the motors and mechanical parts of the machine are familiar now, because the parts are the same, no matter whether it is Russia, Japan, Italy, or Germany that attempts to

put the parts together. Naturally, the artisans who are manufacturing the parts of the machine have an alibi. They say it is not the machine that is wrong—it is Hitler. It is not the Frankenstein that is a monster—it is Mussolini. It is not the plan of socialization that is at fault—it is the application of the plan under Stalin that is inhuman.

These explanations are mere sophistries. Neither Hitler, nor Stalin, nor Mussolini could have achieved their power—if the controls of despotism had not been built before they arrived on the scene. True democracy, then, in industry, in society, and in public administration, must be found not in greater centralization of social controls—but in the successful organization of the least possible controls over the life of the people, necessary to maintain essential public services and to insure the national defense of any country.

A Promising Candidate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES F. BYRNES, OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES] last evening, October 14, over the red network of the National Broadcasting Co. The address is on the subject "A Promising Candidate."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PROMISING CANDIDATE

These last 8 years have been crowded years—crowded with accomplishments by this administration.

Among other things, we guaranteed bank deposits. We created the Securities and Exchange Commission to prevent the issuance of worthless stocks and bonds. We established the Farm Credit Administration to make farm loans for long periods at low rates of interest.

We established the Home Owners' Loan Corporation to enable home owners in cities to save their homes from sale under foreclosure, and the Federal Housing Administration to make possible the ownership of homes by people of moderate means. We established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to adjust production to consumption of farm commodities. We established the National Labor Relations Board to protect wage earners in their right to bargain collectively, and the Wage and Hour Division to provide a basement for wages and a ceiling for hours. We established the Social Security Board to provide protection for the aged, the blind, the dependent mothers and children.

Now that we have gained experience in administering them, sound arguments can be presented for the amendment of some of these laws. I expected the candidate of the Republican Party to present such arguments. However, he has not advocated a specific amendment to any one of them. He approves them as they stand.

Nearly all of these measures were bitterly opposed by Republicans in the press, in committee, and in Congress. When they finally were enacted into law, Republicans went into the courts and tried to have them declared unconstitutional.

Today these same Republicans are using their influence and money to elect Mr. Willkie. I suspect that they are doing this only because they do not believe he is sincere in approving these New Deal laws. Mr. Willkie must not be surprised, therefore, if the beneficiaries of these measures reach the same conclusion as to his sincerity. His statements justify that conclusion.

When the Republican convention in June adjourned, Mr. Willkie was a promising candidate. He still is. On his recent western trip, he promised almost everything on earth. Returning east, at Yonkers, N. Y., he promised us a new world which, he said, would be a far better world than anyone else had ever imagined.

Yes, he promises "All This," and "Heaven, too," probably will be promised by Mr. Willkie before election day.

Mr. Willkie does not straddle the fence. He just leaps from one side to the other. In Omaha he said: "There must be no abandonment of the farm program to reduce burdensome surpluses." Returning to New York by plane, he said, the very next night: "When farmers get checks from Washington for produce they have not grown, they do not feel right about it, and it must end."

In the West, he promised to pay farmers to restrict agricultural production. In Pittsburgh he promised to continue restricting hours of labor. Yet, speaking to businessmen, he promised to increase production.

Promising parity payments to farmers, adequate relief, increased pensions, and increased preparedness, he promises, at the same time, to give relief to the taxpayers.

He does not say whether he favors lowering the exemption allowed income taxpayers, increasing the rates, or levying a sales tax. He says only that he will call a conference of tax experts. Well, that trick is as old as politics itself. When you do not know what to do, or do not wish to do anything, it is safe to advocate a conference.

Daily the Republican candidate declares he will provide jobs and more jobs. He says he knows how to do it, because of his business experience. The corporation of which he was president is only a holding corporation. It does not produce anything; does not hire anybody. It only holds the stock of operating companies that do produce and hire.

He says, first, that he will provide jobs by not interfering with private enterprise. Well, during the Hoover administration, the Government certainly did not interfere with private enterprise. The associates of Mr. Willkie in Wall Street were then in complete control.

Private enterprise, unrestricted by government, instead of providing jobs forced millions of honest men to take refuge in bread lines or to dig bitterly into garbage cans. It forced many men, devoid of hope, to seek peace on Suicide Bridge. American workingmen do not forget.

The other method by which Mr. Willkie will provide jobs is by not arraying class against class. He deplores appeals to prejudice. But does Mr. Willkie come into court with clean hands? Though he is a university graduate, he tells his audiences he is but a plain country boy—that he did not have an opportunity to go to Groton School.

That is a cheap appeal based solely upon his belief that some persons entertain a prejudice against a school attended by the President in his boyhood.

Mr. Willkie sarcastically says he hopes the people can understand him even though he does not have a Harvard accent. And he says he owns a real farm, not a show place on the Hudson. You and I recognize these as petty efforts to arouse class prejudice—efforts unworthy of one seeking the Presidency of the United States.

Almost daily Mr. Willkie charges that Communists are employed in government. He does not name them because he cannot do so. He denounces the Communists and, of course, gets applause. I doubt that he is so violently opposed to Communists, because in the New Republic of March 18, this year, there appeared an article by Mr. Willkie in which he criticized the courts for sentencing Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, to serve as long as 4 years when he was found guilty of violating the law. Then he deplored prejudice against a Communist. Now he appeals to that prejudice.

In New England last week he tried to arouse the prejudice of one section against another. He promised, if elected, he would prevent industries being moved to the South. Government did not move industries from New England. That was an effort to arouse sectional prejudice by a man who on November 7, 1934, in a speech at Birmingham, Ala., said:

"I can tell you why we maintain an office in New York. It is solely because of two reasons: First, to have a convenient and advantageous point from which we can work with the Alabama Power Co. and other companies to secure the removal of northern industries to this area."

Mr. Willkie said in New York last week, "No man will be denied relief until a job has been provided for him." That means he would no longer require proof of need. If he gives a job to every man out of work regardless of need he would add several millions to the rolls and several billions to the cost of relief. On the same day he said he would hold the number on relief to a minimum, but would pay them more. And in the same speech he said it was essential to reduce excessive taxation. Now isn't he a promising candidate?

At Pittsburgh Mr. Willkie said, "I was for the National Labor Relations Board Act before it was passed. I was for it after it was passed, and I am for it now." The next day, October 4, Senator WAGNER inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD three decisions of the Labor Relations Board and of the circuit court of appeals upholding the Board. The record shows that three operating companies in the Commonwealth & Southern system, of which Mr. Willkie was president, openly violated the law, fought the right of workers to organize, and formed company-dominated unions so that the management could sit on both sides of the table during conferences.

In view of that record, you can understand why labor is not enthusiastic about Mr. Willkie's proposal to solve labor's problems by calling a conference to be presided over by him.

The Republican candidate says he approves all the New Deal legislation, but he insists that the Democratic Party cannot competently administer these laws. He argues that their administration should be entrusted to him and to the Republican Party, which did not want any one of these laws.

Suppose you were presiding as judge of a court trying a case involving the custody of a child. On one side of the courtroom sits a mother with her child. She brought it into the world. She loves it.

On the other side sits the president of the local light and power company with his wife. They have no children. They did not want any children. The utilities president urges that because of

his wealth and his success in administering the affairs of the rich corporation, he is more competent to rear the child.

As judge, would you take the child from its mother who gave it birth and turn it over to the president of the power company? No! And the American people will not turn over to Mr. Willkie and the Republican Party the legislative children created by the Democratic Party for the protection and the happiness of the average man and woman of this Nation.

The Republican candidate asks that he be elected because of his experience. He has had no experience in government—National, State, or city. His experience is entirely unlike that of the Chief Executive of our Government. When the president of a utilities corporation determines upon a policy, his determination is law. His orders are executed. That is not true in the case of the President of the United States.

When he determines that a legislative policy is desirable he must secure the cooperation of a majority of the 435 men in the House of Representatives and of the ninety-six in the Senate. Each of these gentlemen has his own idea as to what should be the policy. Laws are enacted and money appropriated by the Congress with the approval of the President. Could Mr. Willkie secure the cooperation of the Congress? Possibly he could, but to this day on every question of importance as to which he has voiced an opinion, a majority of the Republicans of both House and Senate have voted against his view.

Today they have an incentive to agree with him because they now want to win the election and control the Government.

This might be termed Mr. Willkie's period of betrothal to the Republican Party, with which he so recently fell in love. If this political bride-to-be cannot wangle an engagement ring from the bridegroom-elect before the wedding, how many diamonds will be given her afterward? It would be the shortest honeymoon in the history of Presidents.

And remember this: Even though he should be elected President, and the House should be Republican, there will be a large Democratic majority in the next Senate. Only 35 Senators are to be elected this year, and few of the Democratic Senators running are from doubtful States. If Mr. Willkie cannot get his own party to follow his leadership now, what chance will he have of inducing the Democratic Senate to accept his leadership? We would have a government divided against itself at a time when unity of action is essential to the safety of the Nation.

What effect would Mr. Willkie's election have upon our preparedness program between November 5 and January 20 next?

Mr. Willkie has said that he will stage a housecleaning in Washington; that all policymaking officials must go. If you were a policymaking employee and Mr. Willkie were elected, would you wait to be dismissed by him next January, or would you grasp the first opportunity to secure other employment?

Let us not deceive ourselves! The resulting chaos in government between November 5 and January 20 would inevitably retard—possibly wreck—the program of preparedness.

You may have disagreed with President Roosevelt as to some domestic issue—I have. You may have disapproved of some person appointed to office by him or by one of his Cabinet members—I have. But are you sure that you would not also have disagreed with Mr. Willkie, who now endorses all the New Deal measures? Remember that during these 8 years Mr. Willkie has been both Democrat and Republican, so no matter what you are, the chances are that, at some time, you would have disagreed with him.

After all, important as were these domestic issues, they are insignificant compared with the questions which confront us today and will confront us in the months that lie ahead—questions which will determine the safety and the liberties of the American people.

To guide this Nation during the fateful period just ahead of us, we need a pilot with the incomparable experience of President Roosevelt, who has demonstrated that he can enlist the cooperation of Congress.

We cannot afford to swap horses in midstream.

Italian and Spanish Translations of the President's Pan-American Unity Address

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, yesterday I obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by the President at Dayton, Ohio, on the evening of October 12, 1940. By oversight, I omitted to include in that request certain translations which were broadcast to South America immediately following the delivery of the President's address. I now ask unanimous consent that the Italian and Spanish translations of that address be printed in the RECORD.

With reference to the translations, I will say that I have checked them carefully, and can assure the Senate of their accuracy. [Laughter.]

The ACTING PRESIDENT protempore. The Chair congratulates the Senate upon having such a fine linquist as the Senator from Kentucky. [Laughter.]

There being no objection, the translations were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Italian translation]

Questa è la stazione internazionale WCBX della Columbia Broadcasting System a Nuova York, Stati Uniti d'America. Vi daremo ora lettura del discorso pronunciato ieri sera a Dayton, Ohio, da Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Presidente degli Stati Uniti:

Non è per puro caso che questo radiodiscorso indirizzato all'intero Emisfero occidentale—all'America del Nord, all'America Centrale, e all'America del Sud viene pronunciato quest'oggi, l'anniversario della scoperta del Nuovo Mondo da parte di Cristoforo Colombo, Nessun altro giorno sarebbe più appropriato ato di questo, in cui commemoriamo le gesta di quel grande navigatore. Oggi tutti noi—Americani delle Americhe: Settentrionale, Centrale e Meridionale ci associamo ai nostri connazionali di origine italiana nellonorare il nome di Colombo. Sono molti i gruppi d'italiani che hanno emigrato verso queste sponde nove hanno trovato un'accoglienza sempre cordiale. Essi costituiscono uno degli elementi essenziali della civilizzazione e della struttura di ognuna delle nostre 21 repubbliche. Attraverso i secoli gli italiani hanno occupato posti di grande prominenza nella vita politica, degli Stati Uniti e delle altre repubbliche, e a noi sono pure ben noti quelli che tanto hanno contribuito alla creazione della vita scientifica, commerciale, professionale ed artistica del Nuovo Mondo. Le Americhe si sono distinte nell'arte di armonizzare la convivenza di una grande varietà di razze. Gli scopritori furono seguiti dappresso dai primi coloni, i primi esuli europei. Essi vennero per arare nuovi campi, costruire nuovi focolari, istituire una nuova società in un mondo nuovo. Più tardi essi combatterono per la loro libertà. Uomini e donne dotati di coraggio, d'iniziativa e di visione essi sapevano per che cosa combattevano; essi ottenero quello che desideravano e nel farlo aprirono al mondo nuovi orizzonti di speranza per l'avvenire. Essi formacono, qui, nell'Emisfero Occidentale, una nuova riserva umana arricchita si poi del sangue, della coltura, e delle tradizioni di tutte le razze e di tutti i popoli del mondo. Verso le Americhe venerro "le masse anelanti d'esser libere" animate dalle communi aspirazioni, non solo di migliorare le loro condizioni economiche, ma anche di conseguire quelle libertà personali, negate loro dal vechio mondo.

Vennero non per combattere l'uno contro l'altro ma per convivere. Essi portarono seco, con orgoglio il loro retaggio di coltura ma abbandonarono con gioia il fardello dei pregiudizi e dell'odio. In questo mondo nuovo si trapiantarono le grandi colture della Spagna e del Portogallo ed ora—ai nostri giorni—le Americhe contribuiscono ampiamente ad esse. È naturale che tutti i cittadini americani i quali provengono da tante nazioni del vecchio mondo rammentino con affetto le terre ove vivevano i loro antenati ed i grandi attributi dell'antica civiltà dei loro paesi diorigine. Ma in tutte le repubbliche americane ognuno sente (e questo quasi senza eccezione), che la sua fedeltà e lealtà sono anzi tutto dovute alla repubblica nella quale vive. Poichè quando i nostri antenati vennero a queste terre, essi vennero con la determinazione di rimanervi e di divenire cittadini del nuovo mondo. Man mano che questo nuovo mondo venne acquistando la propria indipendenza essi vollero divenire cittadini americani—non: anglo-sassoni-americani, o italo-americani o germano-americani, o ispano-americani o luso-americani * * * essi vollero divenire sudditi di una delle nazioni indipendenti delle Americhe. Qui non esiste la qualità di cittadinanza. Qui i discendenti di quelle stesse razze che erano sempre state costrette a temersi o ad odiarsi a vicenda nelle terre d'oltremare hanno imparato a convivere in pace e in amicizia. Nel Nuovo Mondo nessun gruppo e nessuna razza vuole soggiogare gli altri. Nessuna nazione di questo emisfero ha il menomo desiderio di dominare le altre. Nell'Emisfero Occidentale nessuna nazione è considerata alla stregua di una potenza di secondo rango. Noi sappiamo che si è tentato e si continuerà a tentare di seminare la discordia tra questi gruppi e tra queste nazioni. Vi è ancora, nel vecchio mondo, chi persiste a credere che le Americhe possano essere lacerate dagli odii e dai terrori che per tanti secoli hanno insanguinato i campi di battaglia dell'Europa.

Gli americani—come individui—e le Repubbliche Americane—come nazioni—sono in guardia contro coloro che cercano di infrangere la loro unità col predicare antichi odii razziali, col fomentare antichi timori, o col far balenare, pur essendo persuasi essi stessi della loro falsità, lusinghiere promesse. "Divide et impera" è stato sempre il grido di guerra delle potenze totalitarie nella loro lotta contro le democrazie. Quel metodo è riuscito sul continente europeo. Sul nostro continente è destinato a fallire. Noi siamo decisi a dedicare le nostre energie e le nostre risorse a combattere e baudire i complotti e la propaganda straniere—l'intera strategia della guerra sotterranea che trova le sue origini in Europa e che ora è chiaramente diretta contro tutte le repubbliche da questo lato dell'oceano. Quella propaganda ripete e ripete che la democrazia è una forma

decadente di governo, e ci dichiara che i nostri ideali democratici, le nostre antiche tradizioni di libertà civili sono cose del passato.

Noi confutiamo queste asserzioni. Noi dichiariamo che noi siamo l'avvenire. Noi dichiariamo che questa propaganda ci vuol far retrocedere e non progredire, retrocedere verso la schiavitù dei faraoni, verso il servaggio del Medio Evo. Il motto della democrazia è: "sempre avanti e sempre più in alto." Gli uomini liberi non sono mai stati soddisfatti col semplice mantenimento di un qualsiasi statu quo, per quanto comodo e sicuro esso sia parso loro in un dato momento. Noi abbiamo sempre mantenuto viva in noi la speranza, anzi, la convinzione che al di là dell'orizzonte esiste una vita più ricca, un mondo migliore. Quel fuoco di libertà era negli occhi di Washington, di Bolivar, di San Martin, di Artigas, di Juarez, e di Bernardo O'Higgins, e di tutti quegli uomini, coraggiosi, robusti e laceri che li seguirono nelle guerre d'indipendenza.

Quello stesso fuoco arde ora negli occhi di coloro che combattono per la libertá nelle terre al di là del mare. Da questa parte dell'oceano non esiste alcun desiderio e non sarà compiuto alcuno sforzo, da parte di qualsiasi razza, popolo o nazione per dominarne un altro. Il solo accerchiamento che si desideri qui è quello costituito dai legami di amicizia fra buoni e vecchi vicini. Così uniti noi possiamo resistere a qualsiasi attacco, a qualsiasi attacco proveniente da oriente o da occidente, e siamo in grado di impedire qualsiasi infiltrazioni di idee politiche ed economiche aliene al nostro sistema che distrurrebbero la nostra libertà e la nostra democrazia. Quando noi parliamo di difendere questo emisfero occidentale non alludiamo soltanto ai territori dell'America settentrionale, Centrale, Meridionale e delle isole adiacenti. Includiamo pure il diritto all'uso pacifico dei due oceani che abbracciano le nostre terre. Questa è la nostra politica tradizionale. In fatti fin dall'inizio della nostra storia, quando cioè, nel 1798—gli Stati Uniti videro che il loro commercio con le altre parti delle Americhe era minacciato da corsari inviati alle Indie Occidentali da nazioni allora coinvolte in guerre europee, le navi *Constitution, Constellation, United States* e numerose altre furono armate per mantenere la pace in questo emisfero. Queste cacciarono quelle navi europee dalle nostre acque, rendendo in tal modo nuovamente possibile le pacifiche relazioni commerciali tra le Americhe. Noi americani consideriamo che la difesa degli oceani che circondano l'emisfero occidentale contro atti d'aggressione è il primo fattore nella difesa e nella protezione della nostra integrità territoriale. Noi riaffermiamo quella nostra politica qualora esistesse qualche dubbio sulla nostra determinazione di farla rispettare.

In ognuna delle 21 repubbliche americane vi è chi ritiene che il corso d'azione adottato dalle Americhe finirà col trascinare qualcuna o tutte le nostre nazioni in un conflitto con una o più potenze d'oltremare.

La verità dei fatti è stata chiaramente e ripetutamente spiegata. Questa nazione non vuole fare guerra a nessuna nazione. Questo emisfero non vuole combattere contro nessuna nazione. Le repubbliche americane sono decise a collaborare alla causa della pace come esse collaborano per difendersi da ogni eventuale attacco. Per molti lunghi anni tutta la mia energia è stata consacrata alla missione di mantenere questa nazione e le altre repubbliche in pace col resto del mondo. Questa continua ad essere la mia più grande preoccupazione—questo è l'ideale per il quale io spero, e lavoro, e prego. Noi ci armiamo per la nostra difesa. La migliore ragione per far questo è che il riarmo costituisce la più solida garanzia della nostra pace. Gli Stati Uniti radunano i loro uomini e lo loro risorse armandosi non soltanto per la loro difesa, ma per difendere altresì tutto l'emisfero occidentale, in collaborazione con le altre repubbliche americane. Noi stiamo preparando una difesa totale terrestre, navale ed aerea, una difensa totale sufficiente per respingere un attacco totale da qualsiasi parte del mondo esso provenga. Messi in guardia dai deliberati attacchi dei dittatori contro i populi liberi, gli Stati Uniti, per la prima volta nel corso della loro storia, hanno adottato la coscrizione militare in tempo di pace. Pericoli senza precedenti hanno costretto gli Stati Uniti ad intraprendere la costruzione di una flotta e di un'arma aerea abbastanza possenti per difendere tuttel le coste delle Americhe contro qual siasi coalizione di potenze ostiloi. Noi abbiamo chiesto, ed abbiamo ottenuto, la più completa cooperazione da parte, sia dell'industria che della mano d'opera. Tutti noi acceleriamo i preparativi di adeguate difese.

Noi teniamo le nazioni di questo emisfero pienamente informati dei nostri preparativi di difesa. Abbiamo invitato gli stati vicini a inviarci missioni militari; e a loro volta i nostri tecnici militari e navali sono stati cordialmente ricevuti da loro. Noi intendiamo incoraggiare questo aperto scambio di informazioni e di progetti poichè noi saremo "tutti per uno ed uno per tutti." Questa idea di una difesa abbastanza forte e vasta per proteggere questa metà del globo nacque quando il governo degli Stati Uniti annunziò quale politica intendeva seguire nei riguardi dell'America Centrale e dell'America Meridionale, quella cioè del buon vicinato; quella di colui che non vuole immischiarsi nelle faccende altrui ma che è sempre pronto a dare una mano quella di colui che è sempre disposto a discutere amichevolmente quei problemi che invariabilmente sorgono tra vicini. Dal giorno in cui quella politica fu adottata le repubbliche americane si sono sempre consultate vicendevolmente; esse hanno aggiustato in modo pacifico ed in buona armonia i loro vecchi problemi e le loro controversie; si sono riavvicinate sempre più le une alle altre e—finalmente—nel 1938, a Lima hanno suggellato la loro unità e la loro amicizia. Fu allora che il nuovo mondo proclamò la sua decisione di mantenere, collettivamente, la libertà sulle cui fondamento era stata eretta la sua potenza. In questa decisione la politica del buon vicinato, trovò la sua completa realizzazione, la conferma delle parolodi un famoso argentino di origine italiana, l'Alberdi, il quale disse: "Le Americhe costituiscono un grande sistema politico, le cui parti componenti conferiscono vitalità al tutto ed il tutto, a sua volta alle parti."

Nel corso degli ultimi mesi, con l'acquisizione di otto basi navali in territori britonnici di questo emisfero, dalla Tierranova alla Guaiana, abbiamo accresciuta l'efficacia della grande flotta che gia possediamo e di quella che è in corso d'allestimento. Quelle basi furono acquistate dagli Stati Uniti ma non soltanto per la protezione degli Stati Uniti. Esse furono acquisite per la protezione di tutto l'emisfero. L'offerta fatta degli Stati Uniti a tutte le altre repubbliche americane di usare in comune quelle basi ha dato al mondo una prova tangibile della solidarietà di questo emisfero. Con quell'offerta noi abbiamo dato un esempio della politica del buon vicinato che comprende la difesa di questo emisfero basata sulla collaborazione più completa. Le stazioni radiofoniche americane avranno il compito di contribuire al mantenimento della solidarietà che è stata creata durante gli ultimi otto anni tra le nazioni americane. Esse saranno strumenti efficaci per un franco scambio di idee. E non dovranno mai essere usate come lo sono le stazioni radiofoniche di certi altri paesi; per trasmettere cioè, nello stesso giorno, una falsa notizia a una nazione e la stessa menzogna, ma presentata in differente modo, ad un'altra.

Il centro vitale delle nostre difese è la nostra fede nelle istituzione che difendiamo. I dittatori non riusciranno mai ad imporci la loro volontà con le intimidazioni e le minacce. Nessuna coalizione di potenze totalitarie dell'Europa e dell'Asia riuscirà mai a farci desistere dall'aiutare quel popolo libero—quasi il solo, ormai, ad esser rimasto tale—che oppone una così valida resistenza alle sue aggressioni. Noi abbiamo scelto la nostra rotta e presa la nostra decisione. Noi continueremo a rafforzare le nostre difese ed i nostri armamenti. Noi continueremo ad aiutare coloro che oppongono gli aggressori, e che ora li tengono lontani dalle nostre sponde.

Nessun americano in qualunque parte di questo emisfero dovrebbe mettere in dubbio la possibilità che pericoli provenienti d'oltremare possano minacciare la nostra sicurezza. Perchè mai dovremmo credere alle assicurazioni e alle promesse d'immunito che ci vengono fatte? La storia dimostra che quelle stesse promesse furono date, e non è molto, ai popoli dell'Olanda, del Belgio e della Norvegia. Non si può ormai più dubitare del fatto che le forze del male, intente alla conquista del mondo distruggeranno tutto e tutti coloro che non sono in grado di resistere. Questo ci è stato dimostrato dalla storia degli ultimi anni. Noi sappiamo ora che se cercassimo di cattivarci quelle forze malvage abbandonando al loro destino i popoli che le combattono, non faremmo che avvicinare il giorno in cui esse si scaglieranno contro di noi. Il popolo degli Stati Uniti, i popoli di tutte le Americhe rifuggono dalla politica della conciliazione, che riconoscono per quello che veramente è—una delle armi principali degli aggressori. Io parlo con franchezza. Io parlo dell'amore del popolo americano per la libertà, per l'onestà e per l'umanità. È per queste ragioni che noi ci armiamo. Perché ripeto—questa nazione vuole tenere la guerra lontana da questi continenti. Perchè tutti noi siamo decisi a far tutto il possibile per mantenere la pace in questo emisfero. Perchè l'armarsi fino ai denti è il solo modo sicuro di realizzare le nostre speranze di pace e di rimaner fuori da questa e da altre guerra. Perchè siamo decisi a radunare tutte le nostre energie consacrandole all a causa della nostra libertà. Gli uomini e le donne dell'Inghilterra hanno dimostrato come un popolo libero difende quello che sa essere giusto. La loro eroica resistenza sarà una grande ispirazione per le generazioni a venire e costituirà un perenne esempio di quello che una democrazia è capace di fare quando viene messa alla prova. Io non dimenticherò mai le folle enormi, nelle capitali dell'America del Sud da me recentemente visitate che venivano ad esprimere con il loro plauso la loro simpatia per gli Stati Uniti. Io rammento in modo speciale una frase che udivo sempre, al di sopra d'ogni altro grido e che era così frequentamente ripetuta: "Viva la Democrazia." Quelle tre esultanti parole esprimono la ferma convinzione, comune ai popoli di tutte le democrazie: la convinzione che la libertà continuerà a regnare sovrana nelle loro terre. E nel salutare i popoli di tutte le nazioni dell'Emisfero Occidentale voglio ripetere quel grido dei nostri buoni vicini delle Americhe: "Viva la Democrazia!"

[Spanish translation]

La Emisora Internacional WCBX, de la Cadena Columbia, Nueva York, ofrece a ustedes enseguida la versión castellana del texto íntegro del discurso que acaba de pronunciar el Presidente Roosevelt en la ciudad de Dayton, Ohio, y dirigido a las naciones de las tres Américas con motivo del Día de la Raza. Dijo el Presidente Roosevelt:

No es por simple coincidencia que esta radioemisión a todo el Hemisferio Occidental—a la América del Norte, Centro América y la América del Sur—se efectúa en el aniversario del Descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo por Cristóbal Colón. Ningún otro dia podía ser más apropiado que este en que celebramos las hazañas del atrevido Descubridor.

Hoy todos los Americanos, del Norte, del Centro y del Sur, nos asociamos a neustros conciudadanos de origen italiano para honrar el nombre de Colón.

Muchos y numerosos han sido los grupos de italianos que han llegado, en olas de inmigración siempre bien acogidas, a este Hemisferio. Han sido elemento esencial en la civilización y en la constitución de todas las veintiuna Repúblicas. A través de los siglos, nombres italianos han figurado eminentemente en la lista de los

estadistas de Estados Unidos y de las otras Repúblicas, sin contar los que han contribuido a crear la vida científica, comercial, profesional, y artística del Nuevo Mundo.

Las Américas se han destacado en la aventura de convivir en armonía, estando formadas por muchas razas distintas. A raíz de los descubrimientos, vinieron los primeros colonos, los primeros refugiados de Europa. Vinieron a arar nuevos campos, a construir nuevos hogares a establecer una nueva sociedad en un Nuevo Mundo. Más tarde, combatieron por la Libertad. Hombres y mujeres valerosos, emprendedores, previsores, sabían por qué luchaban. Lo alcanzaron, y al conseguirlo dieron "esperanza a todo el mundo para todo el porvenir."

Formaron, acquí, en el Hemisferio Occidental, una nueva reserva humana, y a ella han venido a sumarse la sangre, la cultura, las tradiciones de todas las razas y pueblos de la Tierra. Vinieron a las Americas—"muchedumbres anhelosas de ser libres"—animadas por aspiraciones comunes, no sólo de mejoramiento económico, sino de libertades y franquicias personales que les habían sido negadas en el Viejo Mundo.

No vinieron a conquistarse los unos a los otros, sino a vivir unos al lado de otros. Orgullosamente trajeron consigo su herencia de cultura, pero alegremente dejaron atrás la carga de prejuicios y de odios.

A este Nuevo Mundo fueron trasplantadas las grandes culturas de España y Portugal.

En nuestro propio tiempo, es un hecho que gran parte de la cultura española y portuguesa de todo el mundo proviene actualmente de las Américas.

Es natural que todos los ciudadanos Americanos, oriundos de las numerosas naciones del Viejo Mundo recuerden con afecto las tierras en que vivieron sus antepasados y los grandes atributos de la vieja civilización en aquellas tierras. Pero en cada una de las Repúblicas Americanas, la primera y última fidelidad y lealtad de esos ciudadanos, pertenece, casi sin excepción, a la República en que viven, actúan y tienen su ser.

Porque cuando nuestros antepasados vinieron a estas riberas, lo hicieron con la determinación de permanecer y de volverse ciudadanos del Nuevo Mundo. Al establecer éste su independencia, quisieron tornarse ciudadanos de América—no de una América anglo-sajona, o italiana, o alemana, o española, o portuguesa—sino simplemente ciudadanos de una Nación Americana independente.

Aquí no tenemos ciudadanía dual. Aquí los descendientes de las mismas razas que siempre se habían visto obligadas a temerse, o a odiarse unas a otras en las tierras del otro lado del océano, han aprendido a vivir en paz y amistad.

Ningún grupo o raza del Nuevo Mundo tiene deseo alguno de subyugar a otros. Ninguna nación en este Hemisferio tiene deseo alguno de dominar a otros. En el Hemisferio Occidental, ninguna nación es considerada como nación de segunda clase, y esto es algo que vale la pena recordar.

Nosotros sabemos que se ha tratado—sabemos que se seguirá tratando—de dividir esos grupos en el seno de una nación y de dividir esas naciones entre sí.

Hay en el Viejo Mundo quienes persisten en creer que aquí, en este Nuevo Hemisferio, las Américas pueden ser destrozadas por los odios y los temores que han saturado de sangre los campos de batalla de Europa durante tantos siglos. Los Americanos como individuos, y las Repúblicas Americanas, como naciones, se mantienen en guardia contra quienes tratan de romper su unidad mediante la prédica de antiguos odios raciales, mediante la explotación de antiguos recelos, o mediante la presentación de seductoras promesas que ellos saben son falsas.

"Dividir para conquistar" ha sido la consigna de las potencias totalitarias en su guerra contras las democracias. En el Continente de Europa, esa consigna ha tenido buen éxito por el momento. En nuestro continente fracasará.

Estamos resueltos a emplear nuestras energías y nuestros recursos para combatir y repeler las tramas y la propaganda extranjeras—toda la técnica de beligerancia subterránea, que tiene su origen en Europa y que ahora está claramente apuntada contra todas las Repúblicas situadas a este lado del océano.

Esa propaganda repite y repite que la democracia es una forma decadente de gobierno. Nos dicen que nuestro viejo ideal democrático, nuestras viejas tradiciones de libertades civiles, son cosas del pasado.

Nosotros rechazamos tal idea. Nosotros decimos que somos el porvenir. Decimos que la dirección por la cual ellos quisieron encaminarnos es retrógrada y no progresista, decimos que retrotrae a la servidumbre de los Faraones a la esclavitud de la Edad Media.

La consigna de la fe democrática siempre ha sido: ¡Adelante y Arriba! Los hombres libres nunca se han sentido satisfechos con el mero mantenimiento de ningún status quo, por confortable y seguro que haya podido parecer en un momento dado.

Jamás hemos renunciado a la esperanza, a la creencia, a la convicción de que existen una vida mejor, un mundo mejor, más allá del horizonte. * * *

El fuego de la libertad brillaba en los ojos de Washington, de Bolívar, de San Martín, de Artigas, de Juárez, de Bernardo O'Higgins, y de todos los valientes, los rudos y harapientos hombres que los siguieron en las guerras de Independencia.

Ese fuego arde hoy en los ojos de quienes combaten por la libertad en tierras de ultramar.

A este lado del océano no existe deseo alguno, ni habrá ningún esfuerzo, por parte de ninguna raza, o pueblo, o nación, por dominar a otro. El único abrazo que nos proponemos lograr es el vínculo de la amistad de buenos vecinos a la usanza antigua. Unidos así nos es dable resistir cualquier ataque, ya venga del oriente o del occidente. Juntos nos es dable desviar cualquier infiltración de ideologías políticas y económicas extrañas que puedan aspirar a destruir nuestra libertad y nuestra democracia.

Cuando hablamos de defender este Hemisferio Occidental no hablamos solamente del territorio de Norte, Centro y Sud América y las islas inmediatamente adyacentes. Incluimos el derecho al uso pacífico de los Océanos Atlántico y Pacífico. Tal ha sido nuestra política tradicional.

Es un hecho, por ejemplo, que desde tiempos tan remotos como mil setecientos noventiocho (1798) los Estados Unidos encontraron que su tráfico y comercio pacíficos con otras partes de las Américas estaban amenazados por corsarios armados enviados a las Antillas por naciones que guerreaban por aquel entonces entre sí en Europa. Debido a esa amenaza a la paz de este Hemisferio, fueron armadas las fragatas *Constelación* y *Constitución* y muchas otras unidades navales Estadounidenses que echaron de las aguas al Sur de nosotros los barcos de guerra de Europa, y tornaron a hacer pacífico y factible el comercio entre las Américas.

Nosotros, los Americanos, seguimos creyendo que la defensa de los océanos del Hemisferio Occidental contra actos de agresión, es el primer factor en la defensa y protección de nuestra propia integridad territorial. Y reafirmamos ahora esa política, para que no haya duda respecto a nuestra intención de mantenerla.

Hay quienes, en cada una de las veintiuna Repúblicas Americanas, insinúan que el curso que las Américas están siguiendo está lentamente empujando a una o a todas a la guerra con alguna nación o naciones de allende los mares.

Los hechos han sido declarados claramente una y otra vez. Este país no desea guerra con ninguna nación. Este Hemisferio no desea guerra con ninguna nación. Las Repúblicas Americanas están resueltas a trabajar unidas por la paz, lo mismo que trabajamos unidos para defendernos de cualquier ataque.

Durante muchos y largos años, cada onza de energía que yo he tenido ha sido consagrada a mantener esta nación y las otras Repúblicas en paz con el resto del Mundo. Y es eso lo que hoy sigue ocupando primer puesto en mi mente, lo que constituye el objetivo a que aspiro y el por que lucho y por que ruego.

Nosotros nos armamos para defendernos. La más fuerte razón para eso es que eso es la más fuerte garantía de paz.

Los Estados Unidos de América están reuniendo sus hombres y sus recursos, se están armando no solamente para defenderse a sí mismos, sino, en colaboración con las otras repúblicas Americanas, para ayudar a defender todo el Hemisferio.

Estamos construyendo una defensa total en tierra, mar y aire, suficiente para repeler cualquier ataque total asestado desde cualquier parte del mundo. Advertido por los deliberados ataques de los dictadores contra pueblos libres, Estados Unidos, por primera vez en su historia, ha emprendido el entrenamiento militar de sus hombres en tiempo de paz. Peligros sin precedente han sido causa de que Estados Unidos haya emprendido la construcción de una flota y de una fuerza aérea suficientes para defender todas las costas de las Américas contra cualquier combinación de potencias hostiles.

Hemos solicitado, y hemos recibido, la más plena cooperación y ayuda de parte de la industria y del trabajo. Todos estamos acelerando la preparación de defensas adecuadas.

Y estamos manteniendo las naciones de este Hemisferio plenamente enteradas de nuestros preparativos de defensa. Hemos acogido delegaciones militares de las repúblicas que son nuestras vecinas. Y a su vez, nuestros expertos militares y navales han sido acogidos por ellas. Nos proponemos alentar este franco intercambio de información y de planes.

Seremos todos para uno y uno para todos.

Esta idea de una defensa suficientemente fuerte y suficientemente amplia para proteger nuestra mitad del mundo, tuvo su origen cuando el gobierno de Estados Unidos anunció su política respecto de las Américas del Sur y del Centro. Era la política del Buen Vecino, del vecino que no se entromete en lo que no le atañe, pero que siempre está dispuesto a prestar ayuda amistosa a una nación amistosa que la solicite; el vecino que está dispuesto a discutir amistosamente los problemas que nunca dejan de suscitarse entre vecinos.

Desde el día en que esa política fué anunciada, las Repúblicas Americanas se han consultado entre sí; han ajustado pacíficamente sus viejos problemas y disputas; se han acercado más y más unas a otras; hasta que al fin, en 1938, en Lima, su unidad y su amistad quedaron selladas.

En esa ocasión fué adoptada una declaración de que el Nuevo Mundo se propone mantener colectivamente la libertad sobre la cual se asienta su fuerza. Fué eso la culminación de la política del Buen Vecino, la confirmación de lo que dijera aquel famoso Argentino de cuna italiana, Alberdi: "Los Américas son un gran sistema político; las partes extraen vida del todo; y el todo extrae vida de sus partes."

Mediante la adquisición en meses recientes de ocho bases navales en territorios del Imperio Británico situadas dentro de la esfera del Nuevo Mundo, desde Terranova a las Guayanas, hemos aumentado la efectividad inmediata de la gran flota que ahora poseemos y de la flota aún mayor que tenemos en vía de construcción. Esas bases fueron adquiridas por Estados Unidos, pero no para la protección de Estados Unidos únicamente. Fueron adquiridas para la protección de todo el Hemisferio Occidental. La unidad de las repúblicas Americanas fué demostrada al mundo, al ser esas bases navales prontamente abiertas por Estados Unidos a las otras Repúblicas para su uso cooperativo. En ese acto quedó típicamente demostrado

el concepto de la defensa hemisférica mediante la cooperación de todos para todos, bajo el signo de la Buena Vecindad.

Las estaciones Estadounidenses de radio desempeñarán su parte en la nueva unidad que ha sido edificada tan sólidamente entre las naciones Americanas durante los últimos ocho años. Tendrán que ser instrumentos efectivos al servicio del honrado intercambio y comunicación de las ideas. Nunca deberán ser usadas como son usadas las estaciones radiofónicas en otros países, para emitir en un mismo día una historia falsa a un país, y una historia falsa diferente a otro.

La médula de nuestra defensa es la fe que tenemos en las instituciones que defendemos. Las Américas no se dejarán empujar ni por el miedo ni por las amenazas, a adoptar las vías que los dictadores nos quieren hacer seguir.

Ninguna combinación de países Europeos y Asiáticos dominados por dictadores, nos detendrá en el camino que vemos extenderse para nosotros y para la democracia.

Ninguna combinación de países Europeos y Asiáticos dominados por dictadores logrará hacer cesar la ayuda que estamos dando al que es casi el último pueblo libre que está combatiendo por mantenerlos a raya.

Nuestro curso es claro. Nuestra decisión ha sido tomada. Continuaremos acumulando nuestras defensas y nuestros armamentos. Continuaremos ayudando a los que resisten la agresión, y por ahora mantienen a los agresores lejos de nuestras playas. Que ningún americano en ningún rincón de las Américas ponga en duda la posibilidad de peligros procedentes de allende los mares. ¿Por qué hemos de aceptar seguridades de que somos inmunes? La historia registra que no hace mucho tiempo esas mismas seguridades fueron dadas a los pueblos de Holanda y de Bélgica y de Noruega.

No puede ya disputarse que las fuerzas del mal, empeñadas en realizar la conquista del mundo, destruirán a quien puedan destruir en el momento que puedan hacerlo. Hemos aprendido las lecciones de los últimos años. Sabemos ahora que, si tratamos de aplacarlos absteniendonos de dar ayuda a quienes se les oponen, no hacemos sino acelerar el día de su ataque contra nosotros.

El pueblo de Estados Unidos y el pueblo de todas las Américas rechazan la doctrina del aplacamiento. La reconocen por lo que es, es decir, un arma importante de las naciones agresoras.

Estoy hablando con franqueza. Proclamo el amor del pueblo Estadounidense por la Libertad, la Decencia, y la Humanidad.

Es por eso que nos armamos. Porque, lo repito, esta nación quiere mantener alejada la guerra de estos dos continentes. Porque todos nosotros estamos resueltos a hacer cuanto sea posible para mantener la paz en este hemisferio. Porque poseer una gran fuerza de armas es la manera práctica de dar cumplimiento a nuestras esperanzas de paz, y de permanecer fuera de esta o de culquier otra guerra. Porque estamos resueltos a alistar toda nuestra fuerza a fin de poder seguir siendo libres.

Los hombres y mujeres de la Gran Bretaña han demostrado cómo es que la gente libre defiende lo que sabe ser justo. Su heróica defense será anotada por la posteridad. Será una prueba perpetua de que la democracia, cuando es puesta a prueba, es capaz de mostrar la sustancia de que está hecha.

Recuerdo bien, durante mis recientes visitas a tres grandes capitales Sud-Americanas, las grandes muchedumbres que vinieron a expresar, con sus aclamaciones, su amistad hacia los Estados Unidos. Y especialmente recuerdo que sobre todas las otras aclamaciones, oí reiteradamente un grito que se elevaba por encima de todos: el grito de: "¡Viva la Democracia!"

Esas tres palabras conmovedoras, expresan la permanente convicción del pueblo en todas las democracias, de que la libertad habrá de imperar en la tierra.

Al enviar mi saludo a los pueblos de todas las naciones del Hemisferio Occidental, deseo repetir aquel grito de nuestros buenos vencinos de las Américas: "¡Viva la Democracia!"

Registration Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 17 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by the President and broadcast over a Nation-wide hook-up on registration day, yesterday, October 16, 1940, with reference to the draft.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On this day more than 16,000,000 young Americans are reviving the 300-year-old American custom of the muster. They are obeying that first duty of free citizenship by which from the earliest colonial times every able-bodied citizen was subject to the call for service in the national defense.

It is a day of deep and purposeful meaning in the lives of all of us. For on this day we Americans proclaim the vitality of our history, the singleness of our will, and the unity of our Nation.

We prepare to keep the peace in this New World which freemen have built for freemen to live in. The United States, a Nation of 130,000,000 people, has today only about 500,000—half a million—officers and men in Army and National Guard. Other nations, smaller in population, have four and five and six million trained men in their armies. Our present program will train 800,000 additional men this coming year and somewhat less than 1,000,000 men each year thereafter. It is a program obviously of defensive preparation and of defensive preparation only.

Calmly, without fear and without hysteria, but with clear determination, we are building guns and planes and tanks and ships, and all the other tools which modern defense requires. We are mobilizing our citizenship, for we are calling on men and women and property and money to join in making our defense effective. Today's registration for training and service is the keystone in the arch of our national defense.

In the days when our forefathers laid the foundation of our democracy every American family had to have its gun and know how to use it. Today we live under threats—threats of aggression from abroad—which call again for the same readiness, the same vigilance. Ours must once again be the spirit of those who were prepared to defend as they built, to defend as they worked, to defend as they worshiped.

The duty of this day has been imposed upon us from without. Those who have dared to threaten the whole world with war—those who have created the name and deed of total war—have imposed upon us and upon all free peoples the necessity of preparation for total defense.

But this day not only imposes a duty; it provides also an opportunity—an opportunity for united action in the cause of liberty; an opportunity for the continuing creation on this continent of a country where the people alone shall be master, where the people shall be truly free.

To the 16,000,000 young men who register today I say that democracy is your cause—the cause of youth.

Democracy is the one form of society which guarantees to every new generation of men the right to imagine and to attempt to bring to pass a better world. Under the despotisms the imagination of a better world and its achievement are alike forbidden.

Your act today affirms not only your loyalty to your country but your will to build your future for yourselves.

We of today, with God's help, can bequeath to Americans of tomorrow a nation in which the ways of liberty and justice will survive and be secure. Such a nation must be devoted to the cause of peace. And it is for that cause that America arms itself.

It is to that cause—the cause of peace—that we Americans today devote our national will and our national spirit and our national strength.

On Hand and On Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS T. MALONEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 17 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES F. BYRNES, OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES] on October 16, 1940, over the red network of the National Broadcasting Co. entitled "On Hand and On Order."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

ON HAND AND ON ORDER

In a speech at Philadelphia a few days ago the Presidential candidate of the Republican Party charged that President Roosevelt attempted to deceive the people of the United States when, on May 27, 1940, in advising the Nation as to our airplanes, tanks, and other matériel, he used the phrase "on hand and on order." Mr. Willkie ridiculed that phrase and demanded to know its meaning.

In his speech the President simply used the language of a report furnished by the officers of our Army. In describing the status of

its ships, the Navy uses the phrase "built and building." In reporting as to its equipment, the Army uses the phrase "on hand and on order."

President Hoover frequently used the phrase "on hand and on order," just as other Presidents have done. Mr. Willkie was a Democrat during the Hoover administration. I would have been ashamed had he at that time charged President Hoover with deceit and misrepresentation because of using the phrase "on hand and on order."

Remember, years ago the Army devised that phrase so that a complete picture of its matériel could be given. "On hand" informs the Nation of matériel on hand today, and "on order" tells the Nation what is to be delivered by manufacturers who have been awarded contracts.

An administration that has nothing "on order" is doing nothing about national defense.

In that same speech at Philadelphia Mr. Willkie said: "I happen to know a large manufacturing company in Michigan. It has orders for many hundreds of tanks. Those were included, I assume, among the 'ghost' tanks 'on order' that the third-term candidate spoke about. But this particular manufacturer has not yet built the building in which those ghost tanks are to be manufactured."

That was an inexcusable misrepresentation.

The only manufacturer in Michigan having orders for tanks is the Chrysler Corporation. Mr. Willkie knew that the appropriation for the purchase of tanks was not made available by Congress until July. Yet he told you that these tanks were included among those to which the President referred in his speech last May.

The fact is, the contract was signed August 15. Building tanks is a new activity for Chrysler Corporation, so a new type of plant had to be designed. Six weeks later, on the day Mr. Willkie spoke, the building was under construction and needed machinery was on order. Mr. Willkie in his statement was unfair to the President, unfair to the Army, and unfair to the Chrysler Corporation.

American factories are now turning out five completed tanks each day. Production is increasing each month. Wendell Willkie may call them "ghost tanks," but Adolf Hitler will not ridicule those tanks.

At Buffalo last night, Mr. Willkie asserted that the administration delayed the amortization plan which, he said, would have cleared the tracks for manufacture of guns, tanks, planes, and munitions.

American manufacturers did not wait for this legislation. Before its enactment, they signed contracts with the Army and Navy totaling seven and one-half billion dollars.

Speaking of this tax provision, Mr. Willkie said: "I favored it, too. So far as I know, every sensible man favored it."

Let me tell you that when the Senate voted on this bill, only one Republican Senator voted for it. I want you to know that it is not I but Mr. Willkie who says there is only one sensible Republican in the Senate.

The Republican candidate told the people that all but a few hundred of our airplanes are obsolete. You know that is untrue. What would not Britain give today for the thousands of planes we have which Mr. Willkie calls obsolete? The Defense Commission tells you that American factories will this month turn out 950 planes. They are superior to those which dot the skies over Europe. Production is increasing daily and our designers have profited from Europe's experience.

Mr. Willkie says: "Think what a difference it would have made to the democracies of the world if the airplane production of 1940 had been attained in 1939."

I agree. Had the party of Mr. Willkie's adoption refrained from delaying and blocking repeal of the arms embargo in March 1939 airplane factories built in 1940 would have been erected in 1939. And today we would be producing planes at the rate of 2,000 per month instead of 950 per month.

At Cleveland, Mr. Willkie said: "The fact is that the largest force we could put into the field today completely equipped, is 75,000." That is untrue. We have more than 75,000 men completely equipped in our island possessions. We have, in all, in the Regular Army as of yesterday 352,158; in the National Guard we have 203,000, making a total of 555,158 men.

Speaking in New York, the Republican candidate declared the Army lacked rifles. That is untrue. The United States Army has on hand approximately two million Enfield and Springfield rifles—which any military expert will tell you are splendid weapons. The Infantry constitutes not more than 40 percent of a modern army. Therefore, we now have rifles sufficient for an army of five or six million men.

We now are manufacturing the new Garand rifle. The Army does not disclose the number on hand, but states that by the end of this month we will be producing 600 per day, and production is increasing every month.

Yesterday, in Rochester, Mr. Willkie charged "pitiful inefficiency in failing to provide housing for the first lot of new soldiers with registration coming tomorrow." He said it would take 6 months to house the first 400,000 men.

The selective-service law was approved September 16. Plans for housing were already prepared and construction immediately started. General Marshall advises me that instead of being delayed it is proceeding surprisingly well. The Army did not plan to call any trainees before November 18, and only 30,000 then. The increase in recruiting in the Regular Army and National Guard will reduce the number of trainees then to be called. But housing will be ready for them when they are called.

The result, if not the purpose, of Mr. Willkie's misleading statement on the eve of registration day was to strike fear into the hearts of American mothers.

Mr. Willkie also criticized the administration for not having an additional set of locks at the Panama Canal. He neglected to tell you that the money to build these additional locks had been appropriated. He also neglected to tell you that the Republicans in the House voted 5 to 1 against that appropriation, which was made possible only by the united vote of the Democratic majority.

What about the Navy? Mr. Willkie has not mentioned it, but before election day I fully expect to hear him declare that it is just so much junk upon the seas. The same President who is criticized by him as to every other activity has been in charge of the Navy.

In 1933, when President Roosevelt assumed office, we had dropped below Great Britain and Japan—even below France—in the number of fighting ships. We had only 101.

Mr. Roosevelt had served for 8 years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He knew the Navy's needs and began immediately to rebuild our first line of defense.

As a result we have on hand today 358 modern fighting ships. Prior to September 9, 1940, we had 130 additional ships on order. These 130 ships—destroyers, submarines, cruisers, and battleships—are from 5 weeks to 6 months ahead of contract dates.

On September 9, within 5 hours after the President approved a bill appropriating money to build 200 additional combatant naval vessels, contracts for these ships were signed. They are now on order, and skilled American workers are laboring 24 hours a day to put them on the sea.

This is a memorable day in our history. Sixteen million young Americans have registered for military training. These men are on order—on order not for war but for peace. Mr. Willkie will not laugh at these millions of men on order. Nor will Adolf Hitler laugh. Because they are on order there probably will be many other anti-Roosevelt rallies at Brenner Pass before the Axis Powers dare turn their covetous gaze toward the Western Hemisphere.

Do not be frightened by Mr. Willkie. Admiral Stark, Chief of Operations, advises you that today the Navy is stronger and the morale higher than ever in its history.

General Marshall, Chief of Staff, advises you that the Regular Army is vastly increased; that the best equipment and most modern weapons are under production not only for the Regular Army but for the trainees registered today.

Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Stettinius, of the Defense Commission, advise you that, instead of being bogged down, production is progressing, and that they are receiving wholehearted cooperation from the White House, from Congress, and from industry.

Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Stettinius are not candidates for office. General Marshall and Admiral Stark are neither Republicans nor Democrats. I doubt that either of them has ever voted. They are just Americans. I am satisfied that you will accept the testimony of these gentlemen in preference to the statements of Wendell Willkie, who questions the veracity of your President, criticizes your Army and Navy, and reflects upon the cooperation of American manufacturers.

I have no fear that Wendell Willkie can deceive the American people. I do fear that he may deceive the Axis Powers, who, believing us defenseless, may do something to jeopardize the peace of this hemisphere. And I fear, too, he may cause South America to believe it is unsafe to rely upon us.

No man on earth has faced reality with clearer vision or with higher determination than has Franklin D. Roosevelt. His actions, not his words, are what alarm the dictators. His moves to fortify the country he loves fill the dictators with apprehension that their plans for dominating the world will yet miscarry, and inspire them to form alliances to bluff us into abandoning the heroic British.

It is on the strength and sound judgment of President Roosevelt that America relies, at least for that period of respite which will enable us to fortify ourselves completely against a danger which only a few short months ago lay beyond the horizon.

Here is my final word. Let only those speak against President Roosevelt who saw more clearly than he did, who counseled more wisely than he did, while this storm was gathering.

Apply that test to the voice of criticism and you will hear no word spoken by any man in America—certainly you will not hear the voice of Wendell L. Willkie.

Housing Projects a Part of Program of Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 17 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT PITTSBURGH, PA.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD some informal remarks made by the President at Pittsburgh, Pa., on the 11th day of October 1940.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Evans, my good friends of Pittsburgh, I have come here today very informally on what is essentially a trip to educate myself, to learn about what is happening for national defense in this section, and at the same time to look over some of these projects that have, as the mayor said, a great deal to do with national defense.

I go back over more than a quarter of a century to the first study in this country of any importance that was made in relation to the problem of better housing. It was done here in Pittsburgh over a quarter of a century ago and it seems to me that from that time on we have been learning steadily all over the Nation more about the need of better housing for our citizens. It has taken initiative and at last we are getting examples like this.

In this particular project of the United States Housing Authority there is contained the one-hundred-thousandth family dwelling unit—all of them built through that one agency. Say there are 5 people to the family. Well, that would account for 500,000 Americans. That is not very much out of 130,000,000, and therefore we know that this work has only started and that it has got to go on.

Still, half a million people represent a pretty sizable crowd and we must remember that in other methods, other forms of building houses in this country we have added—in addition to those 500,000 people we have taken care of—nearly 2,000,000 more people who have been given better homes.

All that represents another phase of democracy at work and we have here a representation of intelligent and sympathetic cooperation between the Federal Government and the local agencies of Government. The Federal Government, through the Congress, provided, initially, funds with which these buildings were built. The homes were conceived and constructed under the direction of the Housing Authority of Pittsburgh.

And may I say that these homes are a monument to the devotion and the perseverence of the leaders in this housing movement in Pittsburgh. Not only this section but every other section of the Union is richer for having antiquated, squalid shacks replaced by these bright, decent houses. You know, everything wears out in time, or it gets obsolete, and it is a mighty difficult thing for us to ask our population to live in obsolete or worn-out houses that were built 75 or 100 years ago.

The jobs and the homes of most of the people in our country constitute a part of their stake in the Nation. As long as they know that their Government is sympathetically working to protect their jobs and to better their homes, we can be confident that if the need arises the people themselves will wholeheartedly join in the defense of their homes and the defense of their democracy.

And so I regard these housing projects everywhere as a part of the program of defense. You are doing a grand job. Do more of it and speed it up.

Safety of Country Depends on Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 17 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT AKRON, OHIO

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the informal statement made by the President at Akron, Ohio, on October 11, 1940.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am glad to see you. I wish I could stay longer in Akron.

I have had a very interesting day. I have been trying to learn at first hand how this great defense program of ours is going.

May I say this to you? You and I know the difficulties and the dangers of these times in the world. For many years we in the United States have managed to keep out of trouble in other continents, and I am confident that in the future we shall be able to avoid being brought into war through attack by somebody else on the Americas. But I also believe, and I think most of you do, too, that the best way to avoid an attack is to be ready to meet one.

And that is why in the steel plants, in Pittsburgh and in Youngstown, I told the foremen and the men in those plants several times that the one thing we all ought to work for in speeding up this program is more speed—the quicker the better.

And so, to you who are a part of defense—to you in this town I give the message, "Speed up all you can."

The Question of Dictatorship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELMER THOMAS

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 17 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. PAUL V. McNUTT AT KANSAS CITY

Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of an address delivered by the Honorable Paul V. McNutt at Kansas City, Mo., on October 16, 1940, on the question of dictatorship.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE QUESTION OF DICTATORSHIP

The Republican Party is trying to slip into office by scaring the American people into believing that in no other way can they preserve their freedom.

The Democratic administration, they say, is making America into a totalitarian state.

The Republican candidate is going up and down the country screaming at the top of his voice that Roosevelt is a dictator and that the only way for us to save our hides is to sweep the Democrats out of office and elect him President of the United States.

He purports to prove his case by asserting that the Democrats have placed too many restrictions on business, that they have regimented the farmers, and that a third term for Roosevelt will ruin the country and be the last Presidential election we will ever have.

Let's look at these charges.

This man offers himself as the champion of business and the spokesman for free enterprise.

But what does he mean by "business"? Whose business is he talking about?

I deny that he speaks for or represents either business or free private enterprise.

The fact that he knows the password doesn't mean that he belongs to the lodge.

It is true that sometimes a few businessmen get together to corner the market, to curtail production, to cripple and ruin competitors, to maintain artificially high prices, and to control their segment of industry.

It is true, too, that sometimes a few businessmen go into a huddle to create a complicated financial structure for the purpose of using other people's money to acquire certain operating corporations in a given locality, the better to regulate output and prices.

The use of the word "business" to include all these operations is to confound the meaning of terms and throw dust in the voters' eyes.

It isn't business at all. It's an attempt to regulate and control the price system—and nothing else.

Commonwealth & Southern never erected a single pole and never stretched a single power line.

What has it contributed to American business?

It was concocted, as everyone knows, solely for the purpose of enabling private banking interests to speculate, with other men's money, in the debts of the companies that were producing power and of enabling those same privileged interests to maintain a price structure without competition.

And now, these same men, the men whose entire time and money have been devoted to restricting industrial production, hurl at the Government the charge that it has hamstrung business.

The Government, these past 7 years has, indeed, imposed restrictions.

But it has imposed restrictions upon those who were themselves restricting and impeding industry.

It has resorted to regulation.

But it has regulated the sale of securities of holding companies in the interest of honesty and for the protection of investors whose idle money the Republican candidate wants so much to see in use.

What legitimate businessman objects to this kind of restriction and this type of regulation?

And if a tax policy and a social-security program designed to increase consumption of goods accumulating in staggering surpluses is a restriction rather than a stimulant to production then economic laws are in complete reverse and things are soon likely to start falling up.

The Republican candidate, in spite of his pretentions to mastery of the national economy, appears altogether innocent of the first principles of capitalism—a principle without which there can be no understanding of the modern industrial world and its problems.

That principle is that industry must depend upon the workers and the producers of raw materials to consume the products which

they produce. The more they are able to consume, the more prosperity they bring to industry. The less they consume, the more industry lags.

When the economic machine gets out of gear, when maladjustments occur through inflation, inordinate speculation, and their consequent losses, something must be done to restore the purchasing power of this vast group or recovery will be impossible.

That's exactly what the Democratic administration has been doing for the past 7 years. And it is exactly that to which the Republicans are objecting so strenuously.

We don't have to rely upon theory.

We can look at the facts.

Under the Democratic way of doing it, the national income has steadily increased since 1933 until it has now doubled.

Today, the rate of industrial production is higher than it was in 1929 and the Federal Reserve index of production threatens to reach an all-time high.

And we won't permit the Republican candidate to tell us it is all the result of the defense program, because he has already said that the administration is so inefficient that we haven't yet started the defense program.

The candidate insists that such things can be accomplished without inconvenience to anyone and that he himself can do it better. All we need is confidence.

Before him, Mr. Hoover had the same remedy—back in those tragic days of 1929, of 1930, 1931, and 1932.

With banks exploding in every community in the United States, with the ranks of the unemployed increasing daily, with farmers grabbing shotguns to carry to foreclosure sales and ropes to hunt up judges, with evictions, hunger, disease, and starvation on every hand, the man in the White House offered the very remedy which the present candidate would substitute for the reforms of 7 years.

There were no restrictions on business back in those days.

None of the regimentation, the regulation, the obstacles of which the Republican candidate so bitterly complains.

And yet the elevator fell clear to the bottom.

The Republicans and their candidate are strangely silent on the subject of monopoly.

And yet there is no force so deadly to the interests of the small businessman, whom the candidate would make free.

The first and only purpose of monopoly is to maintain prices at levels which are not economically justified. It prevents the advantages of improved technology from ever reaching the consumer.

It is this short-sighted selfish view which constantly smothers the great creative forces of capitalism.

If there is anything which has been demonstrated over and over again, it is the fact that nothing so stimulates increased production and consumption as lowered prices.

We have in America plenty of consumers.

But business lacks markets.

It lacks markets because the consumer's money doesn't go far enough.

But as prices go down their money goes further and further. Consumption increases. The process gathers momentum, and soon the added consumption is far greater than the increased productivity from the advances of technology.

Labor, in the long run, is not replaced. On the contrary, new employment is created.

It is one of the significant phenomena of capitalism that those industries which have transferred to the consuming public the benefits of increased efficiency in production not only offer better products at lowered prices but employ more labor and receive greater returns on invested capital.

Look at the automobile industry.

Look at the refrigerator industry.

For two decades these industries have been increasing their production and distribution, offering a better product at lower prices, employing more labor, and making greater earnings.

And they have been doing it by giving the consumer the benefit of increased efficiency and plant improvement.

Compare the achievements of these industries with those of the public utilities.

You can find literally millions of farmers and workers in this country who can drive automobiles but who do not have electricity in their homes.

No effort was ever made to make electric power available to rural areas on a large scale until the Rural Electrification program of the Roosevelt administration demonstrated that agricultural America could have power at reasonable rates.

Now the Republican candidate uses R. E. A. power on his Indiana farms.

Monopoly injures business. It takes its toll both from the consumers and from the legitimate business concern.

For a man who aspires to set private enterprise free, the Republican candidate is overlooking the greatest menace to free enterprise that exists in the Nation he asks to accept him as its leader.

He complains of what he calls regimentation.

There is no regimentation so savage, so ruthless, and so destructive of freedom in business as monopoly.

And this man has yet to raise his voice against it, either in the industry which he represents or elsewhere.

The life of capitalism is competition.

But monopoly is a lethal weapon in the hands of unscrupulous and selfish men.

It can wreck a capitalistic economy quicker than an invading army.

When the Republican candidate commits himself, on monopoly, specifically and expressly—not in vague and equivocal generalities—we can take seriously his promises of liberating private enterprise and leading the small businessman to unprecedented prosperity.

The Republicans have a magic formula.

It is the answer to every problem. The cure for all ills.

Their candidate uses it, over and over again.

It is "private enterprise."

"Private enterprise" has wrought the great miracle that is America.

It has brought our standard of living to the highest level in human history.

It has developed the resources of this continent until America is the greatest industrial nation in the world.

"Private enterprise" will carry us forward to still greater prosperity.

It will push our standard of living still higher. It will create jobs for all.

And so it will.

"Private enterprise," by which, I take it, the Republicans mean the capitalist system itself.

It will do all these things and more.

But "capitalism the creator" is not the kind of capitalism the Republican candidate visualizes in his eulogies of "free enterprise."

To create a great civilization, private enterprise must be free, indeed. But the freedom it must have is freedom to compete; freedom from the strangle-hold of monopoly; freedom from the crushing weight of a pyramided capital structure—with holding company loaded onto holding company until the enterprise is sucked dry of its life energy for the benefit of manipulators who have never met a pay roll or directed the turning of a single wheel of industry.

In 1920 the great masses of common people, with senses dulled by the horrors of the Great War, allowed the party of Jefferson and Jackson to be displaced. It was displaced by the party of special privilege for the chosen few.

For 12 riotous years that party drained this Nation of its natural wealth and of its democratic idealism. No blacker period appears in the history of any nation than those selfish, cruel, irresponsible twenties.

And when the Nation reaped what the Harding and Coolidge administrations had sown, a helpless and impotent Government under Hoover made futile and inept gestures in a feeble attempt to salvage the wreckage.

But in 1932 the people—the people themselves—the sovereign, everlasting people—disillusioned and determined, seized the power which was rightfully theirs and swept into office a humanitarian party under the greatest peacetime President this Nation has ever had.

It is said that we are well along the path toward dictatorship because, among other things, the administration has already regimented the entire farm population of the Nation.

There are no free farmers in a totalitarian state.

They are all peasants—sharecroppers, debt-ridden tenant farmers.

One certain way to build up a solid defense against dictatorship is to encourage a prosperous, independent, free farm population which lives on its own land, which loves the land and takes care of it.

The trend toward farm tenancy has been going on in America for 50 years. Forty-two percent of the farmers today do not own their land, and a large percentage of those who do are heavily in debt for it.

The Republican Party in these 50 years has never once lifted its finger to stop this trend toward farm tenancy.

On the other hand, it has fought bitterly every move by the Democratic Party to check it.

It was not the Republican Party which set up the farm-security program or the Farm Credit Administration.

It was not the Republican Party which established the A. A. A. and devised the stamp plan to utilize surplus farm commodities in an effort to lift prices to parity levels.

It was not the Republican Party which established crop loans and direct parity payments.

It was, however, the Republicans in the House and Senate who successfully fought the Bankhead-Jones bill to reduce interest rates on land banks and land bank commissioner loans to 3 percent, to provide a fairer method of refinancing farm mortgages, and to decentralize the land-bank system by increasing the duties and responsibilities of the local farm associations.

But, now, the man who is charging the Democratic administration with carrying the country toward dictatorship because of its "regimentation" of the farmers, himself has pledged a continuation of that program until he can think up a better one.

To date he has not thought up a better one.

The final grounds upon which the Republicans seek to prove that Roosevelt is a dictator is the fact that, after 7 years of service to the people of this Nation, they are demanding that he serve them for a third term. An overwhelming popular demand for continued leadership through a world-shattering crisis proves, according to Republican logic, that America is going Fascist.

The simple answer to this proposition is that if the free citizens of this country do not want Roosevelt they don't have to elect him.

He is a candidate just like Willkie.

And if they do elect him, as they will, because they value his experience and leadership above that of his opponent, as they do, he will be the servant of the people, responsible and accountable to them during his third term to exactly the same extent as he has been during his first two terms.

The President during these 7 years has exercised wide powers.

But they have been powers voluntarily accorded him by the people who knew that he would neither abuse them nor hesitate to surrender them when the occasion for their grant had ceased to exist.

The present emergency has called for prompt and effective action by the Chief Executive of this country. To discharge properly the duties of that high office it has been necessary that the President be endowed with far-reaching authority and extraordinary powers.

The next President of the United States will have to exercise these powers. The problem for the people is to select the man who can best be trusted to exercise them in their total interest and to abrogate them when the crisis which called them into existence has passed.

The Republican candidate has talked a lot about what he calls the "indispensable man" doctrine.

It is beside the point.

There is no such doctrine and there is nothing to be gained by setting up a straw man to demolish.

The proposition is not that Roosevelt is the one and only person qualified to act as the leader of democracy in its struggle for life.

Whether he is or not is immaterial.

What the Democratic Party is maintaining and what I am now maintaining is that he is, by training, experience, and the wisdom that comes from complete devotion to a noble cause, immeasurably better qualified than his Republican opponent.

Here is a man who for 25 years has been familiar with the technical details and workings of government. Who has faced, without flinching, the most baffling problems of our generation. Who rescued a great nation, prostrate and helpless after years of shortsighted, bungling, political mismanagement. A man who, by his own idealism and courage, directed that nation out of the slough of despair and despondency back on the highroad to prosperity.

And the only political issue before the voters of this country today is whether it will select him, the humanitarian principles which he represents, and the liberal party through which his services are available, or select a man who, by his own admission, represents principles the exact opposite of Roosevelt's and the Democratic Party's. One whose only familiarity with a democratic government was obtained in fighting it and defying the will of the people.

The Republican candidate doesn't know how dictators are made.

But I level at him and at his party the charge that the things for which they stand tend to create the very conditions which breed dictatorship.

The Republican Party stands for weak government and the centralization of controls in finance—a centralization which will permit it to regiment business and control industry.

In spite of his yells that he wants more production, we know from a hundred years' experience that such a policy makes for monopolies and the curtailment of production.

This in turn leads to unemployment and depression and the stage is set perfectly for the demagogue. Once political power is seized by such a character, the seizure of the controls of industry is easy and a Fascist state has been born.

A weak government, unable to cope with social problems and with entrenched wealth and finance is the sure way to dictatorship. And Willkie doesn't know it.

A strong government, alert and responsive to the sufferings of common men, fighting monopoly and holding greed and selfishness in check is the best defense against dictatorship. And Willkie doesn't know that either.

I do not accuse this candidate himself of dictatorial aspirations.

I assert, however, that his policy and his philosophy of government and its relation to what he calls business constitute a perfect background for "a man on horseback" to come sweeping out of the inevitable chaos which they will produce and destroy both business and democracy.

Dictators usually get along well together.

They see eye to eye.

They have a certain curious respect for each other.

And they know how to cooperate.

We see this all around us in today's world.

They also know how to hate in unison.

There is no one in our generation who is so universally hated by the dictators of the earth as Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Republican candidate, by joining them in their song of hate and vituperation against the greatest living champion of the people, has unhappily lined up himself and his party with the total haters of democracy.

If America is to avoid the frustration, the defeatism, the futility of effort which caused France to crumble and almost weakened Britain to the point of disaster, the processes of democracy in this country must run smoothly and effectively during these next 4 years.

There will be, as there are now, momentous decisions to be made. Prompt action will be required—immediate steps necessary.

These next 4 years will not be easy years for Americans. At best this Nation will be one of the very few which stands for the liberties which we associate with democracy. At worst it may find itself alone in a frenzied and unpredictable world, dominated by men mad with the lust for power.

In such a world there will be no place for men who vacillate or tread with uncertain step.

Mistakes will be fatal. There will be no second guesses.

The world will be sharp and jagged. There will be no place in it for soft men who don't know what they are doing.

They will get terribly hurt—like a baby playing with old razor blades and rusty nails.

One thing is certain in this uncertain world. During the next 4 years the nation which lacks strength of determination, the nation which lacks moral fiber, the nation which acts slowly and falteringly, will have little chance to survive.

Luck will have nothing to do with it.

In the face of this situation, where able and efficient leadership is indispensable and where national unity is the first prerequisite of security, what are the alternatives presented to the American people?

The Republicans offer a terrifying choice.

In the first place, they offer for national leadership, at the worst crisis of our history, a man who daily demonstrates his inability to lead his own party.

If ever there was need for strong leadership to restore men's faith in democracy and light again the flame of national unity, it was in those first 3 tragic years of the thirties.

But the record is completely barren of any such leadership or unity until the Democratic Party was restored to power under Roosevelt by a desperate and disillusioned nation.

We have had that leadership and that unity ever since.

And the voters of this country are going to insure that America has it for 4 years more.

In an epoch where hesitation and indecision may be fatal I cannot believe that the people of this Nation will entrust America's future to a party characterized by inertia and apathy.

As, in every such period in the past, they are certain to look again to the party of strength, the party of courage, the party of conviction, the party of action.

They will once more look to the Democratic Party.

The Choice of a President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 17 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE W. NORRIS, OF NEBRASKA

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD a very able address delivered by the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] on the choice of a President in the coming election, delivered over a Nation-wide hook-up on the evening of October 15, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHOICE OF A PRESIDENT IN THE COMING ELECTION

In this campaign for the election of a President of the United States I am not moved in any degree by politics. I care not whether the man elected is a Republican or a Democrat. In my service of more than 40 years in public life, I have lost all faith in political parties as such. Today we are confronted with a condition that has never confronted our Nation during its lifetime. Politics sinks into insignificance, and the man who is partisan under these circumstances, it seems to me, places his party above his country.

The independent voters of America in nearly every election hold the balance of power, and in this election their vote will be decisive. There are those in each of the major parties who vote the party ticket straight, "yellow dog" and all. I do not deny their patriotism, but I deny the accuracy of their philosophy. They go on the theory that in the end it is always best to vote with their party. They overlook what may result when, through manipulation and false propaganda, an unknown and untried nominee is thrust upon their party, as in the present instance. Mr. Willkie's theory of government is unknown. His experience in life all goes to show that he is a representative of monopoly and entrenched power; that he is not thinking of the good of his country, but of the good of the financial interests and monopolies that are often detrimental to the freedom and liberties cherished in our democracy more than life itself. I plead with you, my countrymen, to forget politics, to lay aside that bitter partisan feeling which, unless controlled, will, as George Washington said in his Farewell Address, eventually destroy the Government itself.

At this time our foreign relations are in the hands of a President who has shown by many years of practical experience that he is fully qualified to meet the difficulties on this terrible occasion and to conduct our ship of state over shoals of adversity greater than any ever crossed since the birth of our beloved country. Our President

is a man of peace. You remember how, prior to the world conflagration, he pleaded with the nations of Europe to settle their difficulties peaceably and without bloodshed. As the head of our great Nation he pleaded with foreign leaders to restrain themselves in their mad rush toward war. Now, in this campaign he is criticized and condemned by Mr. Willkie, the opposing candidate, because of the very things he did, or attempted to do, in the name of peace and international tranquillity. Only a few years ago most of us were in doubt as to what course to pursue, and some of us even doubted the President. But we now know he was moved by the purest of motives and that he saw in the future something few of us could see. He warned us repeatedly of the dangers that were ahead and called upon Congress for legislation which would permit him to arm the country for its defense against dictators seeking world domination. We are as a nation in a condition more desperate and more fraught with danger than any that has ever confronted us since the days of Washington.

Mr. Roosevelt became President when conditions were dire and distressful in the domestic field. Hungry people knew not where to go. Business was distracted. Our banking institutions were on the verge of ruin. We had never before experienced such dreadful conditions. Without any precedents to guide his footsteps he has led us through that maze of disaster and failure, and while the country has not fully recovered it is admitted now by all that the measures which President Roosevelt took to save our country domestically are above criticism; and no one, not even his complaining opponent, would repeal a single law the Roosevelt administration has put on the statute books.

The Home Owners' Loan Act; the Social Security Act; the Wage and Hour Act; the Railroad Retirement Act; the National Labor Relations Act; the Federal Communications Act; the Holding Company Act; the Securities Exchange Act; the Tennessee Valley Authority Act; the Rural Electrification Act; the Federal Housing Act; the various acts relating to agriculture, which everyone admits have saved the farmer from ruin; the various national-defense acts; and other legislation of like character all illustrate the wisdom and the patriotism of the Roosevelt administration. Even Mr. Willkie, in his unfair and unjust criticism of every step President Roosevelt has taken, admits these laws are wise and necessary, and he would not attempt to repeal them. The only thing he claims is that he could improve upon their administration. Yet he admits, and everybody knows, he has had no experience in this line; that he has never made any attempt in that direction. He claims to know how to make a new world, but he has not told us how. His entire attitude is one of fault-finding and criticism. The man who has no other ambition in life except to find fault with what others do, who never offers one constructive plan of his own, does not possess the qualifications of leadership so vital and necessary in the President of the United States. It would be unsafe and unwise to give to such a man the powers of that great office.

For many years it has been known that the farmer has not been getting his share of the national income. Many methods were tried. They were failures. President Hoover, with his Federal Farm Board and its failures, has almost been forgotten. When he went out of office, the condition of agriculture was desperate. Since that time the forces of Nature have borne down heavily upon the shoulders of the farmer. Hot winds, drought, duststorms, grasshoppers, and many other pests have been his lot. After all other measures had failed, Henry Wallace, as Secretary of Agriculture in the Roosevelt administration, after many trials, much opposition, and untold difficulties, has saved the farmers from ruin. No administration of any political party in the history of our country has done so much to help and preserve agriculture as has this administration, under the wise guidance of President Roosevelt and Secretary Wallace. The great Middle West, the breadbasket of the Union, would to a great extent have been depopulated if it had not been for the saving grace of the agricultural policies of this administration.

Where was Mr. Willkie when all of these acts were put into shape and molded into form? Did the farmers ever hear his voice in these trying years? Not until after he had been nominated for President. In many of these policies not only were we without the advice and suggestions of this superman but in a great many of them we felt his powerful opposition. Wherever his voice was raised at all it was in opposition to the progressive legislation of the present administration. If he had had his way, we would have had no T. V. A. and no rural electrification. Millions of farmers and farmers' wives in all parts of our country who now enjoy the blessings and the happiness that come from rural electrification would still be living under conditions far behind this civilized age and still be without the happiness that can come and does come only from the use of that unseen element which, for want of a better name, we call electricity.

The blessings that have come to labor from many of the laws enacted during the Roosevelt administration would have been unknown and unheard of if we had waited for Mr. Willkie to suggest them. It is true, we have not received the full benefit of those just laws. It is true that monopolistic opposition to them has retarded the benefits, and, in some cases, this opposition has been powerful enough to defeat them entirely.

The conservation of our natural resources has long been the study of wise and great men who were looking into the future for the happiness of our race. Many of these benefits can come only after years of application of the proper laws and their honest administration. The evils that are bound to come, if we do not conserve these God-given resources, are now apparent to all students of government. Soil conservation has been one of the cornerstones of the Roosevelt philosophy. It was first advocated by Theodore Roosevelt, but, unfortunately, this great statesman passed from the field of action before the work had scarcely begun. It was forgotten by his successors, and it was Franklin D. Roosevelt who first put these great principles of conservation into active practice. More than 400,000,000 tons of the most fertile soil of the Middle West pass into the Gulf of Mexico every year. The shortsightedness of the lawmaker, thinking only of today and, perhaps, of reelection, honest though he may be, yet selfish for immediate gain, causes him to forget the greater benefits that can come from soil conservation to the generations yet unborn. President Roosevelt and Secretary Wallace have advocated this policy unselfishly and patriotically. Thinking only of the welfare and happiness of our children and our children's children, they have moved in the direction of national soil-conservation principles that have their part in the preservation of our democracy and our liberties.

Where was Mr. Willkie during all of this time? Did anyone hear that voice, now so vociferous in its criticism of everything that is being done without daring to criticize the fundamental principles that underlie the legislation? This man was practically unknown until shortly before he was nominated for President. The majority of the delegates who nominated him probably had never heard of him until a short time before the assembling of the Philadelphia convention. But, some way, somehow, they were overcome. Some way, in some manner, some power and some influence blinded them to the needs of the hour, and they nominated a man whom they did not know, who himself did not know—as his speeches demonstrate—any method of improvement. He has no suggestion even now of how to improve conditions, except that if he were in power, he could do it better. He claims for himself the attributes of a superman. He makes the claim, even without any experience whatsoever in governmental matters, that he can create a new world. He says now he would continue these acts. He practically tells the farmer he will insure him abundant crops. He tells the businessman he will give him prosperity. He claims to know how, but he has never told us how. He has never suggested a single improvement. He proposes to thrust aside the man under whose patriotic and wise leadership these laws have been placed on the statute books, and himself, without experience and without knowledge, guide the ship of state with safety.

If this ship of state is to be commanded by some man other than President Roosevelt, it should be by one who has had some experience and some knowledge of the science of government. But here comes Mr. Willkie, and he practically says to the American people: "I have never been on this ship of state. I know nothing about its construction. I know nothing about its navigation. I know nothing about guiding it over the shoals of distress or through the storms of adversity. I have had no experience of this kind. The only experience I have had is that gained as a lawyer and lobbyist for private utility companies and as president of a gigantic holding company. The only think I know is in regard to the manipulation of utilities. I do not need to serve an apprenticeship, in order to guide this ship of state. My experience as a utility magnate fits me for that. I have spent all my grown life in trying to make fortunes for the magnates who control the great holding companies of our electric system. I have had no experience in the generation and distribution of electricity. My abilities have been directed toward grasping these generating systems, one by one, combining them into the holding company, and levying an unjust and arbitrary tribute upon the consumers of electricity everywhere. I have been paid $75,000 a year for doing this work. This experience qualifies me to run the Government of the United States. If you hire me to run the Government, I will work faithfully for you."

Do we want a President who says, in effect: "I have been successful in making fortunes for men who already own too much property"? Do we want a man who is not thinking of those who labor, whether in the factory or in the field? Do we want a President who is thinking only of his salary? Or do we want a President whose heart beats with the common man, one who is thinking of the welfare of the toiler and the men and women who have been kept in practical bondage by these same special interests which Mr. Willkie would serve? Under these circumstances, can there be any doubt as to how patriotic men and women should vote? Under these circumstances, can any patriotic citizen hesitate to choose the man who is tried and true as against the untried magnate of a public-utility holding-company corporation?

And this brings us logically to the objection to a third term. Mr. Willkie himself and many of his supporters are trying to make this the primary issue in this campaign.

We are faced with the practical proposition that either Mr. Willkie or Mr. Roosevelt will be President during the next 4 years. If we clear the question entirely of partisan rancor, bitterness, and the unreasonableness that always comes from a partisan consideration of any subject, it seems to me there is but one choice to make. Will the fact that President Roosevelt has been in office for 7 years make it impossible for him properly to administer the affairs of state for another term? Is there anyone so foolish or so devoid of reason that he will say that in this dire dilemma we should thrust aside a man who has served us so well and take a man who has had no experience; who knows nothing about governmental policies; and who never advocated any progressive legislation until after he was nominated for the Presidency?

I submit to you, fellow citizens, that in all President Roosevelt's history there is not one indication that he has any desire to be a dictator in national affairs. Do we want to throw aside his experience, his ability, and the fact that he has been a faithful public servant for 7 years in the White House to follow a will-o'-the-wisp in an uncertain and unknown chasm, where the only voice that can be heard is the voice of a corporation lawyer who has never had any experience in governmental affairs?

The third term or the second term has been an issue more or less since the Government was formed. It was thoroughly discussed in the Constitutional Convention more than 150 years ago. And our forefathers then after debating it calmly and without rancor, decided this was a question that could safely be left to the good judgment of the people whenever the question arose. The opponents of President Roosevelt have referred to various articles and speeches that have been made by many public men in opposition to a third term. Among the number they have referred to me and quoted a part of what I said in 1928. But in doing this they are unfair, I think, and unjust, in that they quote some of what I said but do not quote all of it. In that debate I said, "I can conceive also of conditions under which I would be in favor of the election of a President for a third term." I stand with the immortal Washington, who said, on April 28, 1788, in a letter to Lafayette: "I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man who, on some great emergency, shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public." I believe such a condition is now before us.

In the debate on the third-term resolution in 1928, it was generally agreed on both sides that there might confront us an emergency in which a third term would be justifiable and desirable. Can anyone doubt that we are confronted with that identical condition in the coming election? Do we want to change leaders at this time, especially when the man in whose hands we would place the helm is inexperienced and who has never shown any qualifications whatsoever for the office?

President Roosevelt did not want a third term. I remember so vividly the only time I talked with him about it. We were alone in his private office. It was before either convention had been held, and I said, "Mr. President, one thing is certain. The condition of the country now, the condition of the world now, demands that you be a candidate for reelection, even though it be a third term." He was sitting at his desk. His face was damp with perspiration that comes from deep thought and hard labor. He said, "I am sitting here listening day after day to the complaints of people all over the country, many of which I know are well-founded. I must listen also to the complaints of selfish politicians asking for something I must refuse. I have been here 7 years. I believe I am entitled to a rest."

I looked upon that benign face. I knew the conditions that confronted him. I knew he was chained to his chair and was practically a slave in the White House. I knew the slanderous criticisms of politicians and of selfish men. I knew how earnest that heart was, trying to bring relief to a stricken world and happiness to a suffering people; and I said, "Mr. President, you are a soldier. You are in command of an army, an unselfish army, one that believes in happiness for the human race, one that wants to strike the shackles from human limbs and make all men happy and free. It is an army you have commanded now for 7 years. We have met with many defeats. But we have won some glorious victories. We are in the midst of the fight now. We cannot give up in the middle of this struggle. I know you have earned a rest. I know you are entitled to many years of happiness for the faithful service you have given. But, Mr. President, you cannot quit now. Even though it be true that it might injure your health, even if I knew it might mean your life, I would still say, 'You cannot retire now.' Your duty to your country and to humanity demands that you go on. If you fail, let it come. So let it be. It is better to die than to surrender."

My countrymen, this expresses my sentiment now. We are confronted with a world condition and a national condition which have never before confronted us. Our hope lies in our leader. We do not always agree with him. We know he is human; we know he has made many mistakes, and that he will make many more. But his heart is true, and the voice coming from that heart is sincere. We trust him, and from the experience of the last 7 years we know that trust is not misplaced. If President Roosevelt is not reelected, Mr. Willkie will be elected. It will be Mr. Willkie, the untried, the inexperienced man, the corporation magnate, who claims to be superior to other human beings, but who has given evidence only of his ability to manage private utility companies. He was chosen at Philadelphia by Wall Street in a method never before attempted in the history of political conventions. And the same group that nominated him there, under the same methods and by the same trickery and propaganda, is trying to elect him in November.

I do not believe the American people will follow that will-o'-the-wisp, that voice that comes from the swamps of monopoly and human greed. The American people love their freedom. They love their country. They are not going to turn their backs now upon the man who has never failed them, President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Why I Shall Support Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD A. KELLY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1940

Mr. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, the past month has been one of the most trying months of the Seventy-sixth Congress, meeting, as it has in the past, questions of grave importance. Little did any of us ever dream that conditions in the world would change as quickly as they have done in the past 20 years.

Today we are entering into a great political campaign to determine which party shall lead the destiny of the American people in the next 4 years; to me the next 4 years will be one of the most trying 4 years in the history of our Republic, for the course that we shall follow will be based upon the action of the party that will be in power.

Ten years ago when I came to Congress this Nation was in a complete state of collapse, an economic calamity, due to the bad management of the Republican Party that was in control of our Government.

When the Democratic administration was inducted into office in 1933 it faced a chaotic Nation. With 16,000,000 souls out of employment, through no fault of their own; with industry stagnant; agriculture in the depths of despair; and the entire financial structure of this Nation in a complete collapse, it did not make vague promises to the American people; it rolled up its sleeves and went to work to restore America to the Americans, and in so doing created and passed legislation that prevented the recurrence and the causes that placed this Nation in a chaotic condition. Naturally, a great many reform measures were enacted into law, so that that which caused the depression would never occur again.

The banking structure of this Nation had to be revamped to safeguard the peoples' money, so that the bankers in the future could not invest the life earnings of the people for their own selfishness, which led to the Federal Insurance Deposit Act, safeguarding the money of the people in banks up to $5,000. This act will be repealed if a change in administration should occur, for the selfish bankers of this Nation are opposed to it.

Millions of home owners faced the loss of their homes and the investment banker was so mercenary that he refused, in many cases, an extension of time for people to meet their obligations, seeking a new source to accumulate wealth by taking advantage of the condition that prevailed, and through the foreclosure procedure was actually taking away from people tangible real estate far below its market value.

In order to restore these assets to the people it was necessary to pass the Home Owners' Loan Corporation Act, paying off the prevailing obligation, rewriting the loan, and extending the period of the amortization to 15 years. This has since been extended by amending the original act to 25 years from the date of the loan in cases where it was deemed necessary.

The Roosevelt administration answered the cry of the building mechanic and at the same time afforded the opportunity to people to build and own their own homes at a small monthly payment by creating and passing the Federal Housing Authority Act. This act was necessary because the banks and loaning organizations refused to loan money to people that were seeking loans to build. And the bankers, not wishing to take any risks, forced the Federal Government to create this act, which now guarantees the payment of these loans to the lending agencies.

Yet I hear complaints from bankers who have been underwriting close to $15,000,000 worth of these loans that the Government is overstepping its authority by interfering in private business. If we listened to the bankers, we would still be in a chaotic condition, as far as the building industry is concerned.

I know bankers in my own district who pride themselves as being leading citizens to build and improve neighborhood communities, and in turn are taking, and have taken, advantage of the confidence placed in them by the people who have to do business with these banks with methods unethical in business practices.

I shall elaborate upon these business practices at a later date.

Mr. Speaker, the aid that this administration and a Democratic Congress extended to the farmer in helping him regain lost markets by stabilizing productivity and through the farm-relief program extending and giving practical help to the distressed rural areas was almost unanimously opposed by the Republican bloc. And, in spite of the actions of Republican

Members of Congress, Candidate Willkie endorses the farm program.

In extending aid to labor, never at any time in the history of this Nation did any administration ever consider the problems of labor as earnestly as did the Roosevelt administration.

And after a bitter battle in behalf of labor within its recognized right were we able to pass such legislation as the repeal of the Labor Injunction Act, that labor fought to repeal for 40 years.

We provided for the establishment of fair labor standards in employment, known as the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.

The establishment of minimum wages and maximum hours.

We created a National Labor Act, giving the right to employees to join a union of their choosing and a right to collective bargaining.

We passed a system of Federal old-age benefits by enabling the several States to make more adequate provisions for aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment compensation laws.

We passed the Walsh-Healy Act, providing that prevailing wage scales shall be paid employees where Government contracts are involved.

We prohibited prison-made goods to flow in commerce in competition with union-made goods.

We passed the 40-hour week for all Federal employees engaged in the Post Office Department.

We passed the Longshoremen and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act with respect to rates of compensation.

We created the Public Works Administration, Civil Works Administration, and the Work Projects Administration to cooperate with the States in an emergency where employment could be given on needed public-works improvements. The Roosevelt administration gave to the loyal railroad employees its retirement act, where these loyal men can retire on a pension for the service they gave to employers. Just last week it rectified the unemployment-insurance provision of the act. I was proud to be a member of the committee that gave these loyal men that which they labored so long for.

It was a Democratic Congress that created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to aid those corporations and industrial institutions that had proper securities to borrow money from the Government, where the bankers, in their zealous ways of doing business, refused to aid these institutions, and upon this subject I could tell enough that would fill several volumes.

Under the Roosevelt administration, farm income has nearly doubled.

Farm-mortgage interest charges are 40 percent less than in 1928.

Interest rates are now 3½ and 4 percent instead of 5½ and 6, as in 1932.

Mortgage interest is now only 4.4 percent of total cash farm income instead of 11.4 percent in 1932 under Republican administration.

The soil-conservation program has saved 30,000,000 acres from depletion.

Rehabilitation loans have increased the net worth of borrowers 37 percent.

Electrified farms have more than doubled since 1935, one-fourth of all farms now having access to electricity. This was bitterly opposed by the Republican Members of Congress because the power interests were opposed to extending this comfort to the American farmers.

In 1933, before the Roosevelt administration came into power, the price of wheat was at the lowest point in 300 years. Prices of many other farm products were nearly as bad. The value of farm products was at the lowest point in 42 years. The farmer's share of the national income had dropped to 6 percent, having fallen from 21 percent in 1919.

While one-fourth of the entire population of Americans depend upon the farms for their livelihood, they practically ceased to be customers for city goods. Farmers were unable to pay taxes and interest, and farm families were losing their homes on every hand.

Agriculture was prostrate and could no longer help to support the economic life of the rest of the Nation. Agriculture could no longer defend its end—the Nation's basic asset, the rich soil of the American continent.

Today farmers are better prepared than ever before to meet whatever emergencies may affect them and to progress continually toward a stable and prosperous type of farming.

In gains made by wage earners, employees not engaged in agriculture are 10,000,000 greater than it was 7 years ago. In March of 1933, when the Democrats took over the controlling power of this Nation, employment was 26,633,000. In June of this year it was 35,465,000, and it will continue to rise in the months to come; in the later figure it does not include approximately 2,500,000 persons having work in W. P. A., in the C. C. C. camps, and N. Y. A. projects.

Factory weekly pay rolls amounted to only $72,697,000 in March of 1933. In June of this year they reached the huge weekly total of $186,143,000, a gain of $113,000,000, and like the rise of employment pay rolls will likewise continue to rise in the coming months.

Construction work of all kinds, which stimulated employment in many other occupations, was more than twice as much in 1939 as it was in 1933—the value of such work jumping from $4,000,000,000 in 1933 to $9,900,000,000 last year.

These huge increases in jobs in the amount of money in pay envelopes and in building construction have had a correspondingly healthy reaction in the income of farmers and in the profits of business.

Cash farm income in 1932 was $4,682,000,000. In 1939 it amounted to $7,773,000,000, exclusive of benefit payments.

Businessmen, like farmers, also benefited through the rise in employment and wages, as shown by a report of the National City Bank of New York, which revealed that net profits of American business, represented by 2,490 companies, amounted to $3,456,000,000 last year.

It should be remembered that before the Roosevelt administration came into power most of these companies had either losses or very slim profits.

The earnings of the first 90 corporations to report for the initial quarter of 1940 were 43 percent greater than that for the same period last year. Net income of this group totaled $118,052,000 compared with $82,469,000 in the first 3 months of 1939.

The Wage and Hour Act is another part of the program which has brought increased earnings and shorter hours to thousands of workers.

It places a floor under wages, a ceiling over hours, and outlaws oppressive child labor in interstate commerce.

The establishment of the C. C. C. camps has furnished employment to about 2,600,000 persons, including 2,200,000 young men, 185,000 war veterans, 50,000 Indians, 20,000 territorials, and 150,000 others, including Reserve officers, called to active duty. They have reduced fire hazards in the forests, saved millions of dollars worth of timber yearly, constructed bridges, highways, buildings, fences, developed 18,000 springs and wells, planted almost 2,000,000 trees, built dams and small reservoirs, and have kept the youth of America off the streets and out of bad company, where they might grow into manhood and become useful citizens of this country.

National income has increased under Roosevelt from the low level of 1932 which was $39,000,000,000 under Hoover to $70,000,000,000 in 1940 under Roosevelt.

Employment increased from 37,500,000 in 1932 to 45,300,000 in 1939.

Loans totaling $5,000,000,000 were made to assist banks and other financial institutions. Government purchases in the amount of $6,000,000,000 have helped every kind of business to carry on.

And more important than the direct business loans have been the loans to banks and other financial institutions. These loans, totaling $5,000,000,000 in the last 7 years, have gone far to rejuvenate our system of private enterprise.

Banks and insurance companies borrowed $2,300,000,000 of the total from the R. F. C. The R. F. C., the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, the Treasury, and the home loan banks loaned $1,300,000,000 to financial corporations in the urban mortgage field. Farm financial institutions sought and received $1,400,000,000 from the Farm Credit Administration, R. F. C., and intermediate credit banks. In addition to outright loans, the Roosevelt administration inaugurated the system of deposit insurance which has restored confidence and stability in our banking system. The part which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation played in aiding depositors in closed banks and in rehabilitating and strengthening the banking structure of the country after the bank holiday of March 1933 is one of its outstanding accomplishments.

The loans extended to States, to municipalities, railroads, corporations, individuals, and the great improvement that it accomplished through these loans, afforded business and labor the opportunity it wanted, for private banks and loaning agencies refused to loan to anyone, therefore forcing the Government to take necessary steps to extend credit to those who could not get it in private banks and institutions.

Since the founding of the Federal Housing Authority in 1934 through to June 1940, 600,000 families have been able to build or finance homes under its plan. More than 60 percent of these homes have been new and more than three-fourths of the record-breaking number of mortgages being accepted for insurance by the F. H. A. this year are on homes to be built under its inspection.

Mr. Speaker, this act has been one of the finest accomplishments of the administration, and in spite of bankers who have benefited by this act and the compensation they receive based upon the percentage allowed them together with the insurance business and miscellaneous fees that they always make sure to compile.

They are still complaining when they themselves refused to loan money to help people to build, and made it possible for the Roosevelt administration to extend another helpful hand to people who wanted to build and improve their homes.

I have in my district a banker who has caused, through the manipulation of his bank by trying to squeeze the lifeblood out of people that had to do business with him before this act became effective and through the foreclosure procedures which ensued, a depletion in real-estate values alone in the Englewood district of $24,000,000. This same banker, through his unfair practices, has written almost $13,000,000 of these loans, that are guaranteed by the F. H. A., and in spite of this is doing everything in his power to defeat the purpose of the Roosevelt administration, using this avenue of contact with brokers in his underhanded methods. Those that have benefited most from this act are constantly defaming its benefit to the citizens of America; sometimes I wonder if people of this type are just in America for what they can get out of the American people.

In the last 7 years the public-works program has produced $18,000,000,000 worth of public properties and services.

W. P. A. has built 450,000 miles of roads, 93,000 bridges, 88,000 public buildings, 12,000 miles of water lines. It has served more than 386,000,000 lunches to undernourished school children.

P. W. A.-financed work since 1933 has constituted 70 percent of all educational construction. In the field of heavy public construction its program has accounted for more than $3,200,000,000 in orders for materials. Twenty-one thousand eight hundred families have been rehoused in P. W. A.-sponsored projects. It has provided additional school accommodations for 2,500,000 students.

In 1933 Richard Whitney was president of the New York Stock Exchange and the value of all stocks listed on that exchange was only $18,700,000,000. In 1933 the Insull public utility holding companies had just collapsed and Hopson's Associated Gas was beginning to sink into the quagmire of financial trickery, on which it was built. In 1932 Ivar Kreuger, the match king who had stolen millions of dollars from American investors, was already dead by his own hand in Paris. In 1933 all the banks closed and the so-called leaders of American finance unblushingly exposed their terror. Life insurance companies were foreclosing on American farms by the thousands with a ruthlessness born of unprecedented fear.

But as a result of the creation of the Securities and Exchange Commission, in which I had an active part, Mr. Whitney was sent to Sing Sing Prison for 2 years. The value of stocks listed on the New York Exchange had risen to $46,000,000,000, while the value of listed bonds had risen from $30,000,000,000 to about $50,000,000,000 under Federal regulation. All utility holding companies had been forced by law to cease the financial practices which led not only to the Insull and Hopson collapses but to the loss of hundreds of millions of dollars by investors.

Under President Roosevelt the passage of legislation was created to eliminate the evils in the securities markets which had contributed so disastrously to the abnormal inflation and violent crash of the 1920's. A searching congressional investigation had painstakingly dissected that tragic phenomenon and from every angle, industry had become the happy hunting ground of the Wall Street financiers. They no longer looked upon a stock as a symbol of partnership in the industry of America. They looked upon it solely as means of getting rich quick at the expense of innocent investors. Sitting behind closed doors in their paneled offices, they devoted their time to the concocting of deals which would pull more and more savings away from the man on the street and into their personal pockets. Probably the most powerful business racket which the Roosevelt administration took on was the public utility holding company industry. To call it an industry is, of course, a misnomer. It is in no sense an industry. It is a financial system for controlling an industry on a shoestring, but the frenzied financiers of Wall Street did everything in their power to make it appear that the New Deal and Congress were seeking to tear down the lines that carry light and power into private homes. They called the proposed law a "death sentence." This phrase was coined by Mr. Willkie. It was and is a death sentence only for the overlords, the financiers in Wall Street who have exerted more financial and political power than the generators have generated. The law means new life for local public utility operating companies—new life free from Wall Street control—free to respond to the needs and hopes of the local community—free to grow and bring light and power where it has never been before—free to make money for local stockholders instead of the New York barons.

The Public Utility Holding Company Act was passed in 1935 after one of the most bitter legislative fights ever seen in Congress.

Following their usual tactics of trying to make their private desires seem like a spontaneous public demand, the holding-company men and their Wall Street financial friends saw to it that Congress was flooded with telegrams in opposition to the proposed law. "Well do I remember." A subsequent investigation revealed that most of these telegrams were fakes—framed and paid for by holding-company lobbyists.

The holding companies immediately challenged the law in the courts, and for over 2 years the administration of the law was tied up in legal tangles. Finally the holding companies lost their fight in the United States Supreme Court, and within a few months' time every holding company was operating within the law. Briefly, the law provides that the financial practices of the earlier days must be abandoned. The Securities and Exchange Commission is required to approve or pass upon every financial transaction which affects investors and consumers, every purchase or sale of stock issues of companies affected by the law, every transaction in utility-company properties, to make sure that the prices are fair and that the financiers are not making unreasonable profits. Furthermore, the law requires that, as soon as possible, holding companies must be integrated into compact geographical units—quotation of Willkie.

Mr. Speaker, fundamental objective of foreign policy under Roosevelt administration has been the promotion of peaceful and constructive relations between this and other nations.

Administration has consistently sought to bring about reduction of both military and economic armaments.

It has advocated and practiced the good-neighbor policy of respect for the rights of others and sanctity of agreements. World order under law has been its guiding principle.

Vigorous efforts have been made to preserve peace, and when that was broken, to limit the field of war. Reciprocal-trade agreements have been effective in lessening the evils wrought by prohibitive tariffs; defense program possible of quick development because of preliminary work by the Roosevelt administration. During the Republican administration naval ships were destroyed and not replaced. It cost, under the Republican administration, to the taxpayers of this Nation, $27,000,000 to destroy $250,000,000 worth of ships. It was in 1922, under Harding, that the American Navy was sunk. The rebuilding, under Roosevelt, in spite of stiff opposition by the Republican Members of Congress, who did not support one act of rebuilding the Navy, has made the United States Navy the most powerful in the world. When the defense program is complete the United States will have a 2-ocean Navy of 733 fighting ships; it will have an air force superior to any nation in the world, for the air forces, already increased, can now be easily expanded to the strength of 50,000 planes. This administration appropriated a defense program of $14,500,000,000 to show the world, in case that our democracy is attacked, that we will not be caught sleeping, such as other countries had been. In a speech before the American Society of International Law, on May 13, 1940, Secretary Hull said:

> The specter of a new descent into the conditions of international anarchy which characterized the Dark Ages looms on the horizon today.

I am profoundly convinced that it menaces the civilized existence of mankind of every nation and of every individual.

Our own Nation—powerful as it is and determined as it is to remain at peace, to preserve its cherished institutions, and to promote the welfare of its citizens—is not secure against that menace. We cannot shut it out by attempting to isolate and insulate ourselves. We cannot be certain of safety and security when a large part of this world outside our borders is dominated by the forces of international lawlessness—

> We cannot close our eyes to what is going on elsewhere in the world and delude ourselves with the mere hope that—somehow—somehow all this will pass us by.
>
> In the face of existing conditions we have no choice but to expand our program of armament construction to a degree necessary to provide full adequate means of defending this country's security and its rightful interests.

There are those, Mr. Speaker, that constantly condemn the attitude of this administration for its defense program, some sincere in the belief it is unnecessary, others because they firmly believe in the totalitarian state of government and are opposed to national defense from any angle. To this group I say: America is no place for you; go back where you or your people came from and there you might condone with your desired wants.

Mr. Speaker, as far as the third term is concerned it is only traditional; many quotations can be given from various Presidents regarding this issue when the country faced similar crises in the past.

There was no issue made over the third term in 1928 when the Republican Party went to the Kansas convention to draft President Coolidge, not a single word of criticism then, but Coolidge, realizing the hard problems ahead, refused to accept the third term and retired to private life.

Much has been said about this issue by George Washington, and I quote remarks made by Washington in a letter he sent to Marquis de Lafayette, April 28, 1788, in which he said:

> I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man, who on some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public
>
> In answer to the observation you made on the probability of my election to the Presidency, knowing me as you do, I need only say, that it has no enticing charms and no fascinating allurements for me.

I know President Roosevelt would not be seeking a third term if it were not for the serious situation facing this Western Hemisphere. It is much better for us all to have a cool-headed man that has proven his qualifications and capability in his dealings with foreign countries during this crisis in the world torn with war.

The people need have no fear that this country will ever participate in the European war. It has and will, under Roosevelt, keep out of this war and not one American boy will ever have to worry about going to Europe to fight in their war. I, as an ex-service man, and one who served in France during the last war, will never vote to send any American mother's son to fight a war in Europe that has been going on for over 1,000 years.

However, if it is the desired wish that those who are now in control of the totalitarian powers of Europe of ever molesting the rights of a free people by attack, then it is the solemn duty of every American to defend his native land.

That is why I am for President Roosevelt and the principles enunciated in the beginning of this Republic by that outstanding American statesman, Thomas Jefferson. In quoting the President:

> For democracy is not a static thing, it is an everlasting march, for when our children grow up they, too, will have problems to solve. It is for us, however manfully, to set ourselves to the task of preparations for them, so as to some degree, the problems they must face may weigh less heavily upon them.
>
> I am confident that the American people, having put their shoulders to the wheel, will build a better America in the future, for the children yet to come.

Our Growing Constitution as Illustrated by Changes in Our Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. MURDOCK

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, many books have been written describing the American system of government, and some of these are masterpieces of literature as well as classical treatises on the subject. So well has this been done by certain authors in the field of political science that it might seem superfluous for anyone, even though that one himself might be an outstanding authority in the field, to do it over again. If such really be the case, it would be more than superfluous—it would be highly presumptuous—for any lesser light to do such a work over again. Yet a picture of a growing, changing organism may be ever so perfect at any given date but become so changed through growth and development as to need repicturing at a later date for the subject to be portrayed correctly.

It is quite natural to want pictures of that which we value—dated pictures—if the subject is going through a process of change and growth. That is evidenced by many fond parents who keep a photographic record of each growing child from babyhood to maturity. In such cases no one individual photograph, however good when taken, is quite enough or satisfying to such parents. My illustration may be crude, but the principle still holds good concerning portrayal of our cherished political and social institutions. One might suppose that history, once accurately recorded for a given period, would be sufficient for all time to come for the period and subject matter covered, and once well done need never be done again. However, such is not true even of a historical account where facts are recorded and not subject to change. Any given portion of history needs to be rewritten about once every generation in the interest of truth and accuracy in order to improve the picture with a clearer perspective. If this is true of history, it is far more applicable to a description of a growing thing, such as, for instance, congressional government in the United States.

Some master mind should do again what such men as Woodrow Wilson and James Bryce did more than a generation ago in describing our Government. I do not pretend to be able to do it and shall not try, but I am merely pointing out the need for such a treatment and am hopeful that some present-day scholar and authority will perform this distinguished service for his countrymen.

Who could best prepare such a treatise? Possibly it could best be done by some foreign student of our Government. At least in the past we have been fortunate in having such a scholarly work as the comprehensive treatment by James Bryce entitled "The American Commonwealth." It is generally recognized that during the past 50 years no American author writing on comparative government has surpassed the monumental work of James Bryce, the great English authority, in his masterly description of the American system of government. Verily, he permits us Americans to see ourselves as others see us, and yet it is done with a sympathetic touch, with candid frankness, and without attempt to gain favor other than by telling the truth. A generation earlier the distinguished French scholar and traveler, Alexis de Tocqueville, furnished the world a notable account of American government and society, which was quite complimentary in spirit, but probably designed for French consumption more than for American reading.

There is some advantage in having a foreigner view us and our institutions, and write from his standpoint, for it is very difficult for a human mind, however great, to take a detached and impersonal view of historic facts or of political institutions that surround him and are of importance to him. One of the best treatises on the English Government ever written was by a great American author, Abbott Lawrence Lowell, under the title "Government of England." Thus in return for the splendid work The American Commonwealth, by England's outstanding scholar, James Bryce, our country has returned the compliment by a notable treatise on the British Government by one of America's literary authorities, President Emeritus Abbott Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard.

Every generation of scholars, no matter in what field of study, recall the textbooks and teachings of earlier leaders in that field. Famous writings become the bible of instruction for thousands of disciples and followers. How many military men have studied Caesar's Gallic Wars before coming down to modern authorities on military tactics? How many doctors have gone back to the Greek writings of Hippocrates before studying modern basic science for their preparation? How many lawyers have read Blackstone before getting into the voluminous literature of their field? How many present-day students of government, teachers in universities and colleges, legislators, lawyers, and judges have read Woodrow Wilson's Congressional Government, along with James Bryce's American Commonwealth? For a learner or a practitioner in any of these given fields of study and activity not to be familiar with these outstanding authorities in such fields is as disgraceful as for a minister of religion to be ignorant of the Beatitudes, or of the Lord's Prayer, or of the Decalogue.

About 5 decades ago a scholarly young professor, a graduate of the University of Virginia, was teaching at Princeton University in the field of political science and comparative government. This young southern professor was Woodrow Wilson. He was a typical scholar of his times, a closet philosopher, a keen and alert mind contemplating human institutions from a distance and in the cloistered seclusion of a university campus. The more robust citizens no doubt felt, and probably asked, "What does this young man know about politics?" For years he taught government only a few miles distant from the capital of the State or of the Nation without visiting legislative halls and without membership in such law-making bodies. Nevertheless, Woodrow Wilson's Congressional Government, written more than 50 years ago, became a recognized textbook for untold thousands of students of American politics during the last half century.

While it is true that Americans in the past have often had a contempt for book learning, and have idealized the practical man, it is also true that we have been willing to recognize as a leading authority in his field, and a veritable prophet, the closet philosopher who understands a thing better and discusses it more intelligently than anyone else can do, even though the latter may be working in every day practical contact with the things discussed. Usually, of course, hardheaded, practical businessmen prefer to take counsel from other hardheaded businessmen who have wider experience, and who have achieved success by climbing the ladder of experience. Even so, the father of modern economics, Adam Smith, was not in his day a big businessman, but rather a closet philosopher teaching in the University of Edinburgh and laying the foundations for the social science we called economics. Thus we look to the thinker as well as the doer for guidance and instruction.

There is a bit of old-fashioned, home-made philosophy which is generally accepted but not altogether true, which says—

He who can, does; he who cannot, teaches.

While I recognize some element of truth in that old saying, it is not universally true, and as a school teacher it offends me with such a broad generalization. I might point to Adam Smith, Woodrow Wilson, and many others to show that he who teaches often can, when called upon, do the thing better than he has taught others how to do it.

Prof. Woodrow Wilson's little, but highly important book on congressional government was first printed in 1884, and was regarded at that time as an excellent description of the workings of Congress and of our Government generally. Sixteen years later Prof. Woodrow Wilson reread his own book, and was amazed to see how out of date it had become, not in fundamental principles, but in many details. Without revising the original text to a great extent, he brought the book up to date in 1900 by a rather extensive preface. A decade later this college professor, who had meanwhile become a university president, became the reform Governor of his State, and made such a remarkable success of his governorship that he attracted the attention of the whole Nation and was chosen on a reform platform as President of the United States. Through 10 trying years, the most critical years in American history up to that time, and during which the first World War occurred, Woodrow Wilson gave the benefit of his knowledge and progressive leadership to the American people. His death occurred so soon after the close of his official career that he had insufficient time for revision of his earlier works. It goes without saying that President Woodrow Wilson could have written a much better treatise on congressional government even than the scholarly work prepared by Prof. Woodrow Wilson.

Since every elderly or middle-aged man in public life today remembers Woodrow Wilson's little book Congressional Government, from earlier studies, it would be interesting and profitable for citizens to turn again to that volume which many of us have not seen for a good many years and reread it. This would be somewhat as we turn to the old family album, and see ourselves or our relatives in pictures taken 40 or 50 years ago, and note the changes which have occurred. Mr. Speaker, I have been indulging lately in that pastime of rereading my favorite text and with the permission of the House, and for the benefit of my numerous college friends, I would like in future statements to point out some of the differences as they appear. If there has been little or no change in congressional procedure in a half century, there will not be many differences; if there are numerous developments occurring in 50 years, there will, of course, be many differences.

As I make this study, I look frequently at a picture on my office wall of the Indian village of Walpi, one of the remarkable ancient Sky Cities of the Hopi Indians in northern Arizona. These Indian villages were occupied long before Columbus discovered America. Some of their institutions have become crystallized into religious ceremonials, such as prayer for rain which involves a snake dance, and these institutions have remained virtually unchanged for centuries. For instance, I saw the Hopi Snake Dance at Walpi in the late summer of 1931, but before witnessing it, I had read the

best description of the Hopi dance to be found in print in a book entitled "On the Border With Crook," which account was an accurate description by an Army officer as Captain Burke saw it in Walpi in 1881. What I saw in 1931 was exactly what this Army captain saw 50 years before. This is a good illustration of an unchanging or little changing human institution.

However, what I see today in the American Congress as a Member of the House of Representatives is not entirely what I got from Woodrow Wilson in his treatise written 50 years ago. Many details have changed, and some modifications of fundamental features have occurred.

Federal Assistance to the States for Vocational Training for Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. BUELL SNYDER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a bill I introduced today and which was referred to the Committee on Education.

The bill is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That it is hereby declared to be the policy of this act to provide for a 4-year program of Federal aid to the States in making State-wide surveys, studies, and recommendations for the planning, location, and enlargement of public schools which will provide, among other facilities, not only for emergency vocational training for defense but also for an adequate and permanent vocational training program that will bring to the youth especially in rural areas the benefits of modern vocational education.

SEC. 2. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, the sum of $2,000,000; and for each of the next 3 succeeding fiscal years such sums not in excess of $2,000,000 as may be necessary to carry out the program of surveys and studies to be formulated under section 3 of this act.

SEC. 3. (a) The Commissioner, in cooperation with the State agencies as hereinafter provided, is authorized and directed to provide for making State-wide comprehensive surveys of public-school buildings and school-building needs in the several States, with particular respect to facilities and provisions in these public-school buildings for offering adequate and suitable vocational training for defense. Such surveys shall include, in addition to surveys of existing school buildings and school-building needs, studies and recommendations for properly planned and located new buildings, additions or enlargements for vocational training, and the development of long-range programs for public-school buildings which will adequately and efficiently serve the needs of the several States. Such surveys and studies shall also develop a plan for a continuing inventory of public-school buildings.

(b) The Commissioner is authorized to make such arrangements as he deems proper with the State agencies in the several States for the performance in such States by or under the supervision of such State agencies of all functions necessary for carrying out the provisions of this section, including recommendations and minimum requirements for the development of vocational schools and the functional planning of school buildings. The functions performed by or under the supervision of each such State agency shall be performed in such manner and according to such standards as may be agreed upon between such agency and the Commissioner to assure the efficient administration of this act. The personnel employed for such purposes shall be selected by State agencies, subject to such standards, regulations, and qualifications as may be agreed upon with the Commissioner.

(c) The program developed for any State under this section shall not include recommendations or functional planning for any vocational school or school building or alteration or addition thereto unless such recommendations or functional planning comply with such standards as may be agreed upon between State agencies and the Commissioner.

(d) Pursuant to the authorization of section 2 of this act, there shall be appropriated to the Office of Education in the Federal Security Agency $2,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, and an amount not to exceed $2,000,000 for each of the 3 succeeding fiscal years, which amount shall be available for expenditures by the Commissioner in carrying out the provisions of this act. The funds so appropriated to the Office of Education shall be paid by the Commissioner to the State agencies to defray expenses incurred by such agencies in cooperating with the Commissioner in carrying out the provisions of this act in a manner as set forth in section 4 of this act. Of the funds so appropriated to the Office of Education, an amount not in excess of $200,000 may be used in each fiscal year for paying expenses in the Office of Education, as set forth in section 4 of this act. The balance of the funds so appropriated to the Office of Education for distribution to the State agencies shall be distributed to the various State agencies in the ratio that the total school population of each State, ages 5 to 19, inclusive, bears to the total school population of the United States, ages 5 to 19, inclusive, based on the current census, with the proviso that no State may receive less than $12,000 for the first fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, nor less than $6,000 for each of the succeeding 3 fiscal years; and with the further proviso that those States in which urban subdivisions of the State are specifically authorized by State law to plan and construct school buildings independent of the State agency, such urban subdivisions of a State shall be entitled to receive their proportionate share of the total funds paid to that State in the ratio that the school population, ages 5 to 19, inclusive, of such urban subdivisions bears to the total school population, ages 5 to 19, inclusive, of that State, on presentation to and approval by the Commissioner of a plan of cooperation with the State agency that will result in a State-wide comprehensive school-building survey.

SEC. 4. The Commissioner is authorized to employ such personnel in the Office of Education as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act. The Commissioner is authorized to appoint technical consultants comprised of outstanding specialists in the various fields of school-building problems and vocational education whose duty it shall be to review and advise with the Commissioner concerning technical policies, plans, and programs and methods of performing the duties imposed upon the Commissioner by this act. The technical consultants shall for each day they are actually engaged in the performances of their duties, but not for more than 60 days in any fiscal year, be paid $25 per day, and in addition $5 per day and travel expenses in lieu of per diem. From the funds appropriated for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of section 3, an amount not in excess of $200,000 may be used in each fiscal year for paying the expenses (including expenses for salaries, travel, and printing) of the Office of Education (including the technical consultants) in carrying out the provisions of this act.

SEC. 5. As used in this act—

(a) "State" means any one of the several States, Hawaii, Alaska, or the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

(b) "State agency" means the State department of education or the State agency which performs the functions, including vocational education, ordinarily performed by the State department of education.

(c) "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of Education in the Federal Security Agency.

Inadvisability of Changing Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 17 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES F. BYRNES

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BYRNES] on October 15, 1940, over the red network of the National Broadcasting Co., entitled "How Did We Get in the Middle of the Stream?"

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW DID WE GET IN THE MIDDLE OF THE STREAM?

The deep-seated feeling of the American people that they need experienced, trustworthy leadership in a great crisis has found voice in the expression: "Let's not change horses in the middle of the stream."

Mr. Wendell Willkie recognizing the existence of this national sentiment, asks, "How did we get in the middle of the stream?"

In submitting the answer, let us remember that crossing a stream means going from one bank to the other. The bank toward which we are moving in spite of all obstacles, is national security, safety, and happiness. The bank we have left behind is national weakness, insecurity, and peril.

We were left stranded on that bank by the administrations of Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. We were left stranded there because during that period our national leadership lacked vision. We are in the middle of the stream today partly because that stream has been widened and flooded by aggressive dictatorships in Europe and Asia, and partly because our voyage has been hampered by the rocks and whirlpools of Republican hostility.

Many of the obstacles that have retarded our progress have been placed in the stream by the Republican Party in Congress, but Mr.

Willkie can fairly be held responsible for others. For example, he said: "The closer Mr. Roosevelt gets us to war, the more people say that we ought not to change horses in the middle of the stream."

That statement should bring joy to Hitler and his accomplices, because it makes it more difficult for the President of the United States to continue his program of strengthening our defense and furnishing Great Britain aid short of war.

Mr. Willkie's statement is an appeal for the votes of unthinking people who fear that strengthening our national defense and furnishing aid to Britain will automatically lead to war.

Mr. Willkie has publicly pledged his support of these two policies of the President. Yet he wants millions of Americans to believe that these policies with Mr. Roosevelt as President will bring us close to war, while if Mr. Willkie were President the same policies would involve no danger at all.

To prove that the Republican Party is responsible for our delay in leaving the bank of unpreparedness, I shall not argue the lack of wisdom that brought about the reduction in our Navy during the Harding administration. I shall pass over the fact that President Hoover, in 1930, sold for scrap iron 50 destroyers similar to those President Roosevelt traded to Great Britain for naval bases.

The Republican attitude underwent no change even after Adolf Hitler began his merciless military aggression.

German storm troopers were rioting in Czechoslovakia May 3, 1938, when the United States Senate voted on the bill to provide appropriations to maintain our Navy. The Democrats voted for the bill, 49 to 10. The Republicans voted against it, 9 to 7. And among those who voted against it were Senator McNARY, who was named by Wendell Willkie as his candidate for Vice President; and Senator VANDENBERG, the confidential adviser of Mr. Willkie.

Had the issue been left to the votes of Republican Senators, every American navy yard would have been closed, every American ship driven from the seas, and every American sailor forced out of uniform. And at that time the American people were embarked upon their voyage across the stream to which Mr. Willkie refers so frequently and so loudly.

After Czechoslovakia had been destroyed President Roosevelt urged that the number of Army airplanes be increased. On March 6, 1939, the Senate voted: Six Republican Senators for the increase, nine against it. The others did not vote at all. The President's request was granted only because Democratic votes made it possible. On that kind of a record Mr. Willkie asks that we change horses in the middle of the stream.

In March 1939 President Roosevelt urged the revision of the old neutrality law in order to permit the sale of munitions to the Allies for cash. We know now that had there been any chance of staying Hitler's hand by letting Great Britain and France buy munitions in the United States, that chance was destroyed and war made inevitable by the delay of Congress in repealing the arms embargo. The party which Mr. Willkie so recently joined denounced the President's policy as one that would breed war. Its leaders advised the President that they had private information there would be no war. Joined by a few Democrats, they defeated action.

After the war had started a special session of Congress was called. Finally a vote was secured. In the House, Democrats voted 6 to 1 to end the embargo and sell to the Allies. The Republicans voted 7 to 1 against it. In the Senate, Democratic votes were 4 to 1 to sell to the Allies, while Republicans voted almost 3 to 1 against it.

Had we repealed the embargo 9 months earlier, when President Roosevelt asked for its repeal, we would today have manufacturing plants turning out vastly increased numbers of airplanes, tanks, and other equipment needed for our own defense.

We know, too, that if the embargo had been continued as the Republicans wished and voted, Great Britain today would lie with France, crushed and broken beneath the wheels of the Hitler war machine. And today the United States would be standing alone, watching the skies and the seas for death-dealing airplanes and warships bearing the colors of maddened dictators.

In January 1940 the President addressed the Congress, urging increased appropriations for national defense. The Congress—not the President—makes appropriations. The Republicans immediately declared that Mr. Roosevelt was hysterical. Senator TAFT urged a reduction of 25 percent in the appropriations requested. Congressman FISH, the ranking Republican on the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, declared: "Why all this hysteria to rush in and build these planes this year?" Other Republican leaders announced their opposition.

Even after the fall of France more than one attempt was made in the Senate to hamstring defense while the conscription bill was being considered.

An amendment was offered providing that no men be drafted until there was a declaration of war. If Hitler's airplanes and tanks, combined with a captured British Navy, brought his satanic legions of death to American shores, we would be expected to oppose him with the impotent blueprint of a nonexistent army.

On that amendment Democrats voted 3 to 1 for an immediate draft. A majority of the Republicans voted to draft only after war started.

On Congressman FISH's proposal to delay conscription for 60 days, Republicans in the House voted overwhelmingly for the delay. Democrats voted overwhelmingly against the delay. In the Senate, again a majority of the Republicans voted to delay conscription; a majority of the Democrats voted against delay.

On the final passage in the Senate of the bill to draft men for military training, the Democrats voted more than 3 to 1 for the bill. Only eight Republican Senators voted for it. Twelve voted against it.

In the House, Democrats voted more than 6 to 1 to train an army for defense of our liberties, while Republicans voted more than 2 to 1 not to train an army.

While the President was urging preparedness in January 1939, urging repeal of the neutrality law in the months that followed, and increased appropriations for defense in 1940, Wendell L. Willkie never once raised his voice in support of the President's appeals. If he realized the necessity, he kept it a dark secret until he became a candidate for office.

That is the record, stark and clear, indisputable. It shows that, had it been left to the party of Wendell L. Willkie, we would now face the ominous alliance of Germany, Italy, and Japan with a paper army, little equipment, and a crippled navy.

Yet Mr. Willkie urges this Nation to change horses in the middle of that stream. What kind of a horse does he offer? Does he think we can reach the shore of national safety on the kind of three-legged, spavined, string-halted nag that is revealed by these Republican votes on national defense?

You may say that regardless of the record of the Republicans in Congress, Mr. Willkie favored conscription. Yes; Mr. Willkie was in favor of conscripting the youth of America—but he was opposed to conscripting the dollars of industry.

The truth is, the Republicans in this campaign are trying to work both sides of the street. Congressman MARTIN, the Republican leader, voted against lifting the embargo and against defense appropriations. Mr. Willkie appointed him his campaign manager. Mr. MARTIN then voted for Congressman FISH's amendment to delay conscription, which amendment Mr. Willkie opposed. Have you ever heard of Mr. Willkie disapproving the course of his campaign manager, or the course of the majority of the Republican Congressmen who opposed the things Mr. Willkie says he stands for? No. Don't you know that if these Congressmen and Senators are reelected, they will consider that their course has been endorsed and they must continue it?

Republicans say to those people opposed to preparedness and opposed to aiding Britain: "The record in Congress shows that the Republican Party agrees with you—vote for Mr. Willkie." To those who favor preparedness and aid to Britain, they say: "Do not hold Mr. Willkie responsible for the record of the Republican Party he so recently joined." The Republican candidate talks one way, his party votes the other way. Should they win, somebody is going to be fooled. It may be you.

If while in the middle of the stream America gets on a Republican horse that is trying to go in opposite directions at the same time, I fear for the future of America.

The voyage toward the bank of preparedness and security is not made easier by Mr. Willkie's utterances. Last Wednesday he said: "I want to ask the President, and demand an answer, Are there any international understandings to put America into the war that we citizens do not know about?"

Mr. Willkie knows that only the Congress can declare war. His insinuation is that the President has made a secret agreement with some foreign power to do something that would force the Congress to declare war.

If the President were guilty of such conduct, he should be impeached. But you and I know that it is a cruel slander. If made against a Republican President, I would resent it. When made against President Roosevelt I am sure that patriotic Republicans will resent it.

Within the month Mr. Willkie heard the answer. He heard President Roosevelt say in addressing the teamsters' convention in Washington: "I hate war now more than ever. I have one supreme determination—to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all times. I stand with my party upon the platform adopted in Chicago:

" 'We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval, or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas except in case of attack.' "

That is the voice of President Roosevelt. That is the view of the American people. And tonight I say to you in all earnestness that in this hour of national peril, rather than misrepresentation, criticism, and abuse, the President of the United States should have the protective armor of the prayers of his countrymen.

Factual Study of Wendell L. Willkie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH F. GUFFEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 17 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT OF STATE SENATOR H. JEROME JASPAN, OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a factual study

of Wendell Willkie by State Senator H. Jerome Jaspan, of Pennsylvania, based on a research of one of America's outstanding authorities in the field of public utilities.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FACTUAL STUDY OF WENDELL L. WILLKIE

(By Senator H. Jerome Jaspan)

The fog of confusion created by Wendell Willkie's vacillating social and economic concept of government is rapidly crystallizing into significance. By his daily utterances, the Republican standard bearer has manifested such calloused indifference to consistency of thought as to present a striking challenge to our American standard of intelligence. Mr. Willkie has made it increasingly clear that he has small regard for the sound common sense of our people.

The "Flash Gordon" manner in which Wall Street's fair-haired boy leaped into the national arena and conquered the Republican Convention in Philadelphia is a tribute to the ingenuity of the jugglers of high finance. Mr. Willkie's dazzling performance has revived their hope for the day of "free enterprise," and they are beginning to sharpen their swords. But the rank and file of our citizens demand more substantial qualities for leadership than the skill of a man on the flying trapeze. In this critical hour of world history, every American who cherishes our democratic way of life will examine with minutest care the character and ability of the man who seeks to guide our ship of state through the dangerous waters of the next 4 years.

Wendell Willkie has never occupied any public office of trust and responsibility. As a consequence, his record in this respect is an unknown quantity. By his own admission, Mr. Willkie's entire training and experience have been confined to public utilities. We are therefore compelled to direct our search in this channel for evidence of his qualifications, in order to properly determine his fitness for the Presidency of the United States.

In the public-utility industry, the name Wendell Willkie has become synonymous with the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation, just as the name of Samuel Insull has been inseparably entwined with the collapsed Middle West Utilities empire, and that of Howard Hopson with the bankrupt Associated Gas & Electric Co. It is somewhat unique that these three utility organizations have had several factors in common. They each were gigantic holding companies—among the largest in the country—with properties in numerous States; they each waged relentless war against fair regulation by governmental agencies; the securities of each were heavily watered for the express purpose of public exploitation; and the investors, principally men and women of small means, in each of these giant holding companies were fleeced out of hundreds of millions of dollars. Messrs. Insull, Hopson, and Willkie, in succession, were each the most persistent exponents of special privilege for the few against the welfare of all.

The vicious struggle of Samuel Insull against our Federal Government is now a matter of history, while that of Howard Hopson is of more recent memory. Wendell Willkie, the last of this triumvirate, still carries on, and his defiance of the will of our people has been intensified during the past several years. There are strong indications that Mr. Willkie's repeated failure to defeat the Government has actuated him to capture the Presidency of the United States in order to perpetuate the Power Trust. And he has coralled the forces of special privilege under the banner of "free enterprise."

The Republican standard bearer, both by words and conduct, has already chilled the spines of his warmest supporters. Notwithstanding his unfortunate exhibition during the past few weeks, let us seek to appraise the man in the role of utility executive with the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation, a billion-dollar holding company with a greater stake in the gas and electric industry in the United States than any other public-utility holding company.

The Commonwealth & Southern Corporation was organized in May 1929 as a consolidation of a number of utility companies operating in different sections of the country. From its inception Wendell Willkie has been actively identified with the affairs of this holding company, either as general counsel prior to 1933 or as president since that date. During the 11 years of its existence this corporation has carved a record without parallel in the history of American industry, a record which discloses the machinations of Wall Street in a most sinister form and reveals Mr. Willkie's definition of the term "free enterprise." Immediately upon organizing, the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation arbitrarily wrote up the ledger value of its investments in the merged utilities from an actual figure of $341,000,000 to a fictitious total of $915,000,000. Without the slightest compunction this new corporation calmly added $574,000,000 of water to its capital surplus. An almost fantastic amount of common stock was then authorized—60,000,000 shares. The obvious purpose of this colossal scheme was to inveigle the little fellow, the hard-working wage earners for whom the Republican candidate is now so heatedly proclaiming his friendship and sympathy. In order to insure the success of this plan, the directors of the corporation decided not to foist the entire 60,000,000 shares on the public at once. So they issued 33,670,000 shares of the stock, together with 17,590,000 option warrants which allowed the holders to purchase that number of additional shares at $30 per share. This stock reached a high of $32 a share in 1929, but in less than 3 years it was down to $1.62—a total shrinkage in market value of over $1,000,000,000. It should be observed that this occurred in 1932—before the advent of the Roosevelt administration. Today the common stock sells around $1 a share, while the option warrants, which reached a high of $12 in 1929, are now worthless.

During the past several years, besides failing to pay any common-stock dividends, the corporation has built up an accumulated arrearage of $16.50 a share as of July 1940 on its 1,500,000 shares of 6-percent cumulative preferred stock, or a total arrearage of $24,750,000. The skill which Mr. Willkie and his associates displayed in inflicting such staggering losses on an unsuspecting public undoubtedly elicited the commendation of the Wall Street manipulators. The Republican standard bearer thus presented a superb demonstration of free enterprise at work. Is there any wonder why the big-money interests have so enthusiastically rallied to his support?

Despite this shameful performance of the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation, Wendell Willkie unblushingly insists that he is a successful businessman, and his promoters have bombarded the country with that assertion. It behooves us, therefore, to examine his record in greater detail. Let us investigate the operations of the principal gas and electric subsidiaries in Mr. Willkie's holding-company system.

It would be well, first, to clarify the situation with respect to the Georgia Power Co. and the Alabama Power Co., two operating utilities in the Tennessee Valley region, in order to avoid any erroneous conclusions. It is now a matter of history that the activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority had forced these companies to make drastic reductions in their electric rates, and that the enlarged usage of electricity which resulted had substantially increased the revenue and net income of these utilities. In view of the T. V. A., it would be difficult to measure the real efforts of the management in connection with these companies. As there are 10 separate gas and electric utilities in the Commonwealth & Southern system located in 10 different States, the performance of the 2 units in the Tennessee Valley area may be safely disregarded in our analysis.

The Consumers Power Co., in the State of Michigan, situated beyond the reach of the T. V. A., affords an excellent example of Wendell Willkie's business ability. This company is not only the largest subsidiary in the entire system but it is also one of which Mr. Willkie personally has been chairman of the board of directors. During the 10-year period of 1930 to 1939, inclusive, the total operating revenue of this utility had increased from $32,357,000 to $40,507,000, or $8,150,000. The dividends paid on the common stock, however, had dropped from $7,727,000 in 1930 to $4,048,000 at the end of 1939, a reduction of $3,679,000. In other words, although the revenue had increased over 25 percent during that period the common-stock dividends had dropped close to 50 percent. In the case of the Ohio Edison Co., the only other subsidiary of which Mr. Willkie has been chairman of the board, the performance is even less flattering. During the past 10 years the operating revenue of this Ohio utility had risen very slightly, from $19,024,000 to $19,265,000. But there was a sharp drop in the amount of common-stock dividends, from $4,235,000 in 1930 to $1,940,000 in 1939, or 54 percent. The other subsidiaries in the Commonwealth & Southern system present virtually the same picture. In fact, in the State of Pennsylvania, where the Pennsylvania Power Co. supplies service to numerous communities, there had been an actual decrease in the operating revenue during the past 10 years, from $4,356,000 to $4,320,000, as well as a shrinkage in common-stock dividends from $526,000 in 1930 to $220,000 in 1939, almost 60 percent. And the Southern Indiana Gas & Electric Co., with an increase in revenue from $3,311,000 to $4,281,000, discontinued the payment of dividends last year after disbursing $280,000 in 1930. Considering the combined performance of all 10 subsidiaries in the system, despite a growth of 22 percent in the total revenue during the period of 1930 to 1939, inclusive, the investors in the common stock of these companies suffered a loss of over 50 percent in their dividends.

As the entire structure of Mr. Willkie's campaign has been erected upon his business record as a foundation, a final test may be applied to determine whether that foundation is composed of sand or solid rock. Let us review briefly the operations of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., a subsidiary of another large holding company system. This utility supplies electric service in the city of Cleveland and vicinity and, in the matter of geographical location and revenue, closely approximates the Consumers Power Co. and the Ohio Edison Co., the Willkie companies. During the past 10 years, the total revenue of the Cleveland utility had grown from $26,482,000 to $29,629,000, or 12 percent. By efficient management, however, this company was enabled to increase its common-stock dividends from $3,747,000, in 1930, to $5,230,000 for the year 1939, or 40 percent. Thus, with a growth of only 12 percent during the period, this utility had increased its dividends 40 percent, whereas the Willkie companies, with a combined growth in revenue of 16 percent, were forced to curtail their dividends by 50 percent. This contrast is accentuated by the fact that the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co. has been, for more than 25 years, in direct competition with the municipally owned power plant in the city of Cleveland, the domestic rates of which are among the very lowest in the United States. Many other cases could be cited to show the progress of well-managed utilities in contrast to the performance of the Commonwealth & Southern subsidiaries. They all emphasize the same conclusion. Although Mr. Willkie has devoted his entire career to the utility industry, his record fails to disclose the slightest evidence to support the assertion that he is a successful businessman. In the light of this analysis, what can the American people expect of the Republican candidate for President of our country, an office which is concerned with infinitely greater and more complex problems than confront a utility man-

ager, particularly at a time of world crisis? The answer is too obvious.

If there is any distinction which Wendell Willkie can rightfully claim by virtue of his long association with the private-utility interests, it is his unswerving loyalty to the cause of big business. The Republican standard bearer has consistently demonstrated this quality from the moment President Roosevelt entered the White House in 1933. It was Mr. Willkie who launched the first major attack against the efforts of our President to reduce the electric rates of the domestic and rural consumers. After losing his initial battle against the Federal Government in the celebrated Ashwander case in 1936, in which Chief Justice Hughes, of the United States Supreme Court, upheld the right of the T. V. A. to sell surplus hydroelectric energy, Mr. Willkie promptly revealed his true mettle. Within a few months after the Ashwander decision, he succeeded in assembling the heaviest legal artillery he could command for a crushing assault on the T. V. A. from another angle. This was the famous Nineteen Power Company case. But our Government again proved stronger than Wendell Willkie and, in a forceful opinion by Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, the constitutionality of the T. V. A. was finally sustained, in January 1939.

Despite these defeats, Mr. Willkie won the applause of big business. His relentless war against the Government made him a trusted champion of special privilege. And, early this year, he was appropriately rewarded with a berth on the board of directors of the potent First National Bank of New York. The Republican nominee now enjoys the exclusive company of 10 other directors of this bank, who jointly represent corporations with assets of $24,000,000,000. Nine of these corporations own assets in excess of $1,000,000,000 each, of which 1 corporation has over $4,000,000,000 and another possesses more than $5,000,000,000.

The men and women of our country who will cast their votes next month are acutely conscious of the critical hour in which we live. They will not be cajoled by any vocal panaceas concocted by Wendell Willkie in his desperation to win the coming election. The sound common sense of our people will prompt them to appraise this candidate's qualifications on the basis of his real record of achievements—a record which he had established before he was recently catapulted into the spotlight of public attention. Despite Mr. Willkie's conspicuous crusade in behalf of Wall Street and the big-business interests, his various activities betray a far more serious aspect of his social and economic principles and philosophy. In this day, when our Nation is engaged in a supreme effort to preserve our democratic institutions and every loyal American is firmly resolved to defend our priceless heritage, the thought expressed by this utility magnate a few years ago, in confessing his true objective in life, assumes vital significance and overshadows every other consideration. In revealing his choice between his love of our country and his obligation to the power trust, in an address before thte Economic Club of New York on January 21, 1935, Wendell Willkie, the Republican nominee for President of the United States, said:

"No duty has ever come in my life, even that in the service of my country, which has so appealed to my sense of social obligation, patriotism, and love of mankind as this, my obligation to say and do what I can for the preservation of public utilities privately owned."

PHILADELPHIA, PA., *October 1940.*

The Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 17 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE BOSTON POST

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an edtiorial under the heading "The third term," published in the Boston Post of the issue of October 8, 1940.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Boston Post of October 8, 1940]

THE THIRD TERM

The Post opposes the third-term principle in the present Presidential campaign.

It does this not because the third-term candidate is Franklin D. Roosevelt, but in spite of it.

History has a magnificent place for Mr. Roosevelt. We say in all earnestness, and gladly, that he will take his place among the great men of all time. We have admired, in common with millions of our fellow citizens, his magnificent character and his efforts for the betterment of mankind.

He has changed the face of America in his 8 arduous years in office. His impact upon the American scene is for the historians of the future to calculate.

His fame is secure.

But we cannot support a third term in office, not only for him, but for any President.

We have had great Presidents in the past, and none of them, as we look back, would have been condoned in permanent possession of the Presidency. Neither Washington, nor Lincoln, would have been made a monarch, even if these illustrious Americans had sought it.

Primarily, we cannot keep faith with our New England tradition if we advocate a third term for any man. We, in the oldest and most settled section of America, feel that this principle keeps our Nation free.

Secondarily, as a democratic journal, we cannot support the third term, for a third term is undemocratic.

This does not mean, necessarily, that we are slaves of tradition. We have often broken with the axioms of government in the past, but it has been to further the cause of democracy, not to hamper it.

A third term has the effect of perpetuating in the rulership of the country not only a man, but a whole bureaucracy which becomes more and more embedded in the national structure as time goes on.

Change, exercised by free men, is the essence of the rights of man. A third term for a President obliterates the principle of change. It creates a governing person and a governing class. It was for the elimination of such a governing person and a class that the events of 1775 took place within our environs and within our view.

It would be specious for us to pretend that we have forgotten them now.

Not only because we are a New England newspaper of long standing, but because we are liberal and American, have we made this decision.

We have an abiding faith in the course we have taken.

Playing Politics With the A. A. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

ARTICLES FROM THE KANSAS CITY STAR AND KANSAS CITY TIMES

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, within the last few days there has been revealed a most sinister development in connection with the Federal farm program. A group of politicians are attempting to build a political machine out of the township and county A. A. A. committees. This attempt is so crude and brazen that it has been in most cases rejected and repudiated by these committees and by farmers generally as it should be.

An interesting account of how this group of politicians in one State has attempted to put the lug on farmers is contained in the following articles taken from recent issues of the Kansas City Star and Kansas City Times.

[From the Kansas City Times of October 5, 1940]

"LUG" ON FARMERS—TOWNSHIP SOIL CONSERVATION COMMITTEEMEN ARE "ASSESSED" IN NODAWAY COUNTY—TO BE USED IN CAMPAIGN—QUOTAS SET AT $40 A TOWNSHIP AND TIME LIMIT PLACED ON RAISING AMOUNT—AS A KIND OF PROTECTION—ONE MAN SAYS HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND THAT GIVING WAS COMPULSORY

MARYVILLE, MO., October 4.—A quota of $40, to be used for expenses in helping to reelect President Roosevelt and Henry A. Wallace was "assessed" against township soil-conservation committeemen in each of 15 townships in Nodaway County last night by representatives of the national committee on agriculture.

Z. R. Alexander, of Elmo, Mo., spoken of as chairman of the Third Congressional District committee on agriculture, is quoted by several of those who were in the meeting as having "assigned" the quotas, at a gathering of soil-conservation committee members from each township at conservation headquarters here last night. The committee members were given until tonight to bring in their quotas. It had not been learned tonight how much money had been collected.

Alexander was reported in St. Joseph tonight, and a statement was not obtained from him. He is a banker. Just what the committee on agriculture is was not made clear tonight.

SAYS NO PRESSURE WAS USED

Charles Massie, of Pickering, Mo., a representative of the committee, said it was a nonpolitical organization and that it had made the request for the meeting. He said the committee believed the Republicans would do less than the Democrats for the farmers, and therefore the committee was supporting Roosevelt and Wallace. He said the $40 was a suggested figure and that no pressure was attempted.

Ed Hamilton, farmer, chairman of the soil conservation committee of Nodaway County, who called the meeting, declined today to discuss it. Asked how much money had been obtained, he replied: "I don't believe I have anything to say."

Members of township committees said late today this was the first time an assessment had ever been attempted in this county on beneficiaries of the A. A. A. They asserted that the soil conservation committees in the county had kept their groups free of politics, but that it appeared now that "we'll have to let politics in a little way."

As a result, there is resentment among some of the farmers and excitement among political leaders of both parties at the attempt to collect a campaign fund from farm-subsidy recipients.

[From the Kansas City Star of October 7, 1940]

QUITS OVER "LUG"—DAVIESS COUNTY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE RESENTS FUNDS SCHEME—TO RETURN THE MONEY—HARRY NANCE RESIGNS WHEN HE LEARNS NATURE OF THE ORGANIZATION—IN ATTACK ON WILLKIE—POLITICAL LITERATURE IS DISPLAYED AT MEETING ATTENDED BY TOWNSHIP REPRESENTATIVES

GALLATIN, Mo., October 7.—Reaction in Daviess County to efforts of the New Deal committee on agriculture to raise funds to support reelection of President Roosevelt resulted in the resignation of the committee's chairman in this county and the refunding of all money contributed by farmers, it was learned here today.

Harry Nance, Civil Bend, Mo., who was chosen as county chairman of the committee on agriculture more than 2 months ago, made it known to soil-conservation officials of the county that he would have no more to do with the fund-raising scheme, and that he intended to return the money collected to the farmers.

This action was on his own initiative. The county's quota of $192 had been raised but not forwarded. In this county the A. A. A. had distributed $192,000 in the last year. The quota was a tenth of 1 percent of that sum.

TWENTY-FIVE AT MEETING

Officials of the soil-conservation association were not involved in the money-raising scheme. A meeting was held last Thursday night. It was called by Nance through letters sent to township representatives of the committee on agriculture who previously had been chosen. About 25 responded. The proposal to raise money was put before the farmers that night.

Nance and John Warner, chairman of the county soil-conservation association, were incensed when they learned after that meeting, that they inadvertently lent a hand in bringing politics into the soil-conservation association.

The affair began more than 2 months ago when Warner was requested by officials of the Committee on Agriculture to appoint an outstanding New Deal Democrat who could be called upon at any time to talk to Representatives or Senators, and who, if necessary, would go to Washington in the interest of the A. A. A. appropriation. That, Warner said today, was a proper function for the Soil Conservation Association, and he appointed Nance.

BELIEVED IT EXPENSE MONEY

Together he and Nance selected representatives in each of 15 townships in the county to work with Nance. Later Nance began to receive letters from the national headquarters on the necessity for raising funds to pay the expenses of the Committee on Agriculture. It was presumed that these expenses concerned the committee's work before Congress.

Nance agreed to help raise the money. He called the meeting for last Thursday night, and it was then that the nature of the scheme began to unfold. On a table at the meeting was a stack of literature attacking Wendell L. Willkie, Republican Presidential candidate, and urging farmers to vote for President Roosevelt and Henry Wallace.

At the meeting also was Paul Weinand, field representative of the A. A. A., with headquarters in Columbia, Mo. In the meeting here Weinand advocated the raising of the fund. He described the benefits of the A. A. A. program, reviewed the accomplishments of the work in this county, and requested farmers to make contributions. He refrained from mentioning Roosevelt or Wallace.

OUT IN A HUFF

The first explosion occurred when George Reed, a farmer living near Breckenridge, asked some questions. He apparently failed to get satisfactory answers and walked out, saying they could "go to hell and take the proposition with them."

The meeting proceeded, however, and some of the farmers made their contributions Thursday night. Those at the meeting were permitted to take samples of the literature. Some of it reached the hands of men not interested solely in soil conservation, and the full political complexion of the money-raising scheme was revealed.

Friday more contributions came in, and Saturday morning the story from Maryville about the $40 lug on Nodaway County townships brought the situation into the open in Daviess County. Nance promptly stopped further contributions and told those most interested of his intentions to resign and refund the farmers their contributions.

SAME APPROACH IN GRUNDY

Weinand, it was learned today, is an A. A. A. field man who requested Grundy County soil conservation officials also to appoint an outstanding new dealer to take charge of money-raising activities in that county. The Grundy County committee refused. The approach to him was much the same as that to Daviess County officials.

Weinand is an A. A. A. field man in 11 counties. They are Daviess, Grundy, Carroll, Clinton, Harrison, Saline, Ray, Worth, Livingston, Mercer, and Caldwell. Officials here, as well as in Grundy County, do not believe that Weinand is acting on his own initiative, since he is only an employee, subject to orders from above. No one here knows who might have instructed Weinand.

The Daviess County soil conservation committee is composed of Warner, chairman; Walter O'Hara, Jameson, and Arthur Best, Pattonsburg. Warner said today that his committee had kept the soil conservation association out of politics in the past, although two or three times he had been driven to the wall.

[From the Kansas City Times of October 8, 1940]

FOR A RURAL MACHINE

Ever since the beginning, the A. A. A. has stirred the imagination of politicians to staggering dreams of power.

In every rural county of the United States the A. A. A. program is supervised by county committees. Under these are township representatives to carry the A. A. A. to the last half acre of the conforming farmers. These are the men who stand between the farmers and the Federal millions.

To politicians this has had all the appearance of a ready-made political machine with a rural ward and precinct organization and millions to spend. Naturally their hands have fairly ached to grab it.

Antinew dealers especially have seen a danger. Suppose such a potentially powerful rural machine were combined with the New Deal's controlled W. P. A. and big city machines! National elections would be nothing but a formality.

So far the American farmer has disappointed the politicians and calmed the pessimists. He has refused to fit into the machine pattern so dear to the political heart. The farmers elected to these committees, both Republicans and Democrats, have made good nonpolitical records. The soil-conservation committees have been farm rather than political committees.

Now the fantastic machine dream has been revived by a political group calling itself the national committee for agriculture. In Missouri, apparently, it has gone so far as to attempt to use the soil-conservation committees to lay a political lug on the farmers.

The politicians gain access to the county farm committee under false pretenses. Not until the committee has actually raised funds, in some instances, have the politicians come out in the open.

It happens at the same time that the A. A. A. is mailing out its wheat checks far in advance of the usual time; and, by coincidence, the month before election. The Federal money is flowing and New Deal politicians are launching their campaign for a slush fund at the same time.

The attempt to make New Deal votes from public money is as obvious this year as it has been every 2 years. But the raid on the farm program goes much farther. If this attempt to build a rural political machine is Nation-wide we have a beautiful scandal in the making. It is hard to see how Congress could avoid a thorough investigation. Nothing could be more expressive of the growing lust for absolute organization power bred by huge sums of Federal money.

In the meantime the politicians may be very much surprised at the reaction of the American farmers. Somehow the farmers don't like to be herded like the city flop-house vote or lugged like a city machine employee.

American Pilots' Association Pledges Aid in Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACK NICHOLS

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday I had the privilege of going to the White House with Capt. John Delano, president of the American Pilots' Association, at which time Captain Delano presented to President Roosevelt a resolution expressing the entire willingness and eagerness of this association to cooperate in the national-defense program in any manner possible.

I desire to place in the RECORD the text of this fine expression of the American Pilots' Association, and also to take this method of paying my own personal tribute to the important work which the pilots have been doing so efficiently for many years.

Pilot boats are stationed outside each of our 33 harbors and when any ship approaches, she is boarded by one of these licensed pilots, who is then in full charge of the ship until she is docked safely. Conversely, on the way out to sea, the pilot guides these craft, large or small, safely into the open sea.

Rigid training and a high devotion to duty are required of these pilots, and their fine record of safety shows that they measure up fully to their important duties. Captain Delano, the president of the Pilots' Association, is known personally to many Members of the House. He was a pilot himself for 23 years before his election in 1933 as president of the association, and well represents the pilots in this important capacity.

Herewith is the statement of the American Pilots' Association:

The PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The State pilots of America, through their regional representatives, have delegated me, as president of the American Pilots' Association, to assure you of their complete cooperation in your national-defense program. They wish to emphasize that our entire pilotage system, embracing 33 Federal and State licensed port pilot groups, extending in a horseshoe curve from the Puget Sound through the 20 seaboard States to the Bay of Fundy, is at your command at all times, and they stand ready and able to perform whatever additional service any emergency may necessitate.

During the World War, as you will recall, it was decided that, because of their specialized knowledge and experience, the pilots could better serve the Nation by remaining in their important posts as guardians of commerce. This decision resulted in the pilots being placed in the last division of the draft, 5–I. They were entrusted with highly secret and confidential sailing orders supplementing those of both the United States Navy and Coast Guard.

A unique characteristic of our organization is that its members are 100-percent native-born American citizens. The pilots, as you know, have been charged with the continuous safe convoy of the Nation's foreign shipping since the adoption of the Constitution. They have a commendable record of efficiency, resulting from the peculiar talents and local knowledge acquired by long years of rigid training under existing State laws and supervision.

On behalf of the pilots I have the pleasure to convey their good wishes to you, Mr. President, and their desire to serve the best interests of the country during this emergency, as in those of the past.

Respectfully yours,

AMERICAN PILOTS' ASSOCIATION,
JOHN S. DELANO, *President.*

Lindsay Carter Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. COCHRAN
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, those of us who have long served here know how true a measure of men is the House of Representatives. It is quick to detect sheen as well as shallowness. Equally prompt is it to appreciate the qualities that make for service and leadership.

I desire at this time to refer to one of our Members who, since he entered Congress, has deservedly made for himself an outstanding record. Named by the President to become Comptroller General of the United States, our colleague from North Carolina, LINDSAY CARTER WARREN, leaves the House November 1 to become head of one of the most important agencies of the Government.

The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WARREN] or I prefer to say Lindsay, as he is to most of us, and I became Members of Congress about the same time. He was elected to the Sixty-ninth Congress, and a few months afterward, I was elected to fill an unexpired term. In our work here we have been thrown much together, and always this contact has been helpful to me. As a beginning, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WARREN] and I were assigned to the same committee, the Committee on Accounts. From that day to this, we have been seated side by side. In 1931 he became chairman of the committee. When a Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments was created, I was made a member. Several years later the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WARREN] was assigned to that committee, of which I became chairman in 1931. Again our paths paralleling, when the Select Committee on Government Organization was created, we were both named by the Speaker. At the death of Representative Buchanan, of Texas, I was made chairman. So it will be seen that for years I have served on a committee of which the gentleman from North Carolina, LINDSAY WARREN, was chairman and he has served on two committees of which I am chairman. Just here, I would add that in all our associations on committees, we have never been in disagreement.

The gentleman from North Carolina, LINDSAY WARREN, may be described as a well-rounded Member of Congress. He is not a specialist, for too often specialists are narrow-minded. His ability has been demonstrated in practically every activity of the House. A parliamentarian, thoroughly versed in the rules of the House, and possessed of tact and firmness, the late and beloved Speakers, Rainey, Byrns, and Bankhead often called upon our colleague from North Carolina to preside when important issues were pending. His most recent assignment was his selection as Chairman when the conscription bill was under consideration.

Reference has been made to the measure which this body takes of its members. Qualities, if one is to be rated high, must include honesty, sincerity, industry, and courage. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WARREN] has all these in generous measure. They are his by inheritance, environment, and cultivation. It has been my privilege to visit his home, and so I can better understand what is, in part, the source of his strength, the key to his character. We absorb environment. We may do so unconsciously, but we are a part of the world with which we are brought in closest contact. The gentleman from North Carolina [LINDSAY WARREN] grew up where soil, sea, and air combine to make men strong, where strength is needed, where sympathetic understanding is essential, and where honesty is generated.

As a Member of Congress, the gentleman from North Carolina [LINDSAY WARREN] has not sought the limelight. He is no showman. No more unselfish Member can be found among us. The promotions which have come to him have not been of his making, except as merit insures such when unsought. In short, the gentleman from North Carolina, [LINDSAY WARREN] is an honest-to-goodness human being, whose outstanding characteristic is horse sense, a diminishing quality in this auto age. His pride, if such he possesses, is prompted by the thought that he is cast in the same mold as are his constituents. Like the late Vice-President Marshall, who, when making his final address in yon Senate Chamber, should the stituents. Like the late Vice President Marshall, who, when time come when the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WARREN] returns to private life, he, too, can say, "Thank God I do not have to return to the common people. I never left them."

In the position to which the gentleman from North Carolina, LINDSAY WARREN, goes, he carries with him the sincere good wishes of every Member of Congress. He will be missed here, but he is needed there. Because of his experience, training, and talents, such as few possess, it is doubtful if another man so eminently fitted to be, in a way, the guardian of the Nation's funds, could be found. To express it in popular parlance, the gentleman from North Carolina, LINDSAY

WARREN, is a "natural." Under him, so far as his authority goes, Uncle Sam, as well as every niece and nephew, is assured a square deal. It is the Warren way.

Today I was honored by the House electing me chairman of the Committee on Accounts to succeed the gentleman from North Carolina, [Mr. WARREN] effective November 1.

The Committee on Accounts was created in 1803, one of the first committees of the Congress to be organized. In the early days whenever a bill was introduced, the Speaker would appoint a special committee to consider it. I have secured from the Library of Congress some historical data relative to the committee which I include as part of my remarks. It follows:

Chairmen of the House of Representatives, Committee on Accounts since its creation, Dec. 27, 1803

Chairman	Political affiliation	State	Term of service in House	Term of service as chairman
Peter Early		Georgia	1803-07	1803-04 (8th Cong., 1st sess.).
Frederick Conrad	Federalist	Pennsylvania	1803-07	1804-07 (8th Cong., 2d sess.; 9th Cong.).
Nicholas R. Moore	Democrat	Maryland	1803-11; 1813-15	1807-09 (10th Cong.; 11th Cong., 1st sess.).
Wm. Milnor	Federalist	Pennsylvania	1807-11; 1815-17; 1821-22	1809-10 (11th Cong., 2d sess.).
Nicholas R. Moore	Democrat	Maryland	1803-11; 1813-15	1810-11 (11th Cong., 3d sess.).
Charles Turner, Jr.	War Democrat	Massachusetts	1809-13	1811-13 (12th Cong.).
Israel Pickens [1]	Democrat	North Carolina	1811-17	1813 (13th Cong., 1st sess.).
Nicholas R. Moore	do	Maryland	1803-11; 1813-15	1813-14 (13th Cong., 2d sess.).
John Kershaw	do	South Carolina	1813-15	1814-15 (13th Cong., 3d sess.).
John McLean [2]	War Democrat	Ohio	1813-16	1815-16 (14th Cong., 1st sess.).
Lewis Condict [3]	Anti-Federalist	New Jersey	1811-17; 1821-33	1816 (14th Cong., 1st sess.).
Peter Little	Democrat	Maryland	1811-13; 1816-29	1816-19 (14th Cong., 2d sess.; 15th Cong.).
James S. Smith	do	North Carolina	1817-21	1819-21 (16th Cong.).
Samuel C. Allen		Massachusetts	1817-29	1821-29 (17th to 20th Cong.).
Jehiel H. Halsey	Jackson Democrat	New York	1829-31	1829-30 (21st Cong., 1st sess.).
Thomas Maxwell	Democrat	do	1829-31	1830-31 (21st Cong., 2d sess.).
Robert Allen	do	Virginia	1827-33	1831-32 (22d Cong., 1st sess.).
John T. Bergen	do	New York	1831-33	1832-33 (22d Cong., 2d sess.).
Joel K. Mann	do	Pennsylvania	1831-35	1833-35 (23d Cong.).
Thomas Lee	do	New Jersey	1833-37	1835-37 (24th Cong.).
Joseph Johnson	do	Virginia	1823-37; Jan. 21-Mar. 3, 1833; 1835-41; 1845-47.	1837-41 (25th and 26th Cong.).
Oswyn Baker	Whig	Massachusetts	1840-45	1841 (27th Cong., 1st sess.).
Albert G. Marchand	Democrat	Pennsylvania	1839-43	1841-43 (27th Cong., 2d and 3d sess.).
Joseph J. McDowell	do	Ohio	1843-47	1843-44 (28th Cong., 1st sess.).
Wm. Taylor	do	Virginia	1843-46	1844-46 (28th Cong., 2d sess.; 29th Cong., 1st sess.).
Daniel P. King	Whig	Massachusetts	1843-50	1846-47 (29th Cong., 2d sess.).
Linn Boyd	Democrat	Kentucky	1835-37; 1839-55	1847-48 (30th Cong., 1st sess.).
Daniel P. King [4]	Whig	Massachusetts	1843-50	1848-50 (30th Cong., 2d sess.; 31st Cong., 1st sess.).
John C. Mason	Jackson Democrat	Kentucky	1849-53; 1857-59	1850-53 (31st Cong., 2d sess; 32d Cong.).
Carlton B. Curtis	Democrat and Republican	Pennsylvania	1851-55; 1873-75	1853-55 (33d Con.).
Benj. B. Thurston	Democrat	Rhode Island	1847-49; 1851-57	1855-57 (34th Cong.).
John C. Mason [5]	Jackson Democrat	Kentucky	1849-53; 1857-59	1857-58 (35th Cong., 1st sess.).
John A. Searing	do	New York	1857-59	1858-59 (35th Cong., 2d sess.).
Francis E. Spinner	do	do	1855-61	1859-61 (36th Cong.).
James Buffinton	Republican	Massachusetts	1855-63; 1869-75	1861-63 (37th Cong.).
Edward H. Rollins [6]	do	New Hampshire	1861-67	1863-67 (38th and 39th Cong).
John M. Broomall	do	Pennsylvania	1863-69	1867-69 (40th Cong.).
Henry L. Cake	do	do	1867-71	1869-71 (41st Cong.).
James Buffinton	do	Massachusetts	1855-63; 1869-75	1871-75 (42d and 43d Cong.).
James D. Williams [7]	Democrat	Indiana	1875-76	1875-76 (44th Cong., 1st sess.).
Charles B. Roberts	do	Maryland	1875-79	1876-79 (44th Cong., 2d sess.; 45th Cong.).
Daniel M. Henry	do	do	1877-81	1879-81 (46th Cong.).
Milton G. Urner	Republican	do	1879-83	1881-83 (47th Cong.).
George W. Covington	Democrat	do	1881-85	1883-85 (48th Cong.).
John Thomas Spriggs	do	New York	1883-87	1885-87 (49th Cong.).
Frank T. Shaw	do	Maryland	1885-89	1887-89 (50th Cong.).
Henry J. Spooner	Republican	Rhode Island	1881-91	1889-91 (51st Cong.).
Harry W. Rusk	Democrat	Maryland	1886-97	1891-95 (52d and 53d Cong.).
James Franklin Aldrich	Republican	Illinois	1893-97	1895-97 (54th Cong.).
Benjamin B. Odell, Jr. [8]	do	New York	1895-99	1897-99 (55th Cong.).
Melville Bull	do	Rhode Island	1895-1903	1899-1902 (56th and 57th Cong., 2d sess.).
Charles Q. Hildebrant [9]	do	Ohio	1901-05	1902-05 (57th Cong., 2d sess.; 58th Cong.).
Henry Burd Cassel [10]	do	Pennsylvania	1901-09	1905-07 (59th Cong.).
James A. Hughes	do	West Virginia	1901-15; 1927-30	1907-11 (60th and 61st Cong.).
James T. Lloyd	Democrat	Missouri	1897-1917	1911-17 (62d Cong.; 64th Cong., 2d sess.).
Frank Park [11]	do	Georgia	1913-25	1917-19 (64th Cong., 2d sess.; 65th Cong.).
Clifford Ireland	Republican	Illinois	1917-23	1919-23 (66th and 67th Cong.).
Clarence MacGregor [12]	do	New York	1919-28	1923-28 (68th and 70th Cong., 2d sess.).
Charles L. Underhill [13]	do	Massachusetts	1921-33	1929-31 (70th Cong., 2d sess.; 71st Cong.).
Lindsay C. Warren [14]	Democrat	North Carolina	1925-Oct. 31, 1940	1931-Oct. 31, 1940 (72d Cong.; 76th Cong., 3d sess.).
John J. Cochran	do	Missouri	1926-40	Nov. 1, 1940- (76th Cong.).

[1] Served as Senator from Alabama, Feb. 17 to Nov. 27, 1826.
[2] Appointed chairman, Dec. 6, 1815.
[3] Appointed chairman, Mar. 28, 1816.
[4] George W. Julian, Free-Soiler and Republican, Indiana, appointed, July 30, 1850, to replace King, who died July 25.
[5] Excused from service, Mar. 10, 1858; Paulus Powell, Democrat, Virginia, appointed, Mar. 25, to fill the vacancy; John Dick, Whig, Pennsylvania, is listed as chairman by the Congressional Directory, 3d edition.
[6] Served as Senator, 1877-83.
[7] Resigned, Dec. 1, 1876.
[8] Appointed chairman, Mar. 2, 1897, the day before the close of the 54th Cong.
[9] Appointed chairman, Dec. 11, 1902.
[10] Appointed chairman, Mar. 2, 1905, the day before the close of the 58th Cong.
[11] Appointed chairman, Jan. 10, 1917.
[12] Resigned, Dec. 31, 1928.
[13] Appointed chairman, Feb. 25, 1929.
[14] Resigned as of Oct. 31, 1940. Appointed Comptroller General of the United States.

Sources: Congressional Directories 15th to 76th Cong.; House Journals; Hinds Precedents of the House of Representatives (1907), vol. IV, pp. 837-40.

I Am an American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

EXCERPT FROM AMERICANS ALL-IMMIGRANTS ALL BROADCAST

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include a script entitled "I Am an American," written by Louis Lande and broadcast on the Americans All-Immigrants All program over WBNX. I think the people who did not hear it over the radio should be given a chance to read it.

I AM AN AMERICAN

(Broadcast over WBNX on September 15 and 22, 1940, on the Americans All-Immigrants All program)

I came with the brave Norsemen and discovered a new continent to be dedicated after the passage of many centuries to liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I braved the unknown seas with Columbus to bring distant lands in closer commerce with Europe.

I was the first white man to see the westering sun set in the Pacific Ocean.

I crossed the icy wastes of Bering Strait to reach the northmost lands we now call Alaska.

I was a Pilgrim and landed at the Rock of Plymouth, making it more firm and secure than the Rock of Gibraltar.

I discovered the American Rhine.

I laid the first cornerstone in the harbor of New York and firmly fixed the site for the Statue of Liberty.

I opened the gates of the English debtors' prisons to settle Georgia.

I brought about peace to the Indians in Pennsylvania, religious tolerance to New Jersey and Maryland, and civil liberty to Connecticut.

I wrote that all men are created free and equal and are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

I opened wide my gates to all who were in need and shared with them religious and civil freedom.

I sacrificed thousands of my sons and brothers to keep these States united and to free them from the scourge of slavery.

I freed mankind from the whims of tide and wind and steamed across oceans.

I chart the skies, I strike oil, I erect the skyscraper.

I dug the Canal at Panama and united the world's greatest oceans.

I am for the dignity and security of labor.

I championed equal rights to women and health and education to all children.

I spoke Russian in Alaska, Spanish in California, French in Louisiana, English in Virginia, Dutch in New York, Swedish in Delaware, Norwegian in Minnesota, and Yiddish in Manhattan.

I speak freedom, peace, and brotherhood in all languages, now and in the future.

I am an American.

The Honorable Carl Mapes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS H. CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted by the House, I desire to record my love and admiration for Carl Mapes, for over 20 years a Representative of the State of Michigan, who died between the second and third sessions of the Seventy-sixth Congress. He died, as might have been expected, in the harness, while giving himself to that thankless task of attending a committee hearing between sessions. But it is not of that I wish to speak.

Mr. Mapes put his sheltering arm around me when I came here in that small class of new Republican Members who entered the Seventy-fifth Congress. His sister had lived in the district which I have the privilege to represent. She was the wife of a Methodist district superintendent with whom my father had been associated in the circuit-riding days of western South Dakota. That circumstance led us to meet shortly after my arrival; I have never ceased to be grateful for it.

No new Member could wish for a finer friend or a wiser counselor than Carl Mapes. He had the maturity in public service which marks the statesman. He had the understanding of human nature which made him generous when dealing with the shortcomings of others. Once I saw him reviled and he reviled not in return. His serenity shamed the whippersnapper who had spoken hastily and cheaply.

Some of us mortals think it necessary at times to assert our importance and parade our assertions. Carl Mapes did not. He was content to let time and tides justify his acts. He had courage; no man had more. He never found it necessary to boast about it. He had honor; no man questioned his word simply given. A great respect bound him and the late Speaker Bankhead. Each seemed anxious to refine his judgment by testing it against the opinions of the other.

When a prospector hunts for gold, he may pick up many pieces of tinsel. Mica glistens in the sunlight. Pyrites with peacock stains will glitter. The prospector may pick them up, but always he doubts them. When he finds a piece of true gold, however, he has no doubts. He knows that it is real gold even though it be but a speck. Many men glitter and put on the trappings of importance, but not all of them are pure gold. Carl Mapes was pure gold. I wish that he might have been spared to continue with the Republic he loved. In these uncertain days his steady hand and firm faith would have helped us all.

William B. Bankhead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. COCHRAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 19, 1940

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, no words can be uttered or printed that can express my feelings when I learned of the sudden and untimely death of our late beloved Speaker, WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD. Hanging on the wall in my office is a picture of Mr. BANKHEAD on which is inscribed in his writing, "To my dear friend and fishing 'buddie' JACK COCHRAN, with most affectionate regard, WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD."

It was my privilege and pleasure to have made numerous week-end fishing trips with the Speaker and Mrs. Bankhead. There is no place where one can really get to know a man like the great outdoors. One who knew him as I did could not help but love him.

Strange as it may seem to some, I was first introduced to Mr. BANKHEAD by his distinguished father, then a United States Senator; and well do I remember when he said, "Here is a man you are going to hear from." At that time I was secretary to the late William J. Stone, a Senator from Missouri. Many years later I had the pleasure to assist by my vote to elect WILLIAM BANKHEAD majority leader and also Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, I came to Washington as a secretary to a Congressman in the Sixty-third Congress. Since that time 1,369 men and women have served in the House. Today there are only 9 Members still remaining who were here when I came.

I was devoted to Speaker BANKHEAD. He had a magnetic personality. It was not his personality but his outstanding ability and courage that won for him the high places in the organization of this House. He was a born leader. He was a champion of the underprivileged.

One of his last official duties other than Speaker was to serve as chairman of the proceedings at the unveiling of the painting depicting the signing of the Constitution of the

United States, held in the rotunda of the Capitol, May 29, 1940. Let me quote briefly from his remarks on that historical occasion:

It has often occurred to me in looking over the other great historic paintings which adorn this rotunda and this Capitol that it is a rather singular thing, if, indeed, not a grievous omission, that up until this hour no provision has been made for the perpetuation in enduring form of that scene of such transcendent importance to our people, as well as to the people of the world.

It was the concluding episode of the determined purpose of our ancestors who participated in the struggle for our independence to write into one document their conception of the structure of a righteous and enduring form of government for a free people. With the addition of the first 10 amendments, commonly known as the Bill of Rights, there was established our fundamental law, upon which there has been builded not only the oldest but likewise the most powerful democracy on the face of the earth.

Concluding, he said:

Let us swear by the memory of the founders that if constitutional and representative government shall succumb in all other parts of the world, it shall and will be preserved inviolate in the Western Hemisphere. God give us the spirit and the strength to secure that supreme objective.

Mr. Speaker, by the death of Mr. BANKHEAD, the Nation loses a man who can ill be spared during such a critical period as now faces our country, his wife and children a devoted husband and father, and I, a companion whose friendship I shall cherish as long as I live.

Veterans' Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. RANKIN
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 2, 1940

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, which position I have occupied for the last 10 years, I desire to discuss not only the legislation coming from this committee, but the entire scope of veterans' benefits.

In this connection, permit me to say that no nation on earth has provided for the veterans of its various wars as we have provided for ours. While there may be some inequalities yet to be straightened out, and some legislation which we still hope to see enacted into law, the fact remains that, taken for all in all, our system of caring for our disabled veterans and their dependents has not an equal in any other country in the world.

LEGISLATION RELATING TO WORLD WAR AND OTHER VETERANS ENACTED ON AND AFTER MARCH 20, 1933

In considering the general scope of veterans' legislation, it is the general opinion of those persons experienced in the veterans' problems that the greatest benefit afforded to veterans by the Federal Government is that of hospitalization in modern scientific hospitals where the highest type of medical care is afforded. The Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation has maintained continuous study of hospitalization and domiciliary care administered by the Veterans' Administration. Surveys have been made by the committee at a minimum of expense. For example, in accordance with House Resolutions Nos. 325 and 408, Seventy-sixth Congress, first and second sessions, the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation made a survey of 72 Veterans' Administration facilities by having individual members of the committee make a survey and report. On this particular survey, it was possible to obtain the desired results with an expenditure of but $2,187.31 out of $5,000 appropriated for that purpose. These surveys indicated the continuation of improvements in administration and a maintenance of high standards in treatment of patients and beneficiaries. It was also established that the Veterans' Administration conducts a continuous study of new diagnostic and treatment methods for the benefit of disabled veterans.

In March 1933 there were 71 hospitals and facilities containing 60,707 hospital and domiciliary beds. In addition, the Government was utilizing 8,972 beds in the Army, Navy, and other Government hospitals and maintaining 2,097 beds in State and civil hospitals.

Today there are 87 facilities containing 78,372 hospital and domiciliary beds. In addition, the Government is utilizing 2,784 beds in Army, Navy, and other Government hospitals and maintaining 1,036 beds in State and civil hospitals. New units and additions under construction or authorized at the present time will provide 3,600 more beds. Under the plan approved in principle by the President, it is expected that there will be a total of 100,000 hospital and domiciliary beds available within the next few years. Public, No. 668, Seventy-sixth Congress, approved June 27, 1940, appropriated $1,000,000 for preliminary work under this plan.

The policy of consolidating field activities has been consistently followed whenever possible without impairment of service to the beneficiaries. These consolidations make possible the rendering of equal or better service with a minimum of administrative expense because of the more extensive activities which are immediately available to the veteran, especially in connection with physical examinations. Since March 4, 1933, 25 consolidations have been effected.

Continuous study has been given by the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation to the subject of monetary benefits payable to World War veterans and their dependents. Far-reaching changes have been made in the laws and regulations generally governing the granting of such benefits, the principal objectives being to provide the greatest relief to those veterans who are disabled as a result of active service in the armed forces in time of war and to their dependents, and eliminating inequalities.

LEGISLATION—CHRONOLOGICAL RÉSUMÉ OF LAWS ENACTED AND VETERANS' REGULATIONS PROMULGATED BY THE PRESIDENT ON AND AFTER MARCH 20, 1933

Section 1 of title I of the act of March 20, 1933 (Public No. 2, 73d Cong.) authorized the payment of pensions, subject to such requirements and limitations as the President by regulation might prescribe, and within the limitations of appropriations made by the Congress, to the following classes of persons:

(a) Any person who served in the active military or naval service and who is disabled as a result of disease or injury or aggravation of a preexisting disease or injury incurred in line of duty in such service.

(b) Any person who served in the active military or naval service during the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, or the World War, and who is permanently disabled as a result of injury or disease: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this title shall deny a pension to a Spanish-American War veteran past the age of 62 years entitled to a pension under existing law, but the President may reduce the rate of pension as he may deem proper.

(c) The widow, child or children, dependent mother or father of any person who dies as a result of disease or injury incurred or aggravated in line of duty in the active military or naval service.

(d) The widow and/or child of any deceased person who served in the active military or naval service during the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection.

(e) For the purpose of subparagraph (b) of this section, the World War shall be deemed to have ended November 11, 1918.

Section 2 established the minimum and maximum monthly rates of pension: For disability, $6 to $275; for death, $12 to $75.

Section 3 of title I granted authority to the President to prescribe the minimum degrees of disability and such higher degrees of disability, if any, as in his judgment should be recognized, and authorized him to prescribe the rate of pension payable for each such degree of disability. It further authorized the President, in fixing rates of pensions for dis-

ability or death, to make such differentiation as he might deem just and equitable in the rates to be paid to veterans of different wars and/or their dependents for—

(a) Disabilities and deaths resulting from disease or injury incurred or aggravated in line of duty in wartime service;

(b) Disabilities and deaths resulting from disease or injury incurred or aggravated in line of duty in peacetime service;

(c) Disabilities and deaths not incurred in service.

Section 4 of title I authorized the President to prescribe by regulation—subject to the provisions of section 1 (e) heretofore quoted—the date of the beginning and of the termination of the period in each war subsequent to the Civil War service which, for the purposes of the act, would be deemed wartime service. This section further authorized the President by regulation to specify the required number of days of war or peacetime service for each class of veterans, to prescribe the time limit on filing of claims for each class of veterans and their dependents, the nature and extent of proofs and presumptions for each class, and any other requirements as to entitlement to pension as he might deem equitable and just. The President in establishing conditions precedent was authorized to prescribe different requirements or conditions for the veterans of different wars and their dependents and to further subdivide the classes of persons and apply different requirements or conditions to such subdivisions.

Section 5 of title I provided that all decisions rendered by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs under title I, or the regulations issued pursuant thereto, would be final and conclusive on all questions of law and fact and not reviewable by any other official or court of the United States.

Section 6 of title I granted the Administrator authority under such limitations as may be prescribed by the President and within the limits of existing Veterans' Administration facilities to furnish to veterans of any war, including the Boxer Rebellion and Philippine Insurrection, domiciliary care if suffering with permanent disabilities, tuberculosis, or neuropsychiatric ailments, and medical and hospital treatment for diseases or injuries.

Section 7 of title I authorized the Administrator, subject to the general direction of the President and in accordance with regulations to be issued by the President, to administer, execute, and enforce the provisions of this title, and for such purposes was granted the same authority and powers as provided in specified sections of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, and such other sections of title 38, United States Code, as relate to the administration of the laws granting pensions.

Section 8 of title I authorized the Administrator in carrying out the provisions of title I, or any other pension act, to delegate authority to render decisions to such persons as he might find necessary and within the limitations of such delegations any decisions rendered by such persons to have the same force and effect as though rendered by the Administrator. It was also provided by this section that the President would personally approve all regulations issued under this title.

Section 9 of title I provided for the filing of claims under title I with the Veterans' Administration under such regulations, including provisions for hearing, determination, and administrative review, as the President might approve, and limited the commencement of payments to the date of application. It further provided that a claim finally disallowed under this title and the regulations issued thereunder might not thereafter be reopened or allowed.

It was also provided that no person entitled to benefits under title I could participate in any determination or decision with respect to any claim for benefits under this title.

Section 10 of title I provided as follows:

Notwithstanding the provisions of section 2 of this title, any person who served as an officer of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the World War, other than as an officer of the Regular Army, Navy, or Marine Corps during the World War, who made valid application for retirement under the provisions of Public, No. 506, Seventieth Congress, enacted May 24, 1928, sections 581 and 582, title 38, United States Code, and who prior to the passage of this act has been granted retirement with pay, shall be entitled to continue to receive retirement pay at the monthly rate now being paid him if the disability for which he has been retired resulted from disease or injury or aggravation of a preexisting disease or injury incurred in line of duty during such service: *Provided*, That such person entered active service between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918: *Provided*, That the disease or injury or aggravation of the disease or injury directly resulted from the performance of military or naval duty, and that such person otherwise meets the requirements of the regulations which may be issued under the provisions of this act.

Sections 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 of title I provided for penalties pertaining to title I and incorporated penalty provisions similar to those contained in section 603 and sections 501 to 505, inclusive, of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended.

Section 17 of title I repealed all public laws granting medical or hospital treatment, domiciliary care, compensation, and other allowances, pension, disability allowance, or retirement pay to veterans and the dependents of veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, and the World War, or to former members of the military or naval service for injury or disease incurred or aggravated in line of duty in the military or naval service (except so far as they relate to persons who served prior to the Spanish-American War and to the dependents of such persons, and the retirement of officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard). In addition, it repealed all laws granting or pertaining to yearly renewable term insurance, but payments in accordance with such laws were allowed to continue to the last day of the third calendar month following the month during which this act was enacted. This section further provided for a review of all allowed claims under the laws above referred to and, where a person was found entitled under this act, payment or allowance of benefits was authorized in accordance with the provisions of this act, commencing with the first day of the fourth calendar month following the month during which this act was enacted, and notwithstanding the provisions of section 9 of this act, no further claim in such cases was required. It was further provided that nothing contained in this section would interfere with payments theretofore made or thereafter to be made under contracts of yearly renewable term insurance which had matured prior to the date of enactment of this act and under which payments had been commenced, or on any judgment theretofore rendered in a court of competent jurisdiction in any suit on a contract of yearly renewable term insurance, or which might thereafter be rendered in any such suit then pending. This section provided that, subject to such regulation as the President might prescribe, allowances might be granted for burial and funeral expenses and transportation of the bodies (including preparation of the bodies) of deceased veterans of any war to the places of burial thereof in a sum not to exceed $107 in any one case. It was further provided that this title would not apply to compensation or pension (except as to rates, time of entry into active service, and special statutory allowances) being paid to veterans disabled, or dependents of veterans who died, as the result of disease or injury directly connected with active military or naval service (without benefit of statutory or regulatory presumptions of service connection) pursuant to the provisions of the laws in effect on the date of enactment of the act. It was further provided that the term "compensation or pension" as used in this paragraph would not include emergency officers' retirement pay referred to in section 10 of title I.

Section 18 of title I provided that for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1934, pension and/or any other monetary gratuity payable to former members of the military or naval service in wars prior to the Spanish-American War and their dependents, for service, age, disease, or injury, except retired pay of officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard, would be reduced by 10 percent of the amount payable.

Section 19 of title I provided that the regulations issued by the President in effect at the expiration of 2 years after date of enactment of the act would continue in effect without

further change or modification until the Congress by law would otherwise provide.

Section 20 of title I provided for the transmission to Congress by the President of copies of all regulations issued pursuant to this title.

Title II incorporated provisions pertaining to officers and employees of the Federal Government and established certain personnel restrictions. As to salaries of Government employees, and retired pay, with certain exceptions, the President was authorized to determine the reduction on the basis of study of the cost of living over a 6-month period, determining the amount of reduction for that portion of the fiscal year 1933 beginning with the first day of the calendar month following the month during which the act was enacted and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1934. The percentage of reduction was limited by law not to exceed 15 percent. By Executive Order No. 6085, March 28, 1933, the reduction was fixed at 15 percent from April 1, 1933, to June 30, 1933. By Executive Order No. 6188, dated July 3, 1933, the President established a 15-percent reduction effective July 1, 1933, to December 31, 1933, and no alteration in this amount was made by him on the basis of the subsequent 6-month period. The act continued certain personnel provisions of Public, No. 212, Seventy-second Congress, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1934.

On March 31, 1933, pursuant to the provisions of title I, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, the following veterans regulations were promulgated by the President by way of Executive orders:

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 1 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6089). ENTITLEMENT TO PENSIONS

This regulation pertained to entitlement to pensions and was divided into three parts containing provisions briefly summarized as follows:

PART I. PENSIONS TO VETERANS AND THE DEPENDENTS OF VETERANS FOR DISABILITY OR DEATH RESULTING FROM ACTIVE MILITARY OR NAVAL SERVICE DURING THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, BOXER REBELLION, PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION, AND/OR THE WORLD WAR

Paragraph I, part I, authorized payment of pension for disability resulting from personal injury or disease contracted in line of duty, or for aggravation of a preexisting injury or disease contracted or suffered in line of duty, when such disability was incurred in or aggravated by active military or naval service during an enlistment or employment entered into on or after April 21, 1898, and before August 13, 1898, where the injury or disease was incurred or aggravated prior to July 5, 1902; or during an enlistment or employment where there was actual participation in the Philippine Insurrection on or after August 13, 1898, and before July 5, 1902, provided, however, that if the person was serving with the United States military forces engaged in the hostilities in the Moro Province the dates herein stated were extended to July 15, 1903; or during enlistment or employment where there was actual participation in the Boxer Rebellion on or after June 20, 1900, and before May 13, 1901; or during an enlistment or employment entered into on or after April 6, 1917, and before November 12, 1918, where the disease or injury was incurred prior to July 2, 1921, provided, however, that if the person was serving with the United States military forces in Russia the dates herein were extended to April 1, 1920; or where such disability was incurred in or aggravated by active military or naval service during an enlistment or employment where there was active service in the Spanish-American War, or actual participation in the Boxer Rebellion, or Philippine Insurrection, or active service in the World War during the dates specified. Honorable discharge was required, and no pension was payable if the disability was the result of the person's own misconduct.

Persons employed in the active military or naval service for 90 days or more were given the benefit of a rebuttable presumption of sound condition at time of examination, acceptance, and enrollment.

A rebuttable presumption of service connection was given for chronic diseases becoming manifest to a degree of 10 percent or more within 1 year from separation from active service. Ninety days' active service was required and disability due to the person's own misconduct was barred from the presumption.

It was further provided that a preexisting injury or disease would be considered to have been aggravated by service where there was an increase in the disability during active service beyond the natural progress of the disease.

Paragraph II, part I, subparagraphs (a) to (e), inclusive, specified the following monthly rates for wartime disability:

10 percent disability, monthly pension	$8
25 percent disability, monthly pension	20
50 percent disability, monthly pension	40
75 percent disability, monthly pension	60
Total disability, monthly pension	80

Subparagraph (f) provided an increased pension of $20 per month for anatomical loss or the loss of the use of only one foot, or one hand, or one eye, applicable to the rates for partial disability above set forth.

Subparagraph (g) provided a monthly rate of $100 for anatomical loss of both hands, or of both feet, or of one hand and one foot, or helplessness requiring need of regular aid and attendance.

Subparagraph (h) provided a monthly rate of $150 for anatomical loss of both hands and one foot, or of both feet and one hand.

Subparagraph (i) provided a monthly rate of $175 for blindness in both eyes, having only light perception.

Subparagraph (j) provided a monthly rate of $200 for blindness in both eyes, having only light perception, and anatomical loss of one hand or of one foot.

Subparagraph (k) provided a monthly rate of $250 for anatomical loss of both feet and both hands; or blindness in both eyes, having only light perception, and also anatomical loss of both hands or of both feet or of one hand and one foot.

Paragraph III, part I, provided that for the purposes of paragraph I any person, who on or after April 6, 1917, and prior to November 12, 1918, applied for enlistment or enrollment in the active military or naval forces and who was provisionally accepted and directed or ordered to report to a place for final acceptance into such military service, or who on or after April 6, 1917, and prior to November 12, 1918, was drafted and after reporting pursuant to the call of his local draft board and prior to rejection, or who on or after April 6, 1917, and prior to November 12, 1918, after being called into the Federal service as a member of the National Guard but before being enrolled for the Federal service suffered an injury or disease in line of duty and not the result of his own misconduct would be considered to have incurred such disability in active military or naval service during the period of the World War.

Paragraph IV, part I, provided for pensions to widows, children, and dependent parents of veterans who died from disease or injuries incurred in or aggravated by active military or naval service as provided in part I, paragraph I, as follows:

Widow, but no child	$30
Widow and 1 child (with $6 for each additional child)	40
No widow, but 1 child	20
No widow, but 2 children (equally divided)	30
No widow, but 3 children (with $5 for each additional child; total amount to be equally divided)	40
Dependent mother or father	20
Or both (each)	15

Total pension payable under this paragraph not to exceed $75. Where such benefits would otherwise exceed $75, the amount of $75 could be apportioned as the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs might prescribe.

PART II. PAYMENT OF PENSION FOR DISABILITY OR DEATH INCURRED DURING PEACETIME SERVICE

Paragraph I, part II, authorized payment of pension for disability resulting from personal injury or disease contracted in line of duty or for aggravation of a preexisting injury or disease contracted or suffered in line of duty when such disability was incurred in or aggravated by active military or naval service other than in a period of war service as provided in part I. Such pension was payable to any person so disabled

and who was honorably discharged from such period of service in which such injury or disease was incurred, or preexisting injury or disease was aggravated, but no pension was payable if the disability was the result of the person's own misconduct.

Persons employed in the active military or naval service for 6 months or more were given the benefit of a rebuttable presumption of sound condition at time of examination, acceptance, and enrollment.

Paragraph II, part II, subparagraphs (a) to (e), specified the following monthly rates for disability incurred in peacetime service:

10-percent disability, monthly pension	$6
25-percent disability, monthly pension	12
50-percent disability, monthly pension	18
75-percent disability, monthly pension	24
Total disability, monthly pension	30

Subparagraph (f) provided an increased pension of $10 per month for anatomical loss or the loss of the use of only one foot, or one hand, or one eye, applicable to the rates for partial disability above set forth.

Subparagraph (g) provided a monthly rate of $50 for anatomical loss of both hands, or of both feet, or of one hand and one foot, or helplessness requiring need of regular aid and attendance.

Subparagraph (h) provided a monthly rate of $75 for anatomical loss of both hands and one foot, or of both feet and one hand.

Subparagraph (i) provided a monthly rate of $87 for blindness in both eyes, having only light perception.

Subparagraph (j) provided a monthly rate of $100 for blindness in both eyes, having only light perception and the anatomical loss of one hand or of one foot.

Subparagraph (k) provided a monthly rate of $125 for anatomical loss of both feet and both hands or blindness in both eyes, having only light perception, and also the anatomical loss of both hands or of both feet or of one hand and one foot.

Paragraph III, part II, provided for the payment of pension to widows, children, and dependent parents of veterans who died as a result of injury or disease incurred in or aggravated by active military or naval service as provided in part II, paragraph I, at the following monthly rates:

Widow, but no child	$22
Widow and one child	30
(With $4 for each additional child.)	
No widow, but one child	15
No widow, but two children (equally divided)	22
No widow, but three children (equally divided)	30
(With $3 for each additional child, total amount to be equally divided.)	
Dependent mother or father	15
Or both, each	11

Total pension payable under this paragraph not to exceed $56. Where such benefits would otherwise exceed $56, the amount of $56 could be apportioned as the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs might prescribe.

PART III. PAYMENT OF PENSION FOR DISABILITIES OR DEATH NOT THE RESULT OF SERVICE

Paragraph I, part III, authorized the payment of pension of $20 per month to any person who served in the active military or naval service, for a period of 90 days or more, during either the Spanish-American War, the Boxer Rebellion, the Philippine Insurrection, or the World War, who was shown to have been in active service before the cessation of hostilities and to have been honorably discharged from such service for permanent and total disability not due to his misconduct and not shown to have been incurred in service. A veteran of the Boxer Rebellion or Philippine Insurrection must have actually participated therein during his period of service to be entitled to pension under part III. It was further provided that for the purpose of paragraph I the World War would be deemed to have ended November 11, 1918, and the delimiting periods of the Spanish-American War, the Boxer Rebellion, and Philippine Insurrection would be as specified in part I. In determining the period of active service for part III it was not essential that the 90 days' period of service was completed before the cessation of hostilities. However, the veteran must have entered service prior to the cessation of hostilities and served continuously thereafter for 90 days. A period of continuous active service for 90 days which began prior to, and extended into a period of hostilities as defined by part I, was considered as meeting the service requirements of part III. With the exception of those Spanish-American War veterans 62 years of age entitled to $6 per month, no pension was payable for disability less than total. A permanent total disability was defined as any impairment of mind or body which was sufficient to render it impossible for the average person to follow a substantially gainful occupation and where it was reasonably certain that such impairment would continue throughout the life of the disabled person. However, the Administrator was authorized to classify certain other diseases and disorders which in his judgment he deemed to be permanent and total; a monthly pension of $6 was provided for any veteran of the Spanish-American War over 62 years of age who met the other requirements of part III.

Paragraph II, part III, prohibited payment of pension authorized under part III, except as to the rate of $6 for Spanish-American War veterans over 62 years of age, to any unmarried person whose annual income exceeded $1,000 or any married person or person with minor children whose annual income exceeded $2,500. This was a continuing limitation with provision for securing of any necessary evidence as to income.

Paragraph III, part III, provided for the payment of pension to widows and children of deceased veterans whose service in the Spanish-American War, Boxer Rebellion, or Philippine Insurrection was as defined in paragraph I, part II, at the following rates:

Widow, but no child	$15
Widow and 1 child	20
(With $3 monthly for each additional child.)	
No widow but 1 child	12
No widow but 2 children (equally divided)	15
No widow but 3 children (equally divided)	20
(With $2 monthly for each additional child, total amount to be equally divided.)	

Total pension payable not to exceed $27. Where such benefits would otherwise exceed $27, the amount of $27 could be apportioned as the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs might prescribe.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 2 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6090), EFFECTIVE DATES OF AWARDS OF DISABILITY AND DEATH PENSIONS; PROVISIONS FOR FILING CLAIMS AND THE REVIEW OF CLAIMS ON APPEAL

Paragraphs I, II, III, and IV, part I, of this regulation contained the provisions governing effective dates of awards and increased awards of disability and death pensions, and reductions or discontinuances thereof.

Paragraph V, part I, provided for the payment of accrued pension or emergency officers retirement pay as reimbursement to the person paying the burial expenses of the person entitled, not to exceed $75, and any accrued fund not used in this manner to be paid to the widow or children under 16 years of age, provided claim was made within 1 year of the date of death of the person entitled and such claim perfected within 6 months from the date of request by the Veterans' Administration of the necessary evidence. The accrued pension or emergency officers' retirement pay included only payments due and unpaid at the time of death under then existing ratings.

Paragraph I, part II, provided for the filing of a claim by a veteran who was not already on the rolls of the Veterans' Administration for benefits under Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress.

Paragraph II, part II, provided for only one review on appeal and jurisdiction to render final decision on questions so reviewed on appeal was vested in persons designated by the Administrator. A claim disallowed on appeal could not thereafter be reopened or allowed, and no claim based upon the same factual basis could be considered, except where subsequent to such disallowance new and material evidence in the form of official reports from the proper service department was secured, the Administrator might authorize the reopening of the claim and review of the former decision.

Paragraph III, part II, provided for the filing of applications for review on appeal, with the exception of simultaneously contested claims, within 6 months from the date of mailing of notice of the result of the initial review or determination or from July 1, 1933, whichever was the later date, such application to be filed with the activity which entered the denial. If no application for review on appeal was filed within the specified time, the original action became final and the claim could not thereafter be reopened or allowed, except upon the submission of new and material evidence from the proper service department, in which case the Administrator could authorize the reopening of the claim and review of the former decision. If appeal was made within the time specified, a reasonable time thereafter was given for the perfection thereof.

Paragraph IV, part II, provided that exclusive jurisdiction for review of emergency officers' retirement claims would be vested in persons designated by the Administrator. The same procedure governing application to the Administrator for review as above set forth was for application in these cases.

Paragraph V, part II, provided for application for review on appeal to be made in writing by the claimant, his legal guardian, or an accredited representative, and only one recognized organization or representative would be recognized at any one time in the prosecution of any claim.

Paragraph VI, part II, provided that such application might be made by officials of the Veterans' Administration designated by the Administrator.

Paragraphs VII and VIII, part II, contained the essential data which was required on the application for review on appeal.

Paragraph IX, part II, provided that all cases be docketed and considered in the order of their receipt, unless for sufficient cause shown a motion was made and granted for earlier consideration.

Paragraph X, part II, provided that in simultaneously contested claims where one was allowed and one rejected, the time allowed for the filing of an application for review on appeal was 60 days from the date of mailing notice of the original action, and the activity concerned was to notify all parties in interest of the original action taken, inviting attention to the time limit.

Upon the filing of an application for review on appeal in simultaneously contested claims all parties other than the applicant for review on appeal whose interests might have been adversely affected by the decision were to be notified of the substance and allowed 30 days from date of mailing of the notice within which to file brief or argument in answer thereto before the record was forwarded on application for review on appeal. The notice was forwarded to the last known address of record and such action constituted sufficient evidence of notice.

Paragraph XI, part II, provided that an application for review on appeal would not be entertained unless it was in conformity with paragraphs V to X, inclusive.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 3 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6091). SCHEDULE FOR RATING DISABILITY

This regulation authorized the establishment of a new rating schedule based upon reductions in earning capacity from specific injuries or combination of injuries, taking into account the average impairments of earning capacity resulting from such injuries in civil occupations. The schedule had to be constructed so as to provide five grades of disability, and no more, upon which payments of pension would be based, namely, 10 percent, including those 10 percent but not 25 percent; 25 percent, including those 25 percent but not 50 percent; 50 percent, including those 50 percent but not 75 percent; 75 percent, including those 75 percent but not total; and total, 100 percent. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs was required from time to time to readjust this schedule of ratings in accordance with experience.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 4 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6092). PROTECTED AWARDS

This regulation carried into effect those provisions of section 17, title I, of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, protecting awards of compensation or pension—except as to rates, time of entry into active service, and special statutory allowances—being paid to veterans disabled, or dependents of veterans who died as the result of disease or injury directly connected with active military or naval service—without benefit of statutory or regulatory presumption of service connection.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 5 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6093). ENTITLEMENT TO EMERGENCY OFFICERS' RETIREMENT PAY

This regulation placed into effect the provisions of section 10 of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, which contained restrictions governing emergency officers' retirement pay. This section appears in full under the explanation of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, March 20, 1933.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 6 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6094). ELIGIBILITY FOR DOMICILIARY OR HOSPITAL CARE, INCLUDING MEDICAL TREATMENT

Paragraph I of this regulation authorized hospital and domiciliary care, including medical treatment within the limits of Veterans' Administration facilities, to honorably discharged veterans of any war, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, to the following persons, preference to be given in the order named: First, to veterans who were suffering with injuries or diseases which were incurred or aggravated in line of duty in the active military or naval service when in need of hospital treatment for such injuries or diseases; second, to those veterans who served in the active military or naval service for a period of 90 days or more who were suffering with permanent disabilities or tuberculous or neuropsychiatric ailments, which incapacitated them from earning a living, and who had no adequate means of support.

Paragraph II of this regulation authorized the furnishing of clothing to persons admitted to a Veterans' Administration facility and while a member thereof, only where the veteran was indigent and the furnishing of the clothing was necessary to protect health or sanitation, or where the veteran required special clothing made necessary by the wearing of prosthetic appliances.

Paragraph III provided that reasonable traveling and other expenses of a veteran to and from a Veterans' Administration facility might be paid in the discretion of the Administrator only when the veteran was granted prior authority to report to a Veterans' Administration facility for treatment of injury or disease incurred or aggravated in line of duty in the active military or naval service. In the event of death of any veteran prior to discharge, transportation expenses for the return of the body to the place of residence or the nearest national cemetery could be paid in the discretion of the Administrator when deemed necessary and as an administrative necessity.

Paragraph IV provided that no person would be entitled to receive domiciliary, medical, or hospital care, including treatment, who resided outside the continental limits of the United States or its Territories or possessions.

Paragraph V authorized the Administrator to provide such rules and procedure governing hospital or domiciliary care as he deemed necessary.

Paragraph VI provided that pension for disability the result of injury or disease incurred or aggravated in the line of duty in the active military or naval service, and emergency officers' retirement pay, of any person who was being furnished hospital treatment, institutional, or domiciliary care by the United States, or any political subdivision thereof, would not exceed $15 per month, provided that where such person had a wife, child, or dependent mother or father, the difference by which the amount to which such disabled person would otherwise have been entitled exceeded $15 was payable to the wife, child, or dependent mother or father as might be prescribed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. Where any disabled person having neither wife, child, nor dependent mother or father, was being maintained by the Government of the United States or any political subdivision thereof in an institution and was deemed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to have been insane, the pension for such person was thereafter not to exceed $15 per month so long as he was being maintained by the Government of the United States, or any political subdivision thereof, in an institution, provided, however, that in any case where the estate of such person

derived from funds paid under the War Risk Insurance Act, as amended, the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, the several pension acts and/or this act equaled or exceeded $1,500, any payments of pension being made were discontinued until the estate derived from such funds was reduced to $500. The provisions of this paragraph were also applicable to pensions for disability the result of injury or disease incurred after active military or naval service, except that the amount payable while the veteran was in the institution was $6 per month instead of $15 per month.

Paragraph VII provided for apportionment of pension or emergency officers' retirement pay while the veteran was a patient in a Veterans' Administration facility, or where he and his wife were not living together, or where the children were not in his custody nor in the custody of the widow.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 7 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6095). ELIGIBILITY FOR MEDICAL CARE FOR VETERANS OF ANY WAR

This regulation authorized the granting of medical, surgical, and dental services to honorably discharged veterans of any war, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, suffering with diseases or injuries incurred or aggravated in the line of duty in the active military or naval service. It provided for the furnishing of such supplies, including dental appliances, wheel chairs, artificial limbs, trusses, and similar appliances, including special clothing made necessary by the wearing of prosthetic appliances as the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs might determine to be useful and necessary. It also provided for procurance of these supplies by the Veterans' Administration in such manner, either by purchase or manufacture, as determined by the Administrator to be advantageous and reasonably necessary.

VETERANS REGULATIONS NO. 8 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6096). YEARLY RENEWABLE TERM INSURANCE

Paragraph I of this regulation provided for the conversion of yearly renewable term insurance in cases where the insured had disappeared and such insurance was being continued by payment of premiums as required by law into any form of level premium life or endowment insurance provided by the Government. Application for conversion, together with remittance of at least 1 month's premium, must have been filed with the Veterans' Administration within 31 days from the date of notice of this right. If any such insurance was not converted within the above time, all rights under such insurance ceased and terminated.

Paragraph II provided that when an insured under yearly renewable term insurance was receiving insurance benefits on account of a permanent and total disability award, and such insurance was terminated, the insured was entitled to convert the amount of such insurance—commuted value of the remaining unpaid installments—into any form of level premium life or endowment insurance provided by the Government.

Paragraph III provided that payments under contracts of yearly renewable term insurance, including automatic insurance, which had matured and under which payments had been commenced prior to March 20, 1933, or on any judgment theretofore rendered in a court of competent jurisdiction in any suit on a contract of such insurance, including automatic insurance, or which might thereafter be rendered in any such suit pending in court on March 20, 1933, might thereafter be made.

Paragraph IV provided that further payments of benefits on account of the death of an insured to whom yearly renewable term insurance, including automatic insurance, benefits have been awarded and were being paid in accordance with paragraph III of this regulation were to be made in accordance with the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, and precedents in effect thereunder.

Paragraph V provided that, except as above stated, no payments could thereafter be made under contracts of yearly renewable term insurance, including automatic insurance, and all pending claims or claims thereafter filed for such benefits would be disallowed.

VETERANS REGULATIONS NO. 9 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6097). PAYMENT OF BURIAL EXPENSES OF DECEASED WAR VETERANS

Paragraph I of this regulation provided for a flag to drape the casket where an honorably discharged veteran of any war died after discharge, such flag, after burial, to be given to the next of kin.

Paragraph II of this regulation authorized the allowance of $75 for burial, funeral, and transportation of the body, but not to exceed the actual cost of the burial of any honorably discharged veteran of any war who died after discharge, except that such allowance could not be made if the veteran's net assets at the time of death, exclusive of debts, equaled or exceeded such sum, or if the veteran had accrued benefits due from the Veterans' Administration in an amount equal to or in excess of $75, or if an allowance for burial and funeral, including transportation, was provided by a State, county, or other political subdivision, lodge, union, fraternal organization, society or beneficial organization, insurance company, Workmen's Compensation Commission, State industrial accident board, or employer. If the amount furnished by any of the sources above named was less than $75, and not sufficient to meet the actual cost of burial, funeral, and transportation of the body, the Veterans' Administration could allow a sum which in addition to the amount so available would not exceed the actual cost thereof or $75, whichever was the smaller amount.

Paragraph III provided that where burial and funeral expenses had been assumed by the Veterans' Administration under paragraph IV of the regulation, and further necessary expenses, including transportation, had been incurred, the difference between the expenses assumed by the Veterans' Administration and the expense otherwise incurred, or $75, whichever was the smaller amount, could be paid.

Paragraph IV provided for the assumption by the Veterans' Administration of the actual cost of burial and funeral not to exceed $75 where death occurred in a Veterans' Administration facility. Any sum paid was charged against accrued benefits due from the Veterans' Administration.

Paragraph V provided that claim for reimbursement must be filed within 1 year subsequent to death of veteran. Evidence to complete application had to be submitted within 6 months from date of request therefor.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 10 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6098). MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Paragraph I of this regulation established the beginning and termination dates of the wars as follows:

The World War, April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, but as to service in Russia, the ending date shall be April 1, 1920; the Spanish-American War, April 21, 1898, and August 13, 1898; the Philippine Insurrection, August 13, 1898, and July 4, 1902, but as to engagements in the Moro Province, the ending date shall be July 15, 1903; the Boxer Rebellion, June 20, 1900, and May 12, 1901.

Paragraph II defined the term "military or naval forces" to mean the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard, the Naval Reserves, the National Naval Volunteers, and all other branches of the United States service while serving pursuant to law with the Army or Navy.

Paragraph III defined the term "person who served" to mean a person, whether male or female and whether commissioned, enlisted, enrolled, or drafted, who was finally accepted for active service in the military or naval forces of the United States, members of training camps authorized by law, and such other persons theretofore recognized by statute as having a pensionable status.

Paragraph IV defined the term "veteran of any war" to include the following persons: World War, any officer, enlisted man, member of the Army Nurse Corps, female, or Navy Nurse Corps, female, who was employed in the active military or naval service of the United States on or after April 6, 1917, and before November 12, 1918, provided, however, if the person was serving with the United States military forces in Russia the dates therein were extended to April 1, 1920; Spanish-American War, any officer or enlisted man who was employed in the active military or naval service of the United States on or after April 21, 1898, and before August 13, 1898, including those women who served as Army nurses under

contracts on or after April 21, 1898, and before August 13, 1898, provided, that for the purposes of hospitalization the term "veteran of any war" included persons who served overseas as contract surgeons of the Army on or after April 21, 1898, and before August 13, 1898; Philippine Insurrection, any officer or enlisted man employed in the active military or naval service of the United States, including those women who served as Army nurses under contracts, who actually participated in the Philippine Insurrection on or after August 13, 1898, and before July 5, 1902, provided, however, if the person was serving in the United States military forces engaged in the hostilities in the Moro Province, the ending date was established as July 15, 1903; Boxer Rebellion, any officer or enlisted man, including those women who served as Army nurses under contracts, employed in actual participation in the Boxer Rebellion on or after June 20, 1900, and before May 13, 1901.

Paragraph V defined the term "wife" or "widow" of a veteran of the Spanish-American War, the Boxer Rebellion, or the Philippine Insurrection as a person who was married to the veteran prior to September 1, 1922; of a World War veteran, who was married to the veteran prior to July 3, 1931; of a peacetime veteran, who was married to the veteran prior to the expiration of 10 years subsequent to his discharge from the enlistment during which the injury or disease, on account of which claim was filed, was incurred.

Paragraph VI defined the term "child" to mean a legitimate child or a child legally adopted, unmarried, and under the age of 16 years, unless prior to reaching the age of 16 the child became permanently incapable of self-support by reason of mental or physical defect.

Paragraph VII defined the term "mother" or "father" to mean a natural mother or father of the veteran, or mother or father of the veteran through legal adoption.

Paragraph VIII provided that an injury or disease would be deemed to have been incurred "in line of duty" when the person on whose account benefits were claimed was, at the time the injury was suffered or disease contracted, in the active service in the military or naval forces, whether on active duty or on authorized leave for a period of time which did not materially interfere with the performance of his regular routine of duty, unless it appeared that the injury or disease was caused by misconduct on his part. The requirement was not met if it appeared that at the time the injury was suffered or disease contracted the person on whose account benefits were claimed (1) was avoiding duty by deserting the service or by absenting himself without leave; (2) was absent from his organization or other post of military or naval duty on a furlough or leave of absence which materially interfered with the performance of regular routine of duty; (3) was confined under sentence of court martial or civil court or was resisting lawful arrest; (4) was relieved from all active performance of duty by command of his superior officer as a result of the intemperate use of drugs or alcoholic liquor, or because of injury or disease contracted or suffered as a result of his own misconduct; (5) was acting in disobedience of the lawful orders of his superior officer or in violation of the rules and regulations of his organization; or (6) whether at his post or lawfully absent, if the injury or disease was in fact caused by something not involving misconduct but done in pursuing some private business or avocation.

Where the injury or disease occurred while on leave, the burden of proof was on the claimant to show that it was incurred in the line of duty, but where the injury or disease occurred while at camp or post of duty, the burden was upon the Government to show that the disability was not in line of duty.

Paragraph IX provided that a disability would be held to have resulted from misconduct when due to venereal disease, unless it was affirmatively shown that the disease was, in fact, innocently acquired, other than through the sexual relation, or when caused by an act of commission or omission, wrong in itself; or by an act contrary to the principles of good morals; or as a result of gross negligence, gross carelessness, alcoholism, drug addiction, self-infliction of wounds, and so forth.

Paragraph X prohibited the payment of pension or emergency officers' retirement pay to United States employees so long as they continued to draw salary from such employment, with the exception of (1) those receiving such benefits for disabilities incurred in combat with an enemy of the United States; (2) those persons so employed whose pension was protected by the provisions of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress. However, the rate of pension as to this class could not exceed $6 per month.

Paragraph XI prohibited the payment of more than 50 percent of the amount of pension or emergency officers' retirement pay otherwise payable to persons residing outside the continental limits of the United States, exclusive of Hawaii, Alaska, and the Panama Canal Zone.

Paragraph XII provided that pension terminated by the happening of the contingency upon which it was limited, would be payable to the remaining beneficiaries in the amount payable to them if they had been the sole original beneficiaries.

Paragraph XIII provided that not more than one pension would be payable to any one person except that the receipt of a pension by a widow, child, or parent on account of the death of any person would not bar the payment of a pension on account of the death of any other person.

Paragraph XIV authorized the Administrator to incur necessary court costs and other expenses incident to proceedings for the commitment of mentally incompetent veterans to a Veterans' Administration hospital or home when necessary for treatment or domiciliary purposes.

Paragraph XV authorized the Administrator to provide for necessary expenses in connection with the appointment of fiduciaries for incompetent or minor beneficiaries where to charge the estate of such incompetent or minor would unduly deplete such estate; and to incur necessary expenses in connection with the removal or supervision of such fiduciaries.

Paragraph XVI authorized the Administrator to recognize representatives of the American Red Cross, the American Legion, the Disabled American Veterans, the Grand Army of the Republic, the United Spanish War Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and such other organizations as he should approve, in the presentation of claims. However, no such representative could be recognized until a certificate had been filed in the Veterans' Administration, under such rules as the Administrator might prescribe, certifying that no fee or compensation was to be charged veterans or the dependents of veterans for service rendered. It was provided that the rules prescribed by the Administrator would contain a provision requiring in each claim the filing of a power of attorney in such manner and form as might be prescribed by the Administrator.

Paragraph XVII authorized the Administrator under such rules as he might prescribe, to recognize agents, attorneys, or other persons in the presentation of claims. Such rules might require of such persons, agents, and attorneys, before being recognized as representatives of claimants, that they should show that they were of good moral character and in good repute, possessed of the necessary qualifications to enable them to render such claimants valuable service, and otherwise competent to advise and assist such claimants in the presentation of their claims, and the Administrator might, after notice and opportunity for a hearing, suspend or exclude from further practice before the Veterans' Administration any such person, agent, or attorney shown to be incompetent, disreputable, or who refused to comply with the said rules and regulations, or who should with intent to defraud, in any manner, deceive, mislead, or threaten any claimant, or prospective claimant, by word, circular, letter, or by advertisement. The Administrator was further authorized to determine and pay fees in pension claims to such persons, agents, and attorneys, and to prescribe rules governing entitlement to and the amount and mode of payment of such fees in accordance with sections 111, 114, and 115, title 38, United States Code.

Paragraph XVIII defined the phrase, "entitled to any benefits" as used in section 9, title I, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, as follows:

(a) Any person in receipt of monetary benefits on the date of enactment of this act whose right to receive monetary benefits continues under the provisions of, and regulations issued pursuant to, this act.

(b) Any person whose claims heretofore or hereafter filed proceeds to an adjudication under this act resulting in an award or monetary benefits while such award continues.

The phrase "participate in any determination or decision with respect to any claim for benefits under this title" as used in section 9, title I, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, means:

(a) Any person acting within the limits of constituted authority who is charged with the responsibility for determination or decision involving the exercise of discretion in the allowance or disallowance of monetary benefits.

(b) Any person acting within the limits of constituted authority who jointly with others having similar authority is charged with the responsibility for determination or decision involving the exercise of discretion in the allowance or disallowance of monetary benefits.

Paragraph XIX defined the phrase, "Veterans' Administration facilities," as used in section 6, title I, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, as including those facilities over which the Veterans' Administration had direct and exclusive jurisdiction, and such other facilities as the Administrator might deem necessary to contract for in order to provide hospital care in emergency cases for veterans of any war suffering from injuries or diseases incurred or aggravated in line of duty in active military or naval service within the limits of such contracts, and contract facilities for women veterans of any war suffering from injuries or diseases incurred or aggravated in line of duty in the active military or naval service and contract facilities generally in the Territories and possessions which were deemed reasonably necessary by the Administrator in order to provide hospital treatment for veterans suffering from injuries or diseases incurred or aggravated in line of duty in the active military or naval service.

Paragraph XX authorized the Administrator to detail employees for the purpose of examining the merits of pension claims and aiding claimants in the preparation or presentation of their claims, such persons to have power to administer oaths, take affidavits, and certify to correctness of papers and documents pertaining to title I, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 11 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6099). DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION AND FURNISHING COPIES OF RECORDS

Paragraph I provided as follows:

All files, records, reports, and other papers and documents pertaining to any claim, whether pending or adjudicated, shall be deemed confidential and privileged, and no disclosure thereof shall be made except as follows:

(a) To a claimant or his duly authorized agent or representative as to matters concerning himself alone when, in the judgment of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, such disclosure would not be injurious to the physical or mental health of the claimant;

(b) When required by process of a United States court to be produced in any suit or proceeding therein pending or when such production is deemed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to be necessary in any suit or proceeding brought under the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended;

(c) When required by any Department or other agency of the United States Government;

(d) In all proceedings in the nature of an inquest into the mental competency of a claimant;

(e) In any judicial proceedings when in the judgment of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs such disclosure is deemed necessary and proper;

(f) The amount of pension of any beneficiary shall be made known to any person who applies for such information and the Administrator, with the approval of the President, upon determination that the public interest warrants or requires, may, at any time, and in any manner, publish any or all information of record pertaining to any claim;

(g) The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, in his discretion, may authorize an inspection of Veterans' Administration records by duly authorized representatives of recognized organizations.

Paragraph II provided, as follows:

Any person desiring a copy of any record, paper, etc., in the custody of the Veterans' Administration, which may be disclosed under the above provisions, must make written application for same to the Veterans' Administration, stating specifically:

1. The particular record, paper, etc., a copy of which is desired and whether certified or uncertified;

2. The purpose for which such copy is desired to be used.

The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is authorized to fix a schedule of fees for copies and certifications of such records.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 12 (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6100). PRESUMPTION OF ENTITLEMENT TO PENSIONS FOR SPANISH WAR VETERANS AND CERTAIN WIDOWS, CHILDREN, AND DEPENDENT PARENTS OF DECEASED WORLD WAR VETERANS

This regulation recognized the disadvantage of veterans of the Spanish-American War, the Boxer Rebellion, and Philippine Insurrection, who had theretofore received pension, having in mind the period of time which had elapsed since the cessation of hostilities, to obtain evidence showing service connection of their disabilities.

It was also realized that those widows, children, or dependent parents of deceased veterans of the World War who had theretofore received compensation under the presumptive provisions of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, would be at a disadvantage in endeavoring to secure evidence to show that the injury or disease from which the veteran died was incurred in the line of duty in the active military or naval service.

Paragraph I thereof provided a presumption of entitlement to pension in the cases of those in receipt of pension or compensation at the date of the enactment of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, and provided for continuance of a pension at the rate being paid them on the date of enactment of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, it being presumed that the injury or disease causing disability or death was incurred in the line of duty in the active military or naval service during either the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, or the World War, but such presumption was rebuttable. The Administrator was authorized and directed to cause to be reviewed all such claims. It also provided for discontinuance of payments in cases of nonentitlement.

On June 6, 1933, as a result of the initial studies of effects of the original veterans' regulations, and on the basis of statistical data, the following changes in veterans' regulations were approved by the President:

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 1 (A) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6156). ENTITLEMENT TO PENSIONS—WARTIME SERVICE CONNECTED

Veterans' Regulation No. 1 (a) was promulgated on June 6, 1933, canceling Veterans' Regulation No. 1 and substituting the new regulation with the following changes:

Part I. Pensions to veterans and the dependents of veterans for disability or death resulting from active military or naval service during the Spanish-American War, Boxer Rebellion, Philippine Insurrection, and/or the World War

Paragraph II, part I, subparagraphs (a) to (j), inclusive, established 10 basic rates in lieu of the 5 basic rates provided by the former regulation. These new rates were as follows:

10 percent disability, monthly pension	$9
20 percent disability, monthly pension	18
30 percent disability, monthly pension	27
40 percent disability, monthly pension	36
50 percent disability, monthly pension	45
60 percent disability, monthly pension	54
70 percent disability, monthly pension	63
80 percent disability, monthly pension	72
90 percent disability, monthly pension	81
Total disability, monthly pension	90

The following changes were made in specific rates other than for partial and total disability:

Subparagraph (k) increased the additional pension of $20 per month for anatomical loss or loss of use of one foot, or one hand or one eye, applicable to the rates for any disability less than total in degree to $25 per month, and this additional amount was also authorized to be paid in total disability cases. The specific disability groups for which basic rates in excess of $90 were provided were redescribed to include with "anatomical loss," "or loss of use."

Subparagraph (l) provided for an increase in the monthly rate for anatomical loss or loss of use of both hands, or of both feet, or of one hand and one foot, or helplessness requiring need or regular aid and attendance from $100 to $150.

Subparagraph (m) provided for an increase in the monthly rate for anatomical loss or loss of use of both hands and one foot, or of both feet and one hand, from $150 to $175.

The specific-disability group, providing a rate of $250 per month for what was formerly termed double permanent total disability, was enlarged to include "loss of use" as heretofore stated, and also to liberalize the criteria of eligibility.

PART II. PAYMENT OF PENSION FOR DISABILITY OR DEATH INCURRED DURING PEACETIME SERVICE

Paragraph I was amended to include a subparagraph (c) which authorized the payment of wartime rates to peacetime veterans or their dependents, otherwise entitled to pension under this part, if the disability or death resulted from an injury received in line of duty in actual combat in a military expedition or military occupation.

Paragraph II, part II, subparagraphs (a) to (j), established 10 basic rates in lieu of the 5 basic rates provided under the former regulation. These new rates were as follows:

10-percent disability, monthly pension	$6
20-percent disability, monthly pension	9
30-percent disability, monthly pension	13
40-percent disability, monthly pension	18
50-percent disability, monthly pension	22
60-percent disability, monthly pension	27
70-percent disability, monthly pension	31
80-percent disability, monthly pension	36
90-percent disability, monthly pension	40
Total disability, monthly pension	45

The following changes were made in specific rates other than for partial and total disability:

Subparagraph (k) increased the additional pension of $10 per month for anatomical loss or the loss of the use of only one foot, or one hand, or one eye, applicable to the rates for any disability less than total in degree, to $12 per month, and this amount was also authorized to be paid in total-disability cases. The specific-disability groups for which basic rates in excess of $45 were provided were redescribed to include with "anatomical loss" "or loss of use."

Subparagraph (l) provided for an increase in the monthly rate for anatomical loss or loss of use of both hands, or of both feet, or of one hand and one foot, or helplessness requiring need of regular aid in and attendance from $50 to $75.

Subparagraph (m) provided for an increase in the monthly rate for anatomical loss or loss of use of both hands and one foot, or of both feet and one hand, from $75 to $87.

The specific disability group providing a rate of $125 per month for what was formerly termed "double permanent total disability" was enlarged to include "loss of use," as heretofore stated, and also to liberalize the criteria of eligibility.

PART III. PAYMENT OF PENSION FOR DISABILITIES OR DEATH NOT THE RESULT OF SERVICE

Paragraph I (f) was amended to increase the rate for non-service-connected permanent and total disabilities for World War and Spanish-American War veterans from $20 to $30 per month.

Paragraph I (g) was amended to provide an increase of the rate for those Spanish-American War veterans entitled to pension if over 62 years of age from $6 to $15 per month. Two other minor amendments were made to this paragraph.

PART IV. COMBINING OF PENSIONS

Part IV constituted a new part to permit the combination of service-connected disabilities incurred in wartime and peacetime service and payment at wartime rates for such combined disabilities. Further, for the purpose of determining permanent and total disability under part III, that is, for the $30 rate for disabilities not the result of service, it authorized the combination of ratings for service-connected and non-service-connected disabilities, with a proviso that if the veteran was entitled to a pension under part I or part II of the regulation at a rate higher than that under part III, the Administrator was authorized and directed to pay the veteran the greater benefit.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 3 (A) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6157). SCHEDULE FOR RATING DISABILITIES

Veterans Regulation No. 3 (a) was promulgated on June 6, 1933, canceling Veterans Regulation No. 3 and substituting the new regulation therefor, with the following changes:

Paragraph I authorized the revision of the schedule of ratings to provide 10 steps in evaluation of degrees of disability in lieu of 5 steps previously authorized by Veterans Regulation No. 3. Also, by changing the language contained in the former regulation, greater flexibility was permitted in the assignment of degrees of disability.

Paragraph II of this regulation provided that in connection with the review directed by section 17 of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, the schedule of ratings would not operate to reduce by more than 25 percent, exclusive of special statutory allowances, the payments being made to any veteran who, on March 20, 1933, was properly rated on a permanent basis and who met the requirements of Regulation No. 1, part I.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 9 (A) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6158). PAYMENT OF BURIAL EXPENSES OF DECEASED WAR VETERANS

Veterans Regulation No. 9 (a) was promulgated on June 6, 1933, canceling Veterans Regulation No. 9 and substituting the new regulation with the following changes:

Paragraph I, pertaining to burial flags, was amended as to form.

Paragraph II authorized the payment of burial allowance of $75, including transportation, if the veteran's assets at the time of death were less than $1,000. In determining assets it was provided that accrued benefits by way of compensation, pension, and insurance would not be included.

Paragraph III clarified the intent with reference to death occurring in a Veterans' Administration facility.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 10 (A) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6159). MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Paragraph I of this regulation amended paragraph VI of Veterans Regulation No. 10 containing the definition of "child," to include children to age of 18 instead of age 16, as previously provided. Provision was also made similar to that previously included in the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, that if a child is in an approved school, pension might be continued beyond the age of 18 but not after the age of 21 years.

Paragraph II of this regulation amended paragraph X of Veterans Regulation No. 10, prohibiting payment of pension to Federal employees with certain exceptions. The amendatory regulation added groups (3) and (4) to the exceptions, as follows:

(3) Those persons whose salary or compensation for service as such employee is in an amount not in excess of $50 per month; and (4) widows of veterans.

ACT OF JUNE 15, 1933 (PUBLIC, NO. 64, 73D CONG.)

Section 19 of this act amended section 112 of the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916, as amended, to include for pension purposes members of the National Guard when called into active service in time of war or peace. Inasmuch as the amendment in providing pensions for members of the National Guard and Reserve Corps covered those ordered into active service, "except for training," it was determined that they were not entitled where the injury was incurred while in training.

ACT OF JUNE 16, 1933 (PUBLIC, NO. 78, 73D CONG.)

This act authorized domiciliary care and medical and hospital treatment for members of the Regular Establishment discharged for disability incurred in line of duty by amending section 6, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress. It further provided for compromise by the Attorney General of yearly renewable term insurance suits brought under section 19, World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, where suit was pending on March 20, 1933, and on the date of enactment of Public, No. 78, Seventy-third Congress.

Section 15 of the above act provided for the reduction of pensions under private relief acts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1934, on the same basis as reductions pertaining to Federal employees. Pursuant to authority contained in title II of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, March 20, 1933, this reduction was 15 percent from July 1, 1933, to January 31, 1934; 10 percent from February 1, 1934, to June 30, 1934; and 5 percent from July 1, 1934, to March 31, 1935. Effective April 1, 1935, this reduction was discontinued by Public Resolution No. 3, Seventy-fourth Congress.

Section 20 created special boards for review of World War cases presumptively connected with service under the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, wherein payments were being made on March 20, 1933, with the provision that payment at 75 percent of the prior rate should continue to October 31, 1933, or the date of decision by the special board, whichever was the earlier. Entry into service before November 11, 1918, was required and the disability must not have been the result of veterans' own misconduct. It was provided that the President could extend the time of payment until decision would be reached—the time was extended to November 30, 1933, by the President in his letter of October 19, 1933. The special boards were given jurisdiction to determine service connection under Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, and the Veterans Regulations with the provision that all reasonable doubts would be resolved in favor of the veterans, the burden of proof being on the Government. This section further provided for adjudication and payment of yearly renewable term insurance on which premium payments had been made to date of death of the insured and in claims for pension, compensation, and emergency officers' retirement pay pending on March 19, 1933, with authority for payment to June 30, 1933, thereafter to be adjudicated under existing laws and regulations. Where a veteran died prior to March 20, 1933, under conditions which warranted the payment of, or reimbursement for burial expenses, this act permitted such reimbursement or payment provided claim was filed within 3 months from the date of the act. Section 20 also limited reduction of monetary benefits in World War directly service-connected cases to 25 percent, except as to Federal employment, hospitalized cases, and beneficiaries residing outside the continental limits of the United States, and as to dependents of deceased World War veterans on the rolls March 19, 1933, no reduction or discontinuance in death compensation benefits could be effected by virtue of Public, No. 2, and the Veterans Regulations. Section 20 also provided for the payment of pension of $15 per month to veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and Philippine Insurrection, who served 90 days or more, were honorably discharged, 55 years of age or over, 50 percent disabled and in need as defined by the President.

The provisions requiring action by way of Veterans Regulations were placed into effect by the Veterans Regulations of July 28, 1933, explained under that heading.

In order to effectuate the provisions of Public, No. 78, Seventy-third Congress, and to effect minor changes supported by study of the effects of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, and veterans regulations thereunder, the President approved the following changes in veterans regulations on July 28, 1933:

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 1 (B) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6229), ENTITLEMENT TO PENSIONS—PAYMENT OF PENSION FOR DISABILITIES OR DEATH NOT THE RESULT OF SERVICE

This regulation amended Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), part III, paragraph I, July 28, 1933, by adding a new subparagraph (h) to place in effect the provision in Public, No. 78, the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, authorizing a pension of not less than $15 per month to veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and Philippine Insurrection, who served 90 days or more, were honorably discharged, who were 55 years of age, 50 percent disabled, and who met the other requirements of part III. It also amended subparagraph (e) of paragraph I, part III, of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), excepting subparagraph (h) from the provision that no pension could be paid under part III for disability less than total.

Veterans Regulation No. 2 (a) was promulgated on July 28, 1933, canceling Veterans Regulation No. 2 and substituting the new regulation with the following changes:

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 2 (A) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6230), EFFECTIVE DATES OF AWARDS OF DISABILITY AND DEATH PENSIONS; PROVISIONS FOR FILING CLIAMS; REVIEW OF PRESUMPTIVE CLAIMS BY SPECIAL REVIEW BOARDS—PART I, EFFECTIVE DATES OF AWARDS OF DISABILITY AND DEATH PENSIONS AND PROVISIONS FOR FILING CLAIMS

Paragraph III (a) changed the corresponding paragraph of the former regulation to provide that except as provided for in section 20, paragraph 3 of Public, No. 78, Seventy-third Congress, and Veterans Regulation No. 12, reductions and discontinuances by reason of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, would be effective June 30, 1933, unless sooner reduced or discontinued under the provisions of such prior law.

Paragraph III (e) provided for the discontinuance of pension to or because of a child reaching 18 years of age. The prior regulation had fixed the age at 16 years.

Paragraph IV (c) provided for continuation of pension to or for a child until the child's eighteenth birthday, instead of terminating it at age 16 as provided in the former regulation. It further authorized the continuance of pension until completion of education or training but not after the child married or reached 21 years, whichever was the earlier date, if such child was pursuing a course of instruction in an approved school. This amendment to the former regulation was made to conform with the definition of "child" as contained in Veterans Regulation No. 10 (a).

Paragraph V provided that pension or emergency officers' retirement pay not paid during the lifetime of the person entitled would, upon the death of such person, be paid as follows:

(a) Upon death of the veteran, first, to the widow; second, if there is no widow, to his child or children under the age of 18 years at his death; (b) upon death of the widow, to her children under the age of 18 years at her death; (c) upon the death, prior to payment of all or any part of the apportioned amount, of an apportionee of a part of the veteran's pension or emergency officers' retirement pay, such apportioned amount not paid shall be payable to the veteran; (d) in all other cases no payment whatsoever of such pension or emergency officers' retirement pay shall be made or allowed except so much as may be necessary to reimburse the person who bore the expense of burial. * * *

It further provided that such pension would include only payments due and unpaid at the time of death under then existing ratings or decisions, provided claim was filed within 1 year from the date of death of the person entitled.

Paragraph VI was added to part I incorporating the provisions of paragraph I of part II of Veterans Regulation No. 2.

PART II. APPEALS

Paragraph I, part II, created a Board of Veterans Appeals under the control of a chairman directly responsible to the Administrator. In addition to a chairman, the Board was composed of a vice chairman and not to exceed 15 associate members and such other personnel as were necessary in the disposition of appeals. It provided that the chairman, vice chairman, and members of the Board would be appointed by the Administrator with the approval of the President. Subparagraph (a) provided that the chairman organize the Board into sections of 3 members, assign the members thereto, and designate a chief. It provided for hearings and docket. Each section was authorized to make a determination on any proceeding instituted before the Board and on any motion in connection therewith assigned to such section by the chairman and to report such determination, which report constituted final disposition of the proceeding.

Subparagraph (b) provided that a unanimous determination by a section would be final except for an obvious error in the record which might be corrected. A section might, however, reach a contrary decision based upon additional official information from the service departments. If the members of a section disagreed the concurrence of the chairman with the majority constituted the final determination of the Board subject to the above limitations.

Paragraph II, part II, provided that the decision on the review on appeal authorized under the prior regulation would be made by the Board of Veterans' Appeals, and jurisdiction to render final decision was vested in the Board of Veterans' Appeals in accordance with the provisions of paragraph I. Authority to reopen a claim on new and material evidence was vested in the Board of Veterans' Appeals. It was further provided that the Board would in its decisions be bound by the regulations of the Veterans' Administration, instructions of the Administrator, and the precedent opinions of the Solicitor.

Paragraph VI provided that application for review on appeal might be made by any member of the special review boards created by part III of this regulation in addition to

those formerly designated and an application for review on appeal by a designated official of the Veterans' Administration would not operate to deprive the claimant of the right of review on appeal.

PART III. REVIEW OF PRESUMPTIVE CLAIMS BY SPECIAL REVIEW BOARDS

Special review boards authorized by Public, No. 78, to consider certain World War cases previously connected with service by presumption were created, each composed of five members. The regulation set forth organization, jurisdiction, and guiding principles governing their operation. These boards functioned in accordance with the regulation and special instructions issued to them.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 3 (B) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6231). SCHEDULE FOR RATING DISABILITIES

Veterans Regulation No. 3 (b) was promulgated on July 28, 1933, canceling paragraph II of Veterans Regulation No. 3 (a), thereby effectuating the provision in the Independent Offices Appropriations Act limiting any reductions in compensation rates in directly service-connected cases to 25 percent of the rate received on March 20, 1933.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 6 (A) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6232). ELIGIBILITY FOR DOMICILIARY OR HOSPITAL CARE, INCLUDING MEDICAL TREATMENT

Veterans Regulation No. 6 (a) was promulgated on July 28, 1933, canceling Veterans Regulation No. 6 and substituting therefor the new Veterans Regulation No. 6 (a) with the following changes:

This regulation was promulgated to place into effect the provision of Public, No. 78, Seventy-third Congress, authorizing domiciliary care and medical and hospital treatment in peacetime cases in which the man was discharged for disabilities incurred in line of duty and paragraph I thereof was amended accordingly. These benefits were formerly limited to veterans of wars.

Paragraph III included with transportation expenses, the payment of expenses incident to preparation of the body of a veteran who died prior to discharge from a Veterans' Administration facility.

There was added to paragraph VI a provision for reduction of pension to $15 in all cases, instead of $6 or $15 per month, during hospital treatment or domiciliary care, to a veteran without dependents where service was prior to the Spanish-American War.

A new paragraph VIII was added empowering the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to continue hospital care of those persons properly admitted under the laws in effect prior to March 20, 1933, until such time as they could be discharged without jeopardizing their health or life.

Veterans Regulation No. 7 (a) was promulgated on July 28, 1933, canceling Veterans Regulation No. 7 and substituting therefor the new regulation with the following changes:

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 7 (A) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6233). ELIGIBILITY FOR MEDICAL CARE

This regulation was amended to place into effect the provision of Public, No. 78, Seventy-third Congress, authorizing medical care in peacetime cases in which the man was discharged for disabilities incurred in line of duty. This regulation included this group among those entitled to medical, surgical, and dental services, supplies, appliances, wheel chairs, artificial limbs, trusses, and similar appliances, including special clothing made necessary by the wearing of prosthetic appliances for diseases or injuries incurred or aggravated in line of duty in the active service.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 10 (B) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6234). MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Veterans Regulation No. 10, as amended, was further amended as follows:

Paragraph V of Veterans Regulation No. 10, which defined "wife" or "widow" of a veteran, was amended to omit the term "wife" from the definition provided.

Paragraph X of Veterans Regulation No. 10, as amended, was further amended so as to add to the exceptions to the rule that Federal employees could not receive salary and pension or emergency officers' retirement pay, those persons receiving such benefits on account of disabilities resulting from injuries caused by an explosion of an instrumentality of war suffered in line of duty during wartime.

Paragraph XI of Veterans Regulation No. 10 was amended to add Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands to the exceptions to the provision that no more than 50 percent of the amount of pension or emergency officers' retirement pay otherwise provided could be paid to those persons residing outside of the continental limits of the United States.

Paragraph XIX of Veterans Regulation No. 10 was amended to redefine the term "Veterans' Administration facilities" so as to clarify the authority of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, particularly with reference to utilizing other Government facilities. Authority was given to utilize private facilities to provide hospital care for veterans of any war in the Territories and possessions.

Veterans Regulation No. 2 (b) was promulgated on January 2, 1934, amending Veterans Regulation No. 2 (a).

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 2 (B) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6547). EFFECTIVE DATES OF AWARDS OF DISABILITY AND DEATH PENSIONS; PROVISIONS FOR FILING CLAIMS; REVIEW OF PRESUMPTIVE CLAIMS BY SPECIAL REVIEW BOARDS

This regulation amended paragraph I, part II, of Veterans Regulation No. 2 (a), increasing the maximum number of associate members of the Board of Veterans' Appeals from 15 to 30.

As a result of the review of claims under Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, and Public, No. 78, Seventy-third Congress, and on the basis of statistical data and studies, the President approved the following changes in veterans' regulations on January 19, 1934:

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 1 (C) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6565). ENTITLEMENT TO PENSIONS—WARTIME SERVICE CONNECTED

This regulation amended paragraph II, part I, of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), fixing the rates for wartime service-connected disability as follows:

10-percent disability, monthly pension	$10
20-percent disability, monthly pension	20
30-percent disability, monthly pension	30
40-percent disability, monthly pension	40
50-percent disability, monthly pension	50
60-percent disability, monthly pension	60
70-percent disability, monthly pension	70
80-percent disability, monthly pension	80
90-percent disability, monthly pension	90
Total disability, monthly pension	100

No changes were made in the rates for disability pension in excess of total or in the additional pension for certain anatomical losses or loss of use.

PEACETIME SERVICE CONNECTED

This regulation amended part II of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a) by adding a new paragraph, No. IV, which provided that the surviving widow of a deceased veteran who died as a result of injury or disease incurred in or aggravated by Coast Guard, military, or naval service in line of duty who was on March 20, 1933, being paid a pension under general or service pension laws at a rate in excess of the rate authorized under Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), part II, paragraph III, would until death or remarriage be entitled to be paid a pension at the rate authorized under the prior general law, but not more than $30 per month.

NON SERVICE CONNECTED

This regulation amended paragraph I, subparagraph (a), of part III, Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a) to accept discharge for disability incurred in line of duty in lieu of the 90 days' service in order to receive pension for disability or death not connected with the service. This regulation also amended paragraph I, subparagraph (h), of part III of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended by Veterans Regulation No. 1 (b), to eliminate the 55-year age requirement for entitlement to a service pension of $15 monthly to veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and Philippine Insurrection, who were 50 percent disabled.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 6 (B) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6566), ELIGIBILITY FOR DOMICILIARY OR HOSPITAL CARE, INCLUDING MEDICAL TREATMENT

This regulation amended Veterans Regulation No. 6 (a), paragraph I (a), by adding thereto those persons suffering

from service-connected disabilities whose rights to wartime pension were preserved by paragraph III of part I of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a) involving generally disabilities incurred prior to acceptance for active service so as to include them on the same basis as war veterans when in need of hospital treatment for such injuries or diseases.

Paragraph I (c) of Veterans Regulation No. 6 (a) pertaining to the granting of domiciliary or hospital care, including medical treatment, to veterans of a war suffering with permanent disabilities or tuberculous or neuropsychiatric ailments was amended by this regulation to remove the requirement for a showing of 90 days' service in those instances where the war service of the veteran was less than 90 days but was terminated by a discharge for disability incurred in the service in line of duty. This paragraph also provided for the furnishing of domiciliary or hospital care, including medical treatment, in non-service-connected cases for such other conditions requiring emergency or extensive hospital treatment as might be prescribed by the Administrator.

Paragraph I (d) of Veterans Regulation No. 6 (a) was amended to remove the 90 days' service requirement as to peacetime veterans discharged for disability incurred in line of duty and to include the foregoing change in paragraph I (c) authorizing domiciliary or hospital care, including medical treatment, in the case of conditions other than "permanent" as prescribed by the Administrator.

Paragraph III was amended, giving the Administrator discretionary authority to pay transportation from one Veterans' Administration facility to another when deemed advisable.

Paragraph VI, pertaining to reductions of pension or emergency officers' retirement pay to a veteran without dependents maintained by the Government in a hospital or home was amended to grant discretionary authority to the Administrator with reference to the amounts paid to dependents. It also amended this paragraph to include emergency officers' retirement pay with pension insofar as the limitation of estates of insane veterans was concerned.

Paragraph VII pertaining to apportionments was amended to include persons entitled to pension under Public, No. 78, Seventy-third Congress, and to include emergency officers' retirement pay with pension.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 9 (B) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6567). PAYMENT OF BURIAL EXPENSES OF DECEASED WAR VETERANS

This regulation amended paragraph II of Veterans Regulation No. 9 (a), increasing the burial allowance from $75 to $100 applicable only in cases of death on or after the date of this regulation and changed the amount in paragraph III from $75 to $100.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 10 (C) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6568). MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

This regulation amended paragraph X of Veterans Regulation No. 10, as amended, to permit receipt of pension or emergency officers' retirement pay by unmarried Government employees, otherwise entitled, where salary or compensation was in an amount not in excess of $1,000 per annum, computed monthly, or by such employees married or with minor children, otherwise entitled, whose salary or compensation was not in excess of $2,500 per annum, computed monthly. The prior salary or compensation limitation was $50 per month.

This regulation added a new paragraph, No. XXI, to permit any person entitled to benefits under title I, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, or section 20, Public, No. 78, Seventy-third Congress, to renounce his right thereto. Any subsequent claim for such benefits would be treated as an original claim.

Veterans Regulation No. 2 (c) was promulgated on February 17, 1934, amending Veterans Regulation No. 2 (a).

VETERANS REGULATON NO. 2 (C) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6606). EFFECTIVE DATES OF AWARDS OF DISABILITY AND DEATH PENSIONS; PROVISIONS FOR FILING CLAIMS; REVIEW OF PRESUMPTIVE CLAIMS BY SPECIAL REVIEW BOARDS

This regulation amended paragraph III, part II of Veterans Regulation No. 2 (a) to provide that an application for review on appeal, filed with the activity which entered the denial, which was postmarked prior to the expiration of the 1-year period allowed in making an appeal, would be accepted as having been filed within the time limit. The prior regulation required that appeal must be filed with the activity which entered the denial within 6 months from the date of mailing of notice of the result of initial review or determination or from July 1, 1933, whichever was the later date.

On March 27, 1934, Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a) and Veterans Regulation No. 12 were amended as follows:

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 1 (D) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6661). ENTITLEMENT TO PENSION

Veterans Regulation No. 1 (d) amended Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a) by adding a new part, No. V, which provided a protected award of 75 percent of the payments being made on March 19, 1933, to World War presumptive cases which had been disallowed by the special review boards authorized by Public, No. 78, such payments to be effective March 27, 1934, and to continue to the date of decision by the Board of Veterans' Appeals.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 12 (A) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6662). PRESUMPTION OF ENTITLEMENT TO PENSIONS FOR SPANISH WAR VETERANS AND CERTAIN WIDOWS, CHILDREN, AND DEPENDENT PARENTS OF DECEASED WORLD WAR VETERANS

Veterans Regulation No. 12 (a) amended Veterans Regulation No. 12 by adding a new paragraph, No. II, providing for the payment of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), part I, rates to veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and Philippine Insurrection, rated for service-connected disability under the general pension laws in effect on March 19, 1933, and who were on the rolls either under the general pension laws or the service pension acts, on March 19, 1933, effective March 27, 1934. It further provided a protected award of 75 percent of the payments being made on March 19, 1933, to veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and Philippine Insurrection, whose pension was reduced or discontinued as the result of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, such payments to be effective March 27, 1934, to continue to the date of decision by the Board of Veterans' Appeals.

ACT OF MARCH 27, 1934 (PUBLIC, NO. 140, 73D CONG.)

Public, No. 140, Seventy-third Congress, "An act to authorize the Postmaster General to accept and use equipment, landing fields, men, and material of the War Department for carrying the mails by air, and for other purposes," provided that in case any officer, including warrant and Reserve officers, or enlisted man was injured or killed while performing duty thereunder the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs was authorized and directed to pay to such officer or enlisted man, and/or his dependents, pension at the rate prescribed in part I, Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a) and amendments thereto. It was further provided that in the event of injury of any such officer or enlisted man the degree of disability resulting therefrom would be determined pursuant to the rating schedule authorized by Veterans Regulation No. 3 (a). It was necessary to choose between the benefits heretofore described and those provided by law for officers of the Regular Army and/or their dependents and beneficiaries.

ACT OF MARCH 28, 1934 (PUBLIC, NO. 141, 73D CONG.)

Public, No. 141, Seventy-third Congress, Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1935, was passed by Congress over the President's veto March 28, 1934.

Title II applied to pensions paid to war veterans and their dependents based upon service prior to the Spanish-American War, benefits paid under private relief acts, and emergency officers' retirement pay, the same percentage reduction as was applicable to salaries paid to Federal employees. This reduction was 10 percent from February 1, 1934, through June 30, 1934, and not more than 5 percent from July 1, 1934, through June 30, 1935.

The authority granted the President under section 3, title II, of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, to determine the percentage of or to discontinue the reduction in the salaries of Government employees, basing his determination upon the cost of living at the end of each 6-month period was continued, but with the provision that the reduction in salaries

could not exceed 10 percent from February 1, 1934, and 5 percent effective July 1, 1934, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935.

Title III reestablished certain rights to benefits which had been withdrawn or modified by the provisions of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, approved March 20, 1933, and the Presidential regulations promulgated thereunder. These provisions were briefly as follows:

Section 26 restored compensation to certain service-connected blind cases on the rolls March 19, 1933, which were discontinued under Public, No. 2, and the Veterans Regulations. It further provided that such compensation would not be reduced or discontinued except in accordance with the Veterans Regulations pertaining to hospitalized cases, and those cases involving fraud, mistake, or misrepresentation.

Section 27 provided for the payment of compensation to those persons who on March 19, 1933, had established service connection under section 200 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, and reenacted the provisions of that section as to such cases, except where the person entered the service subsequent to November 11, 1918, where clear and unmistakable evidence disclosed that the disease, injury, or disability had inception before or after the period of service unless there was aggravation, or where the prior service connection had been established by fraud, clear or unmistakable error or misrepresentation. But, as to all cases embraced by these three exceptions it was provided that all reasonable doubt would be resolved in favor of the veteran, and the burden of proof would be upon the Government. Disability must not have been caused by the veteran's own misconduct. It was provided in section 28, that payment would be 75 percent of the amount payable in such cases on March 19, 1933.

Section 28 provided for the restoration of the World War rates of compensation in effect on March 19, 1933, for service-connected disability, except that reduction was permitted in cases under sections 27 and 28 in accordance with regulations pertaining to hospital cases. It perpetuated the rating schedule in effect on March 19, 1933, under which ratings were based as far as practicable upon the average impairment of earning capacity in civil occupations similar to the occupation of the veteran at time of enlistment. It further provided for payments to the widows and children of veterans whose death was established as due to service under its provisions. The limitations imposed by Veterans Regulations as to receipt of either pension or emergency officers' retirement pay and salary by Government employees, and to the 50 percent reduction in pension or emergency officers' retirement pay while persons entitled thereto reside outside the continental limits of the United States were not for application to benefits authorized by this section, except that compensation granted widows, child, or children, and/or dependent parents not on the rolls on March 19, 1933, was subject to the regulations.

Section 29 amended section 6 of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, March 20, 1933, as amended, by adding a proviso authorizing hospitalization or domiciliary care within the limitations existing in Veterans' Administration facilities, including transportation to and from the facility, of any veteran of any war not dishonorably discharged suffering from disability, disease or defect, and in need of hospitalization or domiciliary care, and unable to defray the necessary expense therefor. It provided that the statement under oath of the applicant as to his inability to pay for the service sought would be accepted as sufficient.

Section 30 provided that veterans of the Spanish-American War who entered service on or before August 12, 1898, or who served in the Boxer Rebellion or Philippine Insurrection, their unmarried widows and/or other dependents, who were receiving pension on March 19, 1933, would be entitled to receive not less than 75 percent of the amount of pension being paid on that date. Such pension, however, was subject to the limitation requiring exception from Federal income tax, and as to Federal employees, the law required that not more than $6 per month could be paid if the salary of each such employee, if single, exceeded $1,000, or if married, $2,500, per annum. The provisions pertaining to the payment of pension to men in hospitals established by Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, and the veterans' regulations promulgated pursuant thereto, were for application. The benefits authorized by this section did not extend to persons for which pension was paid under prior laws on account of disabilities resulting from willful misconduct, nor to persons to whom pension was being paid on March 19, 1933, through fraud, clear or unmistakable error as to conclusions of fact or law, or misrepresentation of a material fact. The limitation as to 50-percent reduction required by veterans' regulations in pension or emergency officers' retirement pay while any person entitled thereto resided outside the continental limits of the United States was not for application in these cases. The laws in effect on March 19, 1933, granting monetary benefits to veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, were reenacted subject to the above limitations.

Section 31 reestablished and modified the provisions of section 213 of the World War Veterans' Act whereby a person who was injured as a result of training, hospitalization, or medical or surgical treatment awarded under the laws granting monetary or other benefits to World War veterans, or as a result of examination under the War Risk Insurance Act or the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, was awarded compensation or pension on the same basis as if the condition were incurred in the military or naval service. It also provided that application must be made within 2 years after the injury or aggravation or death or after the passage of the act, whichever was the later date.

Section 32 repealed the last sentence of section 9 of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, which barred persons in receipt of benefits from participating in any determination or decision with respect to claims for benefits.

Section 33 changed the title of payments to be made in service-connected cases of World War veterans from "pension" to "compensation."

Section 34 provided that no payments could be effective prior to date of passage of the act.

Section 35 provided for the payment of those insurance claims which had been determined to be payable prior to, but in which payment had not commenced on, March 19, 1933.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 1 (E) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6668). ENTITLEMENT TO PENSION

This regulation was approved April 6, 1934, canceling Veterans Regulation No. 1 (d), effective March 28, 1934, in view of the enactment of Public, No. 141, March 28, 1934.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 12 (B) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6669). PRESUMPTION OF ENTITLEMENT TO PENSIONS FOR SPANISH WAR VETERANS AND CERTAIN WIDOWS, CHILDREN, AND DEPENDENT PARENTS OF DECEASED WORLD WAR VETERANS

This regulation was approved April 6, 1934, canceling Veterans Regulations No. 12 (a), effective March 28, 1934, in view of the enactment of Public, No. 141, March 28, 1934.

Veterans Regulation No. 9 (c) was promulgated on May 2, 1934, amending paragraph II of Veterans Regulation No. 9 (a) as amended.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 9 (C) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6695). PAYMENT OF BURIAL EXPENSES OF DECEASED WAR VETERANS

This regulation amended paragraph II of Veterans Regulation No. 9 (a) as amended to extend the burial allowance provisions to veterans of any war in receipt of pension or compensation. The effect of this amendment was to provide burial for certain war veterans not dishonorably discharged who were restored to the rolls under Public, No. 141, Seventy-third Congress, and who had a protected award under Public, No. 2, and Public, No. 78, Seventy-third Congress, and in effect revived the provisions of section 201 (1) of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, for service-connected cases, subject to the limitations with respect to the veterans' net assets at the time of his death.

ACT OF JUNE 28, 1934 (PUBLIC, NO. 484, 73D CONG.)

Section 1 of Public, No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, approved June 28, 1934, provided for the payment of monthly compensation to the widows and children of any World War

veteran who served prior to November 12, 1918, or if the veteran was serving with the United States military forces in Russia before April 2, 1920, who died from a disease or disability not service connected and not the result of the veteran's own misconduct, while receiving or entitled to receive compensation, pension, or retirement pay for 30-percent disability or more directly incurred in or aggravated by service in the World War. However, the provisions of the act were not applicable to any person during any year following a year for which such person was not entitled to exemption from the payment of Federal income tax. This was the first law granting benefits to widows and children of deceased World War veterans where the death was not shown to be due to service.

Section 2 provided for the following rates of compensation:

Widow but no child, $22; widow and one child, $30 (with $4 for each additional child); no widow but one child, $15; no widow but two children, $22 (equally divided); no widow but three children, $30 (equally divided) (with $3 for each additional child, total amount to be equally divided).

The total compensation payable could not exceed $56.

Section 3 of this act defined the terms "person who served," "widow" and "child," for the purposes of this act.

Section 4 provided for submission of evidence and termination after the death of a veteran of 30-percent service-connected disability or more at time of death of the veteran, provided that proof was filed within 3 years from the date of the act or date of death, whichever was the later.

Section 5 provided that payment would be effective from the date of the act in all cases where death occurred prior thereto and in all other cases from date of application of widow, child, or children, and a claim for benefits under Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, and the Veterans Regulations, or Public, No. 141, Seventy-third Congress, on account of death of a veteran from directly service-connected disability was accepted as a claim for benefits under this act.

The limitations upon receipt of benefits and salary or compensation from Federal employment and reduction of benefits on account of residence outside the continental limits of the United States as contained in the veterans regulations did not apply to benefits under this act.

On June 30, 1934, Veterans Regulation No. 6 (c) was promulgated, amending Veterans' Regulation No. 6 (a), as amended, as follows:

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 6 (C) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6775). ELIGIBILITY FOR DOMICILIARY OR HOSPITAL CARE, INCLUDING MEDICAL TREATMENT

Veterans Regulation No. 6 (c), June 30, 1934, was made necessary by section 29 of Public, No. 141, Seventy-third Congress, authorizing hospitalization or domiciliary care within the limitations existing in Veterans' Administration facilities, including transportation to and from the facility of any veteran of any war not dishonorably discharged, suffering from disability, disease, or defect, in need of hospitalization or domiciliary care and unable to defray the necessary expenses therefor. It was provided that a statement under oath of the applicant as to his inability to pay for such service sought under this statute would be accepted as sufficient. The prior law and Veterans Regulation No. 6 (b) restricted non-service-connected cases to those suffering from permanent disabilities or tuberculous or neuropsychiatric ailments or such other conditions requiring emergency or extensive hospital treatment as prescribed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs which incapacitated them from earning a living, and as to war veterans, required 90 days' service or more, or discharge for disability incurred in line of duty and an honorable discharge. The new regulation added the new group by including a new subparagraph to paragraph I, as follows:

(e) To veterans of any war, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, not dishonorably discharged (regardless of length of service), who swear that they are unable to defray the expenses of necessary hospitalization or domiciliary care, when suffering with any disability, disease, or defect, and when in need of hospitalization or domiciliary care as may be determined by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

There was also an additional subparagraph I (f) approved authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs when he would determine it to be to the interest of the Government and the veterans and under such rules as he might promulgate to furnish hospital treatment for disease or injury to retired officers or enlisted men in facilities over which the Veterans' Administration had direct and exclusive jurisdiction or in other Government facilities for which he might contract.

The regulation also contained a change in paragraph III of Veterans Regulation No. 6 (a), as amended, to provide for payment of transportation expenses to persons granted domiciliary care as well as hospital care.

Paragraph VI of Veterans Regulation No. 6 (a), as amended, was amended to clarify administrative action and to eliminate the administrative difficulties incident to distribution and apportionment of pension in cases of veterans hospitalized or domiciled who had dependents (wife, child, or dependent parents).

Paragraph VII was amended to facilitate adjudications and to clarify provisions regarding apportionment.

On June 30, 1934, Veterans Regulation No. 8 (a) was promulgated canceling Veterans Regulation No. 8, March 31, 1933, as of the date thereof.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 8 (A) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6776). YEARLY RENEWABLE TERM INSURANCE

The United States Supreme Court in an opinion rendered June 4, 1934, in the cases of Margaret Shea Lynch against United States; Sam Wilner against United States, held that the due-process clause of the Constitution prohibits the the United States from annulling the contracts of war-risk insurance, and that the following clause in section 17, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress—

* * * all laws granting or pertaining to yearly renewable term insurance are hereby repealed * * *

Was ineffectual to relieve the United States from all liability on the contracts without making compensation to the beneficiaries. In view of this decision Veterans Regulation No. 8, governing yearly renewable term insurance was canceled as of the date thereof.

JOINT RESOLUTION OF JANUARY 28, 1935 (PUBLIC RES. NO. 1, 74TH CONG.)

Public Resolution No. 1, Seventy-fourth Congress, approved January 28, 1935, was enacted to clarify the definition of "disagreement" in section 19, World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, which related to suits in Federal courts on insurance contracts. This resolution provided that a denial of a claim for insurance by the Administrator or any employee or agency of the Veterans' Administration theretofore or thereafter designated therefor would constitute a disagreement for the purposes of section 19 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended. The resolution was made effective as of July 3, 1930, and applied to all suits against the United States under the provisions of section 19, supra, pending on the date of enactment of the resolution, and any suit which was dismissed solely on the ground that a denial as described in the act did not constitute a disagreement as defined by section 19 could be reinstated within 3 months from the date of this resolution.

On February 5, 1935, Veterans Regulation No. 10 (d) was promulgated by the President, canceling paragraph XI of Veterans Regulation No 10, as amended.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 10 (D) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6963). MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

This regulation canceled paragraph XI of Veterans Regulation No. 10, as amended, which required a 50-percent reduction of pension or emergency officers' retirement pay where the person entitled thereto resided outside the continental limits of the United States, exclusive of Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, and the Panama Canal Zone.

On February 8, 1935, Veterans Regulation No. 1 (f) was promulgated by the President, amending Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, as follows:

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 1 (F) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6967). ENTITLEMENT TO PENSIONS

This regulation amended Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, by adding a new part, numbered V, which authorized payment of pension to certain veterans and their

dependents based on service in the military and naval forces between August 13, 1898, and July 4, 1902.

It covered a group of veterans, and the dependents of such veterans, who left the continental limits of the United States under orders for service in Guam, Cuba, or Puerto Rico, who were not comprehended within the provisions of Public, No. 141, Seventy-third Congress, which restored certain rights under prior laws, with limitations, to a group of veterans who served in the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection. In restoring prior rights to this group the restrictions were similar to those contained in the act of March 28, 1934 (Public, No. 141), except that as to service pensions, benefits on account of 70 days' service were not restored by this regulation.

RESOLUTION OF FEBRUARY 13, 1935 (PUBLIC RES. NO. 3, 74TH CONG.)

This measure, approved February 13, 1935, amended section 3 (b) of title II of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, as amended by section 21 (2), title II, of Public, No. 141, Seventy-third Congress. It also amended section 21 (b) and (c) of the latter law pertaining to the percentage reduction of pay of Government officers and employees, providing that such reduction should not exceed 5 percent during the portion of the fiscal year 1935 prior to April 1, 1935, and after March 31, 1935, such reduction was discontinued—from April 1, 1933, to January 31, 1934, the reduction was 15 percent, from February 1, 1934, to June 30, 1934, 10 percent, and from July 1, 1934, to March 31, 1935, 5 percent. The same provision was made applicable to similar reductions in pensions and retired pay authorized by law for veterans and their dependents.

On March 19, 1935, the following regulations were approved by the President, making the following changes in existing regulations:

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 1 (G) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6989). ENTITLEMENT TO PENSIONS

Paragraph IV, part I, of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), was amended to change the rates of pensions payable to widows and children of veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and Philippine Insurrection and the World War, who died as a result of injury or disease incurred in or aggravated by active military or naval service as provided for in part I of paragraph I of that regulation. The rates for dependent parents remained unchanged. The following rates were provided:

Widow under 50 years of age	$30
Widow 50 to 65 years of age	35
Widow over 65 years of age	40
Widow with 1 child, $10 additional for such child up to 10 years of age, increased to $15 from age 10 (with $8 for each additional child up to 10 years of age, increased to $13 from age 10).	
No widow but 1 child	20
No widow but 2 children (equally divided)	33
No widow but 3 children (with $8 for each additional child; total amount to be equally divided)	46
Dependent mother or father	20
Or both (each)	15

The total pension payable under this paragraph could not exceed $75. Where such benefits would otherwise exceed $75 the amount of $75 could be apportioned as the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs might prescribe.

Paragraph III, part II, of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a) was amended to change the rates of pensions payable to the widows and children of peacetime persons whose death was caused by service-connected disability. The rates for dependent parents remained unchanged. The following rates were provided:

Widow under 50 years of age	$22
Widow 50 to 65 years of age	26
Widow over 65 years of age	30
Widow with 1 child, $7 additional for such child up to 10 years of age, increased to $11 from age 10 (with $6 for each additional child up to 10 years of age, increased to $9 from age 10).	
No widow but 1 child	15
No widow but 2 children (equally divided)	24
No widow but 3 children (with $6 for each additional child; total amount to be equally divided)	34
Dependent mother or father	15
Or both (each)	11

The total pension payable under this paragraph could not exceed $56. Where such benefits would otherwise exceed $56 the amount of $56 could be apportioned as the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs might prescribe.

This regulation also added a new part, numbered VI, to Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, to provide for the payment of pension to dependents of incompetent veterans who disappeared, where the veterans at the time of disappearance were in receipt of pension for service-connected disability under the regulations. It was provided that the amount payable to the dependents would be that which they would receive if the veteran had died of a service-connected disability, but could not exceed the amount of pension being received by the veteran at the time of disappearance.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 2 (D) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6990). EFFECTIVE DATES OF AWARDS OF DISABILITY AND DEATH PENSIONS; PROVISIONS FOR FILING CLAIMS; REVIEW OF PRESUMPTIVE CLAIMS BY SPECIAL REVIEW BOARDS

Veterans Regulation No. 2 (d) was promulgated by the President on March 19, 1935, to amend paragraph I, part I, of Veterans Regulation No. 2 (a), to extend from 6 months to 1 year the period allowed for completion of an application following notification to the claimant of the evidence necessary. The purpose of this amendment was to establish uniformity between this part and part II of the same regulation as amended by Veterans Regulation No. 2 (c), which permitted applications for review on appeal within 1 year from the date of mailing of notice of the result of the initial review or determination, or July 1, 1933, whichever was the later date.

There was also added to paragraph I of part I a new subparagraph, numbered (3), which provided that where a claim had been finally disallowed a subsequent claim on the same factual basis, if supported by new and material evidence, would have the attributes of a new claim notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph II, part II, of Veterans Regulation No. 2 series. Under part II, when a claim was disallowed by the Board of Veterans' Appeals it could not thereafter be reopened and allowed and no claim based on the same factual basis would be considered, except where new and material evidence in the form of official reports from the proper service department was secured, when such claim might be reopened.

Paragraph IV, subparagraph (b) of part I of Veterans Regulation No. 2 (a) was amended to eliminate from the subparagraph the following language:

> Except that no pension shall be payable to any mother or father where the dependency arises more than 10 years subsequent to the death of the veteran.

For the purpose of uniformity in existing practice there was also added a provision to the effect that pensions once discontinued on account of remarriage of a parent might not be recommenced.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 6 (D) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6991). ELIGIBILITY FOR DOMICILIARY OR HOSPITAL CARE, INCLUDING MEDICAL TREATMENT

Veterans Regulation No. 6 (d) was promulgated by the President on March 19, 1935, to amend paragraph VIII of Veterans Regulation No. 6 (a), to provide authority to retain in domiciliary status in Veterans' Administration facilities certain persons who were properly admitted under the laws in effect prior to March 20, 1933, and who could not be discharged therefrom without jeopardizing their health or life. The previous regulations permitted the retention of these persons in hospitalized status.

VETERANS REGULATION NO. 10 (E) (EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 6992). MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Veterans Regulation No. 10 (e) was promulgated March 19, 1935, amending paragraph IV of Veterans Regulation No. 10, for the purpose of including within the definition "veteran of any war" those persons granted pension benefits under Veterans Regulation No. 1 (f), promulgated February 8, 1935; that is, persons who served in the military or naval service after August 12, 1898, and before July 5, 1902, and who left the continental United States under orders for military or naval service in Guam, Cuba, or Puerto Rico between such dates.

ACT OF APRIL 15, 1935 (PUBLIC, NO. 37, 74TH CONG.)

This act, in providing for aviation cadets of the Naval and Marine Corps Reserve, in section 5 thereof, provided that during the period of active duty the aviation cadets would be issued Government life insurance in the amount of $10,000, the premiums on which should be paid out of the current appropriations "Naval Reserve" and "Pay, Marine Corps," respectively.

ACT OF AUGUST 12, 1935 (PUBLIC, NO. 262, 74TH CONG.)

Public, No. 262, August 12, 1935, An act to safeguard the estates of veterans derived from payments of pension, compensation, emergency officers' retirement pay, and insurance, and for other purposes, empowered the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to exercise closer supervision of the estates of insane veterans and minor and incompetent beneficiaries receiving monetary benefits on account of military service performed by the veteran. The law applied to veterans of all wars as well as the Regular Establishment. It exempted from taxation payments of benefits made to or on account of a beneficiary under any of the laws relating to veterans except as to property purchased out of such funds. It more clearly defined the offenses of embezzlement and misappropriation by guardians and prescribed more drastic remedies and penalties.

ACT OF AUGUST 13, 1935 (PUBLIC, NO. 269, 74TH CONG.)

Public, No. 269, August 13, 1935, reenacted into law all laws in effect on March 19, 1933, granting pensions to veterans of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, their widows and dependents, and such laws were effective from and after the date of the approval of this act.

Section 2 repealed all acts and parts of acts in conflict with or inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

ACT OF AUGUST 23, 1935 (PUBLIC, NO. 307, 74TH CONG.)

Public, No. 307, August 23, 1935, authorized payment of claims for unauthorized emergency treatment of World War veterans under the provisions of section 202 (9), World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, wherein claim was duly filed prior to March 20, 1933.

ACT OF AUGUST 23, 1935 (PUBLIC, NO. 312, 74TH CONG.)

Public, No. 312, August 23, 1935, extended the benefits of hospital and domiciliary care to former members of the Regular Establishment pensioned on account of service-connected disability. The law previously required discharge for disability incurred in line of duty.

Section 2 of this act contained a provision extending the period for filing application for adjusted compensation benefits to January 2, 1940. The prior limitation was January 2, 1935.

ACT OF AUGUST 26, 1935 (PUBLIC, NO. 344, 74TH CONG.)

Public, No. 344, August 26, 1935, extended the period of the World War to April 1, 1920, for those persons who served with the United States military forces in Russia, for the purpose of payment of pension for disability not shown to have been incurred in military or naval service.

Section 2 provided that veterans who entered active military service subsequent to November 11, 1918, and who served with the United States military forces in Russia prior to April 2, 1920, and their dependents would be entitled to the benefits of Public Law No. 141, Seventy-third Congress, provided they met the other requirements thereof.

ACT OF JANUARY 27, 1936 (PUBLIC, NO. 425, 74TH CONG.)

This measure was enacted into law January 27, 1936, and provided for the payment of adjusted-service certificates by the issuance by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of bonds in denominations of $50 having a total face value up to the highest multiple of $50 in the amount certified as due the veteran, the difference to be paid to the veteran or his estate by the Secretary of the Treasury. In computing the amount due the veteran any loan outstanding against the certificate was deductible and in addition, any unpaid interest accruing prior to October 1, 1931, was also deductible. The bonds were issued in the name of the veteran only, and dated June 15, 1936, to mature on June 15, 1945, with interest at the rate of 3 percent per annum from June 15, 1936. No interest was paid on any bond redeemed prior to June 15, 1937. It was provided that the bonds would be redeemable at option of the veteran or his estate at any time and at such places, including post offices, as the Secretary of the Treasury might designate.

ACT OF FEBRUARY 13, 1936 (PUBLIC, NO. 444, 74TH CONG.)

This act "To provide further for the maintenance of United States Soldiers' Home," authorized a deduction from the pay of enlisted men and warrant officers on the list of the Regular Army—exclusive of the Philippine Scouts—of a sum not to exceed 25 cents a month to be placed to the credit of the United States Soldiers' Home trust fund. It provided that the exact amount to be deducted would be determined by the Secretary of War on the recommendation of the Board of Commissioners of the Home.

ACT OF MARCH 3, 1936 (PUBLIC, NO. 467, 74TH CONG.)

This measure was approved March 3, 1936, and provided that in the administration of any laws conferring rights, privileges, or benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers of the Army, their widows and dependent children, a soldier who served as an enlisted man between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, both dates inclusive, and who was discharged for fraudulent enlistment on account of minority or misrepresentation of age, would be held to have been discharged honorably from the military service on the date of his separation therefrom if his service otherwise entitled him to an honorable discharge. No back pay or allowance could accrue by reason of the passage of the act. The act provided for the furnishing by the War Department on request of a certificate to the veterans or their widows that the soldier was held and considered to have been honorably discharged under the provisions of the act.

ACT OF JUNE 24, 1936 (PUBLIC, NO. 788, 74TH CONG.)

This measure provided for increases in pension rates for peacetime veterans. Any such veteran entitled to pension for service-connected disability under Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, part II, and who was on March 19, 1933, in receipt of compensation under the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, or pension under the general pension law for such service-connected disability became entitled to receive 75 percent of the compensation or pension being paid him on that date on account of a service-connected disability unless the degree of his disability had increased or decreased, in which case a proportionate increase or decrease would be made based upon present disability. It was provided that the rate of pension could not exceed three-fourths of the rate of pension for a similar disability under Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, part I, which part provided pensions for wartime service-connected disabilities. Existing regulations which prescribed a reduction in pension while the veteran was hospitalized or domiciled also applied to pension authorized under this act.

ACT OF JUNE 26, 1936 (PUBLIC, NO. 833, 74TH CONG.)

This measure amended section 4 of the Adjusted Compensation Payment Act, 1936, so as to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to make payments of bonds or checks under the provisions of the Adjusted Compensation Payment Act or to pay the proceeds of such bonds directly to "the person or persons determined by the Secretary of the Treasury to be lawfully entitled thereto, without the necessity of the appointment by judicial proceedings or otherwise of a legal representative of the estate of either an incompetent or a deceased veteran or other person. Under the Adjusted Compensation Payment Act the amount found to be due on an adjusted service certificate was certified to the Secretary of the Treasury and paid by the issuance of bonds and a check for the odd amount under $50. It was provided in that act that payment would be made to the veteran or his estate and the bonds redeemable at the option of the veteran or his estate and upon redemption, in case of death or incompetence of the veteran, would be paid to the representative of his estate. Public, No. 833 permitted the Secretary of the Treasury to determine the person or persons lawfully entitled thereto without the necessity of compliance with State laws relating to appointment of

a legal representative. This obviated the necessity of subjecting the heirs to the expense and hardship of obtaining judicial appointment of a legal representative.

ACT OF JUNE 29, 1936 (PUBLIC, NO. 844, 74TH CONG.)

This measure had three principal purposes, as follows:

First. Enlargement of the group of widows and children of World War veterans to whom benefits were payable following the death of the veteran from a cause not connected with the military or naval service.

Second. Codification of certain present laws and regulations relative to administration of benefits under the Veterans' Administration, enactment of new provisions relative to certain administrative functions of the Veterans' Administration and the extension of time for filing suit where claims for insurance had been disallowed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

Third. Extension of relief to World War veterans, their dependents, and other persons on account of death or injury caused by the hurricane September 2, 1935, on the Florida Keys.

With regard to the first purpose, it will be recalled that benefits provided by Public, No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, were payable to widows and children where the service-connected disability of the veteran at time of death was 30 percent or more, provided that the disability was directly connected with service and the veteran's death not due to misconduct. Public, No. 844, authorized payment in cases where the veteran's disability was presumptively connected with service. The element of misconduct was also removed as a bar to receipt of compensation under Public, No. 484.

With regard to the second purpose of the act, uniformity was effected in connection with recognition by the Veterans' Administration of organizations and the recognition and payment of fees to agents and attorneys; also, with respect to the authority of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to issue subpenas to compel the attendance of witnesses, to require the production of books, papers, documents, and other evidence, to administer oaths, make investigations, and other related matters. Unification of these provisions became necessary as a result of the consolidation in July 1930 of the United States Veterans' Bureau, the Pension Bureau, and the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. Each of these agencies had laws touching the various administrative procedures, but there was no uniformity. It further authorized the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to discontinue the requirement for annual review of dependency under the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, in order to determine the status of veterans' parents who were in receipt of compensation on account of death or disability of the veteran. Thereafter the Administrator might make a determination of dependency in the manner which he considered best suited to the situation. It also eliminated the consideration of a veteran's assets at time of death in connection with a claim for burial allowance of the veteran. Prior to the enactment of Public, No. 844, the allowance was not payable if the veteran's net assets at time of death amounted to $1,000 exclusive of debts and accrued pension, compensation, or insurance due at time of death. It amended paragraph IV of Veterans Regulation No. 9 (a), as amended, to provide for filing of claims for reimbursement for burial expenses within 1 year subsequent to the date of burial of the veteran. Previously the regulation required claim within 1 year from date of death of the veteran. The time for submission of evidence to complete a claim was extended from 6 months to 1 year. The last administrative provision eliminated from consideration as "annual income" payments of war risk term insurance, United States Government life insurance, payments under the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, and the Adjusted Compensation Payment Act, 1936, for the purposes of non-service-connected pension under the provision of part III, Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended. Under the provisions of that part of the regulation a pension of $30 a month was payable to any honorably discharged veteran of the War with Spain, including the Philippine Insurrection and the Boxer Rebellion and the World War, who served 90 days or more, or if less than 90 days was discharged for disability incurred in line of duty, who was suffering from a permanent and total disability not the result of his misconduct and who met the other requirements of part III.

The last section covered by the second principal purpose of the act was section 404, which stated that in addition to the suspension of the limitation for the period elapsing between the filing in the Veterans' Administration of the claim under a contract of insurance and the denial thereof by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs or someone acting in his name, the claimant could have 90 days from the date of the mailing of notice of such denial within which to file suit. This provision was made retroactive to July 3, 1930, and applied to all suits pending on June 29, 1936, against the United States under the provisions of section 19, World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended. Any suit which had been dismissed on the ground that the period for filing had elapsed might be reinstated within 90 days from the date of enactment of this act.

The final purpose of the act extended to World War veterans, their dependents, and other persons the benefits of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act—Fifth United States Code, chapter 15—on account of death or injury caused by the hurricane September 2, 1935, on the Florida Keys, to the same extent and under the same conditions as provided for employees and the dependents of employees of the Federal Civil Works Administration in the act of February 15, 1934—United States Code, 1934 edition, title 5, section 796.

ACT OF MAY 25, 1937 (PUBLIC, NO. 108, 75TH CONG.)

Public, No. 108, May 25, 1937, provided that in the administration of any law conferring rights, privileges, or benefits upon honorably discharged soldiers of the United States Army, their widows and dependent children, soldiers who served in the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, and the Boxer Rebellion, and who were discharged for fraudulent enlistment on account of minority or misrepresentation of age, would thereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the military service on the date of actual separation therefrom if their services were otherwise such as would entitle them to an honorable discharge. No back pay or allowances accrued by reason of the act. Such soldiers or their widows were entitled to receive a discharge certificate from the War Department showing that they were held and considered to have been honorably discharged.

ACT OF JUNE 1, 1937 (PUBLIC, NO. 127, 75TH CONG.)

Public, No. 127, June 1, 1937, amended section 301 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended—Forty-seventh Statutes, at page 334; United States Code, title 38, section 512—to extend the privilege of renewing expiring 5-year level-premium war-risk term-insurance policies for a second or third 5-year period.

ACT OF JUNE 23, 1937 (PUBLIC, NO. 159, 75TH CONG.)

Public, No. 159, June 23, 1937, amended Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), part II, paragraph 1 (a), governing eligibility for peacetime service-connected disability or death in line of duty to provide that active service, including service for training purposes, performed by a Reserve officer or member of the Enlisted Reserves of the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps would be considered as active service for the purposes of granting pension under part II of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended. The pension could not be paid concurrently with active-duty pay or employees' compensation. If entitled to employees' compensation, it was necessary for the eligible to elect which benefit he desired to receive. The amendment was effective June 15, 1933, but payment of pension was effective from the date of receipt in the Veterans' Administration of application therefor or the date of enactment of the amendment, whichever was the later.

ACT OF AUGUST 14, 1937 (PUBLIC, NO. 288, 75TH CONG.)

Public, No. 288, August 14, 1937, amended section 4 of the Adjusted Compensation Payment Act, 1936, as amended, to provide that the amount of any payment on account of an

adjusted-service certificate of a deceased veteran, including any payment theretofore made, which under the law of the State or country pursuant to which the estate of the deceased veteran would be distributed, would otherwise escheat to such State or country, would escheat to the United States and be covered into the general fund of the Treasury.

ACT OF AUGUST 16, 1937 (PUBLIC, NO. 304, 75TH CONG.)

Public, No. 304, August 16, 1937, was enacted to liberalize the provisions of existing laws governing service-connected benefits for World War veterans and their dependents, and for other purposes, and provided as follows:

Section 1 provided that compensation to a widow, child, or children of a deceased World War veteran under Public, No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, as amended by Public, No. 844, Seventy-fourth Congress, should not be denied if the veteran was suffering from a service-connected disability of 20-percent degree or more at time of death. The section did not apply to a widow unless a child was born of her marriage to the veteran.

Section 2 amended section 4 of Public, No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, so as to permit a post mortem finding of service connection.

Subject to certain limitations which will hereafter be noted, section 3 provided for increases in rates of service-connected death compensation as follows: For widows between 50 and 65 years of age, an increase from $35 to $37.50 a month; for widows over 65, an increase from $40 to $45 a month; for a dependent parent, an increase from $20 to $45 a month. In case of both a dependent mother and father, the rate for each was increased from $15 to $25 a month. If a deceased veteran's dependent is receiving compensation and insurance in an amount equal to or in excess of the amount of compensation authorized by the section, the increased rate is not applicable. As to widows and children, the total compensation payable might not exceed $75 a month.

Section 4 provided that on and after August 16, 1937, for the purpose of payment of compensation under the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration, the term "widow of a World War veteran" would mean a woman who was married to the person who served prior to or during the period of service on which claim was based. While the delimiting marriage date of July 3, 1931, was retained, a new provision included a widow of a World War veteran regardless of the date of marriage, provided a child was born of such marriage. The section also provided that compensation should not be payable to a widow unless there was continuous cohabitation with the veteran from date of marriage to date of death, except where there was a separation without fault on the part of the widow. The section further provided that all marriages should be proven as valid according to the law of the place where the parties resided at the time of marriage, or of the law of the place where the ceremony was performed at the time thereof, or the law of the place where the parties resided when the right to pension accrued. Compensation was denied a widow who had remarried either once or more than once, and, where compensation was properly discontinued by reason of remarriage, it could not thereafter be recommenced.

Section 5 provided that, except as to emergency officers' retirement pay, reenlistment after November 11, 1918, and before July 2, 1921, provided there was prior service between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, should be considered as World War service under the laws providing benefits for World War veterans and their dependents.

Section 6 provided that death compensation should be effective as of the date of death of the World War veteran if claim was filed within 1 year after death. Previously, such an award was effective from date of application.

Section 7 added a new section, to be known as section 312, to the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, providing that as to automatic insurance, yearly renewable term insurance, and United States Government life (converted) insurance issued prior to December 15, 1936, the permanent loss of the use of both feet, of both hands, or of both eyes, or of one foot and one hand, or of one foot and one eye, or of one hand and one eye, or the loss of hearing of both ears or the organic loss of speech, should be deemed total permanent disability for insurance purposes.

Section 8 granted authority to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to pay to the dependents of an incompetent veteran receiving compensation under title III of the act of March 28, 1934 (Public, No. 141, 73d Cong.), who disappeared, the amount of compensation payable to dependents of deceased veterans who died from war-service-connected disabilities, except that payment should not exceed the amount of compensation payable at the time of the veterans' disappearance.

Section 9 made the penal and forfeiture provisions relating to pensions and compensation contained in Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, applicable to claims for compensation under Public, No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, as amended by Public, No. 844, Seventy-fourth Congress and this act.

ACT OF AUGUST 25, 1937 (PUBLIC, NO. 355, 75TH CONG.)

Public, No. 355, August 25, 1937, granting pensions and increases of pensions to certain soldiers who served in the Indian wars from 1817 to 1898, and for other purposes, authorized increased pensions for Indian war veterans so that a veteran aged 62 would receive $25 per month in place of the prior rate of $20; aged 68, $35 in place of the prior rate of $30; aged 72, $45 in place of the prior rate of $40; aged 75, $55 in place of the prior rate of $50. The measure provided an increase from $20 to $55 per month for disability in place of $20 to $50 authorized under prior law. A pension of $72 per month was also authorized for Indian war veterans who were on account of age or physical or mental disability, helpless or blind, or so nearly helpless or blind as to require the regular aid and attendance of another person. It also contained a limitation that an amount in excess of $50 per month could not be paid to any person under the provisions of the measure while an inmate of the United States Soldiers' Home or of any national or State soldiers' home.

Section 2 provided for the effective date of awards under this act.

ACT OF AUGUST 25, 1937 (PUBLIC, NO. 357, 75TH CONG.)

Public, No. 357, August 25, 1937, canceled paragraph X of Veterans Regulation No. 10, as amended, which contained restrictive provisions as to the payment of pensions to a person holding an office or position in the Government.

ACT OF FEBRUARY 24, 1938 (PUBLIC, NO. 434, 75TH CONG.)

This act authorized the Attorney General of the United States to agree to a judgment to be rendered by the presiding judge of the United States court having jurisdiction of the case, pursuant to compromise approved by the Attorney General upon the recommendation of the United States attorney charged with the defense, upon such terms and for sums within the amount claimed to be payable, in any suit brought under the provisions of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, on a contract of yearly renewable term insurance pending or thereafter filed; and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs was authorized to make payments in accordance with any such judgment. The act further authorized the Comptroller General of the United States to allow credit in the accounts of disbursing officers of the Veterans' Administration for all payments of insurance made in accordance with any such judgment. It was also provided that all such judgments would constitute final settlement of the claim, and no appeal therefrom was authorized.

Under Public, No. 78, Seventy-third Congress, June 16, 1933, compromise of yearly renewable term insurance suits was authorized under similar language, but restricted to suits pending on March 20, 1933, and on the date of enactment of that act.

NAVY DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION ACT, APRIL 26, 1938 (PUBLIC, NO. 493, 75TH CONG.)

This act provided that no appropriation made in this act would be available for pay, allowances, or traveling or other expenses of any officer or enlisted man of the Naval or Marine Corps Reserve who might be drawing a pension, disability allowance, disability compensation, or retired pay from the

Government of the United States; and "retired pay" as here used would not include the pay of transferred members of such reserve forces.

This provision appeared for the first time in Public, No. 122, Seventy-third Congress, March 15, 1934, and was continued in Public, No. 163, Seventy-fourth Congress, June 24, 1935; Public, No. 636, Seventy-fourth Congress, June 3, 1936; Public, No. 54, Seventy-fifth Congress, April 27, 1937.

ACT OF MAY 13, 1938 (PUBLIC, NO. 514, 75TH CONG.)

This act had two general purposes, namely, to liberalize the provisions of Public, No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, June 28, 1934, as amended, and to prescribe a definition of the term "widow of a World War veteran."

Section 1 amended section 1 of Public, No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, as amended by section 1 of Public, No. 844, Seventy-fourth Congress, June 29, 1936, and section 1 of Public, No. 304, Seventy-fifth Congress, August 16, 1937, so as to reduce the requisite degree of service-connected disability from 20 to 10 percent and to remove the limitation which bars payment of compensation to a widow unless a child was born of her marriage to the veteran.

Section 2 amended section 4 of Public, No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, as amended by section 2 of Public, No. 304, Seventy-fifth Congress, which provided for establishment after the death of the veteran of service connection of disability and degree thereof at time of death by changing the degree of disability which must be shown to have existed at the veteran's death from 20 to 10 percent. It also removed the time limit for filing proof and evidence of degree of disability at time of death and service connection thereof.

Section 3, which incorporated the second general purpose of the act, provided that for the purpose of payment of compensation under the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration the term "widow of a World War veteran" would mean a woman who was married prior to the date of enactment of the act to the person who served. The delimiting date of marriage under the prior law was July 3, 1931, except that the definition included as a widow a woman who was married to the veteran at any time, providing a child was born of that marriage. The act eliminated the latter provision and included marriages prior to May 13, 1938, the date of enactment of Public, No. 514. This section contained the following provisions of the prior law, section 4 of Public, No. 304, Seventy-fifth Congress, August 16, 1937: (1) Provisions governing proof of marriage, except that the law of the place where the ceremony was performed at the time thereof would no longer be for application; (2) the requirement, as to the widow, of continuous cohabitation with the person who served from date of marriage to date of death except where there was a separation which was due to misconduct of, or procured by, the person who served, without the fault of the widow; and (3) denial of compensation to a widow who had remarried either once or more than once, and where compensation was properly discontinued by reason of remarriage it could not thereafter be recommenced.

Section 4 repealed sections 1 and 4 of Public, No. 304, Seventy-fifth Congress, August 16, 1937.

ACT OF MAY 24, 1938 (PUBLIC, NO. 541, 75TH CONG.)

This act granting pensions and increases of pensions to certain soldiers, sailors, and nurses of the War with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, or the China Relief Expedition, and for other purposes, provided as follows:

Section 1 provided a pension of $60 a month to honorably discharged veterans who served 90 days or more in the Spanish-American War, including the Philippine Insurrection and the China Relief Expedition between April 21, 1898, and July 4, 1902, or who, having served less than 90 days, were discharged for disability incurred in service in line of duty, upon reaching the age of 65 years.

Section 2 provided that any soldier, sailor, or marine, or nurse with service as defined in section 1 above, entitled to a pension under existing laws or under this act on account of service in the Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, or China Relief Expedition, who was at the time of the passage of the act or thereafter became, on account of age or physical or mental disabilities, helpless or blind or so nearly helpless or blind as to need or require the regular aid and attendance of another person, should be given a rate of $100 a month. The prior rate was $72 per month.

Section 3 provided that pensions under the act should commence from the date of application therefor, after approval of the act, provided entitlement to pension under the provisions of this act is shown and the issue of a check in payment of a pension for which the execution and submission of a voucher was not required would constitute payment in the event of the death of a pensioner on or after the last day of the period covered by such check, and it should not be canceled, but should become an asset of the estate of the deceased pensioner.

Section 4 provided that the act would not affect or diminish additional pension to those on the Army and Navy Medal of Honor roll; that pensioners who were inmates of the United States Soldiers' Home or any national or State soldiers' home could not be paid more than $50 a month under the act while the Government contributed toward defraying the expense incurred in providing such inmates with domiciliary care; and that any pension paid under the act would be in lieu of any other pension to which a person might be entitled under any other war service pension act.

Section 5 provided that the act would not be construed to diminish or reduce any pension theretofore granted.

WAR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION ACT, JUNE 11, 1938 (PUBLIC, NO. 590, 75TH CONG.)

This act provided that no appropriation made in this act would be available for pay, allowances, or traveling or other expenses of any officer or enlisted man of the National Guard or any officer of the Organized Reserves who may be drawing a pension, disability allowance, disability compensation, or retired pay, unless such officer or enlisted man surrendered said pension, disability allowance, disability compensation, or retired pay for the period of his service or active duty. A similar provision appeared for the first time in Public, No. 441, Seventy-second Congress, March 4, 1933, and was continued in Public, No. 176, Seventy-third Congress, April 26, 1934, Public, No. 29, Seventy-fourth Congress, April 9, 1935, Public, No. 598, Seventy-fourth Congress, May 15, 1936, and Public, No. 176, Seventy-fifth Congress, July 1, 1937.

ACT OF JUNE 16, 1938 (PUBLIC, NO. 648, 75TH CONG.)

This act amended Veterans Regulation No. 10-Series, with respect to two provisions. The first amendment changed the definition of what constituted incurrence of disease or injury "in line of duty," as set forth in paragraph VIII, Veterans Regulation No. 10-Series. Prior to the amendment a disability incurred while on furlough or leave of absence for a period of time which was considered to interfere materially with the performance of regular duty was not deemed to have been incurred in line of duty. This limitation was removed by Public, No. 648. The fact that the injury was suffered or the disease was contracted while the person on whose account benefits are claimed was on authorized leave (irrespective of the duration of such leave) will not of itself bar a finding that the disability or death resulting therefrom was incurred in line of duty. If the injury was suffered or the disease was contracted while the person who served was away from camp or his post of duty, the burden is upon the claimant to establish line of duty. If, however, the injury was suffered or the disease was contracted while the person who served was at camp or his post of duty, even though in a leave status, the burden is upon the Government to show that disability or death resulting therefrom was not in line of duty.

The second amendment changed the definition of misconduct in paragraph IX, Veterans Regulation No. 10, by removing the limitation "other than through the sexual relation," thus eliminating the bar for payment of pension under Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, where venereal disease is affirmatively shown to have been innocently acquired.

ACT OF JUNE 22, 1938 (PUBLIC, NO. 697, 75TH CONG.)

This act provided that members of the Navy and Marine Corps who enlisted between April 21, 1898, and July 4, 1902, and who were discharged for fraudulent enlistment because of minority or misrepresentation of age and who were otherwise entitled to honorable discharge, would be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the Navy or Marine Corps on the date of actual separation therefrom.

ACT OF JUNE 25, 1938 (PUBLIC, NO. 732, 75TH CONG.)

Public, No. 732, effective July 1, 1938, providing for the creation, organization, administration, and maintenance of a Naval Reserve and a Marine Corps Reserve, contained a provision in section 304 which affected the Veterans' Administration. That section, after extending to any member of the Naval Reserve who was physically injured in line of duty while performing active military or naval service, or to the beneficiaries of any such reservist who died as the result of such physical injury the benefits prescribed by law for civil employees of the United States who were physically injured in the line of duty or who died as a result thereof, provided as follows:

That where a person who is eligible for the benefits prescribed by this section is also eligible for pension under the provisions of the act of June 23, 1937, entitled "An act to amend the provisions of the pension laws for peacetime service to include Reserve officers and members of the enlisted Reserves" (50 Stat. 305), he shall elect which benefit he shall receive, and for the purposes of this section and of said act all members of the Naval Reserve shall be considered as performing active military or naval service while performing active duty with or without pay, training duty with or without pay, drills, equivalent instructions or duty, appropriate duty, or other prescribed duty, or while performing authorized travel to or from such duties.

The act of June 23, 1937 (Public, No. 159, 75th Cong.), cited in the foregoing quotation amended Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), part II, paragraph I (a), governing eligibility for peacetime service-connected disability or death in line of duty to provide that active service, including service for training purposes, performed by a Reserve officer or member of the enlisted Reserves of the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, would be considered as active service for the purpose of granting pension under part II of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended.

ACT OF JUNE 25, 1938 (PUBLIC, NO. 734, 75TH CONG.)

This act was designed to facilitate the disposition of property left by deceased veterans on premises used as Veterans' Administration facilities and to eliminate certain difficulties, delays, and expenses theretofore incurred in the disposition of such property.

Section 1 provided that if a person died in a Veterans' Administration facility, leaving a will probated under the law of his domicile or of the place where the facility was located, the personal property of such decedent situated at the facility would vest in the person or persons entitled thereto under the provisions of his will.

If the decedent left property at the facility not disposed of by will, it would vest in the persons entitled to take the same by inheritance under laws of decedent's domicile. This provision did not apply to property to which the United States was entitled, except where such title was divested out of the United States.

The act further provided that upon demand the property would be delivered to a qualified administrator, after which neither the United States nor any officer or employee thereof would be liable therefor.

Sections 2 to 7, inclusive, dealt with assets left or found on the premises of a soldiers' home, a hospital, or a facility now under the jurisdiction of the Veterans' Administration, either of known or unknown ownership. These sections provided an expeditious method of transferring possession of property left or found on a facility to the person previously designated by the deceased or to certain classes of relatives under varying circumstances as to the existence or nonexistence of administration and covered cases where a decedent left a will as well as those in which he did not, and sale of unclaimed property and disposition of the proceeds thereof. The provisions were made applicable to property on hand at the date of enactment as well as that subsequently left or found in facilities. They applied to all property of the decedent which was on the reservation. The sections also applied to any property left or found on the reservation. Provision was made for notice to be given in the manner prescribed.

Section 8 provided for the relinquishment to the States, Territories, insular possessions, or dependencies of the United States of jurisdiction pertaining to the administration of estates of decedents as might have been ceded to the United States by such authorities respecting the Federal reservation on which was situated any Veterans' Administration facility.

Section 9 defined the term "Veterans' Administration facility" as used in this act.

Section 10 authorized the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to promulgate regulations to effectuate the provisions of the act. It further provided that decisions of the Administrator, or anyone acting for him, would not be reviewable, administratively, by any other officer of the United States.

Section 11 contained a separability clause in case any provision of the act was held invalid.

ACT OF JUNE 28, 1938 (PUBLIC, NO. 758, 75TH CONG.)

Public, No. 758, provided that on and after July 1, 1938, persons entitled to pension under the provisions of the general pension law, for death resulting from service prior to April 21, 1898, should be entitled to pension at the rates provided by paragraph III of part II of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended. It was also provided that this act should not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private.

PUBLIC RESOLUTION NO 1, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 4, 1939

This resolution appropriated the sum of $725,000,000 additional to the Works Progress Administration for work relief and public works for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939.

Veterans of the World War, Spanish-American War, and veterans of any campaign or expedition in which the United States has been engaged (as determined on the basis of the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration) who are in need and are American citizens, are given first preference in employment.

PUBLIC, NO. 7, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, MARCH 15, 1939

First Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1939, appropriates $2,747.85 for payment of judgments and authorized claims affecting the Veterans' Administration.

PUBLIC, NO. 8, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, MARCH 16, 1939

Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1940, provides a total appropriation for the Veterans' Administration of $561,093,000, made up of the following items: $97,000,000 for various administrative expenses, including repairs, alterations, or improvements of existing facilities; $120,000 for printing and binding; $432,063,000 for compensation and pensions, gratuities and allowances, including emergency officers' retirement pay, and annuities; $26,791,000 for military and naval insurance; $1,104,000 for adjusted service and dependent pay; and $4,015,000 for construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities.

PUBLIC, NO. 18, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, APRIL 3, 1939

Section 5 of this act, which provides for the national defense, contains authority for the President to order Reserve officers for active duty with the Regular Army. The act contains certain conditions and limitations pertaining thereto and includes the following proviso:

Provided further, That all officers, warrant officers, and enlisted men of the Army of the United States, other than the officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, if called or ordered into the active military service by the Federal Government for extended military service in excess of 30 days, and who suffer disability or death in line of duty from disease or injury while so employed, shall be deemed to have been in the active military service during such period and shall be in all respects entitled to receive the same pensions, compensation, retirement pay, and hospital benefits as are now or may hereafter be provided by law or regulation for officers and enlisted men of corresponding grades and length of service of the Regular Army.

By Executive Order No. 8099, dated April 28, 1939, the President determined that the Veterans' Administration would

award the retired cases upon certifications of eligibility secured from the War Department in each individual case.

PUBLIC RESOLUTION NO. 10, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, APRIL 13, 1939

This resolution provided an additional appropriation for work relief and relief for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, by increasing the amount from $725,000,000 previously appropriated by Public Resolution No. 1, Seventy-sixth Congress, approved February 4, 1939, to $825,000,000.

PRIVATE, NO. 33, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, APRIL 26, 1939

This act allowed credit in the accounts of certain former disbursing officers of the Veterans' Administration for sums standing as disallowances in their accounts on the books of the General Accounting Office.

PUBLIC, NO. 61, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, MAY 2, 1939

Second Deficiency Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1939, appropriates $29,689.24 for payment of judgments and authorized claims affecting the Veterans' Administration.

PUBLIC, NO. 62, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, MAY 3, 1939

This act provides domiciliary care, medical and hospital treatment, and burial benefits under section 6 of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, as amended, and section 17 of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, for veterans of the War with Spain, including the Boxer Rebellion and Philippine Insurrection, who entered the active service after August 12, 1898, and who did not participate in the Philippine Insurrection or Boxer Rebellion, or leave the continental limits of the United States for service in Guam, Cuba, or Puerto Rico.

Prior to the enactment of this act, these veterans, although they had their service pensions restored to them under Public Law No. 269, Seventy-fourth Congress, August 13, 1935, were not entitled to hospitalization, domiciliary care, or burial benefits under Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, March 20, 1933, and the Veterans Regulations promulgated thereunder.

PUBLIC, NO. 109, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JUNE 2, 1939

This act provides for payment not to exceed $50 for the transfusion of blood by members and former members of the Military Establishment, and by employees of the United States Government.

Prior to the enactment of this act the Veterans' Administration was precluded from making payment to nonmilitary employees who donated blood for transfusion for veterans hospitalized in Veterans' Administration facilities by reason of the limitation imposed by section 1765, Revised Statutes, which provides that:

> No officer in any branch of the public service, or any other person whose salary, pay, or emoluments are fixed by law or regulations, shall receive any additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation, in any form whatever, for the disbursement of public money, or for any other service or duty whatever, unless the same is authorized by law, and the appropriation therefor explicitly states that it is for such additional pay, extra allowance, or compensation.

The act of February 9, 1927, was enacted in order to remove the prohibition against the payment of extra compensation to any member or former member of the Military Establishment who furnishes blood for transfusion to a member or former member of the Military Establishment. Public, No. 109, extends the authority of the above act so as to include all Government employees, civilian as well as military.

PUBLIC, NO. 115, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JUNE 6, 1939

This act authorizes certain officers and employees to administer oaths to expense accounts and amends the prior law—act of August 24, 1912—to permit, in addition to those authorized thereunder, any officer or employee of any executive department, independent establishment, or other Government agency, in the District of Columbia or elsewhere, who shall have been designated in writing for such purpose by the head of the department, establishment, or agency concerned, when requested, to administer oaths, required by law or otherwise, to accounts for travel or other expenses against the United States.

PUBLIC, NO. 129, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JUNE 13, 1939

This act authorizes commissioning aviation cadets in the Naval and Marine Corps Reserves upon completion of training, and provides in section 7, as follows:

> Government life insurance issued in accordance with section 5 of the act of April 15, 1935 (34 U. S. C. 846), shall continue when an aviation cadet is commissioned pursuant to this act; the premiums thereon shall be deducted from the pay of the officers concerned and paid by the Secretary of the Navy to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. When released from active duty or discharged they shall have the option of continuing such insurance at their own expense.

Section 5 of the act of April 15, 1935, provided for the issuance to aviation cadets during their period of active duty, Government life insurance in the amount of $10,000, the premiums to be paid out of current appropriations of the Navy Department. Following the commissioning of these cadets, such insurance shall continue under the provisions of Public Law No. 129, supra, but the premiums are to be deducted from the pay of the officers concerned.

PUBLIC, NO. 146, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JUNE 21, 1939

Entitled "An act to extend further time for naturalization to alien veterans of the World War under the act approved May 25, 1932 (47 Stat. 165), to extend the same privileges to certain veterans of countries allied with the United States during the World War, and for other purposes," amended the act of May 25, 1932, as amended, extending from May 25, 1938, to May 25, 1940, the privilege heretofore granted aliens who fought in the Allied armies during the World War to become citizens of this country. The prior act also provided that he must prove good moral character for 2 years immediately preceding the date of his petition. Public, No. 146 changes the period to 5 years.

PUBLIC RESOLUTION NO. 24, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JUNE 30, 1939

This resolution making appropriations for work relief and relief, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, provides in section 7 (a) that the funds appropriated therein, together with the balance of funds heretofore appropriated or allocated to the United States Employees' Compensation Commission under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or prior emergency relief appropriation acts, shall be available for payments to Federal agencies for medical and hospital services supplied by Federal departments and establishments in accordance with the regulations of the Commission for injured persons entitled to benefits under the laws administered by the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as provided in section 24 of the Relief Act. Section 24 reads as follows:

> The provisions of the act of February 15, 1934 (48 Stat. 351), as amended, relating to disability or death compensation and benefits shall apply to persons (except administrative employees qualifying as civil employees of the United States) receiving compensation from the appropriations in this joint resolution for services rendered as employees of the United States: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply in any case coming within the purview of the workmen's compensation law of any State, Territory, or possession, or in which the claimant has received or is entitled to receive similar benefits for injury or death.

Section 16 (a) provides that preference shall be determined as far as practicable on the basis of relative needs and shall, where the relative needs are found to be the same, be given first to veterans of the World War and Spanish-American War, and veterans of any campaign or expedition in which the United States has been engaged—as determined on the basis of the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration—who are in need and are American citizens.

Subparagraph (b) provides for the removal, under certain conditions, from employment on Work Projects Administration projects all relief workers except veterans who have been continuously employed on such projects for more than 18 months.

Section 23 gives preference to soldiers, sailors, and marines, and the widows of such, or the wives of injured soldiers, sailors, and marines who themselves are not qualified but whose wives are qualified to hold a position in the Government service, for retention in the Federal service in the District of Columbia, where their ratings are good or better.

PUBLIC, NO. 166, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JULY 11, 1939

This act amended paragraph I of Veterans Regulation No. 9 (a), as amended, governing the furnishing of a flag for burial purposes and after burial to be given to the next of kin of the

veteran. Prior to the enactment of this act, flags could be furnished only where an honorably discharged veteran of any war died after discharge. Under this act, flags may also be furnished in the case of honorably discharged veterans of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard, who die after discharge, provided they completed at least one enlistment, or were discharged for disability incurred in line of duty.

PUBLIC, NO. 179, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JULY 15, 1939

This act extends the benefits of the United States Employees' Compensation Act to members of the Officers' Reserve Corps, and of the Enlisted Reserve Corps of the Army who are physically injured in line of duty while performing active duty or engaged in authorized training, or die as the result of such injury.

PUBLIC, NO. 196, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JULY 19, 1939

This act restores certain benefits to World War veterans suffering with paralysis, paresis, or blindness, or who are helpless or bedridden. With certain limitations this act restored to the compensation rolls those World War veterans on the rolls March 19, 1933, under that part of section 200, World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, which provides as follows:

* * * no person suffering from paralysis, paresis, or blindness shall be denied compensation by reason of willful misconduct, nor shall any person who is helpless or bedridden as a result of any disability be denied compensation by reason of willful misconduct.

The act further provides death compensation for widows and children of such veterans who die or have died from disease or injury, service connection of which is or would have been established under the provisions of this act. These benefits are payable under Public Law No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, June 28, 1934, as amended, which act provides compensation at rates somewhat lower than war service-connected death rates where the veteran at time of death was suffering from World War service-connected disability.

The service-connected blind cases on the rolls March 19, 1933, were restored to the rolls by section 26 of Public Law No. 141, March 28, 1934.

The limitations heretofore referred to are (1) the act restores only those veterans who were on the rolls March 19, 1933, and who entered the service prior to November 12, 1918, or as to Russian service, before April 2, 1920; (2) the presumptively service-connected cases do not have the full amount of compensation restored, but same must be reduced by 25 percent under the provisions of sections 27 and 28 of Public Law No. 141, Seventy-third Congress; (3) by making the restoration subject to sections 27 and 28 of Public Law No. 141, Seventy-third Congress, cases of fraud, misrepresentation of a material fact or unmistakable error as to conclusions of fact or law are excluded, and the act does not apply to persons as to whom clear and unmistakable evidence discloses that the disease, injury, or disability had inception before or after the period of active military or naval service, unless such injury, disease, or disability is shown to have been aggravated during such service; and in any review of the case of any veteran to whom compensation was being paid on March 19, 1933, for such service-connected disability, reasonable doubts shall be resolved in favor of the veteran, the burden of proof being on the Government.

Payments to veterans restored to the rolls under the provisions of the act are effective the date of enactment of the act and payments to widows and children are effective from the date of enactment or date of filing claim therefor, whichever is the later.

PUBLIC, NO. 198, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JULY 19, 1939

This act provides certain benefits for World War veterans and their dependents.

Section 1 of this act amends section 1 of Public Law No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, June 28, 1934, and pertains to payment of compensation to dependents of deceased World War veterans where the veteran's death is not shown to have been due to service.

Section 1 liberalizes the existing laws in those cases where the veteran was honorably discharged after having served 90 days or more, or, having served less than 90 days, was discharged for disability incurred in service in line of duty, so that compensation is payable if at the time of the veteran's death he had a disability, directly or presumptively incurred in or aggravated by service in the World War, for which compensation would be payable if the disability were 10 percent or more in degree. In other words, in those cases where the veteran had 90 days' honorable service or was discharged for disability incurred in service in line of duty it will not be necessary that he have a service-connected disability 10 percent or more disabling, but he must have a disability for which compensation would be payable if 10 percent or more in degree.

This section establishes a new income limitation providing that payment of compensation shall not be made to any widow without child or a child whose annual income exceeds $1,000, or to a widow with a child or children whose annual income exceeds $2,500, and exempt payments of war-risk term insurance, United States Government life—converted—insurance, and adjusted compensation from consideration as income. This income limitation is similar to that employed under existing law for non-service-connected benefits under Veterans' Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, part III. This new income limitation is substituted for the preexisting limitation of requirement for exemption from payment of a Federal income tax.

This section provides for payment of benefits of sections 1 to 3, inclusive, from the date of death where application is filed within 1 year thereafter and in other cases from the date of application, except that compensation authorized cannot be effective prior to the date of enactment.

Section 2 of the act provides for increased rates of death compensation to widows under Public Law No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, as amended. The prior rate to widow alone was $22 per month and the rate to widow with one child was $30. Section 2 provides a rate of $30 per month for a widow but no child and $38 per month for a widow with one child. No change was made in the rates for children. The total compensation limitation was changed from $56 to $64 in view of the increase for widows.

Section 3 of the act made formal changes in section 4 of Public Law No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, so as to conform with the amendments made by the act.

Section 4 of the act provides hospitalization and domiciliary care in Veterans' Administration facilities for retired officers and enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard who served honorably during a war period as recognized by the Veterans' Administration, on a parity with other war veterans.

Under Veterans Regulation No. 6 (c), paragraph 1 (f), in effect prior to date of enactment of this act hospital treatment of retired officers and enlisted men was granted providing that part of the retired person's service was in wartime. That treatment was provided only in facilities under direct and exclusive jurisdiction of the Veterans' Administration and with due regard to available beds. A per diem rate was charged to such patients for treatment of tuberculosis—officers, $1.50; enlisted men, $1; general medical and surgical disorders or psychoses—officers, $1; enlisted men, $0.65.

Retired officers or enlisted men, except emergency officers of the World War, while being furnished hospital treatment were not formerly subject to reduction of retirement pay as provided by paragraph VI (A) of Veterans Regulation No. 6 Series, which provides in effect that where any disabled veteran who has neither wife, child, nor dependent parent is being furnished hospital treatment, institutional or domiciliary care by the United States or any political subdivision thereof, pension, compensation, or emergency officers' retirement pay shall not exceed $15, and the amount payable to such disabled veterans entitled to pension for disability, nonservice connected, shall not exceed $6. Section 4 of the act makes the retired pay subject to the reductions heretofore explained under Veterans Regulation No. 6 (c), paragraph VI (A).

Section 5 of the act provides increases of death compensation to the widows of veterans whose death was due to World

War service. The prior rate of $30 per month for a widow under 50 years of age was increased to $38 per month. The prior rate of $37.50 for widows, age 50 to 65 years, was eliminated, and those widows became entitled to $45 per month on a parity with widows, age 65 years or over. These increases are subject to the limitation contained in Public Law No. 304, Seventy-fifth Congress, that they cannot be paid in the event the monthly payment of compensation under Veterans Regulation No. 1 (g), and the monthly payment of yearly renewable term insurance or automatic insurance aggregates or exceeds the amount of compensation authorized by the act. United States Government life—converted—insurance has been eliminated from the limitation. It is to be noted that there is no change made in the rates for children or dependent parents, although by the removal of the United States Government life—converted—insurance limitation it is possible that some will become entitled to increased rates who were formerly barred.

Section 6 of the act contains an amendment to Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, part I, paragraph II (k), which formerly provided that if a disabled person as the result of service-incurred disability had suffered the anatomical loss or the loss of the use of only one foot, or one hand, or one eye, the rate of pension would be increased by $25 per month. This section of the act increases the additional compensation from $25 to $35 per month. This provision applies to World War and Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and Philippine Insurrection, service-connected cases. It also includes those Regular Establishment cases where the disability resulted from an injury received in line of duty in actual combat in a military expedition or military occupation.

Section 7 of the act provides that on and after the date of enactment the rate of interest charged on any loan secured by a lien on United States Government life (converted) insurance shall not exceed 5 percent per annum. Under section 301 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, loan privileges under United States Government life-insurance policies are provided for, but the law does not provide for any specific rate of interest to be charged on any loan secured by a lien on such insurance. The determination of this rate is, therefore, made by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. Up to the passage of section 7 of this act the rate of interest on such loans was always 6 percent per annum.

PUBLIC, NO. 213, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JULY 25, 1939

This act amends section 5 of the act of April 3, 1939 (Public, No. 18, 76th Cong.), as follows:

"That section 5 of the act approved April 3, 1939 (Public, Numbered 18, Seventy-sixth Congress), is hereby amended by inserting after the comma in line 5 of the final proviso of that section the expression 'other than for service with the Civilian Conservation Corps,'."

This act excludes Reserve Officers of the Army on duty with the Civilian Conservation Corps from the provisions of section 5 of the act approved April 3, 1939, which grants to personnel of the Army of the United States (other than Regular personnel) on extended active duty under an order or call for periods in excess of 30 days and who suffer death or disability from sickness or injury in line of duty, the right to receive the same pensions, compensation, retirement pay, and hospitalization as is now or may hereafter be provided for personnel of the Regular Army of the same grade and length of service. This act carries out the recommendation of the President made in message of April 20, 1939, to the Congress.

PUBLIC, NO. 250, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, AUGUST 1, 1939

This act increases the amount of Federal aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States from $120 per annum, as contained in the act of August 27, 1888, as amended, to $240 per annum. It further includes hospitalized cases and provides for payment from date of determination of eligibility by the Veterans' Administration.

PUBLIC, NO. 257, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, AUGUST 4, 1939

This act provides pensions to members of the Regular Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard based upon such service after April 21, 1898, who become disabled by reason of their service therein, other than during a period of war, at rates equivalent to 75 percent of the compensation or pension payable to war veterans for similar service-connected disability under veterans regulations promulgated by the President under Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, March 20, 1933.

The rates under prior laws for this group ranged from $6 per month for 10-percent disability to $45 per month for total disability, with higher rates for certain specific disabilities up to $125 per month. This act increases the rates from $7.50 per month for a 10-percent disability to $75 per month for total disability, with higher rates for certain specific disabilities up to $187.50 per month.

PUBLIC, NO. 279, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, AUGUST 5, 1939

This act provides that awards of death pension shall be effective as of the date of death of a veteran of the Spanish-American War, including the Boxer Rebellion and the Philippine Insurrection, if claim is filed within 1 year after the death of such veteran.

This act establishes a uniform effective date for death-pension awards for the Spanish-American War, the Boxer Rebellion, and the Philippine Insurrection, and the provisions thereof are similar to those contained in section 6 of Public, No. 304, Seventy-fifth Congress, August 16, 1937, pertaining to effective dates of awards of death-compensation benefits to dependents of World War veterans.

PUBLIC, NO. 324, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, AUGUST 7, 1939

This act provides for the relief of disbursing officers and certifying officers of the Veterans' Administration from liability for payment where recovery of such payment is waived under existing laws administered by the Veterans' Administration.

This act affords the same relief to certifying officers of the Veterans' Administration as was formerly afforded to disbursing officers of the Veterans' Administration under the provisions of section 28 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, and extends the relief to recovery cases generally. It also continues the relief of disbursing officers. The act is effective June 10, 1933.

PUBLIC, NO. 326, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, AUGUST 7, 1939

This act amended the act entitled "An act to establish a Civilian Conservation Corps, and for other purposes," approved June 28, 1937, as amended.

The first section of this act amended section 1 of the foregoing act so as to authorize continuance of its provisions to July 1, 1943, instead of July 1, 1940, as previously provided.

Section 2 of the act made provisions for an official seal to be designated by the Director for the corps, which shall be judicially noticed and which shall be preserved in the custody of the Director.

PUBLIC, NO. 361, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, AUGUST 9, 1939

This act, which is cited as the "Third Deficiency Appropriation Act, Fiscal Year 1939," appropriated $32,362.50 for payment of judgments and authorized claims affecting the Veterans' Administration.

PUBLIC, NO. 359, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, AUGUST 9, 1939

This act provides for insanity proceedings in the District of Columbia. Section 6 of the act provides for commitment by the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia of the insane person to the custody of the Veterans' Administration for care and treatment in a Veterans' Administration facility, if there has been filed with the court or the commission on mental health, acting under the direction of the court, a certificate executed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, or his duly authorized representative, showing said insane person to be entitled to such care and treatment, and that facilities therefor are available.

Section 7 of the same act, in providing for the proceedings of the commission on mental health, includes among the types of recommendation to the court which may be made by the commission "that the person is of unsound mind," and "(3) should be committed to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs for care and treatment in a Veterans' Administration facility: *Provided*, That there shall be filed with the court or commission a certificate executed by said Administrator, or

his duly authorized representative, showing said person is entitled to such care and treatment and that facilities therefor are available."

PUBLIC, NO. 412, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 9, 1940

This act, pertaining to sailors and marines of the United States Navy and Marine Corps, respectively, their widows and dependent children, provides that if a sailor or marine served as an enlisted man between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and was discharged for fraudulent enlistment on account of minority or misrepresentation of age, such sailor or marine shall hereafter be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from the naval service on the date of his separation therefrom if his service otherwise was such as would have entitled him to an honorable discharge. Provision is also made for the granting of an honorable discharge certificate. Prior to the enactment of this act, under the provisions of the act of January 19, 1929, relief was afforded only to those sailors and marines who enlisted between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and included cases of misrepresentation of age. The act of February 9, 1940, establishes greater uniformity with the act of March 3, 1936, Public, No. 467, Seventy-fourth Congress, pertaining to the Army.

PUBLIC, NO. 418, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, MARCH 2, 1940

This act granted authority to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to transfer, by quitclaim deed, to the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., for right-of-way purposes, a small strip of land at Veterans' Administration Facility, Coatesville, Pa.

PUBLIC, NO. 432, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, MARCH 14, 1940

This act authorized the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, under regulations to be prescribed by the President, to pay the actual necessary expenses of travel, including lodging and subsistence, or in lieu thereof an allowance based upon the mileage traveled, of any person to or from a Veterans' Administration facility or other place for the purpose of examination, treatment, or care. It further provides that payment of mileage upon termination of examination, treatment, or care may be made prior to completion of such travel, and further, that when any such person requires an attendant other than an employee of the Veterans' Administration for the performance of such travel, such attendant may be allowed expenses of travel upon a similar basis. Prior to the enactment of this act allowance in lieu of actual necessary expenses, including lodging and subsistence, could not be granted.

PUBLIC, NO. 435, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, MARCH 15, 1940

This act authorized the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to exchange certain property located at Veterans' Administration Facility, Tuskegee, Ala., title to which was then vested in the United States, for certain property of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.

PUBLIC, NO. 447, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, APRIL 6, 1940

This act, known as the First Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1940, appropriated $80,776.93 for payment of judgments and authorized claims affecting the Veterans' Administration.

PUBLIC, NO. 459, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, APRIL 18, 1940

This act, known as the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1941, provides a total appropriation for the Veterans' Administration of $580,005,544, made up of the following items: $101,228,240 for various administrative expenses, including repairs, alterations, or improvements of existing facilities; $120,000 for printing and binding; $456,492,304 for compensation and pensions, gratuities, and allowance, including emergency officers' retirement pay; $20,000,000 for military and naval insurance; $2,165,000 for construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities. It authorizes purchase of printed reduced fare requests for use by veterans when traveling at their own expense from or to Veterans' Administration facilities, such purchases to be from sources authorized by the common carriers. No part of the appropriation may be used for hospitalization or examination of persons other than veterans unless a reciprocal schedule of pay is in effect with the agency or department involved. This provision was clarified by Public, No. 668, Seventy-sixth Congress, June 27, 1940.

PUBLIC, NO. 461, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, APRIL 18, 1940

This act authorized the Secretary of War to furnish upon application, for use on graves in cemeteries where stone markers are not acceptable, a headstone or marker of such standard design and material as may be approved by him, within the limit of prevailing costs of the standard World War type headstones, for the grave of any deceased person for which the Secretary of War is authorized to furnish a marker or headstone. The act provides that the Secretary of War shall furnish the upright stone marker, authorized by section 4877 of the Revised Statutes, for cemeteries under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of War.

PUBLIC, NO. 473, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, APRIL 22, 1940

This act provided for incorporation of the organization known as United Spanish War Veterans into a body corporate and politic of the District of Columbia by the name of United Spanish War Veterans, with the principal office in the city of Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC, NO. 491, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, APRIL 30, 1940

This act amended section 35B of the Criminal Code of the United States, as amended, United States Code, title 18, section 86, to include within its provisions a prohibition against the purchase or receipt in pledge of clothing and other supplies issued to veterans in any hospital, home, or facility maintained by the United States. Previously this section was limited to purchase of articles issued under a clothing allowance to members of the armed forces.

PUBLIC, NO. 505, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, MAY 2, 1940

This act, commonly referred to as the Philippine Travel Pay Act, pertains to officers and soldiers of the volunteer service of the United States mustered into service for the War with Spain who were held to service in the Philippine Islands for service in the Philippine Insurrection after April 11, 1899, and after the conclusion of peace with the kingdom of Spain. It authorizes payment of certain travel pay and allowance for subsistence. Claims under the act are settled in the General Accounting Office and the Comptroller General is authorized and directed to certify to Congress, pursuant to the provisions of section 2 of the act of July 7, 1884, all claims allowed under the act. The act requires that application for benefits shall be filed within 3 years after the date of its passage.

PUBLIC, NO. 553, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JUNE 6, 1940

This act authorized the payment of pension for disabilities incurred in or aggravated by service prior to April 21, 1898, at the rates provided in part II of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, which, heretofore, as to disabled persons, has applied only to peacetime service on and after April 21, 1898. The act provides that it shall not be construed to reduce any pension under any act, public or private. Before the enactment of this act the rates for service-connected disability based on service before April 21, 1898, were payable solely under the general pension law.

PUBLIC, NO. 594, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JUNE 11, 1940

This act amended the service-pension acts pertaining to the War with Spain, Philippine Insurrection, and the China Relief Expedition by providing that in determining the period of active service for the purpose of the act of May 1, 1926—Public Law No. 166, Sixty-ninth Congress—the act of June 2, 1930—Public Law No. 299, Seventy-first Congress—and the act of May 24, 1938—Public Law No. 541, Seventy-fifth Congress—granting service pensions to veterans and dependents of deceased veterans of the War with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, or the China Relief Expedition, continuous active service entered into during the War with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, or the China Relief Expedition shall be included, although part of such continuous service extended into either the Philippine Insurrection or the China Relief Expedition. Since the War with Spain, Philippine Insurrection, and China Relief Expedition are considered as three separate periods of service, if a veteran, prior to this enactment, had served in one of the named hostilities less than the requisite time to entitle him to pension under service-pension laws, such service could not be combined with service rendered in one of the other hostilities, notwithstanding the

fact that the subsequent service was continuous. The act conforms to the practice of the Veterans' Administration in determining the requisite period of service in World War cases.

PUBLIC, NO. 598, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JUNE 11, 1940

This act amends the Criminal Code so as to confer concurrent jurisdiction on courts of the United States over crimes committed on certain Federal reservations. Prior to this enactment, as to Federal reservations, the crimes enumerated in sections 273–289 of the Criminal Code—Eighteenth United States Code, at pages 452–468—were punishable only if lands were exclusively reserved for the United States and were under the exclusive jurisdiction thereof. Several of the reservations on which Veterans' Administration facilities are located are under concurrent State jurisdiction insofar as police power is concerned.

PUBLIC, NO. 643, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JUNE 19, 1940

This act amends the act of May 22, 1896—Fiftieth United States Code, at page 67—which authorizes the lending by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy of condemned ordnance, guns, and cannon balls to soldiers' monument associations, posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, and municipal corporations so as to authorize such loans to posts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, the American Legion, and other recognized war-veteran associations, to certain museums, and to posts of the Sons of Veterans' Reserve. The list of material authorized to be lent is enlarged to include condemned or obsolete ordnance, guns, projectiles, books, manuscripts, works of art, drawings, plans, models, and other condemned or obsolete material not needed by either Department.

PUBLIC, NO. 663, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JUNE 25, 1940

This act prohibits the unlawful use of the badge, medal, emblem, or other insignia of veterans' organizations incorporated by act of Congress, and provides a penalty for such unlawful use.

PUBLIC, NO. 668, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JUNE 27, 1940

This act, known as the Second Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1940, appropriates an additional amount of $1,000,000 for hospital and domiciliary facilities and $3,228.80 for payment of judgments and authorized claims affecting the Veterans' Administration.

PUBLIC, NO. 743, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JULY 15, 1940

Section 1 of this act has two principal purposes. The first purpose is to return to the rolls of emergency officers retired with pay a limited group of such officers who were in receipt of such benefits on March 19, 1933, under the provisions of the Emergency Officers' Retirement Act of May 24, 1928, and shown to have been heretofore correctly rated, but who were found not entitled to continuation of such benefits under the restrictive provisions of section 10, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, March 20, 1933. The act, in effect, eliminates the prior requirement that a disability, for emergency officers' retirement purposes, must be shown to have directly resulted from the performance of military or naval duty and substitutes a provision that the disability must be clearly shown by all of the evidence to have been incurred in or aggravated by active service; in fact, in line of duty without benefit of any statutory or regulatory presumption of any kind. It is required that active service as a commissioned officer must have been rendered between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918. The language contained in section 1 of this act, in addition to excluding for the purposes thereof those cases involving statutory and regulatory presumptive service connection, also excludes such claims as, first, those wherein direct service connection was granted, but wherein it was necessary to resolve reasonable doubts; second, those wherein direct service connection was only in effect by reason of some protective provision of law or some liberal rule of adjudication, such as original special review board awards; and, third, those claims involving increase in degree of a disability where such increase during service was only to such extent as would be considered natural progress of the disease. The second purpose of the section is to authorize the grant of retirement pay to those emergency officers who failed to file claim within 12 months after the enactment of the act of May 24, 1928, subject to the other provisions thereof and the limitations contained in section 10, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, as modified by this act, Public, No. 743, Seventy-sixth Congress, July 15, 1940, in any case where the disability resulted from injury or disease incurred in combat with an enemy of the United States.

Section 2 of the act provides as follows:

SEC. 2. No beneficiary under this act shall receive any retirement pay for any period prior to the date of this act.

Section 3 amends section 212 (b) of the act of June 30, 1932, Public, No. 212, Seventy-second Congress, so as to authorize payment of retirement pay and Government salary concurrently where regular or emergency officers' retirement is based upon disabilities resulting from an explosion of an instrumentality of war in line of duty during an enlistment or employment as provided in Veterans' Regulation No. 1 (a), part I, paragraph I. Concurrent payment is now authorized by that section for disabilities incurred in combat with an enemy of the United States.

PUBLIC, NO. 746, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JULY 18, 1940

This act provides for the granting of emergency officers' retirement benefits to World War provisional, probationary, or temporary officers of the military or naval forces or Coast Guard who served subsequent to April 6, 1917, and who are now in a status of honorable separation from service, if application for such benefits is filed with the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs within 12 months after the passage of the act. There are for application the requirements of the act of May 24, 1928, as amended by section 10 of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, as further amended by Public, No. 743, Seventy-sixth Congress, supra.

In order to become entitled to emergency officers' retirement pay under Public, No. 746, it must be clearly shown by all the evidence that the disability was incurred in or aggravated by active service in fact in line of duty without benefit of any statutory or regulatory presumption of any kind. There will also be excluded those claims (1) wherein direct service connection was granted but wherein it was necessary to resolve all reasonable doubts, (2) wherein direct service connection was only in effect by reason of some protective provision of law or some liberal rule of adjudication such as original special review board awards, and (3) involving increase in degree of disability where such increase during service was only to such extent as would be considered natural progress of the disease.

All benefits under Public, No. 746, Seventy-sixth Congress, take effect from the date of application, if approved.

PUBLIC, NO. 747, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, JULY 18, 1940

This act, in effect, applies the act of July 15, 1939 (Public, No. 179, 76th Cong.), which extends the benefits of the United States Employees' Compensation Act to members of the Officers' Reserve Corps and of the Enlisted Reserve Corps of the Army who are physically injured in line of duty while performing active duty or engaged in authorized training, or die as the result of such injury, to cases where such injury or death occurred between February 28, 1925, and July 15, 1939, "when such injury or death results from an accident involving a military hazard such as flying in military aircraft, participation in military drills, target practice and tactical exercises, and in injury cases where such injury has resulted in permanent partial or permanent total disability."

PUBLIC RESOLUTION NO. 96, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, AUGUST 27, 1940

This act, designed to strengthen the common defense, authorizes the President during the period ending June 30, 1942, to order members and units of Reserve components and retired personnel of the Regular Army to active military service for a period of 12 consecutive months, service not to be performed beyond the limits of the Western Hemisphere except in the Territories and possessions of the United States, including the Philippine Islands. Any person in the National Guard of the United States under the age of 18 who is ordered into active service shall be immediately issued an honorable discharge from the National Guard.

Persons ordered to active duty shall have the same status as if they had been ordered into service under existing general statutory authorizations.

Certificates shall be issued upon the satisfactory completion of a period of service under the act. A physical examination shall be given each person at the beginning of service and a medical statement showing any physical defects. Another physical examination shall be given upon the completion of service and a medical statement showing any injuries, illnesses, or disabilities suffered during service.

Provision is made for restoration of a person to employment if he left permanent employment in order to perform service under the act, provided he is still qualified to perform the duties of the position and makes application therefor within 40 days after discharge. If the position was in the Federal Government or the District of Columbia the person shall be restored to such position or one of like seniority, status, and pay. If the position was with a private employer, the person shall be restored to such or similar position unless the employer's circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to do so. If the position was with a State or political subdivision it is the sense of Congress that the person shall be restored to such or similar position.

A person restored to his former position shall not lose seniority, insurance participation or benefits, or other benefits, and shall not be discharged from such position without cause within 1 year after restoration.

Jurisdiction is conferred upon district courts of the United States to require private employers to comply with the above provision.

Any person below the rank of captain, ordered into active service under the act, who has dependents and no means of support except income from personal services may resign or be discharged upon his own request within 20 days after entrance into service.

With certain exceptions, the benefits of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act, approved March 8, 1918, are extended to all National Guard, Reserve, and retired personnel ordered to service under the act, as long as such personnel are in such service and for 60 days thereafter.

PUBLIC, NO. 783, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, SEPTEMBER 16, 1940

This act, which may be cited as the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, provides for the common defense by increasing the personnel of the armed forces of the United States and providing for its training.

Section 1 declares the necessity for such legislation, indorses the policy of selective compulsory military training and service, and provides that whenever Congress shall determine that troops are needed in excess of the Regular Army the National Guard shall be ordered to active Federal service, and continued therein so long as necessity exists.

Section 2 provides for the registration of every male citizen of the United States, and male aliens residing in the United States between the ages of 21 and 36.

Section 3 declares that except as otherwise provided all male citizens and male aliens residing in the United States who have declared their intention to become citizens, between 21 and 36 years of age, shall be liable for training and service; and authorizes the President to select and induct into service such number of men as in his judgment is required, not to exceed, except in time of war, 900,000. Provision is made for voluntary induction into service. Service under the act shall be for 12 months unless extended by the President, after which each man shall be transferred to the Reserve forces. Service under the act is restricted to the Western Hemisphere, except in the territories and possessions of the United States, including the Philippine Islands.

It is provided that inducted men shall have—

The same pay, allowances, pensions, disability, and death compensation, and other benefits as are provided by law in the case of other enlisted men of like grades and length of service of that component of the land or naval forces to which they are assigned.

Benefits allowable upon the termination of service under the act are comparable to those authorized under existing laws on account of service rendered in the active military or naval services in other than a time of war. These benefits include disability and death pensions—service connection required—at approximately 75 percent of the corresponding rate based upon war service; domiciliary or hospital care, if the veteran is suffering from disability incurred in line of duty or is in receipt of pension for service-connected disability, including, under certain conditions, the furnishing of clothing and prosthetic appliances; employment preference, burial benefits, and insurance. The latter benefit is authorized by part I, title VI, of the act of October 8, 1940, Public, No. 801 Seventy-sixth Congress, which will be hereafter described.

Section 4 authorizes the President to prescribe regulations for the selection of men for training and service under the act, according to a quota system based upon population.

Section 5 exempts certain persons from the requirements of the act.

Section 6 restricts the number of men to be inducted to those for whom specific appropriation shall be made.

Section 7 prohibits the payment of bounty as inducement to service in the armed forces.

Section 8 provides for the issuance of certificates upon the satisfactory completion of service and for restoration to employment in a manner similar to that prescribed by Public Resolution No. 96, supra. Voting by absentee ballot of persons rendering service under the act is also authorized. Whenever a vacancy occurs in business or industry by reason of an induction into service, it is the policy of Congress that such position shall not be filled by a person who is a member of the Communist Party or the German-American Bund.

Section 9 provides for the procurement of such products or materials that may be required, and for enforced compliance with orders placed with individuals, firms, and so forth, for such equipment.

Section 10 provides for the establishment of a selective-service system, including local draft boards and a director of selective service.

Section 11 provides for the enforcement of the act and prescribes penalties for its violation.

Section 12 prescribes rates of pay.

Section 13 incorporates, with certain exceptions, the benefits of the Soldiers and Sailors Civil Relief Act of March 8, 1918.

Section 14 provides that the President's proclamation under the act shall constitute notice of the requirements of the act.

Section 15 contains definitions of terms.

Section 16 suspends laws in conflict with the act and appropriates such sums as may be necessary to carry out its provisions.

Section 17 provides that the act shall take effect immediately.

Section 18 provides that the act may be cited as the "Selective Training and Service Act of 1940."

PUBLIC, NO. 796, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, OCTOBER 5, 1940

This act amends paragraph II, Veterans Regulation No. 9 Series, so that in case of the death of a nonwar veteran who was discharged for disability incurred in line of duty, or a nonwar veteran in receipt of pension for service-connected disability, the Veterans' Administration is authorized to pay not to exceed $100 for burial and funeral expenses and transportation of the body of such a veteran (including preparation of the body) to the place of burial. Prior to this amendment the benefits of this part of the regulation were confined to honorably discharged war veterans or war veterans in receipt of pension or compensation.

PUBLIC, NO. 797, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, OCTOBER 5, 1940

This act authorizes the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to grant an easement to the city of Memphis, Tenn., in a strip of land along the western boundary of the Veterans' Administration facility in that city. The purpose of this easement is to permit the widening of Dudley Street as a part of a comprehensive plan of city improvement, thus improving the neighborhood in which the facility is located. All of the work incident to the street-widening project is to be done at no expense to the Federal Government.

PUBLIC, NO. 799, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, OCTOBER 5, 1940

This act authorizes the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to grant an easement to the county of Los Angeles, Calif., in a small strip of land now being used for sidewalk purposes, adjacent to a public highway which traverses the Veterans' Administration facility in that county. Granting of such an easement will permit the Los Angeles authorities to make needed repairs to the sidewalk at no expense to the Federal Government.

PUBLIC, NO. 801, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, OCTOBER 8, 1940

Part I, title VI, of this act, cited as National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940, prohibits further issue of United States Government life insurance under section 300 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, and authorizes the issue of a new type of insurance—national service life insurance—to certain persons in the active service of the land or naval forces, including persons selected for training in service under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, or the Coast Guard. Those entering active service may apply for such insurance without medical examination within 120 days of such entry. Those in the service and those reenlisting or reentering service may apply for such insurance within 120 days of such reenlistment or reentry, if shown to be in good health.

Such insurance does not contain any indemnity against permanent total disability, but is payable in the event of the death of the insured only. Payments of premiums are waived in the event of continuous total disability of the insured for 6 or more months before becoming 60 years of age, and any premiums so waived are not deductible from the face of the policy at the time of maturity. The United States will bear the excess mortality cost and the cost of waiver of premiums on account of total disability traceable to the extra hazard of the military or naval service.

Insurance will be payable only to a widow, widower, child, parent, brother, or sister of the insured. If the first beneficiary to receive payments under the policy is under 30 years of age, insurance will be payable in 240 equal monthly installments; if the first beneficiary to receive payments of insurance is over 30 years of age, insurance will be payable as an annuity in equal monthly installments for 120 months certain, with payments continuing during the remaining lifetime of such beneficiary. Any installments certain of insurance remaining unpaid at the death of a beneficiary shall be paid in equal monthly installments at the same rate as that paid to the first beneficiary to the other person or persons within the permitted class of beneficiaries above specified, and in the order named unless designated in a different order by the insured.

Such insurance is issued upon the 5-year level premium-term plan, but must be converted prior to the expiration of such 5-year term period to an ordinary life, 20-payment life, or 30-payment life policy of National Service life insurance. Premium rates and other calculations are based upon the American Experience Table of Mortality and interest at 3 percent per annum. There will be no loading of premium rates for the cost of administration, because such costs will be borne by the Government, but because such calculations are based upon interest at 3 percent per annum, rather than interest at 3½ percent per annum, premium rates for such insurance in some instances will be slightly higher than the premium rates charged for war risk yearly renewable term insurance.

Such insurance may be issued in any multiple of $500, but not less than $1,000 nor more than $10,000 to any one person.

Premiums collected on such insurance will be deposited in the Treasury to the credit of a permanent trust fund known as the national service life-insurance fund, and this fund, together with interest earned thereon, will be available for payment of liabilities under such insurance.

Title VI of this act will be administered by the Veterans' Administration, and the decision of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is made final and conclusive upon all questions arising under the act, except that in the event of disagreement as to a claim arising thereunder suit may be brought in the same manner and subject to the same conditions and limitations as are applicable to United States Government—converted—life insurance under the provisions of sections 19 and 500 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, but in any such suit the decision of the Administrator as to waiver or nonwaiver of premiums is conclusive and binding upon the court.

Title VI of this act does not affect the right of World War veterans to apply for United States Government—converted—life insurance under the provisions of section 310 and protection against total disability under section 311 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended.

PUBLIC, NO. 828, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, OCTOBER 9, 1940

This act provides a uniform method of handling checks drawn against funds of the United States in favor of payees residing in foreign countries where, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, there is not reasonable assurance of actual delivery of such checks to the payees and the ability of the payees to negotiate the checks for full value. The act authorizes the deposit of the proceeds of such checks in a special deposit account in the Treasury, subject to claim by payees upon the establishment of ownership and a showing that checks in the payment of such claims can actually be delivered to the payees and negotiated by them for full value.

In the case of checks representing payments under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration, when the amount transferred to such special deposit account on behalf of an individual payee equals $1,000, the amount of any further checks, except checks under contracts of insurance, is to be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts. The deposit in such special-deposit account or the covering into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts of the amount of any such check is to be considered for all purposes as payment to the person entitled thereto. The act also provides for the manner of devolution in case of the death of the payee of any check issued under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration while the amount thereof remains in the special-deposit account.

PUBLIC, NO. 846, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, OCTOBER 14, 1940

This act amends that part of the Civil Service Retirement Act and the corresponding part of other similar acts which prohibit inclusion within the civil-service annuity base of "periods of honorable service in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard" in those cases where a civil-service employee—

> Is eligible for and elects to receive a pension under any law * * * or compensation under the War Risk Insurance Act.

Based upon such military or naval service.

Under procedure in effect prior to enactment of this law, where a former member of the armed forces applied for a civil-service annuity, the Veterans' Administration certified to the Civil Service Commission the entire period of service upon which the applicant's entitlement to pension was based. The act amends this procedure in two respects, namely, first, it excludes from the civil-service annuity base only the minimum period of service required to support a claim for service pension, based upon age or disability, the latter not required to be service-connected, thus making available for annuity purposes all military or naval service over the required minimum period, regardless of whether the veteran served one or more enlistments; and, second, it includes within the annuity base all honorable military or naval service performed by a veteran who is eligible for or in receipt of pension or compensation on account of service-connected disability.

The act makes no change in the status of civil employees who elect to receive retired pay, including World War emergency officers' retirement pay, on account of military or naval service, such service being excluded from the annuity base.

PUBLIC, NO. —, (S. 4270), SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, OCTOBER —, 1940

This act is a current restatement of the act of March 8, 1918, known as the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act. It provides for the suspension of the enforcement of certain civil liabilities, including such obligations as rent, installment

contracts, mortgages, and insurance while the person under such obligation is a member of the armed forces of the United States. Article IV of the act, dealing with insurance, is to be administered by the Veterans' Administration.

The purpose of this article is to protect the insurable rights of policyholders while in the active military or naval service of the United States and for 1 year after expiration of such service. Such protection is available upon application by the insured and is limited to insurance policies not in excess of $5,000 on which premiums are not due and unpaid for more than 1 year prior to the date of such application and on which there are not outstanding loans in excess of 50 percent of the cash surrender value thereof.

Insurers are issued certificates by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs in the name of the United States as security for premiums, with interest. The United States has a first lien on any policy protected by this article, subject only to any lien existing prior to the time such protection attaches.

PUBLIC, NO. — (H. R. 8930), SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, OCTOBER —, 1940

This is an act to amend section 202 (3), World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, to provide more adequate and uniform administrative provisions in veterans' laws, and for other purposes.

Section 1 would amend Public Law No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, June 28, 1934, as amended to provide for the waiver of recovery of overpayments of death compensation under that act. The law providing for waiver of recovery of overpayments under certain circumstances and pertaining to World War cases could not be construed as extending the benefits under Public, No. 484, as amended, and this legislation was found necessary to accomplish such purpose.

Section 2, subsection (a), of this section amends paragraphs II, III, and IV of the burial regulation, Veterans Regulation No. 9 (a), as amended.

The amendments to paragraph II are for the purpose of permitting the payment of $100 burial allowance in a number of meritorious cases which could not heretofore be paid because of the restrictive language contained in the regulation, which, in some instances, required denial of burial allowance in the case of a veteran of moderate means who buys burial insurance, or who is a member of a lodge, union, or other organization as an incident to which a burial benefit was provided, whereas a veteran of larger means might leave a substantial estate and yet the burial allowance would be payable. Further, changes in the language will permit further simplification of administrative practice governing awards of burial allowance.

The amendment to paragraph III would authorize transportation of the body of a veteran who dies in a Veterans' Administration facility to the place of burial rather than as under prior law to the place of residence or nearest national cemetery or such other place as the next of kin might direct where the expense would not be greater than to the place of residence. The amendment applies to cases where a veteran dies in a facility within the continental limits of the United States and transportation would not be authorized beyond the continental limits unless the veteran was a resident of Alaska and had been brought to the United States by the Veterans' Administration for hospital or domiciliary care. The paragraph is further amended so as to authorize transportation of the body of a veteran who dies while hospitalized by the Veterans' Administration in a Territory or possession of the United States to the place of burial within the Territory or possession.

Paragraph IV of the regulation is amended to extend from 1 year to 2 years the time subsequent to the date of burial of a veteran, within which claim for reimbursement on account of burial expenses may be filed. As to cases where the death of the veteran occurred on or after March 20, 1933, the act provides that if a claim for burial allowance was not filed or was filed after the expiration of the regulatory period, or was filed within the regulatory period and disallowed, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is authorized and directed to receive and adjudicate a claim filed within 2 years after the date of enactment of this act and to grant burial allowance under the provisions of the laws and regulations governing such allowance as amended by this act.

The amendment to paragraph III of Veterans Regulation No. 6 (a), as contained in section 2 (b) of this act, pertains to burial expenses of persons who die while undergoing hospital or domiciliary care as beneficiaries of the Veterans' Administration who are ineligible for burial benefits under Veterans Regulation No. 9 (a), as amended. This provision is to effect uniformity with the amendment to paragraph III of Veterans Regulation No. 9 (a), as amended, heretofore explained.

Subsection (c) of section 2 provides that the section shall be applied to all claims for burial benefits pending in the Veterans' Administration on the date of enactment of this act.

Section 3 grants authority to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to apportion pension, compensation, or emergency officers' retirement pay payable under laws or regulations administered by the Veterans' Administration in those cases where a disabled person entitled to such benefits and his wife are not living together or where the child or children are not in the custody of the disabled person or where, in death cases, the child or children are not in the custody of the widow. This section is for the purpose of establishing a uniform apportionment provision and to eliminate certain inequalities and injustices resulting from the necessity of applying in some cases the requirements for division of pension under the act of March 3, 1899 (ch. 460, 30 Stat. 1379; 38 U. S. C. 45, 46, 47, 49). The provisions of this section are comparable to the provisions of paragraph VII, Veterans Regulation No. 6 Series with necessary changes to extend its terms to all laws administered by the Veterans' Administration.

Section 4: This section amends paragraph IV of Veterans Regulation No. 6 (a), as amended, to provide that, in the discretion of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, necessary hospital care, including medical treatment, for disabilities due to war service in the armed forces of the United States may be furnished to veterans who are citizens of the United States and who are temporarily sojourning or residing abroad. Prior to this amendment the regulation provided that no person shall be entitled to receive domiciliary, medical, or hospital care, including treatment, who resides outside the continental limits of the United States or its Territories or possessions.

Section 5: This section amends section 3 of Public, No. 262, Seventy-fourth Congress, August 12, 1935, so as to prohibit collection by set-off or otherwise out of any benefits payable pursuant to any law administered by the Veterans' Administration and relating to veterans, their estate, or their dependents, of any claim of the United States or any agency thereof against (a) any person other than the indebted beneficiary or his estate, or (b) any beneficiary or his estate, except amounts due the United States by such beneficiary or his estate by reason of overpayments or illegal payments made under such laws relating to veterans to such beneficiary or his estate or his dependents as such. If the benefits be yearly renewable-term or United States Government life—converted—insurance issued by the United States, the exemption will be inapplicable to indebtedness existing against the particular insurance contract upon the maturity of which the claim is based, whether such indebtedness be in the form of liens to secure unpaid premiums, or loans, or interest on such premiums or loans, or indebtedness arising from overpayments of dividends, refunds, loans, or other insurance benefits.

Section 3 of Public, No. 262, supra, has heretofore been construed by the Comptroller General to authorize and require offset against amounts due a dependent, amounts owed the Government by the deceased veteran or from designated beneficiary of his insurance policy any amount so owed by the deceased veteran. It also required in many other instances collection from compensation, pension, or insurance a debt of a beneficiary due the United States as the result of some transaction wholly unconnected with the benefit otherwise payable to such beneficiary.

Section 6: This section would amend section 202 (3), World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, to increase from $25

to $35 per month the additional compensation for the loss of the use of one or more feet or hands. Under section 6 of Public Law No. 198, Seventy-sixth Congress, July 19, 1939, Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), part I, paragraph II, subparagraph (k), as amended, to increase from $25 to $35 per month the increased compensation for the anatomical loss or loss of use of only one foot or one hand or one eye. This amendment will establish uniformity by permitting those veterans entitled under Public, No. 141, Seventy-third Congress, March 28, 1934, to receive the additional compensation for the loss of the use of one or more feet or hands under section 202 (3), World War Veterans Act, 1924, as amended, to receive the same increased rate as provided under Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), part I, as amended by section 6 of Public, No. 198, Seventy-sixth Congress.

Section 7: This section would amend Public, No. 196, Seventy-sixth Congress, July 19, 1939, to extend the provisions thereof to additional cases. Public, No. 196, restored certain benefits to World War veterans suffering from paralysis, paresis, or blindness, or who are helpless or bedridden. The act restored to the compensation rolls those World War veterans on the rolls March 19, 1933, under section 200, World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended. The act further provided death compensation for widows and children of such veterans who die or have died from disease or injury service connection of which is or would have been established under the provisions of the act. The benefits payable to widows and children are those provided under Public, No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, June 28, 1934, as amended. The service-connected blind cases on the rolls March 19, 1933, were restored to the rolls by section 26 of Public, No. 141, March 28, 1934.

The amendments contained in this act have two purposes, the first of which is to amend section 1 of the act of July 19, 1939, so as to eliminate the requirement that the veteran must have been in receipt of compensation on March 19, 1933, on account of one of the conditions enumerated in the act. The effect of such an amendment is to extend the benefits of the act in any case where the conditions are met either before or after March 19, 1933.

The second purpose of the section is to amend the second proviso of section 1 of the act of July 19, 1939, so as to eliminate an inequality under which widows and children of World War veterans who died prior to July 1, 1933, are not required to prove that the death was the result of service in order to be entitled to compensation under Public, No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, as amended; whereas prior to this amendment service connection had to be proved if the death occurred on or after July 1, 1933, except as to service-connected blind cases under section 26 of Public Law No. 141, March 28, 1934.

Section 8: This section provides for the effective dates of payments of compensation authorized by section 7 of this act. Payments are authorized effective the date of death if claim is filed within 1 year thereafter, and otherwise is not payable effective prior to the receipt of application therefor in the Veterans' Administration, and in no event shall compensation authorized in section 7 be effective prior to the date of the enactment of this act.

Section 9: This section would modify the provisions of section 504 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended (43 Stat. 1312; U. S. C., title 38, sec. 555), and section 15 of Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, March 20, 1933 (48 Stat. 11; U. S. C., title 38, sec. 715), which provide for forfeiture of veterans' benefits in case of fraud. Under the amendment there is authorized the payment of compensation or pension based upon service-connected disability to the wife, children, and dependent parents of a veteran who has forfeited rights to benefits under the above-cited provisions of law. Payments to the dependents are payable from and after the date of suspension of payments to the veteran, but not prior to the date of enactment of this act, and are limited to the amount payable to the veteran except for the forfeiture, but cannot exceed the amount payable in case the veteran had died from a service-connected disability. Compensation or pension is not payable to any dependent who participated in the fraud for which forfeiture was imposed.

The above-cited provisions of law are further modified so as to permit reimbursement on account of expenses incurred in the burial of such veterans otherwise entitled by law, and to permit payments of death compensation for service-connected death or death compensation under Public, No. 484, Seventy-third Congress, as amended. Under the law prior to this amendment in service-connected death cases death compensation was payable to the veteran's widow, child, or dependent parents, so that this section does not establish new eligibility for this group.

Section 10: This section amends Veterans Regulation No. 11 by adding a new paragraph III. It provides for the application of that regulation under any of the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration and provides that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs may release information, statistics, or reports to individuals or organizations when, in his judgment, such release would serve a useful purpose. The first part of the new paragraph is to establish uniformity and remove administrative complications resulting from the necessity of administering Veterans Regulation No. 11 and certain provisions of the pension laws concurrently as to different groups. As to the proviso, the restrictions contained in the existing regulation have precluded the Administrator from releasing information, statistics, or reports to individuals or organizations where it was apparent the release would serve a useful purpose. This amendment will provide the necessary discretion governing the release of information and will facilitate better administration.

Section 11: This section establishes uniformity in existing laws with reference to finality of decisions of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs on questions of law and fact, concerning claims for benefits or payments under this or any other act administered by the Veterans' Administration.

Section 12: This section provides for the payment of compensation to veterans or the dependents of deceased veterans who suffer or have suffered injury or aggravation of an existing injury as result of submitting to an examination under the authority of any of the laws granting monetary or other benefits to World War veterans. Under the provisions of Public, No. 141, Seventy-third Congress, March 28, 1934, compensation was restricted in examination cases to injuries or aggravation thereof resulting from examinations under the War Risk Insurance Act or the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended. This section extends the right to benefits in connection with examinations under existing laws other than those heretofore specified.

GENERAL BILLS UPON WHICH DEFINITE ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN BY THE CONGRESS, WITH PROGRESS REPORT—ADJUSTED COMPENSATION

S. 457. An act to amend the World War Adjusted Compensation Act (to include for adjusted compensation certain provisional, probationary, or temporary officers). Introduced by the Senator from Texas, Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD, January 9, 1939; Part 1, Senate Report No. 531, reported on June 1, 1939; and Part 2, Senate Report No. 531, reported on June 14, 1939; passed the Senate January 18, 1940; referred to the House Committee on Ways and Means, January 23, 1940.

S. 1910. An act to extend the time within which applications for benefits under the World War Adjusted Compensation Act, as amended, may be filed. Introduced by the Senator from Missouri, Hon. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, March 23, 1939; referred to Committee on Finance; reported by Committee on Finance, with amendment, May 16, 1940, Senate Report No. 1626; passed the Senate May 28, 1940; referred to Committee on Ways and Means, May 30, 1940.

COMPENSATION AND OTHER BENEFITS TO WORLD WAR VETERANS AND THEIR DEPENDENTS EXCEPT EMERGENCY OFFICERS' RETIREMENT PAY AND ADJUSTED COMPENSATION

H. R. 9000. An act to provide more adequate compensation for certain dependents of World War veterans, and for other purposes, would authorize the payment of compensation to widows, children, and dependent parents without the requirement of service connection of the cause of death, or the existence of a service-connected disability at time of death. The

rates for the widows and children are lower than the rates provided for widows and children of World War veterans under existing law. The rates for dependent parents are the same as those provided under the Veterans Regulations for dependent parents of World War veterans but less than the maximum rates authorized for such dependents in service-connected death cases under the provisions of Public, 198, Seventy-sixth Congress, July 19, 1939. This bill was introduced by me March 20, 1940; was favorably reported by the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, March 25, 1940, House Report No. 1829; and passed the House of Representatives, May 13, 1940. The bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Finance, May 14, 1940.

H. R. 6450. A bill to establish certain rights for combat veterans of wars of the United States introduced by the gentleman from California, Hon. JERRY VOORHIS, and referred to Committee on World War Veterans Legislation May 22, 1939; reported from that committee September 25, 1940, House Report No. 2982, amending the title to read "A bill to provide for the issuance, by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, of regulations providing for more liberal policies in determining the service connection of disability, and for other purposes." The amended bill would require that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs in the regulations governing proofs and evidence pertaining to service connection of disabilities, to include additional provisions governing consideration of places, types, and circumstances of veteran's service, the official history of each organization in which he served, his medical records, and all medical and lay evidence, and where the veteran is shown to have been engaged in combat with an enemy of the United States, or during service in some war, campaign, or expedition, to have been subjected to other arduous conditions of military or naval service, such disability as can reasonably be considered to have been due to or aggravated by the conditions of all of his active military or naval service, shall be determined to be directly due to or aggravated by such service in line of duty, under the laws administered by the Veterans' Administration, unless it shall have been clearly established by clear and unmistakable evidence that any such disability was not originated in or aggravated by his military or naval service. It further provides that the reasons for granting or denying service connection in any case considered thereunder shall be recorded in full in each such case. Passed the House of Representatives September 30, 1940.

CIVIL WAR WIDOWS

H. R. 7981. An act to grant pensions to certain unremarried dependent widows of Civil War veterans who were married to the veteran subsequent to June 26, 1905. Introduced by the gentleman from Michigan, Hon. JOHN LESINSKI, January 17, 1940; reported by Committee on Pensions, March 13, 1940, House Report No. 1780; passed the House of Representatives, April 15, 1940; referred to the Senate Committee on Pensions, April 16, 1940, and reported on April 26, 1940, Senate Report No. 1543.

INDIAN WARS

H. R. 9149. An act to amend the act of March 3, 1927, entitled "An act granting pensions to certain soldiers who served in the Indian wars from 1817 to 1898, and for other purposes." (Liberalizes service pension laws governing payments of service pension to Indian War veterans and dependents of deceased Indian War veterans.) Introduced by the gentleman from Michigan, Hon. JOHN LESINSKI, March 28, 1940; reported by Committee on Invalid Pensions, May 29, 1940, House Report No. 2340; passed the House of Representatives, June 5, 1940; referred to the Senate Committee on Pensions, June 6, 1940.

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

H. R. 2301. A bill to amend section 2 of the act entitled "An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the War with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, or the China Relief Expedition to certain maimed soldiers, to certain widows, minor children, and helpless children of such soldiers and sailors, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1926. It would extend the delimiting marriage date for service pension purposes in the case of widows from September 1, 1922, to January 1, 1938. Introduced by the gentleman from Washington, Hon. MARTIN F. SMITH, January 11, 1939, and referred to the House Committee on Pensions; reported by Committee on Pensions March 24, 1939, House Report No. 310; passed the House June 5, 1940; referred to the Senate Committee on Pensions, June 6, 1940.

H. R. 2874. An act to provide that pensions otherwise payable for a child of a deceased veteran of the Spanish-American War, Boxer Rebellion, or Philippine Insurrection shall continue until the child reaches the age of 21 where he is attending an accredited school, and for other purposes. Introduced by the gentleman from Washington, Hon. MARTIN F. SMITH, January 19, 1939; reported by Committee on Pensions, House, April 8, 1940, House Report No. 1934; passed the House May 20, 1940; referred to Senate Committee on Pensions May 21, 1940.

H. R. 5180. An act to provide Spanish War veterans wartime pension rates for service-connected disability or death of certain veterans of the Spanish-American War recognized by veterans regulations as veterans of any war, and for other purposes. Under the veterans regulations certain persons who served between August 13, 1898, and July 4, 1902, and who left the continental United States under orders for military or naval service in Guam, Cuba, or Puerto Rico between such dates are considered veterans of a war, except that the service-connected wartime rates for disability incurred during such service are not available. The proposed legislation would grant the wartime rates under the veterans regulations to the veterans and dependents of deceased veterans therein described. Introduced by the gentleman from South Carolina, Hon. JOHN L. MCMILLAN, March 21, 1939; reported by Committee on Pensions, House, April 8, 1940, House Report No. 1935; passed House May 6, 1940; referred to Senate Committee on Pensions May 7, 1940.

PEACETIME SERVICE

S. 1643. An act to provide pensions at wartime rates for disability or death incurred in line of duty as a direct result of the conflict in the Far East. Introduced by the Senator from Massachusetts, Hon. DAVID I. WALSH and referred to Committee on Naval Affairs February 28, 1939; referred to Senate Committee on Finance, July 5, 1939; reported by Senate Committee on Finance, Senate Report No. 1020, July 28, 1939; passed the Senate August 1, 1939; referred to the House Committee on Invalid Pensions August 5, 1939.

H. R. 8243. An act to provide increases of pension payable to dependents of veterans of the Regular Establishment, and for other purposes. Introduced by the gentleman from Michigan, Hon. JOHN LESINSKI, January 31, 1940; reported by Committee on Invalid Pensions May 8, 1940; House Report No. 2110, with amendments; passed the House with amendments June 5, 1940; referred to the Senate Committee on Pensions, June 6, 1940.

AVIATION CADETS—ARMY

S. 4365. A bill to create the grade of aviation cadet in the Air Corps, Regular Army, and to prescribe the pay and allowances therefor, and for other purposes. The bill provides that aviation cadets shall be issued Government life insurance in the amount of $10,000, premiums to be paid by the Government. Upon being commissioned as second lieutenants, Air Corps Reserve, they shall have the option of continuing such policies at their own expense. Introduced by the Senator from Texas, Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD and referred to Committee on Military Affairs, September 19, 1940; reported by that committee September 26, 1940, Senate Report 2182; passed the Senate with amendments September 30, 1940.

COAST GUARD

H. R. 10332. A bill to grant pension for disability or death resulting from service in the United States Coast Guard before July 2, 1930, and for other purposes. Introduced by the gentleman from Michigan, Hon. JOHN LESINSKI and referred to Committee on Invalid Pensions August 8, 1940; reported from that committee September 26, 1940, House Report No. 2987.

HOSPITALIZATION—QUARTERMASTER CORPS

H. R. 1008. An act to confer to certain persons who served in a civilian capacity under the jurisdiction of the Quartermaster General during the War with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, or the China Relief Expedition the benefits of hospitalization and the privileges of the soldiers' homes. Introduced by the gentleman from California, Hon. RICHARD J. WELCH, and referred to the Committee on Pensions, January 3, 1939; referred to Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, March 23, 1939; reported by that committee March 26, 1940, House Report No. 1884; passed the House April 15, 1940; referred to Senate Committee on Finance, April 16, 1940.

INSURANCE SUITS

S. 2679. An act to amend the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1934, as amended, with respect to the authority of the Attorney General to compromise suits on certain contracts of insurance. This bill would extend the authority of the Attorney General to compromise suits so as to include compromise suits on contracts of United States Government life (converted) insurance. Introduced by the Senator from South Carolina, Hon. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, June 22, 1939; reported by Senate Committee on Finance May 16, 1940, Senate Report No. 1624; passed the Senate May 28, 1940; referred to House Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation May 30, 1940.

NATURALIZATION

H. R. 5402. An act to admit to the United States, and to extend naturalization privileges to, alien veterans of the World War. Introduced by the gentleman from Alabama, Hon. JOHN J. SPARKMAN, March 28, 1939; reported by Committee on Immigration and Naturalization May 18, 1940; House Report No. 661; passed the House June 5, 1940; referred to the Senate Committee on Immigration June 6, 1940.

RESERVE CORPS

S. 3266. An act to provide pensions, compensation, retirement pay, and hospital benefits for certain Air Corps Reserve officers who were disabled while on active duty with the Regular Army. Introduced by the Senator from Alabama, Hon. LISTER HILL, February 6, 1940; reported by Senate Committee on Military Affairs April 22, 1940; Senate Report No. 1458; passed the Senate May 28, 1940; referred to House Committee on Military Affairs May 30, 1940; reported from that committee September 26, 1940; House Report No. 2987. Passed House of Representatives October 7, 1940. Vetoed by the President October 15, 1940.

Hospitals and homes—Construction program

HOSPITALS

Authorizations	Appropriations
Mar. 3, 1919. Public, 326, 65th Cong., $9,050,000.	Mar. 3, 1919. Public, 326, 65th Cong., appropriated $9,050,000 ($8,840,000 for construction, $210,000 for furniture and equipment).
No prior authorization	Mar. 6, 1920. Public, 155, 66th Cong., appropriated $500,000 to continue in effect and carry out certain provisions of act of Mar. 3, 1919.
Mar. 6, 1920. Public, 155, 66th Cong., $400,000 (Cook County, Ill.).	Mar. 1, 1921. Public, 338, 66th Cong., appropriated $400,000 for completion of buildings in Cook County, Ill.
No prior authorization	June 5, 1920. Public, 246, 66th Cong., appropriated $295,000 to continue in effect certain provisions of act of Mar. 3, 1919.
Mar. 4, 1921. Public, 384, 66th Cong., $18,600,000.	Mar. 4, 1921. Public, 384, 66th Cong., appropriated $18,600,000; not over $6,100,000 to be used for remodeling and extending existing plants.
No prior authorization	Mar. 4, 1921. Public, 389, 66th Cong., appropriated $300,000 to continue in effect certain provisions of act of Mar. 3, 1919.
Do	June 16, 1921. Public, 18, 67th Cong., appropriated $750,000 in addition to the $1,500,000 provided in act of Mar. 3, 1919, for construction at Dawson Springs, Ky., increasing the limit of cost to $2,250,000.
Do	June 16, 1921. Public, 18, 67th Cong., repealed provision of act of Mar. 4, 1921, above, pertaining to the limitation of cost of $6,100,000 for remodeling, etc.; total amount appropriated by act of Mar. 4, 1921, to be available for purposes specified in that act.
Do	June 16, 1921. Public, 18, 67th Cong., appropriated $500,000 for recreation building, etc., Hines, Ill. (Broadview Hospital).
Do	Feb. 17, 1922. Public, 145, 67th Cong., appropriated $100,000 for repairs at Oteen, N. C.; $150,000 for repairs at Perryville, Md.; $50,000 for repairs at West Roxbury, Mass.; $50,000 for repairs and remodeling at Palo Alto, Calif.; total, $350,000.

Hospitals and homes—Construction program—Continued

HOSPITALS—continued

Authorizations	Appropriations
Apr. 20, 1922. Public, 194, 67th Cong. (sec. 3), $17,000,000.	May 11, 1922. Public, 216, 67th Cong., appropriated $12,000,000 and allowed the Director to incur obligations for remaining $5,000,000 authorized by Public, 194, 67th Cong.
	Apr. 2, 1924. Public, 66, 68th Cong., appropriated the remaining $5,000,000 authorized by Public, 194, 67th Cong.
June 5, 1924. Public, 197, 68th Cong. (sec. 2), $6,850,000.	Dec. 5, 1924. Public, 292, 68th Cong., appropriated $3,850,000 to remain available until June 30, 1925, and gave authority to incur obligations for the remaining $3,000,000.
	Mar. 4, 1925. Public, 631, 68th Cong., extended the time above appropriation may be used until June 30, 1926.
	Mar. 3, 1926. Public, 36, 69th Cong., appropriated $3,000,000 authorized by Public, 197, 67th Cong.
Mar. 3, 1925. Public, 587, 68th Cong., $10,000,000.	Mar. 3, 1926. Public, 36, 69th Cong., appropriated $5,000,000 authorized by Public, 587, 68th Cong.
	Apr. 22, 1926. Public, 141, 69th Cong., appropriated $4,000,000 authorized by Public, 587, 68th Cong.
	Feb. 11, 1927. Public, 600, 69th Cong., appropriated the remaining $1,000,000 authorized by Public, 587, 68th Cong.
May 23, 1928. Public, 480, 70th Cong., $15,000,000.	May 29, 1928. Public, 563, 70th Cong., appropriated $7,000,000 of amount authorized by Public, 480.
	Feb. 20, 1929. Public, 778, 70th Cong., appropriated $6,000,000 of the amount authorized by Public, 480, with authority to incur obligations for the remaining $2,000,000.
	Apr. 19, 1930. Public, 158, 71st Cong., appropriated the remaining $2,000,000 authorized by Public, 480, 70th Cong.
Dec. 23, 1929. Public, 29, 71st Cong., $15,950,000.	Mar. 26, 1930. Public, 78, 71st Cong., appropriated $8,000,000 of the amount authorized by Public, 29, 71st Cong.
	Feb. 23, 1931. Public, 720, 71st Cong., appropriated $7,950,000, the remaining amount authorized by Public, 29, 71st Cong.
Mar. 4, 1931. Public, 868, 71st Cong. (sec. 3), $20,877,000.	Mar. 4, 1931. Public Res. 138, 71st Cong., appropriated $5,000,000 of the amount authorized by Public, 868, 71st Cong.
	Dec. 21, 1931. Public Res. 3, 72d Cong., allowed Administrator to incur obligations for full amount authorized.
	June 30, 1932. Public, 228, 72d Cong., appropriated $10,877,000 of amount authorized by Public, 868, 71st Cong.
	June 16, 1933. Public, 78, 73d Cong., appropriated $1,000,000 of amount authorized by Public, 868, 71st Cong., Mar. 4, 1931.
No prior authorization	Aug. 12, 1935. Public, 260, 74th Cong., appropriated $21,250,000 for extending facilities, etc.
	Mar. 19, 1936. Public, 479, 74th Cong., appropriated $4,000,000, remaining amount authorized by Public, 868, 71st Cong., Mar. 4, 1931.
Do	May 23, 1938. Public, 534, 75th Cong., appropriated $4,500,000 for extending facilities, etc.
Do	Mar. 16, 1939. Public, 8, 76th Cong., appropriated $4,015,000 for extending facilities, etc.
No prior authorization	Apr. 18, 1940. Public, 459, 76th Cong., appropriated $2,165,000 for extending facilities, etc.
Do	June 27, 1940. Public, 668, 76th Cong., appropriated $1,000,000 for extending facilities, etc.

HOMES

June 7, 1924. Public, 217, 68th Cong., $1,500,000 (Pacific branch, California).	Mar. 4, 1925. Public, 631, 68th Cong., appropriated $1,500,000, the amount authorized by Public, 217, 68th Cong.
Mar. 4, 1927. Public, 798, 69th Cong., $700,000 (Marion, Ind.).	Mar. 23, 1928. Public, 181, 70th Cong. (War Department), appropriated $700,000, the amount authorized by Public, 798, 69th Cong.
Feb. 13, 1928. Public, 26, 70th Cong., $200,000 (Pacific branch, California).	Mar. 23, 1928. Public, 181, 70th Cong. (War Department), appropriated $200,000, the amount authorized by Public, 26, 70th Cong.
Apr. 23, 1928. Public, 300, 70th Cong., $2,100,000 (Pacific branch, California).	Mar. 4, 1929. Public, 1034, 70th Cong. (deficiency appropriation), appropriated $1,050,000 and gave authority to incur obligation $305,000.
	Mar. 26, 1930. Public, 78, 71st Cong. (deficiency appropriation), appropriated $200,000 of the amount authorized by Public, 300, 70th Cong.
Feb. 20, 1929. Public, 780, 70th Cong., $1,500,000 (Dayton, Ohio).	Mar. 26, 1930. Public, 78, 71st Cong. (deficiency appropriation), appropriated $1,475,000 of the amount authorized by Public, 780, 70th Cong.
Feb. 26, 1929. Public, 812, 70th Cong., $150,000 (Marion, Ind.).	Mar. 26, 1930. Public, 78, 71st Cong. (deficiency appropriation), appropriated $100,000 of the amount authorized by Public, 812, 70th Cong.
May 16, 1930. Public 230, 71st, Cong., $750,000 (Togus, Maine).	Feb. 23, 1931. Public, 720, 71st Cong., appropriated $750,000, the full amount authorized by Public, 230, 71st Cong.
June 21, 1930. Public, 405, 71st Cong., $2,000,000 (Southern States).	Feb. 23, 1931. Public, 720, 71st Cong., appropriated $1,000,000 of the amount authorized by Public, 405, 71st Cong.
July 1, 1930. Public, 492, 71st Cong., $650,000 (Johnson City, Tenn.).	Feb. 23, 1931. Public, 720, 71st Cong., appropriated $650,000, the full amount authorized by Public, 492, 71st Cong.
July 3, 1930. Public, 505, 71st Cong., $2,000,000 (Northwest Pacific States, Oregon).	Feb. 23, 1931. Public, 720, 71st Cong., appropriated $1,000,000 of the amount authorized by Public, 505, 71st Cong.
	Dec. 21, 1931. Public Res. No. 3, 72d Cong., allowed Administrator to incur obligations for remaining amount authorized by Public, 405, 71st Cong.

Hospitals and homes—Construction program—Continued

HOSPITALS—continued

Authorizations	Appropriations
	Dec. 21, 1931. Public Res. No. 3, 72d Cong., allowed Administrator to incur obligations for remaining amount authorized by Public, 505, 71st Cong. June 30, 1932. Public, 228, 72d Cong., appropriated $1,000,000, authorized by act of June 21, 1930, Public, 405, 71st Cong. June 30, 1932. Public, 228, 72d Cong., appropriated $1,000,000, authorized by act of July 3, 1930, Public, 505, 71st Cong. Feb. 2, 1935. Public, 2, 74th Cong., appropriated $850,000, remaining balance authorized by act of Apr. 23, 1928, Public, 300, 70th Cong. Feb. 2, 1935. Public, 2, 74th Cong., appropriated $25,000, remaining balance authorized by act of Feb. 20, 1929, Public, 780, 70th Cong. Feb. 2, 1935. Public, 2, 74th Cong., appropriated $50,000, remaining balance authorized by act of Feb. 26, 1929, Public, 812, 70th Cong.

During the period beginning with the act of March 3, 1919, Public, No. 326, Sixty-fifth Congress, and ending with the act of June 27, 1940, Public, No. 668, Seventy-sixth Congress, the Congress has specifically authorized and appropriated the sum of $161,074,267 for new hospital, domiciliary, and out-patient dispensary facilities. In addition, since 1923 there has been expended from regular fiscal funds the sum of $25,165,821 for permanent improvements and extensions to facilities. Subsequent to the consolidation of veterans' activities in 1930 there has also been expended from the general post fund established by the former National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers the sum of $1,126,174 for improvements. Further, the Veterans' Administration has been allotted for improvements and new construction the sum of $3,041,650 from the National Recovery Act of 1933 and the sum of $13,268,200 from the Public Works Administration Appropriation Act of 1938. In all, a total of $203,676,112 has been made available for construction purposes during the past 21 years.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I repeat what I said in the beginning, that our system and our record of caring for the disabled veterans and their dependents surpasses that of any other country in the world.

House Should Be Given Opportunity To Act on S. 591, as Amended, in Interest of Better Low-Cost Housing for the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, within the past 2 weeks I have received hundreds of telegrams, letters, and resolutions inquiring why I have failed to report a rule for the consideration of Senate 591, a bill to amend the United States Housing Act of 1937. In view of the fact that I am unjustly charged with being responsible for not allowing this humane legislation to reach the House for consideration, I am compelled to explain the underlying reasons why of all the rules the Committee on Rules has reported I have been unable to obtain favorable action on this one. I feel that a majority of the membership of the House, notwithstanding the unjustifiable attacks against the complete housing program, would have voted for the bill providing for an appropriation of $5,000,000 per annum in addition to the contracts heretofore authorized by the United States Housing Act of 1937, as amended, and which also provided for the reducing of the period of the annual contributions and the period and interest rate for loans made under the act. The passage of the bill would have also released $150,000,000 in previous authorizations granted by Congress.

INTENSE OPPOSITION WOULD SEEM UNEXPLAINABLE

During my many years of service I have never witnessed such determined opposition on the part of a few Members as that leveled against this legislation, the principal opposition coming from the National Apartment Owners Association who feared that it would have an effect on the rental of their properties, most of which were acquired by real-estate speculators and operators through foreclosure and reorganization proceedings at one-third to one-fourth of their original cost. This combination, when it could not combat facts, worked upon the prejudice of Members, many of whom, though sincere, have been honestly misled and their minds poisoned against the United States Housing Authority.

Mr. Speaker, within the last few weeks the Army and Navy have obtained about $360,000,000 for housing, but the appropriations have been for the purpose of building temporary barracks and cantonments for National Guard men and selective-service trainees. Just recently the Army and Navy authorities realized that housing is necessary also for the civilian workers in the many large plants that are being erected for the production of munitions, machinery, and defense materials. They have urged that something must be done to house the thousands upon thousands of these workers who will be employed, in most instances, far removed from sizable cities or towns.

Not only have appeals come from Army and Navy officials but the Administrator of the Public Works Agency, the Honorable John M. Carmody, as well as the Honorable Charles F. Palmer, Coordinator of Housing under the Council of National Defense, who supervises seven Government housing agencies, have urged and stressed the need of the participation of the United States Housing Authority, and to that end have urged that the $5,000,000 provided under S. 591, as amended, be appropriated to enable the United States Housing Authority to proceed to help in this vitally necessary housing program. The opponents of S. 591 have ignored the fact that 90 percent of the five-hundred-odd local authorities throughout the United States have already selected sites and made preliminary arrangements, involving much time and serious effort, fully appreciating the approaching need for adequate housing for their communities to house defense workers.

MAYORS OF LEADING AMERICAN CITIES URGE PASSAGE OF S. 591

Mr. Speaker, in this connection I insert a resolution unanimously adopted by the United States Conference of Mayors, whom I feel are perhaps best informed as to the needs of housing:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF MAYORS, NEW YORK CITY, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1940

Whereas the officials of American cities are uniquely qualified to know at first hand the terrific housing problem confronting the American people today; and

Whereas the slums of America are exacting a constant and costly toll from the budgets of American communities and from the health and welfare of their inhabitants; and

Whereas a cumulative lag in home building for 13 years has produced a Nation-wide quantitative as well as qualitative shortage; and

Whereas the sudden industrial growths and shifts of population due to defense activities, industrial and military, threaten to multiply the slums and intensify the shortage, thus making the quick provision of more and better housing an indispensable part of our national-defense activities; and

Whereas, under the United States Housing Act of 1937, about 500 cities and other local units have forged a sensitive and efficient machinery for slum clearance and low-rent housing with the aid of the United States Housing Authority; and

Whereas, in addition this same Nation-wide local machinery with Federal aid, through the United States Housing Authority, has stepped most quickly into the service of defense-housing needs, commenced about 20 representative defense-housing projects throughout the country, and pursued these projects so actively that most of them will be ready for occupancy in the first months of 1941, or earlier; and

Whereas, the program assisted by the United States Housing Authority represents the most workable plan yet devised for clearing slums, rehousing slum dwellers, constructing projects where low-rent housing is required, or building defense-housing projects: Therefore, be it

Resolved, First, that this annual conference of the United States Conference of Mayors endorses wholeheartedly the slum-clearance and low-rent housing program of local communities, assisted by

the United States Housing Authority, and urges the immediate expansion of this program to at least the extent embodied in Senate bill 591, as it passed the Senate in 1939, increasing the lending authority of the United States Housing Authority and its capacity to pay annual contributions in aid of low rents; and

Second, that the United States Conference of Mayors, in expressing the urgent need for defense-housing projects throughout the country, expresses its measured judgment that municipal housing authorities, assisted by the United States Housing Authority, have proved themselves to be the most effective machinery for the quick and economical construction of defense-housing projects and their integration with permanent community needs; and therefore this annual conference of the United States Conference of Mayors recommends that this effective machinery be made the primary instrument in the defense-housing program and that adequate funds be made available to it for carrying forward necessary defense-housing work.

LETTER FROM FEDERAL WORKS ADMINISTRATOR CARMODY

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point a letter addressed to me by Hon. John M. Carmody, Administrator, Federal Works Agency, a foremost authority on housing in the United States, who presents a true, unbiased picture of the housing situation as it exists today.

FEDERAL WORKS AGENCY,
Washington, October 1, 1940.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,
Chairman, Rules Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN SABATH: I realize that a controversy has arisen within your committee as well as among other Members of the House with respect to the wisdom of continuing the low-cost housing program adopted by the Congress 3 years ago. I am sure you know better than I that that particular program was adopted after long years of discussion among private citizens and public officials in scores of communities throughout the United States and after numerous congressional hearings. That there was and is a shortage of adequate, decent, wholesome housing for several millions of our people is not denied. Nor do I think that any considerable number of people in or out of Government now maintain that the need can be supplied without some Government assistance. Within the past few days influential real-estate operators have admitted this to me.

In the process of carrying out the will of the Congress under the United States Housing Act of 1937, the United States Housing Authority, starting almost from scratch, has achieved two important objectives that I think ought not to be lost to the Nation. First, as a result of a better understanding of the need and the orderly manner in which the need for low-cost housing can be met, somewhere between 500 and 600 local housing authorities have been organized under appropriate State and local legislation. These authorities, without exception so far as I know, consist of leading business and professional men and women, who serve without compensation, and whose time is given to guiding low-cost housing developments within their communities in ways best suited to the community needs. Second, costs have been kept under control and genuinely low costs for permanent housing have been achieved. Over 21,000 dwelling units have already become homes for an equal number of families, and 80,000 are at this moment under construction.

The old argument that the building of these homes will destroy values seems to have evaporated in the process. On the contrary, it is now being discovered that in addition to improving community morale these new homes actually develop new real-estate values.

So much for that. I am writing you because irrespective of provision that is being made for temporary defense housing in other bills, I think the regular low-cost slum-clearance housing program ought to be kept alive on some such modest scale as has been under discussion recently.

Sincerely,

JOHN M. CARMODY, *Administrator.*

LETTER OF DEFENSE COORDINATOR C. F. PALMER

Mr. Speaker, here is a recent communication which I have received from Hon. C. F. Palmer, Coordinator of Defense Housing, and a man of vast experience in the housing field, which briefly and very effectively discloses the tie-up of defense housing with the need to continue our housing program for all ill-housed, else our preparations for defense may be retarded:

THE ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE
COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE,
OFFICE OF THE DEFENSE HOUSING COORDINATOR,
Washington, D. C., September 30, 1940.

RULES COMMITTEE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.
(Attention: Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH, chairman.)

GENTLEMEN: This confirms a statement made to you by me September 27, 1940, on behalf of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense that S. 591 is essential to the program for defense housing.

Because of the present expansion of employment under the defense program the demand for housing has stimulated remodeling of substandard dwellings to such an extent their occupants are doubling up or are being forced into the street in many places. The resulting overcrowding and threat of exposure with winter near increase the possibility of flu and other epidemics which may attack entire communities, thus retarding preparations for defense within those areas.

S. 591 will help solve this problem by the protection decent, safe, and sanitary housing affords against disease.

Also, the fact our Government continues to care for the ill-housed, even though with a greatly curtailed program during the emergency, should keep down unrest and lessen "fifth column" activities.

That the legislation is in keeping with the program of the President is already evidenced by his letters of April 5 and May 24, 1940, to Congressman STEAGALL, who has been handling the bill. These letters stress its importance to the welfare of the whole Nation as well as to defense and urge enactment at this session of the Congress.

The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense considers S. 591 essential to its program for defense housing and trusts your committee will give it favorable consideration.

Sincerely yours,

C. F. PALMER, *Coordinator.*

CONSUMERS' INTERESTS ALSO IN JEOPARDY

Mr. Speaker, Harriett Elliott, representing the Consumers' Division of the Council of National Defense, is also keenly aware of the conditions surrounding the need for additional housing, as evidenced by her letter to me of September 30, which I here insert:

THE ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE
COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE,
Washington, D. C., September 30, 1940.

The Honorable ADOLPH J. SABATH,
Chairman of the Rules Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SABATH: I understand that the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives has under consideration Senate bill 591. This bill provides the United States Housing Authority an additional $5,000,000 subsidy authorization which would service an additional $150,000,000 of loans by this agency.

As the member of the Defense Commission representing the consumers' interests I wish to indicate the importance of this measure to the total program of defense housing. One of the most important groups which will need housing because of the expansion of defense industries will be those in the lower-income groups. Favorable action on this measure by your committee and the Congress will make it possible more adequately to meet this problem.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

HARRIETT ELLIOTT,
Member, Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense.

APPEALS FOR HOUSING RELIEF COME FROM MANY IMPORTANT ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. Speaker, the appeals for this legislation have come not only from experienced and efficient officials of many Government agencies, but from outstanding civic, social welfare, community, and labor organizations throughout the United States. I shall not unduly encumber the RECORD with communications from these organizations in every State of the Nation but shall insert here a few of the more urgent appeals that set forth the reasons and need for low-cost and defense housing:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS, INC.,
New York, N. Y., September 25, 1940.

Hon. ADOLPH G. SABATH,
Chairman, House Rules Committee, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SABATH: The National Federation of Settlements urges the House of Representatives to act favorably on Senate bill 591 to authorize the sum of $800,000,000 in loans and $450,000,000 in subsidies to continue the production of suitable homes for low-income families. We believe that slum clearance and low-rental housing are essential for the national health and welfare.

We commend the provision for the housing of defense workers, but we believe that adequate housing facilities for all low-income dwellers is of equal importance and cannot be neglected. We believe the housing program is essential to the building of national unity, the all-important question at this moment.

We trust that you will do all in your power to urge upon the Rules Committee the adoption of this measure.

Very sincerely yours,

LILLIE M. PECK, *Secretary.*

CHICAGO COMMONS,
Chicago, Ill., July 2, 1940.

Congressman A. J. SABATH,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN SABATH: As head resident of Chicago Commons, which is located in one of the congested housing areas of Chicago, and because of a great interest in the effect which housing has upon the future citizenship of this country, I hope sincerely

that the Rules Committee will report out Senate and House bill 591, which will release subsidies that will make possible loans to be made under the Wagner-Steagall bill.

Knowing of your civic interest and concern for the welfare of the ill-housed people, I hope you will lend your influence to getting this bill considered favorably not only in the committee but in the House.

Sincerely yours,

LEA D. TAYLOR,
Head Resident.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY,
St. Louis, September 30, 1940.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH,
Chairman of the Rules Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SABATH: I hope that the House of Representatives will promptly enact S. 591, appropriating $800,000,000 in further subsidies for local low-rent housing authorities and providing $45,000,000 for subsidies necessary to bring rents down to a sufficiently low level.

Two projects are getting under way in St. Louis under the United States Housing Act, and many of us hope that the next Missouri Legislature will make it possible for other Missouri localities to benefit, the present State law applying only to St. Louis.

It seems to me that, while it will be difficult, the productive capacities of this country are well sufficient to continue the expansion of this housing program for low-income groups, as well as to carry on the defense program, the social-security program, and other useful governmental activities.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM W. BURKE.

HUNDREDS OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS ENDORSE HOUSING PROGRAM

Mr. Speaker, labor has advocated the passage of S. 591, as amended, not only from the standpoint that it will aid the reemployment of its workers, but will afford them decent and sanitary housing. I insert at this point a letter from William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, and resolutions of the Michigan State Industrial Union Council, C. I. O. I feel that labor's position on this vital legislation is summed up in these two communications and I selected them for insertion from among the many hundreds which I have received from affiliated bodies and local unions:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C., August 2, 1940.

Hon. ADOLPH J. SABATH, M. C.
Chairman, Committee on Rules, Third Floor, House Side, United States Capitol, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am advised that your committee will meet this morning for the consideration of a rule which will permit the House to take up amendments to the United States Housing Act.

The American Federation of Labor is deeply interested in this question. While we are anxious, of course, to secure as much employment as possible for A. F. of L. Building Trades, there is a much larger question involved—it is a humanitarian one, and we strongly urge that the Rules Committee take action which will permit the House to consider the above-mentioned amendments.

Will you kindly advise the members of your committee of the contents of this letter?

With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely,

WM. GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

RESOLUTIONS OF MICHIGAN STATE INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL

Whereas the increasing housing shortage is resulting in serious hardships for low-income families throughout the country (city or town); and

Whereas housing construction provides much-needed employment for building trades, industrial, and technical workers; and

Whereas increased construction is one of the most effective stimulants to the national economy; and

Whereas it has been demonstrated that it is more costly to maintain slums than to do away with them; and

Whereas the United States Housing Authority is an effective instrument for meeting our housing needs, for providing employment, for stimulating business and for overcoming the evils associated with poor housing: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Michigan State Industrial Union Council, C. I. O., support and urge the passage at the present session of Congress of bill S. 591; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Michigan Senators and Congressmen, to the President, to the Vice President, to the Speaker of the House, William B. Bankhead, to chairman of the House Rules Committee, Adolph J. Sabath, and to U. S. H. A. Administrator, Nathan Straus.

LOW-INCOME FARMERS ALSO BADLY IN NEED OF BETTER HOUSING

Mr. Speaker, the bill (S. 591) proposed an amendment to the United States Housing Act of 1937 to provide better housing to low-income farmers. The need of extending the program to the rural communities is set forth in a letter which I have received from M. V. Thatcher, chairman, national legislative committee, National Farmers Union, and in a telegram received from Mr. C. C. Hanson, secretary, Association of Southern Commissioners of Agriculture, an association of commissioners of 12 Southern States. I hope the Members from rural communities will read these communications:

FARMERS EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA,
Washington, D. C., June 11, 1940.

Hon. A. J. SABATH,
Chairman, Rules Committee, House of Representatives:

The following wire regarding rural housing and S. 591, now before the House Committee on Banking and Currency, was sent to its chairman, HENRY B. STEAGALL, last night. Knowing your interest in the welfare of our farm people, I am transmitting it to you as chairman of the Rules Committee in the hope that it will be of assistance to you.

"Hon. HENRY B. STEAGALL,
"Chairman, House Committee on Banking and Currency, New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

There is strong sentiment among farm families of the Nation for assistance in providing decent homes for low-income farmers. This desire was expressed individually by every member of our legislative committee, meeting at St. Paul, Minn., April 26. Committee members present from 21 States urged enactment at this session of S. 591 as the only legislation available for accomplishing something substantial for rural housing now. With the assistance and cooperation of the Department of Agriculture, such a program promises real progress. Slum clearance has been almost entirely in cities and as a matter of fairness should be extended to rural areas where the need is equally great. More than half of our farm population, including many outside of the South, are living in such poor houses as to cause a black-out of that good health and good home life necessary for the strongest defense of America. The strength of our Nation rests in large part upon the strength of our farm homes and families, and therefore it is especially important that the housing program be continued and extended to them.

"M. W. THATCHER,
"Chairman, National Legislative Committee, National Farmers' Union."

I hope that you will agree with us about the wholesome effect of accomplishing a beginning in rural slum clearance at this time.

Very truly yours,

M. W. THATCHER,
Chairman, National Legislative Committee, National Farmers Union.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 9, 1940.*

Hon. Adolph J. Sabath, of Illinois, Chairman, Rules Committee and Members of the Committee:

Recognizing the great shortage of adequate housing for farm families of the South, the commissioners of agriculture of the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, on May 10, joined in unanimously adopting a resolution endorsing S. 591. This legislation, which has already passed the Senate, is the only legislation which carries practical provisions for reaching and giving assistance to our lowest income farmers and decently housing their families. U. S. H. A. slum clearance and housing has heretofore been almost entirely confined to the cities. As a matter of fairness the program should now be extended to rural communities whose housing needs are equally pressing. In the South alone 2,000,000 farm families are living in inadequate, unsafe, and insanitary houses, and the young people are abandoning the farms for the cities where they think they will find better living conditions. In these critical times when the Nation is engaged in perfecting its defense it is necessary that our farm families be properly housed and remain on the farms in order to feed the Nation and the distressed populations of other friendly countries. The provisions of S. 591 will greatly assist in assuring this objective by continuing U. S. H. A. housing program and extending its benefits to the farmers of America, and a rule making it possible for the House of Representatives to vote on its passage is therefore strongly urged.

C. C. HANSON,
Secretary, Association Southern Commissioners of Agriculture.

FIVE HUNDRED LOCAL HOUSING AUTHORITIES ASK FOR ACTION ON S. 591

Mr. Speaker, as I stated before, I have heard from practically all of the five-hunred-odd local housing authorities in the United States. They are composed of high-minded citizens and businessmen who are cooperating with local public officials for the betterment of their respective communities. They have devoted much time to the study of their housing problems and in the preparation of plans to overcome them. They are now admirably equipped to cooperate with Federal housing authorities in the housing problems with which they

will be confronted with the increase in the erection of defense-material plants and to cope with the inadequate housing of workers in private industry. I appeal to the membership to deeply consider whether the efforts of these high-standing citizens in every section of the United States should be disregarded and whether their planned housing programs should be junked because of the poisoning of the minds of some of the members on the one hand and the untruths about the housing program on the other hand which has misled some of the membership. I shall insert but one appeal from this source and that is a telegram received from the chairman of the Knoxville, Tenn., Housing Authority. It reads:

KNOXVLLE, TENN., *October 9, 1940.*

Hon. A. J. SABATH,
Chairman, House Rules Committee:

Housing shortage already existing here will become seriously acute when defense industries built or expanded unless provision made to meet the situation. Recent authentic survey showed Knoxville has 2,420 grossly substandard, filthy, uninhabitable dwellings now occupied by families unable to secure better quarters because of their low income and shortage of decent houses they can afford to rent. Knoxville has about ready for occupancy and under construction only 764 U. S. H. A. dwelling units and needs 1,656 additional units to meet present needs as a defense measure against disease, crime, and cost to maintain slum areas and will need more to meet demands for national defense. This city within 15 miles of aluminum plant producing 75 percent of all aluminum used in manufacture of airplanes. T. V. A. electric power and natural resources of mines and forests believed sure to cause establishment of munitions plants nearby. Hundreds of workers in these plants will live in Knoxville; if public-housing program not continued private industry unlikely to adequately relieve serious housing situation already existing in Knoxville or to be able to cope with emergency with which the Nation is confronted. U. S. H. A. housing is built for permanency, and all dwellings built to meet emergency will remain to strengthen our Nation by providing more low-rent homes for low-income families. Continuation of program will absorb large part of unemployment now existing and also will provide employment for that class of labor not sufficiently skilled or otherwise unable to be engaged in emergency defense plants like munitions and mechanical equipment. Even when emergency passes, the housing built under U. S. H. A. will stand as bulwark of better citizenship to retard the possible recurrence of similar emergency in the future.

OLIN BERRY,
Chairman, Knoxville Housing Authority.

AUTHORITY HAS MADE MAGNIFICENT RECORD IN LAST YEAR—NO LONGER ANY EXCUSE FOR JUST COMPLAINT

Mr. Speaker, I have had appeals from various cities urging the consideration of this legislation, and, notwithstanding that I, as chairman of the Committee on Rules, have endeavored to obtain a vote in committee for a rule granting consideration, a majority of my committee, I regret to say, have refused it. I cannot help but feel that political motives have impelled some of the members to oppose it, others because of prejudice, and still others because they considered it—to them—a socialistic scheme, and one or two may have opposed it for personal reasons, as I have stated, whose minds were poisoned against the Housing Authority and its program.

Mr. Speaker, as I stated on the floor in the last session of Congress, there might have been some justification in criticizing the Housing Authority when it was first organized, but in the last year the Authority has made such wonderful and effective progress in improving and reducing the cost of construction that no honest, unbiased man can now justly complain.

Mr. Speaker, I pointed out in my remarks made on the floor September 10 that the cost of construction under the United States Housing Authority had been materially reduced, in fact, the minimum cost of construction is now but $2,740, which is $1,000 lower than the defense-housing bill provides. The figures are authentic and disprove the assertions of those Members who claim the lowest-paid workers cannot obtain the benefit of low-cost housing because the cost of construction is such as to require a higher rental than they can pay. If Members had voted for the $5,000,000 as provided in S. 591, as amended, which would have released $150,000,000 in authorizations for the United States Housing Authority, the lowest-paid workers would have been afforded decent and sanitary housing at a rental within their means.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the situation as affecting legislation for housing defense workers, trainees, and civilian workers the Committee on Rules is charged with failure to act. Unfortunately a majority of the committee has been opposed to reporting out a rule on S. 591, as amended. I was not one of that majority, but have done everything within my power to bring about favorable action. I am satisfied, however, that when Congress convenes again that many of the Members who have refused to provide this needed housing will realize their mistake and that the legislation will be enacted shortly after the convening of the next Congress.

St. Lawrence Waterway Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE ST. PAUL PIONEER PRESS

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, an Associated Press item on October 15, announces that negotiations are under way between the United States and Canada for an immediate engineering investigation on a hydroelectric project in the St. Lawrence River. For a long, long time there has been discussed the question of developing the St. Lawrence River so that ocean-going vessels could enter the Great Lakes and so that Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis., as well as other cities, might become ocean ports.

This newspaper report indicates that the proposed development is a power development rather than a navigation development. Some time ago, we pointed out that with Canada and the United States entering into a defense pact, now is the time to put through the St. Lawrence waterway project so that we would have not only a waterway which could be traveled by ocean vessels, but also power development for the benefit of the people in the area involved.

It is important to know more about these defense negotiations. Of course, additional power can be used, but the outstanding demand of the people of the Northwest that the waterway be developed for navigation purposes must not be overlooked.

The situation is well expressed in a recent editorial in the St. Paul Pioneer Press which is as follows:

Until President Roosevelt answers Congressman PITTENGER's questions about the immediate power development and delay in the navigation works of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway project the Midwest must reserve judgment.

President Roosevelt proposed that the electric-power phase of the work be undertaken immediately as a defense project without prejudice to future navigation development, if this should be desired later.

Congressman PITTENGER asks if lock foundations will be built in the electric-power dam or dams that are constructed. Obviously if they are omitted the St. Lawrence navigation project will be permanently killed. If, however, they are included, and they must be if the work is done without prejudice to future navigation development, the President's proposal will give great impetus to the fight of the Middle West for a deep waterway to the sea.

The electric program is being pushed as a defense project, but it must be remembered that the navigation phase also has value in any scheme of continental defense. It is argued that the electric project can be completed within 2 or 3 years, while 5 years would be necessary for the combined work. A reasonable solution would be to start immediately with the power development and build lock foundations in the dams, with the understanding that the seaway would be completed within not more than 3 years after the hydroelectric work was finished.

The Middle West is not so selfish as arbitrarily to oppose a power development which would furnish further industrial competition for this area, but it cannot be expected to endorse this plan if it would mean the end of all hope for a deep waterway from the head of the Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean.

Reopening of Cramps' Shipyard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL J. BRADLEY
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on October 4, the Republican candidate for President, Mr. Wendell Willkie, visited the city of Philadelphia and made several campaign speeches. Those who had charge of his tour through Philadelphia conducted him to the site of Cramps' Shipyard in an obvious but ridiculous attempt to make the people of Philadelphia think that either Mr. Willkie or his Republican managers in Philadelphia were responsible for the fact that the long-closed shipyard is about to resume operations. Cramps' Shipyard is located in my district, and I doubt if the Republican candidate for President even knew that it existed before his sponsors persuaded him it would be a good idea for him to stop there. In a speech made there, Mr. Willkie, according to newspaper reports, stated that if Cramps' had been permitted to progress it would not now be standing idle. That is quite true, but the Republican candidate for President evidently was not aware of the reason why Cramps' Shipyard closed down or how long it has been since it was in operation.

In connection with this I would like to refresh the memory of the people of Philadelphia. Cramps' was perhaps the best shipyard in the United States and built many vessels for the United States Navy. However, during the Republican administrations of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, the United States not only did not build any new vessels for its Navy but it actually scrapped ships that were 85-percent completed. Because of this dearth of building of necessary naval ships by Republican administrations, Cramps, was forced to close down entirely in 1926, and also because of this when the Roosevelt administration took office, our Navy was in a deplorable condition, and it was necessary immediately for the Roosevelt administration to commence a program of shipbuilding, which was inaugurated despite criticism leveled against it.

The Republican policy of allowing our Navy to deteriorate and our national defense to weaken was changed by the President and between 1933 and today 150 warships of various classes have been built, exclusive of small craft, with hundreds more being built. This does not include the new expansion program. It was the policy of the Republican administrations, which closed Cramps' shipyard and impoverished the northeastern section of Philadelphia. For them to attempt to fool the people of my district regarding this is futile, because the facts are too well known.

With regard to the reopening of Cramps' shipyard, which will take place in the not too distant future, it has been brought about through the cooperation and support given by the officials of the Navy Department and the Department of Justice of the Federal Government, despite obstacles which were placed in the way of the reopening of the yard. Indeed almost insurmountable red tape was encountered in local channels and if it had not been for the determination of the United States Government officials that the yard must reopen in the interest of national defense, it is extremely doubtful whether favorable results would have been accomplished.

In connection with the reopening of Cramps' I would like to quote from a communication received by me from the gentleman from Georgia, Honorable CARL VINSON, chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee:

As chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, it was my privilege to cooperate with you during the past few months with regard to the negotiations and discussions concerning the reopening of Cramps' shipyard in Philadelphia. I have been in constant touch with the situation and have been aware of the difficulties, which you had to overcome, and the efforts put forth by you to bring about this splendid result. The approval, which the Department of Justice gave to the settlement of the note for approximately $1,000,000 owed by the Cramps' people, was brought about by your representations and the assurances, which the Navy Department has given with respect to awarding contracts for the construction of cruisers at this yard, were in the main obtained by your efforts.

At one time during discussions regarding reopening of the yard it was necessary for officials of the Navy Department to request me to inform local officials of Philadelphia that unless cooperation was forthcoming, that provisions of the naval expansion bill empowering the Navy Department to take over the yard would be exercised, and the plant would be operated as a Government yard. I am placing these facts in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order that the people of Philadelphia might be accurately informed of the circumstances both as to the closing of the yard in 1926 and the resumption of operations in the immediate future.

Willkie or Roosevelt? Which Is Best Fitted for the Job? What Is the Job?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

THE JOB

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, two major tasks, instead of one, will confront the President who takes office in January of 1941.

We will be under the necessity of furnishing the answer to unemployment, industrial strife, national bankruptcy, and the renewal of the confidence of the people in our Government.

Superimposed upon this job is the one of adequately preparing for national defense. In addition, if the provocative and belligerent words and acts of our President, who is now seeking a third term, have by that time involved us in war, we will be fighting for our national existence, for the preservation of our individual liberties.

Who, then, is the man best fitted to unite the Nation, place it upon a sound financial basis and unemployment, bring about production and, while refraining from meddling with those entrusted with the conduct of war on land and sea, inspire the people to a new faith in their Government and its leaders, and bring to a successful conclusion a war which will determine the fate of civilization for a thousand years?

The answer to this question should be the subject of earnest and prayerful consideration by every patriotic, God-fearing American citizen, for upon the correct answer rests your welfare and mine; the right to worship the God of our choice; the future prosperity and happiness of our children.

Our decision should be made without rancor, hatred, envy, or jealousy; without any false notions as to the indispensability of one man; with a determination to see and think clearly, judge soundly, and to arrive at the truth.

THE TWO MEN

A man must be judged not only by what he says; not only by the purpose toward which he is striving, but by the result of his acts. No matter how persuasive the words, how desirable the objective, if the sum total of his activities does not indicate progress in the right direction, he has failed and, if the trial has been fair, he should no longer seek leadership of the people. He should make way for a new leader.

Candidate Roosevelt having been in the public eye for more than 8 years, his promises, his objectives, the result of his acts, are well known. Let us give them consideration and, from that consideration, determine whether he is even a safe man to guide us in the future.

For the purpose of the argument, we will concede that his objectives—such as the giving of a better opportunity to all those who have failed to attain an average degree of success, happiness, material and intellectual prosperity—are good.

So, too, is the thought of lessening the age-old controversy between those who labor and those who furnish the capital. Also desirable is the purpose of establishing financial security for those whom adversity has rendered incapable of caring for themselves.

With the President's objective of establishing a "new order"—and that is Hitler's present announced purpose—or, as members of the President's Cabinet have characterized it, "making America over," we have no sympathy whatever.

If the American people wish to establish a new order; if they wish to make America over, to do away with the Constitution and the protection which it has thrown around the American citizen for more than 150 years, we will concede that Candidate Roosevelt is the man to do the job.

It is unfortunate that the man who has used such glowing words, in so pleasant a way, convincingly painting the benefits toward which he said he was striving, should be so utterly lacking in the practical knowledge and in the ability necessary to accomplish his announced purpose.

Lest the charge that he has failed to solve our domestic problems be disputed, let us here pause to offer the proof.

NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY

As a candidate he told us, when the Hoover administration had a deficit of some $4,000,000,000, that we were on the verge of national bankruptcy; that no nation which continued to borrow and to roll up deficits could escape the shoals of financial disaster. He sensed the situation; said it was "today's problem," and that we must not borrow to meet it.

That statement, as is known by every woman and man of any practical experience, is sound.

The sad fact remains that, in spite of the fact that Mr. Roosevelt knew that an emergency existed, that he was leading us down the road toward national bankruptcy, he lacked the courage to ask the American people to pull in their belts, redouble their efforts, practice self-denial, and live within their income.

Fearful that the Hoover deficit of $4,000,000,000, over a period of years, would ruin us, he has, year after year, rolled up an average deficit of more than $3,000,000,000 a year, until our national debt is now more than $45,000,000,000.

With his eyes wide open, familiar with the rocky coast of national bankruptcy toward which we were drifting, and with the disaster which lies beyond, he turned our ship of state squarely about and, instead of letting her drift, drove her full speed directly toward the breakers.

UNEMPLOYMENT

As a candidate, he advised us that millions of job seekers were pounding the pavements, looking for jobs; that such a condition was disgraceful, should not be tolerated in a civilized nation. He was correct. That condition existed then, not because of anything that Hoover had done but because of the depression, world-wide, which followed the first World War, and from which, prior to the beginning of the present World War, every single nation had recovered in a greater degree than had our own.

To solve this question of unemployment and to carry on his policies the President was given arbitrary and practically unlimited power and something like $60,000,000,000.

He has spent in 7 years of his administration 40 percent as much money as all other Presidents spent in the 153 years of our national history. He spent more money during the first 7 years of his administration than did Woodrow Wilson during the whole of his administration, including the expenses of the World War, which occurred therein.

During the same period he has spent as much each month as any President prior to Woodrow Wilson spent during any year.

In the campaign of 1932 Dr. Roosevelt rushed on the field with his little black bag, loudly proclaimed his ability to cure, announced his remedy; gave us 7 years of his treatment, and we now discover that, aside from those who will be drafted, the members of the National Guard who have been called to the service of their country and those just recently employed on war orders, and notwithstanding the employment of several million on the relief rolls, our unemployment situation is as serious as ever.

After 7 years of the exercise of arbitrary power and the expenditure of something like $60,000,000,000, all we have to show for the administration of Dr. Roosevelt's quack remedies is the unemployment indigestion and a $20,000,000,000 doctor bill.

INDUSTRIAL STRIFE

Under the guise of lessening the causes of labor disputes—a most laudable purpose—the President and his adherents gave us a law and an administering agency—the N. L. R. B.—which not only has intensified the battle between employer and employee, but has created country-wide strife between union organizations themselves, as well as between union organizations and the independent worker.

Although section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act expressly guarantees to American workingmen the right to bargain through representatives of their own choosing, the indisputable and regrettable fact remains that in one plant members of one union monopolize the jobs to the exclusion of members of another union, while the reverse is true in an adjoining city, while union racketeers insist that an American citizen, law abiding, peaceful, and patriotic, shall not work on any job over which they have control until he has paid tribute to their organization.

Through the activities of the N. L. R. B., which has joined forces with some labor organizers, the right of trial by jury, the right to a day in court, the right to present evidence, the right to equality before the law, has been taken not only from employers but from employees.

Proof of this statement is found in the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of the A. F. of L. against the N. L. R. B., and in the report of the House Smith investigating committee.

So far has the Board and the C. I. O. joined their activities that, today, on some Government defense work, American citizens may not labor for national defense until they have paid tribute to that organization.

So far has the C. I. O. gone—and it has not been rebuked by the President—that, when the Bohn Aluminum & Brass Corporation at Detroit sought to carry out orders for the War and Navy Departments, those Departments of your Government, of my Government, were defied and denied not only delivery of the completed parts, but of the drawings or blueprints which were necessary for their construction.

Proof of this is contained in the answer of Acting Secretary of the Navy Edison to a privileged resolution offered by me in the House of Representatives. The pertinent part of that reply reads as follows:

> On September 28, 1939, the United States Navy resident inspector of naval material at Detroit, Mich., informed the regional director of the United Automobile Workers, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Detroit, Mich., of the seriousness of the delay in the delivery of the material due on contracts, also the urgent need of the shipment of patterns, and requested that he instruct his representative in charge of the picket line at the corporation's plant No. 2 to allow a representative to pass through the picket line to pick up Government-owned patterns and ship them on a Government bill of lading.
>
> The regional director of the United Automobile Workers, Congress of Industrial Organizations, sent three representatives of union local No. 208 to discuss the removal of the patterns with the inspector of naval material. The representatives of union local No. 208 were given full access to the files of the Navy contracts, and they were informed that the delay in releasing patterns for delivery was seriously jeopardizing the manufacture of airplane engines at the naval aircraft factory. At the end of the discussion the union representatives stated that as the strike situation stood at the present time their answer was emphatically "no" and that they would not let patterns or inspected castings be removed. No further action was taken by the Navy Department to remove the patterns and castings.

Passed to lessen the causes of labor disputes, we find that the man-days lost in strikes increased from 2,730,368 in 1930 to 15,456,337 days in 1935, to 28,424,857 in 1937, and were 18,687,739 in 1939.

Hailed as the Magna Carta of organized labor, ignore, if you choose, the opinion expressed by employers, but listen to this testimony of two labor leaders:

We believe that the act has been administered contrary to both its spirit and letter. We charge the Board with maladministration, with bias, with an attempt to apply their own particular philosophy in the disposition of cases, rather than the plain provisions of the act. The Board, in our judgment, is anything but a judicial body.

So testified William Green before a House investigating committee.

Said John L. Lewis at the 1939 convention of the C. I. O.:

But when the act is so administered as to thwart the development and maintenance of stable industrial relations, then it becomes necessary to consider and weigh carefully whether the benefits of the act outweigh the dangers which its administration inflicts upon organized labor.

The House of Representatives, by a vote of more than 2 to 1, voted to abolish the Labor Board, to amend the act. But, in the Senate, the President buried the legislation, and the strife goes on.

The strife, with its attendant graft, its levying of tribute upon American citizens, who are taxed, as were the colonists, without representation, impairs our ability to adequately prepare for national defense.

It may be merely a coincidence, but, nevertheless, the very suspicious fact remains that from the organization—the C. I. O.—receiving the greatest benefit by the Board's maladministration the President, in 1936, received a campaign contribution of $440,000 and from that and affiliated organizations a total of $770,000.

The press of today under date of October 14, carries these headlines: "LaGuardia plea postpones plan for milk strike."

Again: "LaGuardia plan ends long-haul trucking strike."

The press of the last few weeks has carried many similar statements; strikes either about to be called, strikes in existence, or notices of the settlement of strikes—many of them in defense industries.

Here is another:

ALIQUIPPA, PA., October 14.—District Attorney Robert E. McCrary reported today workers of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation plant in the western Pennsylvania town had been turned back by the hundreds by C. I. O. dues-collecting pickets at the mill gates.

Sheriff Charles J. O'Laughlin asked and obtained State police reinforcements to guard against fresh outbreaks. The plant is working on orders for both the Army and the Navy.

Another:

CAMDEN, N. J., October 14.—The management of the New York Shipbuilding Co., which holds $500,000,000 in national-defense contracts, agreed today to resume negotiations at once for a new working agreement with a C. I. O. shipworkers' union."

LINDEN, N. J., October 14.—The Allied Clothing Corporation obtained a temporary injunction from chancery court today, restraining the C. I. O. Amalgamated Clothing Workers from picketing and other union activity at the plant where a walk-out by the C. I. O. union has tied up production of 7,500 Army overcoats under a War Department contract.

The order barred the C. I. O. members from accosting employees, intimidating them, visiting them at their homes, jeering, and demonstrating.

The Amalgamated, of which National Defense Commissioner Sidney Hillman is national head, contended the strike was in protest against a series of wage cuts.

Sidney Hillman is a vice president of the C. I. O. The President appointed him commissioner on the National Defense Advisory Commission, primarily to handle labor problems.

NO MAN CAN SERVE TWO MASTERS

It is said that no man can serve two masters. For whom is Sidney Hillman working? For the people of the United States on their defense program or for the C. I. O. in its drive for members in its dues-collecting campaign?

Ever since his first year in office the President has been berating businessmen, employers, industrialists. He calls for national unity. How can we have national unity; how can production in this Nation be brought about if the vice president of a union, which has been guilty of violence, intimidation, the seizure of private property, the driving of men from work, is put in a position where he can intimidate and force to the knees all those businessmen, those manufacturers upon whom production depends?

Does the President and Sidney Hillman think that American citizens free for 150 years will tamely submit to the domination of the vice president of the C. I. O.? Does he think that the A. F. of L. and the independent worker will join him in his program of ruining that organization, forcing its members into the C. I. O., and forcing all independent workers to pay tribute to him and his organization, in which there are many Communists?

If he and the President have that thought in mind, they have mistaken the temper of the American people, and their troubles have just begun.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Protection for the worker and for the aged through the social-security law is a desirable objective, but here again the President's lack of responsibility, his irresponsibility, his spending-wasting theories came in conflict with the legitimate operation of the law.

We find that, while up to August 31, 1940, there had been collected for payments to the aged alone the sum of $2,005,696,643.67, the President had permitted to be spent for the current running expenses of the Government $1,728,100,000.

The money collected for payments to the aged was a reserve fund. It was put into the cash register of the National Government. But the administration, without protest from Franklin D. Roosevelt, tapped the till to the extent of more than one-half of the total contributions for that purpose.

Time limits the citation of the President's failure, of his maladministration of public affairs to the foregoing examples, which can easily be multiplied by anyone conversant with public affairs.

"MAKING AMERICA OVER"

Candidate Roosevelt told us in one of his franker moments that the "horse and buggy" days were past.

Wallace told us that the New Deal was engaged in "making America over" and added:

We may hope that such action can be taken as bloodlessly as the Constitution was enacted.

Tugwell said:

Business will logically be required to disappear.

Again:

The future is becoming visible in Russia. * * * Perhaps our statesmen will give way or (and please note these words) be more or less gently removed from duty. * * * Perhaps our vested interests will submit to control without violent resistance. * * * We have no reason to believe that the disestablishment of our plutocracy would be pleasant. These historical changes never are. We have, however, the duty of avoiding violence as the process goes on.

Said Thomas Corcoran, the President's confidant and affectionately called by him "Tommy, the Cork":

We know that a revolution is actually here. All we can hope to do is canalize it. Our whole conception of private property is going to be changed, and all we can hope to do is help it to come about gently without any general blow-up.

This was said in 1937, and Corcoran is the man, you will recall, who told a veteran insurance officer that, "When we get through with you fellows, this business will be run by the Government."

ESTABLISHING THE NEW ORDER

In the foregoing, stands revealed the philosophy and the purpose of Candidate Roosevelt, who seeks a third term for the purpose of carrying on, as he puts it, "the new order."

He is the man who told us that in 34 months he had returned to Washington those powers which in the hands of improper men would shackle the liberties of our people.

We know now—and let us hope it is not too late—that in his hands, according to his own statement, rests the power to shackle the liberties of our people.

We know from his previous record that he does not regard nor fulfill his promises. We know that he has failed to solve our domestic problems.

INDISPENSABLE MAN—A DICTATOR

We know from his attempt to pack the Supreme Court, from his insistence that Congress do his will, from his

attempt to purge from the Democratic Party those who disagreed with his philosophy or his procedure, that he is a self-willed, opinionated man. We know from his own statement that he now regards himself as the indispensable man.

That thought, that idea, is contrary to all American teaching. It is contrary to our spirit of independence, to our belief that every man stands equal before the law—the legend written in stone over the entrance to the Supreme Court Building in Washington.

As Woodrow Wilson said, "There is no indispensable man."

Within the week, a Congressman with the President on his so-called nonpolitical trip through Ohio made the statement that he not only was for a third term, but is quoted in the press as saying that he is for a fourth and a fifth term.

If that be the conception which is to be adopted here in America, then go home and hang your heads in shame, for no longer may the child, the boy at mother's knee or looking to his father for inspiration, be told the story of the boys of America who have risen from the log cabin, from the towpath, up through poverty, by virtue of hard work and thrift, to sit in the Executive Mansion at Washington.

If this idea of the indispensable man is to prevail, it follows all down through the line to the constable in your township, to the police officer in your precinct, and the result is the stifling of all ambition in every young American, for only those now in office may continue to hold office while they live.

DICTATOR—A TYRANT

And do not forget that, once established, a dictator, the tyrant, always turns on those having most to do with raising him to power. Labor and minority groups, because of present favors, may cast their vote for a Roosevelt. So, too, minority groups in Germany elevated a Hitler to a dictatorship, and no more was he firmly established than he turned on them with unspeakable cruelties, either liquidated them or drove them from their Fatherland.

Elect Roosevelt and labor will find after the election is over that a dictator is a jealous person. He tolerates no rivals. He listens to no one, considers no one, has regard for no one except as he can advance his own interests.

WILLKIE

Let us turn from this dismal picture of recorded failures, of a dark future for our country under the man Roosevelt, to the hope of our Nation and consider Candidate Willkie.

Less can be said of his record for the reason that it is shorter; he has not been so much in the public eye. These things, however, we do know:

He was born in humble circumstances, of an average father and mother. It is said that one of his ancestors was foreign-born. God forbid the day when an American citizen shall be denied any right given under our Constitution because one of his parents was born on foreign soil, came to America to seek freedom—only to have it denied his or her offspring by intolerance, by bigotry.

Every American whose father or mother was born on foreign soil should resent the implication in the statement that one of Wendell Willkie's parents was born across the sea.

When the last great day comes and we all stand before the Eternal Judge, He will not ask us where either we or our parents were born; He will search out the record and we will go in or stay out on the record we have made.

Wendell Willkie's record is clear. He came up the hard way. He never shunned work. He has the advantages of a high school and a university education and, from that time on, in this land of opportunity, he made his way. Successful as a lawyer, he won and held the confidence of the communities in which he lived. His ability was so pronounced, his integrity so unquestioned, that he received and earned from private enterprise a salary equal to that paid the President of the United States.

For him a step from private life to the office of Chief Executive is no financial gain and no one who knows him for one moment believes that either he, himself, will commercialize or will he permit the commercializing of the office of President of the United States as has Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Willkie served his private clients faithfully, competently. There is every reason to believe that, elected President of the United States, he will consider the people of the Nation and serve them in the same conscientious way.

His record is one of success in private life, in sharp contrast to that of the President, who, born wealthy, has made a complete failure of the two business enterprises in which he did engage, losing not only his own money, but the money of the stockholders of the companies in which he was interested.

Wendell Willkie enlisted in the forces of the United States on the day that war was declared, April 6, 1917; was later commissioned and served in the war overseas as a captain in the 325th Field Artillery.

During the same war, Franklin D. Roosevelt held down a swivel-chair job in the Navy Department.

PREPARATION FOR DEFENSE

Which of these two men is best prepared to give us national defense?

Roosevelt, it is said, has had experience in foreign relations. He has. The net result of his experience is that today we have but one friend among the powerful nations of the world, and that friend is England, who is striving desperately to maintain her existence; a nation which today owes us more than $5,000,000,000 because of the aid we gave her in her former conflict.

If we are to defend America, we must have an undreamed-of production of material things. This means that we must have harmony, unity of effort, between industry and labor.

Willkie has always been a producer, a harmonizer. In his controversy with the National Government, he reached an amicable agreement, an agreement through which, if memory serves correctly, the Federal Government paid his stockholders something like $19,000,000.

His record as an executive shows that, continually, without reducing wages, he lessened the cost of the products of the companies in which he was interested to the ultimate consumer, and he got results.

On the other side of the picture we have Roosevelt, the man of experience, who, from the day he took office down to the present moment, has stirred up strife between industry and labor.

As David Lawrence said in a recent issue of the United States News—

He now has plunged the Nation into bitter partisanship.

Incapable, he, himself, acknowledges his administration to be of adequately preparing for defense, for, after abusing business and businessmen for 7 long years, when the showdown comes, he calls businessmen—and of all men, the head of General Motors—to his side to advise him. With characteristic jealousy, however, he refuses to give him authority. He avails himself of the businessmen's talent, of their knowledge and ability, but he denies to them the credit which would be their due for a job well done.

If this Nation is to succeed, either in preparation for defense, or for war, we must as stated have a united Nation.

We can have no united nation under Roosevelt. He is the man who has arrayed class against class. He is the man who said that in his first administration some of our citizens had met their match and that he hoped that in his second he could say they had met their master.

This is not a country where men can be driven. This is not a land where the crack of the whip of the master will bring results. This is a land where cooperation must be established if preparation for defense is the object, the waging of a successful war essential.

No longer do millions of our citizens trust Candidate Roosevelt. Before Americans will trust an official he must, in their opinion, be honest, be truthful, possess political morality. Has the President these three things?

TRUTHFULNESS

It is with the greatest reluctance that I call attention to the lack of frankness on the part of my President. I would be guilty of a lack of loyalty to my country if I failed to do so.

The President's utter disregard for the facts can be established by the citation of three incidents—all recent. There are many others.

He authorized Senator BARKLEY to state at the Chicago convention that he, Roosevelt, "has never had, and has not today, any desire or purpose to continue in the office of President, to be a candidate for that office, or to be nominated by the convention for that office."

As Raymond Clapper, his personal friend and New Deal supporter, of this statement said:

I simply do not believe that.

A similar opinion has been expressed by Hugh Johnson, by David Lawrence, and I doubt if there is an intelligent, wide-awake American in the country, familiar with present conditions, who does not believe that the President wants the office; that he is exerting every effort to get it.

Another example:

Not long ago the President made the statement to the reporters that it was his policy not to comment upon pending legislation.

Within a few days he commented on the conscription bill, and it has been his practice to comment on legislation. His statement that he did not do so is known by practically every reporter in Washington to be contrary to the fact.

Just one other illustration:

When the question of the transfer of the warships was before the President he advised the reporters that the question of bases was not involved. Subsequent developments showed that his statement again was inaccurate.

HONESTY

In one of his early speeches the President said that he regarded the Democratic platform as a covenant with the people. On another occasion he said, in substance, "I will be honest with the American people."

He has not kept his promises. Even the weakest memory can call to mind his statement that he would balance the Budget, his failure to do so; his promise to reduce the number of Federal employees, his increase of the number; his solemn promise to reduce the number of Government bureaus and agencies, and we know that he has established 124 new ones since March of 1933.

POLITICAL MORALITY

A Senate committee of the President's own political faith, or perhaps, more properly speaking—a Democratic, not a New Deal—committee—after a full investigation, established the fact that money appropriated to buy food, clothing, and shelter for the unfortunate had been used to influence elections.

On the 24th day of June 1937, the venerable Democratic Senator, CARTER GLASS, on the floor of the Senate said:

The last election was carried by people who were getting favors from the Government, people who were subsidized by the Government, people who were on relief rolls, and people who were sanctioning the invasion of private property and its occupation, as is being done now.

The most recent exhibition of the President's expenditures of public funds for his individual benefit is his recent trip through Pennsylvania and Ohio on a so-called inspection trip.

Is there an American so credulous as to believe that this trip—a special train at Government expense—was not used to advance the political fortunes of the President and his adherents?

The time spent in inspection and the methods of inspection show that inspection was the excuse, not the object.

Editorially says the heretofore New Deal Washington Daily News of Monday:

HELLO SUCKERS

What is this Nation's sum total of credulity? * * * To what extent can its intelligence be insulted without a backfire of resentment? How many people can be fooled, not only some of the time, but all of the time? Never was there a more striking test than that so-called nonpolitical defense inspection trip into Pennsylvania and Ohio by Franklin D. Roosevelt, candidate for the third-term Presidency. The trip was at taxpayer expense. * * *

Under guise of Government business, it got around the Hatch Act, as did other similar jaunts during the campaign. As an inspection tour it was about as thorough as inspecting the works of a watch from an airplane. As for avoidance of politics, the costly special train reeked with politicians and political conferences.

Do the American people like to be suckers?

The record written by Candidate Roosevelt shows spending for prosperity, a drive toward national bankruptcy, disregard of promises, a lack of frankness, a lack of political morality, an attempt to take and hold the powers of a dictator.

Free Americans will never unite under such leadership; and whether the object be preparations for national defense, to repel invasion, or whether it be to carry on a war in which he may involve us prior to election, he is the one man who, because of his record, because of his lack of faith in the American form of government, because of the people's lack of faith in him, is the worst possible man to entrust with our destiny.

Unconfined and Vagrant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. WILLIAM DITTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Justice Cardozo, in describing the "plentitude of power" sought by the President under the National Industrial Recovery Act, used the phrase, "unconfined and vagrant." That a justice of the liberal school should feel called upon to characterize the unauthorized exercise of power by the Executive in these words, is, in itself, significant. In the light of more recent events, they should be solemn words of warning to every American who shares the opinion of Chief Justice Fuller, when he said:

It is with governments as with religion—the form often survives the substance of the faith.

For the first time in our history a President has set out to violate a tradition established by the first President and perpetuated as a principle of government by the accord of all who have succeeded him in office. It is now suggested that that principle must give way to the doctrine of indispensability. The suggestion presents a grave problem. We must decide whether or not "any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

The problem is the more important as we contemplate the collapse of free institutions in other lands.

To be foot-loose and fancy-free is the ambition of some men. They rebel against fixed responsibilities. They refuse to conform to established customs. They reject with disdain accepted traditions. Wanderlust becomes a way of life. The idea suggests the willful trespass of property rights and the wanton invasion of personal rights. Liberty becomes license and the law a laughingstock.

Despite the widespread changes which we have witnessed in recent years, the philosophy of the vagrant has not become our national creed. Most Americans still cling to custom and treasure tradition. We believe that our way of life and the institutions of government which make that way of life a reality are dependent upon time-honored landmarks. To most of us experience has proved safer than experiment in establishing rules of conduct.

The English common law, which forms the basis of our legal system, is a collection of customs and traditions, which, through the centuries, demonstrated its worth and was handed down from generation to generation. This is true of not only the common law but of the unwritten constitution of England as well. To safeguard their liberties and to protect their rights, of which no people are more jealous, as present-day events demonstrate, the English trust to custom and precedent alone.

This fact, looked upon by all scholars as elementary, was emphasized by a distinguished Democrat, the late Jeremiah S. Black, who served as the Attorney General of the United States in the Cabinet of President Buchanan. In opposing the attempt to obtain a third-term nomination for President Grant, the former Attorney General declared:

> Our Saxon ancestors owed their freedom to the preservation of their customs such as now constitute the fundamental law of England. * * * Disdain of fundamental law is the natural sprout of a lawless mind.

To the Englishman, justifiably proud as he is of the wars which he has waged for freedom from the days of the Magna Carta down to the present time, traditions, in the sense in which we speak of the ban against a third term, are not to be trifled with. They are customs which through long and honored observance have had placed upon them the dignity of substantive law.

That the founding fathers in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in 1787 were familiar with the wealth of experiences constituting the established traditions of the English law need not be argued. The conduct of the colonists during the time of the tyranny of George III proves that they knew what their rights were—rights guaranteed not only by statutory enactments but more so by the long line of traditions dating back for centuries. A casual reading of the records of the memorable convention in Philadelphia or a superficial examination of the document produced at that convention will prove convincing on this point.

In this connection it should be recalled that the framers of our Constitution completed their work without including therein the safeguards incorporated in the Bill of Rights. The immemorial rights of freemen—freedom of speech, of assembly, of religion, of the press, trial by jury, security of person and property—were not a part of the document submitted for ratification. It would be too much to claim that the omission was due entirely to a reliance on the assurances of traditions. Other reasons were present. But it is certain that those who were responsible for the safeguarding of the prized possessions of English freemen would not have been willing to hazard the privileges dating back to Runnymede had it not been for the guaranties afforded by the strength of established customs and time-honored traditions. At all events, the exclusion of these fundamental rights can be said to be substantial evidence of the confidence of the founding fathers that traditions had a place in their plans for the new nation, as they had had in England for many centuries.

That place has been protected for the most part throughout the years of our national life. Until recently we could say with Edmund Burke, "Our country is not a thing of mere physical locality. It consists in a great measure in the ancient order into which we are born." That order is being tested today. An attempt is being made to establish a new order—a new order which can probably best be characterized as a part of the unconfined and vagrant spirit brought into being in the last few years, and which today seeks to perpetuate itself in power.

At some point that which was originally traditional becomes a fixed principle. The transition is the result of continued usage, constant observance, and that certainty of value which comes only from the abundance and wealth of a long experience. Then it is that a tradition is no longer merely a contact with the past. It has established itself as a compact with the present and as a covenant for the future. A tradition has emerged a principle.

Until a year or two ago most Americans considered the transition as a completed process—the two-term tradition to them had become a two-term principle of government. Today it is confronted with the deadening doctrine of indispensability.

The ideal of all republics, either ancient or modern, has been the chief magistrate was to be entrusted with only temporary power, and that his tenure of office was to be for a fixed and comparatively short period. The ideal translated into practice provided the substantial distinction between republics and the monarchies out of which they grew. The important thing to remember at this time is, history teaches us failure to adhere to this principle has been followed by the destruction of the liberties of the people and the end of the republics.

Napoleon began by being consul for a term. He then was elected for life. Finally he became Emperor with the powers of an absolute despot. The last Bonaparte assumed the Presidency of France for 4 years, was reelected for 10, and ended, as his uncle had done, in an unconfined and vagrant quest for power, by seizing the imperial crown. The value of the warning sounded by Bertrand Russell that

> Those who most desire power are * * * those most likely to acquire it,

Has been amply borne out by the record in France.

Cincinnatus, it will be recalled, assumed the leadership of Rome at the urgent and insistent call of his countrymen. Not an emergency but a real danger was at hand. After driving away the Gauls and saving the city of the seven hills from destruction, Cincinnatus laid aside the fasces, dismissed the lictors, and returned to his home and his plowing, which he had left reluctantly, when he responded to the request of his people to serve them. By the influence of Cincinnatus, with whom Washington, because of his renunciation of a third term, has frequently been compared by historians, Rome, on many occasions, was saved from slavery and despotism. All that was real in Roman freedom, all that bore the substantial marks of democracy ceased to exist when Caesar refused to surrender his consulship as his predecessor had done at the end of a year, and sought time after time his own reelection, aided and abetted by the acquiescence of the Senate and tolerated by the apathy and complacency of the people.

The greatest danger to a republic is the long and continued tenure in office of the head of the state. It is a danger against which Plato warned the Athenians thousands of years ago. The danger has not diminished with the years. Human nature has not changed materially from what it was in the days of the Athenian republic. Human ambitions and human frailties remain fairly constant.

A thirst for power has been well called the original sin of rulers, and no amount of supplication has seemed sufficient to overcome the temptation when the opportunity to satisfy it has been afforded by the credulity of a people and the connivance of a band of contented confederates. An impatience of restraint asserts itself. An intolerance of opposition manifests itself. A conviction of personal rectitude expresses itself. And a sense of indispensability seeks to gratify itself by an appeal to popular favor. An impatience of restraint, an intolerance of opposition, and a conviction of personal rectitude—all these and others are the necessary accompaniments to the age-old cries always demanded by the doctrinaires of indispensability. Hero worship and blind homage go hand in hand.

Critical periods in the life of a people have provided favorable circumstances for the arbitrary ambitions of men to assert themselves. An "emergency," or better still, a series of continuing emergencies, with the attendant accumulations of threatened disasters, pave the way for the march of the superman—the indispensable one among millions—for an "unconfined and vagrant" adventure. Going hand in hand with the emergencies is a mock deference to democratic processes. Contempt for the substance is covered by a covert compliance with the form.

Popular favor is won by appearing as the champion of the poor, as the protector of the underprivileged, and as the friend of forgotten men. Dependency is extolled as a virtue, while the courage of self-reliance is condemned as a shameful survival of the tooth-and-claw age. A land of make-believe with up-to-date Utopian rainbows and sunsets is painted as the gracious gift of an indispensable benefactor.

More than a hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln warned against the "towering genius" which "disdains a beaten path." His words of wisdom, timely as they were to his day, have a peculiar significance and pertinancy today.

Speaking at Springfield in 1832, Mr. Lincoln said:

> Ambitious men will spring up who will find no gratification in supporting and maintaining an edifice that has been erected by

others. Towering genius disdains a beaten path. It seeks regions hitherto unexplored. It scorns to tread in the footsteps of any predecessor, however illustrious. It throbs and burns for distinction, and, if possible, it will have it. When such a man appears it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to government and laws, and generally intelligent to successfully frustrate his designs. Distinction will be his paramount object, and although he will as willingly—perhaps more so—acquire it by doing good as harm, yet that opportunity being present, and nothing left to be done in the way of building up, he would set boldly to the task of tearing down.

We are a young and virile nation. We have made spiritual and material advancements unmatched by any people in a comparable time. And, despite world-wide chaos and confusion, our master mooring posts still stand.

The consciousness of our youth and the awareness of latent powers straining to be unleased may tempt us to forget the contribution which we have already made to the science of self-government. Ours is the oldest continuous democratic government in the world today. It should be remembered that it was our example which inspired the sacrificial struggle for self-government in Europe, which was the outstanding achievement of the Old World in the nineteenth century. Today that process is being reversed in Europe. There dare be no turning back here.

When the delegates to the Constitutional Convention assembled in 1787 they had no blue prints or specifications of the structure which they sought to erect. But they did have a vision of their need and a record of their experiences, from which the size and type of the structure and the character of the materials required could be estimated. They envisioned a release from the capricious autocracy of a king. Their recent experiences with George III had in no way allayed a long-standing fear of the extent to which executive fiat could rob them of rights that they believed to be inalienable.

It was but natural therefore that the powers of the executive branch of the Government, which they sought to create, were a matter of primary importance to them. That which smacked of a monarchy, or even any semblance of a monarchy, and especially that which suggested the possible recognition of an indispensable man as a necessity for their well-being and security, were as repellant to them as the reign of George had been. Their spirit rebelled against one who might assume to be what Carlyle has so aptly described as "the commander over men; he to whose will our wills are to be subordinated—to tell us for the day and hour what we are to do."

The mental attitude of the delegates to the Convention is easily understandable. Nothing was more abhorrent to most of them than a monarchy; no term so distasteful as "king." They had fought a long and hard struggle to escape from tyranny and oppression. The fear of a reestablishment of a monarchy hung like the sword of Damocles over them. Their primary purpose was to found a republic, and they knew that a republic with executive power and patronage wielded indefinitely by the same person would soon cease to be a republic either in form or in substance.

To strike a reasonable balance between forces pulling in opposite directions was the basic task of the Convention. The problem was to create some type of central government which would be strong enough to endure and to operate efficiently, and yet sufficiently limited in its power to prevent the exercise of arbitrary authority. Obviously the tenure and the powers of the Executive were a fundamental part of this problem.

Under the circumstances the compromises finally reached were indeed fortunate. Debate and discussion developed courageous champions of a strong central government on the one hand, while equally devoted defenders appeared on behalf of the rights of the States. Cleavages were inevitable. Wide breaches had to be spanned. Hamilton, who was suspected by some of being a monarchist at heart, favored a long tenure and unrestricted reeligibility for election of the Chief Executive. Others, in whose hearts the fear of a return to a monarchy and the arbitrary whim of a king was uppermost, advocated a single term with no reeligibility for election. From these divergent viewpoints flowed the streams of two shoals of political thought which still exist today.

Three plans were presented to the Convention for the appointment or election of the Executive, and 10 different suggestions as to the length of his term were made. These suggestions ranged from a term of 3 years to a tenure during good behavior.

During the early days of the Convention the general opinion of the delegates seems to have been that Congress should elect the President, that his term should be for 3 years, and he should be reeligible. Those who contended vigorously for a 7-year term and no reeligibility based their opposition primarily on the fear that reeligibility for the office of President would develop inevitably into a perpetuity—one term would become two, two would slip into three—with the cry of indispensability increasing as each term drew to a close.

Although the term of the Chief Executive was finally fixed at 4 years and the question of reeligibility left entirely open, the records of the convention prove that the delegates were opposed to any plan which contemplated either an indefinite or uncertain tenure of office.

In the records of the convention we find, under date of September 6, this notation:

Mr. Spaight and Mr. Williamson moved to insert "seven" instead of "four" years for the term of President.

Then follows this significant parenthetical explanation:

(An ineligibility would have followed the prolongation of the term.)

The motion was lost by a vote of 8 to 3. Virginia supported the amendment. This fact lends additional support to the conclusion reached by Judge Jeremiah S. Black as the result of a careful study of the records that "Washington and Madison acted throughout the session of the convention in steady opposition to unlimited reelections."

The combined rejection of Hamilton's proposal for tenure during good behavior and the rejection of the doctrine of reeligibility amounted to a compromise. The convention decreed, in effect, that there should be no life tenure, but, on the other hand, refused to bar eligibility for a second term on the ground that faithful service should entitle a President to the approbation implied by reelection.

So far as the actual records of the convention are concerned, they show only that the delegates did not restrict a President to one term. Whatever inferences have been drawn as to their intentions beyond a second term are matters of individual interpretation.

But despite the confusion growing out of different interpretations which have been made of the intentions of the delegates, one thing is crystal clear—they refused to make the doctrine of indispensability a part of their creed.

Almost a century and a half has passed since George Washington's patient and patriotic endeavors in the cause of freedom came to a close. He continues to hold first place in the hearts of those who love liberty and hate despotism. His unsparing devotion to the performance of trying tasks has never been surpassed. He, more than any other President, justified the expectations and the hopes of those whose faith was grounded, not in the personality of a man, but in the conviction of principles.

There are those who contend that the precedent established by Washington by his retirement after serving two terms as President is nothing more than an historical accident born of a personal whim and desire. A record of unselfish public service is hardly compatible with the gratification of personal inclinations.

However, Washington did set a precedent, a precedent, hallowed by time and sanctified by a century and a half of observance. The fact itself is there, incontrovertible and certain.

The issue, therefore, is not whether a precedent was set—there is universal agreement on that. The question is whether or not Washington acted deliberately to establish a principle with the hope that his example would be a restraining influence upon those who might subsequently be tempted to perpetuate their power. Candor and common sense dictate that a consideration of surrounding circumstances and an appreciation of the character of the man

must be taken into account if a fair and honest decision is to be made.

It can hardly be denied that the spirit of the Constitutional Convention, with its attendant hopes and fears, the hopes for the success of self-government and the fears of frustration or failure, had their effect on the first President from the beginning to the end of his term. He could not have been unmindful of the fears that had been uppermost in the minds of the delegates throughout the weeks of the convention, the fears that persisted after his election to office, the fear that a monarchy might be reestablished, that a new tyranny might be substituted for the one from which the colonists had been freed, and that their cherished liberties might be lost. The spirit of the time was one of opposition to an undue growth and assertion of power, not one of encouragement for its development and expansion.

Had Washington looked upon himself as indispensable to the success of the Republic, it is certain that neither reproachment nor criticism would have driven him from his high purpose. Nor is it likely that he would have been persuaded by the peace and quiet of Mount Vernon to abandon the tasks that had been committed to him. Is it too much to claim for the first President that he sensed the possibility of establishing a precedent more than he sought to satisfy a personal whim? The character of the man and his record of public service are the best proof that he subordinated selfish interests to the general welfare at all times.

The question of Washington's motive in retiring at the end of his second term has been discussed at length on other occasions. Eminent historians have ranged themselves on opposite sides, each advancing able and sincere arguments to support their point of view. When the issue has been dragged out of academic seclusion, however, to be taken up on the hustings, politicians are likely to espouse the cause which best served their purpose.

Among the historians, McMaster seems to support the accident of history theory, as he contends that Washington was not troubled by any scruples about a third term, and that he went back to private life solely because he was tired of the Presidency and because the state of the country did not demand a further sacrifice of his comfort. Despite this opinion, McMaster throughout his lifetime opposed vigorously a third term whenever the question threatened to become an issue. He defended the value of the precedent regardless of the motive which prompted its establishment.

On the other hand, Albert Bushnell Hart takes the position that Washington knew full well what the framers of the Constitution expected of him as the first President, and that he was determined not to disappoint them.

Almost at the last moment—

Hart declares—

the Convention adopted the 4-year term and explicitly withdrew the restriction on reelection. Very likely, in this respect as in many matters relating to the Presidency, the Convention was influenced by the confidence that the first President would be George Washington, a man who could be trusted.

Hart's position is supported by Schouler, who contends that—

Had Washington so permitted, there is little doubt that he would have been reelected as long as he lived, but he was too sincere an American and too strongly a friend of republican institutions to consent to anything of the kind.

Whether wittingly or unwittingly, Washington established a precedent which has been made a principle by the action of the American people. The real question is not what was in Washington's mind when he set the precedent but whether it would be wise or foolish, safe or dangerous, helpful or harmful to break the principle which rests upon that precedent. Will there be a tendency toward tyranny or a preservation of the liberties of the people by the encouragement of an unconfined and vagrant adventure?

When a fundamental principle such as the two-term tradition is thrown into the arena of a political campaign, partisans on either side will be tempted to seize upon isolated facts and disjointed quotations to bolster their case. That is the method of the campaigner—the way of the hustings, not the craftsmanship of the historian and student of the science of government. Resort to that method which is to be expected in a political campaign is apt to do violence to basic truths, to result in the kind of distortion of fact which almost invariably follows the tearing of a quotation from its context. Our endeavor should be to scan the record impartially, to immerse ourselves in the spirit of the time in which Washington lived in the hope of getting a better understanding of his action and a clearer perception of his purpose. To pile quotation upon quotation, merely for the purpose of making a partisan point, is neither challenging nor convincing. It tends to confuse rather than clarify the issue. Let us avoid all prejudices and preconceptions.

> And harmonize what seems amiss to flow
> As severed from the whole
> And dimly understood.

In searching for the truth, two established facts cannot be ignored. Washington's opposition to Hamilton's plan of an unlimited tenure is a matter of record, so also is the interpretation placed upon Washington's retirement at the end of his second term by the Congress. Certainly these established facts far outweigh in value the uncertainty of pure speculation. They must be more convincing at the bar of public opinion than the strained construction of quotations considered not only apart from the context but without regard to the thought and spirit which moved the people in Washington's day.

The Farewell Address is always pointed to by those who claim that Washington's retirement was motivated solely by personal inclinations. It is true that in the address he merely gives as his reason for retirement the pursuit of inclination. Standing alone, the phrase might lead to a conclusion favorable to those who advocate an unlimited tenure. But its value is lessened materially when we recall that he finds the pursuit of inclination not incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety. Those who emphasize the word "inclination" fail to note that equal emphasis should be given to the word "propriety." It is clear that Washington did not only what he may have desired to do but what he considered the proper thing to do. Certainly a sentiment of duty had always been more compelling to the first President than his personal inclinations.

A description of a Cabinet meeting, which was held before the end of the first year of Washington's second term, is seized upon, by those who would abandon tradition, to buttress their position. The description comes from the autobiography of Thomas Jefferson. At the Cabinet meeting, according to the Sage of Monticello, Washington resented the personal abuse which had been bestowed upon him, defended his motives in public service, and declared that by God he had rather be on his farm than be made emperor of the world; and yet they were charging him with wanting to be king!

Jefferson's narrative, it seem to me, is harmful rather than helpful to those who seek to perpetuate power. That Washington resented the bitter acrimony of personal attacks and rebelled against the intrigue of destructive forces is but natural. He had fought for a cause and was prepared to strike back at those who threatened the destruction of that cause by impugning his motives. The hero of Valley Forge would, of course, prefer to return to his farm than be made emperor of the world. Others might make a different choice.

The nature of these attacks on Washington reveal with crystal clarity that the people were fearful lest the office of President might degenerate into a kingship in fact, if not in name. They feared the exercise of unconfined and vagrant power. We must never forget how brief was the span of years which separated those days from the tyranny of George III.

But Jefferson's reference to the Cabinet session shows even more than this. It indicates how sensitively conscious Washington was of the fears as well as the feeling of the people and the mental anguish it caused him. In view of Washington's reaction to the charges that he sought to make himself a king, can there be any reasonable doubt that the

strongest motive which prompted his retirement was to allay those fears and put his maligners to shame? And, it might be added, that the method which he pursued was probably more effective than an outright statement.

A letter to Lafayette is often cited as evidence that Washington was not committed to the doctrine of rotation in the Presidential office. The citation is an illustration of the distortion which follows when a sentence is torn out of the body of a statement and an interpretation placed thereon without regard to the statement as a whole. In the letter to the French patriot, Washington declares that, "I differ widely myself from Mr. Jefferson and you, as to the necessity of expedience of rotation in that appointment." Standing alone, the sentence might have placed upon it the construction desired by the doctrinaires of indispensability. But, the context clearly shows an entirely different intention. It indicates that Washington did not agree with Jefferson and Lafayette that it was necessary to make rotation in the Presidential office mandatory by an express provision in the Constitution. He took the position that the danger of a President attempting to perpetuate himself in office could only come in the last stage of corrupted morals and political depravity.

We may well ponder on the thought which was in Washington's mind when in the letter to Lafayette he wrote:

> There cannot, in my judgment, be the least danger that the President will by any practicable intrigue ever be able to continue himself one moment in office, much less perpetuate himself in it, but in the last stage of corrupted morals and political depravity; and even then, there is as much danger that any other species of domination would prevail. Though when a people shall have become incapable of governing themselves, and fit for a master, it is of little consequence from what quarter he comes.

Only as a people continue capable of self-government can the ambitions of an unconfined and vagrant adventurer be thwarted. If they cannot protect themselves against such an adventurer no mere provision of a written Constitution will save them.

In making an appraisal of Washington's attitude on the danger of a Presidential perpetuation, it should be recalled that he seriously considered resigning at the end of his first term. The partisan criticism which attributed to him an ambition for kingship so rankled in his mind that for some time prior to March 1793 he was inclined to refuse reelection. He conferred with Jefferson, with Hamilton, and with Knox. He wrote to Madison. This letter which is dated May 20, 1792, proves that he believed rotation in the Presidential offices was desirable in view of the jealousy with which the people looked upon their liberty and safety. He requested Madison to turn his thoughts to a valedictory address, as the spirit of government may render a rotation in the elective officers of it more congenial with the ideas the people have of liberty and safety—that I take my leave as a public man.

When the expiration of his second term drew near, Washington prepared a farewell address which he sent to Hamilton to re-dress. The pertinency of a part of the original draft prompts a quotation from it. Washington's words seem significant, when he wrote as a part of that message these words:

> May I be allowed to add that it will be among the highest as well as the purest enjoyments that can sweeten the remnants of my days to partake in a private station in the midst of my fellow citizens of that benign influence of good laws under a free government which has been the ultimate object of all our wishes and in which I confide as the happy reward of our cares and labors?
>
> May I be allowed to add, as a consideration far more important, that an early example of rotation in an office of so high and delicate a nature may equally accord with the republican spirit of our constitution and the ideas of liberty and safety entertained by the people.

Why the Farewell Address as actually made by Washington does not specifically touch upon the idea of rotation is an enigma of history. One theory is that it was deleted in the mechanical process of cutting down on what we know to have been a much longer draft than that which Washington used. There have been suggestions that the life-tenure-minded Hamilton may have deliberately omitted specific reference to the subject. Still another explanation is advanced by some historians. They reason that it was among the subjects which could most easily be eliminated because the doctrine was so much a part of the philosophy and spirit of the people that emphasis upon it was unnecessary.

The documentary evidence is convincing that Washington was motivated in retiring to private life not only by personal inclination, but far more important, in his own words, by a desire to set an early example of rotation in an office so high and delicate. Of that there can be no doubt. Washington, very definitely and very consciously, sought to set an enduring precedent.

Strong corroborative evidence supporting the establishment of a precedent is furnished by the interpretation placed on the first President's retirement at the time by the Congress. On December 10, 1796, the Senate voted "An address to George Washington, President of the United States," which closed with these words:

> The most essential consolation that we can offer for the loss we are about to sustain arises from the animating reflection that the influence of your example will extend to your successors and the United States thus continue to enjoy an able, upright, and energetic administration.

The House of Representatives on December 15, 1796, took similar action. In fact, the address adopted by the House is even more pointed with the words:

> For our country's sake, for the sake of republican liberty, it is our earnest wish that your example may be the guide of your successors, and, thus, after being the ornament and safeguard of the present age, become the patrimony of our descendants.

Both addresses were voted unanimously. The precedent had been set. The patrimony had been established. And, what is probably more important, both the precedent and the patrimony were recognized and accepted as such by Washington's contemporaries.

"These are ominous days." This was the apt expression of Mr. Roosevelt in describing present-day conditions. They might well have been used with even greater emphasis in characterizing conditions in the life of the Republic in 1796. If ever an emergency existed, it was then.

The fires of the French Revolution, kindled in Paris, had set Europe aflame. Thrones were tottering; dynasties were falling. Devastating wars, which, with but brief intermissions, were to rage for almost a quarter of a century, already were sweeping continental Europe like a holocaust. Where they might spread or when they might end, no man could foresee. Then, as now, the lengthening shadow of a mighty war lord, bent on conquest and the satisfaction of the lust of selfish ambitions, fell cminously athwart all western civilization. Each day saw new regiments answer the reveille as London, Vienna, and St. Petersburg watched with anxious eyes the epochal events in France. The star of Napoleon was in the ascendant.

Across the Atlantic a mere handful of intrepid souls had successfully countered the forces of tyranny with the burning zeal of a love of liberty. Here a new and relatively weak nation was making a desperate effort to establish itself and to prove that self-government could be successful. Providence had provided a narrow strip of land along the seacoast for the experiment. European belligerents stood close by on three sides—British sentries watched the northern border, France was on the west and Spain on the south. The young Republic faced the unpleasant prospect of being crushed beneath the pressure of powerful contending neighbors. Certainly the need of that day was wise, courageous, and capable leadership.

Under such conditions, it was natural that Washington's renunciation of a third term should fall like a thunderbolt. It reverberated above the roar of the guns on the battlefield of Europe. It dazed the sophisticated realists of European court circles who had confidently predicted a quick return to monarchy in the Western World. It staggered the great body of Federalists, to whom Jefferson invariably referred as monarchists. It did one thing more. It stimulated the faith of men who believed that they had the capacity to govern themselves.

Many of the fearful appealed to Washington in the name of national unity to consent to serve for a third term. Undoubtedly officeholders under him were a part of this company. He refused. Zealots of the Federalist cause besought him with evangelical fervor to be a candidate again in order to keep the party united. To this plea Washington scornfully replied:

> What consolation, what safety, would I find in the support which depends upon caprice?

To him a policy meant more than a personality.

No one was more acutely aware than Washington of the danger of world conditions. He realized full well that the conflict in Europe might lead to war in the Western Hemisphere. He was not unmindful that the American possessions of European nations offered substantial prizes which might inspire new conquests at our doors. He was alert to the possibility of American involvement in the incidents of a European war waged on this side of the Atlantic.

His thorough understanding of the imminence of danger is manifest in the recommendations which he made. He advocated strengthening the Union and the creation of suitable defensive forces so that in a period not far off, the United States could safely confront provocations and "choose peace or war as our interests, guided by justice, shall counsel." When French depredations reached the point of threatening our national security, Washington answered the call of his successor, President Adams, to serve as the head of the Army for defense. And yet, he refused to believe that the threatened danger, constituting as it did an emergency, justified his acceptance of a third term. He refused to embrace despotic tendencies as a means of combating despotisms. His fatih in freedom rested solely on his faith in freemen. To him retirement from public office did not mean an end of public usefulness. All in all, despite the pressing emergencies which were present, and the emphasis laid upon his preeminent qualities of leadership, the judgment of Washington was vindicated by the ability of an administration other than his own to weather the storms of the time.

The first President who was given the opportunity to follow or depart from the precedent established by Washington was Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party. He was given the choice of either confirming and strengthening the precedent or of repudiating and rejecting it. His words as well as actions left no room for doubt.

Before the adoption of the Constitution he had made his position plain in a letter to Washington. In the same year, in a letter from Paris he expressed the fear that reeligibility might make of the Presidency an office for life. After he had been elected for a second term, he wrote to John Taylor, saying:

> My opinion originally was that the President of the United States should have been elected for 7 years, and forever ineligible afterwards. I have since become sensible that 7 years is too long to be irremovable, and that there should be a peaceable way of withdrawing a man in midway who is doing wrong.
>
> The service for 8 years, with a power to rerun at the end of the first 4, comes nearer to my principle as corrected by experience; and it is in adherence to that, that I determine to withdraw at the end of my second term.
>
> General Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after 8 years. I shall follow it. And a few more precedents shall oppose the obstacle of habit to anyone after awhile who shall endeavor to extend his term.
>
> There is, however, but one circumstance which could engage my acquiescence in another election, to wit, such a division about a successor as might bring in a monarchist. But that circumstance is impossible.

The positiveness of this declaration prompts the extended quotation. Here we have a clear-cut opinion, expressed while Jefferson was in office and in the hurly-burly of practical politics. The only possible contingency which Jefferson envisaged as an excuse for setting aside the example set by Washington was the possible reestablishment of a monarchist. and this he regarded as impossible.

The danger today is not that the Presidential office may fall into the hands of an avowed monarchist. An indispensable man may be just as deadly to democratic processes. Violent and far-reaching changes in our republican form of government have already taken place. Many precedents and traditions have gone with the wind. Even more violent departures may be made on a pretext of necessity when the people are either indifferent or blinded by the invisible but deadly rays which emanate from the aura of hero worship.

Those who advocate the doctrine of a third term claim that Jefferson as well as Washington was motivated to retirement by personal inclination. In the light of the record as a whole, constituting as it does an abundance of evidence to the contrary, this palpable distortion is too obvious to merit refutation.

Apologists for the violation of the two-term tradition attempt to minimize the value of Jefferson's most famous indictment of a third term on the ground that it was a conclusion reached late in life. It is true that the forceful accusation is a part of his autobiography written after his retirement to Monticello. But to attempt to characterize it as an opinion arrived at only in the detachment of the solitude of Monticello is a slanderous attack upon the reputation of one of the ablest champions of democracy.

Could anything be more convincing than his letter to Watkins in 1807, in which he declared it to be his "duty," as he saw it, "to withdraw at the close of my present term of office; and to strengthen by practice a principle which I deem salutary"? Washington had established the principle. Jefferson looked upon the strengthening of that principle as a duty.

In the same year, Jefferson rejected the plea of indispensability in no uncertain way by the unequivocal statement that:

> There are in our country a great number of characters entirely equal to the management of its affairs. If some period be not fixed either by the Constitution, or by practice, to the services of the First Magistrate, his office, though nominally elective, will, in fact, be for life; and that will soon degenerate into an inheritance.

Before the end of his second term, the legislatures of several States formally invited Jefferson to become a candidate for a third term. In the light of recent developments these efforts took on the aspects of dignified drafts. Instead of lending encouragement to the movement by destroying potential contenders, Jefferson insisted that he regarded it "as much a duty" to relinquish his office "as to have borne it faithfully."

In the same message to the Legislature of Vermont he reaffirmed his oft-expressed decision to adhere to the principle established by Washington when he wrote:

> Believing that a representative government, responsible at short intervals of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office.

In much the same vein Jefferson couched his refusal to consider a violation of the precedent which he recognized and so highly regarded.

Further extended quotations from the records might be made to establish Jefferson's position on the issue which today has become one of such far-reaching importance. This need not be done. The pretext advanced at the present time that extraordinary circumstances prompt departures from proven principles compels one additional quotation:

> There never will be a time—

Jefferson wrote in a letter to Henry Guest in 1809—

> when real difficulties will not exist. I am sensible—

Were his words—

> of the kindness of your rebuke on my determination to retire from office at a time when our country is laboring under difficulties truly great. But if the principle of rotation be a sound one, as I conscientiously believe it to be with respect to this office, no pretext should ever be permitted to dispense with it because there never will be a time when real difficulties will not exist and furnish a plausible pretext for dispensation.

As has already been suggested the most severe denunciation and the most far-reaching indictment came during the days of

retirement at Monticello. Here we have a bold, clear-cut, and uncompromising declaration—not requiring interpretation or context to give it meaning—a declaration, self-sufficient and self-supporting.

> Should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views.

Could he have said more?

None knew better than Jefferson that it would be the task of each succeeding generation to broaden and to deepen the channel through which the lifeblood of the Republic might flow. He realized that changing conditions and circumstances might require adjustments and adaptations of the democratic ideal which he had had a part in forming. He hoped that the steel which he had helped forge might be tempered and fashioned still further.

But to him the tradition against a third term was immutable. It was fundamental—one of the foundations upon which the whole structure rested.

Patriot, philosopher and statesman, few men have deserved in greater measure the veneration of succeeding generations. Certainly no one has deserved less the raucous repudiation which greeted the mention of his name at the convention in Chicago in July 1940, when liberty was surrendered for indispensability. Well might the delegates to that convention have recalled the toast of the Tammany Society of Philadelphia in 1808:

> President Jefferson—rotation in office is the bulwark of freedom. His precedent deserves our homage and our gratitude, and traitors would alone refuse them.

The late Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, White House physician, is reported to have said on one occasion in referring to the attitude of Presidents at the end of their terms:

> They all leave with a smile on their lips but an acute pain in the belly for which no physician has ever been able to find a remedy.

The inelegance of the expression detracts nothing from its truth. Admiral Grayson's personal experience with those who sit on the seats of the mighty merely confirms the broader experience of all mankind since first the flight of time began.

Throughout the ages men who have risen to the leadership of nations and who have been left too long undisturbed in the possession of great power have come to regard their trusteeship as a proprietorship. Reality fades into an illusion of intellectual infallibility. True administration degenerates into personalized government.

Such leaders come finally to the conclusion that they are of the anointed; that fate has marked them as men of destiny, and that without them the people would perish. It was the conclusion reached by Caesar, by Napoleon. It is the conclusion of Hitler, of Mussolini, of Stalin. It constitutes the gravest peril to a free people—the peril of death itself.

To dwell upon the attitude toward a third term of each of the Presidents from Jefferson to the present occupant of the White House might invite the charge of needless repetition. However, our present endeavor would be incomplete were mention not made of some of the outstanding contributions to the perpetuation of the two-term tradition.

Andrew Jackson shares honors with Thomas Jefferson as a prophet of liberalism. For many years he has been regarded by the Democratic Party as a copatron saint with the sage of Monticello. No President ever ended a second term more honored or more beloved. That he might have, had he so said, violated the two-term tradition seems certain. It was young then. It had not been seasoned by time nor strengthened by long observance. Enjoying a greater measure of genuine affection and implicit confidence than was bestowed upon any of his immediate predecessors or successors, it would have been an easy task for him to have uprooted the sapling of his day which has since grown into the sturdy oak of a principle. In his first message to the Congress he recommended a constitutional amendment limiting the service of the Executive to a single term of either 4 or 6 years.

The following year he renewed the recommendation. His second message carries such a clear and authoritative exposition of our theory of checks and balances in government that it merits more than passing attention. In his message to the Congress in 1830, Jackson said, among other things:

> It was a leading object with the framers of the Constitution to keep as separate as possible the action of the legislative and executive branches of the Government. To secure this object, nothing is more essential than to preserve the former from all temptations of private interest and therefore so to direct the patronage of the latter as not to permit such temptations to be offered. Experience abundantly demonstrates that every precaution in this respect is a valuable safeguard of liberty, and one which my reflections upon the tendencies of our system incline me to think should be made still stronger.
>
> It was for this reason that, in connection with an amendment of the Constitution removing all intermediate agency in the choice of the President, I recommend some restrictions upon the reeligibility of that officer and upon the tenure of offices generally.
>
> The reason still exists, and I renew the recommendation with an increased confidence that its adoption will strengthen those checks by which the Constitution designed to secure the independence of each department of the Government and promote the healthful and equitable administration of all the trusts which it has created.
>
> The agent most likely to contravene this design of the Constitution is the Chief Magistrate. In order, particularly, that his appointment may as far as possible be placed beyond the reach of any improper influences; in order that he may approach the solemn responsibilities of the highest office in the gift of a free people, uncommitted to any other course than the strict line of constitutional duty, and that the securities of this independence may be rendered as strong, as the nature of power and the weakness of its possessor will admit, I cannot too earnestly invite your attention to the propriety of promoting such an amendment of the Constitution as will render him ineligible after one term of service.

One who did not regard rotation in the Presidential office as so vitally essential to the safety of the Republic as did Jackson, might have become discouraged at the inaction of Congress. But Jackson, "Old Hickory," was tough and unyielding on the rotation principle. On this subject he fired one volley after another at Congress with the same determination that characterized his attack on the British at New Orleans. His messages from 1831 to 1834 carried the same recommendation in equally forceful terms. While issue can very properly be taken with much that Jackson did, he must be commended for his avowed support of the two-term tradition.

True to his convictions, Jackson refused the nomination for a third term. Unquestionably it could have been his.

The defeat of Van Buren in 1840, says Schouler, was chiefly due to the fact that:

> He was looked upon as continuing in his person the plans and purposes of his predecessor, Andrew Jackson; and that Jackson dynasty, with its party intolerance and despotism, its contempt for congressional opinion, its blind onslaught on corporations and corporate capital, and its inevitable tendency to breed quarrels everywhere and to foster class jealousy, became intolerable to the vast majority of our people by the time that financial disaster had followed in the wake of an overconfident prosperity with which the warrior administrator had been too meddlesome. In 1840, then, the people by an overwhelming vote, chose Harrison to the Presidential chair, thereby condemning with no uncertain acclaim all perpetuation of executive power by party means and discipline through more than the customary number of years.

Those words, "party means and discipline," have a strangely familiar sound. Exactly 100 years later precisely the same public criticism is being made of another political dynasty which seeks to perpetuate executive power by conscripting a thoroughly disciplined Democratic Party for duty as a drafting agency at a national convention.

During his campaign, Harrison pledged himself to serve, if elected, only one term. He hoped thereby to reassure Clay and Webster of his own party, each of whom had aspired to the nomination and each of whom regarded Harrison as an outsider. Both hoped for an early opportunity to realize their ambitions. But his primary purpose in foreswearing even a second term was to offset what many of Jackson's former hero worshipers now were calling "King Andrew's" effort to perpetuate his despotic rule through successors who would bend to his iron will.

The untimely death of Harrison removed the opportunity to test his promise. It seems significant, however, that for the next 20 years or more no President was nominated by either party for a second term. This may have been by chance, or it may have been by design. The irony lies in the fact that in the reaction against the Jacksonian policies, the people

adopted by practice the formula of a single term for Presidents, which Jackson at the height of his popularity was never able to persuade them to adopt by constitutional amendment. The one-term practice was not broken until the people, in the midst of the Civil War, reelected Lincoln for a second term. Because of Lincoln's assassination and the difficulties in which Johnson became involved and which culminated in impeachment proceedings, the subject of rotation in the Presidential office lay quiescent. Grant, who followed Johnson, was reelected to a second term. Then, once more, the question of a third term became a burning issue.

Grant was reelected for his second term in the fall of 1872. The New York Herald immediately raised the cry of "Caesarism." It was argued that under Reconstruction, the Southern States were virtually vassals of the Federal Government and that they would be in grave danger if Grant were given a third term in 1876. The Herald kept blasting away with all of the arguments against a third term, despite the fact that the possibility of any such event was 4 years off. Other papers took up the hue and cry.

As the Presidential year of 1876 approached, political conventions declared against a third term. The Republican State convention in Pennsylvania adopted resolutions asserting—

> Unqualified adherence to the unwritten law of the Republic which wisely, and under the sanction of the most venerable examples, limits the Presidential service to two terms.

Taking cognizance of this action, Grant wrote to Gen. Harry White, president of the Pennsylvania Republican State convention, on May 29, 1875, as follows:

> A short time subsequent to the Presidential election of 1872, the press, a portion of it hostile to the Republican Party, and particularly so to the administration, started the cry of "Caesarism" and "the third term," calling lustily for me to define my position on the latter subject.
>
> I believed it to be beneath the dignity of the office which I have been twice called upon to fill to answer such a question before the subject should be presented by competent authority to make a nomination, or by a body of such dignity and authority as not to make a reply a fair subject of ridicule. * * * But a body of the dignity and party authority of a convention to make nominations for the State officers of the second State in the Union having considered this question, I deem it not improper that I speak.
>
> In the first place, I never sought the office for a second or even for a first nomination. To the first I was called from a life position, one created expressly by Congress for me for supposed services rendered to the Republic. * * * Without seeking the office for the second term, the nomination was tendered to me by a unanimous vote of the delegates of all the States and Territories, selected by the Republicans of each to represent their whole number for the purpose of making their nomination. * * *
>
> Now, for the third term. I do not want it any more than I did the first time. I would not write or utter a word to change the will of the people in expressing and having their choice. The question of the number of terms allowed to any one Executive can only come up fairly in the shape of a proposition to amend the Constitution, a shape in which all political parties can participate fixing the length of time or the number of terms, for which any one person shall be eligible for the office of President. Until such an amendment is adopted, the people cannot be restricted in their choice by resolution further than they are now restricted as to age, nativity, etc.
>
> It may happen in the future history of the country that to change an Executive because he has been 8 years in office will prove unfortunate if not disastrous. The idea that any man could elect himself President, or even renominate himself, is preposterous. It is a reflection upon the intelligence and patriotism of the people to suppose such a thing possible. Any man can destroy his chances for the office, but no one can force an election or even a nomination.
>
> To recapitulate, I am not, nor have I ever been, a candidate for renomination. I would not accept a nomination if it were tendered, unless it should come under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty, circumstances not likely to arise.

The reference to "circumstances not likely to arise" was widely interpreted as meaning possible recurrence of civil war. There were many, however, who interpreted it as a willingness to be "drafted." Republicans and Democrats alike in New York, Ohio, and several other States adopted resolutions declaring that the tradition against a third term was a fundamental part of the unwritten Constitution. The legislature in Grant's home State of Illinois adopted a resolution of similar tenor. Then, in the Congress of the United States, Representative Springer, of Illinois, a fellow townsman of Lincoln, moved this resolution in the House:

> *Resolved*, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from office after their second term has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of Government and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions.

How truly this resolution gave expression to the overwhelming sentiment of the people is indicated by the treatment it received at the hands of their Representatives in Congress. It was introduced on December 15, 1875. That very day the House suspended the rules and passed it by a yea-and-nay vote of 234 to 18, with 37 not voting. Seventy of the 88 Republicans who voted on the resolution were recorded with the majority that favored its passage.

This ended, for the time being at least, all hope of renominating Grant. When his second term expired, Grant began his famous trip around the world. But before that journey ended, influential Republican leaders—Conkling, Cameron, and Logan—planned to attempt to secure the renomination of Grant in 1880. If nominated and elected, Grant would have served a third term, but not a third consecutive term.

The backers of Grant for a third nomination in 1880 were motivated by a combination of special circumstances—the Hayes-Tilden contested election in 1876, the pacific policy of Hayes, and the troubles in the South. It was in a sense a period of "political blues." Doubts were being expressed as to the permanency of our free institutions. There was talk of the need for "a man on horseback," of the necessity of strong government, or, if not strong government, at least government by a strong man.

In view of the general state of the public's nerves, Grant's reception on his return to this country can be understood. Such a reception has rarely been accorded a private citizen. Party leaders construed the demonstration as an indication that the people were turning again to Grant for political leadership and began in earnest a Grant-for-President boom.

Grant supporters went to the Republican National Convention of 1880 in Chicago with 306 well-marshaled Grant delegates out of the 756 delegates in attendance. But again the press took up the fight against a third term, even though the third term was not a third consecutive term. The leaders of the Grant forces in the convention were denounced as "restorationists" and "imperialists." Rival Republican leaders began undercover attacks on the Big Three—Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Conkling, of New York; and Logan, of Illinois. For all that, there was cast in that convention never less than 303 votes for Grant. At one time Grant's total mounted to 313. The persistence of the Grant supporters finally forced upon a weary convention that had balloted 36 times a compromise which resulted in the nomination of James A. Garfield. Another two decades were to elapse before the subject of a third term would again threaten the American people.

After McKinley had been reelected in 1900 the suggestion was made that he be considered for a third term. It was argued that the only objection which could be raised was the two-term tradition. McKinley himself nipped this movement in the bud when he issued the following public statement on June 10, 1901:

> I regret that the suggestion of a third term has been made. I doubt whether I am called upon to give it notice, but there are new questions of the gravest importance before the administration and the country, and their just consideration should not be prejudiced in the public mind by even the suspicion of the thought of a third term.
>
> In view, therefore, of the reiteration of the suggestion of it I will now say, once for all, expressing a long-settled conviction, that I not only am not and will not be a candidate for a third term, but I would not accept a nomination for it if it were tendered to me.
>
> My only ambition is to serve through my second term to the acceptance of my countrymen, whose generous confidence I so deeply appreciate, and then with them to do my duty in the ranks of private citizenship.

McKinley was assassinated in 1901 and was succeeded by Vice President Theodore Roosevelt, who, after serving McKinley's unexpired term, was elected President on November 8, 1904. Late that night, after his election had been conceded, he issued a statement that lived to plague him. It bears repetition at this time:

> On the 4th of March, next, I shall have served 3½ years, and these 3½ years constitute my first term. The wise custom which limits the President to two terms regards the substance and not

the form, and under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination.

This statement was quoted against him with damaging effect when he sought reelection in 1912. It indicates the change of heart which appears to be a part of the ailment diagnosed by Admiral Grayson.

That the malady is a serious one is established by the statement made by H. H. Kchlsaat, author of From McKinley to Harding, who quotes Roosevelt as having said in reference to his election-night promise:

I would cut my hand off right here—

Putting his finger on his wrist—

if I could recall that written statement.

After the hectic campaign of 1912, the third-term issue withdrew for a time from the hurly-burly of the political arena to the more peaceful surroundings of the classroom. It entered the lists again at the time of Coolidge who, succeeding to the Presidency on the death of Harding, was elected President in 1924. Coolidge was in the same position in which Theodore Roosevelt had found himself when he was elected in 1904, but, unlike the "rough rider," he did not issue a statement of intentions on election night.

Fear that Coolidge might seek another term led to the introduction in Congress of two proposed amendments to the Constitution. Neither was passed. The first of these proposals, introduced by Representative Fairchild, a Republican, provided that—

No person shall be eligible for the office of President who has previously served two terms, whether by election or by succession due to the removal, death, resignation, or inability of the President, where the term by succession shall have continued for a period of 2 years or more.

In the Senate the proposal was introduced by a Democrat, Senator Dill, of Washington, who left no doubt of intention by the arbitrary suggestion that "no person shall serve as President more than 8 years."

On August 2, 1927, Coolidge issued his famous "I do not choose to run" statement. In some quarters this was taken for its full face value, but those who were suspicious of the quiet ambitions of the President looked upon it as a shrewd Yankee declaration, susceptible of several interpretations. Some of his supporters considered it as an invitation for a draft movement. Senator LA FOLLETTE, one of the outstanding leaders of the Progressive Party, refused to accept the Coolidge statement as a definite declaration that he would not seek another term. Going back into the Senate archives, LA FOLLETTE dug up a resolution introduced in 1875, dusted it off, and introduced it in the upper Chamber on January 31, 1928.

The form of the resolution as finally adopted in the Senate by a vote of 56 to 26 is a complete codification of recognized principles. It deserves repetition at this time:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term, has become by a universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions; and be it further

Resolved, That the Senate commends observance of this precedent by the President.

It would indeed be difficult to frame a more inclusive statement of principles. The precedent of Washington and other Presidents is recognized as such. The universality of concurrence is considered as a sufficient basis for making the precedent a part of our system of government. A departure from the precedent is characterized as unwise and unpatriotic and a peril to our free institutions. In commending observance of the precedent by the President, the Senate served a positive notice which could not be easily ignored.

It is interesting to note at this time that of the 56 Senators who voted for the resolution 23, a majority of them Democrats, are still in the Senate, including the majority leader, Senator BARKLEY, and a number of others, who today embrace the doctrine of indispensability. What they opposed in 1928 they support in 1940.

Can it be that a policy which in 1928 was unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions is one of wisdom, patriotism, and safety today? Can it be that folly has taken the place of wisdom, that partisanship has been substituted for patriotism, and that free institutions no longer merit eternal vigilance? Can it be that cunning rather than candor is an approved course of conduct?

The plentitude of power, referred to by Mr. Justice Cardozo, appears to continue unconfined and vagrant. Whether it has gained such momentum that tradition and principle cannot withstand its force must be determined by the American people. The choice lies between a "plentitude of power" and the faith of a free people that they have the courage, the self-reliance, and the fortitude to safeguard their freedom.

Reopening of Cramps' Shipyard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS J. MYERS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 17, 1940

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, at this time, when final arrangements are being completed in connection with the reopening of Cramps' Shipyard, in Philadelphia, I wish to take the opportunity to compliment my colleague from Philadelphia, the Honorable MICHAEL J. BRADLEY, for the part he has played in bringing about this result.

Cramps' Shipyard is located in the district of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRADLEY] and has been closed since 1926. It has been his untiring efforts more than anything else, which have contributed to the consummation of plans which will bring about rehabilitation of this industrial plant in northeast Philadelphia. In conveying to him my appreciation of his efforts, I know I am likewise expressing the sentiments of my democratic colleagues from Philadelphia. We have all been aware of his representations both to the Navy Department and to the Department of Justice and the numerous conferences he has had with the officials of these departments, which resulted in settlement of the indebtedness owed by the Cramp company to the United States Government, and assurances from the Navy Department of contracts for the construction of cruisers. We are also cognizant of his endeavors as a member of the Naval Affairs Committee and of his work as a member of that committee in helping to draft legislation which contains provisions which make possible the opening of the Cramp yard. Present indications point to a completion of final plans which will permit commencement of work to put the yard in condition for operation.

The rehabilitation of this yard will provide employment for thousands of Philadelphians and, not only will it generate prosperity throughout the Kensington district where the plant is located, but its beneficent results will be felt in the entire city. It has been the zeal and energy of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BRADLEY] which makes this possible.

"Smear" Addicts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. U. S. GUYER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE LAWRENCE (KANS.) DAILY JOURNAL-WORLD

Mr. GUYER of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD heretofore granted I include

the following editorial from the Lawrence (Kans.) Daily Journal-World of October 14, 1940:

[From the Lawrence (Kans.) Daily Journal-World of October 14, 1940]

"SMEAR" ADDICTS

Since the success of the original "smear Hoover" campaign, the smear method has appeared to hold a fatal fascination for the men who direct Democratic national campaigns. They can't let it alone, although on a number of occasions it has backfired and shown up its users as men peculiarly lacking in decency and principle.

Such is almost certain to be the outcome of the latest "smear" attack on Wendell Willkie, in which the effort is made to turn sentiment against him because he is of German descent. The circulators of the text of that smear know that they can get a hearing for it in quarters where information and intelligence are subnormal. But they can't use it in such quarters without having their action known elsewhere.

And among intelligent people there is no indication of party affiliation in the denunciation which promptly greets the information that such campaign material is being circulated. It makes honest Democrats as sick as anybody.

"Why I Love America"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. SCHAFER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

POEM BY THE VENERABLE WILLIAM DAWSON, ARCHDEACON OF MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Mr. SCHAFER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under permission unanimously granted by the Members of the House, I incorporate in the RECORD at this point the words of an exceptionally fine patriotic song entitled "Why I Love America" by the Venerable William Dawson, Archdeacon of Milwaukee, Wis. This beautiful and patriotic musical composition should be an inspiration to our countrymen during this critical period of our Nation's life.

WHY I LOVE AMERICA

I love the good old U. S. A., the best of lands to me,
I love her people and her flag that stands for liberty,
I love her for the hope she holds for all the world's oppressed—
Of all the lands the sun shines on, America's the best.

I love the land Columbus found, the land of mighty things,
The land we call God's country, where all its folks are kings;
I love the land of freedom, the land of equal chance—
This is our land's great glory, its freedom's vast expanse.

I love the land of Washington, of Lincoln, and of Grant,
I love the land that grows the men, devoid of caste and cant;
I love the great Republic, that knows no race or clan—
In the land where all are freemen, where every man's a man.

I love the land where every man is free to choose his creed,
I love the land that ministers to all the wide world's need;
I love the land for all its past, the future yet to be—
America! America! America for me!

—*Ven. William Dawson.*

Labor Under the New Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 21 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY SECRETARY PERKINS

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Hon. Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, on the subject Labor Under the New Deal.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOR THE DEMOCRATS

(By Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor)

Labor, under the New Deal, has risen to new estate. Never, since ours became an industrial society, have the plain people, particularly those who work with their hands, received from any Government so much protection as from the present administration. Never have they secured so many and far-reaching benefits as during the past 7½ years.

Nor have these benefits been restricted exclusively to labor. They have redounded in ever-widening circles to the advantage of farmers, businessmen, and other groups throughout the land.

Behind the program which has secured to labor such great gains lie two premises inherent in the tradition of the Democratic Party. These are, first, that human life and personality are the most cherished of all values; and second, that only by protecting and enhancing these values can a free and progressive nation endure.

It is in keeping with these premises that the Democratic Party has pledged itself, in the current campaign, not only to maintain the advances it has made since 1933 in behalf of labor, but also to improve and extend them. Any program of preparedness in this world crisis must recognize that workers in essential industries are the Nation's second line of defense. To lessen their safeguards is to weaken this line.

LABOR SAFEGUARDS

Just what these safeguards are, what constitute these benefits which have accrued to labor under the New Deal, it is my privilege here to enumerate.

First, and perhaps the most precious of all these gains to free men and women who work for wages, is guaranty of the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. This guaranty has been incorporated in a statute acclaimed by labor as its magna carta.

It is eloquent evidence of the New Deal's faithfulness to the democratic ideal, of its determination to help labor help itself. For collective bargaining is the major technique by which labor undertakes to improve its status. It is the keystone of progressive labor relations.

A second benefit of almost equal significance to workers provides for that minimum standard of living necessary for their health, efficiency, and general well-being. This minimum standard is made possible through the Fair Labor Standards Act, which sets a floor for wages and a ceiling for hours and outlaws child labor.

Already under this act thousands of workers have had their wages raised to at least 30 cents an hour and their basic workweek shortened to 42 hours. On October 24 this will be further reduced to 40 hours. Half a million workers, upon recommendation of committees made up of representatives of employers, employees, and the public, have received increases above 30 cents an hour. For overtime wages are paid at the rate of time and a half.

A third gain to wage earners has been established through the Walsh-Healey Act of labor standards for those employed on Government contracts. This act provides for prevailing minimum wages, an 8-hour day, a 40-hour week, and time-and-a-half pay for overtime. Child and convict labor are prohibited and safe and healthful conditions of work prescribed.

SERVICES FOR LABOR

Fourth, a Nation-wide system of public-employment offices has been developed to assist workers to find suitable employment. Since the reorganization of the United States Employment Service in 1933, it has filled, in cooperation with its affiliated State offices, some 29,000,000 jobs.

Fifth, through the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship established by the Secretary of Labor in August 1934 labor and industry are assured of an orderly and constructive program of training for the skilled trades.

A sixth service to labor of large proportions is represented by the Social Security Act of 1935. This provides insurance against two major hazards of life—unemployment and old age—and makes available assistance to the needy aged, dependent children, and the blind. Furthermore, this act prescribes aid for maternal and child care, crippled children, and child welfare as well as extended health and rehabilitation services.

Under the social-security program more than 28,000,000 workers are insured against loss of their jobs and over a billion dollars has been paid to them in benefits. In connection with other parts of the program an additional $2,000,000,000 has been paid to their dependents, old people, the crippled, and the blind.

INCREASED FACILITIES

Seventh, in the reorganization and improvement of the United States Department of Labor this administration has made available to labor markedly increased facilities. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has expanded its work. Likewise, the Conciliation Service, whose function is to prevent as well as settle labor disputes, has been revamped; and the Davis-Bacon unit, which sees that prevailing wages are paid for work on Federal public buildings and public works, has been strengthened.

Also, the Children's Bureau, in administering its responsibilities under the social-security program, has greatly extended the scope of its service. The Women's Bureau, too, has filled to a greater

degree than ever before demands for information and advice concerning the problems of working women.

Three new units have been added to the Department—the Division of Labor Standards, the Public Contracts Division, and the Wage and Hour Division.

Eighth, provision during the past 7½ years for the active participation of labor in the work of various agencies of the Government has assured the development of policies and programs in harmony with labor's objective.

UNEQUALED RECORD

Ninth, several other measures have contributed to increase employment and improve the working and living conditions of American workers. Among these are the programs of the Works Progress Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, the Public Works Administration, the housing services, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, and other agencies.

Tenth, and last, is the legislation in behalf of labor enacted during the past 7½ years by the States. More State laws have been passed with respect to minimum wages, shorter hours, child labor, industrial home work, wage claims, workmen's compensation, occupational disease, and other matters affecting labor's welfare than ever before in the history of this Nation.

The foregoing presents an outline of the New Deal's major accomplishments in behalf of labor. Each and all are operating "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, improve their working conditions, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment."

The labor record of the administration stands unequaled. What better guaranty for labor's advancement in the future.

The National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH F. GUFFEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 21 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS BY ELWOOD BAUMAN

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD some extracts from an address made by Elwood Bauman at Harrisburg, Pa., on October 4, 1940, on the subject of the national defense.

There being no objection, the extracts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Debate over the national defense has emphasized the fact that under preceding Republican administrations a substantial portion of the United States Navy was scuttled or scrapped and the United States Army was cut down to a mere skeleton force, reaching the lowest point of the century in both men and materials.

Despite this historical fact, we find critics of President Roosevelt attacking him politically on the ground that he has not created overnight a vast Army, a two-ocean Navy, and a mighty air force. I say overnight, because it was only yesterday that these same critics were doing their utmost to thwart every move of the President toward a better national defense.

These eleventh-hour converts to defense—the very same who opposed the Neutrality Act because they said there would be no war—opposed the President's efforts to strengthen our ramparts on grounds of economy. They were our Chamberlains, willing to risk anything to save a dollar in taxes, and even as recently as the Republican Convention in Philadelphia their voice was heard in the platform declaration that the President should speak softly to the dictators. Since that time a magazine poll of big business has shown that the great majority of these people still believe even today that the United States can do business with the dictators without changing the American way of life. The European nations which held that same belief now lie devastated by the torch and the sword, but still these critics will not see or admit the simple truth—the truth that there can be no peace in the conflict between democracy and dictatorship until one or the other is utterly destroyed.

President Roosevelt was one of the first world leaders to see and proclaim that fact, and one of the first to prepare for the future. During his first term in office, long before the clouds of war darkened the European horizon, he successfully carried forward a billion-dollar program to rearm America. During his second term he has spent and is spending many more billions to give our country a two-ocean Navy, an air force second to none, and a vast Army of well-trained, well-disciplined fighting men.

He has had faith in America, faith in the willingness of patriotic citizens to make sacrifices for their country. He has demonstrated that faith by asking for that sacrifice in the Conscription Act, knowing full well that the call to the colors would bring an overwhelming response. There is no weak-kneed appeasement in the President's program, no thought of dealing with dictators on their terms, no hesitancy about risking political advantage to advance the national interest. Instead there is manifest, in every action, an abiding faith in the patriotism of the American people, in their willingness to put country above self, and in their great destiny as the guardians of the democracy our forefathers established in the Western Hemisphere.

In matters of preparedness and national defense no group of citizens in all America has been more vigilant than our veterans—the men who saw war and know what it means. They demanded, and have always demanded, conscription of wealth as well as men. They got it from a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President—Wendell Willkie dissenting.

The veterans of America have confidence in President Roosevelt. They know he can be trusted to speed the defense program without opening the way for profiteering, and without abandoning the social and economic gains of the New Deal. They know that the men who are called for duty in Uncle Sam's armed forces will be treated fairly, for the veterans of our wars have always been treated fairly by President Roosevelt.

They remember that Hoover drove the bonus marchers from Anacostia with torches and tear gas, while the bonus marchers during Roosevelt's administration were given food, shelter, and jobs. They knew from the beginning, when the President followed the precedent of three Republican Presidents in vetoing the Adjusted Compensation Act, that he was following his fiscal advisers rather than his own wishes—and they know how quickly he went into action to make the payments when a Democratic Congress overruled him.

They know that as far back as 1936 the director of the American Legion's national legislative committee, a Republican, wrote that under Roosevelt that year's congressional session resulted in "the most successful year we have had thus far in the Legion's history." They know that the bonus was paid, pensions increased, widows and orphans helped, civil service liberalized for veterans, transient camps established, a veteran placement service created, hospital appropriations increased—these and other measures demonstrated that the President was not only strengthening America's defenses but also taking care of America's defenders.

In comparison, the Republican record nationally on matters of interest to veterans has been hopelessly bad. From what I have observed in Pennsylvania, it has been little better in the States where it has held political control.

Under a Democratic State administration headed by a war veteran, Gov. George H. Earle, every major proposal presented by veteran groups was enacted into law. Under Governor Earle's Republican successor, a nonveteran, 48 legislative proposals were presented by veterans' organizations, of which only 8 minor bills became law; of the others, 33 were killed in committee and 7 were vetoed.

This general Republican attitude of opposition to veteran welfare points to one vital fact—a party leadership which cannot be trusted to care for the Nation's defenders cannot be entrusted with the Nation's defense. As veterans and patriots concerned with their country's safety above all else, the ex-service men of America know they have a champion of their cause in the White House, and in this hour of crisis I know they are going to keep him there.

Resignation of Lawrence W. (Chip) Robert

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 21 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE ANNISTON (ALA.) STAR

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD an editorial published in the Anniston (Ala.) Star dated October 3, 1940, entitled "Resignation of 'Chip,'" referring to the Honorable Lawrence W. Robert, of Georgia.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Anniston (Ala.) Star of October 3, 1940]

RESIGNATION OF "CHIP"

Despite the efforts of Senator STYLES BRIDGES to besmirch his character when Lawrence W. (Chip) Robert, of Georgia, resigned as secretary of the Democratic National Committee, he retained the great respect with which he always had been regarded. Although he let it be known privately that, if the necessity arose, he would fight

whatever charges were brought against him, Chip retired quietly and in an atmosphere devoid of sensation after first permitting the false cries to wear themselves out.

About his resignation the Birmingham News comments:

"No hasty reader of the newspapers should jump to the conclusion that Mr. Robert's resignation was forced by this request for an investigation or that the popular former secretary of the Democratic National Committee has suffered any kind of smudge on his reputation.

"Lest this paper, as a Democratic paper, be thought of as having any kind of bias in favor of Mr. Robert in this connection, let us quote the comment of a newspaper which, though usually Democratic, is opposing Mr. Roosevelt's reelection, the New York Times:

"Mr. Lawrence Wood Robert, Jr., is a distinguished Atlantan. For a time he was one of Mr. Roosevelt's assistant secretaries of the Treasury. He is a member of a highly successful firm of architects. In pursuit of his profession he has made many contracts. His firm has done and is doing much work for the Government. Representative VINSON, of the House Naval Affairs Committee, printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD data showing that the firm had received naval contracts of more than $26,000,000 and fees of $931,000. Senator BRIDGES called for an investigation. Mr. Robert accused the Senator of trying to clog the defense program.

" 'The Robert firm has been doing business with the Government since Mr. Coolidge's administration. The only real point at issue was not the amount of business done by and the fees paid to Mr. Robert's firm. The question was one of propriety. Did it look well for the secretary of the Democratic National Committee to have been and be a Government contractor? In a little less than a month Mr. Robert made up his mind. In a letter to Chairman Flynn he says that he can't serve the best interests of his firm and of his party simultaneously. His decision is a wise one.'

"Mr. Robert's firm has had a long record of employment by the Federal Government, going back through two Republican administrations as well as the present Democratic one, and therefore it cannot be supposed to have obtained the connection because Mr. Robert was secretary of the Democratic National Committee. Moreover, if the firm's fees from the Government have been large, its fees from private business have been larger, as Mr. Robert has pointed out. The fact is simply that the firm is a large and an important one.

" 'Chip' Robert has shown by his resignation from the committee post, however, that he will not permit even the appearance of impropriety. He has been an effective worker as secretary of the committee, and he will be missed; but he is to be commended on the high ground he has taken in this matter."

Because of the close scrutiny to which they are subjected by the opposition, party officials find it hard to keep their business up and at the same time keep up with party affairs. This is somewhat regrettable, for often it robs the party of intelligent leadership because political jobs do not pay enough for an ambitious man to spend his full time upon them. A man can spend more money in politics than he can make.

This newspaper accepts the general conclusion that Robert resigned as a move of propriety, not of fear. The criticism which resulted in his resignation was just a political maneuver. "Chip" Robert has filled Government contracts many times during his business career, but the criticism for his thus receiving them came only during a Democratic administration. This fact should be enough for the average man to form his own conclusions.

The Labor Movement in Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH F. GUFFEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 21 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY JAMES L. McDEVITT

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by James L. McDevitt, president, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, before the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' State conference in Philadelphia, Pa., on September 21, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, officers and active workers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, it is a rare treat and a privilege to have this opportunity this morning. As the chairman in his introductory remarks stated, "I am from the other side in the house of labor." I think most of you who know me know that I have never really come to the point where I could make myself believe that underneath it all there was any real division in the ranks of our movement, and today I am sure you and I are going to agree when I say that if there was ever a necessity for solidarity that necessity exists at the present time.

I thought I'd take a few moments of your time this morning to review a little of the history of the labor movement in the field of politics here in Pennsylvania and what your organization has done to make our people and your people more conscious of their responsibility to the labor movement.

If your memory goes back to 1936, you'll remember the kind of campaign we waged in Philadelphia—Charlie Weinstein and your officers along with the other officers of the labor movement, went out and campaigned from door to door and helped to bring about that splendid majority of 210,000 for President Roosevelt in 1936.

Coming on in 1937 you took part in the campaign of that year and helped make possible the election of New Deal officers to the city of Philadelphia—that is, county officers.

Unfortunately, in the year of 1938 we weren't successful in convincing our people that it was just as important to go out and fight in 1938 as it was in 1936, because the welfare of our people in this State, particularly with respect to labor legislation, was in serious danger.

You will remember we campaigned from one end of the State to the other, and we said to our people, "If you elect Arthur James, he will burn all of the labor legislation enacted by the last session."

I know when we made that statement, even though we quoted the words used by the candidate himself, that many of our people were skeptical about that. They thought that was a piece of political bunk, as it were. But we quoted the candidate's own statement, and today I can appear before you and say that what we said then was the truth, and that while the Governor has failed to carry out practically every other promise he has made, he has done one thing—he kept the promise he made with respect to labor legislation. He did exactly what he said he would do. It is a matter of record. You have now on the statute books of Pennsylvania such amendments as the Workmen's Compensation Act—you know how serious that is. I don't need to go into detail. Where you used to get 500 weeks for permanent disability it has been reduced to 200 weeks; and if you have a partial disability, you are reduced approximately 33⅓ percent—that can be credited to the Governor.

You know what he did with the Labor Relations Act. You know what he did with the Van Allsburg bill. You know what he did with the relief recipients. You know what he did with the anti-injunction bill. You know all of these things. So that it did happen in Pennsylvania—the most serious blow the organized-labor movement has ever suffered in its history in this Commonwealth.

May I repeat for your information what happened when we were in the closing hours of the State legislature? After they had made two attempts to put through those seven major bills in opposition to the labor movement and its interests they made their third and final attempt and did succeed in puting through their program. It was then we found it necessary to go over to the Governor and appeal to him as humble citizens of this Commonwealth.

As the spokesman for the group, I told the Governor how serious these measures were, what a serious effect it was going to have on the membership of our organizations throughout the State, and how the labor movement would resent it if he saw fit to sign those measures.

During the course of our talk the Governor found it necessary to get up from his desk, and, looking us all square in the eye, said, "Well, the New Deal has tried out six experiments," and with the most vindictive look I have ever seen in a man's eye that held an office of public trust, he said, "and they have all failed; now I am going to try out the seventh." He tossed his head around a minute and said, "Tighten up your belts." I said to him, "Governor, what do you do when you tighten up to the last notch? When you sign those measures, you will have reached the last notch."

A little further on in our discussion we were finally advised that the Governor saw fit to sign them all, and upon leaving the Governor's office we told him it was a most unfortunate thing and that we would have cause to remember it all our lives, and that I, as a missionary for the labor movement, would deliver that message from one end of the State to the other, and I assure you since the closing of the legislature I haven't failed to get across the message to our people, and I don't propose to fail to continue.

So I pointed out to you what happened in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania—legislation that's the very life and blood of your organization, of the welfare of your people, your families, can be so ruthlessly thrown aside because of the leadership of such men as that in public life.

Now, who are those men? They're the men who are now campaigning for Wendell Willkie. They're his associates. They're his supporters. Can you in your wildest dreams imagine for a moment that Mr. Willkie is going to be anything different than Arthur James? Of course, you can't. Not when you consider that he's associated with Mr. Wier; that he's associated with that grand, venerable gentleman, Mr. Grundy. You can't foresee for a moment that there'd be any possible chance of him agreeing with our philosophy when he associates with Mr. Pew.

So you see the message I want to deliver this morning is that it did happen in Pennsylvania, and you and I are paying the price. Don't let it happen in Washington. I know when I say this to you this morning that you are going to leave here, after listening to the eloquent speakers we have here today, excluding myself, convinced that this is no mere political campaign and you have not listened to any political bunk. We simply say that if we do not get out on the line and fight in 1940 as we did in 1936 we are going to suffer defeat.

We listen to the Gallup poll; we listen to many speakers on the radio and in public gatherings; and we hear them say that with each day the President's popularity is rising. It is rising because of your activity, and you have to keep that activity going, because the minute you let up the forces of the millions—I don't mean the million persons, I mean the millions in money—are going to be there with everything at their command to step in and take advantage of any laxity on our part.

We're not fighting for any political candidates today. We're fighting for our very existence, for a continuation of the New Deal and all that it stands for. We don't need to go over that. The other speakers have spoken on those gains. You and I are so familiar with them that nobody need tell us. But this is our job to go out as missionaries and tell our neighbors to use the ballot, no matter how young or old; and if they're not registered, see that they do so on the next registration day; and see that they go out on election day and cast that ballot in the interests of the preservation of the forces of liberalism in this Nation and to reelect the greatest humanitarian in the history of this country as well as the world, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

I'm going to conclude, and in doing so I just want to give you a very brief report of the score card, as it were, to date with respect to the standing of the labor movement in this present campaign. Last night I met with practically every labor leader in the city of Philadelphia, with very few exceptions, and, of course, they are 100 percent for the reelection of the President, and they have started out today to find five or six fellows who are missing. Now, I didn't attach any importance to that because they probably had other appointments, but they have organized so well that they want a reason for the absence of those fellows.

You're going to find, in addition to your activity, every labor leader in this district, without exception, to my way of thinking, actively out on the line campaigning for the reelection, not only of the President—if you succeed in reelecting the President and you don't support those who have stood so loyally by him, there isn't any point gained, because the President cannot put through the legislation that you and I enjoy today without the assistance of such men as Senator GUFFEY and the other Congressmen from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

So much for the national situation. You must also remember that on the ballot you will be electing at least half the members of the legislature, and I was never so anxious in my life as I am now to see some of these people defeated. Never as anxious as I am now to see just half of that legislature replaced, because it was my responsibility to interview each one of them and give them labor's platform and try to convince them to vote in the interest of our people. Instead of listening to me as the representative of organized labor, many of these fellows—in fact, the majority, as their actions indicate—went down the line with the other side in opposition to organized labor and I promised them in return for that that they would have our unqualified opposition at the polls in November of 1940, and I know that you are not going to fail to see that is carried through.

Don't let that little committeeman come up to you and say, "Look, you know Pat O'Brien, he's a pretty good fellow; he's running for the legislature; gee, he can get your parking tickets fixed; he can go to the magistrate and have anything fixed for you. He fixes everything, including the plumbing at times."

They're going to try and sell you and your people that story. Don't listen to them; take their legislative record; take the advice of the labor movement and vote only for those who have been approved by the labor movement. They didn't have to do any fixing for us; what we wanted was our legislation. We didn't ask in the 1939 session for anything over and above what we had already obtained under the New Deal. What we asked was that they leave it alone—let us have what was ours. Thats the thing that they took away from us.

So I say all of these fellows are on that ballot. Make sure when you go in to vote that you make no mistake. Pull that New Deal lever and we'll repay everyone of these people who treated us so ruthlessly in the 1939 session; and we'll also repay Congressman GARTNER and a few more of those in Washington who have consistently voted against labor and the President's program.

I thank you.

Keep Out of Europe's War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 21 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT BY GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by Gen. Robert E. Wood, head of Sears, Roebuck & Co., and acting chairman of the America First Committee, relative to our participation in the war, in respect to which he takes a very decided position in behalf of America, and against our involvement.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We are on the verge of throwing our treasure and our blood into a European war, with consequences that no one can foretell.

The point I resent most is the way the issue is being presented to the American people. We are being edged into the war without the masses' knowledge. Test polls showing a majority of the people favoring a course that is bound to get us into the war, while the same polls show 86 percent of the same people oppose actual entry into the war. That shows that the minds of the people are confused.

WE ARE IN THE WAR NOW

I believe a majority of the people who are advocating "aid short of war" do not desire us to enter the war. But there are others who do desire us to enter the war, who are taking the necessary steps to prepare the American for active participation, who would enter it tomorrow if they dared, who are today in practical alliance with England. You hear in Washington today that we are now in the war. You hear predictions that we will actively enter the war within 60 days after the election.

The American people should think this matter through. The course we are pursuing is bound to involve us in the war. You cannot play with fire and not get burned. You cannot have your Government transfer its equipment to foreign powers, you cannot have your Government in an unofficial alliance with a foreign power, you cannot be a meddler in Indochina, berate Italy and Germany without eventually involving the Nation in war, and if war comes I venture to predict that we will repeat the history of the last war. When the declaration of war was made in 1917, originally it was intended to send only the Navy to the assistance of the Allies.

Joffre came over in the spring of 1917, told the plight of the French Army after the 1917 spring Champagne offensive, where whole divisions of the French Army mutinied, and implored us to send over a token force. We sent Pershing and the First Division, about 30,000 men. Then came the impending collapse of Russia, frantic calls for more men, then the great German offensive of 1918 and the rout of the British Fifth Army; more frantic appeals, until finally we put under arms 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 men to France, spent $20,000,000,000, and had 150,000 casualties.

You can completely discount pledges never to send American boys to France. These pledges are political bunk. If we enter the war, we will enter it to win, and if necessary to win, we will send an expeditionary force. That is the absolute truth.

The issue should be honestly presented to the people. If we aid Britain short of war and beyond the limits of the Neutrality Act, it ultimately means war and should mean war.

KEEP OUT OF EUROPE'S MESS

In deciding the American people should face the costs. We start with a debt of $50,000,000,000. The cost of sending forces over 3,000 miles of ocean, of engaging our Navy in the Far East, will produce a debt of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty billions. Victorious or defeated, we will be faced at the conclusion of such a war with great economic dislocations—the rich would face a capital levy, the middle classes impoverishment, and the masses a lowered standard of living, and the loss of most of the social gains so far secured.

I would unhesitatingly say to throw everything we have into a war to defend the United States. I do not think the American people should make these sacrifices to interfere in the quarrels of Europe and Asia. It is up to the American people to decide whether they want to make these sacrifices. But they should make the decision with all the cards on the table, not misled by artifice and subterfuge.

Conference of Americans of Slovak Descent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST W. GIBSON

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 21 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES J. DAVIS, OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS] before a conference of Americans of Slovak descent sponsored by the Slovak League of America, at Washington, D. C., October 18, 1940, together with a statement by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DAVIS

On October 18 I had the pleasure of addressing a conference of Americans of Slovak descent sponsored by the Slovak League of America. I am acquainted personally with many of their members, having worked side by side with many of them in the iron and steel mills in Pennsylvania. They are a splendid group of American citizens—law-abiding, skilled in their work, and prominent in the professional and business world. They represent a loyalty to the fundamental principles of our Nation which is greatly strengthened because they know first-hand of the tyranny and oppression which prevails in foreign lands where liberty has been throttled and the people enslaved.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR JAMES J. DAVIS BEFORE THE CONFERENCE OF AMERICANS OF SLOVAK DESCENT SPONSORED BY THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA

As one who has been active in fraternal work for more than 40 years, I congratulate the Slovak League of America and the many Slovak fraternal organizations in this country. They have done a wonderful job of providing for their people. It was no easy task for your 16 fraternal organizations to create a membership of more than 440,000 and to realize assets valued at more than $55,000,000. The Jednota home for orphan children in Middletown, Pa.; your three accredited high schools for girls in Pennsylvania; and your high school in Ohio shows the wide scope of your social vision. All this came only after hard work, sound organization, fine leadership, and a belief that your aims were sound and noble. Today, among the many Slavonic fraternal organizations in this country, the Slovaks are recognized as one of the outstanding leaders.

As a further evidence of your organizing abilities the Slovak League of America has been established to act as a clearing house for your many affiliated organizations. Through these mediums the Slovaks of America have contributed their financial and moral help toward the liberation of their brothers in Europe from oppression. Were it not for the contributions and sacrifices of money and lives for this cause by the Slovaks in America it is doubtful whether the centuries-old dreams of your countrymen would have materialized. I am told that more than a million dollars was collected among the Slovaks in this country for this purpose. The American patriotism of the Slovak people was also demonstrated during the World War, when thousands volunteered for service in the Army and Navy and millions of dollars of Victory and Liberty Loan bonds were subscribed to. At the present moment this country is mustering all its resources and manpower for national defense. The freedom-loving Slovak people in this country will contribute their share in the preparations to make America safe from any aggressor.

I have seen the fruits of your many labors. I have seen the beautiful churches that you have built throughout America. I have seen your fine parochial and high schools. I have seen the Sokols go through their magnificent gymnastic drills. I have seen evidences of your thrift and hard work. I have worked shoulder to shoulder with Slovaks in front of roaring furnaces in the iron and steel mills of Sharon, Woods Run, and South Side in Pittsburgh. In fact, I come here today as one who was born on foreign shores and came here when I was 8 years old. There are many here today who also were born on far-off shores. We came when America needed us most. America had its natural resources to mine, its fertile ground to plow, its industries to develop, and a great consumer demand to be met. The Slovak people may be proud of the part they have played in the destiny of this great Nation. What you have given America you have given freely and from the heart. You have claimed nothing in return but the advantages of liberty, through which you have ever sought to add more and more to the noble stature of the American way of life.

To the Slovaks religion has been a great dynamic force of your social life. It has provided you with ideals, inspirations, social outlook, and the organization necessary to carry on the best traditions from generation to generation. Ever since the year 863, when the wonderful story of Christ was brought to the Slovaks by the apostles Cyril and Methodius, religion has been the great driving force in your endeavors. Without that there would be a sense of loss and frustration which would lead to hopeless intellectual and ethical confusion. Men have tried at one time and another to overthrow the church and to satisfy themselves without religious institutions, but they have never succeeded for any long period of time. The religious motive is inherent within us and religious organizations are necessary to express it. Religion is a faith, and as such it can never be destroyed. It may be discouraged, forbidden, trodden upon, and ridiculed, but the root can never be destroyed. Sooner or later the faith emerges again—stronger and more radiant than ever. The Slovak people can be proud that they have remained true to the principles of the Great Master ever since Cyril and Methodius came to them many years ago.

I have been particularly impressed with the way the Slovak people in this country have combined religion and education. In doing that you have recognized a fundamental philosophy, for religion and education go hand in hand. Each has something fundamental to offer the other. The greatest textbook in the world is the Bible. He who reads and meditates on the contents of that wonderful Book receives the best education in the world. In the days of my youth I was denied many of the opportunities for an education that are so abundant for the youth of our land today. But I did not suffer from the lack of such opportunity in our grammar schools. I found equal opportunity for education in other fields. I can truthfully say that most of my early education was obtained in the church and Sunday school which I attended as a boy in Sharon, Pa., where my parents settled when they came to America. Both of them were deeply religious, and that feeling was carried over to their children. From my own experience, I can say that the young man who begins life with that sound moral training and well versed in the teachings of the Bible begins life with the strongest guaranty of success.

In the turmoil and strife of today, nations as well as individuals should hearken unto the words of the One Hundred and Twenty-Seventh Psalm, wherein it is said: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." Nations that today are going ahead with their selfish projects, threatening and bringing about war in which non-combatants—innocent men, women, and children—are unmercifully slaughtered, have left God out of their reckoning. They are trying to build their house of state without the help of the Almighty. And in the end, as always in the past, they must fall.

The Slovak League of America and other Slovak organizations are to be commended for their important work of educating the Slovaks living in the United States; assisting and encouraging them to become loyal citizens; and uplifting them morally, socially, and economically. Through the literature made available through these fine mediums, the Slovak immigrant has learned what America means to him. He has learned what America expects of him. He has learned to look upon America as his permanent home. This is borne out by the ever-increasing number of homes owned by Slovak working and professional men, in the growth of the number of Slovak professional and business men, in the growth of Slovak banking institutions, and in the general good will which the Slovaks enjoy in the communities in which they live. With the fulfilling of these high purposes, all Slovaks in the United States look upon the Slovak league as the only national organization qualified to speak in the name of 1,000,000 Slovaks in America.

The purpose of the Slovak organizations in America is truly American and patriotic. You have never tolerated any subversive elements among your members. Better than many people born in this country, you appreciate the blessings of democracy. Many of you were born across the waters and came to this country to escape political and religious intolerance, economic difficulty, oppressive taxation, lack of educational facilities, and even the right to use your own language. All these things made for emigration, once a goal had been discovered. The first considerable number of Slovaks who came to America in 1873 reported to their countrymen back home that they had found in America good wages, better living, free schools to which any human being could go, religious tolerance, political freedom, and a chance to live their lives as they elected. Slovaks are freedom-loving, God-fearing, and hard-working people, with an intense feeling for the democratic way of life. To them the loss of fundamental human rights is unbearable. It is no wonder that emigration from some districts in your homeland almost became an exodus.

America has always stood for fair dealing and freedom for all people. That was the breath which gave life to this Nation. It is now the blood that keeps this Nation healthy and full of life. The precepts of liberty, humanity, and tolerance are universal. We in America—all of us—have a strong desire that such principles should prevail throughout the world. To your people the freedom of America was a discovery almost as great as the land itself had been to Columbus. What was more natural than that they should soon begin to work toward freedom as a possession of the entire Slovak people? This desire found united expression in the formation in 1907 of the Slovak league, with the noble purpose to promote the cause of liberty for the Slovaks everywhere. You have seen the happiness that is possible in a land where freedom and not oppression rules. It is only natural that you desire for all Slovaks everywhere the good things that are yours today.

You have brought with you and transplanted on the fertile soil of this young Nation the best that your native country had to offer. The roots you planted were firm, the soil was rich, and America has taken your offerings and made them a part of the American way of life. The American way of life did not result from the contributions of any one group of people. It is a mixture of the best that many national groups have brought with them and planted on the soil of this Nation. You may be justly proud that the Slovak people have done their part.

The feeling for the land of your birth is very much like the feeling of the young man who gets married. To ask him to forget the love for his mother is unfair and unjust. Although the young man has found a new and equally great love, the love he has for his mother cannot be forgotten. So it is with your feeling for the land of your birth. You have found a new land to embrace for which you will work, respect, and protect. But you will always have the original feeling for the land of your birth. Your continued interest in your homeland should be a source of much encouragement on the part of your brothers across the seas.

The Slovaks have a long history of loyal devotion to the liberal faith. They have long believed in the rights of the average man. They have believed in the principles which make for better conditions of life and labor. They have always stood for freedom of opportunity in business, education, and politics. When you came to this country you brought with you the ideals of liberalism and free labor. Your fathers had observed through practical experience the bitter lessons of bureaucratic control which oppressed the lives of workingmen in Europe. You turned your backs upon a regime which gave privilege to the few and came to this land in order that you might enjoy freedom of opportunity for the many. Your people

brought with them a passion for liberty and an undying hatred of tyranny. Successive generations of Slovaks have added their contributions to a better life for the many in this free land in mine, mill, field, forest, and factory; but never have you turned your backs on the ideals of Jefferson and Lincoln which you early came to love—even before you landed on these shores.

And what about the children of Slovak emigrants who came to this country? I have noted with much interest their eagerness for culture and education. Their parents have made many sacrifices in order that the children might be granted opportunities denied them in their native land. This is evidenced in recent years by the many young Slovak graduates from American universities and colleges, entering from there all the higher avenues of culture and education, such as legal, medical, scholastic, and scientific professions. Thus they are in a position to assist their own people and contribute to the welfare of this Nation. Great numbers have risen to preside over business and manufacturing enterprises and farming—a credit to their respective communities. More and more they are manifesting themselves in the political affairs of the Nation.

Again let me congratulate the Slovak league and the many fraternal organizations for their fine leadership in American ideals. You are truly Americans. Americans of Slovak descent have given much to this country, and they will continue to contribute even more. May all your efforts meet with continued success.

A Third Term Means War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH E. CHURCH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker,

Willkie + defense = peace.

Roosevelt + third term = war.

This is what I would like to say to every voter in the United States:

Let us get down to facts about the third term. We have all heard a lot of talk about Franklin D. Roosevelt wanting to stay in office because the country needs him in these crucial times. That is plain nonsense. He and his party want to stay in office because they are ambitious politicians. And ambitious politicans never go out of office unless the voters turn them out.

If Roosevelt wins a third term, what is to stop him from getting a fourth term or a fifth term? Nothing. Another term for the New Deal will entrench it so strongly in America that the voters will never be able to drive it out. Already the New Deal politicians are telling the country about their indispensable leader. Another 4 years of threats and promises and spending and fake emergencies, and their whole party will be indispensable.

But that is not the complete story about the third term. Every reasonable person in America knows that the New Deal has failed to solve our big problems. Business is still bad, unemployment is still bad, the outlook for the future is still bad. What does this really mean? It means that if Roosevelt is reelected in November, the New Deal will have to do something quickly to take the public's mind off our unsolved national problems. And what will this something be? The answer is war.

War in Europe, war in the Far East, war in our own Western Hemisphere. Figure it out for yourself. What other course is open to Roosevelt? He has tried everything that the New Deal brain trust could conjure up—and the only result is a national debt of $45,000,000,000 and a bankrupt future. But war would solve all of Roosevelt's immediate political troubles by creating a blanket emergency. It is the same scheme that Hitler and Mussolini worked. And with Roosevelt's war over—unpremeditated though that war might now be—and this country prostrate and exhausted, the New Deal would be like the Nazis in Germany in 1933. There would not be any "other party."

The main issue before the American voters today has been purposely muddled. But do not be fooled by long words or fancy phrases. Roosevelt and his followers want to stay in office because they are ambitious politicians. If they win in November this country will go to war. And what happens after that war starts will be disastrous to every man, woman, and child in the United States. The America that you and I have known in our lifetime will be gone forever.

To Roosevelt, war may be inevitable to perpetuate the New Deal in office.

To Willkie, war can be avoided by making our Nation so strong as to be feared by dictators.

So forget about the side issues that the New Deal is now using as a campaign smoke screen. Stick to the simple, fundamental, vital facts. Let every voter on election day remember that "A vote for third-term Roosevelt assures war and disaster, a vote for Wendell Willkie insures a nation at work and at peace."

The Third Term Issue—Historical Facts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN F. SMITH

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, most of the agitation against the third term is undoubtedly engendered by the fear that President Roosevelt is going to be reelected in November.

The last time the third-term issue was raised was during the second term of President Coolidge, who served out the term of President Harding, was reelected for a second term, and was urged by the leaders of the Republican Party to accept nomination for a third term. This is not a partisan issue, as I shall presently show, and the record of our Republican friends is such that they are in no position to capitalize on the third-term issue.

SENATOR M'NARY FAVORED THIRD TERM FOR COOLIDGE

Mr. Speaker, reference has been made to the vote in 1928 on the Senate resolution directed against a third term, which was, of course, aimed at President Coolidge. We have heard named a number of prominent Democratic Senators who voted for the resolution, but in calling the roll of the Senators who opposed the resolution one very significant omission was made, which I am going to supply to prove my point that this is not a partisan issue, and if it were, that the Republicans are in a worse position than the Democrats. The Senate roll call of February 10, 1928, on the third-term resolution shows that the distinguished Senator from the West, whom our people out there highly respect regardless of party affiliation, Senator McNary, of Oregon, present leader of the Republican minority in the Senate and candidate for Vice President on the Republican ticket, voted against the adoption of the resolution condemning a third term.

RECORD OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Mr. Speaker, Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican to be elected President, entered the White House in 1861. During the 79 years which have elapsed since that time the Republicans have held the Presidency for 52 years. However, Lincoln, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, McKinley, Taft, Harding and Hoover were never in a position to seek a third term. The three remaining Republican Presidents were Theodore Roosevelt, Grant, and Coolidge. Two of them—Theodore Roosevelt and Coolidge—had served less than two full terms when the possibility of a third term arose. Theodore Roosevelt was so eager to serve a third term that he bolted his party to become a candidate. President Coolidge, as I shall presently show, was urged by the leaders of the Republican Party to seek a third term, but declined, we are now advised by his biographers, because he dreaded the crash and collapse of business, industry, and finance which he saw impending. The only Republican President in history who served two full terms was President Grant, and he used every maneuver and means within his power to be renominated and reelected to a third term. I repeat that this is not a partisan issue, which is

clearly established by the attitude of the leaders of the Republican Party who favored a third term for President Coolidge.

REPUBLICANS FAVORED A THIRD TERM FOR COOLIDGE

Herbert Hoover, on July 20, 1927, when asked his views on the approaching Presidential race, said:

I am for Mr. Coolidge, who, I am sure, will be our President for 4 more years.

The late Senator Fess, of Ohio, later chairman of the Republican National Committee, demanded that Coolidge be drafted, saying:

The same reasons that would justify a second term may justify an additional term.

Senator Pepper, Pennsylvania Republican, who was a prominent figure in the recent Republican Convention at Philadelphia, said that the objections to a third term for Coolidge had become "nebulous."

Congressman Bertrand H. Snell, of New York, who served as Republican leader in this House for years, and was also permanent chairman of the 1932 and 1936 Republican National Conventions, said that "everybody wanted Coolidge to run for a third term."

Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon, "the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton," said that he hoped that if a deadlock developed in the G. O. P. convention, Coolidge would consent to a third term.

Henry Ford, who has been supporting Republican Presidential candidates for years, said on February 10, 1927, that he "certainly would like to see Coolidge President for another 4 years."

Postmaster General New; C. Bascom Slemp, former secretary to President Coolidge; our distinguished colleague from New York, Mr. Wadsworth; Congressman Tilson, of Connecticut; and Ogden Mills, later Secretary of the Treasury, were also among the early Republican advocates of a third term for President Coolidge.

ISSUE ONE OF EXPERIENCE, QUALIFICATIONS, ABILITY

Mr. Speaker, the political history of our country indicates that the sole issue in selecting our Chief Executive in this perilous and crucial period should be that of experience, qualifications, and ability. Neither of our two great political parties have a consistent record of opposing a third term under any and all circumstances and conditions. George Washington did not oppose a third term if circumstances justified it, nor did Alexander Hamilton, the patron saint of the Republican Party. If Thomas Jefferson were living today and realized the grave domestic and foreign problems facing our country in the coming months and next year or two, according to every act and deed of his long life devoted to the public welfare and preservation of free institutions, he, too, would be in favor of a third term for President Roosevelt and labor arduously and earnestly for his reelection in November. In President Roosevelt we have a capable Chief Executive, who saved our Government and institutions against internal and domestic perils, who has served the best interests of all our people, regardless of class, color, or creed, and who, most important of all, is thoroughly familiar with every phase and detail of our foreign affairs and national-defense program. Why should we displace him for an untried neophyte?

Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, that the United States' threat of war is of Mr. Roosevelt's making there can now be no doubt.

First. He blocked the London Economic Conference in 1933 and shattered a world economy.

Second. He drove the United States off the gold standard and wrecked a world finance.

Third. He sent impotent but antagonizing threats to aggressor nations and shattered a world's neighborliness.

Fourth. He has definitely contributed to the present World War by his constantly shifting foreign policies in Europe and the Orient.

President Roosevelt has the authority to act only within the limitations imposed by Congress, yet—

First. He violated the Neutrality Act.

Second. He defied the law prohibiting the transfer of our armed ships to belligerents.

Third. He refused to negotiate within the laws of the land for England's needed assistance.

Fourth. He permitted to be published the sample questionnaire for registration of conscription, which states "The Nation is at war."

Fifth. He has broken his oath to his people.

The United States Congress alone has the power to declare war; but—

Roosevelt has withheld imperative information from Congress and with a handful of men has committed acts which practically constitute a state of war.

Secretary of Navy Knox stated in August that the United States would be at war with Japan in 2 months. How did he know 8 weeks ago and Congress not know yet?

Who got us into the middle of the stream? Roosevelt. Shall we let him drag us in over our heads?

France waited too long to change horses; France is in chains today.

England delayed changing. Was she in time?

Shall the United States not learn from their experience?

Call another man to lead you, if you want preparedness, prosperity, and peace.

Vote for Wendell Willkie. He will help England in every way short of war. He will not act without the authority of Congress. He will not threaten nations while his country is impotent to act upon them. He will not send his Nation's men into war unprepared and unprotected.

National-Defense Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. McCORMACK. The national-defense agreement between the United States and Canada is one of the most important events in the history of our country. If followed up in definite form it is an event of great importance to the security of our country, and the unity, solidarity, and security of the Western Hemisphere from attack from abroad. No one can view world conditions and what can happen in the future without realizing the importance and value of this agreement in the security of our country. It is an agreement based upon the realities of the world conditions of today. Its object is not only to strengthen the conditions and defense of the Western Hemisphere against future attack from dictators, but to strengthen our own position. This agreement has been acclaimed unanimously by our press.

In connection with this agreement we must also bear in mind the recent Habana Conference of the 21 American nations, in which as the Boston Globe said in a recent editorial:

In the event of threats to the security of any of the American nations of the hemisphere the various countries would consult on the actual form of aid to be given.

The Canadian agreement and the Habana Conference were born of necessity to meet the imminent threat of the dictator countries of the world; threats of an economic warfare as well as actual conflict. While other countries of the Western Hemisphere benefit, the results of the Habana Conference and the Canadian agreement are also essentially for the defense and protection of the United States. We must look the situation that confronts us squarely in the face. We cannot apply the normal rule of conduct in the face of world conditions that exist and their probable effect upon our country and our people.

A few weeks ago a bill was under consideration which authorized the loan of $500,000,000, under certain circumstances, to the countries of the Western Hemisphere. The passage of that bill was necessary to make the Habana Conference and the Canadian agreement a success—to carry out the obligations that the United States promised and assumed. The defeat or serious impairment of that bill would have been a serious blow to our country. Such action would have been a message to the countries of the Western Hemisphere that it would be useless to enter into any agreement or arrangement with the United States designed to strengthen the Western Hemisphere against attack either through actual or economic warfare. The countries of South America and the Government of Canada would have had no faith in the United States or its word. It would have left the countries of South America to the mercy of the European dictators in the event of their victory in Europe; the words, promises, and commitments of the United States, being recognized as meaningless, these countries would have been obliged to ultimately surrender to the dictates of the European dictators. Such a condition would have been a menace to our country.

Yet, with that knowledge in the minds of all of us, we witnessed, when the bill was under consideration, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives doing everything possible to defeat its passage. For political reasons, subject to criticism at all times, but particularly so in these trying times, they were employing their tactics of 2 years ago, "of talking one way to the country and voting the other way in Congress." On every motion made by a Republican, which was to weaken this bill, every Republican, with the exception of a few, voted for the destructive amendments. The motion to recommit the bill, carrying with it a hostile amendment, which motion was made by a Republican, with practically all of the Republican Members voting to recommit the amendment, failed due to the votes of the Democratic Members.

One of the amendments offered by a Republican Member, aimed directly at Canada, if successful, would have prevented the use of any of $500,000,000 to carry out any agreement with Canada. Why this Republican attempt was made against Canada, other than because of opposition to a measure recommended by President Roosevelt, still remains to be explained.

If the bill had been committed, in accordance with the motion offered, it would have been a message to all the countries of Central and South America and Canada that the promises of the Government of the United States were meaningless. It would have destroyed the prestige of the United States among the peoples of these countries for many years, and our national defense would have received a serious blow. After the motion to recommit was defeated, which was done through the votes of the Democratic Members, and upon the passage of the bill, the overwhelming majority of the Republican Members voted against the passage of this very important piece of legislation.

The defeat or serious impairment of this bill would have been considered by Hitler and his allies as a great victory. The people of the country should be made acquainted with the sniping, destructive political practices of the Republican Party in Congress.

It is not so many weeks ago that Mr. Willkie, the candidate for President, in referring to Mr. Hitler, stated that "he would outdistance him"; he would "beat him"; he would "have a victory over him," if he were elected President. Those are fighting words, and yet on the bill which meant so much to our country the Republican Members of the House voted contrary to our best interests.

The people of the country are entitled to know if Mr. Willkie, as Republican nominee, agrees with the actions and the votes of the Republican Party in the House.

As a nominee of the Republican Party, the people of the country are entitled to know if Mr. Willkie approves the actions and the votes of the Republican Members of a few weeks ago in their effort to defeat the bill that meant so much to the national defense of our country and so much to the other countries of the Western Hemisphere.

I emphasize that if the Republican Party in the House had been successful in amending or defeating, as they attempted, this important bill, the people of Canada and the people of the 21 nations of Central and South America would thereafter have no faith or confidence in the promises or agreements of our Government. Fortunately, in this great crisis the Members of the Democratic Party, realizing the danger and the necessity of the passage of this bill, by their votes obtained its passage.

Calling All American Citizens to Examine the Records

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, in making their decision as to which of the two major political parties they will support, it would be well if American citizens give consideration to the following comparison of the records of those two parties:

DEMOCRATIC PARTY	REPUBLICAN PARTY
1. Founded about 1792.	1. Founded 1854.
2. Since Republican Party was founded in 1854, there have been only four Democratic Presidents.	2. Fourteen Republican Presidents.
3. Under three of these four Democratic Presidents the United States was involved in foreign wars.	3. Under only 1 of these 14 Republican Presidents was the United States involved in a foreign war.
4. New Deal claims the credit for today's social legislation, but President Roosevelt actually defied the "universal demand" of people for a social security act and delayed its passage for 3 years.	4. It was the Republicans who passed— 1. The first collective-bargaining law. 2. The first law protecting women in industry. 3. The first Workmen's Compensation Act. 4. Many child-labor laws.
	but
5. The New Deal has passed the Fair Labor Standards Act (wage and hour law).	5. During 52 years of Republican administration wages were raised 500 percent and hours were reduced from 60 to 48.
6. Do you know that two Republican Representatives in Congress presented a bill to Congress for $60 old-age pension, but that a Democratic Congress refused to grant it?	6. Do you know that a Republican Governor tried to pass an old-age pension bill much like the Social Security Act, but that a Democratic legislature refused it?
7. Largest Federal debt under Democratic President, $43,222,346,000, March 4, 1940, which is twice the largest national debt under a Republican President.	7. Largest Federal debt under a Republican President, $22,964,079,000 (Harding administration, following World War) just about one-half of New Deal debt.
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	REPUBLICAN PARTY
8. Senate committee, composed of one Republican and four Democrats, to investigate national campaign expenditures, 1938, reported: "It is certain that organized efforts have been and are being made to control the vote of those on relief work."—(W. P. A. and direct relief.)	8. There is no record of Republicans using public tax money to influence the votes of relief. A Republican President asked for one-half billion dollars for relief, but Democratic Congress refused to grant it.

Why do you think that Mr. Willkie and thousands of others have left the Democratic Party? Because they believe—as the above record shows—the Republican Party program has done more for this Nation than has the Democratic Party program.

The Third Term Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARL HINSHAW
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. HIRAM W. JOHNSON OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following splendid address made on Friday evening, October 18, 1940, over the facilities of the Columbia Broadcasting Co., by the famous senior Senator of my great State of California, the Honorable HIRAM W. JOHNSON. To those who may wonder why Senator HIRAM W. JOHNSON is so dearly beloved by the people of California of all political parties, I urge that they read this speech as nothing could better prove his greatness, born of utter sincerity and love of truth.

The address follows:

When first like a vagrant comet the ruthless ruler of Germany burst upon the horizon the American people were concerned but unafraid; and then, when his bloody aggressions became manifest and one nation after another fell, they began to look to their defenses and to attempt the repair of them. Then was the opportunity for a few men in this country to frighten our people and to cause a hysteria presented to us as a crisis such as we had never before seen. Overemphasized and asserted most cleverly it was that the awful crisis was upon us. It was painted in lurid colors by those who knew so well how to arouse the people. And then, too, came another crisis very different—the crisis of a third consecutive Presidential term, which would enable the present incumbent again to be a candidate and perhaps again to be elected. One crisis was from without, warlike and nebulous in character; the other from within, very, very close to us all, more subtle but more important.

Various astute and clever politicians who knew just what they wanted soon prepared the means by which one crisis could minister to the other. The game was played then, and every endeavor was made to whip up a war scare and a war hysteria. This proved fairly easy because of the rapidity and ruthlessness with which the aggressor nations were acting. The people were made to believe that St. Louis and Omaha were about to be bombed, and every species of propaganda was called into use to increase their fears. And then mysterious whisperings were heard about changing horses in the middle of the stream, and then the indispensable man was born. I may add, parenthetically, that Americans have very little use for the indispensable man, and when it was found how little use he was to those who had created him he gradually retired from the picture and the crisis.

The President maintained a discreet silence until the meeting of the Democratic convention, and although those of us who had been suspiciously viewing the trend of events were neither shocked nor surprised at his assumed unwillingness to become a candidate, he apparently knew full well that his months of preparation and his ambiguous declarations could mean but one thing, and that the assumed unwillingness would ripen into a graceful offer to bear the burden of the great office and be a candidate again. For the first time in the history of the Nation we have a third-term Presidential candidate. And this presents in greater degree than a flaming war, with its cruel destruction of peaceful nations, a crisis purely American. This is the greater crisis, and perhaps is more far-reaching than any other for it may mean the preservation of the last fortress of democracy on this earth. I emphasize this is an American crisis alone, and for that reason, we must solve it ourselves as Americans, in order that our coveted and boasted American liberty shall not perish from the earth.

It is because I deem so important this issue of a third term, paling into insignificance every other issue, that I come before you tonight as an American, who loves his country above all else, who believes in its traditions, and its customs, and in its treasured institutions, to argue for a few minutes upon this most important subject.

One who has reached his allotted span, who has no animosities toward any man, and no partisanship of any sort, I speak neither as Democrat, nor Republican, nor Progressive. I speak from a full heart just as an American, and I choose in this campaign the man opposed to the third term. It makes no difference to me whether his chance of election be of one sort or another. It makes a vast difference that I shall preserve that which has been most dear to me in my life, my independence and my country's weal.

Let us look at the historical record for a moment. I choose principally the record of the Democratic Party for I wish to speak mainly to my Democratic friends.

George Washington set the precedent of a two-term limit for Chief Executives, then Thomas Jefferson established it. Jefferson is the patron saint of the Democratic Party. Until the recent Democratic convention you have heard him quoted and praised by all Democrats. It remained for this last convention to booh him when CARTER GLASS was nominating Jim Farley and quoting Jefferson as opposed to a third term. What a long way we have traveled. Until at last we find, after Jefferson has been venerated for more than a century, his words praised as pearls of wisdom, whose advice has been so clear and persuasive that it has always been followed, this popular hero, this Democratic saint, is boohed in a Democratic convention. And nothing more distinguished that convention—or extinguishes it in the opinion of thinking people—than those boohs heard in 1940 at one whose name had ever been received with veneration and acclaim, and one who had measured up in his life to the loftiest heights of patriotism.

But Jefferson established the principle of a two-term limit for Presidents. Washington set the precedent. Madison and Monroe acquiesced in it, and Andrew Jackson, who until the Democratic convention of 1940 was the second greatest Democrat of all times, favored it.

All the great Democrats from that day to this have been in accord. None has dissented. The reasons were plain. It was the fear of personal power in one man; the fear of personal power which would lead that one man to excesses. Power is a heady wine. Few human beings can resist it, and certainly there has been no evidence or even desire of resistance in the gentleman who seeks it now. He has gathered unto himself more power than any ruler on earth has, save in the totalitarian governments. And there has been no instance when any part of it has been returned. In his course at the Democratic convention at Chicago, his direction of its proceedings, and his subsequent actions as its third-term candidate he has contributed a perfect illustration of every danger and evil which Jefferson foresaw so clearly, and against which he warned his countrymen so earnestly.

And after this so-called Democratic convention what have we seen, seen with regret and sorrow? Without notice, we witness the recipient of a third-term nomination, brushing aside with a sweep of the hand the precedent of Washington and the tradition established by Jefferson, and he has done this in total disregard of what the American people have thought. No chance to debate the matter, no opportunity for Congress to ratify it, nor for the people to pass upon it. Perhaps the unanimity with which the people and their representatives have determined the question is the very reason for not submitting it. It does not answer the requirement to say that the people now have a chance to pass upon it, because, first, the principle is hidden in a mass of irrelevant matters, and in the hot enthusiasms of present politics the question is beclouded by a Democratic nomination however obtained. The very abuse that custom and tradition sought to avoid is presented to the people practically as a fact accomplished. Instead of submitting the matter to the people for determination he handed it over to his State and county chairmen to do with as they saw fit. He handed it over, indeed, to men whom he knew would do his will without thought of the perpetuity of American traditions. Grover Cleveland warned us against the power of patronage at a President's disposal in forcing his renomination, and that this warning was real is demonstrated by the number of employees of the Federal Government, which, in the last 7 years, has doubled and is now more than a million. Cleveland spoke of the pitfalls in the pathway of an ambitious President, "the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability which his party finds in an incumbent, whom a horde of officeholders support with a zeal born of benefits received and the hope of favors yet to come." All of the forebodings of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson are fulfilled and justified. No longer need we consider what may happen—what is certain to happen is obvious if a President sees fit to destroy this great tradition and custom.

If he sees fit to increase his term 4 years, he can increase it 8 or 16, and finally, as Jefferson once remarked, the whole Presidential office becomes but an inheritance.

I speak to you tonight with no ill-will toward any man. The law has ever made it a sin for a trustee to profit from his beneficiaries' inheritances. Jealously the law guards this. The rights of beneficiaries are so carefully protected that a trustee must not deal with the property entrusted to him. This was to remove temptation and is as old as the old Mosaic law that no man may serve two masters. The temptation applied to the highest and the lowest, the highest in dealing with his country and the lowest in dealing with matters entrusted to him.

In 1875 the House passed its resolution by a vote of 233 to 18. In the Senate this resolution was passed in 1928, and it reads as follows:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term has become by universal concurrence a part of our republican system of government, and that every departure from this

time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

The vote on this resolution was: Yea, 56; nay 26.

The Members of the Senate who still are there and who voted for this resolution were ASHURST, BARKLEY, CAPPER, FRAZIER, GLASS, HARRISON, HAYDEN, JOHNSON, KING, LA FOLLETTE, MCKELLAR, NEELY, NORRIS, NYE, PITTMAN, SHEPPARD, SHIPSTEAD, SMITH, THOMAS, TYDINGS, WAGNER, and WHEELER.

There never has been an occasion when the matter has been brought to attention officially that it has not been decided that the third term violates tradition and custom and is "fraught with peril to our free institutions."

If your imagination will permit you, go back to the first beginnings of this country. Can you see Washington and Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, and Jackson, and all the remaining galaxy of the great, safeguarding our precious liberties? We're the last country on earth to possess these. Shall one of our own jeopardize them, or shall one of our own be permitted to violate the sacred tradition built up by these great men of the past for the preservation and for the perpetuity of our institutions? It must not be done. Upon you and upon me rest the solemn obligation of protecting those who come after us, as our great founding fathers sought to preserve for us our liberties, unsullied and untouched, to permit the ambition of no man, however great he may be, or however appealing he may be to the people, to violate the custom or tradition. We are asked to permit him to make the first break in the protecting dike. This country belongs to you and to me, and to every other inarticulate citizen. Theirs is the right, theirs alone, to alter our fundamental law and abandon this custom and tradition. We are asked now to submit it to one man alone with the warnings of 150 years ringing in our ears. We are asked to gamble now with the most precious of human possessions—liberty. We must not do it.

Both Washington and Jefferson refused even to contemplate any American so far foregetful as to want a third election, Washington said:

"There cannot in my judgment be the least danger that the Presinent will by any practicable intrigue ever be able to continue himself one moment in office, much less perpetuate himself in it, but in the last stage of corrupted morals and political depravity."

And Jefferson in like fashion was unable to conceive a President actually consenting to a continuous term in office, and remarked:

"Should he consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views."

Consider for the moment the power that the President now has. He has arrogated to himself the right to the purse of the Nation. A celebrated Englishman once said: "Give me the purse and I will govern." By his innumerable boards and commissions he deals with nearly all of the problems of life, and enforces his will alone concerning them. To the minds of the great and pure men who have governed this Nation, it is unthinkable that any man would seek to violate the sacred agreement and tradition that all had rigorously obeyed. But they overlook one trait of human nature, one dominant factor, the love of place and prominence, of adulation and power. I say this in no invidious sense, but as the common fault of human nature. Some love it so much that power is never gladly or voluntarily surrendered. The appetite growing by what it feeds on becomes the master passion of their lives. Such men find while they realize that some day their power must be laid down, can always find a reason why the fatal day may be postponed. In their minds there is always a crisis in which their services are indispensable; always some great work in hand which they, and they alone, can do. Outwardly they pretend that they groan under the burden and would be glad to lay it down, but in their secret souls they cling to their places. History is full of just such instances. The friends and sycophants of the incumbent, whose lives are linked with his, constantly assure their chief that the public good demands that he should not desert the ship. It is this sort of sweet music that is the curse of kings.

Jefferson once wrote long after he thought he had definitely fixed the tenure of the office of President:

"In questions of power, let no more be said of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

Neither Jefferson nor his contemporaries could foresee the immense power that a President avid for it could acquire. In recent years we have seen billions of dollars that he could disburse at will, with places by the hundreds of thousands for him to fill, with scores of discretionary statutes ready at his word, with the Army and Navy under his control as Commander in Chief, and the conduct of foreign relations in his hands. Who could ask for more? I but state the fact when I say any President with those great powers can cause himself to be renominated not once or twice but as long as he chooses. With the two-term tradition broken down we have every reason to dread a future occupancy of the White House, limited only by the ambition or the life of the tenant.

One hundred and fifty years have elapsed since the foundation of our Republic. Thirty Presidents have followed one another in succession, some ruling well, some not so well. In all the time we have been a nation, with all the men who have been our Presidents, never have the custom and tradition been broken, no man has had the temerity to challenge it. Now, in 1940, if we permit this sacred tradition to be broken and the labor of a century and a half set at naught, it requires no prescience or vision to see what will happen thereafter.

Think of it. A century and a half of an acquiesced-in custom and tradition, none in whose custody it has been, however sorely tempted, has dared to violate it. Now, in secrecy and stealth, with the aid of all the boss-ridden cities of America, is it broken. Wake up, Americans, rush to protect what protects your liberties. Wake up, Americans, ere it is too late.

Dr. Raymond Moley so aptly phrases his description of the instances involving personal power and the effect upon delegates to the late Democratic convention that I dare quote him here. I quote:

"Consider, now, the instances in which this issue of personal power has currently been involved. The first has been the attempt to lay down to Congress a list of specifications for its action. We all remember those 'must' bills. So we call it by the name 'must.' The second we call 'pack'—the attempt of the Executive to get the immediate power to create in the Supreme Court a majority of his own choosing. The third we call 'purge.' It involved the power of the Executive to destroy the political careers of those legislators who would not conform to the Executive's will. The fourth we shall call 'perpetuate'—the effort of the Executive, through a subservient party and a distracted people, to override the principle that has kept any other President from serving more than two terms.

"There they are. Four words describe them—'must,' 'pack,' 'purge,' and 'perpetuate.'

* * * * * * *

"They are four signs that the danger of individual power never passes. They are the four horsemen of autocracy.

* * * * * * *

"These efforts follow an appallingly logical course—the course that begins with an aspiration and ends with a person. It begins with an ideal and ends with a single will. Certain ideas are indispensable. Then compliance is indispensable. And, finally, the leader is indispensable.

* * * * * * *

"Recall * * * the conclave of * * * (the Democratic Party in Chicago last July. Nominally it was a convention of that Democratic Party which pledged itself, 1912, to a single term for the President. But the Democratic Party which made that pledge is dead. The thing that met in Chicago this summer was * * * (composed of) men and women who * * * did not think; they nodded. They did not vote their convictions. * * * They did not select a candidate. The candidate selected himself.

"* * * Democracy holds that Executive authority shall neither be hereditary nor perpetual. If America rejects that tenet, it rejects democracy. And it rejects it at its deadly peril.

* * * * * * *

"The issue rises above party, above prejudice, above personal affections, above hysteria, and above fear. Save our principles and we save our liberties."

And now I leave this question with you. I leave it believing that I have a sacred duty to perform, and you must judge whether I have succeeded. I am loath to cease this discussion. There are many other things in this campaign that I would discuss, but I will have to defer a presentation of them until some future time. I realize how inept I have been, perhaps, in parts of it, but I have tried to discuss a great principle rather than any personality. If I have succeeded in arousing some slight spark in our electorate, I shall consider my task sufficiently performed. I cannot think of our great ancestors, all of whom with singular unanimity favored the tradition which Jefferson established, I cannot think of our past Presidents who with unanimity followed, without feeling a great reverence for the noble men who charted their course in the dark, until the blessed sunlight came for the struggling Republic, and for those who followed them.

I would be wanting in expression upon the current contest if I did not say to you that the fight that is being made by Willkie and MCNARY, practically single-handed and alone, arouses my enthusiasm and my admiration. They have opposed to them almost insuperable odds. First, about 125 members of the electoral college are already selected by the exigencies of politics. More than 1,000,000 employees of the existing power stand like a phalanx in this campaign, and then, more important than all, nine millions of people who are recipients of the bounty of the Government. Yet, they fight on. If these adventitious aids which the present President has should be taken from him, the contest would no longer be in doubt. Upon all matters I do not agree with Messrs. Willkie and MCNARY in this campaign, but they are eternally right upon the great issue, and the all-important one of a third term. Thrice armed is he whose cause is just. Fear not, fight on. Truth is mighty and it will prevail.

We have been in such a fog of hysteria that it has been difficult to think soberly or well. One event has pyramided another so quickly that it is difficult to think at all. We have become soft and soggy with temporary abundance. Even the enormous debts stirs only the few. We are satisfied with a promised security, unearned and easy. Our thoughts teem with greed and every man for himself. May I say—that is not the American way. Our country was not founded upon those ideas, but by striving and toiling and saving and building—a unity among men, with a definite goal—America. They gave their all to give us this heritage we so enjoy.

Let us transport ourselves to the early days. Imagine yourselves with Washington. Go with him through all his trials and difficulties. Think of him in his crisis, with his regiment naked and sick and hungry—you remember "the old Continentals in their ragged regimentals"—and his cause seemingly lost. And then, in his loneliness, on the bleak hill of Valley Forge, he knelt to ask his God to

help him and be with him to the end, all to give us peace, security, and freedom. How can we forget?

Think of Jefferson, the philosopher and thinker, who at the beginning was a resident of another continent, and how he wrote continuously and pleadingly, and then established this principle. Think of his trials and disappointments and indomitable courage that suceeded in implanting in every American heart his ideals. Are we to forget him also? And how about Old Hickory, with matchless courage, and his heart filled with patriotic fervor, who for 7 long years preached the faith that was in him, until Buchanan wrote in 1829:

"The example of Washington, which has been followed by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, has forever determined that no President shall be more than once reelected. This principle has now become as sacred as if it were written in the Constitution."

We cannot be false to all these and other patriots, living or dead, who, with a singleness of purpose to preserve intact our liberties, fought for this principle.

We cannot be, and we will not be.

And so, when we come to the judgment seat, how shall we answer for our precious country, for the preservation of its pristine glory, for the protection of the liberties of our citizens? Shall we answer, trembling, "We had not the courage, because the power was great and overwhelming, millions upon millions, on the other side, and we fell before them." Or shall we answer thus and say, "We stood up like brave men and fought the good fight, and with the aid of God we won it."

God bless and save America.

Committee on Un-American Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, during the last few days, the newspapers have carried interviews with our colleague from Texas, the Honorable MARTIN DIES, in connection with the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities. On many occasions, I have pointed out the fine work that has been done by this committee of the House of Representatives.

World War developments have led to a national-defense program so that the United States may be prepared to meet its enemies from without should any such conditions arise. That program has had my wholehearted support.

I do not here discuss the details of the national-defense program, but I want to point out that first and foremost in any preparation for preparedness by the United States is protection against the enemies within its own borders. For years the pacifist doctrine has been preached in the United States. For years the Communists, under the leadership from Moscow, with New York as their headquarters, have been active in undermining American institutions and in efforts to destroy our American form of government. The House of Representatives may be proud of the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, and his associates, who have carried on investigations which have revealed these foreign-controlled conspiracies and these efforts to destroy our Constitution.

I am making these remarks because of today's newspaper interviews dealing with the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities. The charges made by our colleague to the effect that patronage and influence have been obtained by Communists in our Federal Government are serious charges. We cannot permit Stalin through his emissaries in this country to commit sabotage in our industrial and defense plants. The time is here—in fact, we arrived at the point a long time ago—when America should clean house and insist that people who are in sympathy with communistic Russian ideas get out of official positions in the Government. If they do not like this country, Russia with its iron heel of despotism would appear to be the proper place to send them.

Remember that our colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DIES] is quoted as saying that there are 2,000 Communists and party liners still holding jobs in the Government at Washington. In my opinion, the House of Representatives should lend all possible aid and support to an investigation in connection with this charge.

The greatest danger, I repeat, to the national-defense program exists right here in America, because these un-American elements, unless exposed and checked and watched, may be depended upon to ruin and destroy every effort made to have America prepared to meet any challenge that might arise.

Adolph Raduziner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. M. MICHAEL EDELSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. EDELSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, this country today leads all other countries because she stood ready to receive all who wished to come here and become Americans. Through the operation of the "melting pot," the subjects of many countries became the citizens of the United States. The lessons they learned and the experience they acquired they shared in turn with their newly arrived brethren. This speeded up the process of Americanization. The brief history of one such American and the organization he helped found, the Independent Order of Brith Abraham, is contained in the following article from the October 10, 1940, issue of Brith Abraham, which I include under leave to extend my remarks. This is one more refutation of those who can see no good in immigration, although without immigrants there would be no United States today.

[From Brith Abraham of October 10, 1940]

IMMIGRANT JEWS, WHO FOUNDED INDEPENDENT ORDER OF BRITH ABRAHAM, PLAYED IMPORTANT ROLE IN AMERICAN LIFE REVEALS ADOLPH RADUZINER, CHAPTER MEMBER

In the eyes of suffering Jewry residing in villages of Hungary in the early eighties, America was looked upon as the land of the free—the place where they could go to and worship God and their country as they saw fit. They felt that in America as Jews they would not be the subject of bloody pogroms. They looked upon the Western Hemisphere as a haven of peace and freedom.

Thousands of Jews living in European hamlets looked forward hopefully in coming to America. Many worked their fingernails to the bone in order to raise the necessary funds to make their way to this country.

One of those whose heart was bent in sailing to the land of the free was Adolph Raduziner. Adolph was a young man, strong and ambitious. He heard a whole lot about the "golden land." He wanted to get away from "a life of fear" and go to a place where the "air and the sunshine" were free to those who settled in America.

PACKS BELONGINGS

The young man, Adolph, one day early in 1884, packed his small belongings, embraced the members of his family, and left. His heart pumped fast as he walked the ship's gangplank. He soon found the shore line of the land of his birth drifting off into the horizon and vanish.

The voyage to America, while rough on some days, did not faze Adolph. He knew he was going to a land where he would not have to fear the onslaughts of anti-Semites. He knew he was going to a country where everyone who wants to work and pray may do so as his conscience guided him, as long as he did not interfere with his neighbor.

On May 5, 1884, Adolph landed in New York City. Like all immigrants, his first thought was to find a place to settle and go into business. It wasn't many months later when he entered the wholesale and retail jewelry business. At the outset he managed to get by. As time rolled on Adolph drifted into men's neckwear.

SAW NEED OF JEWISH ORGANIZATION

As the boy Adolph continued to look around he saw the need of joining with other Jews in an organization where the American way of life could be learned. He felt that through a cooperative program Jews in America would be able to help to make each other's lot more comfortable and interesting. Through an organization he knew the plans could be formulated to help the sick and needy; to care for the dead in the orthodox way. And while doing all this he knew that, through a process of development, immigrant Jews could be taught Americanism.

Therefore, 3 years after his arrival in this country, Adolph Raduzin, with 26 other Jewish brethren, formulated an organization

which today stands out as America's largest Jewish fraternal group—the Independent Order of Brith Abraham.

As one of the original charter members of the Independent Order of Brith Abraham, Brother Raduzir er rolled up his sleeves and worked side by side with Max Eckmann, of the Abraham Lodge, No. 1; Jacob Schoen, Moritz Schwartz, and Jacob Justkowitz, of the Kronprinz Rudolph Lodge (now National Lodge, No. 2); Jonas Hencht Moritz Loenz, and Philip Ascher, of Kaiser Franz Joseph Lodge, No. 32 (now Justice Lodge, No. 3); Emanuel Gluck, Herman Gottlieb, and M. Bergman, of the C. M. Rothschild Lodge, No. 72 (now Chasam Sopher Lodge, No. 5; Sigmund Fodor and Moritz Friedman, of Jacob Ascher Lodge, No. 7 (now Jacob Ascher Lodge, No. 6); I. Tobias, of Oesterreich-Ungarishe Lodge, No. 91 (now Oesterreich-Ungarishe Lodge, No. 9); Wold E. Rendsburg and Louis Jackson, of Loyalty Lodge, No. 10; Max Stern and Aaron Toff, of James A. Garfield Lodge, No. 36 (now James A. Garfield Lodge, No. 16); Moritz Hirtenstein, Jonason Kahn, and M. Mayer, of Schiller Lodge, No. 128 (now Schiller Lodge, No. 17); A. Rappaport, of the Jaroslauer Lodge (now Jaroslauer Lodge, No. 21); and Emil Neufeld, of the Tisza Kalman Lodge, No. 75 (now Benjamin Lodge, No. 22); Moses Singer and W. Buchbaum, of the Chajim Halberstam Lodge, No. 79 (now Chajim Halberstam Lodge, No. 28); Adolph Hadler, of Wolf Eger Lodge, No. 30; Max Goldberger, of Mamonidies Lodge, No. 92, and David Hamburger, of Rebecca Lodge.

The task of building up Independent Order of Brith Abraham was not an easy one. But it wasn't long before the activities of the order caught the imagination of hundreds of Jews in the metropolitan area.

"Our organization played an important part in the lives of immigrant Jews," said Brother Raduziner. "We have provided them with social activities, inculcated in them the value of discipline, taught them the American form of living, and encouraged them to study English. Many of these immigrants later in life became very active in American affairs. Many of their children grew up and held important public office. These immigrants and their offspring were certainly a credit to the order and our country.

"During national crisis, the members of our order never flinched. They have responded patriotically to their country's call. Many have given their lives to keep America free and safe for democracy.

"In the early days of our order, we knew of practically no anti-Semitism. Jews and Christians lived side by side, and worked together happily. Only on rare occasions did we hear of racial differences. Generally, we were all Americans—pioneers endeavoring to build up a country where everyone would be able to live together in a good neighborly way.

"Today we find unfortunately within our shores un-Christian and un-American activities, directed toward destroying Jewry. The advent of anti-Semitism I place at the door of Hitlerism. Since Hitler came into power, anti-Semitism here has become more pronounced.

"However, I fervently believe that the present wave of anti-Semitism in this country will not thrive. We still have in this country millions of liberal and true American Christians who will not tolerate racial baiting. It won't be long before all hate-spreaders will be curbed by law."

Brother Raduziner, who does not look his 88 years, began to muse for a moment. One could see a twinkle in his eyes as he leaned forward to make further observations on conditions of today. With a serious and steady voice, he continued assuringly:

HOPE FOR FUTURE

"There is hope for the future of our people. The young as well as the old must not be discouraged.

"Were it not for the defeat of a proposed plan presented by the late Past Grand Master Judge Leon Sanders to have members pay according to their ages, we would have had today not only the largest fraternity, but more than $45,000,000 in our reserve fund for the protection of our members. The order did not follow Judge Sanders' suggestion, made in 1919. That's why we are today endeavoring in every way possible to find other sources to aid the aged of our order.

"But I am still hopeful. Our membership today is solid. We have thousands of young men who are actively engaged in our work. The young will carry on the work started by the old folks. At this time I want to make a strong appeal to the old folks that they have their children and relatives join our order today, not only for their own benefit but for the benefit of America and Jewry.

"Now, more than ever, we need greater unity in Jewish life. This unity is imperative in view of the assaults made upon our people. Through unity we gain strength. This strength will enable us to raise our voice in protest against un-American activities of subversive groups. Our protests then will have greater effect.

"I want to wish the members of the Independent Order of Brith Abraham a happy and prosperous new year."

Brother Raduziner was the organizer of the Kronprinz Rudolph Lodge, No. 2, now known as the national lodge. He has been transferred to membership in the Empire State lodge. His son, Soltan, is also a member of this lodge. He resides at 555 West One Hundred and Sixtieth Street, Manhattan.

Brother Raduziner is still active in lodge affairs. He frequently visits the grand lodge headquarters, where this interview was held. During his activities in the order he has held many important positions in the grand lodge, including grand treasurer, chairman, and treasurer of reserve board, and chairman of the state of the order. He also organized the B. Weinberger Lodge, No. 56, which today is known as the Ferdinand-Levy Lodge, No. 56.

Railroad Men Who Carry Us Safely Day and Night

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM H. WHEAT
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. WHEAT. Mr. Speaker, railroad employees were paid $4,465,604,688 more in the 6 years 1927–32, preceding the New Deal, than they were in the first 6 years of the New Deal, 1933–38.

The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad established the first railroad-pension system way back in the "horse and buggy" days in 1884, during a Republican administration, while the present third-term candidate was in kindergarten.

Over 90 percent of the Nation's railroad employees were covered by pensions prior to 1923, and over 50 railroad companies established pension systems during Republican administrations.

Why would a Republican President, Wendell Willkie, want to destroy what Republicans have worked for years to achieve for the railroad man?

A car foreman of the Pere Marquette Railroad says:

I remember what Government management did to the railroads in the last World War, and I am going to vote for Wendell Willkie because he knows that prosperity will come to the railroad man when Government encourages, rather than discourages, American business and industry.

More business means more production. More production means more carriers. More carriers mean more railroad jobs. More railroad jobs mean more wages for the railroad man.

Wendell Willkie's life record shows that he believes in the legislative authority of Congress, that he keeps his promises, and that he gets things done.

Why listen to a whispering campaign? Why not cast your vote for Wendell Willkie, whose record is a matter of actual facts?

Do You Know—?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, do you know that, under the Republican administration, in 1929, private pay rolls in American industry were twelve and one-half billion dollars more than in 1939 under the New Deal? Did that hit your pocketbook?

Did you know—

That, under the New Deal, July 1935 to 1940, there were 13,696 strikes in the United States, with 78,970,000 working days lost? What did that do to your year's income and to the Nation's income?

That the 1929 annual average income per person was $682?

That the 1939 annual average income per person was only $529?

Did you have $150 less, too? Or were you just lucky because you work for a man who operates his factory on the Republican policy of more production—so lower price to the consumer, so more orders, so more employment for you?

Do you know—

That Hitler came into power with the assistance of German labor?

That, once in full power, Hitler destroyed all established labor unions in Germany?

That there is no collective bargaining in Germany today?

That workmen get as little as perhaps 20 cents a day in Germany?

That every workman in Germany must pay into the Government party labor organization into which he has been forced, whether he wishes or not?

Do you know that Roosevelt already has the power to make that happen here?

Mr. Roosevelt took over the government of New York State with a bank balance and left it $85,000,000 in debt; and he has more than doubled the United States national debt in 8 years.

Do you know that Wendell Willkie was called in 1933 to manage an electric-light company with a $1,600,000 debt? In 4 years' time he had pulled it out of debt. Which kind of a businessman do you want to manage the national business and industry of this country?

Mr. Willkie believes that business should be run for the benefit of the employer, the employee, and the consumer—more production for the employer, more employment for the employee, lower prices for the consumer.

Did you know that your President Roosevelt actually refused to support a social-security bill and deliberately delayed its passage for 3 years until he was forced by universal demand to act on it in 1935?

Mr. Willkie will continue the minimum-wage laws, the maximum-hour laws, the Railroad Pension Act, collective bargaining, social security for still more groups, old-age assistance, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, W. P. A., and relief until business is good enough to reemploy men and women in regular jobs. Ninety-five percent of the business in the United States is based on mutual faith and trust. Will you choose a man of broken promises or a man of promises kept?

Vote for Wendell Willkie, who has kept his promises and delivered the goods.

The Evolution of Wendell L. Willkie as a Candidate for President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. U. S. GUYER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. GUYER of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, there has come to the American people a great revelation in the candidacy of Mr. Willkie for President. Practically unknown until the Philadelphia convention, he has in a few weeks become the best known and most favorably known man outside public office. He is not only a dynamic character and crusading campaigner but a philosopher and thoroughly good sport. An editorial in the Kansas City Times of October 17 is a fine analysis of the subject that I include a part herein:

[From the Kansas City Times of October 17, 1940]

THE WILLKIE OF TODAY

It is now apparent that the American people are beginning to understand the new type of Presidential candidate represented by Wendell Willkie—and that they like it.

The public had to find Wendell Willkie. In a sense he had to find himself. Now the twofold job is moving on.

First of all, people love a fighter with a genuine cause. Willkie is a fighter and he has such a cause.

When he began his active campaigning Willkie was under a tremendous handicap. He had his cause and the fighting spirit, but he was new to the game. He had none of the technique of the demagogue, none of the clever tricks of the politician in appealing to the crowd and making a thing appear what it was not.

Above that, he faced an entrenched administration and bureaucracy, with its favored groups of the people, its millions of jobholders, and with billions of money at its command.

But Willkie moved into the uphill battle, and he has moved on with it. He has chosen the hard way. He has traveled long distances and kept long hours. He has deliberately gone into unfriendly and hostile areas. He has been assailed with eggs, tomatoes, and verbal insults. He has taken them all and turned them back—with pleas that his cause be heard in a fair and democratic hearing.

Willkie is not only a courageous fighter. He is earnest, sincere, able.

He has refused to play politics when politics might have been a powerful advantage, at least for the moment. He honestly believed in the selective draft, and said so when it was a red-hot political issue. He could have turned it to political uses. He patriotically refused. He honestly believed in certain features of the New Deal, and said so when partisans strongly urged him to make it the object of a wholesale assault. He honestly believed in a vigorous and uncompromising foreign policy, and said so when others would have hedged and qualified.

Willkie is no hedger or appeaser on domestic or on foreign policies. He has placed his cause on a higher plane. He has gained confidence in it and in himself as he has advanced. He has gained support for both.

He has made his cause a crusade, a crusade for America—an America secure and impregnable against attack from abroad, an America secure for its people at home, an America with jobs for workers, an America with a revived industry, an America with a devotion to its fine traditions and the democratic system, an America with a restored honesty, morale, self-respect.

That's the Wendell Willkie and the cause the American people are coming to know and support. It is the kind of leadership the Nation can trust—the kind of leadership it requires for its present security and its further safe progress.

Lest the Veterans Forget—Eviction of the Bonus Marchers in 1932

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN F. SMITH

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the present national administration paid the so-called soldiers' bonus to the veterans of the World War in 1936. It was my privilege and honor to serve for 4 years on the steering committee of 22 House Members who led the fight which culminated successfully in the cash payment in 1936 of the adjusted-service certificates which had been delinquent since 1924.

The war veterans should not forget the contrast this action presents to the treatment accorded them in 1932 by the Hoover administration when they came to Washington, D. C., to peacefully petition the President and Congress for payment of this past-due obligation.

Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me by unanimous consent, I insert brief quotations from prominent public men and the press in regard to this disgraceful episode in American history "lest we forget."

OPINIONS OF PUBLIC MEN

Senator Bronson Cutting, of New Mexico:

The use of Federal troops against unarmed veterans, whether prompted by cowardice or stupidity, was an unpardonable outrage. No one will be deceived by the transparent pretext that a few Communists had attached themselves to the loyal Americans who formed the bulk of the bonus forces.

Representative Clyde Kelly, of Pennsylvania:

These homeless, jobless veterans behaved in a manner beyond criticism while Congress was in session. I cannot understand why force leading to such tragic results should be necessary now.

Representative Addison T. Smith, of Idaho:

The bonus men have not helped their cause, but I see no occasion for the use of such drastic measures by the Government. Why need the soldiers have burned the shacks and tents? Had the veterans been given a few more days I am satisfied they would have evacuated Government property.

Representative LaGuardia, of New York:

Soup is cheaper than tear bombs and bread better than bullets in maintaining law and order in these times.

Senator KING, of Utah:

Most deplorable happening in the history of the American people.

Senator Black, of Alabama:

The action of the President was wholly unnecessary and ill-timed.

Senator LYNN J. FRAZIER, of North Dakota:

It is an awful indictment against those in control of our Government and against our system of doing business when troops are called out to disperse veterans who served their Nation faithfully in time of war and are now jobless, penniless, and hungry through no fault of their own, but because of the neglect of the Government to provide for their interests * * *. Bayonets and bullets will not relieve the present deplorable conditions nor bring prosperity.

Representative A. J. SABATH, of Illinois:

I am formulating a protest to President Hoover against the inhuman and brutal treatment of the ex-service men. I am satisfied that the American people resent such brutal and harsh action. Every loyal American must resent giving thousands of millions to foreign countries and refusing the few dollars needed to feed the starving ex-service men. During the 3 months these men were in Washington, I found them all to be law-abiding men of serious purpose.

Gov. Gifford Pinchot, of Pennsylvania:

The bonus marchers have shown far more restraint than the Washington authorities. The great majority of them did nothing whatever to deserve treatment that would have been cruel if they had been Chinese coolies. It is hard to see what they could have done that would justify a night attack with tear gas and tanks on camps containing hundreds of women and children. A little forbearance, a little common sense, and a couple of hundred men like the Pennsylvania State Police would have moved them if they had to be moved, without breaking any bones. The whole business was stupid and altogether unnecessary.

Senator KENNETH MCKELLAR, of Tennessee:

If there was any real riot it was created by the Army and not by the ex-service men. One of the soldiers, to my knowledge, had his picture taken while putting a torch to one of the huts on Pennsylvania Avenue. It is said there were Communists among the bonus forces, and that is given as a reason for calling out the Army. The Government violated its every duty in not having found those Communists before this trumped-up arrangement had been made to get the ex-service men out of town.

The cry of Communists is just another of the fake excuses now being given out for this abominable and disgraceful treatment of ex-service men.

The sufferings of these men and their helpless wives and children must have been terrific in the extreme as they were hunted by the Army and driven out of the city at the points of bayonets and sabers. There was not the slightest excuse for the President to call out the Army.

As old as history itself, the calling out of an army by a ruler under such circumstances has been regarded as the highest species of tyranny.

When the Congress convenes in December, I shall offer a resolution to investigate. I shall insist that the blame be placed upon those who were responsible for the miserable affair.

There was no situation with the ex-service men that General Glassford and the local police could not have handled with ease. The ex-service men were not and had not been a menace.

Norman H. Thomas, Socialist candidate for President:

The use of troops under the President's order was inexcusable.

Mrs. Joseph N. Mims, president, District of Columbia Ladies' Auxiliary of the American Legion:

The action of the administration was high-handed and heartless.

Norman Landreau, department commander of the American Legion:

The United States has been given a black eye the world over.

Forrest G. Cooper, southern vice commander, American Legion:

I hung my head in shame when I read the Government I fought for used gas and tanks and cavalry against my buddies.

AMERICAN PRESS

Philadelphia Record:

An explanation which really explains * * * is a lack of human sympathy on the part of the President.

Baltimore Sun:

A handful of forlorn men * * * were the "insurrectionists" who were to endanger the Nation. What bosh!

Chicago Herald and Examiner:

For sheer stupidity President Hoover's spectacular employment of the military in evicting a mere handful of World War derelicts is without parallel in American annals.

Jacksonville (Fla.) Journal:

Whether official Washington handled the situation with the best of tact is debatable.

Wendell L. Willkie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM J. MILLER
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 17, 1940

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, in the RECORD of October 15, Senator MALONEY, of Connecticut, inserted a quotation from a speech delivered by Mr. Wendell Willkie in Birmingham, Ala., in November 1934. The quotation which the Senator has inserted indicates that efforts were made by Mr. Willkie, in behalf of southern industries, to draw new industries from the North. Senator MALONEY has placed this quotation in the RECORD for the purpose of discrediting Mr. Willkie's recent appearances in New England for, on his own statement, he says in part:

During his (Willkie's) recent visit to Connecticut, in view of the sympathy which he expressed for the workmen of that part of the country, and in view of several references to his position on the matter of aiding working people and small business in New England, I desire to quote from a speech which Mr. Willkie delivered in Birmingham, Ala., on November 7, 1934.

At the time Mr. Willkie made that statement he was actively connected with a southern concern and was perfectly justified in making every effort to attract new industry to the South to promote prosperity in his own locale. Is there any individual who would condemn such earnest efforts on the part of a private businessman? We in Connecticut have made many efforts, with some marked success, to bring new industries to our State as a matter of good business and the promotion of the welfare and prosperity of the State. This very activity is one of the major functions of our chambers of commerce. Would anyone care to make public criticism of similar action on the part of any prominent Connecticut businessman?

However, the important point is in that part of the quotation where Mr. Willkie says:

The Alabama Power Co. can remove industries from the North, because it is a business concern, but the T. V. A. cannot remove them, because it is a part of our Government.

This statement stands to Mr. Willkie's credit and refutes the very point the Senator is trying to make. It refutes that point because it shows that Mr. Willkie, as President, would have a very clear sense of his duty toward all of America, the broader outlook so essential to that office, and untinged with the malice so evident in the dealings of the present administration with industries and other specific groups. It indicates a loyalty to his job which should make him strong with every American voter, for it shows him as an official in a southern concern working for the benefit of the locality in which he is primarily interested, and, as President, working for the benefit of the entire United States.

Analysis of Appropriations, Seventy-Sixth Congress, Third Session—National Defense More Than Half of the Total

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR
OF COLORADO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, the total appropriations and contract authorizations made to date during this session of Congress are the largest ever enacted during peacetime. Everyone has recognized the urgent necessity of the rearmament of the United States and the strengthening of our defenses for hemispheric protection. No voice has been raised against the provision of the sums that have been made

available. Congress has acted with expedition and with practical unanimity not only in granting the requests of the Executive for funds and legislation but in a number of instances has gone beyond the Budget estimates and made provision for vitally necessary military and naval necessities which the swiftly moving panorama of the World War indicated should be added immediately to formally presented requests.

I shall include as a part of these remarks three tables which analyze and portray clearly the appropriations of the session.

Table I is a listing of all appropriations by acts and in comparison with the Budget estimates. Table II is a breakdown of the appropriations in table I, rearranging the appropriations according to major purposes, functions, and fiscal years, and disregarding the acts in which those appropriations were made. Table III is a segregation of the national-defense appropriations set forth in table II, allocating the amounts according to agencies, purposes, fiscal years, and including, in addition to the direct appropriations, the contract authorizations for national-defense programs and the enforcement of the neutrality laws.

COMPARISON OF APPROPRIATIONS AND ESTIMATES

A comparison of the direct appropriations and budget estimates for the session shows the following:

The total appropriated in all appropriation acts during the session, combined with the amounts under permanent appropriations which are a general revenue charge but excluding therefrom the trust funds chargeable against trust fund receipts, is $16,920,627,477.15. This sum includes postal appropriations chargeable largely to postal revenues and a few annual trust funds chargeable to trust-fund receipts. An analysis shows the following facts:

Total, exclusive of trust funds under permanent appropriations		$16,920,627,477.15
Less:		
Trust funds in annual acts	$44,196,754.29	
Portion of postal appropriations for 1941 payable from postal revenues	780,000,000.00	
		824,196,754.29
Chargeable to general revenues		16,096,430,722.86
Appropriations for national defense and enforcement of neutrality (see table II)		9,114,345,921.58
Net amount for all other functions of Government chargeable to general revenues		6,982,084,801.28

The amount for national defense and enforcement of neutrality represents 56.6+ percent of the total chargeable to general revenues and the amount for all other functions of Government represents 43.3+ percent.

The amount of the trust funds under permanent appropriations which are payable from trust-fund receipts is $2,148,921,298, and this sum added to the over-all total of $16,920,627,477.15 makes a grand total, including trust funds, of $19,069,548,775.15.

In addition to the direct appropriations, specific authority is granted to enter into contracts subject to future appropriations by Congress aggregating for the session the sum of $4,066,191,860. Of this amount the sum of $3,991,882,009 is attributable to the Army, Navy, and the civil activities of Government contributing to national defense, as set forth in table III. Eliminating this amount for national defense, the remainder of the contract authorizations for other Government purposes is only $74,309,851.

The total appropriations are a net amount of $641,519,461.24 in excess of the formally presented Budget estimates. The net increase is arrived at by a small number of large increases offset by numerous decreases. The items of excess contributing to the net increase consist of $212,000,000 for parity payments to agricultural producers, $62,321,188 additional for removal of surplus agricultural commodities and encouragement of exportation of such commodities, $50,000,000 increase in the appropriation for the Civilian Conservation Corps ($230,000,000 to $280,000,000) to restore the amount approximately to the 1940 figure, $128,107,115 to provide camps and cantonments for National Guard troops ordered into the Federal service, $320,683,940 to increase the enlisted personnel of the Regular Army from 280,000 to 375,000 men, and $100,000,000 for housing for married enlisted personnel and defense-industry workers in connection with the Army, Navy, and Maritime Commission. These 5 major increases over Budget estimates total $873,112,243 and this amount was offset by decreases sufficient to bring the net increase down to the figure of $641,519,461.24. The increases in estimates for the national defense indicate the willingness and expeditious action of Congress in responding to national-defense needs. Events and necessities in national defense have moved rapidly and as these needs arose while national-defense appropriation bills were pending in Congress they were inserted without waiting for the submission of a formally prepared Budget estimate. Full information and detailed amounts to substantiate the action were furnished by the Executive informally.

Table I.—Comparison of regular annual, supplemental, deficiency, and miscellaneous appropriation acts with the Budget estimates considered for such acts, 76th Cong., 3d sess. (exclusive of sums in miscellaneous public and private acts)

Title of acts	Budget estimates	Appropriations	Increase (+) or decrease (−), appropriations compared with estimates
REGULAR ANNUAL, 1941			
Agriculture	[1] $720,890,805.00	$918,603,918.00	+$197,713,113.00
District of Columbia	49,609,418.00	48,765,080.00	−844,338.00
Independent offices	[2] 1,193,649,473.00	1,120,243,528.00	−73,405,945.00
Interior	[3] 133,777,614.05	135,383,330.05	+1,605,716.00
Labor-Federal Security Agency	965,988,642.00	1,023,282,690.00	+57,294,048.00
Labor	33,310,567.00	32,714,390.00	−596,177.00
Federal Security Agency	798,714,688.00	857,143,400.00	+58,428,712.00
Related independent agencies	133,963,387.00	133,424,900.00	−538,487.00

[1] Exclusive of the following: (1) $2,000 transferred to Interior, printing and binding, 1941, account Biological Survey, (2) $60,000,000 for soil-conservation and domestic-allotment payments, changed from 1941 to 1940 and transferred to First Deficiency, (3) $30,214 for Tea Importation Act, 1941, transferred to Second Deficiency, and (4) $603,600 for white fringed beetle, 1941, transferred to Second Deficiency.

[2] Excludes $1,055,000 for Office of Government Reports, Executive Office of the President, transferred to emergency relief appropriation Act, fiscal year 1941.

[3] Excludes the following: (1) $1,000,000, Biological Survey, 1941, migratory bird conservation fund, carried in Budget total in that amount and in Act total as an indefinite, (2) $1,210,350, military surveys, Geological Survey, 1941, transferred to War Department, civil functions, 1941, and (3) $250,000, Antarctic Expedition, 1941, transferred to Second Deficiency. Includes $2,000, printing and binding, 1941, transferred from Agriculture.

Table I.—Comparison of regular annual, supplemental, deficiency, and miscellaneous appropriation acts with the Budget estimates considered for such acts, 76th Cong., 3d sess. (exclusive of sums in miscellaneous public and private acts)—Continued

Title of acts	Budget estimates	Appropriations	Increases (+) or decrease (−) appropriations compared with estimates
REGULAR ANNUAL, 1941—continued			
Legislative	$25, 789, 612. 00	$23, 671, 220. 00	−$2, 118, 392. 00
Military	1, 478, 127, 118. 00	1, 499, 323, 322. 00	+21, 196, 204. 00
Navy	1, 371, 311, 577. 00	1, 308, 171, 138. 00	−63, 140, 439. 00
State, Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary	109, 614, 010. 00	107, 149, 000. 00	−2, 465, 010. 00
State	[4] 20, 791, 006. 00	20, 125, 500. 00	−665, 506. 00
Justice	[5] 42, 130, 620. 00	41, 323, 000. 00	−807, 620. 00
Commerce	34, 524, 430. 00	33, 908, 500. 00	−615, 930. 00
Judiciary	[6] 12, 167, 954. 00	11, 792, 000. 00	−375, 954. 00
Treasury and Post Office	1, 044, 045, 312. 00	1, 032, 801, 095. 00	−11, 244, 217. 00
Treasury	[7] 226, 747, 480. 00	218, 752, 033. 00	−7, 995, 447. 00
Post Office	817, 297, 832. 00	814, 049, 062. 00	−3, 248, 770. 00
War Department, civil	[8] 221, 934, 600. 00	222, 718, 717. 00	+784, 117. 00
Total, regular annual acts	7, 314, 738, 181. 05	7, 440, 113, 038. 05	+125, 374, 857. 00
SUPPLEMENTAL, DEFICIENCY, AND MISCELLANEOUS, 1941 AND 1940 AND PRIOR YEARS			
Emergency Relief, fiscal year 1941	[9] 1, 112, 055, 000. 00	1, 157, 711, 357. 00	+45, 656, 357. 00
First Supplemental National Defense, 1941	1, 105, 735, 249. 00	1, 479, 777, 147. 00	+374, 041, 898. 00
Second Supplemental National Defense, 1941	2, 269, 002, 957. 00	2, 497, 016, 392. 00	+228, 013, 435. 00
Third Supplemental National Defense, 1941	1, 329, 902, 074. 00	1, 324, 193, 636. 00	−5, 708, 438. 00
First Supplemental, Civil Functions, 1941	223, 398, 410. 44	228, 132, 013. 35	+4, 733, 602. 91
Emergency Supplemental, 1940	271, 999, 523. 00	252, 340, 776. 00	−19, 658, 747. 00
Urgent Deficiency, 1940	60, 353, 700. 00	57, 541, 300. 00	−2, 812, 400. 00
First Deficiency, 1940	[10] 95, 601, 725. 52	92, 035, 408. 52	−3, 566, 317. 00
Second Deficiency, 1940	[11] 95, 364, 143. 90	85, 891, 777. 23	−9, 472, 366. 67
Miscellaneous House Joint Resolutions, 1941:			
Tennessee Valley Authority	25, 000, 000. 00	25, 000, 000. 00	----------
Maritime Commission, marine insurance	50, 000, 000. 00	40, 000, 000. 00	−10, 000, 000. 00
Army, housing selective service enlisted personnel	338, 263, 902. 00	338, 263, 902. 00	----------
Federal Works Agency, housing defense workers, etc	150, 090, 000. 00	75, 040, 000. 00	−75, 050, 000. 00
Estimates pending	10, 000, 000. 00	----------	−10, 000, 000. 00
Total, supplemental, deficiency, and miscellaneous acts	7, 136, 766, 684. 86	7, 652, 943, 709. 10	+516, 177, 024. 24
Grand total, regular annual, supplemental, deficiency, and miscellaneous appropriation acts	14, 451, 504, 865. 91	15, 093, 056, 747. 15	+641, 551, 881. 24
PERMANENT APPROPRIATIONS, GENERAL AND SPECIAL ACCOUNTS			
Interest on public debt	1, 100, 000, 000. 00	1, 100, 000, 000. 00	----------
Sinking fund and other debt retirement funds	586, 840, 000. 00	586, 840, 000. 00	----------
All other	[12] 140, 763, 150. 00	140, 730, 730. 00	−32, 420. 00
Total, permanent appropriations, general and special accounts	1, 827, 603, 150. 00	1, 827, 570, 730. 00	−32, 420. 00
Grand total, including permanent appropriations for general and special accounts and exclusive of trust funds	16, 279, 108, 015. 91	16, 920, 627, 477. 15	+641, 519, 461. 24

[4] Exclusive of $50,000, Salaries, Department of State, 1941, transferred to Second Deficiency.

[5] $1,070,000, consisting of traveling expenses, $235,000; salaries, Bureau of Prisons, $10,000; and probation system, $825,000 transferred to the Judiciary from the Department of Justice.

[6] $1,070,000 transferred from Department of Justice to the Judiciary account of transfer of appropriations for probation system from Department of Justice to the Judiciary.

[7] Includes $15,000, trust account, unclaimed moneys, Office of Commissioner of Accounts and Deposits. Excludes $1,200, Bureau of the Mint, medals for Howard Hughes and Francis X. Quinn, 1941, transferred to Second Deficiency.

[8] Includes: (1) $1,098,513, trust account, Soldiers' Home, and (2) $1,210,350, military surveys, Geological Survey, 1941, transferred from Interior.

[9] Estimate of $123,000,000, emergency relief, Farm Security Administration, 1941, reduced by $64,000,000 by S. Doc. No. 199. Includes $1,055,000 transferred from Independent Offices (see note 2).

[10] Includes $60,000,000 transferred from Agriculture, regular Budget for 1941.

[11] Includes (1) $50,000, salaries, Department of State, transferred from State, (2) $250,000, Antarctic Expedition, transferred from Interior, (3) $1,200, Bureau of Mint, medals for Howard Hughes and Francis X. Quinn, transferred from Treasury, and (4) $30,214, Tea Importation Act, and $603,600, white fringed beetle control, transferred from Agriculture; in all, 1941, $935,014, transferred from regular 1941 Budget.

[12] Includes $1,000,000 for migratory bird conservation fund transferred from regular annual estimates of Interior Department.

Table I.—Comparison of regular annual, supplemental, deficiency, and miscellaneous appropriation acts with the Budget estimates considered for such acts, 76th Cong., 3d sess. (exclusive of sums in miscellaneous public and private acts)—Continued

Title of acts	Budget estimates	Appropriations	Increase (+) or decrease (−), appropriations compared with estimates
PERMANENT APPROPRIATIONS OF TRUST FUNDS			
Unemployment trust fund, Federal old-age and survivors' insurance trust fund, railroad retirement trust account, and other miscellaneous trust funds	$2, 148, 921, 298. 00	$2, 148, 921, 298. 00	
Grand total, including trust funds	[13] 18, 428, 029, 313. 91	[14] 19, 069, 548, 775. 15	+$641, 519, 461. 24

[13] In addition contract authorizations subject to future appropriations were estimated in the aggregate of $4,090,012,748.

[14] In addition contract authorizations subject to future appropriations are granted totaling $4,066,191,860. This sum does not include $4,586,000,000 (estimated cost) long range commitments for naval shipbuilding expansion program in excess of present appropriations.

CLASSIFICATION OF APPROPRIATIONS BY MAJOR PURPOSES

Table II is a classification of appropriations of this session according to major purposes. This summary speaks for itself. I challenge those who criticize the total appropriations of the session to take this table and indicate to their constituents and other American people which of the 15 major categories of outlay they would eliminate. The purposes are worthy and have been approved by the public in previous expressions of confidence.

Table II.—Classification, according to major purposes and by fiscal years, of direct appropriations (exclusive of miscellaneous public and private acts), 76th Cong., 3d sess.

Purpose	1939 and prior fiscal years	1940	1941	Total
1. National defense (including enforcement of neutrality laws; for details see table III):				
a. Military activities, War Department (Army)		$109, 498, 863. 24	[1] $5, 703, 509, 885. 00	[1] $5, 813, 008, 748. 24
b. Navy and Marine Corps		[2] 165, 178, 976. 30	[3] 2, 546, 513, 549. 04	[4] 2, 711, 692, 525. 34
c. Civil agencies contributing to the enforcement of neutrality and the national-defense program		5, 751, 849. 00	[5] 583, 892, 799. 00	[5] 589, 644, 648. 00
Total, national defense and enforcement of neutrality		[2] 280, 429, 688. 54	[6] 8, 833, 916, 233. 04	[7] 9, 114, 345, 921. 58
2. Assistance to agriculture, exclusive of ordinary departmental operations		60, 000, 000. 00	[8] 1, 031, 360, 950. 00	[8] 1, 091, 360, 950. 00
3. Interest on the public debt			1, 100, 000, 000. 00	1, 100, 000, 000. 00
4. Public debt retirement funds			586, 840, 000. 00	586, 840, 000. 00
5. Postal Service (chargeable for 1941 in the estimated sum of $780,000,000 to postal revenues)		18, 504, 637. 30	815, 338, 446. 75	833, 843, 084. 05
6. Veterans' Administration, exclusive of public works			577, 840, 544. 00	577, 840, 544. 00
7. Work relief and relief, inclusive of Work Projects Administration, National Youth Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and Farm Security Administration grants			[9] 1, 489, 120, 357. 00	[9] 1, 489, 120, 357. 00

[1] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $2,979,136,397.

[2] In addition a contract is authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations in the sum of $2,450,000.

[3] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $822,995,612.

[4] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $825,445,612.

[5] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $187,300,000.

[6] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $3,989,432,009.

[7] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $3,991,882,009.

[8] In addition the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized to make available to the Department of Agriculture, upon the security specified by the Department of Agriculture Appropriation Act, 1941, not to exceed the following amounts for the making of loans, namely: Rural Electrification loans, $100,000,000, and Farm Tenancy Act loans, $50,000,000.

[9] In addition the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized to make available to the Department of Agriculture, upon the security specified by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1941, not to exceed $125,000,000 for the making of rural rehabilitation loans to needy farmers.

Table II.—Classification, according to major purposes and by fiscal years, of direct appropriations (exclusive of miscellaneous public and private acts), 76th Cong., 3d sess.—Continued

Purpose	1939 and prior fiscal years	1940	1941	Total
8. Social Security Act, as amended	----------	----------	[10] $445, 044, 500. 00	[10] $445, 044, 500. 00
9. U. S. Maritime Commission, merchant marine construction fund	----------	----------	[11] 144, 500, 000. 00	[11] 144, 500, 000. 00
10. General public works, exclusive of national defense public works and work relief under (7)	----------	[12] $13, 500, 000. 00	[13] 436, 677, 050. 00	[14] 450, 177, 050. 00
11. Refunds—Customs and Internal Revenue	----------	31, 300, 000. 00	56, 200, 000. 00	87, 500, 000. 00
12. Federal contributions to Federal employees retirement funds	----------	----------	92, 106, 000. 00	92, 106, 000. 00
13. Grants and payments to States and District of Columbia not included in any of the foregoing classifications	----------	----------	65, 995, 083. 00	65, 995, 083. 00
14. Railroad Retirement Act—appropriated account	----------	----------	122, 600, 000. 00	122, 600, 000. 00
15. Operating expenses of all other activities of the Government not hereinbefore classified, including the legislative, judiciary, and executive agencies, but excluding trust accounts in annual appropriations	----------	[15] 23, 798, 805. 03	[16] 647, 434, 237. 33	671, 233, 042. 36
16. Incurred expenses for all agencies, including judgments and audited claims, including postal	[17] $3, 924, 190. 87	----------	----------	3, 924, 190. 87
Grand total, including general and special accounts under permanent appropriations but exclusive of trust funds under annual and permanent appropriations	3, 924, 190. 87	427, 533, 130. 87	16, 444, 973, 401. 12	16, 876, 430, 722. 86
Trust funds under annual and permanent appropriations	[18] 74, 990. 16	[19] 326, 350. 14	[20] 2, 192, 716, 711. 99	2, 193, 118, 052. 29
Grand total, including trust funds under annual and permanent appropriations	3, 999, 181. 03	[21] 427, 859, 481. 01	[22] 18, 637, 690, 113. 11	[23 24] 19,069,548,775. 15

[10] Exclusive of amounts under trust funds for the unemployment trust account and the Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund.

[11] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $50,000,000.

[12] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $3,575,000.

[13] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $17,753,001.

[14] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $21,328,001.

[15] Exclusive of trust funds totaling $326,350.14.

[16] Exclusive of trust funds totaling $43,795,413.99, and in addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $2,981,850.

[17] Exclusive of trust funds totaling $74,990.16.

[18] Sum deducted under note (17).

[19] Sum deducted under note (15).

[20] Sum deducted under note (16).

[21] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $6,025,000.

[22] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $4,060,166,860.

[23] In addition contracts are authorized to be entered into subject to future appropriations aggregating $4,066,191,860.

[24] Does not include $4,586,000,000 (estimated cost) long-range commitments for naval ship-expansion program in excess of present appropriations.

PROVISION FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

Table III shows the appropriations and contract authorizations for national defense and enforcement of neutrality divided by fiscal years and by agencies. The amounts for the Army and Navy include the amounts for the Regular Establishments as well as the augmented sums for the new defense program. The sums for civil agencies contributing to the national defense and enforcement of neutrality are amounts that have been provided concurrently with the accelerated military defense program and take no account of sums normally provided civil agencies which contribute to national defense in the regular course of procedure. The total of this program is large but it should be remembered that some of it, particularly the two-ocean Navy and production of particular types of equipment and matériel will be spread over a number of years.

For convenience in reference, a résumé of this table is as follows:

Army, direct appropriations and contract authorizations	$8, 792, 145, 145. 24
Navy, direct appropriations and contract authorizations	3, 537, 138, 137. 34
Civil activities contributing to national defense and enforcement of neutrality, direct appropriations and contract authorizations	776, 944, 648. 00
Total	13, 106, 227, 930. 58
Naval shipbuilding expansion program, long-range commitments in excess of present appropriations (estimated cost)	4, 586, 000, 000. 00
Total commitments for national defense and neutrality enforcement made by the present session	17, 692, 227, 930. 58

The place of the amounts for civil activities in the defense program speaks for itself by an enumeration of the sums in table III. The application of the vast amount for the Army and Navy ramifies in many directions; the principal purposes to be served are as follows:

Personnel.—Raise enlisted strength of Regular Army from 227,000 to 375,000. Those numbers include the Philippine Scouts.

Raise strength of National Guard (officers and men) from 210,000 to 346,130, and employ on active military service.

Induction and training of a minimum of 695,990 selective trainees.

Increase Army Reserve officers on extended active duty from 3,555 to 55,592.

Raise enlisted strength of the Navy from 145,000 to 170,000, including 10,000 naval reservists to volunteer for active duty.

Increase Naval Reserve officers on extended active duty from 853 to 3,269, plus 5,000 Reserve midshipmen.

Increase Naval Reserve men on extended active duty from 436 to 628, plus 5,351 additional reservists in training as student pilots.

Raise enlisted strength of Marine Corps from 25,000 to 34,000.

Increase Marine Corps Reserve officers on extended active duty from 214 to 252.

House, clothe, subsist, pay, and train these expanded forces, including augmented training for forces in existence prior to expansion.

Increase pilot training and develop enlisted airplane mechanics.

Matériel.—Provide for completely equipping with essential items (items normally produced commercially) the protective-mobilization-plan force (1,400,000 men) and to maintain that force on a combat status.

Provide all reserve stocks of the critical items of supplies (semiautomatic rifles, antitank guns, tanks, light and heavy artillery, ammunition, gas masks, etc.) needed to equip a ground force of 2,000,000 men.

Provide the Army with a force of 25,000 and the Navy with a force of 10,000 serviceable airplanes.

Begin the construction of 292 combatant naval vessels and 57 auxiliary ships for the two-ocean Navy.

Recondition decommissioned naval vessels and acquire and convert auxiliary ships.

Provide additional production facilities, including new plants and extension of existing plants for accelerating immediate programs and to supply potential continued and augmented demands.

Establish and develop new Army and Navy air bases and stations.

Provide for many and varied collateral expenses in connection with all of the foregoing, not heretofore mentioned, including aviation facilities and storage.

The President, in his selective-service proclamation of September 16, 1940, stated that—

"We must and will marshal our great potential strength to fend off war from our shores. We must and will prevent our land from becoming a victim of aggression."

That statement well summarizes the object of the vast outlays going into the purposes just enumerated. So far as the Congress is advised, the sums provided go as far in the marshaling process as is considered feasible and practicable at this time by our military and naval leadership.

Table III.—Direct appropriations and contract authorizations for national defense and enforcement of neutrality, made during 76th Cong., 3d sess., including amounts for military activities of War Department (Army), Navy and Marine Corps, and amounts for certain civil activities directly contributing to national defense and neutrality enforcement

	Direct appropriations, fiscal year 1940	Contract authorizations, fiscal year 1940	Total, fiscal year 1940	Direct appropriations, fiscal year 1941	Contract authorizations, fiscal year 1941	Total, fiscal year 1941	Grand total, 76th Cong., 3d sess.
Military activities of the War Department, Army	$109,498,863. 24	----------	$109,498,863. 24	$5,703,509, 885. 00	$2, 979, 136, 397	$8, 682, 646, 282. 00	$8, 792, 145, 145. 24
Navy and Marine Corps	165,178,976. 30	$2, 450, 000	167,628,976. 30	2,546,513, 549. 04	822, 995, 612	3, 369, 509, 161. 04	3, 537, 138, 137. 34
Total, Army and Navy	274,677,839. 54	2, 450, 000	277,127,839. 54	8,250-023, 434. 04	3, 802, 132, 009	12, 052, 155, 443. 04	12, 329, 283, 282. 58
Civil activities contributing to national-defense and neutrality-enforcement programs:							
Housing for allocation by the President to Army, Navy, and Maritime Commission	----------	----------	----------	100, 000, 000. 00	----------	100, 000, 000. 00	100, 000, 000. 00
Housing for defense industry workers to be allocated by Federal Works Agency	----------	----------	----------	75, 000, 000. 00	75, 000, 000	150, 000, 000. 00	150, 000, 000. 00
Third lock, Panama Canal	----------	----------	----------	15, 000, 000. 00	99, 000, 000	114, 000, 000. 00	114, 000, 000. 00
Protective devices, Panama Canal	----------	----------	----------	19, 000, 000. 00	4, 500, 000	23, 500, 000. 00	23, 500, 000. 00
Civilian pilot training, Civil Aeronautics Authority	----------	----------	----------	32, 000, 000. 00	----------	32, 000, 000. 00	32, 000, 000. 00
Airport development, Department of Commerce	----------	----------	----------	40, 000, 000. 00	----------	40, 000, 000. 00	40, 000, 000. 00
Recruiting, placing, training, and preparation of workers for defense industries, Federal Security Agency	----------	----------	----------	110, 000, 000. 00	----------	110, 000, 000. 00	110, 000, 000. 00
Strategic and critical materials, procurement by Treasury Department	----------	----------	----------	47, 500, 000. 00	----------	47, 500, 000. 00	47, 500, 000. 00
Tennessee Valley Authority and Bonneville Dam, power for national-defense industry	----------	----------	----------	32, 850, 000. 00	----------	32, 850, 000. 00	32, 850, 000. 00
Marine war risk insurance fund, Maritime Commission	----------	----------	----------	40, 000, 000. 00	----------	40, 000, 000. 00	40, 000, 000. 00
Coast Guard	4, 276, 849. 00	----------	4, 276, 849. 00	27, 118, 695. 00	----------	27, 118, 695. 00	31, 395, 544. 00
Department of Justice, including Federal Bureau of Investigation	1, 475, 000. 00	----------	1, 475, 000. 00	12, 616, 800. 00	----------	12, 616, 800. 00	14, 091, 800. 00
Public works not classified in any of the foregoing, including research laboratories for National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, office buildings for expanded War and Navy Departments civilian personnel, and improvement of rivers and harbors for Navy and Coast Guard usage	----------	----------	----------	22, 244, 000. 00	8, 800, 000	31, 044, 000. 00	31, 044, 000. 00
Miscellaneous	----------	----------	----------	10, 563, 304. 00	----------	10, 563, 304. 00	10, 563, 304. 00
Total, civil activities	5, 751, 849. 00	----------	5, 751, 849. 00	583, 892, 799. 00	187, 300, 000	771, 192, 799. 00	776, 944, 648. 00
Grand total	280, 429, 688. 54	2, 450, 000	282, 879, 688. 54	8, 833, 916, 233. 04	[1]3,989, 432, 009	[1] 12, 823, 348, 242. 04	[1]13, 106, 227, 930. 58
Grand total divided between direct appropriations and contract authorizations:							
Direct appropriations	280, 429, 688. 54	----------	280, 429, 688. 54	8, 833, 916, 233. 04	----------	8, 833, 916, 233. 04	9, 114, 345, 921. 58
Contract authorizations	----------	2, 450, 000	2, 450, 000. 00	----------	3, 989, 432, 009	3, 989, 432, 009. 00	[1] 3, 991, 882, 009. 00
Total	280, 429, 688. 54	2, 450, 000	282, 879, 688. 54	8, 833, 916, 233. 04	[1] 3, 989, 432, 009	[1]12, 823, 348, 242. 04	[1]13, 106, 227, 930. 58

[1] Does not include $4,586,000,000 (estimated cost) long-range commitments for naval shipbuilding expansion program in excess of present appropriations.

The Answer of the New Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT AT PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER 23, 1940

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address delivered by President Roosevelt in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., on October 23, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Last July I stated the plain, obvious fact to the national convention of my party: That the pressure of national-defense work and the conduct of foreign affairs would not allow me to conduct any campaign in the accepted definition of that term.

Since July hardly a day or a night has passed when some crisis, or some possibility of crisis, in world affairs has not called for my personal conference with the Secretary of State or other officials of the Government.

With every passing day has come some urgent problem in connection with our swift production for defense and our mustering of the resources of the Nation.

Therefore it is essential to adhere to the rule never to be more than 12 hours distant from Washington.

But last July I also said this to the Chicago convention: "I shall never be loath to call the attention of the Nation to deliberate or unwitting falsifications of fact, which are sometimes made by political candidates."

The time has come for me to do just that.

This night and 4 other nights I am taking time to point out to the American people what the more fantastic misstatements of this campaign have been. I emphasize the words "more fantastic," because it would take 365 nights to discuss all of them.

All of these misstatements cannot possibly be what I called last July "unwitting falsifications" of fact; many of them must be "deliberate falsifications" of fact.

The young people who are attending dinners in every State of the Union tonight know that they are already a part of the whole economic and social life of the Nation. I am particularly glad to discuss with them—and with you—these misstatements, and the facts which refute them.

Truthful campaign discussion of public issues is essential to the American form of government; but willful misrepresentation of fact has no place during election time or at any other time. For example, there can be no objection to any party or any candidate urging that the undeveloped water power of this Nation should be harnessed by private utility companies rather than by the Government itself, or that the social-security law should be repealed, or that the Truth in Securities Act should be abrogated.

But it is entirely a different thing for any party or any candidate to state, for example, that the President of the United States telephoned to Mussolini and Hitler to sell Czechoslovakia down the river; or that the unfortunate unemployed of the Nation are going to be driven into concentration camps; or that the social-security funds of the Nation will not be in existence when the workers of today become old enough to apply for them; or that the election of the present government means the end of American democracy within 4 years. They know and we know that all of these statements are false.

Certain techniques of propaganda, created and developed in dictator countries, have been imported into this campaign. It is the very simple technique of repeating and repeating falsehoods, with the idea that by constant repetition and with no contradiction the misstatements will finally come to be believed.

Dictators have had great success in using this technique, but only because they were able to control the press and the radio and to stifle all opposition. That is why I cannot bring myself to believe that in a democracy like ours, where the radio and a part of the press remain open to both sides, repetition of deliberate misstatements will ever prevail.

I make the charge now that these falsifications are being spread for the purpose of filling the minds and hearts of the American people with fear. They are used to create fear by instilling in the minds of the people doubt of each other, doubt of their Government, and doubt of the purposes of their democracy.

This type of campaign has a familiar ring. It reminds us of the scarecrow of 1936—that the social-security funds were going to be diverted from the pockets of the American workingman.

It reminds us of the scarecrow of 1932—that "grass will grow in the streets of a hundred cities, a thousand towns, the weeds will overrun the fields of millions of farms."

The American people will not be stampeded into panic. The effort failed before. It will fail again. They will not be scared by this "blitzkrieg" of verbal incendiary bombs. They are now calmly aware that once more "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

I consider it a public duty to answer falsifications with facts. I will not pretend that I find this an unpleasant duty. I am an old campaigner, and I love a good fight.

The Presidency is not a prize to be won by mere glittering promises. It is not a commodity to be sold by high-pressure salesmanship and national advertising. The Presidency is a most sacred trust. It ought not to be dealt with on any level other than an appeal to reason and to humanity.

The worst bombshell of fear which Republican leaders have let loose on this people is the accusation that this Government, without the knowledge of the Congress or of the people, has secretly entered into agreements with foreign nations. They even intimate that such commitments have endangered the security of the United States, or have pledged the participation of the United States in some foreign war. It seems almost unnecessary to deny such a charge. But so long as the fantastic misstatement has been made, I must brand it for what it is.

I give you this most solemn assurance: There is no secret treaty, no secret obligation, no secret commitment, no secret understanding in any shape or form, direct or indirect, with any other government, or any other nation in any part of the world, to involve this Nation in any war or for any other purpose.

The desperation of partisans who can invent secret treaties drives them to try to deceive our people in other ways. Consider, for example, the false charge they make that our whole industrial system is prostrate—that business is stifled and can make no profits.

The American people have not forgotten the condition of the United States in 1932. We all remember the failures of banks, the bread lines of starving men and women, the youth of the country riding around in freight cars, the farm foreclosures, the home foreclosures, the bankruptcy, and the panic.

At the very hour of complete collapse, the American people called for new leadership. That leadership, this administration and a Democratic Congress supplied.

Government, no longer callous to suffering, moved swiftly to end distress, to halt depression, to secure more social and economic justice for all.

The very same men who must bear the responsibility for the inaction of those days are the ones who now dare falsely to state that we are all still in the depth of the depression into which they plunged us; that we have prevented the country from recovering; and that it is headed for the chaos of bankruptcy. They have even gone to the extent of stating that this administration has not made one man a job.

I say that those statements are false. I say that the figures of employment, of production, of earnings, of general business activity—all prove that they are false.

The tears for the laboring man and woman now being shed in this campaign come from those same Republican leaders who had their chance to prove their love for labor in 1932, and missed it.

Back in 1932 these leaders were willing to let the workers starve if they could not get a job.

Back in 1932 they were not willing to guarantee collective bargaining.

Back in 1932 they met the demands of unemployed veterans with fire and troops.

Back in 1932 they raised their hands in horror at the thought of fixing a minimum wage or maximum hours for labor. They never gave one thought to such things as pensions for old age or insurance for the unemployed.

In 1940, 8 years later, what a different tune is played by them. It is a tune played against a sounding board of election day. It is a tune with overtones which whisper, "Votes! votes! votes!"

These same Republican leaders are for all the new progressive measures now; they believe in them. They believe in them so much that they will never be happy until they can clasp them to their own chests and put their own brand upon them. If they could only get control of them, they plead, they would take so much better care of them, honest to goodness they would.

This tune is, of course, only a rehash of the tune of 1936. In that election year the affection of these Republican leaders for the laboring man also rose to a high pitch. But after election day they and their friends did all that they could in the Congress, before administrative bodies, and in the courts, and in the press, to beat these measures down into the ground.

What are the plain facts about employment today?

There are 9,000,000 more men and women employed in private industry now than were employed in March of 1933.

In the month of August of this year over 400,000 were added to private pay rolls. In September another 500,000 workers went to work in our industries.

The millions that have gone to work and the other hundreds of thousands now going to work each month in private industry are the unequivocal answer to the brazen statement made by the Republicans in this campaign that this administration has not added one private job since 1933. This statement of theirs can only be branded as a deliberate misstatement of fact. And I now so brand it.

Let us call the roll of some of the specific improvements in the lot of the working men and women that have come about during the past 8 years.

More than 42,000,000 employees are now members of the old-age pension system. An additional 2,000,000 men and women over 65 years of age are now receiving cash grants each month.

Twenty-nine million employees have been brought under the protection of unemployment insurance.

Collective bargaining has been guaranteed.

A minimum wage has been established.

A maximum workweek of 40 hours has been fixed, with provision for time and a half for overtime.

Child labor has been outlawed.

The average hourly earnings of factory workers were 56 cents in the boom year of 1929. In February 1933 they had dropped to 45 cents. They are now 67 cents—not only higher than in 1933 but, mark you, nearly 11 cents per hour higher than in 1929 itself.

Factory pay envelopes had fallen to $5,000,000,000 per year by 1932. In 1940 factory pay rolls are running at the rate of $10,000,000,000.

And we must not forget that the cost of living is today 22 percent lower than it was in 1929. That means something to the American family.

An equally unpardonable falsification about our economy is made when the Republican leaders talk about American business—how it cannot make a profit, how little confidence it has in this administration, and how this administration hates business.

We know, if we but look at the record, that American business, big and small business, is way up above the level of 1932, and on a much sounder footing than it was even in the twenties.

Do you need figures to prove it?

Our national income has nearly doubled since 1932, from thirty-nine billions up to the rate of seventy-four billions in 1940. If you consider the lower cost of living today, the national income is even higher now than in the great boom year of 1929.

In the 10 years before the crash of 1929, the years of the so-called prosperity boom, bank failures averaged over 600 a year. The number of bank failures last year was only 42. Ten of these were under Federal deposit insurance set up by this administration, and in these 10 banks 99 percent of the depositors did not lose a dollar.

During this administration the total number of bank failures for the entire 7 years was less than the number of bank failures in any single one of the preceding 10 years.

And yet there are some banks now using money to advertise, or to send letters to their depositors, hinting that unless this administration is defeated, the deposits of their banks will be in danger. This is sheer intimidation to blackjack the election, and to return the financial control of the Government to the very forces which had nearly wrecked the Nation.

Now, as to corporation profits. They were a minus quantity in 1932. Corporations as a whole showed losses of almost $4,000,000,000 that year. By now, 8 years later, that deficit has been wiped out, and corporations are reporting profits of $4,000,000,000 a year.

And yet they say this administration prevents profits and stifles business.

If it is true that the New Deal is the enemy of business, and that the Republican leaders, who brought business to the brink of ruin in 1932, are the friends of business—then I can only say that American business should continue to be saved from its friends.

The output of our factories and mines is now almost 13 percent greater than at the peak of 1929—1929, mind you, not 1932. It is at the highest level ever recorded.

We have passed the time when the prosperity of the Nation is measured in terms of the stock ticker. We know that the well-being of a people is measured by the manner in which they live, by the security which they feel in the future.

For the American people as a whole—the great body of its citizens—the standard of living has increased well above that of 1929.

We do not advertise "a chicken in every pot" or "two cars in every garage." We know it is more important that the American people this year are building more homes, are buying more pairs of shoes, more washing machines, more electric refrigerators, more electric current, more textile products, than in the boom year of 1929.

This year there will be placed on the tables of America far more butter, more cheese, more meat, more canned goods—more food than in the luxurious year of 1929.

Last Sunday morning I had to laugh when I read the following in the financial section of the New York Times—a paper which is reputed not to love me too much. This is what an editor of the financial page of the New York Times said: I quote, "The Federal Reserve Board in the week added another point to its index of production for September, and the figure now stands at 125, or 13½ percent above the 1929 average"—mind you, not the 1932 average, but the 1929 average. I quote further: "Dreams of business 'flat on its back' must come from smoking campaign cigars or else the speakers are talking about some other country."

Wouldn't it be nice if the editorial writers of the Times could get acquainted with their own business experts?

Every single man, woman, and child has a vital interest in this recovery. But if it can be said to affect any single group more than any other, that group would be the young men and women of America

It may be hard for some of you younger people to remember the dismal kind of world which the youth of America faced in 1932.

The tragedy of those days has passed. There is today in the youth of the Nation a new spirit, a new energy, a new conviction that a sounder and more stable economy is being built for them.

In 1940 this generation of American youth can truly feel that they have a real stake in their country.

Through the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, millions of youths have benefited by training and by education and by jobs.

We propose in the interests of justice and in the interests of national defense to broaden the work and extend the benefits of both these agencies. For they are a part of the lines of defense behind the first lines—training men and women for essential defense industries and for other industries; educating them to self-reliance—to moral resistance against that way of life which ignores the individual.

The one thing which must be extended if we would help the young men and women of the nation is to give them the opportunity to work.

We have recognized that to the right to vote, to learn, to speak, to worship, we, your Government, add the right to work.

We have that definite goal toward which we are aiming. We believe that if boys or girls on reaching employment age have been unable to get a job in private industry, the Government owes them the duty of furnishing them with the necessary training to equip them for employment. We are determined during the next 4 years to make our objective—work for every young man and woman in America—a living fact.

Tonight there is one more false charge, one outrageously false charge, made to strike terror into the hearts of our citizens. It is a charge that offends every political and religious conviction that I hold dear. It is the charge that this administration wishes to lead this country into war.

This charge is contrary to every fact, every purpose of the past 8 years. Throughout these years my every act and every thought has been directed to the end of preserving the peace of the world, and more particularly, the peace of the United States, the peace of the Western Hemisphere.

As I saw the war coming, I used every ounce of the prestige of the office of President of the United States to prevent its onset.

When war came, I used every ounce of the prestige of the office to prevent its spread to other nations. When that effort failed, I called upon the Congress, and I called upon the Nation to build the strong defenses that would be our best guaranty of peace and security in this hemisphere.

To Republicans and Democrats, to every man, woman, and child in the Nation I say—your President and your great Secretary of State are following the road to peace.

We are arming ourselves not for any foreign war.

We are arming ourselves not for any purposes of conquest or intervention in foreign disputes. I repeat again that I stand on the platform of our party: "We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval, or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas except in case of attack."

It is for peace I have labored, and it is for peace I shall labor all the days of my life.

The King Cotton Partnership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY CARL B. ROBBINS

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address by Carl B. Robbins, president of the Commodity Credit Corporation, at the Pawtucket Sesquicentennial Cotton Celebration on Saturday, October 12, 1940. The subject of the address is The King Cotton Partnership.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is indeed a pleasure to be able to participate with you in the Pawtucket Sesquicentennial Cotton Celebration. Today, Pawtucket with its beautiful parks and gardens, its new public buildings, and its many modern industrial plants, is a thriving, pulsating city that symbolizes the progress of America's economic development and the freedom and security of the American way of life. In this atmosphere of modern industrial development and civic achievement it is difficult to realize the handicaps under which Samuel Slater labored 150 years ago to establish the American cotton textile industry on the banks of your river.

Nor is it easy in this atmosphere of Pawtucket's modern schools to realize the hard row that Samuel Slater had to hoe in order to acquire the invaluable knowledge that he brought here. At the age at which your children now enter high school, Slater was apprenticed to one of the Arkwright firms in Great Britain for a period of 6½ years. The terms of his indenture have been preserved. Among other things they show that Slater was forbidden to play games, or to visit theaters, or to marry. But this apprenticeship gave Slater an opportunity to study through work the design and operation of Kay's flying shuttle, Hargreave's spinning jenny, Arkwright's spinning frame, and Cartwright's power loom, which were the closely guarded textile inventions of the Old World.

Samuel Slater completed his apprenticeship and sailed from London in 1789, a year of other historical events: George Washington was elected the first President of the new American Republic, the Constitution was ratified, the first Congress met in New York, and the French Revolution began. When Slater set sail for the New World with the invaluable textile machine secrets of Europe recorded only in his memory, he had the experience, the practicality, the broad vision, and the maturity of one far beyond his 21 years.

Slater started for Philadelphia, but the prospect of a job caused him to stop in New York, and the chance acquaintance with the captain of a New York-Providence trading ship brought him into contact with Moses Brown. A retired trader, Brown was trying unsuccessfully to construct a textile mill by assembling some machinery that had been partly copied from the machines then being used in England. Slater inspected these efforts and found that he had to start from the ground up to build an entirely new set of machines based on Artwright's developments. At that time Pawtucket was a community of only 50 houses, but fortunately Slater was able to draw upon the manufacturing facilities of an iron factory that Joseph Jenks had established on the west bank of the river in 1670. Slater accomplished the seemingly impossible feat of building a practical textile mill within 1 year; and in doing so he established what has become one of America's great industries.

With a factory established, the problem of the community of Pawtucket became one of finding a supply of clean raw cotton at reasonable prices. In the year 1790 the United States produced only 3,000 bales of cotton, and much of the supply necessary for hand spinning had to be imported from the Guianas and West Indies at prices which ran as high as $1.10 per pound. The struggling new industry of raw-cotton production in the southern part of the United States was beset by difficulties, not the least of which was the problem of removing the lint from the seed. This process had to be performed by hand at great cost and with poor results. So much trash was left in the lint that it clogged Slater's new machinery. This was soon overcome, however, for within 3 years, in 1793, Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin that gave Pawtucket an abundant supply of clean raw cotton at reasonable prices. Whitney supplied the raw materials for which Slater provided a market; and so it happened that Samuel Slater and Eli Whitney became the first members of King Cotton's partnership between New England and the South.

Thus began one of the most prosperous partnerships in the history of our Nation. For more than a half century New England's textile industry grew steadily in both size and efficiency. This was also a golden era for the South where cotton production expanded rapidly from 3,000 bales in 1790 to 100,000 bales in 1801, to 1,000,000 bales in 1835, to 2,000,000 bales in 1842, to 3,000,000 bales in 1852, and to 4,000,000 bales in 1859. Then, as partners sometimes will, the North and South quarreled and began pulling in opposite directions. The War between the States was a major calamity for New England's cotton mills as well as for the South's cotton production, which declined from approximately four and one-half million bales in 1861 to 300,000 bales in 1864.

At the end of the war the partners resumed their forward march together, with the old mills of New England humming and new plants springing up, and with the production of raw cotton in the South recovering, first to 2,000,000 bales in 1865, then to 4,000,000 in 1870, and on upward until it had reached 16,000,000 bales in 1914, when the World War began. This half century was another period of steady growth and prosperity marked only by a few temporary setbacks which demonstrated that the cotton industries of New England and the South, born together, and unable to operate apart, were destined to rise and fall, to prosper and suffer, together.

For the next 6 years, during the World War, King Cotton's partners pulled evenly and hard and met successfully both the civil and military needs of the Nation. After the end of the war, however, the southern partner promptly fell ill. The average farm price of cotton declined from more than 35 cents per pound in 1919 to less than 16 cents per pound in 1920. This meant a decline in total farm value from $2,000,000,000 to $1,000,000,000 in 1 year. As was to have been expected, the northern partner was also afflicted and the production of cotton mills fell to its lowest point for a decade. Next year another terrific shock was suffered by the Cotton Belt. Production declined from thirteen and one-half million bales to only 8,000,000 bales, and the farm value of cotton fell from $1,000,000,000 to only $675,000,000.

At this time the distress in cotton-producing areas abroad, as well as at home, was accompanied by the migration of textile mills to lower wage areas. Great Britain lost much of its business to Japan and several New England factories were transferred to the low-wage areas that had developed as a consequence of agricultural depression in the Cotton Belt. Once more King Cotton's partners had gone down together.

The troubles that developed in the 1920's for the inseparable partners in cotton, New England and the South, and finally terminated in the crash of 1932, are not pleasant to recall. By 1932 the production in New England cotton mills had declined to less than two-fifths of its 1919 level. Likewise, by 1932 the farm income from cotton production had declined to less than one-fourth of what it had been in 1919. Here in New England factories were closed and men were idle. In the South farmers were striving desperately to subsist on 5-cent cotton. The foreclosure of mortgages was rife on both New England homes and southern farms. Thousands of banks and stores in the cities and in the country became bankrupt. The fertility of our greatest national asset, the soil, was being mined, and the erosion of land was being spread. Farmers found themselves driven to last-resort practices in a desperate effort to produce more and obtain a subsistence from a constantly declining market.

It was at the height of this black storm that the present farm program was born. It seems truly remarkable that under the stress of the confusion and chaos of that great emergency not a merely temporary and expedient device but a fundamentally sound program of permanent nature was devised. The farm program was designed primarily to meet the crying, obvious needs. It adjusted farm production to compensate for lost foreign markets and to restore a reasonably balanced relationship between agricultural and industrial production. It substituted soil rebuilding and soil conservation for soil mining and soil erosion. It gave great support and impetus to the ensuing increase in the cash income of farmers, which rose approximately 100 percent, from four and one-half billion dollars in 1932 to an estimated $9,000,000,000 for this year. The increase in farm income was equal to $7 for each $1 of farm payments. This recovery of agriculture was, of course, transmitted to the cities and reflected in the general recovery of industry. As a consequence, the cotton textile mills are again enjoying the large volume of business which is available only when farmers and factory employees alike are able to buy the products of your cotton mills.

This is a happy period for the cotton-textile industry and an appropriate time to enjoy your inspiring celebration of the founding of the American textile industry here in Pawtucket 150 years ago. The domestic consumption of your products reached a high level last year, and it is estimated that this year American cotton mills will consume an all-time record of perhaps eight and one-half million bales of raw cotton. Moreover, the prospects for the domestic cotton textile industry for the future could hardly be brighter than they are today. New markets for cotton textiles are appearing both at home and abroad.

In looking over the foreign markets we find that the exports of American cotton textiles have increased greatly in the past 2 years. Since the European and Asiatic exporting countries are engaged in war, American exports may increase still further. Your foreign sales have also been stimulated by the export subsidies which the Department of Agriculture has paid during the past 2 years out of its farm funds in recognition of the inseparable mutual interest of our cotton-growing and cotton-manufacturing industries. The efforts now being made by the countries of this Western Hemisphere to join more closely together in all fields of endeavor may hold the promise of new and expanding markets for the products of the American cotton-textile industry. Another factor that may be worthy of your attention in the field of foreign trade is the possibility of enlarging the concept of an international agreement on cotton to include manufactured as well as raw materials. The Department of Agriculture has recognized for some time, that from the standpoint of all the exporting countries concerned, it would be highly advantageous if, through international agreements, the fair sharing of markets and the maintenance of reasonable prices could be substituted for excessive competition.

Turning now to your possibilities of new markets at home, we find that the prospects are even brighter. They may be seen on almost every hand. The national-defense program is creating an enlarged demand for cotton textiles for military needs and emergency reserve purposes. New uses are being developed for the cotton products of both the farm and factory. This effort constitutes a second example of how the Department of Agriculture, in recognition of the identity of interest of cotton farms and factories, is devoting farm funds to the encouragement of increased use of manufactured cotton products. A few of these new-use projects may be mentioned. They include cotton bale covering, cotton bags for farm products, cotton paper, cotton insulation, cotton reinforcement, and cotton wall covering. In addition to these efforts by the Department of Agriculture, the national cotton council, financed by contributions from cotton farmers, ginners, seed mills, merchants, and textile mills is undertaking a Nation-wide program that holds great promise of increasing the domestic consumption of a wide variety of cotton products.

A large potential increase in the domestic consumption of cotton products is to be found in the field of relief distribution. Here we find a third example of how the Department of Agriculture, in recognition of the inseparable joint interest of the cotton farmer and manufacturer, is using some of its farm appropriations to increase the consumption of cotton products. The cotton-stamp plan, as you know, is designed to make it possible for low-income persons to use some of the surplus cotton. This program has tapped an exceedingly large potential consumptive outlet. It has been estimated that if the necessary funds were available, manufactured products, equal in amount to 2,000,000 bales of additional raw cotton, could be distributed under the cotton-stamp plan among the low-income families where the unfilled need for cotton products is most acute. In a like manner the Department is distributing a large quantity of cotton mattresses among low-income groups. Although this project disposes primarily of raw cotton as filler for the mattresses, it also creates a considerable increased demand for mattress ticking. In view of the fact, however, that the $600,000,000 of annual appropriations which would be required for the maximum effort under the cotton-stamp plan is not available, we must rely upon further improvements in the general prosperity of the country to bring about the greatest increases in the domestic consumption of manufactured cotton products.

The enormous size of the potential market for increased domestic consumption of cotton is indicated by the statistics recently made available on the use of family incomes for the purchase of cotton products. Families having incomes of less than $40 per month spend approximately $18 annually for clothing and household goods made of cotton, whereas families having incomes of $100 per month spend $36; or twice as much, for cotton products. Two-

thirds of our families are still struggling to get along on an average cash income of only $70 per month for the whole family. These data are sufficient to show clearly that a great untapped market for the cotton farm and the cotton factory is to be found here at home. Except for such relief distribution as may be possible, increased general prosperity is the only key to this greatly increased market.

One of the main answers to the problem of bringing about a further increase in general prosperity is no secret. It has been disclosed many times by the experience of King Cotton's partnership during the past 150 years. That history repeatedly demonstrates the great basic fact that cotton-mill prosperity and cotton-farm prosperity must go together. Ever since the founding of your great industry six generations ago, cheap cotton has meant depression and ruin for the manufacturer and the farmer alike. Your periods of prosperity have been those when farmers received reasonable prices for cotton, which in turn furnished a market for your products not only in the great agricultural regions, but also among the other factory workers who found prosperous farmers good customers.

The increase of approximately 100 percent in farm income since 1932 should not be taken to mean that the possibilities of further improvement have been exhausted. As a matter of fact, agriculture today has approximately 24 percent of the total population, and 31 percent of the Nation's children, but only 11 percent of the national income. Moreover, the average income of the families living on cotton farms is still less than $400 per annum. We all need farm prosperity; and if you will give farmers your strong support, it will come.

If you should ask how you can help bring about increased general prosperity through the further improvement of farm income, the answer would not be difficult. There are three main avenues through which farm income might be increased.

First, large increases in appropriations for farm payments could be sought from the Federal Treasury; but as a practical matter, greatly increased appropriations are not available.

Second, it would be possible to increase farm income, at least temporarily, by increasing the Government loan rates on cotton. This alternative has several objections, among which is the fact that it would make necessary large appropriations for export subsidies on both raw and manufactured cotton.

The third alternative is to be found among the various arrangements that could be adopted for increasing the price of raw cotton used to manufacture only those articles to be consumed domestically, and providing exemptions from the special levy on those manufactured cotton products which find some competition, on the basis of the cost of raw material, with various products made from jute, paper, and synthetic fibers. From the standpoint of both the cotton manufacturer and the cotton farmer this last alternative would appear to be the most desirable because it would avoid the necessity for large appropriations to make increased farm benefit payments or to make export subsidy payments. It would assure the sale of American cotton products at fully competitive prices in the world market, and it would give the cotton mills and the cotton farmers alike the maximum income without encouragement to the products that compete with cotton. There is not the time, however, and this is not the occasion, for a full discussion of the alternatives through which you might help yourselves by helping the farmer improve his lot. They are merely mentioned for your future consideration.

In closing, may I express the hope that this happy celebration of the founding of King Cotton's Partnership in Pawtucket 150 years ago, will mark the beginning of a climb by that great team, New England and the South, to a new and higher road of enduring prosperity.

October in Indiana

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS LUDLOW

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, the blessed old Hoosier State is loveliest in this glorious month of October. Rev. George S. Henninger, of Indianapolis, has caught some of the October beauty of the Hoosier skies and air and foliage and landscape, and has put it on paper in the form of a poem entitled "October in Indiana."

I wish everybody could read this little gem of poetry, and, by unanimous consent, I submit it for publication in the RECORD, as follows:

OCTOBER IN INDIANA

Nothing quite so dear to me,
Nothing quite so heavenly,
Nothing much nearer the heart of God,
Nothing holier one's feet have trod,
Than October in Indiana.

Nothing fairer than her skies of blue,
Nothing prettier than her autumn hue,
Nothing softer than the evening glow,
Nothing sweeter in the days I know,
Than October in Indiana.

Nothing calmer than the autumn night,
Nothing clearer than the stars so bright,
Nothing more telling of the love of Him,
Nothing so soothing and healing within,
As October in Indiana.

Nothing like it can now compare,
Nothing earthly anywhere;
Only Heaven, with its streets of gold,
Heavenly harmonies, joys untold,
Are like October in Indiana.

—*Rev. George S. Henninger.*

A Way Out for Wheat—New Hope for the Southwest—Township Tammanys

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HIRAM W. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESSES BY SENATOR CHARLES L. McNARY, OF OREGON, AT HUTCHINSON, KANS.; ENID, OKLA.; AND SEDALIA, MO.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD three addresses delivered by the Republican Senate leader, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY], Republican nominee for Vice President of the United States, at Hutchinson, Kans., October 16, 1940; Enid, Okla., October 17, 1940; and Sedalia, Mo., October 18, 1940.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Text of address delivered by Senator CHARLES L. McNARY, Republican nominee for Vice President of the United States, at Hutchinson, Kans., Wednesday, October 16, 1940]

A WAY OUT FOR WHEAT

I wish to dwell for a moment on the familiar and fascinating story of Catherine the Great, Czar Alexander II, the Mennonites, and Turkey Red—and how, working together under an unpredictable providence, they transformed western Kansas from sagebrush wasteland into a wheat empire.

You are, I understand, soon to honor the memory of those sturdy Mennonite pioneers over at Newton. You do well. But do not overlook, in passing, Catherine, who thriftily brought them into Russia, and Alexander, whose harshness drove them to seek refuge on these plains, bringing along the Turkey Red wheat kernels that founded your wealth.

Catherine and Alexander point the moral of the story, the moral being that the wheat farmer is, above most farmers, at the mercy of events happening elsewhere on the globe—events in which he has no part.

The wheat farmer produces on the American price level. He sells at a world price profoundly to his disadvantage. Barring drought, dust storms, pests, or the New Deal, he has some control over production. Over price he has no control. I have opposed that injustice for years. I shall oppose it as long as I am in public life. I stand for the American price for that overwhelming portion of the American wheat crop consumed at home.

The exportable surplus must not continue to fix the price for the whole crop. Today the wheat farmer's dollar is worth only 70 cents of the city producer's dollar. I want to see the wheat farmer's dollar at par. If the Republican Party is returned to power next month, I pledge my best endeavor to that end. That way lies prosperity.

We meet in an hour of crisis. A world war, in whose remote causes we had no part, threatens to engulf us. Already it has affected our agricultural well being, shutting Europe's markets to our grain, meat, and fiber. No man can foresee the future. I am confident of only one thing—that America will not dodge, shirk, or evade whatever fate has in store. That has never been the American way.

The times demand straight thinking, plain talking.

I do not enjoy political controversy. In the United States Senate I have refrained from partisan debate. For more than 20 years, as a member of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, I have sought patiently—if not always wisely—for measures which would improve the precarious lot of the farmer. No thanks is due for that. It was my patriotic duty. But I should be lacking in patriotism if I foreswore controversy.

I ask you to follow me as I deal bluntly and candidly with the plight to which the New Deal has reduced agriculture in the face of world-wide peril.

The New Deal, since 1933, has dodged the farm problem. We could afford that in the past; we were rich, at peace, unthreatened. We cannot afford it today. Instead of grappling with the problem, getting at its roots, the New Deal evaded, theorized, and finally wrote a check. Since 1933, 15 farm bills have become law; billions of dollars of public money have been expended. The New Deal has tried to buy its way out of trouble.

With what result? Take the case of wheat. In spite of recovery in world markets, our share of wheat export has dwindled.

The New Deal apologists speak disparagingly of Republican farm prosperity. We have not always dealt intelligently with the farm problem.

Yet wheat exports in the first 5 full years of the New Deal, 1934–38, averaged only 28,000,000 bushels, whereas in the 5 preceding years, including the disastrous 1932 and 1933, we exported a yearly average of 64,000,000 bushels.

In dollars, the wheat farmers during those 5 Republican years averaged 53,000,000 a year from sales abroad.

In the 5 New Deal years, only 26,000,000, or less than half.

Nor is the record better in regard to price.

On June 6, 1933, the day on which the Agricultural Adjustment Administration wheat program was announced, No. 2 Red brought 91 cents at New York.

A week ago today it brought 82 cents—9 cents less. That is not all. The yearly carry-over has grown.

On July 1, 1940, it stood at 284,000,000 bushels, the greatest since 1933. We entered this crop year with prospective supplies of 1,070,000,000 bushels and no visible foreign market. I leave you to estimate next year's carry-over.

A war in which we had a part might consume this ever-normal granary. I do not know.

I do know, and so charge, that the New Deal has trifled with the wheat problem. Instead of grappling with it manfully, the Department of Agriculture brain trust chose to dally with production controls verging on state socialism. Then, to gain your consent, they appeased you with money—part of it yours, part of which you must some day pay back.

Former Secretary of Agriculture Wallace asserted the other day at Wichita that the Government had poured $215,000,000 into the pockets of Kansas farmers in the last 7 years. Personally, I would not have boasted of that. I had a part in voting that money.

The sum is not impressive, whether you view it as a just compensation for injustices suffered by the Kansas farmer or as a dole paid out to cover up New Deal failure.

One good, unrestricted year's crop of wheat, livestock and grain sorghums would bring to Kansas two and one-half times what the Government has dribbled out over the New Deal's 7 lean years.

I know of no man who opposes continuing farm benefits. The leader of our crusade to redeem this country from New Deal incompetence, Wendell Willkie, is pledged, as am I, as is the Republican platform, to continue soil conservation, Agriculture Adjustment Administration benefits, parity payments, crop loans, and wheat insurance.

I think I may say modestly that I fought in the Senate for parity payments and wheat insurance. Neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Wallace was active in behalf of those measures.

At Wichita Mr. Wallace further said—and I quote: "We have built up the best farm program the farmers of any nation ever had."

Mr. Wallace, for the first time, is running for office. He is entitled to wide latitude. But I think he went too far.

The New Deal's failure to raise farm prices to parity, to restore foreign markets, to enlarge and defend by adequate protection the domestic market for farm products is costing the Public Treasury a billion dollars this year.

All Kansas knows that; knows also that the wheat farmer's dollar is worth only 70 cents.

I admire Henry Wallace's high-mindedness, his scientific dexterity in making two ears of corn grow where only one had grown before. I speak as a friend, but I deplore his tendency to underrate the intelligence of his Farm Belt audiences.

In Minnesota the other night, he declared—and I am indebted to the Des Moines Tribune, a newspaper in his home town, for a report of the speech—that the New Deal billions are coming out of the pockets of the rich, not those of the farmers or workers. He made the New Deal out to be a vertiable Robin Hood. He went further.

He was quoted as saying that the New Deal is tapping only the multimillionaires—I quote, "the fellows with the second million."

"It's the money of the men with the big incomes," said Mr. Wallace, "not the money of you farmers and working people that we're spending. There is no truth in the statements of Republicans that you are being burdened for New Deal spending by taxes on your farms and homes."

The Des Moines Tribune answered its fellow townsman. It pointed out, briefly, that in 1938—the last year in which records are available—the combined income taxes of all Americans with incomes of $100,000 a year and more amounted to $491,000,000. A sum sufficient to run the New Deal government for exactly 20 days. Who paid the bills for the other 345 days?

I think I know one reason for the New Deal's failure to bring back prosperity to the farm. The New Deal's program was evolved far from the soil by theorists.

I prefer the Republican method of arriving at a policy, the method employed last December when JOE MARTIN, the able and farseeing minority leader of the House of Representatives, sent his Republican agricultural-study committee of 46 Congressmen from 22 States out into the country to find out from the "grass roots" where the trouble lay.

Your own CLIFFORD HOPE, Member from this Seventh Kansas District, a genuine leader of the farm forces in the House, was, as you recall, chairman of that committee. One of the hearings was held here in Hutchinson within a few blocks of where we now are. FRANK CARLSON, another conscientious Kansas Member, from over in your Sixth District, conducted the special hearings on wheat as chairman of the wheat subcommittee.

The committee covered the States from Utah to North Carolina, interviewing farmers. The members wished to get at the bottom facts. They went to the best farm economists in America—the farmers themselves. They needed no theoretical experts, no "brain trusters."

They found, as they went along, that the farmers, in all the States alike, were writing their own farm program. The farmers were united in three demands.

They wished, first, the American market for the American farm producer.

They objected to the New Deal contradiction of contradictions whereby, as your great Senator and my great friend, ARTHUR CAPPER, puts it, Secretary Wallace subsidized the American farmer not to produce and Secretary Hull subsidized the foreign farmer to produce more for the American market.

Secondly, the farmers, democratically expressing their views to Congressman HOPE's committee, demanded the American—or parity—price for what they produced.

And, third, they demanded relief from the excessive bureaucracy which burdens the New Deal farm program and has, incidentally, increased the number of Department of Agriculture employes fivefold, from 26,000 to 122,000, since 1933.

As part of that demand, they asked that they be consulted on policy-making and that administration of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration be entrusted to county committees. They hoped that soil conservation might be strengthened as a primary objective—not as a cover for crop restriction—and its management delegated to the land-grant colleges.

These were the major planks in the farmer's own platform. They wished, naturally, continuation of benefit payments until their own program restored them to the status of self-reliant, independent producers—freed of the Government's purse strings.

They wanted the farm-credit system divorced both from politics and the Department of Agriculture. They wished extension of rural electrification policies. Both Mr. Willkie and I are committed to that objective.

I stand on the farmers' platform.

It is infinitely to be preferred over Mr. Wallace's "best" program.

I am confident it can be realized under the next administration—and I ask you to send Congressman HOPE and Congressman CARLSON, as well as all the other Kansas Republican House Members, back to Washington, so that their great influence may be felt in working it out.

I promise that the next farm program will not be worked out by theorists, treating the six and a half million farm families of this country as guinea pigs for experiments toward the perfect, regimented State.

A realistic farm program is required not only for the farm population but for the city dweller as well. There is no health in our economy as long as the farming one-fourth of our people must rely on a direct subsidy of a billion dollars a year. The New Deal program offers no hope in peace or war. We exported food products to Europe in rising volume during the last war. We had many customers. In this war we are restricted to one—Great Britain—and she is committed to purchasing foodstuffs from the dominions.

Already we have lost our foreign wheat markets. We may never recover them, for reasons with which you are as familiar as am I. After the war the market may reopen, but it is likely to be depressed for years to come. We should expect and prepare for the worst.

The American wheat farmer in that case must have the American price, unless he is to look forward to a permanent impoverishment on a dole. That would be a species of peasantry. The wheat farmer has never been a peasant. I recommend, as I have for 20 years, the two-price system for crops with exportable surpluses.

We must go forward in America—or we shall go back. That is a law of life. We must produce more—share more of our abundance. The New Deal has not found the way. That does not mean it cannot be found.

The farmers—all the people—are entitled to a better deal than the New Deal.

The next administration, under the leadership of Wendell Willkie, will not be afraid to break new paths. Nor will it be afraid to follow old and neglected trails that once served us well.

The destination is what we seek. We shall reach it—a goal at which the vast, partially used bounty of our continental domain shall be made available to all of us through the old-fashioned practices of work, thrift, and intelligent application. That seems a homely method. I believe it is a true one.

[Text of address delivered by Senator CHARLES L. MCNARY, Republican nominee for Vice President of the United States, at Enid, Okla., on Thursday evening, October 17, 1940]

NEW HOPE FOR THE SOUTHWEST

I am entirely at home in the Southwest. You have a new country. I like the feel of a new country and the go-ahead spirit—the honest neighborliness of the people. I live in a new country myself. My grandfathers followed the Oregon Trail to the Pacific Northwest. You are the sons and grandsons of pioneers who created their own farms and ranches in Oklahoma and Texas with rifle, ax, and plow. We of the West belong to a newer America, which energetically denies the New Deal doctrine that the United States is old and feeble and ready to send for the preacher and the undertaker. We know better.

Liberty is still a way of life with us, and not a word to be argued over by tired, New Deal intellectuals. We don't agree with former Secretary of Agriculture Wallace in all things. We especially don't agree with something he wrote in a book 2 years ago. He said there that America is, and I quote, "a maturing civilization." In New Deal language that means senile, or falling apart. In that case, my friend Mr. Wallace concluded—and I quote again—"a certain amount of state socialism is inevitable." End of quotation.

We of the West cannot go along with the ex-Secretary of Agriculture on that point. We want no socialism—state or otherwise. We've had enough regimentation to do us for a while.

The Southwest should be a land of plenty and promise. It once was. For the last 7 years, the Southwest, farmwise, has been a land of restricted production, and subsisting in part on Government checks. The ever-normal granary turns out to be an ever-normal blight on wheat and cotton prices, and prospects. A one-price policy, which insists on allowing Liverpool to depress the price on American wheat and cotton consumed in America not only beggars the American producer but deprives him of his foreign markets.

A policy which allows big planters to pocket all the benefit payments on their cotton holdings cruelly drives thousands of tenants off the land, sending them into the cities, to the open road, and to the Pacific coast. I have it on the word of a reliable informant that 125,000 tenant farmers have been forced off the farms of Texas because of the New Deal's callous administration of this problem. You know what the situation is in Oklahoma. Many times more Southwestern tenants have been dispossessed through the New Deal's farm policies than by all the duststorms that ever blew up out of Arizona. A large proportion of farm migrants in California, in Colorado, in Oregon, were tractored off their farms by New Deal policies.

This is an election year. The New Deal professes to be the unique and peculiar friend of the poor and homeless. I should like to ask Mr. Wallace why the New Deal has permitted this continuing disgrace. The planter cannot always be blamed. He is in the grip of the Government-controlled forces that depress all agriculture. He, too, wishes to survive. In all our history as a people we had to wait for the advent of the benevolent New Deal to witness a wholesale dispersal of skilled, hard-working farm families from the land they had tilled for years, and in some instances for generations. I do not call that the more abundant life.

Mr. Wallace recently campaigned in Oklahoma. At Blackwell he said—and I quote him: "The world wheat market has disappeared." That is correct. He might have gone on to say that the world cotton market likewise has about vanished. That also is true. He may have said what he did with an air of relief. That is one agricultural difficulty for which the New Deal can scarcely be blamed. The terrible war which, beginning in far-off Poland, now threatens us across both oceans has shut off the European markets for our food and fiber for the first time.

The cotton South and Southwest, which once ruled the world's lint markets, has had to take a back seat. The one-price system held our cotton off the market, encouraging cotton growth elsewhere. South American cotton is beginning to challenge our place. In the 1938–39 crop season we exported only 3,300,000 bales—the smallest export since 1878. In 1939 Latin America exported more than 3,000,000 bales to Europe and Japan. While we restrict the crop, Brazil plows up coffee land for cotton.

In 1934 the New Deal introduced the so-called reciprocal-trade agreements with the blessings of Mr. Wallace and the announced aim of restoring foreign markets for farm products.

What was the result for cotton? In the 4 years 1935 to 1938, inclusive, cotton exports fell 22 percent below what they had been under the last Republican tariff. This was not due to a decline in foreign demand. I bid you witness that foreign mill consumption increased 10 percent during those years. We were losing our market; that was all. The world cotton market for American growths began to disappear in 1935.

Before the reciprocal-trade treaties we normally grew 60 percent of the world's cotton supply. In the first 6 years under those treaties we produced an average of 47 percent of world supply.

So also with wheat. In the 5 years before the treaties we shipped abroad an average of 64,000,000 bushels each year. The wheat grower obtained $53,000,000 a year from foreign purchasers. The average yearly export of wheat in the first 5 treaty years sank to 28,000,000 bushels, the average return to wheat farmers to $25,000,000.

Meanwhile surpluses naturally accumulated—surpluses piling into warehouses, surpluses shaming the meager accumulations under the despised Farm Board.

With European markets admittedly gone, at least for the time being, we entered this crop year with more than 1,000,000,000 bushels of wheat in sight, more than 23,000,000 bales of cotton. A 3 years' supply of cotton in domestic consumption. Even crop restriction doesn't work for the New Deal. Providence, which brings the weather, is excluded from New Deal farm councils, and so, likewise, is the farmer.

I should like to ask the New Deal farm spokesmen what they propose to do with these surpluses. On our side we have an answer. I doubt that they have.

The New Deal has harmed wheat and cotton—our greatest export crops—in a negative way. In another sector of agriculture, important to the Southwest, the reciprocal-trade treaties promise positive injury. Under the treaty with Canada, which cut the duty on cattle in half and which was automatically extended to Mexico under the unconditional most-favored-nation clause, 750,000 head of beef animals entered this country last year. Nearly half a million of those came across the border from Mexico. Their arrival flattened out the beef market. Our neighbors to the north and south already have an advantage in exchange. Their money is cheaper than ours. The Canadian dollar, for example, was quoted at only 81 cents in our money the last time I looked at the rate.

Moreover, the Mexican cost of production is far under that of the Texas or Oklahoma stockman.

I fear for the cattleman if industrial preparedness should throw factory prices still further out of line with farm prices. He gets no Agricultural Adjustment Administration benefits. The New Deal's tariff concessions, unless abrogated, will put a ceiling on beef prices in a market otherwise rising. The cattleman, protected now in a measure because our beef population still has not recovered from the drought years, would then become a particular victim of the New Deal policy of subsidizing foreign producers, a policy which increasingly invites the importation of farm products into what the American farm producer rightfully regards as his own market.

I have merely sketched the outlines of the New Deal's failure to solve the farm problem after 7 years of experimentation and the expenditure of three and a half billion dollars of your money and your promises to pay. I deeply regret this failure. I do not seek to make political capital of it. In my long career in the United States Senate I have not approached farm questions as a partisan. Nor do I now attribute ugly or ignoble motives to the men in charge of the farm program.

Their failure, in my opinion, is due to a lack of understanding of the great forces involved. They have insisted on treating the problem as one of production—or restriction—when, at bottom, it is a price, or marketing, problem. They have been willing to sacrifice the American producer to the foreign producer. They have insisted on regimenting the farmer—who was formerly the freest man on earth—keeping him in servitude to the Government's purse strings. They have sought to buy themselves out of a bad situation, like a rich playboy caught in a misdemeanor.

They have been much too stubborn. Their stubbornness leads them into the rebuke which is coming to them next month.

I have said we had an answer to the multiplied troubles of the farmers in the Southwest—and the rest of the country. If asked to put it into a phrase, I would say it is simply this: The American market for the American farmer at the American price. When wisely worked out by the next administration and conscientiously administered, that formula contains all the law and the prophets for agriculture. That is my considered judgment after 20 years' service on the Senate Committee on Agriculture; after listening patiently to literally thousands of proposals for farm relief. I say it without vanity.

The two-price system—plus tariffs reserving the American market for the American farmer—has engaged the support of farm leaders and farm economists. Further, and this especially recommends it to me, it, more nearly than any other plan, has had the united backing of the American farmer during all the troubled years since the first McNary-Haugen bill was introduced into the Congress.

The two-price system embodies simple justice to the farmer—to the farmer, who uncomplainingly produces our necessities by the sweat of his brow; who practices a difficult art, pays his taxes, brings up a third of the country's next generation, although he numbers only a fourth of the population. It puts him on an economic footing with the city producer, so that his family may enjoy the educational benefits, the cultural advantages, and the luxuries along with the family of the city worker, the professional man, the clerk, and merchant.

I, for one, think the farmer is entitled to that much after the 7 lean New Deal years. The two-price plan makes use of a principle and practice long familiar to the industrial producer; the principle of selling to the American consumer, behind a tariff wall, at a price protected by the tariff and disposing of surpluses abroad at the world price.

Industry, for generations, has had a two-price system, protecting the American standard of living from the competition of pauper labor. I say it is time to begin protecting the farmer's standard of living from peasant and peon labor. That necessity, grim now, will be doubled after this war when a world, freed from the mobilization of millions of producers, will storm our market.

The New Deal has been promising the farmer parity ever since the Chicago platform of 1932. The Democratic farm plank of 1932 was sound. Everything I advocate tonight is explicit in that neglected document—the American price, freedom of production, and genuine reciprocity in foreign trade. That plank is as good as new, having never been used. The Department of Agriculture brain trust shelved it.

In 1932 the normally Republican farmers of the Midwest and West, being attracted to that plank, deserted their political moorings and helped install the New Deal. Now that the principles are being espoused by the Republican Party, I wonder if the normally Democratic farmers of the Southwest might not return the compliment? I pledge my utmost endeavor to see that the principles are not shelved again after next January 20.

What is a parity price? As of last June, the latest figures provided by Department of Agriculture statisticians, the parity price for wheat was $1.13; for cotton, about 16 cents; for corn, 82 cents. I haven't today's quotations at hand. You, no doubt, have them in your heads. You are aware of the disparity as of today.

Whatever the quotations the southwestern farmer's dollar is at a heavy discount tonight in making city purchases. A disparity that does not help the city man—for with the farmer on his present subsistence level he cannot buy enough of city-produced goods to furnish jobs for the city's unemployed. City and country, we are all in the same boat—one-half of all Americans are directly dependent on farm income; the rest of us, indirectly so.

The obtaining of even those parity prices would give us a mighty leverage toward recovery. I regard them as easily obtainable.

There are farm experts who maintain that they still are out of line with factory prices; that the farmer must have more, in order to deal on even terms for city goods and services. These people put the goal at 20 cents for cotton, a dollar and a half for wheat, a dollar for corn. I cannot verify the grounds for their economic reasoning.

The goal seems attractive to me and I would favor 20-cent cotton, dollar-and-a-half wheat, and dollar corn. Moreover, as long as they were in line with the general price level, I would expect those farm prices to stimulate industrial activity as it has not been stimulated since the late 1920's. I might remind you that the average price of cotton during the years 1920 to 1929 inclusive was a bit better than 20 cents.

We offer a program which I believe will restore prosperity to the agricultural empire of the Southwest. Until that may be accomplished, I, of course, favor continuing the benefit payments which are flowing out of the Treasury at the rate of a billion dollars this year. No administration would dare withhold those payments if it wished. Nor should any administration take credit for them. They signify an unhealthy situation. They make only partial amends for the New Deal's failure to admit the farmer to an equal standing in the American economy. They fall far short of economic justice. Part of the benefits, those for soil conservation, are wholly in the national interest. The Republican platform, Wendell Willkie and I, myself, are all wholeheartedly committed to benefit payments as a stopgap.

But we do not think them good enough.

[Text of address delivered by Senator CHARLES L. MCNARY, Republican nominee for Vice President of the United States at Sedalia, Mo., on Friday, October 18, 1940]

TOWNSHIP TAMMANYS

The Oregon Trail, in effect, began in Missouri, ending on the Pacific. A hundred years ago Missouri was the jumping-off place. It was so described. Frontier civilization stopped on the banks of the Missouri. Beyond were bare plains, hostile tribes, inhospitable mountains, and a future in which the only certainties were work and hardship. What drove the pioneer to accept that ungracious destiny? They were Americans, which in that day meant that they belonged to a tough, inquisitive, and conquering breed. Within a generation, they expanded a hesitant colonial country into a continental power.

Too often today we forget that we, too, belong to that family of empire builders.

We belong to a positive tradition. We, too, are going places; once we shake off the mood of pessimism transmitted by a New Deal which has been too feeble for its task. The New Deal found this rich, young, vital country in one of its periodic relapses. The New Deal, mistakenly believing the country had gone to rack, resolved to keep it there. That was the New Deal's major mistake. It has made some others. The New Deal thought we were ripe for regimentation; that, forgetting adventure and enterprise, we craved only security. They were wrong and we shall see how far wrong they were on November 5.

The New Deal misled us about agriculture. They told us we were over-producing; that the only remedy was to slaughter pigs, plow under cotton, destroy wealth, and attempt to violate the laws of God and man by creating prosperity through scarcity. Let us see. The 1940 census gives us 131,000,000 souls. This fall we are harvesting 2,300,000,000 bushels of corn. A fair, average yield.

In the year 1900, at the turn of the century, we had only 76,000,000 people. That fall our farmers picked more than 2,600,000 bushels of corn and we managed to dispose of it without commodity loans, Agriculture Adjustment Act, or parity payments. No one spoke to us then of the ever-normal granary. The 1940 wheat crop exceeds 790,000,000 bushels. In 1901 we reaped 760,000,000 bushels of wheat. This year's cotton yield is 12,700,000 bales. In 1904, St. Louis held an exposition celebrating the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase. In that year there were 82,000,000 Americans. In that year we picked 13,400,000 bales of cotton.

Our trouble is not too much grain and fiber. Our trouble is markets. That's where the New Deal fell down. It took the easy, negative way, paying the American farmer—the most skillful, best-equipped farm producer in the world—not to produce, instead of following the sturdy, old American line and getting him markets. They thought America was finished and the farmer would be willing to sink back into a peasant status, dependent on the Government.

The former Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Henry Wallace, a chief architect of the New Deal farm program, is a candidate for Vice President. In going from State to State, Mr. Wallace manages to communicate to his farm audiences the exact amount of the Federal subventions paid out in that State to the farmers. The sum of your money which the Government has doled out—in place of markets and a free livelihood—during the 7 New Deal, or lean, years. Mr. Wallace always has the figures handy. He may be bent on creating the lively sentiment of gratitude in the hearts of the voters. I do not know as to that.

Mr. Wallace tells you farmers what you have received; he omits telling you of what you have been deprived.

He neglects to remind the wheat, pork, and cotton producer of his vanishing world markets. He ignores farm prices, which remain in substantially the same range as in 1933. He says nothing of the mountainous surpluses piled in warehouses from coast to coast.

A 3-year supply of cotton in sight; 360,000,000 bushels of wheat on the farms ahead of the new crop; 555,000,000 bushels of corn. Mr. Wallace is silent on the fact, which he conceded before a congressional committee last spring, that farm income chronically remains at about $2,000,000,000 a year below parity.

Which is to say, each year the farm population subsidizes the consumers of America by that huge sum; two billions due and owing to the farmers, but uncollectible under the New Deal farm program. Nor does he mention the fact that, under the reciprocal-trade agreements, the farmer loses each year a larger slice of the American market to foreign producers subsidized by that policy.

The New Deal keeps mum about the losses which have demoralized the American farm empire. It dwells on the benefit checks, which, often enough, only serve as an aggravating reminder of the farmers' dependent condition.

At best, the checks fall short of dealing justice. At worst, where large operators appear to be favored over family-size farmers, they compound the general injustice. I am informed that in 1939 a select 15,000 farmers each received a thousand dollars, or more. A million two hundred and fifty thousand farmers were paid only $20 each; and two and a half million had to be content with $40 as compensation for a year's obedience to the farm program's edicts.

Nor have I heard from New Deal sources about the widespread attempt to use the farm-program machinery for campaign ends. Everywhere else you hear that partisan interests are seeking to prostitute the Agricultural Adjustment Act and Soil Conservation set-ups. I understand that in Missouri flagrant examples have come to light. That is one of the dangers of regimentation; one reason why Americans instinctively fight shy of ceding power to the Government. You create a bureaucracy and the party in power is sorely tempted to use it for its own perpetuation.

Here you have a Department of Agriculture enormously expanded to administer the ordinary affairs of six and a half million farm families. The Department's pay roll numbers 122,000 employees. It reaches into every township. It has, being the disburser of Government cash, the power of the purse. Then you add 135,000 county and local committeemen administering these complex regulations, owing a certain obligation to the central power.

I only point out the opportunities to exert a ramified pressure into every township in every State.

Mr. Roosevelt, defying tradition, is a candidate for a third term. Such a candidacy bespeaks a certain cynicism. He depends upon the loyal support of big city political machines—the Tammanys of New York, Chicago, Jersey City, Memphis, and other cities in which the misbehavior of the leaders has not been so adequately publicized.

Suppose he were to add to that a Tammany-type organization, existing on patronage and able to threaten retaliation in each township?

The combination of city and rural machines might easily reelect Mr. Roosevelt, not once more, but as long as he held the power of the purse and his ambition and vigor held out.

The prospect is frightening.

I am sure that if Mr. Wallace knew that zealous third-term partisans had attempted to shake down township committees, he would be the first to denounce them and to assure the committeemen of their political independence. I have repeatedly described Mr. Wallace as a high-minded gentleman, and, with me, it was no empty phrase.

Mr. Wallace and I are both country-bred Americans. We want no township Tammanys. I am fortified in this opinion by something Mr. Wallace wrote once to this effect, and I quote:

"The business of Government employees should be administrative. Farmers have been the victims of Government exploitation. * * * There are too many people in public office who seem to think they ought to exercise some sort of guidance or guardianship over the farmer."

Although Mr. Wallace wrote that in 1920, long before he had been charged with the enormous job of formulating policies for the relief of agriculture, I am sure he holds the same opinion still. It is so soundly, ruggedly American.

To this audience I need not recite the long list of the New Deal's agricultural sins. They are mostly sins of omission, sins growing out of a lack of understanding. Fundamentally the New Deal and its philosophers believed that the American economy, the American system, was running down. The New Deal thought that its job was to conserve the assets—to save the pieces.

Hence their emphasis upon production controls, upon cutting the cloth of farm production to fit the pattern of what they believed to be a contracting system. They honestly thought that there were no more undeveloped markets at home or abroad; that the energy which made America was drying up.

We dispute that. The crusade to restore America to its pioneering vitality, so ably led by Wendell Willkie, insists that our future lies ahead. We deal in the coin of opportunity. The next administration will search for markets. It will not embrace a negative view.

I speak feelingly of the farm problem. There is not one farm problem. There are many. They are as numerous as the crops them-

selves. There are problems of price, of soil conservation, of tenancy, of foreign competition and foreign outlets, of credit—and that has many sides—of sound land uses. I have by no means exhausted the list.

But I hold that once we solve the central problem of an equitable return to the farm producer we have at least mitigated all the others.

I suggest that once we have accorded the American farmer the American market at the American price, the other difficulties shrink into manageable proportions. Once the farmer is able to count on obtaining a price which brings his dollar to par and enables him to trade on even terms for city goods and services, he will be able to take care of the preservation of his own soil values. Every farmer worth his salt by now knows how to save his top soil, how to alternate soil-depleting with soil-building crops. Soil fertility is a national asset, but it is more directly the problem of the man who owns the soil. He would rather handle it himself. So it is with tenancy.

I, myself, am alarmed at the steady drive toward absentee ownership. But, if you give the producer parity prices, available credit on fair terms, and crop insurance, he will hold on to his farm; or, if an ambitious tenant, he can acquire his freehold.

I favor the two-price system, the principles of which were embodied in the McNary-Haugen bills. I favor a legislative formula—the details to be worked out crop by crop, in consultation with the practical leaders, themselves farmers—which will guarantee prices for that part of the crop domestically consumed, placing the farm producer on an economic level with the producer of shoes, motorcars, or paint. Then, and then only, will we have a balanced economy.

For the surplus proportion of the great crops—cotton, wheat, pork, and fruit—I would establish no barriers. I would allow them to find their foreign markets at the prevailing price.

The war accentuates the farmers' plight. World markets, for wheat and cotton especially, have disappeared. They may, or may not, return. In any case, it becomes urgent that we segregate our price structure. If the foreign markets are gone, it is doubly imperative that we assure the farmer his livelihood out of domestic consumption. And, moreover, that we look to our tariff barriers—virtually nullified by Mr. Hull's executive rewriting of the schedules under the reciprocal trade agreements—to the end that the American market be reclaimed for our own producers.

I do not believe any farmer would choose a benefit check in preference to his fair share in the American market at a parity price. The alternatives are that simple. Treasury payments may run out—the consuming power of the American people will not. Benefit checks will, of course, continue until a rational farm program can be made fully effective. I have supported benefits as an insufficient measure of justice. I shall continue to do so, whether as Vice President or as a United States Senator. No one would strip the farmer of his compensation.

But we look beyond benefit checks.

We demand the restoration of the American farmer to his once proud estate as an independent producer, dealing directly with his markets, exercising his own judgment about when and how much to plant, about when and how much to sell. Nothing short of that will satisfy us.

I am not much of a politician when it comes to the farm question. I believe the well-being of our great farm people transcends politics.

I, too, am a farmer; farming the acres taken up by my ancestors after they traversed the Oregon Trail, by way of Missouri, a century ago.

I want to see the farmer—here in Missouri, in Iowa, in Mississippi, in Oregon—once again a self-reliant, unregimented American—beholden to no man. I want to see his family happy, having access to every advantage of the city dweller. I think we know how to bring that to pass. I pledge my utmost endeavor to that end should the Republican Party take over the administration of public affairs next January.

The Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESSES BY HON. FRANCIS T. MALONEY, OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two radio addresses delivered by the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MALONEY] on October 21 and October 22, 1940, on the subject of the third term.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Radio address delivered by Hon. FRANCIS T. MALONEY, of Connecticut, on October 21, 1940]

This evening I give the first of a series of brief radio broadcasts as a part of the election campaign of my party, and as a part of my own campaign for reelection to the United States Senate.

Kept in Washington throughout the year—until now—excepting for those 1- or 2-day periods of time when I was permitted by Senate recess to return to Connecticut—I have been compelled to depend upon the people of my State, who are familiar with my record, and who are familiar with my service in the Senate, to help me in my campaign effort. To those who have been helpful, and are now being helpful, I am deeply grateful. I promise them that in return for their confidence and assistance I shall, if reelected to the United States Senate, continue my efforts in their behalf, and in behalf of all of the people of my State, and in the interest of our country and all of its people.

I have engaged in political campaigns over a period of many years, and in all of my experience—up to now—I have not heretofore seen a campaign, or participated in one, in which there was so careless a use of language or so excited a feeling on the part of campaign participants as in this particular campaign.

Because of the uncertainty of the world situation, and the terrible seriousness of the times, it is probably a natural thing that people are more susceptible to fear and emotion than they have been in the past. In spite of this, however, it is clearly apparent to me—as well as to ever so many other people—that there is now a greater need than ever before that our people remain calm, and maintain their courage.

We are living in compartments of days, and I do not know of any man who can with any degree of accuracy predict what the morrow will bring. We can only hope for the best, meet each new situation as it arises, and strengthen our determination to keep our country at peace.

We must all make up our minds not only to preserve but to strengthen our national unity—and that regardless of the outcome of the election in November we will meet the new world threats and challenges as Americans have always met them.

Insofar as I am personally concerned, I shall refrain from indulging in personalities—as I always have—and shall try to meet the campaign situation dispassionately and tolerantly, and with a complete measure of fairness. Some men have made, and will make, statements and charges, and claims, that will be unfair, and exaggerated, and false. For these they will later feel embarrassment and deep regret. This will be true of the members of both parties, and because of that I should now like to take the time—at the expense of the listeners who generously give me their attention—to sincerely express the hope that the members of my party will practice temperance in their language, and fairness in their campaign effort.

It seems to me that the paramount problem of our country—is that of building our military and naval strength to the highest peak, and in the shortest possible period—while at the same time we exert every human effort—and call upon God for guidance and help—to keep our country free and at peace—and keep us in the position to light the way for the peoples of other lands, that we may finally offer a leadership that will help to bring lasting peace to the world, and a restoration of their rights to those saddened and sorrowful people of other countries, who, through no fault of their own, have been humiliated and tortured during these past many months.

Because of the uncertainty of world conditions—and the unpredictable future—it is my sincere belief that it would be a serious mistake for America to fail to take advantage of the services of men who have been through the economic and political storm, and to substitute for these experienced men, other men who are without experience—and who are lacking an intimate knowledge of the Nation's problems, and world affairs.

Insofar as I am personally concerned, I make my appeal to the good men and women of my State on the basis of my record of the past 8 years in Congress, and as mayor of my native city, and my record in private life during all of the other years. I have said many times—and I say again—that I am proud of my record. There is not a single vote that I would change, or a thing that I would undo, if I could at this time go over the years and over the record again. I am pleased that I have the support of the working people of my State, and the confidence and the support of the industrialists, and the bankers, and the farmers, and the merchants, and all of those other groups who make up the population of the great Commonwealth of Connecticut. If I have made mistakes—or if those opposing me and my party in this campaign believe I have made mistakes—I welcome a criticism and a chance to discuss such issues as they may name.

If I am reelected, the people of my State may expect that I will be the same kind of a Senator that I have been during the last 6 years. They may expect that I shall exercise the same degree of independence, and that I will be guided only by the light that God gave me and the dictates of my conscience, and that I will not permit politics or any other influence than the influence of the people of my State as a whole, to direct my course in Congress. In the Senate of the United States there should be no partisanship. In the greatest legislative body in the world—and more particularly now than ever before in our history—men should first be concerned with what is best for the people of the land in which they live, and the way of life which was established 2,000 years ago—as well as

the way of life which was reestablished and reaffirmed by the founding fathers at Philadelphia on a long-ago Fourth of July.

I believe that our national-defense program is going forward with a speed and success that is amazing. I am gratified that it is being directed in a nonpartisan and nonpolitical manner—and as evidence of the fact that it is being so directed I should like to remind the people of my State—if they need reminding—that it is pretty much under the direction of men not of my party. I should again like to call to their attention the fact that the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy were taken from the ranks of the Republican Party in order that members of that party might be represented and have a proper voice in directing a task multiplied and made heavy by an emergency and world peril. I should like to remind them as well that the leading figures on the civilian side of the national-defense program are Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Stettinius, who were also called from the ranks of the Republican Party to make a sacrifice, as well as a contribution, for the good of their country and countrymen. May I also add at this point a word of praise for the accomplishments of all of these men. They have properly abandoned politics—if they were concerned with politics—and without any hope of a greater reward than the consolation of public service, they are painstakingly, successfully, and heroically meeting the needs of the time. I should like to add a word of praise as well for President Roosevelt—for the manner in which he set political considerations aside, as he sought to strengthen our national unity and bring the people of our country together, just as he brought them together in an earlier dark hour in the life of the Republic. Had we heeded his first warning and advice and taken complete advantage of an earlier opportunity to rearm and strengthen our naval and military forces, we would be in an even better position than we now are. His deep interest and personal attention have given us a tremendous increase in naval strength, and we are daily growing much stronger on the seas. The work of adding strength to our military forces, which were so terribly neglected for many years after the World War, is being speeded up at a rate which a little while ago seemed impossible. Some people, motivated by a desire for political change, have on many occasions belittled the successes and harshly criticized the President's procedure, but their statements are for the most part out of step with the truth, and they are not rendering a proper service to their country as they help to excite the fears of the men and women of our land.

I do not believe that we are going to become involved in war. I have the same hatred and horror and fear of war as other men; and I am certain that my feelings are shared by my colleagues in the Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, and I am as certain as a man can be that the burning desire of the President of the United States is to guide his countrymen safely through the fury of a world-wide storm. He has time and again declared his hatred of war; and he has subscribed to the pledge of our party platform, that we will not send our young men to participate in foreign wars. He knows, as most of you know, that the way to preserve peace in a world of might is to be strong in a military way. He knows, as most of you do, that if we are strong enough no one will dare to insult or attack us. He knows, as most of you do, that we must ever keep alive the courage that was born at Plymouth Rock and Jamestown, and that was reborn at Concord and Valley Forge, and that was proven time and again in the wars forced upon our country. No man is better informed on international affairs, no man has a better understanding of our domestic problems, and no man, in spite of the sincere belief of some that it is not so, has a greater love for his countrymen than President Roosevelt; and, in my opinion, he has proven it time and time again at great personal sacrifice.

For the first time in our history we have established the confidence of our neighbors in South and Central America and brought to reality a feeling of friendship and neighborliness that stands us in good stead at this time. Our President has the confidence of our people. Without such a confidence on the part of the overwhelming masses we would be in danger.

In my judgment he is better equipped to hold their confidence than any other man in sight. That their confidence in their Government be strong is of supreme importance. That they follow the leadership of their President is necessary if we are to meet such emergencies as are likely to arise while the world is torn by war and hate. Other countries have paid the price by speculating with new and untried leaders, and the price in too many instances has been almost too terrible to think about. Elsewhere in the world women and children are for the first time in history feeling the direct and terrible assault of bomb and shell. Our President and our Congress are determined that our men and women shall not come face to face with a like experience, and if we can keep strong our national unity we will not only avoid the terrors inflicted upon other lands but will one day, with God's assistance, help to restore a proper and lasting peace, and once more bring a proper way of life and living to a bitter and sorrowing world.

The administration of which I am a part has made many mistakes, but I am sure that there is no man or woman above the age of reason who is unwilling to admit that mistakes were inevitable in such a period as that we have known and through which we are passing. Let me hasten to add that no one can be unmindful of the fact that we are better off than any other country in the world—that we enjoy a better standard of living—that we have maintained the dignity of man and the freedom which is our most precious heritage.

I do not question the motives or noble purposes of those opposed to us in this campaign, but I do firmly believe that we cannot run the risk of turning the Government over to untried men in a period that is so uncertain. The worst of our domestic difficulties are behind us. The labor difficulties which were so common—and which, I presume, should have been expected in the period of economic distress—are almost a thing of the past. We cannot run the risk of going through it again. We must go forward. We must keep our gains and look for new gains. Unemployment is rapidly being overcome. The intensity of our fear has been lessened as our defense program has advanced. Our national economy is strong. There is still far to go, of course, but we are going in the right direction, and I hope that there will be no interruption. The United States is the hope of the saddened people everywhere, and I believe that in the election of November we will serve notice on the rest of the world that we are a united people, and that in a period of peril we can be courageous, and we can be calm, and that we will do what is best for America.

[Radio address delivered by Hon. FRANCIS T. MALONEY, of Connecticut, on October 22, 1940]

In my brief talk of this evening I want to refer again to our national-defense program and briefly to the international situation. I want to discuss the third-term nomination of President Roosevelt and to refresh the memory of my listeners as to the sole reason why President Roosevelt was nominated for a third term and to give them the principal reason why, in my judgment, he should be reelected.

I have sound reason to believe—and what is to me satisfying proof—that President Roosevelt had for a long time looked forward to the pleasure of retirement and to his return at the end of this year to his home at Hyde Park. After having endured the trials of the Presidency during what was probably the most difficult period in the history of the Republic, the only further and greater reward that he might obtain—in addition to the consolation of his public service—was the chance to rest and to make such additional contributions to his country's welfare as a retired President can make. Many of us felt as he did about his right of retirement, and we felt as I am certain he did about the tradition of the third term. Here in America our traditions are precious. For some of them we would give up our lives; but I am sure there is no one who will deny that a tradition might properly be set aside in an hour of tremendous emergency or peril.

When the Low Countries of Europe were invaded last spring it became clear to thinking people the world over that all democracy was imperiled—that the dignity of man was endangered and the religious way of life threatened. It then became apparent to many Americans that it was the solemn and sacred duty of each of the great political parties to offer for the Presidency of the United States the best man available. The Democratic Party long before the convention had instructed its delegates—or at least an overwhelming majority of them—to draft President Roosevelt for a third term. The Gallup poll published just before the Democratic Convention disclosed that more than 90 percent of the members of the Democratic Party desired that President Roosevelt run again. Regardless of what happened at Chicago, and in spite of what mistakes were made there, it was a draft Roosevelt convention. The President had no choice as to whether or not the convention would nominate him. State primaries and State conventions had decided that long before. His only choice was whether or not he would heed the call of his party and accede to the wishes of the millions of people who felt that he should make a further sacrifice for his country and for a little longer time give his countrymen the benefit of his experience and vision and understanding. Endowed, as he is, with a burning love of country and of his fellow men, and appreciating that he had had a greater experience in the affairs of government than any other man, and mindful of the honors conferred upon him by his countrymen he did what any great American would do under the circumstances. He set aside what desire he might have had for rest and retirement and he answered the call.

What I particularly want to point out this evening is the fact that the founding fathers—in 1787—anticipated just such a period in American history as that with which we are confronted right now. When 55 of the ablest men of the Colonies met at Philadelphia, to draft a Constitution, they were pretty free from hysteria, and had little thought of political campaigns. It seems as though they were especially endowed with God's guidance and goodness, and as they labored for a long period of time in the drafting of our great Constitution, which has endured for more than a century and a half, they dwelt long upon almost every subject of great governmental importance. They discussed, and at length, the question of limiting the period of time that a President might serve. The matter was discussed by the ablest men in America, and they came to the final conclusion, and need I now remind you that the Convention was presided over by George Washington, that it was best for America that they not limit the period of time that a President of the United States might serve.

They declared, and if Washington himself did not use the language, he agreed that it was best that they not close the door. They declared that there might come a time of great emergency, when the country would be best served by taking advantage of the experience and ability of a great man who had already served in the Presidency. Down through all of the years the Congress of the United States, and for the most part the people of the United States, have agreed that the founding fathers were right, and neither the Congress nor the people have seen fit to change the decision arrived at at a time when great patriots were gathered to chart the course of their country.

And I point out that an attempt is now being made to overlook the decision of these men. We of the Democratic Party have not said that President Roosevelt is indispensable. That is a phrase created by his opponents, and attributed to us. The term "indis-

pensable man" is a creation of those opposed to President Roosevelt, and not one originating with those who favor his reelection. We know he is not indispensable. We agree that no man is indispensable. We insist, however, that it is next to foolhardy not to take into account something more than just the word indispensable. I should dislike to tell the mother of a large family of children that her husband was indispensable, although in the light of cold fact it might be true. Taking away the father of a large family of children might cause hardship in the home. The children sometimes, in some families, might at times go hungry, and not be so well clothed. Things might not go as smoothly as they would under the leadership and care of the head of the family. There might be interruptions in the family welfare but the father would not be indispensable.

And so it is in the case of the President of the United States. No matter what happens we will go along as a Nation, and as a Nation we are certain to survive, but in this time of crisis, when the gravity of the world situation presses down on every man, woman, and child in our country, 130,000,000 of them, I doubt that the people of the United States will give up a man of experience and understanding, and deep patriotism, and turn the control of government over to one who is entirely without government experience. We did not nominate an indispensable man. We nominated the best we had—because the hour of emergency which the founding fathers visualized had arrived. Who is there to deny that this is an hour of emergency? Who will insist that we are not living in a period of peril? That was our sole reason for nominating Franklin D. Roosevelt. We had other great men in our party, but let me say again that we gave the best we had.

I shall not comment long upon the choice of the Republican Party. I believe that the President's opponent is a fine man—and an individual of high purpose—and that his carelessness of language is likely due to excitement—but all of us know that he is without experience—even 1 hour's experience in any governmental office. I am willing to believe that the Republican Party—appreciating, as we did, the period of emergency and peril—nominated the best that they had. So anxious were they to nominate the best they had, that they took a man who had been a lifelong Democrat. Whether or not they took him reluctantly or under pressure is of no moment now. He is the candidate, and if we are fair with ourselves, and our countrymen, we will make no attack upon him, but rather will compare his abilities and qualities and experience—and the contributions he is competent to make—with those of the man nominated by the Democratic Party.

We should not be attempting to work up fear and emotion in the minds and hearts of our people. The terrible emergency confronting our country, and the world, calls for not only the best of statesmanship, but demands a national unity. Other nations, and millions of people, have died because of internal quarrels—and through unpreparedness—and because politicians were careless in their language and in their deeds.

It might be all right to talk of profits, in ordinary times, but the period through which we are passing requires more than that. Unless we are careful and thoughtful and brave all profits might soon be gone, and our system of government may suffer destruction.

The wheels of American industry are humming again. Tens of thousands of men are returning to work. Factories are working day and night, and new factories are being built. We are successfully rushing a preparedness program that is not only of importance to us but to the world. Tyranny and despotism and dictatorship are on the march and until this hour have seemingly made great gains.

There could have been no great justification for the renomination of President Roosevelt if a large part of the world was not at war, and if our part of the world was not in the shadow of war.

It is, of course, important that our domestic gains be maintained; that our social reforms be continued and advanced; that there be no let-down in the great program undertaken during these last 8 years. Every economic and social problem in existence 8 years ago has been challenged under the leadership of the administration now in power. No group of our people has been overlooked. The President was as much concerned with the preservation and restoration of our banking system—and our industrial system—and our capitalistic system—as he was in the plight of the men and women who were without employment—and who were suffering so bitterly 8 years ago. Everyone benefited by this administration; because without the courage and the imagination and the foresight of 1933, all of us would have suffered more—much more.

What some men have been unable to fully understand is that a change in world affairs—and in world economy—and in our economy—was inevitable. In my judgment—and I say this with all of the sincerity I possess—Franklin D. Roosevelt will be recorded in history as a conservative. The future historians will, I firmly believe, portray him as one of the greatest statesmen of all time. They will, of course, point out that he did many unusual things; but as we now read history we are reminded that the statesmen of other periods suffered the condemnation of their contemporaries as they blazed new trails in the field of statesmanship and cut new paths for human advancement.

Franklin Roosevelt will be referred to as a man who wisely gave ground under attack, and the historians will record that when he gave ground he successfully established and fortified a new position. He has retreated on more than one front. Sometimes he yielded to the compelling demands of different groups of our people—but it was because the yielding was necessary to keep our way of government and our way of life intact. Other nations of the world did not so successfully withstand the economic and social revolution. They changed leaders. They changed their forms of government. They suffered panic. They suffered war. I fear that some of them will suffer pestilence and hunger—and some of them may be erased from the map of the world.

I am hopeful that in this dark and uncertain hour—the most crucial in the history of the world—that the men and women in our country will take all of these things into account, and that they will not become bewildered or blinded by statements made in the heat of a political campaign. Nothing is so important as that we strengthen our national unity—and our national armament—both physically and spiritually, and that we keep the young men of our country out of foreign wars—and at peace. Nothing is so important as that we keep the battle line east of England, and make certain that the battle line never forms in New England.

I may be in error about it all, but I have been face to face with the major problems of these last 8 years, and on many occasions face to face with the President of the United States. I do not believe that a man could have a greater love of country than he has—and it is not alone because I have children who will live after me, but because I am so concerned with the preservation of our Republic, which was established at great sacrifice, that I hope there will be no interruption now.

Mr. Farley's Announcement of His Position

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. KING. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the announcement made by Hon. James A. Farley with respect to his position in the forthcoming election, which was published in the New York Times of October 23, 1940.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of October 23, 1940]

Mr. Farley's announcement follows:

"Thirty-one years ago I was elected chairman of the Democratic town committee in Stony Point, Rockland County, N. Y., and down through the years I have served as chairman of my county committee, chairman of my State committee, and I am still serving as chairman of the Democratic State Committee of New York.

"It was my great honor to serve as chairman of the Democratic National Committee during the two great campaigns of 1932 and 1936. I deeply appreciate the honors that have been paid me by my party and I shall ever be grateful to the party workers for the loyalty and devotion I have always received during my years of party activities.

"During the period outlined above I have preached party loyalty and pleaded for the success of my party. I did that because I sincerely believe in the Democratic Party, in its principles and objectives.

"At the national convention of the Democratic Party in Chicago—at which I was a candidate for the Presidency—after the balloting was over I pledged my support to the nominees of that convention. That pledge was made in good faith. I shall vote the straight Democratic ticket on November 5, and I urge the members of my party to do likewise."

The National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEWART

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY COL. LOUIS JOHNSON

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address delivered by Col. Louis Johnson, formerly Assistant Secretary

of War, on October 19, 1940, on the subject of the national defense.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Two days ago the American public was presented with a remarkable exhibition. Colonel Lindbergh stepped out of his recognized field of aviation and appointed himself sole guardian of American independence. Having done this, he then asserted that the United States was without leadership, and based this on the surprising theory that we had "alienated the most powerful military nations of both Europe and Asia." He thought we were unprepared for action, and his idea appeared to be that the leadership of the United States should have urged the country "against partiality for any nation."

With the political side of Colonel Lindbergh's address I do not propose to deal. I therefore leave on one side what I consider his partisan plea to vote against the President.

The "powerful military nations of Europe and Asia" to which Colonel Lindbergh refers are, of course, Germany and Japan. In plain English, he now argues that we should appease these powers, just as he argued several months ago that we should make a peace that would sanctify their conquest. His plea against "partiality for any power," or "falling victim to foreign wiles," means, in blunt language, that we ought to stop helping Britain.

Well, let us look at the facts.

During the long period when the European war was brewing the United States did its utmost to maintain relations with all countries, irrespective of their disputes. We did not feel it necessary on that account to abandon our principles. We could not, as decent human beings, make believe that we liked the Japanese attempt to conquer China, or forget that both we and Japan entered into solemn obligations to preserve the open door, and with it the free development of China. We could not pretend that we liked the calculated policy of persecution and cruelty pursued by Germany toward minorities within her borders. Obviously, we could not swallow the idea that the German race had the right to supremacy, that is, to be our master. We could and did plead for human decency and for respect for pledged faith. We hoped that the nations concerned would presently abandon their excesses, reaching a basis on which normal relations could be carried on.

When the war actually broke out we went further than any nation has ever done in an attempt to withdraw ourselves from the area of conflict. We withdrew our nationals from the theaters of war, our ships from danger areas, our goods from hazardous traffic, and our credit from war uses. If detachment could protect us, we had gone the limit. What was the result? Well, American properties and homes in the Far East continued to be systematically bombed, measures were taken to exclude legitimate American commerce with China, and attempts were made to break up our intercourse with that friendly nation.

From Germany attempts were made to interfere with the peace of the United States and its sister American nations on this hemisphere. Hysterical propaganda was directed against American democracy, American Government officials, and the American way of life. Militant organizations to forward anti-American interests were literally paraded before our eyes. In certain friendly Central and South American countries foreign agents openly and arrogantly proclaimed that they proposed to make great areas virtual colonies of one of these "powerful military nations of Europe" and carried on plots to bring this about. When, last June, the American republics called the Habana Conference on Defense, the German Government actually made diplomatic threats to prevent these governments from coming together.

The United States was not permitted to doubt what these activities really meant. We saw what had been done in Poland, Norway, and France To ignore all this would have been an act of criminal folly.

We had sought no enemies. We seek none now. If it is alienating strong powers to say that we do not like persecution, torture, and murder; if it is alienating European nations to say that we do not propose to have plots against us in our own borders or against friendly republics in this hemisphere; if it is alienation to say that we disapprove the reckless violation of treaties and flouting of every principle not only of law but of decency, then I suppose we ought to plead guilty. But if Colonel Lindbergh thinks that American independence involves acceptance of these things, or that our independence no longer permits Americans to stand for honor, integrity, kindness, and decency in international relations, he has misconceived the independence for which Washington fought, which Jefferson, Madison, and Andrew Jackson defended, which Lincoln preserved. In dealing with national defense Colonel Lindbergh proposes still stranger ideas. It is, in his view, shocking that we might have to defend ourselves beyond the borders of the United States.

It is true that our founding fathers stood firm on American soil and defended themselves there when they had to. But they had more sense than to permit wars on American soil, with the destruction and misery that that entails, whenever they could avoid it. So, when a French revolutionary government, which aimed then to dominate the world, undertook to attach the United States, President Adams brought the American Navy into being and fought a 2-year war—chiefly in overseas waters. In 1812, so far as possible, the war was kept on the other side of the Atlantic. The battles on American soil happened only when our outpost naval lines failed. Then, now, and at any time adequate defense of the United States means keeping war as far away as possible from the borders of this country. Waiting until the enemy can get into and devastate our territory is not a sane policy.

Colonel Lindbergh appears to believe that through all this we were not prepared for national defense and were taking no measures to that end. He is mistaken. Here I know whereof I speak, because during the period he discusses I was Assistant Secretary or Acting Secretary of War and in direct charge. I have given my life to the work of American preparedness.

Adequate naval forces in the hands of the United States makes it now impossible for an enemy to approach American shores. But naval power may not be enough if air weapons develop in size and power, or if a defeated Britain turns her fleet over to an enemy. If our first line of defense is our Navy, our second line is certainly in the air. Here we differ from European nations engaged in land warfare, where land and air defense comes first. With us, the Navy comes first, the air force next, the land army third. It was in that order that we undertook the re-creation of American defense.

The defense of America is a technical problem. Our first line of defense is naval. Armies cannot cross oceans in face of superior naval power, and as yet warplanes cannot cross the broad seas in force.

Knowing this, our first preoccupation was on the sea. From 1933 to now we increased the men employed in navy-yard shipbuilding from 5,000 to 30,000. We increased Navy personnel from 90,000 to 150,000. We have more coming. We increased our naval planes from 1,000 to more than 2,000—the number is increasing daily. In the past 7 years we have commissioned 8 times as many combatant ships as in the 7 years preceding 1933. We have located and are constructing naval bases, including air bases, in both oceans, thereby vastly increasing the effectiveness of every ship in our fleets. In 1933 we were weaker even than Japan. We have now the most powerful Navy in the world. No; we are not unprepared for action.

But even the most powerful navy in the world cannot necessarily beat a combination of all other existing navies. It so happens that the nation which has the other great navy, namely, Great Britain, is one with which we have lived at peace for 130 years, from which we have nothing to fear, and which, working with us, can keep air and land forces beyond striking distance of American coasts. If, and only if, Britain and her Navy fall into hostile hands, would we face a dangerous situation.

We did not, until recently, undertake the rapid expansion of our air force which is now going forward. We were wise in not doing so. We had seen France build up the strongest air fleet in Europe, we saw her enemy, a short time later, build a new fleet so superior to the French models that they were useless. Had we built an air fleet in 1934 we should have wasted our time and our money, and have been lured into a false sense of security. We should have had much the same work to do that we have now. Even the Germans are rebuilding their present fleet because the newer British models outfight them.

The steps we have actually taken, so far as they can be properly revealed, are these:

We have constructed a fleet of first-line fighting planes, and have trained a corresponding corps of pilots; we have kept abreast of developments in aviation. In 1934 the President called together a group of civilian and military air experts, headed by the late Newton D. Baker. The Baker Board recommended a program of 2,320 planes by June 1940. When the Munich crisis underlined the importance of aviation, we jumped that program to one for 5,500 planes. Today we have made provision for 18,000 fighting planes. Our planes are the world's best. We are producing 950 fully equipped military planes per month now; we expect to be producing 1,250 such planes per month in January 1941, and that figure will grow in succeeding months. All of these planes are available for American defense should we need them.

If in practice it contributes more to our national security to sell some to Great Britain, we are quite justified in doing that. Obviously, the only threat to the United States at the moment comes from the Axis Powers. They are most likely to get into striking distance in the Atlantic. Common sense, in our own interests, suggests that we divide our production between Great Britain and the United States.

There remains the question of the Army. Normally this has been a nucleus designed for quick expansion when danger threatens. Since we are not, and do not propose to be a militarist nation, the size of our Army must always be proportionate to the problems which we may have to meet. The grave responsibility of hemisphere defense in the present world does demand commensurate land forces. We are ready to provide them. If Colonel Lindbergh had checked the entire history of the country, he would have found that never in peacetime has more been done to build up our Army. We have the foundations for an Army worthy of our country and adapted to any necessary defense action. It will be there when needed.

You will see, in the next few weeks, hundrds of thousands of men called to the colors, to be augmented by other hundreds of thousands in a short time. If you think a minute, you will realize that these men could not have been called, could not have been equipped, and could not be trained, had it not been for years of patient and productive work to create the plant, the equipment, the transportation, the ordnance, the organization and the thousands of underlying and supporting mechanisms which are required in modern warfare. We can do, in 2 years, more than Germany did in 7, and we are able on sea, in the air, and on land, to assure the completion of the program should defense be needed. None of this happened by accident. We can do this because it was

planned for and developed. The plants for equipment were selected months ago. By educational orders we have learned the methods of production, and taught them to the producers.

When, therefore, Colonel Lindbergh argues that we ought to sacrifice the principles on which the United States was built, and that we ought to have played up to the Axis Powers because of their strength, although they were obviously hostile to the United States; when he tells us that we are a weakened nation in the center of an antagonistic world, and therefore ought to be frightened out of our British friendship, Colonel Lindbergh displays alike his ignorance of the United States, of its state of preparedness, and, most of all, of its iron will. I agree that this Nation has the power to lead the world to new heights of civilization. I do not agree that this can be done by fawning on powers in Europe or Asia because they happen to be strong, or by sacrificing those nations which still believe in the free spirit because some militaristic group desires their downfall. I do not see in that kind of thing leadership toward civilization, or, indeed, leadership at all. Least of all do I see in it a sane policy for the defense of the United States.

America is great in herself. She is still greater in the ideals she has given to the world. She has no illusions about the designs of these military nations which Colonel Lindbergh fears to antagonize. She has undertaken her course that America may be safe in a world which respects the only kind of life Americans care to lead.

If we sacrifice our principles, our heritage, our birthright, and our independence, we shall have neither strength nor peace, no matter how well prepared.

An America which declined to appease the Napoleonic system, which declined to yield its independence to Great Britain in 1812, which maintained its way of life against the imperialism of the past century, will not abandon its independent right to maintain its independent destiny in the presence of any threat of force. We can command force in whatever measure needed. But we do not worship force either at home or abroad. As in the old psalm, "Our trust is in courage and righteousness; our ideal, to show marvelous kindness in a strong city."

General Health Legislation and Dentistry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES E. MURRAY, OF MONTANA

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] before a general session of the American Dental Association at Cleveland, Ohio, on September 10, 1940, on the subject General Health Legislation and Dentistry.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am deeply appreciative of this opportunity to address the annual meeting of the American Dental Association. None of us can say he enjoys personal contacts with a dentist in his professional capacity. But each of us is proud and honored to enjoy personal contacts with dentists (plural) in their collective professional capacities.

Dentistry, like medicine, is a personal service given by an individual to an individual. This is always the first concern of the professional practitioner. But, like medicine or public health, the profession of dentistry collectively is also deeply concerned with problems which transcend the needs of particular individuals; it is concerned with the planning of services, and this calls for the skills and the vision of statesmanship.

Dealing with the most common and the most widespread diseases which affect mankind, dentistry plays a basic role in the health services of the Nation. The great accomplishments of its recent past are justly the pride of your profession. The grave insufficiency in the volume of dental services today, compared with the services needed by the people, is the challenge to your profession. You of the service profession and we of the legislative branch of Government face a common problem: To find ways and means which will encourage the expansion of health services, the maintenance and improvement of the quality of service, and the continued advance of national health.

Sound planning for the future requires us to look at the present, to take stock of what dentistry is doing and how well it is doing its appointed task. Careful and realistic inspection of the situations which exist today is a prerequisite in preparing for the tasks of tomorrow. Also, to have proper perspective, we must take an occasional backward glance, to recall the past and see how we came to be where we are today.

The most striking phase of the recent past of dentistry is the truly amazing progress which has been made within two generations, and much of it within one generation. For centuries, dentistry was largely a mechanic art. But in very recent years it lifted itself from a vocation to a major profession; it has transformed its educational standards and has associated itself with the main currents of science, education, and social service. This is indeed a great accomplishment, deeply appreciated by the people of the United States and the envy of other nations of the world.

It has come to pass that high-grade dental service is probably now furnished to a larger proportion of the population than ever had this beneficent service before. Yet, while this is true, it is also true that only a small fraction of our people receive the dental services they need, or even any substantial fraction of what they need. Study after study has shown, again and again, the tremendously widespread prevalence of dental disease and defects, from childhood to late adult life. Every careful study has also shown that only a small fraction of dental deficiency receives the care which modern dentistry can furnish.

Each individual dentist may undertake to give the best dental service he can to each patient he serves. But dentists as a whole are meeting only about 25 percent of the present public need for dental care in the United States. Fortunately, public demand for care is increasing, owing to the cooperative educational efforts being made by the schools, civic groups, the public-health authorities, and the medical and dental professions.

The vast opportunities for increased dental service are, of course, well known to you. I have had occasion, from time to time, to learn of the well-considered efforts which your association and many of its constituent societies have been making to devise ways for meeting these great opportunities. It is especially gratifying to learn that committees of your association are making extensive surveys to measure the need for dental care and the costs of dental services, especially for low-income groups.

The reasons for the insufficiency of dental service today are numerous and complex. Some of them are, however, well established and I would mention a few.

One is the continued lack of public understanding as to need for service, the importance of periodic examination and preventive care, the availability of service, etc. Educational efforts must be continued and strengthened.

Second. There is the inherent costliness of good service, regardless of the patient's ability to pay. Effort must continue and be increased to reduce the costs of materials, improve the skill and efficiency of the dentist, and devise ways of organizing the provision of service so as to further reduce the costs to the lowest figures compatible with high standards of service.

A third reason is concerned with large-scale questions of geography, distribution of population, and location of dentists. The rural and semirural areas, with low concentrations of population, present special problems for the location of dentists and the ability of the people who need dental care to support the dentists whose services they require. The economic and professional rewards of rural dentists need to be improved. Here is a problem, well known in my own State of Montana, which can be solved only through the concerted and cooperative efforts of the public and the profession. A fourth reason is concerned with the fact that dental science and art are still young and there is great need for research to discover the causes of dental disease and to invent new and more powerful methods to prevent and to cure.

These and other reasons for the existing problems of dental service in the United States are not of themselves criticisms of the dental profession or of any other group. They are merely part of the objective diagnoses resulting from careful, dispassionate, and realistic examination of the problems which exist and which we need to face.

It is my impression that a sound national dental program must be designed as an essential and integral part of a national health program. Some elements of such a dental program will, of course, be more particularly of interest to dentists than to physicians, nurses, hospital administrators, or public-health authorities. Other elements will require cooperative planning and administration and carefully integrated relationships in the general health program. This point of view has prevailed in all the recent work and discussions on national health plans; dentistry has been explicitly included as one of the main branches of service when we have used in its broad sense the term "health service" or the term "medical care."

I have the impression that some dental leaders are pessimistic about what can be done toward dealing with the great accumulated dental neglect now existing in the population, or even with the annual increment of new dental disease and defect. It is true that the 62,000 dentists of today would be insufficient to cope with this problem if the public were ready for such service and means were available to meet the costs, even if all the dentists were occupied full time. There would have to be an increase of large magnitude in the number of trained dentists, and such an increase would take time. On this pessimistic ground some of us may turn to the thought that primary emphasis should be placed on an educational program and on the provision of adequate dental care for children, so that the next generation will be spared as much as possible the development of dental break-downs.

It strikes me that, as a practical matter, there is no real choice between dentistry for the adult population of today and dentistry for the adult population of tomorrow. Nor between education and service. It is obviously futile to carry on dental health education programs year after year in order to discover and rediscover

the existence of dental defects, and still provide no help, no funds, no service toward correcting these defects. Discovery of the defects is, of course, a necessary first step, but it is only part of an adequate program. If we are to be realistic, we must face the fact that millions of people, especially children, will not get dental care except at public expense. Both the educational and the service problems must be tackled, with appropriate measures designed for each.

Both the adults and the children must be served. It is gratifying to know that most of your leaders take this view and that your officers and committees are devoting themselves to dental health planning along these lines. Both you representing the profession and we representing the public must have deep concern in the provision of dental service for the relief of pain, for reparative work, for prevention of new dental disease or defects, and control of such as has already become established, for the special supervision and care of children, and for research to learn more about cause, diagnosis, and treatment.

Such a program takes us also into fields outside the special or exclusive domain of dentistry; we must look into problems of nutrition and diet, education, economic status, public-health practices and organization, social-security measures, provision of tax-supported services, and many other matters. In short, we must see the dentistry of today and tomorrow in its setting as an essential and integral part of our changing society.

Last year President Roosevelt, in transmitting his message on health security to the Seventy-sixth Congress, laid down a simple and fundamental principle: "The health of the people is a public concern." He indicated plainly that we must not merely give lip service to this principle but we must translate it into action.

The Seventy-sixth Congress, which is now nearing the end of its third session, will, I believe, be remembered as the first one in which health legislation of national scope received serious and extended attention. This is principally a result of the work of the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities. Under the inspiring leadership of Miss Josephine Roche, its chairman, this committee and its technical committee on medical care have been studying the health needs of the Nation and have been reporting on them to the President, who, in turn, has transmitted these reports to the Congress for appropriate legislative action. I think it has become quite clear that public opinion demands careful, effective, and adequate attack on the Nation's health problems.

There is, on the whole, general agreement as to the objectives of a national health program, and there is substantial agreement as to many of the basic methods by which the program is to be carried out. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is some impatience with further delay. Yet, if a large-scale program is to be carried out effectively, and if it is to have enduring worth, it must be not only wisely designed but it must also have the genuine sympathetic support and cooperation of all whose work will be essential in its administration and service.

In the matter of practical health legislation, the bill which has attracted most attention is, of course, the national health bill of 1939 (S. 1620) which was introduced by my distinguished colleague, Senator WAGNER, who has long had a deep and abiding interest in health and social legislation.

The bill calls for expansion of the now well-tested public-health program administered by the Public Health Service, and the maternal and child health and welfare programs administered by the Children's Bureau, both through the cooperation and activities of the States and localities. It also provides for the construction and support of necessary hospitals and health centers where needed, for a strengthened program of medical care including dentistry, and for the social insurance of wages during periods of temporary disability.

The Wagner health bill was exhaustively discussed in public hearings held in May, June, and July of last year. The major objectives of the legislation met with general approval. Satisfaction was expressed that the proposed program looks to Federal-State cooperation, with the Federal Government assuming the role of giving technical and financial aid. Progress of the bill was, however, greatly impeded by sharp differences of opinion as to how far and how fast the program should go.

As I have stated, there is no quarrel between the Government and the professions on the objective of providing more adequate health service for the American people. The objections and discussions merely relate to the methods by which this should be accomplished. Perhaps this is only natural in a problem that involves vast numbers of people, complex scientific factors, and enormous appropriations of money. Yet, it should not be impossible to overcome all our difficulties if we apply the doctrine of cooperation to this problem—as in any other problem—in spite of the many difficulties.

Your profession has had some experience in cooperating with the Government in working out irritating and difficult problems. My attention has been called to a case involving the menace of pernicious and undesirable advertising in one of the large cities of the country. Obviously, certain types of advertising can be used to exploit the ill-health and disease of the public. Such a practice has the vigorous opposition of dentists as a whole, and this opposition is embraced in the code of ethics of the profession. In handling problems of this character, the dental profession has always cooperated with the proper public officials, with a view of attaining the mutual objective of preventing the exploitation of the public through unprofessional activities. The results of such cooperation have been found eminently satisfactory to the dental profession.

Wherever it has been applied, the public has been freed of this kind of exploitation which took money from innocent people for services that could not be satisfactorily performed. The Government fulfilled its obligation of protecting the public, and the profession fulfilled its obligation of serving the public health and welfare. There is no reason why such cooperation between the Government and the profession should not be extended to all other problems affecting the public health and public welfare.

The greatest problem confronting the health professions is this problem of formulating a sound national health program. I believe I know the attitude of the American Dental Association toward the Wagner health bill, S. 1620. Representatives of your association appeared before the subcommittee of the Senate of which I served as chairman. In summary, your association approved the objectives of the bill but opposed some of its methods and provisions. Here, then, is a problem for cooperation among sincere, public-minded men. Agreement is mutual on objectives but there is difficulty in agreeing as to the methods. The rational, democratic approach is to seek to work out an agreement based on a fair, just, and statesmanlike consideration of all the circumstances and the public interest, and then proceed to the establishment of methods which will genuinely work for the public good and welfare. We may not be able to act on the entire program all at once. The large program may have to be implemented piecemeal. This can be sound action if the parts are properly related to each other.

Last winter it became clear that we could not complete our consideration of the Wagner health bill, or find adequate solutions to all the complex problems and proposals which had been submitted to the committee in time for action during the present session of Congress. Also, the uncertainty about world conditions rendered it unwise for the Federal Government to undertake to immediately launch such an extensive program this year. President Roosevelt thereupon, in a special message to Congress, suggested a hospital program as a modest beginning—not as a substitute for the broader health program which he hoped might eventually be initiated. Early last spring Senators WAGNER and GEORGE introduced the national hospital bill of 1940, S. 3230. Following public hearings the Committee on Education and Labor favorably reported that measure and recommended its passage, as amended. That bill has passed the Senate and is now pending in the House.

Your association, at its convention in Milwaukee last year, also outlined a plan under which organized dentistry might take part in improving the national health. Your program proposed activities in three fields:

1. Increased dental research.
2. Increased dental health education.
3. Dental care for the indigent.

I am sure that these proposals of the American Dental Association were not made just to combat the methods of the Wagner health bill. They were made, I believe, as a constructive suggestion to improve the dental health of the people of this country. That being true, I can see no reason why an attempt should not be made to put the first section of the program into effect at once. Many Government officials and the organized dental profession feel that it is a proper approach to the problem; that it will result beneficially to the public.

In consultation with representatives of your organization, I introduced on March 18 a bill to appropriate funds to the United States Public Health Service to provide a program of dental research on the causes, diagnosis, and treatment of dental diseases. The bill authorizes the appropriation of $75,000 for the present fiscal year and an increase of $10,000 a year for each of the 5 succeeding fiscal years—a very modest sum when it is realized what beneficent results may be accomplished. Under this bill the Surgeon General would be "authorized and directed to conduct researches, investigations, experiments, and studies relating to the cause, diagnosis, and treatment of dental diseases; to assist and foster similar research activities by other agencies, public and private; and to promote the coordination of all such researches and activities and the useful application of their results, with a view to the development and prompt widespread use of the most effective methods of prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of such diseases."

If this bill which I have introduced should be passed, great strides can be made toward conquering the problem of dental disease in this country, with resultant beneficial effects on the public health. A small start will have been made in the treatment of the great problem of public health. It is a modest start, to be sure, but it is a sound one and can have no legitimate opposition. It was reported favorably by the Committee on Education and Labor without a dissenting vote and is now pending on the Senate calendar. As a matter of fact, it would have been passed in the Senate several weeks ago had it not been for the single objection of a Senator, who based his objection on the ground that he did not approve of the Government appropriating funds for purposes of this kind. Had it not been for that single objection, the bill would have passed the Senate by unanimous consent. I am still hopeful that before the session ends, notwithstanding the several important emergency matters which will have preference, I may succeed in having the Senate take up this measure for debate and have it voted on favorably.

Up to this point I have been speaking mainly of dental problems as they exist for us year in and year out, and have been discussing normal measures relating to them. It is fitting, however, that we should take account of the special dental problems arising out of the needs of the national-defense program. Among the first of these is the place of dental problems and of dentistry in the development of our land and naval forces.

You know that in 1917 the examination of over 3,000,000 men who were drafted showed the serious prevalence of dental defects. You

are all familiar with that record. From the fragmentary evidence at hand, especially from surveys among adults in industrial and commercial employments, it is not probable that the situation today is greatly different from what it was found to be 23 years ago. The recruiting of expanded land and naval forces may, therefore, be expected to bring to the fore an old problem on unattended dental disease and defects. Dental needs which are insufficient to warrant rejection from service will, in many cases, be sufficiently serious to reduce efficiency and to require care. This will presumably be accompanied by the problem of recruiting dentists for the armed forces.

To whatever extent men rejected for any cause will be found suffering from dental disease, there will be great need for dental services, if these men are to be used efficiently and effectively in industry. The defense emergency will increasingly emphasize the importance of care for men as well as for machines. We may expect that dentistry must play an important role in cooperation with government in this field.

If the Federal Government undertakes an extensive program for the vocational training of youth, it will be confronted with grave responsibilities for their health services. These young people will be, in many respects, wards of the Government and will deserve to have adequate and comprehensive health services. I can foresee that in such a program the Government will need the help of the dental profession in advising as to the kinds of care needed and in planning the best methods of furnishing such care economically.

In this connection, let me say that this emergency is not the time to scrap the basic objectives of the country in the interest of the moment. On the contrary, it is the time to rededicate ourselves to the purposes of the democracy we are defending. Miss Harriet Eilliott, Consumers Adviser to the Council of National Defense, has properly emphasized that in our defense program we plan to have, and can have, both "guns and butter." This is a time to give more, not less, attention to the health, welfare, and security of our people. This is a time to strengthen the protection of mothers, children, farm and industrial workers, as well as to provide armed forces as security against a foreign aggressor.

In these increased needs growing out of our national-defense emergency, dentistry will have many services to render. The dental profession, along with other groups, public and private, will continue to cooperate in planning for the growth and improvement of health service, for the present and for the future. If the past is only prologue, we can look forward to a fine, inspiring, partnership between your profession and the public it is dedicated to serve.

Our Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEWART

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. PAUL V. McNUTT AT ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address by the Honorable Paul V. McNutt at a Democratic rally at Rock Island, Ill., on October 18, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman and fellow Democrats, first of all I want to tell you how glad I am to be in Rock Island, the site of a great Government arsenal, to discuss some of the grave questions of our times.

We are living in a dangerous era.

It is an era which puts both men and governments to the test.

At this moment America is facing two great problems—the problem of securing our safety in a world which has turned into a jungle, and the problem of choosing the political vehicle to accomplish this end during the next 4 years.

OUR DEFENSE PROGRAM

Predatory war lords are on the prowl. The victims of their undeclared warfare are strewn from one end of Europe to the other. These victims—10 nations in less than a year—believed in the democratic way of life. They despised tyranny. But they were unprepared to defend themselves against the "blitzkrieg" of these modern-day Agamemnons.

The dictator nations preach obedience from the bottom up, the reversal of the democratic theory of government. They have declared, in their quest for world dominance, that democracy is a decadent form of government. This means that our way of life is not to their liking. Therefore, if they are victorious in the battle of Britain, they plan to encroach upon the republics of the Western Hemisphere and jeopardize our love for freedom and liberty and decency and humanity.

Let no American accept their assurances of immunity.

Holland and Belgium and little Norway were assured they would not be trespassed upon. You know their fate.

Force is a physical power. To yield to force is an act of necessity, not of will. Unpreparedness to defend permitted the forces of evil to cut that wide swath in Europe. Total defense of the Americas will block them from our shores and will permit us to continue the right of peaceful commerce off our seaboards.

Our total-defense program is now in high gear. This program will produce our greatest military strength. Such is the practical way of fulfilling our hopes for peace and for staying out of this or any other war.

Now, we are in the final "stretch" of a great political campaign. The principles laid down by the Republican Party include—and I quote from the party's handbook—"it is imperative that nothing be permitted to unsteady the judgment of the American people or their leaders in dealing with the delicate issues raised by the European conflict. Under existing circumstances, these are compelling reasons why Americans, regardless of party, should support every effort consistent with our national security and the safeguarding of our liberty and welfare as a people to keep the United States out of this war."

This handbook was circulated last February. Today, a somewhat different tune is being played by the Republican standard bearer, Mr. Willkie. He charges that this administration is failing to make us strong. And, by this failure this country will be plunged into war if Mr. Roosevelt is reelected. The reason Mr. Willkie gives for contending the defense program is bogging down is that "Mr. Roosevelt is not a businessman—that he does not understand industry."

By this Mr. Willkie implies that a knowledge of business is the most essential qualification necessary to be President of the greatest Nation on earth and which is facing its gravest crisis.

What about knowledge of world affairs?

"No," says Mr. Willkie, "just business."

What about knowledge of military and naval and political affairs?

"No," says Mr. Willkie, "just business."

Now there are two reasons I can give for this sophomoric assertion. The first is that Mr. Roosevelt is a man whose life has been spent in affairs of state, while Mr. Willkie is a man whose experience has been chiefly in the field of law and finance, revolving around holding-company operations and management. The second is that Mr. Willkie has succumbed to the terrific pressure brought upon him by those who know what political capital could be made of such a distortion. These partisans are willing to go to any length to "Win with Willkie."

Let us briefly look over Mr. Roosevelt's record during this crisis:

He has moved swiftly to make unity real in the Nation.

He has asked for, and he is receiving the fullest cooperation from industry and labor.

He has gathered to the Defense Council representatives of America's greatest industries—steel, motor, and transportation—none of them his partisans.

To carry this nonpartisan plan still further he gave two of the most critical Cabinet posts—War and Navy—to two great patriots who happen to be Republicans. One of them, as Vice Presidential candidate 4 years ago, made the sharpest attacks on his policies.

He has unified the defense with Canada, making a military move of first-class statesmanship and importance.

He has made a deal on island air bases which, for the first time, gives this Nation complete control of the approaches to our Atlantic shores and to the Caribbean.

His prestige among the world's democracies is immense; his popularity in Latin America is the greatest of any White House occupant.

He has called for conscription of our young men for military training. And, because he frankly and openly presented the facts behind the call, the people heartily approved.

He has asked for and received since last May Congressional appropriations for defense amounting into billions, thus thwarting the isolationists in Congress whose leadership balked legislation a little over a year ago because their own private European advices were emphatic there would be no war.

I can assure you that our progress in rearming is being pushed rapidly to a point that when reached no group of dictators will slow us down or halt us from reaching the path we see ahead for ourselves and democracy.

I say Mr. Roosevelt is a man of peace. And I say that this is the belief of many millions of my fellow Americans—Americans who will not be deceived by an old warmongering wheeze bedecked in new spangled phrases.

Last-minute vote getting is its purpose.

I can assure you that this great defense program is strictly an American program. It is dedicated to the principles for which America has always stood, the inherent worth of each man as a man, regardless of his creed, regardless of his race, regardless of the amount of property he owns. It seeks to conserve that America.

It is easy to talk about defense and to visualize vast fleets of airplanes and mighty armies of tanks. Planes and tanks do not rise out of the land, produced as if by a miracle. But we have a habit of producing that which borders on the miraculous. A vivid proof of all this is depicted in the current news reels, screened in the motion-picture theaters throughout the land.

In conclusion, let me revert to the businessman charge. Businessman or not, Mr. Roosevelt possesses the greatest single asset that any leader of a democratic state can have in a crisis like this—

the confidence of the rank and file of workers that he will rapidly push our defense program to completion and that he will not use it to betray democracy itself and destroy their freedom.

In times of great national peril, people sometimes confound what they want to do with ways of doing it. In everyone's zeal to build up the defenses of the Nation, some of them seem to forget what it is we are getting ready to defend.

If, as we believe, the significance of democracy is its way of life, its processes of government, and the manner in which things are done, it is important that we do not deliberately give up these things before the shooting starts. In such a case, we would discover, ironically, that we had lost the battle with dictators before it had begun. It is vital, therefore, that we hang on to the social reforms of the past few years.

It has taken a mighty effort and a sad experience for us to establish a society in which there is a genuine effort to attain a minimum economic security for everyone.

It has taken us a long time to get the beginnings of old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, aid for the blind and for crippled and dependent children.

It has taken a long time to obtain a program to insure labor against the worst abuses of the capitalistic system, against long hours and starvation wages, against the sweatshop, against usurped judicial power, perverting the injunction to break strikes.

It has taken a long time to outlaw the infamous "yellow dog" contract, to obtain legal protection for the principle of collective bargaining.

It has taken many generations to get recognition of the proposition that every man is entitled to a job at living wages, and if it is not available, that it is the responsibility of the Government to create the conditions which will secure one to him.

It was no easy matter to get acceptance of the principle that highly involved financial operations should be closely scrutinized by the Government, that promotion schemes and stock issues must meet a certain standard of safety for investors.

It was no easy matter to establish the principle that farmers are entitled to the same protection as industry and that the equalization of the prices for the farm products and industrial products was a proper obligation of the Government.

All these things have been obtained gradually and slowly and by hard plugging. They represent the mature flowering of democratic principles. They are a real and effective effort to create circumstances under which every citizen is assured a decent livelihood and a fair opportunity for a happy life.

These things are democracy. And it is these things that we are now preparing to defend against the threat of destruction. If we voluntarily give up any of these priceless possessions, to that extent we have already conceded defeat at the hands of those who represent and advocate a different manner of life.

The question is often asked whether democracy can equal the pace set by other forms of government.

We are told by many an orator of the terrible efficiency of dictatorships. We are told how they mobilize the resources of their nations; how they conscript labor from their citizens; how they confiscate the wealth of the country and ruthlessly regiment, organize, and systematize the lives of every man, woman, and child. The orator will then wave his arms, pop out his eyes, and point out how Germany is supporting an army of 4,000,000 men and is building more airplanes, more tanks, more munitions than all the democracies put together.

We are then asked whether America can meet this challenge. I think the answer is perfectly clear. We can do it with one hand tied behind us.

We, too, have demonstrated that we can meet an emergency.

Under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt we have been meeting a major emergency for the past 7 years. We have had, at the bottom of the depression, as many as 3,000,000 men on work relief. We have had another 2,000,000 men on other forms of relief. When you add the dependents of these 5,000,000, there were some fifteen to twenty million people who were being supported by the country. And while it is true that they were not supported very well, it is quite probable that they had a better living than Hitler's labor slaves and military conscripts.

And all this was done without much of an effort. There was, to be sure, a great deal of squawking from certain quarters. There have been some people throughout these past 10 years who were confident that this country was headed straight for bankruptcy.

There were those who insisted that the national debt would soon be so high that the Nation could no longer stagger along under the load. There were those who insisted that a billion or two deficit in the Budget was not only fatal to economic recovery but, if continued for a few years, would bring about the complete collapse of our economic structure.

This was merely throwing dust in our eyes. The truth is that today the actual cost of carrying the national debt is considerably less than it was under the man heralded as the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton. In 1923 the total interest on the national debt was slightly more than a billion dollars a year, or 1.6 percent of the total national income of that year.

In 1939 the interest on the debt was slightly less than a billion dollars, or 1.3 percent of the total national income. Although the interest payment estimated for the present year will reach almost the 1923 figure, it will still be only 1.4 percent of the estimated income, far below the carrying charge under Secretary Mellon.

If further proof is needed that expenditures for relief of the unemployed during the last 7 years in no way threatened the financial soundness of the Government, it is to be found in the way in which the financial experts are accepting the present expenditures for national defense.

Reactionary industrialists and conservative Congressmen, who a year ago were shedding crocodile tears about a billion dollars for work relief, now find that a $15,000,000,000 budget for national defense carries no risk whatever to the soundness of the country's financial structure.

The truth is that this country has been passing through a crisis as great as the one with which we are now faced. In spite of the alarm of the reactionary elements, we were able to meet that crisis. And in spite of the alarmists today we can meet the present situation, dangerous as it may be.

Look at England today. Torn and blasted with bombs. London a roaring inferno. Death raining incessantly from the skies.

What do men think about in the presence of flaming death? What political and economic views pop into their minds while a fleet of bombers roars overhead? Apparently they think about the Bill of Rights—not only the Bill of Rights guaranteeing free speech and religious liberty but the economic Bill of Rights that assures a job and food and clothing.

It may seem odd for people to think of such things when the very ground on which they stand is about to be blown into the North Sea. But I don't think it's odd at all.

They are thinking about feeding British children—war orphans, undernourished children, children wounded by the merciless destruction of total war. They have decided to pay, from Government resources, a flat sum for every child so that they may all live better than the wartime diet would permit. This is a democratic idea. It is the way democracy responds to pressure.

The Democratic Party wants to extend the coverage of old-age insurance until it includes every worker in America. It wants to see every aged person assured of a deceent livelihood, free from humiliating conditions.

It wants every young person in this land assured of the opportunity for the kind of education he needs to make him a happy and useful citizen. It wants to see every man who is willing to work assured of a job at decent wages.

The defense program does not in any sense make the need for these things less. It makes them the more important. And those who argue that a liberal Government policy in times of national peril will be fatal to our security will do well to consider the fate of France.

Why was it that a nation with a great army and thoroughly patriotic working class could be completely crushed and beaten to her knees in 3 weeks' time? French soldiers were brave, French labor skilled. And the loss of life and suffering from 1914 to 1918 was far greater than in the tragic battle of France in 1940.

We are told that France's fall was due to politics. Politics, my eye. You always have politics in a democracy. There are no politics in Germany or in Italy or in Russia or in Japan. But in England, France, and America there have always been political parties, political processes, and political action.

It is said by the Republican candidate, that the liberal government of Blum and the French labor leaders so reduced the industrial productivity of France that she could not turn out the machines necessary to meet German mechanized warfare. But the truth is, as every American newspaperman in France knows, that exactly the opposite is true. Under the liberal government of Leon Blum, the output of French industry was the highest it has ever been in French history. And this production was accomplished not by the stretch out and wage curtailment, but by decreased hours, increased wages, collective bargaining, and other labor and social reforms which characterize a genuine democratic government.

"THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE"

The Republican candidate attempts to answer all campaign issues by the simple statement that he stands for the "democratic way of life."

He says it over and over again.

He campaigns for the Presidency of the United States on the theory that the constant repetition of a dogma is argument and proof.

He underestimates the intelligence of the American voter.

If Willkie doesn't know it, the people of this country know that the democratic way of life, among other things, means the party system.

It doesn't make any difference at all what Willkie stands for.

He overvalues his place in the democratic scheme of things.

Whether he likes it or not, he's running—if he's running—on the Republican ticket.

He's not running as a new dealer.

And he's not running as Wendell L. Willkie. He's got to run as a Republican.

The democratic way of life, as we know it in America, doesn't pay much attention to free-lance candidates.

Democracy is a cooperative proposition, the greatest project in cooperation ever conceived by the brain of man.

But cooperation is not the Republican candidate's strong point. He has never distinguished himself for his ability to work with other people.

He's a lone wolf.

He can get along with other men best when he is the boss.

Hoover was like that.

He could tell 'em, too.

But when it came to facing problems that baffled the wisest heads, issues that called for the combined wisdom of many men, he per-

sonally engineered the most perfect example of total failure in the history of democracy.

The party system excludes the total boss.

That puts Willkie at a disadvantage.

He is at his best when telling other men what to think.

But until he acquires the technique of using the powers of reason to persuade the leaders of his own party to his point of view, the public can hardly be blamed for not getting excited when he musses up his hair about the democratic way of life.

As a matter of fact, the Republican candidate can no more escape the influence of the skeletons in his party's closet than he can escape his own shadow. Nor can he get away from those who preceded him as its titular head.

The ghosts of Landon, of Hoover, of Coolidge, and of Harding will haunt him to the polls.

Nor can he throw off the existing barnacles of his party.

He may create the illusion of freeing himself from the fetters of the past. But what is he going to do with the Joe Martins, the Hamilton Fishes, the Hiram Johnsons, the Bob Tafts, the J. P. Morgans, the Joe Pews, the Tom Girdlers, the Earnest Weirs?

How will he make good his promise to continued and extended assistance to Britain, fighting to stave off total victory for the dictators of the world?

How will he come through with his pledge to preserve the gains of labor and implement his commitment to the principle of collective bargaining.

How will he fulfill his assurance to the unemployed that until jobs are available, he stands for unemployment conpensation?

How will he keep faith with the farmers of this country that the Wallace program will be continued?

The men who run his party are only interested in balancing the Budget.

Willkie may think he can do all these things "better."

But he can't do them for nothing.

If this man were elected, somebody would be disappointed. And I don't think it would be the men who run the Republican Party.

THE GENIUS OF DEMOCRACY

The Republican candidate glorifies what he calls private enterprise which he says he represents.

The only thing America needs is more production, which he says he will bring about.

The Democratic administration is defeatist, he says. It does not have faith in America as he does.

Americans, he says, have lost their hardihood and spunk because they ask the Government to help them stop the winds from blowing their lands clear to the Gulf of Mexico. They think we've lost our heroic qualities because we think it right for the Government to help us plant a few billion trees to create shelter belts.

The one thing he doesn't seem to grasp is that the real genius of democracy consists largely in the ability of men to utilize their Government to obtain what would otherwise be denied them.

It is not an indication of weakness to accomplish through government what individuals are incapable of accomplishing alone. It is evidence of strength and intelligence. And it is that kind of strength and intelligence that has made it possible to build up a great Nation out of a wilderness and to develop a national unity unequaled on the face of the earth. It is what has made possible the United States of America.

In a world where the people have so little to say about the conditions under which they live, it is significant that America has made a great effort to revitalize popular government. The citizens of this Nation today realize, more than ever before, that they, the people, are sovereign. That government is their opportunity and their responsibility.

That the question what this country is to be and how it is to be run and what it is to stand for, are questions which they have the power and the duty to answer.

There have been times when the people have temporarily forgotten—when they have slept on their rights. There is a natural tendency to take civil responsibility lightly when adversity seems remote. "Prosperity," said a great political philosopher, "anesthetizes the body politic."

But Americans have always returned to the faith of their fathers when confronted with crisis. They become strong when the going gets tough. The economic catastrophe which crept stealthily upon us during those deceptive twenties and broke in all its fury in the last years of the decade once more put the principles of free government and the courage of the American people to the test.

And the people have responded nobly to great leadership. The public pulse has been quickened to the responsibilities of democratic government and the public mind aroused to liberal thought.

We have taken upon ourselves the burden of solving momentous issues. The problems of the Nation receive the thoughtful attention of its citizens. National defense, old-age security, the plight of youth, the unemployed, the farmer, enlist the concern of all the people. Conservation, crop control, relief, public works, debt, and the Budget are deliberated by men and women in offices, factories, and fields. Wherever you find Americans gathered together, there you will find public and community problems discussed, not with passion or prejudice, but with detachment and concern for the public welfare and the Nation's interest.

Something has again swept over America these past few years. Some great devotion to country, some great spiritual force. We have found a new conception of citizenship and a renewed zeal for public service. Democracy has once again become a living power in men's lives—democracy, which has done more for the common man and for human betterment than any other force in history.

It means much more than we may realize that in countless schools, churches, lodges, and around millions of family hearths from one end of this Nation to the other the difficulties which face the country are the subject of sincere and searching discussion.

It means that America is reborn. That we have a body politic which is ready and eager to discharge the obligations of self-government.

It means that in our land conditions again exist which make it possible for ordinary men to achieve extraordinary results—conditions which enable men to perform miracles through their collective wisdom and their united strength; which permit plain people to solve difficulties that have baffled the wisest rulers of history.

Having learned at long last the secret of popular government, I cannot believe that the American people will repudiate the political vehicle through which they have attained the crowning success of their history.

They have had confidence in the Democratic Party and the Democratic Party has not betrayed that confidence.

And that means that they will again look to the Democratic Party in November.

Senate Votes on Excess-Profits Tax and Selective Service Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT BY HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement by me together with the votes in the Senate on the passage of the excess-profits tax bill, the so-called Russell-Overton amendment to the selective service bill, and the conference report on the selective service bill.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Republican candidate for President, Mr. Willkie, has been offering another illustration of his lack of leadership in the Republican Party to which he transferred his allegiance from Tammany Hall.

In recent speeches in Buffalo and elsewhere he has made much of the record of the President and the Democratic Congress with relation to the defense-tax amortization plan. He has referred to what he claims were unnecessary delays in passing the bill. The point, however, is this: When the bill came up for final passage in this body what was the record of the Republican Senators on the bill itself? Do not let us forget that this was a most important bill "to provide revenue for national defense, and for other purposes." The result on final passage was over 2 to 1 in favor of the bill, or exactly 46 for and 22 against. Of these 46 for the bill, 45 were Democrats and only 1 was a Republican. In other words, of the 23 Republican Senators, only 1 was in favor of the position taken by their so-called "leader." What would be the situation if, contrary to all expectations, Mr. Willkie were elected President, and if his support in the Senate as President were the same as the support he receives as Presidential candidate?

His record in connection with this excess-profits tax is quite on a par with his record in connection with the selective compulsory military service bill, commonly called the national-defense or draft bill. On the final vote on that bill, 47 voted in favor of it and only 25 opposed. Forty Democrats and only 7 of the 22 Republicans voted for it. Certain of the Republican Senators did not vote, but 10 actually voted against it, or more than those who voted for it. The significance of the vote is that Mr. Willkie had come out in favor of the draft, another test of his leadership without a following.

It is interesting to compare this vote on the bill drafting young men with the Russell-Overton amendment to the same bill drafting property. Mr. Willkie, though he came out in favor of drafting men, came out also against drafting property. Without regard to whether he was right or wrong in either case, let us concentrate on the matter of his leadership. How many of the Senators followed him? Sixty-nine Senators voted in favor of this amendment of drafting property and only 16 against it. Of the Republican Senators, 9 voted for the amendment and 8 voted against the amendment, 6 being recorded as not voting. In other words, a majority of the Republican Senators again repudiated Mr. Willkie's leadership.

It is hard enough for a President to carry out his policies with a majority in the Senate belonging to the opposing party, and that would be the case if Mr. Willkie were elected President. It is harder still, and, in fact, practically impossible, if the President cannot lead the majority in his own party, and that would be the case if Mr. Willkie were elected President.

Other illustrations might readily be stated showing Mr. Willkie's incapacity for leadership. If ever in the history of our country we needed intelligent leadership, leadership which not only convinces but arouses enthusiasm, it is now.

EXCESS-PROFITS TAX—H. R. 10413

Vote on the passage of H. R. 10413, to provide revenue for national defense, and for other purposes

Passed	Yeas	Nays	Not voting
Democrats	45	5	19
Republicans	1	16	6
Progressives	------	1	------
Farmer-Laborites	------	------	1
Independents	------	------	1
	46	22	27

[From CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 19, 1940, p. 12352]

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question now is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MCNARY (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD]. If he were present he would vote "yea." If at liberty to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. STEWART (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY], and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. THOMAS of Utah (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MILLER], and will vote. I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. DAVIS. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], who is necessarily absent. I understand that, if present, he would vote "yea." If I were at liberty to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I have a pair with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS]. I am informed that, if present, he would vote "yea." If at liberty to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. MINTON. I announce that the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senators from Arkansas [Mrs. CARAWAY and Mr. MILLER], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS and Mr. SLATTERY], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] are necessarily absent. I am advised that, if present and voting, these Senators would vote "yea."

The Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. DONAHEY], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS], and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MCCARRAN] are unavoidably detained.

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce the following pair on this question: The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR], who would vote "yea," with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], who would vote "nay."

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I should like to inquire if it is too late to request that the bill with all its amendments be printed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. That is out of order at this time.

The result was announced—yeas 46, nays 22, as follows:

Yeas—46: Adams, Andrews, Bailey, Barkley, Brown, Bulow, Burke, Byrd, Byrnes, Clark of Idaho, Connally, Ellender, George, Gerry, Gillette, Green, Harrison, Hatch, Hayden, Herring, Johnson of Colorado, King, Lee, McKellar, Maloney, Mead, Minton, Murray, Neely, O'Mahoney, Overton, Pepper, Pittman, Radcliffe, Schwartz, Schwellenbach, Sheppard, Smathers, Stewart, Thomas of Oklahoma, Thomas of Utah, Townsend,[1] Van Nuys, Wagner, Walsh, Wheeler.

Nays—22: Austin,[1] Bilbo, Capper,[1] Clark of Missouri, Danaher,[1] Downey, Frazier,[1] Gibson,[1] Gurney,[1] Hale,[1] Hill, Holt, Johnson of California,[1] La Follette,[2] Nye,[1] Reed,[1] Taft,[1] Thomas of Idaho,[1] Tobey,[1] Vandenberg,[1] White,[1] Wiley.[1]

Not voting—27: Ashurst, Bankhead, Barbour,[1] Bone, Bridges,[1] Caraway, Chandler, Chavez, Davis,[1] Donahey, Glass, Guffey, Holman,[1] Hughes, Lodge,[1] Lucas, McCarren, McNary,[1] Miller, Norris,[3] Reynolds, Russell, Shipstead,[4] Slattery, Smith, Truman, Tydings.

So the bill (H. R. 10413) was passed.

(The amortization legislation about which Mr. Willkie spoke was included in this bill.)

[1] Republican.
[2] Progressive.

SELECTIVE COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE—S. 4164 (NATIONAL DEFENSE); RUSSELL-OVERTON AMENDMENT

Vote on amendment of Senator Russell, of Georgia, and Senator Overton, of Louisiana, to authorize condemnation proceedings with respect to manufacturing plants and facilities necessary for the national defense whenever it should become apparent that the owner of any such plant or facility is refusing to cooperate in its use by the War or Navy Department

Agreed to	Yeas	Nays	Not voting
Democrats	56	8	5
Republicans	9	8	6
Progressives	1	------	------
Farmer-Laborites	2	------	------
Independents	1	------	------
Total	69	16	11

[From CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 28, 1940, p. 11121]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON], as amended, to the amendment of the committee.

Mr. RUSSELL. I should like to have the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. STEWART (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN]. I am advised that if present he would vote as I intend to vote. I vote "aye."

Mr. TYDINGS (when his name was called). On this vote I have a general pair with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. FRAZIER], who is absent. If present he would vote as I shall vote. Therefore I am free to vote. I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCNARY]. Therefore I withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote I would vote "yea."

Mr. MCKELLAR (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. TOWNSEND], which I transfer to the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO], and let my vote stand.

Mr. WHEELER. I announce that the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. MCCARRAN] is necessarily absent. If present he would vote "yea" on this question.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a general pair with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES]. I am informed that he would vote "yea," as I have already voted. I therefore let my vote stand.

Mr. MINTON. I announce that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE] are necessarily absent.

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce that the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN] is absent on public business.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCNARY], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. FRAZIER], and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. TOWNSEND] are unavoidably absent.

The result was announced—yeas 69, nays 16—as follows:

Yeas—69: Adams, Andrews, Ashurst, Austin,[1] Bailey, Barbour,[1] Barkley, Bone, Bulow, Burke, Byrd, Byrnes, Capper,[1] Caraway, Chandler, Chavez, Clark of Missouri, Connally, Davis,[1] Ellender, Gerry, Gibson,[1] Glass, Green, Guffey, Hatch, Hayden, Herring, Hill, Holt, Hughes, Johnson of California,[1] Johnson of Colorado, King, La Follette,[2] Lee, Lodge,[1] Lucas, Lundeen,[4] McKellar, Mead, Miller, Minton, Murray, Neely, Norris,[3] Nye,[1] O'Mahoney, Overton, Pepper, Pittman, Radcliffe, Reynolds, Russell, Schwartz, Sheppard, Shipstead,[4] Slattery, Smathers, Stewart, Thomas, of Oklahoma, Thomas of Utah, Tobey,[1] Truman, Tydings, Van Nuys, Wagner, Walsh, Wheeler.

Nays—16: Brown, Clark of Idaho, Danaher,[1] Donahey, Downey, Gurney,[1] Hale,[1] Harrison, Maloney, Reed,[1] Schwellenbach, Smith, Taft,[1] Vandenberg,[1] White,[1] Wiley.[1]

Not voting—11: Bankhead, Bilbo, Bridges,[1] Frazier, George, Gillette, Holman,[1] McCarran, McNary,[1] Thomas of Idaho,[1] Townsend.[1]

So the amendment of Mr. RUSSELL and Mr. OVERTON, as amended, to the amendment of the committee was agreed to.

[1] Republican.
[2] Progressive.
[3] Independent.
[4] Farmer-Laborite.

SELECTIVE COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE—S. 4164 (NATIONAL DEFENSE)

Vote on conference report on S. 4164, to protect the integrity and institutions of the United States through a system of selective compulsory military training and service

Agreed to	Yeas	Nays	Not voting
Democrats	40	13	16
Republicans	7	10	6
Progressives		1	
Farmer-Laborites			1
Independents		1	
Total	47	25	23

[From CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 14, 1940, p. 12160]

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. VANDENBERG and Mr. SHEPPARD called for the yeas and nays, and they were ordered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MCNARY (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD]. I am advised that, if present, he would vote as I am about to vote. Therefore I am free to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. TRUMAN (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD]. If he were present, he would vote "nay." I transfer that pair to the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], and will vote. I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. MCNARY. I announce the following pairs on this question:

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. AUSTIN], who would vote "yea," with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. DONAHEY], who would vote "nay";

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BARBOUR], who would vote "yea," with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], who would vote "nay"; and

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY], who would vote "yea," with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. NYE], who would vote "nay."

My colleague the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HOLMAN] would vote "yea" if present.

All the Senators I have mentioned are unavoidably absent from the city.

Mr. CHANDLER. I have a pair with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS], who is unavoidably detained from the Senate. If he were present, he would vote "nay." I transfer that pair to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMATHERS], and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. MCKELLAR. My colleague the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART] is unavoidably detained on official business. If he were present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. BYRD. My colleague the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] is unavoidably absent. Were he present, he would vote "yea."

Mr. MINTON. I announce that the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BAILEY], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY], the Senators from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS and Mr. SLATTERY], the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senators I have mentioned would vote "yea."

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. DONAHEY] and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] are unavoidably detained. I am advised that, if present and voting, each would vote "nay."

The Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE] is detained in a special meeting of the Committee on Campaign Expenditures. He is paired with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY]. I am advised that if present and voting, the Senator from Pennsylvania would vote "yea" and the Senator from Iowa would vote "nay."

The Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST] is detained on business in one of the Government departments.

The result was announced—yeas 47, nays 25, as follows:

Yeas—47: Adams, Andrews, Barkley, Bilbo, Bridges,[1] Burke, Byrd, Byrnes, Caraway, Chandler, Connally, Ellender, George, Gerry, Gibson,[1] Gurney,[1] Hale,[1] Harrison, Hatch, Hayden, Herring, Hill, Hughes, King, Lee, Lodge,[1] McKellar, McNary,[1] Maloney, Miller, Minton, Neely, O'Mahoney, Overton, Pepper, Pittman, Radcliffe, Reynolds, Russell, Schwartz, Sheppard, Thomas of Oklahoma, Thomas of Utah, Truman, Tydings, Wagner, White.[1]

Nays—25: Brown, Bulow, Capper,[1] Clark of Idaho, Clark of Missouri, Danaher,[1] Downey, Frazier,[1] Holt, Johnson of California,[1] Johnson of Colorado, La Follette,[2] McCarran, Murray, Norris,[3] Reed,[1] Schwellenbach, Taft,[1] Thomas of Idaho,[1] Townsend,[1] Vandenberg,[1] Van Nuys, Walsh, Wheeler, Wiley.[1]

[1] Republican.
[2] Progressive.
[3] Independent.

Not voting—23: Ashurst, Austin,[1] Bailey, Bankhead, Barbour,[1] Bone, Chavez, Davis,[1] Donahey, Gillette, Glass, Green, Guffey, Holman,[1] Lucas, Mead, Nye,[1] Shipstead,[4] Slattery, Smathers, Smith, Stewart, Tobey.[1]

So the conference report was agreed to.

Abraham Lincoln Warned Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH E. CHURCH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, the fundamental issue confronting the American people today is whether we shall remain a free people. It is whether we shall permit ourselves to be enslaved by the Government or whether we shall continue to enjoy the blessings of liberty.

No man loved freedom more than Abraham Lincoln, the distinguished son of my home State of Illinois. He devoted his entire life to the cause of freedom. He laid down his life on the altar of that cause. He believed in this Republic. He believed in its institutions, in its traditions, and in its potential greatness as a free society of freemen. Abraham Lincoln was a man of simple virtues who adhered to simple truths.

Mr. Speaker, 103 years ago, as a young man 28 years old, Abraham Lincoln warned us against Mr. Roosevelt. He warned us against the day when ambitious men would seek more and more power and perpetuate themselves in office.

Abraham Lincoln was serving in the Illinois House of Representatives at the time. On January 27, 1837, he addressed the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Ill. He chose as a subject for his remarks, The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions. In that address he visualized the very dangers that exist today.

He asked his audience this question:

> At what point shall we expect the approach of danger?

He pointed out in no uncertain terms that the real danger to our democracy will be ambitious men who have a passion for power and a passion to rule. He warned us that the day would come when such men would spring up. Today is that day.

Let me quote a few words from this warning of Abraham Lincoln, who, more than any other man, loved this democracy and freedom:

> It is to deny what the history of the world tells us is true, to suppose that men of ambition and talents will not continue to spring up amongst us.

Roosevelt is admittedly a man of talents. He is a master of oratory. He is a shrewd politician. He knows mass psychology. He can speak convincingly both in making of promises and in their repudiation.

And Roosevelt is admittedly a man of ambition. In every year that has passed he has asked for more and more power delegated to him. He sought to "purge" the Congress of men who refused to do his will. He sought to pack the Supreme Court so that it would do his will. That is ambition. Today he seeks a third term as President. No man before had such an ambition.

Abraham Lincoln warned us against such men if we are to preserve this democracy. Let me quote further from his address:

> Many great and good men, sufficiently qualified for any task they should undertake, may ever be found whose ambition would aspire to nothing beyond a seat in Congress, a gubernatorial, or a Presidential chair; but such belong not to the family of the lion, or the tribe of the eagle.
>
> What—

[1] Republican.
[4] Farmer-Laborite.

Exclaimed Lincoln to his audience—

think you these places would satisfy an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon? Never.

Is that not exactly the picture today? President Roosevelt is not satisfied with two terms as President. He wants three, and perhaps four, five. It may become a life term, for Roosevelt is a man of ambition that Lincoln warned us as a danger to our way of life.

Towering genius disdains a beaten path—

Continued Lincoln.

It seeks regions hitherto unexplored. It sees no distinction in adding story to story upon the monuments of fame erected to the memory of others. It denies that it is glory enough to serve under any chief. It scorns to tread in the footsteps of any predecessor, however illustrious. It thirsts and burns for distinction; and, if possible, it will have it, whether at the expense of emancipating slaves or enslaving freemen. Is it unreasonable, then, to expect that some man possessed of the loftiest genius, coupled with ambition sufficient to push it to its utmost stretch, will at some time spring up among us?

That was the danger Abraham Lincoln warned us against in his address 103 years ago on the perpetuation of our political institutions. He urged us to fortify ourselves against such a danger.

He said:

And when such an one does, it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to the Government and laws, and generally intelligent, to successfully frustrate his designs.

Mr. Speaker, Abraham Lincoln warned us against the ambitious New Deal politicians. He warned us against those who would disregard the Constitution and our laws and our traditions in order to satisfy ambition. We must heed his warning. We must unite against such ambition in order to preserve the heritage of liberty which Lincoln cherished.

My War Pledge to the People of the Twelfth Indiana District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS LUDLOW

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, these remarks are addressed especially to the people of the Twelfth Congressional District of Indiana, whom I have the honor to represent in Congress. I want them to know directly from me that I will not vote to plunge our boys into the slaughter pens of foreign wars. I make this statement now because I am convinced that after the election a powerful clique of war promoters and interventionists is going to try to get us into the European war.

With unbelievable conditions of warfare, strife, and disintegration corroding and destroying civilization around the globe, a tremendous responsiblity rests upon each and every one of us. With vast continents sinking into the black depths of paganism we here in America must uphold the standard of Christianity so that when other countries are sick of the shambles of war they may turn to America with hope and inspiration for a renewal of Christian faith and a reapproach to the way of living that is rooted in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men.

At a time when conscienceless dictators are ruthlessly destroying churches, murdering Christianity, and trying to blot out God we must teach them that here in America we believe there is One who is infinitely greater than all dictators combined, whose judgments are righteous and must finally prevail on this earth, and that One is the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords.

In a world of stark madness we must keep sanity and peace enthroned in America if we do our duty not only to ourselves and our posterity but to mankind everywhere.

One way to assist in insuring peace for America is to build up our defenses to the highest point of efficiency. We should all be for perfect national defense, for in a world where madmen are loose self-protection is a sovereign right and an imperative duty. This means defense not only in all of the implements of war but in our diplomacy as well. We should remember that one of the best defenses is noninvolvement. If we chart our diplomatic course to keep out of foreign entanglements we will be making a major contribution to national defense.

As a member of the small subcommittee on deficiencies through which all national-defense estimates have to be routed for evaluation to be included in appropriation bills, I think I am pretty close to the war picture. I will vote every dollar of American money, and credit, and every drop of American blood to defend our country from attack but I will not vote a thin dime to send our boys to die in shambles in foreign countries if America is not attacked.

The Atlantic seaboard is today rocking with war hysteria, and I anticipate that before long interventionists and warmongers will try to force us into war, but there is no need of our country getting into the world war and it will not, if we keep our heads and steer clear of foreign entanglements.

As I believe there will soon be terrific pressure to drag us into the war I desire before the election to make a clean-cut, straightforward statement of my position. When I think I am right I do not yield to pressures and this expression will stand as a permanent statement of my views and purpose.

I will work untiringly, as I always have done, to build up our defense to the highest point of perfection, so that we will be safe from attack by any foreign nation or any combination of foreign nations. In the future, as in the past, I will vote all the billions that are needed for defense.

But I want it understood that I will not vote to send our American boys into the shambles and slaughter pens of foreign wars. On the contrary, I will do everything I can to keep America out of war and to build up our economic sufficiency at home, so that we may battle successfully the ghastly evils of unemployment and poverty.

If we are dragged into the war, we will be in imminent danger of losing our liberty and our democracy. I want this great, free Government to last forever, so that our children and our children's children, down to the remotest generation, may enjoy its immeasurable blessings.

If ever there was a time when we needed members of Congress who have heads on their shoulders and their feet on the ground, and who can be depended upon to stand for the best interests of America, that time is now. Congress has its duties and responsibilities in connection with international relations. It cannot dodge or shirk those responsibilities and at the same time keep faith with the people. The imperative duty of Congress is to remain in continuous session as long as the international crisis lasts. As far as I am concerned, nobody is going to stampede me into voting our country into a foreign war. I will not be stampeded.

Let us be Americans. Let us continue the American way.

I make this statement now so that no one can say later when the war pressure becomes hot that I did not make my position crystal clear before the ballots were cast. In order that every citizen of the Twelfth District may know exactly where I stand before he casts his vote, I repeat that I will do anything and everything I can to defend America and to protect and perpetuate our precious institutions of freedom, but I will not be a party to sending one American boy into foreign wars unless America is attacked. A vote for me will be a vote to maintain the peace, the independence, and the noninvolvement of America.

Robbery of 48 States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. NOAH M. MASON
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, the job is complete. The biggest and most clever racketeering scoop within the memory of man is finished. It was not merely an expert job; it was a superartistic shake-down. The artistry continued beyond the consummation of the deal itself. That is what makes it a masterpiece. The superlative element of high climax which sets off this master work from all lesser steals is the recent pass at making a donation to the conscience fund out of the spoils.

This donation to the conscience fund consists of the magnanimous gesture—from the throne room of Washington's spotless palace—of authorizing the maintenance within the States of such military forces, other than the National Guard, as may be provided by the laws of the States. This generous retribution was accomplished by means of the so-called home-guard bill just put through Congress under the sponsorship of some of the administration's best handy men.

The way they imposed upon the faith of the faithful in slipping this bill through the House of Representatives was pitiful. They even used some of the antidictatorship stalwarts as frog men to grease the track at the turns for their iron-shod wooden horse—(CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 30, 1940, page 12873—In the Senate the bill H. R. 10495 met a show of verbal opposition—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 8, 1940, page 13375; October 9, 1940, page 13416. It passed, however, with only two or three Senators registering their dissent—such has become the carefully nurtured war psychology in the Nation's Capital.

HOME-GUARD BILL UNNECESSARY

The reference above to this new home-guard bill being a pass at making a donation to the conscience fund is because of the fact that its enactment was totally useless for the only purpose which it purports to serve. One of the bill's godfathers, Senator THOMAS of Utah, spoke of it as "this home-guard bill, if we may call it that"; and then explained that that is a wrong term for it because it is merely an extension of the National Guard.

This enactment is not necessary under the constitutional requirement that a State must have the consent of Congress to keep troops in times of peace, because the National Guard or militia, even when active, that is, when called into service, are not troops in the sense that term is used in the Constitution, like standing armies in times of peace. This has been held in a number of court decisions, with no authority being found to the contrary. Hence there is no way in which the fact of establishing this home guard or extension of the National Guard, even without this recent legislative action, could be contrary to the provision of the Constitution that

> No State shall, without the consent of Congress * * * keep troops * * * in time of peace. (Constitution, art. I, sec. 10, cl. 3.)

The court decisions to the above effect are listed and summarized at United States Code Annotated, Constitution, part 2, page 219, note 3; and were well presented, along with additional authorities, in the discussion of this bill, by the redoubtable Senator ADAMS of Colorado—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 9, 1940, page 13418.)

IMPROPER ASSUMPTION OF POWER WHERE CONGRESS GRANTS STATES AUTHORITY THEY ALREADY HAVE; OR IMPOSES REGULATIONS UPON EXERCISE OF THAT AUTHORITY

Senator Thomas of Utah, who was in charge of the bill, seemed able to see, dimly, the improper inferences or assumptions—attempting an unconstitutional limitation upon the rights of the States to have a well-regulated militia—which were evident in the National Defense Act of 1916, but either could not see or would not admit the same improper inferences in this new legislation which he was sponsoring. Senator ADAMS, of Colorado, had noted that "the prohibition against the maintenance of troops by the States in time of peace does not include the Organized Militia of the States"—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 9, 1940, page 13415.

Presently he continued:

> Not only is the Congress assuming the authority, but we are assuming to give the Secretary of War the power to say to my State and your State, "You may not organize any home guard, any militia, unless you have the consent of the Secretary of War and the consent of Congress." In that part of the bill I cannot concur. I must, therefore, vote against the bill, because it is founded upon what I think is a violation of a very fundamental provision not only of the Constitution but of the rights of the States, which antedated the Constitution and which were in no way limited or restricted by the Constitution when it was adopted (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 9, 1940, p. 13415).

Obviously referring, in part at least, to the provision of the tenth amendment, which says:

> The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Senator THOMAS replied that—

> All the Senator from Colorado has said was, of course, extremely germane when the National Defense Act of 1916 was being considered and enacted (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 9, 1940, p. 13415).

Later he said, however, that he very much doubted whether the act of 1916 was contrary to the Constitution—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 9, 1940, page 13415.

Senator ADAMS, of Colorado, answered:

> The fact that the Congress in 1916 assumed something in violation of the Constitution does not justify us in doing the same thing again (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 9, 1940, p. 13415).

Later, in the discussion of the current measure, Senator ADAMS said:

> In this bill we are asserting the absolute right of the Federal Government to forbid the organization within the State of military forces of a kind differentiated from troops or a standing army. As I have said, I think that is the assertion of a right which does not exist in the Federal Government. Of course, the assertion of the right by Congress does not affect the constitutional rights of the States (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 9, 1940, p. 13415).

SEEKING THE PURPOSE OF THIS UNNECESSARY LEGISLATION

What was the purpose of the administration in seeking this useless legislation? This memorandum does not know from having been told; but some things may fairly be deduced from the nature of the bill itself and from the discussion of it in Congress.

SUGGESTIONS WHICH WERE NOT THE TRUE PURPOSES

The sponsors of the measure held it up as a method to be used by the Federal Government for providing funds and equipment to the impoverished militia organizations of the States. This was not valid for two reasons: First, it carried no appropriation of funds nor authorization for incurring such expenses, although it did provide for the issuance, upon requisition of the governor, and in the discretion of the Secretary of War, of such arms and equipment as the War Department could spare; and second, because, as a mere extension of the National Guard, which Senator THOMAS, himself, said this home guard is, it would, even without this new enactment, have the same rights as would any other part of a State's militia to get arms and equipment which the Secretary of War is authorized to issue on the requisitions of the governors of the several States. This matter of the States getting their militia equipment through the Federal Government is already thoroughly covered by existent statutes (title 32 U. S. C. A., secs. 31 to 50, especially secs. 33 to 38) and this new enactment as to the home guard adds nothing to and takes away nothing from those statutes.

Two other invalid excuses, given by its senatorial sponsor for the foisting of this measure upon Congress and the public were: (a) that it had been asked for by the Governors of

several States; and (b) that the attorneys in the War Department claim that the enactment of this bill is necessary in order to enable the States to have a military force. If any of the State Governors were so poorly advised as to ask the National Government to make them a grant of power which they did not need because they already had it; and if the attorneys in the War Department were so poorly versed in the law on this subject as to express the belief attributed to them, it should have been easy for the Executive to order an Attorney General's opinion to straighten out those two groups of misguided gentlemen. It should not have taken the staff of the Attorney General very many days to have prepared an opinion on this subject since Senator ADAMS, of Colorado, made a very hasty search of the authorities, in the few minutes at his disposal for this purpose between the sessions of the Senate on successive days, October 8 and 9, and apparently found all the authority there is on the subject—and further, since that authority all runs one way, viz, to the effect that the constitutional prohibition, against the States keeping troops without the consent of Congress, does not refer to the militia of the States even while in active service.

However, all this congressional discussion as to what legal authority the State Governors may have to maintain soldiers in time of peace without the consent of Congress—even if they were troops as that term is used in the Constitution—really is unnecessary as to any home-guard units which the States might need since, upon the authority of Senator THOMAS, himself, these units are merely an extension of the National Guard, and congressional authority already has been given for organizing and continuing the National Guard units in the States. The quotas for enlisted strength of the National Guard, as determined for the States by the Secretary of War, are so elastic within the range of the present statute, and the statute could, if desired, be so easily changed that it is impossible to visualize any handicap to the service if the Federal Government as well as the Governors should seriously desire to replace their National Guards, which have been called out, by other units of the same kind. The present quotas and the number of the enlisted personnel, so far as the Federal Government's end of the problem is concerned, are now limited only by the available appropriations for equipment and salaries. Hence, if Congress wants more militia all it needs to do is to appropriate more money for that purpose; but, as stated, this present home-guard bill appropriates no money.

The preferability of refilling the ranks of the States' militia units, rather than seeking to establish something new, or under new authorization, in the way of a home guard was suggested by Senator JOHNSON of Colorado, and others. But the Senate as a whole seemed to have no interest in that proposition, apparently, in part, because not enough of the Senators then present were sufficiently conversant with the situation to recognize the merit of that suggestion and also because the war psychology in Washington had proceeded to the point where they did not feel justified in delaying the administration's request for this apparently harmless legislation until they could inform themselves on the pertinent facts and law.

SUGGESTION OF SOME EVIDENT PURPOSES

What, then, were the administration's reasons for putting over this legislation, which we have called a donation to the "conscience fund," in apparent retribution for having robbed the States of their militia? After careful analysis and some little deliberation, it has been concluded that among those reasons were the three following elements:

First. To seem to be granting something to the States, thus, on the surface, currying their favor; but really seeking covertly to put them under further obligation and to impress them once again with their own inferiority to the set-up of the Great White Father in Washington.

Second. In furtherance of the general idea of keeping the Washington publicity skids hot, during these preelection days, with anything and everything toward continuing the illusion that war matters are the only important issues.

Third. To carry out an appearance of making amends for robbing the States of their already organized National Guard units, the only ones immediately effective and therefore the only agencies that might have given the Governors present power; or even power in the near future except at the permission of the all highest.

STORY OF THE ROBBERY PREVIOUSLY TOLD

The full story of the purloining of the States' militias need not be repeated here. Its main elements were recounted in a memorandum entitled "Dictatorship or Defense" which the gentleman from Michigan, Congressman PAUL W. SHAFER, placed in Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 5040.

The justification for such harsh terms as "robbery," "steal," "embezzle," and "purloin" in connection with this recent grab for power by the Federal administration, the particular power that makes all the other powers effective, lies in the fact that this whole process of taking the National Guard into Federal service for training is strictly contrary to a definite provision of the Constitution. Hence, it is illegal regardless of the enactment of Congress—Senate Joint Resolution 286, which became Public Resolution No. 96, approved August 27, 1940—which the administration obtained, thus seeking, by the appearance of congressional connivance, to justify itself in ordering this recent appendage to its power drive.

If there ever was, previously, a possible chance for the perpetrators, of this unconstitutional calling in of the militia under Federal authority for training, to contend that the men were not called for training, then that chance has been eliminated by the discussion of this home-guard bill on the floor of the Senate. The administration's own sponsor of the bill, Senator THOMAS of Utah, was drawing a distinction between the situation in the Spanish-American War, when we were operating in wartime, and he continued:

The National Guard at present is being called into training in peacetime.

Just a little later, in response to an inquiry by another Senator, he said:

The men will serve during peacetime, during their year of training, and then return to the States. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, October 8, 1940, p. 13379.)

TIME OF THE ROBBERY

The time when this tentacle of the New Deal's power racket really affixed itself to our once free Government was June 15, 1933, since the States' militia was nationalized by the act of that date creating that new entity—the National Guard of the United States—and merging into it, for all practical purposes, the National Guard of the States, thus effectively eliminating the latter as true State militia organizations. That was the robbery of the 48 States above referred to. It really put the men composing the National Guard in Federal service. The enactment of Public Resolution No. 96, approved August 27, 1940, as mentioned, purporting to authorize the President to order the National Guard into the active military service of the United States and his calling them in for training, constituted merely the call of the pay-off man on the victim—any one of the States—to come through with his assessment to the racket which he already had joined, whether he knew it at the time or not. And, as stated, the scoop was completed and rendered classical by the pass made at contributing to the conscience fund when the powers that be, by the recently passed H. R. 10495, authorized the States by the laws of such State, to create a home guard, "under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe for discipline in training."

EXPOSING FURTHER SHAM IN THE HOME-GUARD BILL

Incidentally, it may be noted that many of the State legislatures meet only every 2 years, so that nothing can be provided by State law between such meetings unless they are called into special session. And it might be that a Federal Executive could induce the Secretary of War to refrain from prescribing any such regulations until after the next sessions of many of the State legislatures which meet early in the odd-numbered years. All of which are only a few of the

reasons why the States have no effective military force really within their control, and cannot have one, except at the sufferance of one man, in the reasonably near future. Preparation for dictatorship? No! Presence of dictatorship!

THE 100 DAYS WITH THEIR 77 POWERS TOWARD DICTATORSHIP

Whether this surreptitious grab of practically all their effective power from the States by stealthily stealing their National Guard was one of those 77 new powers, which it has been reliably said were conferred upon the President in the first 100 days of his incumbency, is not known. The final approval of the legislation, meaning his signing of it, occurred 103 days after his inauguration in 1933. Authority for the 77-powers-in-the-first-100-days statement is Oswald Garrison Villard, a man, so he himself says, of more than 40 years of experience in political journalism in the United States as editor of a daily New York newspaper and of a weekly journal of liberal opinion and who states further that the President and he are still warm personal friends.—See Third Presidential Term, a statement introduced in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Senator EDWARD R. BURKE, of Nebraska, page 5946.

Whether this grab of the guard was 1 of the 77 powers may be immaterial, since there is no justification for a suggestion that that great conferment of powers stopped at the number stated or at the end of approximately 100 days. And, in any event, this power to enforce all the other powers is the mainspring—to become visible when the time comes for the outright taking over—of the existent dictatorship set-up. If any person claims to believe that all these powers add up to something less than dictatorship, it would be interesting to know just what he thinks would constitute dictatorship.

ASSUMPTION BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, EVEN THROUGH AN ACT OF CONGRESS, OF POWER TO PLACE LIMITATIONS ON RIGHTS OF STATES TO MAINTAIN THEIR MILITIA IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL AS ASSUMPTION OF POWERS NOT GRANTED FEDERAL GOVERNMENT (10TH AMENDMENT); BUT ALSO CONGRESSIONAL ACT SQUARELY VIOLATES ANOTHER PROVISION WHEN IT SEEKS TO CALL MILITIA IN UNDER FEDERAL AUTHORITY FOR TRAINING

When Senator ADAMS, of Colorado, as above quoted from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at page 13415, stated that the home-guard bill was founded upon a violation of a very fundamental provision not only of the Constitution but of the rights of the States, which antedated the Constitution, and which were in no way limited or restricted by the adoption of the Constitution, he was exactly correct; but he might have carried the statement further. He might have noted that the "authority of training the militia" was reserved "to the States respectively" by a specific provision of the Constitution and therefore the preceding bill ("authorizing" the calling of the Guard into Federal service for training), which seemed to make this home-guard bill necessary from the point of view of some persons, was literally contrary to the Constitution and therefore wholly ineffective as a matter of law.

The provision of the Constitution is that:

> The Congress shall have power * * * to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and "the authority of training the militia" according to the discipline prescribed by Congress. (Constitution, art. I, sec. 7, clause 16.)

This matter of the authority over the militia being reserved to the States during their training periods although they are being trained "according to the discipline prescribed by Congress" has, always in the past, been worked out by a nice balance between the two jurisdictions because neither was trying to put anything over on the other but both were trying to be helpful to the other in what, for the first 150 years of our national existence, was considered a common cause. But, with a power-mad administration, nothing in the way of the rights of others is deserving of respect, especially if it can be captured by stealth.

THE REMEDY

What to do about this masterful robbery? The Governors, and all citizens of the States believing in constitutional government, eventually, once they see the necessity of doing something about it, can bring about the repeal of this vicious legislation which now is serving the purposes of our anti-constitutional administration just as effectively as though it were valid. But, meanwhile, such a wave of public sentiment could be created that the Federal power racketeers would, as a practical matter, be forced to restore to the States the National Guard units—the last line of real defense of a free people against a Federal dictatorship. It must be obvious to anyone looking at the facts carefully, that our national defense would not be impeded by such a just restitution, especially now that selective service, for increasing the Regular Army as fast as men can be handled, has actually gotten under way.

If our dictatorship drive ever is to be stopped, the correction of this National Guard grab will be an excellent way to start to stop it.

PURPOSE OF THIS ANALYSIS TO AVOID AND REPAIR DICTATORSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES; AND, BY NO MEANS TO IMPEDE THE PREPAREDNESS PROGRAM

In order to make it clear that this analysis and a former like statement to which this is a supplement—statement by Congressman SHAFER, of Michigan, Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 5040—would not in any sense wish to slow up the preparedness program, it is desirable here to give a copy of the letter with which the former statement entitled "Dictatorship or Defense" was sent in. It follows:

> MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: There is handed you herewith a memorandum I have worked out entitled "Dictatorship or Defense." It presents the proposition that it is unconstitutional to call the National Guard of the States into the Federal service "for training," and suggests that an attempt to get such authorization from Congress may be a further move in the direction of dictatorship. You may use this memorandum in any way which you feel will aid the cause of constitutional government.
>
> Just to give you my viewpoint, I should state: (1) I represent no one in any matter of this nature and speak only for myself personally. (2) Ever since giving any thought to the matter—i. e., in the days of and prior to our part of the World War—I have believed in sufficient military preparedness for our country and have spoken this view whenever opportunity has arisen, which now includes favoring all the preparation we can accomplish legitimately and doing that in as short a time as possible. (3) As a member of the A. E. F., I was a No. 1 machine gunner and have some appreciation of the need of making our current preparations modern to the *n*th degree. (4) I believe in conscription as the proper means of raising an army, when a sizable one is needed, either in time of war or in peacetime when war threatens us, having been one of the invited guests at the last war. (5) After war is on, and, to a considerable degree, at other times, I believe in the motto of Stephen Decatur: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right—but our country, right or wrong." And (6) finally, I believe, to anybody who is capable of reasoning ruthlessly, it can be shown that there is no such thing as a conscientious objector to rendering military service for his country in time of war.
>
> Trusting this material may be of assistance in checking our onrush toward dictatorship—which, to be readily effected, must have all elements of quickly usable power under one control—I am,
>
> Respectfully yours,
>
> ERRETT G. SMITH.

CURRENT OPPOSITION TO PURLOINING NATIONAL GUARD BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Along with the memorandum on Dictatorship or Defense were listed references to two important statements opposing the idea of the Federal Government taking over the National Guard unless for the proper and legal purposes. They were:

Editorial from Chicago Tribune of June 3, introduced by the gentleman from Indiana, Congressman ROBERT A. GRANT—Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 9538.

Editorial from Cincinnati Times-Star of June 1, introduced by the gentleman from Ohio, Congressman CHARLES H. ELSTON—Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 3649.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPLES INVOLVED FOR LEGISLATORS

In the nature of a summary of the points of the Dictatorship or Defense memorandum, and at the end of it, there were asked a number of queries, as follows:

How can any Senator or Member of Congress vote for this proposed legislation federalizing the National Guard for training—

First. Who has any concern for States' rights?

Second. Who has a careful regard for his oath to support the Constitution?

Third. Who has sufficient respect for his own mental integrity to be able to lay a simple proposal—with the attendant declarations as to its purpose—alongside the Constitution and thus decide whether the two are inconsistent?

Fourth. Who has sufficient iron in his blood to be willing to stand firmly for the fundamental liberties of the people against our encroaching dictatorship?

National Defense—Plan or Patchwork?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURTON K. WHEELER

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY LINDSAY ROGERS

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a very able article by Lindsay Rogers entitled "National Defense—Plan or Patchwork?" This article is reprinted from Foreign Affairs, an American quarterly review.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Foreign Affairs for October 1940]

NATIONAL DEFENSE: PLAN OR PATCHWORK?

(By Lindsay Rogers)

Paul Reynaud published a little book in 1937 called Le Problème Militaire Français. Two years before, France had decided to extend military service from 1 to 2 years. Was that a sound method of building the army? Was that real preparedness? M. Reynaud answered "No"; it was "only patchwork." He said that to let Germany have the advantage in respect of the "modern instruments" for destruction would permit the ancient threat weighing on France to grow in terrible proportions. "On the contrary, if we know how to play the new card which the evolution of warfare offers us, we will find again all our advantages, for it is above all in the realm of quality that it is within our power to seize the advantage since the superiority of numbers is, alas, denied us."

Generals, ministers, and parliamentarians did not heed Reynaud's words. A few months before, the Government had demanded credits of nineteen and a half billion francs for defense preparations. That figure was arrived at by totaling the requisitions of the three defense ministries. In Washington, recent figures seem to have been arrived at by totaling the requests of two services—the army and navy—for themselves, and for a third service, the air force, which they share and in which they compete with each other. France, Reynaud declared, made no attempt "to determine whether, given the actual means of our state of defense, the perils which the country ran, and existing or probable alliances, it were better [for each billion francs] to construct a cruiser or 500 planes or a thousand tanks. Doubtless the ideal thing would be to have the strongest army, the strongest air force, the strongest navy; but is this possible? If it is not possible, we must choose, that is to say, decide."

France had no machinery for such decisions. Neither has the United States. To be sure, France had a trinity of national defense—the three ministers heading the three services of the army, the navy, and the air force, each assisted by his chief of staff and meeting periodically in a Comité Permanent (of which Marshal Pétain was a permanent member) under the presidency of the Minister of War, who also had the title of Minister of National Defense. The United States has no such trinity. It has a duality—the joint board. But this body includes only the highest Army and Navy officers, and no one save them—neither the President, nor the Secretaries, nor Congress—can have more than incomplete and haphazard information about the matters on which they agree, on those about which they continue to be deadlocked, and on those they may have completely overlooked.

The French trinity was unable to decide the military policy of France, for each Minister had faith in his own branch of the service and fought for its interests. Hence contradictory responsibilities confronted each other and were not reconciled. Reynaud proposed a Ministry of National Defense assisted by a staff—an "espèce de 'brain trust' "—small in numbers, composed in principle of officers drawn from the Centre des Hautes-Etudes de la Défense Nationale—an organization for which there is no American counterpart. As they exercised their functions, these officers would forget their former allegiances and think only of defense. Underneath the ministry there would be secretaries for the three services and an undersecretary for procurement for all three. The French Government did not adopt this suggestion. Its method was the one which in the last war was described as le système D—"débrouille toi"—"muddle through." Unhappily in this sort of war such a system was synonymous with catastrophe.

Does not Reynaud's analysis have a direct and immediate bearing on the problem which now confronts the United States? He asked whether, given "existing or probable alliances," France had the weapons that she should have. But his country and Great Britain went ahead and made promises to Poland without having military power to fulfill them. What is it that the United States now proposes to defend and where and how do we propose to do it? France had her Maginot Line, but did the Comité Permanent ever consider the necessity of extending it to the channel, or consider how—as an alternative—France was to be made less deficient in the air? At the time of Munich, Great Britain and France frankly admitted their unpreparedness. But why was that unpreparedness relatively so little less a year later? Enough money had been appropriated to begin to redress the balance. Did the operations on the Continent show that the British and French had thought out plans for their conduct—just where, for example, they would resist an attack through Belgium? Hasty and even impromptu planning must have contributed to make the Norwegian expedition the egregious failure that it turned out to be. Most important of all was the fact that Great Britain long neglected the cardinal principle of all warfare—that military operations require a secure base. At the time of Munich antiaircraft defense was so scant as to be almost ludicrous, and the preparations during the following year were laggard. One reason had been a struggle between the Exchequer and the local authorities, brilliantly conducted on both sides, over who should pay for what. During the first months of the war Allied purchasing in the United States—particularly of planes—failed to disclose any conviction that deficiencies in the air must be met as fully and as swiftly as possible and at almost any cost. After the Norwegian debacle and the change of government in England there was a change of attitude; but until then the record was not heartening.

Before the war of 1914–18, Jules Cambon, France's Ambassador in Berlin, could and did say, when Germany seemed to be riding high, "J'attends la gaffe allemande." But in this war the Germans do not seem to have made many blunders. They had thought out what they wanted to do and had endeavored to produce the means for doing it. The military machine was mighty. But in addition they were aided by the fact that the Governments of their enemies had been victims of what M. Reynaud called the "illusion" that the political authorities could leave it "to the military authority itself to reform itself." Thus they were guilty of crimes which Reynaud listed as l'hésitation, la timidité, la mollesse—hesitation, timidity, softness. "In this matter," Reynaud declared—and in recent weeks he must ofttimes have recalled the passage—"history shows us that crimes by abstention are the greatest crimes against a country, even if they escape, though wrongfully, dramatic catastrophes in the law courts." Ironically, it is not these crimes which the Riom court is investigating.

If there have been "crimes of abstention" in Germany, they have failed to prevent an almost unbroken series of military successes and were so few as to revise Hans Delbrück's definition of strategy as "making one less error than your opponents." "According to plan" was a phrase sickeningly familiar in the war communiques of 1914–18. Newspaper readers knew that in most cases it concealed tactical failures. Only successes would be reported in definite terms of the capture of territory or of prisoners. But since September 1939, "according to plan" has been a not inaccurate description of the way in which Germany's strategy has proceeded and in which total warfare has been conducted. No secret weapon has been brought forth suddenly from the military arsenal for use with catastrophic effects. On the contrary, Germany's most effective weapon has not been secret; yet the enemy did not use it. Germany has simply made certain that sufficient thought preceded the determination of policy and the selection of means for implementing it; that political statecraft and military strategy were harmonious parts of the same effort; that there was coordination of the military machine, and that it had backing from the industrial machine.

Of course, this was far easier in Germany than it would be in a nontotalitarian state. In February 1938, Hitler decreed: "Henceforth I shall take personal and direct command of the armed forces." How far he has actually directed them is not clear, but the high command has certainly not been independent, and the sweep of events seems to demonstrate that Hitler has gotten along better with his command than did, for example, Lincoln with McClellan or Jefferson Davis with his generals.

Two days before the war began, Hitler set up a ministerial council for the Defense of the Reich. Its head was Field Marshal Goering, whose associates were the Führer's deputy and party representative, Herr Rudolf Hess; the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Frick; the Minister of Economics, Dr. Funk; the Chief of the Reich Chancellery, Dr. Lammers; and the Chief of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces, General Keitel. This organization could instantly settle any dispute between the political and military authorities. It could issue any decrees that it wanted to, co-opt members for subcommittees, and appoint and control regional defense commissars. Four months later this body was reorganized and in effect Marshal Goering took over the direction of the war economy with a council of the same character but recruited on a broader basis. The council

did not have to improvise, because, for 6 years, Germany's be-all and end-all had been the organization of every military, industrial, and moral resource for the waging of total war. Arbitrary power was subject to few restraints. Laws, constitutions, bills of rights, conscience, decency could not stand in the way of carrying out orders. Bismarck once declared that any fool could rule by martial law; but arbitrary power alone cannot run a complicated mechanism which combines military effort and economic organization, to say nothing of diplomacy and propaganda. Totalitarian warfare, to be successful, requires the transfer of sufficient authority to a body so constituted that it can command the knowledge necessary for it to make intelligent use of its authority. That is possible in a democratic state without excessive sacrifice of democratic values. Indeed, if it is not done, those values may be lost as in France, or threatened as in Great Britain. And when it is done, two important principles must be adhered to.

In the first place, the military hierarchy cannot be permitted to reform itself. "One of the most sure principles" [of the art of statecraft], wrote Walter Bagehot, "is that success depends on a due mixture of special and nonspecial minds—of minds which attend to the means and of minds which attend to the ends." Germany acted on that principle. The military hierarchy was not allowed to reform itself. On the contrary, it was broken and reshaped. I do not refer to the purges of generals that Herr Hitler has had and which may have been due to dislike of individuals or to a desire to insure absolute loyalty to himself. Much more important has been the fact that the three military branches—Army, Navy, and Air—have been coordinated. L'amour propre and particularism were not permitted. The chieftains have not been men whose selection was chiefly influenced by seniority and who reached key posts only when they were close to retirement. For men of ability promotion has been rapid, and for men whose capacities were found wanting, cashiering has been instantaneous—all this before the war actually began.

But there is, I think, a second clue, the symbol of which is Berghof, the Führer's mountain fastness, to which he so frequently retires. He may be abnormal mentally, he may consult astrologers, he may not himself be the principal directing genius of the German war machine. He may, in 1938, as an official statement declared, have made 97 speeches and had 8,922 telephone conversations, but he and his immediate associates do reserve time which is not interrupted by routine duties. At Berghof Hitler does not play the country squire; neither there nor in Berlin has he any burdensome ceremonial duties; and he does not have to run for reelection. "Too busy to think" is a phrase that does not seem to be in the Berghof vocabulary. When that phrase has to be used the fact that the busy men are of extraordinary ability is not a sufficient offset. When the description is not apt, lesser minds going at a problem from different angles, pooling experience and ideas, raising questions, asking for facts, demanding of the experts their appreciations of actual and probable situations, can ofttimes do a better job than can an overwhelmed genius. M. Reynaud wanted a thought organization in the French war office, but he did not have it.

Save in the totalitarian states, civilian ministers have on the whole been extremely reluctant to order, to check, or even to question the services.

Twenty years ago, Lord d'Abernon, then British Ambassador to Germany, remarked that in the country to which he was accredited there was "exaggerated deference to professional opinion," and he contrasted Germany with Great Britain and the United States which heard all the arguments and then made a selection of policies rather than having the "best" handed to them by experts. The heads of totalitarian states, as I have suggested, show "exaggerated deference" to none; but in the democracies, legislatures and executives acquiesce rather easily in the professional opinion of soldiers and sailors, and neglect to question and to prod. Of course, proper deference should be paid any professional opinion that is competent, but the amazing thing is that the professional opinion of soldiers and sailors is considered far more sacrosanct than all the opinions of other professions. For the fact is that, as Churchill said of the generals and admirals in the last war, outside of technical matters they "were helpless and misleading arbiters in problems in whose solution the aid of the statesman, the financier, the manufacturer, the inventor, the psychologist, was equally required."

That this truth is so frequently ignored seems the more remarkable when one reflects on the nature of the profession of arms. In his History of Civilization, Buckle noted that "in a backward state of society, men of distinguished talents crowd to the army and are proud to enroll themselves in its ranks," but that "as society advances, new sources of activity are opened and new professions arise which, being essentially mental, offer to genius opportunities for success more rapid than any formerly known." In England, 70 years ago, the opportunities of the new professions were great. To quote Buckle, "if a father has a son whose faculties are remarkable, he brings him up in one of the lay professions where intellect, when accompanied by industry, is sure to be rewarded. If, however, the inferiority of the boy is obvious, a suitable remedy is at hand; he is made either a soldier or a clergyman; he is sent into the army or hidden in the church."

Let it be said at once that, as applied to the American Army, Buckle's observation is a caricature, and that our officers are, on the whole, able and devoted men, some of whom have deliberately chosen to serve their country instead of seeking great distinction and wealth in other professions. At the moment, moreover, there seems to be agreement that we are fortunate in our high command. On the other hand, it should be remembered that recruitment for the profession of arms is on the basis of excellence tempered by geographical distribution and political nomination. "* * * our whole Army," wrote General MacArthur in his last report as Chief of Staff, "has been developed spiritually in the image of West Point," whose graduates are nurtured in the teachings "of discipline, courage, and loyalty—the cardinal virtues of the soldier." These are certainly virtues—perhaps cardinal ones—but no one has ever maintained that instruction at the service academies sought to cultivate flair, judgment, inventiveness, flexibility of mind, receptiveness to new ideas, and rejection of worn-out ideas.

The profession, moreover, is one which discourages juniors from questioning superiors and which makes rank synonymous with omniscience. "No one," as Harold Laski has said, "can effectively argue with another man on his knees; and the soldier and sailor in high command have become so accustomed to the unquestioning acceptance of their views that they too seldom are accessible to that criticism which makes them state, and defend from attack, the groundwork of their basic assumptions." What other profession separates promotion from ability, makes it depend on seniority, confines high preferment to those who are ceasing to be middle-aged and then permits it to be determined by older comrades in arms? This is tolerated because, save in time of war, soldiering is a sheltered, noncompetitive profession. In time of peace the soldier's life is make-believe; the study of tactics of previous wars, the preparation of plans for new eventualities, maneuvers, and war games. But there is no way of finding out whether the plans are any good until they are actually tried against an enemy. Ability is not put to any decisive test as it continually is in the case of the doctor whose patients die or the lawyer whose clients lose. What I have said about the Army applies to the Navy, save that it, even in time of peace, is not a sheltered occupation. There is competition—with the elements. And in the case of air forces, unhappily, training demands a heavy toll of human life.

Surely these considerations suggest that, technical matters apart, the deference paid to service opinion should not be exaggerated. Military history teems with illustrations of the beneficial substitution of civilian judgment for the judgment of the services. The story of the tanks is a tragic one of military indifference, even hostility, to the possibilities of a new weapon. The British command in France, ignoring ministerial advice, used the tank in such a way that its effectiveness was greatly lessened. In mid-1915, Lord Kitchener initialed a memorandum which asked two machine guns per battalion: "if possible run to four per battalion and above four may be counted as a luxury." Lloyd George, then Minister of Munitions, took Kitchener's maximum of four and gave this order: "Square it, multiply that result by two; and when you are in sight of that, double it again for good luck." By November 1915, 5 months after Kitchener's memorandum, the War Office had quadrupled his maximum, and before the end of the war the average was about the one anticipated by Lloyd George. Convoys for merchant ships were forced upon the Admiralty by the British War Cabinet against firm and prolonged objections from Admiral Jellicoe. The Cabinet's view, it should be noted, was backed by Admiral Sims, who in turn was supported by the Navy Department and the White House. Until Munich, the British War Office had only allotted one-quarter of 1 percent of its total appropriations for antiaircraft defense. "The custom of the services," it has been said, "differs from the domestic family in that the latest born is commonly the first to suffer." Old, well-intrenched branches can look after themselves. Before 1938 our War Department was spending more on horses, mules, harness, and wagons than on tanks, arms, and armed vehicles.

But it should not be thought that the only lesson of the past is the need for more civilian cooperation with or even direction of the services. Despite agitation in Parliament and in the press, the British Cabinet was laggard in planning its defense preparations. There was great delay in setting up a Ministry of Supply, and when it was finally created its powers were inadequate. Antiaircraft defense was for long left to the Home Office and was not put under a separate organization. The stimulation of agriculture and the storage of food supplies were tackled late and then, for some time, tentatively. British experience before the war demonstrated that the much-vaunted administrative class of the British civil service was not brilliantly adapted to meet the new tasks imposed upon it. When a man has spent the formative years of his life caring as much for routine as for results, and, in an endeavor to keep costs down, has habituated himself to say "no," it is too much to expect that, save in exceptional cases, he will undergo a metamorphosis and, in meeting emergencies, will be imaginative, courageous, and even rash. Lloyd George realized this in the last war when he staffed the key posts of his Ministry of Munitions from outside the civil service, and it was an amazingly efficient organization that he created.

When this war came, Mr. Chamberlain created a war cabinet, but it differed fundamentally from the war cabinet that Lloyd George set up in December 1916. It was on strict party lines and was nearly twice as large. With the exception of the Prime Minister, it had only one member who was entirely free of departmental duties. It was heavily weighted with Mr. Chamberlain's cronies—Sir John Simon, Sir Kingsley Wood, Sir Samuel Hoare—all ministers who were worn out through devotion to routine. In Lloyd George's Cabinet of five, there was only one man—Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer—who had departmental duties, and he was rather a sentinel outside the cabinet to keep matters from getting to it than a full member of the directorate. The others,

Lord Milner, Lord Curzon, Arthur Henderson, and General Smuts, were not mere deserving party hacks.

From December 1916 on, that War Cabinet planned the conduct of the war. It met daily, sometimes twice a day. It had direct access to chiefs of staff and to departmental experts. It had a highly efficient secretariat. It divided labor and set up innumerable subcommittees under the chairmanships of the individual members. There was criticism that it ignored the fact that policy cannot be completely separated from departmental detail and that it imposed great burdens on the time of officials who had to dance attendance until they could get their innings. But the War Cabinet was an organization which attempted to put thought before action, and after it was set up the British effort was much more smoothly directed and the term "too late" was rarely used. A British War Cabinet is not an article for export, but the principles which underlay its creation and functioning are principles which must be accepted and then adapted by any government which seeks to avoid failure.

What is the situation in which we in this country find ourselves? Our problem is more difficult than was the comparable problem in Great Britain and in France. Their parliaments were willing to give pleins pouvoirs to the executive. Hence, for any errors which were committed, the executives bore sole responsibility. Our Congress is not willing to write a blank check in respect to grants of power, and I do not think that we should blame Congress. It encounters vagueness in high places. It knows that in June its adjournment was proposed and that now there is much work for it to do. But congressional delays or even refusals will not be decisive. The President of the United States has emergency powers already granted that give him, as Commander in Chief, sufficient freedom of action—to make or mar his reputation and perhaps save or sacrifice his country. If we go the way of France, no one will be able to blame it on Congress. It has been generous, almost profligate, in granting money and, within the limitations it has imposed, there is ample opportunity for the spenders to be intelligent. Likewise there can be no legislative barrier to their unintelligence.

In France, and particularly in Great Britain, Parliaments exercised a beneficent influence on executive policy and stimulated executive action through questioning ministers, expressing fears and alarms, and demanding an accounting. That kind of role is impossible for the American Congress. Nor can it impose on the Executive any solution of the planning problem. When the Executive becomes aware of the necessity for cooperation and anxious to effect it, he will take the necessary steps himself, for his powers are ample. If Congress tried to impose a solution on an Executive unaware of its necessity, any organization suggested would be viewed with suspicion, even hostility, and would not work.

Blue prints of desirable changes could easily be drawn up, but what blue print would be best? A separate department of national defense is probably ruled out because both services would be so hostile to it. Even if it were desirable, a separate air department would take so long to shake down that the advisability of constituting it at the present juncture would seem doubtful. Certainly, however, there should be some civilian participation in the Joint Board so that there could be a mixture of the nonspecial and special minds. Certainly, also, on the procurement and industrial mobilization side the National Defense Advisory Commission cannot be left advisory. But most important of all is the necessity of setting up some kind of body—perhaps interdepartmental, perhaps supradepartmental—in which routine will not be allowed to postpone thinking about policy, charting its outlines, and planning its execution—a body, in short, which will confine itself to intellectual effort.

"It is one business," wrote Sir Henry Taylor many years ago, "to do what must be done and another to devise what ought to be done. It is the spirit of the British Government as hitherto existing to transact only the former business; and the reform which it requires is to enlarge that spirit so as to include the latter." Where in Washington is any machinery for devising what ought to be done? President Roosevelt undoubtedly wishes to go down in history as a great President. He may—and with some justification—think of himself as did William Pitt, the Elder, who said to George II: "I know that I can save this country and that no one else can." If he feels this way, he should ponder a remark by Mandell Creighton in his Life of Cardinal Wolsey. Creighton said that "all men are to be judged by what they do and the way in which they do it"; but he added that in the case of great statesmen there is a third consideration which challenges our judgment—what they choose to do. That third consideration is nowadays much more important than it was in Wolsey's or even in Creighton's time. Given the tremendous problems which now confront statesmen—the totalitarian nature of defense preparations, the importance of time, the difficulty of retrieving errors, the catastrophic effects of not being able to say "according to plan," there is a fourth consideration—the selection of machinery and procedures by a statesman so that he makes it certain that thought will precede decisions, that his choosing what to do will be intelligent and not too late.

There is a French proverb which says that a man can accomplish miracles if he will only share the credit with others. The proverb does not say what is equally true—that a man who thus accomplishes miracles seems a miracle man because those with whom he shares the credit are no more than his instruments.

The Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY CYRUS S. EATON AND AN EDITORIAL FROM THE BROWN DAILY HERALD

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article by Cyrus S. Eaton entitled "The Third Term 'Tradition'" and an editorial from the Brown Daily Herald dated October 21, 1940, entitled "The Best Man." The Brown Daily Herald is a student publication of Brown University.

There being no objection, the matters referred to were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE THIRD-TERM "TRADITION"

(By Cyrus S. Eaton)

Reverence for the no third-term "tradition" in the United States is a puzzling phenomenon to one who is familiar with the history of popular government and of intellectual and political freedom, particularly as exemplified in English and Canadian experience. Bryce, the great liberal who served in Gladstone's cabinet and later was Ambassador to the United States, and who was the most penetrating student the American system of government has ever had, observed that "the hostility to a third term of office rested not merely on reverence for the example set by Washington, but also on the fear that a President repeatedly chosen would become dangerous to republican institutions," and asserted, "this particular alarm seems, to a European, groundless."

The history of liberty and democracy in England deserves the study of those who fear that the election of a President for a third term might result in dictatorship. England has offered to the world the one conspicuous example of a long, continuous, and orderly development of political institutions. And it is from the early establishment of self-government and the steady growth of this principle in British hands that England has come to be called the Mother of Parliaments, the forerunner of our own form of government.

THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE IN ENGLAND

Of almost a dozen men who have served as Prime Minister of England for longer than 8 years, the examples range from Walpole's 21 years to the younger Pitt's 20 years, to Gladstone's and Salisbury's 13 years apiece, to Palmerston's and Asquith's 9 years each. These statesmen stood for reelection periodically, and the voters' least consideration was turning a Prime Minister out of office because he had been there for an arbitrary length of time.

Britain has achieved its finest expression of democracy under Government leaders who have served longer than 8 years. Furthermore, the British Prime Minister's power has always been considerably greater than that of the American President. For the head of the Government in England unites the executive and the legislative power and, in part, the judicial. No written constitution limits him; Parliament passes the laws he asks, and they become the law of the land. The sole check on his authority is insurrection in his own party expressed by a vote of lack of confidence, which can force a new election before his 5 years in office are up. This system of responsible party government had gradually evolved during the eighteenth century, and by the time our Constitution was written was virtually realized, with the younger Pitt in office.

The American President, on the other hand, must rely upon his personal capacity for leadership to put his program through. Unless he has this quality in a marked degree, he finds his hands tied by a hostile or indifferent Congress that alters his legislative suggestions beyond recognition or refuses to act upon them at all. The President is further limited because all power not specifically granted to the National Government by the Constitution resides in the State and local governments.

THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE IN CANADA

The history of the executive in our nearest English-speaking neighbor also merits attention. The Canadian Dominion Government follows the British pattern very closely, the fact that Canada is a federation of provinces makes it perhaps of greater interest than England to the United States. In Canada, all power that has not been delegated to the provinces is reserved to the Dominion

while, as noted above, States rights are stoutly maintained in the United States. Comparison of the powers of the Canadian Prime Minister and those of the American President in other respects shows practically the same difference as between the British and the American Executive.

Of the 73 years of the Canadian federation's existence 49 have been divided among the administrations of three men. Macdonald, a Conservative, served 19 years, Laurier, a Liberal, 15 years, and King, the present Liberal incumbent, has served 15 years to date, while 4 years remain of his current term. Laurier served consecutive terms, while Macdonald had a 5-year break after his first 6 years of service, and the King administration has been interrupted once for part of a year and a second time for 5 years. The remaining 24 years of Canadian Government have been divided among 8 other Prime Ministers. From the Canadian experience it is obvious that the voters' sole concern has been to keep the men whose policies they approve, to defeat the others, without regard to length of service.

ORIGINS OF DEMOCRACY

Popular government in the United States, as in England and Canada, owes much to ancient Greece. The Greek experiments in political institutions, made possible by liberty of thought and discussion, constitute one of the most important steps in human progress. Twenty-five hundred years ago, Solon initiated the movement to deliver Athens from the oppressive rule of a privileged class and to institute government responsible to the whole people. His efforts were carried forward later by Pericles who, governing for 30 years by general consent of the community, introduced the idea that power ought to be so equitably diffused as to afford security to all. His ideals, in the words of Acton, the foremost historian of freedom, were "to preserve with equal care the independence of labor and the security of property, to make the rich safe against envy and the poor against oppression." It bears careful note that the golden age of Pericles, which produced perfection in the form of democratic government, was followed by the finest flowering of the human spirit and the human intellect that the world has ever known. From the age of Pericles comes not only a large part of the political knowledge we possess, but also incomparable literature and art and much of our philosophy, as well as the exact reasoning and close observation on which is based our immeasurable progress in science.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND THE CONSTITUTION

Following the classic example of Athens, the great patriots who founded the United States rejected rule by the aristocracy, whether of birth or wealth, and adopted the principle that those who make and administer the laws are responsible to the people. Every man was given the right to have a voice in the election of those to whose wisdom and integrity he was to entrust his fortune, his family, even his life. Government by consent replaced government by compulsion, and, as Lincoln later designated it, became "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

The American President is the direct representative of the whole people; the number of terms he may serve must be decided, as Acton pointed out, by the uncorrupted consciences of the entire electorate. Although the fear of a monarch like George III was uppermost in the minds of most of those who wrote the Constitution, their final decision was to leave any limitation of terms to the voters. Until the present year there has never been a real test, since no man has ever before received his party's nomination for a third term.

THE THIRD TERM FROM WASHINGTON TO COOLIDGE

Ten of the 30 men who were President before 1932, it is true, served long enough to be faced with the third-term problem. Three of the ten, Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson, refused to run again, but their age, their already long and laborious service to the country and other urgent personal reasons seem to have had greater influence on their decisions to retire from office at the end of a second term than conscious purpose to establish an inviolable precedent for all time to come.

Three others stood no chance of reelection. The Presidential stars of Madison and Monroe had waned by the end of their second terms. Cleveland was elected the first and last of the three times he ran; the severe business depression that coincided with his second term precluded any thought of running a fourth time

Three others, Grant, Wilson, and Coolidge were all willing to run. Grant tried in vain for a third nomination. Wilson's health was his stumbling block. Coolidge found himself outmaneuvered after he declared that he did not "choose" to run.

Theodore Roosevelt was not only willing; he actually did run for a third term in 1912, even though he could not secure his own party's nomination. Nor can his failure be considered a final verdict on the third term, inasmuch as the third-party factor split the vote. In nominating Taft, the Republican convention of that year ignored popular opinion, as expressed in preconvention primaries, with the consequence that in the November election Roosevelt's Progressive ticket received a popular vote 18 percent greater than that of the regular Republican slate and took 88 electoral votes to Taft's 8.

DEMOCRACY VERSUS SHIBBOLETHS

Those who, in sincerity, seek to introduce the shibboleths of "no third term" and "no indispensable man" imply either that the majority of the voters are incompetent to choose a President or that they have been bought. The latter implication overlooks the simple truth that the ballot is still secret; the former attacks the very foundations of popular government as the United States has known it for a century and a half.

WHAT ABOUT TRADITION?

Emphasis on reverence for political traditions is open to the weakness that in American politics a tradition is usually retained only so long as it strengthens its advocates' cause. That the "no third term" tradition as applied to the approaching election is no exception to this rule is underlined by the fact that a dozen of the present Senators, who were in the Senate in 1928 and who voted at that time for the La Follette resolution against a third term on traditional grounds, have publicly declared their support of a third term candidate in 1940. The plea for tradition in the present political campaign also ignores the fact that, while the Democratic convention broke all precedents by nominating a man for a third term, the Republican convention a few weeks earlier had likewise upset custom by nominating a registered Democrat.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1940

Because both 1940 party conclaves departed from tradition, the two conventions require further study as instruments of popular government. The charge is repeatedly made that the Chicago convention was controlled. Yet the Democratic Party chose not only the man who was their most experienced statesman, but the man who, wherever there had been a preconvention contest by secret ballot in State primaries, had won an overwhelming victory. Thus popular influence would seem to have been on the side of the procedure followed at Chicago in July. Moreover, the Democratic nomination assured that the November election would be a real popular test of the man, the measures and the methods of the past 8 years, the very test for which the Republican candidate had expressed a desire in public statements shortly after his own nomination in June.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1940

By charging that the Democratic Party seeks through a third term to destroy democracy, the Republican Party invites public scrutiny of the degree to which its own choice of a candidate reflected popular preference. The Republican delegates passed over all their experienced statesmen, including their former President, their former Presidential nominee, their Governors, Senators, Representatives, judges, and mayors. The convention flatly turned down the men who had received the popular preconvention vote in Republican primaries. The delegates went to the other extreme at Philadelphia to select a nominee who had never before been a candidate for any office, who had never had any experience in public service and who, while he had been well and favorably known to a small but distinguished wing of the Republican Party, was unknown to most voters.

WHO USES THE NO THIRD TERM ARGUMENT?

American political history shows that many users of the "no third term" argument have been unconsciously motivated by personal and party reasons. So great is the lure of the Presidency, so small is the number of those who can hope to occupy it, that every Member of the Senate, the chairman of every important committee in the House, every important officeholder in Federal, State, or city government understandably feels himself a potential President and employs any and every argument, especially that against a third term when it is applicable, to diminish the chances of a popular contender. It is worth noting that Bryan, although never elected, was three times nominated because he was the popular choice of his party, and it was not considered bad form on his part to accept the three nominations, even though they limited the Presidential opportunities of his Democratic contemporaries. Jefferson and and Jackson were also candidates three times—each was defeated once before becoming President for two terms. Cleveland's three consecutive candidacies have already been mentioned.

If there is a popular man in office, the other party will as a matter of policy maintain that the fewer terms he has the better. Ambitious rivals in his own party will also stress the tradition against a third term as the one argument they can safely make without injuring their party. This was borne out in this year's preconvention tussle in the Democratic Party, where there was no lack of aggressive striving for delegates on behalf of a number of exceptionally resourceful and influential Democrats.

TOTALITARIANISM AND THE THIRD TERM

The alarm of those who profess to believe that the present totalitarian trend in a large part of the rest of the world will sweep the United States as a result of a third term lacks substantiation in the history of dictatorships and, as pointed out above, in the record of English-speaking democracies. Hitler set up nazi-ism as soon as his party obtained sufficient Reichstag seats to enable him to become Chancelor of Germany. Musscolini marched on Rome and took over the Italian Government without the formality of an election. In each case dictatorship was premeditated and not a product of afterthought following one or more terms in office secured by popular election under democratic methods.

THE REAL ELECTION ISSUE

On the available evidence, a detached student of constitutional history finds the third term, far from being a real issue in any election, a convenient catchword, the use of which has been en-

couraged for the most part by those who would be President or who have reason to defeat a President on totally different grounds. Actually the single problem confronting the voters is to decide which of the candidates they believe better qualified for office.

It cannot be repeated too often that the President is elected by a popular vote of the whole electorate. He is, therefore, subject to the control of those for whom he acts. Once the merit of popular government has been conceded as against oligarchy or dictatorship—and in the present campaign both candidates have emphatically proclaimed their belief in democracy—no valid objection remains to a third term if that is the will of the people. As Bryce said, "A President is strong * * * because his rights come straight from the people. * * * Nowhere is the rule of public opinion so complete as in America, or so direct."

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *October 7, 1940.*

[From the Brown Daily Herald of Monday, October 21, 1940]

THE BEST MAN

Life would be a simple matter if all the decisions we have to make were easy choices between things that are absolutely good or absolutely bad. But unfortunately life is not so simple. It does not permit us to decide between the absolutes. Instead, we must choose between things that have both good and bad qualities in them, things that contain both black and white—things that are gray. In any decision, we must weigh all the good and bad qualities of the two things being considercd, and then we must pick the better one.

So also in our consideration of the Presidential nominees, it was necessary to stack up the failures and successes of the Roosevelt administration against the promises and background of Wendell Willkie, and then compare them in the light of the present world crisis and our country's present needs. We have attempted to make our appraisal as open-mindedly as possible. We have tried not to allow ourselves to be influenced by the way our grandfathers voted. And unlike most newspapers, we are under no dictating force from our advertisers.

WILLKIE ENDORSES MOST OF NEW DEAL

First, in comparing President Roosevelt's record with the promises of Candidate Willkie, we have found that Mr. Willkie has endorsed practically all of the basic policies of the New Deal. At Elwood, besides coming out in favor of Federal pensions, old-age benefits, rural electrification, and relief, he also declared that he was for minimum-wage and maximum-hour laws, for Federal regulation of securities markets, banking, and utilities, for collective bargaining and against business monopolies. All these New Deal policies have their basis in the regulation of business and in governmental paternalism, yet Mr. Willkie has assured businessmen that he is a devotee of the doctrine of free enterprise and that he will strive to remove the restrictions from business. These same policies also have necessitated the large expenditures by our Government (and rightly so, we believe), yet Mr. Willkie, in the same breath that he endorses these policies, declares that he will be able to cut governmental expenses.

Consequently, in Mr. Willkie's claims and promises we have found few detailed concrete proposals, few consistencies, and too many broad generalities.

Mr. Willkie's chief claim to the Presidency then, as we see it, is that he is a better executive than Mr. Roosevelt and therefore could do a better job of administering the New Deal than Mr. Roosevelt has done. But we have little faith in the executive ability of a man who rides forth on such inconsistencies and who makes such thoughtless and careless statements as Mr. Willkie has made.

ALARMISTS' CLAIMS ILL-FOUNDED

We realize that if Mr. Roosevelt stays in office he will be breaking a tradition of long standing. But tradition, we believe, is no hallmark of the inherent goodness or rightness of a practice; too often have we seen tradition used as the excuse for the continuance of corruption and evil. Claims that a third term will make Mr. Roosevelt a dictator, we believe, are ill-founded. If a man has been a leader for 4 years and at the end of that time has had to present himself and his record for the approval of the people, and wins that approval, and if after serving another 4 years he again had to present himself for the approval of the electors, we believe there is no reason to assume that he will not continue to be accountable for his stewardship. If a man has been a leader for 4 years, during which time he has had in his hands special powers granted him by Congress—powers greater than any President of the United States has ever had before—and at the end of those 4 years has had to relinquish the additional powers which he might conceivably have used to make himself a dictator, and presents himself and his record before the people who have a perfect right and a perfect opportunity to repudiate them in a free election, then we cannot take much stock in alarmist contentions that if Mr. Roosevelt is reelected for a third term he will promptly set himself up as a dictator. Moreover, Mr. Roosevelt's fight for social legislation has given him a place beside the greatest humanitarians in our country's history. And humanitarianism is not the stuff of which dictators are made.

GREATEST CRISIS FACES UNITED STATES

But our greatest consideration in comparing the policies and personalities of these two men was the realization that we are choosing a man to serve during the country's greatest crisis. We want a man who will keep us out of war. We want a man who will keep us out of war by doing all that is possible to provide us with sufficient material arms as soon as possible. So far, we believe, Mr. Roosevelt has done everything that a President could do; we believe he has appointed a competent Advisory Defense Commission that has done an admirable job.

But very soon, we believe, a bigger step will have to be taken. Most of the Advisory Commission's work so far has been an investigation of the Nation's needs and the formulation of plans to satisfy those needs. From the lesson of the last war we know that this Commission, in order to do a really efficient job, will need more than advisory powers. We know it will need arbitrary powers to make industrialists cooperate when they will not fall in line. Bitter experience during the last war proved that this is necessary. Such powers the Commission can get only from Congress, but we need a President who is willing that the Commission should have such powers.

VOLUNTARY COOPERATION NOT ENOUGH

Business-executive, business-backed Mr. Willkie says that he will be able to get the cooperation of business in the preparedness campaign. But several examples during the last war proved that voluntary cooperation is not enough. Executive business directors cannot at the same time be answerable to two masters—stockholders and the Government. The 1917 lesson proved that business must submit to the regulations and directions of the Commission. And we believe that Mr. Willkie, who has repeatedly promised business to relieve restrictions, will not be willing to see business so regulated.

On the other hand Mr. Roosevelt demonstrated time and again that when the public need must be served, he is not unwilling to clamp down on private interests.

We are not Democrats. We are not Republicans. We are Independents who believe that President Roosevelt is the best man to serve this country during the next 4 years.

The Motion Picture "Information, Please"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH HURST BALL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 24 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE OMAHA (NEBR.) WORLD-HERALD

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, on behalf of the junior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial published in the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald of October 20, 1940, dealing with the proposed release of a second motion picture "short" entitled "Information, Please" featuring Mr. Wendell Willkie.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald of October 20, 1940]

"INFORMATION, PLEASE"

Early last summer RKO released a movie short entitled "Information, Please," featuring Wendell Willkie. It was a sensational success. RKO announced that it stood third in popularity in its field—that it had been outranked only by two Walt Disney features.

Naturally, that aroused the interest of the RKO business office. On August 14 it announced a second "Information, Please," starring Mr. Willkie, for release on October 4.

But October 4 came and went and the new "Information, Please" did not appear on the screens. Studio officials said vaguely it would appear "sometime in November or December." The New York World-Telegram decided to investigate.

It learned that Edward J. Flynn, Mr. Roosevelt's campaign manager, had called RKO officials to object to release of the Willkie picture prior to election. Flynn said, according to report, that the picture was just Republican propaganda.

Next, Frank Walker, the new Postmaster General, called the movie officials.

When Mr. Walker hung up, according to the World-Telegram, RKO received still a third call. This one came direct from the White House. The speaker identified himself as a "White House secretary," and he demanded a "Yes" or "No" answer as to whether the picture would be released before election. We don't know what the RKO executive said in reply. RKO, for its own reasons, refuses to talk. All we know is that the picture has not been released.

It should be pointed out that this picture was not subsidized and it was not "propaganda" in the ordinary sense. To use a word borrowed from the New Deal, it was "nonpolitical." It was produced because the first Information Please had made money, and RKO wanted another money maker.

The administration interfered, not because there was anything basically objectionable about the film, but because they feared its

showing might result in some incidental benefit to Candidate Willkie—as well it might have.

The motion-picture industry, like many another business, is necessarily quite circumspect in its dealings with the Government. It is eager to cooperate, anxious to please. That prudently friendly attitude was revealed when Hollywood provided a pleasant and remunerative job for young James Roosevelt.

Is it surprising that a studio executive, after three telephone calls, decided that the Willkie picture was not suitable for immediate release?

Now let us change the scene rapidly.

It is Wednesday, October 16—draft registration day. Some 16,000,000 young men register for possible military service. And to each one there is handed a little pamphlet—Form No. 5—which contains a splendid, inspirational message from the President of the United States.

Oh, sure, sure, we know; it was "nonpolitical;" it merely reminded some 16,000,000 young men of voting age that Mr. Roosevelt is their leader in the defense of "our heritage of freedom."

That little brochure was printed at public expense, distributed by Government machinery, and made a part of our national dedication to the tasks of defense.

But that other little "nonpolitical" item, the Willkie picture, was quickly suppressed by the dreadful power of the Federal Government—the power of the fear which it inspires in its taxpayers.

Do we need to make any further comment on the "moral climate" of the times?

The Foreign Policy of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEWART

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 28 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

SPEECH BY SECRETARY CORDELL HULL

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the speech delivered by the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, at the National Press Club dinner, Friday, October 25, 1940, on the subject of the foreign policy of the United States.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is with no light heart that I address you and any others who may be listening tonight on the subject of our international relations. I should be lacking in candor if I did not emphasize the gravity of the present situation.

Only once before in our national existence has as grave a danger from without threatened this Nation as the danger which looms today on the international horizon. That was in the stirring days when the founders of this Republic staked everything on their unshakable conviction that a nation of free men could be established, and would endure on the soil of America. Theirs was a struggle and a victory the fruits of which have been the proud inheritance of succeeding generations of Americans for more than a century and a half. These generations, including our own, have enjoyed this inheritance in a world where human freedom, national independence, and order under law were steadily becoming more and more firmly established as a system of civilized relations among nations and among individuals.

Today that system and all peaceful nations, including our own, are gravely menaced. The danger arises out of the plans and acts of a small group of national rulers who have succeeded in transforming their peoples into forceful instruments for widespread domination by conquest.

To understand the significance of this danger and to prepare to meet it successfully we must see clearly the tragic lessons taught by what has occurred since the protagonists of conquest began their march across the earth. I ask you to review with me the whirlwind developments of one of the saddest and most crucial, cruel decades in the history of mankind, that of the 1930's.

I

The opening years of the decade were filled with ominous rumblings of impending disaster. Profound economic dislocation had spread rapidly to every part of the world. It had disrupted international economic relations and was causing untold distress everywhere. The structure of international peace was still intact, but a dangerous breach was opened in it by the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931. That act, universally condemned at the time, proved to be only the beginning of an epidemic of callous disregard of international commitments—probably unparalleled in the annals of history. International discussions for the reduction and limitation of armaments, begun much earlier, were dragging along. Their failure to result in effective agreements was adding to the general feeling of apprehension and insecurity.

These developments were bound to create grave difficulties and grave dangers for our country as well as for the rest of the world. The problems which they presented imperatively demanded on our part vigorous initiative and leadership in the promotion and defense of the national interest.

Accordingly, in the conduct of foreign policy, this Government directed its efforts to the following objectives: (1) Peace and security for the United States, with advocacy of peace and limitation of armament as universal international objectives; (2) support for law, order, justice, and morality, and the principle of nonintervention; (3) restoration and cultivation of sound economic methods and relations; (4) development of the maximum measure of international cooperation; (5) promotion of the security, solidarity, and general welfare of the Western Hemisphere. These basic objectives of a good-neighbor policy represented a sound and practical middle course between the extremes of internationalism and isolation or nationalism. They have been consistently pursued throughout. The sweep of events has, of course, required the focusing of our attention at different periods upon different problems and different geographic areas.

II

In the early thirties the relations among the American republics left much to be desired. Elements of mistrust, misapprehension, and disunion had to be eliminated if a good-neighbor policy was really to prevail on the American Continent and provide a foundation upon which 21 free and independent American republics could establish peaceful and mutually beneficial relations among themselves and with the rest of the world.

The Seventh International Conference of American States, meeting at Montevideo in December 1933, offered an opportunity for a far-reaching move in this direction. There a solid foundation was laid for a new structure of inter-American relations built on lines so broad that the entire program of principles was of universal application. At that meeting the American republics took effective action for the maintenance of inter-American peace, agreed upon nonintervention, and adopted an economic program of common benefit based on the rule of equal treatment. During the years which immediately followed the United States gave tangible proofs of its determination to act in accordance with the newly created system of inter-American relations.

At the same time we inaugurated a new policy in the sphere of economic relations. In the summer of 1934 this country adopted the reciprocal trade agreements program, designed to restore and expand international commerce through the reduction of unreasonable trade barriers and the general reestablishment of the rule of equality of commercial treatment. This program proved to be the greatest constructive effort in a world racing toward economic destruction.

In the meantime other phases of international relations were undergoing further and rapid deterioration. Efforts to achieve international security through the reduction and limitation of armaments had proven unsuccessful. The long and weary conferences at Geneva, during which plan after plan failed of adoption, showed that the world was not ready to grasp an opportunity for action, which, had it been taken, might have prevented subsequent disasters. This and the notice given by Japan in December 1934 of her intention to terminate the Washington treaty for the limitation of naval armaments opened the way for a new armament race.

At this juncture Italy announced her intention to secure control over Ethiopia—by force of arms, if necessary. While there was still a possibility for an amicable settlement of the difficulties between Italy and Ethiopia, the attitude of the Government of the United States was made clear on September 13, 1935, in a statement which read in part as follows:

"Under the conditions which prevail in the world today, a threat of hostilities anywhere cannot but be a threat to the interests—political, economic, legal, and social—of all nations. Armed conflict in any part of the world cannot but have undesirable and adverse effects in every part of the world. All nations have the right to ask that any and all issues between whatsoever nations be resolved by pacific means. Every nation has the right to ask that no nations subject it and other nations to the hazards and uncertainties that must inevitably accrue to all from resort to arms by any two."

During the summer of 1935, under the influence of these rapidly unfolding developments threatening the peace of the world, the Congress enacted a statute known as the Neutrality Act of 1935. The purpose of this act was to reduce the risks of our becoming involved in war. Unfortunately, it contained as its principal feature the provision for a rigid embargo on export of arms to belligerents. This provision was adopted under the influence of a fallacious concept temporarily accepted by a large number of our people that this country's entrance into the World War had been brought about by the sale of arms to belligerents and the machinations of so-called international bankers.

It was clear then, and has become even clearer since, that a rigid embargo on export of arms might have an effect the opposite of that which was intended. On the occasion of the signing of the act the President pointed out that "history is filled with unforeseeable situations," and that conditions might arise in which the wholly inflexible provision for an arms embargo "might drag us into war instead of keeping us out." I myself repeatedly pointed out that in addition to the unforeseeable consequences of the provision itself reliance

upon that concept might mean the closing of our eyes to manifold dangers in other directions and from other sources.

By 1938 there was no longer any doubt that the existence of the arms-embargo provision was definitely having the effect of making widespread war more likely. Accordingly early in 1939 the executive branch of the Government urgently recommended to Congress the repeal of that provision. That was finally accomplished, after the outbreak of war in Europe, at a special session of Congress called by the President for that specific purpose.

III

The Italo-Ethiopian War, and its attendant circumstances, left in an already shaken Europe a new condition of intense bitterness and unsettlement. Into that situation Germany, after 3 years of intensive military preparation, flung, early in 1936, her first serious challenge to world order under law. The German Government tore up the Treaty of Locarno, into which Germany had freely and voluntarily entered, and proceeded to fortify the Rhineland in violation of the express provisions of that treaty. In the summer of that year a violent civil conflict flared up in Spain, and that unfortunate country became a battleground of newly emerging power politics.

During this period the President and I on numerous occasions emphasized the gathering dangers in the world situation. In June 1935 I made the following statement:

"We witness all about us a reckless, competitive building up of armaments, a recurrence of the mad race which prior to 1914 led the nations of the world headlong to destruction. If persisted in, this course will again plunge the world into disaster."

Tragic, indeed, is the fact that from the end of 1935 the voice of reason became increasingly drowned by the rising clangor of the furious rearmament by nations preparing for conquest.

We continued our efforts for peace. We continued to carry forward our program of economic restoration through the trade-agreements policy. We intensified the process of strengthening our naval armaments and of improving in other ways our means of defense. Speaking for the Government, I pointed out that we would not serve the cause of peace by not having adequate powers of self-defense; that we must be sure that in our desire for peace we would not appear to any other country unable to protect our just rights.

In view of the imminence of an impending world crisis, we proposed to our sister republics of the Americas, in January 1936, an extraordinary conference to consider the best means of safeguarding the peace of this hemisphere. At this Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, convoked at Buenos Aires, the 21 American republics, building on the foundations laid down at Montevideo, adopted for the first time the great principle that a threat from without the continent to the peace of any of them should be regarded by the American republics as a threat to each and every one of them. They established in contractual form the obligation to consult together whenever the peace of the Americas is menaced, either from within or from without.

During the year 1937, while the cauldron of European politics seethed dangerously, the focus of world events again shifted to the Far East. In the summer of that year Japan struck a further and more extensive blow at China. This new threat to the peace of the world rendered appropriate a restatement of the fundamental aims and principles of the foreign policy of the United States. In a statement issued on July 16, 1937, I set forth those principles. We urged upon all nations the acceptance and observance of those principles. We repeatedly offered to be of assistance toward composing the Chinese-Japanese conflict in accordance with those principles. We participated—and Japan refused to participate—in the Brussels conference of the signatories to the Nine-Power Pact, convoked for the purpose of bringing about a peaceful solution of that conflict.

IV

During the year 1938 the focus of events returned to Europe. In March of that year the armed forces of Germany passed beyond that country's borders, and the annexation of Austria marked the first forcible alteration of the frontiers established in Europe by the treaties of peace. This was followed, within a few months, by an intense crisis, culminating in the Munich conference and the first dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. The darkening shadows of an approaching war deepened over the fields and homes of the European Continent.

It is not necessary for me to dwell in detail on the kaleidoscopic events of the anguished year that preceded the outbreak of the European war, nor of the 14 months we have since lived through. All of us recall the feverish activity in Europe which became a prelude to war and our repeated attempts to influence the contending nations to adjust their differences by pacific means on the basis of justice, equality, and fair dealing, without recourse to force or threat of force. The tragic and the heroic devolpments of the war months and the brutal invasion and ruthless extinguishment of the independence and freedom of many countries are too vivid in the minds of all of us to need recapitulation.

The appalling tragedy of the present world situation lies in the fact that peacefully disposed nations failed to recognize in time the true nature of the aims and ambitions which have actuated the rulers of the heavily arming nations. Recoiling from the mere contemplation of the possibility of another widespread war, the peoples of the peaceful nations permitted themselves to be lulled into a false sense of security by the assurances made by these rulers that their aims were limited. This continued even as succeeding events left less and less room for doubt that, behind the screen of these assurances, preparations were being made for new attempts at widespread conquest. To mask still further this monstrous deception, these rulers and their satellites attempted to brand as warmongers and imperialists all who warned against the clearly emerging dangers, and poured upon them vituperation and abuse.

The United States, together with most other nations, has stood firmly for the basic principles underlying civilized international relations—peace, law, justice, treaty observance, nonintervention, peaceful settlement of differences, and fair dealing, supported by the fullest practicable measure of international cooperation. The advocacy of these principles has won for us the friendship of all nations, except those which, vaguely describing themselves as the "have-nots" and claiming a superior right to rule over other peoples, are today on the march with great armies, air fleets, and navies to take by force what they say they need or want.

The rulers of these nations have repudiated and violated in every essential respect the long-accepted principles of peaceful and orderly international relations. Merciless armed attack; unrestrained terrorization through slaughter of noncombatant men, women, and children; deceit, fraud, and guile; forced labor; confiscation of property; imposed starvation and deprivations of every sort—all these are weapons constantly used by the conquerors for the invasion and subjugation of other nations.

They adhere to no geographic lines and they fix no time limit on their programs of invasion and destruction. They cynically disregard every right of neutral nations, and, having occupied several such countries, they then proceed to warn all peaceful nations that they must remain strictly neutral until an invading force is actually crossing their frontiers. They have as a fixed objective the securing of control of the high seas. They threaten peaceful nations with the direst consequences if those nations do not remain acquiescent while the conquerors are seizing the other continents and most of the seven seas of the earth.

Let no one comfort himself with the delusion that these are mere excuses or exigencies of war, to be voluntarily abandoned when fighting ceases. By deed and by utterance, the would-be conquerors have made it abundantly clear that they are engaged upon a relentless attempt to transform the civilized world as we have known it into a world in which mankind will be reduced again to the degradation of a master-and-slave relationship among nations and among individuals, maintained by brute force.

The hand of crushing assault has struck again and again at peaceful nations, complacent and unprepared as they were in their belief that mere intention on their part to keep peace was an ample shield of security.

There can be nothing more dangerous for our nation than for us to assume that the avalanche of conquest could under no circumstances reach any vital portion of this hemisphere. Oceans give the nations of this hemisphere no guaranty against the possibility of economic, political, or military attack from abroad. Oceans are barriers but they are also highways. Barriers of distance are merely barriers of time. Should the would-be conquerors gain control of other continents, they would next concentrate on perfecting their control of the seas, of the air over the seas, and of the world's economy; they might then be able with ships and with planes to strike at the communication lines, the commerce, and the life of this hemisphere; and ultimately we might find ourselves compelled to fight on our own soil, under our own skies, in defense of our independence and our very lives.

These are some of the governing facts and conditions of the present-day international situation. These are the dangers which must be recognized. Against these dangers, our policies and measures must provide defense.

V

We are in the presence not of local or regional wars but of an organized and determined movement for steadily expanding conquest. Against this drive for power no nation and no region is secure save as its inhabitants create for themselves means of defense so formidable that even the would-be conquerors will not dare to raise against them the hand of attack.

The first need for all nations still masters of their own destiny is to create for themselves, as speedily and as completely as possible, impregnable means of defense. This is the staggering lesson of mankind's recent experience.

To meet that need, we are bringing our military, naval, and air establishments to maximum practicable strength. Production of military supplies is being brought to a greater and greater pitch of speed and effectiveness. Wherever necessary for the carrying out of the defense program, export of essential materials is being stringently regulated. Arrangements are being carried forward to provide military and technical training for the youth of this country. We intend to continue and intensify our effort in all these directions.

We are taking measures toward dealing with subversive activities in this country directed from abroad. The experience of many other countries has brought us the shocking realization of the manner in which, and the extent to which, such activities are employed to undermine social and political institutions and to bring about internal disintegration and decay in the countries which they plan to make their victims. We intend to act in this field with unremitting vigor.

We are seeking to advance by every appropriate means the spirit of inter-American solidarity and the system of continental defense. In conformity with the procedure set up at Buenos Aires and Lima, the Panama consultative meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the American republics adopted important measures to safeguard the national and collective interests of the American nations, their peace as well as their economic security. Last summer they met again, at Habana, to consult with regard to several threats to

the peace and security of the Americas, the danger of which, they unanimously agreed, existed. To ward off these threats they took positive steps to prevent any transfer of sovereignty in the Western Hemisphere from one non-American nation to another, embodied in an international convention and in the Act of Habana. They also agreed upon procedures for combating subversive activities in the American nations and they adopted measures of economic defense and collaboration.

We have concluded an arrangement with Great Britain under which we have acquired long-time leases of eight strategically located naval and air bases which will enable us to create a protective girdle of steel along the Atlantic seaboard of the American continent—bases which will be available for use by all of the American republics. We are engaged in defense consultations with our neighbors to the south, and we have created facilities for such consultations with Canada. In all these fields we intend to continue vigorous effort.

We have sought in every appropriate way to discourage conquest and to limit the area of war. We have followed consistently the policy of refusing recognition of territorial changes effected by force or threat of force. We have taken every opportunity to express our concern over threatened changes by force in the existing political status of colonial possessions, disturbances of which would extend the area of hostilities. We have placed under license the funds of invaded countries. In these respects, too, we intend to continue our activities.

We believe that the safety and the primary interests of the United States must be upheld with firmness and resolution—supported by the speediest and fullest possible armament for all defensive purposes. In view of the unprecedented character of menacing developments abroad, we have frankly recognized the danger involved and the increasing need for defense against it. As an important means of strengthening our own defense and of preventing attack on any part of the Western Hemisphere, this country is affording all feasible facilities for the obtaining of supplies by nations which, while defending themselves against barbaric attack, are also checking the spread of violence and are thus reducing the danger to us. We intend to continue doing this to the greatest practicable extent. Any contention, no matter from what source, that this country should not take such action is equivalent, in the present circumstances, to a denying of the inalienable right of self-defense.

VI

In our democracy the basic determination of foreign policy rests with the people. As I sense the will of our people today, this Nation is determined that its security and rightful interests shall be safeguarded.

The dangers with which we are confronted are not of our making. We cannot know at what point, or when, we may possibly be attacked. We can, however, be prepared, first, to discourage any thought of assault upon our security and, if any such assault should be attempted, to repel it.

The people of this country want peace. To have peace we must have security. To have security we must be strong. These are times that test the fiber of men and of nations.

Our system of defense must of necessity be many-sided, because the dangers against which safeguards are imperatively required are manifold. Essential to effective national defense are constant and skillful use of political and economic measures, possession of military weapons, and continuous exercise of wisdom and of high moral qualities. We must have planes and tanks and ships and guns. We must have trained men. We must hold fast to the ideal of a world in which the rights of all nations are respected and each respects the rights of all; in which principles of law and order and justice and fair dealing prevail. Above all, we must be a united people—united in purpose and in effort to create impregnable defense.

Thus can we maintain our inheritance. Thus will we continue to make this country's high contribution toward the progress of mankind on the roadway of civilized effort.

A Definition of Liberty—Saving Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURTON K. WHEELER

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 28 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESSES DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT AT WILMINGTON, DEL., AND IN CONNECTION WITH THE HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD two addresses delivered by the President of the United States—one from the train at Wilmington, Del., on October 23, 1940, and the other in connection with the Herald Tribune Forum, New York City, October 24, 1940.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT DELIVERED FROM THE TRAIN AT WILMINGTON, DEL., OCTOBER 23, 1940

I remember very well my visit to Wilmington during the election of 1936. Some of the political experts of those days were somewhat amused at my visit to Delaware in a political campaign. They told me that I certainly was optimistic if I thought that Delaware would go Democratic in that Presidential election.

They were surprised at the result of that election.

Four years ago Wilmington was the home town of the famous Liberty League. It was created for several purposes, but its major objective was to defeat the New Deal and drive it from office.

In view of that fact I thought that Wilmington was a good place to read from a speech made by President Abraham Lincoln, the definition which he gave of the word "liberty."

This year that definition is of even greater significance. This is what President Lincoln said:

"The world has never had a good definition of the word 'liberty,' and the American people just now are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty, but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word 'liberty' may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor, while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are two not only different but incompatible things called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny."

And then Abraham Lincoln used this example. He said:

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty. * * * Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty, and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures * * * and all professing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by which thousands are daily passing from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and bewailed by others as the destruction of all liberty."

And then Lincoln said this:

"Recently, as it seems, the people * * * have been doing something to define liberty, and thanks to them that, in what they have done, the wolf's dictionary has been repudiated."

In 1936 the people of the United States took definite action to define what they intended liberty to mean in this country for the next 4 years. They repudiated the wolf's dictionary.

I am sure that this year the people not only of Delaware but of the United States are all taking a renewed interest in that word "liberty." There are not so many countries left where the word has any real meaning.

I hope that by their votes on election day the people of the State of Delaware will reaffirm their own definition of "liberty"—the same definition they made 4 years ago.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM, OCTOBER 24, 1940

In closing this forum on the subject Saving Democracy, I can think of no better text than the final words of the speech which Abraham Lincoln gave in Cooper Institute in New York City on February 27, 1860.

Lincoln was then speaking to an audience to whom he was a stranger. Represented in the audience, said the New York Tribune of that day, was the intellect and moral culture of the city. Lincoln warned them against the fearmongers and the calamity howlers—the appeasers of that troubled time—who were numerous and influential. He said:

"Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

We do well to repeat Lincoln's declaration of faith today. It gives the right answer—the American answer—to the foreign propagandists who seek to divide us with their strategy of terror.

The repeaters of these slanders to our democracy, whether conscious disorganizers or unwitting dupes, seem to believe that if they tell us often enough that democracy is outworn and that we are decadent, we will begin to believe it ourselves, and we will immediately, obediently proceed to decay.

They have a strange misconception of our national character.

They believe, for one thing, that we Americans must be hybrid, mongrel, and undynamic—so we are called by the enemies of democracy—because so many races have been fused together in our national community.

They believe we have no common tradition.

They believe that we are disunited and defenseless because we believe in free inquiry and free debate; because we argue with each other; because we engage in political campaigns; because we recognize the sacred right of the minority to disagree with the majority, and to express that disagreement, even loudly.

They believe that we are no match for a dictatorship in which uniformity is compulsory, in which each lives in terror of his neigh-

bor and, worse still, of himself, because the dominant atmosphere is that of the concentration camp.

Despising democracy and not knowing our strength, those who have destroyed other free peoples deem the United States an "effete, degenerate democracy."

At first we dismissed this contempt with our traditional spirit of good humor. We are now replying to it in characteristically American terms. We are preparing for the defense of the two American continents and of the oceans that are the highways of those continents. And we are doing so in a mood of determination, but unafraid and resolute in our will to peace.

We are aware that the dictators are quick to take advantage of the weakness of others.

As to the humorless theory—that we are "hybrid and undynamic, mongrel and corrupt," and that, therefore, we can have no common tradition—let them look at most gatherings of Americans and study the common purpose that animates those gatherings. Let them look at any church sociable in any small town, at any fraternal convention, or meeting of doctors or mine workers, at any cheering section of any football game; let them look with especial attention at the crowds which will gather in and around every polling place on November 5. Let them observe the unconquerable vitality of democracy. It is the very mingling of races dedicated to common ideals which creates and re-creates our vitality.

In every representative American meeting there will be men and women and children with names like Jackson and Lincoln and Isaac and Schultz and Stuyvesant and Olson and Kovacs and Satori and Jones and Smith. These varied Americans, with varied backgrounds, are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. All of them are inheritors of the same stalwart tradition—a tradition of unusual enterprise, or adventurousness, of courage to "pull up stakes and git moving." That has been the great, compelling force in our history. Our continent, our hemisphere, has been populated by people who wanted a life better than the life they had previously known. They were willing to undergo all conceivable perils, all conceivable hardships, to achieve the better life. We are animated by this compelling force today. It is what makes us Americans.

The bold and adventurous men, of many racial origins, were united in their determination to build a system which guaranteed freedom—for themselves and for all future generations. They built a system in which government and people are one—a nation which is a partnership—and can continue as a partnership.

That is our strength today.

The strength of every dictatorship depends upon the power of the one, almighty dictator—supported by a small, highly organized minority who call themselves the elite.

We depend upon the power and allegiance of the 130,000,000 members of our national community, from whom our Government's authority is derived and to whom our Government is forever responsible.

We gain in strength through progress—social, intellectual, and scientific. The more we perfect means of human communication between all parts of our community the more united we become. Just as I, as elected head of your Government, am privileged to talk to you over the radio, you talk to me. That is partnership. And it means that when together we make a decision we act upon that decision as partners and not in the inhuman manner of a capricious master toward his slaves.

The constant free flow of communication among us, enabling the free interchange of ideas, forms the very blood stream of our Nation. It keeps in the mind and the body of our democracy eternally vital, eternally young.

We see across the waters that system undergoing a fearful test. Never before has a whole, free people been put to such a test. Never before have the citizens of a democracy—men and women and little children—displayed such courage, such unity, such strength of purpose under appalling attack. Their homes and their schools, their churches, and their national shrines are being destroyed. But there is one mighty structure more enduring than marble, more precious than all that man has built, and that is the structure of the democratic faith.

We have confidence in the ability of the democratic system which gives men dignity to give them strength. We say with Lincoln, "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it."

Farmers Are Not for Sale

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 28 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES L. McNARY, OF OREGON, AT BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Hon. CHARLES L. McNARY, Republican nominee for Vice President, at Bloomington, Ill., on October 23, 1940. The topic of the address is Farmers Are Not for Sale.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The rich, black lands; the fat herds; the ample homesteads of central Illinois gladden the eye of any farmer. I am happy to be with you today. In better days—before the New Deal's 7 lean years dampened farm enterprise—industrious men accumulated modest fortunes on these farms. From these farms have gone an endless stream of boys and girls who became men and women of distinction in all walks of life. Here, if anywhere, is an authentic cradle of democracy.

Fittingly, this being the State of Abraham Lincoln, your farmers were free men—free to manage their affairs as they saw fit; free to choose their public servants and exercise their political will at all times.

I admire that spirit; I hope it is unimpaired.

We near the end of a Presidential campaign which has developed certain novel—and regrettable—aspects. We find, for the first time in our history, a vast, intrenched agricultural bureaucracy—a bureaucracy extending into every county of the land. We learn of townships where stipulated political assessments have been demanded of Agricultural Adjustment Administration cooperators for benefit of the third-term campaign funds.

In the big cities Tammanys, whence springs this practice, the boys do not mince words. They call it the shake-down process; sometimes they refer to it as putting on the lug. The sordid principle is precisely the same whether the lug is put on a farmer who has just received a benefit check, an unemployed worker clinging to the W. P. A. rolls, or an officeholder clinging to his job.

The latter forms of extortion are, alas, not new.

It remained for certain politicians associated with the New Deal to attempt to exact a kick-back out of farm-benefit checks. That is one of the novelties in this campaign. I hasten to assure you that I absolve the former Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Henry Wallace, of any responsibility for or knowledge of this reprehensible method of raising campaign funds. Mr. Wallace is a high-minded public servant. The technique smells of the New Deal's corrupt big-city partners.

I am happy to report that the kick-back has been by no means successful where tried. The American farmer is not easily flimflammed or intimidated.

I come to another novelty which, I fear, has graver implications. I refer to the palpable attempt to influence the farmer this fall by means of the prematurely prompt arrival of benefit checks. Ordinarily, as you know, the benefit checks come laggingly from the great check-writing machines at Washington. Some years the checks haven't even appeared by Christmastime. I am told that this year every check will reach its rural free delivery box ahead of election day—sufficiently ahead so the recipient may have time to meditate on the generosity of the dispensers of his own and other people's money at Washington.

The gravity of this electioneering device lies in its deliberateness. It is a studied attempt to sway the farm vote. As such it is an insult to the independence of the American farmer.

I would rather not be obliged to call these political tricks to your attention. I prefer addressing you exclusively on the matters that concern us farmers; simply, as man to man and without partisan animosities.

I have never been a violent party man. In the United States Senate I have dealt with farm issues on their merits, according to my lights, and have refrained from the clash of epithet and prejudice that sometimes passes for political debate.

But I cannot today shirk the necessity of characterizing the methods which are being used in this campaign. In my opinion, we stand at a crossroads of free government. The injection of Tammany machine methods into our rural life is symptomatic of the whole ruthless effort to fasten personal rule on one of the last remaining strongholds of democracy. The things go hand in hand; the desire to perpetuate personal leadership in defiance of sound and hallowed tradition brings also an extension of the strong-arm methods of the ward boss throughout the country. Make no mistake, this is a grim contest.

The President's insistence on altering the spirit and form of American life call undemocratic and un-American forces into play. If the New Deal, relying on the party rigidity of the solid South, were able to cajole the farmer, labor, and all recipients of relief into its camp, we should have an end to free political choice. We would have the American equivalent of a foreign dictator election.

I do not anticipate that outcome. The American farmer cannot be so easily appeased, especially as he becomes more and more convinced that appeasement cuts directly across his best interests as a citizen and as a producer.

I believe the return of the New Deal would drastically alter our political and social patterns. A third term may sweep us into the totalitarian current, though I do not believe Mr. Roosevelt harbors that conscious intention. Apart from that subjective fear, I view with the most serious apprehension the result of continuing New Deal policies on agriculture and, more specifically, on agriculture as an occupation. I foresee the destruction of the farmer as an independent producing unit and his gradual sinking into the status of a peasant, dependent on an overlord—in this case the Federal Government—for instruction, guidance, protection, and support—or a dole. After nearly 8 years, wherein the New Deal has enjoyed unrestricted sway with agriculture, we find farm surpluses rising to new peaks,

foreign markets vanishing, and prices anchored to the lows of the depressed 1930's. Regimentation, bureaucracy, the expenditure of borrowed billions, the ever-normal granary—or ever-normal blight—have brought American agriculture exactly nowhere.

The corn growers in 1933 grumbled because they were forced to carry over 326,000,000 bushels of corn on the farms into the new crop season. Today they have 555,000,000 bushels in the crib; with the European market for pork and lard nonexistent.

The New Deal has consistently misread the farm problem.

Mr. Wallace and his advisers have seen it in terms of production control and subsidies. They have likewise demanded control of the farmer—through the subsidies.

Whereas in fact, and a fact known to every thinking farmer, the problem is—and always has been—one of markets and price. Ignoring the market and price factors, the New Deal has, through an unbelievable jumble of economic errors, neglected to cultivate the domestic market, diverted a part of that market to foreign producers, and deprived us of the major portion of our customary foreign markets.

We now face an election; time of recapitulation and stock taking. Mr. Wallace claims credit for ladling out billions of dollars to the farm population—money appropriated by the Congress out of your Treasury and mine. The sums, great as they are in the aggregate, in no way compensate the farmer for his lost markets, nor the disparity of his dollar when matched against the city producer's.

The former Secretary of Agriculture in a moment of clarity estimated last April that farm prices had penalized the farmer at the rate of $2,000,000,000 a year during the last several years. I do not quarrel with Mr. Wallace's figure. In that light, it may be seen how paltry the benefit payments really have been.

I must point out in passing that neither Mr. Wallace nor Mr. Roosevelt advocated or espoused the parity payments, which amount this year to more than two hundred millions. The parity payments, an inadequate measure of justice, originated in the Senate Committee on Appropriations.

The great American market for farm products has been awaiting a solution of unemployment at all times, waiting for the administration to turn the green light for business and industry. The New Deal's feeble contention that we were in permanent depression—that the old system had run down—is nonsensical in the light of what went on elsewhere in the world.

If we were fully at work—and the New Deal alone must answer for that failure—no farm grants would be necessary. I quote from an authority: "Consumer expenditures for food would be perhaps five to six billion dollars greater, and probably half this sum would be passed on to the farmers."

The authority is the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture.

It is axiomatic that enlarged city pay rolls create greater demand for food and fiber. We have human need for more than our farms ever have produced. I read from a statement by Mr. Milo Perkins, president of the Surplus Commodities Corporation that 42 percent of American families are able to buy only 26 percent of American food supplies. I get from a report of the National Resources Board the depressing estimate that 20,000,000 Americans belong to families which cannot afford to spend more than 5 cents per person per meal. Those families are on some sort of Government dole.

Meanwhile, as I have pointed out, the corn growers have more than a half billion bushels of corn on hand, much of it sealed in country cribs.

The plain, hard fact is that the New Deal, possessed of unlimited power over the country's resources, has stabilized poverty in city and country alike. Wasting our physical resources, it has depleted our human resources as well. That is no phrase of mine. I give you an excellent New Deal source for that conclusion. Miss Harriet Elliott is the consumer representative on the Advisory Commission of National Defense.

She recently issued a statement in her official capacity, in which she said, and I quote: "Let's make America strong by making Americans stronger. Forty-five millions of us are living below the safety line because we are not getting the kinds and amounts of food necessary for strength and health."

Miss Elliott was seeing the food deficit endured by a third of our population as a defense problem. She went on, and I quote her: "Hungry, undernourished people do not make for strong defense. We have the land, machines, and hands it takes to produce and move and market all the food we need to assure everyone an adequate and safe diet."

The New Deal, which light-heartedly neglected to arm us against the present world crisis, likewise failed to prepare our manpower for its ordeal. There is touching human tragedy in that second failure—the pathetic dilemma of children and the aged going hungry in the midst of plenty; in the richest, fairest land on earth. I do not see how the New Deal can get around this testimony to its incompetence. For my part, it disposes automatically of the claim that Mr. Roosevelt should be returned to power because he, alone, is wise and good enough to manage our affairs in times of peril.

The path toward increased consumption of farm produce lies open. Wendell Willkie, under whose banner we march, is committed to providing jobs in private employment for the idle. I have full confidence in his will and his understanding. I believe he will give a forward thrust to business and industry; unleashing the great, dynamic forces of America.

Full consumption will solve the farm problem in part.

It is not the whole answer. Conceivably we might have full demand for farm products at prices unprofitable to the farmer. Great as is our potential demand, potential production is probably greater. Our capacity is almost unbelievable. Consider this single illustration: Between 1933 and 1939 we reduced corn acreage by 15 percent but increased total yield by 6 percent.

There is still a price factor. The farmer is entitled to the American price for produce consumed behind our tariff wall. This is known as the parity price. Reduced to roughly approximate terms, it means that an hour's labor on the farm should bring the same money return as an hour's labor in the factory or on the railroad. It brings the farm dollar up to par with the city dollar.

As of today, the corn grower's dollar is worth only 75 cents when he buys a factory product. That circumstance limits the corn grower's purchasing power and keeps many thousands of industrial workers out of jobs.

A method of providing the American price would not be hard to arrive at, given the will to arrive. The next administration, God willing, will have the will. The next administration will be a producers' administration. It will concentrate on the job of freeing America's vast productive energies; putting America to work as America always has worked.

I have said we had an answer to the multiplied troubles of the farmers of the country. If asked to put it into a phrase, I would say it is simply this: The American market for the American farmer at the American price. When wisely worked out by the next administration and conscientiously administered, the formula contains all the law and the prophets for agriculture.

Until the agricultural empire can be restored—until farming can again be made to be a dignified, independent occupation—the present grants-in-aid will be continued. No one doubts that.

But the next administration will recommend benefit payments as temporary accommodations. It will not regard them as a permanent solution. Benefit checks solve nothing. The next administration will make it the first order of business to regain for the farmer his markets, domestic and foreign; allotting to him the fair, American price for what is domestically consumed. It will seek at once to free him from dependence on the Government; make him again a free producer getting his checks from the market place and not from Washington. We shall want no strings on his checks.

We believe that America is still a going concern.

New York Farm Prosperity Goes Forward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 28 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT BY HON. JAMES M. MEAD, OF NEW YORK

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by the junior Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD] relating to farm prosperity in New York.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Under economic recovery programs followed by the United States Government from 1933 through 1939, the farmers of New York State have seen their incomes and the prices of their products increased by wide margins. Income and prices are the basic economic factors which tell the whole story and the true story of New York agriculture's progress in the past 7 years.

	In 1932	In 1939	Percent gain
Cash income to New York farmers from the marketing of their products (all)	$194,635,000	$304,392,000	56
Income received by New York farmers from the sale of—			
Dairy products	95,950,000	134,018,000	40
Chickens and eggs	24,813,000	40,173,000	62
Beef cattle	12,176,000	23,297,000	91
Hogs	1,577,000	4,072,000	158
Sheep and lambs	842,000	1,225,000	45

These figures are final, basic, and conclusive as regards farm economic welfare. They represent only cash received for farm products sold and do not include Government payments to New York farmers who have cooperated in the Agricultural Conservation Program. These payments, since the passage of the Agricultural Conservation Act in 1936, have totaled more than $11,000,000.

New York farmers have shared in a national farm prosperity that has been brought about since 1932. United States farm cash income from marketing of products rose in that period from $4,682,000,000 to $7,733,000,000. The average United States farm price index for all products rose in the same year by 43 percent.

Following are United States average farm prices received by farmers for some important New York farm products in 1932 and 1939:

Commodity	In 1932	In 1939	Percent increase
Wheat	38.8 cents per bushel	63.6 cents per bushel	63.9
Corn	28.1 cents per bushel	47.6 cents per bushel	69.4
Beef cattle	$4.25 per hundred	$7.03 per hundred	65.4
Hogs	$3.34 per hundred	$6.23 per hundred	86.5
Butterfat	17.9 cents per pound	23.9 cents per pound	33.5

New York farmers, more than those in some other States, depend upon the prosperity of industry and commerce in their own area. The principal customers of New York farmers are the workers in New York commerce and industry. When these workers have jobs they buy the products of New York farms.

The economic programs of the Government in the past 7 years have expanded both the foreign and the domestic markets for New York industrial goods. The reciprocal-trade agreements have broken down hundreds of foreign tariff and other barriers against New York textile products, machinery, electrical equipment, iron and steel products, chemicals, and hundreds of other commodities.

It is the men and women engaged in New York commerce and industry who, in 1939, were able to buy from New York farmers $109,757,000 worth more of dairy products, fruits, vegetables, and meats than they were able to buy in 1932.

New York agriculture and New York industry have both prospered since 1932. The figures prove it.

All This and Heaven, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 28 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HAROLD L. ICKES

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "All This and Heaven, Too," delivered by the Honorable Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, before a meeting at Akron, Ohio, on Tuesday, October 15, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Tonight we stand on historic ground. Akron is honored in having once been the dwelling place of Wendell Willkie. He paused here on his "hard way" to Wall Street, from which he emerged famous last June as the simple, barefoot, Wall Street lawyer.

Wendell Willkie graduated from your Main Street to the Wall Street of the great financial interests of America. He left Akron a lawyer and attained in New York, where he has now lived for many years, the distinction of becoming the president of one of the great Morgan utility holding companies; or, as the New Republic put it, "the fixer and front man" of the Commonwealth & Southern Co. But we will be considerate tonight and forget the Akron and Wall Street phases in the life of the greatest crusader since Peter the Hermit.

I would direct your attention to the promising Wendell Willkie. But I haven't time even to enumerate the various promises that he has made. It is fair, however, to say that no candidate anywhere, at any time, has made more promises on all subjects—silly promises, bizarre promises, self-contradictory promises, impossible promises.

There are times when Mr. Willkie suffers the unhappy experience of having his promises meet in a head-on collision. For instance, in New England he has just told the people that he would put a stop to the industrial migration that has been going on for some years. He neglected to remind them that in Birmingham, Ala., on November 7, 1934, in explaining why his great utility octopus maintained an office in New York, he said: "It is solely because of two reasons: First, to have a convenient and advantageous point to work for the Alabama Power Co. and other companies and to secure the removal of northern industries to this area." He boasted how effective this campaign had been.

In moments of exaltation our hero, after the manner of Hitler, promises a new world. Perhaps one of these days he will really get warmed up and promise us a new "W-milky way" with a few extra planets and suns and moons thrown in. "All this and heaven, too."

Tonight I shall confine myself to the "crusader's" promises to labor. His labor policy appears to be a confused and vague hash of doubtful and unidentifiable ingredients.

Wendell Willkie said at Pittsburgh:

"For my part, I was for the National Labor Relations Act before it was passed—I was for it after it was passed—and I am for it now. I subscribe, without reservation, to the principle of collective bargaining by representatives of labor's free choice."

Now, it is just too bad that Mr. Willkie was too busy tilting his lance for "public utilities, privately owned" to tell anyone of his ardent support of this magna carta of labor while it was being put on the statute books by this administration, over the bitter opposition of many of Mr. Willkie's close friends and purseful supporters.

Suppose we credit Mr. Willkie's belated protestations of affection for the National Labor Relations Act. Does it follow that Wendell Willkie, if elected President, would resist the campaign now going on to emasculate the Labor Act, either by amending it or by sabotaging the administration of it?

Let us look for an answer, first, in the ranks of labor itself, and then in the ranks of the enemies of labor.

Almost every labor leader in the United States favors the reelection of President Roosevelt. Their feeling toward Mr. Willkie has been expressed by President R. J. Thomas of the Auto Workers Union. He says of Mr. Willkie:

"Under the synthetic build-up there is still the mind and outlook of a public-utilities manipulator and an enemy of labor."

It might be interesting at this point to ask what Mr. Willkie thinks of labor. A complete answer is contained in the manner in which he customarily talks down to labor. For instance, according to the Washington Merry-Go-Round, in his speech at the Chicago stockyards he used the words "damned dumb" nine times in 25 minutes. Mr. Willkie may feel superior to labor, but the workingmen of the stockyards resented the implication that they would respond only to cheap profanity.

What do the enemies of labor think of Mr. Willkie?

I suppose that if you combed the United States to pick out the two most violent and most relentless enemies of collective bargaining, the vote would be probably for Ernest T. Weir, of the National Steel Co., and Tom Girdler, of Republic Steel. Weir furnishes the brains and Girdler the brawn in the fight to destroy the National Labor Relations Act. Between them they crushed the Little Steel strike, Ernest Weir fighting in the courts and Tom Girdler fighting with machine guns, tear-gas bombs, and barbed-wire entanglements. Weir lost in the courts, but Girdler won for both of them in the field. In the cemeteries of the steel towns may be found the gravestones of his victims.

Where do these two enemies of labor—Weir and Girdler—stand in this election?

Ernest T. Weir is raising the money for Wendell Willkie's campaign. He is the chairman of the finance committee of the Republican National Committee. Every half hour of radio time purchased for Wendell Willkie has been paid for with money raised by Ernest T. Weir. Does anybody more than 5 years old believe that Mr. Weir would be raising these millions of dollars to elect Mr. Willkie if he believed that Mr. Willkie was in fact a wholehearted supporter of collective bargaining?

I think of Mr. Weir as public enemy No. 2 of organized labor, because nobody can displace Tom Girdler as enemy No. 1. It isn't necessary to ask what Tom Girdler thinks of Wendell Willkie, because Mr. Willkie, before he decided to run for President, told what he thought of Tom Girdler. I quote Mr. Willkie, speaking at the Pennsylvania Hotel in New York City on April 11, 1939, as reported in the Republican New York Herald Tribune the next morning:

"If we are patient we will see the time when men like Girdler are recognized as the true heroes of America."

That is what Wendell Willkie thinks of Tom Girdler—a true American hero; hero of the Memorial Day Massacre in Chicago. To praise Tom Girdler is to condone a brutality and a ruthlessness which, once entrenched in our Government, would imperil the life and personal liberty of every man who seeks to follow a peaceful life without giving up the rights of citizenship.

Knowing what the friends and enemies of labor think of President Roosevelt and of Mr. Willkie, let us examine the actual attitude of these two toward labor.

The attitude of President Roosevelt is written in a record of 7 years. It is written in the outlawing of child labor and the sweatshop, the minimum-wage law, the 40-hour week, social security, and the National Labor Relations Act—accomplishments which no opposing candidate dare openly condemn. This record of President Roosevelt is the guaranty that he will continue to sustain the National Labor Relations Act.

Mr. Willkie makes the same pledge, but that doesn't bother Ernest T. Weir, his cash-and-carry man. Why? That's our business to find out.

In his Pittsburgh appeal to labor, Mr. Willkie proclaimed his love of the National Labor Relations Act. Then he said:

"But the administration of the act is another thing. * * * The maladministration of this act has been—and it is—one of the most shocking tragedies in the history of American labor relations. * * * It would therefore seem to me wise, before materially changing the act, as many suggest, to change the administration of it."

Do you notice how Mr. Willkie uses the same tactics in dealing with the Labor Act, that he has been using in his effort to undermine confidence in President Roosevelt's conduct of foreign affairs? You remember that he sweepingly endorsed the Roosevelt foreign policy, and then condemned the manner of conducting it, finally making the atrociously and willfully false accusation, which he has never withdrawn, that the President encouraged Hitler and Mussolini to carve up Czechoslovakia.

So Mr. Willkie, the "yes, but—" candidate, is for the Labor Act, but he says the administration of it is a shocking scandal. Undoubtedly Mr. Girdler and Mr. Weir agree with him. Where do you suppose Mr. Willkie formed his impression of the manner in which the National Labor Relations Act is being administered? Well, I'll tell you. He has first-hand information on the subject. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 4, 1940, you will find 24 solid pages of fine type presenting the official record of the efforts of the National Labor Relations Board, and the United States courts, to compel Wendell Willkie's public-utility companies to obey this law.

You will find there the detailed story of how Mr. Willkie's Alabama Power Co. fostered three company unions in a row in an effort to escape collective bargaining with a union of the American Federation of Labor. As fast as the National Labor Relations Board knocked one of these company unions on the head, another jumped up in its place, with nothing changed but the title.

You will also find the story of company unionism in Mr. Willkie's Southern Indiana Gas & Electric Co. And, most significant of all, you will read of the fight against the National Labor Relations Act by Mr. Willkie's Consumers' Power Co., of Michigan. I shall go into the case of Consumers' Power in some detail, because Wendell Willkie had a double control over it. In addition to being president of Commonwealth & Southern, the holding company which owns Consumers' Power, Mr. Willkie was chairman of the board of Consumers' Power itself, and in direct charge of its labor policies. Furthermore, this case is of first importance because it is the only one that Mr. Willkie appealed to the courts.

The Consumers' Power case originated in 1937 and was decided by the Labor Board in December 1939. It was appealed to the Federal courts at once, and on June 27, 1940—the very day Wendell Willkie was nominated for President—the United States circuit court of appeals handed down a unanimous decision finding his company guilty of violating the National Labor Relations Act.

From these three cases, and especially from the one which Mr. Willkie appealed to the courts, it should be possible to determine what his ideas on collective bargaining really are, and just what he means when he talks about shocking maladministration of the Labor Act.

Take notice, first, that every one of these cases includes an attempt by Mr. Willkie to establish a company union, a union controlled by the employer. In one company he tried it three times.

It would seem that, to Mr. Willkie, it is shocking maladministration to prevent the establishment of a company union.

Turn now to the finding of facts in the case of Consumers' Power Co. The record states that on June 8, 1938, after his employees had gone on strike to compel collective bargaining, Wendell Willkie personally signed a contract with a C. I. O. union.

Three days later, the record states, the company circulated a mimeographed letter among the employees, describing the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. as organizations "whose actions and decisions are dictated by outside influences," and warning employees against joining such unions. The letter continued:

"Or the employees may elect, as we hereby propose, to band themselves together in a solid, loyal, and truly representative employee organization free of any outside influence."

Thus, it is seen that a company union is Wendell Willkie's idea of collective bargaining under the National Labor Relations Act. That is the kind of aid that the workers of America will get if Mr. Willkie should ever be in a position to appoint the members of the Labor Board, especially if the amiable Mr. Girdler and the patriotic Mr. Weir insist upon what they will undoubtedly regard as their vested right to dictate such appointments to Mr. Willkie.

Please take notice that this scheme to hatch a company union was put into the incubator just 3 days after Wendell Willkie had affixed his personal signature to a contract with the C. I. O.

It would seem that, to Mr. Willkie, it is shocking maladministration to require a public utility company to live up to its signature on a contract.

What followed the circulation of this letter? A company union was formed, and then Mr. Willkie's foremen started to throw the hooks into the leaders of the genuine union. It is a routine story—the regular system of killing a union—skilled linemen transferred to unpleasant or humiliating work, threats of losing jobs, rewards to those who joined the company union.

But there is one item that caught my eye especially. A skilled worker named Niles M. Sowle was transferred to Jonesville, Mich., and a message was sent to the foreman there, worded somewhat as follows: "This man belongs to the C. I. O. Be very careful that nothing is done to injure him."

So all that happened to Mr. Sowle was that his lunch box was packed full of grease, the tires of his automobile were deflated, and, a day or two later, after eating half of his sandwiches, he found himself poisoned by something which made the sandwiches smell like kerosene. Sowle was under a doctor's care for 2 weeks.

Now, I recognize perfectly well that Wendell Willkie didn't tell anybody to poison the sandwiches of one of his employees, and that it was perfectly easy for a foreman to become too enthusiastic in carrying out a program aimed at the intimidation of a labor-union member. But observe what happened.

Testimony was offered to the Labor Board that the management apologized to the victim of this little prank, and told him that the foreman had been punished with a week's lay-off. The Labor Board examined the pay-roll records and found that the foreman had indeed been laid off a full workweek, from Monday to Friday, but on the Saturday and Sunday preceding and following that lay-off, he was credited with so much overtime that his earnings for the 5-day period of his lay-off were $6 above his regular wages. I quote from the findings of the Labor Board: "It is evident that Beattie, in effect, received a 5-day vacation with pay."

Of course, Mr. Willkie doesn't like the Labor Board prying into things like that. That is why he says that its administration of the Labor Act is a shocking scandal. But when Mr. Willkie appealed this case to the courts he was knocked out by a unanimous decision. It is interesting to note that the judge who wrote the opinion was appointed to the bench by President Harding. Few, if any, newspapers carried this story.

Now, I want to consider another aspect of the Willkie labor record:

In June of this year the Radio and Electrical Union News published an article describing Mr. Willkie's fight against the American Federation of Labor in the Alabama Power Co. Listen to this sentence:

"The known presence of company spies keeps everyone on nerves' edge, and the widespread enmity of bosses for union members has reduced efficiency to a low ebb."

Some months ago, in a Town Hall debate with Attorney General Jackson, Mr. Willkie said:

"Being a member of big business who never hired a labor spy in my life, I don't know the motive that actuates either a big or a little business (in hiring spies), and I would repudiate the act to both big business and little business."

The report of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee records the money spent by various corporations in hiring labor spies. Here is one entry:

"Georgia Power Co., Atlanta, Ga.: Espionage, 1934, 1935, 1936, $31,108.35."

Now, the Georgia Power Co. is a Willkie utility. When the fact of this $31,000 payment for labor spies was disclosed by the New Republic a few weeks ago the Georgia Power Co. claimed that these detectives were not hired for labor-union espionage, but to guard against theft by streetcar conductors. That was the story of the Pinkerton Detective Agency to Senator LA FOLLETTE. But after Senator LA FOLLETTE had proved, by Pinkerton detectives themselves, that work entered in the books as investigation of theft, sabotage, etc., was actually labor-union espionge, he again questioned the general manager of the Pinkerton Agency. I quote from the testimony:

"Senator LA FOLLETTE. Now, Mr. Rossiter, isn't it true that the description in the Pinkerton journal of sabotage, theft, and irregularities often actually covers up investigations to be made of union activities?

"Mr. ROSSITER. Well, if you take that as a sample, I will have to say 'Yes' to it."

I shall summarize the findings of the La Follette committee on the use of labor spies, the purchase of tear gas, etc., by Willkie utilities:

Mr. Willkie's Georgia Power Co.: Hired Pinkerton labor spies.

Mr. Willkie's Alabama Power Co.: Hired Pinkerton labor spies.

Mr. Willkie's Ohio-Edison: Hired labor spies of the National Corporation Service. In this instance the books of the corporation showed that the spies were engaged in "wire-tapping and dictaphone work." Put that down in your memory—wire tapping and dictaphone work for Wendell Willkie, who never hired a labor spy in his innocent young life.

Mr. Willkie's Consumers' Power of Michigan: Hired the Corporation Auxiliary Co., largest labor-spy outfit in the United States. The same company was hired by Ohio-Edison and Pennsylvania Power.

Mr. Willkie's Southern Indiana Gas & Electric: Hired the Railway Audit and Inspection Bureau, a notorious labor-spy outfit.

Mr. Willkie's Central Illinois Light bought tear-gas guns and shells from the Lake Erie Chemical Co.

I think that we know now why Ernest T. Weir is raising money for the Willkie campaign fund, and why he finds it so easy to raise money. I think that we know why Wendell Willkie looks upon Tom Girdler as one of the true heroes of America. I think that we know what Wendell Willkie's labor policies would be, if, by any calamitous mischance, this synthetic product of a high-powered publicity campaign should be allowed to enter the White House.

In addition to the right to bargain collectively, which right was established by law and is being honored by this administration, our workingmen also need security. Yet Mr. Willkie recklessly slanders, and thereby endangers, the credit of the United States, upon which the security of all of us—including that of Mr. Willkie—depends.

In my opinion, Willkie has about as much chance of winning the support of a majority of the American people as I have of swimming across the Atlantic Ocean. But there is one phase of his candidacy that is alarming. It is the fact that a personality which does not exist, a make-believe man created by clever young Wall Street lawyers, clever publicity experts, clever magazine editors, backed by limitless millions of dollars from quarters that distrust American democracy, backed by the selective silence of the American press, could have been elevated to the top of one of our great political parties. This is a dangerous portent in our political life.

Yet there are signs that these tactics are self-defeating. There are signs that the American people, besides being determined to reelect President Roosevelt, have noted Mr. Willkie's number. They see the reality behind the mummery, the cold brutality of anti-labor industrialism behind the mask of pretended friendliness. They know that Wall Street adventurers highjacked the Republican nomination for a holding-company operator totally inexperienced in public affairs. They discern the lust of the public utilities for political power to implement and augment their financial power, so that, even if Wendell Willkie had a lesser man than Franklin D. Roosevelt against him, he would still be doomed to defeat.

No one can doubt that President Roosevelt will be triumphantly elected on November 5. But that will not be enough. In order to carry out the difficult task with which you will have entrusted him, you must give him a Democratic Congress to support him. So I bespeak your votes for Congressman HARTER, of Akron, a man who richly deserves them on his record; and I ask you also to support the Democratic candidate for Senator in this State and all other deserving Democratic candidates for either Senator or Representative in Congress. One reason why Mr. Willkie should not be elected, if it is not inhumanity to suggest another, is that even in the best of circumstances he will have a Democratic Senate, whatever may happen to the House of Representatives. This would mean disunity, discord, and misunderstanding when we must have national unity, if we are to fulfill our destiny as a Nation.

I invite freedom-loving Democrats and Republicans to support the man whose wisdom and experience are needed in this hour of national peril, the man whom the people love, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Threat of War—Our Foreign Policy—National Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURTON K. WHEELER

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 28 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESSES BY HON. FRANCIS T. MALONEY, OF CONNECTICUT, ON OCTOBER 23, 24, AND 25, 1940

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD three radio addresses delivered by the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MALONEY] on October 23, 24, and 25, 1940.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RADIO ADDRESS OF SENATOR FRANCIS T. MALONEY, OCTOBER 23, 1940

Uppermost in the minds of American people is the fervent hope that we will avoid participation in war. In their hearts and on their lips is a constant prayer that their sons will not be called to war, either at home or abroad. I am firmly convinced that we will completely avoid war. There is always the possibility that some maddened and violent despot will attack us, but if we become strong, as we will—and if we take full advantage of our inventive genius and our great industrial empire and the skill of our workmen—I doubt very much that there is a tyrant anywhere who would dare such an attack.

In the heat of this campaign people are asking themselves whether or not one or another of the Presidential candidates might be so careless of language or deed as to bring us into war. Certainly no sane person would seriously ask himself if either of the Presidential candidates would purposely and willfully lead his countrymen into conflict. All sane people hate and fear war. In dictator countries the people are shackled and cannot do much about it. In our country we can because we choose our President by free election. This leads to the question, as I see it, as to which of the two Presidential candidates is best informed on international affairs—and best understands the ways of the heads of other governments and countries. It raises the question of foreign policy—or really foreign attitude—because it is pretty hard to maintain a foreign policy in a world which is ablaze, and when international law is only what individuals or powerful nations declare it to be. We have about admitted to ourselves that the matter of peace and national defense are the things with which we must be first and most concerned—and we are about agreed that for the time being other matters of importance are secondary.

Most of us know that we are living in a world changing so fast that only especially able and courageous and experienced men can properly qualify for leadership.

With these thoughts in mind I urge you to recollect what happened in 1933. Can you not remember how the present administration met each new situation and succeeded in overcoming one crisis after another? Can you doubt for a moment that the serious situation confronting us now is more serious than the problem of that year? Have you not wondered if you would one day hear the drone of enemy planes overhead in New England? Have you wondered if your son might go to war—probably as his father did? Have you wondered whether or not there would be created another chapter of Gold Star Mothers in America? I confess that I have wondered about all of these things, and, like everyone else, have prayed that we would avoid them.

As I have thought of these things I have realized how much depends upon the experience and knowledge of the President, and I have concluded that President Roosevelt is better equipped to lead his country in this time of world uncertainty than any other man in America. I think that he has proven his qualifications and that he has convinced his fellow Americans that he is at his best under challenging uncertainties. I said last evening that he was the best that the Democratic Party had to offer. Tonight I say that I think he is the best that America has to offer, and I repeat that few, if any, men of our generation are so gifted by way of vision, and imagination, and governmental experience, and an understanding of government as he is. Let me repeat again—that I doubt that there is an American with a greater knowledge of foreign affairs.

We need more than the help of a President, to be sure. We need the help of God and we need the continuing help of each other—and a strong Congress, and the confidence of each other—for the days ahead, probably for a long time, will be days of vicissitude.

For the last long time many people have been asking, "What is the foreign policy of the President?" They have been asking, "What does he propose to do?" They have inquired, "Where are we going?" The truth is that no one can be honest and answer those questions. We must first know what others will do. The Old World standards have broken down. The real answer is that we must meet each New World problem as it comes before us. There is no prescription that will overnight cure the ills of the times.

As I see it, it all comes down to a question of experience and the record. On the basis of his experience, and on his record, I am confident that the President is best equipped to lead us through these next few years—years that may be even more trying than the ones just behind us.

War is raging in the Orient; and a cruel, a viciously cruel, war is raging over all Europe. Countries yet untouched by the flames of war and the devastation wrought by bombs and planes are so close to the heat of war that they live in terror.

We must determine who can best lead our defense program. It is going along rapidly—and without political interference—and we must decide whether or not someone else could do it better, or whether or not an interruption now would be dangerous to our national welfare, and even our lives. I do not think that anyone else could do it better, but I do think that an interruption might court great delay. We cannot determine what we will do in the Orient. What we want to do is preserve peace for us, and hope that we can later help to bring peace to the world. We cannot do much for Europe excepting to give such assistance as is properly possible, and within the boundaries of international law as we define that law, to the courageous people of Great Britain, and, as the opportunity permits, to the other unfortunate people of Europe.

I do not want to see any people destroyed. I want freedom to finally come to all of the people of Europe, including those who are for the time being enslaved in their own land.

I want to give aid to Great Britain because it appears to me that future chance for world peace and happiness depends largely upon her success. Some few people prefer that we do nothing, and a few more believe that by doing nothing we will come out all right. They, in my solemn opinion, are grievously in error. We are already at war with the philosophy of a pagan dictatorship because that philosophy wars on us and upon our way of life. Should that philosophy overwhelm Britain we cannot too seriously doubt that an effort will be made to extend its influence into the Western Hemisphere. So we pray for peace, and build our forces fast, and await each new day to meet it as best we can. In all of this experience counts. In all of this a knowledge of international affairs is important.

I want to give aid to Great Britain because I have a sentimental attachment for a people who fight on against horrible odds—who fight on surrounded by death—and who have not known anything better than sleepless nights and terrorizing days for these last many months.

I want to aid Britain because I do not want the battle line extended from old England to New England.

I want the proud French and Polish Nations to rise again.

I want to learn that order and quiet and tranquillity are again restored on the Scandinavian Peninsula.

I want to know that the courageous Finns may resume their normal way of life.

I want the people of Czechoslovakia to return to their peaceful pursuits.

I want Austria to determine its own national fortune and future.

I want relief and rest to come to Denmark and Belgium and Holland.

I want terror removed from the hearts and minds of the people of the Baltic and the Balkans, because while there is terror in the world we all suffer.

I want to aid Britain because I want old Ireland and her religious way of life preserved, and because I want New England and the rest of America to be ever free from invasion.

I want to aid Britain because I want our Canadian neighbors to be able to move out of the field of war and back into the province of peace.

I want to aid Britain because Britain gives us time to strengthen our military and naval forces, so that we will be strong enough to be let alone.

I see a chance for an early peace if England holds out. I think that I can visualize a world coming back to normal—and a chance for men and women to restore the beauties of their countrysides and to work their fields again. I think that I can visualize a peace in the Orient if the spreading pagan philosophy can be halted.

I want to give aid to Britain because I want to resist the determined effort to destroy the dignity of man over the entire world.

I want to aid Britain because I want to preserve religious civilization—and allow men and women to work out their economic salva-

tion as they desire—and their eternal salvation by way of the religion of their choice.

So let me say again that there is really no foreign policy at the moment—other than a maintenance of the age-old American doctrine of courage and righteousness. We have never sought war and we never will seek war. We are rich and powerful, and can and will be much more powerful, and we will avoid foreign conflict at the sacrifice of anything but our national honor or an attack upon our domain.

I mention these things because I want my constituents to know how I personally feel, and because I want them to know why I think the foreign attitude of President Roosevelt has been the right attitude—and why I think that under his leadership our chances of keeping out of war and the world's chance for the end of war is better than it would be under another man especially under a new and untried man, about whom we know little, and whose selection as President would be a matter of speculation. A time of crisis is no time for speculation. A time of crisis is a time for cool determination and for unity and national friendship.

On November 5 we will hold another free election—just as we have held them for a century and a half. The people of the country will decide what they think is best for them. If I am wrong, my party should not enjoy political victory. In times of peace it does not make so great a difference about the kind of man who serves in the White House, so long as he is a good man. In times of stress it does make a difference. In times of stress the call is for courage and vision and experience. Experience is of paramount importance. Experience may be vital.

Before I close I should like to make it clear that I do not believe we are or should be the guardians of all the world—or any part of it excepting our own hemisphere. We have a moral responsibility to the world—but we have lived the right way as a nation, and we are entitled to peace. My first concern is that we preserve that peace. Great Britain is not making the fight for us—I thoroughly understand that—but it just so happens that the fight she is making and the blood she is giving is giving us protection. England has made mistakes, many mistakes, and so have we, and so have the other countries of the world; but what she is doing at this time and the sacrifice she is making is one which benefits us tremendously and gives us the time to get ready to defend ourselves under any circumstances.

My principal purpose—although there are many other considerations—is a selfish one for our country. As a Member of the United States Senate, I approach this horrible world situation from the standpoint of what is best for us, and I think that it is best for us that we cling closely to the present foreign attitude of President Roosevelt.

Those politicians, including the Republican nominee for President, who say that President Roosevelt is endangering our country by speaking rudely to dictators should remember that the most defiant challenge yet issued was submitted by Mr. Willkie in his acceptance speech at Ellwood. At that time he said that he would "outdistance Hitler in any contest he chooses in 1940 or after"; and in the same speech he said, "And I promise that when we beat him we shall beat him on our own terms and in the American way."

I am not now condemning that statement; but if President Roosevelt has ever been more defiant than that, or used language more likely to antagonize anyone anywhere, it has not come to my attention.

Just examine the record. Review the record of the situation, and then give the protective armor of your prayers to the President and his opponent. Pray that God will guide and direct our national leadership, and guide and direct all of us in all of the days ahead.

RADIO ADDRESS OF SENATOR FRANCIS T. MALONEY, OCTOBER 24, 1940

An important function of the United States Senate is to work with the President and the Secretary of State in shaping the Nation's foreign policy. Since I have been in the Senate, one of the most noteworthy developments in that policy has been the establishment of new and enlightened ties with the other countries of this hemisphere. Tonight I propose to outline those new developments, and to explain to you why I conceive it to be my duty, if reelected, to do all in my power, as a Senator, to maintain and foster our improved relations with South and Central America.

To people in Connecticut, it may seem that I over-emphasize the importance of our relations with Latin America. Since the decrease of our maritime trade, we have been far removed from any direct contact with these countries. And while we have always subscribed to vague principles of some form of pan-Americanism, few of us have supposed that the destiny of the United States was in any substantial way affected by the trend of affairs south of its borders. The citizens of Connecticut, on the other hand, are now and always have been very seriously concerned with the security and prosperity of their own country. In times of emergency and danger they have been alert to support—upon a wholly nonpartisan basis—all measures necessary to strengthen and protect the Republic. It is upon this basis that I ask Connecticut's support for the continued development of a sound policy in our relations with the other countries of this hemisphere. My observations in Washington during the past 8 years—and the knowledge I have acquired through the work of the Senate—and through my own consultations with the State Department—have convinced me that the goodwill and cooperation of our South American neighbors is vital to this country's future.

Recent upheavals in a world beset by the ruthless activities of aggressors have served to show how much the United States must depend upon unity and solidarity among the nations of this hemisphere for the peace and security we all devoutly wish to preserve. From a purely strategic point of view, the friendly attitude of our sister nations in this part of the world is an indispensable factor of any defense program we can undertake. But more than this, the probable loss of markets in Europe and Asia makes it absolutely necessary that we establish—while there is still time to do so—strong commercial and economic ties among all the countries of this hemisphere.

I do not exaggerate when I say that the present administration of our National Government has been motivated by these solemn considerations in devoting its primary attention in foreign affairs to the shaping of a new policy in the Western Hemisphere. Nor do I give excessive praise when I say that the people of the United States owe a debt of the deepest gratitude to the President—and to that able and clear-sighted statesman, Cordell Hull—for the results which have already been achieved. It is a fact beyond any dispute that this country today is held in higher respect, and enjoys greater prestige and confidence among the other countries of this hemisphere, than at any previous time in history. It is a fact, moreover, that this favorable position has been won against the heaviest odds and in face of seemingly insuperable obstables. When the record of this troubled era is finally made, the achievements of our State Department under the leadership of Secretary Hull, and the cooperation given to him by the President and the Senate, will constitute one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of diplomacy.

Let me first recite to you the situation which confronted the newly organized Department of State in 1933. At that time we were beginning to reap the disaster of a generation of selfishness in our dealings with the American republics. The extent to which our State Department had been molding its policy, to assist the exploitation of those countries by private financial interests, had become so open as to be labeled "dollar diplomacy." We had been constantly interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign peoples. We had not hesitated actually to occupy some countries with our troops. We rejected the principle of equality in diplomatic consultations.

Throughout South and Central America the United States was known as the "octopus of the north." This great country of ours, which for a century had set itself up as the protector of free peoples in this hemisphere, was looked upon by those peoples as their most dangerous aggressor. Our South American neighbors had become so convinced that the purpose of the United States was merely to hold this hemisphere for its own exploitation that many of them were already looking to Europe and Asia for more favorable alliances. Somewhere on the verge of openly repudiating the Monroe Doctrine.

Some observers were ready to say—even as recently as 1933—that the leadership of the United States on this hemisphere had been lost beyond redemption.

This, then, was the critical situation when President Roosevelt in his first inaugural address enunciated his now famous "good neighbor" policy. This was the dangerous condition of our diplomacy when Secretary Hull undertook to win back this country's lost prestige and to restore to this hemisphere the goodwill and solidarity essential to its continued independence. No scholar of diplomacy will deny that the task was stupendous—none will deny that our State Department has accomplished the task with unsurpassed brilliance.

The first and most difficult job was to convince the nations of South and Central America that we no longer looked upon them as puppets and that we had abandoned for all time the shameful practices of our "dollar diplomacy." We had not only to show them that we respected them as independent nations but also that we recognized each of them as a worthy partner in working out the destiny of this hemisphere.

This was the purpose behind the President's announcement of the "good neighbor" policy, a policy based upon the idea that this country must act as "the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others." Thereupon in 1934 we remade our treaty with Cuba so as to repeal the Platt amendment, under which since 1908 we had claimed the right to interfere in the internal affairs of that country. In the same year we withdrew our marines from Haiti. Secretary Hull became the prime mover in a series of conferences held successively in Uruguay, Argentina, Peru, Panama, and Cuba. These conferences exhibited to our neighbors the firm resolve of the United States to make pan-Americanism a living and dynamic principle of cooperation on this hemisphere.

I can best demonstrate the beneficial results of this new policy by summarizing the unanimous action taken by the American republics at the Habana Conference this past summer. The mere holding of that conference was proof of our regained prestige. It is known that certain European and Asiatic powers made frantic efforts to spike the conference. It is known that before and during the conference unprecedented forces of foreign espionage were loosed in this hemisphere. Despite this subversive activity—and in glowing contrast to the turmoil in other parts of the world—every free nation of the Western Hemisphere joined and supported the Habana Conference and subscribed to its epoch-making conventions.

Let me state the substance of the most important of those conventions and resolutions to you.

It was unanimously agreed:

First. That the American republics will jointly administer, whenever it becomes necessary, any possession in the Western Hemisphere now held by a foreign power.

Second. That the American republics shall jointly oppose any transfer or attempted transfer of any possession in this hemisphere to a non-American state.

Third. That there shall be immediate consultation in the event any one of the American republics is threatened by aggression.

Fourth. That there shall be cooperative action to suppress "fifth column" activities on this hemisphere.

Fifth. That a program for increasing the economic and cultural solidarity of the hemisphere shall be immediately expanded.

Thus it was, that at the very time when the free nations of Europe were falling one after another before a dictator's war machine, this country was able to lead the free peoples of this hemisphere into new and effective spheres of unity and solidarity.

But if the work of 7 years has brought forth such splendid achievement, much still remains to be done. We have reconstructed the diplomatic framework of the western world. We are ready to act. But the time for decisive action will come during the next few years. Our Government has been admirably foresighted in preparing for the day when powerful nations of Europe and Asia shall try to outflank this great country of ours by getting footholds in South America and Central America. But when that time comes, and no one dare say it will not come, we must have at the helm of our National Government those who are committed to and who believe in and who know by study and experience the purpose and spirit of the policy Secretary Hull has made for it.

I have already dedicated myself to that policy. I propose that the Senate of the United States shall continue to exercise its constitutional function in the realm of foreign affairs. But within those constitutional limits I firmly believe the Senate should continue to support the pan-American policy of this administration.

We of New England have much to gain through the new unity and solidarity of the western world. Not only do we share the pride of the whole country in this Nation's restored prestige and the satisfaction of every citizen in the knowledge that new bulwarks of security are being erected, we also may rekindle the spark of enterprise which the captains of New England had a century ago. Our men and our ships once commanded the Spanish Main. Our sons and their ships, I am convinced, will once again carry the products of our industry to the islands and the countries of the south. We shall preserve peace in this hemisphere, and with that peace we shall build up a new prosperity based upon the mutual trust and confidence of the free peoples of this new and free world.

RADIO ADDRESS BY SENATOR FRANCIS T. MALONEY OF OCTOBER 25, 1940

This evening, at the risk of being considered immodest, I want to briefly discuss my own candidacy and some parts of my record which make me hopeful that I will obtain the support and assistance of a majority of the people of my State in my campaign for reelection.

I have been a Member of Congress for 8 years, having served in the House of Representatives during the very trying Seventy-third Congress, and since that time, through the kindness and confidence of the people of my State, in the United States Senate. I am a member of the important Committee on Appropriations, and on that committee I am a member of the subcommittees on the Army and Navy, as well as a member of other subcommittees. I also enjoy membership on the important Committee on Banking and Currency, and I am a member of the subcommittees dealing with investment banking and other banking, and I am also a member of several other subcommittees. The action of both of these committees—and more particularly the subcommittees—are of tremendous importance to my State. I also hold membership on the major Committee on Commerce, and I am a member of several important subcommittees of that body. This assignment is likewise of great importance to Connecticut, because Connecticut is not only a maritime State but is rich and outstanding because of its trade and commerce. Our trade has extended over the world since the early days of the Republic, and a very great part of our business and commerce is with every other State of the Union. I am also a member of other committees of the Senate, but these three have so much a bearing upon the business and interests of Connecticut that I briefly refer to them.

In the Congress of the United States the rule of seniority prevails. The longer a Member remains in Congress the more influential he becomes—assuming that he is a conscientious and intelligent Member of Congress—and, because of that, it is obvious to anyone who will consider the matter that the influence of seniority enables a Member not only to better serve his country but to better serve his State.

During the period of my service I have had occasion, time and time again, to come closely in contact with the different groups and many industrialists of Connecticut. I have assisted in the writing of every piece of business and financial and banking legislation in the last 8 years. In some special instances I have been able to write into the laws some of the views which the experience of generations has given to the financial interests of my State. Time does not permit a recital of the record in detail, but I invite anyone in Connecticut to ask any banker or investment banker in Connecticut whether or not I have been effective and whether or not I have been helpful. Among my references are these bankers and the insurance officials of Connecticut. Among my references are the Connecticut manufacturers. I should like to have people seeking enlightenment and information on my record to ask the manufacturers of Connecticut whether or not I have been industrious and fair and intelligent.

The record will disclose the effort I have made for the benefit to the country as a whole, but particularly will it reveal my protection and assistance to Connecticut. I have been able to get through the Congress millions of dollars which added to the strength of our Coast Guard and submarine base and naval station. This not only added greatly to our national defense, and to the defense of New England and Connecticut, but has provided jobs for many people in this State.

Insofar as the Committee on Commerce is concerned, let me offer as reference the shipping interests of Connecticut and the workmen engaged in the shipping industry, both on shore and on the seas. Ask them if I have been fair and effective.

I have voted for every single national-defense measure since becoming a Member of Congress. The record will prove that last spring I succeeded in increasing one appropriation bill to the extent of $100,000,000 just for additional airplanes. The record will also prove my constant interest in national defense and how successful I was in increasing funds for educational military orders, and for, at least in that respect, increasing jobs for Connecticut men. My references, insofar as national defense and my work on the Army and Navy Committees are concerned, are the industrialists of Connecticut engaged in our national-defense work. Time and again I was successful in getting funds for river and harbor improvements in Connecticut, and finally in getting through the bill which adds to the protection of the homes and lives and property of the people in and around East Hartford and the protection to our national-defense work at the great aircraft factory there. This is only one instance—a proven instance—of the value of experience and seniority. It proves the additional value of having the friendship and confidence of your colleagues in Congress. My references are the people who have been concerned with these projects and any and every Member of Congress.

While I have always practiced, and always will practice, complete independence, and in no instance violated my conscience and judgment, I have preserved the friendship and held the cooperation of all of the people of this administration. I think that I may safely say that I have a warm friendship and the complete good will of each and every one of my Senate associates.

My reference in another instance might be the manufacturers of typewriters and the employees of every typewriter factory in America. When an effort was made to very substantially reduce the Government payment on typewriters I succeeded in having the Senate unanimously reject the proposal. I refer people to the heads of these typewriter factories and the thousands of employees who work in them. Let me emphasize that this is only a sample case. There are hundreds of them.

I refer those people who are seeking information as to my attitude toward labor to the announcement of the American Federation of Labor that no Connectitcut Senator has ever had a better record from the standpoint of the working people.

I ask my constituents to ask the manufacturers of my State if any Senator every had a record more fair insofar as they were concerned.

If time permitted I should like to refer to the efforts I have made to be helpful to small businessmen as well as to my cooperation with so-called bigger business. I should like to refer to the measure of success I enjoyed as I undertook to better the lot of the tobacco farmers last year, when for the first time in a long time they approached a fair price for their product. My references are the tobacco farmers and the other farmers in my State. I was helpful when the hurricane destroyed their timber and damaged their homes and when the farmers, like other people, suffered from flood.

I suggest that those who want to know more before they vote make inquiry among the farmers and the farm groups or the county agents who represent them.

I should like to remind the people of my State of my concern with soil conservation and beach erosion and the preservation of Connecticut elms, and the purification of our rivers and streams, and my interest in the work of the C. C. C. camps and the vocational-training program, and the National Youth Administration.

Many of these things are not of themselves of tremendous importance, but oftentimes it is the hundreds of these smaller things which, in the aggregate, are of great importance to our State. Ask the thousands of people who have come to Washington or who have had business in Washington the kind of attention and cooperation they receive. Make inquiry as to whether or not I have been a working Member of the Senate. Ask yourselves and others if I have held steadfastly to the Constitution and fought for the preservation of the rights of States. Ask any public official of any party if any suggestion or request or need brought to my attention was ever neglected. Ask the veterans of the World War or the Spanish-American War if they have found in me a representative who met the test.

In these very trying days it seems to me of tremendous importance that Connecticut's representatives be men of experience and with an understanding of the ways of government—local government, and State government, and Federal Government. It seems to me, if I may be colloquial for a moment, that it is important that Connecticut be represented by men who "know their way around." Regardless of what may happen in the election in November, the United States Senate will remain under the control of the Democratic Party.

I feel that for the time being—and for the next few uncertain years—I can give a better protection to my State and my country than a man without experience—a man without the seniority influence given to me by my years of service—and a man who does not to such an extent know the ways of Congress, and the ways of official Washington, and the needs of Connecticut.

I was born in the State of Connecticut. Generations of my family have lived here. I have traveled down the main street of every city and town and village in Connecticut. I have spoken to the people in every town. I am acquainted with their needs and their ideas, and their ideals, and their aspirations. I believe

I have the Connecticut viewpoint—and I think that I have the conservatively progressive attitude of the great Constitution State.

I have received, and am receiving daily, letters from people in every walk of life—including bankers and insurance employees and officials, and farmers and labor leaders, and workingmen and veterans, and women who direct the affairs of the home—promising me their election-day support. Because of all of this, I have a feeling of confidence that I am going to be permitted to continue my services in the Senate after January.

Most people know that Connecticut's representation in Washington is of tremendous importance. Connecticut has had able Senators down through the years—and I like to believe that I have measured up to the ability and integrity and patriotism of those who have preceded me in the greatest legislative body in the world.

I can only tell the people of Connecticut that if they reelect me I will, with God's help, be the same kind of a Senator that I have been during the past 6 years. I will resist to the full extent of my energy and talents any proposal which does not appear to be best for my State and country. I will work just as hard for the preservation of our social and financial and economic gains as I have in the past; I shall continue to contribute such energy as I possess to the strengthening of our national defense; and I shall be determined that our young men shall avoid war. I renew my promise not to vote to send them to participate in foreign wars.

I realize that this talk of this evening has been quite personal, but it is a necessary thing in political campaigns that men review their records and refer to their plans and viewpoint. It is more difficult now, however, to make plans for the future than it ever has been before. The world situation does not permit us to plan things so definitely as we desire. We must meet each new situation as it arrives. For that reason it is of very great importance that we have men of experience, and judgment, and fairness, and with an understanding in the ways of government, in the service of Connecticut at the National Capital.

New American Markets for the American Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 28 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES L. McNARY, OF OREGON, AT KENDALLVILLE, IND.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Hon. CHARLES L. McNARY, Republican nominee for Vice President of the United States, at Kendallville, Ind., October 24, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Who could resist the sober beauty of Indiana "when the frost is on the pumpkin and the fodder's in the shock"?

Not I. A farmer born and bred, I share Riley's delight in homespun values. Upon those values America founded her spiritual and material greatness. Your good Hoosier poet—the poet of plain men everywhere—sang of a simple America, simple and expansive; grateful for the abundance of its field, stream, and forest, and proud of the dignity and independence of country living, of farming as a way of life. The Republican Party, in this fateful year 1940, wishes to recapture that expansiveness, restore that dignity and independence. With your help, it shall so do.

We meet near the juncture of three great farm States—Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana. Bountiful Ohio, ranking fourth among the States in the value of its farm produce; Michigan, fertile and diversified; and Indiana, native State of the dynamic leader of our historic crusade, Wendell Willkie. A State which usually manages to produce the champion corn grower of the Corn Belt, Indiana excels in those two indigenous constituents of American life, corn and politics.

I am happy to address, here at Kendallville, farmers of these States of the rich Central Plain; and, over the radio, bring my understanding of the agricultural issues of this campaign into the homes of those who are not here. We near the end of a campaign remarkable for the clarity with which the opposing philosophies have been exposed to you, the voter.

A wide gulf separates the negative farm program of the New Deal—an unchanged pattern of retreat, confusion, and regimentation—from the affirmative, hopeful, blueprint offered by the Republican Party. It has been Mr. Henry Wallace's thankless task to defend the New Deal program. To me has fallen the happy lot of sketching the outlines of a better day for American agriculture after 7 lean and depressing years.

In the Midwest, the Northwest, the Southwest, and in my own Pacific Northwest, I have drawn a comprehensive indictment of New Deal failure. I have condemned the immature, frightened New Deal thesis that our strong, fruitful America has matured into feeble senility. I have preached the gospel of abundance and full production, attacking the suicide theory of curtailment. I have accused the New Deal of prolonging our agricultural crisis long after every other world power had brought farm income into line with national income. I have demonstrated that our farm income is at its lowest proportional ebb; that farm export markets are dwindling to the vanishing point. I have charged that the New Deal has deprived the American farmer of a part of his own market.

With surpluses of corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco, and fruit piling skyward in a world at war, I point out that the farm emergency of 1932–33 has been succeeded by the farm emergency of 1940. The New Deal, through its unwillingness to adopt wise marketing, price, and foreign-trade policies—through its belief that America had shot its bolt—brought on the present emergency. The New Deal cannot be trusted to end it. The task must pass to those of us who have faith in the future of our country.

Today I choose a new text. I quote from an eminent farm editor, who is, also, a scientific breeder of hybrid corn, these words: "In the long run, big crops mean prosperity. * * * The problem of businessmen and farmers is to devise some means of giving farmers * * * a financial interest in producing big crops." The author of that sound utterance was my friend, Mr. Henry Wallace. He uttered it in 1920; before his genuine interest in farm welfare had been complicated by political thoughts of the new, regimented state.

I embrace that text. But by 1934, Mr. Wallace was deep in the toils of theoretical state socialism. He mistrusted the free play of forces in a free economy. He thought the day of the free farmer supplying an expansible market was over. So he said, in justification: "Under our present system, it is good business to prevent the production of surplus wealth."

The Wallace of 1920 and the Wallace of 1934 accurately voice the contrasted farm issues of this campaign.

We believe it the business of the Government to supply markets—and not to set production quotas. In that same year of 1934, Mr. Wallace feared that we might be obliged "permanently to retract 25,000,000 acres of good agricultural land." Those were his words. We disagree.

We hold that, once America's vast energies have again been unleashed, we shall require the yield of all our good agricultural land at prices which shall restore the farmer to a full partnership with the city producer in the national income. Yesterday, at Bloomington, Ill., I spoke of the huge, unfilled market for foodstuffs here at home. I cited a Government estimate that one-third of all Americans exist on a deficient diet, a diet below what is called the defense safety line. In short, they do not have enough to eat. That is Mr. Roosevelt's underprivileged one-third, still hungry amidst plenty in spite of the borrowed billions. I quoted a Government prediction that full industrial employment would add $3,000,000,000, at the least, to the farmers' income. Mr. Willkie has pledged himself to bring about full employment. I have every confidence that he can fulfill that pledge.

Today, I want to discuss other potential markets.

The Hull-Wallace reciprocal trade agreements have sold part of the farmers' domestic market down the river. In 1937, when Secretary Hull obtained from the Congress the first renewal of the Trade Treaty Act, he said, and I quote: "A primary purpose of this program, and it has no more paramount purpose, is to restore, as far as possible, foreign markets for American agriculture."

Mr. Hull's hopes—and the farmers' with him—never have been realized. In 1939, total exports from these shores stood 51.2 percent higher than in 1932—the low-water mark of the depression. But farm exports were smaller by 9.2 percent.

That is by no means the worst of it. The trade treaties, which, in reality, merely constitute a round-about way of rewriting the tariff, have left the farmer unprotected against imports. While farm exports declined, competitive farm imports have risen. The second World War began, as you recall, on September 1, 1939. We cannot blame the farmers' distressing foreign-trade position on the war. In the 8 prewar months of 1939 farm exports fell away by $60,000,000 while imports rose $203,000,000, or 29 percent. Of those imports, $150,000,000, or 75 percent, competed directly with your own production. Those items found their way into our overcrowded markets across the low-tariff schedules written at the instance of Mr. Hull and Mr. Wallace, by a group of anonymous bureaucrats in Washington.

The New Deal, committed to the Democratic free-trade tradition—if to no other time-hallowed Democratic principle—portrays at every turn a tender solicitude for the foreign farm producer.

The United States, under the New Deal, is the only world trading country which consistently, as a matter of self-conscious policy, prefers the interests of foreign producers to those under its own flag. To Mr. Hull and Mr. Wallace, pursuing their vain and ingenuous dream of fair exchange in a brutal world, the American market belongs as much to the barefooted, loin-clothed native of a Pacific island, sitting in magnificent grandeur over his daily bowl of rice, as it does to a midland farmer, paying his taxes in America, educating his children to be American citizens, buying his tractor, motorcar, radio, furniture, and clothing in the county seat.

I propose that the American market be returned to the American farmer.

I voted against the Hull-Wallace foreign-trade program in 1934, 1937, and again last spring because I believed that it sold out the

farmer, because it is not reciprocal, and because I doubt its constitutionality. The Republican Party, insofar as it has had a coherent policy, has been in opposition. Many of my colleagues share my views. The senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], my great friend, deplores the harm done the farmer by competition from abroad. If for no other reason—and the reasons arising from his able service in the Senate are legion—I should regard his absence from his accustomed seat in the next session as a calamitous loss.

In a speech delivered last February in St. Paul on the farm question, Senator VANDENBERG said—and I quote: "There should be no competitive agricultural imports when domestic farm prices are below domestic parity. Here is one monopoly that is indispensably good—the monopoly of the domestic market against all destructive alien competitors in behalf of the whole family of American agriculture. Except as we start from this base, there will never be a successful farm formula. The American markets belong to American farmers." Senator VANDENBERG endorsed the two-price system as embodied in the McNary-Haugen bills, assuring the farmer the American price for that part of his produce consumed domestically.

There are, if the will exists among your representatives in Washington, still other ways of enlarging the farm market. We need to take stock of our farm plant and its capacities against the long pull. We now import vast quantities of starches, fats and oils, medicinal drugs, pulp—scores of commodities—which could be grown here. Some are essential to defense. Many come from across the Pacific, an ocean which conceivably may be a theater of war at any time.

Nothing has been done about substituting home-grown products of the soil. We make haste to free ourselves of dependence on imported metals; yet the Department of Agriculture, bound to the cult of free trade, fails to defend the country and provide new opportunities for the domestic farm producer. If the hard facts of the world situation force America into self-containment, we shall not lament. An acreage of millions would be needed to replace our imports of food, feed, and fiber.

A realistic administration in Washington will survey our capacity in advance of that necessity.

I come to a fourth long-range method of enlarging markets so that we may again grow the big crops advocated by Mr. Wallace in 1920. For years we have heard of chemurgy; an odd-sounding word which simply means, as nearly as I can make out, the greater industrial use of the organic elements that come from the soil. The farm always has been a source of raw materials—cotton, wool, flax, leather, forest products, and so on.

But the chemurgists, having their eyes on the revolutionary changes being wrought in the nature and appearance of things by the chemists and the plastics industry, project their imaginations into a strange and novel future, wherein houses and motor cars and airplanes may come from the field instead of the mine, when rubber may be merely a distillation of potato and fruits culls, and your plumbing a mold of soybean cake.

We hear that a great automobile manufacturer over at Detroit is ready to equip his cars with a farm-plastic fender, lacking only the sufficient and steady supply of the farm produce to put it into production. It is only a step from fender to body, and the chemurgists declare there are no obstacles. I am told that an axe cannot dent this fender.

The yield of thousands, perhaps millions, of acres would be required for such a farm-grown car.

I hear of a new synthetic rubber, derived almost directly from alcohol. Its use would consume the sugars and starches from millions of acres. These amazing new chemists make wine from whey. What is more practical, they claim they can make cheap but attractive rugs and draperies from skimmed milk.

The chemical revolution challenges my interest. For 20 years, as a member, and for a long time chairman, of the Senate Committee on Agriculture I have listened to fearful and wondrous proposals for farm relief. I had thought myself allergic to wizards. But I yield. We must look to the future. If a new, vitalizing union between agriculture and industry is feasible, we should advance to meet it.

The Department of Agriculture, under the New Deal, has resisted, ignored, or neglected the development of new industries using farm produce. Dr. Herty laid the framework for the southern newsprint industry without benefit of the New Deal. The soybean developed into a major Corn Belt crop with little encouragement from Washington. The oil pressers and the railroads brought that about. Recently a new plant opened in the South which eventually will make all our cigarette paper. Its promoters themselves stimulated the production of flax in California and Texas for their raw product. We have been importing that paper from France and Belgium. The new industry draws on thousands of acres; employs thousands of workers. Yet an inquirer the other day found the Department of Agriculture in almost complete ignorance of this development.

For 7 years the Department of Agriculture has been neglecting these opportunities. Its experts have been too busy with intricate regulations to restrict production and shackle the producer. The internationalist bias of the New Deal has acted as a damper on its ambitious farm economists and other scientists. Some of them wished to help advance new crops and new industries. They were balked. Research looking toward new-crop uses has languished under the New Deal. We have four surplus-crop laboratories about to open in Philadelphia, Peoria, New Orleans, and San Francisco. They are not a New Deal project. They originated—as did parity payments and the distribution of surplus crops to the needy in the cities—in the Senate.

The New Deal has been concerned with subsidizing the farmer to produce less. Under the dead hand of the New Deal, the Department of Agriculture, with its 120,000 employees, has been turned into a pension office. I feel it should be a research and sales office, operating with all its energies to find new outlets for farm products; cooperating with American industrial producers instead of foreign farm producers. The New Deal's negative policy has failed; a positive policy should activate that great and resourceful Department.

We do not begrudge the benefit payments to the farmer. We favor them. I have belonged to the Congresses which voted them. But they fall far short of justice. The New Deal's unwillingness to restore agriculture to an independent, self-reliant footing makes them necessary. No administration could reduce them until it furnished a substitute.

We think them insufficient. We have something better. In the forward surge which the new administration will produce for America, the farmer must not stay behind. It is the farmer's duty to sow, till, and reap; our duty to find him markets. We want the farmer abreast of the city producer—a free farmer in a free, productive, advancing America.

The Presidential Candidates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 28 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM ST. LOUIS STAR-TIMES

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the St. Louis Star-Times of Friday, October 25, 1940, under the headline "For President, Roosevelt."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Star-Times of October 25, 1940]

FOR PRESIDENT, ROOSEVELT

In 10 days the American people must decide whether Franklin D. Roosevelt or Wendell Willkie shall be President of the United States for the next 4 years. It is probably the most momentous choice that has confronted the people since 1860. A mistake in that year, it is practically certain, would have destroyed the Union; a mistake this year might easily destroy the Nation in all its parts.

The people chose Abraham Lincoln in 1860 because, although they did not know how he would lead the country, they knew where he would seek to lead it.

Today, the people of the United States know how Franklin D. Roosevelt will lead the country, and they know where he will seek to lead it. That does not make him a Lincoln; it does make him a known quantity.

Of Wendell Willkie no man, be he friend or foe, can say how he will lead the country, or where he will seek to lead it. The outstanding feature of the Willkie campaign has been the dense and ever denser obscurity into which it has plunged the personality and purposes of the Republican candidate for President.

This is a campaign in which one does not support a candidate. It is a campaign in which one supports the United States of America, and candidates for President are to be judged as they fit into that paramount requirement.

Without any thought that one man is Democratic and the other Republican, a vast balance has been built up for the reelection of President Roosevelt on the issue of national security alone.

During the past 7 years the Star-Times has agreed, in general, with the social reforms of the New Deal, and has disagreed, to a decided extent, with some of the financial policies by which they were implemented.

Today we look upon those social policies as the foundation stone of national unity, without which our democracy would crumble under heavy strain, as that of France crumbled. The financial policies are still bad; they themselves contain the seeds of disaster. But the demands of national defense are overwhelming, and Republican spokesmen have not explained satisfactorily how they can materially alter the policies in the immediate future.

Wendell Willkie has endorsed the social policies of the New Deal, including its labor policies. That does not remove them from the campaign. Much of the support that comes to Mr. Willkie by virtue of his attitude toward the New Deal comes from those who do not believe he means what he says. So, too, the opposition to his candidacy, as far as that opposition relates to the New Deal, comes from those who do not believe that he means what he says.

We have, then, a spectacle without parallel in politics—a division among the voters, on one of the most controversial aspects of a candidate's campaign, with many of the voters doubting that he

means what he says. Some are for him on that account, some against him; but they agree that his views are not what he says they are.

If this were all that was involved in the campaign, it would be submitted to the voters with confidence that they would settle it according to their desires, or, if they found themselves misled, they could correct it in the normal routine of politics.

Unfortunately, this campaign involves vastly more than a decision for or against the New Deal. The paramount issue is whether Franklin D. Roosevelt or Wendell Willkie is better fitted to guide this nation through the most dangerous international crisis the United States has ever known.

At any hour, on any day, in the present condition of the world, an action taken or a word spoken in the White House may save the United States from destruction. Or, if it is the wrong action, the wrong word, or no action at all, it may open the way to our engulfment by the clouds of the new dark ages now rolling toward us from Europe and Asia.

A change of Presidents does not avert dangers which come from beyond our borders. Decisions in foreign affairs must be made, to escape disaster, and by the nature of our Constitution foreign affairs lie more directly upon the Executive than in any other self-governing nation. In England a Cabinet, removable by Parliament, has control of foreign affairs. If a new Prime Minister falters, he can be removed overnight. In the United States the powers of the Cabinet, the ancient powers of "the king in council," are vested in the President, irremovable save by impeachment. He has no power to take the country into war, but even though devoted to peace, he can defeat the country in advance of war, and make war inevitable, by blundering weakness, or rash folly, or simple inexperience when coping with experienced and ruthless adversaries.

To take Franklin D. Roosevelt out of the White House at such an hour and put an unknown man in his place, a man utterly without previous experience in any branch of government, with out any training in international affairs, would be one of the maddest gambles of history. Even the 6 months' confusion of the period of change might give the dictators their opening for a death thrust, regardless of the fundamental qualities of the inexperienced man.

Far less is known about Wendell Willkie's foreign policies than about his domestic policies.

When Mr. Willkie says he favors collective bargaining, he can be judged by the fact that the Labor Board and the Federal courts have found his companies guilty of resisting collective bargaining by fostering five company unions.

When Mr. Willkie says he favors the T. V. A., he can be judged by the fact that he fought the T. V. A. through every court in the land.

When he says that he favors public ownership of public utilities, he can be judged by his statement in 1935 that "no duty has ever come to me in my life, even that in the service of my country," so appealing as the obligation "to say and do what I can for the preservation of public utilities privately owned." When a man places his obligation to private ownership of utilities above his obligation to serve his country, it is not difficult to conclude where he stands, fundamentally on public ownership of utilities, and voters can line up accordingly.

The lack of candor in Mr. Willkie's domestic campaign, including his many misrepresentations on national defense, are more important as a measure of temperamental fitness than for any obstacle they interpose to an understanding of his likes and dislikes.

In the field of foreign policy involving life or death to the Nation no yardstick is obtainable. By nothing that he has said or done in the past is it possible to test what he says now; and when one attempts to judge his present utterances by what is contained in them, the record is a confused and hopeless jumble of contradictions.

In one minute Mr. Willkie upbraids President Roosevelt for using provocative words toward Europe's dictators; in another he shouts that Hitler is a madman.

In one minute he endorses the President's foreign policies, and in another he accuses the President of leading the country to war.

In one minute he demands to know whether the President has made more commitments of help to Britain, and in another he criticizes the President for not furnishing more help.

He bids for the appeasement vote and he bids for the help-the-Allies vote.

There is not a man or woman in the United States today who can have any feeling of certainty, based on reason, of what Mr. Willkie's foreign policies would be if he should be elected President; nor is there any assurance that he has the slightest idea what they would be himself. The more he speaks, the less is known of what he means.

All of this points not merely to a deepening uncertainty as to what Mr. Willkie would try to do as President in the field of foreign affairs, but to a growing certainty that he is temperamentally unfitted to be President at any time, and least of all in such a crisis as now exists.

Mr. Willkie's formal speeches are confused and contradictory, and they contain so many glaring misrepresentations that Senator NORRIS called them the worst in that regard he had ever encountered in his long public career. But there is strength in his speeches and, taken singly, they are coherent. Put together they make him for and against nearly everything he has talked about. Nor is it possible to strike a balance by subtracting the "against" from the "for," or the "for" from the "against." Where one error can close the Nation's avenue to safety, 10 percent of negation may outweigh 90 percent of affirmation. And these uncertainties and contradictions are found in the candidate's formal utterances, planned in council and put in words by a brilliant entourage of speech writers.

What happens when Mr. Willkie speaks extemporaneously, uttering his own thoughts from train platforms or to the press? There comes from him—

"To hell with Chicago!"

"The President—this fellow."

"Roosevelt telephoned Hitler and Mussolini and urged them to sell Czechoslovakia down the river."

"Of all the men I know who have any acquaintance with international affairs, Franklin Roosevelt is the least qualified to lead this Nation."

These are the actual words of Wendell Willkie, taken down in shorthand by his own clerical staff, and published in friendly newspapers. Such words, both the epithets and the unintentional reckless falsification of fact, spring from uncontrolled emotion, the most dangerous quality that could be possessed by a President of the United States.

Controlled emotion, if directed to right ends, is one of the greatest qualities any man can have, turning even egotism and ambition into factors of public good. A strong man with controlled emotions is like a powerful motor car with a skilled driver at the wheel. A strong man with uncontrolled emotions is like that same car with the throttle open and nobody at the wheel. The direction no longer counts, save in determining the violence of the crash.

Compare the irresponsible impromptu outpourings of Wendell Willkie when he is stirred to oratory or stirred to anger, with the self-control and intellectual brilliance of President Roosevelt when he stands by himself, as he does, for example, when he makes important statements on international policy at his press conferences, with political enemies at home and hostile statesmen abroad looking for any slip. There you have the measure of these two men in their ability to handle diplomatic crises upon which the safety of the United States may depend. President Roosevelt has made errors in judgment in what he has done and said, but they were largely apprentice errors, overshadowed by a thousand evidences of ripened judgment, and never once owed their origin to irresponsible rashness.

If Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie were coming before the electorate on November 5, both unknown, both inexperienced, instead of a tried and proven statesman against an utter tyro, there would still be this measuring rod by which to judge them—the balanced intellect of Roosevelt, the unbalanced emotionalism of Willkie—with the very existence of this country as a free nation possibly depending upon the choice between them.

Largely because the newspapers of the United States are fighting blindly against the New Deal, this fundamental issue has not been presented to the American electorate as a whole, but it is all too well known to one part of the electorate. It is known to the Nazi and Fascist plotters who are seeking to deliver this country to the power of Hitler. Where do they stand? For Willkie, every last one of them. Not because they think he is a Fascist but because they believe his election would weaken America.

On October 3 the Nazi organ Weckruf und Beobachter, organ of Fritz Kuhn's Nazi-American bund, called on the voters to "dispense with 'the indispensable man.'"

Lawrence Dennis, Wall Street financial writer, the most brilliant Fascist in America—author of The Coming American Fascism and The Dynamics of War and Revolution—publishes a Weekly Foreign Letter, which circulates among financiers with Fascist inclinations. In his book he praises Hitler and nazi-ism. In his Weekly Letter he pictures President Roosevelt as the tool of Churchill and calls for an American policy of appeasement. He has told his readers that he will vote for Wendell Willkie and against President Roosevelt. Why? Because he says Willkie is "the lesser of two menaces." Either of these two men, he declares, will take the country into war, but only "Roosevelt and his gang have the plans and leadership for the war."

The Star-Times does not believe that either President Roosevelt or Wendell Willkie would take the United States into a war which was not inescapably forced upon us. We believe, however, that a President capable of conducting a war is more capable of keeping us out of war, without surrender to outside enemies, than a man who is preferred by Fascists on the ground that he is incapable either of conducting a war or keeping us out of it. Peace through strength, in this tempestuous world, requires a higher standard of leadership than war requires, and the elements of leadership are identical. Training, experience, and balanced judgment are among them. Wendell Willkie has not one of them.

An official of the German Foreign Office told Richard Boyer, correspondent of the New York newspaper PM, that Hitler would defeat the United States, when he got ready to do so, because "your men of wealth fear the people more than they fear the Nazis."

That was true of France. We do not believe it is true of any considerable number of Americans. We do believe, however, that fear of the people, fear of democracy, unwillingness to accept social reforms which are the alternative to social upheaval, nostalgia for the dreamland of a bygone speculative age—have blinded large numbers of Americans to the perilous relationship of this Presidential campaign to the safety of America. But that may be just what the Nazi official meant. Therein, at any rate, lies our deepest danger.

Measure these two candidates for President by their feeling of devotion to the United States of America, as they see its interests, and no person can fairly draw a line between them. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie are both Americans. Measure them

by the way they see the interests of the American people, and they are as far apart as the oceans that bound this continent.

Measure them for the strength that comes from self-control, and conservatives face the same choice that came to Alexander Hamilton in 1800 when he put his bitterest enemy, Thomas Jefferson, in the White House because he feared the emotional unbalance of Jefferson's opponent, the conservative Aaron Burr.

Measure them by the experience they would bring to a task which cries aloud for experience, and there is a disparity between Roosevelt and Willkie which is apparent even to those who would deny all other disparities.

To raise, against the overruling demands of national safety, the objection of a third term is to play with lath swords when walls are falling. Would our youthful Republic, in a crisis such as this, have let Washington go for a successor who had not so much as held the office of constable? Would this Nation have let Lincoln go if 1864 had marked the end of his second term instead of his first?

To support the United States of America, not to support a candidate, the Star-Times urges upon all who read these words, conservatives and liberals, Republicans and Democrats, that they vote to keep Franklin D. Roosevelt in the White House during this period of storm and danger. It is the way, if there be a way, to peace; the way to safety; the way to freedom.

Our Far East Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURTON K. WHEELER

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 28 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I ask to have inserted in the RECORD an editorial from the New York Daily News, also published in the Washington Times-Herald, entitled "What Is Our Far East Policy?" In my judgment it is a very able and interesting editorial.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Daily News]

WHAT IS OUR FAR EAST POLICY?

Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox says the United States can and will defend any territory under the American Flag. The War Department dots the i's and crosses the t's of this statement by sending two crack Army Air Corps pursuit squadrons to the Philippines—the Seventeenth Pursuit Squadron of the First Pursuit Group, and the Twentieth Pursuit Squadron of the Thirty-fifth Pursuit Group.

This is all very exciting and interesting, but what we would like to know is: What is the United States' policy in the Far East?

We don't know what it is, and we don't know of any observer who does know. Sometimes we suspect that there is no United States policy in the Far East; that our Government improvises all the time in that important and explosive quarter of the world.

It may be that our policy is to defend British possessions in the Far East—Hong Kong, the Malay States, British India, Australia, New Zealand—with Britain one day soon to give us the right to base our Far East naval forces on Singapore.

As regards Hong Kong, Malaysia, and British India, we do not see how the United States is called upon to defend British interests in any of them. The British have no more historic or racial right to be in any of those places than the Germans have to be in France. They are there because they have the force to stay there, up to now, just as the Germans are in France because they have the force to be there.

AUSTRALIA; NEW ZEALAND

A couple of hard cases are presented by Australia and New Zealand.

Australia is a continent of almost 3,000,000 square miles, lacking some 55,000 square miles of being as big as the United States. It has 7,000,000 people. These 7,000,000 whites are within a week's sail of about 500,000,000 land-hungry Asiatics and within 10 days' sail of about 1,000,000,000 ditto.

New Zealand—area, 100,000 square miles; population, 1,700,000—is in similar case. Both Australia and New Zealand by various immigration devices bar out the Asiatics from these productive and sparsely settled lands.

Vacuums of this kind produce hurricanes in the atmosphere that enwraps the earth. This population vacuum has threatened for decades to produce a hurricane in the South Pacific—meaning the yellow hordes are forever wanting to spill over into Australia and New Zealand.

We doubt that this human tidal wave can forever be prevented, though we wish the Australians and New Zealanders the best of luck.

But the question which ought to be settled is: Does the United States intend to take a hand in trying to save Australia and New Zealand for the white race in these times of growing danger to the British Empire?

WHAT ARE WE TO DEFEND?

The dispatching of the crack Army flyers to the Philippines seems to indicate that that is our Government's intention.

It also seems to indicate that our Government intends to hold onto the Philippines right up to the due date of the Philippine Independence Act in 1946. If Japan tries to take the islands before that time, our Government appears serenely determined to fight Japan—in a war which we might not win—to preserve our grip on a set of islands whose inhabitants for years have been begging us to let go, and whom we have promised in any event to let go in 1946.

So far as we have any policy in the Far East, this seems to be it. To us it looks like a very screwy policy indeed, and one which may let this country in for more toil and sweat, blood and tears, than have been its lot since the Civil War.

ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST

We think the sane foreign policy for this Nation would be one founded on realization of these facts: (1) That we cannot be the Sir Galahad of the modern world, going around and righting wrongs everywhere, because we haven't the power, wealth, or population to do it; (2) that the logical part of the world for us to police is the northern part of the Western Hemisphere.

We'll be forced to such a policy sooner or later, by the pressure of events and the power of other nations, if we don't adopt such a policy voluntarily. Why not save a lot of misery for ourselves by starting to think exclusively of our own welfare, as does every other nation in the world?

Anyway—two ships for one—above, below, and on the surface of the seas.

National-Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. PITTINGER. Mr. Speaker, announcement in today's newspapers indicates that there will be a revitalization of ghost towns, and that workers will be moved from one section of the country to another in order to open up these ghost towns and produce war materials in connection with the national-defense program. In my opinion, such procedure is unnecessary and is filled with possibilities of waste and unnecessary expense to the Government. Before opening up the industrial graveyards, I think it would be well for those in charge of our national-defense program to make use of facilities which already exist in towns and cities of the Midwest which have not yet attained a rank which would entitle them to be known as ghost towns. I have in mind various cities in Minnesota, including cities in my district, which can take care of orders for war materials. They have the machinery, the factories, and the unemployed. I have one particular factory in mind, which employs several hundred men, and which several weeks ago offered its facilities to the Government. Up to date no progress has been reported in connection with this offer.

Mr. Speaker, when the defense program was inaugurated, a businessman in my district pointed out that unless aggressive protests were made all war materials would be manufactured in the eastern centers and on the eastern seaboard; that the eastern interests would expand their plants as the increased orders came along; and that in due time they would send their emissaries to the Midwest, would hire the skilled workmen of the Midwest to travel eastward, would take over tools and equipment of the factories in the Midwest, and do serious economic injury to that section of the country. I immediately pointed out to Congress the dangers of such a situation and put myself on record in opposition to it. Only a short time ago a conference of officials of several Midwestern States was held for the purpose of having the Midwest considered in the manufacture of materials needed in our national-defense program. A group of midwestern Congress-

men also organized and put themselves on record against this policy of having the East expand its plants and manufacture all the war materials which are needed by the Government. Up to date these protests have not been heeded.

I think it highly important that this new plan to build a mobile army of defense workers and to send them to various parts of the country should be given rather careful consideration. It strikes me, first, as entirely unnecessary; secondly, thoroughly visionary and lacking in judgment; and, thirdly, another costly experiment, because I do not believe that workers ought to be regimented and shifted from one part of the country to another unless such procedure is required in an emergency.

As I have heretofore indicated, Congress has appropriated the funds for national-defense purposes, and, in my opinion, the Members of Congress owe a duty to their constituents to follow closely the expenditure of these funds and to see to it that for every dollar expended the people of the United States get value received.

All we need in developing our national-defense program is to carry it out along business principles and without any experimentation or crackpot ideas. I repeat, the factories of the Midwest are available, they have the tools and equipment, and everyone knows that there are plenty of unemployed mechanics who ought to do the job in their own home towns and who ought not to be shipped several hundred miles away to some eastern point.

Candidacy of Wendell Willkie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 28 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT SPONSORED BY COMMITTEE OF REGULAR REPUBLICANS FOR THE REELECTION OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a newspaper excerpt in the way of an advertisement which was sponsored by the Committee of Regular Republicans for the Reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

There being no objection, the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SORRY, MR. WILLKIE, THIS IS WHERE WE GET OFF THE FENCE

As a candidate for the biggest job in the world today, Wendell Willkie has now been on exhibition for some 4 months.

It is a healthy circumstance that we've been able to see, hear, and read so much about him. We've been able to judge what sort of mentality Mr. Willkie would bring to the solution of such problems as America's peace, America's defense, Western Hemisphere unity, domestic unity, foreign affairs. And we've been forced to conclude—in time—that there are just two ways of looking at Mr. Willkie:

(1) Either he is hopelessly confused.

(2) Or he is deliberately insincere.

Mr. Willkie's own words make this conclusion inescapable. For example:

"Attack is closer than ever." (Willkie at Philadelphia, October 4, 1940.)

"Mr. Roosevelt * * * has dabbled in inflammatory statements * * * attacks on foreign powers * * *." (Willkie at Elwood, August 17, 1940.)

"* * * the administration has done a pretty good job with reference to the foreign problem." (Willkie in the New York Times, May 5, 1940.)

"The New Deal stands for doing what has to be done by spending as much money as possible. I propose to do it by spending as little money as possible." (Willkie at Elwood, August 17, 1940.)

"* * * the New Deal has failed in its program of economic rehabilitation. * * * The farmers are victims because many of them are forced to subsist on what is virtually a dole, under centralized direction from Washington." (Willkie at Elwood, August 17, 1940.)

"I do own five farms * * * I have almost gone broke owning them * * *." (Willkie at Syracuse, October 14, 1940.)

"* * * that is one reason why your factories up here in New England are idle while new factories that compete with you are being built in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. * * * In spending your money (the New Deal) has favored other sections of the country at your expense." (Willkie at Fall River, October 11, 1940.)

"The Republican Party is an enemy of monopoly." (Willkie, New Haven speech, October 9, 1940.)

"It is my considered opinion that labor has been the chief sufferer from the policies of the New Deal." (Willkie at Los Angeles, September 19, 1940.)

"For almost 8 years a little group of cynics * * * has been in control of this country. (Wilkie at Detroit, September 30 1940.)

"If you elect me President * * * I shall not promise the moon * * *." (Willkie at Chicago, September 13, 1940.)

"* * * the United States is not in danger of immediate attack * * *." (Willkie at New York, October 8, 1940.)

"I promise * * * to outdistance Hitler in any contest he chooses * * *." (Willkie at Elwood, August 17, 1940.)

"The loneliness of the United States is a direct result of the foreign policies of the last 8 years." (Willkie at San Francisco, September 21, 1940.)

"The primary criticism of the New Deal is not the size of its spending. This might be much curtailed; but we ourselves wanted it to be big, and even after economies it will remain big." (Willkie in Fortune, April 1940.)

"* * * I will not take away any of the benefits gained by agriculture during the last few years. I do not favor changing the present farm program unless a better one is gradually evolved." (Willkie at Des Moines, August 6, 1940.)

"I own five farms in Indiana, and I make a modest profit on them." (Willkie at Coffeyville, September 16, 1940.)

"The Alabama Power Co. can remove industries from the North because it is a business concern, but the T. V. A. cannot remove them because it is part of our Government * * * we maintain an office in New York * * * to secure the removal of northern industries to this area * * * in the past decade * * * the Alabama Power Co. aided directly or indirectly in the location of 245 industries in 129 different communities in your State." (Willkie at Birmingham, 1934.)

"* * * the Republicans * * * started the trend toward concentration of power." (Willkie in Fortune, April 1940.)

"I stand for every one of the social gains that labor has made * * * National Labor Relations Act * * * free collective bargaining * * * minimum wages and maximum hours * * * social security benefits * * * insured against unemployment * * * adequote pensions. Now, if the New Deal wants to claim credit for those minimum safeguards, I say let it have just as much as it deserves." (Willkie at Seattle, September 23, 1940.)

"I got $25,000,000 more than the Government offered me for the Commonwealth & Southern properties. * * * I was a special pleader, yes. I was getting $75,000 a year to be a special pleader." (Willkie in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, September 15, 1940.)

"I pledge a new world." (Willkie at Yonkers, September 28, 1940.)

(Unemployment will) "disappear like mist before the morning sun." (Willkie, Phoenix speech, September 18, 1940, as reported in the New York Times, September 19, 1940.)

And this, mind you, is only a partial record of Mr. Willkie's torrent of contradictions in his own words.

His confusions, half promises, and cynicisms could continue to be listed from now until doomsday. Or at least election day.

How he accused President Roosevelt of the Munich sell-out—a charge comparable in accuracy to declaring that George Washington peddled Bunker Hill to the redcoats—and had neither the graciousness nor common honesty to echo his press agent's apology. How he has criticized the destroyer deal with England, the Defense Pact with Canada, yet shouted that he would help England even more. How he has paid some lip service to the principles of cooperation with South America, yet for the sake of a shabby sectional appeal has endangered Western Hemisphere unity by offending the most powerful nation in South America over $7,500 worth of tinned beef.

Sorry, Mr. Willkie, but on the record, we must repeat, the conclusion is inescapable that—

(1) Either you are hopeless confused;

(2) Or you are deliberately insincere.

Whichever is the answer, it means that you are incompetent to lead a democracy in this its most crucial hour.

The same intellectual dishonesty or muddle-headedness which has disillusioned us would soon leave the American people dangerously divided.

We're off the fence. We're lined up whole-heartedly with the man whose capabilities and clear sense of direction are unquestionable. We're voting for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Italian and American Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. LANE POWERS
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. HAMILTON FISH, OF NEW YORK

Mr. POWERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by Hon. HAMILTON FISH, of New York, at the Roman Hall, Trenton, N. J., on October 6, 1940:

I am very happy to come here today and talk to this large gathering. No one has the right to impugn the patriotism of people of Italian origin in America. Regardless of party affiliation they have always upheld our American Constitution. There are no more loyal Americans than those of Italian origin, and this has nothing whatever to do with party affiliation.

It makes no difference whether you are a Republican or a Democrat, you are first an American citizen. You have the right, the same right as any other American citizen, to express your views and to vote on election day according to your views for whomever you think best. So that there can be no misunderstanding, you also have the right as Americans, whether you are Republican or Democrat, like all other American citizens, to express your views on the greatest American issue today, and that is keeping America out of foreign wars.

(Here Mr. FISH stopped to pay his respects to Congressman POWERS, and pledged his opposition with POWERS to putting the United States into war unless we are attacked. He then asked the people present to send POWERS back to Congress again and stated they would not be serving the best interests of the United States and their district if they did not do so.)

I hope in talking to this group that there are a great many Democrats here today. I would much rather talk to Democrats than to Republicans who have already made up their minds how to vote. The best single issue today is what all the American people, regardless where they came from, are thinking about. What is it that the American people are thinking about? What is it that the American men, women, and children are talking about? What is it that you hear on the air, in the theater, on the streets, and at the breakfast and dinner table? The question is, Are we to stay out of these European and Asiatic wars or are we going in? It transcends all party lines. It is greater than the Republican or Democratic Party. And on that issue you have a right, whether you came from Italy or not, to express your opinions openly as an American, and from an American point of view, and what you believe is the best interests of America.

It is their war, not our war, but we are ready and willing in Congress to appropriate millions or billions for adequate national defense, but not one dollar to send American soldiers to foreign lands to fight other people's battles.

They talk to you about democracy; why if we got into a foreign war it would mean bankruptcy in America. It would mean the black-out of American liberty, the destruction of our form of government, and the creation of a dictatorial form of government in America within 24 hours.

The first question is that of national defense. We want a navy second to none, and a powerful army, that combined, can defeat all combinations of nations that may want to come over to America. But our foreign policy, handed down to us by Washington, Jefferson, and other great leaders of our country, is that we believe in nonintervention, we believe in the Monroe Doctrine, and we believe in defending the United States from all attacks from all aggressors, but we do not propose to put a chip on our shoulders and go out looking for foreign wars.

Now, Mr. Chairman, talking particularly to your group, it is none of our business what form of government exists in any foreign nations. It is none of our business in America whether they have nazi-ism in Germany, communism in Russia, and fascism in Italy, and it is none of their business what form of government we have in the United States of America. I come from the same congressional district as the President of the United States, but I am not here today as his spokesman. I refer to the occasion when the President of the United States saw fit in a recent speech in Virginia to attack a foreign nation with whom we are at peace and with whom we have friendly diplomatic relations. The President of the United States, the highest official in America, went out of his way and deliberately said that Italy had stabbed France in the back. That was not a correct statement and furthermore the President of the United States had no right to make such a statement. It is none of our business what form of government they may have in Italy. Italy for a year or more had been lined up with Germany, had openly said so because of certain complaints that had lasted from the World War. It was not a stab in the back; it was an act that had been premeditated for a year or more and everyone in the United States knows that, including the President of the United States. He made a statement contrary to the fact, and in the second place as President of the United States he had no right to make such a statement against a friendly nation with whom we are at peace and with whom I hope we will be at peace for many years to come.

I do not believe that there are 1 percent of the American people who want us to go to war with Italy. I can say to you that there is not 1 percent of the Republican Members of Congress that will vote to put the United States into war with Italy unless we are attacked; and Italy has no idea of attacking the United States. We are living in a state of fear and hysteria and there are people who fear that we will be attacked by foreign nations. The Republican Members of Congress are overwhelmingly opposed to war except in defense of America. This administration seems to be adopting a policy contrary to Washington and Jefferson and other Presidents, of policing and controlling the world. Our people could gain nothing by putting a chip on their shoulders and becoming involved in war. Let me emphasize again that you have a right as Americans to express your views on this greatest of all issues and see that you elect officials on their records and see that you send D. LANE POWERS back to Congress, who is opposed to putting the United States into war except in defense of America.

Washington in his Farewell Address warned the people against getting into foreign entanglements, and yet some people today in high authority want to force this country into war. That is what you will have to decide upon election day.

Wendell Willkie, in a recent speech, rang the bell when he said that the American people do not want war and have no idea whatever of joining any conflict whether on the Atlantic or Pacific. They are determined to keep America at peace. The Republican Members of Congress will keep America out of war except in defense of the Western Hemisphere.

We have no confidence in President Roosevelt's ability to preserve peace. We are aware of his provocative attacks on foreign nations. I believe and I can say without reservation that the Republican Members of the House of Representatives are united for Mr. Willkie and to keep America out of war and will back him to the limit of their ability.

Let us reaffirm our faith in our free institutions and in our beliefs as free Americans under our republican form of government, which is the fairest, most honorable, and best. Let us serve notice upon all alien agitators, Communists, and Nazis that if they do not like our form of government, that all they have to do is to go back home. These alien agitators tell you that everything is wrong and rotten and corrupt in America. Let me tell you this, that if they continue to spread their doctrines of hate against this free country of ours, it is the duty of the Congress of the United States to deport them and give their jobs to loyal American citizens. There are practically no Communist agitators among the people of Italian origin in America.

They tell you that the Constitution is a mere scrap of paper. The Constitution of the United States is the greatest charter of American liberty. Let us serve notice upon all these agitators that there is no room in free America for any form of censorship or dictatorship. We still believe that we have the best Government and that we live in the best country in the world today. You have met here in free assembly and insist on your constitutional rights of free speech the same as any other American citizens.

As people of Italian origin I hope you will keep alive the best traditions of Italy and your love of music and your love of the arts. I have traveled through Italy and Sicily and found it a very beautiful country. I know that there is no country that you love more than the United States of America. Many of your people served this country in the World War 20 years ago. Many are buried in the fields of France. You are the equal of any other American; you have the right to make your views known; that you believe in national defense; and, above all, that you are not afraid to say that you believe in keeping America out of all foreign wars unless we are attacked or the Monroe Doctrine is violated. The people of Italian origin have through their industry, energy, and ability contributed a great deal for the past 50 years toward the development of the United States into the greatest and most powerful nation in the world, and they have a right as free citizens to speak and vote as they choose.

Judge Congressman Celler on His Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EMANUEL CELLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, no other administration in peacetime since the establishment of the Republic had ever been confronted with such a desperate situation as that which we inherited from Hoover on March 4, 1933, nor one which called for the instant exercise of greater genius and leadership and courage. It was without precedent in its forebodings of disaster to our democratic institutions. The American people

have not forgotten that period of total collapse and desperation in all branches of human endeavor.

Time does not permit me to attempt a detailed synopsis of the outstanding legislation that the Democratic Party has enacted into law to meet the staggering social and economic conditions which we had inherited. I shall, however, enumerate some of the high lights of our program which we, of the Democratic Party, under the great leadership of President Roosevelt, launched, back in 1933. This program has been developed steadily since, despite the energetic and unpatriotic opposition of Republican minorities in both Houses of Congress. It has progressed fearlessly despite the opposition's claim that the European war was a phony war; that Roosevelt is attempting to create a hysteria.

The first heroic remedy adopted was to declare a national bank holiday which involved the temporary closing of our national and State banks which, until more adequate security for them could be obtained, was a most effective remedy against total collapse of the entire banking system of our people, although, unfortunately, many of them had already closed their doors, bringing heartbreak and immeasurable distress to millions of the American people.

We, of the Democratic Party, enacted what, in my opinion, will forever be regarded as one of the major outstanding achievements in our history and that is the passage of the law guaranteeing the absolute safety of depositors up to $5,000 and that constituted 98 percent of all deposits of all national banks and State banks which were affiliated with the Federal system. It was my proud privilege to speak and vote for that measure. You, I am sure, wanted me to. And now, instead of the American people having constant and daily apprehension as to the safety of their savings and deposits, they can always be assured that if any of such banks, either through bad business management or corruption, closes its doors, that every single dime of their money will be paid to them across the teller's cage within 48 hours.

Recognizing the terrible truth that millions of our people had been robbed and defrauded out of their investments by an unbridled and unregulated system of corporate manipulation which permitted crooked promoters, stock jobbers, and holding-company tycoons, we passed the Securities and Exchange Commission Act under the operation of which these robbers of the peoples' investments are now checked, restrained, and regulated. We broke up for all time the ruthless and unconscionable holding companies allowed to flourish in all their ugly and wanton plundering of decent citizens under former Republican administrations. I spoke and voted for that measure. I did it as your Representative.

We provided for the organization and operation of the Civilian Conservation Corps, one of the most popular and successful instruments of government ever devised. It has acted not only as a medium of relief for the destitute families of millions of American youth, but at the same time has been of inestimable value in conserving the natural resources of the country and of giving to these young men a fine system of moral discipline which they would not otherwise ever have achieved. I spoke and voted for this C. C. C. You desired such action on my part.

When this administration took over the reins of power, there were from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 men and women of employable age without an opportunity whatsoever to secure jobs that would enable them to support themselves and their hungry and naked families. It would have been a heartless and cruel omission of duty to have been indifferent to their necessities. It would have shown a wanton and reckless indifference to the fundamental duties of a great democracy had we not taken adequate steps to feed and clothe and shelter these men and women, our own people, who, without their fault, had been made the victims of the national catastrophe. For this purpose, we set up the Works Progress Administration, commonly called the W. P. A., and the Public Works Administration, commonly called the P. W. A.

The Democratic administration met its duty, to help the helpless and the unemployed, without fear and without wavering, and in addition thereto contributed immeasurably to the permanent wealth of the Nation by the improvement and benefits that have resulted from its operation. Every single community in America has been prospered and benefited by this program and the expenditure of the Federal funds required to effectuate it. In the discussions and debates attendant upon this legislation I took an active and leading part. These are not fugitive and evanescent benefits, but they are tangible and enduring for future generations, who will praise our foresight in establishing them. Look around in our city and see the parks, playgrounds, roads, highways, bridges, tunnels, post offices, and other useful public buildings constructed by W. P. A and P. W. A.

We of the Democratic Party conceived and set up for all time a humane and necessary program for the softening of the hardships and bitterness of the aged and infirm, of the rigors of illness, and the despair of unemployment, and for the support of widows and dependent children and the blind. In this connection I strongly advocated, on your behalf as your Representative, the Social Security Act.

We established and set up on a firm and enduring foundation the great Tennessee Valley Authority, which for all time will furnish a great vehicle for the development and conservation of the commerce and resources of that great geographical area which it serves, which will be a potential factor in flood control and navigation and offers now ready assistance in our preparedness program for the manufacture of many of the essential ingredients of national defense. I spoke for and voted for this T. V. A.

As a yardstick for the control of excessive power and light rates, it has been largely instrumental in forcing the reduction of charges to consumers in the United States of $500,000,000 since its construction. This administration has taken the position that the waters in our rivers are the God-given heritage of the people, and that private-utility companies have no vested right to monopolize their exploitation.

We have guaranteed for the first time in our history by law the basic principle of giving to labor in this country the right to organize and bargain with employers for the betterment of their wages and working conditions, and through the wage and hour law have assured to every man and woman who toils in the industries of the country a decent wage scale and fair hours of labor, and I predict here and now that the great masses of labor in this country, organized and unorganized, when they go to the polls November 5, will not forget that the Democratic Party has been its friend and not its oppressor. I am happy to note that I was among the advocates on the floor of the House of the National Labor Relations Act and the Wage and Hour Act. Hours of employment are now limited to 40 hours, with a minimum wage of 30 cents per hour. All work over 40 hours yields time and a half pay.

During the last several years I have had thousands of requests made of me to assist in bringing over to this country some of the unfortunate people who have been forced to leave their homes in the benighted countries of Europe. I have never turned a deaf ear to these pleas and have tried with might and main, wherever possible, to help my constituents in their desire to bring their relatives and friends out of the holocaust that has now enveloped practically all of Europe. In this connection I have cooperated with the Red Cross, the Hias, the Council of Jewish Women, the Jewish War Veterans, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the National Refugee Service, the New York Federation of Jewish Charities, the Polish Jews of America, the Catholic Charities, the American Committee for the Care of European Children, the Foster Parents Plan, the Non-Sectarian Committee for Selective Immigration, and others.

I do not contend for one instant that we should at the present time enlarge our immigration quotas. I do feel, however, that the manner in which these quotas are distributed is very unfair and inequitable and should be changed. Many countries in which refugees predominate, like Finland, Rumania, and Latvia, have small quotas, whereas in other countries, like England and France, where refugees are relatively small in number, the immigration quotas are large, and hence unused. I would redistribute these quotas in a more equitable fashion. In other words, I would not change the

size of the house, but only the size of the rooms within the house. I would let the limit still remain at 150,000 per annum. But England has of that 150,000 total an immigrant quota of over 80,000. Yet she uses yearly less than 2,000. All the balance of the unused quota numbers go to waste. I would reassign those unused quota numbers to other countries. In this connection, be it remembered, more emigrants leave the country now than come in. We are losing emigrant population, not gaining in aliens.

I have cooperated with both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. in the fashioning of legislation dealing with wages and hours, the National Labor Relations Board, Government contracts, and other similar matters in which labor is vitally interested. In all of this I supported the President and this administration, an administration that has never once relaxed in its endeavors to help the lot of the laboring man. Labor, I am sure, will be ever mindful of this fact.

Likewise, I feel, will the members of the colored race remember and be mindful of the many benefits derived during this New Deal administration. Throughout my 18 years in Congress I supported and fought for all beneficial social reforms, many of which affected the Negro. I voted for the antilynching bill. I sponsored a resolution against discrimination in enlistment in the Army, Navy, and Air Corps because of race, creed, or color. Efforts were being made to effect discrimination in the Air Corps. I fought against this and introduced an amendment to the Draft Act so that, insofar as the Air Corps was a part of the Army or Navy, there should be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color. This provision was subsequently incorporated through the adoption of the draft joint resolution. No longer will there be discrimination because of race or color in our Air Corps.

With all these social reforms we have today one national asset which the present administration has preserved intact against the crisis—the good will and dependability of the greatest single minority in the United States. Lincoln freed them, but Roosevelt feeds them, houses them, and gives our colored citizens jobs, opportunities, help, and education at a time when conservatives and reactionaries are seeking in every way to reduce the aid to the underprivileged of this great and wealthy country.

Our distinguished President and our able Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, and a Democratic Congress have done everything possible, within the bounds of reason, not only to preserve peace in Europe and in the entire world but to so conduct our foreign relations that every precaution would be taken to keep us out of involvement in a foreign war. He has especially and consistently addressed his activities to the consolidation of that policy in this hemisphere and especially with our sister republics in Latin America.

When the President signed the first neutrality resolution on August 31, 1935, he did so with this statement:

> I have approved this joint resolution because it was intended as an expression of the fixed desire of the Government and the people of the United States to avoid any action which might involve us in war. The policy of the Government is definitely committed to the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of any entanglements which would lead us into conflict.

Moreover, the President's good-neighbor policy—Lima Conference—transformed the hatred of the Latin Americans into a close-working agreement on matters of trade and common defense. Hence, our Canadian Pact at Kingston, Ontario, and the Panamanian treaty for the common defense of the Canal. In short, he has formed a Western Hemisphere axis. Those countries which were geographically bound are now in addition morally and politically united.

This administration, however, well realizes that in the world as constituted today, the best guaranty of peace is an adequate preparation for war, in order to stave off any would-be attacks of any aggressor nation. We have therefore properly strengthened our land, sea, and air defenses. Thus, a poorly manned, inadequately housed army of 137,000 men in 1933 has been raised to 261,000; millions have been spent to properly house them. The National Guard has been increased from 195,000 men to 245,000 men; armories have been built and improved. Export of materials vital to defense have been discontinued.

The Navy in 1933 was below the level allowed by the disarmament conference. Japan, England, and even France had larger navies than we. In the 7 years—1933–40—of this administration eight times as many combatant vessels were built as in the previous 7 years. The very first year of the New Deal saw the laying down of 2 aircraft carriers, 1 heavy cruiser, 1 light cruiser, 2 patrol boats, and 21 destroyers. We have now grown from a fourth-rate sea power to the largest in the world.

The Navy had 933 planes in 1933; today it has 1,795; 18,000 have been authorized and are being contracted for. The Army had 1,497 planes in 1933; today it has 2,800 with 14,000 authorized; 3,000 of these are on contract with additional ones being ordered weekly. I voted for and spoke for all bills increasing our national defense.

And thus, to add to the bulwarks of defense being set up around our continent, there was arranged the epoch-making trade of the 50 old-age destroyers for the Western Hemisphere naval bases. This compares favorably with the Louisiana Purchase for sheer historic importance. In effect we paid on insurance policy against the loss of the battle of the channel, but we received in return bases which would insure us if that battle should be lost.

The appointment of Messrs. Stettinius, Knudsen, and Hillman, outstanding American leaders, to coordinate the activities of industry and labor with Government agencies gives further proof of the great work of this administration. In addition to these, numerous men of unquestioned ability have been appointed to serve on the Defense Commission. Tremendous strides toward complete accord have already been made. Hence the appointment of two Republicans as Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy were made to administer the expenditure of the huge sums made available to the Army and Navy Departments.

The important thing to remember about these many outstanding achievements is that they were done despite active opposition from so-called Republican patriots. Roosevelt saw it coming, and he prepared for it.

We Democrats began our battle for the rights of the people in the election of 1932. We carried on the battle in 1936 to a magnificent victory. And we are now dedicated to the solemn task and purpose to preserve to the people the advances we have made in liberal government for the benefit and the protection of the average man. Fighting along with us will again be an endless number of Republicans and independent voters who have forever foresworn allegiance to the forces of reaction.

I have here given only a portion of my activities and of my aid to the administration. Judge me on my record—on my votes and speeches in the House.

Washington National Airport Is Project Which Reflects Credit; Misstatements as to Cost Are Answered; Approximately 205,300 Passengers In and Out of Washington by Air in 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, recently the Republican National Committee issued a statement under the name of a Member of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HOLMES], relative to the Washington National Airport project, now nearing completion. Other criticisms of a partisan nature

have been made by Members of the House. I have had the allegations in the Holmes statement carefully checked.

The gentleman from Massachusetts is quoted as saying that the new Washington National Airport at Gravelly Point will cost $16,000,000 as against an engineering estimate of less than $5,000,000. This, he purports to describe, as typical of W. P. A. projects, which return but a dollar of value for every $3 spent.

COST IS ABOUT $13,000,000

The first misstatement is as to the cost of Gravelly Point. The gentleman is only $3,000,000 out of the way on that. Its total cost will be $13,000,000—not $16,000,000.

The engineering estimate, to which reference is made, had nothing to do with the present project. It was made 3 years ago. It was made to cover a project just about one-third the capacity of the present magnificent field. It was made to meet the demands of civil aviation as it stood 3 years ago. It is true that engineers set a cost of some $4,700,000 for the then development.

The development then envisaged only 500 acres; the present project embraces 729 acres. The earlier project provided a field but 10 feet above mean low water and thus subject to periodic floods; the present field is at an average elevation of 14 feet and more than a foot above any known flood in the Potomac or above any flood than can be contemplated by the engineers for a period of 235 years.

Three years ago runways averaging 4,000 feet in length and 150 feet wide seemed adequate. Today, with the development of blind-landing systems and the increase in size and speed of transport planes, such runways are admittedly insufficient for an airport carrying Washington's density of traffic. Consequently, the shortest runway on the new airport is longer than any planned 3 years ago—4,100 feet. The others are 4,892 feet, 5,210 feet, and 6,855 feet, with the last two, which will carry 70 percent of the load, paved to a width of 200 feet.

AIRPORT IS ENLARGED

Whereas the plan of 3 years ago called for a total of 320,000 square yards of paved runways, the present runway paving at Washington National Airport totals 417,778 square yards, an increase of over 30 percent. The earlier project called for the paving of 59,200 square yards of aprons and taxiways. To accommodate the present and immediately demanded services at Washington, it has been necessary to pave 159,000 square yards of aprons and taxiways, almost three times that planned for 3 years ago.

The 1937 report called for a terminal building and two hangars at a total cost of $650,000. For the soundest of all business reasons—profitable business to be done—the cost of the terminal building alone has been increased to $1,500,000. In proof of that statement, leases covering every rentable square foot of the terminal building have been signed or are about to be signed at a rate comparable to those for the best business properties in Washington, a rate that will assure the payment of all expenses and proper amortization of the cost.

The engineering estimate for the present project was not $5,000,000, as the gentleman is quoted as saying. It was $10,500,000, as recommended to the President on August 22, 1938. The project has been constructed within that estimate with one exception. In an effort to keep within the original estimate, the Interdepartmental Engineering Commission in charge of the present project cut its coat to fit the cloth. Air-traffic growth indicated the absolute necessity of a terminal building far larger than originally planned. And though it was far costlier, the increased cost is already justified by the rentals at adequate return already signed and delivered. And then the Commission decided to build but one hangar to begin with.

AIR LINES NEED HANGARS

What happened? The record of hearings on the bill, H. R. 10539, before a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee within the last 3 months discloses that the three air lines now serving Washington, American, Eastern, and Pennsylvania-Central, protested vigorously that one hangar would not begin to meet their needs. They came to the Commission and offered to lease the space in five additional hangars—six in all—at a rate that again would pay all operating costs and amortize the Government's investment. Naturally and properly, Colonel Smith, of the Interdepartmental Commission, came to Congress, through the Budget Bureau, and asked an appropriation of $2,500,000 additional for these five hangars, and in this instance Congress acted in a thoroughly businesslike way on a thoroughly businesslike proposition. That appropriation was provided.

That $2,500,000 is the one item on which the project has exceeded the estimates. And it exceeded the estimates because during the last 2 years, largely through the wise policy toward civil aviation embodied in the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, civil aviation has doubled in patronage and is on its way to trebling the number of passengers it carries and the frequencies with which it flies schedules into and out of Washington in particular and the major airports of the country in general.

NATIONAL DEFENSE IS AIDED

Instead of "getting a dollar's worth of value for $3 spent," as the gentleman is quoted as saying, this project has met a great public demand, a demand intimately connected with our national defense. The bulk of the money has been expended under the direction of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army. Under that careful direction, it is true, some 3,500 men are employed at Gravelly Point at W. P. A. wages.

Not only has the project thus furnished worthy relief, but it has at the same time helped through that means to create a national asset of literally incalculable value. In that respect it is not unique. Throughout this country such projects are building permanent assets that private initiative or local pride was either unable or unwilling to develop.

The Washington National Airport is unique in that it supplies to the whole country a model of what an airport should be. Not only is it aeronautically and commercially suitable to the needs of this great Capital City and to its reasonably to be expected future needs, but it meets those needs in exemplary fashion in two respects: In a convenient and beautiful setting it is so designed that it may well serve as a focus through which much of the civic and social life of the community will be brought into intimate contact with this modern means of transportation, development of which is vital to the national defense. And it will do this, not as an expensive promotional activity, but as a sound business venture which will pay its own way.

No man can have earned greater respect for his judgment in affairs aeronautical than the late General Westover, who made the estimate of 1937 upon which the gentleman from Massachusetts has gone so far wrong. To General Westover must go much of the credit for the expansion plans upon which the Army Air Corps is now working.

PASSENGER TRAVEL INCREASES

Not even General Westover in 1937 could have foreseen the expansion in civil aeronautics which has since occurred. The national figures are familiar to the House, figures which show the patronage of the air lines doubled and on the way to be trebled. Let me cite the increase in air traffic into and out of the city of Washington:

In 1938 there were 24,888 scheduled arrivals and departures of planes carrying 125,814 passengers into and out of Washington's existing airport. In 1939 there were 33,326 planes and 151,905 passengers. In 1940 it is estimated unofficially, based on figures for the first 7 months, that there will be 42,364 planes and 205,300 passengers.

Fees and rentals from the air lines and returns from concessionaires on a percentage basis already assure an annual revenue at an initial minimum rate of $425,000.

That is upward of 3 percent on the money the Government invested. If ever there were a project of which the W. P. A. and the Nation could be proud for many reasons, it is the Washington National Airport.

Fatalism About War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESLEY E. DISNEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. DISNEY. Mr. Speaker, public opinion alone can bring on war. Public opinion is the collective result of individual thought. The individual is a molder of opinion in his sphere. If America becomes fatalistic on this subject and the public accepts war as a reality, a necessity, or as inevitable, then the drift in public opinion will be toward war—not against it.

There is no reason for this Nation to contemplate war either in Asia or in Europe. We have nothing to gain in either area. Japan has nothing we want; Europe has nothing but incessant trouble and periodic strife. In my judgment, we should not emotionally thrust ourselves into this war, but sensibly make preparation for an impregnable national defense. National defense here—not over there. Let us not be so credulous as to go to war somewhere else in the interest of democracy, then discover that we have lost democracy at home.

Experience proves that we cannot save democracy through war, though it is common sense to defend for preservation. The greatest threat to democracy in this country, and perhaps throughout the world, is for the United States to mire itself down in the throes of a world war, unless we were in the imminent danger of an attack. Our own system would become regimented and our whole economy strained to the breaking point.

Methods short of war seem proper, but we must realize that it is a very short step from that to actual war. Materials which democratic countries need to withstand the aggressions of dictators may be sent, but I am unalterably opposed to sending American soldiers to fight in other countries' wars. Let us fight our own wars and stay out of another foreign war. There is no reason to become so involved as to take the fatal step too far afield. "Everything for defense but nothing for aggression under any form" should be our motto.

To use a homely expression, let us sit steady in the boat. We must refuse to contemplate entering any war except for the defense of America. A sound public opinion will enforce that doctrine upon its Government.

Everything for peace; nothing for aggression.

The People of America Must Make the Decision

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, until November 5 you may choose Wendell L. Willkie, who will give us—

First. Preparedness adequate to repel any foreign invasion;

Second. Prosperity in the American way;

Third. Keep us out of war;

Fourth. Retain our constitutional form of government;

or you may choose Roosevelt—

First. An inadequate defense at a prohibitive cost;

Second. A continuation of the depression and unemployment;

Third. The attempt to remake America and participation in the second world war;

Fourth. The establishment of a dictatorship.

The people at the Philadelphia convention nominated as the Republican Presidential candidate Wendell L. Willkie, a Democrat who was outraged by Roosevelt's disregard of his campaign promises; by Roosevelt's violation of party pledges; his repudiation of the Democratic platform and principles; by Roosevelt's attempt to create here in free America a dictatorship.

Willkie, having faith in America—realizing the new dealers, who had attempted to pack the Supreme Court and make a rubber stamp out of Congress, would ultimately destroy our Government—joined the Republican organization. Because he was a true American; a man of experience; a man of integrity; a man of ability; a man who had behind him a record of achievement; a man who has faith in our people, in our form of government—Republicans have enthusiastically accepted him and, joined by millions of Democrats who likewise have faith in America, intend to elect him in November.

Candidate Roosevelt is not a Democrat. He is the New Deal leader. He has seized the machinery of the Democratic Party. He sought to purge patriotic Democrats out of that organization. He is surrounded by new dealers, men who believe in the remaking of America, men who want to establish here "the new order." Roosevelt has failed to keep his solemn promises to the American people. He has failed to solve any of the domestic problems which have confronted us. We still have as much unemployment as before. His Labor Board has encouraged labor trouble and industrial strife. Roosevelt has followed a course which has caused every powerful nation but one—and that Great Britain which still owes us $5,000,000,000 on the war debt—to become our enemy.

Having failed to keep his former promises, there is no reason why we should now believe him. He intends to lead us into war—not only a war with Germany and Italy but a war with Japan. His every act shows it. This, at a time when, because of his neglect, we are totally unprepared to fight any war. Yes; he now advises he does not want war, but he made us many promises when he was a candidate before. He kept none of them. There is no reason to believe he will keep this one.

We elected one candidate on the slogan, "he kept us out of war" and a promise to keep us out, only to find that we were in war. We should not again be misled. Whatever Roosevelt may say, his acts have consistently been dragging us toward war.

Roosevelt has deliberately followed a course which he said would lead us into national bankruptcy. He has stirred up strife; preached class hatred which is now bringing its logical result, the result which might be expected and which is the throwing of rotton fruit, eggs, and stones at Wendell L. Willkie and Mrs. Willkie, the assault in Detroit by a member of his defense council, one of his most ardent supporters, Mayor LaGuardia, of New York, upon a defenseless working man, who ventured to ask LaGuardia a question.

If you want as your leader for the next 4 years a man who keeps his promises; who gets things done; who is sound, safe and patriotic; who has faith in the American people; a man in whom the American people have faith, rather than a man who, like all dictators, now proclaims himself to be the only man fit to lead America, vote for Wendell L. Willkie on November 5.

Willkie will give us adequate preparedness, keep us out of war, lessen unemployment by encouraging businessmen to enlarge old industries; establish new ones, and industry, not politicians, gives the real jobs.

All those who place patriotism above party, the welfare of our country above political expediency; who believe in the future of our country; in an adequate national defense; in national unity; who are against involvement in needless foreign wars should vote to oust the New Deal; to elect Wendell L. Willkie and Senators and Congressmen who will support him; who will restore our Government to the people.

It is my purpose when Congress meets again in November to do everything within my power to keep this country out of war; to aid in national defense; to reestablish here in America a government which Lincoln described as a government of, by, and for the people.

At Niles, Mich., when he came into the State on September 30, Wendell L. Willkie asked you to send me to Congress to aid in the fight for preparedness against the New Deal—against the overthrow of our Government.

To all those who place patriotism above party, the welfare of our country first, I appeal for support at the election on

November 5. Not once since you first honored me have you been in doubt as to where I stood. Not once have I broken faith with you.

If reelected I will do everything within my power to aid in national defense, to keep this country out of a war of aggression, to maintain our constitutional form of government, to oust the Communists and all those subversive groups who would destroy our liberties and who now seek shelter under the protection of the New Deal. A war of aggression—no; preparedness—yes. America first, last, and always.

The Selective Service Drawing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 31 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by the President of the United States on October 29, 1940, in the Governmental Auditorium on the occasion of the drawing of the numbers under the Selective Service Act of 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Members of your Government are gathered here in the Federal Building in Washington to witness the drawing of numbers as provided for in the Selective Service Act of 1940.

This is a most solemn ceremony. It is accompanied by no fanfare—no blowing of bugles or beating of drums.

There should be none.

We are mustering all our resources, manhood and industry and wealth, to make our Nation strong in defense. For recent history proves all too clearly, I am sorry to say, that only the strong may continue to live in freedom and in peace.

We are well aware of the circumstances—the tragic circumstances in lands across the seas—which have forced upon our Nation the need to take measures for total defense.

In the considered opinion of the Congress of the United States this selective service provides the most democratic as well as the most efficient means for the mustering of our manpower.

On October 16 more than 16,000,000 young Americans registered for service. Today begins that selection from this huge number of the 800,000 who will go into training for 1 year.

Reports from all over the country attest the quality and the general spirit of the young men who registered for service.

The young men of America today have thought this thing through. They have not been stimulated by or misled by militarist propaganda. They fully understand the necessity for national defense and are ready, as all citizens of our country must be, to play their part in it.

They know simply that ours is a great country—great in perpetual devotion to the cause of liberty and justice, great in faith that always there can be, must be, will be a better future. They know that in the present world the survival of liberty and justice is dependent on strength to defend against attack.

Briefly and in simplest terms, the processes of selection are these: Each registrant in each of 6,500 local areas has been assigned a number at random by a committee or board of his neighbors. Each man's number in each local board area has been officially and permanently recorded as pertaining exclusively to him in that area. Those numbers run from 1 to 7,836. Opaque capsules, each containing a different number, have been placed in a glass bowl in the room where we now stand. These capsule numbers also run from 1 to 7,836, with a few extra higher numbers to allow for late registration. One capsule at a time will be drawn from the bowl until none is left in it. As each capsule is drawn it will be opened and its number read over the radio to the listening Nation.

While all numbers are called, only the first 10 percent will be considered as the first drawn—1,640,000 out of the total of 16,400,000. If your number is drawn after the first 10 percent of the numbers, you will not be called into this year's service.

If your number is among the first 10 percent, you may be called but only 800,000 out of the 1,640,000 will be. Thus more than 95 percent of the grand total are not to be called, and less than 5 percent are to be.

I have here three letters from representatives of the three great faiths, Protestant, and Jewish, and Catholic. They were written to me, in solemn recognition of this occasion, and I wish to read you excerpts from them.

The first is from Dr. George A. Buttrick, president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. I quote:

"The 22 national communions * * * are united in a deep interest in the thousands of men called today to national service. We will give our best assistance in providing the ministries of the Christian faith. They shall be encompassed by friendship. * * * We assure all men in the Army and Navy of our active comradeship and prayer. We are glad that the rights of sincere conscientious objectors have been recognized in the Selective Service Act."

The next letter is from Dr. Edward L. Israel, president of the Synagogue Council of America. I quote:

"It is my supreme confidence that you, Mr. President, and the military officials of our Nation, will be ever mindful of the fact that this peacetime selective-service system is an extraordinary measure in the interest of preserving democracy, and that the system will therefore be administered so as to deepen in the minds and hearts of our youth a love and respect for democracy and our democratic institutions. * * * And it must never be forgotten that democracies cannot indefinitely endure under a war system—and that the ultimate goal of a free people rallying to national defense must ever be to help usher in that day when the prophetic ideal will be realized that 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they make war any more.'"

And now a letter from the bishop of the Catholics in the Army and Navy of the United States, His Excellency the Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman. I quote:

"I do believe it is better to have protection and not need it than to need protection and not have it. I do believe that Americans want peace but that we must be prepared to demand it; for other people have wanted peace and the peace they received was the peace of death.

"I do feel that our good will and the sincerity of our desire for peace have been demonstrated by our action in sinking many battleships and that no more sincere demonstration of a willingness to lead the way toward universal disarmament could have been given by any people.

"But we really cannot longer afford to be moles who cannot see or ostriches who will not see. For some solemn agreements are no longer sacred, and vices have become virtues and truth a synonym of falsehood.

"We Americans want peace and we shall prepare for a peace, but not for a peace whose definition is slavery or death."

These three letters give eloquent testimony to the quality of the religious faith which inspires us today and forever.

To these spokesmen for the churches of America—to all my fellow countrymen of all races and creeds and ages—I give this solemn assurance:

Your Government is mindful of its profound responsibility to and for all the young men who will be called to train for our national service.

Your Government is aware that not only do these young men represent the future of our country; they are the future. They must profit as men by this 1 year of experience as soldiers. They must return to civilian life strong, and healthy, and self-respecting, and decent, and free.

Your Government will devote its every thought, its every energy, to the cause that is common to all of us—the maintenance of the dignity, the prosperity, and the peace of our country.

To the young men themselves I should like to speak as Commander in Chief of the United States Army:

You who will enter this peacetime army will be the inheritors of a proud history and an honorable tradition.

You will be members of an army which first came together to achieve independence and to establish certain fundamental rights for all men. Ever since that first muster our democratic Army has existed for one purpose only—the defense of our freedom.

It is for that one purpose and that one purpose only that you have been asked to answer the call to training.

You have answered that call, as Americans always have and as Americans always will, until the day when war is forever banished from this earth.

You have the confidence, and the gratitude, and the love of your countrymen. We are all with you in the task which enlists the services of all Americans—the task of keeping the peace in this New World.

National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HATTIE W. CARAWAY

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 31 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. FRANCIS T. MALONEY, OF CONNECTICUT

Mrs. CARAWAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio

address on the subject of national defense, delivered by the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MALONEY] on October 28, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

An effort is being made to frighten the people of the country into the belief that the President of the United States would lead them to war. It is a pretty cruel campaign issue, and, in my judgment, one that is terribly unfair, not to the opposing candidates in particular but to the country. The Neutrality Act forbids our merchant ships the use of belligerent foreign waters. Great care has been taken to keep us from attack, and I do not believe that there is a way for us to go to war excepting through an assault upon us. Only Congress can declare war, and I do not know a Republican or a Democrat in Congress who wants to go to war, or one who is not hateful and fearful of war. I believe that above all else the President of the United States wants to keep his country at peace, and that he is hopeful that the crowning achievement of his lifetime will be that of keeping us out of conflict.

I think that our national-defense program is going forward with such success and rapidity that we are each day being further removed from the dangers. Factories are working day and night, and shipyards are every day placing new vessels upon the seas. Our danger at the moment is a disturbance of our national unity, and the possibility that our people may be frightened by heated and unfair charges of a political campaign. If we keep our national unity strong and our foreign attitude courageous, and if we remain determined to maintain peace, we will have it.

Defense is not merely a matter of guns and ships and trained men, although these things are tremendously important. A proper defense covers the whole range of our national policy—our domestic program—and what I have repeatedly referred to as our foreign attitude. The subject is too large for the short time at my disposal, but I can tell you the outlook which I have on this great problem and the policy I will pursue and defend if I am reelected.

You should not be asked to support—and you should not support—a candidate for the United States Senate whose views on the all-important matter of national defense are not fully understood by the people of the State.

National defense is not a partisan subject. It should not be allowed to become a political football. Perhaps it is inevitable and understandable but it is certainly most unfortunate, that opponents of the national administration have made charges which are unjustifiably critical, and may tend to give our people a false impression of our national-defense program. To that extent I want to answer a few of the charges. I do not want to add to the controversy, and I shall continue to be moderate and to avoid exaggeration.

I want first to give credit where credit is due, even to our political opponents. In many cases they have shown forbearance and patriotism by refusing to oppose or criticize actions that have been taken by our national administration, and to that extent they have contributed to the progress that has been made. At times they have been critical—and a few of them have been downright obstructionists—but I shall touch upon these criticisms only insofar as it is necessary to set the record straight.

This record may be considered in two parts. The first part consists of a long-range basic policy of our National Government—as distinct from the policies that have been forced upon us by the emergence of a great international crisis. The attempt to confuse these two distinct and different phases of our program has resulted in some of the most unfair and unjustifiable criticism that have been presented. Let me give you the record of our long-range defense program.

Following the World War, and during the administrations of President Harding, and President Coolidge, and President Hoover, our defenses were almost completely neglected. A large part of our Navy—built and building—was scrapped. Almost no new ships were started and, worst of all, our shipyards had fallen into disuse. This deterioration took place during Republican administrations, but in all fairness it should be acknowledged that the policy then pursued was in accord with the overwhelming sentiment of the American people. The American people themselves—as well as their elected representatives—Democrat as well as Republican—hoped and prayed that a lasting peace throughout the world could be obtained by limitation of armament, and by treaties forswearing aggression. We were sincere—and we did our part faithfully—but all in vain. Other nations were not of our mind—at least for long—and we were without sufficient vision to see that neglect of our national defense might one day do us great harm.

By 1933 we had allowed our under-age tonnage of combatant ships to fall to less than 60 percent of the limit to which we had agreed to restrict ourselves. The argument is now advanced, that during that period we were justified in ignoring our Navy because we were faced with no threat.

That may be true. It is, in fact, however, only partly true, but may I remind you that I am considering the question from the viewpoint of a long-range policy. From the standpoint of that policy we were making a terrible mistake. It should have been known then that naval power is something that cannot be created overnight, nor when our security has been suddenly threatened. The Navy should be maintained on the basis of such need as may arise in the future—perhaps years in the future.

The fact of the matter is that the circumstances then existing did not justify the neglect. The one naval power that might threaten us at that time was Japan, and during that period Japan, in spite of its deficient ship resources, was building steadily to maintain the full strength permitted Japan, and at the same time it appeared that she was preparing to break through the limits which had been set. Our Navy did nothing. The Japanese shipyards were going full blast, and may I remind you that it was in 1931 that Japan undertook the Manchurian adventure. I mention this in an effort to prove to you that, even as late as that, a previous administration did not seem to have an appreciation of our naval needs. There was not a sufficient vision or understanding of world affairs to meet the problem. I am sure that if the present administration and the present leadership was then in power the need for strengthening our naval defenses would have been obvious.

Please understand that I am not trying to place the blame. I am asking you to consider this matter as Americans, and not as Republicans or Democrats. I am endeavoring to put before you an honest and complete picture by which you can judge some of the claims and counterclaims made in the present political controversy. Let me give you one more fact.

Our personnel in the Navy dropped from 134,000 men in 1921 to 90,000 men by 1933. Able young officers were being given the choice between demotion and retirement, and in other parts of the world naval and marine forces were being built up.

What I have said concerning our Navy applies with equal force to the Army and to the air force. During this period of hope for peace by disarmament our Army was allowed to drop to a low of 112,000 men, although its original strength was 280,000 Regular troops, exclusive of National Guard men. Modern equipment was virtually nonexistent, but it was expected that the Army would get along with supplies left over from the World War. Perhaps I can best explain our attitude by referring to a statement made by the keynote speaker at the Republican National Convention in 1928. He referred to our Army as "a mere national police force." There was no outcry as the result of that statement.

Our air force was in no better shape than the Army and Navy. For many years following the World War our airmen were forced to fly obsolete machines—left over from the World War—machines that General Mitchell, who was one of the men foreseeing the importance of air power, called flying coffins.

You can place the blame for this situation where you will—on the administration then in power or on the indifference of the great majority of our people, regardless of party—but you must agree that our defense policy prior to 1933 was primarily one of complete neglect. That this policy was the result of the vain, if praiseworthy, ideal that peace should be achieved through disarmament does not alter the basic situation.

In 1933 our basic long-range policy was altered. Regardless of partisanship—regardless of the reasons you may ascribe for this change—it is an undeniable fact that our defenses since then have been tremendously improved. We could not then foresee the earlier probability of war throughout the world. We were not then starting to build up because we anticipated war. Our President was not then trying to lead his countrymen to war. The truth of the matter is that he and the new administration commenced the long-range program to make America strong in a world that was even that early obviously very restless. We had the example in the Far East, and we had some knowledge of what was going on in Europe.

Since 1933 well over 200 naval vessels have been laid down or appropriated for; 130 of these vessels have been placed in commission; over 100 of them are combatant types; 138 more are actually under construction; and many of them are nearing completion. Contrast these figures with the fact that in 1933 we were 135 fighting ships behind our treaty allowance.

The personnel of our Navy has increased from 90,000 in 1933 to a strength nearly doubling that figure. Our shipyards have been restored, and the entire naval program is moving along with a rapidity and success that has stifled any thought of criticism of the Navy.

The last Budget prepared under President Hoover allotted less than $9,000,000 for equipment for the Army. This was increased to approximately $85,000,000 in the last Budget before the outbreak of the war in Europe.

The personnel of the Regular Army was tremendously increased, and the National Guard was increased, and the training of its officers expanded and improved.

In 1933 we had approximately 2,400 planes. Today we have doubled that figure and our airplane factories are working day and night, and in a little while we will build enough planes to make certain our safety. Should the need arise American genius and a defense-minded administration will be able to blacken the skies with American planes. In one bill alone—before the march into the Low Countries of Europe—I personally succeeded in getting $100,000,000 for planes alone. Isn't all of this proof that we have met the situation? Are not the cold facts the answer? Doesn't it give you some comfort, as an attempt is being made to give you the idea that we may suffer attack or that we are being led to war?

The truth of the matter is that the earlier administrations were weak on the subject of national defense. I do not blame them, because the American people must share the responsibility, but they should have known that it takes a long time to build ships and guns and tanks. No administration has a right to determine for itself whether within the next 5 or 10 or 20 years there will be a danger of war. An administration owes it to the country and people that

it be prepared to defend its country and people. The present administration had to fight against public opinion and hostile individuals in Congress to get our program under way, and then some of these individuals—to sooth their own feelings because they were wrong—tried to blame this administration because our national defense was not stronger.

During all of this period of time I was a Member of Congress. I recall the President's constant requests that we undertake a reasonable defense program. I remember that a moderate proposal met resistance. His efforts to devote any large part of our national expenditures for defense work was promptly opposed. Now, however, at long last, the people have caught up with the vision of the President. The destruction of human life—and even nations—has brought us face to face with the bitter truth. We are catching up; Congress is cooperating, the people are cooperating, and our defense program is not lacking.

The story of our record in national defense is clear. A period of neglect has been followed by a period of action. To deny this is a challenge to our patriotism. The American people will not be divided or confused on this issue. They know the task that we face, and their confidence that this country will not fail in its purpose is unshakeable. Let me say again—and once more with all of the sincerity I possess—that I do not believe that we are going to become involved in war—either abroad or as a result of attack upon our shores. I believe the President of the United States. I further know that only Congress can declare war. I renew my pledge never to vote to send our soldiers into a foreign war.

Facts About National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 31 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by the President of the United States at Madison Square Garden, New York, on October 28, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Tonight I take up again the public duty—the far from disagreeable duty—of answering major campaign falsifications with facts.

Last week in Philadelphia I nailed the falsehood about some fanciful secret treaties to dry on the barn door. I nailed that falsehood and other falsehoods the way when I was a boy up in Dutchess County we used to nail up the skins of foxes and weasels.

Tonight I am going to nail up the falsifications that have to do with our relations with the rest of the world, and with the building up of our Army, Navy, and air defense. It is a very dangerous thing to distort facts about such things. If repeated over and over again, it is also apt to create a sense of fear and doubt in the minds of some of the American people.

I now brand as false the statement being made by Republican campaign orators, day after day and night after night, that the rearming of America was slow, that it is hamstrung and impeded, that it will never be able to meet threats from abroad.

That particular misstatement was invented about the time of the Republican National Convention. Before that the responsible Republican leaders had been singing an entirely different song. For almost 7 years the Republican leaders in the Congress kept on saying that I was placing too much emphasis on national defense.

And now today these men of great vision have suddenly discovered that there is a war on in Europe and another one in Asia. And so, now, always with their eyes on the good old ballot box, they are charging that we have placed too little emphasis on national defense.

But, unlike them, the printed pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD cannot be changed or suppressed at election time. And based on that permanent record of their speeches and their votes, I make this assertion—that if the Republican leaders had been in control of the Congress of the United States during the past 7 years the important measures for our defense would not now be law, and that the Army and Navy of the United States would still be in almost the same condition in which I found them in 1933.

I make these charges against the responsible political leadership of the Republican Party. There are millions of patriotic Republicans who have at all times been in sympathy with the efforts of this administration to arm itself adequately for defense.

To Washington in the past few months have come not two or three or a dozen, but several hundred of the best business executives in the United States—Republicans and Democrats alike. Not holding company lawyers or executives, but men experienced in actual production—production of all the types of machines and tools and steel that have made this Nation the industrial leader of the world.

I asked Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Harriman and Mr. Budd and the many others to serve because I believe they are certainly among the ablest men in the country in their own fields. I do not know their politics. I do not care about their politics. All I know is that they are cooperating 100 percent with this administration in our efforts for national defense. And this Government is cooperating with them 100 percent.

All of these men—all of American industry and American labor—are doing magnificent and unselfish work. The progress today proves it.

I shall have occasion in a later speech to tell more about the work they are doing, and about the progress which has been made in our defense.

When the first World War ended we were one of the strongest naval and military powers in the world. When this administration first came into office 15 years later we were one of the weakest.

As early as 1933 the storm was gathering in Europe and in Asia. Year by year I reported the warnings of danger from our listening posts in foreign lands. But I was only called "an alarmist" by the Republican leadership and by the great majority of the Republican papers.

Year by year I asked for more and more defense appropriations. In addition, I allocated hundreds of millions of dollars for defense work from relief funds, from Civilian Conservation Corps funds, and from Public Works funds, as was understood by the Congress when the funds were voted.

Today our Navy is at a peak of efficiency and fighting strength. Ship for ship and man for man it is as powerful and efficient as any that ever sailed the seas in the history of the world. Our Army and our air forces are now at the highest level they have ever been in peacetime. But in the light of existing dangers they are not great enough for the absolute safety of America.

While this great, constructive work was going forward the Republican leaders were trying to block our efforts toward national defense. They not only voted against these efforts, but they stated time and again through the years that they were unnecessary and extravagant, that our armed strength was sufficient for any emergency.

I propose now to indict these Republican leaders out of their own mouths—these leaders who now disparage our defenses—indict them with what they themselves said in the days before this election year, about how adequate our defenses already were.

Listen to this statement, for instance. I quote:

"The facts are that we have the largest and most powerful Navy we ever had, except for 2 years after the World War, and the greatest air forces we ever had, and a match for any nation."

Now, who do you think made this statement in June 1938? It was not I. It was not even a member of this administration. It was the ranking Republican member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Republican leader, HAMILTON FISH.

And now listen to ex-President Hoover, speaking in that same year of 1938. I quote:

"We shall be expending $900,000,000 more than any nation on earth," he complained. "We are leading in the arms race."

And now listen to Republican leader, Senator VANDENBERG, also speaking in 1938. He said that our defense expenditures had already brought us—and I quote—"an incomparably efficient Navy"; and he said further, "I rise in opposition to this super-super Navy bill. I do not believe it is justified by any conclusive demonstration of national necessity."

And now listen to Republican leader, Senator TAFT—the runner-up this year for the Republican Presidential nomination—speaking in February 1940. I quote:

"The increase of the Army and Navy over the tremendous appropriations of the current year seems to be unnecessary if we are concerned solely with defense."

There is the record; there is the permanent crystal-clear record. Until the present political campaign opened Republican leaders, in Congress and out, shouted from the housetops that our defenses were fully adequate.

Today they complain that this administration has starved our armed forces, that our Navy is anemic, our Army puny, our air forces piteously weak.

This is a remarkable somersault.

I wonder if the election could have something to do with it. If the Republican leaders were telling the truth in 1938, then—out of their own mouths—they stand convicted of inconsistency today. If they are not telling the truth today, then they stand convicted of inconsistency in 1938.

The simple truth is that the Republican Party played politics with defense in 1938 and 1939. They are playing politics with national security today.

The same group will still control their party policy in the Congress. It is the Congress which passes the laws of the United States. The record of these Republican leaders shows what a slim chance the cause of strong defense would have if they were in control.

Not only in their statements, but in their votes, is written the record of sabotage of this administration's continual efforts to increase our defenses to meet the dangers that loomed ever larger upon the horizon.

For example, deeply concerned over what was happening in Europe, I asked the Congress in January 1938 for a naval expansion of 20 percent—46 additional ships and 950 new planes.

What did the Republican leaders do when they had this chance to increase our national defense almost 3 years ago? You would think from their present barrage of verbal pyrotechnics that they rushed in to pass that bill, or that they even demanded a larger expansion of the Navy.

But, ah, my friends, they were not in a national campaign for votes then.

In those days they were trying to build up a different kind of political fence.

In those days they thought that the way to win votes was by representing this administration as extravagant in national defense, in deed, as hysterical, and as manufacturing panics and inventing foreign dangers.

But now, in the serious days of 1940, all is changed. Not only because they are serious days, but because they are election days as well.

On the radio these Republican orators swing through the air with the greatest of ease; but the American people are not voting this year for the best trapeze performer.

The plain fact is that when the naval expansion bill was submitted to the Congress the Republican leaders jumped in to fight it.

Who were they? There was the present Republican candidate for Vice President, Senator MCNARY. There were Senator VANDENBERG and Senator NYE. There was the man who would be the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Congressman FISH.

The first thing they did was to try to eliminate the battleships from the bill. The Republicans in the House voted 67 to 20 against building them; and in the Senate the Republicans voted 7 to 4 against building them.

The record is certainly clear that back in 1938 the Republican leaders were positive that we needed no more battleships. The naval expansion bill was passed; but it was passed by Democratic votes in the Congress—in spite of Republican opposition.

Again, in March 1939, the Republican Senators voted 12 to 4 against the bill for $102,000,000 to buy certain strategic defense materials which we did not have in the United States.

In March 1939 the Republicans in the Senate voted 11 to 8 against increasing the authorized number of planes in the Navy.

In June 1939 Republicans in the House voted 144 to 8 in favor of reducing appropriations for the Army Air Corps.

Now, that proves this one simple fact. It proves that if the Republican leaders had been in control in 1938 and 1939 these measures to increase our Navy and our air forces would have been defeated overwhelmingly.

I say that the Republican leaders played politics with defense in 1938 and 1939. I say that they are playing politics with our national security today.

One more example:

The Republican campaign orators and leaders are all now yelling "Me, too," on help to Britain. But last fall they had their chance to vote to give aid to Britain and other democracies—and they turned it down.

This chance came when I recommended that the Congress repeal the embargo on the shipment of armaments and munitions to nations at war, and permit such shipment on a cash-and-carry basis. It is only because of the repeal of the embargo law that we have been able to sell planes and ships and guns and munitions to victims of aggression.

How did the Republicans vote on the repeal of this embargo?

In the Senate the Republicans voted 14 to 6 against it. In the House the Republicans voted 140 to 19 against it.

The act was passed by Democratic votes but it was over the opposition of the Republican leaders. And just to name a few, the following Republican leaders voted against the act: Senators MCNARY, VANDENBERG, NYE, and JOHNSON; Congressmen MARTIN, BARTON, and FISH.

Now, at the eleventh hour, they have discovered what we knew all along—that overseas success in warding off invasion by dictatorship forces means safety to the United States as well as to those smaller nations which still retain their independence and the restoration of sovereignty to those smaller nations which have temporarily lost it. One of the keystones of American policy is the recognition of the right of small nations to survive and prosper.

Great Britain would never have received an ounce of help from us if the decision had been left to MARTIN, BARTON, and FISH.

Let us come down to one more example, which took place just 2 months ago.

In the Senate there was an amendment to permit the United States Government to prevent profiteering or unpatriotic obstruction by any corporation in defense work. It permitted the Government to take over, with reasonable compensation, any manufacturing plant which refused to cooperate in national defense. The Republican Senators voted against this Russell-Overton amendment on August 28, 1940, eight to six.

The bill was adopted all right—by Democratic votes. But the opposing vote of those eight Republican leaders showed what would happen if the National Government were turned over to their control. Their vote said, in effect, that they put money rights ahead of human lives—to say nothing of national security.

You and I, and the overwhelming majority of Americans, will never stand for that.

Outside the halls of Congress eminent Republican candidates began to turn new somersaults. At first they denounced the bill. Then when public opinion rose up to demand it, they seized their trapeze with the greatest of ease, and reversed themselves in mid-air.

This record of Republican leadership—a record of timidity, weakness, and short-sightedness—is as bad in international as in military affairs.

It is the same record of timidity, weakness, and short-sightedness which they showed in domestic affairs when they were in control before 1933.

But the Republican leaders' memories seem to have been short in this as in other matters. And by the way, who was it said that an elephant never forgets?

It is the same record of timidity, weakness, and short-sightedness which governed the policy of the confused, reactionary governments in France and England before the war.

That fact was discovered too late in France.

It was discovered just in time in Great Britain.

Please, God, may that spirit never prevail in our land.

For 8 years our main concern has been to look for peace and the preservation of peace.

In 1935, in the face of growing dangers throughout the world, your Government undertook to eliminate the hazards which in the past had led to war.

By the Neutrality Act of 1935, and by other steps—

We made it possible to prohibit American citizens from traveling on vessels belonging to countries at war. Was that right?

We made it clear that American investors, who put their money into enterprises in foreign nations, could not call on American warships or soldiers to bail out their investments. Was that right?

We made it clear that we would not use American armed forces to intervene in affairs of the sovereign republics to the south of us. Was that right?

We made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent, and that they must stay out of war zones. Was that right?

In all these ways we made it clear to every American, and to every foreign nation, that we would avoid becoming entangled through some episode beyond our borders.

These were measures to keep us at peace. And through all the years of war since 1935 there has been no entanglement.

In July 1937 Japan invaded China.

On January 3, 1938, I called the attention of the Nation to the danger of the whole world situation.

It was clear that rearmament was now a necessary implement of peace. I asked for large additions to American defenses. I was called an alarmist—and worse names than that.

In March 1938 German troops marched into Vienna.

In September 1938 came the Munich crisis. German, French, and Czech Armies were mobilized. The result was only an abortive armistice.

I said then, "It is becoming increasingly clear that peace by fear has no higher nor more enduring quality than peace by the sword."

Three months later, at Lima, the 21 American republics solemnly agreed to stand together to defend the independence of each one of us.

The declaration at Lima was a great step toward peace. For unless the hemisphere is safe, we are not safe.

Matters grew steadily worse in Europe. Czechoslovakia was overrun by the Nazis. General war seemed inevitable.

Yet, even then, Republican leaders kept chanting, "There will be no war."

A few months later—on the first of September, 1939—war came.

The steps which we had carefully planned were put into effect.

American ships were kept from danger zones.

American citizens were helped to come home.

Unlike 1914, there was no financial upheaval.

The American republics set up at Panama a system of patrolling the waters of the whole Western Hemisphere.

I ask you to support a continuance of this type of affirmative, realistic fight for peace. The alternative is to risk the future of the country in the hands of those with this record of timidity, weakness, and short-sightedness or in the inexperienced hands of those who, in these perilous days, are willing recklessly to imply that our boys are already on their way to the transports.

This affirmative search for peace calls for clear vision. It is necessary to mobilize resources, minds and skills, and every active force for peace in the world.

We have steadily sought to keep mobilized the greatest force of all—religious faith, devotion to God.

Your Government is working at all times with representatives of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths. Without these spiritual forces we cannot make or maintain peace, and all three of them work with us toward that great end.

Shadows, however, are still heavy over the faith and hope of humankind.

We who walk in the ways of peace and freedom and light have seen the tragedies enacted in one free land after another.

We have not been blind to the causes, or to the consequences, of these tragedies.

We guard ourselves against all evils—spiritual as well as material—which may beset us. We guard against the forces of anti-Christian aggression, which may attack us from without, and the forces of ignorance and fear which may corrupt us from within.

We shall continue to go forward in firm faith. We shall continue to go forward in peace.

Sam Insull's Ghost Walks Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HATTIE W. CARAWAY

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 31 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. SCOTT W. LUCAS, OF ILLINOIS

Mrs. CARAWAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address delivered by the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] on October 24, 1940. The topic of the address is Sam Insull's Ghost Walks Again.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, on December 3, 1929, the vast utility empire of Samuel Insull was dying. The Insull empire was dying because fraud and corruption—evils all too often and unfortunately, all too correctly, associated with the utility industry—were taking their inevitable toll. Soon millions of dollars in hard-earned savings would be lost to thousands of men and women who had mistakenly placed their confidence in this utility buccaneer and in the system in every part of America.

All of this Sam Insull knew when he stood before the Economic Club of Chicago at a dinner at the Palmer House on December 3, 1929, and gave an address which, ironically enough, was on the subject Business as Usual. In that address Mr. Insull proclaimed in pharasaical accents that there was nothing wrong with the country that thrift, and prudence, and production could not cure.

Mr. Insull said in his address, and I quote: "We who live here are the favorites of fortune. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves if we fall short of our opportunities."

Insull must have blushed with shame when he uttered that American truism, for on that day he was thinking only of his illegal and corrupt opportunities—opportunities to make suckers out of the trusting men and women whom he induced, by high-pressure methods, to invest in his cancerous enterprises.

But there came the day of reckoning. There came the day when the market no longer could support the fantastic and dishonest structure that Sam Insull had erected and the Republican system had protected. The bottom fell out, and Sam Insull, the prophet of prudence and production, fled, like a felon in the night, leaving behind him a holocaust of wrecked lives and vanished savings such as our Nation had rarely witnessed.

That sickening and disgraceful crash occurred years ago. It is now 1940. The ghost of Sam Insull is walking again, because the utility barons and stockbrokers and wild speculators of those good old days of 1929 are hard at work in this campaign.

That is so because one of their favorites is the Republican nominee for President, and his name is Wendell Willkie. He was, until recently, president of the Commonwealth & Southern Public Utility Co., with a salary of $75,000 per year. Willkie has been the front man for the Utility Trust for years.

When the Congress sought to investigate the greed and corruption with which the Power Trust was fleecing the public, it was the supersalesman, Mr. Willkie, who appeared as the chief lobbyist.

Listen to the Willkie outburst of tender love for the public utilities. I quote from the Electric World of February 16, 1935: "I want to say to you that no duty has ever come in my life, even that in the service of my country, which has so appealed to my sense of social obligation, patriotism, and love of mankind as this my obligation to say and do what I can for the preservation of public utilities privately owned."

With these tender sentiments for the Power Trust, it is easy for all to understand why Wendell Willkie has bitterly attacked and relentlessly opposed the Tennessee Valley Authority, which stands today as one of the great instruments of national defense and public good.

The Chicago Tribune of June 25 last charged that the Willkie boom for President originated in and was being directed from Wall Street. This is the spectacle with which the American people are faced. It is a record Willkie and his friends dare not talk about, because they know the rottenness, the corruption, the graft, and the fraud that utility barons and speculators have practiced upon the innocent public.

With the Willkie record before them, is it any wonder that all the Illinois delegates to the Republican National Convention except two viciously fought the Willkie nomination? Is it any wonder that some of them said that they might just as well put Sam Insull's name on the ticket as that of Wendell Willkie? Is it any wonder that certain Republican candidates loudly proclaimed that they could not be elected with Willkie heading the ticket?

My friends, I have been talking about the Nation. Let us turn to the State of Illinois, and see how this public-utility question affects this election. The Republican Party proposes as its candidate for Governor another lawyer whose chief clients are the public utilities of the Midwest.

My fellow citizens, it should be understood that I have no objection to the type and kind of clients that lawyers choose, so long as only a private relationship is involved. But when it becomes a matter where the public is concerned, that demands public scrutiny and reflection. It demands more—it demands that the public be advised of the true facts of the relationship that has existed between the utilities and their hirelings.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is the picture—a utility lawyer-lobbyist for President and a utility lawyer for Governor. This is a fight between the public utilities and the public's defenders.

It is inconceivable to me that the American people would choose Wendell Willkie, the greatest utility magnate in these United States, to guide the destinies of the Nation during this hour of peril. Neither do I believe that the people of Illinois will place in the executive mansion at Springfield a man whose primary concern and main activities are now with the public utilities in Illinois.

In view of the experience Illinois has had with Insullism and corrupt public utilities, I ask voters everywhere to remember that back of the candidacy of Wendell Willkie and Dwight Green are the utility barons, and the stockbrokers of Wall Street and LaSalle Street—the wrecking crew of the happy days of old. I would remind you of the scriptural word, "Where the treasure is, there is the heart also."

Make no mistake about the certainty that if these two gentlemen actually succeed, the utility barons and brokers who are now spending millions in this campaign will immediately launch a relentless attack against the legislation enacted by the late Governor Henry Horner in Springfield for the protection of the public. You will also find a swarm of the greatest lobbyists in the Nation in Washington, D. C., for the purpose of undermining public-utility regulation laws, and undermining the security and exchange laws, to pave the way for a revival of the good old days of wildcat utility swindle that was spawned by Mr. Insull and his followers. They want to return to the orgies of fraud and speculation which, protected by the Republican Party, brought this country to her knees in the fatal collapse of 1929.

Let me remind you that Franklin D. Roosevelt, a servant of the whole people, has labored to bring the public utilities within the bounds of justice—and the law. It has been due more to President Roosevelt than any other one man that our people have been protected against the high rates, the financial set-up, and the arrogant schemes of the public utilities.

What Franklin D. Roosevelt has done for the Nation, the late Henry Horner has done for Illinois, and against the threat of any repetition of the past, the Democratic Party presents a man for Governor who I know will give Illinois clean government, honest government, and a government absolutely free from the sinister and corrupt practices which have been used so frequently by the public utilities in the Midwest under Republican administrations. That man is my personal friend. He is Harry B. Hershey, the Democratic candidate for Governor.

While I am discussing this clean, high-minded, and sturdy son of Illinois, let me advise you in no uncertain terms that Harry Hershey stands for the preservation of American liberties as guaranteed by the Constitution. He stands for clean and sound government. He believes in the Roosevelt theory of humanity in Government. He stands for social security for the aged, the unemployed, the blind, and the helpless. He stands for economy and efficiency in Government and promises to follow the rigid course of administration laid down by the late Governor Horner. He condemns extravagance and waste. He is the owner of farm lands, and he endorses the great program of soil conservation, mandatory corn loans, and the control of basic commodities. He is the friend of labor. He believes in the law that guarantees collective bargaining between employer and employee.

All over this State, Republican propaganda is being spread that Harry Hershey will be subservient to some group, or clique, or individual. As one who has known him for years, I want my friends in Illinois to believe me when I say that there is no subserviency in his nature. He will listen to counsel and advice from everyone, but upon fundamental and basic problems of State government no one will tell him what to do. His only master will be his conscience, his brain, and his heart, and, at this point I want to nail forever the lie which is being spread that Harry Hershey has or ever will have any boss of any kind. Like the ancestors of Roosevelt, Hershey's ancestors are Pennsylvania Dutch. No one will tell him what to do. Furthermore, let the people of Illinois understand, once and for all, that Harry Hershey became a candidate only at the personal urging and solicitation of the late great Governor Horner.

Before I leave the public-utility question I call your attention to the Honorable JAMES M. SLATTERY, Democratic candidate for the United States Senate. He, like President Roosevelt, has a long, distinguished record in fighting the public utilities. He was chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission, appointed by the late Governor Horner. During his term of office he reduced the rates for public-utility service and accomplished a saving of $23,000,000 for Illinois consumers. His vigorous fight in the public's interest demands that he be returned to the United States Senate, where he may continue his constructive record. I want the people of Illinois to know that Senator SLATTERY is held in high esteem and regard by every Member of the Senate, regardless of political affiliation.

My friends, the records of the other candidates have been told to you through the press and over the air. Louie E. Lewis is the candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Edward J. Hughes for secretary

of state, John C. Martin for auditor of public accounts, Homer Mat Adams for State treasurer, Harold G. Ward for attorney general, and T. V. Smith and Walter J. Orlikoski for Congressmen at Large. These are men who have been tried often in the school of public experience and found not wanting. They are pledged to give Illinois the type of public service she has experienced during the last 7 years.

The election of these Democratic candidates is absolute assurance to the people of Illinois that Samuel Insull's ghost will never walk again.

Lastly, my friends, we cannot overlook another great issue in this campaign. It involves our future in relation to a world that is being overrun by brute force.

If England falls, dictators will control the air, the sea, and the land in Europe and Africa. If England falls, Japan has an opportunity to control the Pacific. We are in danger of becoming a lonely island of democracy in a world overcome by totalitarian ideologies. I say that if we are to preserve America, in the words of Lincoln, "the last, best hope of earth," we must keep our Government in the hands of men who are experienced and who have proved that they can be trusted.

Leave it with Roosevelt, who only last night said, "It is for peace I have labored; and it is for peace I shall labor all the days of my life."

The Political Issues of 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 31 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, OF MISSOURI

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address on the political issues of 1940, delivered over the radio by the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] at St. Louis, Mo., on Saturday, October 26, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am glad to have the opportunity of addressing my friends and those of my enemies who care to listen to the expression of my views upon the momentous issues to be decided by the American people on November 5. I do not flatter myself that anything I am about to say will swing the election returns in Missouri one way or the other. I am convinced that Missouri is in the Democratic column and will so remain. I address you because I know that there are many thousands of voters who, like myself, have been carefully and prayerfully considering the course to be pursued with an eye single to the welfare of the United States of America, and I desire to state the results of my own earnest consideration of the subject for what they may be worth.

I have come home to Missouri after several months of very hard work in Washington, in which I espoused certain causes which as a result of the tremendous pressure of great propaganda groups for the present seem to be unpopular. I repeat, "for the present." I have no doubt that if the American people understood the facts behind these issues, free of propaganda, as they will ultimately understand them, 80 percent of the American people would espouse the same causes in the same way. I believe that time will completely justify the positions I have taken. Certainly I would not change one line or alter one vote in that record if I had the opportunity of doing it over again.

But because the political situation all over the country is confused, as it is here in our own State, with the independent voter still holding the balance of power, according to all of the information available, I address myself to all of the voters—Democratic, Republican, or independent, new or old—in the spirit in which I make my own public decisions and cast my votes in the United States Senate or at the polls. That is, that what I do I do because those individual actions are forged out in the fires of whatever knowledge and experience and conviction I possess, in the hope that they ultimately prove to be the best for my State and for my country.

It is in this spirit that I wish briefly to state the reasons why I am supporting the reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Presidency of the United States. Of course, there was never the slightest doubt in my mind as to my ardent support of the Democratic State ticket, one of the ablest and most outstanding in the history of the State, and one which towers over its opponents like Saul among the prophets.

It is no secret that I have all my life opposed a third term—a third term for any President of the United States. I have never taken any stock whatever in the theory that any American is an indispensable man. Only Washington was an indispensable man for his first term, and he wisely decided that he was not indispensable for a third term. All my life I have favored and supported an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for a simple elective term of 6 years, with ineligibility to reelection. I still favor it, but its proponents have never been able to muster enough strength for its serious consideration. It is no secret to anyone in Missouri that as a delegate to the Chicago convention I was opposed to the renomination of President Roosevelt; that I stood my ground against a majority of the Missouri delegation and so cast my vote. I have no regrets or apologies for my action. If I was faced with the question again I would do exactly the same thing. The views of those of us who were opposed to Mr. Roosevelt's renomination were overruled, and by an overwhelming majority he was made again the nominee of the convention.

I did my duty as I saw it when as a delegate I voted against Mr. Roosevelt's nomination in the convention in exactly the same conscience that I shall do my duty as a citizen as I see it when I vote for Mr. Roosevelt's election on November 5.

In this situation and in this most dangerous posture of the world's affairs every loyal American citizen is faced with the great responsibility of casting his vote with the single consideration of promoting the safety and well-being of the United States. Let me say that I am a lifelong Democrat; but if I believed that the election of any candidate promised greater safety and well-being for the Nation as a whole in this emergency, I would unhesitatingly leave my party, resign my seat in the United States Senate, and give him my wholehearted support. An examination of the Republican candidate and his campaign leads me to no such conclusion.

No matter what may be the views of anyone upon the third term, we are now faced with the hard, practical question of supporting the Democratic nominee or the alternative of supporting Mr. Willkie. In all candor, the closest scrutiny of Mr. Willkie and his completely uncontrolled, erratic, and disingenuous approach to the issues of the day convinces me that he is not fit to be President of this great country. I remember too vividly the last great business President of the United States, Mr. Herbert Hoover, whose subservience to the very same Wall Street agencies whence comes Mr. Willkie brought the country to the brink of irretrievable ruin. Little as I like the theory of a third term for any man, I infinitely prefer it to a first term for a man bearing the label of Morgan & Co. and the great industrial and financial tycoons of Wall Street—many of whom are actively and avowedly in favor of immediate armed intervention in the European War. I want no such control in the White House. In the language of my eminent friend and colleague Senator HENRY F. ASHURST: "I would rather be for a third-termer than a third-rater."

Mr. Willkie's record of campaign utterances is a record of reckless, erratic, and inconsistent utterances unequaled in the history of American politics. In his intense desire to get to the White House he contradicts himself from speech to speech, from locality to locality, often in the same speech, and sometimes in the same sentence. I once heard a soldier say on a very hard march, "Well, what it takes to get there we're all broke out with." Willkie won't get there, but he is all broke out with the desire. One day he breaks out with, "To hell with Chicago"; another day he makes his sixth trip back to Illinois to undo it. As President of the United States, acting in a crisis, he might not have the chance to make so many efforts to palliate his clumsy mistakes. A President cannot spend his life traipsing up and down the country in a futile effort to pick up the pieces of the watermelons he has spilled. One day Willkie criticizes the assertion that Roosevelt is an indispensable man and in the very same speech he attempts to show that he himself is the indispensable man. One day he breaks out with a criticism of Roosevelt for getting us into war and the next day he breaks out with a criticism of Roosevelt for not doing more to aid England—which is a step leading to war. The fact is that he has swallowed the whole of Roosevelt's policy—foreign and domestic—and breaks out with the delusion that he is himself an indispensable man. And his former associates and employers in Wall Street and elsewhere who are his principal supporters, financially and otherwise, look on at all these antics tolerantly and kindly because they don't believe that he means what he says.

Willkie one day protests his friendship for labor and his support of the National Labor Relations Act, but, in the very same sentence, he states what amounts practically to an intention to emasculate the act. He professes devotion to the principle of collective bargaining between employer and employee but he cannot deny that the companies he headed have been officially found guilty of opposing collective bargaining, in at least five instances supporting company unions—the most insidious form of resistance to collective bargaining.

He says at times that he is in favor of public development of the power resources of the Nation for the benefit of the public but he first attracted national attention, and won the approbation of the great "powers that be," who nominated him in Philadelphia, by fighting the T. V. A. through every court in the country and finally gouging the Government in the settlement by which the T. V. A. bought his utility properties.

He now claims that he has no objection to public ownership of public utilities in proper cases, but he cannot deny that in 1935 he made the statement that no duty had ever come into his life, even that in the service of his country, so appealing as the obligation to say and do what he could for the preservation of public utilities privately owned. Think of having a man in the White House in time of stress who was not even abashed to publicly rate his services

to privately owned utilities above his meritorious record as a soldier of his country in time of war!

He swallowed the propaganda demands for conscription in time of peace, hook, line, and sinker, but his fiery indignation was immediately aroused at the determined and ultimately successful effort, on the part of some of us in the Congress, to include provisions for the draft of industry as well as men, of money as well as blood. He was willing to draft the youth of the land, possibly to send them to cough out their lungs on poison gas, or to hang on rusty barbed-wire entanglements, but all of his loyalties to his former associates and employers were aroused at the suggestion that industry, as well as the boys of the country, should be compelled to make some sacrifices. To be sure the wily JOE MARTIN, and other Republican leaders, finally dragooned him into an attempt to back up and qualify his position—in other words, to pick up the pieces of that broken watermelon—but the immediate and spontaneous outburst had already disclosed where his sympathies lay.

It is well known that I opposed much of the President's foreign policy on the ground that in my view they involved steps calculated to get us into a war in other people's quarrels. I still oppose them. I have voted for every measure for the most complete and adequate defense, but I have opposed every measure, either calculated to weaken that defense, by transferring to any other power anything whatever needed for our own defense, or calculated to bring us closer to involvement in foreign wars. I am opposed to appeasement of anybody. I am likewise opposed to intervention on behalf of anybody. I believe that the greatest service we can render democracy in the world is to preserve democracy in the United States of America and to be prepared to protect our free institutions from any attack externally or internally. I shall continue to oppose intervention or involvement in war with all the energy at my command, whether the President be Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Willkie.

But I warn the multitudes of Americans who share my opposition to getting us into war that they have nothing whatever to hope from Mr. Willkie. If I believed that we would be less likely to be lured into war with Mr. Willkie as President than with Mr. Roosevelt as President I would vote for Mr. Willkie. Such, however, is very far from being the case. Mr. Willkie out-Roosevelts Mr. Roosevelt all along the way. He criticizes Mr. Roosevelt for not coming closer to intervention by extending more aid to England. He has swallowed all of Roosevelt's foreign policy and complained because it did not go further. He favored the repeal of the arms embargo of the Neutrality Act. He favored turning over the products of our airplane, munition, and other factories to Great Britain and France before we were fully armed ourselves. He swallowed the cruiser deal. He swallowed conscription except with regard to conscription for industry. He is willing to transfer our flying fortresses and give up our most priceless and vital military secret, the American bomb sight.

The convention which nominated Mr. Willkie specifically rejected the exact platform plank involving an explicit and unqualified pledge against American participation in foreign wars outside the Americas which we were able to insert in the Chicago platform with the approval of the President.

It is natural that Mr. Willkie's sympathies should be for intervention. Most of the class of great industrial and financial magnates among whom he moved and had his being until his nomination and who are now his principal sponsors are actively for intervention. Many of them have great interests abroad, many maintain homes abroad, some are even entitled to vote abroad.

At a great dinner at the Economics Club in New York, attended by 1,500 financiers and industrialists—these were not economic royalists, they were economic royalty itself—Mr. Willkie read a telegram announcing a British naval victory and shouted: "There is one thing we are all agreed upon and that is that the French and British way of life shall continue in this world."

The economic royalty present—many with vast financial stakes—correctly understood this as a declaration of intervention by the armed forces of the United States if necessary to help the Allies win the war and the news reports stated that the applause from the assembled tycoons "rang the rafters."

It is to be noted that one of Mr. Willkie's most active and enthusiastic supporters is the chairman of the Committee for Keeping Us Out of War by Getting Us Into War, Mr. William Allen White.

Mr. Willkie has thus approved of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy and in some of his utterances has seemed to desire to go even further in the direction of intervention. In some of his speeches he has even rendered lip service to the domestic policies of the Roosevelt administration, although usually with the next breath he mumbles vague and meaningless phrases as to how much better he could do the job.

Since Mr. Willkie has agreed to the Roosevelt foreign policy and pretends to agree with the Roosevelt domestic policies, where lies the basis for decision and choice between the two by the voters of the United States?

Consider the business affiliations from which Mr. Willkie has sprung and the contradictions and patent insincerities of his campaign. More than all else, compare the record of the Republican administrations from 1921 to 1933 with the domestic record of the Roosevelt administration since 1933.

Who does not remember the halcyon days of false inflationary prosperity when the Ohio gang ran the politics of the Nation, when Andrew Mellon was the fiscal and economic dictator of the Nation and big business worked its will upon the American people? Who does not remember the dark, desperate, tragic days under the administration of that great business executive, Mr. Herbert Hoover, when the long policy of pandering to special privilege reached its full fruition, when women wept and children starved, and honest, capable working men and women walked the streets and highways eager and willing to work, but unable to find any job which would yield a pittance for the support of themselves and their families. Recall, if you will, when hundreds of thousands of boys and girls were forced to leave home and become wanderers upon the face of the earth because there was no room for them at home and nothing for them to eat. Who has forgotten the sight of able-bodied, skilled workmen standing on the streets of St. Louis and other cities shining apples to sell in a hopeless and pitiful effort to keep body and soul together?

We all know the story of those tragic years and of the saturnalia of inflation which preceded them.

When Woodrow Wilson retired from the Presidency of the United States there ensued a period which must always bring a blush of shame to the face of every lover of his country. Corruption stalked the land and representatives of big business who were actively engaged in plundering the United States sat at the President's very Cabinet table. Vast and unstable inflation in securities and values was not only permitted but actually encouraged by the Government itself. Every time there would be a temporary reaction in the stock market a full statement would be forthcoming from the President or the Secretary of the Treasury that this country had reached a permanently high plateau of prosperity and that therefore any inflation was justified. The most serious economic maladjustments were permitted and increased. And so the mad orgy of inflation and speculation went on.

And then came that great business executive, Mr. Hoover, with a business background indeed even comparable to that of Mr. Willkie. In his campaign he made claims no less extravagant but certainly not so vague as those of Mr. Willkie. He promised the American people that if he were elected President he would actually bring about the absolute abolition of poverty, that poorhouses would be a thing of the past, and the country would be so prosperous that there would be a radio in every home, a chicken in every pot, and two cars in every garage. Even Willkie, in his most flambuoyant moments, could not go much further than this.

So Hoover was elected and continued upon the way of his predecessors. And then the bubble of speculative inflation burst. Stocks crashed. Public confidence was tremendously shaken. Bank loans began to be called, and then depositors began to withdraw their money from banks and banks began to fail. Factories began to close and workmen were thrown out of employment. Transportation was impaired. The panic was upon us. Through all this the great business executive, Mr. Hoover, remained futile and helpless, unable to take any steps to relieve the situation. He permitted the passage of the worst tariff bill in the history of the country, and signed the bill creating a retaliatory tariff war with every country in the world. Our foreign trade was immediately paralyzed. Surplus products of factory and farm, the sale of which abroad had in other years meant the difference between prosperity and depression, accumulated on our hands.

So, when Franklin D. Roosevelt was sworn into power in March 1933 the country was in the most serious crisis of its economic fate. Every bank in the United States was closed. Agriculture was prostrate. Industry was crippled. Transportation was seriously impaired. Public confidence had been utterly destroyed. Millions of Americans were faced with the gaunt specter of actual starvation in the midst of plenty.

It is to the contrast between this condition at the end of the Hoover big-business administration that I direct your attention specifically as a potent and compelling reason for not returning the destinies of this Republic to the influence and affiliations which were represented by Mr. Mellon and Mr. Hoover and are now represented by Mr. Willkie. In speaking of the number of Presidential terms all will agree that two terms for Hoover would have ruined the Nation.

Led by President Roosevelt, the Democratic majority courageously faced the task of national rehabilitation. We recognized that drastic measures were necessary, and we did not shirk the task. The evidence of the vast improvements brought about since those dark days of 1933 are on every hand.

I will not undertake to enumerate in the brief time at my command all or even any considerable number of the measures making up the vast legislative program of the last 8 years.

I name but a few of the most important. One of the first was a bill for the reform of our banking system, the divorcement of commercial and investment banking, and the taking of the control of our financial system from Wall Street and placing it in Washington, where it belonged. Then followed the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Act, which has reduced bank failures to a negligible number, and the various Agricultural Adjustment Acts, which, while far from perfect, are the first measures genuinely designed to aid the farmers of the country in a generation. We had the Stock Exchange Act to stop the plundering of our people by the stock manipulators of Wall Street and later the Security and Exchange Commission to regulate the issuance of securities. We had the Civilian Conservation Corps Act, which has taken millions of boys and girls off the roads and given them decent employment and good training. We passed a multitude of measures for the improvement of the condition of labor and for securing the rights of labor.

We promulgated the social security acts and a whole series of social legislation which, in my opinion, will do more to make for national solidarity, either in war or peace, against the efforts of subversive elements to undermine our institutions than any other legislation. We passed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, designed to restore our lost foreign trade and which was making notable progress in that regard until all foreign trade was upset

by the new war. Of course, we have had all of the series of relief acts to the end that people should not be permitted to starve in this land of great production.

These are only a few of the measures but they are sufficient to point the course of this great legislative program. I did not agree with all of the acts on this program. Few did agree with all of them. But I think it only fair to say that taking them together they constitute the greatest record of social and economic gains in the history of the country. That these gains shall not be in danger of being lost is a most valid reason for voting against Mr. Willkie and for Mr. Roosevelt.

Much has been said in this campaign about the strangulation of business. We can see about us right here in St. Louis the refutation of such statements. We can see factories running full blast with day and night shifts which were shut down completely during the Hoover panic. We can see businessmen who were then utterly in despair, now restored to confidence and prosperity. These improvements have benefited both labor and capital.

A classic example of unprecedented prosperity of a great business institution in the last 8 years is the record of the Monsanto Chemical Co., whose expansion, prosperity, and increased pay roll is a matter of pleasure and pride to St. Louisans and Missourians. I have not time this evening to discuss this example in detail but it is my intention at an early date to make a painstaking comparison of the reports of this company during the years of the Hoover big-business administration and the years of the Roosevelt administration.

In that connection it is worthy of note that while Mr. Willkie has been traveling about the United States talking about bosses and inveighing against bosses, on his recent spectacular visit to St. Louis he made no mention of the newest and most rapidly rising boss in the United States, the new boss of the Republican Party in Missouri, Mr. Edgar Queeny, the confetti king, president of the Monsanto Chemical Co. Unlike Mr. Willkie and some of the other bosses, Mr. Queeny did not come up "the hard way." He achieved his boss-ship at one leap on the basis of the splendid profits of his company due to Roosevelt prosperity and to 10,000 pounds of confetti for the Willkie parade. Both Mr. Willkie and Mr. Queeny will discover that huge orders of confetti and the hiring of little boys to throw paper out of windows does not win elections in St. Louis or Missouri or the Nation.

Let me again refer briefly to the Democratic State ticket. I have known every man on it for many years. I can unreservedly recommend them to the people of this State. They are worthy of every confidence. Mr. McDaniel is one of the ablest and most experienced public servants in the State who deserves the confidence of the people of Missouri as he has long enjoyed that of the people of St. Louis. Senator TRUMAN has a record of fidelity, industry, and efficiency in the United States Senate which richly entitles him to reelection. The other members of the State ticket with the exception of Mr. Bell have records of faithful, efficient experience in the offices they seek. Mr. Bell has for years been a leading journalist and publicist in the State. I bespeak for them your support.

The Issues of 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HATTIE W. CARAWAY

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 31 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. FRANCIS T. MALONEY, OF CONNECTICUT

Mrs. CARAWAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered over the radio by the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MALONEY] on October 29, 1940, in which he discussed the issues of the present campaign.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

During the past several days—as during the past several years—I have tried to make my position clear on the important matters confronting our State and country. I realize my responsibility as a Senator of the United States—but I have tried to lay particular emphasis upon the fact that on each question coming before the Congress I have asked myself whether or not it was good for Connecticut. I knew that what was good for Connecticut was good for the country. I have endeavored to make certain that my attitude be in keeping with the letter and spirit of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States—and the well-being of the people of the State of Connecticut and the United States. I presume that I have made mistakes, but I insist that I have made no major mistake, and I should like to repeat that if I am returned to the Senate I shall be the same kind of a Senator that I have been during the last 6 years.

If elected, I shall devote all of such ability and experience as I possess, to the trying work that is certain to come before the Congress in these next few years. I have never spared my energy. I shall keep faith with my conscience and as a legislator I shall never permit partisanship or politics to guide me in my votes or my actions in the greatest and most influential legislative body in the world.

I have heretofore briefly told of my efforts to assist the farmers of my State. I have referred to my work in connection with the distress which came with floods and the hurricane, and to bring relief to our farm areas in purchases of surplus farm products. Last year I was particularly helpful to the tobacco farmers. I have been concerned with soil conservation and with the work of the C. C. C. camps, and with every other Connecticut farm problem on which we had a chance to act.

My stand on labor matters and labor measures is well known to the people of Connecticut. I have the approval of the great labor groups—and of great satisfaction to me, as well, is the fact that I also have the approval of the financial interests, and the industrial interests, and the banking and other business interests of Connecticut and the country. They know that I have been fair, and if I may be momentarily immodest, I think that they are agreed that I have been intelligent and industrious.

I have said heretofore that my references were my neighbors in Meriden, where I served as mayor, and my neighbors in the Third Congressional District, which I represented in Congress, and the farmers and the working people, and the consumers, and the bankers and industrialists and financial interests of Connecticut. I urge the people of Connecticut who are at all in doubt about my record to make inquiry from these groups. I urge them to ask the officials of the great insurance companies, the officials of any bank in Connecticut, the manufacturers of Connecticut, the people who work in factories and on the farm, and the consuming public.

I seek the assistance and support of every good man and good woman in Connecticut—regardless of party and regardless of politics. I feel bold enough to suggest that I have earned that confidence and support by my service, and because I have had a splendid experience, and because my position in the Senate is strengthened not only by that service but through my seniority position.

Other references which I proudly suggest are the editors of the many great newspapers of my State. Ask them if I have been fair. Ask them if I have been a working Senator and if they regard me as a good Senator. Ask them if I have been concerned with what is good for Connecticut. We may disagree on some matters, but there has been little criticism of my votes from that informed source.

In the closing days of a campaign, candidates are likely to try to excite voters by statements and charges. I refuse to become excited. I know that the crying need of the hour is a strong national unity, and that our people remain calm.

The increasing intensity of war in other parts of the world demands that we remain steadfast and courageous and united. There are some people endeavoring to carry the impression over the country that we are not so strong as we should be. I for one desire to repudiate that attitude of defeatism. It is foreign to our true American spirit. It ill becomes the vigorous, fighting, youthful nation that we are. Unless it is halted, it may prove to be a dangerous obstacle to the national unity we need so much in these trying times. It is a threat to our happiness relished only by the enemies of America.

The leaders of our industrial machine—and the workingmen of our country—have been lifted from out of the despair they suffered 8 years ago. There was at that time a world-wide dislocation and we suffered terribly from it, and fell the harder because our leaders and many of our working people had becomes discouraged, as we lived in the afterglow of a reckless period of speculation which distorted all values and gave an illusion of prosperity. We had to pay for that in toil and suffering.

Our whole economic structure in those dark days appeared to be crumbling and deep depression cast its shadow over the Nation. It brought with it throughout the length and breadth of the land black despair. Democracy, said the cynics, was a failure. According to many of our sterile intellectuals, and not a few of our professional youths, our system had failed. Some weak and careless people thought that we would come to a dictatorship.

For myself, I would sooner surrender my life than live under any kind of dictatorship. The founding fathers shed their blood, and many of them gave their lives, to give us a system that has prevailed for more than a century and a half. Sometimes we have suffered hunger to preserve it. Like most other Americans I would suffer more than that, to pass on to posterity—and my children and your children—the best kind of government yet conceived by man. We met the challenges of one crisis or another during these last 8 years, we have made converts of those who were faint of heart during the period of economic darkness.

We made mistakes—mistakes are common in time of any period of stress—but we preserved a deep-rooted faith in the American tradition of freedom. Other countries fell under the spell of dictatorships. We avoided it—and with God's help we shall one day overcome every obstacle.

During the last 8 years we have achieved the greatest social reconstruction in our long history, and in its achievement we have kept America democratic to the core. No group of our citizens has been ignored, and all of us, in some degree, felt the benefit of this

broad and forward-looking program and plan of justice for all people.

In the last period of great crisis the response of our people was magnificent. Political animosities and group antagonisms all were laid aside, in the realization that united we must stand. To those of us whose faith in our free institutions never wavered, the magnificent showing of the American people was thrilling. The common denominator of this epochal event was not fear—for fear is a treacherous cement for any society. No—the explanation is a far nobler one. The people whose instincts were fundamentally sound—and who had an appreciation of the ideals and sacrifices of the founding fathers—moved forward without compromising in the slightest degree their democratic heritage. They carried the battle against despair and want, and brought the Nation back again to a saner and fairer economy. The common denominator was not fear—it was faith and patriotism.

The years behind us have been tempestuous. We have moved along new paths, aiming for social progress, and we have advanced the spiritual and material welfare of all of our citizens. Some of our complicated problems have been solved. Many, unfortunately, are still with us. We have new problems as a result of the wars abroad. Our determination is that we remain at peace—that our young men will never go to foreign wars—and that none will dare attack us. I shall never vote to send American soldiers to participate in a foreign conflict and I am confident that if we can keep the American people from defeatism and fear, our future will be filled with hope and our country will remain at peace.

It is unfortunate for us—as for the rest of the world—that we have not been accorded the blessings of world-wide stability and that we must for the time being temporarily set aside some of our domestic problems to meet the challenge of manifest tyranny. An evil thing is abroad in the world. It denies to man the dignity of his spiritual heritage. It proclaims that force is a good end in and of itself, that war is the achievement of man's destiny, and that the religious civilization of 2,000 years, upon which our national life is founded, must be sacrificed in the name of some pagan gospel about a new order. More than that, this new doctrine is preached and fought for with a fanatical fervor which finds few parallels in the history of mankind.

For a long time after the World War there was little reason to doubt the impregnability of our position—blessed by nature with two oceans. We had but to examine the record of all the wars of yesteryears to feel that our problem was one of internal improvement. Perhaps with justification we looked upon our problem of exterior defense as one more for debate than for serious and immediate concern. All that is changed. The dedication of a whole nation to the prostitution of science and invention for the purposes of destroying people and whole nations has confronted us with a genuine problem of our own security. A whole continent has been conquered in less time than it took to fight the average inconclusive battle of the last war. New and awful forms of destruction have been invented. Already we know how nations are destroyed by internal paralysis before a shot is fired. The psychology of terror in modern warfare is so fantastic as to defy belief if it were not documented by the awful facts of the conquered.

And so it is tremendously important, let me say again, that we remain united and that we strengthen our national armor, both spiritually and in a military way. It is a time when experience and calm, cool judgment are important. It is especially important that we have men of experience guiding our national affairs. I have had years of experience.

I ask the people of Connecticut to support me upon the basis of my record. None of us can tell what the future may bring. We must meet each new situation as it arises. I seek the chance to serve again, because I feel that I can make a contribution to my fellow men (to the people of my State and country) during a continuing period of uncertainty. I have obtained a training that permits me to serve you even better now than I have served you in the past. I know Connecticut, and I know Connecticut people. I understand Connecticut problems, and I shall continue to ask myself, if I remain in Congress, whether or not what confronts us in the Congress is good for Connecticut, good for those whom I represent. If it is good for us, it is good for the country and the world.

I can only give you my pledge of fidelity. If you believe in me, and you will work for my reelection, and if I am elected I will work for all of you with all of the energy that I possess.

Reelection of President Roosevelt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 31 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPH P. KENNEDY

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered over the radio on October 29 by Joseph Patrick Kennedy, Ambassador to Great Britain, urging the reelection of President Roosevelt.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Good evening, my fellow Americans. On Sunday I returned from war-torn Europe to the peaceful shores of our beloved country, renewed in my conviction that this country must and will stay out of war. Tonight I desire to give to you, my fellow countrymen, my views on what I consider to be the position of the United States of America in a world crisis which inevitably—win, lose, or draw—gravely will affect the destinies of every man, woman, and child. The impact of this conflict will be felt even by our children's children. This evening I am going to tell you briefly what I think of the world situation as it affects America. Since early in 1938 mine has been a ringside seat.

Doubtless there are some who will look askance when an Ambassador to the Court of St. James's speaks over the radio in the last week of a Presidential campaign. But it is for the very reason that I serve as Ambassador to England that I am addressing you in order that you may have an accurate report and my estimate of the future on the eve of this, probably the most critical election year of our existence.

The events of the last few years are confusing, even to the best-informed minds. There are some things, however, that are as clear as crystal. The people of America are dedicated to the cause of peace. They want a chance to work out their own problems and, if possible, to help in the realization of the age-old dream of a world without war. The American people overwhelmingly repudiate the philosophy of "blitzkrieg"—that force is the sole arbiter of man's destiny. But the world, sad to relate, is not of our making.

Heretofore the technique of diplomacy has been used to advance a policy of a particular government. There was no more difficult art in the realm of human affairs, and a country's success in the world was, to a great extent, measured by the skill of its diplomats.

In place of negotiations and peaceful methods of adjustment the dictator countries have discovered a new weapon—unbridled force and terrorism toward nations, large and small. Unfortunately, from the society of nations reason has fled. Diplomacy has almost become the lost art.

The other day in talking to a fellow diplomat in London I pointed this out. He said, "Ah, but let any nation win a few battles. You would be surprised how important their diplomacy would then become." Yes; I think that is true. And it emphasizes my point that diplomacy is no longer the instrument it was—it has to give way to power.

The thing that matters most now is not in the field of diplomacy—not at all—what counts in this hour of crisis is what we in the United States of America are prepared to do in order to make ourselves strong. On that point there can't be—and I am sure there is not—the slightest disagreement in this country. Even the most staid isolationist is now alive to the danger facing any nation in the modern world. The realization that oceans alone are not adequate barriers against revolutionary forces which now threaten a whole civilization has not come too late. We are rearming. We are rearming because it is the only way in which America can stay out of war. If we rearm fast enough, America will stay out of war. It is today our guaranty of peace.

While we shall not be involved in this war, we are bound to be seriously affected by it. All during my first year in England I felt strongly that, if England got into the war, in the long run it would be most unfortunate for the interests of our people. And I always hoped for a lasting peace.

And speaking about peace, in the last year I have read a lot of irresponsible writing, most of it of a critical nature, about the Munich Pact. The criticism in my judgment is not justified. Mr. Chamberlain hailed it as "peace in our time" and was cheered by thousands of people who had the dread of the war in their hearts—a war that comes to them now, night after night, in a relentless shattering of bombs, of death and destruction. He and nearly every one in Great Britain knew that Munich was but an armistice, a last opportunity given to the Allies to make up, in part at least, for their tragic failure to understand the peril to their very lives as nations. Can anyone imagine what would have happened to England if the "blitzkrieg" of the summer of 1940 had occurred in September of 1938?

About a year ago on my return from England after having seen the failures of the diplomats and the outbreak of a force which has conquered so many peoples, I said America should keep out of war. And after my experiences of the past year—I am more convinced than ever that America should stay out of this war.

The American people are overwhelmingly in favor of avoiding war and at the same time giving all aid short of war to Great Britain. There is no conflict on that issue among the candidates for the Presidency. The Republicans have expressly approved this policy.

From the day I went to the Court of St. James's until this minute I have never given to one single individual in the world any hope whatsoever that at any stage or under any conditions could the United States be drawn into the war.

Unfortunately, during this political campaign there has arisen the charge that the President of the United States is trying to involve this country in the world war. Such a charge is false. Consider the contradiction between first getting us into war and, secondly, desiring to give all assistance possible to Great Britain. The truth of the matter is that there is no more harmful step which could be taken, from the viewpoint of Great Britain, than

our declaration of war. It is clear that the minute war is declared our armed forces will take over, and in all probability they would resolve all doubts about shipping material to England in favor of keeping it here for our Army and our Navy. Such a declaration of war would also greatly increase our responsibilities in the western world. Our obligations to preserve the integrity of the Monroe Doctrine would be expanded; and these increased obligations would further drastically limit our power to give effective aid to England.

If we declare war, our own best interests would be harmed. England's valiant fight is giving us time to prepare. Without assistance from us the British will find it much more difficult to carry on. Viewing the problem, then, from either the British or the American angle, declaring war would be foolish.

If President Roosevelt were as wicked as his opponents charge—which he is not—and even if he had undisclosed commitments—which he has not—the facts are against our participation in this war.

Yesterday I received a letter from a colleague who was with me in Washington and who is head of one of the great industries. He said it was my duty, regardless of any friendships I might have, to inform the American people if, as he believed, there was a secret commitment beyond what the American people had been made aware of and unknown to the Congress, a commitment by Roosevelt to Great Britain to lead us into war.

Mr. Roosevelt has already denied that; and I, as the Ambassador of the American people in London, who would certainly become aware of this fact in one way or another, can assure you now with absolute sincerity and honesty that there has been no such commitment.

So far as war is concerned, what do we do if we declare war? The thing which most people are afraid of is that we will send an army to help the British. Mr. Walter Lippmann in a recent article said, and very rightly so, "It would be absurd to consider sending an army to Europe." Where would an army disembark, with Hitler holding nearly all the ports of continental Europe?

When one considers the tonnage required to move a soldier with the type of equipment that it is necessary to have in this kind of a war, the problems of transportation alone become staggering. We can't compare a movement of troops today with the movement of troops of the last war. This is a machine war. This is not a war of men but a war of industries. Moreover, there are not available to this Government now, or in sight, shipping facilities adequate to transport a modern army to Europe. And how would they land, and where would we secure the needed protective planes?

Only this morning the British admiralty confirmed the report that the *Empress of Britain*, of 48,000 tons, was sunk within the range of German bombers. To suggest—yes, I say to even suggest—that our boys will soon be on the transports in this kind of war, under these conditions, is completely absurd.

Another factor is that England is not now looking for manpower. She has not even called up all the men she has eligible. I repeat, this is a war, not of men, but of machines. Modern warfare requires a particular skill that is not furnished on the drill field. The time element for training a mechanized army properly would be so great that an American expeditionary force is just not in the cards.

There is thus no sense to a declaration of war. Congress should pause a long, long time before declaring any war. No irritants, no incidents, should blind us to what happens when war is declared. Democracy—our freedoms—all become jeopardized. The British Parliament only last May passed the Emergency Powers Act which gives to the Government the power to take over every person and all property—that is, to go totalitarian. That's what happens when war is declared.

The problem of attacking us presents the same difficulties to any belligerent that our attacking of them does. I have seen an outnumbered but brave band of R. A. F. fliers and about 20 miles of water keep back the German invader. The answer still rings out—speed in rearmament.

Three thousand miles of ocean, while handy, in and of itself is not enough protection for us. But with an adequate Navy we are assured of a greater measure of safety. We must also remember that while the British Navy remains unconquered and while the British Nation continues to fight its gallant battle for its existence and its ancient democratic way of life, we are given time, precious time, so that we can make ourselves strong and thus have that one guaranty which no form of diplomacy can afford.

The British Fleet, therefore, is highly important to our national existence, and the American people must have felt very relieved when the President received public assurance from the Prime Minister. Lord Lothian referred to it in a communication to Secretary Hull in which he said that the settled policy of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom was "never to surrender or sink the British Fleet in the event of the waters surrounding the British Isles becoming untenable for His Majesty's ships," but would be sent overseas for the defense of other parts of the Empire.

This represented a real victory for the American people. Those of us who know the stuff of which Churchill and the British leaders are made, those of us who know the courage and the caliber of the officers and men of the Royal Navy, can feel completely assured that surrendering the fleet to Hitler is a thought so fantastic that it is beyond the basis of belief. We know that under those circumstances the fleet will never be used for the purposes of conquest of the nations of the New World.

Again I repeat, there is no valid argument for putting America into war. We can be strong, unprovocative, resolute, fair with the democracies, hostile to the aggressors, and sympathetic with the oppressed without bringing to our shores that miserable thing that does nothing but destroy—war.

But to do this we must be strong. I have heard a great deal since I returned home about the worry of a great many people that the defense program is bogging down. It is particularly unfortunate that this charge has been injected into a political campaign when national teamwork is necessary. It is charged that the President has failed us in rearmament, despite the fact that he has drafted, regardless of affiliation, the best brains of the country to serve the Nation.

Unfortunately, it is true that a democracy such as ours is difficult to rally when it is neither desperate nor frightened. England had the same experience. Even after it learned that Germany was arming to the teeth, England proceeded confidently but leisurely to the task of getting prepared.

A study of this was made by my son while he was in England. His conclusions published in a volume entitled "While England Slept" reveal that all the elements of Great Britain were shortsighted in their failure to appreciate the peril and to prepare accordingly.

The very advantages which a democracy has for the long run, namely, fundamental vitality, voluntary cooperation, and a capacity for sustained and grueling effort, become disadvantages in the task of preparing for a war that it thinks may never happen.

If we now lack the crusading effort for rearmament, and I hope we do not, it is certainly not to be laid at the door of the White House. The President has provided a program and the Nation's best specialists, and a Democratic Congress has provided ample funds.

If blame there be, we all must share in the inherent weakness of our democratic system, where force and propaganda have no place, even in the vital job of rearming.

If I appear to take an unduly pessimistic view of the world situation, and if, as some of my critics say, I am "steeped in gloom," let me ask you, What is there in the world picture that gives any excuse for gayety? A large part of the productive capacity of the world is devoted to the cause of killing; millions are facing starvation; millions are facing disease. Great peoples are being sacrificed. The greatest war machine in the history of mankind is geared to a high pitch of efficiency by every technique that science could devise, serving in the cause of a man who believes that war is a noble cause and that world domination is his destiny. Gloom, under such circumstances, is nothing more than facing the facts.

The lessons of this war are ours for the taking. Machines today are more important than men. I have always been of the opinion that if Mr. Chamberlain had had 5,000 first-line planes at home when he conferred at Munich, we would have truly seen "peace in our time." Already the lessons have been learned. Peace and good will on this hemisphere, greater and still greater plane production, a powerful and still more powerful Navy, and a trained, competent, and larger Army—all are being translated into effective results by our National Government. In short, the country must realize that it must get itself in shape.

This administration has been wise in bringing to Washington experts from the field of industry to assist in the mobilization of this country to insure a lasting peace. Modern warfare is not like anything of the past. It is a grinding clash of industries. Today war is the battle of productive systems. In modern war the machine is the key. Infantry manpower alone may be overcome with shocking suddenness by the streamlined implements of destruction.

We are informed today about the new methods of warfare. Various departments of our Government have sent men to England. They are over there now in order that they may learn from bitter British experience how peace can be assured for this Nation.

Every phase of a nation's life in modern warfare is being studied in order that we may be prepared. For example, the New York City fire department has sent over a squad to study the technique of fighting fires in city areas caused by incendiary bombs. The Army and Navy have had trained observers at the front watching and learning the lessons of modern war—all that we may be found ready for any contingency.

Under my supervision, the experts at the Embassy in London have prepared a survey of the entire British economy as of the opening of the second year of the conflict. Every important phase of British life has been critically appraised. This has been done in order that the American people may know what the problems are when modern war breaks out, and what steps should be taken in our own defense.

The studies have embraced such grave problems as production difficulties, the overhead cost of the war, questions of planning, of exchange control, of food control, the all-important issue of the labor front, prices, cost of living and wages, agriculture, overseas trade, and transportation. This was done to the end that the costly experiences for Great Britain would not be endured in vain—in order that our Nation would have more than a vague, unscientific notion of what modern war means. We have considered the problem of citizen morale, because we know that in total warfare everyone is "in the trenches." We have given particular attention to the problem of air-raid warnings and shelters to learn from the experience of the British people what might benefit our countrymen.

All these steps have been taken by the President with a firm purpose to assure the security of the Nation. When the sad tale of the transformation of Europe is told, it will be a story of the dictators' secret preparations and the democracies' easy-going slumbers. But, happily for us, this administration was on the alert, and the American people, realizing the new peril, responded to the vision and foresight of the President.

It is all too clear that there are tremendous domestic problems which must be solved before the United States can see its way out of this maze of gloom. But my own feeling is that all these problems have taken a new turn by the horrors of war.

Once when Chairman of the Maritime Commission, I was talking to a noted economist. I had asked him to look over some phases of an economic survey we were making which was to form a basis of a merchant-marine policy for the United States. One of the problems was to decide what would be the results of a certain action under war conditions.

"Kennedy," he said, "when war comes in, economics go out the window."

And so I am afraid that the domestic issues are to a great extent dependent for their solution or lack of solution on where we stand in this horrible war.

The President must watch every move abroad to judge by what action he can serve the United States best. Events move so quickly—the man of experience is our man of the hour.

Thus in this atmosphere charged with war and revolution when the social order of the whole world is being challenged, not only by fighting armies but by new techniques of revolution, psychological, physical, and economic, the people of America must make a solemn decision. Which of two men will lead the destinies of our people for the next 4 years?

It is true that there have been disagreements between the President and me—I have disagreed sharply with him on some issues. And I have disagreed with him on methods employed in carrying out objectives on which we agreed. I am certain that if he has had the time to study my work, as I have his, that he has found things done by me with which he disagreed. But such is not uncommon. I am positive every employee is not always in agreement with his employer, and certainly the opposite is true.

However, these are times, as you all know, which clamor for national unity—times when national teamwork is vital and when only fundamental disagreements should be considered. Happily, on these great, momentous questions of foreign policy, trade, commerce, and the future of our American way of life I find little basis for disagreement with the President.

It is true that there is nothing in our Constitution which limits the term of service of our President. It is true that the tradition really represents the preference of earlier Presidents. Nonetheless, in normal times, I might be persuaded that the best interests of the country called for no third term. But the third term is the least of the many considerations which the American people should take into account in exercising their choice a week hence. The gigantic issues which must be faced, arising out of the world crisis, make the third-term opposition seem insignificant by comparison. The question still remains—which of the two men can best serve the Nation?

The present war in Europe, as I have said, will affect seriously every man, woman, and child in this country. There will be maladjustments in this world greater than ever before seen. There will be required of our President wisdom and talent, diplomatic foresight, courage, and great ingenuity. There will, more than all this, be required of our President for the next 4 years experience in domestic and especially in foreign affairs.

The problems that he must face are staggering just to comprehend. In the field of agriculture, what is to be done with the surpluses of the North American Continent? In the field of labor relations, America will need leadership of great stature. The President must have the trust and confidence of the toilers of the Nation. Finances will be disorganized and foreign trade may be completely transformed.

No matter who is President, make up your minds, the problems will be terrific. There is no chance of our achieving perfection by picking a President. Mr. Roosevelt will not have all the answers—probably no human being can have sound answers even for a fraction of the acute issues that may confront us.

Many of my listeners on the radio are specialists in various fields. How would you answer some of the following questions? If you are in foreign trade, what about your lost markets? What about the problem of securing foreign exchange? Just think of what has happened to the motion-picture industry when the war has cut off almost a third of the revenue. Shall we go to the barter system? If so, by what route? Can an individual trader compete when his competitor is a totalitarian government? No man can know all the answers—no man can fail to make serious mistakes.

It is wrong not to appreciate thoroughly the limitations set by the world-wide dislocation. Many of these problems will remain even if peace comes tomorrow.

But we must make our choice next week on what qualities are revealed to us by the contenders.

About a year ago, on my return from London, I referred to the gigantic problems which the war had brought to the American people and said that a newcomer would need 2 years of training before he could govern adequately. It is still true, only more so.

But 2 years will be too late. Don't forget the world is on the move, at a speed never before witnessed. Already Hitler's conquered nations make the advances of Napoleon appear puny. It is later than you think. Denmark was conquered in a matter of hours; Norway, in days; Belgium and Holland, in weeks; and the proud and honorable France fell in a month. We do not have the time to train a green hand, even though he comes to his task full of good will and general capacity but lacking in the vital governmental experience. It is not an answer to our problem that strong men, able men, may be summoned to Cabinet posts. Ultimately decisions on burning questions of policy will have to be made by the Chief Executive. A new hand cannot give to these problems that careful, thorough, and intelligent attention which they must immediately have if our Nation is to be secure.

As a servant of the American people I feel that they are entitled to my honest conclusions. In my years of service for the Government, both at home and abroad, I have sought to have honest judgment as my goal. From the other side I sent reports to the President and the Secretary of State which were my best judgment about the forces that were moving, the developments that were likely, and the course best suited to protect America. After all, I have a great stake in this country. My wife and I have given nine hostages to fortune. Our children and your children are more important than anything else in the world. The kind of America that they and their children will inherit is of grave concern to us all. In the light of these considerations, I believe that Franklin D. Roosevelt should be reelected President of the United States.

A Reply to John L. Lewis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HATTIE W. CARAWAY

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 31 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER, OF NEW YORK

Mrs. CARAWAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address delivered by the senior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] on October 29, 1940. The topic of the address is a reply to John L. Lewis.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

My friends, in a recent radio address broadcast throughout the Nation, a well-known labor leader urged the workers of this country to support Wendell Willkie for the Presidency. Such counsel, coming from such a source, shocked, from coast to coast, the liberal and humanitarian sentiment of America. But because of certain fundamental beliefs that I hold about the meaning and purpose of democracy, I do not think that the speech of Mr. Lewis will interfere with the overwhelming reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

For an election is something more than a method of expressing confidence in a leader, whether he be seeking office for himself or supporting another. In a deeper sense, the holding of an election is an expression of confidence in the people themselves—in their inborn decency of purpose and soundness of judgment, in their capacity to govern themselves. It is because our faith in the people is greater than our faith in any leaders that we live under a democracy and would die if need be to preserve it.

This principle of faith in the people themselves is nowhere more firmly embedded than in the minds and hearts of the men and women who live by their labor and belong to labor organizations. For the labor movement is the necessary extension of the democratic ideal to their daily lives, to the struggle for bread and clothing and shelter, to the quest for security and dignity for the common man. There may be czars in industry, but there are no dictators in the labor movement.

I therefore address my plea directly to the workers of America to heed their own conscience, to remember their own experience, and to discard the advice of any leader who favors the election of Wendell Willkie to the Presidency. The best of leaders make mistakes. Sometimes they are led into error by uncurbed ambition, or by long brooding over some personal pique. Sometimes, subject to the human frailties which affect us all, they are beguiled into supporting their worst enemies. And I say to you that in supporting Wendell Willkie, John L. Lewis has made a grave and tragic mistake—a mistake as great as when he urged the election of Herbert Hoover in 1928 and his reelection in 1932, a mistake fraught with stark danger to the welfare and happiness; yes, even to the very lives of millions who had looked to him for counsel.

I have never been a leader of labor. But I have been a servant of the average citizen's needs as I have felt them. Over the course of 30 years I have been through long and bruising fights to write into the law such measures as workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, the right to organize and bargain collectively, relief, public works, and housing. And I warn you solemnly, out of the fullness of my experience, out of my proven devotion to your cause, that Wendell Willkie plus the Republican leadership of today constitute a most reactionary and antisocial threat to your rights and your well-being.

The whole case of Mr. Lewis for Mr. Willkie is based upon the promises of an untried political candidate. That is a frail reed upon which to rely. For Wendell Willkie's labor record is not an unknown quantity. No candidate can be known personally to all those who vote in a Presidential election. Even Franklin Roosevelt must be judged largely by his great, warm-hearted deeds, by his humanitarian record, by his noble and sincere utterance of the common people's hopes and aspirations. In the same manner we can judge Wendell Willkie, because he, too, has made a record—a full record and a long one. Wendell Willkie is not a man whom nobody knows.

More than a year ago I went before a Senate committee to defend the National Labor Relations Act against certain crippling amendments. I cited the blood-letting and privation that workers had suffered through the years in their struggle to be free, in their efforts to enjoy the right to organize and bargain collectively for better standards of living. I laid emphasis upon the elevation of simple human dignity under labor's magna carta—written with labor's aid under the Roosevelt administration.

Under this act over 6,000,000 workers, engaged in disputes with their employers, have found a peaceful forum, and 90 percent of all these differences have been amicably adjusted.

Under this act 300,000 workers have been reinstated in their jobs after discriminatory discharges, strikes, and lock-outs, and more than a million workers have voted in peaceful elections to choose their representatives.

Under this act "bloody" Harlan County has witnessed a rebirth of civil liberties, the dirty practices of industrial espionage are being exterminated, and the notorious company towns are being replaced by homes of the free.

Under this act, United States Steel has signed its first union contract since 1903.

Under this act, every succeeding year since it was upheld by the Supreme Court has seen a decline in strikes.

Under this act, between 1936 and today, the membership of organized labor has risen from 4,000,000 to 9,000,000; the auto workers' union has grown from 20,000 to 380,000; and the steelworkers' union from 10,000 to 600,000. Since Roosevelt became President, the machinists' union has grown from 65,000 to 200,000; the maritime unions from 32,000 to 230,000; and the teamsters' union from 70,000 to half a million.

In 1932, the United Mine Workers' Union had only 150,000 members, and labor conditions dropped to a pitiful level of poverty, oppression, and hopelessness worse than during the 1890's. Today, the same union has 650,000 members, almost the entire industry is unionized, and the miner's weekly wages have been doubled.

Under the Labor Act, the worker has become a free man.

On the very day that I defended the Labor Act before the Senate committee, some of the enemies of the act gathered in conclave to continue their fight. It was not surprising to find Tom Girdler among them—the man whose name has become the symbol of labor baiting and the oppression of labor. But it is shocking to recognize, in a man now bidding for the Presidency, the same Wendell Willkie who at that meeting acclaimed Tom Girdler as "one of the true heroes of America." And it is equally shocking to hear the Republican candidate pose as labor's friend, when the man who is soliciting the funds for his campaign is Ernest T. Weir—the Weir who set the precedent for defying the labor provisions of N. R. A.; the Weir who uses thugs and spies against his workers, who is first and foremost in fighting everything that unionism means to the worker.

By their friends shall you know them. Wendell Willkie's friends trust him because they know him; and because they trust him we can judge him.

On the day that Mr. Willkie was nominated for the Presidency, a United States circuit court handed down a decision against a utility company in his Commonwealth & Southern system. This decision upheld the Labor Board in breaking up a company-dominated union—the kind of union made and paid by the employer to give him mastery over all sides of the bargaining table—the kind of union that goes hand in hand with espionage and blacklists and persecution of free unions of free workers. The charges in this case were brought by a C. I. O. union. Three separate Willkie companies have been ordered to dissolve these sham labor organizations, typifying a situation recently denounced by officials of the A. F. of L. as "one of the blackest spots on the utility map."

By their deeds shall you know them. By this record of industrial oppression and last-ditch legal battles to obstruct workers' rights shall labor and the friends of labor recognize Wendell Willkie.

Today, with election day nearby, the Republican candidate says, and I quote him: "I was for the National Labor Relations Act before it was passed, and I was for it after it was passed, and I am for it now."

I do not know whether Wendell Willkie has made a promise to put a labor leader in his Cabinet if elected. But if Willkie's ideas of labor representation in government are like his dealings toward labor representation in the industries he served, then labor would be led into a Willkie Cabinet as a captive company union dominated by the boss. It is the Republican custom to offer labor a fancy job or two. But what is this compared to the millions who would go back to the dole under the Republican platform pledge to return relief to the States?

The Democratic administration has recognized something more than any one man's self-asserted title to a particular office. Our policies have created over 9,000,000 new jobs in private industry for all labor instead of a few plums for hand-picked leaders. We have brought labor to a place of equality and dignity in our national life. We have helped it to attain more progress than in all its prior history.

Next to the love of freedom the American worker yearns for security—security for the wife and children if the breadwinner is lost, security for the family if the job is lost, security for the old couple when youth and strength are gone. The New Deal's answer to this profound yearning has been the Social Security System, with 50,000,000 workers protected by old-age and survivors' insurance, 28,000,000 workers covered by unemployment insurance, $3,000,000,000 already paid out under all benefit plans, and pension payments at the rate of $85,000,000 a year by the end of 1940. Year by year the Democratic administration is perfecting and extending the Social Security Act, rearing higher and higher this tower of economic strength and social justice.

And Wendell Willkie would tear down this magnificent structure; tear it down in the most insidious and subtle way; tear it down in the way tried by Mr. Landon, by impairing the people's faith and trust in the Social Security System. For Mr. Willkie has said, and I quote him: "If you return this administration to power you will never collect a dime on your social security."

My friends, it is difficult to decide which is the more reprehensible phase of this Willkie statement—the effort to impugn the honor and credit of the United States Treasury, or the effort to torment the minds and destroy the contentment of those who are growing old. It is hard to understand how anyone who aspires to high office could make such a baseless charge, but there is this possible explanation. In 1910, an Ohio utility company established a pension system. For 20 years its employees gave the best that was in them, with the just expectation of a pension when they grew old and worn. Then, in 1930, shortly after the company was taken over by Commonwealth & Southern, the board of directors, upon which Mr. Willkie served, voted to drop the pension system, voted to deny pensions already earned even to men who were about to retire. The case was taken to the courts, and litigation dragged on until 1937, when legal technicalities finally triumphed over ethics in a contest between plain workers and a mighty corporation. The Supreme Court of Ohio deplored the result but had to confine itself to the law. During most of this litigation Mr. Willkie was president of the controlling Commonwealth & Southern Corporation.

By their deeds shall they be known. Wendell Willkie has sought to judge the conduct of the American Government toward social security by the deplorable standards of his own past actions. According to his own past actions, the American people will certainly judge Wendell Willkie.

Of course, the Republican candidate says that he is for more employment and better wages, and so is everyone else. But what was his precampaign attitude toward minimum-wage legislation, that essential bulwark of protection against exploitation? In 1939 he wrote in the Atlantic Monthly that such laws, and I quote him—"may hurt the American laborer instead of helping him." Does not Mr. Willkie know that this week there are $120,000,000 more in the American workers' pay envelope than in the week when Roosevelt became President?

Wendell Willkie showed his true colors when he boasted in 1934 that Commonwealth & Southern maintained an office in New York to move northern industries into the South, where a low wage market prevailed. His so-called new industries division transferred 245 northern plants to a single Southern State.

This incident will cause every worker in America to ask himself: Just what kind of a businessman is Wendell Willkie? He has never developed an industry or created a single job. He has not been counted among the men of enterprise and initiative whose abilities helped to make America. He has been only a promoter of high finance and a defender of special privilege for the small clique who, in the reckless twenties came near to breaking America.

The Commonwealth & Southern was formed as a gigantic holding company, with book values written up $500,000,000 above true worth. It sold stock as high as $30 a share in 1929, and left the investor holding it at $1.50 today. In the long run, this cost investors $750,000,000. And this is the record of the corporation that Wendell Willkie described to a congressional committee in 1935 as "one of the fine American business romances."

The central issue in this campaign is just this: Do the social and economic philosophy of the Republican candidate, and the company he keeps, give you any comfort and assurance for the future? Or do they remind you of Herbert Hoover?

Mr. Willkie has given his own answer and identified himself: On September 15 he said, and I quote him: "In 1933, when Franklin Roosevelt was first elected President of the United States, the nations of the world were beginning to recover economically." How familiar this sounds. For it is precisely this argument that was advanced by Mr. Hoover in the 1932 campaign and ever since—the argument that Republican do-nothing policies were hurrying us around the corner to prosperity when, alas, the New Deal came along and spoiled it all.

If Willkie believes as he now says that the Hoover policies were leading us to recovery, and if he believes as he now says that the Roosevelt policies have prevented recovery—then we must conclude that Mr. Willkie would take us back to the policies of Herbert Hoover and their dreadful consequences—back to the breadlines and the march on Washington and the foreclosures on homes and farms, back to all the privation and misery of the depression.

The men, women, and children of America who paid the toll for Herbert Hoover's economic policies in the deepness of their suffering, do not agree with Wendell Willkie that we were on the road to recovery when Roosevelt took office. They know that we were on the road to ruin. They do not want to see in the White House, in the person of Mr. Willkie, a man whose every deed and association tie him to the company which got us on that dismal trail. Mr. Willkie is a man whose economic philosophy sounds like Mr. Hoover, whose talk about social security sounds like Mr. Landon, whose labor record looks like that of Mr. Girdler and Mr. Weir, whose business career was perched on top of a speculative stock pyramid, and whose public career began when he led the fight of the power monopoly against the development of electric power for the people. The only indispensable thing in this campaign is that Wendell Willkie be overwhelmingly repudiated by the American people.

A President can work toward liberalism only when his party supports him. It was only an overwhelming Democratic majority in Congress during Roosevelt's first term that made possible a humane policy toward youth and the unemployed, a constructive program of public works, a far-sighted guaranty of collective bargaining, and a law to establish prevailing wage standards on Government contracts. It was only the maintenance of a very substantial Democratic majority in Congress during Roosevelt's second administration that made it possible to build upon these enduring foundations. Since 1936 a Democratic Congress enacted the wage and hour law, the Slum Clearance and Low Rent Housing Act, and the Bituminous Coal Stabilization Act, sponsored by the United Mine Workers of America. It wrote the railroad unemployment insurance law, and later increased its benefits. It advanced by 2 years the time for commencing benefits under the Social Security Act, established regular survivors' pensions, and increased public-health services and maternal and child care.

And where did the party of Mr. Willkie stand? Each year its opposition to most of these measures has become bolder and more determined. A majority of Republicans voted against the slum-clearance program and its extension, against the Bituminous Coal Act, and in favor of the destructive amendments to the wage and hour law.

And how these Republican Congressmen are now awaiting their chance; awaiting the first act from the electorate that might give the nod of approval to their reactionary views; awaiting any break or division in the ranks of labor or liberalism that might swing them back to power.

And for this very reason I cannot understand how any leader of labor who must know this record as well as I do; who over the years has seen one Republican administration after another turn deaf ears to the needs of labor; who has seen Republican administrations, returned to power in the States, repeal or emasculate one labor law after another; who has seen his own union under a Democratic administration thrive and prosper as never before—I repeat, I do not understand how any such leader of labor could take action to divide labor against itself as the crucial test of labor's future welfare approaches a decision.

I say to the working men and women of America—stand together, stand together as you have never stood before, for it is only by standing together on this great issue that you can avoid calamity and insure the endurance of your gains.

And the dreadful issue that hangs in the balance is even greater than the issue of your economic security. It is the issue of peace—the issue of taking every possible step to insure that no American boy shall enter the danger zone and risk his life in foreign causes.

I ask the mothers and fathers of America, as well as the 17,000,000 young men now registered for their country's defense, whether John L. Lewis could have realized the momentous decision he made when he counseled that the peace of America in these troubled times be entrusted to Wendell Willkie—to a man who has not had even a fragment of experience in dealing with international affairs, to a man whose statements in this campaign upon foreign matters have been fumbling and conflicting, a man whose only training has been as the defender of property rights against human rights, a man who applauded the draft of men but was horrified when industry was called upon to do its part?

Never will the mothers and fathers and younger citizens of America take the awful risk of trusting such a novice in such a fateful hour.

Franklin Roosevelt foresaw the need for a strong neutrality law, and for strengthening our national defenses, at a time when the Republican leaders were asleep to the danger. There is no dictator in the world who does not regard the clear voice and firm hand of Franklin Roosevelt as the strongest assurance that the resources of our great Nation and the liberty of our citizens shall be forever beyond the aggressor's reach.

Keep America out of war by uniting behind Franklin Roosevelt—who is strong enough to keep aggression away from our shores, experienced enough to keep us out of foreign embroilment, and humane enough to care more for peace than for anything else in the world.

The Campaign of 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL M. WHITTINGTON

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the star of democracy has sunk in the Old World, but it still shines brightly in the New World.

Following the first World War, democracies flourished in Europe and in Asia, and reached their zenith in 1922. In the 13 years following the Disarmament Conference in Washington in 1922, democracies disappeared on the continent of Europe. Totalitarianism is today on the march and the democracies of Britain and of the New World are at grips with autocracy. The American ship of state is traveling through dangerous economic and militaristic seas; storms are lashing us. There is an old adage, "Never drop the pilot in a storm."

I live in an agricultural region. When the oats are ripe the combine must be used, otherwise the grain is shattered and lost. A new operator may apply, a new driver may desire a job, but he has never driven a combine. A wise man will use an experienced driver.

We live in the most critical period in history; every moment is fraught with crisis. This is no time to experiment. Tried leadership is essential. This is no occasion for sniping with an air rifle on trivial issues. It is time for keen analysis and clear thinking. This is no time for the beginner to take the veteran's chair and ask the questions and to give the answers.

The superb leadership of the Democratic administration was never more definitely illustrated than in the recent passage, for the first time in peace, of legislation for the conscription of both men and property for national defense.

THE QUESTION

The great question in the Presidential campaign is, Who of the two candidates and which of the two parties is best qualified by training and experience to guide the ship of state in the troublous seas?

THE PLATFORMS

Democrats and Republicans have adopted platforms. There is no essential difference with respect to foreign and domestic policies. There is sniping and there is criticism, but the Republican platform fails to point out a single constructive measure of the present administration the repeal of which is advocated.

The Republicans, while agreeing with the objectives of the Democrats, maintain that they can better execute the policies of the Democratic administration than the Democrats.

THE CANDIDATES

The issue is clear. Which is the better qualified by training and experience to lead the United States in the greatest crisis in its history—Franklin D. Roosevelt or Wendell L. Willkie?

THIRD TERM

The principal charge against Franklin D. Roosevelt involves the third term. We are accustomed to Republican predictions of disaster. We heard the "dictator" argument in 1936. A prominent Republican said that 1936 would be our last election. Neither Franklin D. Roosevelt nor any other responsible leader would favor a third term if it were not for the present conditions.

I quote from a great American, whose words were these:

> There are other points in which opinions would be more likely to vary. As, for instance, on the ineligibility of the same person for President after he should have served a certain course of years. Guarded so effectually as the proposed Constitution is in respect to the prevention of bribery and undue influence in the choice of President, I confess I differ widely myself from Mr. Jefferson and you, as to the necessity of expedience of rotation in that appointment. * * * I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man who, on some great emergency, shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public.

These were the words of George Washington. He retired after his second term, because he wanted to go back to his farm. He sought relief from public office. Franklin D. Roosevelt would like to have pursued the same course; he is younger; he had to keep faith with his conscience. He owed a duty to his country.

The views of Thomas Jefferson, the patron saint of democracy, are emphasized by Republicans. While Jefferson in general terms opposed a third term, he wrote to John Taylor and declared:

> I had determined to declare my intentions, but I have considered to be silent on the opinion of friends who think it best not to put a continuance out of my power in defiance of all circumstances.

Jefferson, therefore, did not regard the third term as a matter of profound conviction. He would have made an exception, as did Washington, in proper circumstances. Undoubtedly if circumstances had warranted he would have accepted a third term.

There is a tradition against a third term, but this tradition applies in ordinary times. The founders of the republic did

not provide against a third term. They realized that the exigencies and the posture of public affairs might require a third term. There is no constitutional inhibition against a third term.

It is worthy of note that in parliamentary governments and in the oldest of all democracies particularly, Great Britain, there is no limitation upon the term of the Prime Minister. Prime Ministers like Gladstone often served longer than 8 years.

The argument against a third term, in view of the statements of Washington and Jefferson, in view of the policies of parliamentary governments where democracies obtain, and in view of the fact that the founding fathers refused to prohibit a third term in the Constitution, is without merit.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Franklin D. Roosevelt is the first citizen of the world. He is the chief democrat in all the nations. He is the hope of democracy the world over. He is trained in the science of government; he possesses qualifications that no one can match. He is not perfect; he is human; he has courage. He is an idealist. His life has been spent in the public service. He understands social forces; he is the master of military, naval, and political knowledge. No new President could acquire this knowledge in months or in years. He is a man of peace; he has tried to keep us out of war; he has promoted peace. He can be a very great man in times of emergency; he was great in 1933; he has been great in 1940. He is the first President to call for conscription in the midst of a campaign. Others talk of unity. President Roosevelt promotes unity. He reorganized his Cabinet. He unified defense with Canada. He possesses the greatest asset that any leader of a democratic state can possess in a crisis such as faces the country today—he has the confidence of the rank and file of workers. They believe he will not use conscription and defense to betray democracy and to destroy freedom. His prestige throughout the democratic world is immense. He stands alone and his stature grows under fire. He is the personification of the good neighbor in the foreign policy of the United States.

Assets speak louder than criticisms; accomplishments speak louder than promises. Other considerations become minor. Democracy is destroyed from within by the destruction of its content and its ideals and not by new forms. The third term is a tradition; it is not a constitutional inhibition.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

A brief review of the Democratic administration during the past 8 years gives hope for the future. In 1932 unemployment was widespread; banks were failing; businesses were bankrupt; homes were being lost; farms were being foreclosed. There were idleness and hunger in the land. We are thrilled with the record of achievement. Social and economic questions are important. Discontent has diminished; homes, farms, and savings have been made secure; unemployment has been diminished; old age has been helped; labor has been given the right to organize and to bargain collectively; it is free to compete in the market places.

The Civilian Conservation Corps has given idle youth an opportunity to work. Education has been promoted; slums have been cleared; highways have been constructed; hospitals have been built; millions have received jobs. The cash income of farmers has increased from $4,700,000,000 in 1932 to an estimated $9,000,000,000 in 1940. Business corporations that suffered losses of $3,600,000,000 in 1932 made a net profit of $4,000,000,000 in 1939.

The administration has given employment to 10,000,000 men and women.

In 1932 the price of wheat averaged 37 percent, corn 43 percent, and cotton 46 percent of parity. In 1939 the price of wheat averaged 86 percent, corn 85 percent, and cotton 80 percent of parity.

Bank deposits have been guaranteed; bank failures are now unknown.

In 1929 there was unbridled speculation. The American people were swindled out of billions annually. The Securities and Exchange Commission and the Utility Company Holding Acts have protected American investors.

Flood-control works have been constructed, rivers and harbors have been improved. Soils have been rebuilt; the natural resources have been conserved. The farmers and home owners enjoy the lowest farm interest rates in history. Rural electrification has been established; new markets and new uses for farm commodities have been promoted. The distribution of surplus commodities under the stamp plan is benefiting consumers.

T. V. A.

The natural resources of the Tennessee Valley have been harnessed for the public good. The poet's dream and the engineer's skill have been combined. A yardstick for cheap power has been provided. Countless homes and farms have been benefited. No government ever undertook a more inspiring step than the establishment of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Citizens in all parts of the country have benefited. Power rates have been reduced.

Franklin D. Roosevelt is right on the T. V. A. What about Wendell L. Willkie? I quote his words:

> The most useless and unnecessary of all of the alphabetical joy rides.

He opposed it before Congress, he fought it in the courts, he fought it at the bar of public opinion. He lost, and now he says, and I quote his words as published in the Washington Star, September 15, 1940:

> I was a special pleader. I was getting $75,000 a year to be a special pleader.

While Wendell L. Willkie was a special pleader, Franklin D. Roosevelt was serving the interests of the people and conserving the resources of the people for the benefit of the people. Neville Chamberlain and Herbert Hoover are good businessmen, but in Great Britain today who would exchange Winston Churchill for Neville Chamberlain?

Wendell L. Willkie organized holding companies and was a successful corporation lawyer. In the inauguration of social reforms, in aiding labor, in promoting education, in dealing with foreign and domestic problems, Franklin D. Roosevelt has had more experience in organization than any of the great captains of industry of his day and more experience than any statesman in the history of the Republic.

THE RECORD

The record of accomplishment speaks for itself. The Republicans do not advocate a repeal of the guaranty of bank deposits, a repeal of the Securities and Exchange Act, or of the Utility Holding Act. They merely state they are better prepared to administer these laws than the Democrats. In a word, they maintain that they are better prepared to administer laws than those who wrote the laws. There are many who believe, however, that the urge for return to power is the major incentive. Jobs and patronage have been missed. The elephant has grown extremely cadaverous. He needs political hay.

The issue is clear cut. A comparison of the condition of 8 years ago will convince all doubting Thomases. The Republicans may denounce the vicious legislation of the New Deal, but they have not advocated the repeal of a single measure.

The humanitarian achievements of the Roosevelt administration are unparalleled. Security for old age and unemployment, assistance to the blind, the crippled, and the mothers of dependent children have been provided.

Agriculture has received more assistance than ever accorded to agriculture in all of the preceding administrations in the history of the country. Suffering has been relieved; working conditions have been improved. The picture has changed. The forgotten man has been discovered. There is hope for all in "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Employment has risen; banks have regained the confidence of the people; earnings of farm and factory are at far better levels. Threats of foreclosure of home and farm have gone. Much has been accomplished; much more remains to be done.

FINANCE AND EXPENDITURES

The expenditures of the administration have been criticized. It is said that the public debt has been increased. What

expenditures that were made would the Republicans eliminate? When we contemplate a national debt of $45,000,000,000 we overlook the assets. We overlook the Government buildings that have been constructed, the public buildings, including post offices. We overlook the securities held by the Government in the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the Federal land banks. We overlook the vast expenditures for the expansion of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Corps. We overlook the highways that have been constructed, the hospitals that have been built, the rivers that have been harnessed, the farms that have been improved, the rural electrification projects that have been constructed, and the power projects that have been established. We have accomplished much, but, as I have stated, more remains to be done. We have not solved all of our problems. We have not fully solved the farmer's problems. We have not yet solved the problem of Government finance. The defense program will undoubtedly keep us on a borrowing basis for some years, but the Government credit is the best in history and the interest rates are the lowest of all times. Tax receipts are increasing.

We have got a lot of work to do; we have got a long way to go, but we are headed in the right direction. Our farm program, for instance, is a lot like one of the automobiles that was built in Michigan many years ago. It is a new thing; it is not streamlined and it will not go 90 miles an hour; it is a little uneasy at first and it bucks on the steep hills, but with all of its faults it is still a great deal better than walking. It took time, it took hard work, and it took good engineering to turn the model T into the latest V–8 Ford. The same is true of our farm program.

DEFENSE

Franklin D. Roosevelt has been ahead of other statesmen in the matter of national defense. It might be well to keep in mind our position. I summarize:

First. We have a million men with first-class military training.

Second. We have 70,000 airplane pilots outside of the armed services.

Third. We have 3,000,000 men with C. C. C. training, experienced in driving trucks and tractors, and in repairing machinery.

Fourth. The population of the United States is greater than any two countries in Europe combined, with the exception of Russia.

Fifth. We have 6,000,000 farms producing half the food crops on earth, with 7 percent of the population and 5 percent of the tillable acreage of the world.

Sixth. Sixty percent of all minerals extracted from the planet are taken out of the United States.

Seventh. Half of the world's communication facilities are in the United States.

Eighth. Half of the railway mileage is here.

Ninth. Almost half the electric energy produced in the world is produced here.

Tenth. We have more iron and steel, more petroleum, and greater factory productive power than the rest of the entire world combined.

Eleventh. It would take 13,000,000 tons of shipping to support an invading army of the United States. I think we are safe from attack.

RAMPARTS

We have guarded our ramparts. We have enacted a neutrality law. We are building an invincible Army, Navy, and Air Corps. We are mobilizing manpower and industrial power. We are promoting security with Latin America. Our safety is fortified and peace will be promoted. We are determined not to become involved in any foreign war.

The Republican Party has criticized the constructive measures of the Democratic administration while advocating no constructive measures as substitutes therefor. It would be unsound, if not dangerous, to entrust the opponents with the administration of laws enacted by others. As stated, Wendell L. Willkie is a successful lawyer; he has promoted holding companies; he has done a good job, but he has had no experience in public life. He has never held public office. Franklin D. Roosevelt has had experience in the legislative and executive branches of the Government. He has been in the service for 30 years—he has grown up in the public service. The administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt saved our business system in 1933. It has harmonized the interests of big business and little business. Who is the better organizer—Franklin D. Roosevelt, who saved business in 1933, or Wendell L. Willkie, the special pleader for utilities?

AMERICA NEEDS A STATESMAN OF BROAD VISION AND OF WIDE EXPERIENCE

On the one hand there is Franklin D. Roosevelt, the State senator, trained as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, experienced as Governor, with 8 years as President, a man whose public addresses show deep knowledge and understanding of the warp and woof of our national character.

On the other hand there is Wendell L. Willkie, well known as a corporation lawyer and unfamiliar with the public service.

A steady, experienced man is needed at the helm of the ship of state. I became a third-term advocate when the German legions crossed the Dutch border. Millions of other Americans took the same view. In the language of Washington:

> I can see no impropriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man, who, on some great emergency, shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public.

The only alternatives and substitutes offered by the Republican Party are high-sounding phrases and meaningless generalities. They offer no program of their own. In many instances they are for the New Deal with a "yes-but."

CONCLUSION

I conclude, as I began, by saying this is no time for petty politics; it is time for patriotism, for country above self. It is time for candor and frankness. It is time for us to realize that if our country is to survive the forces of evil spread throughout the world, the people of the country must make sacrifices. Labor, capital, and industry must all contribute to the common cause. Make no mistake about it. We are in a crisis; democracy is at stake. There must be tolerance and there must be unity. Above all there must be sacrifice. The country must pledge itself, as Franklin D. Roosevelt has pledged himself, to peace. He said in Washington on September 11, 1940:

> I hate war now more than ever. I have one supreme determination to do all that I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand with my party, and outside of my party as President of all the people, on the party platform, the wording that was adopted in Chicago less than 2 months ago. It said: "We will not participate in foreign wars and we will not send our Army, Naval, or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."

William H. Taft said it would be satisfactory to reelect Coolidge for a third term in 1925. William E. Borah said there may be times and conditions when it would be better for the President to serve a third term. Former President Herbert Hoover, on August 3, 1927, said:

> However, I still believe, as I stated in Chicago 2 weeks ago, that President Coolidge should be renominated and reelected.

Mark Sullivan in 1925 said:

> Suspicion against a third term has largely gone out of American politics.

I quote Sullivan again:

> Finally there is not now the feeling against a third term as there was 20 years ago.

There are men whom we admire for the enemies they have made. Franklin D. Roosevelt is one of them. The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt would be an emphatic rebuke to the enemies of democracy.

Franklin D. Roosevelt is the best-informed man in the world on foreign affairs, and his knowledge is directed at one aim—"to keep America at peace."

As Speaker Bankhead said a few days before his death:

> This is no time to experiment with a novice in affairs of government, even though he may be a good businessman. Mr. Hoover and Mr. Chamberlain could qualify in that category..

We work in a common cause. We believe that the progress, prosperity, and preservation of our country can best be served by the unity of our people in these critical days. That unity can best be promoted by the Democratic Party and its candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Wendell Willkie

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HATTIE W. CARAWAY

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, October 31 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT BY THE NEW REPUBLIC

Mrs. CARAWAY. Mr. President, on behalf of the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement by the New Republic relative to Wendell Willkie.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Willkie's personal representative, Russell H. Davenport, wrote a brief answer to our supplement, This Man Willkie, and this letter was published in our issue of September 30. Just before we went to press with it we received a telegram from Mr. John S. Martin, of the Willkie headquarters, asking us to add to the Davenport letter a sentence saying that Mr. Willkie had prepared a detailed reply and would submit it, provided we would agree to publish it. We inserted the sentence as requested and promised editorially to print Mr. Willkie's reply. But we were misinformed; Mr. Willkie had not written a reply and apparently does not intend to do so. The only detailed reply in existence is one sent us by the Willkie headquarters, written, according to its third paragraph, by a research man of the Republican National Committee. This reply was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 2 by Senator STYLES BRIDGES, of New Hampshire, and is available there to all.

The reply begins by stating that our supplement was to be distributed as a campaign document by the Democratic National Committee and was to be used as a political smear. It is worth noting that the supplement was prepared entirely by the editors and staff of the New Republic on their own initiative, as one of a long series on public questions; that the Democratic organization knew nothing about it before its publication, and decided to make use of it only after it appeared.

MR. WILLKIE IN BUSINESS

The reply states that Mr. Willkie had no responsibility for and took no part in the "speculative orgies of the 1920's," or specifically in the write-ups of stock values incident to the formation of Commonwealth & Southern Corporation, because it was organized in the spring of 1929, and Mr. Willkie did not become its counsel until October 1, 1929.

Even supposing this were the whole truth, it is scarcely conceivable that a man who knew nothing of the transactions incident to the merger, or one who did not approve of them, would be asked to become its general counsel, or would accept if asked. As a matter of fact, the stock of Commonwealth & Southern was traded in during the summer of 1929 only on a "when issued" basis; on October 2 the corporation applied for a listing on the New York Stock Exchange, submitting a pro forma balance sheet, and the merger was not finally consummated until early in 1930. When Commonwealth & Southern of New York was formed by consolidation with Allied Power & Light (March 29, 1930), Wendell L. Willkie was listed in the certificate as one of the original directors.

The Republican memorandum proceeds to defend Commonwealth & Southern financing on the following grounds: That at the time of its organization there was no sale of common stock to the public; that the $45,000,000 paid in cash for stock and option warrants was paid by a few concerns; and that remaining stock and option warrants were issued in exchange for the stock and warrants of the holding companies to be consolidated. The cash paid in then, and later, by the holders of subsidiary warrants gave to the corporation, it is argued, "the financial strength which enabled it to carry certain of its subsidiaries through the depression years * * *."

The point made by the New Republic, not refuted by this argument, was that the insiders who paid cash unloaded later at higher market values, which gave them a quick profit. The public in those frenzied days eagerly bought stocks of utility mergers far above their true value. The burden of carrying this big load of stock and options caused the corporation a great deal of trouble during the depression.

The memorandum, answering our charge that the merger involved a "write-up" of $531,205,571.92, states flatly that there was no write-up. To prove this statement it says that Commonwealth & Southern merely entered on its books the cost of the stocks of subsidiaries acquired. This cost, the reply admits, was $531,000,000 in excess of the book value of these operating companies. "The only possible criticism of Commonwealth & Southern in this connection might be that as a matter of business judgment it, like many others in that year, paid too much in 1929 for the stocks it then acquired."

This is a charitable way, indeed, of describing one of the most common forms of write-up. At the board meeting of February 28, 1933, at which the $531,000,000 excess was written off again, the chairman stated, following that action, that "the stocks and securities of the operating subsidiaries are now carried on the books of the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation at a cost which substantially represented their value at the time of acquisition."

The Republican memorandum states that when the corporation issued a consolidated balance sheet (containing the assets of the subsidiaries as well as those of the holding company) the write-up was eliminated. So it was; this first consolidated balance sheet was the one submitted to the stock exchange, which might have objected to the water. But all subsequent balance sheets issued to the public until 1933 contained the write-up.

The reply then refers to the increase in the corporation's earnings and in its sales of power since Mr. Willkie assumed its presidency in 1934. This we never denied; the question is whether the improvement is attributable to Mr. Willkie's own policy or to the reductions of rates stimulated by T. V. A. competition, which he repeatedly denounced as confiscatory. In spite, however, of the great growth in sales and profits, the corporation has never been able to restore its preferred dividend from $3 to $6 or to pay any dividend on its common stock—an eloquent comment on its original capitalization.

WILLKIE AND THE T. V. A.

Under this heading the Republican National Committee's "research man" enters 10 separate objections. They will be dealt with by number.

(1) The research man denies that a utility propaganda campaign was carried on against the T. V. A. at the time of its authorization by Congress. He calmly ignores, however, the utility-company advertisements in valley newspapers cited by the New Republic.

(2) and (3) The New Republic stated that the T. V. A. directors, in the beginning, were prepared to pursue a live-and-let-live policy toward the Commonwealth & Southern. The research man first says that no agreement was reached between the T. V. A. and the Commonwealth & Southern, and then, in (3), switches about and gives the details of the agreement. Apparently the point that he has in mind, but does not express, is that the agreement was not all-inclusive and everlasting. The New Republic did not say that it was. The argument that we offered was quite different: namely, that the T. V. A. directors did not return the utility companies' original hostility, but showed themselves willing to enter into an accommodation of interest with Mr. Willkie.

(4) and (5) In discussing the famous Ashwander case, The New Republic raised the question of Mr. Willkie's good faith as a businessman. He had entered into an extremely important agreement with the T. V. A., and yet the Edison Electric Institute, of which he was a director, was trying to frustrate that agreement by secretly backing a suit against the T. V. A. by the preferred stockholders of the Alabama Power Company. The research man now quotes from the minutes of the Edison Electric Institute to show that Mr. Willkie subsequently entered a dissent to the Institute's action. However, this does not clear Mr. Willkie. Though he was aware of what the Institute was doing, he continued to behave as if the understanding he had with the T. V. A.'s directors was a genuine agreement. It was only by chance that they were able later to find out that the Edison Electric Institute, rather than the Alabama Co.'s stockholders, was their real opponent.

(6) The New Republic said that a second attempt on the part of the T. V. A. and the Roosevelt administration to deal with Mr. Willkie, at a time when a southeast power grid was under discussion, was broken off by the so-called 19-company attack on the T. V. A.'s constitutionality. An informal agreement had been created betwen the administration and Mr. Willkie, and this was shattered by the 19-company suit. That Mr. Willkie was prepared to work with the administration was certainly the understanding of T. V. A. officials and many Washington newspaper correspondents. The research man denies, without offering documentary evidence, that the administration was given any reason to think that an informal agreement existed.

(7) The research man's reply to the New Republic's accusations in the case of Mr. George Fort Milton's Chattanooga News is to admit them all in frank detail, but to deny, unnecessarily, that the pressures used against the News were contrary to law. The "research man" also denies that Mr. Willkie himself was involved. The New Republic carefully placed the blame on Mr. Willkie's company, not on Mr. Willkie personally.

(8) To the New Republic's charge that the Commonwealth & Southern opposed, by extremely dubious methods, the T. V. A.'s rural power lines, the research man merely says that in some of the valley areas lines "were built more rapidly than the economies of the situation justified." This unsupported statement hardly answers the point.

(9) The New Republic pointed out that as the T. V. A.'s system was developed, the Commonwealth & Southern's valley subsidiaries rapidly reduced their rates, and drew the reasonable inference that it was the T. V. A.'s example that induced them to do so. This seems like a simple enough statement. The research man's answer is to repeat the familiar but false accusation of the utility

industry that the T. V. A.'s rates have been possible only through disguised Government subsidies.

(10) In his discussion of the incident concerning the Michigan State Senator, Mr. Earl W. Munshaw, the research man, as in the Chattanooga News case, agrees with the New Republic's statement of the facts, but insists that they show nothing illegal. The payment of fees by a utility company to a State legislator is, unhappily, not uncommon, and in this instance may not have involved a violation of law, but it can hardly be said that a nice sense of propriety was shown by Mr. Willkie's business associates.

WILLKIE AND LABOR

Careful reading of the Republican reply on Mr. Willkie's labor record reveals that the main facts of that record, as reported by the New Republic, are not disputed. Tacitly or otherwise, it is admitted that three subsidiaries of Willkie's Commonwealth & Southern promoted company unions and were found guilty of unfair labor practices by the National Labor Relations Board. It is likewise admitted that seven subsidiaries were clients of notorious labor-spy agencies. (Actually, there are four additional companies not included in our earlier articles.) These facts, of course, are in official Government publications, available for all to read, and cannot be denied.

Its attempt to whitewash the company union at Alabama Power, which it refers to as an independent union, is both misleading and contrary to fact. The Labor Board, in a decision last December, found that this so-called independent union of Alabama Power Employees, Inc., was actually the successor of an employees' association formed in 1934 to "combat the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers" on the company's behalf. In outlawing this independent the Labor Board issued the following statement:

"The Board's order is based on findings that the company supported an organization of its employees known as the Alabama Power Employees' Representation Association from July 1934 to August 20, 1935, and after that date dominated and supported the Alabama Power Co. Employees' Association until July 23, 1938, when its successor, Independent Union of Alabama Employees, Inc., was organized and received the company's support and domination."

In effect the original company union changed its name twice in an effort to appear legal under the Wagner Act, but these subterfuges did not mislead or deceive the Labor Board. Quite properly it ordered the company not to recognize the so-called independent and to "cease in any manner dominating or interfering with any labor organization of its employees or interfering with their right of self-organization."

Incidentally, the constitution of this Alabama company union, which remained practically unchanged from start to finish, provides an illuminating example of industrial democracy under Willkie sponsorship. It failed to provide for any general membership meetings at which the members could discuss their problems and instruct their representatives on matters to be taken up in collective bargaining with the management. Perhaps this is what the Republican statement refers to when it asserts that "relations between the management and the employees has [sic] been satisfactory for more than a quarter of a century." Perhaps the Republicans also consider "satisfactory" the statement of the Alabama A. F. of L. official quoted in our supplement: "Alabama power has always fought unions."

What are the facts concerning the evidence unearthed by the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee? Mr. Willkie and his Republican defenders insist that the dealings of various Willkie subsidiaries with notorious antilabor detective agencies were entirely legitimate and "were in every instance wholly unrelated to labor practices." The explanation is offered that the operatives hired were not labor spies but a kind of mobile auditor, checking up on fare collections:

"The facts in relation to employing detectives in all cases when they were employed are that they were employed in connection with street railway operations and not for espionage of laborers or union employees."

What is to be said of this defense? In the first place, three of the subsidiaries that hired detectives—Consumers Power, Ohio Edison, and Pennsylvania Power—do not have street-railway facilities. They are exclusively utility companies and, for them at least, the neat explanation of the Republican National Committee would seem to be rather irrelevant. Secondly, there is specific evidence showing that the detectives hired were, in fact, labor spies engaged in labor espionage. The Republican committee is apparently unaware that the La Follette reports not only list the various Willkie subsidiaries which were clients of labor-spy agencies but also provide, in a number of cases, detailed information on the service performed and on the undercover operative performing it.

Significantly, wherever this additional information is available—either from the records of the agencies or the sworn testimony of their officials and operatives—it shows unmistakably the antilabor character of the relations between Commonwealth & Southern and the agencies involved. And this is true even where the so-called detectives were hired specifically in connection with street-railway operations. Thus one detective, a labor spy of the Railway Audit and Inspection Co., turns up as the recording secretary of the street-railway union at Willkie's Southern Indiana Gas and Electric. Another undercover operative, from National Corporation Service, Inc., was a member of the auto mechanics' union at Willkie's Youngstown Municipal Railway.

Before examining this additional evidence, however, let us recapitulate the relations of Commonwealth & Southern with various espionage agencies—agencies notorious, in every case, for their antilabor activities. In all, 11 subsidiaries are cited in the La Follette reports—eight utility companies and three transportation companies. (All page references in the La Follette reports to subsidiaries of Commonwealth & Southern are listed at the end of this article.) Their names and the agencies that serviced them are as follows:

Alabama Power	Pinkerton's.
Akron Transportation	National Corporation Service.
Central Illinois Light	Lake Erie Chemical.
Consumers' Power	Corporations Auxiliary.
Georgia Power	Pinkerton's.
Ohio Edison	National Corporation Service. Allied Corporation Service. Pinkerton's.
Pennsylvania Power	National Corporation Service.
Penn-Ohio Coach Lines	National Corporation Service.
South Carolina Light & Power	Railway Audit and Inspection.
Southern Indiana Gas & Electric	Railway Audit and Inspection.
Youngstown Municipal Railway	National Corporation Service.

This is not necessarily a complete list, since many records were deliberately destroyed to prevent the La Follette committee from gaining a complete picture of this nefarious business. For the same reason complete figures on the amount of money spent are not available. However, such records as the committee did succeed in getting indicate expenditures of nearly $50,000 by subsidiaries of Commonwealth & Southern in the years 1933 to 1936:

Akron Transportation	$10,594.10
Central Illinois Light (tear gas, guns, and shells)	489.18
Georgia Power	31,108.35
Ohio Edison	1,094.42
Pennsylvania Power	923.85
Youngstown Municipal Railway	4,602.96

What did this money buy? In our article, "Mr. Willkie Pleads Guilty," we have already shown that the $31,000 spent by Georgia Power with Pinkerton's bought "espionage." The Republican committee, while ignoring the photostatic evidence we published therewith, attempts to refute this by pointing to union contracts in effect at Georgia Power. We are reliably informed that the company's present labor relations are satisfactory, but that this is mainly the result of a bitter strike several years ago and in no way evidence of Mr. Willkie's friendliness to labor. On the contrary, satisfactory contracts were achieved only over the opposition of Commonwealth & Southern. Indeed, President Preston Arkwright, of Georgia Power, who favored collective bargaining, virtually lost his job because of that.

It will be noted that five of the Willkie subsidiaries were clients of National Corporation Service, Inc., an agency that supplied undercover men to more than 100 firms, and whose record is one of the most notorious in the labor-spy field. Its secretary and accountant, A. E. Lawson, testified before the La Follette committee that the bulk of its business was labor espionage, and that it "employed men in various manufacturing plants as stool pigeons." This agency also had a subsidiary—Allied Corporation Service, Inc.—which specialized exclusively in the strike-breaking business. It employed such notorious strikebreakers and strike guards as John McCabe, who led strikebreakers in strikes famous for violence, such as the New Orleans Public Service strike in 1929, the Johnson Bronze strike in New Castle, Pa., in 1934, and the Wheeling Steel strike in Portsmouth, Ohio, in 1936; Harold Vargo, a strikebreaker who doubled as a labor spy and turned up during the steel strike of 1937 as a paid spy of the Republic Steel Corporation, holding the office of secretary of the union local in Youngstown; and E. J. McDade, who participated in the horrible gun battle between paid strikebreakers and longshoremen at Lake Charles, La., in 1935.

Ohio Edison appears as a client of both these outfits. Its name is revealed in a list of strikes handled by them in June 1935, and also on a completed order blank showing that National Corporation Service assigned operative 104 to the company in October 1935. Mr. A. E. Lawson testified that the work done for Ohio Edison was partly labor espionage and that it was done particularly for R. N. Graham, general manager. The order blank carried instructions to report "if open or closed shop, to permit us to send forward the proper type of man to be successful." Operative 104 was Glen Fisk, a wire-tapping and dictaphone expert. What he did for Mr. Graham is not revealed, but this is how his talents were used on the Johnson Bronze job. C. M. Kuhl, also an operative of National Corporation Service, testified before the LaFollette committee that Fisk planted a dictaphone in the office of the company's president, where a conference with union representatives was to be held. It was hoped, he said, that the "union officials would say something so that he could bribe them, or something of that sort, and it could be brought back to the unions and explained to them that their officials and organizers were out to be bribed."

Youngstown Municipal Railway was another of the Commonwealth and Southern subsidiaries that made use of National Corporation Service, paying some $4,600 in the years 1933 to 1936. Secretary A. E. Lawson testified that his agency had one operative in the company's garage who was a member of the union and provided "the usual reports." This operative was E. C. Schultz, who also acted as a solicitor of business for the agency and later superintended the work of other spies in the Detroit office. In a sworn affidavit, Mr. Lawson had this to say about Schultz:

"Ed Schultz was MacGuffin's stool in the Mahoning garage of the Youngstown Municipal Railway Co., and wrote reports about what went on in the shop. He joined and helped form the auto mechanics' union."

The Akron Transportation Co. of Ohio was also a client of National Corporation Service. It hired the agency to provide labor spies, according to the testimony of Mr. Lawson, paying some $10,000

for services rendered between 1933 and 1936. This money went for the services on one regular undercover operator and four extra operators on occasion. Among these was Louis Saunders, operative No. 65, who was employed steadily for 4 years and was paid by National Corporation Service at the rate of $50 a month and expenses. It is a customary practice in labor espionage for the operative to receive some such sum as this monthly in addition to his regular wages, which he receives from the client.

Still another Willkie subsidiary that found National Corporation Service useful was the Penn-Ohio Coach Lines Co. According to the records of the agency, the company ordered detective service as of March 4, 1936, and two notorious operatives were assigned to the job. One of these was operative 104, the wire-tapping and dictaphone expert who also worked for Ohio Edison. The other was operative No. 585, who was Mary Javorsky, alias Mary Jay. She was a gifted woman operative whose specialty seems to have been breaking down the morale of the wives and families of union members through a kind of whispering campaign. How this was done on another job in Youngstown was explained in a sworn affidavit by C. M. Kuhl and Glen Fisk:

"The Automobile Dealers Association hired MacGuffin's company (National Corporation Service) to spread propaganda to prevent a strike. This was done by Mary Javorsky, Margaret Byers, and Barbara Purnell, who, after being furnished with a list of union mechanics, called on their wives under the pretext of giving free samples of furniture polish and skin lotion.

"They would stop in several houses on the street each side of the mechanic's home to create the appearance of canvassing. They would then get into conversation with the mechanic's wife, bringing up the subject of strikes, and tell what unsuccessful consequences they suffered as a result of their husbands, fathers, brothers, as the case might be, who went on strike. Loss of pay while striking, jeopardizing jobs, etc., were mentioned casually leaving impression with housewife of their own suffering, because strikes wouldn't do any good.

"The strike was prevented."

Whether these operatives actually reported for work and what they did for Penn-Ohio could not be determined by the LaFollette committee.

Pennsylvania Power was also a client of National Corporation Service, to the extent of nearly $1,000 in 1934 and 1935. The operative assigned to the job was J. P. South, whose previous prison history would hardly recommend him as a monitor of streetcar change or anything else not bolted down. Of course, the company had no streetcars, so that may not have been a vital problem. What Operative South did is not revealed, but here is his brief biography as given in the LaFollettee report:

"This man's criminal record includes a sentence of a year and a day in the United States Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga., beginning April 9 1919, for stealing Government property; his Federal penitentiary number being 9359; also a sentence of 3 to 6 months in the Allegheny County Workhouse, Blawnox, Pa., for larcency. His sentence began December 24, 1932, his number being 33093. Arrests in Pittsburgh, Pa., where his number is 21630, and in Akron, Ohio, where he gave the name of John L. Rollins, and where his number is 25036, did not result in convictions or jail sentences."

The Republican National Committee objects to our citing these dealings of Commonwealth & Southern with labor spies, criminals, and espionage outfits—"as though some stigma was attached to that fact;" it complains and then hastily adds, "but none does attach." Since this statement is made with reference to Southern Indiana Gas and Electric, let us look at the record. The company, as our supplement correctly stated, "did business with the Railway Audit and Inspection Bureau." The nature of that business is disclosed in a sworn affidavit by the R. A. & I. operative who did it—R. E. Russell, operative No. 73. This reveals the following:

"In 1925 he was assigned to the Southern Indiana Gas & Electric Co., Evansville, Ind. He stayed on this job until June 1933. On this job he joined division No. 876, local, Evansville, Ind., Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. At one time he was nominated for president of the union, but didn't run because of his admiration for the then incumbent of the office. However, he did act as recording secretary for the union on a number of occasions. This union had a contract with the company.

"However, it was Russell's job to keep the company informed at all times concerning the union's activities, and especially around contract time, that is, when the men were thinking of new wage and hour demands to be made on renewal of their yearly contract.

"During his service with this company his reports had gone to J. J. Geringer, general manager."

The Republican committee asserts in its statement that "the company submitted, under oath, records which showed clearly that Railway Audit & Inspection Co. was employed for the sole purpose of checking street railway and bus operators in the collection of fares and the proper operation of streetcars and busses." We have found no trace of such records in the published reports of the La Follette committee, but, in any event, we believe that Mr. Russell is the most competent witness to testify on the service he performed.

More detailed information on the other Commonwealth & Southern subsidiaries is not available. From the foregoing evidence, however, it is clear that labor spies were hired. It is extremely significant, moreover, that there is no specific evidence to the contrary, no records of the labor-spy agencies indicating that their operatives were hired solely for legitimate corporate purposes. It seems unlikely that the agencies would have picked precisely these records—those showing the alleged legitimacy of the work performed—for destruction and hiding from the public.

The Republican statement reports extensively on the trials of employees indicted in Michigan. This is largely an evasion of the New Republic's point—namely, that the constitutional rights of Consumers Power employees were flagrantly violated by the lawless actions of the officers of the Gadola grand jury. The Republican statement does not deny this, nor does it deny that this violation was permitted to occur in the offices of the company, where employees were illegally cross-examined and subjected to intimidation. In view of this, it is splitting hairs rather finely to argue, as the Republican statement does, that Consumers Power had nothing to do with the indictments. For in the minds of the employees it was very definitely associated therewith. As an apparent illustration of the company's broad-mindedness it is reported that one of the indicted employees, Alfred Timm, was put back to work on acquittal. It should be added that the company at first refused to reinstate Mr. Timm. It did so only afer a vigorous protest from the union and after several weeks' delay.

In his Pittsburgh address, Candidate Willkie proclaimed his long-standing loyalty to the Wagner Act (he was for it before it was passed) and promised that he would "see to it that any selfish and corrupt force that opposes collective bargaining will have the hard hand of the Government against it." These are fine words, but how can they be reconciled with the Willkie labor record? It provides some pretty good examples of opposition to collective bargaining, but there is no evidence that Mr. Willkie ever cracked down on the officials responsible. On the contrary, the opposition was permitted, if not encouraged, to continue year after year. Only last April, for example, President A. C. Blinn of Ohio Edison told a committee of C. I. O. representatives who had asked him to negotiate a signed contract, "You're not going to get it, not as long as I'm president." That has been Mr. Blinn's attitude for a number of years, and it was first exhibited in 1926 when he refused to renew a contract with the A. F. of L.'s I. B. E. W., and then proceeded to smash the union during an ensuing strike. There have been no union contracts at Ohio Edison since.

Or take the case of President William Martin of Alabama Power, whose company fostered a company union over a period of 4 years—certainly pretty clear evidence of opposition to collective bargaining. Mr. Martin's attitude was still further revealed by his membership in an informal, secret committee of southern industrialists organized to exert pressure on Alabama newspapers to force them to adopt an anti C. I. O., anti New Deal policy. On one occasion, Mr. Martin, with others, called on Victor Hanson, publisher of the Birmingham Age-Herald and the Birmingham News, because his editorials seemed too "radical," that is, too new dealish. This committee included, in addition to Martin, President John L. Perry of the Tennessee Coal & Iron, President C. D. Barr of American Cast Iron and Pipe, President Hugh Morrow of Sloss-Sheffield, President George Connors of Connors Steel, and Wade Oldham, southern district manager of Republic Steel. The story of this visit appears in a letter which Oldham wrote to President Rufus J. Wysor of Republic Steel in June 1937, and which is printed in the La Follette reports. Here, too, it would seem that Mr. Willkie missed a splendid opportunity to strike a blow for genuine collective bargaining.

Unfortunately, there are too many such discrepancies between Mr. Willkie's fine words and the record. They make his current role as champion of labor's rights seem somewhat less than plausible.

NOTE.—Page references in the La Follette reports to subsidiaries of Commonwealth & Southern are listed below. Figures in parentheses represent the volume or part in which the page citation appears. (E. R.) means Espionage Report.

Alabama Power Co., (2) 714; (8) 3030; (24) 10167–10169, 10294, 10295.

Akron Transportation Co. of Ohio, (1) 184, 342, 370, 373; (15–A) 5407, 5408, 5450, 5454; (25) 10512; (E. R.) 80, 117.

Central Illinois Light, (2) 568, 617.

Consumers Power Co., (4) 1370; (15–B) 6214; (15–D) 6934; (E. R.) 109.

Georgia Power Co., (1) 84; (2) 676, 701; (5) 1855; (E. R.) 83, 109.

Ohio Edison Co., (1) 187, 342, 345, 364; (6) 198; (15–A) 5407, 5420, 5423, 5453; (25) 10527, 10528; (29) 12189, 12191, 12113–12118, 12185; (30) 12387; (41) 16026–16029, 16060; (43) 16467; (E. R.) 96, 109.

Pennsylvania Power Co., (1) 344, 375; (2) 676; (5) 1856; (15–A) 5425; (E. R.) 109.

Penn-Ohio Coach Lines, (15–A) 5420; (32) 13310.

South Carolina Light & Power, (1) 66, 67.

Southern Indiana Gas & Electric, (15–A) 5243, 5326; (E. R.) 109.

Youngstown Municipal Railway Co., (1) 187, 342, 374, 375; (15–A) 5408, 5437, 5447, 5454, 5458; (29) 12187, 12189, 12190; (30) 12539, 12541, 12542, 12546–12552; (E. R.) 118.

Where We Stand in National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL M. WHITTINGTON

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the battle cry of 1917 was high and noble. The United States engaged in the first

World War to end all wars. We built the largest Navy and we enrolled the largest Army in human history.

In 1916 there were 244,483 men in the Army. At the time of the Armistice on November 11, 1918, there was a grand total of 3,673,888 men in the Army. One-third of those in the Army had been under fire or had engaged in combat.

At the peak of the World War in 1918 there were in the Navy 215,817 enlisted men and 10,590 officers, with 291,866 enlisted men and 21,618 officers in the Naval Reserves. In the Marine Corps there were 72,639 enlisted men, with 1,916 officers, and there were 5,968 enlisted men and 1,080 officers in the Marine Corps Reserve.

There were 536 ships with a total of 2,134,497 tons. There was unprecedented expansion in the building of ships. A world's record was established—a destroyer was built in 45½ days.

Then came the universal cry for peace. The Disarmament Conference was held in Washington in 1922. The United States took the lead to promote peace. No nation ever made a greater sacrifice in behalf of peace. We destroyed 31 capital ships, including 7 new battleships and 4 new cruisers. One of the battleships was 80 percent complete. We sacrificed $277,000,000 when we destroyed 767,880 tons, compared with Britain's 447,450 tons and Japan's 355,730 tons. In 1930 we agreed to dispose of 331,109 tons more. If we had not destroyed our ships we would have had today a greater Navy than can be built in the next 5 years. We dropped below Great Britain; we were almost on a par with Japan. We did not build ships to replace.

We reduced our Army. In 1921 there were in the Regular Army 227,344 men, with 113,640 in the National Guard and 66,906 in the Reserve forces. In 1932 there were 133,042 in the Regular Army, 187,412 in the National Guard, and 119,708 in the Reserves, while there were only 81,093 enlisted men in the Navy. The United States, the most powerful Nation in the world, thus set the example in reducing armaments to promote peace.

Amazing changes occurred in other nations. Europe began to rearm. In 1922 democracy among all peoples and in all lands was at its climax. By 1935, or in 13 years following the Washington Disarmament Conference, more than half of the world came under the rule of dictators. Nations armed to the teeth. Totalitarianism obtained in Germany, Italy, and Russia. The agreed limitations on armaments expired in 1936.

PREPARATIONS

It has been said that the administration in power for the past 8 years has neglected national defense. Let the record speak. I have given you the record of the Hoover administration in 1932. President Franklin D. Roosevelt has always advocated a big Navy. Personally, I have always supported a big Navy. The President was among the first to advocate preparedness. Democracies are slow. England did not realize that free governments were threatened until 1937 but finally 3 years ago, England adopted the policy of rearmament.

From 1932 to the fiscal year 1940 appropriations during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt for the War Department increased from $447,450,000 to $923,142,603, while appropriations for the Navy had increased from $357,618,000 to $943,373,249. In 1939 the United States authorized the building of 4,500 airplanes.

Personally I think the Army was slow, but appropriations were made for the fiscal year 1940 for mechanized equipment. The Navy was enlarged. On May 11, 1940, there were 135,125 men in the Navy and 25,067 in the Marine Corps. In the Army there were 300,000 men, with an authorized strength of 375,000.

During the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt a billion dollars of emergency funds, in addition to regular appropriations, have been expended in the construction of planes, airports, mechanized equipment, and in the building of strategic and military highways, 50 warships, often called the "P. W. A. fleet" was the largest single peacetime addition to the Navy. Ten millions of dollars were appropriated for mechanizing the Army and $9,000,000 were appropriated for the Ordnance Department. Seventy-four thousand miles of strategic highways have been constructed. While England awoke before the United States, it is wholly inaccurate to say that the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt has not prepared for national defense. The greatest appropriations ever made in peacetimes for the Army and Navy have been made during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and this was prior to September 3, 1939, when the second World War was begun.

SECOND WORLD WAR

The second World War has been in progress a little more than a year. Peaceful nations, without cause, have been destroyed. Poland has been laid waste, Finland has been crushed, peaceful Norway has been invaded, happy Holland has been overrun, brave Belgium has been captured, France has been conquered, and England has been fighting with her back to the wall since June 1, 1940. The dictators are on the march; totalitarianism is in the saddle. Peaceful countries with inadequate preparation for defense to repel attack have been ravaged. The United States was soon disillusioned. We thought of George Washington; we turned toward the Monroe Doctrine. We now know that adequate national defense is imperative.

The Monroe Doctrine has been our first line of defense for more than a century. We now realize once and for all that the Monroe Doctrine, without an Army, Navy, and Air Corps to defend it, is nothing more nor less than empty words. The Monroe Doctrine to be effective must be defended. The safety of the United States depends upon the ability of the United States to maintain and to defend the Monroe Doctrine.

THE UNITED STATES AWAKENS

When Germany attacked Norway the President of the United States recommended $5,000,000,000 additional appropriations for the Army and the Navy over and above the record appropriations for the current fiscal year previously made.

It is essential that the Navy be modernized, that the Army be mechanized, that airplanes be multiplied. Following the fall of France the President recommended another $5,000,000,000. Congress promptly made the authorizations. More than $10,000,000,000 for the Army and Navy have been authorized in the last 3 months and contract obligations for $5,000,000,000 more have been approved. A two-ocean Navy has been planned. An Army of 2,000,000 men is planned; 35,000 modern airplanes is the immediate goal. The largest navy in the world is to be built and the best-trained and the best-equipped army in human history is planned.

TAXES

On June 25, 1940, a revenue bill was passed. A billion dollars was provided annually in additional taxes for the next 5 years. Taxes, especially upon moderate incomes, were materially increased. In September 1940 a second tax bill has been passed. There will be no war millionaires. Excess-profits taxes are to be levied. The restricting provisions of the Vinson-Trammell Act respecting the construction of naval vessels and aircraft have been suspended. The tax bill provides for the amortization of facilities necessary for national defense.

OFFENSIVE WARFARE

We have reappraised and we are redefining the meaning of national defense. For years we were content to urge the defense of home and native land. We were content to provide for defensive warfare; we were content to say we would not fight until we were actually attacked. We now know that only offensive warfare succeeds. We now know that successful wars must be waged in the enemy's territory. The conqueror, if possible, chooses his battlefields. Above all, the victor must be prepared. Airplanes, dive bombers, flame throwers, armored trucks, and huge tanks have changed the methods of warfare, but the principles are unchanged. Men still count; infantry is still important; there is a place for cavalry. Mechanized equipment is now imperative. If France was overrun by low-diving bombers, flame throwers, and tanks, the infantry was close at hand to advance and to occupy. Germany's methods in Belgium and France in 1940 were based upon the tactics of concentration on the center and of the wide enveloping flank movements employed by

Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. The principles of offensive warfare employed by Germany were used by Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, J. E. B. Stuart, Nathan Bedford Forrest, Turner Ashby, and John S. Mosby in the War between the States. The technique is the same; the instrumentalities are different. The Germans used airplanes and tanks. Generals Stuart, Ashby, Mosby, and Forrest used horses. Tanks are mechanized cavalry. The victor got there first with the most men and the best equipment. Offensive warfare is always victorious.

THE GROWTH OF THE ARMY

The authorized strength of the Army is 375,000, with 14,000 officers. At present there are 380,000 men in the Army. The number will be increased to 1,400,000 by September 1, 1941. The National Guard has a strength of 227,000, with 15,000 officers. In addition to the Regular Army and the National Guard, there are a total of 120,000 Reserve officers. By January 1, 1941, a million men will be under arms; by June 1, 1941, 1,200,000 men will be under arms, and, as stated, by September 1, 1941, 1,400,000 men will be enlisted, with an Army of 2,000,000 planned.

EXPANSION OF THE NAVY

On September 1, 1940, there were 408 combatant battleships, including the 50 old destroyers subsequently traded to Britain, with a total tonnage of 1,344,000. During the month of May 77 ships were under construction. During the month of August 132 were being built. Two hundred additional warships will be constructed to make a two-ocean Navy of 688 ships in the next 5 years. At present the United States Navy is the most efficient among the nations.

AIRPLANES

On August 15, 1940, the Army and Navy had approximately 5,079 planes. Planes on order under signed contract aggregate 7,674 and there are 2,967 planes tentatively on order. Aircraft production is being speeded up and orders are being given every month. The rate of production is now 10,000 annually. It is expected to be 13,000 or 14,000 by January 1, 1941, 24,000 by the mid-year 1941, and 36,000 by early 1942. It is also expected that in less than 12 months there will be 25,000 airplanes in the Army and 10,000 in the Navy.

The industrial resources of the United States surpass those of any other country. The industrial capacity of the United States is the largest in the world. This capacity is being mobilized for national defense. If the automobile factories in the United States can manufacture approximately 3,000,000 automobiles annually, these plants can be converted and airplane establishments can be expanded to manufacture 500,000 planes annually.

ARMS

The statement is made that we have not sufficient equipment to train the draftees and enrollees in the Army. The fact is that there are ample arms for training. The Army has approximately 900,000 Springfield rifles and 1,500,000 Enfield rifles. Some uninformed people have stated that these rifles are obsolete. Such is not the fact. They are of a type similar to the rifles now used by the British, German, Italian, and Japanese Armies. In addition, the Army has nearly 60,000 Garand semiautomatic rifles. These are superior to any similar weapons produced in any other country. These rifles are now being manufactured at the rate of 250 per day. In a few weeks the capacity will be doubled, and in the near future the production will be a thousand per day.

The Army has on hand some 4,000 French .75-mm. guns, more than 400 tanks, and 485 armored cars. Six thousand tanks is the goal, and they are being manufactured every day. Some of these will be the largest ever constructed.

There are shortages in antiaircraft guns; there are shortages in tanks and in antitank guns, in munitions, and in explosives of certain types; but such shortages will not interfere with training under the Selective Service Act. Moreover, Congress has appropriated for increased guns and arms; and factories, both public and private, are operating to capacity.

There have been delays; bottlenecks have occurred, but preparedness is now on in full swing. Munitions are being manufactured, tanks and cannons are being built. The National Guard has been mobilized; the Selective Service Act has been passed.

SELECTIVE TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT OF 1940

For the third time in the history of the country, and for the first time in peace, the United States has adopted conscription. Annually some 800,000 or 900,000 young men between the ages of 21 and 35 will be selected from the 16,500,000 in the country. Provision has been made for conscripting materials and supplies if such action becomes necessary. The provisions of the act for both men and property are similar to the language of the act of 1917.

On September 9, 1940, $5,240,000,000 were appropriated in one bill for preparedness. During the present week $1,800,000,000 to provide for conscription for the next fiscal year have been appropriated. Other large appropriations have been made. Delays are being eliminated. Speedy construction is being promoted. The Army, the Navy, and the Air Corps are making contracts daily.

Conscription, in a democracy, is necessary for adequate defense. The United States passed the first conscription act to save the Union in 1863; the second was passed in 1917. Conscription is the fairest and most just way to provide for national defense. The right man will be provided for the right job.

ALL FRONTS

The problem of preparedness is being attacked on all fronts. Housing is being provided for enrollees. Those volunteering and those drafted will be adequately housed, clothed, fed, and trained. No other nation provides so generously for men in the Army, Navy, and Air Corps as does the United States.

The economic front is not being overlooked. It has its place in the picture. It is really as important as the military front. It takes money to prepare; it takes money to fight; and the United States must put its financial house in order to provide for adequate national defense. Preparedness means borrowing. The country cannot borrow if deficits for ordinary expenditures continue. The annual Budget must be balanced.

The United States has thought the matter through. Some criticize because we have been slow to prepare. Some criticize because the Army has enrolled men rather than manufactured tanks. The remedy, however, is to correct the mistakes made. Criticism alone will be destructive; it will retard preparedness. Statesmen will cooperate to provide for the best equipment and for the best-trained men. After all, men are more important than tanks and machines. These cannot think. Man alone can think. Morale and trained men are imperative in national defense.

TWO OPTIMISTIC FACTORS

There has been delay in the defense program; but whatever may be the outcome of the battle of Britain, we have time to prepare to meet any military or naval threat of any dictator in any country. Two factors give us optimism. First, naval and air bases along outlying islands have been provided. The President traded 50 old destroyers to England in exchange for naval and air bases and for the renewed assurance that no matter what may be the outcome of the battle of Britain, the British Fleet will never surrender but will cross the Atlantic. There is a second factor: Great Britain and France, before the fall of France, were buying munitions and armaments in the United States. Before the United States adopted the Selective Service Act and provided for the expansion of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Corps, Great Britain had placed war orders for airplanes, guns, tanks, and other military equipment in the United States amounting to $2,000,000,000. American industry is geared for munitions; the capacity is unequaled. Now that the United States is determined to prepare, private industrial plants can be utilized, for they are keyed to production.

There have been some delays because factories are engaged in supplying Britain. The fact remains, however, that the United States in the program for defense is profiting in 1940 just as the country profited in 1917 from British orders for arms and munitions.

There are other reasons for comfort. The airplane has annihilated space, but even so it will be difficult to transport a large army across the Atlantic Ocean.

There is no occasion for hysteria, and there is no occasion for jitters. The United States is not as weak as some would have the public believe, nor yet is it as strong as it should be. We will be much stronger within the next 6 months. There is no danger of immediate attack, but unpreparedness always invites attack, and the people of the United States are determined to repel as well as to defend.

We seek no land; we covet no territory. We prize our freedom. We know that we can be free only as we are able to defend. We know that to defend, the United States must be prepared on land, on the sea, and in the air to defend the Western Hemisphere.

National defense is essential to the salvation of the Republic. Preparedness is uppermost. The United States is traveling the road to preparedness. The road will be hard; it will be long; there will be many bumps; there may be some detours, but within 5 years the United States will become the world's greatest military, naval, and air power.

Lindsay Carter Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 31, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, we have just listened to a communication from one of the Members of the House of Representatives, the Honorable LINDSAY CARTER WARREN. He has tendered his resignation and after today will no longer be a Member of this legislative body.

For many years it has been my privilege to serve with Mr. WARREN on various committees in the House of Representatives. We have also worked together on legislative programs. We can comment with all sincerity on the fact that one of the ablest Members of the House of Representatives is leaving us today. On many occasions Mr. WARREN has presided over the House, and he has done so in an able and forceful manner.

I count it a privilege to express appreciation of people while they are alive instead of waiting until they have passed to the Great Beyond. So I want to say to our former colleague that he will be missed by all of us in this body.

Noted for his integrity and ability, he has contributed much to the splendid work which the House of Representatives has accomplished for the people of the United States.

Tomorrow he will take the oath of office as the Comptroller General of the United States, where a new field of opportunity will be opened to him. His past record indicates that this important office will have in LINDSAY WARREN a man who can measure up and will measure up to the duty and responsibility. The people of this country are to be congratulated upon having this type of man as their new Comptroller General.

We wish him well in his new field of opportunity.

The Indian Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESLEY E. DISNEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. DISNEY. Mr. Speaker, certain legislation in behalf of the Cherokee Indians is pending before the House, having passed the Senate. One bill in particular relates to a miscalculation of interest by the Government and which interest the Government owes to the Cherokee Tribe of Indians. The Senate has passed the bill and the House committee has reported it for favorable consideration. As a part of my remarks I enclose a resolution by the Advisory Council of the Keetoowah Society, Inc., which substantially represents the Cherokee Nation, and which resolution refers indirectly to this bill, and is as follows:

Be it resolved by the Advisory Council of the Keetoowah Society, Inc., That—

Whereas the present administration has seen fit to recognize the needs and wishes of the restricted Indians, and has improved the educational facilities of the Cherokee people by establishing and maintaining excellent schools for our children, and has improved health conditions by establishing free hospitals, and by providing work for unemployed Indians, and,

Whereas it was the belief of this group of people that upon abolition of their government they would be entitled to certain protection and benefits according to the treaties; and that we oppose the Gratuity Act and wish it to be repealed; and

That we earnestly commend the President of the United States, the Congress, and especially our Oklahoma delegation, for their support of favorable Indian legislation, in the face of strong opposition in Congress; and

That the Honorable Senator ELMER THOMAS has introduced the bill establishing the Indian Commission or Indian Court of Claims, for the purpose of expediting the conclusion of certain claims, and we urge the speedy passage of said bill, and

That the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs through the Indian Bureau should be commended for their interest in the welfare of our people, and believe that minor discrepancies in carrying out the intention of the law will be corrected.

Therefore the above resolution is hereby adopted this the 7th day of October 1940.

A copy of this resolution shall be forwarded to the Honorable Frank J. Boudinot, Washington, D. C., recognized attorney for the Keetoowah Society, Inc.

MADISON CAREY,
Chairman of Advisory Council.

Approved this 7th day of October 1940.

GABRIEL TAREPEN,
President of Society.
LEVI B. GRITTS,
First Vice President.
JOHNSON KEENER,
Second Vice President.
[INCORPORATED SEAL]
STEPHEN OOSWEE,
Cherokee Secretary.

I, Levi B. Gritts, on behalf of the Representative Committee of the Cherokees, selected by the whole of the Cherokee people May 1924, who signed the attorney's contract of May 26, 1924, do hereby endorse the above and foregoing resolution of the Keetoowah Society, Inc., and approve the same.

LEVI B. GRITTS,
Chairman of Cherokee Representative Committee.

Government Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. THORKELSON

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 23, 1940

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include quotations from the press as indicated and references to Government records.

These remarks which I am inserting, will form part of a book which I am now writing. The contents will refer to my experiences as a Member of the House, in regard to those problems which confront any Member of Congress. I shall discuss and explain many of the remarks I have made, and shall promise one thing, to tell the truth, and "let the chips fall where they may."

POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS

Article 1, section 8: Congress shall have the power to—
Paragraph 2: Borrow money on the credit of the United States.

The Constitution sets no limit on the amount of money Congress may borrow, but it must be for the common defense and the general welfare of the United States. While the power to borrow money is not restricted by the Constitution, it is to a certain extent limited by article 1, section 9. This

section denies certain powers to Congress and requires that the public be informed in regard to all expenditures.

Section 9, paragraph 7: No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

In reading this paragraph, I wonder if there is any Member of Congress or official in the Treasury Department so naive as to believe that if "a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money" was published monthly in the press, that the people would not demand immediate resignation or impeachment of every public official responsible for wastefulness and the squandering of public wealth.

The total Federal income since 1933, including all money used and the billions which have been borrowed, amounts to more than $65,000,000,000. I wonder what would happen today if an exact account was published stating the purposes for which this $65,000,000,000 have been used by the Roosevelt administration.

Suppose a detailed account was given of money paid, for not raising pigs, to farmers who never had a pig on their property. Suppose a detailed account was published of money paid, for not raising wheat on waste land, to politicians who would not know the difference between a grain of wheat and a soybean. Suppose a detailed account was published stating how money appropriated by Congress has been squandered on writers' projects, film projects, theater projects, and on publicity to sell these to the public. Suppose an account was published giving the cost of maintaining the Federal propaganda bureaus, which are interwoven into nearly every department.

Suppose an account was published of the money wasted on the W. P. A., as we hear about it in Congress. Suppose a detailed account was published stating the cost of Presidential fishing parties, trips in special trains, and other transportation charged to Government expense. It would be interesting to know the procedure employed in recovering money lost on short accounts. I recall having seen one account which was over $80,000 short. I fear the outcome were the public informed of the corruption and graft which appear in testimony at the hearings before various committees.

Much of this is published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and is available to anyone who is interested in the Government by writing to their representatives in the House or Senate or by subscribing to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

To date Congress has appropriated more than $15,000,000,000 for national defense, a sum of money which cannot be expended sanely, soundly, and economically in 2 years, the time limit set in the Constitution on appropriations for raising and supporting armies. What is this huge sum of money to be used for? Will it be expended in the preparation of our own defenses or is it to be squandered on the defenses of England and the British war machine? All this and more should be of the utmost interest to the people of this Nation, who ultimately must pay the national debt. To me lack of interest and public apathy is a sign which portends evil for all of us, and especially those who have the interest of this Republic at heart. I sincerely hope the people will arouse themselves and take a greater interest in their own Government, if or when Congress convenes in 1941. Failure to heed this warning to set the Government right can only end in complete disintegration of our Government as it was given to us in 1787.

Let us now review a few queer financial transactions which occurred during the Wilson administration, by a President and a Secretary of the Treasury who paid little or no attention to Congress. Both of them came into power in 1912, the year before the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act and the adoption of the sixteenth and seventeenth amendments.

The happenings in 1913 were not accidental, neither was the orgy of fraud and political corruption that existed previous to 1913, for all was planned by the same people, who were interested in the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act, so that they could raid the Treasury of the United States and take complete possession of it, as they have done today. A glimpse in the past should be of particular interest to the Anglophiles here in America, the hyphenated and the myopic would-be aristocracy, who are more interested in England than they are in the United States. I have little or no respect for those who forget that our first line of defense is right here in the United States, and that our greatest protection is in the consolidation of North America.

In the archives at Washington and from official correspondence which passed from and to President Wilson, one may discover how $1,500,000,000 in gold was illegally advanced to European countries after the World War was over. Much of this money was advanced by the Treasury Department on the President's request, even after Congress had denied authorization of such loans. It appears that the greater part of this money was advanced for political reasons or as a bribe for the support of President Wilson's pet hobby—the League of Nations. Little did he care what this subversive and un-American organization which, like the Federal Union, Inc., was promoted to sell America as a colony to the British Empire or as a minor unit in the League of Nations, cost the American people in freedom and money.

From the $1,500,000,000 in gold which was illegally loaned by our Treasury Department to European powers after the war was over, England received $330,000,000, France $435,000,000, Italy $465,000,000, and Belgium $165,000,000. The balance of the one and a half billion dollars was divided among the smaller European states.

On November 15, 4 days after the war was over and long before Czechoslovakia was recognized as a nation by other powers, Thomas M. Masaryk received a personal warrant from the Treasury Department for $5,000,000. In all, Czechoslovakia received from our own Treasury Department $61,200,000 which had not been authorized by Congress, and was, therefore, an illegal loan. Rumania, which was not even at war with Germany, received $20,000,000 of such loans.

On March 27, 1919, we paid England $90,000,000 in cash for transporting our troops to Europe, when we should in reality have given her credit on the money owing to us. The Government advanced $25,000 to bring the Liberian delegation and $100,000 to bring the Russian delegation to the peace conference. All this is now a part of the national debt.

On November 13, 1918, $9,000,000 was paid to Belgium, on November 15, $7,000,000 was paid to Czechoslovakia at a time, as I have already said, when she had no government or boundaries assigned to her. On December 18, 1918, a special credit of $250,000,000 had been granted to England and on December 30, 1918, $100,000,000 was placed at the disposal of Italy.

After granting these illegal loans to European nations, Secretary McAdoo appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee, September 12, 1918, to ask for authorization. This the committee refused to give him and he resigned as Secretary of the Treasury December 16, 1918.

When Mr. McAdoo resigned, CARTER GLASS was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. At the very time that Secretary GLASS was cabling the President for permission to advance England another $150,000,000, Robert P. Skinner, American consul general in London, was reporting on England's expenditures of millions to acquire control of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., and the Royal Dutch Shell Co. in pursuance of a plan to obtain an oil monopoly of the world.

At the same time Philip Kennedy, American commercial attaché in London, was complaining of propaganda being sent to this country by Edward Bell, of the Chicago Daily News, representing England's superior maritime interest as a reason for allowing her to remain the predominant naval power of the world.

While the American Treasury officials were letting Russian assets slip through their fingers, J. P. Morgan & Co., fiscal agents for the British Government, were selling for British account all Russian supplies that had been purchased in this country.

They were not depositing the proceeds with Bakhmeteff, the Russian representative, but transmitting them to their principal, the British Government.

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Leffingwell significantly wrote on March 5, 1918, that "it would seem that the British Government is looking after its interests very well."

During the entire period when the $1,500,000,000 was being advanced, our representatives here and abroad were being pressed by pleas for canceling Allied indebtedness to us, prominent partners in this new correspondence being Lloyd George, Austen Chamberlain, and Basil Blackett, financial representative of the British Treasury, who made his office with J. P. Morgan & Co., British fiscal agents.

I have included this quotation to show the close relationship between the British Treasury, the Bank of England, and the office of J. P. Morgan & Co. The next quotation is to show how subservient the United States Treasury Department is to the American international bankers, the Bank of England, the financial representatives of the British Treasury, or the English international bankers.

Let me now take you back to April 25, 1917, so that I may call your attention to the fact that Great Britain had overdrawn her account with J. P. Morgan & Co. to the extent of $400,000,000.

The British Government could not meet this overdraft or let me say—that the British Government, no doubt, preferred that our Treasury should meet the overdraft, which is in line with the British policy toward the United States. The United States Treasury did meet this overdraft by issuing a warrant for $200,000,000 to Sir Cecil Arthur Spring Rice, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It was in this manner our international financiers came to the rescue of their brothers across the water during the World War and it is in the same manner they now expect the United States to step to their rescue in 1940.

At the end of the World War, the Allies were indebted to the United States to the extent of $12,000,000,000 in gold. The dollar at that time contained 25.8 grains of gold 0.9 fine. This $12,000,000,000 when converted into the present international dollar, which contains 15.521 grains gold 0.9 fine, amounts to approximately $20,319,286,400, and this is today, October 17, 1940, approximately $1,000,000,000 less than the total amount of gold now stored in the various vaults of the United States Treasury.

Those who advocate more help to England, including the Executive, the Secretary of the Treasury, and other pro-British and prointernational groups should now bear in mind that this money is still owing to us, including defaulted interest over a period of more than 20 years. In other words, we have taken a terrific beating since the World War and are in no position financially to extend credit or financial aid to any power in the present war.

Those who advocate that we exhaust our credit to help the English international bankers should remember that it was with money we loaned to them they bought control of the world's fuel oil supply. Did the English financiers in this transaction give the slightest consideration to the United States? They did not; it was all for England. However, the point to remember is that all loans advanced to England illegally and without authority of Congress, including loans authorized by Congress, are now a part of the debt that England owes to the United States.

The American taxpayers have loaned this money to the English bankers, through the Treasury Department, and these loans are now a part of our national debt upon which we pay interest and which we owe to the American international bankers.

In a confidential message to the President, dated February 23, 1920, Norman H. Davis, Under Secretary of State, told the President he thought that England might have a secret treaty agreement to cancel the debt owed her by Italy. Referring to the pending proposal of the British Chancelor of the Exchequer for cancelation of intergovernmental war loans Davis' remarks to the President are pertinent:

The British might thus in great part at our expense dispose of their treaty obligations.

Two days earlier Davis had written the President regarding the debt-cancelation proposal:

While the Allies have never buntly so stated, their policy seems to be to make Germany indemnify them for having started the war and to make us indemnify them for not having entered the war sooner.

It might prove interesting to compare a few illegal acts of the Wilson administration with one or two of the many illegal acts which have been committed by the Roosevelt administration.

It was upon the insistence of President Wilson that over $1,500,000,000 in gold was loaned to Europe, not only in defiance of the law but without authority from Congress. One of the most obnoxious and conniving acts of the Wilson administration was the manner in which Rumania became eligible for a $20,000,000 loan. The procedure employed by the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Treasury in the case of Rumania is nearly parallel with the manner in which President Roosevelt, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Treasury have acted in the impeachable and illegal transfer of naval ships, combat airplanes, secret instruments, and other war equipment to England.

Take the case of Rumania. On January 2, 1919, the American mission at Paris cabled Albert Rathbone, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury at Washington, saying it was claimed that $5,000,000 was immediately needed for Rumania to buy supplies, including shoes and clothing, from England.

The Treasury refused to take the responsibility for this advance. Rathbone wrote a letter to Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, Secretary Lansing being abroad with President Wilson. Rathbone said:

Under the statutes authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to make loans to foreign governments, he is permitted to establish credits only in favor of foreign governments "then engaged in war with the enemies of the United States." I shall accordingly be obliged if the Department of State will be good enough to inform this Department whether the Government of Rumania comes within this limitation.

Now the Department of State was up against it. It had already rendered decision to the effect that Rumania was not at war with Germany, and Frank L. Polk said so in his cable to Secretary Lansing on January 3:

Legal difficulties in regard to a loan to Rumania are whether at the present time Rumania is, as a matter of fact, at war, so as to be regarded as belligerent within meaning of the act of Congress; whether Rumanian representatives here have authority from duly constituted government to sign obligations for advances; also whether the loan will be used for the purpose which the act of Congress contemplated.

No information on the first point—whether Rumania is, as a matter of fact, at war—has been received here other than the following: A telegram dated November 9, from minister, which telegram was delayed 6 weeks, stated that the King was prepared to demand surrender of Germans and reenter the war.

A telegram from ambassador, dated December 12, quoted a colleague as saying that it was understood no declaration of war could be made by the present Government of Rumania, as now constituted, but that Rumania could be looked upon as an ally, although not formerly recognized as such. Department, however, assumed you have information showing that in fact Rumania is in state of war with Germany, and if this assumption is correct, the first legal difficulty would be satisfied.

No doubt Rumania would make a declaration of war upon suggestion of American representative who can now be reached by telegraph.

Without any doubt this is one of the most astonishing documents in our diplomatic history.

The State Department could not decently go back on its decision that Rumania was not actually at war with Germany. But it suggests that Secretary Lansing look around in Paris and try to find some plausible evidence under which Rumania could be considered to be at war. Finally Polk flatly suggested that the American representative at Bucharest induce the Rumanian Government to declare war on Germany, which 2 months before had surrendered unconditionally and laid down its arms.

So far as is known, Rumania never did make such an opera bouffe declaration of war. The correspondence reveals no trace of Lansing being able to advance evidence of Rumania being at war. Nevertheless this $5,000,000 was delivered over to Rumania on February 8, 1919.

What happened was this:

On January 14 President Wilson cabled to Secretary of the Treasury Glass:

> The situation now existing in that country, critical for Rumania herself and attended with the possibility of consequences less purely local, persuades me, as matter of policy and in the interest of national defense, to lend my strong approval to the establishment of the proposed credit, even though there may be some uncertainty regarding the legal authority of the present Rumanian Government to negotiate foreign loans or to delegate authority to its representatives in the United States.

President Wilson used national defense and emergency as an excuse to sell America to the international bankers. President Roosevelt has sold America to the international bankers, using the same excuse, "national emergency" and "national defense," with our first line at the disposal of Great Britain.

It is quite evident after reading Wilson's telegram that he, like Roosevelt, was quite agreeable to disregard all principles on the pretense that it was for national defense. Whether the act was legal or not did not matter to President Wilson as long as he had his way. What is not so easily understood is the attitude of the State Department in accepting such flimsy excuse for advancing $20,000,000 illegally. The Secretary of the Treasury, Carter Glass, did, to be sure, oppose this loan, and informed the President of his objection, but was, in spite of this, willing to go along if a reasonable excuse was provided for him. This came in a form of a letter dated January 18 from Secretary Polk, in which he backed up on his previous decision. His letter said:

> Have the honor to refer to Mr. Rathbone's letters of January 3 and 11, addressed to Mr. Polk, in which the inquiry is made as to whether Rumania is to be considered as coming within the prohibition of the statutes which permit the Secretary of the Treasury to establish credits only in favor of governments "then engaged in war with enemies of the United States." I beg to advise you that in the opinion of this Department, Rumania is in a state of war with Germany and should be regarded as a belligerent within the meaning of the act of Congress.

So Rumania got her $5,000,000.

On February 8 Mr. Rathbone notified N. K. Lahovary, chargé d'affaires of the Rumanian Legation at Washington, that—

> The Secretary of the Treasury has established in favor of your government a further credit of $5,000,000.

Mr. Lahovary drew the money out on the same day.

Before we were done Rumania got $15,000,000 more of this same Liberty Loan money, all advanced after the Armistice and without authorization of Congress.

The Treasury certainly was "using its power to support the President's policies."

I have included in this chapter many unusual procedures in the Wilson administration, so that they may be compared with the New Deal collectivism in the Roosevelt administration. The Wilson administration cost the Nation about $47,000,000,000 and left us with a $24,000,000,000 national debt, an increased debt of over $22,000,000,000. The Roosevelt administration has cost the Nation more than $60,000,000,000 and increased the national debt from around $20,000,000,000 in 1933 to the staggering figure of over $44,000,000,000 as of October 1940.

It was President Wilson who ignored the law and the Congress of the United States when he, for "political consideration," illegally loaned to foreign nations and without authority from Congress over $1,500,000,000, and it was his Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury who connived with him to defraud the United States when they gave him their aid.

It was in the Wilson administration our representative democratic Government of the United States was converted into a democracy, without balance, control, or State representation in the Government of the United States. It was with Wilson that the people lost control of the State and the use of it, as an organized unit, to represent its people in the Senate of the United States and in cooperation with other States maintain control and balance in the Federal Government.

It was President Wilson who violated his oath of office when he attempted to include the United States, shorn of its sovereign rights, as a minor unit in the League of Nations. And it was President Wilson who made it fashionable to employ Carnegie-endowed and subservient pro-English professors, teachers, preachers, and other intellectual crackpots to administrate Federal Government departments. It was he who selected internationalists, international bankers, Anglophiles, international Jews, and rabbinical teachers as advisers in national and international affairs. It was Wilson who gave momentum to the undermining of America when he, without cause, launched this Nation in a war that cost more than 100,000 in lives and left us with additional hundreds of thousands wounded and disabled.

It was the World War which paved the road for communism in America by the easy admission of socialistic and communistic German and Russian refugees from Europe.

As Carnegie picked up the unfinished work of Cecil Rhodes to undermine America, so Roosevelt has taken up the unfinished work of Wilson to internationalize, de-Americanize, and prepare the United States to become an unimportant unit in the Federal Union, Inc., or the new international dream government, with a world capital at Jerusalem under a Judaic English king.

Comparing the two, President Wilson and President Roosevelt, we find them alike in their indifferent attitude toward Congress, constitutional government, the law, national security, public welfare, and the national debt. We find them alike in their biased attitude toward foreign nations and in their meager knowledge of world affairs.

The pedagog, Mr. Wilson, is not recorded as having owned or operated any business, or having been engaged in any commercial enterprise, where success depended upon ability to meet stiff competition. Such experiences are necessary and should be looked upon as qualification for leadership and particularly for one who is to be elected chairman of the board of directors of the United States of America.

It is only good sense to follow the same sound principles in the election of the President of the United States, as is usually followed in the election of a president in a well-organized and successfully operated business. If you have your last cent invested in a business, and find that increased earnings depend upon sound operation and the personal ability of the president and the board of directors, why elect any man President of the United States who has never operated a business or shown any inclination to risk his capital on his own ability in competition with others in the field of industry? This is particularly pertinent, in that the President of the United States appoints his own board of directors, namely, the heads of established Government departments, his own Cabinet.

Why elect any man President of the United States who holds a record in business failures and who also is recorded as having engaged in deception and dissembling? Why place anyone who has proved to be unstable, vindictive, intolerant, and clearly incompetent in charge of an office that requires a person who is well balanced, cool, experienced, and competent to meet all problems with a clear vision and unbiased mind?

Do you not realize, Mr. Citizen, that it is your indifference and lack of interest in the caliber of men you elect to administrate your Government, that is in reality responsible for its disintegration, for our participation in wars, and for the national debt which is charged against the credit of the United States?

Do you not also realize that it is we, the people, who pay the price and whose lives are sacrificed in wars, planned and promoted by organized minorities, who we unmindfully support? And do you not realize that the national kept or controlled press, radio, and cinema are directed by well-financed, powerful minorities, and that such subversive political machines are employed by public enemies to defame and destroy anyone who rises in the defense of the people's rights and in the support of constitutional government?

Egotism is no qualification for office, and it is ill befitting anyone to presume that he is indispensable in a Nation of

130,000,000 people. That is particularly true when such person has taken no part in the creation and operation of our national industries. No one can deny the fact that the Federal Government is well supplied with this type of self-adulators, and that their major qualification is conversation to fool the public, so that they may perpetuate themselves in office.

The gentlemen who saved the world for democracy, socialism, and communism, and the leader of the New Deal, who is carrying on the work of his Democratic predecessor, can in no sense, as their records show, be called diplomats, because both are meddlers in foreign affairs and in the government of foreign nations. Neither of them has been neutral, nor have they shown by their acts as recorded that they ever had a correct understanding of the word "neutrality."

Both surrounded themselves with advisers who had and have no interest in the perpetuation of this Republic or in constitutional government. It follows, therefore, that such men are poor selections for positions requiring statesmanship, based on actual world knowledge, inculcated by direct contact and personal experience. In proof of this, their own records and actions furnish the best evidence that these statements are true.

President Roosevelt, like Wilson, has shown the utmost contempt for Congress, constitutional government, and for the law, based on the Constitution of the United States. This lack of sincerity on the part of President Roosevelt is clearly evident in the sub rosa pressure which is brought to bear on Congress to enact the so-called must legislation, which divests Congress of power by illegal transfer of the same to the Executive and to the executive branch of the Government. In this attitude the President has shown utter indifference to his oath of office, first, in using undue influence to force such legislation through Congress, and, second, when he signed legislative acts which are clearly unconstitutional.

He showed absolute contempt for Congress, for the people, and for the important position he occupies in our Government when, under the pretense of fortifying and strengthening the neutrality of the United States, he called a special session of Congress in 1939 for the sole purpose of repealing the arms embargo so as to permit him to engage in warlike acts, contrary to international law, which is supposed to govern the actions of neutral nations.

The word "neutral" was employed in the act as a vehicle to obtain public support and public pressure upon Congress, to pass legislation which was and is intended to involve us in war. I made this statement in 1939, and today the truth of it is evident in the President's many unneutral acts to provide cause for conflict.

President Roosevelt has willfully ignored the law, Congress, and the Constitution since the first day he assumed the important office of President of the United States. He has defied the wishes of the people in leading this Nation toward a war which does not concern us and to which the people are unconditionally opposed. He acted in violation of the constituted authority of his office, as set forth in article 2, the first time he signed one of the many unconstitutional acts enacted by Congress, to give him, under the excuse of emergency, powers contrary to and in conflict with the Constitution of the United States.

The Constitution does not provide for the creation and declaration of an emergency by an act of Congress, and such declaration does not provide a legal excuse for either of the three branches of the Government—to violate their obligation "to preserve, to protect, and to defend the Constitution of the United States."

Nearly all unconstitutional powers, which were granted to President Wilson and which have been granted to President Roosevelt, have been based upon a manufactured national emergency, which, like a chronic disease, has been with us for over 25 years.

From the viewpoint of those who believe in the principles of our Government, as expressed in the Constitution, the most acute national emergency facing us today is the steady disintegration and destruction of the Government caused by Federal usurpation and confiscation of the sovereign powers of the State, the constitutional rights of the people, and the powers delegated to Congress. These subversive changes began in the Wilson administration and have been continued by the New Deal and its radical, socialistic, communistic "hot dog" lawyers, who write the New Deal "must legislation," which when enacted into law steals the power from Congress.

It is generally conceded that we are not threatened by invasion or war by any foreign power, and this should be obvious, for no one has provided more incidents to provoke war than President Roosevelt himself. Every act of Roosevelt since the repeal of the arms embargo has been unneutral and antagonistic toward what he designates "aggressor nations," yet not one of them has shown the slightest desire to offend the United States. Extension of credit, sale of war supplies, favoritism in shipping, sale of combat planes, and the recent transfer of a part of our Navy to England are all acts of war. Knowing this, can anyone say that nations we have offended lack casus belli or provocation for declaring war? In view of the fact that the President's unneutral acts have been ignored by nations at war, is it reasonable to assume that we are in danger of invasion, or war, unless we deliberately provide cause for conflict?

I have incorporated in this chapter a comparison between two Democratic Presidents, and I have based my discussion on their own records. The first launched this Nation into a war, after a promise before election that he would keep us out of war. The second talks of neutrality and peace, while his acts tend to involve us in the present war.

It is time for the people to speak, for should we allow him to go on, to involve this Nation in a hopeless war, without expressing our opposition to such deadly procedure, we will in failure to express ourselves share responsibility in the calamitous consequences which, like a pestilence, will rise, engulf, and destroy everything that a Christian civilization for centuries has nourished and faithfully labored to maintain.

References: Government records; New York American.

Asks Resolution for Investigation of Rental of Fish Property to German Consul General

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES P. McGRANERY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 14, 1940

Mr. McGRANERY. Mr. Speaker, on last Tuesday, October 22, 1940, I received a letter from Michael A. Maloney, Esq., a distinguished lawyer in the city of Philadelphia, in which Mr. Maloney has requested that I introduce a resolution in the House to investigate a rental of the property, 55 East Seventy-seventh Street, New York City, to Johannes Borchers, consul general of Germany. In this letter Mr. Maloney calls my attention to the fact, the following having appeared in a Philadelphia newspaper:

When Representative HAM FISH was asked whether he rented his New York mansion to the Nazi consul general, he emitted a loud cry of anguish.

"If you want to make something of it," he bellowed, "I'll get you. I've got a right to rent a house to anybody I please."

"Is it true, Congressman," he was further asked, "that the Nazi Consul gave you a big boost in rent, even though rents in that area have remained about stationary?"

"None of your business," the irate Congressman replied, and proceeded to launch a string of vituperatives, which would burn up the printed page.

The Fish mansion is at 55 East Seventy-seventh Street, New York, and, according to State Department records, is the home of Johannes Borchers, consul general of Germany, who has lived there 5 years.

The house was left to HAM FISH by his father, whose will was probated in 1893. New York City records show no change in ownership since that time. Fish is reported to have begun renting the house to Germans about 1931, shortly before Hitler. The lease expired 2 years later, about the time Hitler came into power, and he renewed, reportedly with an increased rent. Two years ago, 1938, he is reported to have renewed the lease once again, this time with a substantial increase from the Nazis.

Mr. Maloney, because of this, points out that there are implications in the transaction which makes it the Nation's business inasmuch as the gentleman from New York, Mr. FISH, is the ranking Republican member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House, and therefore the matter should receive the most careful investigation of the House itself.

Mr. Maloney believes that the gentleman from New York, Congressman FISH, owes it to himself that this question is correctly answered, as the question in Mr. Maloney's mind is: Is the gentleman from New York, Congressman FISH, giving his efforts in Congress wholeheartedly for the benefit of the country he is elected to serve, or is he not?

The Republican Record in Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT IN BOSTON, MASS.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. KING). In my capacity as a Senator I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the President of the United States in Boston Garden, Boston, Mass., October 30, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I've had a glorious day here in New England. I've looked forward to coming here to Boston. But there's one thing about this trip that I regret. I have to return to Washington tonight without getting a chance to go into my two favorite States—Maine and Vermont.

In New York City, I showed by the cold print of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD how Republican leaders, with their votes and in their speeches, have been playing, and still are playing politics with national defense.

Even during the past 3 years, when the dangers to all forms of democracy throughout the world have been obvious, the Republican team in the Congress has been acting only as a party team.

Time after time Republican leadership refused to see that what this country needs is an all-American team.

These side-line critics are now saying that we are not doing enough for our national defense. I say we are going full speed ahead.

Our Navy is our outer line of defense.

Almost the very minute that this administration came into office we began to build the Navy up—to build a bigger Navy.

In 7 years we have raised the total of 193 ships in commission to 337 in commission today.

We have 119 more ships under construction today.

In 7 years we raised the personnel of the Navy from 106,000 to 210,000 today.

You good people here in Boston know of the enormous increase of productive work in your Boston Navy Yard. There are now six times as many men employed in all our navy yards as there were in 1933. The private shipbuilding yards are also humming with activity—building ships for our Navy and for our expanding merchant marine.

The construction of this Navy has been a monumental job. In spite of what some campaign orators may tell you, you cannot buy a battleship from a mail-order catalog.

We have not only added ships and men to the Navy. We have enormously increased the effectiveness of naval bases in our outlying territories.

Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

And within the past 2 months your Government has acquired new naval and air bases in British territory in the Atlantic Ocean. They extend all the way from Newfoundland to that part of South America where the Atlantic Ocean begins to get narrow, with Africa not far away.

I repeat: Our objective is to keep any potential attacker as far from our continental shores as we can.

That is the record of the growth of our Navy. In 1933 a weak Navy; in 1940 a strong Navy. Side-line critics may carp in a campaign. But Americans are mighty proud of that record. Americans will put their country first and partisanship second.

And speaking of partisanship, I remind you—when the naval expansion bill came up in 1938 the vast majority of Republican Members of the Congress voted against building any additional battleships.

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

Can such people be trusted with national defense?

We are also expanding our Army. Under normal conditions we have no need for a large army. But unprecedented dangers require unprecedented action to guard the peace of America against unprecedented threats.

Since the day when Poland was invaded, we have more than doubled the size of our Regular Army. Adding to this the federalized National Guard men, our armed land forces now equal more than 436,000 enlisted men.

The officers and men of our Army and National Guard are the finest in the world.

They will be the nucleus for training the young men who are being called under the Selective Service Act.

General Marshall has said that the task of training these young men is a "profound privilege."

Campaign orators seek to tear down the morale of the American people when they make false statements about the Army's equipment. I say we are supplying our Army with the best fighting equipment in the world.

The Defense Commission is getting things done with speed and efficiency. More than $8,000,000,000 of defense contracts have been let.

I am afraid that these campaign orators will pretty soon be under the painful necessity of eating their words.

The most inexcusable unpatriotic misstatement of fact about our Army is the brazen charge that the men called to training will not be properly housed.

The plain fact is that construction on Army housing is far ahead of schedule to meet all present needs, and that by January 5, next, there will be complete and adequate housing for 930,000 soldiers.

I give assurance to the mothers and fathers of America that each and every one of their boys in training will be well housed.

Throughout the 1 year of their training there will be constant promotion of their health and well-being.

And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers I give you one more assurance.

I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores.

The purpose of our defense is defense.

The Republican campaign orators who moan and groan about our Army and Navy are even more mournful about our strength in the air. But only last year, 1939, the Republicans in the Congress were voting in favor of reducing appropriations for the Army Air Corps.

What kind of political shenanigans are these?

Can such people be trusted with national defense?

I stress particularly what every Army and Navy flier tells us—that what counts most in sustained air power is the productive capacity of our airplane factories.

We are determined to attain a production capacity of 50,000 planes a year in the United States. Day and night we are working and making rapid progress toward that goal.

You citizens of Seattle who are listening tonight—you have watched the Boeing plant grow. It is now producing four times as many planes each month as it was producing a year ago.

You citizens of southern California can see the great Douglas factories. They have doubled their output in that period.

You citizens of Buffalo and St. Louis can see the Curtiss plants in your cities. Their output has jumped to 12 times its level of a year ago.

And, of course, I don't need to tell you anything about the quality of the men who fly these planes.

You citizens of Hartford who hear my words: Look across the Connecticut River at the whirring wheels and the beehive of activity which is the Pratt & Whitney plant, which I saw today. A year ago this plant was producing airplane engines totaling 100,000 horsepower a month. Today this production has been stepped up tenfold, stepped up to 1,000,000 horsepower a month.

And you citizens of Paterson, N. J.: You can see the Curtiss-Wright plant, which a year ago produced 270,000 horsepower a month and this October is producing 859,000 horsepower.

In 10 months we have increased our engine output 240 percent.

And we are building brand new plants for airplanes and airplane engines in centers in the Middle West, far from the coast.

Last spring and winter this great production capacity program was stepped up by orders from overseas. In taking these orders for planes to go overseas we are following hard-headed self-interest.

Building on the foundation provided by these orders, the British are now receiving a steady stream of airplanes. After 3 months of "blitzkrieg" in the air, the strength of the Royal Air Force is actually greater now than when the attack began. This increase in strength, despite battle losses, is due in part to the purchases made from American airplane industries.

The British have now asked for permission to negotiate again with American manufacturers for 12,000 additional planes. I have asked that the request be given most sympathetic consideration by the Priorities Board, consisting of William S. Knudsen, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and Leon Henderson. When these additional orders are approved they will bring Britain's present orders for military planes from the United States to more than 26,000. They will require still more new plant facilities so that the present program of building planes for military purposes both for the United States and Great Britain will not be interrupted.

Also, large additional orders are being negotiated for artillery, machine guns, rifles, and tanks with equipment and ammunition. The plant capacity necessary to produce all of this military equipment is and will be available to serve the needs of the United States in any emergency.

The productive capacity of the United States, which has made it the greatest industrial country in the world, will not fail now. It will make us the strongest air power in the world. And that is not just a campaign promise.

I have been glad to welcome back to our own shores that Boston boy, beloved by all of Boston, my Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, Joe Kennedy.

Actually on the scene where planes were fighting and bombs dropping, for many months he has been telling me just what you and I have visualized from afar—that all the smaller independent nations of Europe, Sweden, Switzerland, Greece, Ireland, and the others—have lived in terror of the destruction of their independence by Nazi military might.

We can build up our armed defenses to their highest peak of efficiency, but they will still be inadequate unless we support them with a strong national morale, a sound economy, a sense of solidarity and economic justice.

When this administration came to office the foundation of our national morale was crumbling. In the panic and misery of those days no democracy could have built up an adequate armed defense.

What we have done since 1933 has been written in terms of improvement in the daily life and work of the common man.

I have discussed the falsifications which Republican campaign orators have been making about the economic condition of the country—the condition of labor and the condition of business.

They are even more ridiculous when they shed those old crocodile tears over the plight of the farmer.

Now, if these is anyone that a Republican candidate loves more than the laboring man in November, it is the farmer.

And the first one he forgets after election day is the farmer.

Do I have to remind you of the plight of the farmer during the period between 1920 and 1933—declining income, accumulating surpluses, rising farm debts—10-cent corn, 20-cent wheat, 5-cent cotton, 3-cent hogs.

They did nothing to stop this slide. But, of course, before every election day they always uncorked the old bottle of soothing sirup and spread it thick.

The farmers of America know from the record what the state of American agriculture is today.

Here it is:

Farm income this year is just about double what it was in 1932.

Farm buying power this year is greater than it was even in 1929.

Tens of thousands of farms have been saved from foreclosure.

More than 800,000 low-income farmers have obtained credit from the Government, which they could get nowhere else.

Over a million farms have been electrified since 1933.

Over 6,000,000 farmers have received benefit payments of more than three and a half billion dollars.

What does all this add up to? It means an agriculture which is strong and vigorous.

And we all know how much this is due to the patient efforts and practical vision of Henry Wallace.

The people of New England know that if the farmers' income had remained what it was in 1932, they would be buying fewer shoes, fewer watches and ice boxes, less woolen goods and cotton goods than they are buying now. Prosperous farmers mean more employment, more prosperity for the workers and businessmen of New England and of every industrial area in America.

Parity—the proper relationship between agriculture and the rest of our economy—will continue to be our guiding principle.

We now have great stocks of wheat, corn, and cotton—in a sense really strategic materials in a world threatened with war.

Surpluses not needed for reserves are now being used to feed the hungry and the ill-nourished, and that is a fact difficult for Republican orators to deny.

Our school luncheon program will this year reach 3,000,000 children with milk and other foods. And milk does those children much more good than political soothing sirup.

While this was being done what were the Republican leaders doing? Here is the record:

In 1933 Republicans in the Congress, in both Houses, voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act by 88 to 52.

In 1936 they voted against the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act by 75 to 25.

In 1938 they voted against the second Agricultural Adjustment Act by 84 to 15.

And even in 1940 they voted against parity payments to farmers by 143 to 32.

In the spring of this year they voted overwhelmingly against the stamp plan to distribute food to needy people through private grocery stores.

The American farmers will not be deceived by pictures of Old Guard candidates patting cows and pitching hay in front of moving-picture cameras.

All the sweet words of the Republican leaders in Philadelphia last June—they were not worth the paper they were written on.

For, listen to this: Last summer, only a few weeks after the Republican national platform had been adopted endorsing commodity loans for the farmers the Republican Members of the House marched right back into the Halls of Congress and voted against commodity loans for the farmers. They voted against them by a vote of 106 to 37.

Among the Republican leaders who voted against that bill and against practically every other farm bill was the present chairman of the Republican National Committee, that peerless leader, the farmers' friend—Congressman JOE MARTIN, of Massachusetts.

He is of national interest now because at the time of his appointment as Republican national chairman this handsome verbal bouquet, this expensive orchid, was pinned upon him: "In public life for many years JOE MARTIN has represented all that is finest in American public life."

Considering the sources of that orchid, MARTIN may be slated for some Cabinet post. So let's look at the voting record of this representative of what they call "all that is finest in American public life."

MARTIN voted against the Public Utility Holding Company Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the National Securities Exchange Act, and the extension of the C. C. C. He voted against practically all relief and work-relief measures, and against the appropriation for rural electrification.

MARTIN voted against the Civil Service Extension Act and against the United States Housing Act.

What I particularly want to say on the radio to the farmers of the Nation is that Republican National Chairman MARTIN voted against every single one of the farm measures recommended by this administration. Perhaps he will be rewarded for this loyal service to the principles of his party by being appointed Secretary of Agriculture.

He is one of that great historic trio which has voted consistently against every measure for the relief of agriculture—MARTIN, BARTON, and FISH.

I have to let you in on a secret. It will come as a great surprise to you. It is this:

I am enjoying this campaign. I am really having a fine time.

I think you know that the office of President has not been an easy one during the past years.

The tragedies of this distracted world have weighed heavily upon all of us.

But there is revival for every one of us in the sight of our own national community.

In our own American community we have sought to submerge all of the old hatreds, all the old fears, of the Old World.

We are Anglo-Saxon and Latin, we are Irish and Teuton and Jewish and Scandinavian and Slav—we are American. We belong to many races and colors and creeds—we are American.

And it seems to me that we are most completely, most loudly, most proudly American around election day.

Because it is then that we can assert ourselves—voters and candidates alike. We can assert the most glorious, the most encouraging fact in the world today—the fact that democracy is alive—it is alive and going strong.

We are telling the world that we are free, and we intend to remain free and at peace.

We are free to live and love and laugh.

We face the future with confidence and courage. We are American.

The Bank of Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address by the President of the United States in the public auditorium, Cleveland, Ohio, November 2, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In making this, my final national address of the campaign, I express once more my deep regret that I could not carry out my wish to go to other States in the great Middle West, in the South, and across the Mississippi River. It has been solely in the interest of peace and the maintenance of peace that your great Secretary of State and I have felt that we should both remain within easy distance of the National Capital in these trying days.

Tonight in Cleveland, I am happy, through this great audience of my old friends, to give this message to America.

For the past 7 years I have had the high honor and the grave responsibility of leadership of the American people. In these 7 years the American people have marched forward, out of a wilderness of depression and despair.

They have marched forward right up to the very threshold of the future—a future which holds the fulfillment of our hopes for real freedom, real prosperity, real peace.

I want that march to continue for 4 more years. And for that purpose, I ask your vote of confidence.

There are certain forces within our own national community, composed of men who call themselves American but who would destroy America. They are the forces of dictatorship in our own land—on one hand the Communists, and on the other the Girdlers.

It is their constant purpose in this as in other lands to weaken democracy, to destroy the freeman's faith in his own cause.

In this election all the representatives of these forces, without exception, are voting against the New Deal.

I am proud of this opposition. It is proof positive that what we have built and strengthened in the past 7 years is democracy.

This generation of Americans is living in a tremendous moment of history.

The surge of events abroad has made some few doubters among us ask: Is this the end of a story that has been told? Is the book of democracy now to be closed and placed away upon the dusty shelves of time?

My answer is this: All we have known of the glories of democracy—its freedom, its efficiency as a mode of living, its ability to meet the aspirations of the common man—all of these are merely an introduction to the greater story of a more glorious future.

We Americans of today—all of us—are characters in this living book of democracy.

But we are also its author. It falls upon us now to say whether the chapters that are to come will tell a story of retreat or a story of continued advance.

I believe that the American people will say, "Forward."

We look at the Old World of Europe. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, greed, and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison—war.

We look at the country in which we live. It is a great country, built by generations of peaceable, friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith that the good life can be achieved by those who will work for it.

We know that we are determined to defend our country—and with our neighbors to defend this hemisphere. We are strong in our defense. Every hour and every day we grow stronger.

Our foreign policy is shaped to express the determination of our Government and the will of our people in our dealings with other nations. Those dealings, in the past few years, have been more difficult, more complex, than ever before in our history.

There is nothing secret about our foreign policy. It is not a secret from the American people; and it is not a secret from any government anywhere in the world. I have stated it many times before, not only in words but in action. I now restate it.

The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war. At the same time we seek to keep foreign conceptions of government out of the United States.

That is why we make ourselves strong; that is why we muster all the reserves of our national strength.

The second purpose of this policy is to keep war as far away as possible from the shores of the entire Western Hemisphere. Our policy is to promote such friendly relations with the Latin-American republics and with Canada that the great powers of Europe and Asia will know that they cannot divide the peoples of this hemisphere one from another. And it is a policy of practical success.

Also our policy is to give all possible material aid to the nations which still resist aggression across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

We make it clear that we intend to commit none of the fatal errors of appeasement.

We in this Nation of many States have found the way by which men of many racial origins may live together at peace.

If the human race is to survive, the world must find the way by which men and nations can live together at peace. We cannot accept the doctrine that war must be forever a part of man's destiny.

We do know what would be the foreign policy of those who are doubters about our democracy.

We do not know what would be the foreign policy of those who are obviously trying to sit on both sides of the fence at the same time. Ours is the foreign policy of an administration which has an undying faith in the strength of our democracy today, full confidence in the vitality of our democracy in the future and a consistent record in the cause of peace.

Our strength is measured not only in terms of the might of our armaments. It is measured not only in terms of the horsepower of our machines.

The true measure of our strength lies deeply imbedded in the social and economic justice of the system in which we live.

For you can build ships and tanks and guns galore, but they will not be enough. You must place behind them an invincible faith in the institutions which they have been built to defend.

The dictators have devised a new system—or, rather, a modern, streamlined version of an ancient system.

But Americans will have none of that. They will never submit to domination or influence by nazi-ism or communism, either. They will hesitate to support those of whom they are not absolutely sure.

Americans are determined to retain for themselves the right of free speech, free religion, free assembly, and the right which lies at the basis of all of them—the right to choose the officers of their own Government in free elections.

We intend to keep our freedom—to defend it against attacks from without and against corruption from within. We shall defend it against the forces of dictatorship, whatever disguises and false faces they may wear.

We have learned, however, that freedom in itself is not enough.

Freedom of speech is of no use to a man who has nothing to say.

Freedom of worship is of no use to a man who has lost his God.

Democracy, to be dynamic, must provide for its citizens opportunity as well as freedom.

We of this generation have seen a rebirth of dynamic democracy in America.

The American people have faced with courage the most severe problems of all of our modern history.

The start toward a solution of these problems had to be made by providing the bare necessities of life—food and shelter and clothing. The American people insisted that these obligations were a concern of government. They denied that the only solution was the poorhouse.

Your Government assumed its proper function as the working representative of the average men and women of America. And the reforms in our social structure that we have achieved—these permanent reforms are your achievement.

The New Deal has been the creation of you, the American people.

You provided work for free men and women in America who could find no work.

Idle men were given the opportunity on roads to be built, homes to be erected, rivers to be harnessed, and power to be made for farm and home and industry.

You used the powers of Government to stop the depletion of the topsoil of America, to stop decline in farm prices, to stop foreclosures of homes and farms.

You wrote into our law the right of working men and women to bargain collectively, and you set up machinery to enforce that right.

You turned to the problems of youth and age. You took your children from the factory and shop and outlawed the right of anyone to exploit the labor of those children, and you gave to those children the chance to prepare in body and spirit the molding of an even fuller and brighter day for themselves. For the youth of the land you provided chances for jobs and for education. And for old age itself you provided security and rest.

You made safe the banks which held your savings. You stopped, once and for all, gambling with other people's money—money changing in the temple.

You advanced to other objectives. You gained them, and consolidated them, and advanced again.

The task which this generation had to do has been begun. The forward march of democracy is under way. Its advance must not stop.

During these years, while our democracy moved forward, your Government has worked with you and for you. Your Government has at times been checked. But always, with the aid and counsel of all the people, we have resumed our march.

Now we are asked to stop in our tracks. We are asked to turn about and march back into the wilderness from which we came.

Of course, we will not turn backward. We are the inheritors of a tradition of pioneering, exploring, adventuring, experimenting. We will not be scared into retreating by threats from the doubters of democracy.

Nor will we be bribed by extravagant promises of fabulous wealth.

Those who offer such promises try to delude us with a mirage on the far horizon—a mirage of an island of dreams, with palaces and palms.

The mirage is always upside down, above the horizon.

But—upside down or right side up—it isn't there at all. Now you see it—and now you don't.

Of course, we shall continue to strengthen all these dynamic reforms in our social and economic life—to keep the processes of democracy side by side with the necessities and possibilities of modern industrial production.

Of course, we shall continue to make available the good things of life created by the genius of science and technology—to use them, however, not for the enjoyment of the few but for the welfare of all.

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

Of course we intend to preserve and build up the land of this country—its soil, its forests, its rivers—all of the resources with which God has endowed the people of the United States.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the bodies and minds of the men, women, and children, of this country—through democratic education and a democratic program for health.

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

Of course we intend to continue our efforts to protect our system of private enterprise and private property, protect it from monopoly of financial control on the one hand and from communistic wrecking on the other.

Of course we shall continue our efforts to prevent economic dictatorship as well as political dictatorship.

Of course, we intend to continue to build up the morale of this country, not as blind obedience to some leader, but as the expression of confidence in the deeply ethical principles upon which this Nation and its democracy were founded.

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

The progress of our country, as well as the defense of our country, requires national unity. We need the cooperation of every single American—our workers, the great organizers and technicians in our factories, our farmers, our professional men and women, our workers in industry, our mothers, our fathers, our youth—all the men and women who love America just a little bit more than they love themselves.

And if we can have the assistance of all these, we can promise that such a program can make this country prosperous and free and strong—to be a light of the world and a comfort to all people.

And all the forces of evil shall not prevail against it.

For so it is written in the Book, and so it is written in the moral law, and so it is written in the promise of a great era of world peace.

This Nation which is arming itself for defense has also the intelligence to save its human resources by giving them that confidence which comes from useful work.

This Nation which is creating a great Navy has also found the strength to build houses and begin to clear the slums of its cities and its countryside.

This Nation which has become the industrial leader of the world, has the humanity to know that the people of a free land need not suffer the disease of poverty and the dread of not being wanted.

It is the destiny of this American generation to point the road to the future for all the world to see. It is our prayer that all lovers of freedom may join us—the anguished common people of this earth for whom we seek to light the path.

I see an America where factory workers are not discarded after they reach their prime, where there is no endless chain of poverty from generation to generation, where impoverished farmers and farm hands do not become homeless wanderers, where monopoly does not make youth a beggar for a job.

I see an America whose rivers and valleys—hills and streams and plains—the mountains over our land and nature's wealth deep under the earth—are protected as the rightful heritage of all the people.

I see an America where small business really has a chance to flourish and grow.

I see an America of great cultural and educational opportunity for all the people.

I see an America where the income from the land shall be implemented and protected by a government determined to guarantee to farmers a fair share in the national income.

Where the wheels of trade and private industry continue to turn to make the goods for America; where no businessman can be stifled by the harsh hand of monopoly; and where the legitimate profits of legitimate business are the fair reward of every businessman, big and little, in the Nation.

I see an America with peace in the ranks of labor.

Where the workers are really free and—through their great unions undominated by any outside force, or by any dictator within—can take their proper place at the council table with the owners and managers of business. Where the dignity and security of the workingman and woman are guaranteed by their own strength and fortified by the safeguards of law.

Where those who have reached the evening of life shall live out their years in peace and security. Where pensions and insurance for these aged shall be given as a matter of right to those who through a long life of labor have served their families and their Nation so well.

I see an America devoted to our freedoms, unified by tolerance and by religious faith; a people consecrated to peace, a people confident in strength, because their body and spirit are secure and unafraid.

During these years while our democracy advanced on many fields of battle, I have had the great privilege of being your President. No personal ambition of any man could desire more than that.

It is a hard task. It is a task from which there is no escape day or night.

And through it all there have been two thoughts uppermost in my mind—to preserve peace in our land and to make the forces of democracy work for the benefit of the common people of America.

Seven years ago I started with loyal helpers and with the trust and faith and support of millions of ordinary Americans.

The way was difficult—the path was dark, but we have moved steadily forward to the open fields and the glowing light that shines ahead.

The way of our lives seems clearer now, if we but follow the charts and guides of our democratic faith.

There is a great storm raging now; it makes things harder for the world. And that storm, which did not start in this land of ours, is the true reason that I would like to stick by these people of ours until we reach the clear, sure footing ahead.

We will make it—make it before the next term is over.

We will make it; and the world, we hope, will make it, too.

When that term is over there will be another President, and many more Presidents in the years to come, and I think that word "President" will be a word to cheer the hearts of common men and women everywhere.

Our future belongs to us Americans.

It is for us to design it; for us to build it.

In that building we shall prove that our faith is strong enough to survive the most fearsome storms that have ever swept across this earth.

In the days and months and years to come, we shall be making history—hewing out a new shape for the future. And we shall make very sure that it bears the likeness of liberty.

Always the heart and the soul of our country will be the heart and soul of the common man—the men and women who never have ceased to believe in democracy, who never have ceased to love their families, their homes, and their country.

The spirit of the common man is the spirit of peace and good will. It is the spirit of God. And in His faith is the strength of America.

National Institute of Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. KING). In my individual capacity I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the President of the United States at Bethesda, Md., October 31, 1940, in connection with the dedication of the National Institute of Health.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Nowhere in the world except in the Americas is it possible for any nation to devote a great sector of its effort to life conservation rather than to life destruction.

All of us are grateful that we in the United States can still turn our thoughts and our attention to those institutions of our country which symbolize peace—institutions whose purpose it is to save life and not to destroy it. It is for the dedication of these noble buildings to the service of man that we are assembled here today.

The National Institute of Health speaks the universal language of humanitarianism. It has been devoted throughout its long and distinguished history to furthering the health of all mankind, in which service it has recognized no limitations imposed by international boundaries; has recognized no distinctions of race, of creed, or of color.

The total defense which this Nation seeks involves a great deal more than building airplanes, ships, guns, and bombs.

We cannot be a strong nation unless we are a healthy nation. And so we must recruit not only men and materials but also knowledge and science in the service of national strength. This we are doing.

We have recognized the strategic importance of health by the creation of a health and medical committee in the Council of National Defense whose job it is to coordinate the health and medical aspects of national preparedness. This committee is assisting the Government in the mobilization of the medical and health resources of the country to serve the best interests both of the military and the civilian elements of the Nation.

To do this will require the best energies of the professional and technical leadership of our country.

To do this will require the fullest cooperation between the Government and the hospitals, the medical, dental, nursing, and other professions. We seek the same partnership that we seek for industrial production in the Advisory Commission.

Neither the American people nor their Government intend to socialize medical practice any more than they plan to socialize industry. In American life the family doctor, the general practitioner performers a service which we rely upon and trust.

No one has a greater appreciation than I of the skill and self-sacrifice of the medical profession. And there can be no substitute for the personal relationship between doctor and patient which is a characteristic and a source of strength of medical practice in our land.

Although we have still much to do, the Nation today is better prepared to meet the public-health problems of our emergency than at any previous time in the history of the country.

Since the passage of the Social Security Act with its health provisions in 1935, Federal, State, and local health and medicine are cooperating more broadly than ever before.

Our people are better informed on health matters than ever before.

Scientific knowledge of the causes of disease and also the conditions for health has exceeded any previous limits.

Facilities for health and medical service are more numerous and better.

The Public Health Service is an old institution and has done magnificent work, but it is only recently that the Federal Government has indicated that it can do infinitely more; that disease disregards State lines as well as national; that among the States there is inequality of opportunity for health; and that in such cases the Public Health Service must help.

That partnership is making definite progress against many diseases.

Among the buildings of the National Institute of Health to be dedicated here today stands the National Cancer Institute, created through provisions of the act which I signed August 5, 1937.

The work of this new institute is well under way. It is promoting and stimulating cancer research throughout the Nation; it is bringing to the people of the Nation a message of hope because many forms of the disease are not only curable but even preventable. Beyond this, it is doing research here and in many universities to unravel the mysteries of cancer. We can all have faith in the ultimate results of these efforts.

These buildings, which we dedicate, represent new and improved housing for an institution which has a long and distinguished background of accomplishment in this task of research.

The original demonstration of the cause and method of prevention of pellagra has been followed by other important contributions. Great work has been done in the control of tularemia, Rocky Mountain spotted fever, typhus fever, yellow fever, malaria, and psittacosis.

Now that we are less than a day by plane from the jungle-type yellow fever of South America, less than 2 days from the sleeping sickness of equatorial Africa, less than 3 days from cholera and bubonic plague, the ramparts we watch must be civilian in addition to military.

For the spacious grounds on which these buildings stand we are indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Luke I. Wilson, who wrote me in 1935 asking if part of their estate at Bethesda, Md., could be used to the benefit of the people of this Nation.

I would tell her now as she sits beside me that in their compassion for suffering, their hope for human action to alleviate it, she and her husband symbolize the aspirations of millions of Americans for a cause such as this.

Today the need for the conservation of health and physical fitness is greater than at any time in the Nation's history. In dedicating this institute, I dedicate it to the underlying philosophy of public health; to the conservation of life, to the wise use of the vital resources of our Nation.

I voice for America, and for the stricken world, our hopes, our prayers, our faith in the power of man's humanity to man.

Toward a Greater America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HIRAM W. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES L. McNARY, OF OREGON

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] at Sacramento, Calif., on November 2, 1940, on the subject Toward a Greater America.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOWARD A GREATER AMERICA

It is good to feel the touch of home: to be closing the historic campaign of 1940, as I began it, among my neighbors of the Pacific coast, my neighbors of glorious California, which, through Leland Stanford Junior University, bears the responsibility for whatever higher education I may possess, my neighbors of the rich, vital State of Washington with its windows on our northernmost frontier, Alaska, and my neighbors of my beloved Oregon. We of this coast have a special kinship. A kinship compounded of common pride in the imperial splendor of our mountains, forests, and valleys; of our common outlook on Asia, a world far older than that confronting the Atlantic seaboard; and the kindly, human fraternalism of a new and expanding region. Unlike some of our brethren to the east, we believe in a boundless future. These three States include half the virgin timber standing in America; they contain, at Bonneville, Boulder Dam, and the Grand Coulee, the most gigantic sources of power known to the world. We have the stuff of which empires are made and we have not strayed from the American dream.

I wish tonight to speak to you of the future of America. It is fitting that I should do so in Sacramento. In general, because Sacramento, the gold-rush capital here on the American River, like my own Willamette Valley, was a center and spreading point for this new western civilization. A colorful and melodramatic page of history was written in this valley. Lusty and epical giants walked your stage, bequeathing to California spirit and tradition. The gold rush passed; but it helped to colonize this coast. In the end, gold as a magnet served California better than gold the source of quick wealth. The annual produce of the farms of the Central, and the other fabulously fertile valleys of California, dwarfs the best yearly yield ever panned out of the American, and its tributaries.

Specifically, I am happy to end my campaign in Sacramento because in so doing I honor your great native son, and my great friend. I congratulate you of Sacramento on the contribution which HIRAM JOHNSON has made to the enlightenment of America in this campaign. I heard him—and I suppose you did also—as he invoked the living testimony of the heroes of America, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, in stern warning against the peril of personal power. Like a prophet of old, he spoke with a tongue of fire. He recaptured, in that moment, the great tradition of the United States Senate; a body which he adorns and to which, I know, you will overwhelmingly return him.

I, too, wish to recall America's past in appealing for America's future.

For nearly 8 years we have been assaulted, overtly and subtly, with the doctrine that America is finished. We have been confidently assured that the political and economic system which magnified 13 weak colonies into the world's chief power in a century and a half, distributing unexampled well-being in the process, had suddenly lost its virtue. We have been told—by my opponent, Mr. Wallace, among others—that the competitive method under a political democracy was old and outmoded; a plodding, "horse and buggy" system unsuited to the modern world.

I have opposed this pernicious doctrine with all the force at my command. What made this modern world, this world in which we live? What, if not personal initiative and work. The stored-up credit accumulated during many prosperous Republican years has sustained us while the New Deal theorists plotted their soft new world.

Wendell Willkie has said that the only free man is the productive man. That is the truth we have been asked to ignore, a solid, life-giving, creative truth.

I end this campaign as I began it. At my home city, Salem, Oreg., in accepting the Vice Presidential nomination, I promised to indict the New Deal's capacity to govern this country. That I have done. I have said that Mr. Roosevelt, whatever his charms, took office during a crisis and has insisted on making that crisis permanent. Never withholding credit from the New Deal for genuine accomplishments, I have called attention to what I believe to be its fundamental fault, namely, a loss of faith in our traditions and our capacity for growth.

I have said that Mr. Roosevelt, entirely apart from the real and implied danger of a third term, has outlived his usefulness to his country and should be retired on next Tuesday, for there is nothing in the New Deal's record with our country at peace which qualifies it to rule over a country that may, conceivably, be at war. I have not indulged in epithet. Yet—and I measure my words—I say that another 4 years of the New Deal might alter our way of living and looking at things beyond recognition; that the liberties we now take for granted would be changed and impaired; and that the lot of all of us would be worse than now.

Worse, perhaps than all this, I fear that an extension of the New Deal would enfeeble us in a world where only the strong will be secure.

The New Deal subordinates the American raw materials producer to international politics. Gladly, Mr. Hull and Mr. Wallace sacrifice the farmer in favor of a flabby good-neighbor policy. I strongly favor hemispheric solidarity and a good-neighbor policy. But I am a realist. We live in a hard world, where blood is shed and countries lost through confused and soft thinking.

I want America to take its proper place in the world. We are rich, strong, and strategically placed at the crossroads between Europe and Asia. We cannot evade the responsibilities of our power. I do not wish to go to war and I see no reason to go to war. No humane person does. I do not wish, on the other hand, to be weak and unprepared. The world being what it is, we might have to fight for survival. We do not need to fight for aggression or expansion. All the elements of expansion lie within our own borders.

I do not trust the New Deal to manage our relations outside our borders, especially as the New Deal has neglected our defenses within our borders.

We obtain ships, guns, and airplanes—on hand or on order—yet the New Deal weakens the farmer and mineral producer by unwise foreign-trade policies. Food production surely is a first line of defense; yet our food producers are compelled to accept alms from the Government while competitive products flood our markets and the New Deal refuses to take the just and simple steps which would assure the American farmer the American price for that part of his crop consumed domestically.

The orchardists, the wheat and vegetable growers, the cattle and lumber men of the coast know what I'm talking about.

Back in 1934 Mr. Hull proposed and Mr. Wallace seconded a formula for foreign trade known as the reciprocal-trade treaties. They were not reciprocal, because the unconditional most-favored-nation clause spread the benefits of a concession given one nation throughout the globe; they did not promote trade and they were not treaties, the New Deal refusing to allow them to be passed upon by the Senate. The life of these treaties was extended in 1937 and 1940. I opposed them at all times. Failing to extend foreign markets for farm products, they narrowed them. At the same time the favors so freely granted to competitive countries admitted competitive imports into our markets. Our trade treaty with Canada, automatically extended to Mexico, resulted in the import of three-quarters of a million head of beef cattle from those two countries last year.

The vegetable grower sees his market depressed by products of peon labor easily flowing over reduced tariff barriers. The wheat grower's foreign market vanishes. I refrain from burdening you

with statistics, but I call to your attention the figures on farm trade in the 8 months of 1939 before the outbreak of war in Europe distorted all normal trade relationships. In those 8 months farm exports declined by $60,000,000, or 11 percent, while at the same time farm imports increased by $203,000,000, or 29 percent; and of that gain, 75 percent was competitive. Or, in other words, those imports replaced in the American market the produce of our own farms.

I do not know of a more shameful national policy. In effect, it starves the California farmer, who pays taxes, educates his children, contributes to the community good, in favor of the peasant of Europe or the loin-clothed native of Oceania. In this campaign Mr. Wallace has not defended the trade treaties. He has elected to interpret the minds of the dictators, telling us that they would rather we chose Mr. Willkie than Mr. Roosevelt. Unlike Mr. Wallace, I have no access to the minds of the dictators. I have been concerned with matters nearer home.

The case of the lumber producer is even more distressing. We once had a $3 excise tax on lumber imports; $3 per thousand board feet. That impost was justified because of higher labor standards here. Our timber workers shared the American standard of living. In debate on the trade treaties on the Senate floor, I stipulated that this excise tax be maintained. Ordinarily, a Senator's word is as good as his bond. In this instance, New Deal pressure overcame senatorial scruples, and the tax was reduced by a trade agreement to one dollar and half.

We have every regard for our Canadian cousins. They are gallantly fighting the good fight. We have a virtual alliance with them. We have no desire to injure their war effort. But they are a plain-speaking people. They would be the first to admit that they have a 20-percent differential in our market because of the weakness of their dollar in relation to ours. They did not need repeal of the excise tax to compete fairly with our lumbermen. As a result of the exchange disparity, the trade treaty and the disappearance of the excise tax, we have lost the Pacific lumber markets.

The farm producer has been beaten back since the 1920's. In those piping times he was asking his Government to fight for his share in world trade. He now must fight to hold onto his share in the American market. I deplore that fact. The rational solution for the farmer's plight is in market and price arrangements, not production controls. In all history, no attempt to curb production ever has succeeded. After 7 years of that kind of effort, we have more corn and wheat on the farms, more cotton in warehouses, than in 1933. Moreover, the farmer's dollar is still at a heavy discount when he buys city products. Prices of surplus crops are far short of parity.

Farm relief this year costs more than a billion dollars. That is a needed indemnity, indemnifying the farm producer for the failure of the New Deal's negative, reactionary farm policy. The New Deal has perpetuated the farm problem. Given a rational application of the two-price system—reserving to the farmer the American market at a price equated to the prices he pays for what he consumes, allowing surpluses to find their levels in the world markets—the farm problem would disappear. Furthermore, the farmer's independence would be restored. I have yet to find a farmer who would not prefer to obtain his living from the markets rather than to draw benefit checks from Washington.

Wider markets at a fair price—that is the answer. I believe enlarged markets are easily to be found. The next administration, believing in the market system, will make every effort to find them. Our objective will be a free, stable, prosperous farmer, lord of his own acres and raised to economic equality with the city producer.

The shock of events beyond both our oceans drives us, whether we like it or not, increasingly to depend on our own resources. Of all peoples, we are best able to provide for ourselves. If we use our wits, we can obtain every raw material we need either here at home or in the nearby Tropics. In the great West we have untouched mineral wealth capable of filling almost every industrial need. We have only to develop deposits of chromium, manganese, and quicksilver to free us of foreign sources.

I favor the rapid development of our latent mineral wealth, both as a measure of preparedness for possible war and as a means of increasing national wealth. Unlike the New Deal, I do not approve of importing products of the soil and mine that can be produced at home. Mr. Hull seems to believe that a transaction takes on added merit if it reaches across national boundaries. The New Deal worships a nineteenth century abstraction known as foreign trade. It sacrifices, or is willing to sacrifice, the 95 percent of our commerce which moves within our borders for the 5 percent that crosses them. We need and want foreign trade, but domestic trade should have priority.

As we tend toward self-containment, the conservation of natural resources, such as soil, forests, and water power becomes a national necessity. I strongly favor the Government's soil-betterment policy. Half the virgin timber, I have said, stands on this coast. That is a rich heritage, which should not be wasted. We must find a way to balance the yearly cut with the yearly growth. Rightly regarded, lumber is a crop. We must evolve better and more equitable methods of taxing this slow-growing crop in the interest of local communities and private owners.

As we work toward a greater, fairer America, we must make even more intensified use of the resources of water which bless our arid and semiarid West. Your Central Valley project is a case in point. A reclamation project in the strictest sense—reclaiming hundreds of thousands of acres now denied sufficient moisture—it should be hurried to completion. The well-being of this great Sacramento and San Joaquin district, with its million people; the well-being, the future development of all California, demand that this work be expedited.

I suggest the speed-up of the whole reclamation program. We are a fast-growing section. We need the yield of many millions of acres, now dry, to feed our people. In case of war, our dependence on the East for too great a proportion of our needs might prove inconvenient. It might even damage our united wartime effort. It is fortunate, indeed, that we have these great public power projects at Boulder Dam, Grand Coulee, and Bonneville already in being or well under way and dedicated to the principle that the people have first claim on the production of power from the publicly owned streams.

You of the West know—and I am certain you have that confidence—that the next administration, under Mr. Willkie, will safeguard and confirm that principle.

Of one thing we all may feel assured, whatever the verdict of the voters may be on the 5th day of November all will support the administration in power, as only a unified America can be a well-defended America.

A good many years ago a boy made his way down into California from old Salem in Oregon to further his education. He worked as he studied over at Stanford. I was that boy. A few years earlier another young man from Salem came down to Stanford; he, too, working his way through college. That young man was Herbert Hoover, my boyhood friend, your fellow Californian, and the last President of the United States antedating the New Deal.

I do not believe that a system which allows young men to gain education and a high place in the world through their own efforts is ready for the discard. I would rather see that system expanded so that, year by year, more boys may find opportunities. The time has come to restore in America the traditional relationship between a boy and a job; we must reorganize our national effort, free our national energies, so that again boys may look forward with confidence to learning a vocation, earning a living, and making a responsible place in the world. That much is a minimum demand on our Government.

As an integral part of any legislative program it may be said that both the farmer and the businessman should profit by the application of a generous pension plan which would stimulate the purchases of our surplus commodities by assuring for them a fixed and balanced market.

Those who are devoting themselves to the cause of good government can take this means of assuring to our workers in their old age at least the products of their labor of earlier years. Thus there shall be happiness and peace in homes now darkened with despair, and in serving the cause of good government we shall serve the cause of democracy and humanity as well.

This statement I made on the floor of the United States Senate about 5 years ago while that body was considering the social-security bill.

In this campaign the Republican Party, renewed and revitalized under Wendell Willkie, is the party of tomorrow. Today we represent the progressive forces of the Nation. The New Deal, with its pessimism, its antiquated crop controls and farmer regimentation, its dalliance with the reactionary enticements of personal rulership and State socialism, is the party which looks back.

The crusade which reaches a climax next Tuesday will not halt there. It will go forward, for it embodies the best of the American spirit, the cream of the American tradition. We believe that the pioneer enterprise and brotherliness survive unimpaired and only await a fresh call from a dynamic, positive administration. We believe in abundance—not scarcity. We believe in work and thrift—and their proper rewards. We regard State socialism, the recent product of European poverty, political inexperience, and intellectual sterility, as repugnant to America. We wish to liberate America's inexhaustible energies of manpower and resources. For the Republican Party believes, with you of the West, that America is young and has only just begun to live.

Securities and Exchange Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE W. GILLIE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 4, 1940

ARTICLE BY PHIL S. HANNA

Mr. GILLIE. Mr. Speaker, on October 4, 1940, I inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD, page 6185, excerpts from a statement by Phil S. Hanna, of the Chicago Journal of Commerce of October 4, 1940, concerning certain activities of the Securities and Exchange Commission. On October 12 I received a lengthy reply from Mr. Jerome Frank, Chairman of the Se-

curities and Exchange Commission, answering Mr. Hanna's statement. This reply I sent to Mr. Hanna that he might have the viewpoint of the Securities and Exchange Commission. I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD Mr. Hanna's comments on this matter.

The matter referred to follows:

[From the Chicago Journal of Commerce of October 24, 1940]

THE ROUND TABLE

(By Phil S. Hanna)

Discrediting operations are coming from another rather interesting quarter. We had supposed that the Securities and Exchange Commission was paid to administer the securities acts and not to run a publicity bureau to challenge every statement which private citizens might make about the Commission. Chairman Jerome Frank of the Commission made a speech in Memphis last Friday which listeners seem to agree was a charge that the investment bankers were trying to "disembowel" the securities acts. President Connely of the I. B. A. charged that Mr. Frank deliberately misrepresented the position of the I. B. A. as to securities legislation. Now Mr. Frank retorts that he did not say at Memphis what the reporters said he said. Ho hum!

It is a silly kind of business but it is happening too often for one not to begin to be at least suspicious of Mr. Frank. Connely has since particularized, charging Frank with saying at Memphis that "a small group of ultraconservative investment bankers were trying to have the securities act gutted." Frank now says that his speech was "misinterpreted" and avers that he "does not believe the bankers want the act gutted and has never said that he believed that."

All of this leads us up to a little altercation of our own with Mr. Frank. On October 4 in this column we said: "This week the S. E. C. quietly set up a situation in the Associated Gas receivership affair which in effect defies the order of a court, and seemingly starts the wheels in motion for a show-down between the power of the S. E. C. and the power of the courts." Representative GILLIE, of Indiana, inserted the Round Table of October 4 containing these remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

On October 11 Mr. Frank wrote at length to Representative GILLIE declaring that a reading of the findings and opinion in the Northeastern Water & Electric Corporation case "will convince you that Mr. Hanna's characterizations of our decision are completely unwarranted," etc., etc. He makes pointed reference to a statement by the Commission that "we have never intended, nor do we ever intend, to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the bankruptcy court * * * desire to cooperate with the court and the trustees."

All this is well and good but all we said in our few words what the Commission says (on p. 2314 of the appendix to their opinion) in many words.

That opinion says in one place: "No order of the bankruptcy court can relieve this Commission of its plain duties under the act, nor can any order of that court relieve the trustees from the provisions of that act applicable to them." Simple logic says that there would be no occasion for making such a statement if the order of the bankruptcy court had not been in conflict with the actions of the Commission.

That others besides ourselves took the same view is to be seen in a statement in the New York Times on October 3, where it was said that "2 weeks ago Federal Judge Leibell * * * said it would be unreasonable for the S. E. C. to order the dividends withheld, adding that 'if conditions imposed by the S. E. C. are reasonable and necessary, that is one thing; but if they lack those qualities, they will not be approved by this court.'" The article referred to starts out with these words: "Taking issue with a Federal judge, the S. E. C. ruled that the Northeastern Water & Electric Corporation could not pay dividends on its capital stock," etc.

As the old saying goes, "You pays your money and you takes your choice." The New York Times quotes the judge as saying that an unreasonable order "will not be approved by this court." The Commission says, "We have never intended to encroach on the court." And Mr. Frank, writing to Representative GILLIE, says: "Mr. Hanna's charges that our decision seemingly starts the wheels in motion for a show-down between the S. E. C. and the court is baseless."

But the point of the incident is the method that Mr. Frank pursues, as well as the question of whether the S. E. C. is defying the courts. If a commission had proper respect for a court and were not trying to impose its will in defiance of a court, there would be no occasion to write to Congressmen in an attempt to discredit a private critic.

This complex of trying to justify acts by discrediting critics is a mark of a mental attitude which does not understand democratic processes. The head of the S. E. C. should no more be an advocate or a disciplinarian than the "copper" on the corner. The representatives of the people are supposed to make the rules and the hired administrators are supposed to enforce them, not lecture the lawbreakers.

When conflict arises—as in this case—between instructions Congress has given an administrator and the interpretation placed thereon by a court, a really good administrator would appeal to Congress to have conflict removed, not lecture the private citizen who publicized the conflict or be contentious with a court.

More than that, a really good administrator would first weigh and reflect on every criticism made of him to see whether or not he could profit thereby. But not in the modern way at Washington. From the top down it is deemed more important to take time to discredit critics than to attend to the business of government.

New Frontiers for the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HIRAM W. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES L. MCNARY, OF OREGON

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an address delivered by the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MCNARY] at Salt Lake City, Utah, on November 1, 1940, on the subject New Frontiers for the West be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I fear that, of all Americans, we westerners are the most provincial. Provincial not in the bad sense of being inhospitable to strangers and indifferent to lands lying beyond our horizons, but provincial in the good sense that our roots strike deeply into our soil. We know the pangs of homesickness. We long for our mountains when absent from them. I must confess that I am that kind of provincial. And so I rejoice today at being back West, where—if you will forgive the note of pride—the mountains are vaster, the skies deeper, the plains and deserts limitless, the timber taller, the rivers stronger in their rush to the sea, and the people confident of a better tomorrow.

I love the West. I have faith in the West.

I am bound home to my farm in Oregon to vote.

Four days from now we shall all be voting. No one will question our right. It will occur to everyone that we should be foregathering in country schoolhouses, villages, cities—West, Midwest, South, and East—to determine our common policies for the next 4 years. Proud as I am of being a native of the far West, I am prouder in these days—when liberty perishes over whole continents—to be an American, free and determined to remain so. Freedom, thank God, is no longer merely an abstract word with us. In the face of what is transpiring in Europe and Asia, it has, as we approach this election, a concrete and precious meaning to Americans.

For a century and a half, without interruption, we have exercised the right to select from among ourselves those citizens who were to govern us. We had dispensed—or thought we had—with kings and hereditary reigning families. Our rulers were citizen rulers who, when their appointed time of authority had passed, stepped back again into the ranks of citizens. Stepped back without complaint or rancor, holding themselves to be no better, no wiser, no more peculiarly gifted than many of their contemporaries. At our best, we are a democratic, simple, kindly people, despising affectation, side pretensions to rank.

I, for one, genuinely regret that the President, in a supreme testing time for democracy and the principle of self-government, should have chosen to transgress this unwritten rule of national procedure.

This is no time, with the world rocking under the blows of personal rulers, to assert the unique capacity of one American to guide our destinies. Speaking as a citizen who never has withheld a just appreciation of Mr. Roosevelt's accomplishments, I hope his ambition will be rebuked next Tuesday.

The West, as we reflect on it, is no longer young as years go. For nearly two-thirds of our national existence there have been permanent settlements here in the Great Basin and in my own Willamette Valley. The Mormons, who caused this desert to bloom, and the pioneers of the Oregon country were contemporaries. They founded the first American outposts of civilization west of the Rockies—almost, indeed, west of the Missouri. Before them were only roving trappers, traders, explorers, and soldiers blazing the trails.

I think today of one of those trail blazers, Peter Skene Ogden, and the amazement and admiration with which he viewed the advent of the Mormon farmers into the barren basin of Salt Lake.

This was in 1848. Only a year before Brigham Young had led his hosts down through Emigration Canyon, had raised the Stars and Stripes on Ensign Peak. The multiplied hundreds of the first party were followed by more in 1848. Ogden said, watching the stream of wagons, and I quote: "It is hard to conceive by what inducements so many thousands of reasonable men could have been prevailed upon to leave their comfortable homes and fertile lands for this wild adventure, except, indeed, the spirit of enterprise which seems to be inherent in the Anglo-American race * * *." Ogden used the phrase "Anglo-American" to distinguish the settlers from the Spanish-Americans to the south and west.

The spirit of enterprise is inherent in the American race.

I wonder if—under all the arguments, and involved in all the thousands of speeches which have been hurled at your ears in this campaign—that spirit is not what is at stake next Tuesday.

I believe it is. I believe we are confronted with two philosophies of action—one negative, one affirmative; one foreign to our aggressive, expansionist behavior as a nation, the other familiar.

For 2 months I have campaigned through the farm belt, attacking the negative course of the New Deal. I have condemned the New Deal creed that we are an aging people, ready to give up the struggle and take to our economic beds until the undertaker comes. Ready to accept doles in place of markets and jobs, as a permanent thing. I have called that a timid, evasive doctrine ill-suited to the American character. I have challenged the weak internationalism of the New Deal, which prefers the interest of the agricultural producer in South America or the Far East to the well-being of the Idaho or Iowa or Texas farmer; which seeks, unrealistically, to appease other countries by opening the American market to their producers to the detriment of our own raw producers. I have denounced the New Deal's growing regimentation of the farmer; its insistence on bureaucratically settling the details of his existence in Washington. I have said that I feared that tendency might end—in another 4 years—by making the self-reliant, independent American farmer into a prototype of the European peasant; bound to his township, beholden to an overlord, in this case the Government, for guidance, support, and daily instructions.

All the while—as I see it today—I have been protesting against the New Deal's efforts to repress, to deflect, to soften Peter Ogden's spirit of enterprise. That is the crux of our campaign; it is for that spirit that Wendell Willkie crusades. He repudiates the negation that America is finished; that the last frontier has gone.

I, too, reject that view. I go further. I say that if the frontier has gone, then it is up to us to create new ones.

We have the means to do that. I believe we also have the will. In the Rocky Mountain and Plains States, and over on the Pacific coast, we have millions of bountiful acres that await only the union of water with soil to bring forth abundantly. In 1934, the National Resources Board estimated that 50,000,000 acres of our arid and semiarid West could still be irrigated. The Reclamation Bureau's figures are more conservative. In any case, we have possibilities vaster today than back in 1847 when Orson Pratt and his advance party of Mormons made camp, plowed and started an irrigation project all in one day, not far from where we now are meeting. The next day they planted potatoes. Orson Pratt and his companions were, the records state, the first Americans of northern European stock to undertake irrigation on this continent.

That debt we owe the Mormon pioneers. I like the matter-of-fact brevity of Orson Pratt's notation in his journal on this revolutionary, this epochal day's work. I quote: "About 2 hours after our arrival we began to plow, and the same afternoon built a dam to irrigate the sod."

A large part of the social and economic fabric that we know as our western civilization rests on that, quite literal, spadework. We exist by virtue of irrigation. Twenty million acres in these 15 States are artificially watered. Without irrigation our population would be today as sparse and needy as the Indians'. With irrigation we produce fruit, vegetables, sugar beets, livestock—a diversity of foodstuffs that enrich us and the people of America as well.

We are told that within another 20 years we shall have 8,000,000 more acres under cultivation.

Why 20 years? The need is here and now. We of the West are under a terrific population pressure from the Dust Bowl and from the Southwest, where great areas, formerly sharecropped, are being tractored off because of a cruel New Deal policy which allows a landlord to collect all the benefits on all his acreage. Between 1934 and 1937, 50,000 families migrated from the eastern Great Plains and the Southwest to the Rocky Mountain and Coast States.

The unhappy victims of dust and the New Deal may be found in all these States. Only a small proportion have been able to get a fresh start. They live in camps, dwell along side roads, find jobs as migratory agricultural hands.

I have a deep sympathy with these involuntary pioneers. They were forced out of their homes. They come from the old American stock. They are poor, lacking in means for a decent survival; they have only their hands with which to work.

The Government has spent in the Plains, Mountain, and Coast States two and a half billion dollars on relief to the needy. Only a microscopic few of the recipients, I am happy to say, lived on irrigated land. A quarter of that huge sum spent in expediting reclamation projects and initiating new ones would have afforded homes and means of livelihood to many thousands of our dispossessed fellow Americans. The money would have been well invested in our future.

I favor expediting and expanding reclamation—not only as a means of meeting the emergency but also as a means of building the West and increasing the wealth of America.

I turn now to the farm problem, a subject close to my heart. There is not one farm problem. There are many. They are as numerous as the crops themselves, but I hold that once we solve the central, vital problem of an equitable return for the farm product we have at least reduced to a minimum the others.

The New Deal, satisfied with its farm program, sees the aggregate improvement it has been able to make in the farmer's lot as a maximum aim. I see it as a minimum. I accept that program only as a stop-gap substitute for something better until something better can be provided. And I assert, in full confidence, that the next administration will be able to provide something better. You may, quite properly, ask the grounds for my confidence. My answer is prompt.

The next administration will not begin, as did the New Deal, with the notion that the American economy is winding up; that it is in its dotage. It was in 1932, before the election, that Mr. Roosevelt set the party line in a speech at San Francisco, wherein he said, and I quote: "Our industrial plant is built. The problem just now is whether under existing conditions it is not overbuilt. Our last frontier has long since been reached and there is practically no more free land. * * * Our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plant already in hand * * *."

The Republican Party and the next administration take direct issue with the concept of a shrinking economy. We propose to create greater abundance; not to strive for scarcity and devote our chief energy to planning how to distribute that scarcity. I have said that the farm problem is primarily one of markets. The New Deal, doubting that markets are expansible and that new markets may be found, has made little effort to find them.

In addition, the next administration will not be bound by the free-trade dogmas of Secretary of State Hull. A patient and lovable gentleman, Secretary Hull yearns for the return of the last century, before the world had been parceled out into trade preserves; before the days of quotas, embargoes, and the other arbitrary devices of totalitarian trade. Hence the reciprocal-trade treaties, which are not reciprocal, do not promote trade, and are not properly treaties, not being subject to ratification by the Senate. They are not reciprocal because, under the unconditional most-favored-nation practice, a treaty negotiated between the United States and Mexico, for example, at once applies to all other countries with which we maintain unimpaired trade relations.

It may be appropriate for me briefly to quote from a speech I made in the Senate in April of this year on reciprocal-trade agreements: "What impelling motive should prompt us to lower our standards to those of Europe and Asia or any other country? Our sacrifice will not solve their problems of economics, conquest, or peace. The best contribution we can make to the world, as well as ourselves, is to defend, preserve, and improve our American standards of living by protecting American markets for American producers at American prices."

The next administration undoubtedly will deal with foreign countries realistically. At the least, it will reserve to the American farm producer first access to his own market. It will further, by every means, seek to enlarge the American market for farm products—both by improving the consuming power of city consumers and also by encouraging the industrial uses of farm raw materials. Thirdly, it will search for a formula for freeing the American farm price from the vagaries of foreign markets; putting the farmer on the same footing with other American producers, who sell at the American—not the world—price. That simply means folding the American farmer at last into the American economy.

An administration worth its salt will strive for parity prices—not parity payments. It will seek to make our surpluses a blessing and not a curse. It will seek to blot out rural poverty and avoid future enforced shameful large scale migrations. A first order of business will be restoration of the family-size farmer to his rightful place as an independent producer, realizing, with Jefferson, that the prospering freeholder is the cornerstone of the democratic state.

To me a permanent solution of the agricultural problem does not appear to be insuperable. A substantial solution merely involves a national program which will allot to each farmer his fair share in the American market upon which he will receive parity price. Such a plan would assure the farmer his equitable share in the National income. This desideratum can be accomplished through some form of an allotment plan, whereby a segregation will be made of that part of the crop which is required for domestic consumption, and that part which is denominated the exportable surplus.

Whatever administration controls our destinies after next January I shall continue my fight for the American farmer to supply the American market to the full extent of his ability.

I propose to discuss for a moment the sugar situation with this principle in mind. Under the quota provisions of the Sugar Act, sugar needed to meet the requirements of domestic consumption shall be supplied as follows: A little less than 30 percent of domestic and cane sugar inside continental America; outside of continental America slightly better than 70 percent. So you will observe that our growers are permitted to produce less than 30 percent of the sugar consumed by our own people. For the sake of brevity and clarity, permit me to call as an expert witness the able and industrious Senator from Idaho, Mr. JOHN THOMAS, who said on the United States Senate floor as late as the 4th day of October, quote: "I prefer not to yield at this time. I wish to point out how the administration has acted deliberately to cripple the domestic sugar industry. Under the present Sugar Act, the American market is protected not by a tariff, but by quotas which are adjusted at the discretion of the Department of Agriculture. The tariff on Cuban sugar, which was formerly 2 cents a pound, has been reduced to nine-tenths of a cent a pound—considerably less than the difference in the cost of production between the United States and Cuba.

"The law provides that Cuba shall be given a substantially larger share of the American market than the entire western sugar-beet area is permitted to supply.

"The western area is limited to less than 25 percent of the American market, and both the sugar-beet section and the southern cane growers together are permitted to supply less than 30 percent of the domestic market. This in itself, even were the act administered with the interests of the American grower in mind, is unfair. It is unfair to the sugar growers and it is unfair to every other farmer in the United States. There are thousands of additional acres in the West on which sugar beets could be profitably grown if the Govern-

ment would permit. Today these acres which should be producing sugar which can be profitably marketed are producing crops of which we already have surpluses burdening the market and depressing prices."

Even if we did not have to grapple with a farm problem, the New Deal has brought upon us a budgetary problem. In 1933 President Roosevelt told our people, "For 3 long years the Federal Government has been on the road to bankruptcy." If that was true then, by this time we are dangerously close to that goal, for we now owe our creditors $23,000,000,000 more than we owed them in 1933. A continuation of this mountainous spending will, at least, I fear, impair the standard of living of all our people. I imagine I can hear my long-time friend and your distinguished citizen, Senator Reed Smoot, sadly remark, "What of tomorrow?"

In conclusion let me say I speak with the accents and the interests of a farmer. My public life has been dedicated to that interest. I am for the American farmer. If I were to put my position in a phrase, it would be this: The American market for the American farmer at the American price. You know what that means.

We on the Republican side of this campaign are solemnly pledged to the inherent spirit of American enterprise which Peter Ogden observed in the first settlers of Utah. We believe in self-help, self-reliance—those virtues so sturdily exemplified by the Latter Day Saints from 1847 until now in our western country—and the expansion of America, its spirit, its resources, and its capacity to work. We know no defeat. We believe in the future.

The Chameleon's Dilemma

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT AT BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by the President of the United States in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Brooklyn, N. Y., November 1, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Sentiment is a very wonderful and continuing thing in the human race. It has brought me back again to this old Brooklyn Academy of Music on the Friday night before election.

This is a strange campaign. Here it is almost the day of election, and it is still impossible to determine what are the principles of the opposition party. What is it that the Republican leaders would do during the next 4 years if given a chance?

They have made campaign speeches on all sides of all questions.

On a Monday we hear that this administration has done a good job with its foreign policy; on Tuesday we hear the foreign policies of the United States condemned.

On Wednesday we understand that our policy toward agriculture should not be changed; and on Thursday we learn, to our amazement, that the farmers have been the victims of the New Deal and are forced to exist on a dole.

On Friday we are treated to the encouraging thought that the social gains of labor during the past 7 years should be continued; and on Saturday we are told to weep because labor has been the principal sufferer under the New Deal.

To one group further and bigger relief is held out; and to the big taxpayers cuts in expenditures are promised.

One day they say they would continue our good-neighbor policy; the next day they hurl insults at certain of our good neighbors to the south.

That is the way they seek to catch a vote here and a vote there.

There is, however, one explanation for these contradictions. That explanation is found in the strange, the very strange, assortment of political bedfellows who have been brought together in the Republican political dormitory.

Many conflicting interests, many irreconcilable social outlooks, many fundamentally opposite economic attitudes have been thrown together under one political roof.

The only common philosophy and the only common purpose they have is to get wholly rid of all the New Deal—lock, stock, and barrel—and to get control of government in their own hands for their own purposes.

Just as they have not been able to foist their falsifications on the American people, they will never be able to foist this only common purpose of theirs upon the American people.

We will all see to that next Tuesday.

We all know the story of the unfortunate chameleon who turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and red when placed on a red rug, and who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch plaid. We all know what would happen to Government if it tried to fulfill all the secret understandings and promises made between the conflicting groups which are now backing the Republican Party.

There is something very ominous in this combination which has been forming within the Republican Party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements of this country.

There is no common ground upon which they can unite, unless it be their common will to power and their impatience with the normal democratic processes to produce overnight the inconsistent dictatorial ends they each seek.

No elements in American public life have made such vicious attacks upon each other in recent years as have the members of this new unholy alliance against each other.

I do not think that some of the men, even some of the leaders, who have been drawn into this unholy alliance realize what a threat that sort of an alliance may bring to the future of democracy in this country.

I am certain that the rank and file of patriotic Republicans do not realize the nature of this threat.

They should remember, and we must remember, what the collaborative understanding between communism and nazi-ism has done to the processes of democracy abroad.

Something evil is happening in this country when a full-page advertisement against this administration, paid for by Republican supporters, appears—where, of all places?—in the Daily Worker, the newspaper of the Communist Party.

Something evil is happening in this country when vast quantities of Republican campaign literature are distributed by organizations which make no secret of their admiration for the dictatorship form of government.

These forces hate democracy and Christianity as two phases of the same civilization. They oppose democracy because it is Christian. They oppose Christianity because it preaches democracy.

Their objective is to prevent democracy from becoming strong and purposeful. We are strong and purposeful now.

In the years after the last World War, Americans worked and built many things, but few of our people stopped to think why they were working and why they were building and whither they were tending.

Those were the days when prosperity was measured only by the stock ticker.

There were the factory workers forced to labor long hours at low wages in sweatshop conditions. They could look forward to no security in their old age. They could look forward to no insurance during periods of unemployment.

There were the farmers of the Nation, overburdened with debt and with farm surpluses, their income vanishing, their farms threatened with foreclosure.

There were the natural resources of the land being wasted—soil, forests, minerals, water power.

There were millions of workers, unable to organize to protect their livelihoods, unable to form trade-unions.

There were the small businesses of the Nation threatened by the monopolies of concentrated wealth.

The savings of the many were entrusted to supposedly great financiers, who were to lose these savings in fantastic adventures of giant holding companies and giant investment trusts.

The crash came as it had to come. And then for 3 years the American people waited and suffered. For 3 years the American Government did nothing to help.

In 1933 the American people began to stir themselves. They had come to learn that inaction offered no escape from the problems of a troubled and changing world.

The American people determined then and there that what could not be done by individual effort could be done through joint effort; that what the industrial and financial leaders could not do a democratic government could do.

You all know the history of recovery, beginning in 1933 and progressing ever since.

Our economic system began again to function. Then came the suggestion from monopolistic finance that while the Government had done a good rescue job the best thing it could do at that point was to forget all about it and to turn the whole economic system back to Wall Street to run it again.

They little knew the temper of the American people. The New Deal was no mere rescue party, to restore to a chosen few their old power over the people's savings, the people's labor, the people's lives.

We had seen social unrest at home and abroad—the frustrated hopes of common men and women, the apathy which is the forerunner of cynicism, the despair which dissolves civilization. What this administration was determined to do was to save America from that frustration and from that despair.

We all remember how negligible was the opposition this administration met in the early days when it was cleaning up the wreckage which had come from the era of speculation.

The bitter opposition from Republican leaders did not come until a little later. It came when this administration made it clear that we were not merely salvaging a few things from the past, but that we were determined to make our system of private enterprise and private profit work more efficiently and democratically to fill the demands and needs of all the people of America.

We understand the philosophy of those who offer resistance and counteroffensive against the American people's march of social progress. It is not an opposition which comes necessarily from wickedness—it is an opposition which comes from subconscious resistance to any measure which disturbs the position of privilege.

It is an unfortunate human failing that a full pocketbook often groans more loudly than an empty stomach.

I am a firm believer in private enterprise and in private property. I am a firm believer in the American opportunity of men and women to rise in private enterprise.

Of course, if private opportunity is to remain safe, average men and women must be able to have it as part of their own individual satisfaction in life and their own stake in democracy.

With that in view we have pushed ahead with social and economic reforms, determined that this period in American life should be written down as a heroic era—an era in which men fought not merely to preserve a past but to build a future.

We have seen nations great and small go down in ruin or get backed up against the wall, because the reactionary men who led them could not see the real danger that threatened. They were afraid of losing their own selfish privilege and power. They feared the legitimate forward surge of their own common people more than they feared the menacing might of foreign dictators.

For them we take warning here.

Most Republican leaders in our own country for the last 7 years have bitterly fought and blocked that forward surge of average men and women in the pursuit of happiness. And let us not be deluded that overnight those leaders have become the real friends of these average men and women.

Do you believe that the bulk of the money to finance this vast Republican campaign is being provided by people who have the interests of the common man at heart? Very few of us are so gullible.

Oh, they may say at election time that they approve the social gains and social objectives of the last 7 years. But I say that these men have not yet proven that they even understand what these social gains or social objectives have been.

The American people know how many and how difficult were the battles we have fought and won in the last 7 years.

Do you want to abandon the protection of people's savings from fraudulent manipulators, the curbing of giant holding companies that despoiled investors and consumers alike, by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought these reforms?

Do you want to abandon the responsibility for the well-being of those who live and work on the farms of the Nation to those who fought against the farm program every inch of the way?

Do you want to abandon collective bargaining, the outlawing of child labor, the minimum wage, the time and a half for overtime, the elimination of sweat-shop conditions by turning them over to the proven enemies of labor?

Do you want to hamstring the old-age pension system, unemployment insurance, aid for children and maternity welfare, vocational training for the physically handicapped, financial aid to the blind by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought and misrepresented these reforms?

Do you want to abandon slum clearance to those Republican leaders who have fought against appropriations for decent housing?

Do you want to turn over your Government to those who failed to have confidence in the future of America and who now preach fear for the future of America? As an example of this doctrine of fear, certain insurance companies are now sending letters to their policyholders, warning them that if this administration is retained in office their policies will shrink in value.

This is just another form of pay-envelope campaign of fear like the one in 1936.

The fact is that the very existence of most of these insurance companies was saved in 1933 by this administration. They are today fully solvent.

If there were a vestige of truth in these dangerous forebodings, the bonds of the United States would be selling very low in price. The fact is, however, that only last week the Government of the United States sold 1-year bonds for public housing—$100,000,000 worth of them at an interest rate of only one-quarter of 1 percent. They were oversubscribed 18 times. That certainly indicates the solidity of the credit of the United States. And if you need further proof, look at the treasury of the Commonwealth & Southern system. There you will find that they have bought and hold $21,000,000 of United States Government securities.

Our program in the past, our program for the future is equality of economic opportunity. Such a program calls for many things. It requires an orderly settlement of industrial disputes not by those devoted to company unions but by agencies alert to the requirements of labor and mindful of the responsibilities of industry.

This program entails old-age insurance and unemployment insurance operating on an increasingly wider base.

It makes available cheap credit to impoverished tenants, consumers, and small business. In fact our program starts with small business so that it may grow and flourish.

It curbs the old predatory activities of high finance and monopoly practices.

It guarantees that our national resources are used for the benefit of the whole people—not exploited for the benefit of a few.

It provides for the resettlement of farmers from marginal lands to richer lands, and for farm ownership for enslaved tenants.

Monopoly does not like this program. Certain types of high finance do not like it. Most of the American plutocracy does not like it.

But the vast majority of American business, the backbone of American business, continues to grow and flourish under it. For that business is interested in reasonable profits, not promoters' tribute. That business is interested in freedom from monopolistic restraints and economic imperialism. That business knows that the farmers, the workers, the great mass of our citizens have never asked for more than equality and fair play.

We are a nation of many nationalities, many races, many religions—bound together by a single unity, the unity of freedom and equality.

Whoever seeks to set one nationality against another seeks to degrade all nationalities.

Whoever seeks to set one race against another seeks to enslave all races.

Whoever seeks to set one religion against another seeks to destroy all religion.

So-called racial and religious voting blocs are the creation of designing politicians who profess to be able to deliver them on election day. But every American citizen—realizing how precious is his right to the secret ballot—does scorn and will scorn such unpatriotic politicians. The vote of Americans will be American—and only American.

The true attitude of some leaders of the Republican Party toward the common man is not frequently revealed, but occasionally their true feelings break through the restraints, which a political campaign places upon their tongues, and they misspeak themselves. We can then see their true sentiments in all their naked unloveliness.

In a Republican campaign speech the other day a prominent leader of the Philadelphia bar delivered himself in these words, quoted in the New York Times:

"The President's only supporters," he said—and I quote—"are paupers, those who earn less than $1,200 a year and aren't worth that, and the Roosevelt family."

Forget the Roosevelt family—but these Americans whom this man calls paupers, these Americans who in his view are not worth the income they receive, small though it is—who are they? They are only millions and millions of American families, constituting a very large part of the Nation. They are only the common men and women who have helped build this country, who have made it great, and who would defend it with their lives if the need arose.

The demand for social and economic justice comes from those who receive less than $1,200 a year, but not from them alone. For I believe that when Americans cross this dividing line of $100 a month, they do not lose their devotion to social and economic justice.

They do not suddenly become greedy and selfish. And I count among my supporters millions of other men and women who vote by the dictates of their hearts and minds, and not by the size of their bank accounts.

"Paupers"—who are not worth their salt—there speaks the true sentiment of the Republican leadership.

Can the Republican leaders deny that this all too prevailing Republican sentiment is a direct, vicious appeal to class hatred, to class contempt?

That, my friends, is just what I am fighting against with all my heart and soul.

I am fighting for a free America—for a country in which all men and women have equal rights to liberty and justice.

I am fighting against the revival of government by special privilege—government by lobbyists—government vested in the hands of those who favor and who would have us imitate the foreign dictatorships.

I am fighting, as I have always fought, for the rights of the little man as well as the big man, for the weak as well as the strong, for those who are helpless as well as for those who can help themselves.

I am fighting to keep this Nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars, and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States.

I am fighting for these great and good causes. I am fighting to defend them against the power and might of those who now rise up to challenge them.

And I shall not stop fighting!

Issues of the Campaign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. FRANCIS T. MALONEY, OF CONNECTICUT

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MALONEY] October 31, 1940, on certain issues of the campaign.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It has been a source of regret to me that I have not been able to cover, in the kind of detail I desire, all of the issues confronting

our people at this time. Tonight I want to refer to matters I haven't touched before. These issues concern two different groups. To other people than those specifically affected these issues might not seem of great importance, but I consider them of great importance to all Connecticut, as well as to the rest of the country. In connection with them I want again to point out that as a legislator I have never been guided or governed by partisanship or politics, and that I have been pretty much governed by what is best for Connecticut.

I have noticed an effort on the part of some people to excite the insurance interests of my State, and the employees of insurance companies of my State, and insurance policyholders of Connecticut, to the belief that this administration intended to nationalize the insurance business. Nothing could be further from the truth. Some individuals may have at different times made careless statements that would provoke some fear in that direction, and there may have been occasions when a Member of Congress made a statement that was misunderstood. But I am able to tell you without hesitancy that I do not know a single Member of Congress who would interfere with, much less attempt to nationalize, the great insurance industry. I have been concerned with the insurance business because it represents so large a part of our Connecticut economy. I have for years been closely in touch with the heads of insurance companies—as I have with the working people and the industrial groups and the other groups of my State—and I think that the insurance executives of Connecticut would testify as to my deep and active interest in their business affairs. At one time or another I have talked over insurance problems with the heads of most of the insurance companies and have discussed their relationship with the Government. They know my stand, and I think that they will endorse my record and my attitude insofar as their industry is concerned.

This misunderstanding, where it exists, is due to an investigation of the Temporary National Economic Committee, of which Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY is the chairman. He is a New Englander by birth, and he understands the New England viewpoint and has a knowledge of the insurance industry. Incidentally he is a Connecticut company policyholder. He is entirely familiar with our companies and is known to officials of some of them. Those who have met the Senator, I am sure, hold him in respectful regard.

On February 1, 1940, Senator BYRNES, of South Carolina, asked Senator O'MAHONEY, on the floor of the Senate, if his committee intended to recommend legislation providing for Federal supervision of insurance or if some agency of the Government was going into the insurance business. Senator O'MAHONEY answered, and I quote, "I can say without reservation or qualification of any kind that the committee has never met to consider recommendations with respect to insurance, and no member of the committee has ever suggested to the chairman that either of the policies which the Senator has just mentioned should be adopted or that any recommendation of that character should be made."

Heretofore during this campaign, I have suggested to the people of Connecticut that my references were the farmers and the working people of the State—and the bankers and manufacturers—and those engaged in the insurance industry. Let me repeat that again now. It is important that people be greatly concerned with the type of man who represents them in Congress. I seek support on my record, and because I am a member of the Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate—and enjoy a fine seniority position on that committee—as well as on other major committees—I hope that those who are in doubt about what they should do on election day, will inquire as to my attitude on banking legislation—legislation dealing with investment bankers—and matters concerning the great insurance industry, which has meant so much, and means so much, to our State.

Over the years there have been a few attempts made to interfere with the insurance business. Sometimes the insurance industry—in places—has made mistakes, as have other industries, and as has the Government, but I recall no instance of any important mistake, or error, or unfairness, insofar as the companies of Connecticut are concerned. At one time, even the American Bar Association, through its committee on insurance law recommended "legislation by Congress providing for the supervision of insurance." So long ago as 1892, a bill was introduced in Congress to provide for Federal supervision of insurance. Strange as it may seem, the bill was drafted at the direction of John M. Pattison, president of the Union Central Life Insurance Co. And then again, in 1897, Senator Orville H. Platt, of Connecticut, introduced a Federal control bill substantially in conformity with the pattern of the bill of the president of the Union Central Life Insurance Co.

I do not know what prompted Senator Platt's suggestion. I presume, however, that as a result of the recommendation of a section of the bar association, and the proposals of Mr. Pattison and Senator Platt, that some men following them felt that the idea might be revised. I cannot, because of the limit of the time allowed me, deal at length with this suggestion, but I want to make it clear that I have consistently and vigorously opposed any effort to trespass upon State's rights, and I can be counted upon, and I am sure that the insurance people of my State know it, to protect and defend, if the need arises, this strong and important part of our Connecticut economy; and to protect and defend, should occasion come, every other legitimate Connecticut interest. I think that the insurance people, employees as well as executives, and the manufacturers and workmen of my State, and the farmers and consumers of my State, and the various other groups which make up our population, by this time understand my attitude, and approve my record. I think that they understand that FRANCIS MALONEY, of Connecticut, always inquires "is it good for Connecticut?"

Another group within our State concerned with my congressional attitude on a matter affecting their personal welfare and vitally affecting our national way of life are the school teachers of the State of Connecticut. Recently they invited me to give them a statement of my views on "certain educational issues." Time does not permit me detail in this instance, but I should like to read a part of a letter which I directed to the Connecticut State Teachers' Association. I read this letter because education is of fundamental and everlasting importance to our way of life—our system of government, and the advancement of our people—and the continuing strength of our country. In replying to the inquiry of the teachers association, I said in part:

"I am among those who believe in Federal aid to educational institutions. It appears to me that Federal aid—supplementing necessary State aid—is necessary to equalize educational opportunity. I hasten to add, however, that I firmly believe, and shall ever insist upon, local control of educational processes.

"Likewise do I believe in the step being taken toward the advancement of vocational education—and here again I am in favor of local control. For the moment—because of the tremendous need that we speedily advance our national-defense program—I can understand that there may be temporary difficulties in working out a local control—but they should and must be overcome, and educational institutions must be under the direction and authority of governing bodies within the States.

"I believe that funds contributed by teachers for pension and retirement are a sacred trust, and should not be interfered with or utilized for any other purpose than that for which they are set aside and established. Retirement funds should guarantee a complete protection.

"In this period of uncertainty—when we are horrified, if not terrified, by world events, there is a greater need than ever that we preserve the stability and character of every part of our educational system. It must go forward and we cannot forsake the education of our children and young people under any circumstances. There can be no moratorium on intelligence."

I should like to add—after having read this part of my communication to the teachers association—my pride and my confidence in the accomplishment of our educational system—and our Connecticut educators—both in the grade and high schools and in the great colleges and universities of our State. I want the Federal Government to give to these educational institutions every assistance that is properly possible—but I want no Federal interference with education—although I do want the necessary Federal assistance, first for the increased advantage it gives to young men and women—but also because I do not want to add to the pressing burden of local taxpayers and home owners—on whom the cost of education necessarily weighs heavily.

It is important and necessary—and only fair—that a candidate for the United States Senate—perhaps to a greater extent than for any other public office than the Presidency—make clear to the people of his State how he stands on every issue. No issues can be properly straddled. That man who is reluctant to set forth his views on public questions is not deserving of the suffrage of the people. Democracy can only remain strong while its public officials, and public servants, are forthright and frank and courageous. Time and again during these last 8 years the Members of Congress have been confronted with great controversial issues. At times these issues cut a line of demarcation across our national viewpoint. Their emotions and passions were at times excited and magnified. It is on occasions like that—in a representative democracy—that the Members of Congress meet their greatest challenge—and meet it under the compelling influence of a sacred oath—and the more compelling influence of their conscience; then do they owe a full measure of frankness and fearlessness to their country.

It is always unpleasant—as well as politically unfortunate—to disagree with any reasonable number of people you represent. There are times when the decision one is called upon to make is temporarily unpopular—but in the consideration of the future it may be best for those who are, for the time being, opposed. I have frequently found it so. Oftentimes the morrow's sun clears the veil of mist—and the cloud of uncertainty. Oftentimes Members of Congress, because they too are afflicted with the frailties of human nature, are not only required to call upon the advice of other men but are always required to call upon the guidance of God. Their mistakes may bring harm to their country and its people, and their judgment, if it is good judgment, may help to lift up their country and countrymen.

And so it is important, in my opinion, particularly at times of uncertainty like this, that we have in public office men of experience and proven judgment, men who like the work for the sake of service to humanity, men who find in a service to their fellow men a great reward and consolation. It is a known fact that I have the experience, that I have devoted a good part of my life to a study of governmental affairs, and particularly to the affairs of my State and its communities. I served as mayor during the bewildering period from 1929 to 1933. I think that it was a great test. I invite anyone to point to a single instance of a city in the country which was better managed during that period or which came through that storm more safely and successfully. We provided a work program for those temporarily unable to obtain employment in private industry. Each year we reduced our taxes, and we created social improvements and municipal reform that earned for us an approval that approached unanimity.

I served in Congress as a Member of the House of Representatives during the period of economic crisis of 1933 and 1934. At that time

I did not neglect the benefit of the advice and experience of the people of my State. I sought the advice and cooperation of the working people, and the industrialists, and the men of financial experience in Connecticut. They will remember that period, and I think they will remember my effort. I am not concerned with a place in the United States Senate because of any social advantage that may go with it. I am not concerned with a place in the United States Senate because of the honor that goes with it, although I cherish the honor, but I am concerned with the place because it affords a better place than any other to render a service to my State, to my fellow citizens of Connecticut, and to my fellow Americans. There is no greater reward this side of heaven than the consolation of public service. It is a great reward. It is worth almost any kind of personal sacrifice. The last 8 years have afforded an exciting and interesting and wide opportunity for that kind of service. I think that the years just ahead, while we are in the shadow of world strife and war, the opportunity for service will be even greater. First will be the determination and effort to avoid war for ourselves, and to help in every proper way to lead the world to peace. Then will come a period, with God's help, during which we must successfully endeavor to stabilize our national economy, keep strong our national unity, perfect such legislation as needs correction and perfection, and put America back on the road to a normal way of life.

Greece Faces Aggressors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 4, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, while other events overshadow they do not render unimportant the world developments of the past few days. I refer to the attack by the aggressors against the Greek nation on October 28.

During the past months we have witnessed this new philosophy that has come into the world, this philosophy of force. It is the philosophy of destruction. The robber ideas of the Middle Ages are riding high in this day in world civilization.

In 1939 the aggressors marched troops into Poland and plundered that country. On the 29th day of November 1939 the attack on Finland began. Then came the downfall of Denmark and Norway. A similar fate came to Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, and France. Now another small nation—Greece—is being faced with the same brutalities of war and destruction. Greece is a nation which has desired to remain at peace. Her people are not filled with the spirit of conquest.

But once again the war lords are on the march with a desire to repeat what happened in 1939, when a powerful, ruthless aggressor attacked the little Republic of Finland.

Our sympathies go out to this little country, and the activities of the large and powerful aggressors are reprehensive to the traditions of America.

Greece, rich in history and tradition, with its culture and noble background and its contributions to civilization, is now faced with annihilation.

Many of its citizens have come to the United States, where they have adopted the American way of life. They are law-abiding and have contributed in full measure to the greatness of our country. They have our sympathy in this effort now going on to ruin and destroy the people of Greece unless they consent to the rule of dictatorship.

The people of Greece are to be admired for their decision to oppose efforts to destroy their country and place their people under the domination of new political leadership. It is to be hoped that their efforts will be successful, and every real American citizen joins in the wish that those who are attacking these splendid people may meet with the disaster which they so richly deserve.

Mr. Speaker, the end is not yet in sight. The forces of oppression and the iron heel of despotism now in evidence all over the world challenge the attention and the careful consideration of this country. These problems have faced the Seventy-sixth Congress, and when the House and the Senate convene again in January 1941 for the Seventy-seventh Congress, world developments will continue to challenge the study and the leadership of the representatives of the American people.

The people of this country have no hatred for the people of other lands, but they do have a fixed determination that the dictators shall receive no encouragement in their policy of dominating the small countries of the world and blotting out their contributions to the civilization of the Western Hemisphere.

Pan American Aviation Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 4 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT OF COL. J. E. MYERS, PRESIDENT OF AVIATION DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement of Col. J. E. Myers, United States Army, retired, president of the Aviation Defense Association, on the subject Pan American Aviation Day.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAN AMERICAN AVIATION DAY

No more fitting memorial for the insurance of complete confidence, faith, and good will among the nations of the Western Hemisphere could be established than the passage of Senate Joint Resolution 295, Seventy-sixth Congress, first session, which established the celebration of Pan American Aviation Day on December 17 of each year. This historical resolution, which is now the law of the land, was signed by the President on October 10, 1940, in honor of the first successful flight of a heavier-than-air machine at Kitty Hawk, N. C., on December 17, 1903.

In 1938 the Aviation Defense Association, of Washington, D. C., realizing the importance of bringing about the closest cooperation and mutual understanding necessary to establish the vast commercial interests and defense of the Americas by means of modern, rapid transportation by land, air, and sea, adopted a policy to aid in this great work.

For this reason we became interested in the establishment of legislation creating a great system of lighted, nonstop, safety superhighways throughout the United States with air bases at their intersections as well as the extension of these highways throughout the Americas and the placing of underground air bases every 500 miles of direct air-line travel.

Increasing danger to all American nations is now apparent, because advanced aviation has decreased our natural ocean barriers and has resulted in the action of these countries in taking a united stand for international defense against foreign aggression.

Hon. Maurice H. Thatcher, chairman of the committee on public relations and Pan American Aviation Day of the Aviation Defense Association, has for many years been a factor in the establishment of better relations with our sister republics. He was a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission and Governor of the Canal Zone during the construction period of the Panama Canal. During his 10 years in Congress as Representative from Kentucky he worked consistently for the establishment of this mutual cooperation. He is an authority on pan-American affairs.

Governor Thatcher is the author of congressional legislation establishing in the city of Panama the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory and providing an annual appropriation of $50,000 in perpetuity for its maintenance. This laboratory is devoted to research as to the cause and prevention of tropical diseases. The Republic of Panama donated the beautiful site and structure for the permanent home of this institution, which is performing a truly splendid service for humanity.

Governor Thatcher is counsel for the Aviation Defense Association, and because of his distinguished service in connection with relations of pan-American character he has been decorated with the highest civilian honors of three Latin American countries. He holds the Order of del Libertador of Venezuela, the Order of Al Merito of Ecuador, and the Order of Balboa of Panama.

Among contributions to the subject of pan-Americanism by Governor Thatcher, the following lines from his pen have appeared in various American and Latin American publications:

PAN-AMERICANISM

(Inscribed to the American Republics)

Join all your hands together,
  And bind your hearts as one;
In fair or stormy weather,
  Act ye in unison!
Ye face in like directions,
  Your pathways are the same;
Through mutual affections
  Achieve for a common fame!

In Northern, Southern reaches,
In lands that lie between,—
Preserve the faith that teaches
Yourselves and sons to glean;—
To glean the grain eternal,
That bears the precious bread,
Wherewith your needs fraternal
Shall be forever fed!

And never may ye falter
In aught of purpose true!
Yours is a single altar,
One aim ye have in view;—
One aim and one ambition
Which in your souls must lie,—
To keep the old tradition,
That freedom shall not die!

Soft speeches may not solve them—
The problems which arise,—
But wisdom should resolve them
To friendly enterprise.
Mistrust and fear will vanish,
When all is understood;
And motives mean or clannish;
Dissolve in brotherhood.

Blest Bunker Hill and Lexington
To far Maipu call;
And Carabobo's field, twice won,
Hears and re-echoes all.
Yorktown and Ayacucho,
And San Juan's Hill and Tree,
Point the way for all to go,
Who search for liberty.

E'er linger Clay and Bolivar,
In spirit, to inspire;
Each shining on, a deathless star,
Ringed with celestial fire.
Strive ye to reap the vision
These matchless leaders saw,—
A Western world, Elysian,
Ruled by a Western Law!

Remote from foreign faction,
Begirt by oceans twain,—
Bar ye, by unioned action,
The alien bit and rein!
So, "All for each, and each for all,—
Yet each forever free!"
The Earth shall heed your cry and call,
Through all the years to be!

—*M. H. Thatcher.*

The above poem is imprinted on the back cover of our theme song, Wings Over America, which the association has adopted with the exclusive permission of the publishers who have given us permission for its use. The cover design was inspired by the famous United States Army recruiting poster, Wings Over America, painted by Lt. Col. Tom B. Woodburn, noted artist. The cover design is also a creation of this artist and is reproduced by the courtesy of the copyright owner.

Last year the Aviation Defense Association sought to bring about national air-mindedness in the interest of youth education in aviation. To this end it sponsored and brought about the establishment of the annual celebration of National Aviation Day on August 19, Dr. Orville Wright's birth date, through congressional resolutions placed at our request, by Senator CLAUDE PEPPER and Representative J. HARDIN PETERSON, of Florida, and 14 other Members of the House of Representatives.

This year, in order to create international interest and enthusiasm for the celebration of Pan American Aviation Day, and to further insure the united effort of all Latin American nations for our mutual air defense, Representative J. HARDIN PETERSON introduced the following congressional resolution at our request:

"Joint resolution authorizing the annual issue of a series of air-mail stamps on Pan American Aviation Day

"Whereas Congress, by Public Resolution No. 105, Seventy-sixth Congress, third session, passed October 2, 1940, recognized and designated December 17 as Pan American Aviation Day honoring our air heroes and pioneers of the air and commemorating the date of the first successful flight, at Kitty Hawk, N. C., of a heavier-than-air powered machine, the invention of the Wright brothers, "the fathers of flight."

"Whereas the issue of air-mail stamps on December 17 would stimulate commercial, military, and naval aviation in the interest of our national defense and promote pan-American solidarity: Therefore be it

"*Resolved, etc.*, That the Postmaster General be authorized and directed to issue an annual series of air-mail stamps on December 17, to be placed on public sale at Kitty Hawk, N. C., the site of the first flight, in honor of our heroes and pioneers of the air and in observance of the greatest scientific aeronautical achivement of the world."

In view of the critical state of world affairs we strongly urge all patriotic organizations and citizens to write their Representatives in Congress to sustain the above resolution (H. J. Res. 615) for the insurance of the national and international air defense of the Western Hemisphere.

The Vitality of Our Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH F. GUFFEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT AT HYDE PARK, N. Y.

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by the President of the United States from his home at Hyde Park, N. Y., November 4, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Once more I am in the quiet of my home in Hyde Park on the eve of election day. I wish to speak to you not of partisan politics but of the Nation, the United States of America, to which we all owe such deep and inborn allegiance.

As I sit here tonight with my own family I think of all the other American families—millions of families all through the land—sitting in their own homes. They have eaten their supper in peace; they will be able to sleep in their homes tonight in peace. Tomorrow they will be free to go out to live their ordinary lives in peace—free to say and do what they wish, free to worship as they please. Tomorrow of all days they will be free to choose their own leaders, who, when that choice has been made, become in turn only the instruments to carry out the will of all of the people.

And I cannot help but think of the families in other lands—millions of families—living in homes like our own. On some of these homes bombs of destruction may be dropping even as I speak to you.

Across the seas life has gone underground. I think I speak the minds of all of you when I say that we thank God that we live in the sunlight and starlight of peace—that we are not in war and that we propose and expect to continue to live our lives in peace—under the peaceful light of heaven.

In this town, as in every community in our Nation, friends and neighbors will gather together around the polling place.

They will discuss the state of the Nation, the weather, and the prospect for their favorite football team. They will discuss this present political campaign. Some will wear buttons proclaiming their allegiance to one candidate or another. And there will be a few warm arguments.

But when you and I step into the voting booth, we can proudly say, "I am an American, and this vote I am casting is the exercise of my highest privilege and my most solemn duty to my country."

We vote as free men, impelled only by the urgings of our own wisdom and our own conscience.

In our polling places are no storm troopers or secret police to look over our shoulders as we mark our ballots.

My own personal participation in public affairs goes back as far as the year 1910, when I first became a candidate for the State senate from this district on the Hudson River.

In the 30 years which followed, I have taken an active part in nearly every political campaign—local, State, and National. My interest has been that of a candidate for office, a public official, and a private citizen.

In every political campaign the question on which we all finally pass judgment through the ballot box is simply this: "Whom do I think is the candidate best qualified to act as President, or Governor, or Senator, or mayor, or supervisor, or county commissioner during the next term?"

It is that right, the right to determine for themselves who should be their own officers of government, that provides for the people the most powerful safeguard of our democracy. The right to place men in office at definite, fixed dates of election for a specific term is the right which will keep a free people always free.

Dictators have forgotten—or perhaps they never knew—the basis upon which democratic government is founded: That the opinion of all the people, freely formed and freely expressed, without fear or coercion, is wiser than the opinion of any one man or any small group of men.

We have more faith in the collective opinion of all Americans than in the individual opinion of any one American.

Your will is a part of the great will of America. Your voice is a part of the great voice of America. And when you and I stand in line tomorrow for our turn at the polls, we are voting equals.

In the past 20 years the number of those who exercise the right to vote in national elections has been almost doubled. There is every indication that the number of votes cast tomorrow will be by far the greatest in our history.

That is the proof—if proof be needed—of the vitality of our democracy.

But our obligation to our country does not end with the casting of our votes.

Every one of us has a continuing responsibility for the government which we choose.

Democracy is not just a word to be shouted at political rallies and then put back into the dictionary after election day.

The service of democracy must be something much more than mere lip service.

It is a living thing—a human thing—compounded of brains and muscles and heart and soul. The service of democracy is the birthright of every citizen—the white and the colored; the Protestant, the Catholic, the Jew; the sons and daughters of every country in the world—who make up the people of this land. Democracy is every man and woman who loves freedom and serves the cause of freedom.

Last Saturday night I said that freedom of speech is of no use to the man who has nothing to say—that freedom of worship is of no use to the man who has lost his God; and tonight I should like to add that a free election is of no use to the man who is too indifferent to vote.

The American people and the cause of democracy owe a great deal to the very many people who have worked in an honorable way on each side in this campaign. I know that after tomorrow they will all continue to cooperate in the service of democracy—to think about it, to talk about it, and to work for it.

Tomorrow you will decide for yourselves how the legislative and executive branches of the Government of your country are to be run during their next terms and by whom.

After the ballots are counted the real rulers of this country will have had their say, as they have had it every 2 years or every 4 years during our whole national existence.

After the ballots are counted the United States of America will still be united.

Discussion among us should and will continue, for we are free citizens of a free nation. But there can be no arguments about the essential fact that in our desire to remain at peace by defending our democracy we are one nation and one people.

We people of America know that man cannot live by bread alone.

We know that we have a reservoir of religious strength which can withstand attacks from abroad and corruption from within.

We people of America will always cherish and preserve that strength. We will always cling to our religion, our devotion to God—the faith which gives us comfort and the strength to face evil.

On this election eve we all have in our hearts and minds a prayer for the dignity and integrity and peace of our country.

Therefore, in this last hour before midnight, I believe that you will find it fitting that I read to you an old prayer which asks the guidance of God for our Nation:

"Almighty God, who hast given us this good land for our heritage, we humbly beseech Thee that we may always prove ourselves a people mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will. Bless our land with honorable industry, sound learning, and pure manners. Save us from violence, discord, and confusion; from pride and arrogancy, and from every evil way. Defend our liberties, and fashion into one united people the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues. Endue with the spirit of wisdom those to whom in Thy name we entrust the authority of government, that there may be justice and peace at home, and that, through obedience to Thy law, we may show forth Thy praise among the nations of the earth. In the time of prosperity fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble suffer not our trust in Thee to fail. Amen."

National Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH F. GUFFEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

STATEMENT BY HON. JAMES A. FARLEY

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article from the New York Times containing a statement of Hon. James A. Farley, chairman of the Democratic Committee of New York State, broadcast over the radio yesterday morning, urging the people to put behind them all feeling engendered during the election and to unite for the common good.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of November 6, 1940]

FARLEY ASKS END OF ALL BITTERNESS—REPEATS PLEA OF 4 YEARS AGO THAT CAMPAIGN ACRIMONY BE PUT ASIDE—NO REPRISALS, HE SAYS—DOUBTS THAT VINDICTIVENESS IN CAMPAIGNS IS OF BENEFIT TO EITHER PARTY

James A. Farley, New York State Democratic chairman, pleaded for "no reprisals" in a statement made at 12:30 a. m. today over the coast-to-coast network of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

"Four years ago on a similar occasion, when the election returns were in and the result was known, I expressed the sincere hope that the bitterness and ill feeling engendered in the heat of campaigning would soon be forgotten," he said. "As victors, we Democrats promised there would be no reprisals.

"No American should have fear for the future. Four years have passed. Tonight I make the same appeal to my fellow Americans. I ask the victors to be moderate and considerate of others in their joy of victory. I ask the losers in the traditional spirit of fair play to overcome their disappointment and to pitch in like the loyal citizens they are for the common good."

APPEALS FOR UNITY

"Now, perhaps more than ever before in history, the United States has need for national unity. The excitement of the campaign must not blind our eye to the dangers of the perilous world in which we live. We must go forward without delay or interruption along the path which we have been following as a nation since the ugly form of total war engulfed the nations of Europe and the Orient.

"While many things are said and done in political campaigns which are later regretted, I am sorry that an excessive note of bitterness and harshness has crept into the campaign just closed. Perhaps it was inevitable in view of the excited state of public feeling. Yet I wish it could have been avoided. I doubt if such bitterness makes votes for any candidate or any party. I am hopeful that the scars of this campaign will heal quickly and leave no soreness. I am also hopeful that in future campaigns we shall find some way of avoiding these extreme and disturbing methods of appealing for votes.

"In making this statement I am not pointing my remarks at any political party or any group in the country. I am simply expressing a feeling in which I believe every citizen may concur.

"The voice of America has spoken. The people of America have once again expressed their will and selected the man whom they consider best fitted to guide the destiny of the United States for the next 4 years."

JUDGMENT OF MAJORITY

"As patriotic citizens I urge every single individual in the land to accept the supreme judgment of the majority. The people made the decisions. The people may be trusted to do what is right.

"During the few months remaining in his present term President Roosevelt will face problems of broad scope and magnitude. He needs your full, earnest, and sympathetic cooperation. He will be the President of all the people, just as he has been the President of all the people during the last seven years and one-half.

"When a new administration takes office in January this spirit of cooperation must be carried on. We have a common stake in America and we must present a solid front before all of the nations of the world.

"In the past people of America have demonstrated the remarkable capacity for rising above factional and party strife when the electorate has spoken. We have accepted the verdict of the majority with the utmost of tolerance and good will.

"This is our solemn duty tonight. We must realize that the United States is greater than each of us and greater than all of us. We must lay aside personal feelings for the cause of a better, fuller, and finer America. National unity is our goal. Let us realize this goal in the ties of our common citizenship."

Democracy and Sound Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. THORKELSON

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 7, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. J. THORKELSON, OF MONTANA, AT BUTTE, MONT., NOVEMBER 2, 1940

Mr. THORKELSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address delivered by me on November 2, 1940:

We, the much discussed modern civilization, should be grateful to the few men who have had the courage to tell the truth in spite of the fact that it was unpleasant, unpopular, and the hardest road to take. It is to these few unselfish men who held principle above sordid gain and popular acclaim that we are indebted for the freedom of religion, free speech, free press, and the right to assemble in an orderly manner; to remind the Government that it is the servant and not the master of the people. We have lost, and we are losing more and more of these rights and may lose all of them, because of our indifference and lack of real interest in the Government, and in the people we elect to represent and protect our rights.

I realize that anyone who addresses himself to the principles of sound government is looked upon as a freak by those who have forgotten and by those who are unfamiliar with the basic principles of the Government of this Republic. All we hear today is "democracy," and what it is? "A democracy" is a government made up of the masses, a mob government which is not balanced,

and which has been shown to represent a mass desire to destroy all that which a Christian civilization has given to us. Let us not forget that the Russian communistic revolutionary government under Lenin, Trotsky, and Bela Kuhn was a pure democracy, and the history of that government is well known today.

Our Government was based on the principle that the people elect city and county government to represent the people within the State, and a State government to select two men to represent the State in the Senate of the United States. These two men, with the Senators from other States, would then represent the Government of the United States in its domestic and foreign relations. This was the real basic principle of our Government, for it left the States in full control of the Government of the United States. To establish balance and direct control of the Federal Government, Representatives are elected every 2 years to the lower House, and to it alone is given the power of impeachment and appropriation of money. This gave us a dual, balanced, and representative Government with full public control of the Federal Government indirectly in the Senate and directly in the House of Representatives.

Let me now repeat what I have often said before: In order to remain free, so that we may retain and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, this form of government must be restored.

It is the men who believe in such government who are now being reviled and attacked in the "controlled press" and by hired "subversive commentators." It is the few who have expressed preference for sound government and opposition to war who are now on the spot, because they have told the truth, and in the telling of it exposed the real enemies of the American people. This is no more than what may be expected, for it is the guilty who fear the truth, and who will, to prevent exposure, use all powers at their command to discredit, slander, and destroy anyone who prefers to leave facts recorded in the pages of history, instead of a record showing violation to obligated duty and betrayal of public trust. These defaming mud slingers may be identified genealogically and through the ownership and control of the mediums which they use to discredit and revile those whom they fear and who are telling the truth.

It is the people who are opposed to dictators, dictatorial government, secret treaties, international intrigue, war, foreign meddling by our ambassadors and administration warmongers, who are now being called "National Socialists" or "Nazi" by those who want this country to engage in a foreign war, in which we have no interest and which can only end in disaster to us. President Roosevelt's statement—that he desires to maintain peace—may be compared with the Wilsonian slogan "He kept us out of war," for neither is true. Wilson knew, as we do today, that this Nation was in the World War in 1914. Like Wilson, President Roosevelt knows that we are now consigned to war and only waiting for an incident, accidental or deliberate, to provide an excuse to ask Congress to declare war.

Every act of the President points toward war, and to make this clear let me call your attention to his constant meddling in foreign affairs, his promise of aid to his own favored nations, and his belligerent attitude toward nations with which we are at peace; his so-called quarantine, or boycott, of what he designates aggressor nations, but which, paradoxically as it may seem, are nations that have always been friendly toward the United States. Their friendly attitude toward us cannot be questioned, for the President has provided innumerable causes for them to declare war, but which they have ignored. The President's attitude is not neutral, for the extension of credit, the sale of war craft and war supplies to one of the belligerents and denial of such sales to others proves this statement to be true. His transfer of 50 destroyers to a nation at war is not only an act of war on his part but is, in addition to that, a bona fide cause for his removal from office, and will be so held when facts are recorded.

The President's real anxiety to provide cause for involving us in war may be found in the order from the State Department which directed the U. S. S. *American Legion* to proceed from Petsamo to this country through the mine fields north of England. Had this ship struck a mine, it would, no doubt, have been used as an excuse by the President to declare war. These are a few of the most glaring unneutral and provocative acts of the President, which should set every person thinking who has the interest of our people and our Nation at heart.

It is high time that we elect men to office who will be loyal to their obligation and whose interests are in the security of the United States. Our foreign policy should concern only our security, and it should end at the 3-mile limit. To use it as an instrument for meddling in the internal affairs of foreign nations can only terminate in constant strife and foreign wars. I grant that there are many central European refugees and hyphenated Americans whose interests are best served by having us participate in the present European war. On the other hand, I am equally sure that there are many more patriotic citizens who are perfectly agreeable in allowing foreign nations to fight their own wars while we engage in rehabilitation of our industrial structure and in the reorganization of our Government based on those sound principles that were given to us by the founders of this Republic in 1787.

Some unseen hand wrote the words "national emergency" about 24 years ago in order to scare the people and to provide an excuse for Congress to transfer its power to the executive branch of the Government. The next step to facilitate this transfer of power was to provide for the election of a majority in Congress favorable to the centralization of powers in the Federal Government under the direction of one man.

That man was the Chief Executive, and, I may say, the logical person, because, being chief in command of the Army and Navy, after Congress has transferred its power to him he can maintain his position by the use of military force, as is done in all dictatorial and despotic governments.

With the stock-market crash in 1929 came the old chronic national emergency, this time to be used as an excuse to organize bank corporations, to close independent and smaller banks, and to centralize monetary control in the privately owned Federal Reserve banks, the international bankers, and the Bank of England. The stock-market crash was rigged by foreign bankers and by international banking groups in the United States. It was planned to bring about fear and hysteria, suitable to the election of a President favorably disposed to the international bankers and for the election of a majority in Congress pliable to the wishes of the President.

No one considered the fact that the national debt was less than $21,000,000,000 March 1, 1933; that the people owned the gold; that labor was employed in private industry; and that farm industries sold and exported farm products and sustained themselves upon earned income instead of Government dole. No one questioned the reputation of the Chief Executive. Everybody was fooled, for Roosevelt was swept into office, and with him, riding on his coattails, one of the rarest aggregations of legislators ever elected to establish a dictator and dictatorial government by illegal transfer of powers from Congress to the Executive.

Last Monday when the President spoke from the Madison Square Garden and so smugly approved what his majority in Congress had done to sustain his New Deal socialistic policies these thoughts came to my mind:

I wondered if those who applauded him knew that the President's majority in Congress had transferred so much power from Congress to the Executive; that he is now a dictator and can, under war emergency, take charge of the Government, by the virtue of his position as Commander in Chief of all military, policing, intelligence, and law-enforcement departments? Did they know that the American people lost about $6,000,000,000 on the foreign purchase of gold and silver; that imports from foreign nations are destroying our own industries; that we cannot escape national bankruptcy; and that the New Deal placed the American people on a hopeless and valueless inflated dollar?

John L. Lewis was just about right when he said: "If Roosevelt is elected we may not have another election." He should know, because the United Mine Workers were the first to report that the Communists contemplated destruction of our Government. I quote:

"The Communist Party of America was created for the overthrow and destruction of this Government with the establishment of an absolute and arbitrary dictatorship. * * * This is not a passing fancy or a deceiving mirage, for Lenin and his group of associates at Moscow would destroy the present Government, destroy sovereignty and independence of the people, and in their place enthrone the idols and fallacies of bolshevism." The United Mine Workers furnished Congress with a 43-page report 20 years ago. It is real and it is true. On November the 5th you must make your choice between a communistic dictatorial government under Roosevelt or return to sound government under Willkie.

A Little of the Past and a Little of the Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH F. GUFFEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, November 7 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT AT POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., TO HIS NEIGHBORS OF DUTCHESS COUNTY

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by the President of the United States before the Nelson House, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., November 4, 1940, to his neighbors of Dutchess County.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

My neighbors of Dutchess County, my reason for speaking to you tonight is not to ask your votes on the morrow. It is rather to tell you of a little of the past and a little of the future.

It is just 30 years ago that I first campaigned in our county—when I was running for State senator and old Dick Connell, of the News Press, was running for Congress. In those days we did have a Democratic paper in Dutchess County; and Dick Connell ran for Congress so often that he finally got elected. He always said that his success was due to the fact that in previous unsuccessful cam-

paigns he stopped at every schoolhouse he passed and made a little speech on democracy and the American flag to the pupils. He claimed that enough school children grew up over a period of years to know him, to remember the incident, and to vote for him.

He won in that year of 1910 against the father of your present Congressman.

In those days this Hudson River section of ours was closer politically between the two major parties than it has been in recent years. Speaking not in a partisan way but as one who, you know, has been always interested locally in civic betterment, I am inclined to think that close competition between the two parties in these river counties was a very good thing. Each party was striving to outdo the other, not in promises alone but in the actualities of good government.

In those days, 30 years ago, I am inclined as an observer to believe that county and local government in Dutchess and the other counties was stimulated by the closeness of the races that were made.

The same thing was true in those days in regard to State and even national politics. We were not committed to any set way of voting. We used to have an occasional Democrat in the Congress or in the State senate or in the assembly, and once in a blue moon this good old county of Dutchess used to go Democratic. In the interest of good government I think it would be a fine thing if it could be a bit more Democratic again now.

And that leads me to emphasize, not in a party sense but in an American sense, the need that all of us have to think day and night in terms of our own historic form of government. It is true, as we all know, that in many other parts of the world serious and sometimes successful attacks have been made on it. New forms of government, based on the theory of might rather than the theory of right, have waged wars against innocent peoples.

But in the long run I believe, for example, that the Germanic and Italian peoples, with their proud heritage of freedom, will return, with the rest of the world, to self-government based on free elections.

Events abroad seem far away to us. But time and distance have been greatly shortened so that we must always remember that peace in our land may depend on our thoroughly recognized ability to defend ourselves.

And you and I are thankful tonight that we have peace throughout the length and breadth of this land; and, what is more, the people, by their strength, intend to keep this country at peace.

To you, the men and women of my own home county, I speak for the last time here on Market Street on the eve of an election. All my life I have been—yes; all my life I shall be—devoted to the welfare and interests of Dutchess County.

Profits of Corporations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 1 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "War Profits," showing the profits of certain corporations during the war.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WAR PROFITS

Some of us said that the repeal of the arms embargo would open up the path toward our entrance into the conflict. We were told the repeal of the embargo was to make our country neutral, but, of course, it was evident that was not the reason.

There were two reasons among many that I desire to point out as factors behind the amending of the neutrality law. First, those who favored the change desired to actively help England by supplying that country with war supplies; and second, those who favored our entrance realized that if America could be involved economically in the outcome of the war there would be a much greater opportunity for us to enter the conflict.

It will be recalled that Ambassador Page had said in 1917:

"Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted."

Ray Stannard Baker, in his Life of Woodrow Wilson, says:

"Trade between the United States and the Allies had become the great artery which, flowing westward, fed American war prosperity, and, flowing eastward, sustained the life of the Allied armies and population. Diplomats and statesmen alike dreaded any policy that threatened to contract that life-giving stream."

Sir Gilbert Parker, who handled English propaganda in this country preceding our entrance, received this letter:

"Within earshot of my own house 16,000 workmen are busy day and night * * * making munitions for England. Other factories of * * * munitions and other war supplies are being enlarged or built now in this one city of New Haven."

The comment follows that, even if it meant going to war, this "false" prosperity must continue.

ENTANGLEMENT

Mr. Baker in his Life of Wilson also stated:

"The effect of our rapidly expanding wartime trade—trade that was then perfectly legal—was to entangle us vitally with the welfare of the Allies."

And further we find this:

"Thus by the end of the year 1914 the traffic in war materials with the Allies had become deeply entrenched in America's economic organization, and the possibility of keeping out of the war by the diplomacy of neutrality, no matter how skillfully conducted, had reached the vanishing point."

And so it was. Again in 1940 we are so involved.

Wartime Ambassador Gerard, who has been saying that we are going in the war, wrote Colonel House while he was then Ambassador to Germany:

"There is no doubt * * * that a real neutrality would stop the sale, but would our people 'stand' for such a curtailment of American industry?"

Sacrifice neutrality. Enter the war because of war profits. Wonder what the mothers of the boys killed on the battlefields of France think of such a policy.

Think, America! Are we not following the some identical path today?

Were not some of those who asked for the lifting of the arms embargo not following the pattern to get us in that they had so successfully used 23 years ago?

Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo called for more and more war trade to boost prosperity. Check the recent speeches of the present Cabinet, particularly Secretary Morgenthau.

CONTROL OF EXPORTS

When the issue of control of exports was presented to the Senate, I said:

"The La Follette amendment is designed to prevent our economic involvement in war. We may become involved in war emotionally, economically, and in many other ways. I believe the Nation is emotionally excited and I do not want it to become economically involved, because when we have emotional and economic pressure it is very difficult to stop the momentum. There is no doubt in the mind of anyone who has studied the history of the wartime boom of 1914 to 1917 that it did affect our involvement in the war.

"War trade is like a drug. The more it is used the more certain it is that we cannot escape its final effects. I feel that we should face this issue while we can. Once we start it, it is not easy to stop. The La Follette amendment will be a safeguard against our involvement economically. It will help our national defense. It is sound from the standpoint of economics.

"We want and need prosperity, sound prosperity, built on the development of peaceful enterprise here in our own country.

"We must not get to the place where we are called to choose between a depression or participation in war to uphold a mushroom war trade.

"False war prosperity is the cheese in the trap; America will try to get the cheese without the trap coming down on its neck. It tried before and failed. If it tries now, it will again fail."

WAR TRADE AND NEUTRALITY

I said in a previous statement:

"In discussing the forces that bring nations into war, one must not forget the powerful effect of war business.

"It has a great appeal to public sentiment, particularly in a country that is suffering from unemployment. If citizens can be entangled in the economic battle of the war they can more easily be drawn into the military part.

"The country buying the goods never fails to let it be known they are buying from us. It is part of their propaganda. It is the propaganda of economics.

"Stephen and Joan Raushenbush, in their interesting and informative book, War Madness, say:

" 'The way to get into war is to get a war and a panic tied up together so we have to take one or the other. If we take the war, which is the likely course, we'll get the panic, too. But nobody thinks of that, because it will only come later.'

"Another interesting comment from their book:

" 'We had become a virtual arsenal of supplies for the Allied countries. It was hard to be neutral, then.'

"Today England speaks of the United States as being her arsenal.

"Continuing the quotation from War Madness:

" 'In each of these decisions, the necessity to do nothing that would hurt our war trade and threaten panic was fundamental.

" 'Because almost all our trade was with the Allies, all the things we did, or failed to do, in order to keep the war boom going and avoid the panic which everybody seemed to expect if the war orders suddenly stopped, happened to work out in favor of our customers—the Allies. At the same time they all worked against Germany. Ours was a neutrality molded and shaped by a great war trade of which we had become the victims.

" 'Once a war boom gets started, it is impossible to stop it. No administration would dare to throw the country into a depression by trying suddenly to stop a war boom. If we want to stay out of wars into which we are taken via a war boom, we must prevent that war boom from getting started. The American people can take their

choice between peace or profits. They will not be able to have both. When the war starts in Europe, unless we protect ourselves adequately beforehand, we shall learn again that we cannot have a large war trade with whichever side has control of the air and the seas and remain neutral.'

"ARE THEY INTERESTED IN PROFITS?

"Certain bankers and industrialists who have large holdings in business very much affected by war trade are calling for the continuation of the war. Could it be that every day the war continues brings to them and their corporations extra dividends?

"In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD I named individuals who financed large newspaper advertisements calling for our more active intervention in the war. In the list you will find officials and directors of corporations that manufacture or sell iron and steel products, chemicals, mechanical equipment, oil, metals, celluloid, electrical equipment, aircraft, munitions, steel castings, barbed wire, shell casings, and many more products that are vital to the conduct of war.

"They have interlocking business connections with others in this country and exert quite an influence to get America involved in the conflict.

"It will be after the war when we find out the real story of the profit angle involved in the activities of many who now proclaim their interest in the war to be for lofty motives and high ideals. There are many who do believe this war is for these motives and ideals, but there are others who claim so to cover up their profit motives.

"Don't underestimate the propaganda of economics. It is a powerful force.

"PRESIDENT EXPRESSES DANGER OF WAR TRADE

"President Franklin Roosevelt expressed the danger of war trade in his Chautauqua speech when he said:

" 'It is clear that our present policy and the measures passed by the Congress would, in the event of a war on some other continent, reduce war profits which would otherwise accrue to American citizens. Industrial and agricultural production for a war market may give immense fortunes to a few men; for the Nation as a whole it produces disaster. It was the prospect of war profits that made our farmers in the West plow up prairie land that should never have been plowed, but should have been left for grazing cattle. Today we are reaping the harvest of those war profits in the dust storms which have devastated those war-plowed areas.

" 'It was the prospect of war profits that caused the extension of monopoly and unjustified expansion of industry and a price level so high that the normal relationship between debtor and creditor was destroyed.

" 'Nevertheless, if war should break out again in another continent, let us not blink the fact that we would find in this country thousands of Americans who, seeking immediate riches—fool's gold—would attempt to break down or evade our neutrality.

" 'They would tell you—and, unfortunately, their views would get wide publicity—that if they could produce and ship this and that and the other article to belligerent nations the unemployed of America would all find work. They would tell you that if they could extend credit to warring nations, that credit would be used in the United States to build homes and factories and pay our debts. They would tell you that America once more would capture the trade of the world.

" 'It would be hard to resist that clamor; it would be hard for many Americans, I fear, to look beyond—to realize the inevitable penalties, the inevitable day of reckoning, that come from a false prosperity. To resist the clamor of that greed, if war should come, would require the unswerving support of all Americans who love peace.'

"This is a quite different position than the one he took when asking for the repeal of the embargo and amending of the Neutrality Act, and in later statements.

"The headline of the New York Times on November 3: 'House dooms arms embargo, 243–181; $1,000,000,000 in war orders expected; Allies to buy 7,800 planes here; rush of orders is foreseen within a few weeks—Trucks, clothing, foodstuffs are among many needed products,'

"Other headlines of the Times: 'Says repeal opens arsenal to Allies; War orders flood aviation industry; Purchases of war materials to reach $1,000,000,000 in 6 months; Allies may double plane orders here.'

"Hundreds of such headlines are seen in the papers. The belligerents want to be sure that the feeling that business will get out to the smaller communities. They want to get them interested in the economic factors of the war. For instance, the headline in the Times says: 'Small plants due to get war orders; British not to confine buying to large producers, head of commission says.'

"Newsweek, in relating the story of Allied buying, says:

" 'Actually, a new export boom (reflecting earlier buying, of course) was already under way. During the 48 hours ended last Monday, 250 bombers left New York Harbor in Allied and Greek freighters, and the Association of American Railroads revealed that cars unloaded at the harbor soared to a new high early in June.'

"A recent story on the steel industry says that 'the bare possibility of early peace in Europe, a factor not lost sight of by the steel industry, as 10 percent or more of current output is for the British,' affects the future outlook.

"We are advised that war exports boom our export trade and that 'Exports in June * * * were more than 40 percent greater than the average for the corresponding month in the 3 preceding years.'

"JEROME FRANK STATES THE CASE

"This war business does affect our neutrality.

"Jerome Frank, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, correctly states the case in his book, Save America First.

" 'Every student of our conduct prior to our entry into the last war agrees that nonparticipation was made all but impossible because of our precious huge shipments to the belligerents. Lloyd George and Tardieu were both sure that our war trade would make it impossible for us to preserve our neutrality, and that it was only a question of time before we would join England and France. And there is only an artificial distinction between huge sales to belligerents after they declare war and when they are approaching war. The same forces are now at work that were operative in 1914–17.'

"I have heard Senators arise and with indignation say that the profit motive had nothing to do with our leaving the position of neutrality in the last World War.

"But let us look at the story of 1914–17 as recorded by historians.

"And, in the words of Baker, 'if shipments (of war trade) were cut off, what would happen to American business?' The statement follows:

" 'It was inevitable that with the shipment of such enormous quantities of war materials to the Allies the problem of paying for them would again arise. For a considerable time the British could finance their purchases through their large credit balance, but if the war continued, even a quarter billion dollars would not last long. And when all was said, if the shipment of war materials was unobjectionable, why not loans of money? And if credits were not given, how could the munitions traffic continue? And if shipments were cut off, what would happen to American business?'

"Secretary Lansing, whose memoirs show that he was not neutral from the first of the World War, said about war trade affecting neutrality:

" 'Can we afford to let a declaration as to our conception of the true spirit of neutrality, made in the first days of the war, stand in the way of our national interests, which seem to be seriously threatened?'

"Yet, if we look at the profits made by the sale of war material and then compare that with the cost of the war, we will see that war profits are an illusion.

"M'ADOO COMMENTS

"Secretary McAdoo said in 1915:

" 'The high prices for food products have brought great prosperity to our farmers, while the purchases of war munitions have stimulated industry and have set factories going to full capacity throughout the great manufacturing districts, while the reduction of imports and their actual cessation in some cases have caused new industries to spring up and others to be enlarged. Great prosperity is coming. It will be tremendously increased if we can extend reasonable credits to our customers. * * * Our prosperity is dependent on our continued and enlarged foreign trade.'

"It is quite interesting that the Secretary of the Treasury 25 years later takes a similar position. Secretary Morgenthau is one of the first to break the news to the people of the value of foreign orders.

"Jobs. It may mean jobs in the factories for a month or so, but it may be followed with jobs in the trenches for a lengthy period. It may mean gold, but it is fool's gold. When the books are finally balanced it will not be worth the cost.

"The safest course is to have a strong domestic economy rather than trying to bring prosperity from the tragedy of war.

"And again I refer to the words of Chairman Frank, of the Securities Commission: 'Every student of our conduct prior to our entry into the last war agrees that nonparticipation was made all but impossible because of our precious huge shipments to the belligerents. * * * The same forces are now at work that were operative in 1914–17.' "

The Wall Street Journal of October 21 has an interesting story on the effect of the war on United States trade:

"WAR AND UNITED STATES TRADE—42 PERCENT OF AMERICA'S EXPORTS NOW MUNITIONS OR RELATED MATERIALS—AIRPLANE SHIPMENTS TOTAL 2,715 UNITS IN FIRST 12 MONTHS OF EUROPEAN CONFLICT—RAW MATERIAL IMPORTS RISE

"WASHINGTON.—Almost half of America's export trade has become concentrated in war or war-related materials.

"This was disclosed yesterday by the Department of Commerce, which reported that by the end of the first year of the European war 42 percent of the shipments from the United States consisted of iron and steel products, aircraft and parts, metal-working machinery, nonferrous metals, explosives, firearms, and ammunitions.

"This concentration on the exportations of war materials is expected to increase as British demands for iron and steel, airplanes, and machinery increases. Although Great Britain and Canada have been the heaviest purchasers of war materials, the Commerce Department noted that sizable amounts also have gone to Japan, Russia, and several Latin American countries.

"One of the features of the first war year's export trade was the spectacular rise in aircraft exports, a rise which is expected to be accelerated, the Department pointed out. Although in September 1939 the United States exported only 63 planes, by August 1940 the number had risen to 383. During this 12-month period a total of 2,715 planes and an unspecified number of spare engines and parts, having an aggregate value of $246,300,000, were exported. They accounted for 6 percent of the year's exports.

"Imports also influenced

"America's imports, as well as exports, show the influence of war, the Commerce Department said. Sharpest increase in imports was in the category of raw and semimanufactured materials, the supplies which the United States needs to make munitions and also to swell strategic reserves. Crude rubber from British Malaya and the Dutch Indies, tin from Malaya and Bolivia, copper from Chile, Mexico, Peru, and Canada, ferro-alloys from Asia, Australia, and South America, and vegetable fibers from Asia were among the materials which the United States bought abroad in notably larger amounts.

"The result of the first war year's foreign trade was exports of more than $4,000,000,000, a gain of 37 percent over the preceding 12 months; imports of $2,600,000,000, an increase of 23 percent; and an export balance of $1,400,000,000, the largest since 1921. This big export balance, the Commerce Department said, contributed to the 'unprecedented' shipments of gold to this country, which aggregated $4,000,000,000 from September 1939 to August 1940.

"Other aspects of America's foreign trade during this period pointed out by the Commerce Department are:

"The United Kingdom bought $182,000,000 more of American goods than in the year before the war, and British countries as a whole increased their imports by $572,300,000, until they took over 62 percent of our exports in August 1940, compared with only about 41 percent in August 1939."

Profits

Have we been caught in the war-profits current? Men have found jobs after a long period of unemployment. Business has felt increased profits. Many of us are extremely glad that there has been an upturn, but regret that it was not accomplished through peace economy instead of being predicated on the profits from death and destruction. History records that such gains are not only short-lived but followed by depressions. President Roosevelt called such profits fool's gold.

Are we traveling the path of 1916–17? Shall American boys, once again, be called upon to sacrifice their lives as the "only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted," as Ambassador Page cabled in 1917?

Three-quarter earnings for 1940 are showing large increases. For instance, United States Steel had more than 500-percent increase, Jones & Laughlin 2,500 percent, Glenn L. Martin 300 percent, according to figures printed in Business Week. This magazine shows that 150 corporations had increased earnings of approximately $150,000,000 in the period January 1–October 1.

This does not mean that the directors of these corporations are interested in war for war profits. It does show that we are getting an economic stake in the war.

The earnings record of a few corporations is shown in the following table. All listed are not directly interested in war contracts. It should also be noted that the third-quarter earnings for 1940 reflect the deductions for the new tax levies. The table follows:

The earnings record

	9 months ended—		Quarter ended—		
	Sept. 30, 1940	Sept. 30, 1939	Sept. 30, 1940	June 30, 1940	Sept. 30, 1939
Acme Steel	$1,648,091	$1,042,825	$602,688	$661,149	$443,184
Air Reduction	4,801,469	3,524,411	1,695,373	1,662,106	1,291,816
Allegheny-Ludlum	2,781,285	682,094	1,300,582	1,008,121	327,772
Allis Chalmers	3,769,397	2,643,873	1,159,639	1,639,889	943,450
American Brake Shoe	1,856,489	1,326,888	629,853	644,074	406,954
American Radiator	3,720,806	1,428,185	2,184,901	1,095,151	1,374,758
American Steel Foundries	2,080,446	189,533	413,921	405,565	75,191
Anaconda Wire & Cable	917,845	204,555	420,586	367,979	150,423
Atlantic Refining	6,562,000	3,130,000	1,297,234	2,142,253	1,780,091
Atlas Powder	1,127,261	831,842	382,743	379,822	381,929
Babcock & Wilcox	1,832,266	[1] 500,203	1,832,266	645,340	136,417
Bausch & Lomb	1,369,575	1,133,899	602,290	346,617	579,156
Bohn Aluminum & Brass	1,010,743	320,395	311,116	349,897	20,782
Budd Manufacturing	1,064,353	[1] 126,920	99,001	664,819	[1] 401,854
Caterpillar Tractor	5,486,636	3,901,155	1,977,122	2,039,468	1,585,775
Chrysler Corporation	30,706,094	31,403,118	211,820	14,751,888	6,057,347
Clark Equipment	1,133,008	703,635	195,000	373,058	203,444
Container Corporation	1,929,652	285,308	800,917	619,021	253,060
Copperweld Steel	798,736	610,549	277,422	293,627	219,129
Cutler-Hammer	925,227	410,480	182,864	336,068	167,067
E. I. du Pont de Nemours	67,928,497	62,798,244	21,074,802	22,926,709	23,126,507
Eaton Manufacturing	2,722,850	1,637,030	814,502	970,470	351,339
Freeport Sulphur	2,314,436	1,038,211	816,625	636,578	383,216
General Cable	1,963,568	44,135	467,987	768,156	214,415
General Electric	37,094,776	25,022,631	11,113,204	14,030,122	8,652,439
General Motors	129,172,490	109,619,799	15,597,030	46,546,999	8,627,268
Hanna, M. A	2,016,915	1,068,717	912,607	714,069	581,506
Harbison-Walker	1,540,000	916,900	601,000	559,600	518,200
Hercules Powder	3,744,236	3,646,561	451,170	1,550,493	1,377,091
Inspiration Consolidated Copper	1,363,400	261,772	555,392	515,808	124,837
Jones & Laughlin	6,232,903	281,189	2,956,647	2,141,645	1,129,001
Kimberly Clark	1,886,275	1,724,490	512,624	628,606	460,909
Libbey-Owens-Ford	7,314,781	3,902,516	2,138,033	2,278,795	1,247,702
Link Belt	1,780,740	957,436	815,461	541,323	442,479
Lone Star Cement	2,288,083	2,476,920	916,473	818,055	967,201
Magma Copper	754,808	972,288	37,221	376,281	333,463
Martin, Glenn L	4,798,981	1,513,778	523,493	2,128,820	546,154
Mathieson Alkali	1,250,240	624,767	422,700	463,398	288,722

[1] Deficit.

The earnings record—Continued

	9 months ended—		Quarter ended—		
	Sept. 30, 1940	Sept. 30, 1939	Sept. 30, 1940	June 30, 1940	Sept. 30, 1939
Maytag Co	$1,050,799	$798,669	$352,334	$342,080	$234,981
Minneapolis Honeywell	1,568,361	1,134,622	964,440	316,112	779,555
Monarch Machine Tool	800,977	377,830	138,783	359,635	204,047
Motor Wheel	1,440,531	1,091,770	453,032	568,858	391,504
National Acme	2,090,385	188,121	853,335	721,504	78,385
National Malleable	931,214	450,180	312,457	148,132	131,682
Remington Rand	1,065,209	352,163	499,969	565,240	201,831
Republic Steel	12,633,333	3,898,651	6,183,880	3,337,730	2,815,339
Savage Arms	577,864	229,378	351,658	202,789	155,185
Seaboard Oil	891,859	1,169,588	129,367	259,543	384,157
Sharon Steel	754,878	[1] 200,027	365,975	79,327	[1] 59,483
Shell Union Oil	12,615,196	6,710,658	3,165,249	4,135,788	4,548,236
Simonds Saw	1,102,586	603,572	344,215	365,051	232,226
Skelly Oil	2,251,905	1,366,245	706,943	771,680	609,327
Stewart-Warner	994,684	256,209	317,439	349,043	55,948
Texas Corp	33,692,712	17,500,000			
Texas Gulf Sulphur	7,258,736	5,014,295	2,757,763	2,455,965	1,749,469
Tide Water Associated Oil	7,057,625	4,380,318	1,152,760	2,124,645	2,048,908
Tubize Chatillon	1,236,113	625,229	533,738	369,085	322,163
Union Carbine & Carbon	30,976,728	19,151,730	11,004,553	9,503,469	8,400,326
United States Steel	69,418,070	12,390,756	33,163,067	19,201,008	10,420,445
Victor Chemical	848,408	735,784	362,563	258,855	298,801
Westinghouse Electric	14,583,327	9,069,810	4,746,315	5,795,584	2,731,023
Worthington Pump	1,543,473	265,306	464,551	526,117	360,470

It will be noted that the United States Steel Corporation showed a fivefold increase in the 9-month period of 1940 as compared to the same period in 1939. To be exact, in 1940 the earnings were $69,418,070 as compared to $12,930,756 in 1939.

Some of the directors of this corporation as well as investors have been active in the war propaganda to get us involved.

In the book, The Profits of War, by Lewinsohn, there is an interesting story of the United States Steel Corporation profits in the war 25 years ago. It follows:

"Profits of the United States Steel Corporation

"But all the money made in Europe either by individual capitalists or by companies is negligible in comparison with what was made by the Americans. J. P. Morgan, who was the Allies' agent in America for war purchases, was at the same time a director and a shareholder of the United States Steel Corporation, which raked in the biggest war profits of any firm in the country or even in the whole world. The profits of this concern rose to three times what it had been before the war; and considering the size of the trust, that means something enormous.

"The first period of the war saw a serious diminution in the profits of great steel trusts of America. After the excellent year of 1913, that of 1914 opened badly and the outbreak of war accentuated the depression. Enterprise seemed lacking; people were inclined to wait to see what happened in Europe. Supplies to the belligerents encountered opposition from the Government. So in the United States Steel Corporation profits fell from one hundred and twenty-seven to seventy-one million dollars.

"But as soon as Morgan managed to overcome the Government's opposition to war exports all was changed. In 1915 the United States Steel Corporation was once more able to announce a handsome profit—$135,000,000—as much as had been made in the best years before the war. The needs of the war now came to be fully realized, and the United States Steel Corporation, which so far had only been making arms in one or two of its subsidiaries, now organized the production of war material on a vast scale. As a result profits in 1916 amounted to $333,000,000.

"During the last 2 years of war a dividend of 16 percent could still be paid, this being three times the figure for the best pre-war years. But now that the United States had entered the war the published profits shrank appreciably, for the firm could not conscientiously charge its own Government or that of its Allies the swollen prices it had asked as neutrals. The profits declared for 1917 and 1918 were two hundred and forty-five and one hundred and ninety-nine million dollars, respectively.

"Those were the published figures and for a long time they were accepted. It was only in December 1934 that the Senate Munitions Committee published an official list of the great profits and incomes of the war period. The list began with the adjusted earnings of the United States Steel Corporation, which differed considerably from the figures previously published by the firm itself. It was now stated that profits in 1914 had only been $46,000,000. For the next 2 years the committee's figures were not much different from those that had been published. They were: One hundred and thirty-one million in 1914 and three hundred and forty-eight million in 1916. On the other hand, for the 2 years in which America was taking part in the war, the divergence in the two estimates was enormous. The Senate committee established the fact that the profits for these 2 years were: Five hundred and eighty-five millions in 1917 and five hundred and nineteen millions in 1918, i. e., two and a half times as much as the figures published by the United States Steel Corporation.

"It must, however, be borne in mind that the United States Steel Corporation was already before the war the biggest industrial concern in the world. The only one which could possibly be compared

to it was the Standard Oil Co. of Rockefeller. In this light the figures above seem less extravagant. If its profits from the war are compared with those of other American companies, they will even appear moderate. More than $1,600,000,000 had been invested in it, including the capital found for the huge expansion of war years, so that the maximum profits, those for the year 1917, only represented about a third of the capital. There were other companies whose profits for the same year amounted to three times the capital invested."

The so-called war-profits tax bill does not stop war profits.

In closing, let me say all businessmen are not interested in war profits. Many realize that a war economy is false prosperity. They know that entrance to war will bring an economic collapse in this country. Some, however, believe you can get into the stream and avoid the current. Others are interested in the involvement of the United States in this war. Some of these men who have investments in war stocks are whipping up war hysteria. They are the most dangerous subversive group in this country, those who would sacrifice our youth for profit.

Ray Stannard Baker in the Wilson biography stated:

"Thus by the end of the year 1914 the traffic in war materials with the Allies had become deeply entrenched in America's economic organization and the possibility of keeping out of the war by the diplomacy of neutrality no matter how skillfully conducted had reached the vanishing point."

Have we forgotten the lesson of 25 years ago?

National Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER F. GEORGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS OF ATTORNEY GENERAL JACKSON

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Hon. Robert H. Jackson, Attorney General of the United States, at the American United program, sponsored by the Council for Democracy, in cooperation with the Columbia Broadcasting System, at Carnegie Hall, New York City, November 6, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Perhaps I may be pardoned for speaking tonight on the ground that I agreed before the election to come here and speak, whether we should win or lose. I agreed to do so because I believe that a sportsmanship which ungrudgingly accepts the decision of the majority is an essential part of our democratic system.

The victors in this election should find humility and a high sense of responsibility in the very magnitude and difficulty of the problems which face our next administration.

This election has vindicated the strength and unity which underlie our political contests—a strength so well described by Lord Balfour when he said:

"Our alternating Cabinets, though belonging to different parties, have never differed about the foundation of society, and it is evident that our whole political machinery presupposes a people so fundamentally at one that they can afford to bicker, and so sure of their own moderation that they are not dangerously disturbed by the never-ending din of political conflict."

The American people are united in defending the fundamental institutions of democracy at home and, short of war, in sustaining democracy abroad. They are united to support national defense, for we have seen that there is no security for a half-defended nation. And we are united to maintain back of our lines of defense a society that is democratic in substance as well as in form. These great objectives constitute a vast area of agreement compared to the areas in which we may differ.

The objectives on which we are agreed cannot be attained, however, without inconvenience, without cost, without sacrifice. Armament for the Nation is a net burden on our national economic life. One of our gravest internal problems is to adjust the burden of our national defense so that it will not gall or divide our society. We must adjust its cost as between today and tomorrow—that is, as between taxation and borrowing. We must adjust its burden as between labor and capital, and we must adjust its requirements so that opportunity for youth in peacetime pursuits will not be endangered by their service for national defense. On any of these things we are likely to think differently, for they will bear differently upon our interests.

Unity—an intelligent and realizable unity—comes through a recognition that common agreement on certain high principles transcends minor differences over method. It does not imply the singleness of viewpoint which could be achieved only by regimentation. It does not even imply an end of criticism. But it does mean that we bear our differences as we bear the infirmities of our friends and keep our sense of proportion between the large things we have in common as against the smaller things where our interests, our temperaments, or our experiences divide us.

The Man With the Bowler Hat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM HOBBS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 11, 1940

SERMON BY DR. PETER MARSHALL

Mr. HOBBS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following sermon delivered by Dr. Peter Marshall at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., on September 29, 1940:

THE MAN WITH THE BOWLER HAT

(Sermon delivered by Dr. Peter Marshall, New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, on September 29, 1940)

Ecclesiastes 9: 13: "This wisdom have I seen also under the sun, and it seemed great unto me: There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it. Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man. Then said I, wisdom is better than strength: nevertheless the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard."

This is an intriguing text. It appeals to the imagination. There is a whimsical quality about it and the more one thinks of it, the more does it appeal. But first let us hear the text again—this time as Moffat translates it:

"Here is another case of wisdom which I have seen on earth, and I was struck by it. A little town there was, with few men in it, and a great king attacked it, he invested it, and built great siegeworks around it. However, a poor wise man was found within the town who saved it by his skill. And not a soul remembered that poor man! Wisdom is better than strength, I reflected; still a poor man's wisdom wins no honor or deference for him."

The intriguing part of the text to me consists of these words: "However, a poor wise man was found within the town, who saved it by his skill, and not a soul remembered that poor man!"

We are not told what he did. The author of Ecclesiastes is using this story to point a moral and does not give us any particulars. But we cannot help wondering how the nameless hero saved the town. How did he do it? Did he invent some secret weapon? Did he devise some trick to scatter the besieging army? The situation has all kinds of possibilities, but we do not have the slightest clue, and, therefore, speculation is useless. Whatever he did, we shall probably never know, but we do know this—he is nameless, he emerged for one brief and glorious moment from the ranks of anonymity, and then, having played his part, having made his contribution, he slips back again into the shadows of the unknown.

He may have been a merchant owning a little stall in the market place. He may have been a basket maker squatting in the deep, sharp purple shadows of the city wall. Oh, he might have been anybody. The point is that in a time of emergency, in a crisis, he was there to play his part, and after he had served he was forgotten.

Now, this poor man has a long line of descendants—the obscure, humble, nameless men and women, ofter heroic, often great in their brief moment—who rise to the occasion and, having served their town, slip back again into the hosts of mediocrity.

On the Clydeside, near Glasgow, some of the world's largest ships have been built and launched into a river incredibly narrow. One could almost throw a stone across this river, which has received such ocean giants as the *Queen Mary* and the *Queen Elizabeth*. It happens that the mouth of the River Cart is just opposite the John Brown Shipyard, and when the ocean liners are built they are laid down so that the ship will float up the mouth of the Cart and then be maneuvered downstream into the outfitting basin. This is a task requiring rare engineering skill and expert handling.

George Blake, the Scottish novelist, described the launching of the *Queen Mary*. In his opinion, the most dramatic figure on the scene was a sturdy man of Clydeside, dressed in the traditional bowler hat and the familiar bow tie, standing all alone on a little platform. He was the yard manager, the central figure on the stage. Upon him rested the responsibility for sliding 30,000 tons of metal into a river no wider than a canal so as not to swamp the opposite river bank, nor yet to run the ship aground, nor tear away the huge chains that gently checked her plunge into the narrow river. It was tricky business.

Thousands of spectators lined both banks of the Clyde. Royalty was present. Uniforms were plentiful; gold braid was in abundance. Movie cameras ground away, filming this celebrity and that, catching the colorful picture as the christening was prepared, the

speeches were said, the bouquets presented, the bows and curtsies made—and the cameras caught it all.

But no camera was turned in the direction of the little man in the bowler hat. He stood all alone unnoticed but all-important. He had checked his calculations. He had carefully gone over his measurements. All was in readiness. The bottle swung, the glass splintered, the cheers swelled up in a mighty roar, the blocks were knocked away, the great ship started to move, she gathered speed in a mighty slide, and settled in the murky waters of the old River Clyde. The yard manager's work done, he turned away and stepped down from his platform.

A handful of shipyard workers gave him a cheer, but the cameras did not turn his way. By the crowd he was not even noticed. There were so many thundering titles, so much gold braid on the stands. The man with the bowler hat did not matter.

He is a modern symbol of that other poor wise man in the Scriptures, that other nameless hero who saved the city and was not even remembered. They are both symbols of the men and the women who do so much of the work of the world for which others are decorated. Some of the most royal personages have been anonymous. Many of our inventions have been made by men whose names were never known.

Take, for example, the wheel. That is one of our greatest inventions. Just try to imagine what life would be without the wheel. Of course, no transportation at all—neither train, nor tram, nor car, nor chariot, nor wagon; not even a bicycle, nor a watch, nor an elevator, nor a machine, nor a vacuum cleaner, nor an egg beater, nor a sewing machine. But nobody knows who first thought of a wheel. Perhaps some cave man in the shadows of the dim and distant past idly watched a stone rolling down the hillside. Perhaps—who knows? The inventor is hidden in the ranks of the anonymous. He is kin to the man in the bowler hat and the poor wise man in the Old Testament.

In the New Testament it is Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, who is symbolic of the nameless, ordinary men and women of life who are so often taken for granted.

Dorothy Thompson wrote an article the other day—a great article—about the nameless heroes of the present war. When the story of this second world war comes to be written one name will glow on the pages of heroism and sacrifice, and that name is Dunkerque. Its story has about it the magical quality of a great Biblical story, an epic which might sometime be told in poetry like the Charge of the Light Brigade.

The British Army was lost. The whole British Expeditionary Force, the flower of Britain's youth, the hope of British defense against invasion, by every human calculation, was lost. Famous regiments, the Guards, Divisions, Scots, Welsh, Irish, Grenadier, Coldstream Guards, had fought rearguard actions until they were back to back with the comrades on a narrow strip of French coast only 30 miles wide. In the pocket, being drawn tighter and tighter with every hour that passed, were the hope of Great Britain. They faced complete annihilation. They had no planes, no tanks—they had nothing. The only outlet, the only possible means of escape, was through a port with a single pier already devastated by bombs, fire, and enemy artillery.

The sky was dark with enemy bombers swooping in power dives to blast everything in sight, with machine guns rattling, spitting death and destruction. It seemed as if everything was lost. The port of Dunkerque was blown to pieces, the sand dunes were exposed to a blistering fire, the roar of bombs and diving planes was deafening, the beach was exposed, the waters shallow—and England 30 miles away. Three hundred and fifty thousand British soldiers were at the mercy of a merciless enemy. It looked as if nothing could save them. Whole regiments would be wiped out. It would be the blackest day in the history of the British Army. The British people were prepared for hard and heavy tidings. Only a miracle could save them.

And on that blazing beach the miracle happened. It sprang out of every cove, every tiny harbor, every river mouth on the coast of England. They came to the rescue—as motley a fleet as ever was assembled—tug and barge, scow and dory, yacht and schooner, destroyer and minesweeper, warship and ferry boat, steamer and fishing smack—anything that floated was sent across the waters of the English Channel. Old men with faces lined and hardened with the sea wind; boys, too young to go to war, who knew how to tack a sail and wield an oar and haul on nets; mechanics who could tinker with a gasoline engine or coax a wheezing, cracked cylinder in the engine room—they all took to the sea to save the army of Britain.

How they got across nobody quite knew. The soldiers waded out into the sea to meet them. They dragged wounded companions with them, carried them slung across their shoulders. They crouched on the sand dunes for protection against the aircraft. They were machine gunned and bombed every inch of the way. They waded into the water or swam, if they could, to board big boats and little boats. Many perished, many were drowned, ships sank, fishermen and soldiers died together; heroism was everywhere, men were braver than bravery, but the British Army was saved and came home to protect that tight little island.

They were not saved by men in top hats and striped trousers, nor by the men in gold braid and glittering uniforms. They were saved by their fathers and brothers, by the man next door, by the fellow in the office and the fishermen, by the schoolboys and the village folk who sailed across the Channel to save the British Army. The little men—the little men from the beaches and harbors—the little men, with the help of God, performed the miracle of Dunkerque. Dunkerque showed the world that the little men of Britain—the men in the bowler hats—would die to save their army and their country.

Day by day and night after night, whether in air-raid shelter or out in the blackened smoking streets, the little men of Britain make her again great, and Britain will win—not so much by the heroism of her fighting men, not so much by the devotion of her magnificent Navy, nor yet by the incredible deeds of the Royal Air Force, but by the untiring service of the air-raid wardens, the firemen, the office clerks, the businessmen, the merchants. In short, the war will be won not so much by the fellow in the tin hat as by the man in the bowler hat.

Do not be afraid. Hitler cannot conquer, though he may oppress, and for a time control. Hate cannot win. Destruction may come. It has happened before to the children of God. Dark days have come before to Great Britain. Her enemies have dug her grave many times ere this. They have carved up the British Empire more than once. But still she lives on and holds together.

We need never be ashamed to repeat over and over the stories of Lincoln, the rail splitter; of Garfield, the mule driver on the canal towpath; of Coolidge, the timid son of an obscure Vermont farmer; or of Booker T. Washington, like Moses, a slave-born emancipator. All those were Andrews, the glory of any democracy. They are the people who carry on and support the work of the church. They are the people who give most generously to the advancement of the Kingdom of God, the people who form the backbone of our country, who go to its polls, who pay its taxes, who fight its wars, who support its community chests, who keep up its hospitals, its schools, its orphanages.

Every church must have a goodly number of Andrews in its membership. I mean Miss Andrew and Mrs. Andrew, as well as Andrew himself. You know them. They are regular in their attendance, interested, but not unduly critical, ready to do faithfully whatever needs to be done. If a class in Sunday school needs a teacher, there is always Andrew or his wife or his sister who will step forward and close the gap. They ask no medals and they expect no praise. They do not grumble or complain; they never write anonymous letters to the preacher; they don't offer him advice or tell him what he ought to do; they have nothing to say at congregational meetings; they don't play church politics or pull any strings; they are the rank and file, on whom the leaders lean and on whose shoulders the work of the church is carried forward.

Think of the church without Andrew. It simply could not go on. Think of the city without Andrew, without the right-hand men and women. Suppose all the Andrews went on strike at once. Lines of care would deepen on the brows of the big shots, deep despair would overtake the man of genius, the clever people who sit at desks and push buttons would get more and more upset and more and more helpless. Statesmen would peer through the window waiting for Andrew to come, business would stop, industry would come to a standstill, and a cry would rise up from the city: "We must have Andrew. Find us the man in the bowler hat."

Andrew does not merit the attention of the newsreel cameras, he never stands in the reception line, he never gets a paragraph in the society column, nor does he rate an invitation to a state function. If others get the applause, let them have it. They have their reward. But so does Andrew.

There is something in the heart of that man standing on the platform watching the great ship go down into the water which publicity could not provide, money could not buy.

The lasting reward, the enduring prize, goes in the end to the man in the bowler hat.

22 Years Ago Was November 11, 1918

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 11, 1940

ARTICLE BY ELMO SCOTT WATSON

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, 22 years ago the American people celebrated the signing of the armistice. This country was at war. It had the solemn assurance of its leadership that it was a war to end wars, and that the success of the Allies—England, France, United States, Russia, and Italy—and the defeat of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria would bring peace to the world for all time. That was what the armistice meant to the American people and they hailed it with joy unconfined.

The following article by Elmo Scott Watson, taken from one of the newspapers in my district, is interesting in connection with that conflict. It is as follows:

ARMISTICE DAY, 1940

(By Elmo Scott Watson)

In a world aflame with war, the thoughts of Americans on Armistice Day, 1940, inevitably turn to that November day 22 years ago when World War I ended. In Arlington National Cemetery,

near Washington, stands the symbol of our participation in that conflict—the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. One of our greatest patriotic shrines, it is not only a memorial to those whose graves in foreign soil are marked "Unknown," but in a larger sense it is also a monument to the 50,000 who gave their lives in that earlier fight against the threat of dictatorial power.

Among them were a few who, unknowingly, erected memorials to themselves which seem destined to be as enduring as the white marble of the tomb in Arlington. For they were the soldier poets who, before a bullet or shell fragment wrote "finis" to their careers, composed some bit of deathless verse which is now and always will be associated with their names.

In 1936, when Frederic W. Ziv compiled an anthology of poems by poets who were killed in 1914 to 1918, his book, The Valiant Muse, contained the work of 59 young Englishmen and Americans. All of these 59 are known to a few poetry lovers; perhaps half of them are familiar names to students of literature; but to the English-speaking world generally four of their names have become as familiar as the names of famous bards who sang in earlier and more peaceful times. They are two Americans, Alan Seeger and Joyce Kilmer, an Englishman, Rupert Brooke, and a Canadian, John McCrae.

Although each of the four wrote considerable verse, in each case there is one poem which is inevitably and invariably associated with the name of its author. To think of Alan Seeger is to think of I Have a Rendezvous With Death, which was prophetic of the fate of the poet if not of the fate of the poem. Seeger was a young Harvard graduate who was studying in Paris at the outbreak of the war in 1914 and who enlisted in the French Foreign Legion. Wounded in action, he was recuperating in a French hospital when he wrote the poem which made him famous. It was:

"I have a rendezvous with death
At some disputed barricade,
When spring comes round with rustling shade
And apple blossoms fill the air.
I have a rendezvous with death
When spring brings back blue days and fair.

"It may be he shall take my hand
And lead me into his dark land
And close my eyes and quench my breath;
It may be I shall pass him still.
I have a rendezvous with death
On some scarred slope of battered hill,
When spring comes round again this year
And the first meadow flowers appear.

"God knows 'twere better to be deep
Pillowed in silk and scented down,
Where love throbs out in blissful sleep,
Pulse nigh to pulse, and breath to breath.
Where hushed awakenings are dear.
But I've a rendezvous with death
At midnight in some flaming town,
When spring trips north again this year,
And I to my pledged word and true,
I shall not fail that rendezvous."

Back in service again in 1916 Seeger was invited to write a poem and read it at the Memorial Day ceremony in Paris which had been arranged for the American volunteers who had died for France. Seeger worked feverishly to finish the poem in time. Memorial Day came but it brought no word to Seeger that his application for leave of absence to go to Paris for the ceremony had been granted. Later it was learned that a careless clerk had confused Memorial Day with the other American patriotic holiday of Independence Day and had obtained the leave of absence for that date.

But Seeger was not destined to enjoy his leave on Independence Day, for he had a "rendezvous with death" which he could not fail to keep. On July 4, 1916, there was a burst of German machine gun fire at Belloy-en-Santerre and one of the men who went down in the hail of death was the young soldier-poet.

There is a touch of pathos in the fact that Alan Seeger will keep his rendezvous with death for all eternity in an unmarked grave. Several months later his regiment returned to Belloy-en-Santerre to find that the entire landscape had been so changed by bombardment that not even the "scarred slope of battered hill" where he died could be recognized and all efforts since then to identify the site of his burial place have been unsuccessful.

Like Seeger, Rupert Brooke wrote a poem that was prophetic of his death and that contributed most to his fame. Those who knew this young Englishman remember that, so striking was his physical appearance and so buoyant were his spirits it was "like a wind from heaven" when he entered a room. Harriet Monroe called him "the lyric Apollo" and his brother poet, William Butler Yeats, said he was "the most beautiful young man in England." But the world remembers him as the writer of this exquisite sonnet:

"THE SOLDIER

"If I should die, think only this of me,
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is forever England. There shall be
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;
A dust which England bore, shaped, made aware;
Gave once her flowers to love, her ways to roam,
A body of England's, breathing English air,
Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home.

"And think, this heart, all evil shed away,
A pulse in the eternal mind no less,
Gives somewhere back the thoughts by England given;
Her sights and sounds, dreams happy as her day;
And laughter learnt of friends, and gentleness,
In hearts at peace, under an English haven."

Out of the horror of the Battle of Ypres came another poem which has made the name of its author famous. He was Lt. Col. John McCrae, commander of the medical department of Canadian hospital No. 3, a McGill University unit. Innumerable times during the 16 days of that battle McCrae watched the burial of the dead and saw the white crosses erected over their graves. Then in the spring he saw the poppies trying to cover the tortured earth with their scarlet glory and he wrote:

"IN FLANDERS FIELDS

"In Flanders fields the poppies grow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place. While in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly,
Unheard amid the guns below.

"We are the dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunsets glow,
Loved and were loved—but, now, we lie
In Flanders fields!

"Take up our quarrel with the foe!
To you, from falling hands, we throw
The torch—Be yours to bear it high!
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies blow
In Flanders fields."

McCrae's poem was transated into every language spoken by the Allied forces. It became a symbol of the determination to carry on, and before its author's death in January 1918 this Canadian soldier's neighbors, the Americans, as well as thousands of his fellow Canadians and other citizens of the British Empire had heeded his injunction to "take up our fight." McCrae was stricken with pneumonia at his post of duty and died in a hospital in Boulogne. He was buried in the cemetery at Wimereux on a sunny slope facing the sunset and the sea, where red poppies grow among the white crosses, one of which marks the last resting place of John McCrae.

The second American soldier poet who died in France and whose name is best remembered because of one poem was Joyce Kilmer. It is a curious fact, however, that it was written before he became a soldier, and it was not a war poem. A graduate from Columbia University in 1908, Kilmer held various journalistic jobs before joining the staff of the New York Times in 1913. In that year Harriet Monroe's Poetry, a magazine of verse, printed the poem which was to make Kilmer famous. It was—

"TREES

"I think that I shall never see
A poem lovely as a tree;

"A tree whose hungry mouth is pressed
Against the earth's sweet flowing breast;

"A tree that looks at God all day
And lifts her leafy arms to pray;

"A tree that may in summer wear
A nest of robins in her hair;

"Upon whose bosom snow has lain;
Who intimately lives with rain.

"Poems are made by fools like me,
But only God can make a tree."

Kilmer was paid $7 for this poem—a few years ago the manuscript of it was sold for $600. At the outbreak of the World War Kilmer was more sympathetic to the German side than that of the Allies because the former was more unpopular in this country. But he quickly changed after the sinking of the *Lusitania* and he wrote a poem about this event which was widely reprinted in both America and Europe. Called The White Ships and the Red, it portrayed the arrival of a new ship among the ghostly hulks of the thousands of vessels that lie on the floor of the sea—only this ship, the *Lusitania*, was not white but red with blood.

Joining the legion of the lost, the *Lusitania* declares:

"My wrong cries out for vengeance,
The blow that sent me here
Was aimed in hell. My dying scream
Has reached Jehovah's ear.
Not all the seven oceans
Shall wash away that stain;
Upon a brow that wears a crown
I am the brand of Cain."

Soon after America entered the war, Kilmer, although married and the father of three children, enlisted in a famous New York regiment—the "Fighting Sixty-Ninth." He became a sergeant and although he had opportunities for promotion, he turned them down because they would have involved leaving his regiment for training elsewhere. "I'd rather be a sergeant in the Sixty-ninth than a lieutenant in any other regiment in the world," he wrote a friend.

And it was as a sergeant in the Sixty-ninth that he died—on July 30, 1918, during the 5 days' fighting for the heights near the Ourcq River. He had volunteered his services to the major of the battalion leading the advance because his own battalion was not in the lead. Having discovered a German machine gun nest in the woods ahead, he was sent with a patrol to determine its exact location. Two hours later, when the rest of the battalion advanced into the woods, they found Kilmer lying, bent over a ridge, as if still scouting. When they turned him over they found that he was dead. He was buried near the spot where he fell beside his lieutenant, who was also killed.

Asks a Mobilization To "Fulfill" United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH R. BRYSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 11, 1940

KEYNOTE SPEECH OF ARCHIBALD MacLEISH AT THE THIRD SESSION OF THE TENTH ANNUAL FORUM OF THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE ON OCTOBER 23, 1940

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Speaker, the new and effective employment of propaganda as a weapon of total war has raised a question as to the role to be played by American artists and writers in our struggle to preserve democracy against totalitarianism. That eminent scholar and man of letters, our Librarian of Congress, Archibald MacLeish, made an important contribution to the Nation's thought on this problem in his keynote speech at the third session of the tenth annual forum of the New York Herald Tribune on October 23, 1940. His address follows:

If I correctly understand the plan of these discussions, their purpose is to consider the American emergency in its relation to the resources of raw material and technical skill and popular morale and political leadership upon which the country can depend. It is a plan which assumes that the mobilization which has been imposed upon us is a mobilization, not merely of arms, but of every resource, moral as well as material, of which the country can dispose. Upon that assumption it includes, with weapons and with raw materials of war, the country's artists and its writers and their work.

It is an interesting assumption for two reasons: First, it assumes that the work of American artists and writers and musicians is a national resource, important enough to be mobilized along with men and arms, and, second, it assumes that the kind of mobilization which is now going forward in America is a mobilization in which the work of writers and artists has its proper part.

STARTLING THE ARTISTS

The first assumption will startle a considerable number of American painters and poets and musicians. They have not been aware for the last several decades that the Nation felt an urgent need of their work. There has been talk of the arts and of letters as there is always talk of arts and letters, but the work of artists and writers—the work they are capable of performing for their contemporaries—their peculiar and proper work of interpreting the purpose of a generation to itself, has not been demanded of them. And for a very simple reason, which is this: That their contemporaries have found the answers elsewhere.

For the better part of a generation the people of this country, like the people of other countries in the West, have found their explanations of their lives, and their interpretations of their experience not in the work of their artists and their poets but in the formulas and propositions and hypotheses which explain the nature of man and the pattern of his life in terms of the goods he uses and the products he requires. The Americans particularly have looked to these formulas and propositions for guidance in the interpretation of their history, the understanding of their present and their attempts to foresee their future. They have believed that they were closer to reality if they considered, not what they were, but only what they ate and wore. They have believed that they possessed their experience if they could express it in figures, and that their history was comprehensible if their history was written in terms of economic compulsion and the necessities of goods and trade. They have believed, finally, that those who interpreted life in graphs and statistical tabulations and the economic compulsions of which graphs and tabulations are the outward form, were the serious men, the intelligent men, the informed interpreters, and that all artists, and particularly novelists and poets, were marginal figures whose concern was with something not quite serious and not quite real.

SUDDEN RUSHING FORWARD

It is not remarkable, therefore, that poets and painters should feel some astonishment today to see themselves and their work counted among the essential resources of their nation. Their astonishment, however, need not be unduly great. The inward life of a people, like the inward lives of the men and women who make up a people, has a slow and breaking rhythm, a long and almost imperceptible preparation like the preparation of a wave, and a sudden lifting, a sudden rushing forward. For a decade, for a generation, the thinking of a people will be fixed in certain forms, certain formulas, certain explanations which stand between the people and experience itself—the experience either of their own lives or of the artists who present the image of their lives. And then, suddenly, in due and inevitable course, the forms, the formulas, crumble against the obstacles of time and the life breaks forward.

It is this which has happened to the doctrine of economic infallibility in America today. The glassy wave of economic omniscience has stumbled against the rocks the economists forgot about, and the publicists and professors of economics are already complaining that more poets have dared to raise their voices and to speak of things economists do not recognize as real. It is a curious fact, but a fact not without its ironic interest, that one of the elements the economists failed to count on was the capacity of the human heart for evil. The other was its capacity for good.

The rise of fascism, demonstrating as it did that men can be led by lies to desire slavery and death, demonstrated also that human motivation is not the simple thing the professors of economic doctrines affected to believe. And the fight against fascism, demonstrating that men will sacrifice their safety and their goods and every material advantage to defend a hopeless cause even in another country—and one thinks of Hemingway and Malraux and of Reglor and of many others—the fight against fascism demonstrated, if demonstration was needed, that men are capable of generosities which no theory of materialism has ever yet explained or ever will. Even the Communist Party, which found in material causes the whole explanation of human conduct, has demonstrated by its own that there are certain deeds which well will do—surrender of principle and betrayal of cause among them for no reason more material than fear.

FALL OF PRECONCEPTIONS

The assumption, therefore, that the work of artists and of writers may again be needed in America can be accepted without undue reservation. The economic preconception, the brittle orthodoxies which stood between the writers and the artists and their people, are not as solid as they were. The second assumption, however, the assumption that the kind of mobilization now going forward in America is a mobilization in which the work of writers and of artists has its proper part, presents a greater difficulty. For if it is true that the American mobilization now in process is a mobilization which properly includes artists and writers and musicians, then it is a mobilization for a further purpose and on a bolder scale than is commonly believed. It is a mobilization for something far, far greater than temporary defense against a temporary danger.

The mobilization of a people to meet and to ward off temporary danger of attack is not an action which involves writers as writers, artists as artists. Such a mobilization is no part of the continuing life to which the artist and the writer belong, for it is no part of the continuing life of the people. It is, at the best, time out of that life to do a necessary and unpleasant job—time out to kill a snake—time out of the people's plans, time out of their hopes, time out of their lives, an interruption of every honest purpose and of every decent labor until the attacker is destroyed. Writers and artists and musicians have no place in it as writers and as artists and musicians.

WHAT WRITERS MAY DO

Writers may join the ministry of propaganda, or sign up and keep their diaries in their duffel bags and maybe live to publish them, or suffer and remember afterward and write the bitter unforgettable books of indignation and despair; and artists may paint the posters for the Red Cross or the national loans or try their hands at camouflage and carry a gun and die like Gaudier Brozka (and with him, as Pound said, there died a lot of first-rate sculpture); and musicians may play in the bands or write the official songs for the official sopranos from the Metropolitan or maybe, if they're lucky, La Madeleine, or maybe nothing, but there is no place in the plan for their own work—their own painting or their writing or their music.

The only mobilization of the resources of a democratic people which involves the writers and the artists as such as themselves is a very different mobilization. It is a mobilization of the people to defend themselves against attack, not by interrupting their life as a people, but by fulfilling their life as a people; not by defending against, but by living for; not by denying, whether with words or with guns, but by affirming. It is a mobilization of all the resources of a democratic people so that democracy may become itself and live, not only to survive this danger but to surmount it, and go forward, and go on beyond.

In such a mobilization the writers and painters and musicians of this country have a place as large as any. Their work is needed, not in some other form or shape, but in its own. For it is the simple truth that the mobilization of the possibilities of a free people is inconceivable without them. What a people can become is the accomplishment in fact of what a people can conceive. What the people of a nation can conceive is what their artists and their poets can make actual to them and thus possible. It is the power truly to inhabit the present, the power to inhabit the possibilities of their own lives, which the poets of a people can confer upon them. And it is that power which the citizens of a people's country need at the great epochs of their history when conscious of

themselves, conscious of their necessities as a people, conscious of their destiny, they gather themselves to create again their future. The writers, the painters, the musicians who are part of such a mobilization of the resources of a nation may die in the end as other men may die, may suffer the loss of their work and be hurt, maimed, impoverished, but not as victims, not as men enlisted in another's cause. For the cause is their own. The cause is the creation of a future worthy of mankind.

THE NEEDED MOBILIZATION

Whether the mobilization of this country in the face of fascism is a mobilization of this second kind I do not know. But this I think I do know: That unless it is such a mobilization of every resource, every possibility of freedom, not to resist alone but to assert, and to become, and to fulfill, it cannot be successful. It cannot be successful even as defense. The danger which faces us is a danger so great, so terrible, so immediate, so close that only recreation of the people's will and the people's strength, only the realization of every possibility of the people, will enable the people's government to survive.

To mobilize planes only or armies only, forgetting our purposes as a democratic people, interrupting our history, neglecting the realization of our own hopes, is to invite disaster. Fascism does not attack with planes alone or with armies. Fascism as we now see, as we have learned in the Battle of France and will not again forget, fascism is an inward enemy which attacks within more dangerously than without, a revolutionary force which is not less terrible, but more terrible, because its end is ignorance and destruction and slavery and death. The collapse of France was a collapse from within, a collapse of will and conviction and belief; and the conquest of France was a conquest from within, a conquest of one purpose by another purpose. Fascism, whether we like it or not, is a cause; and only a fighting cause can conquer it. Democracy, to conquer, must become again a fighting cause. And democracy, which had not been a fighting cause for many years, which men here and in other countries have taken for granted, exploited for profit, turned into "business," democracy will not become a fighting cause if even the poor beginnings of democratic hope are interrupted and broken off and war and weapons are its single aim.

FAITH IN FREEDOM

Democracy as a fighting faith is faith in the freedom of the common people, faith in the capacity of the common people to create a world more human and more decent and more just than any world a tyrant or a demagog or any so-called revolutionary party or any self-appointed aristocracy of wealth and talents can impose upon them. Democracy as a fighting faith is an affirmative faith, a faith in freedom for, not freedom from, a faith in the people's freedom to create their future for themselves. Those who think the Bill of Rights is all there is to democracy, those who think democracy is a private thing, an insulation from others, have failed to understand either their own or any other history. Democracy as a fighting cause is the cause to which Carl Sandburg gave a name: The People: Yes.

And mobilization for the defense of democracy in the face of the greatest danger which has ever threatened freedom must be the mobilization of every possibility the people have, not to defend themselves, not to resist, but to build higher and to build stronger the house of freedom on this ground, to create in America the thing so many men have dreamed of and have never seen, democracy itself—democracy in action. If the mobilization of America today is such a mobilization and I hope it is—American writers and artists and musicians are a part of it. And if the mobilization of America is a mobilization of which its artists and its writers are a part, then the American cause is again the cause of the creative human spirit—the cause no enemy has ever overcome. Or ever will.

What the Third Term Means to the Common People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR W. MITCHELL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 11, 1940

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that the campaign which came to a close on November 5, and culminated in the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to a third term as President of the United States, is without doubt the most important event, insofar as the interests of the common people are concerned, during the past 75 years. The great humanitarian program initiated and carried forward by this administration for the benefit of the common people offers the only real ray of hope that has come from the Federal Government to the Negro during my lifetime. During the campaign I said on more than one occasion that no greater calamity could come to the common people of America than the defeat of Roosevelt and his program. I cannot help but think that it is to the everlasting shame of scores of outstanding Negro leaders that they refused to work on the side of the common people of America in this great world and race crisis. I cannot believe that it was ignorance why they chose to be Republican at this time. I believe it was downright selfishness and short-sightedness on their part, putting their own selfish interest and the interest of a few above that of the people.

I wish to thank the people of the First Congressional District of Illinois, colored and white, for their support which brought about my reelection to Congress for the fourth term. I pledge you and my country that I shall continue to stand by the constructive program of our great President. I know him as no other colored man in the United States has had an opportunity to know him. He is genuinely interested in all the people, and seeks to deal justly with every group. I account it the highest pleasure of my life that I have been privileged and am privileged to work with such a great leader. It is my hope that my group throughout the country will appreciate the opportunities brought to them through this administration. I ask that they not only show gratitude, but that the people make the very best of these opportunities. God has smiled upon us in giving us Roosevelt and an opportunity to develop into substantial citizenship. I think that the day is not far hence when the Negro will come into his own, and will share the blessings of America as American citizens without being discriminated against. This administration is our hope.

Finland Needs Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 11, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, all of us recall the magnificent fight which the Republic of Finland put up last year. At that time the sympathy of the entire American people was in favor of this little Republic.

Today Finland is faced with another problem which should appeal to every right-thinking American. Finland is threatened with starvation. Her people need our help. The duty of the Government of the United States in this crisis is clear. The situation is well expressed by Frank C. Waldrop in an editorial in the Times-Herald for November 4, in which his headlines express the situation as follows: "We claim to like Finland, but let her people starve."

His editorial is as follows:

What do we have against Finland? This time a year ago the Finns were national heroes of the United States, and we couldn't do enough for them.

Now we not only act as if we had never heard of Finland, but we deliberately let the Finns, who fought the only good fight yet made on the Continent of Europe in this war, literally starve in the sight of plenty.

Britain has laid down a blockade of Europe designed to ruin Hitler, and our Government is joining in because 99 44/100 percent of the people here are all for any scheme that seems likely to tear Hitler down.

There is little enough sense in starving a French baby to hamstring a German soldier.

But there is no sense at all in deserting Finland.

The theory of the British blockade is that if food is sent to occupied countries, even though none gets through to Germany, it is an aid to the Nazis, for something equal to the food is immediately drawn off the occupied people by Berlin.

That is debatable enough in itself, but in the case of Finland it is impossible.

Finland is not an occupied country. It has shown it will fight for its right to remain independent, and it has let the world know it will fight again and to the end.

Right now, the thousands of lakes and streams in Finland are beginning to skim over with ice. The Arctic winds are sweeping into shattered houses still open from last winter's bombings. The Finnish lumberjacks, who used to relish thick slabs of plain white Chicago lard on their bread, are going out to the woods these days without even the bread, let alone the fat.

Finland is not making any public yelps, but Finland is starving.

And on the wharves at New York City are millions of dollars' worth of grains, fats, cotton, medicines, wool, bandages, and essentials to life bought early this year by the Red Cross for Finland with the money American citizens contributed in what they believed would be an effective crusade for a brave nation.

Those desperately needed things, without which Finland cannot hope to survive, are stopped in New York because our State Department does not stand up to the British and make them let the Finns have what we all want to give them.

You see, Finland is utterly blockaded by way of the Baltic Sea. No merchant ships of any kind dare try that dangerous passage.

But clear up around the brow of Scandinavia and through the Arctic Ocean there is a Finnish seaport, Petsamo. It is just a tiny fishing port, able to accommodate four vessels at a time. And what is unloaded there must be hauled hundreds of miles by truck before it can be distributed by rail.

The Finns do not ask the United States to violate its neutrality by shipping anything to Petsamo in our own vessels. Finland asks only the right to send its own craft here and pick up what we have given it.

That it cannot do until Great Britain grants "navicerts," or approval of the British Admiralty for movement in Finnish ships to a Finnish port of supplies donated to Finland by the people of the United States of America.

We apparently must honor those British navicerts. The Finns must honor them. They are not willing to run the blockade for they want the good will of this country and Britain. But to give them food is disapproved.

And why do the British disapprove? Well, they set out to blockade Europe. It doesn't matter that Finland is separate and apart from the countries entangled in Germany's project. It doesn't matter that Petsamo is so small nothing of importance to Germany could be handled there, even if the Finns were without enough common sense and honor to live up to their promises.

All that matters is that Europe must be blockaded.

If that is such a hot idea, why doesn't someone blockade Siberia? The United States Government is releasing vast quantities of machine tools and other implements of war for Russia, to be brought in by the Siberian back door.

And if there is any reason to suspect the Finns might hand over to Hitler their few pitiful shreds of cotton and cans of food from the United States of America, what is to be expected of Hitler's boon buddy, Stalin?

No. The blockade of Finland doesn't make sense. And every one of us who yelled so loudly for Finland last year ought now to kick himself into breaking it.

Tributes to Hon. Lindsay C. Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 11, 1940

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, October 25, 1940, was set aside as Lindsay C. Warren Day in the First Congressional District of North Carolina, to pay tribute to my distinguished predecessor who retired as a Member of the House on November 1 after a service of 16 years to become Comptroller General of the United States. The national reputation of Mr. Warren as a legislator and the esteem in which he was held in this body is known to all, and I shall not attempt to elaborate on his many fine qualities. I have been closely associated with him during his entire congressional service as his secretary, and I am honored in the privilege of succeeding him as a Member of the House.

The celebration given in honor of Mr. Warren in his home town of Washington, N. C., will be long remembered in North Carolina. Newspapers and historians have said that no such thing has probably ever occurred in the State. It was a spontaneous testimonial of love and affection for a distinguished legislator and friend of the people, and an appreciation of a great public service, consisting of 6 years in the North Carolina General Assembly and 16 years in the Congress of the United States. Each of the 14 counties in the First District, where Mr. Warren has never known a county line, vied with the other in their enthusiasm in this remarkable demonstration.

A crowd estimated at 20,000 attended from every county of his district, from all sections of North Carolina, and from without the State. A parade over 2 miles long and with nine bands escorted Mr. Warren and his family from their home to a park at the other end of the town. Addresses over a State-wide network were delivered by Gov. Clyde R. Hoey, of North Carolina; State Senator J. Con Lanier, of Pitt County; former Gov. O. Max Gardner; and Hon. Jesse H. Jones, Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Warren spoke feelingly at the end of the exercises. The district then presented their retiring Congressman with a beautiful Buick automobile, a large chest of silver, and a handsome watch.

It is a rare occasion that such a thing as this could happen to a man in his lifetime, especially to one holding elective office for such a long time, and who has been so vigorous and forceful as has Mr. Warren. I regret that I do not have copies of the speeches made by Governor Hoey, Governor Gardner, Senator Lanier, and Secretary Jones, but under the permission heretofore granted me I am inserting the speech of Mr. Warren, newspaper accounts of the celebration from the Raleigh News and Observer and the Greensboro Daily News, and a few of the many editorial comments on Mr. Warren.

[Speech of Congressman Lindsay C. Warren delivered at Washington, N. C., on Lindsay Warren Day, October 25, 1940]

A few years ago an ambition of a lifetime had been realized when I rode behind a brass band at Plymouth. Today the very acme of satisfaction has been reached when we have a parade with nine bands.

I hope that you will appreciate that this is an occasion where I am utterly unable to voice expression to all that is in my heart and soul. It is a day not only of happiness and gratification but also of much sadness for me. That this vast crowd should gather here from every county of the First District, as well as from many sections of North Carolina and from without the State, touches me deeply. I see here friends of a lifetime, to whom I feel tied with hooks of steel, for we have been "friends together in sunshine and in shade."

That the distinguished Governor of North Carolina should lay aside his many duties and problems and come here today pleases me much. For years he has commanded my admiration, respect, and love. He leaves soon his great office as the most popular and most beloved Governor in the last 50 years, and North Carolina justly takes pride in his record of achievement, his lofty personal qualities, and the unparalleled leadership he has given its people.

I am delighted that Max Gardner is here. Since our early association in the general assembly our paths have gone together. Over the years I have loved him as a devoted and loyal friend, and it thrills me to see the great national prestige he enjoys and the confidence and esteem all have for him. History will properly record him as one of the truly big men North Carolina has produced.

I regret so much that my dear friend Ed Flanagan could not be here. It is our fervent hope he will be speedily restored to health. Our friendship is known to all. He is one of God's noblemen. True, steadfast, loyal, honorable, and dependable, he endeared himself to me in my early life just as he leaves an indelible impress on all who come in contact with him. I am grateful that such an able, long-standing friend as Con Lanier can take his place on this program.

That my friend the great Federal Loan Administrator and Secretary of Commerce should in these days of stress come to participate in this occasion is something that I will always treasure. Like the great State that he comes from he is great in body, mind, and soul, and great in all the characteristics that stamp a real man. There is not a bigger man today on the horizon of our national life than Jesse Jones. His marvelous record in the financial affairs of our country has placed him out in front of all who have handled our fiscal matters since the birth of the Nation, and his name stands out throughout America as a synonym for honesty, courage, capacity, and vision.

I value all they have said about me, but my friends, I rate no such occasion as this nor any such tributes as have been paid me today. Nothing that I have ever done calls for this outpouring of friendship on the part of all of you. I feel very humble. Did I not know it to be spontaneous and from your hearts I would feel unworthy to even face you. You have been so generous to me—you have tolerated my faults and shortcomings and glossed over my many frailties, and it simply make me unable to express to you the depths of my appreciation and thanks and gratitude.

You will never know what it means for me to leave you. It is well known that I do it with the greatest possible reluctance. But we just cannot always fashion our lives to suit ourselves. In these, the most critical times in the history of the Republic, while I was voting to draft the flower of our manhood and the wealth and industry of our Nation for national defense, it was not up to me to be out of step or lag behind to gratify personal ambitions if my services were desired in another field. As responsible and powerful as is the office of Comptroller General of the United States, if my own inclinations and wishes could have been followed, I would have been perfectly content to represent this district as long as you desired it, for I shall always regard that representation as the greatest opportunity and the highest honor that has ever or could ever come to me. This service came when we thought we were on the high road to prosperity and when we woke up to discover that

we were engulfed in a desperate economic crisis that affected every home in America. It came during the period when if the Nation was to be saved, heroic remedies were necessary. I did not hesitate to give that program my support, and out of it has come a reassurance to the men and women and youth of this country who were snatched from their despondency and started once again on the paths of hope. I dare say that more vital national problems have been decided in the last 10 years than during any other period, many of them fraught with far-reaching consequences, but all in the interest of the people of the United States.

This service has been rich in friends and associations and vibrant with opportunities and experiences. After all, the Congress is merely a cross section of the country. In it are men and women both strong and weak, those who study and work and accomplish, and those who loiter, but all I believe and know to be imbued with the highest honesty of purpose and patriotism.

What recognition or honors have come to me I have never considered as personal. I have liked to think that they were sent back to the people who sent me there. No representative of the people has ever had more confidence in the people than I have, and the confidence those same people had in me has been the inspiration of my life. I have been so intensely proud of this district and its people. I have felt that their problems and their causes and their happiness and their heartaches were mine also. I never felt the need to have a so-called machine or political organization. I always knew that if the occasion ever called I could go out and talk to you in a language of mutual understanding and trust. I do not know of a district where a demagog is more despised or where a people have so little patience with one who attempts to lead them astray with barren promises. You have liked the truth, even if you didn't always wish to hear it. With all the modesty that I can command, I can look the people of this district in the face and say that during all this political service I have never made a promise that I did not keep, nor have I ever knowingly deceived anyone. And in return I have received from you your love, affection, respect, cooperation, and loyalty.

We are a fortunate people in this district. We sometimes grumble and think that our lot is hard, but when we appraise what we have we should be grateful indeed. Our fields are rich and fertile and we get bounteous yields of tobacco, cotton, corn, peanuts, potatoes, and truck crops. We are a part of the great agricultural empire of the Nation. Our broad rivers and harbors and sounds afford us a competing line of transportation. We have the finest fish and oysters and other sea food and our woods and streams abound in game. We are removed from the storm and drought belts and we have a temperate climate. We are distant from labor and industrial strife. Our industries, few though they be, play a major part in our towns. On our coast the beloved Coast Guard, with its air station, its lighthouses, and its rescue work both on land and sea, is a vital part of our district. Good schools have been brought to every section and with few exceptions good roads. A fine system of roads and bridges has tied our people together and knitted them into one great community. State and Federal activities have made it a better place to live in, but we have neither lost nor surrendered our own initiative. We are rich in history and tradition, two of the outstanding epochs in history occurring in one of our smallest counties. We have no material wealth. But, above all, we are rich in the character of our people and we are rich in a strictly American citizenship who still trust God and who love their State and Nation and who cherish their institutions. We have our face toward the future and we intend to keep step with the onward march of progress in North Carolina.

If, in a small way, I have accomplished anything in cooperation with you in the upbuilding of this section during the last 16 years, it is because I have never known a county line, nor have I ever favored one community over another. I like to think of us as one big family striving to develop every branch. Don't you ever let anyone go to Congress from this district who would be a county Congressman or a sectional Congressman. All 14 of these counties, regardless of their size or resources, are equal, and anyone who is worthy to represent you must always treat them as equal.

My friends, I will carry with me the most abiding affection for you and a debt that I will never be able to repay. I do not have to tell you that I will never forget you. One can't thrust aside or forget something in which he has been a living part. While I am retiring from the field of politics and elective office my interest and my devotion will follow you as long as breath is in me.

If I can use a sentence in the farewell address of the late Vice President Marshall, when I return to private life, I can say as he did: "Thank God, I do not have to return to the people. I have never left them."

And so to the people of Beaufort and Camden, Chowan and Currituck, Dare and Gates, Hertford and Hyde, Martin and Pasquotank, Perquimans and Pitt, and Tyrrell and Washington I return the commission you gave me 16 years ago. In a spirit of deep humility and eternal gratitude on behalf of my family and myself, I thank you and bid you Godspeed.

[From the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer of October 26, 1940]

THRONGS OF HOME FOLKS ACCLAIM LINDSAY WARREN—RETIRING CONGRESSMAN RECEIVES "HAIL AND FAREWELL" FROM NEIGHBORS

(By Ben Dixon MacNeill)

WASHINGTON, N. C., October 25.—Fourteen counties of the First Congressional District converged very nearly en masse here today to hail their Congressman and to bid him farewell, and with them came, from every corner in North Carolina and from more States than there are counties in the district, the mighty and the humble and to the Congressman who becomes Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren 6 days hence they all looked alike.

And perhaps the vision of all of them was not a little blurred at the end when Lindsay Warren said good-bye to the district that he has served since 1924. On the outer fringes of the throng that stood through nearly 2 hours of midday heat, a grizzled Coast Guard man from far down the outer banks wiped his eye unashamed and so did pretty nearly everybody else. And that includes the man to whom the community paid a tribute that must be unique in the Nation as it is without parallel in North Carolina.

There just hasn't been such a day, and tonight, when the throngs are gone the town is a little bewildered by the magnitude of its own planning and its greater achievement. Too much happened, too many people came, to bring all of it conveniently into perspective. There were notables sort of trampling one another and nine bands. Cannon boomed and overhead, in magnificent formation, a fleet of Coast Guard patrol ships, convoying an admiral, came in friendship—well, it was just too much for just 1 day, or even 1 week.

But first and above them all there was just Lindsay Warren, feeling very like his 15-year-old son, Charles, felt at breakfast this morning when he said, "Daddy, I'll feel like a fool riding in front of the band when I'm used to marching with it." Father and son looked understandingly at each other, but they both rode at the head of the procession, along with the rest of his family, his wife, Emily; his daughter, Emily Carter; and his older son, Lindsay Carter Warren, Jr. And wherever they went they were acclaimed, but still they would rather be marching with the band.

LINDSAY'S DAY

Nowhere in North Carolina has there ever been such a turning out of people. All sorts of people, from honest fishermen from down the banks who know the rising Comptroller General only by his first name to the Governor of North Carolina and a predecessor or two, and to Jesse Jones, the first man in history to have two mighty jobs at the same time. Jesse Jones came today as Secretary of Commerce, but he, as well, called the retiring Congressman "Lindsay." They might as well have left the family name off the programs—it was just Lindsay's day, and so a tremendously personal day packed with personal tribute.

Washington's streets were gay with flags. On the bank building there was a 40-times-life-size portrait of Lindsay, complete with gilt frame. He and Charles and Lindsay, Jr., and the two Emilies faced it when they swung out of the line to review what was coming after. It took upward of an hour for the parade to pass, and the Lindsays sat there and looked at Big Lindsay's portrait until all nine bands were gone, and Lindsay's favorite fishing boat, loaded into a cradle by the Coast Guard men at Capt. Bill Lewark's station and towed along in the procession. Lindsay's eyes were dim when he saw it. They were dim a good deal of the time during his day.

Energetic Edmund Harding is responsible for thinking up a day like today, and he was about as bewildered as the next one most of the time. But he had given it enough momentum to begin with to keep it going, and it didn't bog down anywhere, unless maybe for 2 or 3 minutes when the Coast Guard cutter *Pamlico* was booming away at a Cabinet officer's salute and Banker Jones forgot for the time being that he was also a Cabinet officer and didn't get outdoors in time to do what is customary when saluting cannon get noisy. Otherwise the day proceeded, never with any cluttering formality, but with the sort of neighborliness that was proper.

There were formalities, to be sure, but they rated about like the cannonade that was loosed in Pamlico River when Jesse Jones was supposed to appear as a Cabinet officer. There were committees of all sorts, but they usually functioned as neighbors and not as committeemen. Admiral L. C. Covell appeared quite informally in some nondescript vehicle that was the precise antithesis of the winged magnificence of the admiral's ship which led the spectacular formation zooming low over the Warren House three times in salute before they landed in the river. Admiral Covell came officially with the Coast Guard's greetings, but he didn't deliver formally. He just said, "Hi, Lindsay," and that was about the routine with everybody.

But to get at the day somewhat consecutively, it began, with some trying at the formalities, when the special train bearing Jesse Jones and O. Max Gardner and other celebrities enough to fill a couple of paragraphs backed pretty nearly into Main Street at 10 o'clock. Being probably the busiest man on the earth today, Jesse Jones had picked up his staff and Max Gardner and Fred Morrison—but there is no need starting calling names—onto a special train and worked until the train had backed into the street.

Committees went aboard and Max Gardner came to the door and hailed dozens and dozens of spectators nearest him. Many went aboard and met Jesse Jones and liked him. There was a visiting by riding arranged, headed by Lt. Col. George Gillette. They rode around a while and everybody ended up in the block in which the Warrens have lived for four or five generations. One house would not begin to hold them, and one didn't need to; all the houses in the neighborhood were thrown open and people just visited. Governor Hoey and the entire State administration and numberless Congressmen. Or maybe they were not Congressmen; you couldn't tell on a day like this. Everybody was just a friend of Lindsay Warren.

Lindsay himself was nowhere in sight during most of these doings. After breakfasting with his family and one early arriving friend, he went to his office by circuitous streets and in a calamitous coupe long on Roanoke Island and dusty and rusty. He stayed in his office, almost broodingly alone, until somebody discovered him about 11 o'clock and hauled him out and home, where there was a reception of the utmost informality and good will. It was finally moved out-of-doors so the moving-picture people could get a crack at it, and then friends started marching past, with Governor Hoey

leading and Jesse Jones and some unidentified farmer and an oysterman still in his overalls, just off his boat, came by. It was just that sort of a day.

Secretaries of some of the notables went through the crowds handing out press releases, but these did not seem of much consequence. It was just a habit of secretaries. HERBERT BONNER, who succeeds Lindsay Warren in Congress, was about, but thoughtful, as any man might be who is heir to the mantle that Lindsay Warren let drop from his shoulders before his own people today. * * * With Lindsay and his family out of the House, the parade got itself formed and started moving. There were nine bands, all from schools in the First Congressional District.

On a wide platform backed up against the armory and facing the wide reaches of Kugler Park the formal part of the program got started 80 minutes later. From the nine bands were picked the best and a First District Lindsay Warren Band organized on the spot and set down on the stand to do the incidental music for the ceremonies. Director C. L. McCullers, of the Edenton Band, directed and they sounded enough like the Marine Band to have more than one remark it. It was a fine band.

Edmund Harding presided. Lindsay Warren and his family entered with the utmost absence of ostentation, and sort of slipped into seats in the middle of the big stand and looked bewildered. Mr. Harding read off a list of notables. He presented Governor Hoey, and while the Governor enunciated his opinion and feeling about Lindsay, Edmund Harding fixed another list of names. He read that off and presented Con Lanier, of Greenville, come over in place of Col. Ed Flanagan, who is not too well, told what the First District thought of Lindsay Warren. And then Max Gardner spoke resonantly and briefly and feelingly. The former Governor never looked nor sounded better.

Jesse Jones followed a third list reading that sounded like a directory of State government officials. He spoke from manuscript, somewhat about his $7,000,000,000 lendings, and then about his new job, and of how Lindsay had had a hand in making all the laws he has been operating under these years. And then he left his manuscript and turned around to Lindsay and said: "Lindsay, you are a good man." He sort of gulped when he said it. And then he sat down.

PRESENTED CAR

Lindsay Warren's own speech was probably the greatest of his life. It was simple and straightforward and delivered with a sort of perfection of control. You could see the emotion rippling, sometimes heaving, underneath, but there was never a break in the smooth surface of it. Some paragraphs of it will appear later herein. But the crowd was not through with him. The occasion was a little too solemn, and it was Elizabeth City's Mayor Jerome Flora who directed the next and last matter. A magnificent shining Buick sedan was driven up before the stand, complete with every imaginable gadget. Mayor Flora gave it to Lindsay, and that was the end of formality. The picnic followed, which was a tumultuous family dinner, a sort of reunion of the First District.

And here is Lindsay Warren's farewell to his people as Congressman:

"If in a small way I have accomplished anything in cooperation with you in the building of this section during the last 16 years, it is because I have never known a county line, nor have I ever favored one community over another. I like to think of us as one big family striving to develop each branch. Don't you ever let anyone go to Congress from this district who would be a county Congressman or a sectional Congressman. All 14 of these counties, regardless of their size or resources, are equal and anyone who is worthy to represent you must always treat them as equal.

"My friends, I will carry with me the most abiding affection for you and a debt that I will never be able to repay. I do not have to tell you that I will never forget you. One can't thrust aside or forget something in which he has been a living part. While I am retiring from the field of politics and elective office, my interest and my devotion will follow you as long as breath is in me.

"If I can use a sentence in the farewell address of the late Vice President Marshall, when I return to private life I can say as he did: 'Thank God, I do not have to return to the people. I have never left them.'

"And so to the people of Beaufort and Camden, Chowan and Currituck, Dare and Gates, Hertford and Hyde, Martin and Pasquotank, Perquimans and Pitt, and Tyrrell and Washington, I return the commission you gave me 16 years ago. In a spirit of deep humility and eternal gratitude on behalf of my family and myself I thank you and bid you Godspeed."

[From the Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News of October 26, 1940]

BIG TRIBUTE IS PAID TO LINDSAY WARREN—JONES SPEAKS—RETIRING FIRST DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVE HONORED AT WASHINGTON, N. C.—THOUSANDS ARE ON HAND

(By W. T. Bost)

WASHINGTON, N. C., October 25.—Fourteen counties, converging into Washington today with bands and beauties, celebrated Lindsay Warren Day with a fervor that not one in a million of the quick ever hopes to gain even after his death.

The First North Carolina District gave him and Mrs. Warren an automobile, an undisplayed silver service, a street parade, and a circus outpouring which men guessed in thousands of 10 to 25. There never was any way to agglomerate the multitude. It spread all over the main streets, on the waterfront, in stores, on sidewalks, front yards and back. It stretched over the course of 2 miles and got some semblance of a congregation somewhere down the railroad tracks. There State and national figures, with sundry radio corporations scattering the tributes, eulogized the first districter leaving Congress after 16 years to become Comptroller General, one of the biggest of all Federal positions.

To talk for North Carolina Governor Hoey opened; to speak for the district Senator-Nominate Con Lanier substituted for Senator Ed G. Flanagan; to pile it on for friends former Gov. O. Max Gardner was delegated as spokesman; and to nationalize Warren, Jesse H. Jones, Secretary of Commerce and even better known as Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, was sent down by Washington.

HANDSOME JESSE

The handsome Tennessee-Texas statesman-financier might have purloined the panegyrics had he allowed himself. The moment he stepped to the mike, the handsomest man in Washington, perfect duplicate for Tom Dixon when he was his greatest, there went up a suppressed: "What if he had been nominated President?" Never one looked more Presidential, and the Commerce Secretaryship gained 7,000 percent when the huge crowd beheld him. Mr. Jones called Mr. Warren the peerless man of the Congress. "A more powerful man does not sit in Washington than the Comptroller General," the Secretary said.

But that was away up in the day. As the procession formed in front of the Warren home, high-school bands from all over the district set down town with daring drum majorettes, not yet in their teens, leading the way. There must have been 300 of these juvenile musicians playing like marine bands. They came from Beaufort, Chowan, Currituck, Pitt, Hertford, and Gates. There were floats and legends on them, one of them in the orgy of laudation remembering Warren's successor. "Lindsay C. and Herbert B. always have been for you and me," one of them said, in praise of HERBERT BONNER, nominee to succeed the Comptroller General. Mr. and Mrs. Bonner also were remembered with a silver service in the district's generosity to the outgoing pair.

HARDING PRESIDES

On the edge of Washington, where the speaker's stand had been set up and tables for a box basket picnic had been erected, the tributes began when most people were set for lunch hour. Edmund H. Harding, chairman of the district Warren day, presided and introduced the speakers. His was the perfection of taste and brightness. He had known the hero from childhood and even in his juvenile meanness was great leadership, but deeply instinct in him was loyalty.

That was Governor Hoey's word. "The most distinguished and best loved leader of the district," Governor Hoey called him, "but he belongs to all the people." His influence on the State had begun in the general assembly, where courage, loyalty, and fidelity to duty soon had pushed him into the national picture. "He is a first-rate politician," the Governor said, but he went beyond politics into great statesmanship. Britain's Gibraltar today is not in the great rock near foreign powers, but in the loyalty and love of the British people. That's the kind of man Warren is, he said; that's the kind of people whom he serves. "We salute our cousins across the sea," Governor Hoey said, having adverted to the first district's peculiar tie-up with Britain.

LANIER PINCH HITS

Con Lanier took the tribute that Senator Flanagan, too sick for his doctors to excuse, was to give. The Warren achievements were multitudinous, but one of them is the great inland waterway which he has made "more than a poet's dream." The Coast Guard is another, roads and highways are yet another, crops and crop legislation felt the hand of this prince among the parliamentarians, and all great legislation in the country is in part his.

Max Gardner spoke for friends, men and women who first feel the impact of great character. Through Gardner's career Warren had gone with him, exulting in the Gardner victories, comforting him in defeat. Warren began as a district senator, Gardner said, but he soon became a State senator. He may have been a first district Congressman at the outset, soon he was a North Carolina Congressman. A great Comptroller General, Gardner prophesied, "and if Franklin Roosevelt never had done anything else, that would have been a big act," Gardner said. And had Warren not been sent up by Roosevelt, leadership of the National Congress would have been the unanimous tender of his comrades. The greatest Comptroller General of history, Gardner promised for him.

Then Edmund Harding introduced Jesse Jones. Lafayette had been here; Grover Cleveland had hunted and fished in these waters; but Jesse Jones topped them all. And Mr. Jones went beyond all the praise preceding by declaring that he never had seen a greater compliment paid a man. In Washington the habit of Congress is to turn to "this man without a peer."

TELL IT TO BANKERS

The R. F. C. legislation of January preceding the election 8 years ago, enactments while Mr. Hoover still presided, found Warren in the chair and pushing it along. More than $11,000,000,000 have been loaned through this Corporation, Secretary Jones said, "and I would like for the bankers to hear this: Not a dime has been lost to the taxpayers." He did not deny that there had been losses, but these all had been paid on the money saved from lowered interest rates. And the Corporation has accumulated in earnings more than $200,000,000. "That's government in business," he said. He hoped for release, for the time when the Government won't have to do this business, but he could not fancy this country today going along so finely without these Federal agencies. Warren's watchful eye ever was on that legislation, Secretary Jones

said. As he concluded, Secretary Jones said: "Lindsay, you are a good man; a credit to the State and to the Nation. You wear well."

The new Comptroller General spoke the final word, deprecating himself and declaring that he could rate no such tribute. When he was nominated 16 years ago, a brass band from Plymouth did the honors and the dream of a lifetime had been realized. But today there were nine bands, and he did not rate them.

For the Governor there was the tribute as "the most popular and most beloved Governor in the past 50 years"; for ex-Governor Gardner there was the pledge of "history to record him properly as one of the truly great men that North Carolina has produced"; there was praise for Con Lanier and Ed Flanagan; there was supreme tribute for Jesse Jones.

For the new place, high and powerful, he had no thrill. He would have chosen, had he the decision alone, to represent the district. But he had participated in the "great and vital legislation" of the early Roosevelt days. He was going to stay in Washington to serve the common country.

He got through without a crack in his emotions, but a pair of additional paragraphs might have felled him. Then the dinner came. It was 3 o'clock, and the crowd showed it by the way viands vanished.

[From the Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer of August 1, 1940]

DISTINGUISHED SERVICE

The retirement of Representative Lindsay Warren as a Member of Congress in order to become Comptroller General of the United States is a distinct surprise and will be a source of real regret not only to his own constituents but to all the people of North Carolina.

Mr. Warren has established a unique record in Congress. First elected in 1924, he has been successively renominated 8 times without opposition in his own party and has usually been reelected without formal opposition in the general election. That is a record which cannot be duplicated in any of the 435 congressional districts in the United States. Even such a record fails to record in full measure the esteem and affection with which he is regarded by his constituents. It is safe to say that he could have been continued to be reelected for many years to come.

Mr. Warren's record might indicate on its face that he is one of those Congressmen who devotes himself almost exclusively to the interests of his own district. Such is not the case. Mr. Warren is just as well and just as favorably known in Washington, D. C., as in Washington, N. C. In the National Capital he is regarded as one of the most effective legislators, one of the best parliamentarians, and perhaps the best presiding officer in the entire Congress. That record was made through leadership in matters affecting important legislation.

Mr. Warren's action in accepting the appointment is surprising because he declined it several years ago and because his friends had confidently expected that he would be promoted, either to the Speakership of the House or to the United States Senate.

His decision to accept is probably accounted for by renewed pressure from President Roosevelt, who is known to have desired keenly that the North Carolinian accept the post when it first became vacant and by personal reasons. In his new post, which carries a tenure of 15 years, Mr. Warren will be able to be with his family all of the year instead of dividing his time between the two cities of Washington. He leaves Congress after a distinguished service and all of the people of North Carolina will wish for an equally distinguished career in the new post which he will assume shortly.

The President's desire that Mr. Warren be Comptroller General is easily understood. He not only has the confidence of the Chief Executive; he has the full confidence of the Congress, whose agent the Comptroller General is and as chairman of the House Committee on Accounts he has shown peculiar fitness for his new duties.

[From the Charlotte (N. C.) Observer of August 2, 1940]

PITY TO LOSE HIM

President Roosevelt has finally persuaded Congressman Lindsay Warren, of the First North Carolina District, to accept the office of Comptroller General.

The offer has pestered the genial and able North Carolina Congressman before.

From time to time for the past 3 years Mr. Roosevelt has talked over this appointment with him and urged him to accept it.

Congressman Warren demurred. He enjoyed his congressional labors. He knew he could continue in that elective place for the remainder of his life. His constituents are devoted to him. They would never turn him out. For 16 years they have kept him as their Representative.

Now, however, he has fallen for the blandishments of the appointive office and notified his constituents of his acceptance.

The transfer brings a loss to the people of his district, to North Carolina, and to the Nation.

Mr. Warren was that type of Representative who is far removed from provincialism.

Faithful to local interests and to the vital concerns of his entire State, he has never failed to take also a broad national outlook of his services in the lower House.

His fellow Congressmen praise him highly and have been deeply endeared to him. They recognized his superior capacities.

We have an idea that if a poll were to be taken of the entire Congress, including the Republican as well as the Democratic side, Lindsay Warren would top the list as being the best parliamentarian in the body, the ablest presiding officer, and as personally popular as any other in the Assembly.

There are too few Congressmen of his innate abilities and wide, intelligent, and patriotic motives and outlooks, of his big-heartedness and large-mindedness, and of his honesty of objective and sincerity of purpose.

It's a pity that the country is to lose the services of a leader in its House of these many-sided values.

[From the Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News of August 3, 1940]

NORTH CAROLINA'S LOSS

North Carolina's initial reaction to appointment of the First District's Representative, Lindsay C. Warren, to the Comptroller Generalship must naturally be a registration of regret at losing the services of an able statesman and legislator. Mr. Warren ranked at the forefront of the Tar Heel congressional delegation, he reflected credit upon his district and his State, and had a voice in the shaping of national affairs which it will be exceedingly difficult to replace.

The North Carolinian's elevation, it is true, puts him in a position of broadened and increasingly responsible service. A Comptroller General, the final guard of the Nation's expenditures, should be hard-boiled, as Mr. Warren, for all his pleasing personality, can be; well versed in the governmental structure and its needs and functions, as he patently is; and possessed of a strength of character and sense of duty which transcend politics as such. The new Comptroller General's record and experience emphasize the satisfactory manner in which he meets these basic requirements. His prompt steps to dissociate himself from strictly party agencies and political causes show the nonpolitical approach which he proposes to make to the position for which President Roosevelt has chosen him.

This very severance from politics immediately leads to cogitation upon the reason for Mr. Warren's acceptance of the Comptrollership, an appointment which he is credited with having turned down on two previous occasions. The First District Representative, with nothing to worry about in the way of reelection, has always had a flair for politics. He relished political participation, the hustle, the bustle, the excitement and the fight of it; and he has been viewed generally as politically ambitious. High in congressional standing, there was every reason to believe with continued Democratic domination of the House he would sooner or later move to the Speakership. And therein lies a new note of speculation. Does Mr. Warren, astute political observer that he is, foresee the likelihood of Republican control of the House and a lost opportunity for that further advancement which he doubtless envisioned in previous declinations of the appointment which he has now accepted?

Anyway, a $10,000-a-year job for 15 years is a $10,000-a-year job for 15 years. Our own wish is that North Carolina might have gone on using a man of Lindsay Warren's ability indefinitely; the best the State can do now is to share in his broader rendition of national service.

[From the Winston-Salem Journal of August 2, 1940]

THE WARREN APPOINTMENT

The appointment of Lindsay C. Warren as Comptroller of the Currency removes from Congress one of its ablest legislators, and from national politics one of its master strategists.

Congressman Warren is regarded thoughout the country as one of the finest parliamentarians the national legislature has known in many decades. In committee conference and on the floor he has manifested a spirit of leadership which has often breathed life and strength into causes seemingly lost, and his superb strategy has brought many a piece of legislation safely through formidable blocks which were determined to shipwreck it.

Thus, while no Representative from North Carolina has been more loyal to his own district and his State than Mr. Warren, who has been renominated eight successive times since 1924 without opposition in his own party, and has often stood without opposition in the general election, he has not been primarily concerned with district and State affairs. He has served as a statesman for the whole Nation and is so recognized throughout the United States.

As chairman of the House Committee on Accounts, Mr. Warren has shown an aptitude for work similar to that which he will be called upon to perform as Comptroller of the Currency, hence he will not enter this important Government office unprepared for the duties it imposes upon incumbents. Indeed, his aptitude for financial service impressed itself upon President Roosevelt several years ago, and the latter has tendered the office to Mr. Warren three times, the Tarheel legislator having declined it twice. His final decision to accept the post constitutes in a sense a great loss to North Carolina, but in his service to the Nation in this office, which is not subject to the ebb and flow of politics, he will also serve his State.

[From the Kinston (N. C.) Free Press of August 1, 1940]

LINDSAY WARREN LEAVES HIS IMPORTANT POST IN CONGRESS

The Free Press, among other friends in North Carolina, while congratulating Hon. Lindsay C. Warren, Representative of the First North Carolina Congressional District in the House since 1925, upon the distinct honor that has been shown him, regrets that he is to leave the Congress at this time.

Mr. Warren is easily in the front rank of the Representatives of North Carolina in the Nation's lawmaking body. Prior to going to Congress he rendered fine service as a State legislator and exhibited leadership ability in the general assembly at Raleigh which brought

him to the fore, not only in the esteem of his constituents of the First District but in the State at large. His service in Congress has attracted national attention. More than once he has been mentioned among the leaders of Congress.

The Free Press has had an idea that sooner or later Mr. Warren would be elevated to the upper branch of Congress. Were it not for the unwritten law, so to speak, that one of the two Senators come from the east and the other from the west, his friends in the east would have most assuredly brought pressure to bear upon him to enter the race against the junior Senator before now. In passing it may be said that Mr. Warren's appointment as Comptroller General of the United States and his acceptance of this important position does not preclude his entry into the senatorial contest later, but the Comptroller's place is not ordinarily a stepping stone to the United States Senate.

Mr. Warren's friends have no doubt about his being well qualified and fitted for the responsible duties of Comptroller General. That he will safeguard the expenditures from the Public Treasury and see that they are made in accordance with the dictates of Congress goes without saying.

[From the Greensboro (N. C.) Record of August 13, 1940]

AN EXCELLENT APPOINTMENT

President Roosevelt's appointment of Representative Lindsay C. Warren, of North Carolina's First Congressional District, as Comptroller General of the Federal Treasury, is an excellent one in the Record's opinion; and that seems to be the general consensus of press opinion not only in this State but throughout the country generally.

Even commentators that are usually critical of Mr. Roosevelt praise the Warren selection. For example, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch says: "Some of the President's finest acts are to be found in his appointments to high office. The elevation of Felix Frankfurter to the Supreme Court is an instance. Another was the nomination of Archibald McLeish, a man of culture, letters, and law, as Librarian of Congress. The appointment of Lindsay Warren as Comptroller General ranks with these."

The Atlanta Journal, applauding the appointment, quotes a report saying that in Washington "while messages of congratulation have poured in from all over the country, even more have been received expressing regret that Congress must thereby lose a Member of such distinguished ability."

Presumably in facetious vein, the High Point Enterprise remarks: "A sense of duty must have prevailed upon Representative Lindsay Warren to accept the post. * * * His new position will pay only $10,000 per year—the same he gets as Representative." The Raleigh Times, in like mood, notes that Mr. Warren, who has been helping to spend public moneys, now "takes a position requiring him to shake his head at requests for unauthorized expenditures and count the nickels and dimes in the Federal Treasury with the exactness of a Silas Marner."

In any event, Mr. Warren is a conscientious and talented public servant of proven ability and worth, and a man who is eminently qualified for his new assignment.

[From the St. Louis Post Dispatch of August 1, 1940]

AN EXCELLENT APPOINTMENT

Some of President Roosevelt's finest acts are to be found among his appointments to high office. The elevation of Felix Frankfurter to the Supreme Court is an instance. Another was the nomination of Archibald MacLeish, man of culture, letters, and laws, as Librarian of Congress. The appointment of Representative Lindsay Warren, of North Carolina, as Comptroller General ranks with these.

One of the very ablest Members of Congress, Mr. Warren is also one of its hardest workers. As chairman of the House Accounts Committee and as ranking Democrat on the special committee on governmental reorganization, he has shown a remarkable grasp of the mechanics of government. He is an able parliamentarian and personally well-liked. It is a real satisfaction to know that the important office of Comptroller General, filled for 15 years at a time, will be in such good hands.

[From the Asheville (N. C.) Citizen of August 1, 1940]

THE NEW COMPTROLLER GENERAL

President Roosevelt's appointment of Congressman Lindsay C. Warren as Comptroller General of the United States will, of course, receive enthusiastic praise in North Carolina where Mr. Warren is widely known and universally respected. It will be hailed as deserving recognition of an eminent Tar Heel who has already exhibited unusual talents for national leadership.

But State pride and personal feelings aside, it is an excellent selection. In truth, it would be difficult to find ready to hand a man more admirably equipped for this key post of Federal finance. Through long and active service in the House of Representatives, Mr. Warren has developed an extensive and expert knowledge of the operations of the Federal Government. He is young enough to be vigorous in action and old enough to be seasoned in his decisions. He has demonstrated uncommon capacity for grasping intricate problems of public finance.

The duties of the Comptroller General are most exacting and most important. Lindsay Warren will discharge them with credit to himself and with satisfaction to the Nation. He will fit snugly and capably into his new responsibilities.

[From the Norfolk Virginian Pilot of August 2, 1940]

LINDSAY WARREN'S DECISION

Representative Lindsay Warren's acceptance of the third Roosevelt request that he become Comptroller General of the United States means filling the position with possibly the ablest and best qualified man it has ever had. From the national viewpoint this is pleasant news. But from viewpoint of the Representative from the First North Carolina District, our neighbor to the south, it is difficult to understand.

Anyone might find it difficult after having been offered the position in 1936 and again in 1938 to refuse a third appeal from the President in 1940, particularly an appeal which must have been made with great earnestness. But, on the other hand, since Mr. Warren had decided twice against it, seemingly he could have made the same decision a third time.

It can be argued also that the Comptroller General's term is for 15 years, that the salary is adequate (and may become better), and that the office is designedly beyond the reach of political reprisal. Mr. Warren, now 50 years old, will be assured of safety until he is 65; and, not altogether incidentally, will be engaged in work he is well fitted to carry on. But nothing in Mr. Warren's unusual career suggests that he would be seeking a cushy job above the turmoil and risks of party politics. Quite the contrary.

For Mr. Warren is an unusual Congressman. Since he first ran for the nomination 16 years ago no Democratic candidate has ever sought to oust him. From the Virginia line and the Outer Banks well back into tobacco kingdoms of this sprawling district the sway of Warren is well-nigh complete. In Washington the Capitol knows him for a remarkably effective and influential Representative, almost invariably at the heart of important decisions, a trouble shooter of skill in the lobbies and committee rooms, and an unusual combination of mediator and rough-and-tumble driving debater on the floor. He might have become, as it has frequently been prophesied that he would become, Speaker of the House. He has seemed destined at times for Senator or Governor.

The willing translation of this born legislator into the aloof sanctuary of a nonpartisan supervisor of accounts involves a strain on the imagination. If it is done, it will add administrative distinction to the Comptroller Generalship, Mr. Warren being a man who carries through what he sets out to do. But it will leave the First North Carolina District bereft and it will take away from the House of Representatives a Member whose value is far better understood by those who have to do its work than by the country at large.

The Greeks Defend Their Homeland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 11, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, war on the part of aggressor nations moved to Greece on October 28. It seems to be a habit of the dictators to pick on the small countries and pour forth upon them all the savagery and brutality which the mighty and the strong can bring against the weak and the oppressed.

Such procedure is now taking place.

The Greeks are giving a good account of themselves. Outnumbered and facing powerful odds, they are defending their country, their civilization, and their homes. At the same time they are taking a stand which has a great bearing on the outcome of the fight which Great Britain is putting up against the totalitarian forces. The following comment by Oliver McKee in the Sunday Star is of interest:

"Tell them in Lacedaemon, passer-by,
We kept the Spartan code, and here we lie."

In these words, put into their mouths by Simonides, the Greek poet paid tribute to those who gave their lives on the altar of Greek freedom more than 2,000 years ago at Thermopylae. Though facing apparently hopeless odds, the Greek people, like their forbears at Thermopylae, are again enlisted in a battle for freedom. For the fate of Britain is tied to the ability of the Greek Army to hold the Fascists in check a few weeks longer. If Britain emerges a final victor over the axis, her victory will strike the shackles from the enslaved nations of the Continent. The outcome in Greece may determine, therefore, the future of Europe.

All of us can extend best wishes to this little country, which in final analysis is striving for the American way of life. Its defense against the totalitarian way of the world is to be admired, and the people of Greece are to be congratulated upon their heroic defense of their homeland.

Lindsay C. Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILL M. WHITTINGTON

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 11, 1940

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the voluntary retirement of Lindsay C. Warren, long a distinguished Representative from North Carolina, is a definite loss to the Congress and to the country. He is completing his eighth consecutive term as the Representative of his district. He has been reelected without opposition; his constituents have thus demonstrated their confidence and their appreciation.

Lindsay Warren, by training and by experience, had been prepared for a successful career in the House of Representatives. He is familiar with the traditions of North Carolina and of the United States. He is the master of the science of government; he is at once a politician and a statesman; his viewpoint is national. He is not only well versed in political science and with the theory of representative government but he is practical.

Lindsay Warren has not only convictions, but he has the courage of his convictions. He is dependable; his word is his bond.

A capable legislator, his place in the House as a great parliamentarian is secure. He was one of the most capable presiding officers in the history of the Congress; he excelled as Chairman or as Speaker pro tempore.

His voluntary withdrawal from the House of Representatives brings to me a personal regret. He and I came to Congress at the same time. I have been honored with his friendship. I esteem him as one of my most devoted friends. I value his worth as a man. He is one of the outstanding leaders of the House.

It is a source of satisfaction that while Lindsay C. Warren is retiring from the House of Representatives he is not leaving the public service of the United States. I predict for him a most successful administration in the highly important position of Comptroller General of the United States. I join with the entire membership on both sides of the aisle in wishing him godspeed and much success.

National Unity—Addresses at Carnegie Hall, New York City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER F. GEORGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE AMERICA UNITY RALLY HELD AT CARNEGIE HALL ON NOVEMBER 6, 1940

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a number of addresses made at a meeting designed to promote national unity, sponsored by the Council for Democracy, in cooperation with the Columbia Broadcasting System, at Carnegie Hall, New York City, November 6, 1940.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF DOROTHY THOMPSON

There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that yesterday's election was a turning point in the history of the world. In the midst of a grave international crisis, the gravest that has confronted free peoples in the whole history of political freedom and popular democracy, the world's greatest democracy held a free election—an election hotly and even bitterly contested; an election which brought to the surface all the rifts and cleavages in our society. Many persons, of the best possible intent, regretted that the election occurred at all, in such a moment, in such a time. Yet yesterday the people of this Nation, nearly every person over the age of 21, man or woman, went to the polls and made, in behalf of the Nation, a decision. In a world which is in a full state of revolution, with war raging over most continents, this ancient democracy acted, leaving the most solemn judgment to the American people, acting as individuals, in secret, each according to his own judgment and conscience. And today the Nation accepts that judgment, the minority admit their minority status, and though they remain to criticize and to guard their own continuing rights, they accept with nobility and generosity the opinion of the majority.

Thus democracy reverses its long defensive position in the world of ideas and behavior, and makes before the eyes of all the world a demonstration more potent than tanks and airplanes and guns, of the power and will, and capacity for order and for harmony of 135,000,000 people living in the widest, fairest land on this planet.

What happened yesterday is of significance not only to the people of this country but to all the lands from which at one time, in this generation or in a previous generation, the citizens of America once came. All over the world, in lands that are under the heel of conquerors, and, yes, in the lands of the conquerors themselves, the heart of the common man, who has never ceased to trust, and believe, and hope for a future where he, as an individual, may once again be free, was lifted up yesterday. And he said to himself: See, there is left a great country, the greatest country which, whether in crisis or prosperity, whether in danger or serenity, trusts its people and does not fear their individual and common judgment.

Let us therefore go on, from this day forward, better to deserve and more wisely to use the blessings that we enjoy, of freedom. Let us go on, more passionately to love the soil and the people and the ideals of this great union of free States and free men, and to defend it vigorously against all external and internal enemies. And let us remember that the word "freedom," whose origin is in the Sanscrit language, derives from the same root from which we obtain its twin word "friend."

ADDRESS BY NEWBOLD MORRIS, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

The tumult and the shouting have subsided. Yesterday 50,000,000 Americans went quietly to the polls to indicate their choices for President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, Governors, and representatives in State legislatures. In 1940 a free election of free people has an unusual significance. Today we pick up the threads of our lives again. Members of the minority party are not persecuted, nor are they sent into unhappy exile. The minority merges with the majority in a renewed cooperative effort to conserve our civil liberties and to strengthen the bonds of a common heritage which have held our people together for more than a century and a half.

We know in the calm reflection of a cold November day that America is greater than any one man. We know that her destiny is in the hands of her own people. We know that if a country is weak, her weakness cannot be blamed on any one man; and if she is unconquerable, her strength cannot be dependent on any one man campaign arguments to the contrary notwithstanding.

We realize that in giving a vote of confidence to the President it was not because the majority believed that he was indispensable—I do not recall his ever maintaining such a position—but, rather, because they believed his training and fitness and his experience in guiding our foreign policy through tortuous channels made it desirable to continue him in office. Now, every citizen, regardless of his political affiliation, must make up his mind to recognize the will of the majority and to strengthen the hand of our national leadership. Without national unity this cannot be done.

The democratic process has a great test ahead. It is up to all of us to make it work. That is why we are here tonight at this great patriotic rally sponsored by the Council for Democracy. We who care about personal liberty and security from tyranny must welcome the organization of the Council for Democracy. Democracy does not grow as the leaves grow on the trees. Our democracy was born in passion—with passion Lincoln preserved it. Either we care about our way of life passionately or we don't care at all. Democracy must be nourished and, like most spiritual concepts, it must grow and never be allowed to lie stagnant.

Never before have the people of our country been so deeply conscious of America or more concerned for the preservation of our democratic form of government. All through the year, year in and year out, thousands of our citizens are expressing themselves in small groups, from various parts of our country.

Once every 4 years the Nation speaks unmistakably, irrevocably. For the past few months millions of our less articulate citizens have been listening and thinking. As bystanders they have watched the months of a bitter Presidential campaign drift by. Finally yesterday America spoke.

Tonight a few thousand of us gather in an attempt to heal the wounds, to extinguish the flames of passion and prejudice, to bring us closer together for the purpose of preserving our great tradition. America has survived many controversies before, has even passed through a civil war and emerged a great united people. Our unity will depend, as it has in the past, on our capacity for reconciling differences and the willingness of the minority to stand by the majority. That is the keystone of the arch of a democratic form of

government. The keynote of this evening should be "Back up the President of the United States."

In the closing hours of election eve I heard the voice of President Roosevelt; I heard the voice of Wendell Willkie. There was no trace of rancor in their words. I knew I was listening to the voice of millions of Americans, differing perhaps as to the methods of maintaining our democracy, but passionately pleading for national unity. I could almost hear the beat of a million hearts, the hearts of free people who cherish their freedom more than anything in the world.

Distinguished Americans from various parts of our country, representing various cross sections of our population and both political parties, will speak from this platform tonight under the sponsorship of the Council for Democracy and the Columbia Broadcasting System.

ADDRESS OF ALFRED M. LANDON, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1936

"First, I want to say to the dictators who are offering us alternate threats and bribes, that they are making a very grave error if they mistake the rivalry of a political campaign for disunity in the United States.

"We Americans do not conduct our political affairs with that attitude. As soon as this election is over, Democrats as well as Republicans will rally in the Nation's interests to the support of the President of the United States. This vital and dominant attitude in American political life will not be changed by the bitterness of this campaign. Whoever is elected will be my President for the next 4 years."

I have just read what I said a month before the election, and I mean it tonight. The lack of ability to cooperate politically has always been fatal to any people.

In a world of unfriendly nations, all Americans aware of the threat of totalitarian intolerance must set an example of united purpose, in the defense of the Republic.

A successful defense program requires the utmost cooperation from all of us. Nothing could be more demoralizing within a nation than a constant campaign of hate. The safety of the Republic requires our full cooperation on our defense program, and at the same time a continued active political opposition. Therefore, we must keep our faith. We have taken an intelligent interest in this election. Let us continue an intelligent interest in our Government, which is our greatest organized effort for human welfare.

The creeping fear in the hearts of many of us for the future of popular government must not paralyze our political activities. Initiative and enthusiasm are as necessary now, after the election, as they were before. Calm and determined discussion and debate as to policies are a sign of good health in a republic.

A public which has demanded draft power will demand that this be continued, but on a rational basis. That the debate must be honestly conducted, and with restraint by both sides, goes without saying.

Those in control of governmental information have a great obligation not to color it for their own political advantage nor to erect at the source of information barriers to the representatives of the people through the press.

There also is the heavy obligation to avoid appealing to prejudice through business-baiting and name-calling.

We should permit a wide range of disagreement as to policy and should throttle down all demagogic appeal to emotions and hold steadfastly to a rational exchange of ideas.

There is in the world tonight the unity of the machine gun. And then there is the inspiring unity of a free people behind a leader who is honest and truthful and frank as to the toil and hardships ahead. The right kind of leadership is necessary for the right kind of unity.

The spirit of unity in America is the President's for the asking. Republicans and Democrats stand shoulder to shoulder for national defense, as always.

I repeat what I said in 1939:

"Our greatest immediate danger is not from military attack. Our greatest danger is from economic conditions in the world and at home, from class hatred and name calling.

"If democracy meets with defeat it will not be because of its inherent defects. It will be because democratic nations have not been vigorous and fearless in their leadership. It will be because America has refused to face reality, that the totalitarian powers are working harder and playing less, while we are working less and playing harder."

There is going to be so much to do in this country, and we must be at our tasks. Taking no part in the war, we still will feel its aftermath, and it is going to be a terrible aftermath—make no mistake about that. We must be ready to meet it. The world must see us at our work and know that in the heat of campaigns we toss epithets about, but grin and go back to work when the campaign is over, citizens all of a great Nation. And that is the greatness of America.

ADDRESS OF GEORGE M. HARRISON, PRESIDENT OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY CLERKS

Again a national political campaign has ended and the election is over. The will of a free people has been determined. After a continuous flow of arguments, promises, and no little amount of viewing with alarm, and pointing with pride, a decision has been made, and this is the way it should be, because it is, in the fullest sense, the democratic way. Freedom of discussion is democracy in action.

The right of a person to speak his mind on the performance of government, and the policies and promises of those who are candidates for political offices, is an exercise of that cherished privilege of a free people. It is the force that furnishes the material and the stimulation for thought and decision. It gives light to an earnest and spiritual people, who can always be trusted to separate the true from the untrue—the good from the bad. The processes of democracy have again triumphed.

While some partisans have predicted "calamity" or the "promised land," I feel sure all of us dismiss such statements as pure campaign oratory. Our country is just as good today as it was before the election, and it will prosper and grow stronger because we have the will to make it that way. We have the will and the determination to preserve our freedom, and to use our resources for the general good of all our people.

I feel confident that since we have now had our say, we will unite to complete the task ahead. Against the background of a world at war, division and distrust can have no place in American life. Our country may be the trustee for civilization. We must create a national life that can be the pattern for the life of a new world.

Such an epoch presents to labor both a challenge and an opportunity; from labor and from every group is demanded a frank recognition of its share of this responsibility. Labor divided against itself can make small contribution to a world similarly divided. Labor will have greater opportunity of preserving democracy and peace at home if we achieve peace within the ranks of labor. While we rearm in defense of our shores, we must rearm in defense of our national character. Only in loyalty to our political and spiritual ideals can we find solidarity and freedom. It is within the power of labor to be a great force in uniting our people. Labor, inspired by a dignity and purpose, can be the foundation of a new age in which mutual trust brings confidence to industry and unity to our people.

Coming as I do from the ranks of labor, I feel confident I can say working people accept the decision that has been made. They rejoice in the privilege enjoyed and are conscious of the responsibility associated with it. Labor is also aware of the new responsibilities it has assumed with its newly won citizenship in industry and welcomes the opportunity to cooperate with other groups and government in the solution of our economic and social problems. Labor believes this can be done in the democratic way. It can be done with speed and efficiency and preserve all the social gains with continuing progress.

I appeal to business and labor—and all other groups of our people—to show a spirit of tolerance and forbearance and to unite in the tremendously important task ahead. Labor will accept its responsibilities.

ADDRESS OF CLARENCE A. DYKSTRA, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN AND ADMINISTRATOR OF SELECTIVE SERVICE

Quotations from George Washington have been invoked frequently in the last few weeks to point some moral or to give a solemn warning to the American people. It was not until recently, however, that an American journalist called attention to other well-known passages from the Farewell Address. These had to do with what Washington called "the baneful influence of factions." This party spirit, said he, is the worst enemy of the popular form of government, for it serves to "distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration." He believed that every attempt should be made through the force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage every excess of such spirit.

Perhaps this is a counsel of perfection when the campaign spirit is running high. This occasion, however, is one at which we may well quote the Father of his County—a man who, in very unusual degree for his day, was concerned with the perpetuation of popular government into the remote future. This concern showed itself also in his desire for the extension of educational opportunities for all who could profit from the learning process. To him and his contemporaries popular government required for its success widespread education of citizens. These two things were to grow together and reinforce each other.

Even before the Constitution was adopted, the old Congress of the Confederation proclaimed the ordinance of 1787, which declared for the great new Northwest Territory, "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." From the beginning of the great frontier advance into the West, the practice of democracy and the establishment of schools went hand in hand. Soon there was a little clearing in the forest, then a log schoolhouse, and before long a college or a university. The people themselves encouraged by land grants from Congress set up what we now know as the State universities, which opened their doors to all the people and offer instruction in many fields not included in the rigid college curricula of that day.

Those old statesmen and founders insisted that liberty of inquiry into every field of interest to man and Nature was indispensable to the progress of the new society rising in America. This was strong doctrine in that day. It still is in many quarters, for there are those who, out of fear or prejudice or sentiment, would curb the freedom of the scholar and the teacher. There are many still who fear that great declaration of Jefferson, "I have sworn upon the

altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Public education in America was born in a day when freedom was precious, worth fighting for, and, if need be, worth dying for. Public education was democracy's answer to the charge of Hamilton that "The people, sir, is a great beast." It was the expression of faith in the common man. Moreover, it was from the people and for the people and thus has had a peculiar power throughout our history. It has had both the strength and the shortcomings of the whole people. But it has tried to serve the time without yielding to it overmuch. Recognizing our human weaknesses, it attempts to make us strong and it gives a unity to our people which is unique.

The task of education today is fourfold:

1. To aid the American people patiently and tolerantly to understand ourselves and our times.

2. To aid in the building of a united people proud of our developing democracy, and committed to the task of making better and finer individuals of American youth.

3. To break down the barriers of tradition and race and prejudice which divide us and threaten our national integrity.

4. To teach that we are not a society of individuals just coddling our rights and privileges, but millions of individuals owing also responsibilities and duties to the society which guarantees us our opportunities.

Thus American education joins in every movement for national unity, national peace, and national harmony committed to the conviction that if we are intelligent, if we can understand, we can learn to govern ourselves. It is convinced also that, if we can govern ourselves and at the same time learn to use the powers of man and the forces of nature for a great joint purpose, we can be a powerful, prosperous, and peaceful people who can again bring light and leading to a distracted and dissillusioned world.

Our immediate, imperative task is to dispel disillusionment in America here and now, secure national unity and purpose by the cultivation of good will and mutual understanding and aid the whole people to develop and utilize the intelligence with which the common man has been endowed. Then the truths which the great Declaration of Independence declared to be self-evident will come to life and make us not only free and strong but in a new and real sense "the light of the world."

SPEECH BY STEPHEN VINCENT BENET, READ BY RAYMOND MASSEY

(The following declaration was written for the Council for Democracy by Stephen Vincent Benet and was read at the America United Rally in Carnegie Hall Wednesday evening, November 6, by Raymond Massey, best known to Americans for his portrayal of Abraham Lincoln in Robert Sherwood's play, Abe Lincoln in Illinois. Mr. Massey, though a Canadian, has deep ancestral roots in the United States, being descended from the first white child born in the Massachusetts Colony.)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, Americans united, there is one great issue before us—an issue that concerns every man and every woman in the United States. I am going to talk about that issue as simply and plainly as I can. What I myself think and feel—one man speaking alone—is and can be of little moment. But the cause for which we are met tonight—the reason why we are here—is a momentous cause and a momentous reason. As a great American once said from the floor of the Senate in a time as troubled as ours, "Hear me for my cause."

Yesterday in this country of ours we held an election. Fifty million Americans went to the polls and decided upon the Americans who are to lead and govern this Nation for the next 4 years. They did not go with guns at their sides or with despair in their hearts. They were not driven or hounded there by armed guards or secret police. They went of their own free will, believing—and sometimes bitterly—in one party or the other, but with freedom to choose between the two. I saw them—we all saw them—in barber shops and schoolhouses, in community centers and little untidy stores all through the length and breadth of the continent they voted. It was a serious task and they took it seriously. You could see that in their faces.

I do not know how you felt about that voting—we are still so close to the heat and clamor of the campaign. But I know this for myself. The sight of those long lines of men and women, quietly waiting their turn outside the polling places—the knowledge that everywhere, all over the country, all the people, not just a few, were getting up and saying who and what they wanted—it filled me with an extraordinary pride. For it meant that democracy worked, and worked in a crisis. It is only once in 4 years that we see the whole people. We saw them yesterday.

I am speaking without bias of party. Had the election gone the other way I would not alter one word of what I have said. I say and I repeat that yesterday democracy performed a great and essential act. In spite of omen abroad and turmoil at home, in obedience to the Constitution and with respect for law, the United States chose its leaders. To those who say that democracy is a failure; to those who say that all democracy must be weak, divided and corrupt—and you know the names—that is our first answer, and it is like a block of forged steel. To them we say, we have been able to do in peace what you could only do by force, we have been able to do by a mark on a piece of paper what you do by the gun and the whip. We have not been afraid of hearing both sides of a question. We have heard both sides and acted as a people. We shall never abandon that right.

Now that is a great thing to have done. It is a very great thing. And yet, in another sense, it is only a beginning. I shall try to say why that is so.

This campaign has been a very bitter one. We had better face that fact and admit it; we would never have built this country if we had not been willing to face facts. On both sides, not just on the one side, false and cruel things have been said. On both sides, not just on the one side, party spirit has gone into partisanship and partisanship into hate. The smears and the dirty stories, the lies and the rotten eggs; all the charges and countercharges of the last months; they were there, and we know they were there.

In ordinary times, that doesn't matter so much. You call my candidate a horse thief, and I call yours a lunatic, and we both of us know it's just till election day. It's an American custom, like eating corn on the cob. And afterward we settle down quite peaceably, and agree we've got a pretty good country—until next election. But these are not ordinary times.

These are not ordinary times, because there is a crisis in our national life. It was not brought about by the election, and it has not passed with the election. We have decided to arm as we have never armed in peacetime. We have decided to call our young men to military service as we have never called them in peacetime. We have done this because, in a year, we have seen the fall and ruin of free nations, and a new creed of barbarism on the march. We can no longer take our own way of life for granted; we know that it may be challenged. And we know this, too, and know it ever more deeply—we know that freedom and democracy are not just big words mouthed by orators but the rain and the wind and the sun, the air and the light by which we breathe and live.

How shall we defend them; how shall we defend ourselves? We know one thing, Abraham Lincoln said it more than 80 years ago, and he was speaking of this turbulent, endlessly seeking country of ours. He said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." We cannot be a house divided—divided in will, divided in interest, divided in soul. We cannot be a house divided and live.

The issue goes beyond battleships and airplanes—it goes beyond tax bills and laws, it goes into the hearts and minds of every one of us. Each one of us is responsible; not one of us can shirk his own responsibility. In the troubled years to come we must have unity and a united nation—not the blind unity of the slave state, but the deliberate unity of free men. And, if we really believe in democracy, we must begin to seek that unity now.

I know the task is hard. It is hard to put aside partisanship. It is hard to give up the easy wisecracking jeer that divides and destroys. It is hard, very hard, to have worked sincerely and wholeheartedly for a cause and to have lost. Most of all, it is hard to put aside personal prejudices. And yet we must put these things aside.

There is one essential thing. We have a great past to help us in putting these things aside. This election, hard fought as it was, has been but a mimic battle. It has been bitter—but the struggle between Jefferson and Hamilton was bitter, and yet both men were able to labor for the good of their country. It has been bitter—but the Civil War was bitter, and yet, at the end of that war the idol of the South, Robert E. Lee, laid down his sword forever and spent the rest of his life, not in bitterness and anger, but in working for peace and concord and a united land.

That was a harder thing to do than any of us are called upon to do today. Yet he did it and, so doing, won a victory of the spirit as great as any victory he had ever won on the battlefield. Stephen A. Douglas died campaigning at the side of his old adversary, Abraham Lincoln. Let us be bold enough and free enough to follow the great examples—the men of good will and honor who put aside little ways and petty hatreds to build the American dream.

And, first of all, let us take two words we have heard a great deal of in the last 2 months—take them and bury them deep. The first is "dictatorship" and the second is "appeasement." They do not apply to us—they do not apply to this Nation or to the Government of this Nation. With God's grace, and with the strength of a united people, they will never apply to this Nation. Let us dig their graves here and now with a long, strong spade.

No administration that ever ran this country—not even Washington's—has done so without opposition and criticism. That is just and right and our way. But there is something which is neither reasoned opposition nor reasonable criticism—a sort of sit-down strike of the mind which says, "The score went against me. Very well, I won't play ball." If any of us—any man, any group, any class—could ever have afforded such an attitude, we cannot afford it now. We cannot afford the creeping paralysis that destroys the effective will of democracy—the paralysis carried by hate and rancor, between class and class, person and person, party and party, as plague is carried through the streets of a town. I am speaking bluntly; I know you would not wish me to speak otherwise. For this paralysis of will—this sit-down strike of the mind—has attacked and ravaged other nations. We cannot afford to let that happen here.

Let us say this much to ourselves, not only with our lips but in our hearts. Let us say this.

"I myself am a part of democracy—I myself must accept responsibility. Democracy is not merely a privilege to be enjoyed—it is a trust to keep and maintain. When by idle word and vain prejudice, I create distrust of democracy itself, by so much do I diminish all democracy. When I tell my children that all politics is a rotten machine and all politicians thieves and liars, by so much do I shake their faith in the world that they, too, must build. When I let loose intolerance, whether it be of race, creed, or class, I am letting loose a tiger. When I spend my time vilifying and abusing a duly elected government of the people because I did not vote for it, by so much do I weaken confidence in government by the

people itself. Rich or poor, young or old, Republican or Democrat, I cannot afford these things.

"I cannot afford them because there are forces loose in the world that would wipe all democracy out. They will take my idle words and make their own case with them. They will take my half-hearted distrust, and with it sow, not merely distrust but disunion. They will take my hate and make of it a consuming fire."

Let each one of you say, "I am an American. I intend to stay an American. I will do my best to wipe from my heart hate, rancor, and political prejudice. I will sustain my Government. And, through good days or bad, I will try to serve my country."

ADDRESS BY HOWARD COONLEY, PRESIDENT OF THE WALWORTH CO. AND PAST PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS

In every Presidential campaign we have an open season for discussion of important national issues. In America the season for free speech is always open, but once in 4 years it is concentrated on a vital political decision—the choice of a President.

There are rallies and conventions, charges and countercharges, exhortations, and promises, serious arguments and rebuttals, and sometimes bitterness and acrimony. All this is inevitable in the operation of a representative democracy. Here the formulation and expression of popular opinion and the determination of national policies are not ordered and regimented, thank God, as in the totalitarian states.

Underneath this surface turmoil is the real working of the democratic process. People are making up their minds about the national leadership they desire for 4 years ahead, about the representation they want in Congress, about the grave issues that the result of this process may determine. Emotions and prejudices as well as intelligence influence the choice of these tens of millions of men and women. Who would have it otherwise?

Yesterday, perhaps, most of us seemed to be only Republicans or Democrats. We have not forgotten or abandoned those affiliations. Parties are useful—indeed, essential—instruments of a representative democracy. But the campaign is over. The American people have spoken by their ballots. Our national officers have been chosen. Today we recognize more clearly that we are all Americans. Franklin D. Roosevelt is our President. Under our system he has been chosen not as President of a political party, but to serve as Chief Executive, this whole Nation of 130,000,000 people. These 130,000,000 people are looking up to him for the sympathetic and understanding leadership under which they can unite.

In a time of great crisis we have been fortunate in that the candidates of both great parties for the Presidency were in substantial agreement on many national policies. Both put themselves on record as promising every effort to keep America out of war and to keep war away from America; to build up our national defenses with all possible speed; and to maintain our free institutions—our civil, religious, political liberties, our system of private economic enterprise.

In pursuit of these objectives President Roosevelt will have, I am confident, the loyal support of all patriotic Americans irrespective of whether they supported the Democratic or the Republican standard bearer in the recent campaign. We may differ among ourselves, as we Americans always differ, in regard to specific measures to attain objectives we cherish in common. But the grave problems we face, as we agree in the main purposes, call for whole-hearted cooperation of all groups if these problems are to be solved.

The present situation of America in a world torn by war and revolution, facing unprecedented external menaces as well as grave internal problems, demands unity of purpose and unity of action.

This means that employers and employees must regard their common interest as their major interest and must be allowed to adjust their minor differences in an atmosphere of mutual good will.

It means that manufacturing and agriculture, essentially interdependent as they are, must more earnestly take counsel together on problems of common concern.

It means that government, without favoritism toward any one of our economic groups, but vitally concerned with the welfare of all, should represent the interests of all to aid their cooperation for national security and national prosperity.

The President has said on various occasions, as Mr. Willkie also has said, that the management of American industry is doing its full part in carrying forward our national defense program. I am sure that I speak for industrial executives generally, whether Republicans or Democrats, when I renew the pledge given months ago that we will do our utmost in producing promptly, effectively, and economically the armaments that are needed. We will continue to make available for this purpose all we have of manufacturing facilities and skill. The more freedom we have to serve, the more efficiently we can serve. This we believe the Government will fully recognize.

And we are eager also to cooperate with all other groups in bringing about the increased production for home needs that is necessary if we are to maintain our standard of living while we are bearing this great defense burden. It can be done if we are all willing to work together with earnestness and self-sacrifice.

With unity of purpose on the part of all of us, moreover, we can gear our industrial machine not only to provide adequate defense and meanwhile to maintain our standard of living, but also to avert economic disaster when the emergency has passed.

These are the hopes, these are the purposes, we believe, of all of us.

The future of America is in the hands of the American people. America at work, Americans working together, Americans understanding thoroughly and guarding jealously the principles on which their Republic was founded, can keep strong and at the same time free.

ADDRESS OF RAYMOND GRAM SWING, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

This meeting was conceived and called by the Council for Democracy to give certain wise and generous individuals a platform to speak, for a change, not as partisans but as Americans. It takes two kinds of skill to live as a democracy. There is the skill of partisanship, which puts forward its candidates and policies. But there also is the skill, after the debate is over, and the vote has been taken, to conduct national affairs for the service of the Nation. The election is over. We may well be grateful that it is over, for this country ran risks in holding it. It came in the midst of a world war. To some extent it affected the whole world, and our place in it. Fortunately, the issue of freedom was not injected into the campaign in any pointed way, and Americans were not called upon to unmask the willful guile of the enemies of freedom, who ask free people to use their liberty to deprive themselves of liberty. Thanks to the character of the two major candidates, the risk of holding an election at this time of world conflict could be taken without catastrophe.

That being so, we can be grateful not only that the election is over but that it was held. For our election has been a great and impelling fact in the world. A nation of a hundred and thirty million free people has insisted on taking this time, this invaluable time, to examine candidates and to hear discussion, and to make up its mind. Not ever in an era when freedom itself is in dire jeopardy has freedom been exercised on such a scale, and with such conviction as to its need. This Nation has told the world that freedom is not a myth, and that it is a necessity for the most practical people on earth.

But holding an election is only part of the activity of living as a democracy. Now we must carry on. And there is a democratic way of carrying on. Let us be clear about it: We do not aim at unity in the sense of uniformity. We cannot afford to suspend the function of criticism and discussion. The opposition is part of the mechanics of self-government. The minority is entitled to its voice. But debate, discussion, and criticism now have their place. They must be confined to measures and policies, and not to men. They have their function which is to enlighten and not to obstruct.

We now face a period of a colossal national effort. Two great decisions have been made this week. We have chosen the leadership for this time of danger. And we have affirmed with unparalleled power our determination to preserve our liberties. From now on we must be on our guard, all of us, that we limit our critique, and speak only for the improvement of the national service. We dare not delay it. We have a leader. No secret police will ferret us out if we criticize him, and no concentration camps await those who refuse to follow him. But he will be a strong leader only if the Nation is strong in supporting him. He was our free choice. Now our free will gives him the only strength he can have in our democracy. He will welcome any contribution to wisdom that can be made. But without the final gift of the Nation's devotion, he remains a weakling, and the Nation is unled. There is no stronger nation than one of free men and women who unite, nor in fear, not under compulsion, but in their faith in the dignity of their liberty, and in their determination to preserve their freedom at any cost. This is our time of peril. Let us be strong.

Saving Human Life in War and in Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SHERMAN MINTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT AT CORNERSTONE LAYING OF NAVAL MEDICAL CENTER

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by the President of the United States on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the Naval Medical Center, at Bethesda, Md., on November 11, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This morning, at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the American people paid their tribute at the shrine of those who gave their lives in defense of our country. It is fitting that this afternoon we assemble again in the patriotic cause of preserving the well-being of those who, living, wear the uniform of our defense.

This Nation is gaining in foresight. This Nation, thereby, is saving human life in war and in peace.

This mission today is particularly close to my heart. During the trying days of the World War, when serving as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, I well remember the tremendous load of patients that were cared for under the restricted facilities at the Naval Hospital overlooking Constitution Avenue. That hospital occupies a historic site—the place where General Braddock landed in 1755 when George Washington was serving as his aide-de-camp. In 1842 the Naval Observatory was located there, and in 1893 the grounds and the buildings were assigned as the Naval Museum of Hygiene. Later, in 1902, the Naval Medical School was founded, and, as you know, has accomplished great things in the training of medical officers and in the care of tens of thousands of our naval personnel.

The need for increased capacity and for better facilities led your Government, some years ago, to initiate the move from the old historic site to this present one. These new buildings had become a necessity even before the existing expansion in our defense forces. I have referred to foresight, and that is one reason that in planning we have provided opportunity for expansion to any point that might become necessary in a national mobilization.

When this building is completed we shall have a 500-bed hospital incomparably modern in structure and equipment. On these grounds will be provided quarters for the staff officers and nurses and enlisted personnel.

Its 247 acres provide ample space for any emergency that may be reasonably anticipated. It is convenient to transportation by road and rail. Across the highway, with its great research laboratories, the National Institute of Public Health, dedicated last week, is still its good neighbor.

And within this Naval Medical School itself will be joined the task of the clinician and the teacher. Technical instruction will go hand in hand with the care of human illness.

I am happy, too, that the physical work of construction has proceeded so well. Through efficient and harmonious cooperation between Government and industry and labor it is at least 3 months ahead of schedule, and we hope to occupy these buildings by next October. To all who have and have had a part in this work I give the thanks of your Government.

In the years to come I am confident that the striking architecture of this great center will receive approval. It is a departure from the colonial type of many recent structures, as it is also from the monumental classic design of the buildings within the District of Columbia. It combines, I think, a practical usefulness for the facilities which will inhabit it; and, at the same time, the harmony of its lines give expression to the thought that art is not dead in our midst.

This Naval Medical Center of which I lay the cornerstone is a tribute to a living democracy—a democracy which intends to keep on living.

Preparedness and Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. DANAHER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARMISTICE DAY ADDRESS BY SENATOR WILEY

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, on Armistice Day, before the Stout Institute in Menomonie, Wis., the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] delivered an address entitled "Preparedness and Education." It is so constructive and of such general interest that I ask unanimous consent that it be included in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, fellow citizens, it is both a privilege and a pleasure to be here today. It is a pleasure to speak here today, because doing so affords me an opportunity on this Armistice Day of meeting with my old and valued friends and making new ones.

It is a privilege, because speaking here today affords me the opportunity of presenting a challenge to a group of leaders who can meet that challenge in the guidance and direction they give to their fellow citizens.

The audience assembled here today is probably as splendid a group of leaders as could possibly be gathered together for the high purposes which must be ours today.

Today is Armistice Day. Two decades and 2 years ago today there was written a peace, just or unjust, for a war-torn world. The soldiers fought the battles and won the victory, but the statesmen wrote the peace.

It is not my purpose today to become involved in a discussion of that peace. It is enough to say that the last haunting strains of taps being blown over the mud and the mire of No Man's Land are today a muted memory, as once again we hear the whine of shrapnel, the roar of mighty furnaces forging new weapons, the ear-piercing blasts of the Big Berthas, the screech of the dive bombers, the thunder of marching men, the anguished wails of the wounded and the dying; yes, and the clank of the chains of bondage.

The armistice of 1918 is written. It has gone down into the afternoon of history and into the twilight of tradition. It remains for us to see that it does not become lost in the thick black night of oblivion.

I say again it is not my purpose to say whether the peace of 1918 was a just or an unjust one. That is a decision for the historians. I believe, however, that history's judgment of the peace of 1918 will be tempered by the peace that is written for this world conflict.

It is not my purpose today to discuss what the part of the United States should be in writing such a peace. Before we can even consider such a question, it is necessary that we think first of writing a domestic peace for the United States, a domestic peace which will be an armistice for class warfare and economic strife in the United States, a just peace which will eliminate any inequalities and injustice which may still exist in our land, and, above all, a peace which will bring to all people a unity of purpose born of the common need—a peace which will bring to our people a oneness of spirit, a solidarity of purpose, a high-minded idealism, and an iron-sinewed strength which will insure that our great freedoms and our way of life shall be inviolate, that our children and our children's children shall be able to live as we live, as free citizens under God.

And so each of us has an obligation. You men who served in the last great conflict, you have paid your obligation, paid it in the blood of the Nation's finest manhood left to stain the battlefields of old Europe, but to insure that your sacrifice shall not have been in vain, to insure that your comrades shall not have died for a lost cause, there remains yet one obligation for you to meet, and it is a peacetime obligation to keep America at peace by a crusade of preparedness linked with education.

In that crusade you teachers, and you future teachers, can play an important role. In that crusade those of you here today who come from other walks of life, who are leaders in other fields of endeavor, you too can play an important role. In the troubled days up ahead you and I have a job—a great job. It is about that job that I speak today.

I speak on this solemn Armistice Day on the subject Preparedness and Education.

Because these terms are so all-inclusive, it seems desirable to define our terms at the outset of our discussion.

Webster tells us that the word "prepare" means "to fit or adapt for a particular purpose; to make ready, as to prepare the ground for seed." I agree with that definition and I believe that our particular purpose must be in a large part to prepare for better citizenship. Webster also says that the word "prepare" means "to make ready, as to prepare for war; or to get ready, as to prepare for death." I do not believe that our discussion today should fall within the scope of these definitions, because I believe that our preparedness must be a preparedness for living rather than for death, and a preparedness for peace rather than for war.

Webster defines "education" as the "imparting or acquiring of knowledge, skill, or development of character as by study or discipline." I agree with that definition, though I believe that the definition of "education" must also include the thought not that we are imparting dusty, dry facts, but that we are molding minds and "soul stuff" to meet the demands of life today.

I might add that I believe we are all educators in one sense or another. Service men's organizations have done a great job and performed a magnificent function in their educational work with the general public. The educational task of the service men's organizations involves not only the plastic minds with which you teachers work but the mature minds of men who must be brought back to a sense of obligation to the task which confronts us. Service men's organizations, which have already consecrated so great a portion of the lives of their members for American freedom, will, I know, continue to fight for those freedoms. Theirs is also an educational job, just as the average citizen has an educational job in the larger meaning of education.

When we simplify all of the existing ideas on government we find that basically there are just two concepts of government:

1. The idea that government exists for the people.
2. The idea that the people exist for the government.

In a republic we believe in a division of sovereignty between the state and the central government. But make no mistake about it, there can be but little division of sovereignty between the people and the government itself. One must be sovereign.

In other lands we have seen the rise of the corporate state and the fall of man. The task of preparedness and education today is to insure that in the United States man shall continue sovereign over the state.

Now, then, preparedness as we interpret it in the United States today, means a mobilization of men, of minds, of morale, and of machines.

Let us analyze each of these elements of preparedness as they are affected by education.

1. Let us analyze the mobilization of machines for preparedness.

To a large degree that mobilization is entrusted to industry. The average citizen can, however, do a great deal to assist in that mobilization of industry. We can assist in educating the general public

to the nature of our industrial economy and the part that it plays in preparedness. We can adjust our normal peacetime activities to industry's defense requirements, and we can educate ourselves to an economic philosophy which will assist industry rather than hamper it.

There are many people who believe that no part of the mobilization of machines is affected by education in the schools. I do not agree with that conclusion. I believe that here, as in every phase of preparedness, education in the schools is vital.

The mobilization of machines is affected by education in three ways:

(1) By research.

(2) By vocational training.

(3) By education for a philosophy of government which squares with our machine age and with the philosophy of productive abundance.

Let us briefly consider these three points. First, without the research of men bent over laboratory tables in the murky smoke-filled recesses of school laboratories, there would have been infinitely less progress in industry and infinitely less chance today for a mobilization of machines.

We are keenly aware of that here in Wisconsin, particularly, where the lives of millions of people climbing the slippery trail of man's progress for a better life has been made easier by the research of Wisconsin men and women.

Wisconsin research has made possible great advances in chemistry—advances which have been utilized in industry. Wisconson's Steenbock process has made possible a healthier life for millions of Americans.

Wisconsin's Babcock has brought life-giving milk within the reach of every slum child in the land.

Wisconsin's scientists today are engaged in a great cancer research which tomorrow may banish this dread scourge and still further lift the level of our national health—a vital portion of our preparedness.

Wisconsin scientists today are working on research which tomorrow may utilize the products of the farm in the processes of industry and in so doing they may correct the faults of our national economy. If they do, they have made a tremendous contribution not only to the well-being of our people but to our preparedness.

If you teachers succeed in keeping alive for your students the flickering flames of interest in research, you will have made a contribution through education for preparedness.

Second, I believe that vocational training can and is making a vital contribution to a nation's preparedness, whether it be preparedness for a better economy or preparedness against war.

A lack of skilled labor has been one of the gravest deficiencies of this period. I am happy that so many of our schools today, and certainly that includes the Stout Institute, are correcting that deficiency, and I am gratified to know that today our system of vocational education is being integrated with our preparedness program. Our schools are doing a splendid work when they train for vocations, and I have the highest praise for every phase of vocational education.

3. Research and vocational training, however, are useless if they are not coupled with the third phase of education. That phase of education must be the teaching of a philosophy which squares with our system of machine-age production and our beliefs in the economy of abundance.

In other words, it is our job as citizens to assist you teachers to teach this new generation not merely the faults of our machine-age economy, but the virtues of machine-age economy. It is our job to teach the philosophy of opportunity in a land of opportunity. It is our job to teach the philosophy of abundance in a land of abundance. When we do that, we insure that our research and our vocational training shall not be in vain.

The second phase of our preparedness program is the mobilization of men.

That mobilization has already been undertaken as a peacetime project of the Federal Government. Let me comment briefly on the actual physical mobilization of men.

I believe that here again education can integrate its program of athletics and of physical training with the mobilization of men, so that the boys and girls in our schools will be physically strong, able to meet any challenges, and I pray to God that all of those challenges will be peacetime challenges.

It is obvious also that every citizen can perform an educational service in this connection in directing his efforts to raising the standards of our physical well-being. This will be a contribution not only for preparedness but for the physical betterment of the race.

The third phase of any preparedness program must be the mobilization of minds and morale, and it is with this phase of preparedness and education that I am most concerned today.

I am most concerned with this phase, because I believe it is the most important. What shall it serve a nation to have machines and men if there is no morale? What shall it serve a nation to have a race of goose-stepping robots if all of the laughter and the love and the life of the race shall have been annihilated?

What shall it serve a race if its people are disciplined through fear so that the discipline of voluntary self-denial and mutual trust and cooperation shall have been abandoned?

And so today let us consider this problem of mobilizing minds and morale, not for war but for peace; not to die for our Republic but to live for it.

I think it is obvious that before there can be a mobilization of general morale there must be a mobilization of the minds of individuals. That is our problem—our problem as citizens, our problem as service men, our problem as teachers. And when I say mobilization I do not want to be misinterpreted. I do not mean mobilization in the sense of regimentation. I do not believe in a lock-step system of education. I believe that the job of education is not to ram dry facts and dusty ideas down the throats of young America. I believe that the job of education is to equip young America with enough tools so that it can make its own decisions intelligently. It is not our job to make decisions for this young generation. It is not our job to make decisions for our fellow citizens. And so our mobilization of minds must in reality be a mobilization of mental equipment so that each of these minds can make its own decisions.

There are many phases of educating the minds of this generation to their rights and their obligations under our system of government. I believe that in recent years a part of the generation that has been growing up has been conscious of its rights, but not of its obligations. I would not want that sense of obligation to become overwhelming, but I do believe that a just measure of our efforts, our productive capacity, our genius, our abilities, and our labor should be devoted to mutually helpful activities.

Macaulay once wrote: "Your Republic will be pillaged and ravaged in the twentieth century just as the Roman Empire was by the barbarians of the fifth century, with this difference, that the devastation of the Roman Empire came from abroad, while your barbarians will be the people of your own country and the product of your own institutions."

Our job now is to make certain that there shall be no "barbarians pillaging and ravaging" our country, that Macaulay's prophecy shall not come true.

Each and every one of us, whether we become teachers in the school system or whether we are teachers in the larger school of life, must teach mental preparedness. Mental preparedness involves education for citizenship.

It was my privilege last year to serve as a member of the United States Senate subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee which considered House Joint Resolution 437. I am proud to have played a part in seeing that this resolution was passed by the Congress of the United States. It designated the third Sunday in May as "I Am An American Day."

There are nearly 2,000,000 young men and women who become of age each year. It is absolutely vital that these young men and women be brought to realize the significance of their new status—by getting convictions on vital issues and developing a sense of responsibility.

Wisconsin pioneered in citizenship education. The so-called Manitowoc, Wis., plan was initiated in Manitowoc County, Wis., on May 21, 1939. The chief justice of the State of Wisconsin at that time stated to the new citizens: "To prepare you for the performance of these duties, you have been trained in the public schools and you have taken a course of instruction preparatory to this citizenship-day program. The principal purpose and object of your education at public expense—the whole purpose and object of the preparation for citizenship day—is to enable you to exercise this great power wisely and to prepare you to participate as citizens, and, if chosen as officers in the government of the towns, villages, cities, counties, State, and the United States."

I believe that our educational system can coordinate its educational activities with educational programs such as the I Am an American Day, the Manitowoc plan, or the so-called New York citizenship day program, or the Syracuse boys' State program, or with the activities of service men's programs, or with the boys' groups of America, or with the Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts activities.

In general, with reference to the civil responsibility of our future citizens, and, in fact, with all citizens, it must be our job to give them a good working background of the actual processes of government so that they can intelligently understand just how our Government functions.

Then it must be our job to outline the rights and the obligations of each citizen under that system of government. Beyond this factual instruction, however, it should be our job to instill a love of America in the young people of this country.

William Tyler Page once wrote the American's Creed. He said: "I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people, whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect Union, one and inseparable, established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity, for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its Constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies."

Because we do not want to go the dreary way of totalitarianism it is vital that we seek in our educational system and in our daily life to avoid those things which are characteristic of totalitarianism. Consequently—

1. We must express the doctrine of tolerance. There must be no prosecution, no "witch burning," in our educational system or in our government. There must be no persecution of legitimate minority groups. There must be no religious intolerance. There must be no racial discrimination. There must be no class distinction. Our

educational system and our Government must be for all of the people.

2. We must in our educational system and in our lives as adults attempt to recovenant our faith in spiritual things. This Nation was born of faith in God. Man is a creation of God, and, while our schools are not devoted to religious training, it is essential that we endeavor at least to give our students a "spiritual awareness"—a consciousness of the things of the spirit and our obligation to the Creator.

3. In our educational system and in our daily activities we must set up individual mental safeguards for the governmental freedoms guaranteed under the Bill of Rights. Free speech, free press, and the other great freedoms, so long as they do not become license, must be maintained.

4. In our educational system and in government we must see that our discipline is the discipline of cooperation and of law rather than whim and caprice. I think that today a great issue in our national life is that we are becoming less and less a nation governed by law, and more and more a nation governed by the whim and caprice of administrative bureaucracies.

Youth must realize from its early school days that there are certain immutable fixed laws which govern the conduct of our self-respecting, God-fearing citizens. They are laws of right and wrong which must be respected. We can secure that respect both in school and in government if we do not abandon government by law in favor of government by administrative control.

5. In our educational system and in every walk of life we can create a resurgence of a spirit of national unity. That does not mean we would surrender the rights of the minority party. It merely means that partisanship must be made secondary to the unified objectives of our people in the trying days which are up ahead. If we do this, then our armistice celebration today will not be a mockery.

If we do this, we can meet any attacks on our system of government and our way of life with a unified front which will be invincible. If we do this, our unified forces will serve as a living monument to the idea that those men who fought in the last war shall not have fought in vain.

With this spirit of unity we must incorporate a sense of spiritual values and a recognition of Christlike fellowship. If we do this, we will live in peace, even though we are prepared to defend all that we hold dear. If we do this, we eliminate class warfare. If we do this, we make peace with ourselves, so that we are better equipped to make peace in the world. That, in the last analysis, must be the meaning of any armistice. The peace which this generation writes must be a just peace. It serves no purpose if the soldiers do their job and the statesmen fail in theirs.

6. I believe in tolerance. I believe in the rights of minorities. But I do not believe in Trojan-horse activities. I believe that we must not lean backward in protecting the great freedoms. After all, we cannot stick our heads in the sand like the ostrich. We must be aware of realities, and we must be certain that in practicing our great freedoms we do not encourage activities which will destroy these same freedoms.

I believe that wherever there are "fifth column" doctrines and "fifth column" teachings, they must be exposed to the pitiless glare of the spotlight of public scrutiny.

I cannot believe that our schools have been as infiltrated with "red" teachings as some people contend. I am glad that this matter of "red" teachings has been publicly discussed, however, because I believe that the public should be fully informed so that it can make up its own mind.

Communities must provide such high standards for their teachers that they will wholeheartedly subscribe to our way of life. Communities must provide opportunities for our teachers to assume a place of civic leadership so that their abilities and their special knowledge may be integrated with the community life.

In conclusion, I believe we must stress the idea that the schools particularly, along with service men's organizations and civic leaders such as are gathered here today, must supply leadership for sane, deliberate, thinking—thinking which will put every American "on guard." There was a time when "on guard" meant standing an armed guard. Today it is more imperative that we be "on guard" mentally. That is the job of the teacher and the job of the citizen.

Each of us must reject propaganda. What is even more important we must equip our children so that they can recognize propaganda. We must inculcate in them a knowledge of the orderly processes of government, so that they can reject false governmental doctrines. We must instill in them a respect for law and order. We must instill in them a reverence for the things of the spirit. We must instill in them a love of country.

We must stimulate in our citizenship, young and old, a sense of their deep and solemn obligation to this land. We must renew in them a knowledge of the rights that come to them as free-born Americans. We must give them a sense of the magnitude of the task which confronts them. And above all, we must light in our youth a flaming torch of service and devotion to country which they may hold high in the councils of our people as they assume their places in the ranks of America—as they take their places in the halls of those who direct the destinies of this land and as they stand in the doorways of 40,000,000 American homes—as they rear generations yet unborn, and as they recovenant their faith in our way of life.

Irish Neutrality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK ENQUIRER AND A MESSAGE OF GOOD WILL TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the New York Enquirer of Monday, November 11, 1940, by Mr. William Griffin, under the heading "Churchill's Attack on Irish Neutrality," and also a message of good will, signed by 80 United States Senators, many Members of the House of Representatives, and 19 Governors.

Mr. Griffin, the publisher of the New York Enquirer, has been an outstanding spokesman for the cause of Ireland. He has been one of the prominent figures in this country for the cause of peace and noninvolvement.

His praise for Ireland deserves commendation. This country has maintained its neutrality in the midst of the terrible war. She knows to accept Winston Churchill's request would be to plunge herself into the conflict.

The people of Ireland remember their long struggle with England for independence. They do not intend to sacrifice that fight by becoming a pawn.

There being no objection, the editorial and the message were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Enquirer of November 11, 1940]

CHURCHILL'S ATTACK ON IRISH NEUTRALITY

There never was a time in the history of the British Empire when skilled statesmanship was more needed in those at the head of its affairs than it is now.

Unfortunately for England and her dependencies the men wielding the reins of government in London are anything but skilled statesmen.

If the Nero of Nazidom were to have had the selecting of the Briton best calculated to bring about the downfall of the British Empire, he would unerringly have picked the man who now occupies the post of Prime Minister on the banks of the Thames.

The other day the bellicose and bullycose Winston Churchill made a remarkable, albeit typically Churchillian utterance, with regard to Ireland, in the House of Commons. He declared:

"The fact that we cannot use the south and west coast of Ireland to refuel our flotillas and aircraft, and thus protect the trade by which Ireland as well as Britain lives—that fact is a most heavy and grievous burden, and one which should never have been placed on our shoulders, broad though they may be."

These are not the words of a statesman. They are not even the words of a mediocre politician. They are important words, however, and their importance will not be lost here in the United States and throughout the world.

For England they have an exceptionally evil import.

Winston Churchill, since the present European war began, has never grown weary of assuring the globe that England is fighting for democratic right against totalitarian might, that she is waging her battle not alone for herself but for the triumph of justice and concord in all international relationships, through the vindication of democracy and the annihilation of autocracy.

Yet Prime Minister Churchill has chosen, in the language just cited, to proclaim far and wide that the Irish nation has no right to an independent existence. That is a challenge which, Mr. Churchill can rest assured, will bring its own reward.

By this declaration Winston Churchill has shown not only his contempt for the scrupulous neutrality which the Irish Government has maintained since the outbreak of hostilities last year, but has also evinced his implacable hatred of Ireland, a hatred which is very old indeed.

The New York Enquirer condemned in unsparing terms the Nazi Reich's violation of the neutrality of the Scandinavian countries and of Belgium and Holland.

It would be cravenly disloyal to the best traditions of American journalism and American fair play did it refuse to express, in a manner which can be easily comprehended, its absolute abhorrence of Mr. Churchill's anti-Irish outburst in the House of Commons on American election day.

The British Prime Minister and his Dakar friends in Washington have sinister designs upon Ireland.

It will be a sad day for the British Empire if, under the direction of a man whose vast ambition is only equaled by his incapacity to satisfy it, England violates the neutrality of Ireland.

Some Americans can be fooled by British propaganda. But, thank Heaven, by far the greater part of our people are thoroughly aware of the hollowness of Britain's pretensions of friendship for their country.

Neither of the candidates in the Presidential contest just ended would have dared, under any circumstances, to ask the electorate of this Republic to sanction our going to war for England. Both implicitly pledged themselves to peace, and every vote of the 50,000,000 cast throughout the Nation on Tuesday last was a command to the successful candidate to keep the United States out of war.

But Winston Churchill and his empire want this Republic in the war, side by side with Britain. The invaluable support, including 50 American warships, which England has received from this country has aroused no gratitude in the British heart. Bitterness, ill-suppressed bitterness, against America is rife in Britain.

Had the Irish Government wished it could have dealt Britain a mortal blow during the current European war. Under all the rules of fair play, it would have been justified in taking advantage of its age-old enemy's predicament to right the immeasurable wrongs sustained by the Irish Nation at her hands.

The Irish Government, however, decided to pursue a course of strict neutrality.

This policy has been of the utmost benefit to Britain. As a matter of fact, were it not for the impartial attitude maintained by the Irish Government, Britain could never have received from the United States the manifold assistance that has been hers.

Winston Churchill has shown not the slightest thankfulness for Ireland's marvelous forbearance. The man who, in the World War and the present conflict, has been guilty of such colossal military and other blunders, and who, if it is seriously desired that the British Empire shall not perish, ought never to have been entrusted with its fate—this man, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, self-anointed champion of the rights of nations, is now eager to commit the crowning blunder of his career, an assault upon Ireland.

If Mr. Churchill were fit to be Prime Minister of Britain in these crucial days for the British Empire, he would extol the neutral policy of the Irish Government. Moreover, he would immediately consummate a final act of reparation toward Ireland, including the wiping out of the Hitlerian despotism established at Belfast by England 20 years ago, with jurisdiction over a sixth of Ireland's territory, and whose record against civil and religious liberty is nothing less than appalling.

Instead of restoring the territorial integrity of the Irish Nation and recognizing its complete sovereignty, Winston Churchill, arduous warrior of human rights, announces to the world that he heartily approves of Irish partition and the Hitlerian regime at Belfast, and that the independence of the territory under the jurisdiction of the Irish Government means nothing to him.

Winston Churchill's brutal words with regard to Ireland and her neutrality were read with unusual delight by Adolf Hitler.

It rests with him whether they shall fructify into further aid and comfort for his fellow fuehrer in Berlin.

Tragic circumstances sometimes give rise to amusing incidents. The performance of the real-life tragedian, Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, with regard to Ireland, moved one of our so-called American newspapers to speak of Britain as Ireland's "mother country." Of course, the relationship between the two countries is far otherwise. British authorities themselves bear witness to this. One of these, the Honorable Colin Lindsey, brother of the Earl of Crawford and Balcaves, has this to say, as quoted by Dr. Emmet in Ireland Under English Rule:

"Before England was born into the family of nations Ireland was an autonomy recognized as such by contemporary races.

"When Albion was inhabited by a barbarous and savage people Ireland was in the height of prosperity. When the Anglo-Saxons were tearing each other to pieces Ireland was possessed of a settled government and was administered by wise laws so ancient that no one knows precisely the period of their first promulgation. When this country (England) was remarkable for its ignorance and brutality Ireland was celebrated for her culture and civilization.

"When St. Augustine was preaching to the heathen, when Ethelbert was receiving baptism, when Alfred was a wanderer Ireland was sending forth her missionaries all over the world, spreading everywhere the gospel and civilization.

"When the foundations of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford were laid the colleges of Ireland had long been flourishing seats of learning, imparting to all who came to her schools knowledge and truth.

"Ireland can assert what no other existing kingdom or state can say, that her history is lost in the mazes of antiquity and that her era of barbarism belongs to prehistoric times."

In his outrageous conduct toward Ireland in the House of Commons on the 5th of November 1940 Winston Churchill set in motion a chain of events of the most fateful character for the British Empire and gave the despot of Germany further proof that the "hero" of Gallipoli, Dakar, and other exploits is just his man for the position of Prime Minister of Britain.

WILLIAM GRIFFIN,
Editor and Publisher, New York Enquirer.

[From the New York Enquirer of January 2, 1938]

(The document hereunder, addressed to the Prime Minister of Ireland, has been signed on parchment by 268 Members of both branches of Congress (including 80 United States Senators) and, in addition, by 19 State Governors and several other leading citizens. The names and titles of those signing the document are reproduced below.)

A MESSAGE OF GOOD WILL FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To Hon. EAMON DE VALERA,
Dublin, Ireland:

We are glad to join with our good friend Mr. Willian Griffin, editor and publisher of the New York Enquirer, in sending you, and through you the Irish Nation, an expression of ardent congratulation on the birth of the state of Ireland, December 29, 1937, consequent upon the coming into effect of the new constitution recently ratified by popular vote.

The ties between your country and ours have always been strong and cordial. In sending you this message we are animated by the spirit of warm friendship which Benjamin Franklin voiced in his famous address, To the Good People of Ireland, during our own War of Independence, wherein Ireland and her sons played such a memorable part.

"I have in my commission," declared Franklin, from Versailles, France, "to repeat to you, my good friends, the cordial concern that Congress takes in everything that relates to the happiness of Ireland."

We regard the adoption of the new Irish Constitution and the emergence of the state of Ireland as events of the utmost importance, because we see in them the devotion of the Irish people to genuine democratic government, and because they furnish a happy augury for the attainment of lasting peace, understanding, and friendship between the Irish and British peoples, a consummation of vital consequence not alone to the British and Irish peoples but to the world at large.

We derive great satisfaction from the magnificent progress which your country has made in recent years, and cherish the fervent hope that every success will attend the new state of Ireland.

To yourself personally we send an assurance of our highest regard and esteem.

Congress of the United States: Key Pittman, President pro tempore of the Senate; William B. Bankhead, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Royal S. Copeland, Senator from New York; Robert R. Reynolds, Senator from North Carolina; Edwin C. Johnson, Senator from Colorado; John H. Bankhead, 2d, Senator from Alabama; Theodore Francis Green, Senator from Rhode Island; Pat Harrison, Senator from Mississippi; Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Senator from Wyoming; William Gibbs McAdoo, Senator from California; Prentiss M. Brown, Senator from Michigan; Robert M. La Follette, Senator from Wisconsin; Pat McCarran, Senator from Nevada; William E. Borah, Senator from Idaho; Ernest W. Gibson, Senator from Vermont; John G. Townsend, Jr., Senator from Delaware; Joseph F. Guffey, Senator from Pennsylvania; Guy M. Gillette, Senator from Iowa; Charles L. McNary, Senator from Oregon; Ellison D. Smith, Senator from South Carolina; Carl A. Hatch, Senator from New Mexico; Key Pittman, Senator from Nevada; William H. Smathers, Senator from New Jersey; Herbert E. Hitchcock, Senator from South Dakota; Elbert D. Thomas, Senator from Utah; Arthur Capper, Senator from Kansas; Allen J. Ellender, Senator from Louisiana; Harry Flood Byrd, Senator from Virginia; Alben W. Barkley, Senator from Kentucky; Dennis Chavez, Senator from New Mexico; A. Harry Moore, Senator from New Jersey; James J. Davis, Senator from Pennsylvania; Rush D. Holt, Senator from West Virginia; Millard E. Tydings, Senator from Maryland; Warren R. Austin, Senator from Vermont; Claude Pepper, Senator from Florida; Richard B. Russell, Jr., Senator from Georgia; Frederick Van Nuys. Senator from Indiana; Vic Donahey, Senator from Ohio; Elmer Thomas, Senator from Oklahoma; Homer T. Bone, Senator from Washington; Charles O. Andrews, Senator from Florida; James T. Pope, Senator from Idaho; Theodore G. Bilbo, Senator from Mississippi; Clyde L. Herring, Senator from Iowa; William H. Dieterich, Senator from Illinois; William J. Bulow, Senator from South Dakota; Walter F. George, Senator from Georgia; Kenneth McKellar, Senator from Tennessee; Henrik Shipstead, Senator from Minnesota; Arthur H. Vandenberg, Senator from Michigan; Wallace H. White, Jr., Senator from Maine; Augustine Lonergan, Senator from Connecticut; Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Senator from Massachusetts; Burton K. Wheeler, Senator from Montana; Frederick Hale, Senator from Maine; H. Styles Bridges, Senator from New Hampshire; George L. Radcliffe, Senator from Maryland; Robert F. Wagner, Senator from New York; George McGill, Senator from Kansas; Josh Lee, Senator from Oklahoma; Harry S. Truman, Senator from Missouri; Fred H. Brown, Senator from New Hampshire; Edward R. Burke, Senator from Nebraska; Hiram W. Johnson, Senator from California; Ernest Lundeen, Senator from Minnesota; M. M. Logan, Senator from Kentucky; James E. Murray, Senator from

Montana; Lynn J. Frazier, Senator from North Dakota; John H. Overton, Senator from Louisiana; Dixie Bibb Graves, Senator from Alabama; Carter Glass, Senator from Virginia; F. Ryan Duffy, Senator from Wisconsin; H. H. Schwartz, Senator from Wyoming; George W. Norris, Senator from Nebraska; Lewis Schwellenbach, Senator from Washington; Frederick Steiwer, Senator from Oregon; Robert J. Bulkley, Senator from Ohio; David I. Walsh, Senator from Massachusetts; Morris Sheppard, Senator from Texas; Hattie W. Caraway, Senator from Arkansas; Sherman Minton, Senator from Indiana; James A. O'Leary, Representative from New York; Donald L. O'Toole, Representative from New York; Sam Hobbs, Representative from Alabama; W. Sterling Cole, Representative from New York; John O'Connor, Representative from New York; Harry R. Sheppard, Representative from California; Edward J. Hart, Representative from New Jersey; Francis E. Walter, Representative from Pennsylvania; Samuel Dickstein, Representative from New York; Raymond S. McKeough, Representative from Illinois; Michael J. Stack, Representative from Pennsylvania; Ralph O. Brewster, Representative from Maine; Fred Cummings, Representative from Colorado; William B. Bankhead, Representative from Alabama; Sam Rayburn, Representative from Texas; Compton I. White, Representative from Idaho; William T. Byrne, Representative from New York; Emanuel Celler, Representative from New York; Thomas F. Ford, Representative from California; James P. McGranery, Representative from Pennsylvania; Oliver W. Frey, Representative from Pennsylvania; James H. Gildea, Representative from Pennsylvania; John W. McCormack, Representative from Massachusetts; Gerald J. Boileau, Representative from Wisconsin; J. Joseph Smith, Representative from Connecticut; Edward A. Kelly, Representative from Illinois; Guy J. Swope, Representative from Pennsylvania; Charles Kramer, Representative from California; Lawrence J. Connery, Representative from Massachusetts; John F. Dockweiler, Representative from California; William B. Barry, Representative from New York; James M. Fitzpatrick, Representative from New York; John H. Kerr, Representative from North Carolina; John McGroarty, Representative from California; Millard F. Caldwell, Representative from Florida; Herman P. Eberharter, Representative from Pennsylvania; James J. Lanzetta, Representative from New York; J. Harold Flannery, Representative from Pennsylvania; C. Arthur Anderson, Representative from Missouri; Charles F. McLaughlin, Representative from Nebraska; Maury Maverick, Representative from Texas; Patrick J. Boland, Representative from Pennsylvania; Eugene J. Keogh, Representative from New York; Martin L. Sweeney, Representative from Ohio; Edward A. Kenney, Representative from New Jersey; C. Jasper Bell, Representative from Missouri; James F. O'Connor, Representative from Montana; William J. Fitzgerald, Representative from Connecticut; James M. Mead, Representative from New York; William I. Sirovich, Representative from New York; Robert L. Mouton, Representative from Louisiana; John J. Cochran, Representative from Missouri; Mathew J. Merritt, Representative from New York; Edward L. O'Neill, Representative from New Jersey; George B. Kelly, Representative from New York; Robert L. Doughton, Representative from North Carolina; Thomas O'Malley, Representative from Wisconsin; Michael J. Bradley, Representative from Pennsylvania; Leon Sacks, Representative from Pennsylvania; Virginia E. Jenckes, Representative from Indiana; Fred L. Crawford, Representative from Michigan; Bert Lord, Representative from New York; Wilburn Cartwright, Representative from Oklahoma; Edward C. Eicher, Representative from Iowa; William P. Lambertson, Representative from Kansas; J. Will Taylor, Representative from Tennessee; Paul W. Shafer, Representative from Michigan; Braswell D. Deen, Representative from Georgia; Frank W. Fries; Representative from Illinois; John McSweeney, Representative from Ohio; John Luecke, Representative from Michigan; Richard M. Simpson, Representative from Pennsylvania; Sam D. McReynolds, Representative from Tennessee; A. J. Elliott, Representative from California; U. S. Guyer, Representative from Kansas; Walter M. Pierce, Representative from Oregon; Sam C. Massingale, Representative from Oklahoma; John J. Sparkman, Representative from Alabama; Benjamin Jarrett, Representative from Pennsylvania; Charles A. Wolverton, Representative from New Jersey; Frank Carlson, Representative from Kansas; John E. Rankin, Representative from Mississippi; James C. Oliver, Representative from Maine; Fred J. Douglas, Representative from New York; William L. Nelson, Representative from Missouri; William M. Whittington, Representative from Mississippi; John R. Murdock, Representative from Arizona; J. Mark Wilcox, Representative from Florida; Andrew J. Transue, Representative from Michigan; A. Leonard Allen, Representative from Louisiana; Anthony A. Fleger, Representative from Ohio; James A. Shanley, Representative from Connecticut; Martin J. Kennedy, Representative from New York; Frank J. G. Dorsey, Representative from Pennsylvania; Joseph A Gavagan, Representative from New York; Marcellus H. Evans, Representative from New York; Arthur D. Healey, Representative from Massachusetts; Andrew L. Somers, Representative from New York; Emmet O'Neal, Representative from Kentucky; John J. Dempsey, Representative from New Mexico; J. Burrwood Daly, Representative from Pennsylvania; Laurence F. Arnold, Representative from Illinois; T. Alan Goldsborough, Representative from Maryland; Stephen W. Gambrill, Representative from Maryland; John H. Tolan, Representative from California; Charles L. Gifford, Representative from Massachusetts; Hugh M. Rigney, Representative from Illinois; John G. Dingell, Representative from Michigan; H. P. Kopplemann, Representative from Connecticut; J. Hardin Peterson, Representative from Florida; John W. Boehne, Jr., Representative from Indiana; George H. Mahon, Representative from Texas; Thomas G. Burch, Representative from Virginia; Herron Pearson, Representative from Tennessee; Clarence F. Lea, Representative from California; Allen T. Treadway, Representative from Massachusetts; Arthur W. Mitchell, Representative from Illinois; Henry G. Teigan, Representative from Minnesota; Jerry J. O'Connell, Representative from Montana; William Lemke, Representative from North Dakota; Frank W. Tobey, Jr., Representative from New Jersey; William M. Citron, Representative from Connecticut; Thomas H. Cullen, Representative from New York; Edward W. Curley, Representative from New York; Caroline O'Day, Representative from New York; Peter J. De Muth, Representative from Pennsylvania; Claude A. Fuller, Representative from Arkansas; Albert Thomas, Representative from Texas; Vincent Harrington, Representative from Iowa; Arthur B. Jenks, Representative from New Hampshire; Clyde L. Garrett, Representative from Texas; A. Willis Robertson, Representative from Virginia; Melvin J. Maas, Representative from Minnesota; David J. Lewis, Representative from Maryland; Don Gingery, Representative from Pennsylvania; Elmer J. Ryan, Representative from Minnesota; Hugh Peterson, Representative from Georgia; Brooks Fletcher, Representative from Ohio; Edwin V. Champion, Representative from Illinois; Otha D. Wearin, Representative from Iowa; Richard B. Wigglesworth, Representative from Massachusetts; Dow W. Harter, Representative from Ohio; James I. Farley, Representative from Indiana; August H. Andresen, Representative from Minnesota; Leonard W. Schuetz, Representative from Illinois; Knute Hill, Representative from Washington; D. Lane Powers, Representative from New Jersey; Chester Thompson, Representative from Illinois; J. W. Robinson, Representative from Utah; James A. Meeks, Representative from Illinois; Clifford R. Hope, Representative from Kansas; William J. Driver, Representative from Arkansas; George W. Johnson, Representative from West Virginia; Samuel B. Pettengill, Representative from Indiana; John J. McGrath, Representative from California; Michael K. Reilly, Representative from Wisconsin; René L. DeRouen, Representative from Louisiana; James G. Scrugham, Representative from Nevada; Jesse P. Wolcott, Representative from Michigan; Clarence E. Hancock, Representative from New York; Sol Bloom, Representative from New York; Daniel A. Reed, Representative from New York; William B. Umstead, Representative from North Carolina; Ross A. Collins, Representative from Mississippi; Harold Knutson, Representative from Minnesota; Jed Johnson, Representative from Oklahoma; E. E. Cox, Representative from Georgia; Frank Crowther, Representative from New York; Thomas A. Jenkins, Representative from Ohio; Fred C. Gilchrist, Representative from Iowa; Abe Murdock, Representative from Utah; Roy O. Woodruff, Representative from Michigan; W. D. McFarlane, Representative from Texas; William H. Sutphin, Representative from New Jersey; Theron McCampbell, Representative from New Jersey; Charles G. Binderup, Representative from Nebraska; Bertrand W. Gearhart, Representative from California; Frank H. Buck, Representative from California; Hamilton Fish, Representative from New York; Charles A. Plumley, Representative from Vermont; Pete Jarman, Representative from Alabama; John A. Martin, Representative from Colorado; Finly H. Gray, Representative from Indiana; William R. Thom, Representative from Ohio; Francis H. Case, Representative from South Dakota; Paul Brown, Representative from Georgia; Edward V. Izac, Representative from California.

Governors of States and others: M. Clifford Townsend, Governor of Indiana; Elmer A. Benson, Governor of Minnesota; Charles H. Martin, Governor of Oregon; Cornelius D. Scully, mayor of Pittsburgh; William Langer, Governor of North Dakota; Samuel Wilder King, Delegate from Hawaii; George W. Freyermuth, mayor of South Bend; John L. Carey, mayor of Dearborn; Henry Horner, Governor of Illinois; R. W. Leche, Governor of Louisiana; Leslie Jensen, Governor of South Dakota; Barzilla W. Clark, Governor of Idaho; Charles L. Dunn, mayor of Northampton; John Boyd Thacher, 2d, mayor of Albany; Harry W. Nice, Governor of Maryland; George C. Perry, Governor of Virginia; George A. Quigley, mayor of New Britain; James V. Allred, Governor of Texas; Olin D.

Johnston, Governor of South Carolina; George D. Aiken, Governor of Vermont; Harold G. Hoffman, Governor of New Jersey; Robert E. Quinn, Governor of Rhode Island; Albert B. Chandler, Governor of Kentucky; Lloyd C. Stark, Governor of Missouri; Gorden Browning, Governor of Tennessee; Theodore Roosevelt, son of the late President Theodore Roosevelt, and former Governor General of the Philippines; Joseph Gurn, biographer of Commodore John Barry, father of the American Navy, and Charles Carroll, of Carrollton; Edward J. Kelly, mayor of Chicago; Leslie A. Miller, Governor of Wyoming; William Griffin, editor and publisher of the New York Enquirer, and American member of the Permanent United States-Polish Arbitration Commission.

A New Order of the Ages

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SHERMAN MINTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARMISTICE DAY ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the address delivered by the President of the United States at Arlington National Cemetery on Armistice Day, November 11, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On this day, which commemorates the end of fighting between human beings in a World War, it is permissible for me to search far back in the history of civilization in order to visualize important trends.

On the great seal of the United States, which for a century and a half has reposed in the loving care of a long line of Secretaries of State of the United States, appear these words, "Novus ordo seclorum," which means, "A new order of the ages."

In almost every century since the day that recorded history began people have thought that they were creating or establishing some kind of "new order of the ages."

But in the scheme of civilization from which ours descends I suppose that we can properly recognize that in 2,500 years there have been only a very few "new orders" in the development of human living under a thing called government.

Without question, the philosophy of orderly government in which the governed had some form of voice in a civilized society goes back to the days of ancient Greece. We must remember, however, that while the philosophy of democracy was there first expressed in words and on paper the practice of it was by no means consistent, and was confined to a relatively small number of human beings and to a relatively small geographical area.

We came to the age of Rome—an age of a strange admixture of elections and laws and military conquest and personal dictatorship. It was an age which extended the civilization of the period to the greater part of the then known world. It was an age which forced its own conception of laws and ways of life on millions of less civilized people who previously had lived under tribal custom or centralized direction. Definitely, Rome was an age.

With Rome's collapse and the overrunning of Europe by vast population movements from farther east, orderly progress deteriorated, and the sword drove learning into hiding. That dark period could hardly be called an age because it was an interim between ages.

Then, with the reawakening of a thousand years ago, with the Crusades, the feudal system, the guilds, the kings, and the Renaissance, that age which immediately preceded our own was born and grew and flourished. That was an era of enormous distinction—arts and literature and education and exploration—marching armies, barons, and empires. Human security was still nonexistent—democracy was not permitted.

Toward its close, however, the appearance of tiny movements in tiny places, led by tiny people forecast the next vast step forward—the era of 1776—the age in which, thank God, we still live.

Those beginnings originated, it is true, in the old world—among the philosophers, among the seekers of many kinds of freedom forbidden by those who governed.

Those beginnings found their freest development in the colonies that were organized along the seaboard of North America. There, by the processes of trial and error, democracy as it has since been accepted in so many lands, had its birth and its training.

There came into being the first far-flung government in all the world whose cardinal principle was democracy—the United States of America.

We must accept that as fact because, truly and fundamentally, it was a new order—nothing like it had ever been seen before. We must accept it because the new order spread into almost every part of the civilized world. It spread in many forms, and over the next century almost all peoples had acquired some form of popular expression of opinion, some form of election, of franchise, of the right to be heard. The Americas and the British Isles led the world in spreading the gospel of democracy among peoples great and small.

And the world as a whole felt with much right that it had discarded feudalism, conquest, and dictatorship.

People felt that way until 1914, when a definite effort was made in a part of the world to destroy this existing "new order of the ages"—to destroy it after its relatively short trial and to substitute for it the doctrine that might makes right. The attempt failed 22 years ago today.

You and I who served in the period of the World War have faced in later years unpatriotic efforts by some of our own countrymen to make us believe that the sacrifices made by our own Nation were wholly in vain.

A hundred years from now historians will brand such efforts as puny and false.

A hundred years from now historians will say rightly that the World War preserved the new order of the ages for at least a whole generation—a full 20 years—and that if the Axis of 1918 had been successful in military victory over the associated nations resistance on behalf of democracy in 1940 would have been wholly impossible.

America therefore is proud of its share in maintaining the era of democracy in that war in which we took part. America is proud of you who served—and ever will be proud.

I, for one, do not believe that the era of democracy in human affairs can or will be snuffed out in our lifetime. I, for one, do not believe that mere force will be successful in sterilizing the seeds which had taken such firm root as a harbinger of better lives for mankind. I, for one, do not believe that the world will revert either to a modern form of ancient slavery or to controls vested in modern feudalism or modern emperors or modern dictators or modern oligarchs in these days. The very people under their iron heels will themselves rebel.

What are a few months or even a few years in the lifetime of any of us? We, alive today, live and think in terms of our grandparents, and our own parents, and ourselves, and our children—yes; and our grandchildren. We, alive today—not in the existant democracies alone but also among the populations of the smaller nations already overrun—are thinking in the larger terms of the maintenance of the new order to which we have been accustomed and in which we intend to continue.

We recognize certain facts of 1940 which did not exist in 1918—a need for the elimination of aggressive armaments; a need for the breaking down of barriers in a more closely knitted world; a need for restoring honor in the written and spoken word. We recognize that the processes of democracies must be greatly improved in order that we may attain those purposes.

But over and above the present we recognize and salute the eternal verities that lie with us in the future of mankind.

You, the men of 1917 and 1918, helped to preserve those truths of democracy for our generation.

We still unite, we still strive mightily to preserve intact that new order of the ages founded by the fathers of America.

Loyal Opposition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN R. AUSTIN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 18 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ADDRESS BY WENDELL WILLKIE, NOVEMBER 11, 1940

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of Mr. Willkie's Loyal Opposition address, which was delivered on Armistice Day, November 11, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

People of America, 22 years ago today a great conflict raging on the battlefields of Europe came to an end. The guns were silent. A new era of peace began and for that era the people of our western world—our democratic world—held the highest hopes.

Those hopes have not been fulfilled. The democratic way of life did not become stronger—it became weaker. The spirit of constitutional government flickered like a dying lamp, and within the last year or so the light from that lamp has disappeared entirely from the Continent of Europe.

We in America watched darkness fall upon Europe, and, as we watched, there approached an important time for us—the national election of 1940.

In that election, and in our attitudes after that election, the rest of the world would see an example of democracy in action—an example of a great people faithful to their Constitution and to their elected representatives.

GAVE HOPE TO MILLIONS

The campaign preceding this election stirred us deeply. Millions upon millions of us who had never been active in politics took part in it. The people flocked to the polling places in greater numbers than ever before in history.

Nearly 50,000,000 people exercised on November 5 the right of the franchise—the precious right which we inherited from our forefathers, and which we must cherish and pass on to future generations.

Thus it came about that, although constitutional government had been blotted out elsewhere, here men and women kept it triumphantly alive.

No matter which side you were on, on that day, remember that this great free expression of our faith in the free system of government must have given hope to millions upon millions of others—on the heroic island of Britain—in the ruined cities of France and Belgium—yes; perhaps even to people in Germany and Italy. It has given hope wherever man hopes to be free.

In the campaign preceding this election, serious issues were at stake. People became bitter. Many things were said, which, in calmer moments, might have been left unsaid or might have been worded more thoughtfully.

But we Americans know that the bitterness is a distortion, not a true reflection of what is in our hearts. I can truthfully say that there is no bitterness in mine. I hope there is none in yours.

OWE HIM RESPECT

We have elected Franklin Roosevelt President. He is your President. He is my President. We all of us owe him the respect due to his high office. We give him that respect. We will support him with our best efforts for our country. And we pray that God may guide his hand during the next 4 years in the supreme task of administering the affairs of the people.

It is a fundamental principle of the democratic system that the majority rules. The function of the minority, however, is equally fundamental. It is about the function of that minority—22,000,000 people, nearly half of our electorate, that I wish to talk to you tonight.

A vital element in the balanced operation of democracy is a strong, alert, and watchful opposition. That is our task for the next 4 years. We must constitute ourselves a vigorous, loyal, and public-spirited opposition party.

It has been suggested that in order to present a united front to a threatening world, the minority should now surrender its convictions and join the majority. This would mean that in the United States of America there would be only one dominant party; only one economic philosophy; only one political philosophy of life. This is a totalitarian idea; it is a slave idea; it must be rejected utterly.

The British people are unified with a unity almost unexampled in history for its endurance and its valor. Yet that unity coexists with an unimpaired freedom of criticism and of suggestion.

REJECTS COALITION IDEAS

In the continual debates of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, all of the Government's policies—its taxation, its expenditures, its military and naval policies, its basic economic policies—are brought under steady, friendly, loyal, critical review. Britain survives, free. Let us Americans choose no lesser freedom.

In Britain some opposition party leaders are members of the government and some say that a similar device should be adopted here. That is a false conception of our Government. When a leader of the British Liberal Party or of the British Labor Party becomes a member of the Churchill Cabinet, he becomes—from the British parliamentary point of view—an equal of Mr. Churchill's.

This is because the British Cabinet is a committee of the Houses of Parliament. It is a committee of equals, wherein the Prime Minister is chairman, a lofty chairman, and yet a chairman. The other members are his colleagues.

With us the situation is different. Our executive branch is not a committee of our Congress. The members of his Cabinet are not his colleagues. They are his administrative subordinates. They are subject to his orders.

An American President could fill his whole Cabinet with leaders of the opposition party and still our administration would not be a two-party administration. It would be an administration of a majority President giving orders to minority representatives of his own choosing. These representatives must concur in the President's convictions. If they do not they have no alternative except to resign.

SHADOW OF UNITY

Clearly no such device can give us in this country any self respecting agreement between majority and minority for concerted effort toward the national welfare. Such a plan for us would be but the shadow—not the substance of unity.

Our American unity cannot be made with words or gestures. It must be forged between the ideas of the opposition and the practices and policies of the administration. Ours is a government of principles and not one merely of men. Any member of the minority party, though willing to die for his country, still retains the right to criticize the policies of the Government. This right is imbedded in our constitutional system.

We who stand ready to serve our country behind our Commander in Chief, nevertheless retain the right, and I will say the duty, to debate the course of our Government. Ours is a two-party system. Should we ever permit one party to dominate our lives entirely democracy would collapse and we would have dictatorship.

Therefore to you who have so sincerely given yourselves to this cause, which you chose me to lead, I say: "Your function during the next 4 years is that of the loyal opposition." You believe deeply in the principles that we stood for in the recent campaign. And principles are not like football suits to be put on in order to play a game and then taken off when the game is over.

It is your constitutional duty to debate the policies of this or any other administration and to express yourselves freely and openly to those who represent you in your State and National Governments.

Let me raise a single warning. Ours is a very powerful opposition. On November 5 we were a minority by only a few million votes. Let us not, therefore, fall into the partisan error of opposing things just for the sake of opposition. Ours must not be an opposition against—it must be an opposition for—an opposition for a strong America, a productive America. For only the productive can be strong and only the strong can be free.

OUTLINES PRINCIPLES

Let me remind you of some of the principles for which we fought and which we hold as sincerely today as we did yesterday.

We do not believe in unlimited spending of borrowed money; the piling up of bureaucracy; the control of our electorate by political machines, however successful; the usurpation of powers reserved to Congress; the subjugation of the courts; the concentration of enormous authority in the hands of the Executive; the discouragement of enterprise; and the continuance of economic dependence for millions of our citizens upon Government. Nor do we believe in verbal provocation to war.

We stand for a free America—an America of opportunity created by the enterprise and imagination of its citizens. We believe that this is the only kind of an America in which democracy can in the long run exist. This is the only kind of an America that offers hope for our youth and expanding life for all our people.

Under our philosophy the primary purpose of government is to serve its people and to keep them from hurting one another. For this reason our Federal Government has regulatory laws and commissions.

For this reason we must fight for the rights of labor, for assistance to the farmer, and for protection for the unemployed, the aged, and the physically handicapped.

But while our Government must thus regulate and protect us, it must not dominate our lives. We, the people, are the masters. We, the people, must build this country. And we, the people, must hold our elected representatives responsible to us for the care they take of our national credit, our democratic institutions, and the fundamental laws of our land.

It is in the light of these principles and not of petty partisan politics that our opposition must be conducted. It is in the light of these principles that we must join in debate, without selfishness and without fear.

Let me take as an example the danger that threatens us through our national debt.

Two days after the election this administration recommended that the national debt limit be increased from $49,000,000,000 to $65,000,000,000.

SIGN OF FEVER

Immediately after that announcement prices on the New York Stock Exchange and other exchanges jumped sharply upward. This is not a sign of health but a sign of fever. Those who are familiar with these things agree that the announcement of the Treasury indicated a danger—sooner or later—of inflation.

You all know what inflation means. You have lately watched its poisonous course in Europe. It means a rapid decline in the purchasing power of money—a decline in what the dollar will buy. Stated the other way around, inflation means a rise in the price of everything—food, rent, clothing, amusements, automobiles—necessities and luxuries. Invariably these prices rise faster than wages, with the result that the workers suffer and the standard of living declines.

No man can say exactly how big the national debt can become before causing serious inflation. But some sort of limit certainly exists beyond which lies financial chaos. Such chaos would inevitably mean the loss of our social gains, the destruction of our savings, the ruin of every little property owner, and the creation of vast unemployment and hardships. It would mean, finally, the rise of dictatorship. Those have been the results of financial collapse in every country in the history of the world. The only way that we can avoid them is to remain sound and solvent.

It is not incumbent upon any American to remain silent concerning such a danger. I shall not be silent and I hope you will not be. This is one of your functions as a minority. But in fulfilling our duties as an opposition party we must be careful to be constructive. We must help to show the way.

Thus, in order to counteract the threat of inflation and to correct some of our economic errors, we can offer five steps for our Government to take immediately.

First, all Federal expenditures except those for national defense and necessary relief ought to be cut to the bone. Work relief, obviously, has to be maintained, but every effort should be made to substitute for relief productive jobs.

"PAY AS YOU GO" TAXES

Second, the building of new plants and new machinery for the defense program should be accomplished as far as possible by private capital. There should be no nationalizing under the guise of defense of any American industry, with a consequent outlay of Federal funds.

Third, taxes should be levied so as to approach as nearly as possible the pay-as-you-go plan. Obviously we cannot hope to pay for all the defense program as we go. But we must do our best. That is part of the sacrifice that we must make.

Fourth, taxes and Government restrictions should be adjusted to take the brakes off private enterprise so as to give it freedom, under wise regulation, to release new investments and new energies and thus increase the national income. I do not believe we can hope to bear the debt and taxes arising out of this defense program with a national income of less than $100,000,000,000, except by lowering the standard of living of every man and woman who works. This $100,000,000,000 income can readily be produced if we free private enterprise—not for profiteering but for natural development.

Fifth and finally, our Government must change its punitive attitude toward both little and big businessmen. Regulations there must be—we of the opposition have consistently recommended that. But the day of witch hunting is over.

If this administration has the unity of America really at heart, it must consider without prejudice and with an open mind such recommendations of the opposition.

National unity can only be achieved by recognizing and giving serious weight to the viewpoint of the opposition. Such a policy can come only from the administration itself. It will be from the suppression of the opposition that discord and disunity will arise. The administration has the ultimate power to force us apart or to bind us together.

And now a word about the most important immediate task that confronts us. On this, all Americans are of one purpose. There is no disagreement among us about the defense of America. We stand united behind the defense program. But here particularly, as a minority party, our role is an important one. It is to be constantly watchful to see that America is effectively safeguarded and that the vast expenditure of funds which we have voted for that purpose is not wasted.

And, insofar as I have the privilege to speak for you, I express once more the hope that we help to maintain the rim of freedom in Britain and elsewhere by supplying those defenders with materials and equipment. This should be done to the limit of our ability but with due regard to our own defense.

On this point, I can say without boast that never in the history of American Presidential campaigns has a candidate gone further than I did in attempting to create a united front.

However, I believe that our aid should be given by constitutional methods and with the approval, accord, and ratification of Congress. Only thus can the people determine from time to time the course they wish to take and the hazards they wish to run.

Mr. Roosevelt and I both promised the people in the course of the campaign that if we were elected we would keep this country out of war unless attacked. Mr. Roosevelt was reelected and this solemn pledge for him I know will be fulfilled and I know the American people desire him to keep it sacred.

Since November 5 I have received thousands and thousands of letters—tens of thousands of them. I have personally read a great portion of these communications. I am profoundly touched. They come from all parts of our country, and from all kinds of people. They come from Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Gentiles, colored people and white people. They come from workers and farmers and clerks and businessmen—men and women of all the occupations that make up our American life.

All of these letters and telegrams, almost without exception, urge that the cause that we have been fighting for be carried on.

In your enthusiasm for our cause, you founded thousands of organizations. They are your own organizations, financed by you and directed by you. It is appropriate for you to continue them if you feel so inclined. I hope you do continue them.

It is not, however, appropriate to continue these organizations in my name. I do not want this great cause to be weakened by even a semblance of any personal advantage to any individual. I feel too deeply about it for that. Nineteen forty-four will take care of itself. It is of the very essence of my belief that democracy is fruitful of leadership.

I want to see all of us dedicate ourselves to the principles for which we fought. My fight for these principles has just begun. I shall advocate them in the future as ardently and as confidently as I have in the past. As Woodrow Wilson once said: "I would rather lose in a cause that I know some day will triumph than to triumph in a cause that I know some day will fail."

Whatever I may undertake in the coming years, I shall be working shoulder to shoulder with you for the defense of our free way of life, for the better understanding of our economic system and for the development of that new America whose vision lies within every one of us.

Meanwhile, let us be proud and happy in the fight we have made. We have brought our cause to the attention of the world.

Millions have welcomed it. As time goes on millions more will find in it the hope that they are looking for. We can go on from here with the words of Abraham Lincoln in our hearts: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds. . . . To do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves with all nations."

Good-night. And God bless every one of you.

War Hawks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, under the permission granted me, I present for printing in the RECORD one of a series of articles prepared by me entitled "War Hawks."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Through the press, over the radio, in the motion pictures, the people of the United States have been given war propaganda. Much of this is generated for the purpose of involving us. That is the stock in trade for the war hawks.

I have been trying to give the people the story of this propaganda drive. So much of it is an exact duplication of the propaganda of 1914–17.

We should have learned much from that tragedy, but I see the wave of war propaganda engulfing many people that should be standing their ground against involvement. Much of this propaganda is a result of war profits. It is not that the great majority of people caught in the current receive any profits, but they have been swept into the current by the few who are receiving blood money.

It is not unusual to hear persons relate some atrocity story they have heard or read. Many are similar to the stories of 1914–18. When one goes to the motion pictures it is not uncommon to hear some in the audience gasp and make remarks as they see propaganda, the purpose of which is to arouse hatred and sympathy, which, in turn, is to involve us in actual warfare.

Lord Northcliffe said after the World War that the United States, next to China, was the most gullible of any nation in the world. He laughed at us and called us suckers. That is what this leader of World War propaganda thought. Before this war Sidney Rogerson said of us that our Nation was "one of the few great countries where 'atrocity propaganda' will still be operative." Again the United States is getting more than its share of atrocity stories from the war capitals. It is impossible to determine the accuracy at the time, but the record of 1914–18 should not be forgotten.

PONSONBY EXPOSES FALSEHOODS

Arthur Ponsonby, member of the English Parliament, descendant of Earl Grey, well-known public official and author of Great Britain, exposed much of this type of propaganda in a book entitled "Falsehood in War Time." He stated that he did so in the hope that it would give the people in the future the story of how propaganda had been used in the last World War. In the introduction to this valuable book he said:

"The public can be worked up emotionally by sham ideals. A sort of collective hysteria spreads and rises until finally it gets the better of sober people and reputable newspapers.

"With a warning before them, the common people may be more on their guard when the war cloud next appears on the horizon and less disposed to accept as truth rumors, explanations, and pronouncements issued for their consumption. They should realize that a government which has decided on embarking on the hazardous and terrible enterprise of war must at the outset present a one-sided case in justification of its action, and cannot afford to admit in any particular whatever the smallest degree of right or reason on the part of the people it has made up its mind to fight. Facts must be distorted, relevant circumstances concealed, and a picture presented which by its crude coloring will persuade the ignorant people that their government is blameless, their cause is righteous, and that the indisputable wickedness of the enemy has been proved beyond question. A moment's reflection would tell any reasonable person that such obvious bias cannot possibly represent the truth. But the moment's reflection is not allowed; lies are circulated with great rapidity. The unthinking mass accept them and by their excitement sway the rest. The amount of rubbish and humbug that pass under the name of patriotism in wartime in all countries is sufficient to make decent people blush when they are subsequently disillusioned.

"At the outset the solemn asseverations of monarchs and leading statesmen in each nation that they did not want war must be placed on a par with the declarations of men who pour paraffin about a house knowing they are continually striking matches and yet assert they do not want a conflagration. This form of self-deception, which involves the deception of others, is fundamentally dishonest.

"War being established as a recognized institution to be resorted to when governments quarrel, the people are more or less prepared. They quite willingly delude themselves in order to justify their own actions. They are anxious to find an excuse for dis-

playing their patriotism, or they are disposed to seize the opportunity for the excitement and new life of adventure which war opens out to them. So there is a sort of national wink, everyone goes forward and the individual, in his turn, takes up lying as a patriotic duty. In the low standard of morality which prevails in wartime, such a practice appears almost innocent. His efforts are sometimes a little crude, but he does his best to follow the example set. Agents are employed by authority and encouraged in so-called propaganda work. The type which came prominently to the front in the broadcasting of falsehood at recruiting meetings is now well known. The fate which overtook at least one of the most popular of them in this country exemplifies the depth of degradation to which public opinion sinks in a war atmosphere.

"With eavesdroppers, letter openers, decipherers, telephone tappers, spies, an intercept department, a forgery department, a criminal investigation department, a propaganda department, an intelligence department, a censorship department, a ministry of information, a press bureau, and so forth, the various governments were well equipped to 'instruct' their peoples."

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE COMMITTEE

We have been subjected to these stories by college presidents, professors, ministers, and a large number of those in Who's Who. Many of them have enlisted for the duration of the war as propagandists, some knowingly, others unwittingly. The William Allen White committee is loaded with just such people. Again referring to Ponsonby, he said:

"Perhaps nothing did more to impress the public mind—and this is true in all countries—than the assistance given in propaganda by intellectuals and literary nobles. They were able to clothe the rough tissue of falsehood with phrases of literary merit and passages of eloquence better than the statesman. Sometimes by expressions of spurious impartiality, at other times by rhetorical indignation, they could by their literary skill give this or that lie the stamp of indubitable authenticity, even without the shadow of a proof, or incidentally refer to it as an accepted fact. The narrowest patriotism could be made to appear noble, the foulest accusations could be represented as an indignant outburst of humanitarianism, and the meanest and most vindictive aims falsely disguised as idealism. Everything was legitimate which could make the soldiers go on fighting.

"The frantic activity of ecclesiastics in recruiting by means of war propaganda made so deep an impression on the public mind that little comment on it is needed here. The few who courageously stood out became marked men. The resultant and significant loss of spiritual influence by the churches is, in itself, sufficient evidence of the reaction against the betrayal in time of stress of the most elementary precepts of Christianity by those specially entrusted with the moral welfare of the people.

"War is fought in this fog of falsehood, a great deal of it undiscovered and accepted as truth. The fog arises from fear and is fed by panic. Any attempt to doubt or deny even the most fantastic story has to be condemned at once as unpatriotic, if not traitorous. This allows a free field for the rapid spread of lies."

RECORD OF WAR PROPAGANDA

Today when some of us ask for the truth and ask for calm judgment, we are called pro-this and pro-that when we are interested in being truly American.

These "war hawks" are at work. They have been assured they will be protected. These "war hawks" won't fight the war. They will help make it. The boys who had nothing to do with it will have to do the dying.

Let's look at the record of the propaganda of 1914–18:

War propaganda stories increase as they are copied from paper to paper. For instance, Mr. Ponsonby gives this record:

"The Kolnische Zeitung said:

" 'When the fall of Antwerp got known, the church bells were rung.'

"Le Matin picked up the story and stated:

" 'According to the Kolnische Zeitung, the clergy of Antwerp were compelled to ring the church bells when the fortress was taken.'

"The Times then picked it up to say:

" 'According to what Le Matin has heard from Cologne, the Belgian priests who refused to ring the church bells when Antwerp was taken have been driven away from their places.'

"It continued to change as it appeared in the Corriere della Sera:

" 'According to what the Times has heard from Cologne via Paris, the unfortunate Belgian priests who refused to ring the church bells when Antwerp was taken have been sentenced to hard labor.'

"By the time it came back to Le Matin, we find the following:

" 'According to information to the Corriere della Sera from Cologne via London, it is confirmed that the barbaric conquerors of Antwerp punished the unfortunate Belgian priests for their heroic refusal to ring the church bells by hanging them as living clappers to the bells with their heads down.' "

So war stories increase, and many people believe them.

FAKED PHOTOGRAPHS

"Cameras do not lie" is a well-known expression, but in war propaganda they do.

Ponsonby in his book explains:

"To the uninitiated there is something substantially reliable in a picture obviously taken from a photograph. Nothing would seem to be more authentic than snapshot. It does not occur to anyone to question a photograph, and faked pictures therefore have special values, as they get a much better start than any mere statement, which may be criticized or denied. Only a long time after, if ever, can their falsity be detected. The faking of photographs must have amounted almost to an industry during the war. All countries were concerned, but the French were the most expert. Some of the originals have been collected and reproduced.

"Descriptions of a few of them may be given here:

"In Das Echo, October 29, 1914, there was a photograph of the German troops marching along a country road in Belgium.

"This was reproduced by Le Journal on November 26, 1914, under the title:

" 'LES ALLEMANDS EN RETRAITE

" 'Cette photographie fourn it une vision saisissante de ce que fut la retraite de Parmee due General von Hindenburg apres la Vistule.'

"A photograph taken by Karl Delius, of Berlin, showed the delivery of mail bags in front of the field post office Kavevara.

"This was reproduced in the Daily Mirror of December 3, 1915, with the title:

" 'MADE TO WASH THE HUNS' DIRTY LINEN

" 'The blond beasts are sweating the Serbians, who are made to do the washing for the invaders. Like most customers who do not settle their bills, they are full of grumbles and complaints. Here a pile has just arrived from the wash.'

"Several photographs were taken during the pogrom in Russia in 1906; some of these were circulated by Jews in America. One of these photographs represented a row of corpses with a crowd round them, and was reproduced in Le Miroir, November 14, 1915, with the title 'Les crimes des hordes allemandes en pologne.'

"Several others of these were similarly reproduced in newspapers. The Critica, a newspaper in the Argentine, exposed German atrocities by this means.

"A photograph was taken in Berlin of a crowd before the royal palace on July 13, 1914 (before the outbreak of war). This was reproduced in Le Monde Illustre, August 21, 1915, with the heading 'Enthousiasme et joie de barbares,' with an explanation that it was a demonstration to celebrate the sinking of the Lusitania.

"A photograph which appeared in the Berlin Tag, on August 13, 1914, represented a long queue of men with basins. Under it was written:

" 'How we treat interned Russian and French; lining up the interned before the distribution of food.'

This was reproduced in the Daily News on April 2, 1915, with the title:

" 'GERMAN WORKERS FEEL THE PINCH

" 'The above crowd lining up for rations is a familiar sight in Germany. It reveals one aspect of our naval power.'

"A photograph of German officers inspecting munition cases was reproduced by War Illustrated, January 30, 1915, as 'German officers pillaging chests in a French chateau.'

"A photograph of a German soldier bending over a fallen German comrade was reproduced in War Illustrated, April 17, 1915, with the title, 'Definite proof of the Hun's abuse of the rules of war. German ghoul actually caught in the act of robbing a Russian.'

"In the Berlin Lokalanzeiger of June 9, 1914, a photograph was published of three cavalry officers who had won cups and other trophies, which they are holding, at the Army steeplechase in the Grunewald.

"This was first reproduced in Wes Mir, a Russian newspaper, with the title 'The German Looters in Warsaw,' and also, on August 8, 1915, by the Daily Mirror with the title 'Three German Cavalrymen Loaded With Gold and Silver Loot.'

"Faked photographs were, of course, sent in great number to neutral countries.

"A German photograph of the town of Schwirwindt, after the Russian occupation, was reproduced in Illustreret Familieblad (Denmark) as 'A French City After a German Bombardment.'

"A photograph from Das Leben in Bild, in 1917, of three young German soldiers laughing, was entitled 'Home again. Three sturdy young Germans who succeeded in escaping from French imprisonment.'

"This came out in a Danish family paper on May 2, 1917, as 'Escaped from drumfire hell. Three German soldiers apparently very happy to have become French prisoners of war.'

"The citadel at Brest-Litovsk was fired by the retreating Russians, and a photograph appeared in Zeitbilder, September 5, 1915, showing Germans carrying out the corn in sacks.

This was reproduced in the Graphic, September 18, 1915, as 'German soldiers plundering a factory at Brest-Litovsk, which was fired by the retreating Russians.'

"Illustrated War News, December 29, 1915, gave a photograph of war trophies. A sergeant is holding up a sort of cat-o'-nine-tails whip.

" 'WHAT WAS IT USED FOR? A GERMAN WHIP AMONG A COLLECTION OF WAR TROPHIES

" 'These war trophies, captured from the Germans in Flanders, have been presented to the Irish Rifles by a sergeant. The presence of the whip is of curious significance.'

"The 'whip,' as a matter of fact, was an ordinary German carpet beater.

"A Russian film represented German nurses in the garb of religious sisters stabbing the wounded on the battlefield.

"A picture, not a photograph, which had a great circulation, was called Chemin de la gloire (the Road of Glory) in the Choses Vues (Things Seen) series.

"In the background is a cathedral in flames, a long road is strewn with bottles, and in the foreground is the body of a little boy impaled to the ground by a bayonet.

"But if pictures and caricatures were to be described there would be no end of it. Undoubtedly the cartoonist had a great influence in all countries, especially Raemakers and Punch. The unfortunate neutral countries were bombarded with them from both sides.

"A remarkable series of photographs was taken by a Mr. F. J. Mortimer, fellow of the Royal Photographic Society, and published in 1912. They were widely reproduced in illustrated periodicals. Among them was a photograph of the *Arden Craig* sinking off the Scilly Isles in January 1911. On March 31, 1917, a popular illustrated weekly devoted a page to 'Camera records of Prussian piracy,' and this particular photograph was reproduced in a succession of pictures to illustrate 'a windjammer torpedoed off the English coast by the criminally indiscriminate U-boat pirates.'

"Mr. Mortimer's photographs of British ships were also reproduced in Germany under the heading of 'Scenes from the German Navy.'

"On September 28, 1916, the Daily Sketch gave a photograph of a crowd of German prisoners under the heading 'Still they come!' 'Between 3,000 and 4,000 prisoners have been taken in the past 48 hours.' (Officials.)

"On October 10, 1918, the Daily Mirror reproduced precisely the same photograph, under which was printed: 'Just a very small portion of the Allies' unique collection of Hun war prisoners of the 1918 season.' "

Some of the other stories exposed by Ponsonby follow:

" 'THE CORPSE FACTORY

" 'A series of extracts will give the record of one of the most revolting lies invented during the war, the dissemination of which throughout not only this country but the world was encouraged and connived at by both the government and the press. It started in 1917 and was not finally disposed of till 1925.'

"(Most of the quotations given are from the Times. The references in the lower strata of the press, it will be remembered, were far more lurid.)

" 'One of the United States consuls, on leaving Germany in February 1917, stated in Switzerland that the Germans were distilling glycerine from the bodies of their dead.' (The Times, April 16, 1917.)

" 'Herr Karl Rosner, the correspondent of the Berlin Lokalanzeiger, on the Western Front * * * published last Tuesday the first definite German admission concerning the way in which the Germans used dead bodies.

" 'We pass through Everingcourt. There is a dull smell in the air as if lime were being burnt. We are passing the great corpse exploitation establishment (kadaververwerungsanstalt) of this army group. The fat that is won here is turned into lubricating oils, and everything else is ground down in the bone mill into a powder which is used for mixing with pig's food and as manure—nothing can be permitted to go to waste.' (The Times, April 16, 1917.)

"There was a report in the Times of April 17, 1917, from La Belgique (Leyden), via l'Independance Belge, for April 10, giving a very long and detailed account of a Deutsche Abfallverwertungsgesellschaft factory near Coblenz, where trainloads of the stripped bodies of German soldiers, wired into bundles, arrive and are simmered down in caldrons, the products being stearine and refined oil.

"In the Times of April 18, 1917, there was a letter from C. E. Bunbury commenting and suggesting the use of the story for propaganda purposes in neutral countries and the east, where it would be especially calculated to horrify Buddhists, Hindus, and Mohammedans. He suggests broadcasting by the Foreign Office, India Office, and Colonial Office. There were other letters to the same effect on April 19.

"In the Times of April 20, 1917, there was a story told by Sergeant B——, of the Kents, that a prisoner had told him that the Germans boil down their dead for munitions and pig and poultry food. 'This fellow told me that Fritz calls his margarine "corpse fat" because they suspect that's what it comes from.'

"The Times stated that it had received a number of letters 'questioning the translation of the German word "Kadaver" and suggesting that it is not used of human bodies. As to this, the best authorities are agreed that it is also used of the bodies of animals.'

"There was an article in the Lancet discussing the 'business aspect' (or rather the technical one) of the industry. An expression of horror appeared from the Chinese Minister in London and also from the Maharajah of Bikanir in the Times of April 21, 1917.

"The Times of April 23, 1917, quotes a German statement that the report is 'loathsome and ridiculous' and that Kadaver is never used of a human body. The Times produces dictionary quotations to show that it is. Also that both Tierkorpermehl and Kadavermehl appear in German official catalogs, the implication being that they must be something different.

"In the Times of April 24, 1917, there was a letter, signed E. H. Parker, enclosing copy of the North China Herald, March 3, 1917, recounting an interview between the German Minister and the Chinese Premier in Pekin:

" 'But the matter was clinched when Admiral von Hinke was dilating upon the ingenious methods by which German scientists were obtaining chemicals necessary for the manufacture of munitions. The admiral triumphantly stated that they were extracting glycerine out of their dead soldiers. From that moment onward the horrified Premier had no more use for Germany, and the business of persuading him to turn against her became comparatively easy.'

"The following questions in Parliament show the Government evading the issue, although they knew there was not a particle of authentic evidence for the report—a good instance of the official method of spreading falsehood.

"Mr. Ronald McNeill asked the Prime Minister if he will take steps to make it known as widely as possible in Egypt, India, and the East generally that the Germans use the dead bodies of their own soldiers and of their enemies, when they obtain possession of them, as food for swine.

"Mr. Dillon asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the reports widely circulated in this country that the German Government have set up factories for extracting fat from the bodies of soldiers killed in battle; whether these reports have been endorsed by many prominent men in this country, including Lord Curzon of Kedleston; whether the Government have any solid grounds for believing that these statements are well founded; and if so, whether he will communicate the information at the disposal of the Government to the House.

" 'LORD R. CECIL. With respect to this question and that standing in the name of the honorable member for East Mayo, the Government have no information at present beyond that contained in extracts from the German press which have been published in the press here. In view of other actions by German military authorities, there is nothing incredible in the present charge against them. His Majesty's Government have allowed the circulation of facts as they have appeared through the usual channels.

" 'Mr. MCNEIL. Can the right honorable gentlemen answer whether the Government will take any steps to give wide publicity in the east to this story emanating from German sources?

" 'LORD R. CECIL. I think at present it is not desirable to take any other steps than those that have been taken.

" 'Mr. DILLON. May I ask whether we are to conclude from that answer that the Government have no solid evidence whatever in proof of the truth of this charge, and they have taken no steps to investigate it; and has their attention been turned to the fact that it is not only a gross scandal but a very great evil to this country to allow the circulation of such statements, authorized by Ministers of the Crown, if they are, as I believe them to be, absolutely false?

" 'LORD R. CECIL. The honorable member has, perhaps, information that we have not. I can only speak from statements that have been published in the press. I have already told the House that we have no other information whatever. The information is the statement that has been published and that I have before me (quoting Times quotation from Lokalanzeiger). This statement has been published in the press, and that is the whole of the information that I have.

" 'Mr. DILLON. Has the noble lord's attention been drawn to the fact that there have been published in the Frankfurter Zeitung and other leading German newspapers descriptions of this whole process, in which the word "Kadaver" is used, and from which it is perfectly manifest that these factories are for the purpose of boiling down the dead bodies of horses and other animals which are lying on the battlefield—(an honorable member: "Human animals!"—and I ask the right honorable gentleman whether the Government propose to take any steps to obtain authentic information whether this story that has been circulated is true or absolutely false. For the credit of human nature, he ought to.

" 'LORD R. CECIL. It is not any part of the duties of the Government, nor is it possible for the Government, to institute inquiries as to what goes on in Germany. The honorable member is surely very unreasonable in making the suggestion, and as for his quotations from the Frankfurter Zeitung, I have not seen them, but I have seen statements made by the German Government after the publication of this, and I confess that I am not able to attach very great importance to any statements made by the German Government.

" 'Mr. DILLON. I beg to ask the right honorable gentleman whether, before a Minister of the Crown, a member of the war Cabinet, gives authorization to these rumours, he ought not to have obtained accurate information as to whether they are true or not.

" 'LORD R. CECIL. I think any Minister of the Crown is entitled to comment on and refer to something which has been published in one of the leading papers of the country. He only purported to do that, and did not make himself responsible for the statement (an honorable member: "He did!"). I am informed that he did not. He said: "As has been stated in the papers."

" 'Mr. OUTHWAITE. May I ask if the noble lord is aware that the circulation of these reports (interruption) has caused anxiety and misery to British people who have lost their sons on the battlefield, and who think that their bodies may be put to this purpose, and does not that give a reason why he should try to find out the truth of what is happening in Germany?' (House of Commons, April 30, 1917.)

"In the Times of May 3, 1917, there were quotations from the Frankfurter Zeitung stating that the French press is now treating the Kadaver story as a 'misunderstanding.'

"The Times of May 17, 1917, reported that Herr Zimmermann denied in the Reichstag that human bodies were used; and stated that the story appeared first in the French press.

"In reply to a question in the House of Commons on May 23rd, Mr. A. Chamberlain stated that the report would be 'available to the public in India through the usual channels.'

"A corpse factory cartoon appeared in Punch:

" 'Kaiser (to 1917 recruit): "And don't forget that your Kaiser will find a use for you alive or dead." ' (At the enemy's establishment for the utilization of corpses the dead bodies of German soldiers are treated chemically, the chief commercial products being lubricant oils and pig food.)

"View of the corpse factory out of the window.

"The story had a world-wide circulation and had considerable propaganda value in the East. Not till 1925 did the truth emerge.

" 'A painful impression has been produced here by an unfortunate speech of Brigadier General Charteris at the dinner of the National Arts Club, in which he professed to tell the true story of the war-time report that Germany was boiling down the bodies of her dead soldiers in order to get fats for munitions and fertilizers.

" 'According to General Charteris, the story began as propaganda for China. By transposing the caption from one of two photographs found on German prisoners to the other he gave the impression that the Germans were making a dreadful use of their own dead soldiers. This photograph he sent to a Chinese newspaper in Shanghai. He told the familiar story of its later republication in England and of the discussion it created there. He told, too, how, when a question put in the House was referred to him, he answered it by saying that from what he knew of German mentality, he was prepared for anything.

" 'Later, said General Charteris, in order to support the story, what purported to be the diary of a German soldier was forged in his office. It was planned to have this discovered on a dead German by a war correspondent with a passion for German diaries, but the plan was never carried out. The diary is now in the war museum in London.' (The Times, October 22, 1925. From New York correspondent.)

"Some opinions of politicians may be given:

" 'LLOYD GEORGE. The story came under my notice in various ways at the time. I did not believe it then, I do not believe it now. It was never adopted as part of the armoury of the British propaganda department. It was, in fact, "turned down" by that department.

" 'Mr. MASTERMAN. We certainly did not accept the story as true, and I know nobody in official positions at the time who credited it. Nothing as suspect as this was made use of in our propaganda. Only such information as had been properly verified was circulated.

" 'Mr. I. MACPHERSON. I was at the War Office at the time. We had no reason to doubt the authenticity of the story when it came through. It was supported by the captured divisional orders of the German Army in France, and I have an impression it was also backed up by the Foreign Office on the strength of extracts from the German press. We did not know that it had been invented by anybody, and had we known there was the slightest doubt about the truth of the story, it would not have been used in any way by us.

" 'A New York correspondent describes how he rang General Charteris up, and inquired the truth of the report and suggested that, if untrue, he should take it up with the New York Times.

" 'On this he protested vigorously that he could not think of challenging the report, as the mistakes were only of minor importance.' (Daily News, November 5, 1925.)

"There was a Times article on the same subject quoting the New York Times' assertion of the truth of their version of the speech:

" 'This paper makes the significant observation that in the course of his denial he offered no comment on his reported admission that he avoided telling the truth when questioned about the matter in the House of Commons, or on his own description of a scheme to support the corpse factory story by "planting" a forged diary in the clothing of a dead German prisoner—a proposal which he only abandoned lest the deception might be discovered.

" 'Brigadier General Charteris, who returned from America at the week end, visited the War Office yesterday and had an interview with the Secretary of State for War (Sir Laming Worthington-Evans) concerning the reports of his speech on war propaganda in New York. It is understood that the War Office now regard the incident as closed and that no further inquiry is likely to be held.

" 'General Charteris left for Scotland later in the day and on arrival in Glasgow issued the following statement:

" ' "On arrival in Scotland I was surprised to find that, in spite of the repudiation issued by me at New York through Reuter's agency, some public interest was still excited in the entirely incorrect report of my remarks at a private dinner in New York. I feel it necessary therefore to give again a categorical denial to the statement attributed to me. Certain suggestions and speculations as regards the origins of the Kadaver story, which have already been published in These Eventful Years (British Encyclopaedia Press) and elsewhere, which I repeated, are, doubtless unintentionally, but nevertheless unfortunately, turned into definite statements of fact and attributed to me.

" ' "Lest there should still be any doubt, let me say that I neither invented the Kadaver story nor did I alter the captions in any photographs, nor did I use faked material for propaganda purposes. The allegations that I did so are not incorrect but absurd, as propaganda was in no way under G. H. Q., France, where I had charge of the Intelligence Services. I should be as interested as the general public to know what was the true origin of the Kadaver story. G. H. Q., France, only came in when a fictitious diary supporting the Kadaver story was submitted. When this diary was discovered to be fictitious, it was at once rejected.

" ' "I have seen the Secretary of State this morning and have explained the whole circumstances to him and have his authority to say that he is perfectly satisfied." ' (The Times, November 4, 1925.)

"Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy asked the Secretary of State for War if, in view of the feeling aroused in Germany by the recrudescence of the rumors of the so-called corpse conversion factory behind the German lines in the late war, he can give any information as to the source of the original rumor and the extent to which it was accepted by the War Office at the time.

" 'Sir L. WORTHINGTON-EVANS. At this distance of time I do not think that the source of the rumor can be traced with any certainty. The statement that the Germans had set up a factory for the conversion of dead bodies first appeared on April 10, 1917, in the Lokalanzeiger, published in Berlin, and in l'Independance Belge and La Belgique, two Belgian newspapers published in France and Holland. The statements were reproduced in the press here, with the comment that it was the first German admission concerning the way in which the Germans used their dead bodies.'

"Questions were asked in the House of Commons on April 30, 1917, and the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs replied on behalf of the Government that he had then no information beyond that contained in the extract from the German press. But shortly afterward a German Army order containing instructions for the delivery of dead bodies to the establishments described in the Lokalanzeiger was captured in France and forwarded to the War Office, who, after careful consideration, permitted it to be published.

"The terms of this order were such that, taken in conjunction with the articles in the Lokalanzeiger and in the two Belgian papers and the previously existing rumors, it appeared to the War Office to afford corroborative evidence of the story. Evidence that the word 'Kadaver' was used to mean human bodies, and not only carcasses of animals, was found in German dictionaries and anatomical and other works, and the German assertion that the story was disposed of by reference to the meaning of the word 'Kadaver' was not accepted. On the information before them at the time, the War Office appear to have seen no reason to disbelieve the truth of the story.

" 'Lieutenant Commander KENWORTHY. I am much obliged to the right honorable gentleman for his very full answer. Does he not think it desirable now that the War Office should finally disavow the story and their present belief in it?

" 'Sir L. WORTHINGTON-EVANS. I cannot believe any public interest is served by further questions on this story. I have given the House the fullest information in my possession in the hope that the honorable members will be satisfied with what I have said. [Honorable members. Hear! Hear!]

" 'Lieutenant Commander KENWORTHY. Does not the right honorable gentleman think it desirable, even now, to finally admit the inaccuracy of the original story, in view of Locarno and other things?

" 'Sir L. WORTHINGTON-EVANS. It is not a question of whether it was accurate or inaccurate. What I was concerned with was the information upon which the War Office acted at the time. Of course, the fact that there has been no corroboration since necessarily alters the complexion of the case, but I was dealing with the information in the possession of the authorities at the time.' (House of Commons, November 24, 1925.)

"This was a continued attempt to avoid making a complete denial, and it was left to Sir Austen Chamberlain to nail the lie finally to the counter. In reply to Mr. Arthur Henderson on December 2, 1925, asking if he had any statement to make as to the Kadaver story, he said:

" 'Yes, sir; my right honorable friend the Secretary of State for War told the House last week how the story reached His Majesty's Government in 1917. The Chancellor of the German Reich has authorized me to say, on the authority of the German Government, that there was never any foundation for it. I need scarcely add that on behalf of His Majesty's Government I accept this denial, and I trust that this false report will not again be revived.'

"The painful impression made by this episode and similar propaganda efforts in America is well illustrated by an editorial in Times-Dispatch, of Richmond, United States of America, on December 6, 1925:

" 'Not the least of the horrors of modern warfare is the propaganda bureau, which is an important item in the military establishment of every nation. Neither is it the least of the many encouraging signs which each year add to the probability of eventual peace on earth. The famous Kadaver story, which aroused hatred against the German to the boiling point in this and other Allied Nations during the war, has been denounced as a lie in the British House of Commons. Months ago the world learned the details of how this lie was planned and broadcasted by the efficient officer in the British Intelligence Service. Now we are told that, imbued with the spirit of the Locarno pact, Sir Austen Chamberlain rose in the House, said that the German Chancellor had denied the truth of the story, and that the denial had been accepted by the British Government.

" 'A few years ago the story of how the Kaiser was reducing human corpses to fat aroused the citizens of this and other enlightened nations to a fury of hatred. Normally sane men doubled their fists and rushed off to the nearest recruiting sergeant. Now they are being told, in effect, that they were dupes and fools; that their own officers deliberately goaded them to the desired boiling point, using an infamous lie to arouse them, just as a grown bully whispers to one little boy that another little boy said he could lick him.

" 'The encouraging sign found in this revolting admission of how modern war is waged is the natural inference that the modern man is not overeager to throw himself at his brother's throat at the simple word of command. His passions must be played upon, so the propaganda bureau has taken its place as one of the chief weapons.

" 'In the next war, the propaganda must be more subtle and clever than the best the World War produced. These frank admissions of wholesale lying on the part of trusted governments in the last war will not soon be forgotten.'

"THE CRUCIFIED CANADIAN

"Like so many other stories, this one underwent considerable changes and variations. The crucified person was at one time a girl, at another an American, but most often a Canadian.

" 'Last week a large number of Canadian soldiers, wounded in the fighting around Ypres, arrived at the base hospital at Versculles. They all told a story of how one of their officers had been crucified by the Germans. He had been pinned to a wall by bayonets thrust through his hands and feet, another bayonet had then been driven through his throat, and, finally, he was riddled with bullets. The wounded Canadians said that the Dublin Fusiliers had seen this done with their own eyes, and they had heard the officers of the Dublin Fusiliers talking about it.' (The Times, May 10, 1915. Paris correspondent.)

" 'There is, unhappily, good reason to believe that the story related by your Paris correspondent of the crucifixion of a Canadian officer during the fighting at Ypres on April 22, 1915, is in substance true. The story was current here at the time, but, in the absence of direct evidence and absolute proof, men were unwilling to believe that a civilized foe could be guilty of an act so cruel and savage.

" 'Now, I have reason to believe, written depositions testifying to the fact of the discovery of the body are in possession of British Headquarters Staff.

" 'The unfortunate victim was a sergeant. As the story was told to me, he was found transfixed to the wooden fence of a farm building. Bayonets were thrust through the palms of his hands and his feet, pinning him to the fence. He had been repeatedly stabbed with bayonets, and there were many punctured wounds in his body.

" 'I have not heard that any of our men actually saw the crime committed. There is room for the supposition that the man was dead before he was pinned to the fence and that the enemy, in his insensate rage and hate of the English, wreaked his vengeance on the lifeless body of his foe.

" 'That is the most charitable complexion that can be put on the deed, ghastly as it is.

" 'There is not a man in the ranks of the Canadians who fought at Ypres who is not firmly convinced that this vile thing has been done. They know, too, that the enemy bayoneted their wounded and helpless comrades in the trenches.' (The Times May 15, 1915. Correspondent, North France.)

"Mr. Houston asked the Under Secretary of State for War whether he has any information regarding the crucifixion of three Canadian soldiers recently captured by the Germans, who nailed them with bayonets to the side of a wooden structure:

" 'Mr. TENNANT. No, sir; no information of such an atrocity having been perpetrated has yet reached the War Office.

" 'Mr. HOUSTON. Is the right honorable gentleman aware that Canadian officers and Canadian soldiers who were eyewitnesses of these fiendish outrages have made affidavits? Has the officer in command at the base at Boulogne not called the attention of the War Office to them?

" 'Mr. HARCOURT. No, sir; we have no record of it.' (House of Commons, May 12, 1915.)

"Mr. Houston asked the Under Secretary of State for War whether he has any official information showing that during the recent fighting, when the Canadians were temporarily driven back, they were compelled to leave about 40 of their wounded comrades in a barn, and that on recapturing the position they found the Germans had bayoneted all the wounded with the exception of a sergeant, and that the Germans had removed the figure of Christ from the large village crucifix and fastened the sergeant, while alive, to the cross; and whether he is aware that the crucifixion of our soldiers is becoming a practice of Germans:

" 'Mr. TENNANT. The military authorities in France have standing instructions to send particulars of any authenticated cases of atrocities committed against our troops by the Germans. No official information in the sense of the honorable member's previous question; inquiry is being made and is not yet complete.' (House of Commons, May 19, 1915.)

"The story went the round of the press here and in Canada, and was used by members of parliament on the platform. Its authenticity, however, was eventually denied by General March at Washington.

"It cropped up again in 1919, when a letter was published by the Nation (April 12) from Private E. Loader, Second Royal West Kent Regiment, who declared he had seen the crucified Canadian. The Nation was informed in a subsequent letter from Capt. E. N. Bennett that there was no such private on the rolls of the Royal West Kents, and that the Second Battalion was in India during the whole war.

"THE SHOOTING OF THE FRANZOSLING

"This is one of the lies which arose from a mistranslation. On September 30, 1914, a communication was issued by the press bureau, which was published by the Times the following day. It was said to be a copy of the Kriegschronik 'seized by the custom-house authorities at ports of landing.' The extract given was as follows:

" 'A traitor has just been shot (in the Vosges), a little French lad (ein Franzosling) belonging to one of those gymnastic societies which wear tricolor ribbons (i. e., the Eclaireurs, or Boy Scouts), a poor young fellow who, in his infatuation, wanted to be a hero. The German column was passing along a wooded defile, and he was caught and asked whether the French were about. He refused to give information. Fifty yards farther on there was fire from the cover of a wood. The prisoner was asked in French if he had known that the enemy was in the forest, and did not deny it. He went with a firm step to a telegraph post and stood up against it, with the green vineyard at his back, and received the volley of the firing party with a proud smile on his face. Infatuated wretch! It was a pity to see such wasted courage.'

"Mr. J. A. Hobson wrote, in the Times of October 5, 1914, to point out an inaccuracy in the account of German atrocities issued by the press bureau and published by the Times.

"The passage describes how 'a little French lad (ein Franzosling)' was shot for refusing to disclose the proximity of some French soldiers. The word 'Franzosling,' Mr. Hobson wrote, 'does not mean a little French boy,' but is 'used exclusively to describe German subjects with French proclivities. In Alsace and Lorraine there exist societies of these Franzoslings, who wear the French colors. They are not boys but grown men.'

" 'Constant Reader' wrote to the Times on October 6, 1914:

" 'You publish on page 6 of your issue of this morning a note communicated by a Mr. J. A. Hobson, which insinuates that the young victim of a German firing party in the Vosges, whose fate was described in a German soldier's letter printed last week, may have been a "grown man" and not a "lad." At least, Mr. Hobson says that "The societies of these Franzoslings who wear the French colors are not boys but grown men." But he has evidently not seen the original letter, which calls the victim an "armer junger Kerl"—a poor lad; and a "junger Verrater"—a young traitor. Moreover, it is clear that if this had been a grown man of military age, he would have been doing military service and not have been at large upon the roads.'

"This letter must have been from the press bureau, as the Times original note made no reference to its being from a German soldier's letter, nor quoted the German text. 'Constant Reader' had evidently been reading elsewhere.

"Mr. J. A. Hobson wrote to the Times on October 8, 1914:

" 'In reply to "Constant Reader," may I point out that the object of my note upon the "Franzosling" incident was to state that the word meant a "pro-French German" and not, as translated by the press bureau, "a little French lad"? That he was a "young fellow" is not in dispute, but that affords no justification for calling him a "Boy Scout."

" 'It does not seem to have been pointed out that no body of boy scouts called Eclaireurs, and wearing tricolor ribbons, could have existed in German Alsace.

" 'The press bureau tells us that an official paper circulated among the German troops chuckled with satisfaction at the killing of a French boy who refused to divulge to the enemy the whereabouts of French forces.' (Daily Express, October 1914.)

"The press-bureau story headed 'Little French hero' was printed in the same issue. The whole object of the press bureau was to incense public opinion against the Germans for shooting a boy. The shooting of spies was not condemned, as the Times itself reported also from the Vosges that 'Germans caught red handed in acts of espionage were court martialed. Among others were the mayor and postmaster of Thann, who were shot.'

"People may be further mystified in looking up this case by finding it in the Times index under the heading 'Shooting of Franz Osling.'

"THE BABY OF COURBECK LOO

"It is not often that we have a confession of falsehood, but the story of the baby of Courbeck Loo is an illuminating example of an invention related by its author.

"Capt. F. W. Wilson, formerly editor of the Sunday Times, related the story in America in 1922. The following account appeared in the New York Times (reproduced in the Crusader, February 24, 1922):

" 'A correspondent of the London Daily Mail, Captain Wilson, found himself in Brussels at the time the war broke out. They telegraphed out that they wanted stories of atrocities. Well, there weren't any atrocities at that time. So then they telegraphed out that they wanted stories of refugees. So I said to myself, "That's fine, I won't have to move." There was a little town outside Brussels where one went to get dinner—a very good dinner, too. I heard the Hun had been there. So I wrote a heart-rending stint about the baby of Courbeck Loo being rescued from the Hun in the light of the burning homesteads.

" 'The next day they telegraphed out to me to send the baby along, as they had about 5,000 letters offering to adopt it. The day after that baby clothes began to pour into the office. Even Queen Alexandra wired her sympathy and sent some clothes. Well, I couldn't wire back to them that there wasn't a baby. So I finally arranged with the doctor that took care of the refugees that the blessed baby died of some very contagious disease, so it couldn't even have a public burial.

" 'And we got Lady Northcliffe to start a crèche with all the baby clothes.'

"THE LOUVAIN ALTARPIECE

"At the peace conference the Belgian representatives claimed the wings of Dietrick Bout's altarpiece in compensation for the famous alterpiece from Louvain, a valuable work of art which they declared had been wantonly thrown into the flames of the burning library by a German officer. The story was accepted and the two pictures transferred. But it was not true.

"The New Statesman of April 12, 1924, gives the facts:

" 'The Dietrick Bout's altarpiece was not thrown into the flames by the Germans or by anyone else. The picture is still in existence at Louvain, perfectly intact, and the Germans were not its destroyers but its preservers. A German officer saved it from the flames and gave it to the burgomaster, who had it taken for safe

custody to the vaults of the town hall and walled in there. It has been duly unwalled.'"

"'THE BELGIAN BABY WITHOUT HANDS

"'Not only did the Belgian baby whose hands had been cut off by the Germans travel through the towns and villages of Great Britain but it went through western Europe and America, even into the Far West. No one paused to ask how long a baby would live were its hands cut off unless expert surgical aid were at hand to tie up the arteries (the answer being a very few minutes). Everyone wanted to believe the story, and many went so far as to say they had seen the baby. The lie was as universally accepted as the passage of the Russian troops through Britain.

"'One man, whom I did not see, told an official of the Catholic Society that he has seen with his own eyes German soldiery chop off the arms of a baby which clung to its mother's skirts.' (The Times correspondent in Paris, August 27, 1914.)

"On September 2, 1914, the Times correspondent quotes French refugees declaring: 'They cut the hands off the little boys so that there shall be no more soldiers for France.'

"Pictures of the baby without hands were very popular on the Continent, both in France and in Italy. Le Rive Rouge had a picture on September 18, 1915, and on July 26, 1916, made it still more lurid by depicting German soldiers eating the hands. Le Journal gave, on April 30, 1915, a photograph of a statue of a child without hands. But the most savage of all, which contained in it no elements of caricature, was issued by the Allies for propaganda purposes and published in Critica, in Buenos Aires (reproduced in the Sphere, January 30, 1925). The heading of the picture was, 'The Bible before all,' and under it was written: 'Suffer little children to come unto me.' The Kaiser is depicted standing behind a huge block with an ax, his hands darkly stained with blood. Round the block are piles of hands. He is beckoning to a woman to bring a number of children, who are clinging to her, some having had their hands cut off already.

"Babies not only had their hands cut off but they were impaled on bayonets, and in one case nailed to a door. But everyone will remember the handless Belgian baby. It was loudly spoken of in busses and other public places, had been seen in a hospital, was now in the next parish, etc., and it was paraded not as an isolated instance of an atrocity but as a typical instance of a common practice.

"In Parliament there was the usual evasion, which suggested the story was true, although the only evidence given was 'seen by witnesses.'

"Mr. A. K. Lloyd asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether materials are available for identifying and tracing the survivors of those children whose hands were cut off by the Germans, and whose cases are referred to by letter and number in the Report of the Bryce Committee and, if so, whether he will consider the possibility of making the information accessible, confidentially or otherwise, to persons interested in the future of these survivors:

"'Sir G. CAVE. My right honorable friend has asked me to reply to this question. In all but two of the individual cases in which children were seen by witnesses mutiliated in this manner, the child was either dead or dying from the treatment it had received. In view of the fact that these children were in Belgium, which is still in German occupation, it is unlikely that they could now be traced, and any attempt to do so at this time might lead to the further persecution of the victims or their relatives.

"'Mr. LLOYD. Were there not other cases brought over here to hospital?

"'Sir G. CAVE. Not the cases to which the honorable member's question refers.' (House of Commons, December 19, 1916.)

"Sometimes the handless person was grown up. A Mr. Tyler, at a brotherhood meeting in Glasgow on April 17, 1915, said he had a friend in Harrogate who had seen a nurse with both her hands cut off by Germans. He gave the address of his informant. A letter was at once addressed to the friend at Harrogate, asking if the statement was correct, but no reply was ever received.

"But the most harrowing and artistically dressed version of the handless-child story appeared in the Sunday Chronicle on May 2, 1915:

"'Some days ago a charitable great lady was visiting a building in Paris where have been housed for several months a number of Belgian refugees. During her visit she noticed a child, a girl of 10, who, though the room was hot rather than otherwise, kept her hands in a pitiful little worn muff. Suddenly the child said to the mother: "Mamma, please blow my nose for me." "Shocking," said the charitable lady, half-laughing, half-severe, "a big girl like you, who can't use her own handkerchief." The child said nothing, and the mother spoke in a dull, matter-of-fact tone, "She has not any hands now, ma'am," she said.

"'The grand dame looked, shuddered, understood. "Can it be," she said, "that the Germans——?" The mother burst into tears. That was her answer.'

"Signor Nitti, who was Italian Prime Minister during the war, states in his memoirs:

"'To bring the truth of the present European crisis home to the world, it is necessary to destroy again and again the vicious legends created by war propaganda. During the war, France, in common with other Allies, including our own Government in Italy, circulated the most absurd inventions to arouse the fighting spirit of our people. The cruelties attributed to the Germans were such as to curdle our blood. We heard the story of poor little Belgian children whose hands were cut off by the Huns. After the war a rich American, who was deeply touched by the French propaganda, sent an emissary to Belgium with the intention of providing a livelihood for the children whose poor little hands had been cut off. He was unable to discover one. Mr. Lloyd George and myself when at the head of the Italian Government carried on extensive investigations as to the truth of these horrible accusations some of which, at least, were told specifically as to names and places. Every case investigated proved to be a myth.'

"Colonel Repington, in his Diary of the World War (vol. 11, p. 447), says:

"'I was told by Cardinal Gasquet that the Pope promised to make a great protest to the world if a single case could be proved of the violation of Belgian nuns or cutting off of children's hands. An inquiry was instituted and many cases examined with the help of the Belgian Cardinal Mercier. Not one case could be proved.'

"The former French Minister of Finance Klotz, to whom at the beginning of the war the censorship of the press was entrusted, says in his memoirs (De la Guerre a la Paix, Paris, Payot, 1924):

"'One evening I was shown a proof of the Figaro, in which two scientists of repute asserted and endorsed by their signatures that they had seen with their own eyes about a hundred children whose hands had been chopped off by the Germans.

"'In spite of the evidence of these scientists, I entertained doubts as to the accuracy of the report and forbade the publication of it. When the editor of the Figaro expressed his indignation, I declared myself ready to investigate, in the presence of the American Ambassador, the matter that would stir the world. I required, however, that the name of the place where this investigation had to take place should be given by the two scientists. I insisted on having these details supplied immediately. I am still without their reply or visit.'

"But this lie obtained such a hold on people's imagination that it is by no means dead yet. Quite recently a Liverpool poet, in a volume called A Medley of Song, has written the following lines in a 'patriotic' poem:

"'They stemmed the first mad onrush
Of the cultured German Hun
Who'd outraged every female Belgian
And maimed every mother's son.'"

These exposés are important today because of the atrocity propaganda flooding America. Consider what you read and see with the knowledge of these incidents. It is not that there are not outrages and atrocities in war. War is an atrocity itself. But I hope that these incidents may awaken in the minds of some a little more investigation of the background of war stories and to make them realize that no country gets into war unless it has been given a large dose of hate. Get a country to hate, and it is easier to get that country to participate in war. I want my country to remain at peace.

National-Defense Program Needs Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 14, 1940

MR. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, talk about adjournment of Congress persists in spite of the facts that there are many legislative problems which are uncompleted. Congress should stay in session.

Having appropriated billions of dollars for a national-defense program, the legislative branch of the Government of the United States should keep a critical eye on expenditures. We may anticipate some degree of incompetency in the spending of the public's money. The time to prevent that is before it takes place. An investigation afterward into the careless handling of the public's money will do no good. Congress should keep a watchful eye on every bureau and every agency of government and insist that the politicians keep their hands off national-defense contracts, and that the American taxpayer be protected.

We should not adjourn, because there have been a lot of promises in various directions and, up to date, no performance. For example, we have been promised that the Midwest would receive its share of the orders for war materials under the national-defense program. Statements have been made that the policy of expanding and increasing eastern plants and industries at the neglect of the Midwest would not be followed. Up to date, this promise has not been kept.

We were told very definitely some time ago that there would be a decentralization of industry and that new factories, if necessary, would be built in the Midwest. The least thing that was promised was to make use of existing idle factories and machines in the Midwest. Up to date, I have not seen evidence of any such program being carried out.

At the head of Lake Superior, where the Duluth-Superior harbor is found, there are excellent shipbuilding facilities. Under the national-defense program these facilities are not being utilized. There are also facilities for the manufacture of other war materials, and these facilities can be and should be enlarged and utilized to the fullest extent.

Yes, Congress, which has appropriated the funds, should see that they are properly used, and I have already pointed out one or two instances where this can properly be done.

There is no excuse for adjournment of Congress now with important domestic problems pressing for consideration. The unemployment question, with millions of men out of work, demands the highest type of administrative and executive leadership.

The so-called social-security law, which had for its purpose the help of aged people, is not working out satisfactorily. Great promises were made when this law was enacted, but we are finding out that this beautiful theory of having the Federal Government match State funds falls far short of the necessities of life for the old folks. There should be a national old-age pension system to replace the present cumbersome, unworkable, and unsatisfactory set-up.

And to point out one more problem which requires action, may I refer to the Logan-Walter bill? This legislation is greatly needed. The Government has become so centralized, and boards and commissions have acquired so much power, that it now becomes necessary to protect the people of the United States against these arbitrary agencies.

Many other important legislative proposals will occur to you. Congress should not adjourn with all of these matters before it.

I repeat that it is our duty and our responsibility to remain in Washington under a courageous leadership and watch and check other governmental agencies which would drift us toward the perils of dictatorship. This viewpoint is ably expressed by Mark Sullivan in an article in the Washington Post for November 12. Permission has been given this morning to our able colleague from Vermont, the Honorable CHARLES A. PLUMLEY, to place this article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for today. It will prive of interest to everyone. At one point, Mr. Sullivan says:

> Don't adjourn. You, in your generation, are the trustees of the cause of parliamentary government.

In like manner, David Lawrence in his column in the Evening Star for November 13 points out that if Congress adjourns now, important legislative proposals will die with the adjournment, and as Mr. Lawrence puts it:

> To adjourn Congress now is to scrap all of the legislation.

Mr. Lawrence also points out that "the whole fiscal situation needs study and reexamination."

He concludes his article by stating in effect that the forging of the united Nation should be begun here and now in the Halls of Congress.

Disturbing Tendency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES A. PLUMLEY

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 14, 1940

ARTICLE BY MARK SULLIVAN

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks, I desire to insert the following article by Mark Sullivan, which is almost 100 percent reflective of my sentiments with respect to the matter discussed:

DISTURBING TENDENCY—CONGRESS CONSIDERED ADJOURNMENT

(By Mark Sullivan)

As this is written Congress is considering whether to adjourn. If it does, America will witness—will witness but, unfortunately, not realize it is witnessing—a step, even though only a slight one, perhaps only an apparent one, in a tendency which, in the light of the times, is disturbing.

Throughout the world parliamentary government, government by legislative bodies, is threatened by the innovation of one-man government, totalitarian government. Wherever this takes place the final coming of totalitarian government is marked by disappearance of the legislative body, transfer of legislative power to the dictator. But mark carefully, that is the final step. The early steps take place long before. And those early steps are not actions of the prospective dictator. The early steps, often unnoticed, take place within the legislative body itself. The early steps consist of gradual lowering of vitality in the legislative body, gradual neglect of its prerogative, gradual decline of pride on the part of individual members of the legislative body in their governmental function.

The public thinks, loosely, that extinction of parliament is always the act of the dictator, done by violence. The public thinks the dictator, the Hitler or Mussolini, takes some troops, struts into the parliamentary chamber, and tells the members to be off home. In fact, that is not the way. The death of the legislative body takes place within the body itself; it takes place as the end of a long internal disease. The legislative body is not overtly slain by the dictator. The legislative body commits slow suicide, suicide by a kind of self-generated anemia.

The coming of totalitarian government, as successor to parliamentary government, follows two parallel lines. One is gradual increase in the power of the individual who is destined to become dictator. The other is gradual negligence of the legislative body in exercising its function. This internal, self-created laxness of the legislative body leads to gradual lack of respect from the people. Gradually, more or less unconsciously, the people withdraw their allegiance from the legislative body. Gradually they give more and more allegiance to the man, the Mussolini or Hitler. Presently the legislative body has little or no authority; presently the man has all.

The process takes years. It was several years after Mussolini's first emergence that the Italian Parliament finally shriveled up and ceased to be. It was several years after the first diminution of the authority of the German Reichstag before Hitler was able to ignore it. The final act, complete abdication of the legislative body, had begun years before, with partial and gradual abdication.

Our own form of government is one of carefully balanced powers. In such a form, any serious and prolonged unbalance of the branches in relation to each other, would be the beginning of decline. In the earnestly held convictions of many, such an unbalance has taken place. During the past 8 years, a certain amount of power has passed from the legislative body to the executive. And recently, the executive branch, the individual who heads that branch, Mr. Roosevelt, has sought and got an extension of tenure which no other Executive ever had. If now this is accompanied by voluntary limitation of tenure on the part of the legislative branch, if Congress voluntarily adjourns and goes home, the impression of unbalance would be increased.

This is true even though adjournment of Congress now would be perfectly legal, perfectly constitutional, even consistent with custom. This is true even though a new Congress will assemble in the regular way on January 3. In the 7 weeks intervening who can say what emergencies may arise, emergencies in which the Executive might have the justification of hurry, for acting alone, if Congress were not here, but would consult Congress if it were here.

Let us appeal to the leaders of the party that controls Congress. Not the official leaders—the official congressional leaders of any party in power often think of themselves as representing, not Congress alone, but the President, as head of the party. Let us appeal to those leaders within Congress who do not have any such sense of divided responsibility. Let us appeal to the men in Congress who have perspective about the past, vision about the future. There are many such.

Don't adjourn. You, in your generation, are the trustees of the cause of parliamentary government. You hold the present-day battle front of eight centuries of struggle—the struggle to take power away from the crown, away from the king, from the leader, from the man; the struggle to get and preserve power for the legislative body. You are the heirs of the barons at Runnymede; you are the custodians of Magna Carta. Magna Carta as a physical document, a piece of parchment, lies, I suppose, somewhere in the Tower of London, its sanctuary deeply menaced. But Magna Carta as a living thing, as a spirit of government, has its principal remaining existence today in the Congress of the United States. You are its guardians. Let it never be said of you:

"These are the dikes our fathers left, but we would not look to the same. Time and again were we warned of the dikes, time and again we delayed. Now it may fall; we have slain our sons as our father we have betrayed."

Don't adjourn. Remain in session if only for the sake of remaining in session, if only to show that the legislative body preserves its vitality. Don't abdicate even slightly. Abdication is appeasement. A little leads to more.

Presidential Campaign Likened to Memorable Contest Between Bryan and McKinley in 1896

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH B. SHANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 14, 1940

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an article written by Mr. Ralph Smith and published in the Atlanta Journal of October 14, 1940; also a quotation from Mr. David B. Plum, publisher of the Troy (N. Y.) Record.

Mr. Plum today had an article on the press—about the space given front-page publicity when you speak outrageously. That is one of the serious complaints that is made against the press—too much of that type of news and not enough of that which is founded upon well-thought-out matter.

The following article, to my way of thinking, is a splendid exposition of the relative standing of the Presidential candidates on October 14. It was published in but one newspaper in the United States—the Atlanta Journal. There was nothing sensational or outrageous about it; hence, it was not only withheld from the front page but from all pages of other American newspapers.

CRACKERLAND IN WASHINGTON—KANSAS SAGE SEES WILLKIE AS CANDIDATE OF WALL STREET

(By Ralph Smith)

WASHINGTON, October 14.—"How alike in many respects is the current Presidential campaign to the memorable contest between William Jennings Bryan and William McKinley in 1896." So said JOE SHANNON, the Kansas City (Mo.) Congressman, today, drawing on a wealth of political experience that antedates Bryan's nomination at Chicago 44 years ago.

"It is in no spirit of partisanship that I liken the Bryan-McKinley and the Roosevelt-Willkie campaigns," continued Mr. SHANNON. "It is in the light of recent history and contemporary developments that I view them, because striking similarities stand out with such significance.

"Of course, Wendell Willkie isn't another William McKinley. He is a different sort of a person. Mr. McKinley was a dignified, serious-minded, experienced political leader, with settled convictions, ungiven to wisecracking, political profanity, and with no predilection for being all things to all persons.

"But McKinley was the candidate of Wall Street in 1896 no less than Willkie is today. The House of Morgan was no less active in 1896 than the 'power' house of Morgan is in 1940. The lapse of years has made little difference.

"It was the banking and industrial interests in 1896 that supported McKinley, and today it is the utility and industrial interests that are supporting Willkie. The banks are no longer active in politics, although most bankers are alined with the utilities and industries."

THE WILLKIE-WALL STREET LINK

Congressman SHANNON gives it as his opinion that Mr. Willkie is more closely allied with Wall Street than was Mr. McKinley. He says on this score, for example, that "far from having been nominated by the Republicans at Philadelphia as the result of a spontaneous movement, Willkie's campaign was launched in New York last February.

"There is no doubt of it," he emphasized. "Four months, or more, before the Republicans assembled at Philadelphia Willkie sentiment in the country was being sounded out, by letter, from New York. Democrats and Republicans in various cities were asked as to the availability of Willkie for the Republican nomination."

Parenthetically, what Mr. SHANNON says in this regard confirms and corroborates information in the possession of Congressman ROBERT RAMSPECK. He knows of letters that were received by Atlantians last February inquiring whether Wendell Willkie could carry Georgia.

"Mr. Willkie, I repeat, was nominated at Philadelphia largely through the activity of the 'power' house of Morgan. Tom Dewey was thrown overboard for the more acceptable Willkie," Congressman SHANNON resumed.

"Mr. McKinley, on the other hand, was not the hand-picked candidate of any particular clique. He was one of many prospective nominees whose political philosophy was acceptable to the special interests that controlled the Republican Party. He had been the leader of the party in Congress, author of the McKinley Tariff Act, and a 'gold bug.'"

CAMPAIGN DEVELOPMENTS SIMILAR

The strategy of the successful McKinley campaign in 1896 is being followed in the current Willkie campaign, in the opinion of Congressman SHANNON, * * * "but it can't and won't succeed for reasons I'll point out," he adds.

"Bryan was the popular favorite in 1896, just as much so as Roosevelt is today, and until the middle of October few persons doubted Bryan's election, just as today Roosevelt's election is taken for granted.

"The big interests began to apply the screws in mid-October, however, and they did it with such skill and ruthlessness that defeat was turned into victory by the first Tuesday in November.

"The banks and bankers played a principal part in the McKinley campaign. Their work was more effectual than that of the industries, because, in some instances, the banks influenced the industries—the banks and the insurance companies.

"It was effectively represented by the banks that in case of Bryan's election bank loans would be called, willy-nilly, and that new loans would be as scarce as hen's teeth. The powerful insurance companies frightened their policyholders into believing that Bryan's election would destroy the value of their policies, * * * and, lastly, industrial leaders represented to their employees that Bryan's election would result in the closing of the factories and bring widespread unemployment."

THEN AND NOW—A DIFFERENT STORY

The banks, the insurance companies, and the big industries of the Nation, including the railroads, turned the tide in 1896, but Congressman SHANNON doesn't believe it possible for similar tactics to succeed in this enlightened age.

"Although it is entirely apparent that similar methods will be attempted, and are now being attempted, in the Roosevelt-Willkie campaign, I have no fears they will succeed," said the Congressman.

"The banks no longer control the credits of the country, you understand. They are well and carefully controlled and regulated by the Government. That goes, too, for the insurance companies. They enjoy no such power today as they held in 1896 * * * and what with the development of labor unionism in the United States and the abundant prosperity the country is now enjoying the industries cannot control labor.

"I am looking to see the Republicans, or other agencies supporting Willkie, flood the country with advertising of all sorts during the next three weeks, but I do not believe it possible that the trend of sentiment can be checked * * * and that trend unquestionably points to the election of President Roosevelt."

Mr. Speaker, in the recent campaign many a hoax was played on the public. The whole country was fed nightly by singing choruses crying, "We want Willkie, we want Willkie," so that many people became obsessed with the idea that there really was a sentiment of that kind in the land.

It turned out to be another case of the farmer who called on the restaurant owner for the purpose of convincing him that he could supply him with frog legs. The restaurant owner told him that he could use 50 frogs a week if he could deliver them. "Oh yes," the farmer said, "I can supply you with many more than that, and I will fill my first order tomorrow." He then started on his quest of frog spearing. Two days later he returned to his customer with the first delivery. The restaurant owner inquired, "What in the world is the matter? This will never do." The farmer said, "Mister, I am terribly sorry but I can't fill my contract. I have only five frogs for you. Hereafter, I will not try to judge the number of frogs in a pond by the noise they make."

Everyone now is shocked and wondering what happened to all the fellows who were wearing Willkie buttons. It seems as though in the last week of the campaign that everyone who made a noise made it for Willkie, and it now seems that everyone who kept quiet voted for Roosevelt.

But the saddest of all is the imposition practiced upon those of our citizenry who belonged to the class of "do wells." Both the bellboys and taxicab drivers in every big city wore huge Willkie buttons and procured from those gullible patrons a vast increase in the size of their tips. Verily something should be done to protect well-gowned souls from being imposed upon in future elections by designing bellboys, restaurant employees, taxicab drivers, and so forth.

The Third Term

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. COCHRAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 14, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN J. COCHRAN, OF MISSOURI

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address deliv-

ered by me over the Star-Times radio, KXOK, St. Louis, Mo., Monday, November 4, 1940:

Ladies and gentlemen of the radio audience, for the benefit of those few voters who may question the advisability of electing a President for a third term, I shall briefly discuss that subject. First, in order, is the statement that the American patriots who framed our Federal Constitution pondered that question for several months. They considered not fewer than five separate proposals to limit the duration of the President's tenure of office. They were, for example, recommendations that he be restricted to one term of 1 year, 4 years, 6 years, or 7 years, respectively, and be ineligible to serve again. The upshot of the long debate was that the authors of the Constitution refused to include in it any limitation as to the number of times anyone might hold the most important office in the Federal Government. They left it to the people to decide whether they should reelect a President and for how many times. Now, it will be conceded, I think, that the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 were at least as intelligent, loyal, and cautious as those who are seeking to make President Roosevelt's reelection an issue in 1940. George Washington was the President of the Convention which wrote the Constitution. Even Republican orators will admit, I take it for granted, that Washington was in every way the equal of Willkie.

It is true, of course, that tradition has tended to fix two terms as the longest period of Presidential service. But tradition imposes no permanent obligation on our citizens and voters. Only statutes based on constitutional provisions can do that. But the American people, I am glad to say, have frequently amended traditions in the interest of their national welfare and progress. Let me remind you of a few of our revisions and rejections of tradition.

At first, as you know, the President was not chosen as he is today. In the early decades of our Government's existence the people had no such direct and powerful part in the election of the President as they have now. Have we suffered by reason of that change? Until just a few years ago, and for more than 140 years before that, the President was inaugurated on March 4. Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first occupant of the Presidency since Washington to be inaugurated in a different month than March, and, by the way, his second term will not have been one of 4 full years.

Only 30 years ago we began to elect our United States Senators by popular vote instead of through the medium of legislatures. Has that enlargement of the voter's right and responsibility endangered our democracy?

And don't forget that human slavery was authorized by the Constitution for a longer stretch of time than has passed since it was abolished. George Washington followed the tradition and owned many slaves. Human beings were, by law, held as chattels under all our Presidents from Washington to Andrew Johnson; under the Federalists, the Democrats, and the Whigs, because the Constitution, as well as tradition, sanctioned slavery. Andrew Johnson, a Democrat, shares with Lincoln, a Republican, the credit for liberating the Negroes. Franklin D. Roosevelt, another Democrat, has helped to free them from the economic servitude in which he found them in 1933.

Still another important tradition we have discarded—and for the good of the Nation—was the one I am about to mention. For more than 130 years the women of the United States not only could not hold any elective Federal office, they could not even vote for or against a Presidential or a congressional candidate. Neither Mrs. Washington nor Mrs. Abraham Lincoln—to name but two—could vote for her husband when he was seeking the Presidency. For more than 130 years the women of this country were required to pay taxes; to give husbands and sons to defend our independence and our liberties; but they could not, by their ballots, decide who should head this Nation or make its laws. They could bear and rear sons fit for the Presidency, but could not, by their votes, help them to achieve that great office.

At long last the Constitution was amended—an ancient tradition was broken—and the women of the United States were made the equals of men in performing the most solemn and important duties of citizenship. The constitutional amendment granting suffrage to women was submitted to the States and ratified during a Democratic national administration.

I ask you women who hear my words whether it has been a danger or a detriment to your country that you have a right which tradition denied to the mother and the wife of Abraham Lincoln?

I return to the question of a third term in the Presidency. It is not prohibited by the Constitution. We have amended that fundamental law 21 times, but not once in the 150 years of our national existence has there been submitted to the legislatures a proposition that the President's term of office be restricted to 8 years or any other period. George Washington not only saw no impropriety in the election of a President for more than 8 years, he even contemplated that some crisis in our national affairs might require and, therefore, justify his continuance in office that long, or longer. Washington could have been returned to the Presidency a third time, but there was no call of necessity and he was more than 65 years of age when his second term ended in 1797. But the best authority as to Washington's views on this subject is Washington himself. So I quote from a letter he wrote to General Lafayette, his companion in arms during the Revolutionary War. Here are his words:

"Under an extended view of this part of the subject, I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man, who on some great emergency, shall be deemed, universally, most capable of serving the public."

So it is solely to tradition, not to the Constitution, that the opponents of Franklin D. Roosevelt are appealing when they oppose his reelection next Tuesday after his 8 years of patriotic and humanitarian labors. My friends, if we have been both able and willing to change our fundamental charter 21 times, surely we have the duty as well as the right to depart from mere tradition at a time of crisis, like the present.

We are just now confronted by an emergency such as George Washington foresaw as complete warrant for retaining in the Presidency a man of high ability, broad experience, and proven value. Franklin D. Roosevelt is such a man. Before and during his country's engagement in the World War, Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy—one of the most important posts in the Government during periods of international conflict. He was in intimate association with men of the stamp of Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, and Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War. His constant adviser was Admiral William Shepherd Benson, one of the greatest naval experts of his day.

After nearly 8 years of service as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt was nominated for the Vice Presidency in 1920. He was defeated along with Gov. James Cox, but was not forgotten. In 1928 he was elected to the governorship of New York, notwithstanding the triumph of the Republican Party in the Nation at large. At the end of 2 years he was chosen in 1930 for another term. His administration of the affairs of New York won him the admiration of his countrymen everywhere. There was a general demand for his nomination as the Democratic candidate for President in 1932. His first term in the Presidency convinced still more Americans of his masterful competence to deal with the pressing—even perilous—problems with which Hoover had faced our 130,000,000 people. Roosevelt's successful solution of these problems and his program for additional advances prompted a majority of the voters of all but 2 of the 48 States to continue him as their benefactor for 4 years more. This further opportunity and occasion for service has increased both his experience and his usefulness.

We all have benefited by the work of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He has won a war against the want and wretchedness that brought suffering to millions of our people during the 4 frightful years of Hoover. The President is still striving for new and even better conditions for his fellow Americans of all creeds and classes. To lose him now as the head of this Nation would, at the very least, delay, and might well defeat, the betterments he is planning. For even if Wendell Willkie were able—which I doubt—or willing—which I deny—he could not for many months gain the knowledge, the experience, and the support needed to continue the reforms and improvements which President Roosevelt has already prepared to give us.

Willkie has no training for the Presidency of the United States. He has never held public office. His only knowledge of the National Government is that he gained in opposing its laws, notably in the case of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Willkie received his first introduction to his fellow countrymen when a committee of the United States Senate began to investigate his several companies and found that they were hiring spies and buying gas guns and bombs to make war on workers who were endeavoring to organize unions for their protection. His widest advertisement to Americans was given when it was found by a Federal agency that an employee of Willkie's Michigan power company had been seriously poisoned after he had refused to quit a union with which Wendell himself had signed a contract, but which he later undertook to crush. The crime was committed by a foreman of Willkie's corporation. By way of reward, this foreman received a week's leave from duty—with pay. That sort of attitude and activity might qualify Mr. Willkie to be a dictator, but it certainly fails to make him a worthy successor of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

If what we know to be fakes and fooleries uttered about a third term were truths, they would not be as impressive as what I can accurately say of the evils of first terms we have had to endure. During the less than one term that Warren G. Harding served in the Presidency, the Federal Government was infested by grafters and crooks as never before or since. Many of them, but by no means enough, were ousted from their jobs or imprisoned. I hasten to say that I believe Harding to have been honest, but too trustful, and too devoid of experience for the Presidency. It is to his lack of competence, not to his want of integrity, that I attribute the corruption and criminality of some of his associates and subordinates. Harding was a sad example of the misfortune that a President lacking experience may bring to himself and his country.

Five years after Harding came Hoover—and only for one term—thanks be to Providence. It is beyond the power of the imagination to picture a worse calamity than came upon us with that first and only term for Hoover. Its agonies remain with many of our people to this day—those who lost jobs, savings, homes, health, hope, and happiness. Let us be sincerely grateful that Franklin D. Roosevelt, during his two terms, has brought recovery from most of the wretchedness that blighted millions of men, women, and little children during Hoover's single term. Let us so use our sense and our suffrage next Tuesday that we shall continue Roosevelt in our service, so that we and all those dear to us may be safeguarded against the tragedy of a first term for Willkie and be assured of still further protection and progress under Roosevelt.

In a moment of quiet and thoughtfulness between now and tomorrow, ask yourselves, my friends, whether you should follow mere custom and give a first term to Willkie or serve your own interest and the common welfare by giving a third term to Roosevelt. I feel certain your decision will be to follow better ways to better days with Roosevelt.

Labor's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. C. ARTHUR ANDERSON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 18, 1940

Mr. ANDERSON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, this Nation can face the future with confidence. Our defenses are being forged stronger and stronger, and it now appears that our potential enemies are rapidly approaching their judgment day.

America can also take confidence in the fact that our domestic problems are being solved. But most heartening of all is the possibility of peace in the ranks of labor. There will be peace in labor's house if John L. Lewis can make up his mind to keep his promise to resign if Mr. Willkie lost the election.

As might be expected there are signs which indicate that Lewis will probably welch on his word. Harry Bridges, alien, Communist, and public enemy, has come out with a statement that Lewis' resignation would be too great a loss to labor. If American labor is to survive, it will do well to cast out of its ranks such agitators and radicals as Harry Bridges and adopt for its rule of conduct any course other than one advocated by this licentious and predatory alien.

Among the things I sought to accomplish in my terms here was a better understanding between labor and industry and a sounder labor policy in Government. This House has done its duty by passing the Smith bill and the Walter-Logan bill by overwhelming majorities. Both of these measures are of the utmost importance to the future of this Nation.

One of the greatest and most potent reasons why we have not been able to make greater progress in determining a sound labor policy has been Mr. John L. Lewis, who, until a few days ago, was regarded as a sort of mystic idol whose power and influence were without limit.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the past two administrations have given Mr. Lewis everything but the keys to the White House. And yet, he paid his debt of gratitude by declaring for the Republican presidential candidate. That Mr. Lewis has no control over his own organization nor respect from its vast membership is amply proved by the fact that his recommendations in the Presidential race were not only ignored but soundly repudiated.

It was clearly a vote of confidence and Lewis was the loser. If he is an honorable man, which I have always doubted, he will free the C. I. O. from the humiliation and embarrassment that will fall on that organization if Lewis continues as its titular head.

If less attention were paid to Lewis' doubtful power and influence the National Labor Relations Board would not have disintegrated into such a state of disrepute that it did because John L. Lewis dictated its personnel and policies.

On July 29, 1939, on the occasion of Lewis' unwarranted and despicable attack upon Vice President GARNER, I said:

> Lewis has raped the Democratic Party and is preparing to return to his first love, the Republican Party.

The accuracy of my prediction is every bit as good as the Gallup poll.

Lewis has never repudiated the Communist element within his organization. He has done nothing to supplant the alien Communist Harry Bridges with a true American. In fact, he has condoned and encouraged radicalism and terrorism in the ranks of labor. His whole career has been one of self-seeking at the expense of labor.

If John L. Lewis has contributed anything to labor in America since he has been at the head of the C. I. O., it has been endless and bitter strife between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. Labor's greatest need is a united front, and it can never hope to reach that goal while John L. Lewis controls the C. I. O. and places his own advancement and gain above the cause he professes to champion.

Labor has its greatest chance of a century in the hope that Lewis will fulfill his promise to resign from the C. I. O. chairmanship if Willkie lost. If Lewis makes up his mind to welch on his promise, the C. I. O. would do well to throw him out. That it can do this is evident from the heed that organization paid his recommendations for the election of Mr. Willkie.

As soon as Lewis is replaced as head of the C. I. O. by responsible leadership, I predict the demise of such radicals and Communists as Harry Bridges and others of his ilk who cause labor to suffer irreparable injury and bring down upon labor's head the condemnation of the American people which it rightfully deserves just as long as these criminal and radical elements are suffered to remain in controlling positions in the labor movement.

Hon. Lindsay Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAM RAYBURN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 11, 1940

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I want to join with his other colleagues in the House on both sides of the aisle in expressing my deep regret at the retirement from Congress of Lindsay Warren.

He had the respect and affection of every Member of the House. In all the long line of distinguished North Carolinians who have served in the House of Representatives, there have been none of finer character or greater ability than Lindsay Warren. Not only his district and North Carolina but also the entire Nation has suffered a great loss by his retirement from the legislative branch of the Government.

We are happy, however, that his fine talents are to be utilized in another field of Government service, and we wish for him, his wife, and family good health, happiness, and prosperity in the years to come.

Progress of Home Loan Associations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 18, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. WRIGHT PATMAN, OF TEXAS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the address delivered by me before the annual convention of the United States Savings and Loan League, Chicago, Ill., November 15, 1940:

> The 1940 political campaign is over, and I for one am more than ready to adjourn partisan politics. But in the best and broadest sense, politics—or the processes of government—are always with us and are our deep concern. I would not be here today except for the relationship of your industry to government and to the laws which charter and guide all industry. I am here because both you and I seek the same goal—the sound expansion of an industry to finance economically the homes of average men and women in every part of the United States.
>
> HOMES AT LOW COST DESIRED
>
> There are certain trends which none of us can ignore, unless we are blind indeed. Homes for those of small and modest means are going to be built and financed at low cost. The day of cheap money for only the few is over. Big money is available at very low

cost, as you all know, and no one objects to the fact. But smaller sums, the very smallest, must be made available at decent cost, too—and someone is going to supply it. It is the function of private industry to offer it, and the savings and loan associations are the logical home-financing agencies of the present day. You should be, and I believe you are, prepared to do the job.

DEPRESSION BROUGHT COMPENSATING REWARDS

Let me for one brief moment review the last few years in the light of your own experiences. A decade is ending since the forces which gave rise to the boom of the late twenties collapsed and plunged this Nation into the greatest depression it has known. There was a time when almost all of us would have considered anyone unbalanced who, in those tragic years after 1929, told us that the time might come when we would see in the ordeal we went through any compensating rewards. Still less could we conceive of ourselves surveying those troubled years and not regretting that they had inflicted such burdens upon us.

Yet no thoughtful person can fail to realize what those years have done for us, as well as what they did to us. As I look upon this convention now I am not seeing you as persons—I am visualizing the institutions you represent. You are the men I might have addressed a decade ago, but your institutions represent far more than they could have then. The years that have been hard ones for you personally have not been altogether harsh with your institutions; into those institutions has flowed the strength of men who weathered the worst financial storms in this Nation's history.

There are many among you, I know, whose personal struggle was so difficult that, even though you have overcome the obstacles you faced, you find it difficult to look without bitterness on the past. There are some who, before the depression, controlled institutions so strong and so certain in their policies that many years only represented a futile period in which your progress was impeded. There are others whose fortunes were wrecked by forces beyond their control, whose institutions either collapsed or are still laboring under difficulties that even today seem insurmountable.

SAVINGS AND LOAN INDUSTRY BETTER PREPARED

But there is no one in this convention who can look toward the future and fail to realize that the savings and loan industry of today faces that future incomparably more prepared to become a more vital part of the Nation's economic structure than it ever could have become under ordinary conditions. The savings and loan industry no longer is merely fighting for a place under the sun—for release from restrictions, for an attitude of tolerance on the part of other financial institutions, or even for fair play. It is contending for a recognized position as the home-financing agency of the American people, the medium through which the long-term investments of that people are turned into homes. It is demanding recognition not only as the major harbor for the savings of those of small and moderate means, but as a logical vehicle of all those who have funds to invest over long periods and who seek adequate dividends without speculative risks.

109 YEARS EXPERIENCE OF BUILDING SOCIETIES

I cannot stress too strongly the new position which the savings and loan industry has assumed in the Nation's financial structure. It is good to be able to look back to 1831, when the first building society was founded near Philadelphia and count 109 years of experience in the financing of homes. No one quarrels with the value of traditions. But in talking to the investors and the home seekers of today, you have a newer, a less hackneyed story to tell. You can point back to the last 10 years—the years of depression and partial recovery—to show the American public a record of progress, rehabilitation, and reform that has few parallels at all and none that will shame you.

There is no need to describe to this convention what has been achieved in the last few momentous years. With all your pride in the traditions of savings and building and loan associations; with recognition of the fact that those associations gave to the Nation a century ago the very financing practices which other agencies now advertise as their own product—with all this, you and I know that a lack of unity and a lack of organization and foresight were threatening to cripple the savings and loan industry before the crisis of 1929. It was not geared and equipped for the modern financial world that had evolved around it. There were individual institutions, it is true, which were as sound and progressive as any financial agency in the country; there were many of them. But, as an industry, you lacked the unity, the implements for periods of expansion, and the bulwarks against periods of stress, that rightfully belonged to an industry financing the largest share of the Nation's homes.

It took a great depression to win recognition of the role savings and loan associations had come to play in America's financial life. Everyone had recognized the virtues of neighborhood associations; but few had stopped to think that those neighborhood associations, in the aggregate, bore a tremendous national responsibility. That fault was general—but that is neither here nor there. The fact is that, with the establishment of the Federal home loan bank system in 1932, Congress gave recognition to the fact that savings and loan associations represented a vital financial force, that the home mortgage structure was relatively as important as the great commercial banking structure; that one could not survive without the other; that weakness in one meant disaster for the other.

NEW RANK GIVEN

You were granted a credit reserve. Recognition was given of the fact that safety of the savings in your institutions was as important as those in other financial institutions. Tacitly, you were accorded a new rank in American business life.

With that rank comes a new responsibility. And it comes at a time when the Nation will soon see whether the savings and loan industry has statesmen for its leaders, whether the gains made toward unity through such organizations as the United States Building and Loan League, through State and district and county organizations, through utilization of the Federal home loan bank system and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, will be augmented, or whether the desire for immediate returns will result in policies which eventually must bring a strong reaction.

INCREASING BUSINESS

I am referring to the fact that employment is increasing rapidly, that pay rolls are rising, and that more money is going to be invested in the building of homes. All of you recognize this trend; you have been waiting for it for years. What will you do with the new business that comes to your doors? Will you preserve the renewed confidence of the American public in home ownership, or will you lose it, either wilfully or through ignorance or neglect?

BURDENSOME AND INTOLERABLE FEES ABOLISHED

I am not speaking in riddles. During the depression the high interest rates on money provided for home financing were radically reduced. Burdensome and intolerable fees and assessments were abolished. Outmoded lending procedures rightfully were discarded. Long-term, amortized mortgages, with equitable down payments and liberal terms extended over long periods of years, were established to replace short-term loans that rarely were fully liquidated. It was recognized that poor design and flimsy construction were rampant in the housing field and means were sought to provide better design and construction in their place.

CERTAIN ADVANTAGES OVER COMPETITORS

These policies must be carried forward. Loans must be made available to the public on economical terms by savings and loan associations—or they will be by someone else. Banks and trust companies, insurance companies, and mutual savings banks are offering the sternest kind of competition. You have certain advantages over them, but to take full benefit from those advantages you must be able to compete with them on all fronts—which means you must offer equally low interest rates and equally liberal terms.

I speak as an outsider but as a friend, and not as a destructive critic. I know the power of the opposition you face, because I have met it on the floor of Congress and in the committees which handle the legislation which affects you. Right now we have before us the legislation intended to strengthen the Federal home loan bank system, and a series of hearings over recent years have revealed the resourceful forces which would prohibit your expansion and, if they could, cripple your present operations.

PENDING PROPOSALS IN CONGRESS

Although the nature of this legislation surely is known to most of you, let me briefly review it. First, there is the proposal that the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized to buy debentures of the Federal home loan bank system and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation at any time, in his judgment, such purchases are sound public policy. This but duplicates his relations with the Federal Reserve System.

It should be stressed that this legislation does not oblige the Secretary of the Treasury to buy bank-system debentures. Such purchases are left entirely to his own discretion. The bank system in normal times needs no such financing; it only would be a temporary expedient when the public is fearful, an emergency which would end when normal confidence was restored. All that is sought is the right of the Secretary of the Treasury to act in times of emergency, a right he does not have at the present time.

There is no more risk to the Treasury in such a transaction with the Federal home loan bank system than there is with the Federal Reserve System. The thrift and home-financing institutions of the Nation are specialists in their field. They take only selected risks. Their investments are good collateral, for loans made on homes in this country are as sound as any that could be found.

Turning to the other provisions of the original bill, there is none which is not a logical reformation of the existing structure to make it a more effective credit reservoir. At the present time, to obtain advances from the 12 regional banks, member institutions of the system can use only mortgages on one- to four-family homes as collateral. Though they are allowed to loan a small percent of their funds on other structures, they cannot use those mortgages as collateral. Many of these other mortgages are insured by the Federal Housing Administration, so we have the anomaly of one Government agency under present law unable to accept as collateral mortgages which are insured by another. Many savings banks, desirous of joining the bank system, remain outside because a large share of their mortgages are useless in obtaining credit under the present law.

Many 25-year mortgages, insured by the F. H. A., are being granted on small homes by member institutions of the bank system. They cannot be used as collateral to obtain advances from the bank system, because there now is a limit of 20 years. Members of the system make many loans for more than $20,000—insured by F. H. A. and just as sound as their $5,000 loans—but the mortgages cannot be used as collateral because the bank system limit is $20,000.

There is no purpose here of changing the function of thrift and home-financing institutions to finance small homes. The proposed legislation authorizes Federal savings and loan associations in large urban communities to increase from 15 percent to 30 percent the investment of these institutions in multiple construction—more than four-family homes—giving them more of an outlet for their surplus funds.

State-chartered member institutions, almost double in number to Federal, are regulated entirely by their State charters. What this legislation does is allow them to use their mortgages on multiple dwellings as collateral for credit from the bank system. But that credit only means more money for the building of one- to four-family homes, not more multiple dwellings, for the limits of the State statutes on such construction still prevail.

I will not attempt to detail other provisions of the legislation. As most of you know, it would broaden the investment powers of savings and loan associations; reduce the premium rate for insurance of accounts with the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation; equalize tax exemptions of Federal- and State-chartered associations; and better equip the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to deal with various problems. Suffice it to say that the House of Representatives already has passed H. R. 6971, which contains the vital provision permitting the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase the obligations of the Federal home loan banks and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, but omits many of the other important provisions. S. 4095, now in the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, restores many of these provisions, and it is our hope those provisions will be in whichever bill goes to the floor of the Senate. Any conflicts with the House bill, of course, must be ironed out in conference—that is, if the Senate legislation is passed.

INTRUSION OF COMMERCIAL BANKS INTO HOME-FINANCING FIELD

I have taken an active part in this fight. I have clashed with the leaders of the opposition in many hearings, because I do not believe in their contentions. I challenged not only the intrusion of the commercial banks into the home-financing field but the complete lack of any participation by depositors in the conduct of so-called mutual savings banks—which have no mutual control whatsoever. I am the author of a bill to separate commercial and savings banking once and for all.

In the congressional hearings the attacks of bankers centered, of all things, on the invasion of the banking field by savings and loan associations. They accused the Federal Home Loan Bank Board of establishing Federal savings and loan associations in competition with existing institutions which adequately served various communities.

The charges simply do not hold water. I contend that commercial banks should not be in the home-financing business at all; mutual savings banks are found in only 18 States and 70 percent of their assets are concentrated in 2 States. Many of the other 30 States were strong savings and loan States, it is true, but in such States Federals were established in only a few communities. In New York only 14 new Federals have been established since 1933; in Massachusetts, none; in New Jersey, none.

But let us investigate a little further this charge that the Bank Board, through establishment of Federals, gave competition to existing institutions. The truth is that there are several instances where, upon organization of a Federal savings and loan association, a branch of a savings bank immediately was organized in the same territory. While the Board was establishing 14 new Federals in New York State, there were 30 branches of State banks opened there. In 1934, when the Board established 424 Federals throughout the country, 732 new banks and bank branches were established. In 1935, the ratio was 250 to 149; in 1936, 177 to 57; in 1937, 201 to 26; in 1938, 73 to 6. This, it seems to me, disposes of the myth that new Federal savings and loan associations encroached on established institutions. If it did so, then banks themselves encroached on their own existing institutions at a rate considerably more than twice that of the Federals.

These facts speak for themselves and do little credit to the men who went before Congress with their "red herring." Clearly competitive institutions were sponsored by the banks themselves. Obviously, there can be no objection to such a practice, if it is done fairly and if it is justified economically. But to criticize the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for indiscriminate chartering and, at the same time, be guilty of opening new savings-bank units by different devices, raises serious questions as to the fairness and the justice of all the complaints made before Congress.

The second accusation levied against the member institutions of the Federal home loan bank system is that they want to invade the banking field through the additional authority sought to allow them to make investments in other than one- to four-family home loans. One wonders if the purchase of securities by universities, philanthropic, and eleemosynary institutions generally means that they would be invading the banking field. If individuals purchase such securities, does that mean that they are competing with the banks? We are getting a little into the absurd.

But let a question be leveled at the commercial banking group: Is it invading the field in which savings and loan associations have done business normally for more than 100 years—home financing? The records of the Federal Housing Administration supply the answer—for the banks are the largest single participant in F. H. A. loans.

The commercial banks are "big business." The savings and loan associations are "little business." An invasion of the $68,000,000,000 banking field by the $7,000,000,000 savings and loan industry would make little difference; but the invasion of the $7,000,000,000 savings and loan industry by the mighty commercial banks threatens the existence of the "little fellow." This is a subject the bankers should not have brought up.

I see little more merit in the other contentions of the bankers who appeared before Congress. They criticized the practice of savings and loan associations of paying on demand; I insist that, in a certain measure, all investors should have access to the money they have saved to tide them over difficulties and that the attempt to provide a sound measure of liquidity on the part of savings and loan associations deserves commendation instead of condemnation. Unlike savings and loan associations, which have taken advantage of the defenses of the Federal home loan bank system, most savings banks have remained outside both that bank system and the Federal Reserve and ignored the protection of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Another subject that should not have been brought up.

The bankers criticized the use of the label "bank" in connection with any savings and loan association. If the bankers intend to be so strict on nomenclature, they might look into their own institutions, chartered as banking associations. Or, to be extreme, Does the dime savings bank restrict its business to dimes? Is the title Bank of America descriptive of either its ownership or its area of operation? Is there any uniformity of title or practice in the mutual savings banks to which I have referred? Is there any essential difference between the original purpose of mutual savings banks and the institutions you serve? Since no savings and loan association ever used the term "bank" except for purposes of simplicity, it wasn't wise to bring this one up, either.

I am not talking in a humorous vein, however, when I refer to mutual savings banks. It is true that their net income is apportioned according to investments of their depositors, but this is also the practice of stock companies in the treatment of their common stockholders. The acid test of mutuality is found in voting rights—and in most mutual savings banks the depositors are denied this privilege and trustees are self-perpetuating. In sharp contrast, savings and loan associations are truly mutual, since they place their control actually in the hands of shareholders. As I found out in congressional hearings, this is a subject that savings banks do not like to have brought up at all.

SEPARATE COMMERCIAL AND SAVINGS BANKING

I would like to refer again to my proposal to separate commercial and savings banking. The prime requisite of a good bank is that it shall be liquid—that depositors may get their money on call. No bank is liquid when its funds, supposedly withdrawable on notice, are tied up in long-term investments. Yet such investments are being made daily throughout the country and now have reached a staggering volume.

Long-term financing belongs to other institutions than commercial banks. Money is deposited in those institutions specifically for long-term investments. Yet commercial banks for several years have been abandoning their own function—depriving business of legitimate financing—to enter the long-term investment field, where they do not belong and where, for the safety of their depositors' funds, they cannot be allowed to remain.

Business needs the credit which can be furnished by commercial banks. Let it be released into the proper channels and business will have a chance to prosper, and the commercial banks will be back in their proper sphere, supplying funds for enterprises with a rapid turn-over that will mean a new prosperity.

"Calamity howlers" from banking circles have come to Congress time and again with their stories of a paralyzed banking world, of regulatory laws that crippled them, of investment opportunities strangled by fear. What is the truth? The truth is that the Government consistently has subsidized them. The truth is that the Government disbursed billions of dollars to commercial banks through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, the Farm Credit Administration, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Legislative favor reduced the interest they pay on savings deposits. Interest payments on demand deposits were eliminated. Their lending powers were liberalized, adding to the effectiveness of their Government subsidies.

In return, the commercial banks have added charges on checking accounts, assessing customers for accounts on which the banks pay no interest, have increased their disbursements in salaries and wages, and have decreased their traditional services to business and the general public.

FAILURE OF COMMERCIAL BANKS

Because of the failure of commercial banks to meet the credit needs of industry and commerce, the R. F. C. has been forced to grant thousands of loans to small business enterprises. Because of the inactivity of commercial banks, Congress was forced to authorize the Federal Reserve banks to extend direct credit to business for working capital. Because of the failure of commercial banks to meet the short term credit needs of farmers, production-credit associations were established under the Farm Credit Act of 1933. Because of the failure of commercial banks to provide credit facilities for foreign commerce, the Export-Import Bank was created.

The failure of commercial banks to properly serve their purpose nowhere is better illustrated than in the installment credit field. Thousands of specialized installment finance companies now finance half the purchases in this field, with a total annual business volume of three billions of dollars; most of the rest is done by dealers, personal loan departments of commercial banks and personal loan agencies. The importance of strictly commercial banks in this field now is negligible.

For a last observation on some current commercial bank policies, we can turn to the personal loan agencies. There were more than 4,000 as far back as 1935, doing a business of $500,000,000—at rates of interest the public ill could afford to pay and which, if commercial banks were extending the proper credit, it would not have had to pay. The expansion of personal loan companies has been paralleled by the growth of credit unions under State and Federal charter; at the end of 1938, there were 7,500 such unions, with assets of more than $120,000,000.

In other words, the commercial banks of this Nation have abandoned commercial banking and deprived business of the credit with

which it could expand. But they have entered another field—that of long-term investments—which has been the function of your institutions for more than 100 years.

HOME SEEKERS AND HOME OWNERS DESERVE A SPECIAL STATUS

So much for the banks. I have dwelt on their operations only so you may understand that some of us in Congress recognize the true situation and to awaken you to your opposition. My final words, I address solely to the savings and loan industry. You are and should be the principal home financing agencies in this country. I am firmly of the belief that the relationship between the home seeker and the home owner and those who finance them should be a personal one. Homes should be bought on a credit that is based on character as well as current earnings. Once a mortgage is "sold down the river," the contact between borrower and lender is lost. A mortgage financed through a savings and loan association, through community institutions, can be adjusted according to the needs of the worthy borrower; it becomes a matter of cold routine when the lender is an impersonal mortgage holder.

Home seekers and home owners deserve a special status. They are the bulwark of our country. Leniency in hard times to the borrower who has proved a sound risk in good times has been proved as a safe and sensible policy by the experience of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. You can't extend that leniency unless you yourselves are provided with the proper credit facilities and protection for your own institutions, but that is what we have given you through the Federal home loan bank system, and your facilities will be expanded and your protection will be strengthened by the legislation that is now before Congress.

Not only have you been aided, but the investors in your institutions have been provided with the opportunity of insuring their accounts. It is my belief that this protection should be extended to every investor in the Nation's savings and loan associations; that they deserve such a protection and ultimately will learn to demand it.

This cycle will be complete when every person who seeks funds with which to build or buy a home is given the advantages of a low interest rate and liberal terms. I repeat that in this democracy there is no reason for providing cheap money to the favored few, to the large borrowers of the financial world, and making money costly to those of small and average means, especially those who want to place their borrowed funds in such security as the homes in which they propose to live.

The home seeker of this country deserves home financing at the lowest possible cost. He deserves a friendly relationship with an institution of unquestioned integrity. He deserves a good home—well designed and well constructed—for the dollars he invests. And he deserves consideration in any economic difficulties which are beyond his control.

These you can give him. And to the extent that you do so, you will become the home-financing industry of the United States. In your progress toward that goal, you have my warmest support.

Hospital Privileges in Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 18, 1940

ARTICLE FROM FOREIGN SERVICE

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to include with my remarks the following article from the official magazine of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Foreign Service, which points out a problem which must be carefully considered by everyone concerned with the welfare of American veterans.

[From Foreign Service for November 1940]

HOSPITAL PRIVILEGES IN DANGER

Hospitalization for medical treatment of non-service-connected disabilities in Veterans' Administration hospitals—enjoyed by nearly 150,000 war veterans each year—may be a thing of the past within the next 2 or 3 years.

Unless the Veterans' Administration launches, at once, a program of constructing additional facilities, veterans of past wars will probably find themselves denied hospital treatment for non-service-connected disabilities, because the Veterans' Administration will have to provide hospitalization for the greatly increased number of those who will incur severe service-connected disabilities in the Nation's expanding national-defense establishments.

Eligibility for treatment of non-service-connected disabilities in Veterans' Administration facilities having available bed space has been one of the most valuable privileges accorded to veterans of the Spanish-American War and of the World War. Since the law so providing was enacted on June 7, 1924, the Veterans' Administration has granted more than a million admissions for those suffering from non-service-connected disabilities—saving the lives of thousands of those who were not able financially to secure adequate treatment otherwise.

The right of hospitalization for war veterans has many times been officially expressed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs as the most valuable benefit accorded to war veterans by the Federal Government. It should be noted, however, that the Veterans' Administration is under obligation to furnish hospital treatment to war veterans, for their non-service-connected disabilities, only in the events that there are available beds, after veterans suffering with service-connected disabilities have first been cared for.

It is feared that if Army cantonment hospitals prove to be unequal to the task of giving necessary medical treatment for the ailments of those in active service the Veterans' Administration will be called upon to surrender the 2,000 beds which it now has under contract in regular Army and Navy hospitals, and will also be required to provide from 5,000 to 15,000 additional beds for the treatment of those in active service, and for discharged Regulars, for their service-connected disabilities. Within 3 years the extra load for disabled Regulars will probably be increased to from 10,000 to 25,000, to that extent decreasing the number of Veterans' Administration beds now being used for the treatment of war veterans.

To meet this situation the V. F. W. has urged the Federal Board of Hospitalization, in a letter addressed to its chairman, Gen. Frank T. Hines, under date of October 19, 1940, by the Director of the National Service Bureau, to "recommend that the Veterans' Administration be directed immediately to undertake the construction of such additional hospital facilities as will provide for such contingencies, and at the same time to enable it to maintian adequate hospitalization for all World War veterans in need thereof," and "that the Board should recommend that adequate funds for such construction be provided either by congressional appropriation or by allocations from funds at the disposal of the President for purposes of national defense."

It was further contended, on behalf of the V. F. W., that "adoption of a policy of immediate expansion of its hospital facilities will enable the Veterans' Administration to meet the needs of disabled veterans of past wars and also to coordinate its activities with those of the War and Navy Departments to meet the needs for national defense."

To emphasize the deep concern of the V. F. W. relative to this matter, request was made that several of its national officers be accorded the opportunity to appear before the Federal Board of Hospitalization at its next meeting.

All pertinent facts and estimates as to the probable need for expanded Veterans' Administration facilities have been presented by the national legislative representative to the Honorable JOHN E. RANKIN, chairman, House Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation, in charge of all legislation relative to hospitalization, as well as to other congressional leaders, with the hope that Congress may be so impressed as to make a substantial appropriation, if necessary, for such purpose before adjournment of the Seventy-sixth Congress, so that the Veterans' Administration can immediately make plans and take steps accordingly.

Airport Facilities for National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSHUA L. JOHNS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 18, 1940

STATEMENT BY COL. J. E. MYERS, RETIRED

Mr. JOHNS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Col. J. E. Myers, retired, president of the Aviation Defense Association:

Spurred by the vast national-defense program, the United States is on its way to a 50,000 yearly military and naval plane goal. The small, private plane manufacturers are also solving many of the technical and financial difficulties confronting them in this field and increasing sales and production at a rapid rate. Consequently in a few more years the air will be filled with mechanical birds of all breeds and sizes. But where will they nest, land, or take off, or obtain service facilities? No chain is stronger than its weakest link, and it is becoming increasingly evident that there is an urgent need for stepping up our airport facilities if we are to rule the air in all its phases.

For many years past it has been generally conceded that military and naval bases were of great defensive importance in view of the rapid development of the airplane as an instrument of war. More recently the general public began to appreciate the full significance of commercial aviation, principally the air lines, in our aerial defense. The latter's value was usually interpreted to mean that in case of war the air-line pilots could be used in many military missions, and that the air liners could be utilized for bombing purposes and for the quick transportation of troops and supplies.

Now, with a 50,000 yearly plane objective set by President Roosevelt requiring at least 100,000 trained pilots, public opinion is

gradually sensing the part to be played by the average crossroads flyer and the private plane operator in future defense plans. When the present defense program is completed the Nation will be forced to rely more and more upon the reservoir of private pilots. It is these private flyers who must be encouraged if they are to fulfill their destiny of serving as the real backbone of our entire aerial-defense system in time of grave emergency. The private pilot may be able to pay for his own training, his plane, and its maintenance, but for the most part the problem of building airports must be met by the Federal, State, and municipal governments.

Mr. A. Reed Towner, chairman of the Airports and Airways Committee of the Aviation Defense Association and a famous A. E. F. aviator, foresaw these trends and their implications during the World War period. After the armistice he started a vigorous lone-wolf campaign for the construction of civilian airports throughout the country. In view of his aggressive leadership at that time, many consider him the father of the civilian airport movement in the United States. During this epochal period he came to realize that little progress could be made toward arousing local interest in establishing airports or the development of passenger-carrying air lines without Federal encouragement. To supply this need Mr. Towner sponsored the law creating the Bureau of Civil Aeronautics, the predecessor of the present Civil Aeronautics Administration.

After years of agitation and much missionary work under discouraging circumstances, he originated and drafted in 1925 a congressional bill, known as H. R. 8300, authorizing the construction of a model airport at Gravelly Point, Washington, D. C., which reads, in part, as follows:

"Be it enacted, etc., That the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the United States Government jointly are authorized to reclaim land known as the Gravelly Point site in the District of Columbia for the purpose of establishing and maintaining thereon a suitable airdrome to facilitate and encourage the development of commercial aviation and for national-defense purposes; and to establish thereon necessary hangars, beacon lights for night flying, meteorological service, and any necessary equipment installed for the protection and safety of aircraft landing or taking off in this field, and to maintain such civil air field.

"The field so established to meet the standards classified as class A airports by the Department of Commerce and shall be large enough to accommodate all types of aircraft, both heavier and lighter than air.

"The field so acquired shall be reserved wholly for the use of the public and shall not be leased to any corporation for public or private purposes. It shall be open to the public as a landing field for private aircraft of all descriptions, the use of the Air Mail Service, and as a station for the accommodation of passengers from organized passenger and air freight lines."

Now, 15 years afterward, the Washington National Airport, finest in the world, emerges on this site, a lasting monument to his labor and foresight.

Mr. Towner's duties as chairman of the airports and airways committee include the following general principles adopted by the Aviation Defense Association:

"To endorse measures for the vast expansion of all commercial, aeronautical, and meteorological activities, research laboratories, main and feeder air passenger and freight lines, airports, and bases, and to advocate the unification and standardization of airplane parts and their accessories.

"For the protection of our liberty, freedom, and democracy; to encourage all possible means of rapid transportation, shipping, and communications, for the purpose of increasing trade and friendly relations and for the establishment of a strong coalition of all American nations."

Mr. Towner is also a member of our committee for the celebration of Pan American Day on December 17. The chairman of this committee is the Honorable M. H. Thatcher, former Governor of the Canal Zone during its construction period, and a Member of Congress for many years. In view of the great importance to pan-American solidarity and air defense of the Americas, it is hoped that permission will be granted for the use of the Washington National Airport at Gravelly Point for the coming celebration of Pan American Aviation Day on December 17.

Uncle Sam Cannot Continue To Be Santa Claus—Many Things That the Federal Government Is Doing Must Stop—This Country Is Putting Its Forces Practically on a War Basis—That Calls for Spending Money on a Wartime Footing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARL C. MICHENER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 18, 1940

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, it has been suggested by Secretary Morgenthau that the national debt limit be boosted by fifteen or twenty billion dollars. It is now authorized at forty-nine billion.

Possible defense preparations will make necessary the lifting of the debt limit. This should be done step by step as the need is demonstrated. Federal expenditures should be under the constant scrutiny of Congress. I am opposed to giving the Executive a blank check and by the same token I am opposed to raising the debt limit except when the necessity is shown for the specific raise. The Congress should be in constant session, and the Executive should present these matters to the Congress as occasion demands.

Pursuant to the authority given to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herein an editorial from the Adrian (Mich.) Daily Telegram which is timely and understandable and I believe represents the sentiment of a vast majority of the American people. The editorial is as follows:

WATCH OUR SPENDING

The suggestion by Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau that the Federal debt limit will have to be raised and taxes increased to finance the rearmament program was not unexpected. It has been apparent with Congress appropriating billions for defense, in response to an insistent demand from the people, that the debt limit would have to give way. It already has been moved upward from forty-five billion dollars to forty-nine billion. Secretary Morgenthau says that it will have to be increased by fifteen to twenty billions more.

At his press conference Secretary Morgenthau said that even with the new taxes that will be necessary it would be impossible for the Federal Government to go on a pay-as-you-go basis. That is obvious. He added that the increased revenue from moving the debt limit upward would take care of Federal financing needs only through the 1942 fiscal year.

While we must expect an increase in the Federal debt for defense there is no reason to not examine other Federal costs in the light of the emergency and institute the utmost economy. Uncle Sam cannot continue to be Santa Claus. Many things that the Federal Government is doing must stop. This country is putting its forces practically on a war basis. That calls for spending money on a wartime footing. A nation at war has to forego many things that are possible under peace conditions.

Senator BYRD, of Virginia, has called for such a program of economy in nonpreparedness expenditures. He suggests, instead of moving the debt limit upward in one move, that it be done step by step as the need is demonstrated. There is this strong point in favor of his suggestion: It would keep Federal expenditures under the constant scrutiny of Congress, and that is as it should be.

Certainly there are Federal expenditures that can be reduced. As industry swings into the manufacture of arms, more and more jobs will be created and unemployment rolls are bound to decrease. Men who do not find employment in arms building will find other employment, and very soon there will come the time when only the unemployables—those unfit because of physical handicaps and age—must receive public help. Thus the relief expenditures and the sums spent on the W. P. A. and such agencies can be greatly reduced. There are other items of Federal cost that can be eliminated or made much less.

Such reductions in Federal outlays will be bitterly fought by the Washington bureaucracy for, once entrenched, those feeders on the public pay roll can be dislodged only by the most powerful blasts. But they will have to go. National security demands retrenchment in unnecessary spending and the giving up of frivolous projects just as much as it calls for more funds to make the Nation impervious to attack.

Reply to the New European Explosion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN LESINSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 18, 1940

ARTICLE BY RUMANIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include—by request—the following article written by Rumanian organizations with reference to the present situation in Transylvania:

REPLY TO THE NEW EUROPEAN EXPLOSION

Dr. A. S. Gondos, the cunning Hungarian politician, in his relentless attempt to enlist the public opinion of America for the unjust Hungarian cause supported by the dictatorial powers of Europe, abusing the Honorable Mr. Lesinski's unsuspecting trust, succeeded in entering distorted historical facts and half-truths of boisterous

Hungarian post-war propaganda into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by reproducing the German-descent Martin Himler's editorial written for the Associated Hungarian Weeklies, The New European Explosion.

Under the transparent pretense of trying to analyze the cause of present European conflagration, Mr. Himler endeavors to justify the recent action of the axis powers in awarding the Rumanian Province of Transylvania to Hungary. And he is doing it, banking on the readers' lack of information, with deceitful and groundless statements, instead of presenting indisputable historical facts, in a real braggadocio Magyar fashion.

The contentions of Mr. Himler with reference to the so valiently reconquered Transylvania are spurious and can't stand the acid test of objective study. The truth-seeking reader may corroborate this statement by consulting, in any public library, the book of the English historian, Leonard A. Magnus, LL. B., published in London (1917).

That Transylvania has been a Rumanian province for at least 1,800 years, the compilers of the Oxford Historical Atlas of Modern Europe, as well as the authorities in the great Russian and German encyclopedias, are all in agreement. And as per the "logic and justice" done in the Trianon treaty by respecting the spontaneously expressed desire and determination of the Transylvanian population to become a part of Greater Rumania, every American will accept the good judgment of our late President Wilson in preference to that of Mr. Himler.

First, because the principality of Transylvania was independent—with its own Parliament—until 1867, when by political trickery it became a part of Hungary.

The indigene population of Transylvania is Rumanian, and "the voluminous endeavor of the Magyars to prove themselves indigenous and the Rumanians settlers has not succeeded" (I. Jung, 1877).

As proof serves Andrew, the king of Hungary's recognition of the Rumanians as a fourth nation to the Transylvanian Diet, in 1291.

"The land (inhabitants) was Rumanian: the Magyars in the twelfth century dwelt in tents"—says Jung, the German historian.

From the census of 1890 the following figures are drawn from German-Austrian sources:

Rumanians in Transylvania	1,276,890
Magyars (including 80,000 Gypsies, 15,000 Jews, 9,000 Turks and Bulgarians)	697,945
Germans	217,670
Others	58,711

The contention that the Rumanians came during centuries of Turkish occupation, escaping into Hungary, is groundless because Hungary did not exist for 164 years but as a mere Turkish province, while Rumania and Transylvania remained independent, though subject to Turkish suzerainty (Magnus).

The fact is that the population of Transylvania is mixed due to later colonizations (in the twelfth century) of the Szeklers (settlers) and the Germans.

"Hungarian history is the story of the relations of the Magyar nobility, the enserfed Rumanian peasantry, and the German colonists—the Magyar-German colonists wedged themselves into the Wallach (Rumanian) territory. Each of them took exclusive possession of the dominion of the country, as the sole 'nations'—while the Wallachs were the unprivileged mass"—Jung.

Regarding the permission to develop their culture unmolested are eloquently talking the political terror of Banfy, and the educational laws of Apponyi.

"The remaining forms of persecution of the Rumanians are rather more nondescript. There is no right of association for any purpose, whether agricultural, literary, academic, commercial, trade, etc. There is no liberty of press.

"The petty persecutions for dancing the national dances, reading books published in Rumania, singing Rumanian songs, etc., are too numerous to mention"—Magnus.

Also the statement that Transylvania is geographically a part of Hungary is daring. Because, considering the course of the rivers, all of which are flowing toward the Carpathian Mountains, Transylvania, and even Hungary with its plains, are belonging, geographically, to Rumania.

Mr. Himler's contention that "Hungary is culturally centuries ahead of Rumania" proves plainly the superficiality of the author. In fact, considering that the Hungarian songs are the artistic expression of the humble gypsies (Czigany zene); the literature is represented by the Serbian Petoefy, the Croatian Madach, the Rumanian Arany; the classical music by the German Liszt; the painting by the German Munkacsy; the political life by the Rumanian-Macedonian Deak; etc. One may ask if there is such a thing as a genuine Hungarian culture.

In conclusion, it is very doubtful that "Eastern Europe" will be a healthier place with Transylvania belonging to a Hungary still under the tyranny of a feudal system of government, in this age of advanced democracy.

STEFAN AT. OPREANU,
EUGENE MARGINEAN,
LEON RUSSU,
Dearborn.

Hon. Lindsay C. Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EWING THOMASON
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 18, 1940

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, before the close of this busy and memorable session of Congress I desire to join in the tribute being paid Hon. Lindsay C. Warren, with whom I have served so pleasantly ever since I have been a Member of this House.

His broad vision, his comprehensive knowledge of conditions and needs throughout this country, and his strength of character combined to make him a leader in this body and early in his service he acquired a deserved national reputation.

He could always be relied on to take a courageous and patriotic stand on any question before the House, and to his other qualities that fit him for the high place he has occupied among us, he adds an understanding of business administration that will be peculiarly valuable to him in the post which he now occupies, the duties of which he will discharge with that high order of ability with which he does everything.

I was fortunate enough to be invited to attend the celebration in his honor in his home town of Washington, N. C., and I regret exceedingly that it was impossible for me to be there. The people of his State on that occasion gathered to pay him their devotion in words of praise and with gifts that came from generous and appreciative hearts to a friend and neighbor whom they loved for himself and for the public service he had rendered over a long period of years.

This House can ill afford to lose from its membership one who has served with the fearless honesty, the love of the right, and the devotion to the principles on which this Nation stands as Lindsay Warren. We whom he leaves behind here know that these sterling qualities of heart and mind will continue to be exercised for his country's welfare and there could not be entrusted to more capable hands the exacting and invaluable work required of the Comptroller General of the United States.

Inflation Would Be a Tragedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 18, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, before our national defense program was developed a short time ago our Government was faced with an enormous debt burden. Even at that time there were discussions as to how this enormous deficit was to be paid. There is, of course, only one way to solve that problem if the Government is to be honest. Increased taxes are inevitable if the budget is to be balanced.

Right now, with enormous additional obligations for national defense purposes, the question of a sound fiscal policy for the United States of America is of paramount importance.

Worthwhile expenditures for domestic purposes will have to be continued. The waste of public funds, however, wherever found, should be stopped. The higher the debt limit, the more serious becomes the inflation problem.

The experience in Europe following the first World War has a lesson for this country and shows what a tragedy inflation may be to men and women in every walk of life. The

following editorial in the Christian Science Monitor for November 16 is worthy of careful attention:

THE THREAT OF INFLATION

That economic "enfant terrible"—inflation—continues to crop up in the news of the day.

Respects were paid to it recently by leaders in various fields: Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of the board of General Motors, before the American Academy of Political Science; Joseph M. Dodge, president of the Detroit Bank, before the National Association of Real Estate Boards; W. Randolph Burgess, vice chairman of the board of the National City Bank of New York; and Dr. Harold G. Moulton, president, the Brookings Institution. These and others know inflation for what it is—a conflagration that brings disaster in its wake.

It appears harmless when it starts, a gentle, warming blaze of modest price increases. But fanned by extreme stimulation of economic activity, as now, for instance, by defense needs, it might sweep all barriers before it. Last week the stock and commodity markets thought they saw the "bogey" peering over the horizon, and a surge of buying resulted.

That there is no valid reason for inflation does not remove it as a possibility. Speculative excesses are not founded on good judgment. Fear that it may be around the corner is in itself a factor in its appearance. Some see 8 years of Federal deficits as having sown the seeds of inflation. Others say inflation comes after every great war, as note the great price rises following the Napoleonic wars, the American Civil War, and the World War.

There are influences today, however, that make inflation seem unlikely. More is known about it and its consequences than ever before. Businessmen perceive that behind it inevitably stalks deflation. Moreover, inflation can hardly sweep over the markets so long as there are nine million unemployed, much factory capacity unused, huge surpluses of commodities held by the Government, and tremendous powers in Federal hands which can affect price policies and the commodity and security markets.

If inflation comes because people have more money than consumer goods immediately available, causing a sellers' market, then the Government can exert several curbs. It may levy higher taxes, restrict the supply of credit by selling bonds to savers rather than to banks, reduce its own spending, foster the use of private funds to finance defense industries, bar competitive buying by Federal agencies, use priorities to bar unwanted price increases, set its face against uneconomic wage increases, cut excess bank reserves by increasing reserve requirements, and, finally, if needed, return to a 6-day week to improve production.

Above all should be the goal of greater output of wanted goods, combined with a cooperative effort by business to subject itself voluntarily to disciplines that make for the common good. In the last analysis, inflation is only latent. Common sense and restraint can keep it so.

Administration of the National Labor Relations Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD W. SMITH

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 18, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. HOWARD W. SMITH, OF VIRGINIA

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by me at the annual dinner of the Employers Association of Chicago on November 13, 1940:

In any discussion of the administration of the National Labor Relations Act it is necessary to understand the background and the purposes of that act, the evils it was designed to remedy, and the justifications for its passage that were claimed by its sponsors. Under the National Industrial Recovery Act a Labor Board was set up by Executive order. The objects of that Board were the promotion of collective bargaining and the bringing about of a better and fairer relationship between employer and employee, with the hope that industrial strife would thereby be diminished. The Board had very little authority or power; it operated principally through the power of persuasion. When the N. I. R. A. was declared unconstitutional in May 1935, a widespread demand arose for labor legislation embodying the principles of the labor section, section 7a, of that act. As a result of this demand, in part due to the activities of the N. I. R. A. Labor Board, the Wagner Act was passed in July 1935.

The policy of the Wagner Act, as set out in the first section, is as follows: "It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to eliminate the causes of certain substantial obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to mitigate and eliminate these obstructions when they have occurred by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection."

Few will complain today of the laudable policy set forth in the foregoing. Industry and labor alike have come to recognize, as a part of our system, the right of employees to deal collectively with their employer through duly accredited representatives of their own choosing. True, there was a time when many employers bitterly resented the idea that they must deal with their employees as a unit through duly constituted delegates instead of dealing with them as individuals. That day has now passed, and if any employer still has a lurking expectation of returning to the day when he might hire or fire individuals in his employ without reference to their right to union protection or their right to bargain collectively, the sooner such employer dismisses that idea from his mind and endeavors to adjust himself to the modern and settled trend of relationship between employer and employee as symbolized by the idea of collective bargaining, the better off he will be.

The policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees is the law of the land. It is here to stay. If accepted in good faith and carried out with sincerity of purpose by both employers and employees, it is destined, under proper administration of a prudently amended law to serve a useful and worthwhile purpose in our economic system.

But what does the right of collective bargaining between employers and employees mean? What did Congress intend to do when it declared the policy of the United States to be as above outlined? The best answer to that question is to be found in the statements made to the Senate and House by the sponsors of the bill when it was under debate in 1935. Let us see what they said at that time.

Senator WAGNER said: "It does not compel anyone to make a compact of any kind if no terms are arrived at that are satisfactory to him. The very essence of collective bargaining is that either party shall be free to withdraw if its conditions are not met. * * * The law does not require any employer to sign any agreement of any kind. Congress has no power to impose such a requirement. An agreement presupposes mutual consent. The law merely requires that an employer bargain collectively with his workers, which means that he shall receive their representatives and engage in a fair discussion in the hope that terms may be voluntarily agreed upon by both sides without recourse to strife."

Well, nearly everybody will agree to that, but let's see what Senator WALSH, another ardent advocate of the bill, said on the floor of the Senate when it was under question:

"Let me say that the bill requires no employer to sign any contract, to make any agreement, to reach any understanding with any employee or group of employees. * * *

"A crude illustration is this: The bill indicates the method and manner in which employees may organize, the method and manner of selecting their representatives or spokesmen, and leads them to the office door of their employer with the legal authority to negotiate for their fellow employees. The bill does not go beyond the office door. It leaves the discussion between the employer and the employee, and the agreements which they may or may not make, voluntary and with that sacredness and solemnity to a voluntary agreement with which both parties to an agreement should be enshrouded."

And, similarly, in the debate in the House, Congressman WELCH, of California, ranking Republican member of the Labor Committee, said: "It does not require the employer to sign any contract, to make any agreement, to reach any understanding with any employee or group of employees."

It is difficult to see how the English language could have been used to make any clearer just what Congress intended. Nobody ever thought that the Labor Board would undertake to force employers, without any authority of law, to accede to the demands of their employees or to make counterproposals if the terms proposed were unsatisfactory; nor was it supposed that the Labor Board would undertake, in the absence of any provisions in the law, to compel an employer to sign a written contract with his employees against his will. But when the Labor Board found itself in authority and power it proceeded not only to exercise the functions of an administrative board but also to constitute itself a legislative body, writing into the act by means of its regulations and interpretations the very conditions and provisions that Congress had expressly and purposely omitted. In the teeth of the expressions above quoted from the sponsors of the bill, this Board, in its third annual report, made the following statement: "And the Board has considered counterproposals so important an element of collective bargaining that it has found the failure of the employer to offer counterproposals to be persuasive of the fact that the employer has not bargained in good faith"; and later, in the famous Inland Steel case, this Board had the presumption to hold the Inland Steel Co. guilty of a violation of the act simply because Inland declined to sign a written agreement with the union, notwithstanding its compliance with the act through bargaining collectively with its employees.

Now, there is no provision anywhere in the law even remotely requiring the employer to enter into a written contract with his employees; the three outstanding sponsors of the bill in the Congress had specifically stated in debate that it was not the intention of the Congress to require any employer to sign any contract. Senator WAGNER, who was supposed to be the father of the bill, had said in the Senate debate: "The law does not require any employer to sign any agreement of any kind. Congress has no power to impose such a requirement."

I mention this incident merely as a background and an illustration of the utter and reckless disregard and disobedience of this executive agency of the will and the purposes of the Congress which created it. I mention it as merely one of many incidents of flagrant assumption of nonexistent powers. It was the constant repetition of such arrogant assumption of powers that finally awoke a long-suffering public and an overpatient Congress to inquire "upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed that he has grown so great?" It induced the Congress, by special legislation, to set up a select committee of the House to investigate the conduct of the Labor Board and to propose amendments to curtail its activities and give relief from its arbitrary and dictatorial decrees.

As the result of that investigation and the report of the majority of that committee the House of Representatives, by a vote of exactly 2 to 1, divided almost equally between Democrats and Republicans, repudiated the present Board by ordering its abolition and the substitution of a new Board. The House also enacted certain salutary amendments to the act to prevent a repetition of the outrages which it felt had been perpetrated upon the American people by the maladministration of the Board.

I will not bore you with an account of the tortuous course by which these amendments were adopted by the House in the face of every obstruction that could be thrown in the way of their consideration. Suffice it to say that the amendments were overwhelmingly adopted by the House and now repose in a pigeonhole of the Committee on Education and Labor in the Senate, gathering dust and cobwebs under the careful guardianship of those who stubbornly maintain that the Labor Board and the Labor Act are of divine inspiration, too sacred to be soiled by human hands.

To correct these evils which are undermining our system of government, creating class hatred, and encouraging industrial strife, we must depend upon an aroused public opinion that will make itself so vocal and so vigorous as to impel action by both branches of Congress.

The whole record of the administration of this act by the Labor Board has shown a fixed and steadfast purpose, not to promote peace and harmony between employers and employees, as the act purported to do, but to persecute and punish industry at the behest of labor organizations seeking to control the relations between employers and employees, often against the will of the employees themselves. Investigation of thousands of cases by our committee disclosed this purpose beyond any question of a doubt.

It is, of course, impossible to give you, in this brief discourse, a complete picture of the thousands of cases which we reviewed and investigated. The matters disclosed were not the colored and prejudiced incidents taken from the lips of witnesses who might be prejudiced one way or another; they were matters disclosed by the files, records, writings, and decisions of the Board and its employees themselves. I am merely going to give you, by way of illustration, some of the flagrant incidents which have added to the storm of indignation and revolt against the present administration of the labor act. To understand them clearly, you should understand how the Board operates.

Under the plan of operation devised by the Board, when an employee or a union charges an employer with a violation of the act, an employee of the Board called a field examiner investigates that case, presumably from an impartial standpoint. If it is thought that a case can be established, a complaint against the employer is issued. The employer is then required to appear before a Board employee called a trial examiner, who is in effect a judge, who hears the evidence in the case. This trial examiner, after hearing the evidence, writes his report to the Board, which is, in effect, a decision of the case. One would assume that the decision of this trial examiner, who has seen the witnesses and heard their testimony, would be very persuasive with the Board in reaching its final conclusion. This, however, is not always the situation. The entire record of the case, along with the trial examiner's report, is then referred to an agency of the Board in Washington known as the Review Division. The record and the report are in turn referred to some individual in that division who, after going over all the evidence, reports verbally to the Board and then actually writes the Board's decision. The Board members themselves generally do not write their decisions—nearly all of the decisions are written by the attorneys in the Review Division.

You may have read a recent article in the Saturday Evening Post entitled "Juvenile Jurists." The material for that article was taken from the record of our investigation, which has disclosed that the decisions in these cases, often involving hundreds of thousands of dollars, the rights of thousands of employees and of some of the largest business concerns in the country, are written by young lawyers. In the majority of instances, these young lawyers, both male and female, have never in their lives tried a lawsuit or had any practical legal or judicial experience. The association and connection between those employees of the Board who investigate, those employees who prosecute, and those employees who decide cases are so intimate and interwoven that it is impossible to segregate the prosecuting function of the Board from the judicial function. In the end, the same agency which investigated and prosecuted the case as an advocate for the labor union also writes the decision. Obviously, such an impossible situation could lead to but one result—partial and biased decisions which have resulted in the destruction of every vestige of confidence in and respect for the actions of the Board.

When these biased decisions have been rendered, they are printed and bound in large volumes, similar to decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. They are then used and cited by these same prejudiced juvenile jurists in building up precedents for other and more flagrant inroads into the American system of impartial judicial determination. These juvenile jurists, in their zeal to destroy every vestige of that impartial attitude that has been the characteristic and bulwark of our system of jurisprudence, have written some truly remarkable decisions; and they are all printed and preserved in the dignified buckram-bound 20-volume library of decisions of the Board.

Let me cite you a few examples of these remarkable decisions: The Board has solemnly decided that it is a violation of the law for an employer to say to one of his employees, "If I had a son, I would advise him not to join a labor union"; that it is a violation of the law for an employer to post on the bulletin board at his factory a statement of the terms upon which he is willing to settle a strike with his employees; that it is a violation of the law, according to the Labor Board, for him to advise his employees that he is willing to negotiate with the representatives chosen by the employees from their own number. The Board has solemnly decided that if a labor organizer happens to be a Communist or a criminal and this fact is unknown to the employees, it is a violation of the law for the employer to inform them of that fact. It is a violation of the law, according to these decisions, for an employer to discuss with his employees their union affiliations, although a total stranger has the full sanction of the Board to make any representations to them he sees fit, whether true or false.

When 1,200 employees of the Donnelly Garment Co. offered to testify under oath that they preferred their own independent union to a certain national union that was seeking by threats and violence to organize their plant, and that they had not been coerced or dominated by their employer into joining their independent union, the Board solemnly decided—believe it or not—that these 1,200 employees should not be permitted to testify in their own case on the ground that their testimony would not be good evidence of whether or not their union was company dominated. Evidently the Board feared the employer might be exercising some remote control over the nature of their testimony.

The Board decided in the *Sterling Electric Motors* case that an independent union, which was destroyed by the decision of the Board, did not have the right to be made a party to the proceedings, or even to appear in defense of its right of existence.

It has been decided in numerous cases that even though an employee is a known Communist or of communistic leanings, an employer could be compelled to reinstate that employee to his former status.

Some good day in the future, when the American people will no longer endure such a situation, and things right themselves, as they will, I hope that these famous volumes of decisions of the juvenile jurists, containing the record of so many wrongs and injustices to American business and American institutions, will be preserved in the archives as a horrible example of things that ought not to be done to our judicial system.

It is difficult to conceive how the minds of men in a free country could arrive at some of the queer conclusions arrived at by the Labor Board. But we have in our land today many strange philosophies, strange ideas of government imported here from other sources. That these ideas should have infiltrated the very temple of our government at a time so critical is a tragic catastrophe.

I do not wish to become personal, but I think you should know something about the philosophy of some of the people who are performing policy-making functions in your Government at the expense of you taxpayers.

One of the chief policy-making employees of the Board was found to have given vent to his philosophy of government in the following written declaration: "If, in the attempt to carry out a program political action fails, then the workers must unhesitatingly resort to organized force. The International must take the position that if another war occurs the workers will destroy capitalism. With that end in view the workers must be prepared to stretch arms across the frontiers in case of war and definitely win power for themselves." In another and later article he wrote: "Unless such a movement (of middle class and workers) is brought into being, capitalism will go marching on, with its poverty, misery, and economic insecurity. The time is ripe; have the middle class and workers the will to rise to the occasion?"

This same individual has disclaimed any personal communistic tendencies or beliefs. In a private interview with a Member of Congress, which interview was subsequently brought to light in our proceedings, this individual, while disclaiming his own communistic views, charged that certain of the more important personnel of the Board were either outright Communists or "hewed to the Communist Party line." On being placed under oath before our committee, however, he categorically denied every charge he had previously made. The Member of Congress to whom he had made the disclosures thereupon appeared before our committee with a memorandum of the entire conversation made at the time and testified positively that the individual had made such charges. This testimony was verified by a second disinterested witness, who had been present at the conference.

Pursuing the subject further, a prominent individual connected with the Board, one of those who had been charged with "hewing to the Communist Party line," took the stand before our committee and vigorously attacked us for our activity in the matter. He denied the charges made against him, but did not deny his membership and connection with the so-called communistic front organization known as the American League for Peace and Democracy. When the committee subsequently wrote to him requesting a list of the organizations of which he was a member or had been a member, we received the following reply:

"This will acknowledge your letter of October 11.

"Since I consider the request conveyed in your letter an unwarranted intrusion into my personal affairs, I respectfully decline to comply with it."

Some members of our committee have been wondering ever since what organization this Government official belongs to or has belonged to that he is ashamed to mention. Yet this same individual is today still sitting in the "seats of the mighty," pursuing his same course without let or hindrance.

Today we find this type of person holding in his hands the fate of all the great industries and business institutions of this Nation, the very same industries and institutions upon which we are so vitally dependent for our protection and our security. The question I constantly put to the American people is: What are you going to do about it? The solution, as I see it, is simple. While the defects of the loosely drawn and one-sided Labor Act are patent and are primarily responsible for the present chaotic conditions, these conditions could be corrected, in a large measure, by the selection of a level-headed, fair-minded board believing in the American system of private industry.

There is nothing more elemental in the law of statutory interpretation than the rule that statutes in derogation of the common law must be strictly construed and nothing may be written into them by construction. The report of the Senate committee that considered the Wagner Labor Act was specific in this particular. It said: "The unfair labor practices * * * are strictly limited to those enumerated in section 8. Unlike the Federal Trade Commission Act * * * this bill is specific in its terms. Neither the Board nor the courts are given any blanket authority to prohibit whatever labor practices that, in their judgment, are deemed unfair."

In this connection, consider the Board's invented remedy for a supposed wrong in the Waumbec Mills case. The Labor Act provides that the Board shall have authority to reinstate employees who have been discharged by reason of an unfair labor practice and to award those employees back pay for the time lost. Now, let us see what happened in the Waumbec Mills case.

Two men who had never been employees of the Waumbec applied for employment, which was refused them. Sometime later they applied to the Board to compel the company to give them employment and also to give them back pay from the date they had applied for employment. These men had been union members in other mills and they charged that they were refused employment by the Waumbec Co. because of their past union affiliations. It is difficult to believe, but the Board actually held a hearing on the charges and decided that the company must reinstate these men, who had never been in its employ, and give them back pay from the time they applied for employment, a period of something like 2 years. An order to reinstate "employees" who had never been instated and never been employees.

When the Board members who participated in this remarkable decision were questioned before our committee concerning it, they justified it on the grounds that they believed the men had been blacklisted for their union affiliations, that a wrong had been done them thereby, and that the mere fact that Congress had used the word "reinstate" did not preclude them from inventing the remedy where none existed under the specific terms of the act.

A more recent and more disastrous decision to the employer was that against the Milan Shirt Manufacturing Co. of Milan, Tenn., where the employer was ordered to reinstate 42 union members, not former employees, who had applied for but had not obtained employment with that company. As the law prohibits the employer from either encouraging or discouraging membership in a labor union, it is apparent that the rule should work both ways. If the Board's decision is sound, therefore, a nonunion applicant (assuming he is not barred from employment by a closed-shop contract) who does not receive employment is also entitled to reinstatement and back pay if he alleges that he was refused employment for not belonging to a union. The Board could, under the act, no more deny him his remedy than it could a union man.

Follow these decisions to their logical conclusions. With all of the army of unemployed filing claims against employers to whom they had applied for employment, charging that they were discriminated against either because they belonged to a union or did not belong to a union, the National Labor Relations Board can bankrupt every industry, large and small, from Maine to California; and this upon a theory never at any time considered or contemplated by Congress.

In discussing this subject at the annual meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce last spring, I mentioned the Waumbec Mills case and warned of its possible consequences. It did not occur to me at that time that any court in the land would sustain such a decision. On the 20th day of August of this year, the Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States, to which the decision had been appealed, did sustain that decision. That court ordered the reinstatement and back pay to these men who had never been employed by the company. At a subsequent meeting of our committee it was revealed that the judge who wrote the opinion in that case had been, before his appointment to the bench, chief counsel for the Labor Board.

Well, let us see where we go from here.

That decision was handed down on the 20th of August. On the 24th of August, the Labor Board rendered its decision in the combined cases of the Nevada Consolidated Copper Co. and the Kennecott Copper Co. (case Nos. C–1052 and C–1447). In that decision, the Labor Board ordered the employment, with back pay, of men who had not even applied for employment. This remarkable decision cited for its authority the Waumbec Mills and the Milan Shirt Manufacturing cases.

Here are the facts in the case. The company, owing to adverse business conditions, shut down for a period of something like 2 years. At the time of the shutdown, there was a union organization with which there had been a dispute. When, 2 years later, the company resumed operations, it failed to hire any of those union members applying for employment who had caused trouble before. Subsequently, the union to which they belonged instituted proceedings before the Labor Board asking that the company be ordered to employ them and to pay them back pay from the time they applied for employment. The Board not only ordered reinstatement and back pay for those who had applied for employment, but solemnly decided that those who had not even asked for a job must be offered employment and given back pay because the Board believed that, even if they had applied for employment, it would have been refused.

I will admit that this is hard to believe. Some of you will think that I have exaggerated in my statements of the facts; some of you will say that such a thing "can't happen here." I tell you that it has happened here, and if you do not believe it, all you have to do is to ask the Labor Board in Washington to send you a copy of its decision in the combined cases C–1052 and C–1447.

You may want to know who wrote that decision. Well, I mentioned to you awhile ago about the juvenile jurists of the Labor Board who write all of the opinions of the Labor Board in the big cases as well as in the little ones—one of that distinguished coterie wrote this opinion. I will not mention names, but I had his employment file in the Labor Board examined. This remarkable jurist, who wrote 50 single-spaced legal-sized pages of opinion in this case, graduated in law in 1937. So far as the record discloses, he never had a moment's experience in the practice of law, and 8 months after his graduation was employed by the Labor Board as one of the juvenile jurists charged with the duty of writing decisions such as the one to which I have just referred.

There was one unusual incident in this decision, however. Most of the decisions are wholly in favor of employees, but, in this case, the employer got a break in one particular. It was discovered that two of the former employees in question had died since the proceedings were instituted, and this brilliant young jurist, imbued with the sense of his deep responsibility to be fair and impartial, delivered himself with respect to these complaints in the following language: "In view of these facts, we shall not order the respondent to offer them employment."

Many of you gentlemen present probably employ a confidential private secretary. If you should discover that she was a Communist and working with a Communist unit of your other employees, you would doubtless discharge her on the spot. If anybody told you that it was against the law for you to do so and that you would probably, in due course, be required to reemploy her and pay her for the time she had lost, you would laugh and say such a thing "can't happen here." I tell you that it not only can happen here but has happened here. And the proof of it, like the proof of the other things I tell you, is in the official documents of the National Labor Relations Board. The proof of this particular instance is in the decision of the Board in the New York Times case, C–775, and if there is any doubt, you can find it in cold type in that decision rendered in August of this year.

Dr. Leiserson, the dissenting member of the Board in that case, said: "I cannot agree with the decision to reinstate Jaeger and Porter. Porter was a private secretary and her employer suspected her of working with the Communist unit that was operating in the New York Times. She lied when he questioned her about this."

"Porter was dismissed in January 1936 * * *. It was not until January 1939, 3 years after Porter's dismissal, that the complaint and the charges were amended to include Porter. She was employed at the time at a wage higher than she received on the Times. It is obvious that she had no case."

The juvenile jurist who wrote the decision in this case was 29 years old. He had been a member of the bar since 1936, during which time he was in Government employ; and if he had ever tried a lawsuit in his life, there is nothing in his personnel record with the Labor Board to indicate the fact.

If someone told you that a responsible agency of your Government would order you to reinstate in your employment employees who had seized your property by force and violence and held it in defiance of law during a sit-down strike, you would probably say that such a thing is absurd and "can't happen here." But it has happened here; and if you are loath to believe it, you will find the whole sordid story set forth in a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the so-called Fansteel case. There the Supreme Court reversed and rebuked the Labor Board for its efforts to put the seal of governmental approval on the infamous sit-down strikes. You would find a similar instance in the case of the Standard Lime & Stone Co. case, where the Board ordered the reinstatement of employees who had confessed to a plot to blow up their employer's power lines. And here again it was necessary for the courts of the land to reverse and rebuke the Labor Board in order to prevent it from putting the stamp of governmental approval upon such revolutionary tactics.

Let me briefly outline another instance of administrative excess on the part of the Labor Board. The act gives the Board the power to decide what is known as the "unit of representation" in disputes between labor unions. That means, for example, if there are a number of plants in which there is a question as to whether a majority of employees are A. F. of L. or C. I. O., the Board may hold separate elections in each plant and treat each plant as a separate unit or it has the power to throw all of the plants into one unit for an election. If the A. F. of L., for instance, prevailed in two plants

and the C. I. O. prevailed in three and had a majority of the total of the five plants, the A. F. of L. unions are destroyed and the C. I. O. obtains representation for all five. The Supreme Court has held that because the results of the election are not certified by the Board in the form of an order there is no right of appeal to the courts.

The Pacific Longshoremen's case, involving a C. I. O. union dominated by the notorious Harry Bridges, vividly illustrates the un-American injustices of this provision of the law. In that case the American Federation of Labor had long-established union locals all up and down the Pacific coast. Its rival, the C. I. O., likewise had unions all along the coast. It happened that the C. I. O. had a greater membership on the length and breadth of the Pacific coast than the A. F. of L. The Board ordered the longshoremen on the whole Pacific coast to be considered as one unit, ordered an election, and certified the C. I. O. as the bargaining representative for the entire industry of that area. The result was the destruction of the A. F. of L. unions.

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia held that there was no right of court review, saying:

"The Supreme Court has held in a number of cases that mere preliminary or procedural orders of an administrative body are not reviewable by the circuit courts of appeals * * *.

"Accepting, as we must, this restrictive definition and applying it to the case at hand, we hold that, though the decision here was required by the act to be made and to be made on the evidence and argument after judicial hearing, and though it was definitive, adversary, binding, final, and in this case struck at the very roots of petitioner's union and destroyed its effectiveness in a large geographical area of the Nation, it was not an order because the act did not require it to be made in the language of command * * *."

In the case of the National Labor Relations Board against Sterling Electric Motors, the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit reversed the Labor Board in one of the most scathing opinions I have ever read. In that case the Board absolutely destroyed an independent union by ordering the employer to cease recognizing it as the bargaining agency. In doing so, the Board refused to permit the union to become a party to the proceeding or to be heard in its defense in the very trial which destroyed it.

Another striking illustration of unrestrained administrative power is the case of the Donnelly Garment Co. The issue in that case was whether the union of company employees had been formed by them of their own free will or under the domination of the employer. If it were established that the union was dominated by the employer, the Board could order its disestablishment at the instance of the national union seeking to organize the plant. It had been previously proved in a Federal injunction proceeding that the national union was threatening to attempt the organization of the Donnelly plant through terrorization methods. It was proved in the Federal court that organizers of the national union had been convicted of violence toward women employees of similar plants, had even stripped women naked in the streets, beaten and terrorized them, and were threatening to repeat the same outrages. When the case came before the Board, counsel for the women employees offered to produce every one of the 1,200 employees who would testify that their union was formed entirely of their own volition, without suggestion, interference, or domination by the employer and was formed because of fears of violence from the organizers of the national union. The Labor Board refused to permit any of the employees to testify in their own behalf, in their own case, on the remarkable theory that their evidence on the precise issue involved was immaterial.

When an administrative agency of the Government so far forgets its proper function as to blacklist litigants before it; as to attempt to boycott parties whose cases it intends to adjudicate; as to deny to legitimate organizations an opportunity to appear and be defended in the very litigation that seeks to destroy them; when employees are refused the privilege of even testifying in their own cases; when industry is required to reinstate persons in their employ who were never employed and pay back wages to persons never on the pay rolls; when industry is required to employ and pay back wages to people who never even applied for employment; when the Labor Board seeks to legalize, as part of the American way of life, the infamous, anarchistic sit-down strikes and only desists when rebuked by the Supreme Court of the United States; then the time has come when the people of this country should raise their voices in insistent protest lest the fundamental concepts upon which our Government is based be ultimately and utterly destroyed.

We are entering upon an era of world conflict that is almost certain to prostrate our financial and economic system for a generation. We can only hope to struggle through with the utmost of cooperation and coordination between our Government and our productive system. We cannot survive a class struggle between labor and industry in which the Government brazenly denies to one element the equal protection of the law. We cannot hope for a united country with the most powerful and responsible Government agency in the field of industrial relations impregnated and honeycombed with ideas and philosophies unknown to the American system.

We hear from high sources appeals for unity; at the same time this creature of the Government lays the lash upon the backs of those to whom the appeal is made. High-sounding phrases and patriotic appeals do not alter cold facts.

The people of America who believe in our system must demand that those who do not believe be removed from responsible positions in the Government.

The Cloakroom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. LAMBERTSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 18, 1940

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, extensive seating is already being constructed for the "coronation," January 20. The cost will be $68,000.

The chance of losing our democracy in trying to save England is greater than the possible good we can do them.

One thing sure, our country is facing militarism. At the very best the Army will grow and new uses will be found for it.

The Veterans' Administration informs me that the peak of hospitalization of the last World War will not be before 1948.

Wendell Willkie was gallant and strong, but no defeated candidate of a great party should expect to carry the banner again, and he as much as says so.

The last little evidence of dictatorship here comes from the Third Assistant Postmaster General who threatens to stop me franking my deductions on governmental affairs.

Congress is to be adjourned by the President's influence. Leaders of both Houses have learned to act only on his suggestion. All that could be thought of for national defense was hatched up before the election. Strikes that delay, such as at Downey, Calif., do not matter now.

Administration of Wage and Hour Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELBERT D. THOMAS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

LETTER FROM COL. PHILIP B. FLEMING, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter addressed to me by Col. Philip B. Fleming, Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division, United States Department of Labor, setting forth certain information relating to the administration of the wage and hour law, which I recently requested him to submit to me. Inasmuch as the matters contained in Colonel Fleming's letter involve questions of wide public interest, I am taking this opportunity to make this information available to the Members of the Congress.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION,
Washington, November 19, 1940.

Hon. ELBERT D. THOMAS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR THOMAS: I have your letter of November 18 in which you invite my comment upon certain criticisms of the administration of the wage and hour law that recently have come to your attention. These criticisms, as enumerated by you, are as follows:

1. That the Division recently has instituted a new procedure in accordance with which violators of the act are being given immunity upon their unsupported plea of innocence.

2. That, while pleading a shortage of inspection personnel, the Division nevertheless returned to the Treasury at the end of the fiscal year some $385,000, a sum which, it is contended, would have been sufficient to pay the salaries of nearly 200 inspectors for a year.

3. That I, as Administrator, by means of a revision of the definition of certain terms used in the act, have excluded from the benefits of the legislation many hundreds of thousands of employees whom Congress had intended to cover.

I welcome the opportunity to comment and to set forth the facts upon which the Division's present policies are based.

It is true that the Division now supplements its enforcement activities by sending to employers against whom complaints have been lodged a form to fill out. This represents a new and abridged procedure for swift determination of whether such employers actually are violating the act. It is this procedure that is being described as "a letter to the employer asking him whether he is in compliance," the inference being that the Division, instead of investigating and prosecuting the violator, sits back and waits for him to make a case against himself.

An important point to bear in mind is that a year ago 2 weeks on the average were required to make a single inspection. At that rate, it would have required many months to dispose of all the complaints then on hand, to say nothing about the new complaints arriving daily. It was inconceivable that Congress would give the Division enough money to hire all the inspectors needed to wipe out all the complaint cases then on hand within anything like a reasonable time if nothing were done until a physical inspection had been made in each case.

That was the situation when I came into the Division, first as consultant and later as Administrator. I saw that complaint inspection never alone would bring about uniform and universal compliance. The Division would have to get onto a systematic inspection program, so that every subject establishment would be visited at periodic intervals. Also it would have to wipe out that backlog of complaints. It never would be possible to enforce the law if we were to do nothing more than nibble away at the big complaint load. In any event, it was imperative that the time required for an inspection be drastically reduced.

Inspection time was reduced—to a point where it is now possible for each inspector, on the average, to make two or three satisfactory investigations a week—depending, of course, on the size of the plant and the simplicity or complexity of its employment practices. Sometimes, in relatively simple cases, and by working day and night, the inspector can handle one a day. This improvement was brought about by a number of methods. For one thing, the personnel had gained in experience and skill. Procedures had become standardized. Speedier methods were worked out for computing back wages due. Time-saving methods in interviewing employees were devised. Better methods of training inspectors for their work were instituted.

And yet, month after month the Division was continuing to receive more complaints than it was able physically to investigate. In January 1940 the backlog stood at approximately 18,000. Six months later, on August 1, it had increased to approximately 28,000, and this despite the fact that in the meantime the Division had made approximately 7,000 inspections.

In an effort to wipe out this backlog a form, now designated as AD–85, was drafted and mailed to employers against whom complaint had been made. It was designed to reveal whether the employer had complied with the law since October 24, 1938, and whether he now was in compliance. We hoped it also would reveal whether the employer properly understood what the law required him to do. If the answers to the questions disclosed that the law had been violated, we asked the employer himself to calculate the amount of back wages due. Then we checked with the employees. Was the computation accurate? If the employees accepted it as accurate, we instructed the employer to pay off, and after he had paid off we again checked with the employees to make sure that they actually had received the money. If the employer protested that he had not violated the law, we went back to the original complainant and asked him for more information. In every case we made it clear to the employer that even if he filled out the form, computed the back wages due and paid them, that fact did not relieve him from any liability, criminal or civil, arising under the law. And in any event, we made a note of that employer's name and address and put him on the list for a thorough inspection a little later on.

By this method it was possible to close out, at least tentatively, several thousand of these old complaint cases and we felt the procedure had been sufficiently successful to warrant its extension to new complaints as they came in. That would partially free our hands so that we could concentrate much more seriously on our routine inspection work in all sorts of plants—plants against which no complaint ever had been lodged but which, nevertheless, might be in flagrant violation.

Form AD–85 procedure is always started with the oldest cases in the file. It is intended to start the ball rolling, enabling us to get in touch immediately with every one against whom a complaint has been filed. It is a supplementary procedure for, to a great extent, complaints indicating flagrant or widespread violation already have been inspected or are in process of being inspected. Form AD–85 further assists in weeding out complaints against nonexistent companies, or companies bankrupt, moved, or engaged wholly in local retailing or servicing, and therefore exempt from the act. Its use permits the Division to obtain this information at a minimum of time and expense and enables it to give definite information to the complainant within a very short time. It must be noted, however, that while form AD–85 initiates action it does not close action. It puts the employer on notice that he may be violating the law and it frequently results in immediate correction of the violation. Form AD–85 prevents an accumulation of contingent liability due to ignorance of the law provided the employer will cooperate with the Division, make restitution to his employees and get into compliance.

If some such procedure as this were not used, employees who have been denied the benefits of the act would have to wait until a complete physical inspection could be made to receive the wages to which they are entitled. Basically, therefore, the question involved is whether wronged employees should be required to wait many months or a year to receive their benefits, or whether every effort should be made to protect their interests at once. The Administrator feels that he owes both a legal and a moral duty to the employees of industry to help them obtain their lawful wages promptly.

As soon as possible after form AD–85 has been completed and the firm is in current compliance, an inspector makes a physical inspection to verify compliance and to ascertain whether complete back wages have been paid for past violations. This method is practically identical with that used by the Bureau of Internal Revenue in checking income-tax statements.

During August back wages secured totaled $878,334. This sum is more than twice the total amount paid in restitutions during the period from October 1, 1939, inclusive of January 1940. It far surpasses that of any previous month. Restitutions for September were $766,483, exceeding those for any month except August and bringing the sum total of back wages paid to employees to $4,264,342. Likewise the number of employees receiving restitution has steadily risen from 7,729 in March to 20,149 in August, and to 25,140 in September. Had not this new procedure been used a large part of that $4,264,342 today would be in the cash drawers of employers instead of in the pockets of the Nation's workers to whom it lawfully belongs.

Thirty-five percent of all firms complained against and which to date have been physically inspected were found upon examination not to be subject to the act. Form AD–85, by revealing the presence or absence of coverage in advance, saves the time of inspectors by enabling them to concentrate upon productive work instead of wasting time upon old complaints that prove to be invalid. In the Boston region, 302 forms were returned to the regional office marked by the post office "no longer at this address." Had the forms not been sent out it may well be assumed that inspectors would have made 302 fruitless calls.

During the past few months, for the first time since the division was established, the number of cases settled each month was greater than the number of complaints filed. However, a criticism leveled at this procedure is that it produces only a "paper record." It is charged that the reason for this apparent increase in efficiency is that the division is picking the easy cases out of a box and leaving the more difficult to remain there.

The number of cases taken to court during the time AD–85 has been in use presents an adequate answer to this charge. From 88 court cases in May, the previous high mark, the total increased to 183 in July, to 133 in August, and to 165 in September.

Whatever procedure is used some mistakes are bound to occur. But the division has set up a rigid system of control requiring that every case be first reviewed in the field office and again by the Washington office. Cases from the two regions most often criticized have been repeatedly reviewed and, taken as a whole, the record of these regions has been excellent. As an example of the earnestness with which the division has sought to make sure that standards of enforcement are not lowered, the Deputy Administrator recently sent a complete file of the division's procedures to Mr. S. A. Lischinsky of the wage and hour bureau of the C. I. O. and invited his comments. Mr. Lischinsky's criticism was subsequently sent to each of the division's fourteen regional directors, and the replies from the directors were in turn forwarded to Mr. Lischinsky.

Thanks in part to the saving in time made possible by the new procedure, routine inspection work already has been begun in lumber, apparel, boots and shoes, furniture, textiles, and hosiery, with thousands of inspections already made, and with routine inspections to be begun in still other industries in the very near future. These routine inspections are cutting off the sources of many possible additional complaints, and obtaining for employees the benefits Congress intended them to have. To date more than $650,000 has been obtained in restitution for employees of the lumber industry alone.

If AD–85 procedure has been used according to any other pattern than that I have here indicated, that use has not been authorized, and very definite instructions have been issued to prevent its use in any other way.

Today we have approximately 700 well-trained inspectors in the field, the number is being constantly augmented, and by the end of the fiscal year we hope to have a staff sufficiently large to enable us constantly to enlarge the field in which inspections are made as a matter of routine.

It is true that the Division returned $387,000 of unexpended funds to the Treasury at the end of the last fiscal year. It has been stated that this money could and should have been used to employ additional inspectors. With the word "should" I am in full accord. As to the word "could," my views are at variance with those of our critics. Naturally, you may ask why this money which the Division had requested was not used for enforcement but returned to the Treasury.

The Administrator is required by law to make all appointments to positions in the Wage and Hour Division from the Civil Service registers. When the Division was organized, late in 1938, there was no Civil Service register from which inspectors could be recruited. No examination ever had been given for wage and hour inspectorships. Moreover, lacking experience in the enforcement of this particular legislation, no one in the Division at that time knew for a certainty just what talents would be necessary in the enforcement of the act. Procedures had not been standardized, and no one knew exactly what type of examination should be given to disclose the talents and aptitudes that would be needed.

Nevertheless, the Civil Service Commission, with the advice of the principal officers of the Division, worked diligently at the task of formulating an examination and setting up a register.

Pending the establishment of the register, the Administrator was permitted to make temporary appointments to inspectorships, with the understanding that these appointees later would be subject to examination, and that if they did not pass the examination, or passed with low marks, their services would be dispensed with immediately. The Administrator then appointed on a temporary basis as many persons as he felt to be qualified and who would accept appointment on a tentative basis.

The written examination was given early in the autumn of 1939. Three additional months were consumed in giving oral examinations to applicants in various parts of the country. It was not until early in February 1940, however, that the results of the examinations had been appraised and certification of the eligible applicants was made available to the Division for consideration in making appointments. It was then disclosed that the judgment of the Administrator as to the qualifications of his temporary appointees had not coincided in all instances with the results of the examinations. Many of the temporary appointees had failed to pass, or had placed too far down on the register for permanent appointment. Although these persons had been given 3 or 4 months of training at considerable expense to the Division, their services had to be terminated. The money that had been appropriated to pay their salaries therefore accrued and could not legally be spent by the Division. After the examinations had been given, and pending the establishment of the register, the Division could not then make additional provisional appointments. Further accruals, therefore, resulted to a total of $387,000, which was the sum that reverted to the Treasury at the end of the fiscal year, in accordance with law.

Since February of this year the Administrator has striven to appoint as many persons from the register as his budget would permit, but in certain areas the examination failed to produce enough eligibles to enable the Division to meet its minimum requirements.

Exemption from the wage and hour provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of persons employed in a "bona fide executive, administrative, professional, or local retailing capacity, or in the capacity of outside salesman" under section 13 (a) (1) is fixed by the act itself and cannot be altered by the Administrator. If, for example, I were of the opinion that outside salesmen should have the protection of the act, I nevertheless would not have the authority to deny exemption to genuine outside salesmen. Similarly, I do not have any authority to refuse exemption in the case of bona fide executive, administrative, and professional employees. I do, however, have the responsibility to define and delimit those terms. The recent revision of part 541 of our regulations represents my considered judgment on appropriate definitions and delimitations. The revised regulations do not grant any exemption. They put into effect the exemptions granted by Congress but with adequate safeguards against abuse.

The new definition of the word "executive" is based on the previous single definition of the two words "executive—administrative." In the earlier definition there was an exceedingly troublesome phrase "who performs no substantial amount of work of the same nature as that performed by nonexempt employees." This phrase was designed to keep within the coverage of the act working foremen and working supervisors. With one minor exception, the phrase has been translated into numerical terms whereby "no substantial amount of work" is defined as meaning not more than 20 percent. As you will observe, this does not exempt working foremen and working supervisors.

The definition of "executive" contains various additional minor revisions, largely in the nature of clarification. The $30 minimum pay requirement for exemption under this heading was the subject of some criticism both from labor and industry. On the whole most of the criticism was directed at the requirement as being too high. However, it was my belief that there would be a basic error in describing as an "executive" any person who is paid less than $30 a week. Furthermore, heretofore the exemption was applicable to hourly paid employees if their hourly pay was sufficiently high to produce $30 a week. This proviso has been changed so that no hourly paid employee can qualify for the exemption hereafter.

In the previous definitions there was no definition specifically applicable to the term "administrative." This created a serious problem because the definition of "executive—administrative" was applicable only to persons with managerial authority along the lines now found in the definition of "executive." Thus exemption was denied to a large group of well-paid employees, many of whom were exceedingly important in the functioning of business.

Cases could be cited where purchasing agents and personnel directors and persons of that type receiving as much as $7,500 or $10,000 a year were not eligible for exemption under the old definitions. This just didn't make sense. At the other end of the scale are office personnel performing routine clerical tasks, such as typists, comptometer operators, shipping clerks, etc. In my opinion these employees are as clearly in need of the benefits of the act as the purchasing agent and the personnel director are not.

While it is easy to identify the extremes, it is not easy to draw a line which will separate the two groups of employees. It is difficult, for example, to find a common denominator for a well-paid executive assistant to a president of a large corporation, a well-paid lease buyer for an oil company, and a well-paid customer's broker, even though there is no dispute that all three should be exempt. In spite of this difficulty, the new definition does indicate and include in a general way these three types of administrative employees. On the other hand, since the general descriptions standing alone would not be adequate to prevent abuse, the definition also contains certain specific requirements which must be met in each instance. These additional requirements are (1) the exercise of discretionary judgment; (2) the performance of nonmanual tasks; (3) the performance of tasks directly related to management policies or general business operations (this requirement does not apply in the case of persons who directly assist executive and administrative employees); (4) the receipt of compensation on a salary or fee basis at a rate of not less than $200 per month.

Thus the definition of "administrative" does not permit the exemption, for example, of employees who perform manual tasks, such as tool and die makers, no matter what they earn; nor of those whose work is purely routine, such as business machine operators, no matter what they earn; nor of any employee whose rate of pay is less than $200 per month (or $50 per week). It is my judgment that with these significant limitations, employees who meet the requirements of the administrative definition are properly exempt from the wage and hour provisions of the act. In saying this I am aware, of course, that in a few industries, and in certain areas where comparatively high wages are common, there will be some employees for whom exemption may be claimed whose exemption is debatable. Similarly, in certain instances in low-wage industries and areas there will be some employees not exempt who do not need the protection of the act. But in a general way, and with due regard for the Nation-wide application of the act and these regulations, I feel that the definition is sound and fair.

The new definition of the term "professional" is primarily based on the previous definition with certain minor modifications. There is the same clarification of the significance of the phrase "no substantial amount of work of the same nature as that performed by nonexempt employees," by translating this into numerical terms as 20 percent and by an explanation that incidental operations performed, for example, by a genuine chemist, etc., such as the setting up of apparatus, do not preclude the chemist from the exemption. The exemption has also been widened by an inclusion within the professional group of employees such as actors and musicians. It is my opinion that such employees, if they meet the other tests, should be exempt.

The major change in the definition, however, is the requirement (not applicable to lawyers and doctors) that the employee be paid not less than $200 per month. Heretofore there was no salary requirement included in the definition of "professional." In actual fact persons receiving far less than $200 per month were exempt under the old definition. Finally, I wish to point out that to obtain exemption the employee must meet six different tests. His work must be intellectual and varied in character; it must require the exercise of discretion; it must be of the type whose output cannot be standardized; not more than 20 percent of the workweek can be devoted to nonexempt work; the employee must be paid not less than $200 per month; and finally, the work must fall within either one of the recognized learned professions or one of the recognized artistic professions.

The old definition of "professional" did not cover employees in the artistic professions. Actually there is good reason for describing as professional such persons as moving-picture actors, to take a single example. Thus there will be some union members who will be exempt as professionals who have not heretofore been exempt. However, when it is remembered that all six tests must be met to obtain exemption, it will be realized that the definition does afford protection against abuse. On a newspaper, for example, typically the reporters assigned to regular beats and the copy-desk men will not qualify for exemption even if they are paid $200 a month. And, of course, in the whole wide field of the artistic occupations, the great group of employees who are paid less than $200 a month cannot be classed as professional employees within the meaning of the regulations.

The definition of the term "outside salesman" has been changed in two major respects. First, included in the exemption under the new definition are advertising, radio time, and freight solicitors. The exclusion of such outside salesmen from the exemption in the past was due to a technicality in the definition of the word "sale" and was not based on any sound distinction between the type of work performed by these employees and by other outside salesmen.

The other group who were not exempt in the past and who in general will be exempt under the new definition are so-called driver and route salesmen. The exemption or nonexemption of these employees is a puzzling matter. However, the request for exemption was concurred in by all the affected employers and by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablesmen, and Helpers of America, who supplied much factual data in support of their contention. On the basis of this representation it appeared to me that the definition could appropriately be broadened to grant exemption to employees of this type.

Any definition of executive, administrative, professional, and outside salesman will, of course, have the effect of bringing some employees within the benefits of the act and of excluding others. I do not see how that can be avoided. I do not know how many employees have been shifted from one category to the other by the revised definitions. I am convinced, however, that the total effect has been to bring within wage and hour protection a very large number of those who formerly could have been excluded, and that those who now find themselves removed from the protection are in the higher paid categories and stand less in need of it.

If further clarification of these matters, or any others related to the administration and enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act, is desired, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

PHILIP B. FLEMING, *Administrator.*

United We Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ARTHUR CAPPER
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. ALF M. LANDON

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the address by Hon. Alf M. Landon, former Governor of Kansas and Presidential nominee of the Republican party in 1936, delivered by him over the Columbia Broadcasting System on the evening of November 5 on the subject, United we stand.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The lack of ability to cooperate politically has always been fatal to any people.

I want to repeat what I have said before: "First, I want to say to the dictators who are offering us alternate threats and bribes, that the dictators are making a very grave error if they mistake the rivalry of a political campaign for disunity in the United States."

In a world of unfriendly nations, all Americans aware of the threat of totalitarian intolerance must set an example of united purpose in the defense of the Republic.

COOPERATION

A successful defense program requires the utmost cooperation from all of us. Nothing could be more demoralizing within a nation than a constant campaign of hate. The safety of the Republic requires our full cooperation on our defense program, and at the same time a continued active political opposition. Therefore we must keep our faith. We have taken an intelligent interest in this election. Let us continue an intelligent interest in our Government, which is our greatest organized effort for human welfare.

The creeping fear in the hearts of many of us for the future of popular government must not paralyze our political activities. Initiative and enthusiasm are as necessary now, after the election, as they were before. Calm and determined discussion and debate as to policies are a sign of good health in a republic. Above everything, we must keep the doors open to the democratic processes.

ON A RATIONAL BASIS

A public which has demanded draft power will demand that this be continued, but on a rational basis. That the debate must be honestly conducted, and with restraint by both sides, goes without saying.

Those in control of governmental information have a great obligation not to color it for their own political advantage, nor to erect at the source of information barriers to the representatives of the people through the press.

There also is the heavy obligation to avoid appealing to prejudice through business baiting and name calling.

We should permit a wide range of disagreement as to policy and should throttle down all demagogic appeal to emotions and hold steadfastly to a rational exchange of ideas.

UNITY OF THE MACHINE GUN

There is in the world tonight the unity of the machine gun. And then there is the inspiring unity of a free people, behind a leader who is honest and truthful and frank as to the toil and hardships ahead. The right kind of leadership is necessary for the right kind of unity. The spirit of unity in America is the President's for the asking. Republicans and Democrats stand shoulder to shoulder for national defense, as always.

I repeat what I said in 1939:

"Our greatest immediate danger is not from military attack. Our greatest danger is from economic conditions in the world and at home, from class hatred and name calling.

"If democracy meets with defeat, it will not be because of its inherent defects. It will be because democratic nations have not been vigorous and fearless in their leadership. It will be because America has refused to face reality; that the totalitarian powers are working harder and playing less, while we are working less and playing harder."

There is going to be so much to do in this country, and we must be at our tasks. Taking no part in the war, we still feel its aftermath, and it is going to be a terrible aftermath—make no mistake about that. We must be ready to meet it. The world must see us at our work, and know that in the heat of campaigns we toss epithets about but grin and go back to work when the campaign is over, citizens all of a great nation. And that is the greatness of America.

The Credit Side of America's Long Account With Germany

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS BY JUDGE SAMUEL K. DENNIS

Mr. RADCLIFFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very scholarly and eloquent address delivered on November 12, 1940, by Hon. Samuel K. Dennis, chief judge of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City. This address attracted widespread attention, and is regarded as a helpful and noteworthy contribution to the subject. The address is entitled "The Credit Side of America's Long Account With Germany."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CREDIT SIDE OF AMERICA'S LONG ACCOUNT WITH GERMANY

It is a rare privilege for one who leads a solitary sort of life as a judge must do to meet face to face so many members of the great American Legion. I am flattered by the presence here of your commander and many other responsible leaders of your patriotic body. I am grateful to my long-time friend, Senator Altfeld, for bringing me to your notice.

I shall say nothing tonight, I trust, which may add to the current misery of the world, or which may stir the temper of any American, much less add to the fears which do beset us, however stalwart our faith in our institutions and our people.

Nor can I tell you any facts you do not know. My simple hope is that in a plain, practical way I may share with you thoughts which in this universal season of darkness and trembling have comforted me, reassured me—strangely enough, my reassurance is in a measure due to German influences.

Our subject is The Credit Side of Americas Long Account With Germany.

The memorials to German malevolence are not rare. One travels in Europe to note white crosses, row on row, which mark the last corporeal homes of the fine young men America sent there—victims in 1917–18 to a Kaiser's greed. German soldiers now tread above their heads.

We hear of holy places destroyed, children killed by bolts falling from "that heaven that bends above us"; savages in Africa and universities in England, helpless alike, bombed alike; minor neutral nations overrun and pillaged.

At home we find our hospitality and tolerance violated in sinister, ruthless, and treacherous fashion. To guard against the tyrant, to protect our own countryside from desolation, we must organize a great army; we must double our Navy and patrol the shores of the Atlantic and Pacific from pole to pole for how many years none can tell. Germany would set our neighbors against us; promises us an economic blockade and "an inside job"; that is, by corruption and arms to bring free-born Americans in subjection to the will of German military despotism.

Where is the credit side to the sorry audit? How, then, since Germany's professed design is to wreck our independence as a nation, can any sane person say that Germany's influence in America in any respect, to any degree, is wholesome; that benefits issue from German malevolence? I must say in reply that no one can, if we examine only one side of the international ledger. The case differs somewhat if we follow the fashion of an harassed insolvent, depressed by his business calamities, who turns for some encouragement to the ledger page showing his small assets. So we shall for a few minutes consider the credit side of our long account with Germany.

Please let me assure you at once that I offer nothing original. The subjects in my mind have been thought out and discussed by abler men. I can compete with them only in the quality of my sincerity.

From the beginning of recorded history we are told that men in times of ease and relieved of exertion are prone to degenerate in virility and civic spirit. We are subject to that law of nature. Heroic remedies alone are effective to correct a malady so insidious, so morbid. For example, in Noah's time it was necessary for the preservation of society that the drones, the no-accounts, who had lost the will to strive, be drowned. Successful nations, like successful individuals, come up the hard way. America did. The hardships, the wars of the colonial period, fathered a race of heroic men, a virile people who dared and wrought valiantly.

It was for George III, a Germanic King reigning over England, and in Germany to add his weight to put the Thirteen disunited

Colonies to the supreme test, and knit them as one. Save perhaps for royal Germanic influence, Patrick Henry would not have demanded that dramatic alternative, "liberty or death." George III, reinforced by Hessian troops, also helped by feeding the fires of oppression to forge the will of the Thirteen Colonies to win independence. Then, save for the blot of slavery, Americans were freemen. It took a titanic Civil War, the death of thousands, the character of Lincoln to make all Americans in fact, as in theory, free.

From the time of the Civil War until the late World War America's problems were mainly domestic with few of relative major international significance. The necessity for intense striving removed, we broke training and grew flabby, complacent, and lost the finer tone and quality of our national character. In a continental sense our Army dwindled to a corporal's guard. War, the discipline of war, seemed as remote as the Last Judgment. The pacifists were in control. Nothing short of a social earthquake, it would seem, could shake us out of our lethargy, while our greatest gifts grew rusty in disuse. In that period Americans might well have pondered the pertinency of John Morley's observation that, "When all has been said of man's gifts the critical question still stands over, how he regards his responsibility for using them." It was for Germany to provoke the answer to that critical question; to throw the switch that turned the light on America's fundamental qualities of character, and spurred us from lassitude to well-nigh superhuman endeavor, as we see from a brief review of the record.

Woodrow Wilson was reelected in November 1916 on the slogan, "He kept us out of war." Next German ineptitude reached its climax, broke loose at its worst in the plot to set Mexico to attack us. At last neutrality became impossible.

Think of the complete turnabout German-made pressure produced in 4 months. Nothing American ever worked so fast or so completely devastated its creator. In April 1917 war was declared, backed and approved by an aroused public opinion. Millions responded; we bridged the Atlantic with new ships; our men plunged headlong in the tide of war. We owe that miraculous development of America's latent gifts of character to a little old German man who nursed his withered hand and delusion of invincibility in Berlin.

Germany has corrected much of our loose thinking, has taught us much, and has disillusioned us completely. For example, you men were told you fought that war "to make the world safe for democracy"; that it was "the war to end war." You accomplished neither safety for democracy nor the end of wars. Today democracy is moribund save in Switzerland and under British and American flags, and is there under attack. It now seems absurd that great minds could have been receptive to either opinion so late as 22 years ago without totally misunderstanding Germany. First, the treaty-created democracies could not possibly live under the external pressure and the internal treachery. Europeans are inhospitable to democracy; it withers in their soil. Germany sees to that.

Second, a devastating war is on. Ruthless, selfish nations, as the Germans show us, will exist so long as ruthless, selfish men exist with cunning to grab control. I am but quoting or paraphrasing others—hundreds of others—when I say such nations are amenable to no argument, no control, no check, save force; one such people can keep the world agog. Therefore to make our liberty, our property, and our lives safe in the face of such human folly and human evil we must resort to force—put men in arms exactly as we equip policemen with clubs and guns to protect us from selfish and ruthless robbers. To adopt any other system is precisely equivalent to suicide. It is clear, if we are to have a settled social order, such predatory men and nations must be subdued. It necessarily follows that men who want peace, who want freedom, who want a voice in their domestic governmental affairs, and laws they approve, must risk their lives and fortunes, as our forefathers did, using necessary force to compel lawless despots to respect the rights and the existence of other nations. And as you know full well, many will perish in that adventure. It is no easy odd-time job.

Again you, of all men, had the first right to say "we fought in 1917–18, won the war and failed the peace." You were crushingly disappointed. Lately we may be sure it has been patent to you that no one in the jubilation following the Armistice of November 11, 1918, paused to think we never had any valid right to believe your war would bring permanent peace. Why should it? Judges and jurors are not disappointed to find that the last hanging in the penitentiary did not stop murders, nor the last sentence to the house of correction stop larceny forevermore.

The struggle for an orderly, law-controlled society involves a perennial struggle so long as some men are bereft of the Christian virtues. Back of all law and liberty must be force; force controlled by law and pledged to uphold the law. Tragic to say, nothing we of this generation can possibly do will wholly protect the next generation from predatory, criminal men at home or abroad. It is a monstrous, terrible truth that we cannot dream that the struggle for an orderly international society, for a better and more just world ended in 1918, or will ever be ended, so that our soldiers may be safely dismissed, our arms melted down. So long as one nation of many is unregenerate your sons are condemned to face the equivalent duty you have borne; to meet the same old problems complicated by new weapons as best they may, certain, that like ourselves and our forbears, they find suffering, perhaps death, is the price of liberty. No other opinion respects immutable human nature.

The world has never been an easy place; nothing is permanent, least of all tranquillity. The significant thing is that human lives are like the seasons; marked by storm, by disaster, by beauty, by sunshine. And men, like plants, are the hardier for heat and frost, for drouth and showers. The important thing is that the vital spark of patriotism survives to make men "strong in will to seek to find and not to yield."

You were disappointed in your objectives in the war, but you succeeded otherwise in a way and to an extent you did not expect. You gained a brand of patriotism in the trenches, a clarity of understanding, a will to do and make others do their civic duty that stands Americans in good stead today. You fed and nursed the vital spark of patriotism as probably no other body of men has done in America, with equal zeal.

Notwithstanding your good offices it must be owned that vital spark, the will to strive, was dim in 1939. Nor were we the only people to neglect the duties of citizenship and to ignore the supreme responsibility toward civilization. The French, now a minor German dependency, and the heroic British fell into the same deep slough. We fortunately have time to pull out, and cleanse our forms of slime.

Paradoxically German arms, German propaganda were your allies, and reinforced unwittingly your efforts in the present dilemma to lift us out of our complacent, slippered ease. We quickly lost our carefree conviction that the British fleet will stand between America and covetous, aggressive Germany. Measured graphically in dollars our new-found conviction mounts up into billions.

We never had, as we now realize, any valid right to expect the British to fight for us, unless we serve their own national ends. We might as plausibly argue that the British admirals should digest our food for us. The defense of one's country is an intimately personal, honorable duty none can discharge by proxy or substitutes.

I wonder if it occurs to any patient German investigator that we owe the American Legion to German militarism, or to compute its strength as a bulwark against America's foes within and without? One trembles to think how far the parlor pinks, Communists, pacifists, organized bands of traitors, crackpots, and theoretics would have controlled the United States from the Capitol dome to the San Francisco water front save for the priceless, persistent, and able leadership of the American Legion. Nor does the Legion rest. Its members are avidly solicitous for our national welfare now as ever. The Legion has run nearly all the sappers and miners who undermine the State by secret and subtle means into the open. It tore the covers off the native and foreign-born who curiously enough prefer dictators to democracies. It turned the light upon the dark machinations of Communists, Fascists, and Nazis. To its further glory and honor the Legion kept its course when, like the Martin Dies committee, its members were ridiculed and derided by the majority of the press (now converted to its way of thinking) and when subversive organizations were pampered and petted by persons in high authority.

Shaken by the mad business saturnalia ending in the panic of 1929, the ensuing depression, the dole, the rise of quack panaceas, want, is it remarkable that the enervation and indifference of the people as a whole to the fundamental matters of national preservation lately appeared to be incurable? Downright hostility to national self-defense developed. Groups were formed in our colleges, of all places, by students pledged not to fight for their country.

One is amazed and tremendously encouraged by the deep resurgence of a splendid, patriotic spirit.

That such a rejuvenation of the national morale exists is made manifest in countless ways. It is significant that the Selective Service Act was passed in time of nominal peace by a comfortable majority. Contrast that unprecedented triumph to the state of public opinion in 1917 when we were actually at war. We recall how difficult it was to bring the public and the Congress to a realization of the indispensable utility of conscription. At best the act of 1917 met with reluctant support.

Lately the enormous job of registering eligibles for service was done with the minimum confusion and with no noticeable opposition or disorder. Young men so late as 6 months ago who were apathetic or defiant, rebelled against military training, registered with a frolic welcome; many enlisted voluntarily. Young men with children, to whom a year's service is a cruel sacrifice, seek daily where and how they may best serve, with scarcely a thought of their immediate careers. About 350 lawyers accepted service in Baltimore in aid of the draft, to do unpaid onerous work as associate members of the advisory board. Of all the men—old, young, of all grades of wealth and professional success—of those physically able to act but 1 refused to serve. Many gave profuse thanks for the chance to help, and many more volunteered than can be used.

America has accepted the additional tax burden without a whimper. In all that has been mentioned the American Legion has played a potent and resolute part.

The vital spark still lives; our people have not lost that quality exemplified in the familiar painting entitled "The Spirit of '76." And Germany supplied much of the impetus behind it all.

Germany has placed its spiked military heel firmly upon all organized religions; first upon the Jews with medieval cruelty; next upon the great Catholic Church and the Protestant Church. The German Government boasting of its fortress tanks, its flying fortresses, its chain-fortresses in the Siegfried line makes total war upon the teachings of that world beloved German figure, Martin Luther, who shouted "A mighty fortress is our God."

The recoil from the brutal, sacrilegious German policy of persecution, its ferocity toward the Jews, Catholics, and Protestants affects us profoundly. I do not mean to suggest that the doctrinal views of the American clergy have been changed or modified one whit. The Bible stands in America beyond peril from Germanic assaults. I do mean that the fervor and loyalty of Americans to their respective churches has been enhanced.

I am incompetent to state what the church should do, but I wish the students in a large theological seminary and other conscientious objectors everywhere, would heed the words recently spoken by a great American preacher. He said: "The Christian church believing in a social order which may begin to approach the Kingdom of God and provide conditions under which men may more easily be Christians—the Christian church has always approved and will continue to approve the use of force. * * * We have always believed that the ends achieved by force depend upon the motive for which it is used and the circumstances under which it is used. * * * It may be used to create a more stable society, to build a better world. * * * But some of you will say: "That is all right for law and order within a nation. Is not the problem a different one when it comes to the international order? Can the church approve the use of force between nations?' I can only answer that the moral problem is the same."

Again we must thank Germany for the occasion which provoked that manly, Christian, timely utterance; as we must applaud Germany for rediscovering to us the core and soul of America, the same in quality displayed at Lexington, at Valley Forge, in the Proclamation of Emancipation.

My sincerest sympathy goes out to those splendid people of America who stem their origin back to the old Germany of learning, industry, of beauty, and toleration, a pleasant place. I trust devoutly that nothing I have said may add to their embarrassment and unhappiness. As United States attorney during the World War, I am in a position to certify that almost without exception they did their part faithfully. They bore ostracism and unjustified suspicions with dignity and forbearance.

We must respect them for cherishing a traditional love for the land where their ancestors lie. There is no doubt that almost to a man they deplore Hitler's hideous excesses as sincerely as do we. And they are just as helpless. Likewise we may trust our people of Italian blood. America has been called a melting pot; and wonderful material has been, is being, poured therefrom. America has been singularly successful with those foreign-born citizens who cast their lot with us, sprung though they are from European nations which grasp feebly, ineffectively if at all for democracy. We quickly make of them true Americans. We teach them the road to democracy, historically unfamiliar though it be. As a rule those Americans by the rite of adoption give their best ungrudgingly to the land of their choice, whether for service in the Army, the Navy, in Congress, on the bench, or in the walks of professional, commercial, and industrial life.

The oneness of this land, the fact that our serious political schisms are purely domestic, that our differences otherwise are but skin deep, that when a threat assails the United States there is no hesitation, no divided allegiance, is in evidence all about us. Only last week we had the most bitterly contested and disgracefully vituperative election ever held since the Hayes-Tilden contest. It is notable that nowhere was there any disorder; nor is the most foul mouthed enemy of that administration, which is in power and will remain in power for 4 years, under the slightest apprehension of a purge by storm troopers, or of the internment camp, or of protective custody or of any penalty whatsoever. To an Italian, a German, a Slav, and most of all to a Jew, now living in continental Europe, that fact must be simply bewildering, incomprehensible.

Few foreign-born Americans take their cue from dictators. Probably no man in the world is more cordially hated by Hitler and Mussolini than is the President of the United States. The election returns of last Tuesday show that the voters of Italian and German blood almost as a unit repudiated Mussolini and Hitler to vote for President Roosevelt.

Hitler makes us sweat and groan as no man does. On the other hand he makes us think as no one has. And Hitler has uncovered to the world the sort of grit that is America's. It is due to Hitler more than to any other living man, including the Kaiser, that our diffuse and immense population, made up of heterogeneous blood, of heterogeneous races, of heterogeneous religions; harboring many economic beliefs, and irreconcilable theories of domestic policy, stand tonight shoulder to shoulder for a militant, courageous, united America whereon the foot of a dictator shall not rest.

A Referendum on Foreign Wars

REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS LUDLOW

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Twelfth Indiana district which I have the honor to represent in this great legislative body, is a typically American district and shares the views of all other typically American districts in regard to participation in Europe's everlasting wars.

It is the capital district of a great agricultural and industrial State. It has a combined urban and rural population. In it are a thousand manufacturing establishments representing many and varied forms of industry. The national headquarters of the American Legion is in our district and among our citizens, assisting in molding and directing the thought of our people, are many veterans of the Spanish-American War and World War I, and many ladies of the veterans' auxiliaries. Our district is located in the very heart of this country where the blood stream of Americanism runs pure and strong.

I need not tell my beloved colleagues of this Chamber how devoted I am to the great democratic principle of granting to the people, who have to do the dying and the suffering in war, the constitutional right to be the jury to decide whether America shall participate in foreign overseas wars. I have battled for this grand conception in season and out of season, often when I was sick at heart over the tergiversation, the lack of candor, and the extremes of misrepresentation resorted to by the powerful forces arrayed in opposition.

We had an election on November 5.

While democracy has not yet reached that point of flower and fruition where the people of the country as a whole may vote on sending their boys into foreign, nondefensive, overseas wars, we had a little referendum on that subject in my congressional district.

My conscience would not permit me to allow our people to approach the ballot booths without a clear, unequivocal statement by me on this subject. I prepared such a statement and inserted it, at very considerable cost, as a paid advertisement in all of the newspapers of our city, and I also gave it out for publication in the news columns, and that statement was emblazoned everywhere, so that he who runs might read.

In that statement I made it very plain that while I am for 100-percent national defense I will not, as a Member of Congress, vote this country into a foreign war unless America is attacked and that if there were in the district interventionists who believe that we should take part in the never-ending wars of Europe and the Orient they should not vote for me; that it was my duty, as I conceived it, to notify them of my position before the election instead of afterward. This statement put everybody on notice that if they voted for me they would be voting against intervention in other people's wars; that they would be voting to maintain the age-old Washingtonian and Jeffersonian philosophy of nonentanglement.

There was a Willkie blitzkrieg in our city, county, and State on election day, November 5.

On that day I was reelected to Congress by a majority of 8,780 over a very able and highly beloved opponent, Judge James A. Collins. In humble modesty I hasten to disclaim that it was a personal victory.

It was a victory for the principles for which I stood, forthright and unafraid.

It was an expression of the people of a typically American district in favor of the peace, the independence, and the noninvolvement of America and the maintenance of the American way of life. It was just such an expression as might have been expected from any other typically American district anywhere in this Union.

It was an indication coming from the very heart of America that the storm of skepticism, brutality, and paganism that, unfortunately, is sweeping the world has not influenced our people, except to make them more conscious of the blessings we enjoy under the American flag, and to stiffen their resolution to hold on to all that is good and true; that with the love of humanity in their hearts, they believe that the safe and wise course for our statesmen to pursue is to avoid foreign contamination and entanglements while we look to our defenses and uphold in its original purity and design, with the sacrifice of all of our blood and treasure, if necessary, this great Nation of ours, dedicated to the rights of man, whose battlements are faith in God.

CONGRESSMAN LUDLOW'S PREELECTION STATEMENT

My statement, given out before the election, was as follows:

As a member of the small subcommittee on deficiencies through which all national-defense estimates have to be routed for evaluation to be included in appropriation bills, I think I am pretty close to the war picture. I will vote every dollar of American money and

credit and every drop of American blood to defend our country from attack, but I will not vote a thin dime to send our boys to die in shambles in foreign countries if America is not attacked.

WAR HYSTERIA ROCKS COAST

The Atlantic seaboard is today rocking with war hysteria, and I anticipate that before long interventionists and warmongers will try to force us into war, but there is no need of our country getting into the World War, and it will not if we keep our heads and steer clear of foreign entanglements.

As I believe there will soon be terrific pressure to drag us into the war, I desire before the election to make a clear-cut, straightforward statement of my position. When I think I am right I do not yield to pressures, and this expression will stand as a permanent statement of my views and purpose.

I will work untiringly, as I always have done, to build up our defense to the highest point of perfection, so that we will be safe from attack by any foreign nation or any combination of foreign nations. In the future, as in the past, I will vote all the billions that are needed for defense.

WILL FIGHT FOR PEACE

But I want it understood that I will not vote to send our American boys into the slaughter pens of foreign wars. On the contrary, I will do everything I can to keep America out of war and to build up our economic sufficiency at home, so that we may battle successfully the ghastly evils of unemployment and poverty.

If we are dragged into the war, we will be in imminent danger of losing our liberty and our democracy. I want this great free Government to last forever, so that our children and our children's children, down to the remotest generation, may enjoy its immeasurable blessings.

If ever there was a time when we needed Members of Congress who have heads on their shoulders and their feet on the ground, and who can be depended upon to stand for the best interests of America, that time is now. Congress has its duties and responsibilities in connection with international relations. It cannot dodge or shirk those responsibilities and at the same time keep faith with the people. The imperative duty of Congress is to remain in continuous session as long as the international crisis lasts. As far as I am concerned, nobody is going to stampede me into voting our country into a foreign war. I will not be stampeded.

CONTINUE AMERICAN WAY

Let us be Americans. Let us continue the American way.

I make this statement now so that no one can say later when the war pressure becomes hot that I did not make my position crystal clear before the ballots were cast. In order that every citizen of the Twelfth District may know exactly where I stand before he casts his vote, I repeat that I will do anything and everything I can to defend America and to protect and perpetuate our precious institutions of freedom, but I will not be a party to sending one American boy into foreign wars unless America is attacked. A vote for me will be a vote to maintain the peace, the independence, and the noninvolvement of America.

Payment of Redcaps Under Fair Labor Standards Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELBERT D. THOMAS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

LETTER FROM COL. PHILIP B. FLEMING, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated October 31, 1940, from Col. Philip B. Fleming, Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor, submitting certain information to me on the subject of the payment of redcaps under the Fair Labor Standards Act. I submit this communication for consideration of the Members of the Senate in connection with Senate Resolution 325, now pending before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION,
Washington, October 31, 1940.

Hon. ELBERT D. THOMAS,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR THOMAS: I am pleased to reply to your letter dated October 30, 1940, recommending that, pending congressional action on Senate Resolution 325, this Division should make preliminary investigations concerning the problem of the payment of wages to redcaps under the Fair Labor Standards Act, and that I advise you of any pertinent information found upon such investigation.

You will be interested to know that recently I instructed representatives of the Division to investigate the wages and other conditions and practices of the employment of redcaps at the Grand Central Terminal in New York City and at the Washington Terminal Co. of this city. The report upon the investigation of the former terminal has not yet been received, but is expected in the near future. A preliminary report on the investigation of the latter terminal has just been received by me and discloses some rather unusual circumstances.

It appears that prior to the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Act, October 24, 1938, redcap service was sustained wholly by tips of gratuities given the redcaps by the public. There does not appear to have been any cost of the service to the terminal company. The redcaps were even required to purchase and maintain, at their own expense, uniforms meeting the specifications of the company.

During the period October 24, 1938, to April 14, 1940, when the so-called accounting and guarantee arrangement was in effect, it appears that the total tips received by the redcaps amounted to $195,730.12, or $584.54 less than the total minimum wages due the redcaps under the act. The company took credit for the tips and paid the redcaps $584.54 on account of its "guarantee" of the minimum wage. Notwithstanding the records of the company show such credits for tips and cash payments by the company to each redcap in a total sum equal to the minimum-wage requirement, minimum-wage violations appear to have occurred by reason of the fact that the company unlawfully deducted from said total sum the cost of the redcap's uniform and maintenance thereof, and also liability for lost baggage.

During the period April 15, 1940, to the present time the company has provided redcap service under the new plan, whereunder redcaps are carried on the pay roll and are paid the minimum wage in cash by the company, but are required to collect from passengers on behalf of the company a charge by the company of 10 cents per bag or parcel carried. The company's records show that from April 15 to and including September 30 of this year (5½ months) redcaps have collected from passengers and turncd over to the company a total of such bag or parcel charges in the sum of $94,677.33. Payroll expenditures by the company for redcap service at the minimum-wage rate for said months amounted to $71,799.84. The gross profit to the company for this period was $22,877.49, or $4,159.54 per month; however, the company claims that its net profit for the period was only $14,950.23, or $2,718.22 per month. If this profit were maintained over a period of a year, the gross annual profit of the one company in operating the 10 cents a parcel plan would be approximately $50,000. This is contrasted with a net loss to the company of $584.54 in the year and a half following the effective date of the act when the redcaps were required to report their tips and the company was required to make up any deficiency in minimum wages.

As you requested heretofore, I am preparing and will submit during the next week or so a report on Senate Resolution 325, and it is my purpose in such report to deal more fully with the conditions and practices of employment of redcaps at the Washington Terminal Co., as well as at the Grand Central Terminal Co.

If I can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,

PHILIP B. FLEMING,
Administrator.

Union County, S. C., Does Not Need Selective Service Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH R. BRYSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Speaker, Union County, S. C.! Tell brave men of her name; advise them of her fame. And the Nation over make known her deeds of service and sacrifice; throughout the land have felt those repeated blows she strikes for devotion to our country's cause.

Let friends of freedom, defenders of democracy all, hear the news: Union County again, once more, has set a grand example of patriotism at its best. No; this is not the first time, this is not the initial claim, for two decades ago, then, as now, the men of Union County went forth as volunteers, everyone—not a single man of the lot was it necessary to draft.

For Union County the Selective Service Act was no need; her sons, this time, again, were already in the field long before any number was drawn or quota set. To witness the fall of

democratic nations abroad was enough to make the people of Union County realize America's need for increased national defense. To realize that need was impetus enough to send Union's boys volunteering for service under the colors to aid in preparing this Nation against the threat of war for plans of peace.

Not merely to praise nor solely to pay tribute do I bring you this story of Union County. Her people deserve every praise, but that is not what they seek; their achievements justify every expression of tribute we pay them, but neither is this the object of their efforts. To be her Representative and spokesman in this great body of men is a proud honor, true, but I bring you this story of Union County not to glory in the distinction she has won for my district but to inspire by the example she has set for our Nation. Salute her, I say, not just for honor's sake but rather for the larger purpose of pointing to the finest example of democracy in action.

Proposed Adjournment of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

EDITORIALS FROM THE NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD an editorial from the New York World-Telegram of November 18 and an editorial from the New York Times of November 19, opposing the adjournment of Congress.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York World-Telegram of November 18, 1940]

CONGRESS: "ALL'S RIGHT WITH THE WORLD"

Coventry, Taranto, Koritza, Lough Swilly, Libreville, Martinique, Tampico, Cambodia, and all those other exotic place names that stud the front pages lately might as well be in the wonderful land of Oz as far as the leaders of Congress appear to be concerned.

They want to go home.

They have been suffering for weeks from acute frustration of the "ay tank ay go home" impulse, and this time they seem to mean business. Tomorrow, it is reported, they will try to adjourn the Seventy-sixth Congress sine die, which is to say for keeps.

Republicans and some Democrats will resist, but if enough of those Democrats who deserted Washington long since can be rounded up to vote "yea," the present Congress will vanish into a void from which only the President, by ordering a special session, can resurrect it.

This means that in the 7 weeks remaining before the Seventy-seventh Congress assembles, on January 3, the legislative arm of the Government would be in a state of abdication.

Maybe this would turn out all right. The country used to be able to struggle along without Congress for 7 weeks or even 7 months. Maybe nothing will happen between now and January 3 that requires congressional attention. But think back to a 7-week period last spring, in which occurred the invasion and conquest of the Low Countries, the British retreat from Dunkerque, the entrance of Italy into the war, the fall of France.

Those matters gave Congress plenty of work to do. Witness the $17,000,000,000 defense program.

Other world-shaking events may be in the cards for these next 7 weeks. What if Russia and Japan should sign a pact? What if Japan moves against the East Indies? What if England's Navy suffers terrible reverses and the question of releasing more of our warships is broached? What if strikes in our defense industries spread? What if something breaks in the Caribbean or South America?

In a year when the unexpected is the rule Congress ought to be on deck.

[From the New York Times of November 19, 1940]

CONGRESS SHOULD STAY

None of the reasons which have made it desirable for Congress to remain in session up to this time have lost their force. The international situation remains as delicate and as full of potential surprises as it has ever been. If it is still true, as Mr. Roosevelt declared in July, that "events move so fast in other parts of the world that it has become my duty to remain either in the White House or at some near-by point where I can * * * be back at my desk in the space of a very few hours," then the presence and judgment of Congress in Washington are no less necessary. Mr. Roosevelt proved to be mistaken in his judgment of last June that there was no reason for Congress to remain longer in session then. By remaining in session it passed the selective-service law, authorized the President to mobilize the National Guard, passed a defense appropriation bill of more than $5,000,000,000, and took other measures of the first importance for preparedness. Even if the President has no measures now in mind for Congress, the possibility of unforeseen developments remains as great as ever.

All that has changed since the election to make the continued presence of Congress in Washington seem less urgent is that a period of only a month and a half would now intervene between an immediate adjournment and the meeting of the new Congress. The shortness of this period no doubt somewhat reduces the dangers of adjournment, but the considerations that favor continuance of the session remain weighty. There are important domestic as well as potential foreign-policy decisions involved. There are, for example, the amendments to the Wagner Labor Relations Act adopted by the House by a two-thirds vote, but never acted on by the Senate. There is the Walter-Logan bill to control Federal agencies, passed by the House last April by the overwhelming majority of 279 to 97, but which leaders of the Senate have prevented from coming to a vote in that body. If Congress now adjourns, both of these measures will die. Certainly it will strengthen democratic processes if the Senate is now given full and free opportunity to discuss and pass upon them.

The only argument for immediate adjournment is that Congressmen want to go home or need a rest. At a time when men in civil life are being conscripted for military service on the ground that an emergency exists, this is surely a feeble excuse for adjourning. Congress should stay in session at least until mid-December, and even if it adjourns then it should leave in Washington an interim committee to be consulted by the President and to express its views on any issue that may arise.

Money Stabilization Interests More People Than at Any Time in Country's History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 14, 1940

ADDRESS BY GEORGE SEHLMEYER, STATE MASTER OF THE CALIFORNIA GRANGE

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the most forward-looking and genuinely patriotic organizations in the State of California is the California Grange. I take sincere pride in including herewith with my remarks a portion of the annual address of the able State master, Mr. George Sehlmeyer, delivered at the State convention:

It is gratifying to note there is greater interest on the part of the people of the country today in monetary stabilization than at any time in our history. It is apparent that one of the greatest problems still confronting the country is to bring about monetary revision which will establish a dollar of equal continuous purchasing power. During the last few years, owing to the fluctuation in the value of the gold dollar, there has been unsettled commodity prices.

When the depression of 1929 came, many people were bewildered and not able to explain why such a crash should occur when it was apparent the Nation was reasonably prosperous; later developments indicated that the depression was wholly man-made; that it resulted from the contraction of the currency. There are others who seem to be of the opinion that the Federal Reserve system is a part of the Federal Government; this system is controlled by approximately 7,000 privately owned banks.

We can see no substantial reason why the Federal Government should continue to issue bonds in order to secure funds for Government expense.

For several years the National Grange has advocated that no further tax-free bonds be issued for government expenses. In 1935 a resolution was adopted by the California State Grange, later by the National Grange, providing that Congress should comply with the Constitution of the United States, which states that Congress alone shall have the right to coin money and regulate the value thereof.

The first National Bank Act was passed in 1863, introduced in Congress by John Sherman, of Ohio. When this bill was presented to President Lincoln for his signature, he said in effect: This bill has potential dangers greater than those in which we are now engaged. Under it, great corporations will be built up which will

interfere with the ordinary processes of democratic government and finally, if not checked, will destroy democracy itself.

In 1896, William Jennings Bryan, during his famous Cross of Gold address, made this immortal statement: "You shall not press this crown of thorns on the brow of labor, you shall not nail the American people to this Cross of Gold." Bryan was probably thinking far ahead of his time.

There are many in the country who seem to be of the opinion that depressions have come and gone, and they will come again.

We believe, however, there is enough enlightened statesmanship in this country to make the necessary change in our monetary system to prevent a very small minority from contracting the currency and thus bringing untold distress and tragedy to millions of people.

National Unity Is Our Goal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS OF HON. JAMES A. FARLEY

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, the former Postmaster General, James A. Farley, in keeping with his usual custom on election night, addressed the citizens of our great Nation. In my opinion, the address of Mr. Farley on the importance of national unity embodies the fine spirit of fair play and good sportsmanship that has always characterized his utterances in the hour of victory. It would be well for every citizen to read this address, whether he was with the loser or the victor.

The address follows:

Four years ago, on a similar occasion, when the election returns were in and the result was known, I expressed the sincere hope that the bitterness and ill-feeling engendered in the heat of campaigning would soon be forgotten. As victors, we Democrats promised there would be no reprisals and that no American should have fear of the future.

Four years have passed. Tonight I make the same appeal to my fellow Americans. I ask the victors to be moderate and considerate of others in their joy of victory. I ask the losers, in the traditional spirit of fair play, to overcome their disappointment and to pitch in like the loyal citizens they are for the common good.

Now, perhaps more than ever before in its history, the United States has need for national unity. The excitement of the campaign must not blind our eyes to the dangers of the perilous world in which we live. We must go forward without delay or interruption along the path which we have been following as a nation since the ugly form of total war engulfed the nations of Europe and the Orient.

While many things are said and done in political campaigns which are later regretted, I am sorry that an excessive note of bitterness has crept into the campaign just closed. Perhaps it was inevitable in view of the excited state of public feeling. Yet I wish it could have been avoided. I doubt if such bitterness makes votes for any candidate or any party.

I am hopeful that the scars of this intense campaign will heal quickly and leave no soreness. And I am also hopeful that in future campaigns we shall find some way of avoiding these extreme and disturbing methods of appealing for votes. In making this statement I am not pointing my remarks at any political party or any group in the country. I am simply expressing a feeling in which I believe every citizen may concur.

The voice of America has spoken. The people of America have once again expressed their will and selected the man whom they consider best fitted to guide the destiny of the United States for the next 4 years. As patriotic citizens I urge every single individual in the land to accept the supreme judgment of the majority. The people made the decision and the people may be trusted to do what is right.

During the few months remaining in his present term President Roosevelt will face problems of broad scope and magnitude. He needs your full, earnest, and sympathetic cooperation. He will be the President of all the people just as he has been the President of all the people during the past seven and a half years.

When the new administration takes office in January this spirit of cooperation must be carried on. We have a common stake in America and we must present a solid front before all the nations of the world.

In the past the people of America have demonstrated a remarkable capacity for rising above factional and party strife when the electorate has spoken. We have accepted the verdict of the majority with the utmost of tolerance and good will.

This is our solemn duty tonight. We must realize that the United States is greater than each of us and greater than all of us. We must lay aside personal feeling for the cause of a better, fuller, finer America.

National unity is our goal. Let us realize this goal in the ties of our common citizenship.

We Share in Its Benefits; Let Us Share in the Cost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, many have been shouting about the necessity of saving democracy in Europe; about the danger of an invasion by the dictators.

So real and so terrifying has the picture been painted by the President and his adherents that Congress, at his demand, has authorized the spending of billions upon billions of dollars for national defense; the inducting into the Regular Army, for service in South America as well as North America, of the National Guard; the conscripting from their homes for Army duty of more than a million young men.

The President, members of his Cabinet, Senators, Congressmen, and some who would have us join Great Britain in her war with Germany, have been waving the flag, making patriotic speeches, and telling us that only by the making of appalling sacrifices can our civilization be preserved.

For the sake of the argument, let us assume, although I do not believe it, that all this is true. Let us assume that Hitler will overrun England, and that he is intent, immediately that conquest is finished, on sailing 3,000 miles across the seas and invading our shores. Let me repeat, assume all this.

Just how sincere in their spoken desire to save democracy are those who paint this picture? Are they honest in their belief, in giving expression to their views? Of course, we assume that they are patriotic, that they believe in our form of government—democracy, so-called.

But let us test the depth of their sincerity, the degree of their willingness to sacrifice and serve. Many of us are physically or mentally incapable of rendering worth-while service in the land or naval forces of the United States. However, each one of us has something of which he can give a part.

No people will give united service, show the greatest determination, exert their utmost power or accomplish the seemingly impossible when they have no personal stake in the result; when they believe that others are obtaining an unfair advantage, reaping an excessive profit. We all share in the benefits of civilization, in the liberty we enjoy under our form of government, so why should not each and everyone share in the cost of preserving civilization and our form of government, upon which we say civilization depends?

To that end I have introduced a bill which provides for the stabilization of prices throughout the United States—this for the purpose of enabling the Government, without being gouged, to adequately prepare for national defense—and for the purpose of lessening the opportunity for making a profit out of our present misfortune, out of the present emergency, out of the spending of billions of dollars by Government agencies.

To the objection that the plan is not practicable, it may be answered that, under the war powers granted to Congress, there is ample authority to prevent profiteering. In the last World War some prices were fixed. There is no reason why we should not now, before the harm has been done, before the horse has been stolen, lock the stable door.

There is another way in which each can share in the cost of preserving the democracies. It is by the making of a substantial contribution out of his present income.

We are one people. Our interests are all the same. We are all equal before the law. We all have equal opportunity. We should all—each and every one, as near as possible—share the burdens as well as the benefits.

To bring about as near as may be that condition is the purpose of the bill which has been introduced by me.

Borrowed money is all too easily spent. It is no virtue to make contributions which, in reality, come from the other fellow. Whether the present emergency is real or fancied, and the extent of it, if it be real, may not as a matter of fact depend upon how much each one contributes toward national defense, but it is certain that, if each is made to pay an equitable share of the cost, he will give the whole situation greater attention, judge more clearly, act more intelligently, more circumspectly.

Our war fever may drop several degrees if each one takes a dose of the doctor's medicine.

I venture the prediction that, if we pass a law taking 35 percent of the salary of the Congressmen during the duration of the emergency, there will be at least a 50-percent drop in congressional oratory on the necessity for a war.

It is just possible that, if those who would profit from war, if those who have none other than an academic interest in our theory of government, if all those who seek political advancement because of the war situation in Europe, are made to realize and to assume a part at least of the burden which they would impose upon us, they may give more careful consideration to the necessity of the carrying of that burden.

The answer to my proposition is that there is too much war hysteria; that the emergency is, to a large extent, simulated; that in reality the present program is as much, if not more, a spending program than it is a preparedness program.

If we are to have preparedness, either for national defense or for war, there is no good reason why its cost should be excessive, why some should profit, others suffer, because of such a program.

Just a few days ago, the press carried the item that, in Chicago, the price of milk was raised to the consumer by one company because that company was losing money and could no longer afford to stand the loss.

Among the items of expense which necessitated the increase in price to the consumer was one of $94 per week to milk drivers. No one for a moment believes that the farmer who produced that milk received even as much as $30 per week for his services.

The production of more than $80,000,000 worth of military planes on Government contract is being held up at Downey, Calif., because of a quarrel over the division of anticipated profits. The union officials assert that the company will earn $12,000,000 profit in the next 3 years and therefore they should have a wage increase. The company insists that:

> It is a matter of public record and long known to those who ordered the strike that Vultee had paid no dividends. As a matter of fact, the company showed a net loss for the year ending November 30, 1939, of over $840,000, and during the first 9 months of 1940 the company recorded another net loss of $58,000.

Yesterday's press carried the news that the Navy Yard workers here in Washington were asking a wage increase.

In my hand I hold a schedule of wage rates in the building industry in the District of Columbia, effective as of June 14, 1940, issued by the Architect of the Capitol. This shows wages ranging from $12 per week for stonecutters' apprentices to $2 per hour for skilled workers, with a 6-hour working day for a 5-day week for plasterers and iron workers, 7 hours for painters, and 8 hours for all others, with time and a half for overtime.

Without in any way questioning or discussing the merit of any demanded increase, either in wages or in prices, it must be apparent that there is a mad scramble to reap a personal profit from war activities and that the only way in which excessive cost to the Federal Government, and ultimately to the taxpayer, can be held down is by legislation of some kind which will prevent profiteering—legislation which keeps in mind the thought that the profiteers are not all in Wall Street and that, human nature being what it is, none of us is too reluctant to take advantage of a situation which brings us a personal benefit.

This program, whether it be for national defense or for war, is for the benefit, or, more correctly speaking, for the protection, of all. Let us all share in the cost. Let us end profiteering.

"Democracy Is Finished in England—It May Be Here," Says United States Ambassador to Great Britain

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ARTICLES FROM THE BOSTON SUNDAY GLOBE, THE NEW YORK TIMES, AND THE BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following articles from the Boston Sunday Globe of November 10, the New York Times of November 12, and the Boston Evening Transcript of November 12:

[From the Boston Sunday Globe of November 10, 1940]

KENNEDY SAYS DEMOCRACY ALL DONE IN BRITAIN, MAYBE HERE—PINCH COMING IN UNITED STATES TRADE LOSS—AMBASSADOR ASKS AID TO ENGLAND BE VIEWED AS "INSURANCE"—BEGS AMERICA WAKE UP, GIVE MORE POWER TO MOBILIZE INDUSTRY

(By Louis M. Lyons)

Joseph P. Kennedy was sitting in his shirtsleeves eating apple pie and American cheese in his room at the Ritz-Carlton. His suspenders hung around his hips.

It was the setting for an interview that every American reporter has known 1,000 times in interviewing the visiting head of the Elks, or the Rotarians, or the Lions Clubs—as American as the apple pie.

Mr. Kennedy's own words cut sharply across this picture when he lifted the telephone to say, "This is the Ambassador." But his next words brought us back where we were. "Oh, hello, Bob; how are y'?"

HE AND EDITOR SEE EYE TO EYE

A journalistic colleague from St. Louis who shared the interview—Ralph Coglan, editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch—liked Joe Kennedy from the first look at him. He liked him more every minute and every sentence of the hour and a half that Joe Kennedy poured out to us his views about America and the war in a torrent that flowed with the free, full power and flood of the Mississippi River.

My Missouri friend's eyes flashed in response to Kennedy. He was seeing eye to eye with the American ambassador as he hadn't been able to do with any of the intellectual leaders of Boston and Cambridge he'd seen in his crowded visit. As these two glowed together in the discussion, it struck me that Joe Kennedy of Boston birth probably comes closer to representing the Mississippi Valley, the great heart of America, than any ambassador the Court of St. James's has had the luck to meet in modern times.

WOULD SPEND ALL TO KEEP OUT

"I'm willing to spend all I've got left to keep us out of the war," Kennedy flashed toward the end of his talk.

"There's no sense in our getting in. We'd just be holding the bag."

KEEP UNITED STATES OUT OF WAR

He's started already on a quiet but determined and fighting crusade to "keep us out." He's just gone to California to see one of America's influential publishers. He's already seen others and he means to see more, and let them have it straight and tough, as he sees it.

He's talked to Congressmen and Senators and means to see more. "They've got to understand it," he says, with passion. He's been amazed at how little—so it seems to him—the Congressmen who've visited with him so far do understand the war and America's relation to it.

"I know more about the European situation than anybody else, and it's up to me to see that the country gets it," he says in explanation of the role of carrying the torch that he has cut out for himself.

UNITED STATES CHANCES OF PEACE BETTER

Coglan asks what he thinks are the chances of our keeping out.

"Better than they were 3 months ago," says Kennedy.

"I'm happy to see you aren't another Walter Hines Page," says the St. Louis editor as we leave. (Page was our Ambassador in the crucial 1916–17 period who made it his crusade to see that President Wilson appreciated the British side of the war.)

Kennedy laughed. "Americans find it hard to understand that a man can be in that atmosphere and not succumb to it," he said.

"A couple of years ago I told my friend Joe Patterson"—a reference to the New York publisher—"that the Queen was one of the most intelligent women I ever met.

"He said, 'Oh, now I know you've succumbed to their blandishments, Joe. If you'd said most gracious, or most charming, but most intelligent—' Well, he saw her on her American tour, which presented her a tremendously difficult problem that she handled magnificently. After that he told me he was half willing to admit her intelligence. This time I saw him he said, after following her conduct in the war, he'd go all the way with me.

QUEEN CALLED GREAT WOMAN

"Now, I tell you when this thing is finally settled," Kennedy declared, "and it comes to a question of saying what's left for England, it will be the Queen and not any of the politicians who will do it. She's got more brains than the Cabinet.

"It's partly because she wasn't born into the royal family. Her background is of the people. She's an omnivorous reader. Deladier told me, after he'd first met her, that she knew more about French history than almost any Frenchman."

"What do you say about Eleanor Roosevelt?"

"She's another wonderful woman. And marvelously helpful and full of sympathy. Jim will tell you," as he turned to Dean James M. Landis, of the Harvard Law School, coming in as we were going out, "that she bothered us more on our jobs in Washington to take care of the poor little nobodies who hadn't any influence than all the rest of the people down there together. She's always sending me a note to have some little Susie Glotz to tea at the embassy."

REPORTER'S DILEMMA

Coglan and I rushed for a cab to get to an office where we could compare notes and save every crumb we could of Kennedy's talk. Coglan, an editorial writer, wanted it only for background. He didn't have a story to write.

"I wouldn't be in your shoes," said Coglan. "How do you know what you can write. He just puts it up to you to follow your own conscience and judgment and protect him in his diplomatic capacity."

"Well, last time I interviewed him, in 1936, he poured himself out just like this, without laying any restriction on me, and I wrote every bit of it, and it went all over the country—the interview in which he said why he was for Roosevelt. And he said it was the best interview he'd ever had. But he wasn't an ambassador then."

"It all depends on how you handle it," advised Coglan. "Any story can be told if it's told right."

RUNNING OVER THE NOTES

Well, then, with all care but without losing the color and force and pungency that make Joe Kennedy one of the leading figures on the world stage today, we'll run over the notes. Charles Edmondson, Nieman fellow from Coglan's editorial staff, who arranged the interview for his visiting boss while I was arranging it for myself, comes in and checks my notes again.

"Don't forget," he said, " 'Lindbergh's not so crazy, either,' " he reminds me. Edmondson has been carrying on a running debate, from the Mississippi Valley point of view, with his interventionist friends in Cambridge all fall.

The Ambassador had just finished his physical check-up at the Lahey clinic when we saw him. "They say I'm in better shape than I was last time," he told us.

"It's a funny thing. I slept through the antiaircraft guns in London. But when I got out to Lisbon, the auto horns kept me awake.

CAN'T GET USED TO BOMBING

"But don't let anybody tell you you can get used to incessant bombing. There's nowhere in England they aren't getting it. The people are standing up to it. They go to work the next day. They have to let them off 2 hours early to get to shelters. Of course, transportation is interrupted. I could tell you it takes 7 hours to deliver a telegram and often 2 hours to get downtown. Plenty of that. But it doesn't help to emphasize that.

"Their shipping losses are greater this time because they haven't so many destroyers and what they have they have to divide, in the Mediterranean and for defending England, besides convoys. Our 50 destroyers filled a great need. And the German submarine bases are nearer the traffic lanes this time.

"Hitler has all the ports in Europe, you see. Never forget that. The only reason the English haven't taken over the Irish ports is because of American public opinion.

IF WE GET IN, DEMOCRACY ENDS

"People call me a pessimist. I say, 'What is there to be gay about? Democracy is all done.' "

"You mean in England or this country, too?"

"Well, I don't know. If we get into war it will be in this country, too. A bureaucracy would take over right off. Everything we hold dear would be gone. They tell me that after 1918 we got it all back again. But this is different. There's a different pattern in the world."

"What about British democracy?" Edmonson asked. "Is there real opportunity there or does the aristocracy keep a rigid class structure that keeps the common man down?"

"When there's a strong upsurge from beneath you can't stop it," Kennedy replies. "You can't blame the aristocracy for keeping it down if it doesn't come up."

"Well, what does it mean to have labor men now at the center of government?" I ask.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM FOR ENGLAND

"It means national socialism is coming out of it," says Kennedy flatly.

"You don't see much then in the picture H. G. Wells and Harold Laski give us of a developing democracy as a new permanent basis of British society?"

"You've picked the two worst possible examples to take. Laski is greatly overrated over here. He doesn't represent anything."

"Democracy is finished in England. It may be here. Because it comes to a question of feeding people. It's all an economic question. I told the President in the White House last Sunday, 'Don't send me 50 admirals and generals. Send me a dozen real economists.'

"It's the loss of our foreign trade that's going to threaten to change our form of government. We haven't felt the pinch of it yet. It's ahead of us."

WHY HE SUPPORTED ROOSEVELT

"Did you support Roosevelt with some misgivings?" Coglan asked.

"No. I supported Roosevelt because I feel he's the only man who can control the groups who have got to be brought along in what's ahead of us."

"You mean the men who control industry?"

"No. They have a stake that they've got to defend. I mean the have-nots. They haven't any stake of ownership. They've got to take it in whatever faces us.

"It's all a question of what we do with the next 6 months. The whole reason for aiding England is to give us time. Whatever we give England, we shouldn't think of getting it back. It's insurance. We can pull the teeth of the William Allen White committee and of the anti-English groups, too, by just not arguing at all. We can just accept whatever they say, and our answer is, 'It's just one question, self-preservation for us. England is doing everything we could ask. As long as she is in there, we have time to prepare. It isn't that she's fighting for democracy. That's the bunk. She's fighting for self-preserevation, just as we will if it comes to us.'

"I don't draw any line on how much aid. It is a practical question of judgment, how much to send. It is a question of how long England can hold out. If she collapses soon, then stop.

ANY MORE LOANS—INSURANCE

"If we went in we'd just be holding the bag. I tell everybody, 'Don't expect to get the World War debts paid. We'll never get that back. But we must see that they don't wind up this time holding all our securities and we with a long debt. We'll take it from them while they can pay for what they need. But when they get through, give it to them. Mark it off, as insurance.' "

He wouldn't venture a judgment on how the war was coming out. But he felt the months just ahead would tell.

"The blitzkreig won't beat the British," he said, positively. "Their danger is from movement. A march on Gibraltar through Spain. The march for Iraq and for Cairo * * *."

"Then what about Canada if the worst comes to England?"

"Well, we're sucked in on that, and the Monroe Doctrine and all.

"The thing is, what we do with the next 6 months. It would be fatal to let it go by without making the most of every working day for defense. We aren't doing the maximum now. We've got to. We've got to realize it. Nobody could handle industrial mobilization but Jesus Christ with any legislative power we're willing to give him now. We've got to educate America to the need for defense. Fast too."

WHEELER AND KENNEDY BUDDIES

Coglan asked what Senators Kennedy had in mind seeing. He asked about BURTON K. WHEELER, who has been rated a strong isolationist.

"But WHEELER and I are buddies," Kennedy said. "Why, I financed his campaign with La Follette."

We must have gaped at that. The La Follette-Wheeler third party contested the Presidential election of 1924 against Calvin Coolidge, Republican, and John W. Davis, Democrat. That was on the crest of the Coolidge boom and Joseph P. Kennedy was riding it with others in Wall Street.

Wasn't aid to England likely to draw us in, as in 1917, asked Edmondson, mentioning Walter Millis' Road to War.

"No," said Kennedy positively. "Not if we know the answer. Not if we are coldly realistic and for America all the time. If they ask us to get in more than is safe for us, we ask them, 'What do you want us to do? How can we send troops over when Hitler has the ports? Why do you ask for men when you haven't called up all your eligible men?' If they want us to patrol the Atlantic by taking our Navy out of the Pacific, we answer that that would bring a howl clear across America to California. If they want aviators, what ships are they going to fly in? As to ships, we haven't got any. I know about ships. We couldn't send an army anywhere now. It would be senseless to go in. What would we be fighting for?"

AID ENGLAND AS FAR AS WE CAN

"If Hitler wins the war," Coglan asked, "do you believe we wouldn't trade with Europe?"

"That's nonsensical," Kennedy replied. "But the thing now is, aid England as far as we can; that's our game. As long as she can hold out give her what it takes, whatever we don't have to have, and don't expect anything back."

As to the cost and the increase in the tax limit he laughed at our questions.

"Nobody knows how far you can add to the debt limit. It isn't a yardstick question. All you'll know is if it goes so far that it goes sour and people won't have any part of it.

"Nobody knows what inflation is. If you mean in terms of currency, how can we inflate our currency when we can base it on

nearly all the gold in the world? You could issue any amount of currency on it. You can't have inflation in this country under present conditions. Hitler's kicked all the economic theories out the window. The two greatest bankers in the world are Montagu Norman and Schaacht."

"And Mr. Schaacht is the greater," puts in Edmondson.

"Yes; Norman admits it," Kennedy says.

WHAT IS INFLATION?

"I said 'inflation' to Norman one day and he challenged me, 'What is inflation? Define it.' Try it some time."

"But if you're talking about debt limit, suppose we got into the war. I've surveyed every aspect of British war economy. The first year of the war cost them half their national income. At that rate, in the first year we'd spend $35,000,000,000 (35 billions). What would we get out of it? Lindbergh isn't crazy, either, you know."

"I say we aren't going in. Only over my dead body. I'll spend everything I've got left to keep us out."

He stopped and laughed.

"Everybody is always asking if Joe Kennedy is going back home when I'm over there and if he's going back over when I'm home. Nobody wants to know his ideas or to find out if he's got any. I know more about Europe than anybody else in this country because I've been closer to it longer. I'm going to make it a point to educate America to the situation.

"Well, I'm afraid you didn't get much of a story."

[From the New York Times of November 12, 1940]

KENNEDY DISAVOWS INTERVIEW ON WAR—ENVOY SAYS HE TALKED "OFF THE RECORD" IN BOSTON—STORY GAVE WRONG IMPRESSION—"BAD TASTE" IS CHARGED—WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT "DEMOCRACY IS FINISHED" IN GREAT BRITAIN

Joseph P. Kennedy, Ambassador to Great Britain, said in a formal statement issued last night that an interview with him published by the Boston Globe and syndicated by the North American Newspaper Alliance Saturday night "creates a different impression entirely than I would want to set forth."

Mr. Kennedy said that he had received Louis M. Lyons of the Boston Globe and Ralph Coglan, editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, for an off-the-record conversation.

The interview, as reported by Mr. Lyons, quoted Mr. Kennedy as saying that "democracy is finished in England" and may be finished in the United States, and that the presence of "labor men" in the British Government "means national socialism is coming out of it."

Mr. Kennedy's statement follows:

"I have read the interview that I am supposed to have given to Louis M. Lyons of the Boston Globe.

"When Mr. Lyons came to see me in Boston, I made it clear to him in the presence of Mr. Coglan and Mr. Edmondson of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch that I should be very happy to give them my thoughts off the record, but I would make no statements that should be printed at this time.

"In the week that I have been home, I have turned down all the many other newspapers and leading magazines which have sought interviews and articles. It was on this basis that our conversation proceeded.

"Mr. Lyons made no notes during the visit. Whatever he wrote was entirely from memory. Many statements in the article show this to be true because they create a different impression entirely than I would want to set forth. Many of them were inaccurate.

"He admits I said to him, 'Well, I am afraid you didn't get much of a story.' Of course, the reason I said that was that I assumed the entire conversation had been conducted on the basis of my original statement—that it was an off-the-record discussion.

"I consider this interview, regardless of the handling of the material, as the first serious violation of the newspaper code on an off-the-record interview that I have ever experienced. I may be guilty of errors of judgment, but I hope never guilty of errors of good taste.

"If I ever give out material touching such important questions I would certainly insist on checking it so that mistakes and inaccuracies might not be made."

The Ambassador, who returned recently by clipper from London, was quoted in the Lyons interview as asserting that the United States would enter the war "over my dead body."

"What would we get out of it?" he was quoted as asking. "Lindbergh isn't crazy either, you know."

READING, MASS., November 11.—Louis M. Lyons of the Boston Globe refused tonight to comment on charges of Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy that he had published an off-the-record interview and that many of the statements he attributed to Mr. Kennedy were inaccurate.

"I don't think it is up to me to make a statement," Mr. Lyons said. "Any comment will have to come from the Globe. They know the whole story."

[From the Boston Evening Transcript of November 12, 1940]

YOUR BOSTON

(By Luther Conant, Jr.)

NEWSPAPER ROW STORY OF A STORY—"THEIR CHANCE TO KILL"—THAT KENNEDY INTERVIEW

Here is the story, as heard along Newspaper Row, of the famous interview of Joseph P. Kennedy by Louis M. Lyons, of the Globe, which the Ambassador now disavows.

As usual, Kennedy spoke very freely and candidly. Much of what was said was never published or else diluted. On one or two occasions, Kennedy said, "This is off the record," giving "the impression" that the rest was not.

Sunday, the day the interview appeared, another Globe reporter called Kennedy to get a statement on Chamberlain. The Ambassador asked the reporter to read the Lyons story over the phone to him. Half way through he had to leave but remarked:

"That's all right, so far."

Later in the day the reporter called back and read the rest of the story, checking particularly the direct quotes in response to queries by the wire services.

Kennedy is quoted as saying then:

"Well, the fat's in the fire, but I guess that's where I want it."

Louis had interviewed Kennedy before, and the background for this latest talk was a note by Louis requesting an interview as well as a telegram from his managing editor seconding the request.

As is customary with him, Louis took no notes, but before writing the story checked with Ralph Coglan, editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and Charles Edmondson, a reporter from the Dispatch, on leave at Harvard, who were also present.

Kennedy, in his attack on the interview, charged "that it creates a different impression entirely than I would want to set forth.

"I consider the interview, regardless of the handling of the material, as the first serious violation of the newspaper code on an off-the-record interview that I have ever experienced. I may be guilty of errors of judgment, but I hope never guilty of errors of good taste."

In Boston a source close to the Ambassador insisted that the interview had not been arranged in writing and that there was a clear understanding that all remarks were off the record.

[From the Associated Press]

KENNEDY AGAIN STATES POLICY—SAYS CHIEF CONCERN IS TO KEEP UNITED STATES OUT OF WAR

SAN FRANCISCO, November 14.—Joseph P. Kennedy, America's Ambassador to England, said today "the only policy I have advocated is to keep the United States out of war" and "if that is appeasement, make the most of it."

"I will work toward that end as long as I live," the Ambassador added in an interview.

Kennedy arrived from Los Angeles today and visited several hours with his son Jack, who is taking a graduate business course at Stanford University in Palo Alto.

Address by Senator Wiley Before Wisconsin Cheese Makers' Association

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. DANAHER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE SHEBOYGAN (WIS.) PRESS

Mr. DANAHER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] on November 14, 1940, at Sheboygan, Wis., before the Wisconsin Cheese Makers' Association. In the address the Senator from Wisconsin urged a careful study of the problems of the cheese industry, with emphasis on research, transportation, and distribution.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sheboygan (Wis.) Press of November 14, 1940]

SENATOR WILEY ADDRESSES CHEESE MAKERS HERE TODAY DURING ANNUAL CONVENTION

Careful study of its problems, with emphasis on research, transportation, and distribution, were urged for the cheese industry by United States Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Chippewa Falls, at the Wisconsin Cheese Makers' Association convention this afternoon.

Following is the text of the Senator's speech:

"I am extremely happy to be here in Sheboygan today so that I may have the opportunity of renewing a great many old friendships and making new ones.

"I am also honored to be here because on this occasion it is possible for me to address a representative body of leaders in a great Wisconsin industry—the cheese industry, which, in turn, plays a vital role in our dairy industry.

"You know in Washington we get to meet a great many 'big cheeses,' but most of them aren't digestible. And so it is a privilege today to talk to you men who make cheese that not only is digestible but is one of the finest foods in the world.

"I use the term 'world' advisedly, because I sincerely believe that today, if Wisconsin does not already produce the finest cheese in the world, it has a priceless opportunity to do so. The Old World cheese and dairy product centers have in some instances been reduced to shambles by war, and in others they have been barricaded by war blockades, so that today Wisconsin can capture every portion of this hemisphere's cheese market which was once claimed by European dairy centers.

STORY OF SHEEPHERDER

"Mr. Chairman, there is little need for me to discuss the history of cheese making to this group of cheese makers, and yet I believe some purpose is served by a brief consideration of that history. We all know the history of that sheepherder who generations ago walked along a hillside in Palestine while he tended his flock. We know the story how he carried a day's ration of milk in a skin pouch slung over his shoulder on a leather thong. We know that toward the end of that hot afternoon he sought a shady spot and sat down to refresh himself—to drink his day's ration of milk. And all the world knows that when he opened the pouch he found that a coagulating enzyme was still active in the pouch (which had been made of a calf's stomach) and had curdled the milk so that mankind had its first cheese.

"There is a lesson to be learned here—a lesson concerned with scientific exploration—and in a moment or two I will discuss that lesson at greater length.

"I know that a great many men here today are direct descendants from the American pioneers who pushed westward driving cattle from the Northeast to the Middle West. I know that a great many men here today are direct descendants of the sturdy, industrious, and frugal Scandinavian, German, Swiss, Dutch, English, Irish, and other Old World immigrants who came to this land as pioneers and who dug out of the forests enough land for the 180,000 dairy farms in Wisconsin, and whose descendants today in this group run the 2,000 cheese factories and the other dairy plants which make up our colossal present-day dairy industry in Wisconsin.

PIONEER FARMS

"In April of 1939 we celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the cheese industry in Wisconsin. At that time we honored Mr. Chester Hazen, who built Wisconsin's first cheese factory at Lagoda, near Ripon, Wis.

"We know that before his day—before 1872—cheese had been made only on the pioneer farms. We know that the cheese maker then was not a trained specialist at his work. We know that the ordinary pioneer farm woman and her husband made the cheese. We know that the cow was the ordinary native cow, and we know that the dairy barn was the strawstack and that the feed was straw and marsh hay in winter and wild grasses in the summer, while the factory itself was in the pioneer farm kitchen or the farm cellar. I am interested in that pioneer cheese production because here again I believe we can learn a lesson.

"We know that the cheese market in those early days was the grocery store, and we know that even in those days a small market was sometimes glutted. That, my friends, is basically the problem which confronts the cheese industry today.

"Your early pioneer ancestors selected Wisconsin because of its many natural advantages, its temperate climate, its fertile grass-producing soil and its cool, crystal-clear spring water, and its favorable weather. Those are the factors which make for good cheese production. They still exist in Wisconsin, and they are aided today by scientific manufacture and constantly improving equipment which has brought our Wisconsin cheese production to a high level where our 2,000 cheese factories supply half of the Nation's cheese.

"Of course, in pioneer days the transportation of cheese was by foot or by ox team. That transportation has been speeded up but the cost of transportation has been proportionately increased so that this itself has become an important factor in the problem of marketing cheese.

DAIRY INDUSTRY

"Now, then, in our discussion today it is my purpose to comment specifically on a number of points which I believe we must consider in connection with the dairy industry.

"I do not believe that the answer to the dairy problem and to the problems of the cheese maker can be completely written in Washington. Part of that answer must be supplied through State activity and through the individual activity of the folks back home.

"I want you to know, however, at the very outset of our discussion that I stand ready at all times to do anything and everything that I can to assist the dairy farmers and the cheese producers of Wisconsin. That has consistently been one of my major objectives in Congress and my legislative record on the Senate floor and my activities in the Senate Agriculture Committee will bear me out on this point. I might add, incidentally, that each and every man here today is cordially invited to write me at any time concerning dairy or cheese legislation.

"And now let us consider the problem which confronts cheese manufacturers today. That problem is essentially a simple one. We have the raw materials and we have the cheese production. We need only be concerned with expanding our present market and with seeing to it that a legitimate percentage of the cost of cheese on the retail market comes back to the producer and the manufacturer.

"There are a great many factors involved in expanding the market, just as there are a great many factors involved in the price of cheese on the retail market.

"In connection with expanding the market, I believe that, first, we must raise the present per capita consumption of cheese and other dairy products by an intensive, educational campaign.

INTENSIVE CAMPAIGN

"Now, we know that Europeans have always consumed three or four times the amount of cheese eaten by Americans. As an American of Norwegian descent, I know my Norwegian ancestors ate cheese regularly—even for breakfast. If we consumed as much cheese per capita as the people of Holland do, the dairy problem of this country would be solved, and that is the reason why there must be an intensive, educational campaign.

"That educational campaign can stress the food value of cheese. It can tell the world that a pound of Wisconsin whole-milk cheese represents four quarts of milk. We can tell the world that Wisconsin cheese provides high food value at low cost, that it supplies proteins, fats, phosphorus, iron and calcium and vitamin A, so that it is a concentrated body-building and growth-stimulating food of high value. We can tell the world that Wisconsin cheese is digestible. It is from 90 to 99 percent digestible and that it is endorsed by the American Medical Society. Those are the things we must stress in an educational crusade.

"If we succeed in selling the American people on the idea of cheese in each day's menu, we will not only have widened our industry's market but we will have raised our national health standards. I believe that government should assist in such an educational campaign, and I stand ready at all times to urge assistance by government in this direction.

"I might add that I believe so strongly in the food value of cheese that there is now pending before the War Department at my request an investigation as to the possibility of incorporating cheese in the training-camp menus. I have made the strongest possible representations to the War Department in this connection because I feel it is absolutely imperative that the men in our training camps be given this health-giving food, and I believe that no segment of American economy is more worthy of this consideration than the hard-pressed dairy farmers of Wisconsin. I brought this matter to the attention of the War Department because I believe in it and I will continue to fight for it.

CAREFUL STUDY

"2. I believe that the marketing of cheese will be materially bettered by a careful study of the packaging problem. We must make cheese easy to handle and easy to sell in attractive containers.

"3. In this connection I might add that it is vital for us to lower our transportation costs. I believe that too large a percentage of cost of cheese to the ultimate consumer is created by excessive transportation costs. At the present time the United States Post Office Department is considering my proposal to lower the parcel-post rates for cheese. I believe that as necessary a food as cheese should be given a special rate concession, and I have requested the United States Post Office Department to make such a concession.

"I believe also that transportation costs all down the line should be reduced so that cheese can be brought to the ultimate consumer at a lower price. I am ready at any time to make that statement to the Federal Interstate Commerce Commission when transportation rates are considered.

"4. I believe that part of the answer to the problem of the dairy industry and of the cheese maker will be found in scientific exploration—in research. Our modern Wisconsin cheese factory is a far cry from the pioneer farm kitchen cheese factory, but we must continue our march of progress so that our product becomes even finer and its use even more widespread. With the closing of the European sources of production, there is a new challenge to us, a challenge to make a product which will answer every requirement of those consumers who formerly purchased European cheeses.

"It is entirely conceivable also that we may develop new and allied cheese products, new types, and new varieties which may open up new markets. I have a similar hope for the dairy industry in general because I know that when casein is utilized in industry more extensively and when the other byproducts of the dairy industry are properly used, we will be well on our way to solving the dairy problem. I look forward to the day when the byproducts of casein will supplant bone and Bakelite in many commercial uses today.

"Yes, I believe it is possible for the laboratory to make a great contribution to the solution of our dairy problem.

"5. While we are making all these educational crusades to create an expanded market, it is absolutely vital that we create more sales outlets. It serves no purpose to create a greater potential sales market for cheese throughout America if we do not at the same time supply outlets where the cheese can be purchased.

"I have personally presented every Senator of the United States with Wisconsin cheese, and too often I have those same Senators return to me with the story that they want to secure more of that cheese but are unable to purchase it in retail stores throughout the East. Part of our problem must be to create a great many more sales outlets. That is the simple economic philosophy which is one cornerstone in almost all sales programs today.

"In connection with creating more sales outlets I might mention that a great many States under the so-called police powers granted to them under the Constitution have set up trade barriers which would eliminate Wisconsin dairy products from entering their State. The reasons which are given for these regulations are absurd. There can be no valid reason for keeping Wisconsin milk out of any State.

"It can be shipped on fast trains in glass-lined refrigerator cars so that it will arrive at its market in perfect condition. The only possible reason for barring it from any State is merely to create an economic blockade. I am opposed to this economic border warfare between States. I want to see that every State in the Union has the privilege of drinking Wisconsin milk if it so desires.

"I introduced legislation to eliminate this guerrilla warfare, and I shall continue to fight against this unwarranted discrimination

against Wisconsin products. If we are to have national unity in the larger sense, it is essential that we have it also in an economic sense.

DAIRY ECONOMY

"In general, my friends, I repeat that I do not believe legislation alone will ever write the answer to our dairy problem, nor will it write the answer to the problems of the cheese industry. I believe the answer to these problems will in a large measure have to be written by the people back home with the assistance of Government.

"I cannot believe that our American economy will ever be completely sound if we cannot integrate the economy of the farmer with the economy of the city laborer. Farm economy, dairy economy, must be brought into balance with the economy of the city if we are to have a healthy and sound national economy.

"I believe that there has not been enough attention devoted to the problems of the dairy farmer, and one of my big objectives in Washington is to see that this problem gets consideration.

"I introduced S. 2835, a bill providing for the promotion of sound dairy practices and for an adequate and balanced flow of milk and its products in interstate and foreign commerce, on July 19, 1939, in an effort to see that this dairy problem was at least considered and studied by the Senate Committee on Agriculture, of which I am a member.

"It is not enough for us to study the problems of the cotton farmer, the problems of the wheat grower, or the problems of the Corn Belt. We must study every segment of agriculture, and that certainly includes the dairy industry, if we are ever to write intelligent agricultural legislation.

"I believe that the farmers of the Middle West are the backbone of the Nation, and I demand that they be given consideration by Congress.

"There are trying days up ahead. Our internal economy is likely to be torn wide apart by the tremendous outlays of Government. If we had been more economical in our ordinary peacetime expenditures of Government, these defense appropriations wouldn't have constituted such a great burden. If our Government had lived within its means in the preceding years, we would have had a reserve, and out of that reserve we could have met some of the defense expenditures. As it is, however, these tremendous defense outlays will be a tremendous burden on our general economy.

FIRST-LINE DEFENSE

"I cannot foretell what is up ahead, but I do know that the American farmer has done his part. I know that the Wisconsin dairy farmer has done his part. One of the great first lines of defense is found in the American farm. That line of defense, thank God, is well equipped and it is almost the only line of defense which is well equipped. It is well equipped, not because Government has made it so, but because the farmers themselves have made it so.

"If we are to have national unity now, we must see to it that the farmer who has done such an excellent job on his defense front is given a more just share of the rewards of labor.

"Whatever crisis this Nation may have to meet, and I pray to God that it will be nothing more than a peacetime crisis, I know that the farmers of Wisconsin and the men like yourselves, who market their products, will meet the challenge. There may be dark days up ahead, but there should never be starvation in America as there is likely to be in Europe. Ours is a land of God-given plenty, and ours must be an economic philosophy of abundance.

"We must scrap our doctrine of scarcity. We must readjust our economy so that a surplus of butter or cheese is a blessing, as God meant it to be, and not a curse, as our economic planners make it.

"That is the problem, gentlemen, and you and I must write the answer."

It Is Poor Business, Poor Economic and Political Policy, as Well as Anti-Democratic To Demand Liens for Old-Age Assistance—Is There Any Real Sound Argument for the Law?—It Should Be Repealed

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. ALEXANDER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, early this year I introduced a bill known as H. R. 8857 designed to deal with the matter of liens being taken in a few States against old-age assistance grants. It simply provides that when a State receives grants for old-age assistance for the benefit of certain qualified clients, that this payment by the United States will be in lieu of requiring liens from the recipient for the repayment of the assistance granted.

This action on my part was used in the recent political campaigns in Minnesota as a reason why I should not be reelected to Congress. Organized and extensive plans were laid to defeat me, and a tremendous sum of money was put up and expended to bring about that end. The Governor's own organization as well as the power of patronage, it is said, were thrown into this objective, because he had promoted and engineered the passage of the so-called homestead lien amendment to our State's social security or old-age assistance act, and therefore could not bear the stigma which the introduction of my bill seemed immediately to place on his record. Some members of the State legislature also took up the challenge to their security in office which was affected by reason of their having gone along with the Governor's machine in voting for passage of the lien amendment. Therefore I have more than a passing interest in the matter at issue, and wish at this time to make a statement giving the arguments which occur to me to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the lien law is a piece of very bad legislation which should summarily be removed from the statute books before it can do any further damage, as it will, as indicated in the title above.

As the Members of the House know, the Federal Social Security Act provides that if a State requires liens and collects from the estate of the old-age assistance client, that one-half of the proceeds must be returned to the Federal Government. If all States had such a lien law, it might work fairly among the States, regardless of the other aspects of the matter from the standpoint of the old people. But only a handful of States have such a law. The result is that these few States are taking money from their residents and from their assets to return it to the Federal Government, which in turn distributes it to the other 47 States of the Union without any compensatory return to the few States which have the lien law. Manifestly either all States should take liens or none of them should.

Some people argue that the principal value lies in the fact that the law serves to discourage some people from applying for assistance. Judging from the fact that in our State since passage of the law in 1939 payments have been growing in volume, it is evidently a false and misplaced hope. Naturally folks hate to place a lien of high and absolute priority against what little frozen assets or lifetime savings they have. They may prefer to go hungry and to skimp along half fed, illy clad, and sick, but most of them will yield to the stern law through dire necessity, and many as a result may die prematurely or go crazy, as has already happened in some cases. An excellent illustration of this sort of thing and of the way the law worries and works in real practice is illustrated by the following statements contained in a radio broadcast made recently by the Honorable Leonard Eriksson, an attorney of Fergus Falls, Minn., who has given a great deal of time and energy to correcting the evil which this law promotes. Read Mr. Eriksson's statement through. It is as follows:

RADIO ADDRESS BY LEONARD ERIKSSON, FERGUS FALLS, MINN.

Ladies and gentlemen, 3 months ago station KGDE, out of respect for our senior citizens and their cause, graciously gave me time for a talk on the subject of the old-age pension-lien law. On behalf of our senior citizens and their friends, I sincerely thank the management for this favor. Our elder friends find few champions or defenders in this materialistic age. They have neither organization nor money to commend public attention to their problems, although those problems, after all, are our problems.

Since I last discussed this subject, the case to test the constitutionality of the old-age lien law has been brought and ruled on by the district court. I am now able to report to you that the case is on its way to the supreme court. Judge Cameron ruled that this law is constitutional. On January 7, 1940, I told you that such a ruling was conceivable because the legislative department is independent of the other two departments of our State government. But Judge Cameron took special pains, at the very outset of his explanatory note, to say that the injustice of a law is not the business of the courts.

My talk this afternoon will deal, first, with the significance of this decision; and, second, with the practical operation of this lien law in the case of home-owning pensioners.

Judge Cameron in his decision recognizes the following facts:

"Mrs. Dimke needs this pension, and that this fact is based on the test set up by law. She has no present title to any part of her husband's property. She owns no property. She is one of those citizens who are classified as in need of old-age assistance, and therefore entitled to its payment so long as the law is in force. However, despite these facts, she is denied assistance under this lien law unless she consents to a lien or mortgage on her husband's

homestead in favor of the State, although the old-age assistance payments are not debts, but are, in fact, a form of charity provided for by the State as much as are the payments of mother's pension to mothers with dependent children. Since Mrs. Dimke's case illustrates the position of all married home-owning pensioners under this law, it is well to briefly review the facts.

"In order to effectively test the constitutionality of this law, Mr. Dimke signed the notice found on the back of his January check. Mrs. Dimke refused to do this because her husband owns the family home. Mrs. Dimke only has the prospect of an estate in her husband's homestead should he die before she does. Her prospective interest becomes her life estate should he die first. This life estate would become her property for life on his death, which, in the absence of this lien law, she could sell, rent, or mortgage. But, by Mr. Dimke's endorsement of his January check, it is ruled that he gave a good lien on his homestead to the State. But since she refused to sign her check, that lien is thus created against that homestead without her consent. Our laws, still in force for all other home owners, provide that no lien against, or transfer of, one's home is good unless both husband and wife freely give their consent thereto in writing."

Judge Cameron's decision to the effect that these old-age-assistance payments are not loans, and therefore not debts of the recipients to the State, is important and deserving of emphasis, because it follows that these assistance payments are payments to discharge a public purpose. Thus the theory on which the 1935 pension act rests is reaffirmed.

This assistance money, then, is in the nature of a gift and not a loan to the individual as such. It is the payment of tax money for a social purpose, just as public money paid to public-school teachers serves a public purpose.

An appeal will be taken from the decision to the supreme court because without a final decision we cannot agree to the proposition that the legislature can constitutionally force a lien against homesteads to secure the repayment of money paid by the State for a public purpose, or deny this assistance to those in need because they refuse their consent to a lien against property they do not own.

Until now our court has recognized the law exempting a homestead as sacred. One reference out of hundreds is deemed sufficient to support that statement. On March 26, 1925, our supreme court said that "the homestead exemption (of a citizen) is not merely a privilege but it is an absolute right," and added that "the (homestead) statute rests upon the thought of family. Our established policy," the court continued, "is not restricted to right-thinking or right-acting persons; but sounds in hope for the future, both as to the debtor and his children."

That statement of our supreme court was uttered before there was any real need for old-age pensions, and before there were any welfare boards; but I submit these senior citizens should not be excluded from the benefit of this principle just because they have been found to need a pension and because they have been able to save their homes from the economic storms of the last 10 years. We know not when we might need the benefit of this law because we have seen some violent and unexpected descents of the mighty.

The 1939 legislature was able to defy this homestead exemption principle because those who are getting this assistance had been promised liberalization of the law, and therefore expected nothing like this. Moreover they were and are unorganized as well as old. They did not and do not belong to the politically powerful.

The appeal is justified, I believe, because this lien law appears to be special legislation, thus offending against our constitution. The constitution prohibits class legislation. It prohibits the payment of public money to individuals except for work done or to relieve need. The pension act sets up a rule for determining who, among those 65 years or over, are in need of assistance. Those so found to be in need of help make up the class of citizens entitled to receive this assistance. To no other individual citizens can tax money be legally paid in the absence of work done for the public. But that class of citizens includes, by force of law, all senior citizens, 65 years of age or over, who have been found to be in need, whether they own or do not own a home.

This lien law, however, sets up the strange rule that the portion of that class of needy senior citizens who own a home, are, notwithstanding their need, not entitled to be paid this assistance provided for them unless they consent to a mortgage or lien, in favor of the State on the homestead owned by one of them. This is not only a debatable claim but, I believe, an alien doctrine, which justifies an appeal to the highest court, because the result of this law, if valid, is that this public assistance, paid admittedly for a public purpose to individuals in need, becomes a series of loans of public money to individuals for which there is no apparent authority either in law or in the Constitution. The result, it seems to me, is a legalized invasion of the homes of the aged poor and the beginning of an unauthorized, inefficient, wasteful, and unconstitutional State-financed investment business, softened only by the fact that no interest is charged. The old people who own homes become, by force of this law, the wards of the State, operating through bureaucrats scattered all over the State. Forgetting the legal aspect of this problem, it is clear, I believe, that that kind of business can be done more efficiently and with less grief to the needy by our old people's homes which are found in every section of the State.

Mr. and Mrs. Dimke, for themselves and for all of you, appeal to the courts, because the last legislature failed to be the shield for the poor and the oppressed. On the last Lincoln's birthday the United States Supreme Court announced that the courts "stand against any winds that blow, as havens of refuge for those who might otherwise suffer because they are helpless, weak, outnumbered, or because they are nonconforming victims of prejudice and public excitement." They believe that with your help and support their contest will bear fruit.

Next, let us consider the effects of this law as amended and administered.

Nobody without political pull would get any assistance if they have $5,000 of unencumbered property.

This test case has arcused interest everywhere. People from every section of the State have written to me about their individual cases and about the effects of this law on them.

From Wadena a man writes that he has been taken off the rolls because his wife gave the son who had helped them in their need a mortgage for what he had advanced. Their assistance will be restored only when the wife deeds her property to her husband and if the faithful son releases his claim against the home for past advances to his parents. The result is suffering and despair.

From Chatfield an elderly lady writes and says, in commenting on Judge Cameron's decision: "What will we do? God help us; was trying to sell fried cakes and such on the street, but with high blood pressure and cold my husband was laid sick."

From Clearbrook an old pensioner reports, "I sure don't think that lien law is right."

From Perham a lady writes that she appealed for the protection of the money she had paid out for her parents before this law went into effect. She was told that her claim might be recognized "if you can prove your claim." In the meantime her aged parents need her constant services, as they have needed it continuously for the last 4 years, and she is financially stripped and getting older herself every day.

From Nobles County an old couple report that relying on the law which says it protects the investment of the children in the home of their parents they gave their son a second mortgage on their home for the amount they owed him. When this mortgage was placed on record the county welfare board announced that the pension payments would be cut off unless that second mortgage was released by the son. He had abandoned his position in life to do just that.

From Traverse County comes the report that two of the senior citizens of that county, John Bergquist and Charles Gau, became insane from the agony they suffered from the loss of their free home. One died a week after he was committed. The other is still in the asylum. These men cried incessantly, "Our place, our place" and "My house is gone."

From the four corners of the State come the same terribly tragic reports of grief and despair suffered by these home-owning, home-loving pensioners.

Truly no law within my experience has caused so much sorrow and despair and heartaches as has this lien law.

Because of its restrained tone I shall read a letter to illustrate the workings of this law as amended without mentioning names or places. Whoever wants to may see the original. I read:

"I want to thank you for helping out the old folks by trying to get the lien law repealed.

"We have several lawyers here, but they all seem to be connected some way with the welfare office.

"We are unable to get the lawyers here to do anything.

"Now, Mr. Eriksson, what would you charge to handle a case for me. I will give you the facts in the following:

"My father-in-law is 74 years old. He is getting $30 a month old-age assistance. He is spending $11 a month for medicine, $4 a month for doctor, $12 for rent. A ton of coal a month and groceries, water, and light. He has high blood pressure.

"My mother-in-law gets $29. She isn't well. She is 72 years old. She has medicine to buy, too.

"My father-in-law is losing his sight. One eye is beyond helping, the other eye is very bad, but with treatments and special glasses we may be able to help him so he will be able to read a little. As it is now he can't read. The doctor wants $23 to do this, and he wants cash, which we cannot raise. I went to the relief here and asked them to help, but they will not do it. Now the law calls, 'if anyone getting old-age assistance needs medical, surgical, dental, or hospital care,' they would give that extra.

"Now if you could help me to get these glasses for my father-in-law, I will be very grateful to you.

"This relief office here will not even take care of the children on direct relief. They go to school ragged and no shoes. It sure is a shame.

"The investigator told my father-in-law to rent a different place, one for $5 a month, but you can't find a house; you can find a shack for that.

"Now, please let me hear from you, as my father-in-law needs his eyes taken care of as soon as possible."

The fourth commandment cannot be confined in application to the blood relatives. The State is the parent of us all, and at the same time our common instrument through which all of us may practice our principles of charity toward one another. Confining the fourth commandment to blood relatives alone is an easy way out, it seems to me, to justify discrimination against the aged.

Our State and Federal Governments have spent about $1,000,000,000 for human relief during the last 8 years. This does not include the pensions paid to judges and other retired public officials, nor the money justly paid to the veterans of the World War; but it includes the money paid as assistance to the senior citizens 65 years old and over. The amount paid to them is about 7 percent of the total amount paid for human relief; that is, those who have helped to produce our wealth and national income, without saving enough for their own needs during the last years

of their lives have received approimately $57,000,000 out of that billion. But they are the only citizens from whom the State of Minnesota demands a lien on their homes if they have saved one. Is not this discrimination? Is it any wonder that they are grief stricken, or that their children become indifferent to the duty of providing homes for themselves and their families?

This is not only discrimination in granting assistance, but discrimination in the process of taxing our citizens. All the rest of us are taxed each year for the needs of our Government, and each payment is felt as a burden. But in the case of these old-age pensioners they are taxed, if they have a home, the current tax, and on top of it their entire homes are attached by this lien as an additional tax in order that the money realized from the taking of these homes, the State may use for other pensions in the future to relieve those who are then able to pay the cost of government. A present tax is charged against these old-age pensioners, and a lien is claimed against the property so that all of it is in effect taken as a tax from them. If you and I should suddenly be forced to join these folks, how would we like that treatment?

The condition of the senior citizens which calls for these pensions is an evidence of the economic revolution which has taken place in this country to meet which we have failed to make adequate provision. The savings needed for old age must be effected from now on by the time the present and future generations reach the age of 50. From that age on, most of the people, according to present standards, become unemployable, or at least not gainfully employable. The opportunities of today and tomorrow are as good and as great as they have been in the past; but they are different in character.

Harlow, in his Story of America, emphasizes these truths. He states that in the newspaper field, for example, a single rotary press can print 1,440,000 pages per hour; that in the steel mills 1 man today turns out 93 times as much as a laborer did 50 years ago, and the Owens automatic bottling machine multiplied the output per man 4,100 times.

These facts have left the survivors of the past generation stranded and helpless to the number of nearly 20,000,000 men and women, unless the rest of us, through our State as our common charity agency, intervene and help them to live decently for the remainder of their days.

In the book entitled "The Story of Our Bible," page 248, we read:

"In all ages and to some extent even today, men have been inclined to interpret any unusual calamity as the result of wrongdoing. In our everyday life also we are easily biased against the poor, the ragged, and the down and out. 'It is probably their own fault,' we say, 'while on the other hand it is hard for us to believe that a rich, successful, and prosperous citizen can possibly be a scoundrel. When Jesus and His disciples came one day upon a wayside beggar who had been blind from his birth, the disciple asked the Master, 'Rabbi, who hath sinned, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?' A more heartless doctrine never existed. Jesus did not accept it. But as a result of this extreme and one-sided idea, men are led to stifle their natural sympathy and to become the more cold and suspicious toward a fellow creature, the greater and more pitiable his distress."

I submit that this pension-lien law is an expression of that kind of a horrid doctrine. The ambitious, the selfish, and some of the young folks point to these senior citizens and exclaim, "It's their own fault"; why have they not saved?

Americanism repeals the thought that we must get used to poverty, unemployment, and old-age insecurity. When we have solved the problem of distribution, as well as the problem of production, there will be no need for want anywhere.

Americanism and democracy, like Christianity, are not always comfortable and easy. Democracy forbids that we be modern Pilates, washing our hands of the responsibility for the sufferings of our neighbors, and especially of the senior citizens.

If this law is eventually held to be constitutional, then our senior citizens must appeal to the people for redress. The next legislature, composed of men and women who are true to democracy, will repeal this law should it be found to be constitutional.

Hopeful expectations of security in old age, nurtured by the label of the original act, and the campaign promises of 2 years ago, have been turned into the tragedy of insecurity, into a miserable haunting fear of each tomorrow for our senior citizens who have a home saved from the cyclone which has gone over us during the past 10 years. That condition is a source of grave danger to our society. At present, there are 66,000 people in this State united only in misery. If they will join forces and speak with one voice through one common organization, they can, with the help of the rest of us, demand and secure justice.

The American people have always believed that old age should be free from want and fear.

John Dimke and his wife are waging a fight not only for their own rights but for the rights of all senior citizens. They ask for your comfort and support in this contest.

They, like you, want only justice. Let us not be defeated.

LIEN LAW A POOR BUSINESS PROPOSITION

Mr. Speaker, the homestead lien law is a poor business proposition. In some States it is a question whether the amount collected will compensate for the cost of maintaining a collection agency, to say nothing of the multiplied losses in the forced liquidation and probate of estates, where the folks were temporarily hard up and needed a little ready cash at the time they applied for old-age assistance. It penalizes the aged and their heirs and makes no saving for the State.

It will require another bureau or bureaus to enforce the collection of these liens. That means putting the State into the real-estate business again, as it was when our rural-credits fiasco cost the State so many millions of dollars. It also means that lurking real-estate sharpers who already have their eyes fixed on this will lie in wait for the opportunity to buy these liens, where they can make a good profit, and thus the political pilferers and not the pioneers are benefited.

There are only 14 States in the Union having such a law. At one time there were 17, but due to defeat, or the danger of defeat, its sponsors could not sustain it, and it was, therefore, repealed in 3 States—namely, Oregon, Kansas, and Florida.

Economy is meritorious, and all frugal citizens are for that and are interested in keeping down tax costs. The homestead lien law does not meet this test but does the opposite, because it puts a penalty on thrift and discourages home ownership and will socialize the last thing you would expect to socialize—the American home.

If a renting family obtains $20 per month from the State, they will have to obtain additional help from relief or other sources in order to live properly, as this is obviously inadequate.

However, a home owner obtaining a like amount would have more to maintain himself, as his taxes would not be as high as rent, and he would therefore be able to apply more toward his personal needs, and he would require less supplemental aid from local communities.

As proof of this fact, Minnesotans noted recently with varied feelings of emotion the report of the State welfare director showing that the monthly average payment is increasing. This is no doubt because more of the old-age assistance clients are now renting than before the lien law was passed, and as the months go by, because of the law, more and more and eventually all of them will be "renting" their homes.

Therefore, it pays to encourage people to own homes, as in the long run they will require less relief aid than a renter. They also at the same time contribute to the building up of the State.

In the long run, which is smartest—to encourage thrift and home ownership or to encourage more tenancy and larger old-age assistance checks? Home owners have a stake in good government and in lower taxes and in the community. Homes taken over on liens by the State go off the tax rolls, thus throwing a larger tax burden on the remaining privately owned property. This law, in effect, is making the State of Minnesota a collection agency operating against our aged and their heirs for the benefit of people in those 34 States to whom we owe no such duty and whose State policy has been farsighted and sound enough not thus to persecute them.

The amount that many of our aged receive today is inadequate for their needs. The average in the State of Minnesota is slightly over $21, and this though the Federal Government will match every State dollar up to a total pension of $40 per month.

Neither do these aged fare as well as the veriest indigent stranger who comes into our State under the so-called adequate relief budget, which is far in excess of that allowed to our pioneer aged who toiled and sacrificed many years to make this a great State.

A citizens' committee made a survey of public relief in Minneapolis 1 year ago. The report of this committee shows that more than 1,400 direct relief cases cover individuals and families that have been citizens of Minneapolis less than 5 years. Approximately 800 cases represent persons that moved into Minneapolis from towns, villages, and cities in our State, and the balance came from almost every State in the country.

This group of relief clients has been provided with a much greater relief allowance than have the old settlers of our State. There is no law requiring these people to mortgage what property they may have or will acquire, nor are they required to reimburse the Government from future incomes or earnings.

These are just a few of the pertinent facts and pointed questions which our legislators should be forced to give answer to before they leave for the new year legislative sessions; and if this is still a representative republic or constitutional democracy, then the people should be heard and their voices listened to as the laws are enacted.

History of Missouri's Representation in Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH B. SHANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, nearly 100 years have passed since Jackson County, Mo., which I have had the honor to represent in this House, in whole or in part, for the past decade, was included within a congressional district. It first was given a congressional district voice here in the Thirtieth Congress whose term began on March 4, 1847. At that time Jackson County was but 1 of 23 counties comprising the Fifth District of Missouri. Today this populous and representative American county, situated in the very heart of America, is accorded two Representatives in this House.

Times have changed since that far day, nearly a century ago, when Jackson County was but a twenty-third part of a congressional district. The tempo of life has speeded far beyond any dreams of its first Representative. The simple art of living has become a complex science with the passing of those years. The issues that divided men living in that distant day now are all but forgotten. They have been succeeded by other issues, and many of these have been solved and forgotten, too. But in one respect, Jackson County stands today by the same political party it stood by in 1847. Its first Representative in Congress was a Democrat. And Jackson County still is represented here by Democrats. It has had occasional lapses, I will admit, when its fine citizens elected Members from other political parties—Whigs, Americans, and Republicans. One of Jackson County's early-day Representatives was Maj. William Warner, former commander in chief of the Grand Army of the Republic. He was a noble soul and an able Representative. Many of the others listed have likewise represented Jackson County with distinction.

Mr. Speaker, I could spin a narrative here for many hours telling of the part Jackson County has played in national affairs and of the superior fiber of its men and women. But such is not my intent. Today I want simply to present a chronicle, briefly and without coloring, of its representation in this House.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Territory of Missouri was first represented in the Congress of the United States in the Twelfth Congress (March 4, 1811-March 3, 1813) by Delegate Edward Hempstead, of St. Louis, who took his seat on January 4, 1813.

Mr. Hempstead also served as Delegate during the first and second sessions of the Thirteenth Congress (March 4, 1813-March 3, 1815). He was succeeded by Rufus Easton, of St. Louis, who took his seat on November 16, 1814. Mr. Easton served the remainder of the Thirteenth Congress and the first session of the Fourteenth Congress (March 4, 1815–March 3, 1817).

Mr. Easton unsuccessfully contested the election of John Scott, of Ste. Genevieve, in the second session of the Fourteenth Congress, and Mr. Scott took his seat as Delegate on December 2, 1816. However, on January 16, 1817, the election was declared illegal and the seat vacant. John Scott was thereafter elected, taking his seat on December 8, 1817, during the Fifteenth Congress (March 4, 1817–March 3, 1819). He served as Delegate during the remainder of the Fifteenth Congress and throughout the Sixteenth Congress (March 4, 1819–March 3, 1821).

Missouri was admitted as a State into the Union on August 10, 1821, during the Seventeenth Congress (March 4, 1821–March 3, 1823). Then, for the first time, Missouri was represented in Congress by two Senators, David Barton, of St. Louis, and Thomas H. Benton, of St. Louis, and by one Representative, John Scott, of Ste. Genevieve, who took his seat as Representative on December 3, 1821.

Mr. Scott also served as Missouri's sole Representative throughout the Eighteenth Congress (March 4, 1823–March 3, 1825) and the Nineteenth Congress (March 4, 1825–March 3, 1827). The Senators during these Congresses were David Barton and Thomas H. Benton.

Edward Bates, of St. Louis, was then elected as Missouri's Representative, and served during the Twentieth Congress (March 4, 1827–March 3, 1829) with Senators Barton and Benton.

Missouri's Representative during the Twenty-first Congress (March 4, 1829–March 3, 1831) was Spencer D. Pettis, of Fayette. The Senators were still David Barton and Thomas H. Benton.

Mr. Pettis was reelected as Representative to the Twenty-second Congress (March 4, 1831–March 3, 1833), but died on August 28, 1831, and was succeeded by William H. Ashley, of St. Louis, who took his seat December 5, 1831. During the Twenty-second Congress the Senators were Thomas H. Benton, of St. Louis, and Alexander Buckner, of Jackson.

In the Twenty-third Congress (March 4, 1833–March 3, 1835) Missouri had two Representatives in Congress: William H. Ashley, of St. Louis, and John Bull, of Chariton. During this Congress Senator Buckner died (June 6, 1833) and was succeeded by Lewis F. Linn, of Ste. Genevieve, who was appointed and took his seat on December 16, 1833. Mr. Linn was subsequently elected as Senator.

In the Twenty-fourth Congress (March 4, 1835–March 3, 1837) Missouri's two Representatives were William H. Ashley, of St. Louis, and Albert G. Harrison, of Fulton, who served with Senators Benton and Linn.

In the Twenty-fifth Congress (March 4, 1837–March 3, 1839) the Missouri Representatives were Albert G. Harrison, of Fulton, and John Miller, of Boonville, who served with Senators Benton and Linn.

Representatives Albert G. Harrison and John Miller were reelected to the Twenty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1839–March 3, 1841). Representative Harrison died on September 7, 1839, and was succeeded by John Jameson, of Fulton, who took his seat on December 12, 1839. Mr. Miller's address in the Twenty-sixth Congress was shown as Conners Mills instead of Boonville. The Senators during this Congress were Benton and Linn.

Missouri's Representatives in the Twenty-seventh Congress (March 4, 1841–March 3, 1843) were John C. Edwards, of Jefferson City, and John Miller, of Conners Mills. The Senators were still Benton and Linn.

In the Twenty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1843–March 3, 1845) Missouri was represented by five Representatives, elected by general ticket. They were Gustavus M. Bower, of Paris; James B. Bowlin, of St. Louis; James Hughes, of Liberty; John Jameson, of Fulton; and James H. Relfe, of Caledonia.

Senator Linn died on October 3, 1843, during the Twenty-eighth Congress, and was suceeeded by David R. Atchison, of Platte City, who was appointed and took his seat December 4, 1843. Senator Atchison was subsequently elected.

In the Twenty-ninth Congress (March 4, 1845–March 3, 1847) the five Missouri Representatives, elected by general ticket, were: James B. Bowlin, of St. Louis; John S. Phelps, of Springfield; Sterling Price, of Keytesville; James H. Relfe, of Caledonia; and Leonard H. Sims, of Springfield. Representative Price resigned and was succeeded by William McDaniel, of Palmyra. The Senators during this Congress were Senators Benton and Atchison.

Missouri was first represented by Representatives from specific congressional districts in the Thirtieth Congress (March 4, 1847–March 3, 1849). At that time there were five districts. Jackson County was in the Fifth District, which was comprised of Barry, Bates, Benton, Cedar, Dade, Dallas, Greene, Henry, Hickory, Jackson, Jasper, Johnson, Lafayette,

Lawrence, Newton, Ozark, Pettis, Polk, St. Clair, Saline, Taney, Van Buren, and Wright Counties. The Representative in Congress of the Fifth District was John S. Phelps (Democrat), of Springfield.

The chart which follows shows the Representatives in Congress of Jackson County from the time Missouri was first districted (30th Cong.) through the Seventy-sixth Congress. It also shows the number of districts in Missouri in the various Congresses, the number of the district in which Jackson County was included, and the other counties (if any) which comprised said district.

I regret exceedingly that space prevents publication of the names of the Congressmen from all the Missouri districts. Hence, many great men such as James Beauchamp (Champ) Clark, David Albaugh DeArmond, Maecenas Eason Benton, and Alexander Monroe Dockery should be included in this list as outstanding Representatives from these districts.

Representatives of Jackson County, Mo., in the National House of Representatives, 30th to 76th Congresses, inclusive, 1847–1940

Congress	Number of districts in Missouri	Number of district which included Jackson County, and counties comprising said district	Representative
30th (Mar. 4, 1847, to Mar. 3, 1849).	5	Fifth District (Barry, Bates, Benton, Cedar, Dade, Dallas, Greene, Henry, Hickory, Jackson, Jasper, Johnson, Lafayette, Lawrence, Newton, Ozark, Pettis, Polk, St. Clair, Saline, Taney, Van Buren, and Wright).	John S. Phelps (Democrat), Springfield.
31st (Mar. 4, 1849, to Mar. 3, 1851).	5	Fifth District (Barry, Bates, Benton, Cass (lately Van Buren), Cedar, Dade, Dallas, Greene, Henry, Hickory, Jackson, Jasper, Johnson, part of Laclede, Lafayette, Lawrence, McDonald, Newton, Ozark, Pettis, Polk, St. Clair, Saline, Taney, and Wright).	Do.
32d (Mar. 4, 1851, to Mar. 3, 1853).	5	Fifth District (same as above with addition of Stone and Vernon Counties).	Do.
33d (Mar. 4, 1853, to Mar. 3, 1855).	7	Fifth District (Benton, Cass, Cole, Cooper, Henry, Jackson, Johnson, Lafeyette, Miller, Moniteau, Morgan, Pettis, and Saline).	John G. Miller (Whig), Boonville.
34th (Mar. 4, 1855, to Mar. 3, 1857).	7	do	Do.
35th (Mar. 4, 1857, to Mar. 3, 1859).	7	do	Samuel H. Woodson (American Party), Independence.
36th (Mar. 4, 1859, to Mar. 3, 1861).	7	do	Do.
37th (Mar. 4, 1861, to Mar. 3, 1863).	7	do	John W. Reid (Democrat), Jefferson City (served from Mar. 4, 1861, to Aug. 3, 1861; expelled by resolution of Dec. 2, 1861. Served in Confederate Army.)
			Thos. L. Price (Democrat), Jefferson City (took seat Jan. 21, 1862).
38th (Mar. 4, 1863 to Mar. 3, 1865).	9	Sixth District (Platte, Clay, Ray, Clinton, Carroll, Chariton, Saline, Lafayette, and Jackson).	Austin A. King (Democrat), Richmond.
39th (Mar. 4, 1865, to Mar. 3, 1867).	9	do	Robert T. Van Horn (Republican), Kansas City.
40th (Mar. 4, 1867, to Mar. 3, 1869).	9	Sixth District (Caldwell, Carroll, Chariton, Clay, Clinton, Jackson, Lafayette, Platte, Ray, and Saline).	Do.
41st (Mar. 4, 1869, to Mar. 3, 1871).	9	do	Do.
42d (Mar. 4, 1871, to Mar. 3, 1873).	9	do	Abram Comingo (Democrat), Independence.
43d (Mar. 4, 1873, to Mar. 3, 1875).	13	Eighth District (Bates, Cass, Clay, Jackson, and Platte).	Do.
44th (Mar. 4, 1875, to Mar. 3, 1877).	13	do	Benjamin J. Franklin (Democrat), Kansas City.
45th (Mar. 4, 1877, to Mar. 3, 1879).	13	Eighth District (Bates, Cass, Clay, Jackson, and Platte.	Benjamin J. Franklin (Democrat), Kansa City.
46th (Mar. 4, 1879, to Mar. 4, 1881).	13	Eighth District (Cass, Clay, Jackson, and Platte).	Samuel L. Sawyers (Independent Democrat), Independence.
47th (Mar. 4, 1881, to Mar. 3, 1883).	13	do	R. T. Van Horn (Republican), Kansas City.
48th (Mar. 4, 1883, to Mar. 3, 1885).	14	Fifth District (Jackson, Johnson, and Lafayette).	Alexander Graves (Democrat), Lexington.
49th (Mar. 4, 1885, to Mar. 3, 1887).	14	do	William Warner (Republican), Kansas City.
50th (Mar. 4, 1887, to Mar. 3, 1889).	14	Fifth District (Jackson, Johnson, and Lafayette).	Do.
51st (Mar. 4, 1889, to Mar. 3, 1891).	14	do	John C. Tarsney (Democrat), Kansas City.
52d (Mar. 4, 1891, to Mar. 3, 1893).	14	do	Do.
53d (Mar. 4, 1893, to Mar. 3, 1895).	15	Fifth District (Jackson and Lafayette).	Do.
54th (Mar. 4, 1895, to Mar. 3, 1897).	15	do	John C. Tarsney (Democrat), Kansas City (served until Feb. 27, 1896).
			Robert T. Van Horn (Republican), Kansas City (succeeded Mr. Tarsney after contesting his election).
55th (Mar. 4, 1897, to Mar. 3, 1899).	15	do	William Strother Cowherd (Democrat), Kansas City.
56th (Mar. 1899, to Mar. 3, 1901).	15	do	Do.
57th (Mar. 4, 1901, to Mar. 3, 1903).	15	do	Do.
58th (Mar. 4, 1903, to Mar. 3, 1905).	16	Fifth District (Jackson County only).	Do.
59th (Mar. 4, 1905, to Mar. 3, 1907).	16	do	Edgar Clarence Ellis (Republican), Kansas City.
60th (Mar. 4, 1907, to Mar. 3, 1909).	16	do	Do.
61st (Mar. 4, 1909, to Mar. 3, 1911).	16	do	William Patterson Borland (Democrat), Kansas City.
62d (Mar. 4, 1911, to Mar. 3, 1913).	16	do	Do.
63d (Mar. 4, 1913, to Mar. 3, 1915).	16	do	Do.
64th (Mar. 4, 1915, to Mar. 3, 1917).	16	do	Do.
65th (Mar. 4, 1917, to Mar. 3, 1919).	16	do	William Patterson Borland (Democrat), Kansas City (died Feb. 20, 1919).
66th (Mar. 4, 1919, to Mar. 3, 1921).	16	do	William Thomas Bland (Democrat), Kansas City.
67th (Mar. 4, 1921, to Mar. 3, 1923).	16	do	Edgar Clarence Ellis (Republican), Kansas City.
68th (Mar. 4, 1923, to Mar. 3, 1925).	16	do	Henry L. Jost (Democrat), Kansas City.
69th (Mar. 4, 1925, to Mar. 3, 1927).	16	do	Edgar Clarence Ellis (Republican), Kansas City.
70th (Mar. 4, 1927, to Mar. 3, 1929).	16	do	Geo. Hamilton Combs, Jr. (Democrat), Kansas City.
71st (Mar. 4, 1929, to Mar. 3, 1931).	16	do	Edgar Clarence Ellis (Republican), Kansas City.
72d (Mar. 4, 1931, to Mar. 3, 1933).	16	do	Joseph B. Shannon (Democrat), Kansas City.
73d (Mar. 4, 1933, to Jan. 2, 1935)	13	At large	Do.

Representatives of Jackson County, Mo., in the National House of Representatives, 30th to 76th Congresses, inclusive, 1847–1940—Continued

Congress	Number of districts in Missouri	Number of district which included Jackson County, and counties comprising said district	Representative
73d (Mar. 4, 1933, to Jan. 2, 1935)—Continued.	13	At large—Continued.	John J. Cochran (Democrat), St. Louis. James R. Claiborne (Democrat), St. Louis. Clyde Williams (Democrat), Hillsboro. Clarence Cannon (Democrat), Elsberry. Frank Hood Lee (Democrat), Joplin. James Edward Ruffin (Democrat), Springfield. Ralph Fulton Lozier (Democrat), Carrollton. Jacob L. Milligan (Democrat), Richmond. Reuben Terrell Wood (Democrat), Springfield. Milton Andrew Romjue (Democrat), Macon. Richard M. Duncan (Democrat), St. Joseph. Clement Cabell Dickinson (Democrat), Clinton.
74th (Jan. 3, 1935, to Jan. 2, 1937).	13	Fourth District (Jackson County: Blue, Brooking, Fort Osage, Prairie, Sni-a-Bar, and Van Buren Townships). Kansas City: Wards 9 to 14, and 16.	C. Jasper Bell (Democrat), Kansas City.
		Fifth District (Jackson County: Washington Township). Kansas City: Wards 1 to 8, and 15.	Joseph B. Shannon (Democrat), Kansas City.
75th (Jan. 3, 1937, to Jan. 2, 1939).	13	Fourth District (same as above)	C. Jasper Bell (Democrat), Kansas City.
		Fifth District (same as above)	Joseph B. Shannon (Democrat), Kansas City.
76th (Jan. 3, 1939, to Jan. 2, 1941).	13	Fourth District (same as above)	C. Jasper Bell (Democrat), Kansas City.
		Fifth District (same as above)	Joseph B. Shannon (Democrat), Kansas City.
77th (Jan. 3, 1941)	13	Fourth District (same as above)	Representative-Elect C. Jasper Bell (Democrat), Kansas City.
		Fifth District (same as above)	Representative-Elect Joseph B. Shannon (Democrat), Kansas City.

Jobs or Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

LETTER FROM NICK FORAK

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, for many years the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States has advocated "jobs or pensions" for World War veterans.

The following communication received from Mr. Nick Forak, Route 6, box 885, Houston, Tex., is an illustration of the problem confronting thousands of veterans of the first World War. The letter is as follows:

HOUSTON, TEX., *October 3, 1940.*

Subject: Employment or pension.

Hon. MILLARD W. RICE,

Legislative Representative, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND COMRADE: As a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Herbert D. Dunlavey Post 581, of Houston, Tex., I take my liberty to call your attention to the following facts with great hope that you will take these into your consideration and use your power in Congress to administer justice to all.

In 1913 Uncle Sam called for volunteers against Mexico; as a patriotic citizen I enlisted in the Twenty-second United States Infantry and served 2 years against Mexico, 2 years in the Orient, and throughout the World War. I was discharged by the act of Congress, 4th of June 1920, with character excellent, and remark, "sincere, honest, and faithful." During all this time I never had a 24-hour leave of absence, never missed a single formation, and never had no punishment of any kind.

In 1923 I passed my examination for the Post Office service, but misfortune prevented me to take my position; in 1924 I passed my examination as a motorman and conductor on the electrical lines, but because of family sickness I lost out. In 1925 I passed an examination in the A. F. L. as a building mechanic, and which I have been following ever since as up to 1930, when the depression wiped out my plan, my job, my home. Everything was gone, including the first half of my bonus money. I have been on relief jobs ever since, until about 2 years ago, when my health began to fail me, and in April 1939, at the San Jacinto Battleground, on a W. P. A. job, I fell out entirely. I have two children, one of which has just graduated from high school, and the other one will be 11 years old on October 28.

The W. P. A. has put my wife to work for $46 per month. I have invested my second half of my bonus money in a home, and this is just about to be foreclosed.

I have 56 years behind me, and now with broken health, no one can afford me a job of any kind. I have applied for pensions two times, and both times I was coldly turned down. I have wrote Hon. ELBERT THOMAS and Senator TOM CONNALLY, and all my letters have been sent back to the employment office where I have been registered since 1933, without result. If a man hasn't got any "pull," he is lost. Favoritism exists everywhere. Yesterday a hero; today, waiting for a hand-out from charity. In this great country, richest on earth, where is our justice and equality to all? I don't ask much from the Government, just a job which I can do.

I just want to earn bread for my family. I cannot apply to no one else, because nobody wants me anymore. I just have to ask the Government.

Can I live, decent in this great country, which I have served so faithfully during those trying times? Can I live, with my family, in the autumn of my life, under that flag, which I had followed so honestly and faithfully throughout the world; the shell-torn battlefield of France and which we finally planted on the top of Fort Einsteins, just across the Rhine, from Coblenz, Germany?

The Government throws out millions, or billions to all directions, tangled up with camouflaged politics; helps every nation with multiplied millions, but no one raises a word about the suffering of our millions, honest, faithful citizens, the only ones who love the country, and will protect it with their life and blood. No one never raises a word, to lift up the unfortunate, unemployed citizens from their miserable life, to put them in a position with standard wages, to wipe the tears from the millions of long and sorry faces.

During the depression the W. P. A. was all right; but to keep them on it forever and expect them to live a right life on $46 a month, the Government itself is digging the grave for our Democracy. History tells us, that if the people are satisfied, no power on earth can touch our flag, or country, but if they get hungry, then look out! That sleeping lion will raise his head with a terrific roar.

I am one of those that carries the country in my heart, but how can the Government expect me to raise good honest citizens out of my boys, when I cannot supply them with the necessities of life; food, clothing and shelter. What can I tell them about this rich, beautiful country, when they are hungry, clothless, and for the second time are about to be thrown from their home, while many of the other people have everything the earth can produce? Is this democracy? This must be remedied, at once. Please, for the name of God and Country, don't make any more "fifth columns." Even now they are sweeping the world with new ideas, new governments. Our country is in danger worse than ever before in our history. We need all the energy that we can produce to check those conflagrations before it reaches our shores. Create work, work for everyone, let the people be satisfied, happy, so that we can sleep peacefully; so that no power on earth can harm our flag, and so that the 130 million people will always be on guard.

Cure that unemployment disease in our national body, because that is the most powerful weapon with which to save democracy; without that guns and politics are useless.

Dear Comrade, pardon me for taking your time away with this little article, but conditions forced me to call on the Government, through you, which is my last resort to secure a job, that I can do. Use your own judgment, I thank you for your kind feeling you may have for me. I am yours in Comradeship.

NICK FORAK, *Houston, Tex.*

Danger in Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ARTICLE BY REV. DR. JAMES A. MAGNER

Mr. RADCLIFFE. Mr. President, upon the suggestion of Dr. Joseph T. Thorning, a distinguished traveler, writer, and educator, I ask that an article by Rev. Dr. James A. Magner, entitled "Danger in Mexico," be inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From The Sign (Union City, N. J.) of October 1940]

DANGER IN MEXICO

(By the Reverend Dr. James A. Magner, of Catholic University)

This is not the first time that Mexico has been caught on the horns of a dilemma. But there is something unique about this one. Both Presidential candidates are claiming an overwhelming victory at the polls. Both are calmly insisting that they will rightfully assume office at the beginning of the term, on December 1. And nobody seems to know just what will happen.

The source of the difficulty was the promise of President Cardenas that the election of his successor and of the deputies to Congress would be free and honest. This was not exactly what he said but the people took it as such. "There ought now," he declared, "to have been created in the people the consciousness of its rights and the direction of its duties. * * * The time has arrived when the different tendencies, even reactionary, of the possible groups organized under the grant of civic liberties can enjoy a full campaign and enter into the electoral fight with guaranties equal to those required for the ideals of the revolutionaries." What he meant to express was a full confidence in the success of his regime's policies, so full, in fact, that opposition forces could huff and puff all they wished without being able to blow his house down.

Political minorities had long since learned the uselessness, if not the positive danger, of appearing at the polls; few persons outside the professional voting circles had ever bothered to exercise this great democratic right. But this time it looked like the real thing. The opposition candidate, Juan Andreu Almazan, made a great campaign, at least as impressive as that of Manuel Avila Camacho, who was the official candidate of the P. R. M.—Mexican Revolutionary Party—backed by Cardenas and all orthodox politicos of the national steering committee. The manner in which the people turned out to vote on July 7 was a remarkable tribute of confidence in the integrity of Cardenas' word. As one man remarked, "This is the first time in my 65 years that I have cast a vote."

Particularly in Mexico City, if appearances count for anything, the result was an overwhelming victory for Almazan. In spite of riots and disorders, and the occasional use of machine guns by shock troops and individuals, the Almazanistas paraded the streets with their green ribbons, even playfully demanding that El Trompudo, or Cardenas, nicknamed for his snoutlike lips, should salute their candidate.

A good deal of the disorder was due to the electoral law itself, which provides for the establishment of voting booths by deposition before a notary of the first five voters who arrive at the designated places. The Avila Camachistas arose early, counted their votes in a hurry, and then did what they could to shut out the Almazanistas. Cardenas himself was unable to vote because the polls in his district were closed down by the early Avila Camachistas, who were determined to prevent Almazan forces from voting.

In other places democratic processes suffered even greater reverses. In some States the Almazanistas were prevented from voting at all; and when they assembled to demonstrate their political preferences, a shower of machine-gun bullets was the answer of "law and order."

Nevertheless, Cardenas serenely declared, after personally witnessing the melee: "That which gives me the greatest satisfaction is the fact that the people have been able this time to go to vote freely at the polls, and that they have exercised themselves in true civic sentiments. This is important." To the extent that, in spite of every form of intimidation, the people had gone out to vote, the President was right.

But if the old-line politicians had failed in their first line of defense against public opinion, they were determined not to do so in the second. Large masses of armed men were moved in to protect those in charge of the Avila Camachistas booths, while, according to a statement of the P. R. U. N., or Revolutionary Party of National Unification of Almazan, the judges of the Almazan booths found themselves about to be displaced by "gunmen who had taken no part in any polling place or function." Under these circumstances, the Almazanistas withdrew with their votes and with the notaries accompanying them proceeded to do their own counting.

The official count of the vote was to be made by Congress on August 15 and announced on September 1. By July 13, however, the P. R. M. presented its preliminary count and announced that "The people of Mexico, conscious of their historic destiny, have responded with dignity to the call of the revolution. General Avila Camacho is the President-elect." These figures allowed Almazan only 128,574 votes for the entire republic. Sanchez Tapia, the third candidate, received a count of 14,046. Avila Camacho issued supreme with 2,265,199! To this reckoning, the P. R. U. N. replied on July 20 with a total of 2,492,567 votes for Almazan, with the additional note that "in this report are not included the votes which the 'impositionist' party (P. R. M.) conceded to General Almazan in its false computations for the majority of its booths were illegally installed, and therefore all the votes deposited in them are void."

With the P. R. M. still in the saddle, General Almazan decided that the only healthy thing to do was to withdraw from the country. On July 17 he left the capital for Vera Cruz and from there departed for Havana. The same day, as an indication of what was in store for those who voted for Almazan, the P. R. M. deputy Salvador Ochoa Renteria declared that the organization of employees of the state had reached the conclusion that the P. R. U. N. by its activities during and after the elections, had rendered itself outlaw, and that there could not be tolerated "the attitude of employees of the Government who, by belonging to the above named Almazan party, tacitly placed themselves in a position antagonistic to the government for which they work, thus committing an act of disloyalty and a crime."

Then followed the detention of leading lawyers and personages who had sustained the Almazan cause, such as Eduardo Neri, Gilberto Valenzuela, and Antonio Soto y Gama. Threats were made against persons of independent political affiliations. In the Federal district, political meetings and other reunions of a similar character were prohibited. Ridiculous assertions that Almazan was in league with the Nazis next appeared. In the Chamber of Deputies, Emilio Acosta declared that Almazanism was provoking an armed uprising.

All this, of course, has indicated a bad case of jitters on the part of the P. R. M. politicians and Government officials. The large vote for Almazan was clearly a vote of opposition against the Government even more than a sign of popular approval of Almazan himself. If a toss-up were made between the two candidates personally, many ardent followers of Almazan might concede that Avila Camacho is the better man. While there is nothing outstanding about his record, the latter has given evidences of being a person of fairly conservative judgment. His public statements have revealed a strong desire to unite the various elements of what he calls the Mexican family; and to woo the Catholic vote, after an era of furious assault upon all Catholic institutions, he has even invoked the ideal of Christian harmony. But the fact remains that his backers include the same old crowd of deputies and gunmen abominated by the substantial but inarticulate element of the nation. Mingled in the strength of Almazan there are undoubtedly factions of a blind and reactionary character. But by far and large, his advisers are men of seasoned judgment and genuine patriots. To suppose that the triumph of Almazan would mean, as someone remarked, a return to the Dark Ages is simply to ignore the free and enlightened opinion of Mexicans themselves.

Certain American sources have indicated that the church has injected itself into the Presidential campaign. There can be no doubt that, particularly in view of Almazan's open promise to allow freedom of education, his candidcy has made a favorable impression on Catholics at large. But the fact is that churchmen and church organizations have kept themselves clear from the political aspects of the electoral fight.

It is true that Almazan, although a Mason, is surrounded by a practical Catholic family and has a program in accordance with Catholic principles. He might be able to change article 3 of the constitution which requires socialist education, and would undoubtedly grant great tolerance in other matters rendered illegal by the antireligious laws of the country. But inasmuch as the constitution is like Holy Scripture to the Jacobin or anti-Catholic liberals of the country, it is highly doubtful whether he or any force short of revolution could lay a finger upon those other obnoxious provisions which forbid the church to own property and to assume a legal personality.

Whether Almazan will risk anything comparable to revolution, even to make good his claim to the Presidency, is more than anyone can say. Evidently, he himself has been in doubt as to what to do, particularly since he realizes that the one decisive vote may well be in Washington. While the electoral credentials of 129 deputies and 50 senators acceptable to the P. R. M. were being approved in the electoral colleges of the new "official" congress of August 15, the electoral college of Almazan, although declared illegal, met secretly but gave notice of the fact to President Cardenas. Almazan had meanwhile announced by radio from Cuba that "I am fulfilling my duty in repeating to my countrymen my promises which will be punctually fulfilled, namely, to establish myself on December 1 as President of the Republic, respecting the almost unanimous mandate of the electors."

Just how this will be done is difficult to predict, since the permanent commission of the federal congress immediately declared his speech to be subversive and asserted that it is "the fullest proof that General Almazan and the party which supported him has determined, without any secrecy, to prepare a movement of rebellion." Moreover, the declaration of the Government Party on September 1 and of the congress on September 12 that Avila Camacho was president-elect has apparently secured the blessing of Cardenas himself. "The law," he declared in his annual address on that date, "empowers the legislative bodies exclusively with sole powers to decide the legitimacy of its own membership and of passing on elections for the presidency."

Various possibilities have been suggested, including establishment of an opposition government at Monterrey; but the success or failure of any coup will depend upon the attitude of the army. "The army," according to Cardenas, "has known how to fulfill its duty in the past, and will comply equally in the present and the future." The rank and file of soldiers are rumored to be in favor of Almazan, while the higher officers, because of their political dependency, are linked with the P. R. M. regime. It is probable, however, that a bold move against Avila Camacho by a few high-ranking officers might start the ball rolling. The official government is afraid of this and has taken extraordinary precautions, by transferring, removing, and even exiling individuals in military command, to prevent it.

With respect to a final solution of the grave problem before Cardenas, three alternatives are possible. Present indications are that he intends to recognize Avila Camacho through recognition of the Congress elected by the P. R. M. This imposition will have the effect of deepening present popular bitterness and national cynicism; but if the army remains firm, there is not much that popular opposition can do about it. Another solution would be to void the official count of the Avila Camachistas and impose Almazan in accord with the claims of the independent vote. To all independent voters who pledged themselves to Almazan, this would be a satisfactory solution. On the other hand, a recount of the national vote is practically impossible, for obvious reasons; and it is inconceivable that the entrenched politicians of the P. R. M. would accept such a reversal without a fight. A third possibility is that, in accordance with his prerogatives, Cardenas may declare the elections null, and have Congress appoint a temporary President, perhaps Sanchez Tapia. This would mean that Cardenas would remain in power for another 2 years, when elections would again be called. This might be a satisfactory compromise if the nation was willing to accept it, provided, of course, that confidence might be placed in the subsequent elections.

In the meantime, there remains an undercurrent of tension difficult to describe and rendered more intangible by the confusion of principles, loyalties, and aspirations that is characteristic of large sectors of the Mexican public. To a certain extent, the division of independent civic camps is an important element playing into the hands of Cardenas and of the P. R. M. and making united opposition extremely difficult and ineffective. On the other hand, this factor represents a disruptive force in national life with possible effects beyond calculation. Thus side by side with Accion Nacional, which represents a nonpartisan national effort to create intelligent public opinion in line with genuinely democratic processes, there are other movements of a less frank character such as Sinarquism, which speaks of peaceful triumph, but refers to "the orders of the Chief," and declares itself to be "strong, young, new, wildly enamored of Mexico, full of faith and enthusiasm * * * marching forward, extinguishing all the old, decrepit, vitiated parties."

The problem of democracy and government in Mexico along party lines is serious, largely because of the ease with which large masses of illiterate voters can be swung into line by force or corruption, completely nullifying or smothering the voice of the educated classes outside of organized politics. Commenting editorially on the situation resulting from the elections, the important newspaper, El Universal, of Mexico City, has noted that, with the single exception of the election of Madero in 1910, the people have not been allowed the opportunity of freely expressing themselves at the polls for over 50 years.

"We have always been obliged," this editorial stated glumly, "to defer our will before that of a despot, enlightened or not, and usually the latter. Our politicians of first rank have been guilty of fostering and promoting a false political conscience, for they have placed their own interests on the electoral tablets above national interests, and for these they have sacrificed the best directed opinion and the future of the Republic. Very few can escape this accusation."

It would seem that, in spite of his promises and good intentions, Cardenas has failed to secure the exercise of civic liberties upon which the people relied. Unless the answer, however, is reversion to the old cycle of civil war, bloodshed, and destruction, the only hope of democratic triumph in Mexico is the increased effort of enlightened and unselfish elements in the task of popular education and the formation of intelligent public opinion. In this labor and toward this objective there must be increased sympathy and assurance from the side lines, notably in the United States, that our interest in the promotion of democracy is a sincere desire and not merely a convenient slogan. In large part the future of Mexico as a democracy depends upon the attitude of the "good neighbor."

Veto Inaction Seen Bar to Adjournment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVE E. SATTERFIELD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ARTICLE BY DAVID LAWRENCE

Mr. SATTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence, published recently in the Washington Star:

VETO INACTION SEEN BAR TO ADJOURNMENT—LAWYERS CONTEND CONSTITUTION CALLS FOR DISPOSAL

(By David Lawrence)

Constitutional lawyers are saying that Congress cannot adjourn next week without acting one way or the other on a bill which President Roosevelt vetoed last summer and which has been passed by the House over that veto.

The bill is of constitutional importance itself because it provides that the attorney general of any State government may intervene in a suit in Federal courts wherever the State's interest may be involved. But the question of whether Congress may adjourn without acting in a vetoed bill may prove even larger in significance.

The Constitution uses the word "shall" and not "may" in ordering Congress to consider a bill that has been vetoed by the President. The exact language is as follows:

"Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States. If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it.

"If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law."

PASSED OVER VETO BY HOUSE

The above constitutes a mandate upon Congress either to approve or disapprove a Presidential veto, that is, to take some action. The bill in question was vetoed on June 10. It was repassed on August 5 last by the House by a vote of 253 to 46, which is more than the necessary two-thirds. The Senate has not yet acted either to table the bill or to take it up.

The measure has the support of the National Association of Attorneys General, the president of which, Lawrence C. Jones of Vermont, telegraphed Chairman Sumners of the House Judiciary Committee as follows:

"Enactment of Satterfield bill is meritorious and essential to the preservation of our dual system of government. The States should be given the opportunity to present evidence and argument in all cases where the constitutionality of a State law is attacked. Only under such procedure can the courts be intelligently informed and the States be protected against usurpation of powers strictly within their sphere of government."

The foregoing message came after the Presidential veto and it was influential in persuading the House to disagree with the President on the subject. In the veto message, Mr. Roosevelt, presumably on the advice of the Justice Department, argued that the bill "invites the States to intervene as a matter of right to attack the exercise of any Federal power impairing or abridging any governmental power asserted or exercised by the States or by any of their agencies, officers or employes."

MANDATORY PROVISION WANTED

The President contended that the courts already have discretionary power to allow the States to intervene in private suits where constitutional questions affecting State governments may arise, but it is pointed out, on the other hand, by proponents of the bill that the same discretionary power existed for years with respect to the right of the Federal Government to intervene in private suits affecting Federal laws, and yet the present administration insisted in 1937 on seeing that the rule was made mandatory and not discretionary.

There is a large principle involved. The courts may be filled with men who are conscientious partisans of the Federal power as the paramount instrumentality of government and they will refuse to see the argument of the State. But under the proposed legislation, the States are given the right to intervene as an authority from Congress itself, and hence no judge can keep a State government out when the trial of the issues starts.

The President, judging by the veto message, apparently would have been willing to sign a measure which limited intervention to cases in which State statutes alone were affected, but this would

not dispose of the right of a State government to intervene in a private case where an individual insisted that Federal power was invading his rights as a citizen of a State whose authority seemed to be conflicting with that of the Federal Government.

PRECEDENT POSSIBLE

Congress, in passing the bill of Representative SATTERFIELD, of Virginia, in the first instance, and the House in voting irrespective of party to disregard the veto, has taken a generous position with regard to the rights of the States, going back to the original conception of the Federal judiciary as an arbiter not merely between the citizen and the Federal Government but as between the Federal and State Governments where the conflict arises out of issues involving private litigants.

To grant the request of the State governments, whose attorneys general by overwhelming vote now plead for a day in court where their interests are affected, is to forward the cause of democratic government, but if Congress next week neglects to act on the bill, either by approving or disapproving it, it would seem to be a direct violation of a constitutional mandate. Such a precedent may furnish an interesting commentary on the manner in which fundamental rights are being neglected.

The Petroleum Industry and National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT THOMAS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS BY GEORGE A. HILL, JR., DIRECTOR, INDEPENDENT PETROLEUM ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA; VICE PRESIDENT FOR PRODUCTION, AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE

Mr. THOMAS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of George A. Hill, Jr., before the East Texas Chapter of the American Petroleum Institute at Kilgore, Tex., October 9, 1940:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, you have complimented me greatly by inviting me on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the discovery of the world's greatest oil field, to discuss with you a subject that is of most serious concern to each of us, the petroleum industry and national defense.

The will to serve effectively is almost universal.

Each of you is eagerly straining at the leash, awaiting affirmative command.

The desire to make a helpful and tangible contribution to the national program of rearmament, and industrial preparedness, is the immediate result of the true patriotic impulse that animates each of you.

We realize, however, that the plan which we must implement, activate, and scrupulously effectuate must be conceived, directed, and coordinated by the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy of the United States—the President of the United States—and his National Defense Advisory Commission, and by all the departments of Government and the Military Establishment engaged in preparedness for national defense.

The guiding principle that should be clung to tenaciously has been proclaimed by the President in his message to the American Legion on September 23, when he stated the following fundamental truths:

"We now find abroad serious conflict between those who wish for peace and free government and those who wish to destroy it. The test of strength has gathered force and, whether we like it or not, today it constitutes a threat against the peace of the entire world. We all hold dear our American way of life with our individual and national freedom. We must protect it against any form of aggression which may endanger it."

We of the oil industry, devoted as we are to freedom of initiative, free competitive enterprise, and free American institutions applaud, with one voice, the affirmance by the President of the national will and purpose to preserve, and to protect, against all aggressors, "our American way of life with our individual and national freedom."

We subscribe, utterly and completely, to this guiding declaration, and seek its further definition as applied to the oil industry.

Fortunately for all, the policy of the Government, after adequate study and deliberation, has been given precise definition. The National Defense Advisory Commission, with its patriotic, highly qualified, and distinguished personnel, on August 31, and September 6, 1940, respectively, unanimously agreed to and adopted 12 general principles governing national defense contracts and also fair labor standard requirements. The President of the United States, in giving these policies his unqualified approval, transmitted them to the Congress of the United States on September 13, 1940, as documents of such great importance that (as he stated) "the values of these policies and principles to the Government, to industry, agriculture, labor, and to the country, sectionally and as a whole, will be seen at once."

"The 12 principles which the Defense Commission laid down for awarding the billions of dollars of defense contracts are, in brief, as follows: Speed, quality, price, geographical distribution of orders, avoidance of transportation congestion, available power facilities, labor standards and supply, effect on civilian consumers, financial responsibility of contractors, their past experience on the Army's 'educational orders,' their 'moral responsibility, and maintenance of competitive bidding on contracts wherever possible.'"

The policies and principles chart, in detail, the course and direction for free, vigorous, dynamic and patriotic American industry to follow in yielding the highest degree of voluntary cooperation and coordinated effort with the administration's program of national defense.

To these policies and principles, I am confident, the oil industry cheerfully subscribes, wholeheartedly and without cavil or dissent.

Translated into actual and effective performance, what does adherence to these principles by the oil industry involve in terms of voluntary cooperation and coordinated effort?

First. In lending full and effective cooperation to national defense, the industry should recognize the necessity of conducting its "business as usual" along the general lines of the status quo, with such deviations and modifications as are deemed to be useful and essential in the promotion of national defense in order:

(a) That the American public and American industry may be efficiently and economically supplied with petroleum products and services necessary to the maintenance of the normal business life of the Nation.

(b) That there may be a continuance of normal supply, or increased supply of tax revenue.

(c) That employees of the oil industry and allied industries may be safeguarded in their employment and in the hours, the wages, and the working conditions incident to a healthy and continuing industry.

(d) That the employees of the industry, after the termination of the period of training of those who are engaged in the military and naval services of the Nation, may be readily reemployed in a healthy and prosperous going concern, as contemplated by law and by the policy of our Government.

(e) That there may be continuing payments of rentals and royalties to the countless farmers, landowners, and others whose prosperity is, in substantial measure, dependent upon the continuance of that phase of the oil business.

(f) That present employment may be continued, with its consequent benefits to not only the employees concerned but also to the areas in which they reside.

(g) That the general contribution of the petroleum industry to the national income and national prosperity be not diminished or abated to the injury of the whole national economy.

(h) That the price structure be not increased or distorted so as to materially increase costs and burdens of the consuming public.

Second. The industry should increase production of 100 octane aviation gasoline and be in a position to supply aviation gasoline, motor fuel, and other petroleum products at the points and in the quantities desired, for the safe and adequate storage of reserve petroleum products, by the methods and in the manner desired by the military authorities.

Third. Methods of transportation, such as gasoline pipe lines, should be built to the east coast and to the areas and with the capacities that will afford the safe, prompt, and adequate dispatch of such products, with the elimination, as far as possible, of the military hazards involved in the unnecessary use of railroad rolling stock and tankers and marine equipment constituting more vulnerable military objectives to enemy forces.

Fourth. The effort should be made to release, as far as possible, the burden of supply that might be excessively laid upon marine equipment that in time of war or other national emergency might be usefully devoted to more direct or serviceable naval use.

Fifth. The industry should employ its research facilities and its ingenuity in relation to the general effort to aid in the establishment of underground storage at strategic localities, of aviation and other gasoline required in the Government plan of national defense.

Sixth. The industry should aid in the manufacture of toluol in order to increase American production of TNT and other petroleum products useful in the munitions preparedness program.

Seventh. The industry should aid national defense to the degree that it can, considering the present absence of plants, and the long time required to get into production, in the manufacture of synthetic rubber from petroleum gas and its byproducts, to the extent that such will, in a practical way, help to serve the requirements of the military establishment of the United States and of American industry.

Eighth. The allocation by the Government of contracts, for the purposes of national preparedness and defense, to various units in the industry should be so accommodated and adjusted in relation to normal operations that normal economic relationships will not be distorted and the general and normal conduct of the industry will be adjusted to the special situations thereby created.

Ninth. To aid in every helpful, sympathetic, and practical way:

(a) Employees enlisting in the National Guard of the United States.

(b) Employees who shall enlist in the Army, Navy, and the Marine Corps of the United States.

(c) Employees applying for courses of training in the training camps established by the Army, the Navy, the Air Corps, and other military and naval services of the United States.

(d) Employees who are enrolled and who become engaged in the military service of the United States through the application of the Selective Service Act.

(e) Employees who shall enlist in the home guards under the provisions of the National Defense Act.

(f) Employees whose assistance is sought by the use of all or a part of their time by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

(g) By cooperating with the various agencies of the Government, in making reports and furnishing information designed to promote the national defense and the Government's program of preparedness.

(h) By the rendition of loyal, whole-hearted, and patriotic cooperation to all public and private agencies approved by the Government, and to whom has been committed the task and responsibility of providing relief to the dependent and disabled; securing national unity and moral preparedness, as well as physical and financial preparedness; and to protect and preserve the principles of liberty and of free American institutions.

Tenth. In order that the presently developed underground supply of proven oil reserves, amounting to eighteen and one-half billions of barrels, may not be diminished, a reasonable program of exploration, by the use of wildcat wells and the various arts employed in the finding of new oil reserves, should be continued.

In this connection, Attorney General Jackson observed, on September 28, 1940, that "the very fact that in considering national defense we begin to calculate the life of our oil reserves in such small figures is an ominous sign for national defense and for our economic life." To illustrate that this viewpoint is not in accord with prevailing and informed opinion, it may not be amiss to here record briefly some factual material with reference to oil reserves and the industry's place in our national economy, viz:

Oil reserves: In 1915, the United States Geological Survey estimated oil reserves of seven and one-half billion barrels in all known and possible oil-bearing acreage by whatever method produced, but since that estimate, over 19,000,000,000 barrels have been actually produced, and the latest estimate of proven oil reserves, as of January 1, 1940, is approximately eighteen and one-half billions of barrels of oil. In 1925 the American Petroleum Institute estimate of proven oil reserves recoverable by flowing and pumping methods then in use, was 5,000,000,000 barrels, and yet fourteen and one-half billion barrels have been produced since that date, with proven recoverable reserves of eighteen and one-half billion barrels as the current estimate.

In an address before the American Petroleum Institute in Chicago in November 1937 I reviewed previous and successive estimates of reserves, and proudly called attention to the fact that the American Petroleum Institute Committee on Reserves on January 1, 1937, estimated the proven oil reserves at 13,000,000,000 barrels; and yet nearly 4,000,000,000 barrels have been produced in the intervening period and the present estimate of future proven reserves of eighteen and one-half billion barrels is twice the theoretical residue of the 1937 estimate.

This almost unbelievable achievement could only have been accomplished by the ever-increasing improvement in petroleum technology and the associated sciences and the great advances made in the field of geophysics and in the art of exploration and discovery.

Place in national economy: The invested capital in the industry is $14,500,000,000, with an average of $14,500 per employee. A recent carefully prepared memorandum on this subject, by specialists engaged in making a study, records that "during the past 18 years, while the oil industry was earning a total of $4,200,357,974, it was paying a total tax bill of $11,808,484,000—almost three times as much. The four billion paid to the stockholders represented a return of about 2 percent a year on their average investment of $11,000,000,000, while the $12,000,000,000 that went for taxes during the same period amounted to 6 percent of the same investment."

These facts all show that the petroleum industry functions primarily not as a profit-making enterprise for the enrichment of its stockholders but rather for the benefit of employees, stockholders, consumers, and the public.

Eleventh. The industry should employ to the fullest extent all of its appropriate research facilities for the development and adaptation of any product or byproduct of the industry for either defensive or offensive purposes.

Twelfth. The maximum of service to the national defense and to preparedness can be rendered without resort, at this time, to experimentation and to the development and employment of new controls. During the past 7 years, and for a number of years anterior thereto, there has evolved a body of law under our constitutional system which are in the furtherance of conservation, the elimination of waste, the accommodation of production to market demand, the denial to interstate and foreign markets of illegal production, the scientific determination of national consumptive requirements, the translation into workable relationships of the various State regulatory authorities, the Interstate Compact Commission, the Bureau of Mines, and the authorities administering the Connally Act, all of which have, through actual experience, demonstrated their utility and worth and have become reasonably efficient processes. These laws, and the cooperation of the industry, have served to maintain the integrity, continuity, and serviceability of this great, free, American enterprise, which is susceptible of prompt, adequate, and effective mobilization for all of the essential requirements of national defense, without the necessity of the imposition of any authoritarian control. There is no phase of service, to the most exact requirements of national defense and national preparedness, useful for the quick, faithful, efficient, and patriotic discharge of the highest obligations of citizenship, that cannot be supplied through the voluntary service and voluntary cooperation of the oil industry under the leadership of the President of the United States of America and his National Defense Advisory Commission.

Thirteenth. Unless otherwise restrained, the industry should continue its efficient operation at low cost under its present organization, without divestiture of the essential elements to its integrated operation. Just as clearly and as definitely as the Supreme Court of the United States has recognized that many years of experience and evolution in the oil industry have demonstrated that the integration of various units in the industry has become "a facility of industrial progress" it is recognized that the evolution of the War Industries Board (1917–18) was the continuing demonstration that American industry needed to be integrated with the war and preparedness program of the United States during the period of that emergency, in order to achieve the maximum benefits of coordinated effort. However, the oil industry during 1917 and 1918 was, in all important respects, as related to the war effort, differently circumstanced from its present highly developed status.

The War Industries Board (1917–18) found it necessary, after varying experiences, to establish "a single authoritative purchasing agency." Oil was then rated as one of the raw materials of which there was a scarcity, and which was vital to national defense, and it had appeared upon the "clearance lists" of the War Industries Board. Consequently, it had a wide fluctuation in cost price.

Today the condition of the industry is wholly at variance with the conditions that existed in 1917 and 1918, as will be more explicitly referred to hereinafter. Likewise our preparedness program today begins with a single procurement division with real authority in centralizing purchases; and aviation gasoline, motor fuel, fuel oil, lubricating oils, and other petroleum products are available in any desired quantity, and in the precisely desired quality, at fair prices, and at the times and places indicated, through the voluntary cooperation of an abundantly and fully prepared industry.

The War Industries Board of 1917–18 was confronted with the problem of the possible conversion of plant facilities, in various industries, to the manufacture of war materials. Today the plant facilities of the oil industry, as contrasted with the conditions existing in 1917–18, are multiplied in number, quantity output, quality output, diversification of output, lessened cost, tremendously enhanced supply, and great decentralization and variety of locality that greatly simplify and strengthen "any administrative conversion of the processes"; and this is already proven by the demonstrated willingness of units in the industry to aid the Government of the United States in the production of war and preparedness essentials.

The present status of general preparedness of the oil industry was admirably summed up by W. R. Boyd, Jr., executive vice president of the American Petroleum Institute, on August 23, 1940, in an address before the Interstate Oil Compact Commission at Oklahoma City, in part as follows:

"Petroleum-powered wings in the World War gave combatants new aerial weapons of offense and defense. Internal combustion engines transformed tractors into military juggernauts called tanks. Trucks replaced horses as motive power for artillery, and transported troops, ammunition, and supplies with a rapidity unknown to earlier wars. Oil-burning vessels gave marine forces new speed and flexibility of operation. After the World War was ended it was freely said that 'the Allies floated to victory on a sea of oil.'

"The number of producing oil wells in the United States is nearly twice that of two decades ago. New wells can be drilled at five times the speed of 10 years ago.

"Proven reserves of crude oil in the United States are estimated to be nearly three times greater than those of 1917. New fields are being developed, and new techniques are restoring old fields to production. Extraction methods are now known to make available substitute sources of supply from bituminous coal and oil shales.

"Since 1917 the number of petroleum refineries has been doubled. Their capacity has been multiplied by 4. Stocks of essential products are 2 to 10 times as large as in 1917, and storage capacities correspondingly greater. Land transportation facilities are more than twice as extensive. Marine transportation equipment is 8 times as large. There are 6 times as many local storage plants and 16 times as many roadside outlets."

In the last 10 years the industry has drilled 212,379 wells; greatly increased steel storage facilities; accumulated 18½ billion barrels of proven recoverable reserves; maintained a high rate of improvement in refining technique, with corresponding plant improvements; constructed countless miles of new oil and gasoline pipe lines; instituted the best conservation practices in oil production, with improved and more economical drilling methods; made marked improvement in the methods of oil finding and extended successful search for oil into new areas, both laterally and in depth; increased employment and improved wages, hours, and other working conditions; maintained excellent labor relations and reasonable stability from an investment standpoint; has continued the operation of marginal or stripper wells in the older producing States, including New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Oklahoma, Kansas, and the older fields of Texas; and demonstrated the high degree of flexibility in redistributing restricted production to meet changed conditions due to varying returns of consumption, discovery of new pools and new areas, and changing market demand for different types of products.

In view of the foregoing factual review of present conditions in the oil industry, and tested strictly, and with rigorous accountability, by the standards and objectives set by the National Defense

Advisory Commission and the President of the United States, it may be maintained, with confidence, that the oil industry is fully capable, and entirely willing, by voluntary, patriotic cooperation (and without the unnecessary and corroding influence of authoritarian control and compulsion) to achieve the 12 objectives of the Defense Commission program, viz:

(1) Speed in delivery;
(2) Proper quality;
(3) Fair price;
(4) Protection of consumers;
(5) Fair labor relations;
(6) Decentralized service as required;
(7) Financial responsibility on commitments;
(8) Avoidance of congestion of transportation facilities;
(9) Adequate power facilities available for the national-defense engagements;
(10) Obedient respect for "preferences granted to firms having experience with so-called educational orders;
(11) "Moral responsibility and honest and sincere desire to cooperate with the Army and Navy in producing what is called for";
(12) Competitive bidding.

Likewise, the labor policy of the Defense Commission can and will be carried out by—

(1) Increase in production of materials required by our armed forces and the assurance of adequate future supply of such materials with the least possible disturbance to production of supplies for the civilian population;
(2) Reduction of unemployment emphasized in every practical way as a factor in plant expansion;
(3) Avoidance of excessive hours in the workweek, and where necessary "payment of overtime in accordance with the local recognized practices";
(4) Compliance with Federal statutory provisions affecting labor relations, hours of work, wages, workmen's compensation, safety, sanitation, etc.;
(5) Adequate provisions for health and safety of employees;
(6) Utilize, as far as possible, local and United States Government employment service;
(7) Avoid discrimination because of age, sex, race, or color;
(8) Make available adequate housing facilities.

The President of the United States and his National Defense Advisory Commission have prescribed the policies and principles as previously reviewed.

The terms and conditions of service have thus been officially promulgated.

The choice is voluntary service or eventual conscription.

The oil industry, regardless of the alternative, not merely elects, but with enthusiasm and unanimity and patriotic devotion volunteers for service to the Nation, for the duration.

In conclusion, may I, on this significant day of celebration, pay deserved and sincere tribute to Dad Joiner who, in the true pioneering spirit, discovered this greatest single reservoir of national wealth. No chart of government pointed the way. No managed economy underwrote the risk. No authoritarian regulation measured the prospect. No bureaucracy supplied the incentive, by mandate or bounty; and not even contemporaneous geologic concept furnish the inspiration. The true spirit of the pioneer—the independent enterprise of a free American citizen who still believed in and cherished the opportunities that America affords; the same ccurage and self-reliance and indomitable will that conquered the wilderness of earlier years, that peopled the plains and the mountains beyond the far horizons for the beneficent uses of America today, that still guide and animate and propel the sturdy, pioneering Americans of this day, for whom the simple frontiers of our pioneer fathers have been multiplied, many times over, in incalculable number, variety, and opportunity, resided in the spirit, and in the heart, and the will of Dad Joiner. Let us pray that these United States may throughout the future, as in the past, nurture and preserve, and proudly cherish the pioneer and let his courageous, undaunted, and unterrified spirit and faith forever remain the heart and the core of free America.

Un-American Activities

REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, November 19, 1940

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, at the session of the House on October 10, 1940, which was practically the last session which the House had prior to its recesses, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] saw fit to make some remarks about me which were, to say the least, in bad taste. He seemed to intimate, either that I did not do my duty as a Member of the House, or that I did not display sufficient patriotism at a time when our nationals should patriotically support their Government and its institutions.

Such a charge, of course, was entirely unwarranted, and furthermore, was in exceedingly bad taste. Evidently the gentleman from Mississippi overlooked my own activities on behalf of the movement to rid this country of its objectionable elements, and solely for the purpose of setting myself right with this House and putting on record something which is by now, I believe, almost accepted as an axiomatic historical fact, permit me to give you from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the dates and pages in which my speeches and remarks dealing with this menace appear:

Volume 77 (73d Cong., 1st sess.):
- March 4 to June 16, 1933: Communism Among the Negro Race, page 2891.

Volume 78 (73d Cong., 2d sess.):
- January 3 to June 18, 1934:
  - Nazi Propaganda—radio address, page 1029.
  - Investigation of subversive propaganda activities, pages 11074, 11075.
  - Nazi Propaganda: Committee for the Investigation of, pages 4938, 4943, 4945, 4946.
  - Testimony of witnesses in court, page 4947.

Volume 79 (74th Cong., 1st sess.):
- January 3 to August 26, 1935:
  - Aliens engaging in dissemination of foreign propaganda, page 2906.
  - Communism, page 7843.
  - Extension of remarks, pages 7843, 7849, 8014.
  - Foreign governments, page 11863.
  - Reciprocal-trade agreements with Germany, pages 11861, 11862.
  - Report of Committee on Un-American Activities, page 2668.
  - Second-class mail matter, pages 12683, 12684, 12685.

Volume 80 (74th Cong., 2d sess.):
- January 3 to June 20, 1936:
  - Radio address on current attacks on immigration legislation, delivered by, page 7979.
  - Article by Rev. Walter Carl Subke, pastor of a Presbyterian church, on the subject of Hitler's liberty movement, page 4757.
  - Black Legion, pages 8707, 8708, 8709.
    - Correspondence concerning, pages 8707, 8709.
  - Deportation of aliens promoting certain propaganda, pages 9973, 9974, 9975, 9978, 9980, 9983, 9984, 9985, 9986.
  - Employment of alien seamen on American ships, pages 7258, 7259.

Volume 81 (75th Cong., 1st sess.):
- January 26, 1937: Un-American activities, pages 430–435.
- February 17, 1937: Un-American activities, pages 1334–1337.
- March 15, 1937: Nazi-ism, pages 2245–2249.
- April 26, 1937: Un-American activities, pages 3818–3822.
- June 21, 1937: Execution of Helmuth Hirsch, pages 6106–6107.
- July 26, 1937: Nazi activities in the United States, pages 7629–7637, 7640.
- July 29, 1937: Subversive and un-American activities in United States, pages 7821–7822.
- August 3, 1937: Un-American activities, pages 8144–8151.
- August 9, 1937: Subversive activities, pages 8557–8559.
- August 19, 1937:
  - Un-American activities, pages 9400–9406.
  - Un-American Activities, radio address on March 29, 1937, Appendix, page 665.
  - Un-American Activities, address before the State convention of the Jewish War Veterans at Asbury Park, N. J., May 2, 1937, Appendix, pages 1057–1058.
  - Nazi Activities in the United States, radio address on July 9, 1937, Appendix, pages 1761–1763.
  - Nazi Activities in the United States (extension of remarks on July 28, 1937), Appendix, page 1897.
  - Un-American Activities (extension of remarks), page 2200.

Volume 82 (75th Cong., 2d sess.), daily:
- November 17, 1937: Un-Americanism Marches On (extension of remarks). Gives a list of public speakers and agitators of Hitler movement in Los Angeles, Calif., pages 187–189.
- November 23, 1937: Un-American Activities, pages 456–462.
- December 1, 1937: Nazi Propaganda Imported From Germany, pages 867–868.
- December 21, 1937:
  - Nazi Activities, pages 2639–2644.
  - Un-American Activities (extension of remarks), page 2725.

Volume 83 (75th Cong., 3d sess.), daily:
- January 25, 1938: Un-American Activities, pages 1467–1470.
- February 23, 1938: Un-American Activities, pages 3156–3157.
- February 28, 1938: Un-American Activities, remarks made in the House on February 24, 1938, pages 3475–3476.
- March 7, 1938: Un-American Activities, remarks made in the House on March 2, 1938, pages 3987–3989.
- March 21, 1938: Congress Must Curb Un-Americanism, radio address on March 19, 1938, pages 5052–5053.
- April 18, 1938: Un-American Activities, page 7234.
- April 21, 1938: Un-American Activities.

Volume 84 (76th Cong., 1st sess.), January 3 to August 5, 1939:
Article from Volks-Eco, German newspaper regarding Nazi tactics, Appendix, page 2169.
Aliens:
Deportation of, pages 732, 733, 734, 735.
Registration of, pages 9532, 9537, 9538.
Christian Front—Fascist organization, Appendix, page 4042.
Civilian Military Organizations, page 9532.
Reference of bill (H. R. 5138), page 9532.
Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, pages 3834, 3835, 3836.
Coughlin, Charles E., Appendix, page 4044.
Dies Committee on Un-American Activities, pages 443, 444, 734, 735, 1442, 10867.
Extension of remarks, page 5993.
German-American Bund Activities, pages 5316, 5317, 5318.
Immigration Problem, pages 443, 444.
Kuhn, Fritz, pages 5316, 5317, 5318.
Nazi Bunds, pages 2540, 2541.
Nazi Bund Meetings in New York, pages 1884, 1885, 1886.
Private Military Organizations, pages 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063.
Un-American Activities, pages 732, 733, 734, 1442, 1445, 1884, 1885, 1886, 2540; Appendix, pages 2169, 4042.
List of so-called Christian Front organizations, Appendix, page 4042.
Nazi and American Exchange Students, Appendix, page 34.
Reply to Mr. Keefe, page 2540.
Von Bohle, Ernst Wilhelm, Nazi leader, Appendix, page 2169.
Weidesmann, Fritz, Nazi leader, Appendix, page 2169.
Volume 85 (76th Cong., 2d sess.), September 21 to November 3, 1939:
Letter from Jacob Panken on arms embargo, Appendix, page 70.
Radio address on American neutrality and alien ideologies by, Appendix, page 71.
Alien youth movements, page 536.
American-German youth movement, page 536.
Articles relative to, pages 536, 537.
Dies Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, page 537.
Foreign agents, page 524.
Kuhn, Fritz, page 537.
Un-American activities, pages 136, 537.
Volume 86 (76th Cong., 3d sess.), January 3 to October 11, 1940:
Radio address on problems of Congress by, Appendix, page 53.
Address by Justice Jacob Panken at the Coliseum, Chicago, Ill., on human rights, Appendix, page 373.
Christian Front organization, page 397.
Dies committee, pages 397, 398, 399, 587.
Hoover, J. Edgar, page 397.
Un-American activities, pages 397, 398, 399.
Committee on Immigration and Naturalization: work of, pages 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817.
Immigration problems, pages 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818.
Immigration and Naturalization Service appropriations, page 3474.
Dies committee, pages 4311, 4312.
Liberty magazine, article by a Nazi spy in, pages 4311, 4312, 4313, 4314.
Paffrath, Joachim—Nazi Spy—pages 4311–4314.
Representatives in Congress; counting of aliens, page 6587.
American activities, pages 4311, 4312, 4313, 4314, 4315.
Board of Trade for German-American Commerce, Inc., page 6114.
Names of officials, pages 6114, 6115.
Communists: bill (H. R. 8310) to deport, page 6087.
Legal objections, page 6087.
German Library of Information, New York City, page 6115.
German propaganda agents in United States, pages 6113, 6114.
Subversive activities, page 6113.
Address by Jacob Pankin, New York City, on subject of totalitarian ideologies and the war in Europe, Appendix, page 3071.
Camp Bergwald (Nazi camp), N. J., page 7066.
Dies committee, page 7066.
"Fifth column" activities, page 6923.
German-American Bund: Purchase of rifles by, page 6511.
German Library of Information, page 6664.
Posts in New Jersey, page 6511.
Articles and letters, pages 6664, 6665.
Ku Klux Klan, page 7067.
National Rifle Association of Washington, D. C., page 6511.
Nazi activities, page 6923.
In New Jersey, page 7066.
Nazi propaganda, page 6664.
Reorganization Plan No. V, pages 6917, 6923.
Subversive influence, page 7066.
Editorial from New York Times on registration of aliens, Appendix, page 3535.
Radio address on "fifth column" activities, Appendix, page 3492.
Aliens admitted prior to 1917, pages 7623, 7624, 7625, 7626.
Aliens: deportation of criminals, page 7629.
Bridges, Harry R., deportation of, pages 7629, 8183, 8184.
National defense, supplemental appropriation, page 8085.
Address before Nonsectarian Anti-Nazi League by, Appendix, page 3966.
Nazi "fifth column" in United States, Appendix, page 3966.
Radio address entitled "The Good and Bad Alien in the United States," Appendix, page 4246.
Bryant, Dr. Sohler, page 9145.
Volume 86 (76th Cong., 3d sess.), January 3 to October 11, 1940—Con.
National Rifle Association, page 9144.
Nazi agents, purchase of rifles by, page 9144.
Article from New York World-Telegram relative to German news reels, page 9953.
Radio address on subversive activities, December 15, 1933, Appendix, page 4827.
German moving pictures, pages 9953, 9954.
Subversive Activities; recommended laws to prevent, page 9952.
Article from Brooklyn Eagle on Nazi propaganda, page 11074.
Letter from Henry Hoke relative to use of the mails by foreign propagandists, page 11070.
Letter from Non-Sectarian League for Americanism on German propaganda, Appendix, page 5307.
Radio address by Francis Biddle on registration of aliens, Appendix, page 5316.
"Fifth Column" Activities, page 11070.
Extension of remarks, page 10783.
National Rifle Association, pages 10785, 10786.
Nazi propaganda, pages 11070, 11071, 11072, 11073.
"Anti-Defamation League, B. B.," Appendix, page 5443.
Hercules Powder Co., explosion at, page 12204.
Nationality Laws, to codify, page 11943.
Editorial from Washington Times-Herald on anti-Semitism, Appendix, page 5867.
List of subversive organizations and their officials, pages 12376, 12380.
Dies committee, page 12372.
Appropriation, page 12672.
German-American Bund, page 12376.
Hercules Powder Co. explosion, pages 12372, 12373.
Nazi-bund activities, page 12376.
Un-American activities, pages 12372, 12373, 12374, 12375.
Immigration Legislation, pages 13529, 13530.

Mr. Speaker, this menace can strike Congress only with one conclusion, and that is that in my own capacity as a Member of the House, as well as chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, it was constantly my effort to bring about a clear conception of Americanism and thorough loyalty to this country among all the diversified elements which compose our population.

I must therefore resent and emphatically object to any slur which directly or indirectly may be cast against my own loyalty and patriotism, and I believe Congress should by its clear and emphatic action prove that these remarks against me are resented by our membership as a slur upon this House.

"Bias" of the Press Debated on Radio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH B. SHANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of November 18, 1940:

[From the New York Times of November 18, 1940]

"BIAS" OF THE PRESS DEBATED ON RADIO—IRVING BRANT SAYS PRO-WILLKIE NEWSPAPERS "DISTORTED" NEWS IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN—ARTHUR KROCK DIFFERS—TRACING RISE OF IMPARTIALITY, HE HOLDS EXCEPTIONS FEW—AGAR SEES "DULL" PRESS

WASHINGTON, November 17.—The virtues and sins of the American press were debated by four well-known newspaper writers and editors here tonight in Theodore Granik's American Forum of the Air, broadcast over a Nation-wide network of the Mutual Broadcasting System.

The subject was "the Press and the Presidential Election," and the speakers were John W. Owens, editor in chief of the Baltimore Sun and Evening Sun; Herbert Agar, editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal; Irving Brant, chief editorial writer of the St. Louis Star-Times, and Arthur Krock, chief Washington correspondent of the New York Times.

Mr. Owens, replying to recent suggestions that newspapers which opposed President Roosevelt's reelection should fall into line, remarked that one might suppose, after an election in which the third-term tradition was abandoned, that all who believed in

democracy would welcome an opposition press as one means of holding a balance in national life.

"Secretary Ickes argues that a newspaper has a constituency of readers which it must serve," said Mr. Owens. "When that constituency has definitely expressed its will at the polls the newspaper should obey. If Mr. Ickes is sound, the old New York World should have surrendered to Croker and Murphy, for New York City repeatedly elected Tammany's candidates."

DOMINATION IS DENIED

Mr. Agar admitted the justice of many accusations against the press. He declared, however, that it was not domination by advertisers or banks or other outside interests which injured our newspapers, but the newspaper publishers themselves.

"The press is not unfree as in totalitarian states," said Mr. Agar. "It is merely timid. The press is not venal, as in pre-war France; it is merely conservative in the dullest sense of that word. This timidity and dullness are breaking the influence of the press and may finally endanger its very existence. It is doubtful whether the public will long support so unimaginative and so boring an institution.

"When a newspaper was very small business, the press was bold and exciting. Modern inventions have made a newspaper bigger and bigger business, with an ever larger capital outlay. As the size of the enterprise grew, the boldness and the intellectual freedom diminished.

"So the trouble with the press is the publishers. As they became big businessmen, most of them became timid businessmen."

BRANT CHARGES BIAS

Mr. Brant accused pro-Willkie newspapers, and specifically the New York Times, of having been markedly unfair to Mr. Roosevelt in the recent Presidential campaign.

"The editorial position of newspapers is relatively unimportant if they print the news," said Mr. Brant. "But in this campaign the pro-Willkie press turned itself inside out trying to elect its candidate. It gave the Republicans nearly four times as much news space as the Democrats. It played news up and played it down, suppressed news and distorted it, to aid Willkie and injure Roosevelt. That was the real reason why the President took to the stump.

"On October 18 Arthur Krock published a column article in the New York Times, defending the fairness of the press. I measured the news and feature space given by the Times on that day and the next, favorable to each party. Willkie got 71 percent, Roosevelt 29 percent.

"The New York Times will rate among the fairest members of the Press-for-Willkie Club. Observe how this relatively fair newspaper handled campaign news, and judge what the others were like. When Wendell Willkie dedicated a new building for his Consumers Power Co., of Michigan, his name appeared seven times in a New York Times story nearly a column long. Six days later the Federal courts found the Consumers Power Co. guilty of violating the Wagner Act by fostering a company union and intimidating its employees. The Times gave that story three inches, without Mr. Willkie's name. And what sort of a story? It said that the court had upheld the right of a Labor Board examiner to telephone to Washington. I could talk for ten hours giving similar instances of suppression and distortion of news by the free and impartial American press.

"A condition like this is a threat to the existence of our American democracy, for three reasons:

"1. Owing to the huge investment needed, it is practically impossible to establish new newspapers.

"2. The newspapers are permanently allied with reactionary financial interests whose lavish use of money in politics is in itself a threat to self-government.

"3. This combination of big newspapers and big money can be opposed successfully only by a glamorous personality, and sooner or later a choice between money and personality will lead to disaster."

GROWTH OF IMPARTIALITY TRACED

Mr. Krock traced the development of impartiality in the handling of news.

"Criticism of the press should always be welcomed by the press," said Mr. Krock. "Generally it is. An industry conducted by private persons which enjoys a constitutional guaranty of freedom has very special responsibilities. Among these must be candor in confessing its faults, honesty in seeking to correct them and all possible fairness in the news columns.

"More and more the daily press of the United States is discharging these responsibilities. I read many newspapers in the course of the recent campaign and the exceptions I noted were few. They were well understood by the local reading public and steadily exposed by rival newspapers. So far as the New York Times is concerned, as Mr. John Temple Graves 2d remarked in the Birmingham Age Herald, it was impossible for a reader who did not look at the editorial page to know which candidate the New York Times was supporting.

"When I began newspaper work more than 30 years ago coloring the news columns with editorial bias was the usual thing. But, introduced to better journalism by a few great publishers, the public began to demand it everywhere. Costs of providing the public with more news, and better editorials and features, grew great. Those papers which met the expensive demand necessarily became large commercial enterprises.

"AUTOMATIC CLEANSER CITED

"But this expansion served as an automatic cleanser of the news columns. The papers which fell by the wayside were as often those which colored their news as those which were incompetently managed. The large news-gathering enterprises which have succeeded the small organs of personal journalism have, in most instances, discovered that existence depends on the honest presentation of the news. Their very size has nullified the pressure of advertisers and reader groups. The standards of publication have, I think, improved much more rapidly than political ones and those of other businesses.

"Wise and vigilant criticism, and brisk competition, have aided in producing this result.

"But some recent criticism, while incessant, has not been well based. One critic says the press is not free because the country twice elected Mr. Roosevelt against the editorial advice of a growing press majority. He traces this editorial position to financial pressure from advertisers, banking controls, etc. The reader is the unit of a newspaper's survival. To take a position twice successively which a popular majority disapproves is a proof of independence. And independence is the manifest of freedom. The press which tries merely to please a majority of its readers by its editorial position—that is the shackled press. So far as financial pressure from advertisers and banks is concerned, I have seen it applied, but I have never known it to succeed.

HUMAN FAULTS CITED

"Since newspaper management is human, human faults exist. But such critics shrink from offering their solutions. That is because they have only two—a workers' soviet established by law and affiliated with as well as patronized by the party in power; or outright Government control of the press by license, administrative policy, or both. Either solution cancels the freedom of the press.

"To know the faults of the press ask the press itself. These include newspaper monopolies in a community which are maintained by wrongful business methods; acceptance of office in normal times by publishers or editors giving to the donor a lien on the papers' opinions; editors who pursue cosmic 'causes,' instead of sticking to their business; publishers who deny earned promotion to skilled workers and give their best editorial places to charming but untrained outsiders; owners who make no provision for stock purchase, even nonvoting, by the men and women who make the paper; news executives who bury corrections of inaccuracies which were prominently displayed; publishers who compete for, at false prices, scurrilous or irresponsible features because the public seems to want them.

"The public can be rid of some of these by ceasing to read the offending newspaper or encouraging a competitor. And progress in journalistic standards half as rapid as it has been in my own time will dispose of the rest."

AS TO NEWS-DISPLAY RATIO

In the rebuttal following the main talks, Mr. Krock challenged Mr. Brant's statement that the New York Times had been unfair to the Democrats in its news coverage of the recent campaign. As to Mr. Brant's statement that on October 18 and 19 the New York Times gave Mr. Willkie 71 percent of news and feature space devoted to the Presidential campaign, compared with 29 percent to Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Krock asked Mr. Brant what President Roosevelt was doing on that day and whether he had been campaigning.

"No," said Mr. Brant.

"Then what do you think we should have done with the space—print what Roosevelt should have said?" asked Mr. Krock.

Mr. Brant countered with the statement that he had kept score all week and that the average percentage of space given the Republicans was 69.5. He charged also that the New York Times had sinned even more grievously in the amount of headline space on the front pages given to the Republicans.

"Is it your opinion," asked Mr. Krock, "that the ownership of the New York Times gave orders to play down the Democrats and play up the Republicans?"

"I doubt if it was necessary," Mr. Brant answered.

"Do you mean that the working newspapermen on the Times themselves decided to give more space to the Willkie campaign than to Mr. Roosevelt?" asked Mr. Krock.

"Oh, no," said Mr. Brant. "They were working under economic pressure."

"Dark Days Lie Ahead" and "The Fight Is Not Lost"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. LAMBERTSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

EDITORIALS FROM THE CLAYTON (MO.) WATCHMAN-ADVOCATE

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, in the next Congress, Missouri will be represented by two new Republican Members. In the Twelfth Congressional District, Mr. WALTER C. PLOESER will succeed Mr. C. ARTHUR ANDERSON. In the Sixth District,

Mr. WOOD will be succeeded by Mr. PHIL BENNETT. Missouri also elected a Republican Governor, Mr. Forrest C. Donnell. Much of the credit for the Republican successes in Missouri can be ascribed to the rural press of the State. At this time I offer for the RECORD two editorials from the Watchman-Advocate, St. Louis County's largest weekly newspaper. The editorials are entitled, "Dark Days Lie Ahead" and "The Fight Is Not Lost."

[From the Clayton (Mo.) Watchman-Advocate of November 1, 1940]

DARK DAYS LIE AHEAD

For the last century and one-half the people of the United States have enjoyed the benefits of Government without the crushing cost of royalty and the military machines maintained by the nations of the Old World.

But in the last 4 months a shadow has come to cloud the future of our country. It is the shadow of a huge war machine that carries in its wake a staggering tax burden and a prospective national debt that is overwhelming in the mere contemplation.

As late as the 28th of May the President of the United States, in a press conference, allayed the misgivings of certain newspapermen by declaring, "We are not considering the drafting of men, women, or money, but are simply trying to spend $1,250,000,000 more than normal." Yet less than 90 days thereafter his agents in Congress were working feverishly to secure the enactment of legislation that would not only authorize the drafting of men but would also carry full authority to draft the wealth of the Nation and conscript its labor and industries.

Much of this must program is now the law of the land. The war machine is no illusion today. It is being built right under our noses, and in its building there are unmistakable signs of the decay of our so-called democracy.

In his Budget message of last January, President Roosevelt submitted estimates of $8,424,191,570 as the requirements for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941. The expenditures for 1940 were $9,268,338,000. Hopeful persons looked for economy. Witness their disappointment. Since January supplementary requests to Congress have increased the estimated expenditures for this year to more than $13,000,000,000 with additional contract authorizations of over $7,000,000,000 to be met by future appropriations. Meanwhile the Treasury Department, through new tax levies and the retroactive application of an excess-profits tax, hopes to realize about $6,500,000,000 during the current fiscal year. This sum falls about 50 percent short of expected Federal expenditures. To get the other six and one-half billion necessary for the Government to meet its current obligations in cash the Treasury must again call on the money changers whom Candidate Roosevelt so glibly promised to drive from the temple in 1932.

With the national debt now well above the $44,000,000,000 mark, the money changers will now supply new credits to lift it to $50,000,000,000 and more. A $50,000,000,000 national debt means that more than a billion dollars collected from the people finds its way into interest each year. A billion dollars in itself is a sum not to be sneezed at in these depression days, even by a nation of 131,000,000 people.

When one considers that this billion dollars in interest is only the carrying charge of profligacy, one wonders when the debt burden itself will become so heavy the people will lift it by repudiation. Small wonder that under the circumstances unfolding before our eyes today some people are willing to embrace the illusion that governments of the Fascist and Nazi dictatorship type are more beneficial to their people than our domestic dollar despotism.

Verily, dark days lie ahead for our people.

[From the Clayton (Mo.) Watchman-Advocate of November 8, 1940]

THE FIGHT IS NOT LOST

Americans who have waged a losing fight against the New Deal and a third term for Roosevelt cannot afford to quit the battlefields without further resistance to the corrosive influences that are undermining the foundations of constitutional government.

Out of the bitterness of battle a revitalized Republican Party must carry on. Students of history and observers of politics have long since predicted the New Deal would not survive a third victory at the polls. In this prediction there is much to look forward to.

No government can long endure, and no political clique can permanently control the destinies and the lives of a free people when normal economic processes are reversed. The New Deal victory of last Tuesday was a victory of bureaucracy over democracy. It was a victory of little dictators and political machines over the people. It was a victory of the gravy bowl and the pork-barrel maestros over the farmers and workingmen of the Nation.

And as the battle goes on in Washington, upon the shoulders of courageous JOE MARTIN rests the burden of leadership. JOE MARTIN can be depended upon in this the people's fight. For more than 2 years he has ably directed the Republican minority in the House of Representatives. His patriotism and uncompromising Americanism have been tested in many battles. The Republican Party and the people should be thankful that a JOE MARTIN, who thinks in terms of the people, still will be the minority leader in Congress.

Education of Children of Soldiers and Employees at Military Camps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Z. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

RESOLUTION OF ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS ASSOCIATION OF MONTEREY COUNTY, CALIF.

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the attached resolution calls attention to a serious problem that is rapidly becoming acute in various sections of the country. I trust that the Congress will give ample consideration to this situation in the near future.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS ASSOCIATION OF MONTEREY COUNTY HELD AT ASILOMAR OCTOBER 19, 1940

Whereas large numbers of children of soldiers and of the workmen constructing camps for soldiers have come and are still coming to our schools; and

Whereas the children arrive after budgets are made, accepted, and fixed; so if districts wish to raise the amount of their budgets, they cannot do so; and

Whereas land purchased by the Federal Government has diminished the assessed valuation in the district where taxes are most needed; and

Whereas the State has found it necessary to decrease county superintendent's emergency funds until the county superintendents are unable to cope with this problem and the local school districts are unable to house, equip, and supply teachers for this abnormal increase in our schools; and

Whereas these children often are not residents of the State forced to educate them but are rather "Federal children": Therefore be it

Resolved, (1) that this organization go on record as requesting all persons who might be instrumental in obtaining Federal financial aid to educate these Federal children use all their available power to get these much-needed emergency school funds allotted to finance school districts where these Federal children attend. These funds are to be paid in such a manner as may be designated and not in such a way as to violate or change the State's constituted authority over elementary education.

(2) That copies of this resolution be sent to all elementary and high school principal's organizations in the State of California through their organization papers, all principals of Monterey County, all school board members of Monterey County, our State senator and assemblymen, and our Federal Senators and Members of House of Representatives: Be it further

Resolved, That this organization go on record as being in favor of the present preparedness program and does not wish this resolution to be construed in any other manner than which it was intended, namely, to obtain Federal financial aid for schools so extensively affected by this unusual movement of school children.

Work of Federal Bureau of Investigation Against Spies and Saboteurs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED A. HARTLEY, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ARTICLES BY FRANK LEE DONOGHUE

Mr. HARTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a most illuminating duo of articles by that distinguished journalist, Frank Lee Donoghue, outlining the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its counter-espionage work and its defense against spies and saboteurs.

The F. B. I., under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover, has become the greatest crime-detecting agency the world over. The job of protecting our entire system of national defense from the attacks of saboteurs should, in my opinion, be left under the jurisdiction of Director Hoover and his professionally trained men. This is no time for amateur detectives or political investigators, well meaning as they may be. Experience is needed. I recommend the reading of these articles as evidence of the alertness of the F. B. I. to the present situation and its readiness to cope with any emergency.

HOOVER BARES SABOTAGE CURB—ELABORATE PRECAUTIONS TAKEN TO PROTECT UNITED STATES PLANTS, HE SAYS

(By Frank Lee Donoghue)

WASHINGTON, November 18.—While Government, State, and local authorities continued to hunt for evidence of sabotage in the series of industrial accidents which claimed nearly a score of lives last week, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, revealed today in an exclusive interview with this reporter that the Nation's industries have been virtually "spy-proofed" against the menace of foreign agents.

"We have not been waiting until the horse is stolen before locking the stable door," said Hoover. "Our campaign of counterespionage has been in full operation in anticipation of any emergency for years."

ALL PLANTS SURVEYED

Salient factors of the F. B. I. program to checkmate the army of spies and saboteurs now admittedly in this country are:

1. Industrial plant surveys by trained agents for the purpose of detecting points of vulnerability and to set up protective measures against sabotage and espionage which might impede the production of essential defense materials. Supplementing this survey, the Bureau has issued a manual of instructions to all industrial executives included in the defense mobilization plan.

2. The indexing of all leaders of subversive groups, their followers and associates, together with all known information concerning such individuals.

3. The mobilization, through a series of more than 500 conferences of some 8,000 State, county, and municipal law-enforcement agencies to combat "fifth column" activities and to meet any national emergency if the need should arise.

4. The constant surveillance of all known or suspected foreign agents in this country.

5. Observation of and investigation of all industrial accidents in plants in the priority category of the War and Navy Departments investigation of all suspected acts of espionage no matter how relatively unimportant they may appear.

6. The maintenance of close liaison with other Federal agencies, including the intelligence section of the Army and Navy.

"Let me make it clear that, regardless what rumor and report may indicate, there have been no concerted acts of sabotage in this country since the European war began last year," Hoover said.

"There is a very real menace from spies and saboteurs and in no way should this country allow itself to be lulled into a sense of security. But we should make every effort to keep our feet on the ground and not jump at hasty conclusions. There should be no hysteria.

ALIENS FAN HYSTERIA

"Whenever hysteria spreads as the result of an accident, you may be sure that those unfriendly to this Nation are helping to fan the flame of excitement. Part of the foreign agent's job is to circulate wild rumors and false reports. This is designed to undermine morale.

"Hysteria is harmful to industry, and it offsets what law-enforcement bodies as a whole are trying to do in the way of affording maximum protection to the Nation in a calm manner.

"There have been many cases of actual sabotage," Hoover went on, "but these cases have been clearly the efforts of individuals, sometimes disgruntled employees, and other times the acts of individuals with a personal motive for the destruction of a particular object. The sabotage attempts have not been the coordinated, directed, or technically perfect efforts of organized saboteurs."

The science of modern criminology, developed to the highest degree by the F. B. I. since the advent of Hoover as director, is proving one of the most potent weapons against the spy and saboteur.

WATCHES F. B. I. WORK

While I was at the Bureau's headquarters in the big, white Department of Justice Building on Pennsylvania Avenue, I became a witness to one of the most dramatic contests ever waged between laboratory technicians—scientific detectives in every sense of the phrase and termite saboteurs.

In this case, inspectors at an airplane factory had discovered that a portion of the aluminum structure of a plane had been cut halfway through, an act of sabotage that would have caused the destruction of the craft and, perhaps, the death of the pilot if it had taken to the air.

The F. B. I. was notified. There were no clues that might have led to the identity of the sabateur. A great many of the workmen might have had access to the damaged plane. Ordinarily it would have been like finding a needle in a haystack to find the employee responsible.

HACKSAWS EXAMINED

But the agent to whom the case was referred knew that all acts of sabotage leave some clues, even though so small as to be microscopic. After inspecting the damaged girder he asked the plant executive to turn over all the hacksaw blades in the factory. These were shipped on to the technical laboratory. There were 72 in all.

I happened to be in the "lab" when the blades were being treated to a spectrographic analysis. The spectrograph, so sensitive to color values that it can pick out the spectrum position of the most minute of particles, eliminated 64 of the hacksaw blades, narrowing the investigation to the point where the users or owners of but eight blades could be listed as suspects.

The eight blades in question were found to hold aluminum particles on the serrated cutting edges, pointing to the likelihood that one of them had been used in the attempted sabotage.

METAL ANALYZED

In another case F. B. I. techicians, busy over reports and tiny gas flames, were analyzing a foreign substance found at the bottom of a ladle of fine metal destined for use as an airplane part. The foreign matter had been turned over to an agent by plant executives who suspected sabotage with intent to weaken the structural parts for which the metal was to be used.

Upon inspecting the plant, the agent noted several plastic valve handles were missing. Suspecting that these might have been thrown into the molten metal, he got a similar handle and shipped it with the residue from the ladle to headquarters.

The chemical analysis confirmed the agent's judgment that the sabotage had been committed through the simple but effective method of throwing the plastic handles into the molten metal.

DIFFICULT TO DETECT

"The very simplicity of acts of destruction such as these makes them much more difficult to detect than sabotage of a more obvious and violent nature," Hoover pointed out. "They serve to illustrate why plant executives should be on the alert constantly."

An act of sabotage, ingenious though simple in method, involved the use of a tiny phonograph needle to cripple an American Navy vessel by short-circuiting the electrical system.

The needle was found imbedded in the insulation of the main cable. An X-ray photograph disclosed that only a fraction of the needle, barely more than a point, had pierced the outer layer, yet was sufficient to wreck the electrical system when it touched the live power line.

INSIGNIFICANT CAUSES

"A misplaced tool, a carelessly placed soldering iron, or a cigarette tossed into inflammable material—any one of these may start a chain of destruction that will cause irreparable loss to defense agencies," Hoover continued.

Actual cases of sabotage uncovered by the F. B. I. range from tampering with meters and gages to destroying the fine precision needed in the making of certain war materials, to the introduction of abrasives into sensitive machine parts. In a recent case investigated by the Bureau, several hundred small BB shots were tossed into the crankcase of an airplane motor. This would cause disastrous results.

MANY SAFEGUARDS TAKEN

Frequency of this form of sabotage is being rapidly reduced as the F. B. I. plant surveys result in the installation of protective measures.

These include the elimination of fire hazards, the safeguarding of vulnerable points, particularly those where bottleneck operations, controlling volume of production, would result in the complete shutdown in the event of sabotage; proof of the loyalty of all employees and the establishment of adequate plant police protection.

The importance of plant surveys to the national-defense program is made startlingly clear in some of the reports turned in by the inspecting agents. Conditions found at certain factories might be downright laughable if it were not for the serious side of the story.

At one plant manufacturing a certain secret type of war material, a standing order directed those in charge of engineering to guard all plans and blueprints with utmost care.

BURGLARPROOF, ALMOST

The order was followed to the letter. Each night plans and blueprints were locked in a burglarproof concrete vault until the staff reported in the morning. The plant executives were proud of their precautionary measures.

When the F. B. I. agent looked the plant over, he found that the concrete vault was impregnable except for one oversight—a window of ordinary glass had been built into the rear wall of the huge strongroom.

As the window overlooked a small landing leading to the yard of the plant, it would have been a distressingly simple matter for any prowler on espionage bent to have entered the vault and have removed the whole collection of plans and blueprints.

Needless to say, the plant executives made great haste to correct this oversight.

GUARD IS STRONGER

At another plant an elaborate system of checking out blueprints had been established to safeguard against the possibility of these valuable documents getting into the wrong hands.

When the inspecting F. B. I. man asked plant executives for the name of the employee placed in charge of the vault and check-out, they were flabbergasted—they did not know the employee's name. Pay-roll records revealed the man's identity and it was found that he had been hired only a few days before without any investigation of his background. It turned out that the man was a loyal American citizen, but a foreign agent might have found easy pickings if he had known of this made-to-order job.

Hoover Lists 10 Sabotage Forms

(By Frank Lee Donoghue)

Washington, November 19.—At one of the Nation's largest factories engaged in turning out war materials, an F. B. I. inspector was amazed to find that not only the workers but even outsiders could enter and leave the plant practically at will.

"Please establish a gate-control system here," he said to the superintendent almost before he had his coat off.

In another plant a local newspaper photographer was granted permission by the plant superintendent to snap a picture of the employees surging through the gates after the 5 o'clock whistle. In order to get the best crowd effect, the cameraman asked that the gate be locked until all workers were ready to leave.

LOOT ABANDONED

After a few minutes' delay at the locked gates, a wild rumor circulated among the workers that the reason was a mass search of everybody employed at the plant.

When the gates were finally thrown open to let the crowd rush out toward the photographer, plant guards found that the agitated workers had hurriedly disposed of enough filched tools, pieces of machinery, and odds and ends to fill several barrels. Conditions such as these would have been made to order for a spy or saboteur.

In one of Director Hoover's early surveys, an F. B. I. agent entered a large airplane plant after removing all identification and moved from department to department without being challenged. He walked behind machines and workbenches, into experimental hangars and drafting rooms.

No one questioned him, or thought it odd that he should ply workmen with questions about motors, wing struts, and the aerodynamics of this model and that. There is no question but that an espionage agent might have been equally free to do the same thing.

AN OPEN SECRET

At another aircraft factory an agent found that no precautions had been taken, beyond a mere concession to good judgment, to protect a secret model being tried out in the experimental hangar before delivery to the armed forces.

The one precaution taken was the erection of a partition at one end of the hangar. The agent found a gaping hole in this makeshift wall and asked the engineer in charge how and why it had been made and the reason for failing to repair it.

"Oh, that," grinned the engineer. "Some of the boys kicked through that hole in the partition so they could see the new experimental job."

The engineer was shocked at his own lack of foresight when the agent explained that the hole might have been used just as well by a spy seeking technical information on the performance of the new fighting craft.

MISTAKES OVERCOME

"Naturally, these conditions, practically inviting espionage agents to make themselves at home in our front parlor, were rather startling," Hoover smiled. "At the present time, however, they have been virtually eliminated.

"The cooperation of the various plant executives in putting our recommendations into effect far exceeded our expectations. Once the defects were pointed out, their response in protecting factories and plants from sabotage have been carried to the extreme."

The list of war-material plants to be given priority attention by the F. B. I. was furnished Hoover well over a year ago by a joint committee of the War and Navy Departments.

Each agent's report is turned in to Hoover and then submitted to a careful review by experts on fire hazard, structural safety, and other factors contributing to maximum protection.

ACCIDENTS AS BAD

"Our surveys are designed to protect national-defense industries and public utilities not only from sabotage but from the destructive results of accidents as well," the F. B. I. director explained.

"Whether an industrial unit has been destroyed by neglect or by intention is immaterial when considering the loss of the plant to American industry during a time of emergency.

"Likewise, a condition which constitutes a hazard to personnel is usually as dangerous as the saboteur who may attack and attempt to injure the personnel so that production will be curtailed."

He expressed the conviction that the explosion which destroyed the United Railway Signal Co. plant at Woodbridge, N. J., with the loss of 14 lives last Tuesday was caused by negligence.

NO REASON SEEN

"There was no reason for a saboteur agent to attack the plant," he said. Despite reports to the contrary, the Woodbridge company had neither Government contracts or subcontracts. Naturally, the disaster is still under investigation, but there is no evidence of sabotage.

Explosions in the two other plants—the Trojan Powder Co., at Allentown, Pa., and the American Cyanamid & Chemical Corporation, at New Castle, Pa.—were also listed officially as accidental blasts.

"Of the three plants, only the Trojan Powder Co. was carrying out a Government contract," he explained. Here the explosion occurred in a section of the plant area far removed from where the Government orders were being fabricated. It was plainly the result of negligence.

ENEMY IS CLEVER

He arose from his desk with quick impatience.

"Never underestimate the intelligence of an enemy," he said sharply, jabbing a hard, strong finger in my direction for emphasis. "When you do, he immediately has the advantage.

"Saboteurs waste no energy on needless acts, unproductive from their point of view. Their psychology is to make every blow count.

"We may hate these enemies within our gates, but once we discount their intelligence and potential efficiency, we will begin to lose the force to strike back."

He pointed out that sabotage directed at a nation's industrial preparations for defense may take any of divers forms. He listed 10 for me as follows:

1. Damage to machines or equipment by breakage, manipulation, abrasives, chemicals, or foreign bodies.
2. Destruction of vital machinery, equipment, or buildings, by time bombs, gas explosion, incendiary bombs and devices, or the use of other explosives.
3. Damage to power stations, transmission lines, transfer stations, switchboards or other key points of the power system.
4. Damage to materials either used or being manufactured at the plant, including raw materials and materials being used for processing.
5. Damage to precision tools or technical mechanisms.
6. Damage or delay to finished products at the plant or in transit.
7. Destruction or damage to main arteries of transportation.
8. Theft, damage, or tampering in connection with blueprints, formulas, working models, or other confidential data.
9. Bacterial infection or other pollution of water and foodstuffs for the consumption of employees, or foodstuffs being manufactured on contract.
10. Damage by arson, including undue negligence and the creation of fire hazards.

ASKS COOPERATION

Urging a wide national effort to prevent sabotage, Hoover went on to say:

"All manufacturers of essential material, whether designed for national defense or not, should begin at once to cooperate with the National Government by seeking out and correcting all vulnerable points in their plants.

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation is not in this alone. Every loyal and patriotic American should consider it his duty to cooperate. In the case of manufacturers, they can best assist by setting their own plants in order."

Explaining what is meant by vulnerable points, easily available to the destructive hand of a saboteur, he said:

"Any material, machine equipment, or product of a utility without which a plant cannot operate is considered as a vulnerable point and receive attention."

Industrial executives were urged by the F. B. I. chief to protect themselves against the infiltration of foreign agents into their plants in the guise of employees.

A reasonable supervision of personnel without invasion upon the rights of the individual, will do much to weed out potential spies and saboteurs, he said.

"Right now we are guarding against sabotage," Hoover continued. "We have not reached the stage where we have been forced to fight it. I trust that we never shall, but should a concerted attempt be made to demoralize industry, we know where to look, we know whom to arrest.

"This Nation is in a position to stamp out sabotage as efficiently as a modern physician would check the spread of a disease."

The real danger at the present time is the spread of public hysteria, he said.

"A continued hue and cry about sabotage every time there is a serious industrial accident is bound to have damaging effects on the national morale," he declared.

A WILD RUMOR

As an example of wild rumors which might result in hysteria he cited a report from Maine to the effect that 75 fire extinguishers at a shipyard were found to contain gasoline.

"There was not a single iota of truth in that story," he said. "Foreign agents could not do a better job of scare propaganda than some of our own people are doing.

"A reliable barometer of public hysteria is public reaction in the form of complaints received by public officials. After the series of accidents last week were described as the work of saboteurs, this Bureau received several hundred telephone calls from alarmed persons within a 24-hour period.

URGES COMMON SENSE

"It is not my purpose to lull the public into a sense of security, but a sane and common-sense attitude toward our problem will do more good for the Nation and for defense than unwarranted excitement.

"There is always the chance that false reports of sabotage and the resulting hysteria may inflame morons to committing acts of violence. Wild scares will bog down industry and law enforcement in more ways than one. It is necessary to establish public confidence, not to inspire a fear psychology that will hamstring the work of national security.

"We expect the cooperation of all Americans, but we want no vigilantes. We should be careful not to brand every Tom, Dick, and Harry as a spy, nor every person with a foreign accent as a Nazi or a Communist.

"We cannot afford to alienate our foreign-speaking citizens. This Nation needs their support and loyalty.

"Above all, do not try to become amateur detectives if you are interested in the program of making America secure from 'fifth columnists.' Should you see or hear anything that might indicate espionage or sabotage, do not put on sneakers and try to take matters in your own hands.

"Notify the F. B. I. in your community. Leave the work of protecting America in the hands of the men you pay to do it. Law enforcement is a specialty requiring long training and particular talents. Rely on the intelligence and integrity of your duly appointed agents."

Uncle Sam Largest Landholder In Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER M. PIERCE

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ARTICLE BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Richard L. Neuberger, which was published in the Sunday Oregonian on November 3:

[From the Sunday Oregonian (Portland, Oreg.) of November 3, 1940]

UNCLE SAM LARGEST LANDHOLDER IN OREGON—TITLE TO ALMOST HALF OF STATE HELD BY FEDERAL GROUPS—RANGE LANDS, NATIONAL FORESTS AND PARKS NOT OPEN TO TAXING

(By Richard L. Neuberger)

On the wind-swept afternoon of November 8, 1805, Lewis and Clark reached the sea. As the explorers stood at the mouth of the Columbia and looked out on the tossing Pacific, the Government which they represented took possession of all the land that now makes up the State of Oregon.

That was more than a century and a third ago. Great and stirring events have occurred since then. The entire pattern of American life has changed. An industrial age has replaced an agrarian civilization. Yet 135 years after the flag was first carried across the continent, the Federal Government still owns nearly half the total area of Oregon.

The State consists of 61,188,480 acres of land. Approximately 46 percent of this—27,699,792 acres—is the official property of the United States of America. No single fact looms more prominently in the economic problems confronting Oregon. Gov. Charles A. Sprague has pointed out, "We are trying to sustain our population and carry on a modern State, wide in extent, supplying all the costly services now demanded of a State government, and doing it on the basis of a limited area."

The public lands of Oregon fit into 2 great categories. National forests cover 13,744,997 acres. Almost as many acres, 12,347,544, are in grazing divisions and other range land. These 2 classifications alone comprise an area nearly as large as the country of England.

Americans are invariably incredulous when they hear these figures. Many of them think land ownership by the National Government is confined to the local courthouse and the district military post. Yet throughout all the States the Government owns 394,657,721 acres of land. This is 38 times the size of Switzerland and 5 times as large as Italy.

FIFTH: OREGON NEAR TOP IN OWNERSHIP LIST

Oregon ranks fifth among the States of the Union in respect to the proportion of its territory owned by the United States Government. Here are the 12 leading States in which Uncle Sam is the main real-estate owner, with the percentage of each belonging to the Federal Government:

	Percent
Nevada	82
Arizona	63
Utah	60
Idaho	58
Oregon	46
Wyoming	42
California	39
New Mexico	35
Montana	34
Colorado	33
Washington	32
South Dakota	16

What is the composition of the Oregon public domain of today, of the vast area of land still owned by the National Government? Here is a break-down of the main parts:

	Acres
National forests	13,744,997
Grazing divisions and range land	12,347,544
Indian reservations	1,973,121
National parks	160,934
Wildlife refuges	159,367
Farm-security tracts	113,625
Military reservations	23,228

This is somewhat in excess of the total figure, because the range land overlaps several of the other types. In the State of Oregon now 33,488,000 acres are in private hands. This area must carry the tax load for the whole State. Whether any large additional segments of the public domain ever will become privately owned is a moot question. In recent years comparatively few inroads have been made on the great expanse of Government lands.

ROOSEVELT FAVORS ACTION ON WEST'S OPEN SPACES

As long ago as 1920, when he visited the Pacific Northwest as a candidate for Vice President, Franklin D. Roosevelt urged that more of the region's area be brought into production. And in 1938, when he traveled across Nevada, practically all of which is owned by the Federal Government, Mr. Roosevelt said there was too much vacant space in the far West and that the American people should do something about the problem.

The Post Office Department is the Government bureau with which we come into contact most frequently. Yet how many acres does the Post Office Department own in Oregon? The answer is 15. The Coast Guard, for example, owns more than twice as much as this, 37 acres. The Veterans' Administration owns 480.

Scarcely anyone knows much about the sprawling, lonely grazing lands administered by the Department of the Interior, yet these cover more than a fifth of Oregon's surface. Practically the entire expanse of southeastern Oregon is a mighty grazing district. Here and there towns like Burns and Ontario are located. At other places Alvord ranch and Whitehorse ranch and similar big farms pock the domain. But these are exceptions rather than the rule. Uncle Sam owns most of the range land on the sunrise side of the Cascades.

States cannot tax instrumentalities or property of the United States Government, so Oregon's public domain pays no taxes. This does not mean, however, that the Government lands contribute absolutely nothing to the treasury. The Forest Service sells ripe timber and allows some grazing. A fourth of this revenue goes to the school and road funds of the county in which the national forest is located. Last year, for example, Grant County received $49,500 from this source. During the last two decades Wallowa County has collected an average of $10,636 annually.

State and local governments constantly seek additional revenue from the public domain. A few months ago Senator MCNARY declared that a new system of taxation should be considered for the public-land States in the West. A prominent Democrat, Congressman J. W. ROBINSON, of Utah, has introduced legislation requiring that national parks, too, be required to return 25 percent of their income to the States involved.

The grazing division charges various fees, depending on the number of head of stock and the quality of the range. A considerable portion of this is spent in improving the forage. Last year, in Oregon, fees for grazing helped provide for rodent and pest control and made possible the checking of erosion. The Department of the Interior has just refunded to the States of the far West $400,000 as their share of the grazing revenue. Another $400,000 will be used, he pointed out, for work on the various ranges.

TAYLOR GRAZING ACT RETURNS CONTROL TO GOVERNED

How are the grazing divisions administered? In 1934 Congress passed the Taylor Act, which wrested control of a large part of Oregon from Government bureaus and returned it to the governed. A grazing district ordinarily comprises several counties. Each district has an advisory board of about 12 members, consisting of sheepmen and cattlemen. These members are named at regular elections, in which all users of the range are entitled to participate.

So that the deer and antelope get an even break with sheep and cattle, every board also has one wildlife representative. This representative is appointed by Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, upon the recommendation of the State game commission. Stockmen, who years ago hauled down their rifles to fight for range rights and priority at water holes, now settle their problems and disputes around the conference table. The greater portion of eastern and central Oregon is managed in this fashion.

This immense range area covers the far-western States like a vast quilt. It extends from the Continental Divide to the crest of the Cascades in Oregon and to the top of the Sierras in California. On it graze one-half the sheep and one-sixth of the cattle of the United States. A report drafted 4 years ago by Lyle F. Watts, now regional forester in the Pacific Northwest, pointed out that lack of adequate rainfall doomed a large portion of this territory to permanent status as a property of the Government. Some of the range is in private hands, but this is the part served by the rare supplies of water.

Water is the principal ingredient in any potential economic use of the grazing lands of Oregon's "high desert." Now, they are available only for scattered forage. "Precipitation in the range country," pointed out the Federal survey of 1936, "averages less than one-third that of the Middle West and East. One to four drought years out of ten characterize practically all of the range area. Low precipitation makes water the limiting factor in nearly all western development."

WATER HOLES MAKE FEW BIG RANCHES POSSIBLE

If deep, swift rivers coursed through eastern Oregon, then this State might be in the same position as Iowa or Kansas or Indiana. In those States less than 1 percent of the total area is owned by the National Government. Farmers have grabbed off all the soil and planted corn, wheat, and other staples. But Oregon's high plateau is as arid as Mongolia. Scattered water holes make a few big ranches possible. Occasionally there is a town. By and large, it is predominantly sheep and cattle country.

The vast grazing area of Oregon is managed from Burns. Smaller offices are at Vale, Baker, Lakeview, and at Jordan Valley over in the Steens region. This year the grazing districts provided fodder for 156,671 cattle, 345,372 sheep, and 11,954 horses. That much, at least, the sweeping public domain of the State has done for the economic structure of the Commonwealth. It must not be forgotten that if the Federal real estate in Oregon paid taxes at the prevailing local rates, the sum would amount to $2,332,678.

Most valuable of all the Government land in Oregon are the more than 13,000,000 acres in national forests. These dense woodlands are valued at $33,304,694. Only one State, California, has public forests worth more than this. A chain of national forests extends like a green counterpane through Oregon from Portland to the California line. These follow the Cascade mountains. They are the Mount Hood, Willamette, Deschutes, Umpqua, Rogue River, and Fremont National Forests.

FOREST INCLUDES EARLY LAND GRANTS

In the extreme southwestern corner of the State, where the headlands of Curry County encounter the Pacific's breakers, is the Siskiyou National Forest. Halfway up the coastline the Siuslaw Forest is almost athwart Coos Bay. This particular forest includes a considerable portion of the old Oregon and California land grants, which have not been revested in the Federal Government. The Ochoco, Malheur, Whitman, and Umatilla Forests are near the central part of the State. The Wallows National Forest rims Oregon in the northeast, above the great abyss of the Snake River Canyon.

All this comprises an expansive public domain. The Government announces that it is worth $135,706,885. The Oregon Voter maintains that the inclusion of other Federal properties, which should be included in the list, would raise this valuation by nearly $20,000,000. Oregon has only one national park, Crater Lake. It is not particularly large as national parks go, being about one-fifth the size of the new Olympic Peninsula Park in the State of Washington.

FORESTS, RESULT OF MOVEMENT TOWARD CONSERVATION

What will be the future of that huge part of its land now held by the Federal Government? National forests are here to stay. They are the result of the irresistible conservation movement started under Gifford Pinchot, when he was the first Chief Forester of the United States. Men and women throughout the country demanded that the Nation's remaining timber reserves be protected by the Government. Oregon has vast forest resources. These will undoubtedly remain under the aegis of the United States Forest Service.

Perhaps here and there the public domain can be nicked. It will have to be done, according to the National Resources Committee, through such development tasks as irrigation, drainage, reclamation, and clearing. Of the limitless lands of the Pacific Northwest, Maj. R. F. Bessey points out that only 10 percent of the total produces crops. Major Bessey believes that an extra 10,000,000 acres of potential cropland can probably be added throughout the region, under proper development and conservation practices.

Homesteading in Oregon is practically at an end, says Fred W. Johnson, General Land Commissioner of the United States. Only rarely does the General Land Office permit a settler to stake out a claim on the public domain. The Government does not want families settling on submarginal acreage and then being compelled to give up the ghost. That is why the bulk of new colonization in the Columbia Basin undoubtedly will be through irrigation, clearing, and other such activities. The era of the free land is virtually gone.

LANDS DISPOSED OF IN MANY WAYS

With almost half of the State permanently—or for a long period, at best—outside the tax amphitheater, planning officials contend that the solution for Oregon is wiser and more intensive use of the resources which can be put to immediate economic use. Completion of the Willamette Valley project would make possible much more intensive and successful cultivation of that agricultural treasure-trove. New industries buying Bonneville power will help compensate for the dead weight of the sagebrush country.

In countless ways, some wise, some foolish, some honest, some corrupt, the National Government has disposed of the public domain. Brave men homesteaded it and dishonest men looted it. Railroads got enormous land grants. Returning soldiers and heroic explorers were given rich sections. Famous episodes in American history are the race for public lands, the frantic dash to strike it rich. The intrepid souls who crossed the plains in covered wagons sought gold in California, but in Oregon their goal was—land.

But still almost half of Oregon continues in the possession of the National Government. So far as the forests are concerned, this may some day be the source of the State's strength. Now, especially in view of the taxless open spaces in eastern Oregon, it is a source of financial weakness. Development of the rest of Oregon may compensate for this. "Since the achievement of our independence," said Patrick Henry, "he is the greatest patriot who stops the most gullies."

Development of the Farmers' Wheat Program in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. HOOK

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS BY R. M. EVANS, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by R. M. Evans, Administrator, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, before the annual meeting of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, Regina, Saskatchewan, Saturday, November 9, 1940:

My last visit to Canada was in 1938 when I had the privilege of speaking before a wheat conference at Winnipeg. At that time we in the United States had just begun our new wheat program and I was asked to describe its provisions and objectives. Nearly 2 years have passed since that time and I now appreciate the opportunity to give you a report on the progress our farmers have made.

You here in Canada are as familiar as we are with the problem wheat farmers have been up against these last 2 years—the problem which they are still up against today. We have seen our world markets drop off one by one. We have all seen how the spread of dictatorship has choked off much of the free wheat trade that was left. The dictators have black-balled us and all other democracies from their high-handed trading societies, and as free people we can never afford the price they demand from people who join. The result is we have wheat to sell by the millions of bushels and only limited markets in which to sell it.

This is the problem our new program has been up against. And I am proud to report that the program and the farmers who translated it into action are successfully making the grade. I should like to point out that in referring to our "new" program, I mean the farm program developed under the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 which became fully operative for wheat with the 1939 crop. We had a wheat program in 1934 and 1935, but the Supreme Court decision of 1936 left wheat farmers without a specific program until the present one began.

In 2 years when the world wheat situation was the worst in history our wheat farmers held the United States price of wheat well above the world level. They improved their incomes. They established an ever-normal granary for wheat. They have more wheat than the Nation can sell on the present world market, but they are using the program to hold this wheat as a reserve supply in an orderly manner.

Briefly, that is the record of the last 2 years. Our goal is still ahead of us, but we have come a long way, and our farmers are rallying to the program today as never before, in order to safeguard their gains and continue progress toward agricultural security. For the Triple A program as a whole, more than 6,000,000 farmers, operating 82 percent of the cropland of the United States, cooperated in 1940.

I realize the loss of export markets has created much more of a surplus problem for you in Canada than it has for us. I appreciate the opportunity I am having on this visit, to learn what you have done and what you are planning to do to meet your problem. I am also glad to be able to tell you of our experiences in case you can profit by them.

Our program was developed through long, hard years, and if there is any part of it or any idea embodied in it that you can use in the solution of your problem we hope you will. If you have use for any technical data on our program our Department of Agriculture is open to you.

We reserve only the privilege of adopting any good ideas you work out. That's why we will be watching your experience with interest.

Over a number of years, step by step, we have built a sound and comprehensive program. Included in it is what we learned about the folly of price stabilization without acreage control. In it is what we learned about the dangers of acreage control without an ever-normal granary. And in it is what we learned about the shortcomings of a conservation program without effective acreage controls.

Each of those lessons we learned added to our education. That is why our program today is a combination of acreage allotments, storage loans, crop insurance, export assistance, marketing quotas, and soil-building practices.

I want to discuss with you today our experience with these measures during the last 2 years. First, the acreage allotment. The acreage allotment is a basic measure in our wheat program. Each farmer's allotment represents his proportionate share in the national allotment. Therefore, by complying with the program, each

farmer shares in adjusting wheat production up or down as the Nation's needs and markets justify.

The year 1939 is a good example of how the allotment works. We had a large surplus from the 2 previous years when we had no acreage program. The 1939 national allotment was 55,000,000 acres, the minimum permitted under the law.

Here is what wheat farmers did when they had their first opportunity to cooperate nationally in adjusting acreage. They reduced their wheat seedings from 80,000,000 acres in 1938 to 64,000,000 in 1939. That's more wheat acreage than the allotment called for, but the reduction was the greatest United States farmers had ever made in a single year.

Because of the adjustment in 1939 and the healthier supply situation, it was possible for us to increase our national allotment from the 55,000,000 to 62,000,000 acres for 1940. Once more a high percentage of our wheat farmers cooperated with the program and seeded 64,000,000 acres.

You and I will agree that such compliance is a remarkable record of cooperation, considering the world situation at seeding time. War was spreading over Europe, and many farmers remembered the high prices at the close of the last war. They had dreams of new profits in wartime wheat markets, and such dreams, no matter if they were fantastic, might have been expected to make large numbers of farmers forsake their program. This did not happen. Farmer committeemen were at work in every State, county, and community, bringing the facts to their fellow farmers, who then had opportunity to study the world wheat situation and its relationship to the war. Wheat farmers decided to stick with their program, and subsequent developments show the wisdom of their decision.

Our 1941 allotment has already been announced, with no change from the 62,000,000-acre allotment of 1940. Early reports from the winter-wheat areas indicate that a large majority of our farmers are cooperating with the program for the third consecutive year.

Compliance with the acreage allotment is strictly voluntary. Usually this adjustment measure will take care of the normal situation. But there may be times when the voluntary adjustment isn't enough. Our yield might be well above normal, or our markets might suddenly shrink below average. In cases of that kind, in spite of allotments, we could end up with a surplus of wheat—more than we could sell and more than we could store efficiently.

Under such conditions we would call into use the marketing-quota provisions of the programs. First, the farmers have their say in a referendum. If they approve the quota by a two-thirds majority, they impose a quota on all wheat marketings. This marketing quota makes allowance for all possible wheat requirements, and gives each farmer, whether he is a program cooperator or not, a proportionate share in the total market. Excess marketings over the quota are penalized. But at the same time the quota safeguards the price by holding the surplus wheat off the market. The farmer's quota for wheat would be the actual production or normal production, whichever is larger, of his acreage allotment. For example, if quotas were in effect, a farmer who had an allotment of 200 acres and produced at least a normal yield of wheat on 220 acres would need to hold back the production of 20 acres or would be required to pay a penalty of 15 cents a bushel on each excess bushel marketed.

The quota hasn't been necessary yet for wheat, but cotton and tobacco farmers are using the measure very successfully as an income protection.

As you know, farmers who comply with the acreage allotment earn payments. These payments are made in two parts—a conservation payment and a parity payment. The conservation payment is made to help the farmer shift unnecessary wheat acreage from wasteful overproduction to soil-conserving crops. The parity payment is made specifically for the purpose of bringing the farmer's income nearer prewar parity of 1910–14.

The 1939 wheat payments amounted to 28 cents a bushel on the normal yield of the acreage allotment. For 1940 the rate was 18 cents. These payments, which have been important contributions to the wheat farmer's income, represent the Nation's interest in the conservation and improvement of our agricultural resources. They are a recognition that we cannot have general prosperity without agricultural prosperity.

I want to point out, in this connection, that the wheat farmer helps conserve and build up his land in two ways. I have already told about the adjustment of such soil-depleting crops as wheat. Our farmers and our Government believe that using land to produce surpluses that nobody wants is just plain waste of soil fertility. Instead, our farmers are using that land for soil-conserving crops. They are carrying out soil-building practices as a means of returning fertility to the soil and of preventing the loss of national wealth through soil erosion. That rounds out a sound conservation program.

Our farmers, by using the acreage allotment, have gone a long way toward easing a surplus problem which, because of world events, is steadily growing more threatening. There has been another measure which has helped hold down the surplus and which has helped the United States farmer fight for a part of the world market. That is the export program.

Assistance in moving export wheat is not new with us. A number of countries have used or are using this method on a variety of commodities. However, as I said at Winnipeg 2 years ago, it has been the hope of our people that governmental financing of exports is a temporary measure. We expect to use it only so long as is necessary to maintain for the United States a fair share of the world wheat trade. We continue to hope that some way will be found to bring about sufficient improvement in the world wheat situation so that financing of exports will no longer be necessary either by the United States or by other surplus-wheat countries.

Our most active year for the export program was 1938–39. That was at the time when the acreage allotment, the wheat loan, and the other program measures were just going into operation, and before their full effect could be felt. We sold approximately 118,000,000 bushels of wheat and flour abroad that year, and approximately 94,000,000 bushels were sold with the help of our export program.

That export business brought us close to our goal of filling about a fifth of the world requirements. At the same time our export operation—working with the other measures in the wheat program—helped lighten our surplus and lifted our price above the world level.

From July 1, 1939, on through the next marketing year, world conditions, as you know, were changing rapidly, and we adopted a much more cautious export policy. Altogether, we assisted in the export of only 35,000,000 bushels during that year. But as we face the future, the fact remains that the United States, like Canada, has a wheat plant geared to produce more wheat than can be sold at home.

We have adjusted our acreage until now our wheat plant is operating on from 62,000,000 to 64,000,000 acres. That acreage will permit us to carry out the crop rotation and conservation practices we need to protect our soil. That acreage gives us the volume necessary to maintain our present system of farming.

There may be years when we will have to reduce below that level. But year in and year out we can't go much lower without requiring far-reaching changes in our farming operations. As a result, the United States will continue to need export markets as well as home markets.

That makes ours a joint problem with Canada's and unless the wheat producers of the world—and also the wheat importers—can get together and agree on a free and reasonable wheat trade, we will continue to face the question of assisting exports and the problem of adjustment. It is my firm conviction that the three great wheat-producing countries of the Western Hemisphere, together with Australia, must look forward to some form of international wheat agreement before our world wheat situation can continue on a sound basis. Such an agreement, as I see it, is our solution. It is our most promising hope for reconstructing a stable world trade in wheat, and it is something we should look forward to accomplishing when the war ends.

The measures I have talked about so far deal with surplus removal through the use of production adjustment and an export program. Our program doesn't stop there. A number of measures recognize the fact that we must carry larger reserves today than we have in the past. This is a protection both to the consumer and the farmer. We call these measures our ever-normal granary because they provide a way to hold the reserves from our good years for use in the poor years. In other words, our farmers have the machinery to keep from being swamped by surplus or bankrupted by crop failure.

The wheat-storage loan is an effective measure in the ever-normal granary program. First of all, the loans are putting a bottom under our wheat price. Second, the loans enable farmers to hold a part of their wheat off the market until it can be sold in a more orderly manner.

Our first wheat loan, offered in 1938, was slow to get under way because of our lack of experience, but before the season was over, approximately 73,000 loans were made on about 86,000,000 bushels of wheat. Farmers borrowed at an average rate of 53 cents a bushel.

The loans on about 70,000,000 bushels were repaid. The remaining 16,000,000 bushels were delivered to the Government, and that, I might add, is something the borrower may always do if he desires. The entire program cost only five and one-half million dollars. Considering the fact that thousands of farmers benefited from a price support of several times that amount, I say we made a good investment.

In 1939 a new loan carrying some increases in rates was offered, and about 237,000 loans were made on nearly 168,000,000 bushels. This more than tripled the number of loans and about doubled the number of bushels stored in 1938. The loan values to producers averaged about 63 cents a bushel.

By June 30, 1940, borrowers had paid off loans on 156,000,000 bushels. They resealed about 10,000,000 bushels under a 1-year loan extension. This leaves less than 2,000,000 bushels, delivered to the Government, and the interest collected more than offset the cost on these loans. Incidentally, under our loan programs, the interest rate has been reduced to 3 percent, the lowest United States farmers have ever had.

I have told you how our 1939 loan greatly exceeded records of the previous year. But what did the program mean to the individual farmer?

Go back to July and August 1939, when our farmer was harvesting his wheat. The average United States farm price was 55 cents. That is what our farmer would have gotten for his wheat on the market—55 cents. Instead—if he were cooperating in the farm program—he could take out a Government loan averaging 63 cents. He was better off right there than he would have been without a program. But see what happened.

Between harvest time and the first of the year, wheat prices went up on an average of 30 cents a bushel. The price stayed at that level—or went higher—until after the expiration of the loan on April 30, 1940. In other words, our farmer who took out a loan was able to sell his wheat for 85 cents instead of 55 cents. Deducting 10 cents a bushel to cover interest and storage charges, our farmer made a net profit of 20 cents a bushel, a direct result of the Gov-

ernment loans. And the 55 cents we got in July and August was about 30 cents above the world market, held at that level by means of the loan and export programs. So, in addition to bringing a profit to those who received loans, the wheat program has been instrumental in benefiting all wheat growers to the tune of 30 cents a bushel over world markets.

Now, this farmer who was cooperating with the acreage allotment earned payments of 28 cents a bushel on his normal yield. Add 28 to 75 and you get more than a dollar a bushel. That's what the program brought this farmer for his 1939 wheat.

Right now the third wheat-loan program is in operation, and more wheat already has been stored than in both the previous years combined. Up to October 29, about 373,000 loans had been made on 237,000,000 bushels, and we will be making loans until the first of the year.

Of course, we have no assurance that the 1940 loan will enable farmers to make a profit as large as they did on their 1939 wheat. But this we do know: the loan plus the program payments assure the wheat farmer, on the average, a return of at least 81 cents a bushel at the farm, regardless of market prices.

These facts demonstrate that the wheat loan is protecting the grower's income. It is giving him a new freedom and security.

Our ever-normal-granary program has another important phase, and that is wheat-crop insurance. Crop insurance is just what the name says: Insurance against loss from all such hazards as drought, hail, wind, fire, insects, and the like. It insures yield only and not price. For that reason all business is transacted in terms of wheat—premiums, reserve, and indemnities.

The 1939 crop was the first under the crop-insurance program. That year nearly 166,000 United States wheat growers put their drills in the ground knowing that no matter what happened they would get either 50 or 75 percent of their average harvest, depending upon the type of insurance policy they had.

And when the harvest was over, about one-third of them had collected approximately 10,000,000 bushels in indemnities.

In 1940 more than twice as many growers, or nearly 380,000, insured their wheat production. By paying 15,000,000 bushels in premiums they insured approximately 11,000,000 acres and guaranteed themselves a production estimated at more than 106,000,000 bushels. We don't know yet what all the losses will amount to, but up to the middle of October approximately 90,000 claims had been made, and about 19,000,000 bushels of indemnities paid.

The fact that we paid out more indemnities than we collected in premiums is largely the result of the spotted losses and the fact that losses have been greater than normal since the program began. We had a lot of our insurance business on our southern Great Plains, where so much wheat dried out last winter. But this experience and the experience we are having each year is helping us shape a better program with more accurate rates for the future.

This fall an increasing number of our winter-wheat farmers took out insurance for 1941. They are enjoying a peace of mind wheat farmers have never before experienced.

I have given you the high lights of the experience we have had with the principal measures in our wheat program during the last 2 years. The fact that these measures have enabled our wheat farmers to protect themselves from the worst effects of the world wheat situation is testimony to their effectiveness.

Now, as the wheat farmers of the United States face the future, the prospect of limited opportunities in the world market continues to confront them. There is little to encourage confidence that the days of the free and expanding wheat markets will return. Before they do, our farmers may find it necessary to make still further adjustments, and they may find it increasingly necessary to cushion the effects of world developments. If this should be necessary, they have a program to do the job. It is a voluntary program, run by farmers themselves.

That very democracy of operation—that farmer leadership springing from the thousands of communities all over our land—is the key to the success of the program. The Nation, through Congress, gave agriculture the power to solve its problems, but the job of making that program work is in the hands of the farmers.

Each year the cooperators in each of the Nation's more than 24,000 agricultural communities hold election meetings. They pick their own community committees, and at the same time pick delegates who will help elect the county committees in more than 3,000 counties. Altogether there are more than 135,000 community and county committeemen elected by farmers from their own ranks.

These committeemen are the bulwark of our farm-program administration. Their suggestions, within the bounds of the legislation, go into the making of the programs from year to year. Their work carries the program to the farmers. They are the administrators of the program right on their home grounds among their own neighbors. The program has come through the severe tests of the last 2 years, and it will continue to furnish farmers a democratic solution of their problems.

The wheat growers of both Canada and the United States are facing the same problems. These are problems that must be solved on two fronts. We can move against them on our home fronts as we have done in the United States and as you are doing in Canada. But to get well-founded and lasting prosperity for our wheat farmers we must also move against those problems on the international front. There is no place that this job can better be started than on the two sides of the longest unfortified international boundary in the world—started by two of the world's greatest agricultural democracies. I am confident that the farmers of North America are ready to provide the world leadership for this great task.

Alien Registration and the Pole

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUDOLPH G. TENEROWICZ
OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. RUDOLPH G. TENEROWICZ, OF MICHIGAN

Mr. TENEROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include my address to the Polish people of the United States in regard to the Alien Registration Act, made at the request of the Alien Registration Division of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, I speak to you today in a spirit of humbleness and deep humility, for I have been asked by the Federal Government to aid in the program of national defense.

It has been ever thus: The Pole, national defense, and a deep love of the common American heritage have been interwoven since the dawn of American civilization.

I speak today knowing full well that the spirit of Kosciuszko, of Pulaski, and of Krzyzanowski guide my every utterance.

My words are directed to those of Polish birth who are not yet American citizens, but Poles throughout the country, citizen and alien, may well listen to this story. The words are mine, but the deeds are those of brave Polish men and women who overcame every imaginable obstacle to attain that most cherished possession, liberty. Liberty in a new world—free from the strife and hatreds of the old. Liberty under the flag that protects us all.

The Congress directed several months ago that all noncitizens in the United States should register with the Government under the Alien Registration Act of 1940. We saw the fires burning in the Old World—we heard tales of a "fifth column," of treason in high places and in low. To protect the alien as well as the country, we acted. You Poles who are not citizens have nothing to fear—nothing to hide. Your host, the Federal Government, merely wants you to register as a guest. We want to protect you.

You who have become American citizens know this story; you who do not, listen, listen to tale of the Pole and America; listen and be proud, be humble for throughout her history the American and the Polish ideal has been one and the same—the democratic way—the way of a free people. Poles have always known the meaning of freedom, for it has so often been denied them, even as it is now being denied them in their homeland.

Polish citizens and Polish aliens, come with me for a moment back through the pages of history, back to Jamestown, Va., in 1607, where Capt. John Smith was trying to build a colony.

Included in this group of colonists were a few Poles, skilled in the art of making pitch, tar, and soap. Naturally, since they were a persecuted people, they fought for freedom. At Jamestown, they worked hard, harder perhaps than any other group, but though they labored, they were denied a full measure of liberty. This small group, imbued with the spirit of Americanism even then, protested.

"We have decided, Captain Smith," they declared, "if we are good enough to work we are good enough to vote."

Smith took the matter to officials of the Virginia company in London. On July 13, 1719, the company ruled, "Upon some dispute of the Polonian residents in Virginia it is now agreed that they shall be enfranchised and made as free as any inhabitants there whatsoever.

A few years later Poles settled in New Amsterdam. They became farmers and helped the Netherlands in their war with the English. They settled with the Swedes along the Delaware, with William Penn in Pennsylvania, and in all the other colonies.

In 1735 John Anthony Sadowsky founded a trading post where Sandusky, Ohio, now stands.

The American fight for freedom continued, and with it the Pole—already imbued with the American spirit, so like his own—kept steady pace.

Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski, mortally wounded at the siege of Savannah.

Thaddeus Kosciusko, organizer of the defenses of Saratoga, builder of the fortifications at West Point.

Wlodzimierz Krsyzanowsky, refugee from Poland, colonel in the Northern Armies during the War between the States—Gettysburg, Chattanooga, second Bull Run—finally a brigadier general, first Governor of the Territory of Alaska.

Krsyzanowsky, Kosciuszko, and Pulaski—names that will never die as long as American history is read.

Down through the years Polish blood, brains, and brawn have played a part in the building of America, economically and culturally.

The great actress Helena Modjeska, the operatic stars De Reszke and Sembrich; later Josef Hofmann, Leopold Stokowski, and Ignace Jan Paderewski.

In the factory, on the farm—Poles helped the new America onward. From the mines and mills of Pennsylvania and the rocky, stubborn soil of New England they brought forth treasures that made this country great.

Poles have a right to be proud of their contributions to the common cause—you who are citizens as well as you who are not.

The registration program is directed against no group—it was established for the common good.

With this rich heritage of service to America behind you, Poles need fear no discrimination; we are all Americans now.

Registration is no disgrace; as Solicitor General Francis Biddle says: "We should remember that all Americans were at one time or another immigrants from other lands. The genius of many countries, the ancient aspirations of many races, have built into what is America. Unfortunately there are some foreigners who are disloyal to America, who do not wish to accept our ways, and who use our freedom of speech and of the press to foment disunity and sedition.

"These persons we will apprehend, but we will also see to it that loyal American aliens are not unjustly condemned for the disloyal behavior of a few. Our registration will be their protection from persecution."

I urge all Polish noncitizens to comply with the law and register before December 26, and I consider it the duty of citizens of Polish extraction to aid their alien fellows to the best of their ability.

The registration process has been made as simple as possible. In foreign lands registration is required at police stations. Here Uncle Sam merely requests you to go to a post office and fill out a questionnaire which will ask a little of your personal history. Of the 15 questions on the form most of them you have answered many times before in normal applications for jobs, for driver's permits, and for marriage licenses.

A few of the questions are a bit different, having to do with the time of your arrival in this country, the boat you traveled on, your port of entry, and the activities you engage in.

To make the registration process as simple as it can be, the Alien Registration Division has prepared a sample form, which is a duplicate of the official form. You can obtain this sample form at your post office, take it home, study it, examine your personal record or papers, consult with anyone you wish, and fill out the questionnaire in your leisure time. Then take it to the post office and register. Every record will be strictly confidential. No one will be able to examine your record, since it will be on file at the Department of Justice in Washington. For anyone to examine your record permission will have to be granted by the Attorney General of the United States.

You may ask anyone you wish for assistance. Do not, however, pay anyone a fee for helping you register. There is absolutely no charge. Let me make that perfectly clear. There is no charge of any kind for registering or fingerprinting.

If you need help in answering the question, any social agency will gladly assist you or direct you to the proper information service. The postmaster at your post office will also help you. If you cannot speak English well enough, when you go to the post office take along an interpreter—a member of your family or a friend who knows you and can speak English.

The postmaster will take the form you have filled out at home and ask you to affirm the truth of the answers, then he will fingerprint you, and you will have fully complied with the law.

I would not be honest with you or with myself if I gave you the impression that registration was entirely voluntary. The Alien Registration Act of 1940 is compulsory. Stiff penalties are provided for those who do not comply.

Those of you who must register should do so before December 26. Failure to register on time will be met by a fine of $1,000 or 6 months in jail.

You must be sure to answer each question honestly, for if you falsify an answer you will be subject to the same penalty.

From reports already made available by the Alien Registration Division I am gratified to tell you that registration for the country as a whole has gone 'way beyond the 1,000,000 mark. Registration in large centers of population, where there are many Polish people, is ahead of expectation. I know that you will continue to cooperate.

Thank you.

Superhighways Are Important to National Welfare—Pennsylvania Turnpike Proves Practicability of Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege for several years to sponsor superhighway legislation and to advocate, through public addresses and committee work, the establishment of a system of superhighways in this country.

At this point I include a letter received from Hon. Walter A. Jones, until very recently chairman of the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission. Mr. Jones is still a member of the commission.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 25, 1940.*

Hon. JENNING RANDOLPH,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Knowing of your interest in superhighways and having had several conversations with you on the subject, I thought you would like to know the results of actual operation of the Pennsylvania superhighway, known as the Pennsylvania Turnpike, from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh. This highway was opened on October 1 without fanfare or advertisement. We merely took down the barriers and told the public they could go ahead. The traffic is exceeding all expectations and studies. For instance, for the first 20 days of operation our cash receipts were $163,085.71. This amount is more than double our requirements for amortization, interest, et cetera.

The answer is what I have always contended—that the motorist will pay for superhighways where the barriers and danger of grade crossings are removed.

I am very certain that if Mr. CARTWRIGHT's Roads Committee would originate and put through Congress a bill setting up a Federal road authority, as I outlined in my statements to the committee, a great system of national superhighways could be built without any appropriation on the part of the Federal Government. The public would absorb the bonds, which bonds would be no obligation of the Government.

Enclosed is a copy of my statements to your committee.

With kindest regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

WALTER A. JONES.

I also desire to include the following newspaper dispatch:

PENNSYLVANIA TURNPIKE RECEIPTS TOP ESTIMATES

HARRISBURG, PA., November 8.—Tolls paid by 197,164 motorists on the Harrisburg-Pittsburgh turnpike during the first 3 weeks of operation amounted to $168,087—topping traffic engineers' original estimates by about $12,000, the commission reports.

An average of 9,390 vehicles traveled the express highway daily since it was opened October 1. The average toll was 86 cents.

Mr. Speaker, hearings were held on the subject of superhighways before the House Roads Committee, of which I am a member, and I hope Members and others interested will secure a copy of that hearing. I also trust many persons will study the statement made before the House Roads Committee on June 11, 1940. This testimony is a part of the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and is found on pages 4215, 4216, 4217.

A few days ago the American Automobile Association met in Washington. Much discussion was given to the superhighway subject, and I believe we are coming nearer to the time when a system of these needed roads will be built and operated in the United States.

Neutrality of Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN J. FRAZIER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS BY MARTIN CONBOY

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Martin Conboy on Sunday, November 10, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, before the convention of the A. A. R. I. R., on the subject of the neutrality of Ireland.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Irish World (New York) of November 16, 1940]

The holding of this convention at this particular time provides a much-needed occasion to direct attention to a fact of which we need to be reminded. Ireland is an independent, sovereign state. It is unnecessary to rehearse the history of how she achieved that posi-

tion. The fact is that she is a state, sovereign and independent. In this past week there have been certain utterances which seem to lose sight of that fact. Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, speaking to the House of Commons on last Tuesday, expressed regret that his country could not use the south and west coasts of Ireland to refuel flotillas and aircraft. The reason for his regret is plain. Such use of the Irish coast can only be made if Ireland joins Britain in the war, and Ireland has determined to remain neutral.

The determination of whether a sovereign and independent state shall remain neutral is a matter for that state and no one else to decide. Since Ireland has decided to remain neutral, the only possibility of the use of the Irish coasts by Britain would be forceful occupation and that is an act of war.

On Thursday Mr. de Valera, Prime Minister of Ireland, asserted that there was no question of handing over the ports "so long as this state remains neutral."

The decision of Ireland to remain neutral is a decision that was made years before the present conflict, and was recognized and accepted by England at the time of the cession of the south and west coast ports.

In proof of this statement I read from an article appearing in the New York Times of this very day:

"Six years ago, before Britain had even considered the question of vacating the occupied ports of Cobh, Berehaven, and Lough Swilly, Mr. de Valera, in an interview published in the United States, emphasized that he would be strongly opposed to involving this country in any European war, but he declared he would utilize all the resources of the state to frustrate any attempt to use Irish territory as a base of attack against Britain.

"That is the policy Mr. de Valera is pursuing today with the support of a united country.

"It is recalled here now that former Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's administration at London handed back the ports to Ireland under the agreement of April 1938, well aware of what the Irish Government's attitude would be in the event of war. Mr. Churchill, who strongly opposed the agreement, told the House of Commons then that Ireland would be neutral in a war, but the Commons ratified the agreement, as also did the Irish people in a subsequent general election."

The responsibility for what happens in the Irish ports is Ireland's and no one else's, and while she chooses to remain neutral, neither belligerent may use them. If either belligerent tries to make use of the ports, the attempt constitutes an act of war, and Ireland will have to defend herself against any violent breach of that neutrality. As Prime Minister de Valera said, with deliberation, "Any attempt to bring pressure to bear on us by any of the belligerents—by Britain—would only lead to bloodshed."

The right to choose between war and neutrality rests upon the fundamental principle that a people cannot properly be denied the free expression of its will, since that would be a refusal to recognize its sovereignty and independence. The question is not whether the act of a people conforms to the wishes of other people. It isn't even a question of whether the decision taken is wise or unwise in the interest of those who make it. The all-important matter is that they are eternally justified in invoking their independence and assuming the consequences.

It cannot be said of Ireland that she has yielded one jot of her independence in making her decision. Neither can it be said that she has foregone the observance of any of the evidences of independence. She has kept her representatives in London, and has kept them also in Rome and Berlin. There are official representatives of England, of Italy, and of Germany in her own capital city. In this her position is the same as our own, reflecting the reality of her independence as it reflects ours.

There is no room for doubt that Ireland's decision to take no part in the war is a clear expression of independent purpose fully endorsed by the Irish people. If we wanted better assurance on that point, we might find it in the comment of the Irish Times, which "deprecate(s) the loose talk concerning Ireland which occasionally creeps into the proceedings of the British Parliament." "The people," it continues, "have endorsed the neutrality pursued by the Irish Government and are prepared to abide by it."

A few years ago the Irish Times was the principal, indeed the authoritative, exponent of resistance to every claim of the Irish people to the right of self-government. It is still the recognized organ of the opinion of those formerly of that persuasion who have remained in Ireland and who take their full part in the public and private life of their country. And it is the Irish Times that informs the world that the policy of neutrality is endorsed by the people of Ireland of all shades of political belief.

What it all comes down to is the simple question, Who has the right to say whether Ireland shall be neutral or shall go to war?

To such a question there can be only one answer. Only Ireland has that right. It has the same right that every nation has which has the same fateful decision to make. It is a right, as applied to peoples not at war, entirely outside the desires of interested belligerents.

Moreover, the right to decide for itself is not measured by the size of the nation that has to make the decision. It is as absolute for the 4,000,000 people in Ireland as for the 130,000,000 in the United States. A people who choose to stay out of war can be brought into war only by force, and force is the supreme denial of the right of the nation against which it is applied.

We may take it from the complaint about "loose talk," coming from the Irish Times, not only that the policy of neutrality has been endorsed by the whole people, but that it has been acted upon in good faith. Had the fact been otherwise, had the policy of neutrality been vitiated by acts unfriendly to England, these stanch friends of England in Ireland would have been the first to complain. Had there been acts of hostility toward the other belligerent, reprisals would have been expected.

What, however, may well be regarded with anxious interest is the fact that for months past there has been evidence of a deliberate intention to deceive the people of the United States on this matter of Ireland's good faith. The rumor was circulated months ago, and continued to be printed despite every denial, that German submarines were being supplied with fuel and victuals on the west coast of Ireland. When the story first appeared it was met by a flat denial by the Government of Ireland, accompanied by a statement of the immense amount being expended in the organization of a force to prevent any such thing.

In the statement he made in the Dail on Thursday, November 7, Mr. De Valera had something to say on that subject. This is what he said:

"It is a lie to say that German submarines, or any other submarines, are being supplied with fuel or provisions on our coasts. A most extensive system of coast observation has been established here since the war. I say it is a lie, and I say further that it is known to be a falsehood by the British Government itself."

And yet we find in the New York World-Telegram, in its editorial comment of Friday, November 8, the observation that Ireland "has not even the facilities to forbid the use of her western harbors as nests from which U-boats may spring at British convoys." And it adds, "Whether or not Irish waters are being used by U-boats up to now, certainly the subs are beginning to take terrible toll along British lifelines."

Mr. de Valera says it is a lie and that the British Government knows it to be a lie. We here know that Mr. de Valera is not a liar. Then for what purpose, may we not reasonably ask, is the lie still given currency in the newspapers of the United States?

If the purpose is to discredit Ireland's good faith, in preparation for something else, it is significant to note that the lie about the submarines is not the only one of its kind. Similar circulation was given some time ago to statements about the excessive size of the German Legation in Dublin and about the alleged activities of its staff.

The fact is that the personnel of the German Legation in Dublin, as shown by a dispatch to the New York Times on July 18, consisted of 6 people, the Italian Legation of 5, the United States Legation of 9, and the British Diplomatic Establishment of 13. The following is an extract from a dispatch from the Dublin correspondent of the London Times dated the 17th of July:

"Many wild statements have been made in Great Britain about the size and influence of the German Legation in Dublin. Actually it has not more than half a dozen men, with two or three women typists. Its behavior has been uniformly correct, and the stories of its activities as a vast center of espionage are without foundation. Many of the leading members of the German colony went back to Germany when war broke out. Probably not more than 100 remain in Eire, and the reports of a far-reaching and formidable 'fifth column' in this country may be discounted."

The proposal advocated in some quarters in this country, that the naval bases in Ireland be turned over to the British fleet and air force, is an obvious suggestion to Ireland that she act in bad faith. If Ireland, while neutral, did what is suggested, she could with good warrant be accused of maintaining a sham neutrality.

Ireland has given, through its Prime Minister, the only possible answer to that demand. Let us look a little closer into what are some of the implications of Ireland's neutrality.

For one thing, Ireland has definitely broken with the past in the attitude adopted toward countries with which England is at war. Ireland's history is strewn with the wreckage that followed the landing of armies from Spain and from France. In the times that they came those armies were welcomed with the hope of escape from oppression. For Eire, which has won back her sovereign rights, that motive no longer exists. With one exception, all Ireland's claims have been conceded, and for the 26 counties that constitute the Eire there is no exception. It is plain to any observer that Eire has armed herself with the firm purpose of preventing her territory from being made the back door of an attack on England. Not only does she not, as in other times, invite to her shores the enemies of England, but she has openly prepared to resist them if they invade her territory. She has demanded and received apologies from Germany for bombs dropped on her villages and has interned German fliers lost in her mountains.

To the suggestion that Eire's neutrality should now be broken, for the benefit of England, Mr. de Valera has made the only reply the world has the right to expect from the head of a state that respects its own reputation for good faith and that is consistent with its right to independent action. He said, on last Thursday:

"There can be no question of the handing over of these ports as long as this state remains neutral. There can be no question of leasing these ports. They are ours. They are within our sovereignty, and there can be no question, as long as we remain neutral, of handing them over on any condition whatsoever. Any attempt to bring pressure to bear on us by any side, by any of the belligerents, by Britain, could only lead to bloodshed. Certainly, as long as this Government remains in office we shall defend our rights in regard to these ports against whoever shall attack them."

What degree of success Ireland might have in repelling invasion by either of the most powerful military organizations now existing in the world is beyond our capacity for calculation. What we

do know is that, in keeping her honorable pledge to both, and in her determination to set above all else her independence and her right to freedom of judgment she has sought the means of resistance wherever the necessary arms and munitions could be had, and has trained her adventurous youth to make the best use they can of such arms if the need to employ them shall come upon her.

No one, in this land of the free, can ask more of the spirit of freedom than what is implied in this preparation for defense. What the supply of arms for such a purpose may be there is no way of knowing. It may be far from adequate, although Ireland has sought everywhere to acquire all she could. In the case of the latest instruments of war it may be deplorably so. Even so, the cost to a small nation has been very great. What we do know is that practically the whole manhood of the country has volunteered for the service, and what there can be no doubt about is that the courage of those for whom there are arms will be equal to what is demanded of them in defense of their country's independence.

It does not devolve upon us to say whether in declaring for neutrality Ireland has chosen wisely. What we do insist upon is that it was her right to choose. What the Irish people have decided, in the last resort, is that their territory shall not be made the base of attack by one of the belligerents upon the other, with the disaster to Ireland that would be the inevitable accompaniment of such a contest. If circumstances should supervene which led them to alter that decision, all that is fundamentally important is that the choice should still be freely their own, that it should be the expression of the sovereignty of their own national will, and that it should not be invested with the surrender of any moiety of that independence which thus far has been nobly asserted and defended, in conditions of exceptional difficulty.

It is the present, however, rather than what the future may have in store, that provides the subject of such consideration as we are privilegd to give today to the problems that engage the thought of a people in whose welfare we have an abiding interest.

We might, I think, give to that people, and to Mr. de Valera, who speaks for them, the assurance that we understand by what motives they are guided, that with them we hope for the emergence of Ireland from this time of trial with its promise for the future unimpaired, and that, above all, the right of Ireland to choose its course consistently with its independence, and not otherwise, is as firmly upheld by the freedom-loving people of the United States as it is by the people of Ireland themselves.

In his Thanksgiving proclamation the President of the United States says:

"In a year which has seen calamity and sorrow fall upon many peoples elsewhere in the world, may we give thanks for our preservation."

In that we all join. And we ask why should not the people of Ireland, also, pray that, in the days that are to come they also may have cause to give thanks for their preservation from calamity and sorrow.

Should such calamity and sorrow be forced upon them by forceful occupation of their territory, we feel sure that the active resentment of the people of the United States would, as it should, be manifested in no uncertain terms.

Record of Senator Holt on Foreign Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 15 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

COMPILATION OF STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD a compilation of statements and speeches of mine on foreign affairs.

Mr. President, when the Congress repealed the arms embargo and amended the neutrality bill it approved a course of participation in the present European war. It was not that the executive branch of Government had not already started on that course preceding the session, but the path to war would have been effectively stopped had not Congress agreed.

It was there the real battle was fought. Those who wanted us in the war realized that this was the greatest strategic victory of the campaign. Again I note that the executive branch had already taken its position, as later diplomatic sources will show in memoirs and exposés.

For some time we have had a campaign in this country to involve us emotionally on the side of one of the belligerents. This was accomplished through the usual process of propaganda, part foreign and much domestic. The arms-embargo repeal was to get this country into the war economically and then they realized that the tremendous power of certain business interests would have a much easier time in converting others to actual conflict. A country with its millions of unemployed wants prosperity. The "fool's gold" prosperity could be achieved by war trade. Men would be given jobs. Profits would increase. It reaches a place where that dictates foreign policy. Officials, if they would even desire to do so, find it almost impossible to stop the trade—the trade which means war. This I have discussed in speeches on the floor of the Senate and I shall not repeat now. The history of public officials has shown that almost invariably the official chooses war rather than a panic, but the people get the panic later—usually after the official has left official life.

I am desirous that my friends in West Virginia read my speeches during the special session of Congress in 1939 when I spoke of this danger of trying to swim into the stream without realizing that the current was too strong to overcome. Some individuals felt, as the Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST] once said, that they "could jump halfway down Niagara." They cannot. But I want the people of my State to read these speeches and note that I told them the truth about this drive for war then being carried on under subterfuge and dishonesty. They told the people the repeal was for a real neutrality, when they knew it was to get America in as a belligerent—first as a nonbelligerent and then as an active belligerent. It was a vote for war, even though many who voted for it did not think so.

The plan was, first, to repeal the embargo, then take another step, then another, then another until now we have reached the place there is one step remaining, that of sending American boys, either soldiers or sailors, into the conflict. The William Allen White organization, in its dishonest and disreputable attempt to involve America, has deliberately misrepresented its aims, hoping that the people of this country would reach a stage when America would go into the conflict.

I believe in national defense, but I cannot agree with a program that gives to foreign countries the very implements necessary for our own defense. Let us look after America first.

Read these speeches and see if I did not tell the truth. I have on this issue, as I have on others, taken a position because I believe it to be right. I have not tried to pick the popular side.

The speeches follow:

(Speech of Senator Holt, October 18, 1939)

Mr. President, the issue before the Senate is, Shall we do away with the arms-embargo provision of the existing law which makes it unlawful for us to sell arms, ammunition, and implements of war to nations at war? I may say that many people feel that we cannot stop our ships and seamen from going into the war zone without repealing the arms embargo. The arms embargo has nothing at all to do with that. Such a provision can be written into the law without changing the arms embargo. Others say that we should sell material other than arms, ammunition, and implements of war on a cash-and-carry basis. That can be done without changing the arms embargo. It is an entirely separate provision of the joint resolution. I hear others say that Americans should be prohibited from traveling on belligerent vessels; that the joint resolution should prohibit the solicitation of funds for nations in war; that submarines and armed merchantmen should be barred from our ports. All these prohibitions are already in the present law or can be put in it. The passage of the joint resolution now under consideration will have nothing to do with the provisions just mentioned except to continue or put them into force.

This argument reminds me of an incident that could happen to any of us any day. If a man is wearing a raincoat in the rain and decides he also wants an umbrella, it is not necessary for him to take off the raincoat in order to use the umbrella. We can provide all these safeguards for neutrality and at the same time keep the arms embargo, but what we are asked to do is to take off the raincoat as soon as we raise the umbrella. The issue, in plain language, is, Shall the United States of America become a merchant of death? That is the issue.

Now I desire to read a quotation which I think aptly covers the present situation. It is as follows:

"At this late date, with the wisdom which is so easy after the event, we find it possible to trace the tragic series of small decisions which led Europe into the Great War in 1914 and eventually engulfed us and many other nations. We can keep out of war if those who watch and decide make certain that the small decisions of

each day do not lead toward war, and if, at the same time, they possess the courage to say 'No' to those who selfishly or unwisely would let us go to war."

Those are the words of President Roosevelt.

Congress is now in special session to make a decision—not a small one but an important one—one that will determine our future action in the European war of 1939. When we refer to European wars it is necessary to use dates, because they come so often.

The issue is repeal of the arms embargo. The arms embargo was written into law by our Congress in time of peace, long before the start of the present war. It was the result of a long, detailed investigation of the munitions trade by a committee of the United States Senate, the publication of letters and papers of public figures who were active in the period of the war, and the exposure of propaganda. It was written long before the sides had been chosen. It was written when our thoughts were of America and not of Europe. It was written in peace, not in war. The Neutrality Act was not written to assist England, France, or Germany. It was written to protect America.

The American people know the effect of the last war. They know the thousands of boys who never returned, the thousands more who did return crippled, gassed, and destroyed. They know the depression that blighted our economic life, throwing many, many men into the bread lines. They were determined that they should not be involved in another foreign war, and that we should not again send American soldiers to the battlefields of Europe. It was under such conditions that the Neutrality Act was passed.

I feel that by repealing the arms embargo we shall make a mistake. I believe it will be a step directly toward war.

YOUNG AMERICA PAYS OUR MISTAKE

If we make a mistake we will not pay the penalty—no! The Members of the Senate will not pay the penalty if we make the mistake of taking the American people into war. No; we are exempt from military service. But if we make a mistake, millions of young men who have no part and no voice in casting this vote will pay the penalty, many the ultimate penalty of death.

What is the reason for repeal of the arms embargo? There are only two reasons, and we all know it: The first reason given by those who want to repeal the arms embargo is that we should help Great Britain and France to defeat Germany. The second reason is that we can make a little profit out of the sale of munitions. Those are the reasons. All other reasons go back to the root of those two things—either men who are interested in the victory of England and France or those who feel that we can make some profit out of the war. Those are the reasons for the repeal of the arms embargo.

Some of you say, "We are not in war. We are not declaring war." No; we have not yet made a declaration of war, but we are edging up to the point where, when an incident occurs, we can make a declaration of war and hope to have the people of the United States feeling that we are again fighting for democracy.

Let me read to you a statement by Woodrow Wilson, made in New York in 1916, and compare it with the letters you are now receiving. This is what President Wilson then said:

"I get a great many letters, my fellow citizens, from important and influential men in this country, but I get a great many other letters. I get letters from unknown men, from humble women, from people whose names have never been heard and will never be recorded, and there is but one prayer in all of these letters: 'Mr. President, do not allow anybody to persuade you that the people of this country want war with anybody.' "

Those are the words of President Wilson delivered on the 30th of June 1916, less than 1 year before America declared war on Germany.

Less than 3 months before the declaration of war in 1917, what did President Wilson say to the American people? I quote him:

"There will be no war. This country does not intend to become involved in this war. We are the only one of the great white nations that is free from war today, and it would be a crime against civilization for us to go in."

Just before we declared war. Of course, it is easy for us to sit back and say, "There will be no war"; and yet we definitely know that the step we are taking brings us close to the precipice of war. We know that it is definitely a step toward war. Oh, yes; we are getting the people ready for it.

Let me go back to 1914 and read to you a conversation of an American in France, shown in the historical papers of Hanotaux, the French historian. He quotes Mr. Robert Bacon. This is the exact language:

"In America * * * there are 50,000 people who understand the necessity of the United States entering the war immediately on your side. But there are 100,000,000 Americans who have not even thought of it. Our task——"

Now, listen; this was in 1914—

"our task is to see that the figures are reversed, and that the 50,000 become the 100,000,000. We will accomplish this."

Change the 50,000 who want war with the 100,000,000 who do not want war. That process is under way in America today. Do not fool yourselves Do not be like an ostrich and stick your head in the ground. The war propaganda is at work in America today. Of course, Lord Beaverbrook just came over to gossip, you know. He left England in time of war just to gossip about some Canadian retreat that he had. Oh, yes. You may believe that if you want to, but I do not. Lord Beaverbrook is over here hoping and helping to see that we become interested in the war.

What did Col. Frederick Palmer, the official historian of the World War, say about the propaganda that is loose in America today? I quote him. Certainly Colonel Palmer is not pro-German. I understand he served in the American forces in the last war. This is what he said:

"The Allies' propaganda in America has been excellent in this war so far. My recollection of a historian's aching eyes in reading more than 100,000 official documents about the causes of our entry and our part after our entry singles out many phases being uttered today which duplicate those of the winter of 1916–17."

ROPING US IN

And so they do. We again hear that we must help the democracies—the same thing they told us in 1915 and 1916—and we hear that we must stop Hitler. In 1916 and 1917 we heard that we must stop the Kaiser. But let me read you from an English journal—not recent but last year—on getting America into the war. Let me read the words of Hilaire Belloc in G. K. Chesterton's Weekly of the 6th day of January 1938. This is what he says:

"It is commonly said up and down Europe that we can make the United States do what we like. That idea is based upon the vague and most misleading word "Anglo-Saxon," but also upon the actual and recent experience of the last 20 years. We got the United States into the Great War on our side, and, what was more extraordinary, we managed, in the debt business, to make France the villain of the piece. We have got them to feel with us against the modern Italy, and we have got them to talk of ourselves as a democracy."

This is what Mr. Belloc says:

"Can we rope them in to fight, or threaten to fight, the Japanese? It is a question of most poignant interest, and it is a question that will be answered in a comparatively short time one way or the other."

Then he says:

"The advantages we have in the working of American opinion and policy are very great, and they have been used in the past with so much success that those who think we shall still win the trick have much to say for themselves. We are the only people of the Old World who use the same printed word, and largely the same spoken word, as the Americans."

How did Sidney Rogerson tell the English people they were going to get us into the war? What did he say? Let me read from his book on how we were going to get into the war. He said:

"Fortunately, with America our propaganda is on firm ground."

This was not a man writing to America. It was a man writing in England—not in American books, not in American newspapers, not in American documents—but an Englishman talking to Englishmen; and this is what he said:

"Fortunately, with America our propaganda is on firm ground. We can be entirely sincere, as our main plank will be the old democratic one."

Again I hear Senators say, "Oh, we must help England; we must repeal the embargo, because we have to help England save the democracies of the world." Why do they not call England the "British Empire" instead of "England, the democracy"? Oh, no; the word "England" sounds more democratic than "the British Empire."

Let me go ahead with what Sidney Rogerson said about how the English people were going to get us into the war; and when we go into it, remember just what he said they were going to do. This is what he said:

"We shall, as before, send our leading literary lights and other men with names well known to the United States to put our point of view over the dinner table."

In other words, "Give them oysters and propaganda at the same time. Fill up their stomachs with food and fill up their brains with English propaganda"; and do not think they are not doing it. Notice these little tête-à-têtes with English statesmen in America today. Oh, no; they are just over here to be nice. They have just come over to make America think they are interested in America.

This is what he said:

"We should exploit to the full the views and the experiences of American nationals who might be serving in our forces or those of our Allies. We should make much of them."

This is how they love the American soldier:

"We should make much of them, decorate them, single them out for mention in dispatches and the press, and use their stories as propaganda material to their own people."

In other words, have the American soldier come back to the United States decorated, in order to get more American soldiers across the Atlantic Ocean. Of course, we are not declaring war today, but we are going down the path to the place where it is easy to declare war. We did not declare war in 1914, but we were in war in 1917.

Oh, what are we doing today? We are deserting the fundamental foreign policy of America, which has been our security for peace throughout American history.

* * * * * * *

The two pillars of our foreign policy have been George Washington's Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine. George Washington, in his Farewell Address, used these words, and they are sound:

"Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes

the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

"So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications."

George Washington must have been thinking of 1939, because our foreign policy today indicates an enmity and antipathy for one set of nations and certainly love for another set of nations. George Washington predicted the danger which would be the outcome of that. He predicted what would happen. He said we would be involved by slight incidents which might occur. He also made this important statement:

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other."

Does that not look at present-day conditions? Does it not fit perfectly? What else did George Washington say? This is something in which some Senators may be interested, as showing the feeling of some American people:

"Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests."

George Washington told what would happen in 1939. He had foresight. Yet we hear some say, "That is too long ago; that is too far back. The rule of conduct is too old." Rules of conduct were laid down thousands of years ago in the Ten Commandments and in the Golden Rule, and those rules of conduct are just as good today as they were when they were announced.

At election time we do not hear individuals laughing at Washington's Farewell Address. They laugh at it only in the cloakrooms of the United States Senate. That is the place where they laugh—not out before the people.

The second pillar of our foreign policy is the Monroe Doctrine. I know some think the Monroe Doctrine is only a one-sided affair. They think the Monroe Doctrine applies only to foreign nations keeping out of the Western Hemisphere. But what is the Monroe Doctrine? It is not only our protection in the Western Hemisphere. Let me read from it:

"Our policy in regard to Europe remains the same, which is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us, to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve these relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part; nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense."

John Adams said what would happen to the American people, and in a letter to Secretary Livingston he made this statement:

"America has been long enough involved in the wars of Europe. She has been a football between the contending nations from the beginning, and it is easy to foresee that France and England both will endeavor to involve us in their future wars. It is our interest and duty to avoid them as much as possible and be completely independent and to have nothing to do with either of them but in commerce."

He knew more about the events of 1939 than some Senators who are alive in 1939.

Let me read what Thomas Jefferson said:

"But for us to attempt by war to reform all Europe and bring them back to principles of morality and a respect for the equal rights of nations would show us to be only maniacs of another character."

Our foreign policy has been based on the sound principle of being friendly to all nations, of maintaining friendly relations, until the present administration. Then we find a changed policy on the part of the President of the United States. When the President went to the people in 1936 he did not tell them that he had an interest for England and France and wanted to destroy Germany. At Chautauqua, N. Y., he rose and said:

"I hate war. I hate war."

That was his campaign cry of 1936. He wanted us to stay on this side of the Atlantic then. But by 1937, when he got the mandate—the mandate about which we have heard so much—the foreign policy seemed to have been changed, at least publicly.

QUARANTINE AGGRESSORS

He went to Chicago to dedicate a bridge, and there he told us that our foreign policy should be "to quarantine the aggressor nations." "To quarantine the aggressor nations!" Not to stay out of the embroilments and entanglements of Europe, but to get in and "quarantine" the aggressor nations.

Mr. President, how are we going to quarantine them unless we send American boys to do the quarantining? Oh, it is said, "We can do otherwise." But history has shown that whenever it is undertaken to quarantine any nation the soldiers are the ones who have to do the quarantining.

So in 1937 we find that the foreign policy has changed; and then in January of this year the President delivered a speech which most of us heard. From it the Senate can see the background of why we are asked to repeal the arms embargo. This is what he said:

"Obviously they must proceed along practical, peaceful lines. But the mere fact that we rightly decline to intervene with arms to prevent acts of aggression does not mean that we must act as if there were no aggression at all. Words may be futile, but war is not the only means of commanding a decent respect for the opinions of mankind. There are many methods short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words, of bringing home to aggressor governments the aggregate sentiments of our own people."

Let me repeat the last sentence of the President's statement, and see if Senators can find what is at the root of the desire for repeal of the arms embargo:

"Wars may be futile, but war is not the only means of commanding a decent respect for the opinion of mankind. There are many methods short of war—"

Not in it, but just short of it; right to the precipice of it—

"There are many methods short of war but stronger and more effective than mere words of bringing home to aggressor nations the aggregate sentiments of our own people."

That was the statement made by our President in January of this year. In other words, go to the place just short of war; right to the place where we might skid into the war.

ENDORSES INTERVENTION EDITORIAL

Now, let me show the Senate another instance of the President's foreign policy. The Washington Post is edited by a Rhodes scholar and is, of course, very much interested in "democracy" in America on that account, as well as in the preservation of "democracy" across the sea. The Post editor wrote an editorial about the foreign policy, called "The Collective Pronoun." Here is what it said:

"I'll be back in the fall if we don't have a war—"

I do not have to tell the Senators who said that—

"These words, spoken by President Roosevelt to the group assembled at Warm Springs to see him off for Washington, were seemingly wholly unpremeditated. Actually it is proper to surmise that serious consideration preceded their utterance. None knows better than the President that his office makes his most casual public observation subject to interpretation as a matter of national policy. And no President was ever more skillful than Mr. Roosevelt in making the most of every opportunity to give a positive direction to public thinking on important issues."

Then it goes on to say:

"Most Americans realize today that the sweep of events has now brought Europe to the very verge of war. What is insufficiently realized is the tremendous implications of the impending catastrophe for every citizen of this country. In spite of the best-informed warnings to the contrary, many still believe that another World War might leave the United States relatively undisturbed. In spite of the virtual certainty of American involvement—"

Get that, Senators.

"In spite of the virtual certainty of American involvement—"

Yes; in the name of peace, Mr. President—

"In spite of the virtual certainty of American involvement, there are many who would seek to achieve isolation by panicky legislation or to seek shelter behind other paper guaranties of immunity.

"To those who would protect themselves by closing their eyes the President addressed his warning. Spoken to a little group in Georgia, it is equally applicable to Americans everywhere. 'If we don't have a war.' Mr. Roosevelt will revisit Warm Springs at Thanksgiving. But all personal plans, all future projects are subordinate to that 'if.' The same, in one degree or another, holds true for all of us.

"There is speculation as to what the President meant by 'we.' "

We were going to have a war; remember that.

"Did he mean if the United States is itself engaged in hostilities, or merely if a major conflict is raging overseas? Those who have followed Mr. Roosevelt's thoughtful speeches on the conditions necessary for peace will understand his choice of a pronoun. By 'we' he undoubtedly meant western civilization."

Are we not a part of the western civilization?

"By 'we' he undoubtedly meant western civilization."

In his statement, "I'll be back if we don't have a war," he linked "we" up with western civilization. "We'll be in it." I proceed with the editorial:

"A war affecting its foundations would immediately affect us vitally, whether or not the United States was at the outset physically involved."

Let me repeat that. Here is the editorial which President Roosevelt endorsed as his foreign policy. First, that we could not keep out, and that we—western civilization—were going to have a war. But let me read this sentence:

"A war affecting its foundations would immediately affect us vitally, whether or not the United States was at the outset physically involved."

Get that.

"Whether the United States was at the outset physically involved."

In other words, we are going to get in the front door before we get hit. This is the editorial which, when he read, the President said he nearly fell out of bed, because it was so close to his viewpoint

of foreign policy. We are going to have a war. And who are "we"? Western civilization. We are going to have a war "whether or not the United States was at the outset physically involved."

The editorial proceeds:

"But there was a greater value than its stimulus to national thinking in the President's passing remark on Easter afternoon. Until it has actually started another world war is not inevitable. It can still be averted if the free nations are willing to show that they will take a stand before it is too late."

Who is to determine which are the free nations? When did the United States become the censor for the entire world?

"Pressure from the Berlin-Rome Axis will not ease until it reaches the point of serious resistance. Then only can a different and honestly conciliatory attitude be expected from the dictators. Nothing less than the show of preponderant force will stop them, for force is the only language which they understand."

Who is going to have a war? We are going to have a war. Whom are we going to stop? The dictators. We are going to stop them by force. And who is to apply that force? We, with American soldiers?

Mr. President, no one can read that editorial without realizing that when the President said that was his notion of foreign relations he meant that we were going to go in and stop the dictators by force, if necessary. And whom did he mean by "we"? By "we" he said he meant western civilization.

Senators, I am quoting the President; he endorsed the editorial. Well, here is what the newspaper said the next day, and I want to read it. It is from the Washington Post of April 12, 1939. The heading is:

"PRESIDENT ENDORSES POST EDITORIAL ON FOREIGN POLICY—GOOD, CLEAR, HONEST, HE TELLS NEWSMEN: HIS 'IF WE DON'T HAVE WAR' TALK AN EFFORT TO PRESERVE PEACE BY PREPONDERANCE OF POWER

"President Roosevelt stamped with his hearty approval yesterday a newspaper editorial calling for a 'preponderant show of force' by democratic nations to halt the dictators and prevent war.

"The editorial, appearing yesterday morning in the Washington Post (Independent)—"

Get that—independent! Yes; "the editorial appearing yesterday morning in the Washington Post (Independent)." Oh, no; there is no politics in war. Do not be fooled about that—

"The editorial, appearing yesterday morning in the Washington Post (Independent), said that the World War 'can still be averted if the free nations are willing to show that they will take a stand before it is too late.'

"The President ordered the editorial inserted in the minutes of his press conference, saying it was very good, very clear, and very honest. He said it had not been inspired by him, but that he had almost fallen out of bed when he read it yesterday morning."

So that is our foreign policy—that we, by force, should stop the dictators, and should go to war to do so. Who are "we"? Western civilization, meaning also the United States of America. The President said, "I think so much of this editorial that I want it put in the minutes of my press conference because it is so good, so clear, and so honest. When I read it I nearly fell out of bed." Mr. President, that is the President's policy.

Then we talk about neutrality. This is not neutrality. It never was meant to be neutrality. We all know the difference. If the American people had a microphone in the cloakrooms of the United States Senate, they would learn a great deal about what is going on in Washington because we in the cloakrooms knew that repeal of the embargo was not for the purpose of neutrality but to help England and France. We all knew that.

* * * * * * *

Mr. President, this is not mine. Do not hold me responsible for it. I had nothing to do with it. I do not believe in it. I do not believe it is our duty to set ourselves up as the judge of the world's conduct. It is nice for a man sitting in Washington to say that we should stop war by force, but the collective pronoun "we" does not mean "us." It means the boys between 20 and 35. Those are the ones it means.

Let me now proceed with the editorial:

"HIS VIEWS FOR POSTERITY

"He added he wanted it inserted in the press-conference minutes so that posterity might see what his views had been."

He was not satisfied to tell the Post that he thought the editorial was good, but he was going to put it in his minutes, and then put it in that building up in Hyde Park for posterity, so that his views on foreign policies might be known.

Then the article continues at length. It quotes from the editorial I have previously read. Mr. President, it is not necessary to read it at this time. In order that posterity may know the President's position on foreign affairs, I ask unanimous consent that this article be put in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for embalming.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMATHERS in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from West Virginia? The Chair hears none, and the article may be printed in the RECORD.

The article is as follows:

[From the Washington Post of April 12, 1939]

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"The President ordered the editorial inserted in the minutes of his press conference, saying it was very good, very clear, and very honest. He said it had not been inspired by him but that he had almost fallen out of bed when he read it yesterday morning.

"HIS VIEWS FOR POSTERITY

"He added he wanted it inserted in the press-conference minutes so that posterity might see what his views had been.

"While the President spoke news dispatches from London were saying that Prime Minister Chamberlain was pursuing an appeasement policy toward Mussolini, having decided to give him 'one more chance' to keep the peace. Whether the President knew of this British decision when he pointed to the Post editorial, and whether his words would tend to strengthen the British attitude toward the dictators remained undetermined.

"The Post editorial was based on Mr. Roosevelt's remark as he left Warm Springs, Ga., recently:

"'I'll be back in the fall if we don't have a war.'

"It said this was no casual utterance. 'Most Americans realize today that the sweep of events has now brought Europe to the very verge of war,' it commented. 'What is insufficiently realized is the tremendous implications of the impending catastrophe for every citizens of this country.

"'In spite of the best-informed warnings to the contrary many still believe that another world war might leave the United States relatively undisturbed. In spite of the virtual certainty of American involvement, there are many who would seek to achieve isolation by panicky legislation or to seek shelter behind other paper's guaranties of immunity.'

"To these persons the editorial said the President had addressed his warning. His use of the word 'we,' said the editorial, undoubtedly meant western civilization.

"'A war affecting its foundations would immediately affect us vitally, whether or not the United States was at the outset physically involved,' it added.

"Speaking of the way to avert war, the editorial asserted:

"'Pressure from the Berlin-Rome Axis will not ease until it reaches the point of serious resistance. Then only can a different and honestly conciliatory attitude be expected from the dictators. Nothing less than the show of preponderant force will stop them, for force is the only language which they understand. But, like less exalted bullies, force is to them a real deterrent.'

"'By using the word 'we,' the editorial said, 'the President told Hitler and Mussolini, far more impressively than he told Warm Springs, that the tremendous force of the United States must be a factor in their current thinking. He told the Axis Powers that the administration is far from indifferent to their plottings. He made it plain that a war forced by them would from the outset involve the destinies of a nation which, as they fully realize, is potentially far stronger than Germany and Italy united.'

"To make that plain at this crucial time, the editorial pointed out, is to help in preventing war. 'To make the dictators realize that there is a limit to unresisted aggression is in itself to set that limit. It is on that incontrovertible reasoning that the French have stiffened their policy. It is on that reasoning that the British are laying down a dead line. It is on that reasoning, through the application of which peace can still be saved, that President Roosevelt properly links the United States with the eleventh-hour effort to avert a shattering disaster.'

"The President had previously refused at his press conference to comment on the European situation. His only remarks on foreign affairs were confined to approving the project announced Monday by Senator BYRNES (Democrat), of South Carolina, for exchanging American surplus cotton and wheat for strategic war materials of other countries.

"When a correspondent insisted on inquiring whether the Chief Executive had absolutely nothing to say on the foreign situation, Mr. Roosevelt promptly made the editorial his own opinion."

* * * * * * *

Talk about changing the embargo! The only reason in the world why we are in session—and there is no need of trying to fool the people—is to help England and France defeat Germany in the war under the name of neutrality. Talk about changing, blowing hot and blowing cold! Mr. President, have you ever noticed how the administration blows hot and cold about communism? Communism now has its whiskers back on.

It is a terrible thing because it is now against England. But when England was supposedly planning a trade agreement with Russia there was no word from the administration about communistic Russia. Oh, no! We are now preparing to get rid of all the Communists in the Government. A few months ago the administration denied that there were any Communists in the Government. In other words, the blowing hot and cold depends upon the draft from Downing Street, not from Main Street. It is not the winds of the Atlantic Ocean which bother us. It is the piped circuit from Downing Street.

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British honor is based on British imperialism. Britain has no more use for its honor, except as it protects its colonies and the financial interest of England, than Hitler has for Nazi honor. We cannot believe either of them. I intend to discuss that point a little later.

CONFERENCE OF AMBASSADORS

With respect to this administration being neutral, let me read from Raymond Moley. Many Senators used to know him pretty well. He wrote a book called After Seven Years.

I am quoting Raymond Moley, because I was not called into the conference. Do not be fooled about that. Mr. Moley said:

"After Munich, Roosevelt at once summoned home our Ambassador to Berlin. There were consultations with Ambassadors Phillips, Kennedy, and Bullitt. The consensus seems to have been agreement that the time had come to do 'something practical,' to stop Germany, Italy, and Japan, and to assist England and France. That 'something' was to be a revision of the Neutrality Act to permit France and England to buy guns and munitions in this country."

This book was written at the time the discussion was going on. I continue:

"And the reason for that frankly and designedly unneutral step, it presently appeared, was no longer the 'lawlessness' of the Axis Powers so much as it was the belief that only by throwing our weight on the side of England and France could we protect our own interests."

Behind the scenes the President called in the Ambassadors; and in order to find something practical to stop Germany he took steps on one side of this conflict in the name of neutrality.

Mr. Moley continues:

"Ambassadors Bullitt and Kennedy then went off to Florida. When they had spent some weeks there it was suddenly discovered that they were in possession of burning secrets which must be communicated to the House and Senate Military Affairs Committees."

Perhaps one of those submarines was down in Florida. I do not know. Submarines have been seen all over the country. An investigation of submarines was made out West, and it was found that they were not submarines at all, but only snapping turtles sticking their heads out of the water looking for air. [Laughter.]

Mr. Moley continues, after telling about Ambassadors Bullitt and Kennedy going down to Florida:

"When they had spent some weeks there it was suddenly discovered that they were in possession of burning secrets which must be communicated to the House and Senate Military Affairs Committees. There followed a magnificently publicized dash back to Washington, intended to convey the idea that a world calamity was in the offing, and, on January 10, 1939, the imparting of information presumably so sensational that it could not be made public."

Continuing with Mr. Moley:

"Observers recognize in these dramatic maneuverings signs of a State Department campaign to 'educate' the American public to the need for a stronger foreign policy."

I am sure no one would say that Mr. Ernest Lindley is antagonistic to the President. Certainly nobody could say that. This is what he said in one of his columns:

"It must be recorded that there are men in the Roosevelt administration who think that this is our war, and, so believing, can be expected to urge that we give Great Britain and her allies whatever help may be necessary to bring them a victory."

Have we not heard on this floor the contention that this is our war?

On the other side of the Capitol, when the question of the neutrality joint resolution was under consideration this spring, the Secretary of State and the representatives of the State Department were asked many questions. In the minority report of the committee on the other side of the Capitol the question was asked, "Why should we repeal the arms embargo?" This is what was said:

"When representatives of the State Department were asked whether there was any change in the international situation which would cause Congress to repeal the provision for an arms embargo at this time, our committee was told that Hitler's taking over of 27 munitions plants in Austria and the Skoda works and 11 other plants in Czechoslovakia justified the change."

In the name of neutrality? No; because Hitler had gotten some munition factories. Therefore, the United States should become the arsenal for England and France. I was not present, but this is from the report of the minority of the Foreign Affairs Committee on the other side of the Capitol.

WHY THE SECRECY?

Why is all this hush-hush secrecy if we are not on the way to the precipice of war? Why should the American people not know the facts? Why should reports of committees not be revealed to the American people? Let any Senator try to get from the War Department the report on its mobilization plans; let him see if he can get even a photostatic copy of it. The only one, I understand, who has a copy is a newspaperman. If we are not on the way to war, why should not the American people know the facts? The President said the other day, when he referred to a submarine being off the coast of Florida, "I am going to tell the American people all the facts about it." If he wants to tell them all the facts, why does he not tell the American people about the mobilization of industry as planned by the administration? In the administration we have internationalists who will give the people of Europe democracy if they have to kill them to do it. Oh, yes; we have internationalists right here who are interested in protecting democracy.

Now, let us look at the democracy we want protected and which in 1917 we protected after 100,000 American boys were killed. What State Department officials were in the front-line trenches at that time? They were fighting for democracy 3,000 miles from the front-line trenches. Let us consider the secret treaties to which my friend from Missouri referred. I quote this reference from The Intimate Papers of Colonel House:

"Grey thought that France would insist upon Alsace-Lorraine. The French believe the Allies will win and that they can impose the terms of peace upon Germany; later, perhaps, they would find that to impose peace conditions upon Germany would necessitate continuing the war for a number of years, and when that was realized they might be willing to make concessions.

"He did not know the mind of Russia, but he believed by giving them Constantinople and the Straits they would be willing to acquiesce in almost any other terms that might be agreed upon."

The American boy who was in France was not told about the secret treaties; he was not told about the diplomacy of Europe. He died thinking he was fighting for the democracy of England and France and the other Allies.

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That is what the boys were told. It will not be long until the slogan in America will be "Stop Hitler; let us make the world safe for democracy so we will have no more mobilizations and end all wars." Does that compare favorably with the statement of Daladier, that "we must crush Hitler so that we will not have to mobilize every 6 months"? A war to end all wars! No; it was not a war to end all wars; it was a war that provoked the present war. Go back to the causes of the war of 1939, and we find them in the Versailles Treaty. That is a cause of the World War of 1939. This war is only another one of the ever-recurring wars in Europe.

Let me quote what Mr. Baker said about the secret treaties:

"In America we knew little and cared less about these European secret treaties. Our national interests were at no point affected by them. * * * Everyone knew, indeed, that Italy had driven a hard bargain when she came into the war on the side of the Allies. But this was war, and in war anything may be necessary. * * * Even the State Department of the United States, which is the organization especially charged with the duty of knowing about foreign affairs, seems to have had no interest in these secret treaties, and if Secretary Lansing is to be believed, little or no knowledge of them. * * * While the President must have known in general of these secret agreements, for he often excoriated the practice of 'secret diplomacy,' he apparently made no attempt to secure any vital or comprehensive knowledge."

Then he says further:

"When Mr. Balfour came to Washington as the British commissioner in 1917 he explained certain of these treaties to Colonel House. Colonel House, however, said he was not particularly interested, because it seemed to him more important to bend all energies to the winning of the war."

Oh, no; it was not necessary to pay any attention to those secret treaties—those treaties that lined up the powers of Europe in the war of 1917; those treaties under which, long before the war, the nations parties thereto said, "We will take a part of this country and you take a part of the other country." The Senate may take my word that 20 years from now it will be found that there have been and are now more secret treaties in Europe; and yet we are sticking our nose into Europe in order to "save the world for democracy" and favoring a "war to end all war." That is the No. 2 war to end all wars.

And what does Ambassador Page say? Did Great Britain go to war in Europe in 1914 because of the violation of Belgium's neutrality? Let me quote what Ambassador Page said:

"Page admitted that the British would have been found fighting with France even if France had violated Belgium."

Let Senators appreciate the force of that statement:

"The British would have been found fighting with France even if France had violated Belgium."

We were then told about "poor, bleeding Belgium," and in 1939 we are told about "poor, bleeding Poland." Ah, at the expense and cost of the lives of American boys?

Do you think, Mr. President, they were fighting for honor and for democracy over there? George Bernard Shaw expressed what the world knows to be true about England. Here is what he said:

"If our own military success were at stake, we would violate the neutrality of heaven itself."

Note that, Senators. If British military success were at stake at the counter, the neutrality of heaven itself would be violated.

ENGLAND'S TERRITORIAL GAINS

Lloyd George said that England did not seek "1 yard of territory."

Does not that sound like Chamberlain? I will tell you what England got out of the World War and why England was fighting for democracy. England got 994,950 square miles of territory, 25 times the size of Czechoslovakia, 6 times the size of Poland, and that in a war for democracy. England was fighting to crush Kaiserism in 1914–17, and in the meantime she picked up almost a million square miles of territory where she could promote democracy.

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Let me give some figures. England has 50,328 square miles of territory; but how much territory does she control? England, with 50,000 square miles of territory, controls 13,253,240 square miles of territory in order to promote democracy in India.

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Here is England, with 37,354,917 population, controlling 494,870,104 individuals in the name of democracy; and then we are to get close to war, where we may be shoved in, in order to save democracy by saving England.

What about France? France herself has 212,659 square miles of territory, but the French Empire is not in France alone. It has 4,613,315 square miles of territory—an empire that went out with

sword in order to make the world safe for democracy throughout the centuries.

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Furthermore, the democracy they gave to Syria! Oh, was not that democracy? I intend to discuss that subject a little later on, but here is a group of individuals wanting to make the world safe for democracy by making it safe for England and France.

VERSAILLES TREATY

What is the cause of the trouble in Europe today? It goes back to the Versailles Treaty, when those men who deserted honor, forgot ideals, sat down to carve up Europe to their own fancy.

What did Signor Nitti say about the Versailles Treaty? He said:

"This cursing of the guilty people has no parallel in modern history. We must go back to the early ages of mankind to find anything of the kind."

That is what the Italian historian said.

Furthermore, let me read what H. G. Wells said about it. He said:

"Germany, exhausted and beaten, surrendered in 1918, upon the strength of these promises and upon the similar promises in President Wilson's 14 points, but the conference at Versailles treated promises as 'scraps of paper.' The peace imposed on the new Germany was a punitive peace."

It is now said that Hitler treats treaties as scraps of paper. Of course they are; but how were treaties treated in the Versailles conference? What happened? Not since Rome punished Carthage was there such a treaty placed on any people as the Allies placed upon the German Empire in order to destroy it. Hitler was caused by the Versailles Treaty. He was the boil on the body politic of Germany, caused by the bad blood that came as the result of the poisoning of 1917. You may cut out the boil but the blood is still infected.

No; Hitler is just a symbol. He is the man in the way of the control of Europe by Great Britain.

Let us see what the magazine Time says by way of tracing the conditions in Germany which caused the present condition in 1939. This is what it says:

"Defeated, exhausted, blockaded, Germany passed through a staggering cycle of panics, revolutionary and counterrevolutionary outbreaks, financial debacles, governmental upheavals. Her army was disarmed, her fleet scuttled, her merchant marine forfeited, but 62,000,000 Germans nevertheless remained to be fed, clothed, housed, organized in some political community. Europe's new states outside Germany emerged slowly, bumped shoulders, clashed over boundaries, made alliances. But Germany remained Europe's central problem, while Russia was still split with civil war. For the first 5 years of peace, from the armistice to the Ruhr, the biggest development in Europe, outside of Russia, was France's policy of keeping Germany weak.

"Weak, Germany certainly was. At the war's end, after the Versailles Treaty, she had lost:

"One million seven hundred thousand killed in battle, 4,200,000 wounded, 1,150,000 missing.

"Alsace-Lorraine, most of Posen, and west Prussia, all her colonies, other territorial concessions.

"Eighteen million of her population, over 1,000,000 square miles of her territory, 45 percent of her coal, 65 percent of her iron ore, 15 percent of her arable lands, 10 percent of her factories, 5,100,000 tons of her merchant fleet.

"To France she agreed to deliver 105,000 tons of benzol, 150,000 tons of coal tar, 90,000 tons of sulfate of ammonia, 500 stallions, 30,000 mares, 2,000 bulls, 90,000 cows, 1,000 rams, 100,000 sheep, 10,000 goats, and she agreed to pay (but paid only in part) $5,000,000,000 reparations before May 1921.

"But 62,000,000 Germans weakened to desperation seemed as menacing to the rest of the world as to France in her post-war mood they seemed reassuring. Inside Germany political chaos became almost normal, marked by Communist and reactionary uprisings."

Further, it says:

"Outside Germany the states created by the Treaty of Versailles and the treaties which followed it were linked to France in a chain of alliances. Poland and France in the treaty of February 19, 1921, pledged themselves to mutual assistance in the event of German aggression. When Belgium and Czechoslovakia also signed with France, the ring around Germany was closed. When Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania formed another such ring around Hungary—and this ring was coordinated with the other by the Franco-Czechoslovakian alliance—French security against possible German ambitions seemed as solid as diplomatic measures, military might, economic dominance could make it."

Also, it tells us:

"And when Poincaré, on January 11, 1923, sent French troops to seize 80 percent of Germany's coal, iron, and steel sources, in 'the mad and ruinous Ruhr episode,' Great Britain's criticism swelled, Great Britain's sympathies shifted. Lloyd George, who 4 years before had been reelected on a platform of punishment for Germany, later called it '* * * the dismal and tragic episode of the Ruhr occupation,' and said that it caused 'untold misery to many millions of central Europe, had put back the clock of post-war reconstruction throughout the world, intensified unemployment problems and industrial depression, and had signally failed in its main object of extracting reparations from Germany.'

"For 600 of the maddest days in history French troops patrolled the Ruhr; 147,000 German citizens were driven from the district in 11 months.

"Burgomasters of every major city in the land of 4,000,000 people were expelled or imprisoned.

"Funds and records of manufacturing companies were seized and their offices taken over; at least 100 people lost their lives; newspapers were suppressed; 19,000 officials in the area of the French-sponsored 'Autonomous Government of the Palatinate' were deported."

"In Munich, Ludendorff and Hitler attempted to set up a dictatorship. German workers in the Ruhr downed their tools, supported by the German Government, which printed more paper currency to pay them.

"Germany's economy was swept away in an avalanche which threatened to break the ring around her, sweep over Europe. In December, shortly before the French occupied the Ruhr, a United States dollar would buy 7,000 marks. In a month it would buy 50,000. By June it would buy 100,000. Prices were quoted by the hour, workmen paid by the day, savings wiped out, housewives rushed to spend money before nightfall, knowing morning would make it worth less. In August one United States dollar would buy 5,000,000 marks. By the middle of November the United States dollar was quoted at 2,500,000,000,000 in Berlin, and 4,000,000,000,000 at Cologne 300 miles away."

Oh, yes; this was the kind of peace that was imposed on a people destroyed, starved to death, and the natural result would be Hitler. The natural result would be nazi-ism. It rises out of the ruins and desolation of such a punitive peace as that.

May I quote what the Manchester Guardian, an English paper, said about the treatment of Germany?

"The root factor in the situation is that the German masses are exhausted and starving. You have only to see the children in the German slums, all head and no body, with thin necks and gray, ghastly skins, to realize what a magnificent weapon a blockade is. In Berlin there are scores of thousands of children who have never tasted milk."

That was the peace of the democracies—the democracies we are expected to go over and fight for.

We all realize that Hitler came out of the crushing of Germany. Hitler was the result of the terrible persecution not by the Nazis but by England and France in the occupation and destruction of Germany, so that Germany would never rise and bother them as a foreign power. We realize that out of that came Hitler; and when Hitler was rising to power who armed him? Who armed Hitler? We find that part of the arming of Hitler was done in France and in England. Hitler got his first arms from the countries which are now seeking to destroy him.

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I will say when history is written about our foreign policy in this period we shall find out many things we do not know today. We may find out that Anthony Eden was not over here just to make a speech to the Manufacturers' Association. We may find out that Lord Beaverbrook was not over here just to gossip. We may find out that the King and Queen were not over here just to look at the grandeur of the American Continent. Oh, the parade that has been going on!

WHO ARMED HITLER?

But going back to the arming of Hitler, let me quote something about the arming of Hitler, and show that the French and British Governments helped arm Hitler. This is an extract from a book on the subject Merchants of Death, by H. C. and F. C. Hanighen (pp. 244–245):

"The rise of Hitler and the Nazis in Germany was also the signal for the arms makers in other countries to offer their services and wares to the worthy cause. The British, as noted, received an order for 60 of their superior airplanes. * * * M. Sennac charged at the Radical Socialist Congress on October 14, 1933, that Schneider had recently furnished 400 of the latest model tanks to Germany, routing them through Holland in order to avoid suspicion. France is also supplying raw materials for explosives to the Germans. The Dura factory at Couze St. Front, near Bordeaux, is shipping thousands of carloads of cellulose to Germany every year. This factory is mainly under British ownership. Its contract with Germany stipulates that the cellulose must be used for the manufacture of peaceful products, but it is hardly a secret that it is utilized for making explosives. The I. G. Farben Industrie in Germany, which manufactures explosives from this cellulose, is owned, to at least 75 percent, by French capital. These facts are known in France, but nothing is done about them, because the Dura factory is one of France's chief explosive factories in case of war, and because American manufacturers would immediately fill the German orders if the French did not. As for the French control of the German chemical industry, the Government does not insist on the withdrawal of French capital for the simple reason that the British would immediately replace the French."

There is one thing after another showing how England and France, not proclaiming their great antagonism for Hitler, helped arm Hitler in Europe. They knew about the Treaty of Versailles. They created a Frankenstein, which is now bothering them.

ENGLISH ATROCITIES

Some say we should help England and France because of the terrible atrocities Germany is committing and has committed in Poland and has committed in Czechoslovakia. I want my position clear, unmistakably clear. I condemn with all the power that is in me any of the persecution and any of the atrocities of which Germany has been guilty in Czechoslovakia and in Poland. But remember that England's hands are not clean. Let me give a few instances of the atrocities committed by England, the country to defend which we are to get close to war. Here is one from Ireland. The British Empire was so nice to Ireland! I quote from the book, Ireland's Case:

"O'Donovan Rossa, when in English prisons, serving his life sentence, and protesting against the indignities to which he and his fellows were subject, frequently had his hands chained behind his back for days together, in solitary confinement. And to eat the bits of food that were thrust to him through the bars, he had to go on his knees and lap it up like a wild beast."

Mr. President, that did not occur under the control of Germany; that occurred under the control of Great Britain.

Here is another one:

"Michael Davitt, the one-armed man, tells how he and his fellow political prisoners in English dungeons, in order to get a mouthful of the fresh air for which they gasped, had oftentimes to lie on their stomachs on the floor of their cell and put their mouths to the slit at the bottom of the door. And on passing a garbage barrel when the keeper was, fortunately, not watching them, the prisoners grabbed from it the dirty ends of tallow candles, and secreted the tid-bits, which at the first opportunity they ravenously devoured.

"The treatment of Irish political prisoners in English dungeons has been universally so brutal, so savagely unhuman, so much worse than anything the world is aware of, that it is no wonder these Irishmen emerge from the English dungeons—whenever they do emerge—incurably invalided, crippled, blind, and insane. For some, the jail door opened to the tomb. For others, far worse—it opened to the madhouse."

There is no question of persecution. Persecution is not the sole attribute of Germany. Despicable and despisable as their persecution may be, persecution has been employed by others. Let me give another instance of the lovely attitude of England; let me tell something of their justice in Africa.

"On a cross solidly constructed at 15 paces from the gibbet they are preparing the punishment of flagellation. The first sufferer strips to the waist, passes his head in the iron collar, stretches out his arms, which they bind to the cross, and on his bare torso the kurbash descends rythmically to the sound of the voice that counts the blows and of the cries of pain which each of them wrings from the sufferer; the bronze skin tumefies, splits in places, the blood spurts; it is sickening, horrible. The expiation finished, with great effort the fellah can stand upright.

"A second man succeeds him, who cries out still more desperately; the third one is literally contorted under the lash; he loses consciousness, the doctor stops the flogging. Meanwhile the man hanged has given up the ghost. The small cord turns on its pulley and is fasted to the buckle of the leathern waist belt of the victim who is hauled up to take off the slip knot; they untie the feet and hands, and, on a litter brought by the assistants, they lay out the corpse to take it away to a tent provided with winding sheets and coffins."

BOMBING OF DAMASCUS

Mr. President, that was English democracy. And France does not have clean hands when it comes to the question of persecuting people. Let me read about the action of France in Syria, not a hundred years ago, but less than 15 years ago. I quote from the Literary Digest of 1925:

"The screaming and bursting shells that spattered the streets of Damascus with the blood of innocent men, women, and children sent a thrill of horror throughout the civilized world—a horror not lessened by the fact that the shells were fired from the guns of a Christian nation. And the work of the artillery was supplemented by bombing airplanes and by tanks that spit machine-gun fire as they lumbered through the historic streets of what is said to be the world's oldest inhabited city."

When there is talk about Germans bombing the other countries, let us go to Damascus and look at the graves of the Syrians who were killed by the bombs of France. The article in the Literary Digest proceeds:

"This exhibition of 'frightfulness' began on Sunday night, October 18—2 days after the initialing of the European security pacts at Locarno—and continued until late Tuesday afternoon. An eye-witness quoted in an Associated Press dispatch describes the period of the bombardment as one of 'unforgettable horror,' tells of hundreds of dead bodies lying in the streets, and estimates that at least 2,000 were buried in the debris of the wrecked buildings of Damascus."

That was not in Warsaw; it was in Damascus. Who was stationed there? General Gamelin, now the head of the French forces on the western front, was stationed there, according to Time.

In the name of democracy, in the name of civilization, in the name of Christianity, these things happened.

Now let us go back and see how lovely England has treated her subjects. Let me read about some of the instances of England's wonderful treatment of the people. I am giving actual quotations:

"ATROCITIES BY THE BRITISH SOLDIERS IN THE BOER WAR

"An officer in the field (December 1900): 'It was sufficient that arms were discovered; firewood was at once collected; the wife and little children, bedridden old men and women were ordered out without a moment's respite, and the homestead burned before their eyes. It was midwinter, and the nights were indescribably cold, and in these thinly populated districts there were often no neighbors to give shelter. It was murder as cold-blooded and deliberate as if they had been placed against a wall and shot; worse, indeed, because their sufferings would have been sooner over.' (Walsh.)"

That was English democracy. Here is another, quoting an English soldier:

"'Later on houses were burned on all sorts of pretexts, until farm burning became the daily business of soldiers.' A lieutenant testified (Ottawa Citizen, January 7, 1901) that, "We moved on from valley burning, looting, and turning out the women and children to sit and cry beside the ruins of their once beautiful farmsteads. * * * We burned a track 6 miles wide through these fertile valleys and completely destroyed the village of Wilport.'

"Morning Leader, June 11, extract from a letter '* * * but it was grand sport chasing young cockerels and chopping geese's heads off, hearing pianos play as they rolled upside down into a fire lit in the middle of the room, piling pictures and brackets, etc., on a deal table and then putting a straw mattress underneath to start the blaze.'

"War gods are not heroes, but frequently incendiaries. Here is a part of an order in the Boer War: 'Unless the men * * * surrender * * * the whole of their property will be confiscated and their families turned out destitute and homeless' (dated Kingersdorf, July 9, 1900).

"'When the flames burst from the doomed place the poor woman threw herself on her knees and bared her breasts, screaming "Shoot me; shoot me. I have nothing more to live for now that my husband is gone and our farm is burned and our cattle taken."' (Morning Leader, May 21, 1901.)"

Was that in the name of "democratic England"? Was that the order given in the fighting "for democracy" in the Boer republic? He said they were to take no prisoners, that is, if the Boers surrendered, they were to be shot down. This in a civilized democracy, about which there is so much talk!

I wish to read one from another soldier:

"In the last two fights we used the bayonet freely as we advanced, and the Boers appealed for mercy in vain."

That was not in Poland, not under German control, but under democratic England.

Here is another one:

"A Boer was taken; he then threw down his rifle and asked for his life, and for an answer got a coarse jibe and was spitted, unarmed, on the bayonet of an English soldier."

* * * * * * *

I wish to read just a few more instances, not of Poland, not of Czechoslovakia, not of things committed by Germany, but of things committed by England. Here is an exact quotation from an English soldier:

"Man hunting is better than football, and that he is enjoying himself very much."

A wounded colonel cried out to his men, "Exterminate the vermin. Give them hell, boys. Make them dig their graves, and then shoot them into them"—in the name of democracy.

Yes, Mr. President; then one order went out, "Do not kill them but tear them to pieces with your bayonets." That did not occur in Poland, not in Czechoslovakia, not anywhere under German control, but under the control and in the cause of English democracy.

This is what another British officer said:

"After the enemy were driven out, one of our squadrons pursued and got right in among them in the twilight, and most excellent pig sticking ensued for about 10 minutes."

Now, listen:

"Most excellent pig sticking ensued for about 10 minutes, the bag being about 60. One of our men stuck his lance through two, killing them both at one thrust. Had it not been getting dark, we would have killed many more."

Mr. President, that was in the name of civilization—in the name of democracy. Yet we speak of the atrocities now being committed and listen to propaganda concerning them. No one can uphold such atrocities, but I say to England and to France, "You, too, do not have clean hands, and I, for one, am not going to vote to go in the back door or the front door of war to help you again in a false cause of making the world safe for democracy."

ENGLAND'S BETRAYAL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

It is said we have to stop Hitler because we cannot believe his word. Was the English word in connection with Czechoslovakia worth a great deal? Let me read the words of the Czechoslovakian leader after the Munich crisis. This is what was said by the Czech Minister of Propaganda of the terms forced on that great little country by the "democracies" of Europe:

"For if our Government, with the President of the Republic at their head, had to decide to accept such cruel conditions, it was because they wished to spare the whole population useless bloodshed.

"It is not lack of courage that has prompted our leaders to make this decision—which has stabbed us all straight to the heart. Often more courage is needed to live than to commit suicide. In the whole world there cannot be any decent men who could say that we have behaved as cowards when we authorized our Foreign Minister to tell France and Great Britain that we have decided to make this sacrifice for the sake of world peace."

Oh, what did Dr. Krofta, the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister, say about the sell-out of Czechoslovakia—not by Germany but by England and France? Here are his exact words:

"This case is unique in history. Our friends and allies have imposed on us such terms as are usually dictated to a defeated enemy."

How was Czechoslovakia destroyed? It was not destroyed by Germany alone. It was taken into the conference room and there on the operating table France, Italy, Germany, and England assassinated Czechoslovakia. The blood of Czechoslovakia is not alone on the hands of Germany. It is on the hands of two countries we are supposed to go across the sea to save because we cannot believe the words of Adolf Hitler.

Mr. President, can we believe the words of Chamberlain? The Czechoslovakians thought they could believe the words of Chamberlain, but he "sold them down the river" when British imperialism

was at stake. And do not worry, they will sell any country in the world down the river when British imperialism is at stake. Do not think that we are experts at dodging the duplicity of the English Government. We have paid the penalty dearly for believing in England. We will pay it again.

ENGLAND IN PALESTINE

Shall we believe the word of England? Remember the word England gave in Palestine to the Jews. England lied to both sides. She lied to the Arabs and lied to the Jews. Yet it is said we have to go to the aid of England because we cannot believe the words of Hitler. The Holy Land has been a tragic chessboard for Great Britain's game of opportunism and duplicity. When it suited the purpose of British imperialism did they live up to their treaties; did they live up to their Balfour declaration? No; when it became necessary they sold the Jews down the river, just as they would sell anyone down the river when it suited them. And we know that the latest British white paper on Palestine terms it in cold print, "the sacrifice to the imperial interest of a solemn obligation."

Here are the words of an American Jew, Dr. Soloman Goldman, about the word of England when it came to their imperialism. He said:

"American Jewry is dismayed to find that the British Government, which was moved by a sense of justice and humanity two decades ago to give to the Jewish people a promise for the reestablishment of the Jewish national home in Palestine, has now seen fit, in a period of gravest crisis and need for the Jews in many lands of persecution, to revoke that promise and in this very act give evidence of the bankruptcy of civilization and the triumph of might over right, terror over heroic self-restraint."

Then he goes on to say:

"The issuance of the Chamberlain white paper represents a unilateral action of nullification of pledges made to the Jewish people on behalf of the entire civilized world."

I ask here, Whose word was being violated? Not Hitler's word but the word of Great Britain, the country for which we are to help make the world safe for democracy.

Oh, we find in going through the account that the terrorism against the Jews under the control of England in Palestine is just as bad as the terrorism against the Jews and Czechs in Czechoslovakia. No one could uphold what either country has done. But I say it is not America's duty to get in with the gangsters of Europe, who have no more use for America than they have for the Jews of Palestine, the Czechs of Czechoslovakia, or the peoples of Poland. They have no love for America. Their interest is imperialistic—British imperialism against German nazi-ism. Senators may take their choice. I take neither. I say America's hope is in staying away from both of them. When two gangsters fight in the cities of the United States it is not my duty to come in and give an arm to either one of them. But that is what we are asked to do.

Mr. President, what has been England's stand in the Orient? England signed a nine-power treaty to protect China, but when Japan marched into Manchuria where was England? She was where she was when Poland was invaded. She was sitting back in England, sitting back in silence, and hoping that things would come out all right. Oh, yes; and also we found out that we had stuck our neck out. England said, "Get in there, United States, and protect against the violations of the nine-power treaty," and pro-British Henry Stimson, who loves England next to the United States—or almost as much—stuck his neck out and said, "Oh, no; there must be no violation of the nine-power treaty." England then kept shoving him in, shoving him in closer, and he kept saying to Japan, "You cannot bother Manchuria," but when he looked around England was not close to him, so he had to retreat also.

Mr. President, we have thus seen examples of the betrayal of America and betrayal of other nations by the British Empire. These betrayals by the British Empire have not only taken place in the last 25 years, but for centuries upon centuries upon centuries. Vincent Sheean said this in his recent book:

"Such a war will take place when or if the Fascist powers directly attack the immediate possessions of France and England, and not before; that is to say, it will be an imperialist war, fought for no principle except that of empire. The principles all went by the board in September 1938. So did the treaties, the promises, the obligations, and the frontiers; so did the structure of international law as hitherto known and partially observed. The naked greed and selfishness of all the European imperial states are so hideously exposed by the events of 1936–39 that an American must hesitate before expressing a preference between them."

Then he goes on to say in this book, which was written after he had been a correspondent in Europe for years:

"From that night on I knew that France and England would never fight for anything worth fighting for; that their resistance, when it came, would come for their moneybags or their empires, never for a principle of any consequence to the human race; that no pledged word, no law, and no reason could henceforth count in the processes by which governments determined the fate of mankind. And that in the end the material catastrophe would come, that it would be far worse than it might have been this week, and that our incalculable common loss by this surrender was in vain, were certainties cold and deadly in the blue light, irrefutable in every dawn from that to this."

Oh, yes; we do not have to go beyond our borders to know of betrayal by Great Britain and her failure to keep her word. We know about that in connection with the war debts.

It will be recalled that some time back after the war we had an agreement with Great Britain to pay their war debt. We received a polite note saying, "We are sorry; we have no money." We had her solemn word that she would pay. She now says she has the money to buy arms and munitions with which to kill. But she did not have enough money to pay the debts honestly incurred by her.

Do not worry, Mr. President. If we repeal the arms embargo, it is a short step from cash to credit. That credit will be paid by the people of the United States, and again we shall have other war debts—if the United States Government itself exists after the war.

We are to go to Europe in order that England and France may save democracy. Do you realize that if the United States of America had been fighting shoulder to shoulder with Great Britain and France since the start of the Government in 1776 we should have been in war 121 of the 144 years up to the end of the last war? Do you know that France or England, or both of them, have been in war for 121 years and at peace for 23 years between 1776 and 1918? I refer you to the able speech of the Senator from California for a list.

Is it our duty to fight the wars of England and France? It is said we are not doing it. Mr. President, we are taking the first step toward doing it. We are in economically when we repeal the arms embargo, and we know that that is the case. The Machiavellian philosophy of diplomacy in Europe cares not about the United States. It cares not at all, because it realizes what the United States will do.

It is said that we should help England and France because they are democracies. When I picked up the newspaper this morning I noticed the headline "Turkey To Join Allies." We shall now hear that Turkey is a democracy. When Russia was with England we found out that Russia was a democracy. Now that she is with Germany, she is not a democracy. We shall have to change the dictionary definition of democracy. According to us a democracy means any government lined up with the British foreign policy. We shall have to change the definition from time to time. Of course, Rumania is a democracy!

Are we going to fight for all these countries? If Russia gets in on the right side, she can become a democracy overnight; and, of course, the penalty will be that we must fight for "democracy" in Europe.

PARALLEL FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. President, do you think we are not on the way into the battle in Europe? I charge, without fear of successful contradiction, that for some time the foreign policy of this administration has been tied to and parallel with the policy of Great Britain and France. Let me read a press dispatch of April 6, 1937, from Paris. This is what it says:

"PARIS, April 6.—France and Great Britain, in fear that war may come to Europe again, have become more insistent in wooing the support of the United States for such an eventuality today, 20 years after America entered the World War.

"So fixed has the idea become that the United States would once again come to the aid of her former Allies that no speech on international politics by French and British statesmen is complete without some reference to 'the ties that bind us to our brothers in the great democracy over the water.'"

That is just "soft soap," trying to get us over. "The ties that bind us." Once before it was, "Lafayette, we are here." Now we can say, "Lafayette, we have been there."

"Both Great Britain and France have based their efforts to insure an alliance with Washington through appeals to a common democratic form of government.

"The French in particular have emphasized that the United States can ill afford to have her 'two outposts of democracy'—France and Britain—beaten by an array of Fascist powers, which would then be free to turn their attention toward America."

I have heard certain Senators now listening to me say that they would vote for repeal of the arms embargo because they felt that England and France were outposts for democracy, and that if we did not help France and England Germany would come over after us.

Let me again repeat what France said in 1937:

"The French, in particular, have emphasized that the United States can ill afford to have her 'two outposts of democracy'—France and Britain—beaten by an array of Fascist powers, which would then be free to turn their attention toward America."

It will be said that that is the French attitude and that Americans are not responsible for it. But we are responsible for Bill Bullitt. He is our Ambassador over there, is he not? That is, between cocktail parties he is. [Laughter.] Let me quote what Bill Bullitt said, as quoted in the New York Times of September 4, 1938:

"BORDEAUX, FRANCE, September 3, 1938.—United States Ambassador William C. Bullitt caused a sensation at a city hall banquet here tonight by declaring France and the United States were 'indefectively united in war as in peace.'"

Remember, this is our Ambassador to France making an extemporaneous speech.

"His extemporaneous speech was cheered by Foreign Minister Georges Bonnet, Minister of Colonies Georges Mandel, and Minister of Pensions Auguste Champetier de Ribes, as well as three senators and eight deputies who were present."

He was cheered because he said that we were united with France in war and in peace. Continuing with the article from the New York Times—and certainly the New York Times is not worried about internationalism—this is what it said:

"Mr. Bullitt, who was not scheduled to speak, followed M. Bonnet, who had declared that he and Premier Edouard Daladier were doing their utmost to preserve peace 'throughout the current crisis over German aims in Czechoslovakia.'

"'France and the United States,' Mr. Bullitt said, 'are united by our devotion to liberty, democracy, and peace.

" 'We are united,' he went on, 'by our old friendship—by the aid we brought each other in our hour of distress. Today we are working together to save peace.

" 'At this time the unity and calm with which France contemplates the future have awakened the admiration of the whole world.

" 'It is no secret the people of the United States have a most profound sympathy today for the people of France.' "

Listen to this:

"Most of Mr. Bullitt's speech was devoted to a eulogy of Bordeaux wines, of which wine-growing guests at the banquet said he showed 'astounding knowledge.' "

[Laughter.]

There is no doubt about it. He knows more about the Bordeaux wines in France than he knows about the American people, if he thinks the American people are united with France in time of war and in peace. We are not united, and should not be united, with any nation in the world except in protection of our own people on this side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Let me go ahead and quote from the New York Times about Bonnet. On September 5, 1938, Bonnet asked the United States to help in peace. This dispatch is also from Bordeaux, France. That is where the great wines which I mentioned a moment ago are produced. I read:

"BORDEAUX, FRANCE.—Standing beside the monument erected at Pointe de Grave by French subscription 'to the glory of the American soldiers under General Pershing who came to defend the same ideal of right and liberty that inspired the volunteers of Lafayette,' Georges Bonnet, French Foreign Minister, and formerly Ambassador to Washington, made this appeal today to Americans of the present day:

" 'I have been moved but not surprised recently to hear your countrymen declare that if France were again attacked they would come again to her defense.' "

Think of that Mr. President! Did you know that we were to go to the defense of France? Georges Bonnet knew it, and said so publicly, as quoted in the New York Times. Let me repeat his statement for emphasis:

"I have been moved but not surprised recently to hear your countrymen declare that if France were again attacked they would come again to her defenses."

We would go to her defense. Oh, yes!

What did the French Air Minister say after the crash of the plane disclosed that we had a secret agreement with the French and English Governments on the airplane deal? This is what the French Air Minister, Guy La Chambre, said to the French Chamber of Deputies after the airplane crash:

"I take this opportunity of thanking the great American democracy and its leader, President Roosevelt, for the way they have shown that they are thinking of one thing in this matter—how best to serve France."

Let me repeat that—this is Guy La Chambre speaking to the French Chamber of Deputies:

"I take this opportunity of thanking the great American democracy and its leader, President Roosevelt, for the way they have shown that they are thinking of one thing in this matter—how best to serve France."

That is the trouble on the floor of the Senate. Too many are thinking how best to serve Great Britain and France. Let us think how best to serve America. Let us think of the American boys before we think of how best to serve France and how best to serve England.

Let me give a few facts about our agreement and understanding with England. Mr. President, you will remember Anthony Eden, a fine-looking man, who came over to deliver a speech to the Manufacturers Association in New York. He also wanted to see the grave of his great-great-grandfather, who, I believe, is buried over in Maryland—at least, it is close to Washington. He came to this country to deliver a speech, but this is what Mr. Eden told Parliament on December 21, 1937:

"We are constantly and daily in close consultation with the Government of the United States. Over and over again, we have taken either parallel or similar action and that in itself is an indication of the closeness of such collaboration."

Will it be said that we do not have understandings? Mr. Eden thinks so; and he should know.

Here is a dispatch from London, dated January 28, which reads:

"Britain was quick tonight to catch the significance of President Roosevelt's call for the vast expansion of the United States Navy. * * * It was almost as if Britain had won a war victory; for Britain calmly assumes that every new American battleship, every cruiser, destroyer, and airplane helps to safeguard the security not only of the United States but of Britain and all peacefully intentioned nations."

Did Senators know that our battleships and other naval vessels were considered by England as a great help to her? Yet that is what was said in London when we were considering increasing our Navy. Let us consider all these things together. This is what Lord Plymouth told the House of Lords on February 12, 1938:

"The British Government has been in constant consultation with the Government of the United States in connection with events in the Far East. Action has been taken independently, but it has almost invariably been along parallel lines."

That is what they are asking us to do—to go along "in a parallel policy" by repealing the arms embargo to help England and France. Did not Mr. Moley tell us that the American Ambassadors came back to the United States and had a conference with the President, and it was there decided what was practicable to do to stop Germany? If any Senators want to read that, it is found on pages 379 and 380 of his book, After Seven Years. We were to determine what was best to help stop Germany. When were we set up to stop any nation except a nation that stepped upon us? When were we put on the throne as the judge of the world? When were we supposed to determine who was Satan and who was the Angel in the affairs of Europe? What authority has the United States Government to do that? Yet some want us to do it.

OUR ASSURANCE TO SUPPORT ENGLAND

Here is another quotation from a British newspaper of February 9, 1938, which I wish to read:

"Great Britain has assured the United States of support in the event of direct action in the Far East."

Let Senators understand the force of that. Great Britain was going to help us in the Far East if we took action. We were not going to help Great Britain, but we were supposed to lead the parade.

"Great Britain has assured the United States of support in the event of direct action in the Far East," Prof. Gilbert Murray, chairman of the League of Nations Union, said today in an address to the National Liberal Club.

" 'I have reason to believe on good authority that we have given the American Government assurance that we are ready to support them in any action which they may take facing any risk,' Professor Murray said.

" 'The trouble is,' he continued, 'that it was a confidential communication of the government that most people here do not know of and the great American public does not know it or believe it for a moment.' "

Let me repeat that again. In February 1938 we were to go into the Far East to help Great Britain, and Professor Murray said:

"The trouble is that it was a confidential communication of the government that most people here do not know of and the great American public does not know it or believe it for a moment."

I thought foreign relations of America were an open policy—an open book. How do we know that there have not been other secret communications for which American boys will pay the penalty on the battlefields of France?

This is what he says—and he refers to that great democracy, Russia. I quote from the same article:

"We could go in with America, and I think I may say there is reason to believe it is perfectly certain that if we went in with America Russia would be on our side to support us."

That speech was made in February 1938. Terrible communism. Secret communications! If America went in, Russia would go along to make the world safe for democracy.

What has Winston Churchill, a member of the present World War cabinet of Great Britain and one of the outstanding authorities in England, said? He is quoted in the newspaper of March 7 as follows:

"Because of these arrangements"—

Did you know, Mr. President, that we had any arrangements with Great Britain?

"Because of these arrangements and the fact that the United States Navy was not being allowed to fall behind British expansion, we are entitled to match our naval power against the power of European countries.

"We therefore are in far stronger position at sea relative to any navy in Europe today or to any likely combination of navies in Europe than we were with the larger fleet which we had in 1914."

In other words, with the American Navy and the British Navy—and did you know, Mr. President, they are together? Winston Churchill says with these arrangements the two navies are together and that Great Britain has the largest navy in the world.

When the President of the United States delivered his quarantine speech in Chicago, do Senators recall that the New York Herald Tribune, which certainly on matters of foreign policy cannot be considered to be on our side, on October 6, 1938, reported that a copy of Mr. Roosevelt's speech was delivered to the British Foreign Office before he gave the address?

Did you realize, Mr. President, that the Outer Bridge speech of the President of the United States, about quarantining nations and engaging in war, was given to the British Foreign Office before he delivered the address? Why should the American President or his assistants give to the British Foreign Office his statement on foreign policy? Let such statements be given to the American people, for they are the ones who will die if we make a mistake; they are the ones who will pay the penalty.

What did Stanley Baldwin say? He said this:

"Never so long as I have any responsibility in governing this country will I sanction the British Navy being used for an armed blockade of any country in the world until I know what the United States is going to do."

That is what Stanley Baldwin said. Great Britain was not going to use the English Navy until she found out what the American people were going to do.

Now let me quote from Step by Step—and it is step by step—a book written by Winston Churchill, who is one of the leaders of England. I quote from page 111 of his book; this is what he said about the neutrality bills back in 1937:

"The various neutrality bills which have been passed or discussed in Congress all seek to prevent by various methods a repetition of the past. Rather than be drawn into another Armageddon, it may be that the United States will forbid their citizens to traffic on the high seas with any belligerents at all. A kind of neutrality is now being considered which appears at first sight to be isolationist and impartial in the last degree."

Listen to this. This is what Winston Churchill thinks of cash and carry. He said:

"The doctrine of cash and carry—"

I should not call it cash, because the administration says it is not cash now; but returning to the quotation from Winston Churchill:

"The doctrine of cash and carry means that no American ship will carry supplies to the warring countries, but if these countries choose to present themselves in ships at the American doorstep with ready money in their hands they will be allowed to buy nonmilitary supplies. This arrangement certainly has the merit of rendering to superior seapower its full deserts. It avoids for Great Britain, if engaged in war, the danger of any disputes with the United States such as caused so much anxiety in 1914 and 1915. It may be a rather chilling comfort, but it is a comfort nonetheless."

That is what Mr. Churchill thought about cash and carry, which really should be called clash and bury, for that is what it will be.

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Winston Churchill in his Step by Step, on page 164, says:

"There can be no doubt that the United States sentiment is far more favorable to Great Britain than it was in 1914."

Why does he say "1914" if he does not mean war?

This is what Mr. Churchill says:

"There can be no doubt that the United States sentiment is far more favorable to Great Britain than it was in 1914."

CHURCHILL FAVORS CASH AND CARRY

And, going ahead, on the 10th day of December 1937, Mr. Churchill said:

"There are, however, ways in which the United States, without exposing herself to the risk or toil of war, can give effect to the moral feelings of her people and Government and powerful aid to causes which she deems righteous. The interpretation placed upon United States neutrality in time of war would be of immense consequence to Great Britain and France. The principle embodied in recent American proposals of cash and carry is highly favorable to any power possessing the command of the sea."

Let me repeat the last two sentences:

"The interpretation placed upon United States neutrality in time of war would be of immense consequence to Great Britain and France. The principle embodied in recent American proposals of cash and carry is highly favorable to any power possessing the command of the sea."

On August 4, 1938, Mr. Churchill made this statement:

"The debt question, on the other hand, has encountered a new complication. The isolation forces in the United States are not favorable to a settlement which would free Great Britain from the ban imposed upon foreign loans to defaulting countries by the Johnson Act."

I call the attention of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Lundeen] to that quotation:

"The debt question, on the other hand, has encountered a new complication. The isolation forces in the United States are not favorable to a settlement which would free Great Britain from the ban imposed upon foreign loans to defaulting countries by the Johnson Act."

We are not in favor of again opening up the vaults and letting England come over here. We isolationists are not in favor of that.

Then Mr. Churchill goes ahead:

"These forces would naturally press for the most rigorous terms and make it difficult for a reasonable compromise to be reached. The stirring of this question at this juncture, and when congressional elections are already looming, would not be helpful."

Get that. Winston Churchill knows the truth about American politics when he says, "We are going to cut down the debt and try to cancel it," but—

"The stirring of this question at this juncture, and when congressional elections are already looming, would not be helpful."

No; not to the reduction and not to the cancelation of war debts which are honestly due us.

But now let us go to this year and read what Winston Churchill said.

Speaking about the President's message, he said:

"It would not, however, be right to look only upon the darker side. The remarkable action of President Roosevelt, undoubtedly sustained by the Government and people of the United States, in letting it be widely known that not only American moral support but also practical aid in munitions and supplies will be accorded to the western democracies should they become the victims of unprovoked aggression is a potent stabilizing force."

We did not know that we had made that agreement, but Winston Churchill, on February 9 of this year, made this statement. For emphasis, I repeat it. This is what Mr. Churchill said. He knew more about what was going on than the Senate of the United States did. These are Mr. Churchill's words:

"It would not, however, be right to look only upon the darker side. The remarkable action of President Roosevelt, undoubtedly sustained by the Government and people of the United States, in letting it be widely known that not only American moral support but also practical aid in munitions and supplies will be accorded to the western democracies should they become the victims of unprovoked aggression is a potent stabilizing force."

Where did Mr. Churchill get his information? Was it given to any Senator? I never heard any Senator say, back in February, that we were going to help England and France by lifting the embargo on munitions and supplies; but on the 9th day of February 1939 Mr. Churchill said he knew it, and it would be a great, potent, stabilizing force for Great Britain.

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On April 13, 1939, Mr. Churchill said:

"If the Nazi domination were successful in beating down the resistance of France and the British Empire, possibly assisted by the United States, there would, of course, be much loot to share."

They always have that in there—"loot to share." But, now, listen: In April 1939 Mr. Churchill thought we were going into the war. He said:

"If the Nazi domination were successful in beating down the resistance of France and the British Empire, possibly assisted by the United States, there would, of course, be much loot to share."

Now let me read a press dispatch of April 13, from London, from the International News Service. This is what it said:

"LONDON, April 13.—Displaying a resolution which his foreign secretary said was shared by most states of Europe and the United States, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain today announced a Franco-British pledge of aid to Greece and Rumania in event of aggression and warned Germany and Italy to keep their hands off the Mediterranean."

Now listen. This is the statement of the Prime Minister of England. Did you know we had an agreement to protect Greece? Did you know we had an agreement to tell Germany and Italy to keep their hands off the Mediterranean? I read what Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain said, according to a London dispatch, or April 13:

"Displaying a resolution which his foreign secretary said was shared by most states of Europe and the United States, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain today announced a Franco-British pledge of aid to Greece and Rumania in event of aggression and warned Germany and Italy to keep their hands off the Mediterranean.

Addressing the House of Lords a few minutes after Chamberlain had announced this dramatic new departure in British peace policy on the Continent, Foreign Secretary Halifax said:

"The judgment of His Majesty's Government is not only shared by the overwhelming mass of opinion in Britain but by most states of Europe and by the United States."

Did you know that we had that agreement? England knew it, but we did not. Yet the advocates of this measure say that we are not on the way to war, though we have an understanding. Of course, they want us to feel that our first line of defense is the British Empire. Of course, they want us to feel that our front-line trenches are next to the Rhine.

We have heard on the floor of the Senate, and we have heard on the radio, and we have heard in many places, "Oh, if we do not stop Germany, after she whips England and France, she will come over here and get us. She will destroy the United States Government and destroy the people of the United States."

When is she coming? How is she coming? She may have enough ships to get the soldiers over here, but she has not enough ships to carry enough wheelbarrows to wheel us back in them. Oh, no there is no danger of invasion. This is the same argument, however, which was used before the World War. I quote from the Life and Letters of Walter H. Page, by Burton J. Hendrick. This is what Mr. Page said:

"If Germany wins, the war lord will set out to bestride the world, and we shall have big armies and big navies indefinitely, and periodical great conflicts. The Monroe Doctrine will be less than a scrap of paper—the mere faded breath of a dead man."

Does not that sound to you like the statement of the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] and others about the danger to the United States if Germany wins the war? Of course, the Senator from Florida was not original in that statement. The first time that was said in the present controversy was when it was said by Philip Kerr, Marquis of Lothian. He was sent over here, you know, just at this time not for any particular reason, but just because he knew more about Anglo-Saxon relations than some others, and he was sent over here to discuss those things just at this time. I do not want anybody to think there was anything wrong with that; but Lord Lothian was one of the first ones who expressed that view recently, and his words are now being echoed by the administration. Let me quote the lord himself. This is what he said:

"The British Commonwealth is the United States' outer ring of security. * * * If it disappears or is smashed by the Fascist states, so that Gibraltar, the Suez, Singapore, Capetown, and the Falkland Islands fall into the hands of Germany, Italy, or Japan, then, as the British Empire disintegrates, the military powers would crowd around the United States."

So do not give Senators credit for that doctrine. It came from Lord Lothian. Let me again quote Lord Lothian—or I should give him his name—Mr. Philip Kerr, Marquis of Lothian. I ask my colleagues to see if they do not hear the same type of argument now, that if Germany is not destroyed, some moonlit night the Germans are going to slip over here and get us and take us all back to Germany, and make us Nazis. [Laughter.] The fear and the scare go over the country. Let us see what Lord Lothian said:

"So long as the British Commonwealth exists the United States is secure. But suppose that in another world war it seemed likely that she would be defeated, and suppose totalitarian dictatorships seemed likely to become the heirs of British and French possessions bordering on the Atlantic (including Central and South American territory) and in the Pacific, could the United States remain indifferent to the outcome? These questions are not a mirage. They were presented in 1916. They may be presented again."

So when people use the scare doctrine, stating that Germany is coming over here after us, they are repeating the words of Lord Lothian. But I must tell something Maj. Gen. Smedley Butler said:

"If Hitler and the German Army came to the American shores to invade America, before they got back to Germany the people there would be speaking Polish, French, and Russian."

There is not a war lord in Europe who can get out of the borders of his country. We have no danger from invasion from without. What we have to meet is danger from within. Those people who are trying to shove us across the Atlantic Ocean into the war under the guise of Americanism—they are the ones to be feared. The British-American scholars, these British-American editors, these British-American after-dinner tea experts—they are the ones of whom we have to be careful in America.

Let us consider the danger. It is said I am not a military expert, and that is true. It has been said Colonel Lindbergh is not a military expert. I do not understand why the United States Army called him to duty if he was not of any benefit. I think they should have called the junior Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], because he knows so much more about military affairs than does Colonel Lindbergh. The Army made a mistake when they did not call in the junior Senator from Texas for military advice instead of Colonel Lindbergh. But, be that as it may, let us look at some of the danger of invasion. Admiral Yarnell, before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, made this statement:

"The inhabitants of the Pacific coast can sleep quietly in their beds until Japan builds a navy twice the strength of the United States."

I am sure that the Senator from California is worried lest he will wake up some night and find Hitler peeping in his bedroom. [Laughter.] Some have been using the scare doctrine. They do not tell how the enemies are coming over, but they are coming in some way, we are told.

Now, let me read what Gen. Johnson Hagood said:

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Gen. Johnson Hagood had this to say:

"No army could come across the Atlantic Ocean, because there is no nation that has a sufficient army and at the same time a sufficient number of ships and a navy to support it."

Of course, some persons try to scare us by saying that enemy forces will try to penetrate South America. The best way to look at that scare is to look at the geography books. By glancing at the map it will be found that no cannon on earth can shoot from South Africa to the United States of America.

If the enemy were in South America it would in some instances be as far away and in others farther away than if it were in Europe. But those who make such assertions hope that by propaganda setting forth the danger for America they can make the American people do something they would not otherwise do, something they would not do if they were not afraid.

Mr. President, it is asserted by some that enemy forces would attack from the west and east at the same time. Speaking of a possible attack from the east, President Roosevelt, writing in Asia magazine, made this statement:

"If, with a fleet double the size of Japan's and our vastly greater resources, invasion of the western shores of the Pacific was admitted to be probably impossible, certainly impracticabie, for us, how much more formidable was the corresponding problem presented to the military strategists of Japan."

How can we be successfully attacked from the east? Some may say the invaders will go to Alaska and attack us from Alaska. Of course, those who say that do not tell us how Japan is going to get past the Canadian Rockies. I suppose she is going to fly her big tanks over the Canadian Rockies. Or if she cannot fly them over, she will outfit all the Japanese soldiers with snowshoes so they can climb over the mountains in the wintertime and get at us in that way. Anyone who has been through Canada knows that the assertion of the possibility of an attack by way of Alaska is absolutely nonsensical. However, it is not unusual to hear nonsense these days.

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It is very interesting to know that the English Channel, small as it is, has kept England free from invasion for nearly a thousand years. We are protected by 3,000 miles of water, and yet we hear talk about Germany coming over here to attack us. Of course, I suppose some of us could be so naive as to believe that Hitler is teaching every one of his German soldiers how to swim so that they can swim over here and get us and take us back.

Oh, yes; the question of the danger of invasion is just another one of the propaganda "gags" to get us to go over on the other side before Germany comes over here. I think we are in a much stronger position to meet attack on this side than we would be if we went over there. Even in baseball it is said that it is better to play on your own field. I do not know; but I know that whenever I was in my own backyard I could call a boy more names than if I were in his backyard. If we are on this side of the Atlantic, we are safer than if we are on the other side of the Atlantic.

During the World War we had the English Navy to help us; we had the French Navy to help us; we had our own Navy, and 2 other navies. We had 5 navies to transport American soldiers to France. We were guarded by patrols of the battleships of those nations. We landed in a friendly port, either in France or in England. We were protected until the time we reached the front-line trenches. Yet with all that protection the greatest number of men the United States ever took to Europe in any single month was 306,000. During the war we took fewer than 10,000 soldiers a day to France. Would we be in danger of 10,000 soldiers coming to the ports of the United States? How would they get into our ports? Smedley Butler said they might dump the tanks overboard half way across the ocean and meet them on Broadway. [Laughter.] But I do not see, and I do not believe anybody with any sound degree of intelligence can prove to anybody else of sound intelligence, that we are in danger of successful invasion. Furthermore, if we are in danger of attack, the way to destroy our defense is to go over there. Let us build our defense in the United States of America instead of over there.

I am not one of those who believe that our frontier is on the Rhine. I find that those who feel that our frontier is on the Rhine stay on this side of the Atlantic when war comes.

I am sorry I was not present in the Chamber yesterday to hear the talk about how we would not vote for war because many have sons. Of course, I have no sons. I am not even married. But the argument was that because many have sons we would not vote to send the boys to war. Mussolini has a number of sons.

It is nice for us to sit here and say that we should use force and should stop the dictators.

SENATORS EXEMPT FROM DRAFT

We are not going to stop them. Let me read what the draft law is. Who is exempt from military service in time of war?

"The Vice President of the United States, the officers—legislative, executive, and judicial—of the United States and of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia shall be exempt from the selective draft herein subscribed."

We can be very brave in this air-conditioned Capitol. We are exempt. Who ever heard of a son of a Senator being a buck private in the trenches? There may be, but I do not know of any such. The President's sons all have commissions, all the way from lieutenant up to colonel. But the boys of West Virginia will go in as buck privates. While we are talking about involvement in war, I want to see an amendment of the draft law so that we cannot sit back in safety and exempt ourselves from the draft and send other boys to the trenches of France, where some say our frontier is. I wish I had been present yesterday so that I might have had the opportunity to read the law.

In speaking about bringing men over here in a war, it must be remembered that 1,350,000 tons of shipping were required to carry the supplies of the United States Army alone during the war; 3,600,000 tons of shipping would be required to carry 300,000 men across with sufficient supplies, I am told. Between the months of April and December 1917, we carried only 49,515 men to France. And yet we talk about the danger of invasion. I would rather take the word of the military experts of the United States than that of the so-called military experts of the Senate.

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Let me quote from Winston Churchill's own book, The Aftermath, page 104. This is what he thought of the Americans:

"Even in this month of extreme American effort, nearly four British, French, and Italian soldiers were falling every day to one American. The stake of the United States in the European scene was incomparably small, yet here was a direct threat that if Great Britain, France, and Italy did not swallow the 14 points whole, whatever they might be, or be claimed to be, the United States would withdraw from the line, make a separate peace with Germany and Austria, leave the scene in perfect confusion, and condemn the world to another year of war. It is a measure of Lloyd George's quality when acting for his country that he did not quail before this unwarrantable pressure."

That is what Winston Churchill thought about us after the war, but Mr. Churchill does not now entertain that view. Let me quote also from Mr. Churchill's book, on page 478. This is what he there says:

"President Wilson sought to play a part out of all proportion to any stake which his country had contributed or intended to contribute to European affairs. * * *

"The influence of mighty, detached, and well-meaning America upon the European settlement was a precious agency of hope. It was largely squandered in sterile conflicts and half-instructed and half-pursued interferences."

That is what Mr. Churchill thought of our entrance into the war. But now when we can be of help to England, now when we can sell supplies, followed by the sending of men, we do not hear such a statement from Mr. Churchill.

Now as to the question of danger to America. Because of propaganda the thought of danger is absolutely sweeping America, but it is a definitely attempted propaganda effort on the part of England in order to influence us. I cannot help but repeat to the Senate some of the words that were written by a Kansas editor about that. This is what he said, and I think they are very touching words:

"I don't want to get poison gas in my lungs. I don't want a piece of shrapnel in my stomach. I don't want my legs riddled by machine-gun bullets. I don't want maggots crawling in my brains that have been laid open by a splinter from an aerial bomb. I don't want to die. I am 37 and want to live. I hate those who have brought the United States closer to war today than it was in 1915. I wasn't old enough to fight then, but I was old enough to watch the war hysteria being aroused until it tempted the United States into a ruthless struggle for power in Europe. And I was old enough to see what it cost then and since.

"That's why I hate those who today are deliberately stirring emotions in favor of one side or another in that bloody European conflict which again is on the verge of breaking out of council chambers and onto battlefields. Officials of our Government who already have taken sentimental sides, members of Communist and Fascist organizations alike, those with munitions to sell, open and secret agents of other nations, professional busybodies, and all others in this country who have been knowingly rousing passions, I damn alike.

"These passion rousers have done their work well. There are tens of thousands whose dreams tonight will be filled with gray-clad legions marching down through Canada to spread desolation in their wake, with skies black with bombing planes, and with battleships flying the flag of the rising sun shelling the whole west coast. In waking hours they fear secret agents of foreign powers are about to poison the water they drink or are busy raising armies of hyphenated citizens which very soon will ravish their wives and daughters and make them slaves. They are almost ripe again for that old catch phrase, "making the world safe for democracy." These I do not hate; I pity.

"Because there are so many with such thoughts as those, I am personally afraid. I fear their emotions have betrayed them so far there is no turning back. If that isn't true, there is only one thing that will save them and me. One thing alone can stop all of us from repeating even more tragically the tragic mistake of 1917. That is some rational thinking."

Oh, we know that there are many in America who feel that we are going to be invaded. Does anybody here say that to repeal the arms embargo is a step away from war? How can we supply a club to a man fighting and at the same time say we want to stop the fight? How can you supply a gun to kill someone and still say, "I did not have a part in the killing"?

Of course, we add fuel. Let me quote the words of the Secretary of State at that particular time. This is what he said about the danger of that course, and I want to read it:

"To us that seemed absurd, and we said so."

I am quoting from the statement of Hon. Cordell Hull at page 42 of the hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee in 1936.

"We could not see how a neutral could deliberately help to feed the fires and flames of war by delivering the essential materials right straight to the belligerents, helping not only to carry on war but to prolong it indefinitely; and nobody knows much better than we, that every day that war is prolonged, the danger of the war spreading would be increased, with increased dangers to us of being involved."

We all realize that that is the case. We are supplying guns, ammunition, and implements of war, for what purpose? Not to stop the war, but material that will prolong the war.

FAILURE TO ENFORCE NEUTRALITY ACT

Oh, you say, "But the arms embargo act has not worked, because it has not worked in Japan and China." As I said yesterday on the floor of the Senate, the failure to put the arms embargo in effect as to Japan and China was not the fault of the law; it was the fault of the President of the United States to declare the state of war. Everybody in the world knew there was a war in China, everybody knew there was a state of war existing, except the President of the United States. He could have immediately stopped many of the bombing planes from America that killed Chinese citizens if the embargo had been put into effect.

You say, "There was no declaration of war." I realize that there was no declaration of war; but was there a declaration of war when Italy invaded Ethiopia? No; there was no declaration of war, but the President of the United States put into effect the arms embargo on the 5th day of October 1935. The number of the proclamation is 2141. Not only did he put the same embargo in effect in the Italo-Ethiopian trouble, but he issued a proclamation warning American citizens against traveling on the vessels of belligerent nations. That proclamation, No. 2142, was issued on October 5, 1935.

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England has played either with the aggressors or against the aggressors, depending upon whether or not the aggression touched her. The English hate aggressors when the aggressors touch or approach a single foot of the British Empire. But where were the British when Czechoslovakia was destroyed by an aggressor? They were sitting around a conference table, agreeing to that aggression. And in the Italo-Ethiopian war, when it suited England's purpose, the British put on the sanctions, and then they took them off, depending upon whether or not it helped England.

But going back to the question of our part in that matter, the President issued a statement and put into effect the arms embargo in the Italo-European War, and this is why he did it. I quote the words of his statement on October 5:

"In view of the situation which has unhappily developed between Ethiopia and Italy, it has become my duty under the provisions of the joint resolution of Congress approved August 31, 1935, to issue, and I am today issuing, my proclamation making effective an embargo on the exportation from this country to Ethiopia and Italy of arms, ammunition, and implements of war. Notwithstanding the hope we entertained that war would be avoided, and the exertion of our influence in that direction, we are now compelled to recognize the simple and indisputable fact that Ethiopian and Italian armed forces are engaged in combat, thus creating a state of war within the intent and meaning of the joint resolution."

He recognized that Italy and Ethiopia were fighting without a declaration of war. Why has he not recognized Japan's invasion of China? Is it trade? Why has he not put the embargo in effect against Russia? Is not Russia in a state of war with Poland? Has not she done just the same thing that Italy did in Ethiopia? Oh, yes; but the arms embargo is not invoked against Russia. Why? Because it suits the purpose of the advocates of this measure as a good propaganda element to say that we can sell to Russia. Is that why? There is war between Russia and Poland today, and it is the duty of the President of the United States to put an embargo on the exportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to Soviet Russia. Why does he not do it?

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Poland knows that there is war with Russia; the world knows that there is war with Russia; but the President of the United States seems not to know it. Why does he not put into effect the embargo on arms, ammunition, and implements of war going to Russia? Does it stand in the way of propagandizing the repeal of the arms embargo? Do not Senators think the Polish soldiers who were killed by the Communist armies as they marched into Poland knew a war was going on there?

Why has there been a difference? All we can do is to put the law on the books, and it is the President's duty to enforce it. He should have put the embargo on arms into effect against Japan, as Japan marched into China. But it was not done.

Now I wish to go to the question of the war trade, but in closing about these men who represent us in Europe, this foreign-affairs group, whom do we have, and what has their statement been? We have Tony Biddle and Bill Bullitt, and a group of social tea hounds. Do they give us that which suits their purpose? Poor Tony Biddle.

It did disturb him when Warsaw was bombed. He had to cancel some of his cocktail parties. He had to stay away from the teas that were given. After Mr. Biddle, in Poland, and Mr. Bullitt, in France, get through with 4 o'clock teas and 6 o'clock cocktails, it is too bad for America by 9 o'clock. [Laughter.] It is time we were getting a few American ambassadors who think, not best how to serve the country they are in, but how best to serve the United States of America. Look at the collection of some of our ambassadors and it will be possible to see the reason of our confusion in foreign affairs.

Now, let me discuss the other point. That we should repeal the arms embargo because it will give trade to the United States, because it will mean cash, that it will give us some money. That is the second reason given for the repeal of the arms embargo.

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OUR WAR TRADE, 1914–17

Now, as to the point about the arms embargo, and the effect it has on the trade of America, can we not see the deadly parallel between 1914–17 and today? Can we not see that we are going down the same identical path? Can we not see whither we are now starting by opening up the munitions factories to sell machines of death? Are we not going down the path we started on 22 years ago? Let me read something about the conditions in 1914 to 1917. We started to sell munitions, arms, implements, and supplies of war; and writing in May 1916, Ray Stannard Baker, in his Life of Woodrow Wilson, used this language:

"Trade between the United States and the Allies had become the great artery which, flowing westward, fed American war prosperity, and, flowing eastward, sustained the life of the Allied armies and populations. Diplomats and statesmen alike dreaded any policy that threatened to contract that life-giving stream. Even the boldest pronouncements and demands of the President fell short of being vital. Nevertheless, there was always the danger, which the diplomats of the belligerent nations had to watch narrowly, that some outrage would prove a breaking point, or that this strange President, with his ideals and his moral convictions, might—there was horror in the thought—bring his vast nation into the war on the wrong side."

It brought us to the point where an incident could get us into war.

We were in the war trade. It was under the name of neutrality. In the Intimate Papers of Colonel House one finds the following:

"Allied public opinion was forgetful of the assistance brought to the cause of the Entente by the United States, which, by a slightly stricter interpretation of the role of a neutral, President Wilson could have prevented—the enormous loans, the shipment of munitions."

What did Ambassador Gerard write Colonel House? According to that excellent book, Propaganda for War, by Professor Peterson, we find he wrote the following:

"There is no doubt * * * that a real neutrality would stop the sale, but would our people 'stand' for such a curtailment of American industry?"

We find this in the New York Times of October 20, 1916:

"Only 3 weeks before the election the British Chancelor of the Exchequer displayed the bare bones of the situation when he declared [October 19] that the British would need to spend nearly $10,000,000 daily, for every working day, for their purchases in America."

Why did the British purchasing agent wait until 3 weeks before the November election in 1916 to make the statement? Was it to convince the people of the need of British purchases, and therefore tie us up with their victory?

In Professor Peterson's book, an interesting story is told. It follows:

"A correspondent of Sir Gilbert Parker wrote: 'Within earshot of my own house 16,000 workmen are busy, day and night * * * making munitions for England. Other factories of * * * (munitions?) and other war supplies are being enlarged or built new in this one city of New Haven.' Could it be other than that these thousands of workmen and people dependent upon them should be friendly to the British and anxious to have them win—even if it finally took American assistance?"

Today we are grabbing for the profits, and, just like the mouse that grabs for the cheese in the trap, we are not going to get the

cheese before our neck is caught. We are grabbing for the bait, and we are grabbing at profits.

Let me quote further from Ray Stannard Baker:

"The British would probably have to sell or pledge their very industrial empire to American bankers in the form of stocks and bonds of British factories; and beyond that, since the complicated economic structure of the United States would then rest still more heavily upon Allied purchases, might there not be widespread bankruptcy in America? All these were threatening possibilities unless peace came promptly, or the United States entered the war."

Also we find the following from Mr. Baker:

"On the other hand, British relationships, which had somewhat improved since the explosions of American irritation over the black list, were approaching a new and far more fundamental crisis. The Allies were running out of money. They could not go on with the war without a continuous flow of supplies from America, for which they could no longer pay in cash, or in repatriated securities, or in temporary bank loans. A radical new policy for credits—involving vast new financial machinery—appeared absolutely necessary if one or both of two catastrophes were to be avoided; either the speedy defeat of the Allies or an industrial and financial crisis of the first magnitude in America—since our economic system was now overwhelmingly dependent upon trade with Great Britain and France."

The English financiers would face bankruptcy or war because of the trade we started in 1914.

What did Secretary Lansing say? He presented two reasons why we should go to war on the side of the Allies: First, our economic interest; and second, our love of democratic institutions.

"Our economic interests." It certainly was not an economic interest to the boys who died in France. Who made the profits we started to grab in 1914–17, and who will make the profits we are now starting to grab out of war trade, out of the trade in the munitions of death?

I quote also from Ray Stannard Baker the following important statement as to the development of war munitions trade. He said:

"And yet, however the President may have striven to subordinate or moralize the economic factors of the conflict, they were there, as always, enormously potent influences behind the scenes. At the beginning of the European war he had tried to curb their influence by a 'moral' loan policy, but had found it, by September 1915, impossible to maintain. The effect of our rapidly expanding wartime trade—trade that was then perfectly legal—was to entangle us vitally with the welfare of the Allies. The President saw clearly and feared this tendency; he considered that there was 'a moral obligation laid upon us to keep free the courses of our commerce and of our finance' from entanglements with either group of belligerents that we might use our increasing economic power for the benefit of the world."

Then he stated:

"Whether these vast economic forces were to be used selfishly or altruistically, there they were—realities, facts—and the President himself saw that 'we have interests which we see being drawn slowly into the maelstrom of this tremendous upheaval.' The war, indeed, had reached the point where everything that happened in Europe immediately affected America."

What will be the result of the repeal of the arms embargo? It will put us right back to where we were in 1914–17, by gearing our economic machinery to wartime trade; and the President will find himself in the same position in which President Woodrow Wilson found himself in 1916. He will find, as was said in this article—

"If we should go to war with Germany, the greatest help we could give the Allies would be such a credit * * *.

"Unless we go to war with Germany, our Government, of course, cannot make such a direct grant of credit, but is there no way in which our Government might indirectly, immediately, help the establishment in the United States of a large Franco-British credit without a violation of armed neutrality?

"Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted."

In 1917 the soldiers thought they were going to war to end all wars. They thought they were going to war to make the world safe for democracy, that they were going to war to crush Prussianism, to destroy the Kaiser. They fought for an ideal. But what was said back in those times?

"Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted."

Let me now read the words of Secretary of State Lansing as to how this wartime trade got us into the war. I quote Secretary Lansing:

"If the European countries cannot find means to pay for the excess of goods sold to them over those purchased from them, they will have to stop buying and our present export trade will shrink proportionately. The result would be restriction of outputs, industrial depression, idle capital and idle labor, numerous failures, financial demoralization, and general unrest and suffering among the laboring classes."

Then he asked the President:

"Can we afford to let a declaration as to our conception of the true spirit of neutrality, made in the first days of the war, stand in the way of our national interests, which seem to be seriously threatened?"

That is what Secretary Lansing said:

"Can we afford to let a declaration as to our conception of the true spirit of neutrality, made in the first days of the war, stand in the way of our national interests, which seem to be seriously threatened?"

Next year or perhaps the year afterward will some secretary in the Cabinet say, "We have a financial interest in the war. We have established our trade on a wartime basis." And then will he say to the President, "Can we afford to let a declaration of our conception of the true spirit of neutrality, made in the first days of the war, stand in the way of our national interests which seem to be seriously threatened?"

Talk about cash! Of course it was never intended that the sales would be for cash. I am glad the administration have admitted it publicly. They did not admit it publicly until they were driven back to the wall and needed votes in the other House. That is why they are submitting an amendment for the measure. Do not fool yourselves; the reason why the Pittman amendment was submitted in the Senate was that votes were needed in the House of Representatives, and they could not be obtained so long as this fake cash scheme was in the measure. That is why the provision for cash was put in it.

Mr. President, what did Secretary McAdoo say in 1915 about that matter? He said:

"The high prices for food products have brought great prosperity to our farmers, while the purchases of war munitions have stimulated industry and have set factories going to full capacity throughout the great manufacturing districts, while the reduction of imports and their actual cessation in some cases have caused new industries to spring up, and others to be enlarged. Great prosperity is coming. It will be tremendously increased if we can extend reasonable credits to our customers. * * * Our prosperity is dependent on our continued and enlarged foreign trade."

Mr. President, will a Secretary of the Treasury in the President's Cabinet say that our prosperity is dependent upon our foreign trade? Will he say that? The prosperity of America does not have to be based on wartime trade with Europe. The basis for prosperity should lie within the United States of America. Our prosperity does not have to be built on the dead, wounded, shell-shocked youth of the world, and neither does it have to be built on the shells and bombs that kill innocent men, women, and children in Europe. Our prosperity should be right here in America, built upon the sound basis of business in America, and we can so build it. But back in 1915 some were afraid of the collapse that might come, and they were afraid of the penalty they would have to pay for that collapse.

MUNITIONS TRADE, 1914–17

Oh, yes; the munitions trade itself played a great part in the World War; not only the wartime trade but the munitions trade. I quote again from Ray Stannard Baker:

"It was inevitable that with the shipment of such enormous quantities of war materials to the Allies, the problem of paying for them would again arise. For a considerable time the British could finance their purchases through their large credit balance, but if the war continued even a quarter billion dollars would not last long. And when all was said, if the shipment of war materials was unobjectionable, why not loans of money? And if credits were not given, how could the munitions traffic continue? And if shipments were cut off, what would happen to American business?"

Then telling about the entanglements—and they also were discussing embargo at that time—he said:

"Meanwhile Congress was discussing retaliatory legislation. It was a prickly subject. An embargo on loans and supplies was an action this Government had repeatedly declared to be, in its international results, an unneutral course of action. Moreover, domestic repercussions might prove utterly devastating to industrial, commercial, and financial interests which now relied upon our inflated and expanding foreign trade."

All the way through we find the effect of munitions traffic on our actions before the World War. As early as the end of the year 1914 the traffic in war materials with the Allies had become deeply entrenched.

"Thus by the end of the year 1914 the traffic in war materials with the Allies had become deeply entrenched in America's economic organization, and the possibility of keeping out of the war by the diplomacy of neutrality, no matter how skillfully conducted, had reached the vanishing point. By October, perhaps earlier, our case was lost."

When the embargo was discussed in 1916 was England interested? Here is how England was interested. Sir Edward Grey expressed the hope that the bill introduced by Mr. Hitchcock in the Senate to embargo munitions would not pass.

England was interested. Here is what Ambassador Gerard wrote to Colonel House:

"There is no doubt * * * that a real neutrality would stop the sale, but would our people 'stand' for such a curtailment of American industry?"

What we find all through that period is that the American munitions trade was the first step to our entry into the war.

What did Mr. Garvin, the editor of the London Observer, say? He said:

"The American supply of munitions was indispensable to reinforce our own efforts in the last world struggle. The same reinforcement obviously would be indispensable in any further conflict."

And Ray Stannard Baker makes this definite statement:

"However we may repudiate the motive, the intricate business connections with the Allies developed during 1914, 1915, and 1916, until the very economic life of the country rested upon the munitions traffic, stimulated a powerful interest in the victory of the Allies."

Former Congressman Henry Rainey placed in the RECORD a statement by a London banker about our possible embargo during the trying period before the World War. This banker is quoted by the former Congressman as follows:

"I wonder if the advocates of the plan ever considered the possibility that European purchasers of ammunition might refuse payment, if ammunition contracts were unfilled, and the effect on the

banks that have loaned money and the attendant train of bankruptcy and ruin and unemployment that would follow in the wake."

EFFECT OF MUNITION SALES IN GERMANY

Again we are asked to go into the munitions game in order that we can have profit. Of course, those munitions are to kill—kill people with whom we are at war? No; to kill people with whom we are at peace. Do not think that that would not cause bitterness. Did it cause bitterness in the World War? Let me read three letters to show what resulted. The first was written in December 1914 by Ambassador Gerard:

"The Germans are a little irritated just now at our sales of munitions to the Allies."

This was the case according to Ambassador Gerard. Remember in December they were a little irritated. But on February 15, 1915, he wrote:

"The feeling as I said just now is very tense against America. The sale of arms is at the bottom and the fact that we stand things from England that we would not from Germany is the cause."

In March of that year Colonel House was in Berlin, and he discussed the munitions traffic. He told about the bitterness that existed in Germany against the United States, and said:

"This is almost wholly due to our selling munitions of war to the Allies. The bitterness of their resentment toward us for this is almost beyond belief. It seems that every German that is being killed or wounded is being killed or wounded by an American rifle, bullet, or shell."

Hartley Grattan, in his new book, Deadly Parallel, says:

"The American munitions traffic with the Allies during the first World War contributed a vast deal to the embitterment of German-American relations, as can be discovered by reading the despatches from Germany of Ambassador Gerard. Further, it vividly dramatizes the aid this country is giving the side purchasing arms, for in a war the average man sees very clearly that guns are immensely useful, though he may miss the vast importance of a cargo of steel rails. The fact that American guns are sold to Britain and France will strengthen popular sympathy for their cause. The temperature of partisanship will rise. American unneutrality will certainly be increased by the repeal of the embargo on arms in favor of a cash-and-carry policy. The change will be of tremendous importance, because it will mark the beginning of the collapse of American neutrality. The deed is on the heads of Franklin Roosevelt and his followers. Retreat on this point will surely be used to force retreat all along the line until every defense built up has been knocked down."

We are today stimulating a bitterness that might cause an incident to plunge us into war. We are stimulating the bitterness in starting the sale of munitions to Europe, and that bitterness may rise to the point where an incident might occur. In a letter from General von Falkenhayn to Bethmann-Hollweg, in discussing unrestricted warfare:

"So far as this submarine situation is concerned, America's step from the secret war in which it has long been engaged against us to an openly declared hostility can effect no change."

They had developed bitterness because of the munitions trade, and that bitterness caused incidents which plunged us into war. Of course, we went to war directly on the ground of the sinking of our ships. But why were those ships sunk? Was it that Germany felt that we were not neutral, that we were helping England to destroy her, and she sank those ships just as any other nation would sink them when its back was against the wall, and it felt that one side was helping the other side? We caused the development of bitterness in Europe; munitions trade makes bitterness which easily might result in war.

MUNITIONS TRADE IMMORAL

I feel that the sale of arms and munitions and implements of war is immoral in time of war or in time of peace. I feel that America should not become a merchant of death.

Furthermore, I realize that if we should go into this war—and God forbid that we should—we would not be fighting for liberty, but would be fighting purely for a balance of power in Europe, though, of course, our soldiers would be told that they were fighting for liberty. Sir Phillip Gibbs in his book about the World War soldiers said this:

"They had been told that they were fighting for liberty. But their first lesson was the utter loss of individual liberty under a discipline which made the private soldier no more than a number. They were ordered about like galley slaves, herded about like cattle. Was it not rather that the masses of men engaged in slaughter were serving the purpose of powers above them, rival powers, greedy for one another's markets, covetous of one another's wealth, and callous of the lives of humble men? Surely if the leaders of the warring nations were put together for even a week in some such place as Hooge, or the Hohenzollern redoubt, afflicted by the usual harassing fire, poison gas, mine explosions, lice, rats, and the stench of rotting corpses, with the certainty of death or dismemberment at the week end, they would settle the business and come to terms before the week was out. I heard that proposition put forward many times by young officers of ours, and as an argument against their own sacrifice they found it unanswerable."

Mr. President, do you think that the rulers of Europe today would go to war if they had to do the fighting? No; they would go to the basement, just as the House of Lords did. Oh, no; they are not going to die. They are going to stand back and tell the others how to win the war.

Some have high hopes of war. Men have hoped to gain many things by war—power and wealth for themselves, glory and honor for their country, and freedom and happiness for mankind. All they have succeeded in getting, to quote an eighteenth century wit, are "widows, taxes, wooden legs, and death."

One of the great tragedies of war is that it is fought, not by bad men knowing themselves to be bad but by good men passionately convinced that they are right. War is not fought by men who feel that they are wrong. It is fought by men who feel that they are right. The history of war shows that it brings dictators. Dictators bring despotism, and with despotism liberty is lost. As part of the chain of conflict comes the loss of civil rights.

Let us weigh war in its true light. We see beautiful buildings, architectural gems, homes of civilized people destroyed. We see the maimed, mutilated, and mangled moaning and begging for their existence, for the right to live, or the pleasure of death to get away from their pains.

We see men with their arms and legs gone, torn away by shrapnel. We see men with part of their faces gone. We see men lying on the battlefield, silent, never to speak again. In place of smiles we see agony. In place of peace and happiness we see war and sorrow—and we will help to bring it about. When we send the gun to kill we help to tear the head off the son of some mother.

Oh, you can hide and try to close your conscience if you will; but my conscience will not bother me when I see a gruesome, horrible war scene of death. I can rest secure in the thought that that death was not contributed to by munitions which I voted to send across the Atlantic. That is what you are doing. You are voting to get in the game of death in order that profit might be made.

Of course, we are not yet in the war, but the path is so tragically marked with a parallel that I am afraid we shall be in it.

I recall distinctly that 25 years ago my father opposed the World War. I recall how he told the people of my home city that we were on the way to war. I realized the punishment and the bitterness visited upon him because of his desire to keep America at peace. Those things were indelibly impressed upon me as a child. I remember that some of the very men whom he tried to keep out of the front-line trenches were the ones who condemned him with the greatest bitterness. But he was right. He was in the minority, but he was right.

What pleasure, what joy will you have when you know that a gun sent by you as an accessory to the fact helped to kill some young man in Europe? It will kill someone. What satisfaction will you have when you think of mothers and sisters back in the home weeping at the death of some boy killed by a bullet you helped to send to France? You can hide your conscience if you will, but you will never be able to erase the fact that you contributed to it. You cannot erase the fact that by this method we are sending shells across the Atlantic, not to stop Hitler—Hitler will not be touched by a single shot. Some boy—many boys—will be stopped by the shots that we send across.

We are not sending bombers across the ocean to bomb Hitler. We are sending them to drop missiles on soldiers—yes; not alone soldiers, but women and children, just like your wife and just like your child. You may hide behind the excuse that others will sell munitions if we do not; but you cannot cover up the fact that you are an accessory to sending munitions across the ocean. You may say others are killing, but deep down in your heart you know that when you vote to lift the embargo you are voting to contribute to the toll of death in Europe. When you pick up a newspaper and see a gruesome, terrible scene of a soldier with his head half gone, just remember that his head may have been torn off by an American bullet which you voted to send. When you see a picture of a little child resting in death after a terrible bombing raid, remember that that bomb may have been an American bomb that you voted to send across the Atlantic. You cannot excuse your action because Germany may be killing them. What right have we, in peace, to contribute to the continuation of war?

What are shells, arms, and ammunition used for? To kill; not to kill citizens of a country which is at war with us, but to kill citizens of a country at peace with us. Let me say again that not one bomb will strike Hitler. We shall not smash Hitler with the munitions we send across. We shall smash the boys of Germany, who feel that they are fighting for the right, even though we know they are in the wrong. Those bombs and shells are not for the men who made the war; they are for the men who fight the war. We can sit back and say that that is not our affair; but you know, and we all know, and any man with a conscience knows that when you put a gun in a man's hand and that gun brings death you cannot sit back and say, "I had nothing to do with that death."

Yes; Hitler may be stopped. The Kaiser was stopped. Hundreds of thousands of boys died in stopping him. They were stopped on the battlefields of France; and the Kaiser was not touched by a bullet. The Kaiser will die in a bed in Holland.

No; when we talk about smashing Hitler, all the smashing of Hitler will be of no avail until the conditions in Europe which created Hitler are corrected.

Hitler is a symbol in this war, just as the Kaiser was a symbol in the last war. We cannot correct the condition by adding fuel to the fire. We cannot correct it by sending across the ocean guns, arms, and munitions to kill.

Others may do as they please, but no boy in any foreign country will die coughing out his lungs with poison gas which I voted to send across the water.

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We may be fooled and go over to keep the torch of liberty lighted there and come back and find it extinguished in the United States. The torch that we must alight is the torch of

opportunity, and if the United States Senate and the House of Representatives when in session would spend as much time in trying to settle the problem of unemployment as in trying to help England by repealing the arms embargo, we would make a greater contribution to democracy than anything else we might do in connection with any neutrality bill.

HOPE OF DEMOCRACY HERE

The hope of democracy in the world is here, with men working in the mills. Our hope is not in giving the unemployed idle of America jobs in the uniforms of soldiers in France. Our job is to give American boys jobs in a factory producing, not implements to kill, but implements with which to build. Let us build homes in destroy homes, no matter where those homes may be.
munitions factories for the manufacture of things with which to the United States with the idle labor that is here, instead of erecting

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Mr. President, our departments are now getting ready for an M day, for an army of men to go out in world conflict. As the Senator from North Carolina has said, let us get busy for an M day here, and wipe out unemployment. We are not going to do it through the munitions trade; we are not going to build our prosperity in Europe. We can build our prosperity here in the United States where the opportunities have always been given to build it.

"Make the world safe for democracy," and while we are making the world safe for democracy in Europe we are making it safe for poverty over here; we are making it safe for unemployment. If we would think as much about the hovels in the cities and the hunger throughout the United States as we do about the atrocities in Europe, instead of paying attention to things across the sea, we would be doing our duty. There are atrocities here, atrocities of hunger in the United States. Let us take care of them first before we start a trip across the ocean.

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Mr. President, I was recently informed that a man very close to the administration said: "It is very important that we keep the people interested in Europe, because if we can keep them interested in Europe, they will not be thinking much about America."

The danger is that as long as we keep them looking out the back window, and keep saying, "There is a bogeyman who will get you there," they are not going to worry about their supper. While we are watching affairs across the seas, the unemployed are still without jobs. We still have one-third of the Nation ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clad. We have those conditions here, not in Europe, and if we would devote our energy and effort to protecting the United States on this side of the ocean, we would contribute to democracy in the world.

We are challenging democracy by not allowing it to continue to work here. That is why there is danger to democracy, and danger, as the Senator from North Carolina and the Senator from Minnesota have said, from within this country. Men die for countries which protect them and protect their families. I do not want to take the time of the Senate much longer but I wish to read a letter in which it is stated:

"We owe to the Allies whatever moral support and financial assistance it is in the power of this Nation to give; it is not merely the so-called American right that our munition makers should be free to sell to the enemies of Germany—it is our duty to encourage them to do so. Let us enthusiastically approve supplying the enemies of Germany with financial aid and munitions of war and resist with all our moral strength those who would place an embargo on munitions."

That letter was not written in 1939, but was written by Josiah Royce, a professor of Harvard University, on the 30th day of January 1916, when we were sliding into war. It could be used again today just the same as it was then. There are college professors telling us the same thing today. All we would have to do with that letter in order to put it into effect would be to put a 1939 date line on it instead of the 1916 date line.

The arms embargo is to be repealed because, first, it is said we should help France and England, and therefore save democracy again; and, second, because it will make profit. We will find that England and France are not interested in saving democracy, and, furthermore, we know that what we get will be fool's gold, which was spoken of in Chautauqua, N. Y., in 1936. Why the repeal of the arms embargo? Because of entanglements in the embroilments of Europe. Do we have to go through with the bargain? Is that why we are going to repeal the arms embargo? History will prove it. We will find that things done today will be exposed 20 years from now, just as things done 20 years ago are being exposed today.

Mr. President, others may do as they care to do, but so long as I have a vote in the United States Senate that vote will not be a vote to send guns across the sea to kill young men who want to live as ardently as I want to live. My vote in the United States Senate will not be for an act which will send shells across the sea with which to inflict wounds on men from which they will never recover. I do not want to send over anything which will injure young men who wish to live and be healthy and happy just as I do. Would I not have resentment if I knew that a bullet shipped from a foreign country had killed my brother?

It is now proposed that we send such things across the sea and we will be doing so in the name of peace. Can anyone say that we are doing it in the name of peace? Men do not kill in the name of peace, nor do men help others to kill in the name of peace. We are not doing this in the name of peace. We are doing it because of foreign embroilments.

Oh, I wish that the day before we vote on this measure every Senator could visit a veterans' hospital and see some of the shell-shocked soldiers, many of whom are mentally dead, even though they are still alive. I wish they could see them before they say, "I shall vote to make more of those shell-shocked veterans in Europe." That is what they will do if they vote to repeal the arms embargo. They will be accessories to the killing of every man who falls in France or Germany as a result of the explosion of an American shell when they vote to send munitions across the sea. They may escape condemnation, but they cannot escape their consciences.

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Men will die on the battlefield, men will be killed, with the blood gushing from their heads as the result of the explosion of shells sent across the sea from the United States of America, with the words "United States of America" marked on them. Other Senators may do that, if they please, in the name of democracy, but my conscience will be clear. I shall not contribute to it. This is an issue which affects the emotions. It affects American homes. But my vote will not be a vote for death; it will be a vote for peace, for I intend to vote to continue the embargo on arms, ammunition, and implements of war. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. President, in a very brief statement on the floor of the Senate October 25, 1939, I expressed my view about the economic involvement in these words:

Mr. President, the La Follette amendment is designed to prevent our economic involvement in war. We may become involved in war—emotionally, economically, and in many other ways. I believe the Nation is emotionally excited, and I do not want it to become economically involved, because when we have emotional and economic pressure it is very difficult to stop the momentum. There is no doubt in the mind of anyone who has studied the history of the wartime boom of 1914 to 1917 that it did affect our involvement in the war.

War trade is like a drug. The more it is used, the more certain it is that we cannot escape its final effects. I feel that we should face this issue while we can. Once we start it, it is not easy to stop. The La Follette amendment will be a safeguard against our involvement economically. It will help our national defense. It is sound from the standpoint of economics.

We want and need prosperity, sound prosperity, built on the development of peaceful enterprise here in our own country.

We must not get to the place where we are called to choose between a depression or participation in war to uphold a mushroom war trade.

False war prosperity is the cheese in the trap; America will try to get the cheese without the trap coming down on its neck. It tried before and failed. If it tries now, it will again fail.

Mr. President, in New York City on October 11, 1939, I spoke in opposition to the involvement of our country and again on October 16, 1939, I spoke over the radio. These speeches were as follows:

(Speech of Senator Holt, October 11, 1939)

The real truth is now coming to the people. Congress was not called in session to enact a neutrality bill. It was called into session to enact a participation bill, a bill that opens the front door to our intervention in the warfare now being waged in Europe. They tried hard, extremely hard, to deceive the people about a bill to keep us neutral, but when their arguments were completely demolished the cat came out of the bag, and there it was—the same old cat of 1914–17. It had come back to life. One Senator expressed it: "We must do everything to hasten the victory of the Allies." Of course, we are not to get into the war by manpower yet. We are not to send the soldiers across the ocean now. All we are to do is to start the sale of munitions on a 90-day credit basis. When the cash or terms cannot be met the next step will be the extension of credit. Then I need not tell you what the next one will be. Every home in America where there is a boy or man eligible for military service will know what that step will be. It will be his turn to give his life to settle the differences that have plagued Europe for centuries. He will enter war for a "durable" peace, the same type of peace the world had in 1918. He will enter war to make the world safe for democracy, the same type we have seen grow up throughout the world since the Versailles Treaty. Yes; he will go to war as his uncles did in 1917, go for an ideal, a wonderful ideal, that of saving the world. Let us hope he comes back. His uncle didn't. His uncle died so that no other boy would have to cross the seas as a soldier in a war to end all wars. He had fallen in action to stop the aggressors. He had gone over the top to destroy a government that would not uphold its treaties. But the boy of today may not remember the reasons for which his uncle died in Flanders Field. This boy had not lived during the period when we were neutral, yet proceeding down the path to war. He was only a baby, maybe not old enough to talk, and certainly not old enough to understand the 4-minute speakers who told of our duty to "make the world safe for democracy." He knew his uncle had died because he had been told it was a principle, a lofty patriotic motive. He hadn't had time from his game of football and his studies to read the foreign press how the boy he was going to kill in France had been told he also was to die for a principle.

This boy had not had a job since he left school. He didn't want to get quarters and dollars from his dad. He wanted a job. He thought, well, why shouldn't we sell munitions to these countries in war? It will give me a job. He thought that it would mean prosperity. He had heard Senator NORRIS, a man who had voted against

the entrance of the United States into the last war, speak over the radio about the neutrality bill, yet he had never had a chance to read the 1917 words of the Nebraska Senator about this type of prosperity. He could have read these words from the Senator: "To whom does war bring prosperity? Not to the soldier, who, for the munificent compensation of $16 per month, shoulders his musket and goes into the trench, there to shed his blood and to die if necessary; not to the brokenhearted widow who waits for the return of the mangled body of her husband; not to the mother who weeps at the death of her brave boy; not to the little children who shiver with cold; not to the babe who suffers from hunger; nor to the millions of mothers and daughters who carry broken hearts to their graves."

Yet he is told if we don't help England stop Germany, Germany will be over here after us. But he was not old enough to remember that Senator NORRIS had said before the World War that "newspapers everywhere have been filled with accounts of the impending dangers of attacks from foreign foes and the conquest and subjugation of our countries by foreign enemies." That was before the last war. Now he is told that we are in danger of a foreign foe today.

Ten years after the war, if the boy comes home, consigned to a veterans' hospital or even if he is at home before the fireplace thinking of his comrades who had died, will he pick up the newspaper to read:

We went to war to make an end to militarism, and there is more militarism than ever before.

We went to war to make the world safe for democracy, and there is less democracy than ever before.

We went to war to dethrone autocracy and special privilege, and they thrive everywhere throughout the world today.

We went to war to win the friendship of the world, and they hate us today.

We went to war to purify the soul of America, and instead we only drugged it.

We went to war to awaken the American people to the idealistic concepts of liberty, justice, and fraternity; instead, we awakened them only to the mad pursuit of money. All this, and more, the war brought us. It is our harvest from what we have sowed.

No; he will not read that, but the boys who went to France in 1917 could have read those stirring words of Senator NORRIS 10 years after the last war.

We are told England is fighting our war. He has read in the paper that England is fighting Germany for principle, yet he had not read the words of Lord Asquith, speaking for England before the World War, that "we are fighting to fulfill a solemn international obligation" and that "we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed." He had heard Chamberlain and others in England speak of no English demands in this war; yet he was not old enough to remember that Mr. Asquith had said in 1914:

"We do not covet any people's territory."

He may have forgotten the history lesson about the treaty after the World War that gave England 994,950 square miles of territory, 6 times the size of Poland, 25 times the size of Czechoslovakia. He had heard that France was going to fight for a durable peace with justice, but he had not picked up the papers discussing the peace conference at Versailles after the last World War when Clemenceau said, "Germany being incapable of appreciating justice, the Allies are free to be as unjust as they please to her."

He had seen the atrocity pictures of the war and felt it was his duty to stop them. Yet he had not seen the atrocity pictures of the last war. He did not know that his uncle had also seen atrocity pictures and might not have known that some of those 1914–15–16 pictures were fakes. It might interest him to read the confession of a French editor who wrote after the war this story of the House of Propaganda in Paris:

"Its principal work consisted in making photographs and cuts of wooden figures with cut-off hands, torn-out tongues, gouged-out eyes, crushed skulls and brains laid bare. The pictures thus made were sent as unassailable evidence of German atrocities to all parts of the globe, where they did not fail to produce the desired effect. In the same rooms fictitious photographs were made of bombarded French and Belgian churches, violated graves and monuments and scenes of ruins and desolation. The staging and painting of those scenes were done by the best scene painters of the Paris Grand Opera."

His uncle had been told that we must stop the Kaiser. The Kaiser was stopped. He was replaced and in his stead came Hitler. Now, the boy is told we must stop Hitler. The way to stop Hitler is to correct the conditions that have caused him. Hitler is an outgrowth of a bankrupt, destroyed country. He is a result of the war. Out of another war will come not democracy but more Hitlers. Out of another war will come not civilization but its most dangerous enemies.

The Father of his Country, George Washington, had a great foresight. He saw many problems that would arise in our country's history. In his message to Congress he warned us of the present crisis in these words:

"Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes to umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests.

"So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justification."

Oh! To those who feel England is fighting our war, may I repeat the words of Washington:

"Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists."

Let us realize this is not our war. Our war is the war against poverty and misery here.

If America gets into this war, we will be contributing to the cause of dictatorship. If we get in from a military standpoint, we will find that the first casualty will be our freedom. If we get in economically, as those who desire to amend the Neutrality Act now ask, we are building our prosperity on a false base. We have a task here to make democracy continue to work. Let us not build our prosperity on war. Let us not build our prosperity on misery, death, and destruction. Let us build our prosperity on the sound basis of a peaceful country building instead of destroying. Democracy calls for us to do our job here. Employment for the idle workers, not in the trenches in France but in the factories of America.

You may say we are not declaring war. But what are we doing? We are going into this war economically. They say we must help England and France crush Germany. But how are we to help? By selling them munitions on a so-called cash basis. Are we so insincere, are we so callous, if we feel they are fighting for democracy, that we are going to extend our help only as far as their cash lasts? Can we stop after their cash has been exhausted? How soon will the call be for credit? Then, once again we must choose between a depression from shutting off the war business or further participation. Then, after credit, will we reach the place we did before the World War? May I read you the words of Ray Stannard Baker, the official historian for Woodrow Wilson. He said:

"However we may repudiate the motives, the intricate business connection with the Allies developed during 1914, 1915, 1916—until the very economic life of the country rested upon the munitions traffic—stimulated a powerful interest in the victory of the Allies."

They say we can stop before we go down that path too far. I know we can stop, but will we? I, for one, feel that if we do not take the first step, we will not have any trouble stopping.

In conclusion, I say we can erect other safeguards for neutrality and keep the important safeguard of embargo on arms. What do we do when we lift the embargo on arms? We become international gun peddlers. We become merchants of death. Others may do as they wish, but for me, I shall never vote to send munitions to kill and wound the young men who are not the ones who made the war.

Sir Phillip Gibbs, writing of the last war, said:

"They had been told that they were fighting for liberty. But their first lesson was the utter loss of individual liberty under a discipline which made the private soldier no more than a number. They were ordered about like galley slaves, herded about like cattle."

He further stated:

"Was it not rather that the masses of men engaged in slaughter were serving the purpose of powers above them, rival powers, greedy for one another's markets, covetous of one another's wealth, and callous of the lives of humble men? Surely if the leaders of the warring nations were put together for even a week in some such place as Hooge, or the Hohenzollern redoubt, afflicted by the usual harassing fire, poison gas, mine explosions, lice, rats, and the stench of rotting corpses, with the certainty of death or dismemberment at the week end, they would settle the business and come to terms before the week was out."

There would be no war if the men who made it, fought it.

(Speech of Senator Holt, October 16, 1939)

Why do we say the repeal of the arms embargo is a step toward war?

Let us look at the facts.

It is now admitted publicly, although only whispered privately at first, that the purpose of the repeal of the arms embargo is to help England and France defeat Germany. Why is the changing of the Neutrality Act an entirely different matter than its passage? The original bill was passed in time of peace. The present repeal action is in time of war. The original bill was passed long before the sides of the present conflict were chosen. The present action is afterward. The important difference is this: The original bill was passed with a definite purpose of neutrality, while the repeal is being considered with a definite purpose of taking sides. These points are beyond dispute. The administration wants to start their reasoning in the middle, not from the beginning. The premise of their argument is wrong If their premise would be correct, it would be neutral for us to change the act every time it would help the side we want to help or hurt the side we want to hurt just so long as we keep the terms in the bill identical to both sides. We have a right to amend our own law. We also have a right to declare war if we wish, but we cannot in fairness nor honesty say the bill is for neutrality when we know its purpose is to help one side. Why would that lead to our involvement in war?

President Roosevelt in a speech to Congress made a statement that is indicative of the reason for repeal. He said that we could take certain steps "just short of war" to punish certain nations. If we are going to a place "just short of war," can anyone dispute we are not going toward war? His statement should be read. Listen to the President's own words:

"There are many methods short of war but stronger and more effective than mere words of bringing home to aggressor governments the aggregate sentiments of our own people."

Would you say that is neutrality? Does it not say that this method shall be directed against only certain types of nations? Is it not asking our Government to go in the direction of war hoping to stop short of actual military participation? The language itself definitely indicates it is not neutral, it chooses sides and takes us to a place "just short of war." That is not neutrality. That is a policy of setting up ourselves as a judge to determine the conduct of all of the nations of the world. We are to determine the guilt, regardless of whether or not the actions affected or involved us. From where did we get the authority to dictate the type of government for every nation of the world? When were we made the censors of actions of all governments? We have heard much about mandates from the voters. The very issue of our policing the world has been taken to the people of the United States time after time again. Those mandates are not to involve us in the wars of Europe. In 1936, the campaign speeches said, We gave you the Neutrality Act, an act for peace.

We are now making a move to change the conduct of our foreign affairs. The foreign relations of our country have been on two great pillars—first, President George Washington's advice against entanglements; and, second, the Monroe Doctrine. President Washington said we should not have a passionate attachment for one nation nor antipathy for another. He advised against our involvement in the quarrels of the world. He asked a question in his Farewell Address that I repeat tonight:

"Why quit our own to stand on foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?"

Some may try to brush that aside by saying that was too long ago, that conditions have changed. I admit that it is old. I admit that conditions do change, but fundamental principles remain the same. Certain rules of conduct were given to us nearly 2,000 years ago. The Ten Commandments are as good today as they were then. The Golden Rule is old yet excellent. This rule of conduct between our Nation and the rest of the world has been tried and found good. It has met the standard of our country's long experience.

As to the second pillar—the Monroe Doctrine. Many persons think the Monroe Doctrine applies only to keeping European powers out of the Western Hemisphere, but it has another part that says, and I quote from it:

"Our policy in regard to Europe remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the identical concerns of any of its powers.

"In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do."

When we set ourselves up as the international judge of conduct for the world we are violating both of these great documents upon which we have found security and peace. Why does it lead to war for us to determine what kind of a government Germany has, who is right and who is wrong in the wars eternally being fought throughout the world? President Washington said how we would get into war if we interfered in the conduct of other nations. He said:

"The nation prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy."

Later in his address he said that "nations adopt through passion what reason would reject," and that peace has been the victim.

Are we not prompting ill will and resentment? Are we not forcing one belligerent to hatred? Some may say we should not care whether they hate us. Why should we? Because it makes it easier to have incidents cause war that would not do so if we maintained neutrality. The feeling that we are going into the war has been related time after time in the press reports and radio dispatches from foreign countries. In today's paper a press dispatch from Paris says: "French wonder why we aren't fighting."

I desire to read you a story from the front page of the Windsor Daily Star, of Windsor, Ontario, Canada. I quote it: "The arms embargo clause of the Neutrality Act will be repealed for a starter and the United States of America will be in the war along about the middle of January."

What are we going to do in repealing the arms embargo? We are going to sell instruments of death. We are going to supply the guns and ammunitions to kill. We are going to supply the bombers that are just as deadly, just as terrible, as those we now condemn. Will not our bombers kill women and children as allied bombers did in the World War? Evidence from Germany during the World War indicates the resentment that later led to actions based on hate and prejudice rather than on reason. Colonel House, who had been sent to Berlin by President Wilson, wrote the President on May 26, 1915, about this feeling of bitterness because of our munitions trade. He said:

"The bitterness of their resentment toward us for this is almost beyond belief. It seems that every German that is being killed or wounded is being killed or wounded by an American rifle, bullet, or shell."

Were we not tempting Germany to retaliate? Would it not be the same today? Germany felt we had become the arsenal for Great Britain the last war. They felt we were on the side of the Allies. They felt they could lose nothing by direct action. They took that action, and we went to war. A German general, General Falkebhayn, wrote to Bethmann-Hollweg during the discussion of the unrestricted submarine warfare the following letter:

"So far as this submarine situation is concerned, America's step from the secret war in which it has long been engaged against us to an openly declared hostility can effect no change."

I shall not discuss the correctness of his statement about secret war, but it does show the resentment and the retaliation that plunged us into the war.

Why is repeal of the arms embargo a step to war? They say we are going to repeal it to help the so-called democracies. Are we going to help the democracies only to the extent of their cash? Is our interest in their victory only valid as long as they can buy our goods? Are we interested in democracy just so long as it makes us a profit? Or, if the tide of battle turns against England and France, will we feel duty bound to contribute more? Shall we not develop our interest in the outcome to such an extent that we will extend credit and then, if it is necessary, send soldiers? If we must crush Hitler as some say, and our arms sales cannot accomplish the crushing, how much further will we go? History tells us how far all other nations have gone. When a nation becomes emotionally and economically tied with one belligerent, you will find the interest does not stop with supplies. It is always followed by money and men. Nobody can say that we are not taking an economic step in the war. Nobody can deny we are to get profit from the sale of war supplies, because the war profiteers never fail to see that happens. Ray Stannard Baker, official historian for Woodrow Wilson, expressed the economic path to war. He said:

"However we may repudiate the motive, the intricate business connections with the Allies, developed during 1914, 1915, 1916 until the very economic life of the country rested upon the munitions traffic—stimulated the powerful interest in the victory of the Allies."

That interest was followed by money, money that was never repaid and then followed by men, men that never returned.

Why is the arms embargo a step toward war? Take a combination of all these factors and see why. Let me review them briefly: We are taking sides to punish one group of belligerents in a process just short of war. We are selling munitions to kill, maim, and destroy, arousing bitterness, and hatred, all inscribed with an R. S. V. P. We are becoming economically interested in the continuation and outcome of the war. We are emotionally lined up on one side. Any one of these would lead to dangerous involvement. A combination of these may take us to a place just short of war or it may take us clear into the war * * * Congress takes the first step if it repeals the arms embargo. The American soldiers will take the last. They will go to the battlefields to die and then we may find this war is a duplication of the last, and the one before that. It is just one, yes, just one of the ever-occurring wars of Europe, all with the beautiful thought of an ideal for the soldiers but one ended around a conference table where no ideals exist. The soldiers will die thinking they are fighting for democracy but their survivors will know different. They will die for right, to find the diplomats are interested in power. They will die to stop a madman, to find not one madman but many. They will find war does not correct the conditions that cause dictators. Let us hope and pray that America realizes before it is too late. Let us remember the path to war. Let us not take that first step, a step toward death, destruction, and depression.

Mr. President, preceding the special session, I had expressed much concern over the interventionist foreign policy. My speech of April 22, 1939, follows:

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S FOREIGN POLICY

"I don't want to get poison gas in my lungs. I don't want a piece of shrapnel in my stomach. I don't want my legs riddled by machine-gun bullets. I don't want maggots crawling in my brains that have been laid open by a splinter from an aerial bomb. I don't want to die."

These words of a young Kansas editor are the words of thousands and thousands of young brave, patriotic Americans. They do not see why we should get into this insane war game.

I want to give you the words of this young man: "I am 37 and want to live. I hate those who have brought the United States closer to war today than it was in 1915. I wasn't old enough to fight then, but I was old enough to watch the war hysteria being aroused until it tempted the United States into a ruthless struggle for power in Europe. And I was old enough to see what it cost then and since.

"That's why I hate those who today are deliberately stirring emotions in favor of one side or another in that bloody European conflict which again is on the verge of breaking out of council chambers and onto battlefields. Officials of our Government who already have taken sentimental sides, members of Communist and Fascist organizations alike, those with munitions to sell, open and secret agents of other nations, professional busybodies, and all others in this country who have been knowingly rousing passions, I damn alike.

"These passion rousers have done their work well. There are tens of thousands whose dreams tonight will be filled with gray-clad legions marching down through Canada to spread desolation in their wake, with skies black with bombing planes and with battleships flying the flag of the rising sun shelling the whole west coast. In waking hours they fear secret agents of foreign powers are about to poison the water they drink or are busy raising armies of hyphenated citizens which very soon will ravish their wives and daughters and make them slaves. They are almost ripe again for that old catch phrase, 'making the world safe for democracy.' These I do not hate, I pity.

"Because there are so many with such thoughts as those, I am personally afraid. I fear their emotions have betrayed them so far there is no turning back. If that isn't true, there is only one thing that will save them and me. One thing alone can stop all of us from repeating even more tragically the tragic mistake of 1917. That is some rational thinking."

Yes, America needs rational thinking about our foreign policy. We are not in war, now. We have freedom of speech and press. But the very day the declaration of war is made, that freedom will vanish. We can speak, now. That shall be the voice of peace. We will contribute to peace by facing the issue with calm judgment. We will contribute to war by facing the issue with emotional hysteria.

The entire formation and background of the administration's foreign policy should be known.

The leaders of the administration's foreign policy were almost unanimous in their belief of active participation in European affairs through our entrance into the League of Nations. Their background is one of belief in our active intervention in foreign affairs. President Roosevelt was active in the movement to have us become a member of the League of Nations.

In a speech at Chicago he called for our participation in a policy of quarantine. It is needless for me to tell you that his policy since then has been one of intervention in European affairs. He recently advocated such a policy. That intervention has been called a parallel policy by some. British spokesmen have told of that policy with the United States. As Anthony Eden is quoted as telling Parliament, "We are constantly and daily in close consultation with the Government of the United States. Over and over again we have taken either parallel or similar action, and that in itself is an indication of the closeness of such collaboration."

The French Government spokesmen are overthankful in their praise. As Guy La Chambre, French Air Minister, was quoted as saying, "I take this opportunity of thanking the great American democracy and its leader, President Roosevelt, for the way they have shown they are thinking of only one thing in this matter—how best to serve France."

War is a gradual process. The declaration of war is one of the last incidents in the chain of affairs. As President Roosevelt said in 1936:

"At this late date with the wisdom which is so easy after the event, we find it possible to trace the tragic series of small decisions which led Europe into the Great War in 1914 and eventually engulfed us and many other nations. We can keep out of war if those who watch and decide make certain the small decisions of each day do not lead toward war, and if, at the same time, they possess the courage to say 'no' to those who selfishly and unwisely would let us go to war."

It was the small decisions which led to the Great War of 1914 that eventually engulfed us and many other nations. It will be the small decisions of each day that will lead us into another war if we are not careful. Let us weigh those decisions carefully and let us have the courage to say "no" to those who would selfishly or unwisely let us get into war.

Shall we be involved? Shall our own fathers, brothers, sons, and neighbors be sent to the battlefields? Those questions are being decided by those decisions.

We are told that we must take part to save the democracies, that democracies are in danger. They are in danger not from staying out of war but by participation in the suicidal mass destruction. How many times have you heard individuals say we cannot keep out once it starts? We can if we have a sound foreign policy. If that policy is unsound in that it involves us through secret alliances or understood agreements, we will be involved. If we mind our business, we can stay out. By staying out we will do more to help the cause of democracy than by participation.

We will be involved if we try to save the faces of those who have blundered. But I, for one, believe it more important to save the faces of the young men of America than it is to save the face of a social tea hound who has contributed enough money to the party to be rewarded by becoming an ambassador to a foreign country.

We are told that we must save the democracies and stop the dictators. To sell something one must be approached through his likes. Propaganda has been at work to sell that idea. America believes in democracy. Every lover of our form of government opposes dictatorships. America believes in freedom. America upholds the right of free speech, free press, and the right to worship God as one's conscience dictates. When the dictators deprived the citizens of their countries of these rights, they alienated the people of this country. Persecution cannot be upheld by any sound-thinking individual. The aggressive grabs of today are wrong, just as wrong as the aggressive grabs and persecutions shown in the wars waged by England in Africa and Asia.

This Sir Galahad policy of saving the world sounds nice. They make it appear that the issue is right against wrong; the peace loving against the war makers; the democracies against the dictators. This good-sounding policy has been used many times in the past and will be used many times in the future. The sides change as we study the history of the world. Great Britain is using it today, yet they ask us to forget the Boer War, the barbarities in India, and many more of their territorial conquests. Shall we be a party to a fight over colonial imperialism? We did not stop aggression in the last war. We will not stop it in the next one. Now, let us check the statement that we must save the democracies. What democracies? Would you call the monarchy of England a democracy? Is France, with Daladier's dictatorial powers, a democracy? Is Soviet Russia, with its communistic dictatorship of Stalin, a democracy? Where are these democracies we are to sacrifice thousands of our brothers to protect? Why are we told that in face of facts? Because in the passion rousing, in the emotional hysteria, they feel it a good point to use to involve us in a war to help pull their chestnuts out of the fire.

Has it been so long that we have forgotten the story of our involvement in the last World War? Remember the story of how we were going to Europe to make the world safe for democracy? Instead of making the world safe for democracy we have dictatorships. Thousands who lie buried in Flanders Fields thought that they were participating in a war to end all wars. Yet there has been an almost continuous battlefield. Out of the last World War came many of the troubles of today. Out of the next war will come the destruction of liberty, the downfall of democracy, and the greatest threat to civilization.

Warfare is not a new thing for the countries of Europe. It has been an almost continuing fight. Check through the history of Europe for the past 250 years and you will not find more than a score of years at one time when peace existed in that continent. England, not counting native uprisings, not counting acts without formal declarations of war, not counting colonial expeditions, has been in a constant state of conflict. Once you will find that the now called peace-loving England had peace for less than 20 years. England says we must help stop the aggressors now. We must quarantine them. We must encircle them. Yet the history of that country shows the most flagrant use of aggression to acquire territory the world has ever known.

We can speak now. We can contribute our part to peace. A great contribution for peace will be the voice of the American people. That voice can be a voice of peace, not war. How can you express yourself? You can express yourself by writing your Senator demanding that he oppose our being entangled in the wars of Europe. If you wait and let someone else do that, it may be too late. You and your fellow citizens who oppose sending our boys to fight on European soil speak now through your representatives in Washington. President Roosevelt once said in a speech on foreign affairs that the vital question was public opinion. Let's make that public opinion overwhelming for peace.

Study the past and you will find that every time the domestic problems become too bad to talk about we are given another war scare. We hear little of the tragic unemployment problem because we are supposed to talk of war. We hear little of domestic difficulties because we are supposed to be talking of the actions of Hitler and Mussolini. That is clever, but such cleverness may be part of these small decisions which lead us into war.

These men who are creating the war spirit in America will not do the fighting. They will sit behind the desks telling the soldiers how to win the war. They will be in the nice, comfortable, air-conditioned Capitol, drawing $10,000 a year, passing laws to tighten the dictatorial powers in order that victory might be achieved. The fighting will be done by those who had no part in taking us into the conflict. These men who are doing the shouting for our intervention in the European mess will continue to do the shouting after the war starts. Yes; they will be shouting because they will not be close enough to the battlefront to be heard without loud shouting. They will be far removed from any danger of the bullets of the enemy. They want to save the democracies, but they want someone else besides themselves to do the saving.

The true patriot wants to keep us out of war, not put us in. Those who contribute their bit to keep us out of Europe are the ones who are true patriots.

The American youth does not want poison gas in his lungs. He doesn't want shrapnel in his stomach. He doesn't want his legs riddled with machine gun bullets. He doesn't want his head torn off by a bomb. He doesn't want to die. He wants to make America a better land in which to live. The American youth believes in adequate national defense, but he wants it to be a defense. He doesn't want to be sent to a European battlefield because of our blundering, meddling foreign policy.

Mr. President, with well-financed propaganda and official pressure the drive for war increased in 1940. That was to be expected after the special session. But I have taken my position in opposition to our involvement. Certain speeches about this dangerous path follow:

(Speech of Senator Holt, June 1, 1940)

No one likes to be a sucker, but it is far worse to be a sucker after one has been told how he is to be fooled.

We were told how we were to be propagandized for our participation in war and the blue print is being followed.

There is no need for pussyfooting in this crisis. Patriotism calls for plain talk. There is a drive to take us into the European war. The original moves were secret, but now it is too plain to hide. I have been told that the propaganda directors are surprised at the rapid change in sentiment. However, I am not one who believes there has been such a change of sentiment as the papers, lecturers, Government officials, and radio commentators indicate. I know there has been some change, but as yet the great majority of the American people are not willing to get into this war. The situation is that some of the timid have gotten brave. They will allow themselves to be quoted in the newspapers. Some speakers who desire our participation even though they have not as yet gone far enough to say so openly were the same individuals who were quietly talking in the club rooms and to their friends about how the isolation sentiment was breaking down. They did so on the quiet before but now

they are doing so from the lecture platforms and before luncheon clubs. Government officials have shaded their words to a more active intervention in the conflict. They are playing safe by wanting to get into this war only part of the way.

These are the same individuals who asked for the amending of the neutrality law in order that we would remain neutral, or that is what they said. Some of us said then that they were not interested in amending the bill to be neutral but that it was a guise to get part way in. Now they want to get a little further. Tomorrow they will want a declaration of war.

With all of this organized move, the cause of peace is not lost. If the people of this country will remain calm and not be swept off their feet, we will stay out. The great danger in this battle for peace is that those who want to stay out are not organized, while those who are pressing for our entrance are not only organized but organized well. Those who want to stay out are not financed, but those who want to get us in are not only financed but financed well. Certain newspapers are active for intervention in the war. Did you ever check the background, the former employment, the record of some of these well-known "impartial" commentators? It will not only be interesting but startling.

What did I mean when I said, "We were told we were to be propagandized"? Let me explain.

I shall quote from an English authority, Sidney Rogerson, who wrote a book on this subject, not for American consumption but as a part of a series for England.

Let me quote: "Our main plank (of propaganda) will be the old democratic one." Now, just think a moment of the speeches you have heard about this war, think of the articles you have read, and you will immediately see the main plank was just that. Recall how the king, a monarch, talks about democracy as his speech comes to American homes by way of radio? Remember how the sirs, lords, dukes, and others appeal for us to help democracy?

Let me quote again: "We shall as before send over our leading literary lights and other men with names well known in the United States to put our point of view over the dinner table." Recall the visit of Duff Cooper, his lectures at good-sized fees over the country, and how he assured us that he was not interested in getting us in. Today he is directing the ministry of propaganda. His visit to our country was good experience for him as to the propaganda to be used. Others, such as Anthony Eden, the King and Queen, to cite a couple, are easily remembered. The English Embassy has held such a party, and as a Washington newspaper states—and I quote: "Subscribers for last evening's benefit were carefully chosen before being invited to pay their $10"—and so they were. Leaders in our public life were there to get a good dose of war propaganda, sugar-coated with tea and music.

Again quoting from the propaganda plan: "We should exploit the views and experiences of American nationals who might be serving in our forces or those of our Allies. We should make much of them, decorate them, single them out for mention in dispatches, and in the press, and use their stories as propaganda material to their own people."

May I recall for you the amount of space given to the service of Nicholas Roosevelt, who advocates our more active intervention? Others could be mentioned, but time does not permit.

Remember the stories of Anne Morgan, the sister of the international J. Pierpont Morgan, who made millions out of the last war? Recall her stories of atrocities?

This is the same Miss Morgan who came to Washington and held a dinner at a most fashionable Washington hotel, serving a French peasant menu. A society column said—and I quote: "A wave of enthusiasm to help fighting democracies in general, and France in particular, rippled through the crowded room. * * * Many in the gathering recalled in whispered comments that similar meetings were the order of the day in the last war when Miss Morgan's Committee of Civilians for the French Wounded was working at top speed, and afterward when her Committee for Devastated France began its work."

You see that Miss Morgan—and again I note she is the sister of the banker, J. Pierpont Morgan, who made millions out of the last war—is not new at the game of drumming up war spirit; and may I add to those not familiar with the Washington scene, the use of social activities for propaganda is one of the most effective ways of getting to what the propagandists call "the proper people."

I quote again on the blueprint of our being made suckers, newsreel men "should be the first to be allowed to shoot pictures of air raids in order that a proper volume of pictorial horror will be available in one of the few great countries where atrocity propaganda will still be operative."

We have been saturated with this type of pictures. People will gasp when they see the pictures and say, "Isn't it terrible?" No one questions how terrible, but we should think clear through to know that our entrance into the war shall give us the experience of realizing that our own sons, husbands, and friends would be in just such a terrible scene if they get swept from their sound, common judgment of staying out of this war.

Speaking of propaganda in the last war, may I quote from a noted authority:

"The great success of British propaganda in the United States should not be attributed to a professional group of propagandists but to native American volunteer propagandists. Once these natives had acquired the correct frame of mind, they were enlisted for the duration of the war."

Again the same course is being pursued. We are seeing American societies, under all types of titles, moving for our more active participation. They are not advocating sending the boys over—not yet. On this "not yet" depends the life of your son. May I quote from a well-known playwright who has become a propagandist for our participation, a playwright whose background is worth investigating. He said: "We must go to the Allies aid with all the power that we can command. We cannot send an army now." His only qualification of sending an army was that it would not be sent now, but the future would mean—and his statement definitely indicates that it would mean—sending the boys later.

Just think this proposition through. They advocate sending our planes, our guns, our material—even though they say we are not prepared ourselves and that we could not defend ourselves—to the battlefields for the cause. If the material will not win the war, is it not only expected but natural to suppose that we would be enough interested in the cause to send the boys if they are needed, if the material wouldn't be enough to win? Just common sense will prove to anyone that if we take this step it will not be long before the boys are sent to man the planes and the guns. Don't be fooled, America.

In the last war it was stated, and I quote: "It was in the group known as intellectuals that the best body of propagandists were enlisted." Sir Edward Grey sent certain Englishmen over to, and I quote, "to meet people, particularly those connected with the universities." Again that course is being used, and many of our college and university presidents and professors are native volunteer propagandists for our entrance in the war. They will advocate sending students to their death while they remain as brain trusters to tell us how to win the war.

Do not think of this war as something far away. Just get in mind and keep it there, that we are closer to war today than we were in 1916. Certain Government officials, yes, very high Government officials, who are saying we are not close to war are lulling you into false security. Your boy will be called to have his head blown off on the battlefield or maybe just a leg or an arm, to have his lungs filled with poison gas to cough the rest of his life, or maybe he will come home to you a shell-shocked wreck, if we continue the same drive to war that our country has experienced in the last 6 months. America cries out for the administration to solve the problems of our own country such as unemployment, yet these are neglected while all of the time is given to the international schemes of those who have failed in our own problems. I am not pro-German nor pro-English nor pro-anything except pro-American. I believe in a strong national defense, but I am tired of this hypocrisy of preaching peace while taking us into the war. I call for my country to awaken to the danger of those who call for peace while their actions mean war.

Our young men want to live to make our country a better place for future generations—through peace.

(Speech of Senator Holt, June 10, 1940)

Do you want this country to go to war? If you do not, you had better get busy. The drive to take us in is under way, not under its real representation but through subterfuge. Whether we go into this war directly or by any other means, the ultimate cost to you in the killing of your sons will be the same. Whether we slip in, walk in, or are pushed in, the penalty is the same—the death of the finest American youth. Some of us in the Senate are determined to prevent our country from getting into this war. We do not want to get into it through the front, back, or side door. We want to call a stop to this hypocrisy of preaching peace while leading us to war. We believe the people have a right to know the truth.

President Roosevelt said, in a radio speech, and I quote:

"Your Government has no information which it has any thought of withholding from you."

Not only are the people having matters withheld from them, but the same prohibition is against certain Members of Congress. These matters kept secret are not about national defense. They are matters of public policy. A War Industries Board report has been kept away from Congress by the President himself. Conferences at the White House, which would shock you, have been held under secrecy.

I am one who believes the fellows who have to do the dying ought to have a right to know why they are called upon to give up their lives.

I desire to make my position clear. I want every move of treason or disloyalty to my country exposed and punished. I want to bring out in the open every enemy. Let us, as I have said on the floor of the Senate and in dozens of speeches elsewhere, expose all of these forces, be they German, Russian, English, or any other nation. Trojan horses are not confined to one set of belligerents. Let us bring out to the light the Nazi agent, but do not let us at the same time wink at the English agent. Anyone who is trying to accomplish the overthrow of my country is an enemy and should be punished. So is an English propagandist who is trying to get my country to sacrifice our soldiers on the battlefields of Europe. He is an enemy that should be punished. Why has the investigation of foreign propaganda by a Senate committee been held up under administration pressure since last fall? I have voted and supported every effort to stop and punish treason or any attack on my country. I have not been a late convert to this course. When I attacked these termites who are boring from within, some, yes, many, who are now generating hysteria talking about "fifth columnists" were defending these influences that started these same individuals. These foreign influences were coddled by officials of our own Government, and their influence was courted. Today they have broken their alliance. You can answer why.

I support a strong, adequate national defense. May I add that a strong, national defense is not alone in ships, airplanes, and tanks,

but also in the getting of our own house in order. A debt-ridden country, millions of unemployed, agricultural bankruptcy, and uncertain economic structure do not aid in having a strong national defense. Neither does it do our national defense good to send away the implements of war which we need here. We have been told that we are woefully unprepared, yet, these same individuals want us to dispose of the very implements necessary for preparedness here. An airplane half done—half finished, will not stop an invader. A strong national defense will protect us here but it will not keep us out of foreign wars if we allow ourselves to go there. Let us defend the Monroe Doctrine which says "no" to foreign invasion of the American Hemisphere and which also says "no" to our involvement in the affairs of Europe.

I regret to say there has been some progress made toward getting us into this terrible, ghastly war, not as much as financially involved newspapers, controlled radio commentators who call themselves "impartial," or some jingoistic Government officials indicate, but in all candor, I must say some progress has been made, and I hate to use the word progress because that means advancement and war is advancement to nothing but poverty, disaster, and death.

This very morning I picked up a newspaper to see where certain so-called leaders were advocating a declaration of war. Last night, on this network, I heard another jingoist, if there ever was one, advocate going to war. They use the term "we" when they say "we should save civilization" but they do not mean we, they mean you. They will not go. Any man who advocates our entrance into this war and who does not enlist now in the cause of the Allies, is a cowardly traitor to his country. If the danger is what they say and the cause is what they preach, they should have the courage to offer their lives to the machines of death rather than sitting back, asking the sacrifice of the young fellows who want none of this war, whose interest is in a better country here. I have no patience with these armchair patriots who want your son to be killed while they tell him how to win the war. These are the dangerous traitors who should be exposed. They are the "fifth column" warmongers who are the ones who would destroy our country.

After the World War, years after the boys had been killed in France during that conflict, after the boys had been shell shocked, a memorandum of Secretary of State Lansing was made public. He said, and I quote, "The sensible thing to do was to defer action until a gradual process of education and enlightenment was accomplished." This was in 1915, 2 years before our entrance in war.

Plans were being made then, as he said, to "educate and enlighten" the people. For what? To get us in the war. I feel the same process is now at work in this country. Just like the Lansing memorandum, we will not know about it before the war, but after the boys are killed on the battlefield, after they come home crippled and wounded for life, then we will find the true story. America, may I ask you—yes; may I beg you—to get busy? Let us who are opposed to war meet these "fifth column" interventionists who are organized to get us in. How? Contact your Congressmen and Senators immediately and tell them that you want none of this war. Don't sit back and expect others to do it. Your duty is calling, that is, if you want to keep this country at peace.

Shall we find after the destruction has been done that Bill Bullitt, our Ambassador to France, had given certain commitments about our involvement? Remember the story of Ambassador Page, who was the Ambassador at the Court of St. James in London before the last World War? We found out, but too late; too late to save the thousands of your dear ones who thought they were dying for a great ideal, that of making this a better world in which you could live. They were patriots, those boys who died. But we know the ideals for which they gave the supreme sacrifice were thrown out the window by the same diplomatic schemes that have been, are, and will be in effect in Europe.

President Roosevelt, speaking at Chautauqua, N. Y., in a speech made before the 1936 election, spoke out against involvement in the wars of Europe. He said that, and I quote, "We can keep out if those who watch and decide make certain that the small decisions of each day do not lead toward war and if at the same time, they possess the courage to say 'no' to those who selfishly or unwisely would let us go to war."

That was good advice but it is not in effect today. We are not making certain that the decisions of each day do not lead to war. To the contrary, every decision has been in the direction of war. Furthermore, there have not been enough "no's" to those who would let us go. I shall talk plainly. It is no time to dodge when persons are being shoved to their death. It is no time to be nice to those who are directing our country to the precipice of our destruction.

The President has said privately that this country is nonbelligerent. We should be a neutral. Nonbelligerency means in the war part way as an ally but all history will prove that nonbelligerency finally and ultimately means war all of the way. Steps short of war, to the brink, are dangerous, on the slippery path of war. Step by step, we have thrown away our neutrality and gone toward intervention. Nice sounding propaganda has aided in this drive toward death. "War to save civilization" compares with the "war to save democracy" 25 years ago. "War so that our country may remain at peace" compares with the "war to end all wars." Furthermore, why is the President so insistent on getting Congressmen out of Washington? Should we not stay here and look after the peoples' interests under such an emergency?

I am against dictatorship and all it implies. I want to help save democracy but I know the place to save it is right here in our own country where it actually exists. I know that our entrance to war means dictorship here. The real friends of democracy want to stay out.

Check the financial tie-up of certain newspapers calling for war, check the active interventionists who have large financial holdings in Europe, and if you do not want your son to die to protect them, check these paid columnists. There is where you will find the real enemies to our country. It is there we are allowing the Trojan horses to come into our midst.

Why has there been pressure to stop the outlawing of excessive war profits? It does no good to deliver a radio speech saying no war millionaires, if the law does not stop them. Is the propaganda of economic gain being used to push our country to disaster?

I am a young man. I have talked to hundreds and hundreds of the youth in this land. We love our country. We are willing to die in its defense here but we are determined that we shall not be sent across the seas in another one of the ever-occurring wars of Europe. We oppose the "fifth column" as well as the paid warmongering columns of certain newspapers. We want to live for America, not die in Europe. We are not cowards—we know of the propaganda in the last war that sent young men off to their deaths and we want no duplication of it.

We know America's hope and America's future rests in peace, not in war.

(Speech of Senator Holt, August 6, 1940)

America is in danger. We are not in danger of invasion but we are in danger from those who are trying to create an invasion hysteria. This is part of the war scare to get America ready emotionally to involve ourselves further in the terrible war now raging in Europe. If this drive is successful, it will not mean the death of the boys of this country alone but it may mean the death of our form of government. We cannot afford to lose either.

This is no time to mince words. The people have not been told the truth about what is going on behind the scenes. Congress is refused information by departments. We are supposed to take what is given us without question. If we dare to ask, we are immediately "smeared" as being opposed to national defense and listed as "fifth columnists." I do not believe this is just as incidental matter, but I do believe it is a deliberate plan to break any opposition. Name calling, deliberate smearing, vicious press and radio assaults should not stop free people from expressing their views. We have not as yet reached a place in this country where free speech is prohibited. It may be uncomfortable to take advantage of this constitutional guaranty, but history shows that true Americans are hard to muzzle. Do not deceive yourself that there is not a drive to get us into this war. A few have said so openly. They are more outspoken than the majority. The trouble is that the drive has been through subterfuge and hypocrisy. Remember how you were told that the repeal of the arms embargo was to make our country neutral? Later, as you know, it was admitted that its purpose was just the opposite—it was to have us take sides in the war. Their excuse was for trying to fool you that they did not think the people would support the move if they felt it was to make this country unneutral. Regardless of your view on that issue, you know that the administration was not frank and honest with you as to its purpose. If the purpose was to help one side, as it was, why not be honest and say so?

Then, when the administration wanted to get around legal barriers that would prohibit the sale or transfer of airplanes to belligerent countries, they again did not tell the people the truth. They hid behind the subterfuge that the planes were obsolete. Remember how the President of the United States, according to press reports, grinned when he said the planes "get obsolete fast." They were not obsolete planes but the finest first-line planes we had. Regardless of your view on that issue, you know the administration was not frank and honest with you. Why didn't they tell you the truth?

Remember the secrecy surrounding the sale of planes that occurred before the outbreak of the war? Remember how the people found out the truth only by an accident that injured a French aviator who was secretly being shown our airplanes? Remember the outburst of denial when certain Senators told the people that it had been said "our frontier was on the Rhine," and now not only admitted, but cockily so, by those who denied it?

Incident after incident could be given to you to show this clever (and how they love that word "clever," as they gather in star-chamber sessions behind closed doors)—this clever method by which they tell how they fooled the people. If they take such pride in fooling you in the past, are they not fooling you on actual military participation in the war? They have not been honest before. Why believe them on this vital issue? Haven't the boys who do the dying the right to know why they are to be killed?

They tell us of great danger to this country, yet, when questioned as to just what this great danger is, they say, "I would like to tell you but it is too secret." Is our involvement in war to be covered by secrecy? Why didn't the newspapers of the country carry the story about the secret conference at the White House last Friday between President Roosevelt and Sir Campbell Stuart, who directed propaganda for England? All other visitors are announced to the press. Why was this kept secret?

It has been written by Raymond Moley and others that it was agreed that the process of "educating" the people for a "strong foreign policy" was to be undertaken. Educate the people for war. Remember the story of Secretary Lansing before the World War of 1914–18? He wrote in 1915 that we would get into that war but the people had to be educated before they would enter it. I shall be glad to send you this data if you write me asking for it as I do not have time to discuss it in my limited time.

Step by step, they are educating us to war. No overt incident has occurred to inflame the country. Some felt the *Athenia* sinking

would do it. Others hoped that the invasion of the fine little countries of Belgium and France would again have us go to Europe to "right the wrong" as it was called in 1916.

It has been stated in the magazines and newspapers of England that the people of that country should have patience with us in America. They tell the English readers that they will have to wait, particularly will they have to wait until after the election. Just give us time, they say, and we will be in the war. They point to our being further along toward active intervention in 1940 than we were 1 year after the last World War began and do this with pride. Give us time. They are hoping for either the educating to be successful or some flaming incident to occur that will send the boys once again into the trenches.

There are some steps that will be taken in the meantime. They say the credit of England will be pinched this fall or soon thereafter; therefore, we cannot afford to let credit stand in the way. Repeal the Johnson Act, they advocate. They want to allow the defaulting nations to get credit again in spite of their failure to pay their last debts, those debts you paid for in taxes, and as the President once said, they come from the "sweat of your brow." They want us to finance their war. We did once before. Why not this time?

Then the move is now being pushed to have us make available to England our destroyers. They were successful in calling the planes obsolete so once again the word is used. No one denies that part of our destroyers are old but most of them have been recommissioned and are a part of our national defense here. They can be used for patrol duty, for antisubmarine campaigns, and for many other things. If they are lost to us, we must take our new destroyers and use them where the older destroyers would do the work.

Furthermore, we have been told by Lord Lothian that if England goes down she might have to give up her Navy, and then we would be in a bad fix, he advises us. If that be the case, what would happen if we gave the destroyers to England and England fell? Would she also give up our own destroyers to be used against us if the purported German invasion is so certain? Think, America! Don't be misled by these powerful propaganda forces. Do not be misled by the staccato voice of a certain prejudiced radio commentator who seems to be interested in our being embroiled in that conflict. It is to be regretted that the former chief of the A. E. F. advocates something that will create a second A. E. F. By all standards, the affording of these destroyers to a belligerent is an act of war. We have heard much about undeclared wars. Shall we have an undeclared war?

Certain jingoistic newspapers, whose stockholders are interested in financial holdings in foreign lands, are pushing us closer to the precipice. They are sliding America into war instead of asking us to openly walk into it. Radio commentators, calling themselves impartial, are filling the air with their vicious war propaganda. They are coloring and censoring the news. They may take some pride in doing so, but history will prove their part in this act which ultimately may mean the death of many of your sons. Hate and more hate to get us emotionally ready for war is the process of some motion-picture producers who are willing to gamble on your son's life for box-office receipts.

Now, as they drive for conscription we are told that we must act now and think later. Certain large papers advocate speed and more speed on conscription, but slow action and more slow action on war-profits legislation. Why?

We are told that some dark night Hitler will cross the Atlantic and attack us. They do not tell what is going to happen to our Navy and many other things, but we are not supposed to think. We are supposed to be too scared to think. It would be ridiculous if it were not so tragic. If we are in the danger of attack as they say, why do they advocate giving away our destroyers and our planes which are so vital to our defense?

Conscription is not for defense unless we think that the English Channel is our line of defense, because the purpose of conscription is for an overseas army. No place in the bill is there a limitation on the use of this conscripted army to the United States or to the Western Hemisphere.

Let's defend America here with everything we have but let's defend it on this side of the Atlantic. Let's have more antiaircraft units, more planes to protect our shores, more shore batteries and those things necessary to repel an invader. Let us not go over there.

Controlled newspapers, radio commentators, and others have tried to use a "blitzkrieg" on this conscription bill. They have tried to tell you that the bill is passed or will be passed any day. Their strategy is to create that impression so you will feel there is no need to protest. If you are against conscription, telegraph or write your Congressmen and Senators at once. Let's stop this invasion of un-American conscription. That is the danger we fear today, the invasion of your homes by peacetime conscription. Where is the talk about regimentation we heard so much about a year or so ago? Some individuals are against regimentation of wealth but perfectly willing for the Government to regiment the boys in a conscripted army. We are financially unprepared, far more so than we are unprepared in manpower. Therefore, why aren't these screaming patriots, and I use that word only in their own way, why aren't they calling for financial preparedness by drafting wealth? They are willing to draft men but not wealth. It is democracy, they say, to draft men but communism to draft wealth. Can't you see, America, what is happening? Your son is to be taken in another war if they are not stopped!

Awake, America! Awake, before it is too late. Awake to protect the boys from resting in the graves across the sea. Yes, defend America, but defend it here. Defend it here in peace as the beacon light of democracy for the entire world to see—that democracy can—and does—work here in America.

(Speech of Senator Holt, August 17, 1940)

For years the American people have rightfully condemned the method of undeclared war. For years Japan and China have fought a deathly struggle, yet no declaration of war was made. Russia and Finland saw hundreds of thousands of their soldiers killed in another undeclared war. We have some individuals in our own country who are trying to push us into an undeclared war; yes, push us into the present war without a declaration of such involvement. Of course, at first that does not mean the actual sending of troops, but it eventually means such action. As the tempo of war has increased, that means sending troops much sooner than many imagine. Some of these individuals try to cover up their actions by saying we are not prepared to send our Army yet, or by saying that it would be foolish to think of sending another expeditionary army now. They qualify their statements by the words "now" and "yet." They are little words. They contain but three letters, but when wiped out, they mean much. They mean the loosening of disaster, destruction, and death.

Oh, but they tell you we are not going to send boys over there. However, those of you who lived in 1916 and 1917 can identify the same phrases, can see the same statements, but the boys went—they went to their deaths—to make the world safe for "democracy" in a "war to end all wars." The very same individuals, and I want to emphasize this, the very same individuals, the same men, who were preaching that we would not go to war in 1916 and 1917 are doing the same today. The men who voted in Congress in 1917 to send the boys across to France are telling you the same story they told you just a few months before they voted to send the boys across the ocean. This is not idle talk. I am compiling these statements for the people to see. They are in some instances identical with those now being uttered.

Some of the same financial institutions that made millions out of the last war are behind the spreading of hysteria for our involvement in this one. The same international lawyers, who were later shown to be tied financially and employed by foreign governments and corporations in the last World War, are preaching that we take steps "short of war," but they know that "short of war" in the long run will mean the elimination of the phrase "short of." Some of these individuals who made millions out of the death of some of your own families are donating money in newspaper and magazine campaigns to whip up sentiment for our involvement in this one.

Yes, a few of these individuals who have been a little more outspoken than some of the rest and actually have called for a declaration of war, have money invested in businesses making the machines of death. One individual who has proclaimed that we should declare war and fight the battle over there does not in the same statement tell you of his financial holdings in airplane manufacturing concerns that build bombers, pursuit planes, and the like. I have been giving the United States Senate some interesting information on dollar patriots. I have much more to give to the country. Some newspapers did not print these facts because they were controlled. You have a right to know the background of these individuals who are preaching a policy that will mean the death of your boy.

So-called impartial radio commentators are spreading hate night after night in their comments on the news. They know that the first thing that any group must do to get a country ready for war is to get a country to hate. Hate destroys judgment. There's a story behind most of these individuals who are giving us colored news comments.

While talking about the methods used, may I say, the old smear bucket has been filled to overflowing. Let anyone question any action, he is immediately labeled a "fifth columnist," or an appeaser, or a paid agent. That is the prediction of the attacks given to us by our great first President, George Washington, when he said:

"Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests."

When some of us say, "Why shouldn't we first arm our own soldiers with real guns, guns that will shoot, not guns on order, before we start sending them abroad," we are called enemies of national defense. When some of us say why should airplanes built for the United States be left standing on the floors of factories without engines while the engines are sent abroad to foreign countries, we are labeled as being "fifth columnists." When some of us say if we are in danger of invasion, as these individuals preach, we should keep all of our naval fleet, not send it abroad to be destroyed or probably captured, we are told that we are against protecting our country. In one breath they tell us we will be invaded, as has the bellicose and war-minded Secretary of War, Stimson, yet in the next they want to ship our means of defense against invasion abroad. Why haven't the newspapers, why haven't the Government officials told you that planes sent to France have been captured and are now being used against England? Because they know that you will naturally think that the same thing would happen to implements of war sent to England; that is, if you feel we are in danger of being attacked. We haven't guns to equip our Army. We haven't shoes to place on the feet of the boys they want to conscript, yet they are dashing ahead for conscription.

I exposed the start of this conscription drive on the floor of the Senate. The speech contains facts you should know.

One newspaper stated the truth when it said the reason for conscription was that—and I quote:

"A strong American military force will give Washington added and respected weight to its economic arguments."

The old story of trade and money. The story that has been used throughout the world for centuries, the story that led many a young man to have his head blown off on the battlefields of the world, the story that led many a young man to the living death of shell shock.

I have been told by a man who favors conscription that it would relieve the unemployment problem, that it would take the boys off the streets. Yes; it might do that. It might give them a job in the trenches, but America cannot solve her economic problems in that way. These boys are unemployed in most instances for no reason of their own. Let us not make them cannon fodder to relieve the strain of 10,000,000 unemployed. Germany was condemned for solving her unemployment through a war economy by some who recommend the same thing for us now. Show me a dictatorship and I will show you a country that has conscription. Yes; show me a man who is for war and I'll show you a man who is for conscription. These boys want jobs to live, not jobs to die. They want to build, not destroy. Their hope is the science of chemistry to make this a better world in which to live, not a world in which to spread poison gas. Their hope is the science of mathematics to build homes, not to draw charts for the dropping of bombs. Their hope is the march of progress, not the march of death. Conscription? For what? Everyone who is familiar with the devolpments in Washington knows that the conscription is for the possible use of the drafted overseas. Diplomatic reports state that those on the inside predict we will be in the war this fall or next spring. Yes; conscription of your son. This may be his last Christmas at home. Christmas in 1941 may find him coughing out his lungs from poison gas on the blood-stained battlefield. I am no alarmist when I say these things. I am daring to tell you what the plans are. And as long as I have breath in my body I shall oppose it. I think there is something better for the American boys than to be sacrificed in the ever-occurring wars and rows of other continents.

No place in the conscription bill is there a provision that says these boys are to be kept in the continental United States or our possessions, or even in the Western Hemisphere, and that is quite an expanse of territory and does include part of Siberia. The Canadian conscription law, which was not passed until long after the declaration of war by our neighbor, has a provision that calls for conscripts to be kept on Canadian soil unless they volunteer to go elsewhere.

No flaming headlines have told you that the United States Government is reconditioning some of her vessels into transport ships—yes; transport ships to carry the soldiers somewhere. Yet they tell you that no boys are to be sent abroad. And, in speaking of ships, the transfer of our destroyers to a belligerent would be a deliberate yet sneaking attempt to involve us in war immediately. It would be an act of war. They know it. Maybe it would satisfy the desires of some who want an overt act created to try to force a rupture of relations, then tomorrow to be followed by war. If they want war, let them do so openly, not sneak in the side door.

When an investigation is asked of foreign propaganda of all nations, including German, Russian, English and of all others, we are met by opposition on the part of the administration. Why should they desire to stifle and stop an investigation of propaganda to involve us in war? They can best answer. Do they want only one side presented to the people so that hate can be generated? Why should the secret visit to the White House of the well-known English propagandist, Sir Campbell Stuart, be kept from the people?

Why should our naval officials have secret conferences on naval cooperation with a country with which we are supposed to have no alliances?

Why should secret conferences be had on the sale of our naval vessels?

America, I hope you can see why.

You have a voice in this Government even though some feel you are a servant. Express that voice to Senators and Congressmen, asking that we shall not involve ourselves in this terrible war across the sea.

War for democracy? One war was fought supposedly for that 25 years ago and out of the graves of Flanders Field comes the lesson that European diplomacy knows no democracy, that European diplomacy knows no liberty, that European diplomacy means our sacrifice on the altar of power politics.

Yes, prepare. Prepare to defend America, here. Prepare to save America from those who destroy her through invasion or through involvement. It is an insult to the glorious history of our country to say that our defense rests upon any country in the world. Let's make our defense rest upon our own great prosperous country here. Let's remember that our country fought one war for her independence of Europe. Let's not fight one now and make her dependent on Europe in the future.

Our defense does not rest across the sea. It rests in every home in this land. It rests in our factories. It rests in our everyday life. It rests not upon any navy of any foreign power. It rests on you, 130,000,000 persons who know that America's hope is peace. They shall rise as one to repel any invasion or attack here but do not believe they should be pawns in the war games of Europe. While they prepare for war, let us prepare to keep America at peace.

(Speech of Senator Holt, October 17, 1940)

If you have a son of military age, you had better secure an atlas to find out where Malacca, Kedah, Penang, Johore, or Rangoon are located. It is very likely that your son will be sent to any of those places if our present war-like policy in the Far East is continued.

The secrecy by which the parallel action of the United States and Great Britain has been continued would shock anyone who believed in "open covenants openly arrived at." You are just ordinary people. You are not supposed to know about foreign relations. You are supposed to die or give your son to die if the directors of foreign affairs think it is best. They are educating you for war. It is bad to be fooled but it is worse to be fooled after being warned as to how you will be tricked.

In a book on propaganda for use in military circles of England, not printed for its reading in the United States, Sidney Rogerson states how we are to be involved in the war long before the war began. He tells of Japanese feeling and says—and I quote:

"Japan's distinction is that she is unpopular. She is a commercial danger and therefore the more easily from a propaganda viewpoint saddled with atrocities."

But as to our actual involvement in the war, how is the United States to be involved? Let me quote:

"To persuade the United States to take our part will be much more difficult. * * * It will need a definite threat to America, a threat, moreover, which will have to be brought home by propaganda to every citizen before the Republic will again take arms in an external propaganda." Get that—propaganda.

But now, as to Japan, Rogerson states, "This position (speaking of our involvement in war) will naturally be considerably eased if Japan were involved, and this might and probably would bring America in without further ado."

The plan has been set. Now, to get us ready, there was to be a process of education to make us forget, to make us get hysterical from fear of invasion. Raymond Moley, well known for his close position with the President while he was serving in the Department of State, noted in his book that as early as March 1938 there had been a conference called at the White House in which an "educational" program was to get under way to "educate" the people for a more active or as he states "a stronger foreign policy." Remember, this was in March 1938, a year and a half before the German forces moved into Poland, long before the invasion of Belgium, Holland, or Norway. Was that information brought to you as a reader of the newspaper or a listener on the radio? No. It was to be done secretly.

The Lothian-founded Round Table, published in London, knew about it and stated in the magazine that the President was to "conduct an educational campaign." For what? It says: "Against the philosophy of staying at home and staying out of trouble." It states that this policy has the support of the newly appointed Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, of Norman Davis, now director of the Red Cross and former ambassador at large, many of the most important newspapers, and various eminent students. What did these individuals want to do? Again referring to the article, it answers the question: "They want to make the world safe for democracy again. They are in about the 1915–16 American mental state." Most of my listeners remember the 1915–16 mental state. They remember the slogan of the last invitation to participate in Europe's wars to "make the world safe for democracy." Some have forgotten that. However, others remember the lesson taught. Thousands of the finest young men of America lie buried in France tonight. They died for that ideal, but we know what happened at the Treaty of Versailles. It is too late to bring back to life those who died for a cause which the diplomats knew was not the reason for the war but which they knew to be a way to stir up sentiment for our involvement.

What does the March 1938 issue of the London magazine say as to Japan? Let me quote—it speaks of how "disquieting" it would be if the people knew what was going on behind the scene, and that it was "private" information. It says talks had been already underway about a "long-range blockade of Japan." Remember, this was more than 2½ years ago. It further gives us some interesting information as to why Captain Ingersoll, of our Navy Department, was then in London. We had been given another story, but the article states:

"When the general public comes to know of these goings on, opinion may well take fright."

The article refers to the real reason for Captain Ingersoll's visit to be "the possibility and ways and means of naval cooperation in the Far East."

You can see that these events in the Far East did not come upon us since Japan signed an agreement with Germany and Italy as the administration propagandists try to make you believe. We were having secret understandings with a country to oppose Japan long before the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis agreement was signed. The real story will come out, but it may be after the American soldiers and sailors are killed.

Two years before the beginning of the German invasion this magazine, founded by the present British Ambassador to the United States, took great joy to advise its English readers that "the United States is part way along the road to 1917." Part way along the road to war! Part way along to the death of thousands and probably hundreds of thousands of our young men—your sons and your brothers! And yet, you were not told those thing. We were told they hated war—yet the record pointed to the planning for war.

The educational campaign continued. Isn't it ironic to talk about educating a people for war? We think of education as something constructive. something beneficial, and then to have secret meetings to develop an educational campaign for involvement. I wish I had time to tell you about the present war profits and how these individuals making "blood money" are active in the cause.

By the spring of 1939, long before declaration of war in the present terrible European slaughter, the English magazine states—and I quote:

"Far, indeed, by degrees that have sometimes gone unperceived"—may I hesitate there and repeat, "by degrees that have sometimes gone unperceived"—and the article continues—"has the administration led the American people actively into the world crisis."

They were telling the people of their peaceful intentions and how they hated war.

They were watching public opinion in the United States. The article stated that the people of our country were 6 to 1 against sending American troops abroad; but may I quote their reaction to this view: "Here, perhaps, public opinion does not realize the consequence of its own unneutrality and gives way to wishful thinking."

When war broke out in September 1939, this same publication, very close to the Foreign Office in London, stated:

"How, when, or whether the United States would actually be drawn into the conflict is, naturally, a question that cannot be answered; but if one is estimating the possibilities, they are that the history of 1914–17 would be foreshortened and repeated."

What does the history of 1914–17 mean? Ask any mother who lost her son on the battlefields of France. Ask some crippled veteran who had his arms and legs torn off in Flanders. Go to the veterans' hospitals and see the shell-shocked and gassed soldiers, and you will recall the history of that period, the period which they note will be "foreshortened and repeated."

They continue to talk of peace and their speeches call for "hating war." Yes; solemn assurances of peace have been given the people only hours after private conversations have been about entrance in the war. In some circles in official Washington the actual date of our going in the war is being used.

More than a year and a half ago it was stated in London—and I quote:

"The fleet [speaking of the American Fleet] is tailored for long-range work. It is already based at Pearl Harbor, almost in mid-Pacific. And there is Singapore to be remembered. There is little doubt that part of the [American] fleet would move to Singapore in the event of a Far Eastern threat, and might even go there if Japan made any overt action against the Dutch or British possessions in Malaya."

How true that points to what we are planning to do. But did you know it? How and when did the officials of England get that information? Should not you—the men who have to die—have a right to know these things? Shall you be called upon to die for "dear old Dong Dang," Sumatra, Rangoon, or the Dutch East Indies?

What are the reasons they give for our involvement?

We are told Japan is an aggressor. But when did we become the "policeman of the world"? By what authority were we given the special privilege to pass upon the actions of other nations? They may not like our lynchings and our past activities in Nicaragua and Haiti, but we are to protect the English Empire in Asia. And I ask, where did England get her territory in Asia? Was it by aggression? The Burma Road, as you probably know, was opened today. War profits will increase as a result. How was Burma acquired by Great Britain? Have you forgotten the three wars of England in the nineteenth century over Burma? The English people did not originate in Burma or Singapore. How did they get there? Oh, but they say, England has reformed. She is now purified. We recall the stories of her purification preceding our entrance in the last World War when we were asked "to make the world safe for democracy." We were told to forget the Boer Wars, to forget the atrocities in Ireland, to forget the incidents of India. Again, we are supposed to forget. They say this is another war for civilization and democracy. My mind goes to the great fight made by India for her freedom and how the democracy of England is used in India. Yes, I have been told of the stories of the head hunters in Borneo, an English possession in this territory. I am sure they are interested in our fighting for their democracy. They then say that the Chinese are being mistreated. But my mind recalls the well-known opium wars of China in which this terrible drug habit was saddled on China. Was it done by Japan? No, it was done by Great Britain. We are told we must protect our trade. This may interest you to know that our exports to Asia, excluding Japan, are approximately $330,000,000 for an entire year. That amount alone would not begin to pay the cost of a few weeks' war. Shall your son be killed for the tin and rubber of the Dutch East Indies? Shall your brother be shot to protect the oil business in China? Shall your husband be shell shocked to protect the Malay Peninsula? They say Japan has violated her treaties. What country is known as Perfidious Albion? Not Japan.

I believe every possible defense should be made against our possible attack from any source. Let us have the world's best air force over American land; the world's best navy in American waters; the world's best army on American land. But, do not send any American soldiers or sailors to protect the English Empire in Asia or require them to die for Singapore, Burma, or Indochina, because some governmental official may have secretly agreed to parallel action.

The great danger in America today is that the President, through the handling of foreign affairs, can enter into secret alliances or promote acts of undeclared war that would involve America. This means war whether declared by Congress or not. We must watch these actions if we are to remain at peace, and the American people want peace. They do not want war with Japan.

Mr. President, the record of these war patriots who are coining "blood money" has been presented time and time again on the floor of the Senate. I delivered a speech on September 16, 1940, about Profits and "Paytriotism," which follows:

PROFITS AND "PAYTRIOTISM"

All loyal Americans believe in national defense. We know that our country must be defended, but there are at least two types of patriotism in this country, one that is spelled p-a-t-r-i-o-t-i-s-m and the other that is spelled p-a-y-t-r-i-o-t-i-s-m. I desire to discuss the latter class of individuals.

These patriots, and they love to call themselves such, are divided into two classes, the profit patriot and the political patriot. The first loves his country when the country gives him the opportunity to make more profits from national defense or war equipment. The second loves to beat his chest with his words of patriotism and at the same time to remind his listeners of his indispensability as a public servant in the crisis. The first class desires profit and more profit. They realize that hysteria causes the Government to spend more and more and to spend it so quickly that the proper safeguards for the protection of the people are not given. They say, "You better not quibble over price or contract, over labor conditions, over anything. You better get this built by us at once or the country will be destroyed by an invader." These patriots wave the flag with one hand while they stuff a big defense contract in their pocket with the other. He is the profit patriot. The second class realizes the spending of tremendous sums is of great value for pump priming, for spending in his State or his congressional district and means more people working and more people who will vote to continue their jobs. They are reminded that Congressman X or Senator Y is responsible for the contracts. They know that hysteria will cause many voters to vote to continue them in power. When I say these things, they are not fantasies but about actual people.

If one questions the profit gouges that are in store for the Government in some contracts, he is immediately labeled as a man who is slowing up national defense even though the work would not start for many months. When one says, "Let's have some plan of defense, let's not just throw the money to the winds and hope that we will get a real national defense"—he is labeled as one who wants his country invaded.

And may I say here—if the day would come that our country would fall, it will not be the day of invasion but the day when it is destroyed from within, from our own people, from our own borders. It will come when the American people fail in their vigilance to protect our liberties.

This is an interesting incident that occurred with me in the last month. During my fight against conscription I was attacked by a certain newspaper. Don't misunderstand me—I was attacked by many—but this incident is the one I desire to discuss. This paper had a right to attack my position, but I thought I would look into the background of the ownership. What did I find? I found that a director was one of the main officials of a concern that had received a large order to manufacture shells; that owners of the paper had received dividends from their operations of business in the belligerent countries, that another director of the paper was also a director in a corporation which had gotten many millions of dollars in contracts from the Army and the Navy and had a large profit increase as a result of war orders. This is not an isolated example of what is going on in our country today. I have much more to give to the Senate in the next day or so. And may I say in passing that this information is available to you if you will write me, Senator RUSH D. HOLT, Washington, D. C., requesting it.

Since the beginning of the war we have had established many committees for involvement in the war. They do not state that as their aim, but nevertheless, it is their purpose. One of the largest of these has some very interesting sponsors, and I shall discuss some of them briefly.

One of the members of this committee is a director of an industrial corporation which has received contracts or allocations for defense items to the amount of more than $500,000,000.

Another member of the committee who is a little more outspoken than some of the others in that he advocates a declaration of war is connected with an aircraft investment corporation whose profits have increased at a tremendous pace since the start of war. Every time more orders are given it means more dividends for him. But he is being asked to speak here and there as a disinterested, patriotic individual whose only interest is the saving of our country.

Let me go further. One well-known international banking house, who has one of its own family in a powerful political position as well as a member of this committee, has large international holdings, holdings in aircraft manufacturing, holdings in corporations doing war business. And, while speaking of international banking, a recent newspaper advertisement appeared in many papers throughout the country advocating our more active involvement in the terrible slaughter abroad. I checked who paid for these advertisements and I found every international bank in New York City, with the exception of one, having someone directly or indirectly connected with the financing of those advertisements! Such patriotism! Another individual who donated to the advertisement is a director in a corporation that is selling shells to be used in

war and whose corporation has received a large order from the United States Government.

One of the most important national-defense officials of our country has a large sum invested in a large steel corporation and was one of its guiding lights. Members of the committee just mentioned a moment ago are on the board of directors. What do you think about the profits of this corporation? During the first 6 months of this year the profits were almost 3,000 percent higher than they were for the first 6 months of last year. The last 6 months of this year points to even greater profits.

Furthermore, some of these corporations who are getting large Government orders are donating money to the campaign funds. They are buying ads in political campaign books. Sometime ago there was sold a certain campaign book for $2.50 an issue, but what did certain corporations with orders for our Army and Navy pay for this book? Here are some of them:

A steel company	$7,500
An aircraft company	2,500
A builder of ships	2,500
A builder of tanks	5,100
A builder of engines	2,700

These are a few who paid those amounts for books that were being sold for $2.50.

Please do not misunderstand me. I have not nor do now indict all business with these statements, but I do say these practices should be stopped. Our national defense should not be victimized by those who are profiting personally by their so-called patriotism. I know many businessmen realize all business will suffer as a result of these infamous deeds. They know there is bound to be a reaction to such acts when the people know the truth. I admit it is hard to oppose some of these individuals who are in the most powerful positions in the whole business world, where a word from them will cause vicious attacks to appear in newspapers, where a call from them will set in motion forces to destroy anyone who dares to tell the truth, but we must give the people the facts. Because they are powerful, because they are influential is no reason for a public official to refuse to do his duty as he sees it. The American people are going to pay for this bill—yes; a bill of billions of dollars—out of their hard-earned wages. It comes from you. I believe—yes; I know—that the American people are willing to spend whatever is necessary to give us a national defense which will protect us against any or all foes, but they have a right to get a dollar's worth of guns, of ships, of national defense for every dollar that is spent.

It has been said by the President that no war millionaires will be created, yet they are being created and they will be created. Words, words, words will not stop their being created. It takes legislation with teeth in it to stop these war profits and we don't have it and we are in no prospect of having it.

They have passed conscription. Conscription to take the boys of this country and to force them into armed service. If a drafted boy earns $100 a month, the Government takes 79 percent of his wealth for 4 months and confiscates 70 percent for the next 8 months; yet, some industrialists howl and howl when we try to limit profits to 7 percent on Government contracts. Yes; the National Defense Council, the Army, and the Navy have all sent representatives to Congress to protest against any law that would limit profits to 7 percent. I shall be glad to send you the facts on these individuals who have appeared before the Senate committees and also to send you more information on the subject I have discussed tonight if you will request it by writing me at Washington. I feel it is my duty to give these facts to the people. They have no way to get this information and I do have. I shall share with them those things I know are for the good of our country.

The last war gave us some startling information on war profits. Some of those who made millions then were in organizations at that time to promote war. Today they are in organizations to promote war while making profits from death and destruction. One airplane company made $11,437,250 profit in 8 years on a $1,000 investment. Think of that! An eleven-million-dollar profit on a thousand-dollar investment. One company was charging England 54½ cents for powder and charged the United States Army 71 cents. And this company was not an English company but one in the United States. A steel bid showed a price of $560 a ton, yet the company itself admitted it cost but $350.73 to make a ton. They made $203 a ton, or 58 percent profit. Not bad when boys were having their lives confiscated.

Profit "paytriotism" challenges America. It has not only challenged it from the standpoint of finance but is paying campaign costs to promote those who will allow them to continue to gouge the American people.

That isn't the type patriotism that will defend America. We need a strong, national defense—one to protect us from a foreign foe or from subversive forces within.

Mr. President, on October 31 of this year I called attention to certain actions that caused fear in this country. That comment follows:

Mr. President, why do the American people fear? They fear because of the actions of the administration in dealing in secrecy and subterfuge. The American people want things out in the open, particularly when they feel that it means the lives of their own boys, of their own people. No wonder the American people fear. They will continue to fear so long as we play such a game through the administrative circles here in Washington.

Mr. President, I will tell you why they have fear. They feared your "quarantine" speech of Chicago when you outlined your desire for America to police the world.

Mr. President, they fear because of the methods by which you defeated an honest vote on the Ludlow war amendment and your great activity against allowing the people to decide whether they would enter a foreign war.

Mr. President, they fear because of the secrecy of many of your missions to England, such as the secret mission of Captain Ingersoll, where we found not through our own country but through English sources that the mission was for naval cooperation and not what was stated by you.

PLANS FOR M DAY

Mr. President, they fear because they know you have set up plans for M day, the day when everything is controlled through and by the Federal Government in Washington. We know that M day is the day we enter war.

Mr. President, they fear your policies called "short of war" because they do not believe they are "short of" but too close to participation in war.

Mr. President, they fear because of the speeches of hatred and bitterness against foreign countries delivered by Secretary Ickes and other members of your own Cabinet.

Mr. President, they fear because they know that you endorsed an editorial in the Washington Post with hearty enthusiasm and in that editorial it was stated that there was a "virtual certainty of American involvement."

Mr. President, they fear because they know that you permitted and encouraged a secret mission of the French Army in this country that would not have been known had not an airplane accident occurred.

Mr. President, they fear because of your secret conferences with Anthony Eden, Sir Campbell Stuart, head of the British Secret Service, and others.

Mr. President, they fear because you helped create that fear with scare stories about submarines being off the Florida coast and in the vicinity of our coasts and no submarines were found.

Mr. President, they fear because you helped create that fear by telling Congress that we were in danger of being bombed when you knew there were no air bases from which the bombers could begin such raids.

NEUTRALITY LAW

Mr. President, they fear because they remember how you told them you were asking for the amending of the neutrality law for neutrality when you knew and later stated that the purpose of amending it was to aid one belligerent against another.

Mr. President, they fear because they know the subterfuge by which you released war planes to foreign countries under the pretext that the planes were obsolete and they and you know they were first-line planes.

Mr. President, they fear because they have heard about the secret conversations with Bullitt, Kennedy, and others to build up an "educational campaign for a strong foreign policy."

Mr. President, they fear because they know the subterfuge by which you accomplished the transfer of the destroyers to Great Britain, how you did it on your own volition without taking either Congress or the people into your confidence.

Mr. President, they fear because they remember how you were going to dispose of our fast torpedo boats until it was shown that such would be a violation of all law, domestic or international.

Mr. President, they fear because of your Ambassadors.

Mr. President, they fear because they know you refer to the Ambassador to France, Mr. Bullitt, as your chief adviser on European affairs and how this Mr. Bullitt is known to be an interventionist and a believer in our participation in the struggles of Europe.

Mr. President, they fear because of your belligerent and unnecessary attacks against foreign countries with which we are at peace.

Mr. President, they fear because of your "stab in the back" speech at Charlottesville.

PRESIDENT'S APPOINTEES

Mr. President, they fear because you have appointed men to public office whom they know to be interested in our involvement. They know of the appointment of Mr. Stacy May as chief economist of the National Defense Council only a few days after he had asked for a declaration of war.

Mr. President, they fear because of your appointment of Frank Knox as Secretary of the Navy when Mr. Knox gave an absolute pledge that "all that we have that they need to win that fight will be given."

Mr. President, they fear because of your appointment of Henry Stimson as Secretary of War when they know that for a quarter of a century Mr. Stimson was known for his jingoism and war spirit.

Mr. President, they fear because you tell them that the Government has no information that it will withhold from them; yet, you order strict and absolute censorship on many facts that are not military or naval secrets.

Mr. President, they fear because your Army and Navy under your orders are buying troop transports and they know that means there is an intention to use those transports to carry our soldiers some place across the ocean.

Mr. President, they fear because your biographer has stated that you favor an alliance with England.

Mr. President, they fear because of your foreign policy which has left our country almost without a friend in the world.

Mr. President, they fear because of your failure to impose the embargo on the Japanese-Chinese war, even though the law required you to do so. They knew you justified your action on the statement there had been no declaration of war, although everyone knew there was war.

Mr. President, they fear because they have watched with much concern your changing attitude toward Soviet Russia, first friendly, then cold, again friendly.

Mr. President, they fear because they remember the incident of the ship *American Legion*, which was sent without reason through the mine-infested area around the British Isles.

Mr. President, they fear because your inner circle of "brain trusters" call themselves in private "the war hawks."

Mr. President, they fear because they know you have discussed at the White House the possibility of a declaration of war.

"OUR FRONTIER ON THE RHINE"

Mr. President, they fear because they have been told by Senators that you have said that "our frontier is on the Rhine."

Mr. President, they fear because your endorsed American white paper stated that you might favor sending the naval or air forces into the war.

Mr. President, I regret to say they fear even though you have promised them there will be no boys sent across the ocean. They fear because they remember other past campaign promises.

Mr. President, they fear for these and other reasons.

Can you blame them, Mr. President?

Mr. President, have the people of the United States forgotten? They are told that this is a war for democracy. Remember 1917, when they were told that the war then was a war "to make the world safe for democracy" and "a war to end all wars." Think. Think now before the boys are killed on the battlefields and on the ocean. Do not be swept by hysteria into approving another expeditionary force. America's hope is peace.

Yes; I want to save democracy—save it here. You may recall my letter of last fall when I said:

A LETTER TO WEST VIRGINIANS ON SAVING DEMOCRACY

DEAR FRIENDS: It is quite common to hear the expression, "Save democracy." Most of the talk about saving democracy, however, is for us to save it across the ocean. I am interested in saving it here.

We have the greatest democracy on earth. Our involvement in war will be its greatest danger. The first casualty of war will be our freedom. To hear many Government spokesmen, one would think their duties call for them to look after the entire world. They talk about the poor citizens of this country and that country. If they would devote half as much attention to the poor citizens of our own country they would be rendering more service.

War will not solve our domestic problems. It will aggravate them. Prosperity will not result from the conflict. War does not and will not bring prosperity. It will bring depression. It will be a "penny wise and pound foolish" course.

I wrote an article for Investor America, in which I state, in part:

"Save democracy! Yes; now is the time to save it. Not 'over there,' but right here in a nation where democracy has worked and will work if given an opportunity to do so. We hear about the terrible atrocities in Europe. No one doubts that they are terrible, but we have atrocities in hunger and desolation right here in our own country. While some persons are worrying about the furnishing of materials to the warring nations others of us are worried about the furnishing of food and clothing to the American people. While some folk are regretting the terrible desolation in European cities where factories are closed because of the hostilities of war, we must also realize that we have a problem here where factories are closed because of the hostilities of political fakers.

"Have we forgotten our Federal debt? It will have passed $41,000,000,000 before this article is in print. That debt is continuing to climb, but if we get into war it won't climb; it will jump—jump to heights that will threaten, if not destroy, the financial stability of our own country. We cannot continue to allow this mounting debt to go on unless we are willing to face inflation or repudiation, either of which will be destructive to all investments in this country; yes—investments in stocks and bonds; yes—investments in factories; but, all important, investments in the homes and farms of this country.

"We worry about the danger of an invading army when our real danger is the army of officeholders here. By the time the armistice was signed in 1918 the Government had recruited thousands and thousands of persons in the progress of the war. But today there are more persons on our Federal pay roll than there were then, and, under the name of national emergency, we are going to see this list continue to grow.

"While the national emergency continues to grow in intensity, according to the administration's spokesmen, it is interesting to note that the 1940 election looms closer and closer.

"Also, under the name of national emergency, we can expect to see many spending projects brought back into Congress.

" 'Watch out or some big, bad man from across the sea will get you,' we are warned. And while we look at Europe we forget that the depression is still with us. Those who would divert our attention from domestic affairs say, 'Think of the million men on the western front,' when they know our greatest problem is the ten to twelve million unemployed here on our home front. These unemployed want jobs in private factories, mines, and mills; not public jobs in the trenches of France.

"I am glad that businessmen have found out what 1 month's war has done to the taxes of England. That is important. But let us not forget our tax crisis here. England's overhauling of its taxes is significant. We have been promised an overhauling of our own domestic tax problem; but now under an excuse of an emergency it is completely in the background.

"Yes; I see bad signs for democracy. But the difference between my sight and that of the administration is that the administration is looking across the ocean while I am looking at the situation here in America. Our challenge is here—with the depression, with our tax policies, with our failure to solve the unemployment problem. Let's begin by saving democracy in America. Let's keep the greatest country in the world as a democracy; not place it under dictatorship in an M day under the false guise of 'saving democracy' somewhere else."

European nations did not solve their economic problems. We must not fail in our solution. America wants peace and prosperity. This can best be accomplished by "saving democracy" here in our own country.

Sincerely,

RUSH D. HOLT.

Defense Commission Coordinator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. TAFT

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 22 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE BY ALSOP AND KINTNER

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article by Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner on the subject of the complications and difficulties of the present set-up for national defense.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CAPITAL PARADE—FAILURE TO NAME DEFENSE COMMISSION COORDINATOR HAS TREASURY, WAR, AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS IN FUROR

(By Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner)

WASHINGTON.—The post-election lull is over. The President is back from his vacation cruise. The time has come to dispose of the multifarious unfinished business which was ticketed "Wait until after November 5" and put aside during the campaign. Unfortunately, however, there are few signs that the major item of unfinished business—organization of the defense set-up for maximum efficiency and maximum production—will be tackled even now.

Possibly the President will change his mind in the weeks ahead, or already has changed it while idling on the Potomac with Attorney General Robert H. Jackson and Harry L. Hopkins. But several men who saw him just before he left, including at least one important official of the Defense Commission itself, received the strong impression that his impulse was to let matters slide.

Letting matters slide would not preclude the appointment of Donald Nelson or one of the other widely touted candidates as Defense Commission Coordinator. Unhappily, the real fault in the existing situation is the complex conflict of authorities between the Defense Commission and the War, Navy, and Treasury Departments. Because the President has failed to say who is boss these four agencies are now engaged in a hot four-cornered feud.

The feud does not involve quite all of the men at the top, but is participated in by most of their subordinates, which is just as crippling. And the mere naming of a Coordinator to work within the Defense Commission would not improve matters greatly.

Yet the President seems unable to bring himself to make anyone a big boss. As reliably reported, his present inclinations are (1) to continue to rely on existing facilities, namely, the four agencies at one another's throat; (2) to create no centralized superauthority with independent powers, preferring to delegate his own powers to the Defense Commission as required; but (3) to delegate his powers rather freely, as when he gave the vital power to determine industrial priorities to a board composed of Messrs. William S. Knudsen, Edward R. Stettinius, and Leon Henderson.

The incident of the Priorities Board's appointment is a good illustration of the kind of problem arising from the present set-up. While the Defense Commission has authority to negotiate the most important defense contracts, supervision of production, once contracts are signed, is intrusted chiefly to War and Navy Department procurement officers. Certain of these men, who have little industrial experience, seem to share the feeling of many other officers and Government officials that the Defense Commission is an interloper.

Some time ago they persuaded Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox that rigid defense priorities ought to be enforced in aircraft factories, requiring all civilian orders to be laid aside. This view was presented to the President, who queried the Defense Commission. The Commission experts objected strenuously, arguing that laying aside civilian

orders would merely create empty factory space, since the specialized machines to produce additional combat planes were not available.

The dispute brought the long argument over enforcing priorities to a head. Plans for the present Priorities Board were prepared in the Defense Commission and presented to the President at a White House meeting. After Secretaries Stimson and Knox had been given 24 hours to look for objections, the plans were approved. Thus the dispute ended, only to be replaced by others.

One is now in progress, for example, concerning the contracts negotiated before the recent changes in the tax laws. The Army and Navy want these contracts changed to give the contractors the benefit of the new amortization provision of the corporate income tax law. The Defense Commission argues that prices in the existing contracts were calculated on the basis of the old law and that the contracts should be altered only if prices are cut. So the bickering continues, involving every imaginable bureau of the Government, from the Treasury general counsel's office to the Army Ordnance Division.

If the President fails to deal drastically with the situation it will be for three reasons. In the first place, he has never been very sensitive to dissension among his henchmen. In the second, his inclination has always been to organize defense "through the regular Government channels," as he told the Cabinet when war first broke out. And in the third, decision on any course is difficult, since so many people want him to do so many different things.

Britain's Stupendous Service To Preserve World Liberty—America's Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS SHEPPARD

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 22 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

POEMS BY HON. ROBERT BAKER

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I submit for incorporation in the RECORD two poems by former Representative Baker, of New York. One is entitled "Britain's Stupendous Service to Preserve World Liberty" and the other "America's Service."

There being no objection, the poems were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRITAIN'S STUPENDOUS SERVICE TO PRESERVE WORLD LIBERTY

Once again is Britain holding
The torch of liberty and right,
What marvels do its sons achieve
To break the Nazi boasted might?

How splendidly they carry on,
What courage, fortitude, and power,
While weaker peoples it sustains
In this the world's most crucial hour?

The measure of its service now
Will far exceed all done before,
As an inflamed satanic host
Knocks fiendishly at its door.

Where'er its faithful sons have gone,
There freedom's flag aloft was borne,
Ever its far-flung emblem seen
To mark blest liberty's new dawn.

All through the centuries hath run
A common purpose, steadfast held,
Dictatorships shall never rule,
Though by hatred, venom, impelled.

With Britain true to glorious past,
Yet endless sufferings impend,
Gibraltar doth but typify
World liberty can never end!

—*Robert Baker.*

AMERICA'S SERVICE

O'er Atlantic's billowed waters,
Though the way was dark and drear,
Came the Pilgrim sons and daughters,
Led of God untouched by fear.

This America's beginning,
Here her glorious work begun,
Through great sacrifices winning
Broader love for God and man.

With the centuries that followed
Came the strength to serve the world,
And when men for freedom struggled
Stars and stripes were then unfurled.

Freedom's torch held ever higher,
With its far-flung world-seen light,
The brave and noble doth inspire
To end tyranny's dark night.

Then all peoples, nations, brothers,
Freed now from oppression's rod,
Live in peace and love with others,
Children of one Father—God.

—*Robert Baker.*

Managing the Public's Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RANKIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 20, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. DAVID E. LILIENTHAL, DIRECTOR OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting the very able speech delivered by Hon. David E. Lilienthal, Director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, in Knoxville, Tenn., on Thursday evening, November 14, 1940, on the subject Managing the Public's Business.

It is one of the most illuminating discussions on the subject I have ever read and one that should be studied carefully by every person who is interested in the question of public power or in the subject of cheap electricity for all the American people.

The matter referred to follows:

We are justly proud in this country of the many skills that Americans possess. We are proud of our engineers, the men who have built the greatest concrete structures, the largest bridges, the longest tunnels in the history of mankind; proud of our physicians and biologists who perform miracles in the laboratory and clinic; chemists who force from nature secrets of energy sources that have been a closed book to man since the beginning of time—of skills of painting and music and mathematics and physical prowess—of all these and others in which Americans excel we are proud. But there is another skill that ranks with these, one that is of at least equal importance: The skill of business management, the art of getting things done. This skill of the American businessman, the manager, is the subject of my remarks tonight.

It is because of our responsibilities—yours and mine—our obligations as managers, as business men and women, that we have met here in this conference of electric distributors of the T. V. A. region. Upon our managerial ability the 425,000 homes, the stores, the farms, and the industries that draw their energy from the rushing waters of the Tennessee River depend tonight and every day and every night for a supply of the essential of modern living—electricity. It is upon such skill as we have as public businessmen, upon our capacity to manage this people's business, that the continued success of this far-flung T. V. A. power enterprise rests. A stream cannot rise above its source, and this regional power program cannot be stronger than the skill of those represented here—the superintendents of city-owned or cooperative distribution agencies, the trustees and directors of the boards of distributors, and the executives and directors of the T. V. A.

This conference is a very good omen. From all over the Valley we meet here, upon the invitation and sponsorship of a State institution of learning, the University of Tennessee. We are here to learn from each other, by the exchange of experience and of views. We are here to study our job, to improve our skills, to try to become better public servants, by trying to do a better job for the public to whom we are responsible. The measure of the satisfaction we get out of our work is the same for a public manager as it is for the artist or the musician—the sense of a job well done, skillfully done.

The distribution of T. V. A. electricity by more than 100 public-distributing agencies in 6 States has established itself as an unqualified success. It is not a success simply because it is big. True, it is big. It is the seventh largest power enterprise in America, producing power at the rate of about 5,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours a year and selling it for about $33,000,000 a year. But size isn't the test. The real basis of its success is this fact: That your management of the public's business has been well and faithfully done.

The figures taken from the records stand behind those assertions. But before I cite some of these figures to you, I should like to discuss for a few moments this question: What are some of the specific measures of the success of a public business?

First of all, a public business such as you are operating must be a financial success, must pay its way. Judged by that test the T. V. A. regional power distributors are successful beyond the rosiest anticipations of even the most optimistic. Then, too, the quality of service of a public business must be excellent. On that score the record is clear that the service rendered by the electric distributors is on a high level and compares favorably with equivalent service anywhere in the country.

Now, in a private business a manager who can point to a record of good financial and operating results is considered a success. But your job as the manager of a public enterprise is even more exacting than that. You must go beyond such financial and operating results if your work and the work of those of us who are engaged in the T. V. A. project directly is to be judged successful.

You must meet these additional tests: What have you done in the management of the public electric business for which you are responsible to promote the well-being of the men and women whom you serve? What have you done to promote the well-being of your community? Even though a public manager shows a substantial profit, his undertaking is not a success unless he can answer these questions by showing results of this character. Judged by the test of the promotion of individual and community well-being, the record of the more than 100 distributors of T. V. A. power is one of the proudest records of practical hard-headed idealism and public benefit to which we can point in the history of American enterprise. And I shall support that assertion, too, by the citation of the figures taken from the record. These figures show that you have brought electricity to a large number of homes which never had it before. The figures show that your users have multiplied their use of electricity far beyond standards generally prevailing in this country. The figures demonstrate that your activities and those of the T. V. A. have played an important part in probably the most rapid expansion of industrial and business activity, and hence of income and jobs, to be found in any similar period in the history of the South. This is a record of accomplishment in the face of great difficulties that establishes two things: First, that you have qualities of managerial ability; that you know how to get things done; and second, that the T. V. A. rates and contract under which we carry on this undertaking are soundly conceived, practical, and workable.

1. THE FINANCIAL SUCCESS OF T. V. A. POWER DISTRIBUTION

I have said that the financial results of your management as distributors of T. V. A. power have been outstanding. I want now to cite figures to support that assertion.

Figures, statistics, are generally regarded as rather tiresome in a public speech. But these figures have unusual meaning. They are alive. These figures mean something in the hundreds of thousands of homes and farms and businesses through the T. V. A. area. For the people in these homes and on these farms, those who operate these businesses own the Tennessee River, own the power in that river, own the distribution facilities that put electricity to work for them in their own community. On so extensive a scale nothing like this has ever happened in America before.

And these figures mean a great deal too to people all over the United States who will hear about them. They will hear of these figures because one of the purposes of the T. V. A. was to find ways and means of making electricity more widely available, making electricity used more generally, to find out for the country whether electricity at low cost could support itself. These figures will throw a great deal of light on that subject that means a good deal to the 125,000,000 people who live outside the Tennessee Valley region.

And so these figures are more than the mere reading of dry statistics—they have behind them the hopes, the aspirations, the loyalty and devotion of many, many human beings, your neighbors and mine.

In my discussion of these financial results, I am going to put them into four groups: The largest cities served with T. V. A. power; then all the cities except the four largest, then the smallest cities, and, finally, the cooperative associations distributing T. V. A. power.

The four largest cities distributing T. V. A. power are, of course, Memphis, Nashville, Chattnooga, and Knoxville. During the last year the citizens of these four cities earned a net income of $2,800,000, and provided nearly $1,100,000 in tax money. During that year the citizens of these four cities saved more than $5,500,000 through lowered electricity rates. The combined net income of these four cities amounted to more than 20 cents out of every dollar paid in by the rate payer. The taxes provided by each of these cities were the same in amount as the total that the properties under private ownership had previously paid to the State, county, and local bodies in ad valorem property taxes. Memphis earned a net income of nearly $1,119,000 during the year after paying operating expenses, taxes, a large item for depreciation, interest on bonds and every other cost. The city of Nashville earned a net income of $818,000. Chattanooga showed a profit of $463,700 for the year, and Knoxville, which has owned its system for a longer period than the other cities, about 2 years, earned a net income of $392,000.

These profits by these cities will be used for the continued benefit of the owners of the systems, the men and women of these cities. It should be recognized that many of these systems face a great task of rehabilitation and improvement. Large sums must be spent to convert these old systems to the capacity and dependability required by the enlarged business. It is perfectly evident that in the future, after plowing back earnings into the property for these needed improvements and retiring debt, these cities will be in a position further to reduce rates even below the T. V. A. level. Two T. V. A. contractors have already done so and others undoubtedly will follow in due course.

Excellent as are the results of the large cities' operations, they are almost matched by the medium-sized and small cities. The figures show that excluding the four largest cities the operations of the remaining cities in the various States taken together produced a net income last year of $1,160,000, or 21.2 percent of every dollar paid in for electricity. This is about the same percent as for the four largest cities.

And then when you turn to the small cities you find an equally encouraging result. Take the eight communities that have consumers of about 1,000 each. This is the size of community that utility experts have told me many times is far too small for successful operation as an economic proposition. Let's take a look at the results. After covering all costs, including taxes and depreciation, during the past year these eight small cities earned a return of 13.6 percent on their investment. Two of these cities earned over 21 percent return, and the lowest return in the group was 7¼ percent. So you can see it is not only the large cities that are prospering in these operations.

The cooperative organizations stand in a somewhat different situation. Many of them have been built from the ground up; they are operating in rural areas where to a large extent no electricity has heretofore been available. Very few of us believed that any of these cooperatives could perform the financial miracle of immediately beccming self-supporting. We all felt confident that, given 3 or 4 years, every one of them would be in the black and would stay in the black. Our expectations have been exceeded by the results. The cooperatives as a group last year earned a net income; in other words, paid their operating expenses, their depreciation, taxes, and interest, and had $111,664 remaining. Some of these cooperatives are not yet in the black, but they are moving in that direction, and with excellence of management and cooperation all around I believe that within a reasonable period we will be able to say that the cooperatives in the T. V. A. power system are all 100 percent on a sound, self-supporting, and earning basis. Since the use of cooperative associations for widespread farm electrification began in the Tennessee Valley with the creation of the Alcorn County (Miss.) Association in 1934, the valley is especially happy to note these results and to see the spread of this device all over the land.

So much for financial results. The complete details for all the T. V. A. distributors will be available to the public in a few days.

These are records to be proud of. But as I have said, the manager of a public electric enterprise, if he would be a success, must go beyond a successful financial report. He must demonstrate, in addition, that the job he has undertaken is promoting the well-being of the men and women in his region, and is promoting the well-being of his community. That the T. V. A. distributors are doing, and in a notable way.

2. PROMOTION OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY WELL-BEING

One of the measures of public benefit arising from electricity distribution is the amount of electricity consumed in the homes of the service area. As you know it has been T. V. A.'s position from the very outset, in 1933, that the country should adopt a wider, more liberal use of electricity. And it was for that reason that we were so insistent upon drastic reductions in rates.

The results show that the average annual use of electricity in the homes in the T. V. A. area is 50 percent greater than that for the Nation as a whole. The records show that seven of the cities distributing T. V. A. power have average residential use in excess of 2,000 kilowatt-hours a year, which exceeds the average for the Nation by more than 100 percent. Only three of T. V. A. municipal customers report annual domestic consumption less than the national average, and not a single T. V. A. municipal customer operating for as long as 2 years has an average domestic consumption lower than the national average.

Most of the T. V. A. distributors are now in this enterprise. We ought occasionally to look at some of the older municipalities and see how well the results hold up over longer periods. There are eight distributors of T. V. A. power that have been operating for at least 6 years. The increases in use in those communities are interesting to note. Tupelo, Miss., for example, the first city to contract for T. V. A. power, has increased the total consumption in the city by 557 percent, and the Pontotoc Power Association by 1,256 percent; Athens, Ala., by 916 percent. The average for all of these eight older distribution agencies—the total increase in consumption—is 294 percent.

Another way of measuring the benefit to the people served by T. V. A. power is the amount of electric-using appliances in their homes and on their farms. Let me cite you a few of those figures. There are 4 cities—Memphis, Tenn.; Florence, Ala.; and Amory and New Albany, Miss.—in which almost 9 out of 10 homes are equipped with electric refrigerators. There are 5 cities—Albertsville, Decatur, and Guntersville, Ala., and Lewisburg and Newport, Tenn.—in which about 1 out of 2 homes is equipped with an electric range. Needless to say, the national averages are far below such figures as these.

I shall not burden you with further detailed figures, but it can be safely said that there is no area in the United States, comparable in size and diversity, in which the people have so generally and widely taken advantage of these mechanical aids to human con-

servation, electric home appliances. That, too, is a measure of the success of your management. What that means in additional business activity for other parts of the country, what it means in the stimulation of commercial enterprise among businessmen in the Tennessee Valley, can be told quickly by this single fact: that last year appliance dealers sold to the homes in the Tennessee Valley area a total of $12,573,000 worth of appliances—more than three times the total for the preceding year, and 40 percent greater per customer than for the Nation as a whole. If over the country the average purchase of electric appliances by residential users would increase to the level now prevailing in the T. V. A. area, it is estimated that it would mean an additional volume of manufacturing and commercial business in the total of $300,000,000.

I have indicated earlier that not only must you as managers show a sound financial report, not only must you demonstrate that your services are benefiting the people of your service area, but you must show that the business you are managing is promoting the well-being of your community.

Here too you can point to a fine record of success. No one can gainsay that to increase the number of homes that have electricity, whether in the city or on the farm, is to promote the well-being of the entire community. And that you have done in a remarkable way. Let me give a few illustrations of many that I might cite. The city of Athens, Ala., has assumed responsibility for serving all of Limestone County and has increased the average number of its customers 237 percent since June 1934. The city of Knoxville has added almost 4,000 customers since it took over in 1938. Without expanding their territories, the cities of Amory and Tupelo in Mississippi have increased the number of their domestic consumers by 64 and 87 percent, respectively, during the last 6 years. The increase in the number of farms to which electricity is being supplied for the first time is a familiar and a heartening story. This has been achieved principally by the rural cooperatives, with the leadership and fine cooperation of R. E. A. and such State institutions as the universities and the various extension services. And many cities have assumed responsibility for seeing that farmers in their trade area are not without electricity, and have built or are operating hundreds of miles of lines to serve thousands of farm homes—a clear illustration of the community development idea at work.

There is one other important way in which you as the directors and managers of this public enterprise can demonstrate that you have met the test of promoting your community's well-being. I refer to the speed-up in the use of electric power in this area for industrial production. Cheap electric power—power in large quantities and at fair rates—inevitably serves to create new enterprise. Power at low cost helps put existing enterprise in the black, and therefore in a position to expand, to modernize, and to pay fair wages. Energy in great quantities, widely available, always increases the opportunity of people to make a living; it has done so in the T. V. A. region in a spectacular fashion.

Many of you are familiar with the very large investments in huge new industrial plants that have been made since the advent of the T. V. A. system—the Electro Metallurgical plant and now the Reynolds Metals Co. at Muscle Shoals; the Monsanto Chemical Co. and Victor Chemical Works in middle Tennessee; the Goodrich plant at Clarksville; and others—a total investment running into many millions of dollars.

But this expansion has not been confined to a few large plants. It has gone on all through the entire region. One measure of the greatly increased tempo of industrial activity in the Tennessee Valley region since the advent of T. V. A. electricity is furnished by these facts: That during the year you, as distributors and the T. V. A. directly, sold for industrial and large commercial use a total of almost 2,000,000,000 kilowatt hours. That power for industry is greater than the total of power for all purposes sold throughout the two States of Alabama and Georgia in the year 1932, and 80 percent of the total in 1932 in the three States of Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee.

And so I repeat what I have said earlier, you have exhibited skill in managing the people's business. And you have done it without the politics or nepotism that sap the strength of management. Those are accomplishments of which the country can and will be proud.

One of the problems which consumers and the management of these great public enterprises cannot overlook is the place of labor, and its share in the increased efficiencies of these electricity operations. The figures I have cited can leave no doubt in the minds of any of us as to the great benefits which accrue to the consumers of electricity. We are not unmindful, however, of the services of the operating personnel—the managers, the linemen, the skilled and unskilled men—upon whose efforts managerial efficiencies ultimately depend. It should be a source of great satisfaction to everyone who has the success of these projects at heart that in the adjustments which accompanied the transfer of many of these properties from private to public ownership, wage rates and working conditions did not suffer; no one can truthfully say that public management of these facilities and services can be successful only at the expense of the employees whose labor and skill carry the kilowatts into the homes and factories of the consumer.

It is not enough for us, however, to be content with maintaining the status quo with respect to labor's share in the benefits of loyal and efficient service of public management. In my view, it is clear that the worker should receive recognition in the fruits of increased efficiency. Public management no less than private management—and perhaps even more than private management—must and will recognize that it is necessary to the vitality of our democracy for us to give constant attention to the problems of labor relations; the worker's fair share in the management and the fruits of his labor must receive fair consideration if the permanent success of these public enterprises is to be assured. Public management of the electricity business creates a magnificent opportunity for the producer and the consumer in good will to equate the mutual benefits of public control and use of our common natural resources.

The complexities of this problem require more extended discussion than this occasion permits. My discussion of the problems of public business would not be complete, however, without identifying this important challenge to our ability as managers of modern business. I identify them for your further thought and joint discussion with your employees and your public owners.

Thus far tonight we have been talking about the present and the future. Just a word about the past. I see here a good many men who have had to endure a hard uphill fight in order that their communities might join in this enterprise, in order that their fellow citizens might have the advantages it has now been demonstrated were awaiting them. There is no one who has less desire than I have to reopen old wounds or renew old controversies. The fight is won; it should be forgotten. The fact that we meet here to talk about things that have been actually accomplished is evidence of the great strength, the underlying strength of democratic methods. The most powerful forces and the most adroit advocates in America directed their assaults upon the people of this valley by skillful arguments, by lawsuits, by pressures. And yet the people prevailed. The right of the people to express their will freely and to have their will prevail is the heart and soul of democracy. It was threatened here in the Tennessee Valley, seriously threatened. But by persistence, by using our collective intelligence, by being on the side of the right, the people of the valley have won. We have now recently been assured, in a solemn national referendum, that these gains shall never be taken from the valley. The T. V. A. enterprise was conceived in democracy. What you and the people of the valley have done to make it function is one of the finest demonstrations we can offer the country and the world that American democracy can work and does work.

Proposed Adjournment of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 22 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIALS FROM BOSTON POST AND BOSTON HERALD

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Boston Post of November 21, 1940, and an editorial from the Boston Herald of the same date, relative to the proposed adjournment of Congress.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Boston Post of November 21, 1940]

CONTINUED SESSION

The Congress is to be congratulated for its decision to remain in session.

This is no time to be at home, sitting by the fire. The Nation wants its legislators around where they will be on hand, just in case.

The vote on Tuesday showed that the Members of the House have correctly gaged the mood of the public. Vacations, for the time being, are out.

[From the Boston Herald of November 21, 1940]

CONGRESS STICKS TO JOB

One might wish that all the Representatives, Republicans and Democrats, who successfully blocked the administration's move to adjourn Congress, were motivated by a high desire to stay on the job and strive for the quickening of national defense. Some probably voted against adjournment because it was an easy way to take a slap at Mr. Roosevelt, others because they would rather live in Washington than in their home towns, and still others because they fear what an opponent might do at the next election with the charge that they were vacationing somewhere when important national decisions are being made. But whatever the motive, the decision itself was good. The country should give a vote of thanks to MARTIN, BARTON, and FISH for seeing that it was made.

The administration's main objection to a continuance of the session was that "there is nothing for Congress to do." This contained the implication that Congress is not capable of initiating

action and must accept the leadership and guidance of the President. In addition to considering the several pending bills, there is plenty that Congress can do.

As Representative MARTIN has suggested, a study of the Nation's finances and of the basis for new tax legislation is advisable, in view of Secretary Morgenthau's recent remarks about the necessity of lifting the debt limit. Congress should also make it its business to inquire into the progress of the defense program, not for personal or partisan advantage, but for the sensible purpose of making sure that every possible method of accelerating it is being utilized. In short, Congress has made a good resolution. The Nation will be watching to see how well and how sincerely it carries it out.

Twenty-first Convention of Disabled American Veterans of the World War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RANKIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 20, 1940

PROGRAM ADOPTED AT GREEN BAY, WIS.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following program of Disabled American Veterans of the World War, adopted at the twenty-first national convention, Green Bay, Wis., August 1940:

PROGRAM OF DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS OF THE WORLD WAR, ADOPTED AT THE TWENTY-FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION

LEGISLATION

1. That all hospitalized service-connected World War veterans without dependents receive total ratings while hospitalized for service-connected disabilities.

2. That all presumptively service-connected disabled veterans shall be paid at the same rate of compensation or pension as the directly service connected.

3. That there be reenacted the "presumption of soundness" clause of the World War Veterans' Act of June 7, 1924.

4. That there be legislation enacted making eligible for appointment to the United States Military Academy and the United States Naval Academy, the sons of service-connected disabled World War veterans, and the sons of holders of the Congressional Medal of Honor, the Distinguished Service Cross, and the Navy Cross, as generally set forth in the terms of H. R. 8532 of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

5. That all gunshot-wound cases be assigned a minimum rating of 10 percent.

6. That, in computing need for eligibility on W. P. A. projects no consideration shall be given to monetary benefits received from the Veterans' Administration in all cases where the pension or compensation does not equal the amount allowed by the agency setting up the home-relief budget.

7. That legislation be enacted to raise the rates of pay to departmental guards employed on public buildings in Washington, D. C. in accordance with the general terms of H. R. 9116, Seventy-sixth Congress.

8. That the Disabled American Veterans support legislation raising from $30 to $40 per month the payments now made by the Veterans' Administration for total non-service-connected disabilities and, further, that these non-service-connected veterans on total ratings be furnished repairs for their orthopedic and other appliances.

9. That, where a service-connected disabled veteran is to be denied appointment to a Federal position because of provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Act of the United States Employees' Compensation Act that veteran shall have the right to waive receipt of benefits under these two acts insofar as his service-connected disabilities are concerned.

SERVICE

1. That the rating schedules of the Veterans' Administration be liberalized with a view of rating pleurisy on the same basis as bronchitis and other nontuberucular respiratory infections and that all nontubercular respiratory diseases be accorded a minimum rating of 10 per cent.

2. That the rating schedules be further amended to provide for a minimum rating of 20 percent for diabetes.

3. That Administrator's service letter of April 2, 1940, paragraph 2, be amended to eliminate the language now contained in the parenthesis which requires those with particular disabilities enumerated in that paragraph to have been continuously unemployed since the recognition of the disability, which requirement bars many battle casualties from receiving benefits, and to substitute therefor—"Where they have been unable to follow continuously gainful employment for 1 year."

4. That the service letter of April 2 be further amended to provide total unemployability rating in cases of functional nervous disorder.

5. That the rating schedules be amended to permit total disability rating in cases of true epilepsy, regardless of the number of seizures within a specified time limit, where unemployability is shown.

6. That the Veterans' Administration discontinue the diagnosis of Constitutional Psychopathic Inferiority and other alleged congenital nervous defects without definite proof, including social history of the veteran's childhood life.

7. That the Veterans' Administration accept the original service discharge with notations of combat and other disabilities as an official record, regardless of the inability to verify by the respective service department, provided that such notations are in the same handwriting or from the same typewriter as other data on the discharge.

8. That where a disabled veteran is rejected for civil-service employment on the basis of disability, the medical findings of the Civil Service Commission shall be submitted to the Veterans' Administration to become correlated with the medical findings of that agency in consideration by the rating board.

9. That the Veterans' Administration add to the present list of constitutional diseases for the purpose of the 1-year presumption in granting service connection, the following diseases: Nontubercular respiratory diseases, infectious diseases of the skin, and diseases of the gastrointestinal tract, these applying with regard to both the 1925 and 1933 rating schedules.

10. That in cases where service connection is established on the theory of difference of opinion the effective date of the award shall be the date of receiving the evidence rather than the date of administrative determination.

11. That veterans with war-service disabilities be given preference in application for hospital treatment regardless of the disability requiring hospitalization.

12. That veterans rated as permanently and totally disabled for service-connected disabilities shall be accorded medical and dental treatment on an out-patient basis irrespective of whether the disability or dental condition is service connected and, further, that out-patient treatment be permitted in the United States Public Health Service hospitals.

13. That osteopathic and chiropractic treatment be made available to veterans by the Veterans' Administration in those States wherein this type of treatment is recognized.

EMPLOYMENT

1. That the Disabled American Veterans urge stricter enforcement of the present preferences extended veterans under the civil service of the United States.

2. That in all cases where a disabled veteran is to be skipped on the civil-service register, and a nondisabled veteran or a nonveteran is to be appointed, the service-connected veteran shall be furnished with written reasons why he was not selected and shall be afforded an opportunity to rebut before final appointment is made.

3. That persons who did not serve in time of war should not be classified as veterans in the matter of preference under civil service.

4. That an effort be made to trade the additional points at present allowed in examinations for appropriate preferences for actual appointments to Federal jobs.

GENERAL

1. That the national-defense program as now outlined by the National Defense Council should be adopted without reservation and with the unanimous support of the Disabled American Veterans of the World War for the betterment, protection, and safety of this great Nation.

2. That the Disabled American Veterans go on record as protesting the passage at this time of any general World War pension legislation, and that it continue to support the present system adopted by this Nation of paying compensation to its veterans for the degree of disability suffered by the veteran for his military or naval service.

3. That the Disabled American Veterans, independently and in cooperation with other patriotic organizations, aggressively combat all forms of subversive movements calculated to destroy the American form of government.

4. That the Disabled American Veterans, while supporting all worthy movements for better international understandings, continue to advocate proper military and naval preparedness.

5. That the Disabled American Veterans continue its policy of urging sites for veterans' hospitals according to the density of the military population rather than locating institutions according to congressional district, State, county, or city lines.

6. That there be continued the policy of improving and extending existing facilities rather than establishing new institutions, except in extraordinary cases where the density of the military population justifies new projects.

7. That upon the development of an emergency which calls for legislative action on some item or items not included in the legislative program, the legislative chairman shall be authorized to use his discretion, provided that such discretion shall be limited to the service-connected and/or their dependents.

8. That the Disabled American Veterans cooperate with officials of other veteran and civic organizations looking to the acquirement by the Federal Government of certain property in Wasco County, Oreg., now owned by a Dr. and Mrs. Freeman, on which there is a group of hot springs, looking to the establishment thereon of some sort of an institution for the treatment of persons desiring same, such treatment to be free to veterans and the underprivileged.

No Abandonment of St. Lawrence Seaway Contemplated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS D. CULKIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 20, 1940

A CLARIFYING LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT ON THE NAVIGATIONAL PHASES OF THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks I desire to call the attention of the House and the country to a letter written by President Roosevelt to my esteemed and distinguished colleague from Minnesota, Hon. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER, on the subject of the St. Lawrence seaway. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. PITTENGER] is an able and vigorous advocate of the seaway and believes in common with myself that its development will bring beneficial results to the Great Lakes area. Becoming somewhat alarmed at the reports of the development of the power on the St. Lawrence with the navigational features eliminated, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. PITTENGER] wrote a letter to the President on October 16, 1940, and received a reply to said letter from the White House under date of November 2, 1940. These letters clarify the purpose of the President in proceeding with the power development and contain strong assurances that the present plans are simply preliminary and their working out will actually advance the cause of navigation. The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. PITTENGER] speaks with authority for the West, and the President tells what is in his mind on this great question. Taken together these letters constitute a valuable contribution to the present information on both the power and navigational factors of this great project.

Pursuant to the permission of the House, I append hereto in the order of their dates these two interesting and informative letters:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., October 16, 1940.

Hon. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
The President of the United States,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have been greatly disturbed by published reports, purporting to represent remarks by you apparently in your press conference of Tuesday, October 15, concerning the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway.

Two points concerning the statements attributed to you have aroused my concern. The first point is your statement that the dam or dams could be constructed in the St. Lawrence River for the production of hydroelectric power at once, and that if it should be decided at some future time to develop navigation, the necessary locks could be built. The question in my mind is this:

Would the foundations for the locks be installed at the time of the construction of the dam or would it be necessary, at any time that determination should be made to develop the navigation phases, to make alterations in the dam so extensive as to cause great losses of time and money? Would not the dam constitute a virtual obstruction to navigation unless the lock foundations are installed when the dam is constructed?

I would appreciate very greatly your assurances that the lock foundations could be built at the same time that the dam is constructed and that every other precaution that could be taken should be taken to assure no delay in the future development of navigation.

The other point in the news that disturbed me was the report that you had referred to the navigation features of the waterway as being the political features. I cannot quite understand this comment because, in my opinion, the power developments have always had to do with politics and, moreover politics have had no relationship to the navigation features of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence waterway, except to obstruct and delay its construction.

I would be most happy to learn whether the press reports placed an erroneous interpretation upon your attitude.

In my opinion, the people of my congressional district and the entire area bounding the Great Lakes would be greatly discouraged to learn that you look upon the navigation parts of the seaway development as political, and would be happy to be informed if your attitude in that regard has been misrepresented in any way.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM A. PITTENGER.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, November 2, 1940.

MY DEAR REPRESENTATIVE PITTENGER: This will acknowledge your letter of October 17, 1940, concerning the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence undertaking. I would like to reassure you in regard to the matters which are giving you concern.

The investigations which I have authorized are necessary preliminaries to the undertaking of the entire project in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River, for both navigation and power. The development of power is the matter of immediate urgency from the national defense viewpoint, but nothing in the steps which are now being taken will in any way delay or increase the cost of the deep waterway undertaking.

The general plans for the project which have been subject to discussion include a main dam, which will create a deep pool for navigation and powerhouses to utilize the head created by the dam. To enable navigation to by-pass the dam, a short canal with the necessary locks will be constructed. The locks and their foundations do not constitute in any sense a part of the dam structure.

In other words, nothing in the plans for the dam can in any way cause delay or increase the cost of the navigation project. On the contrary, its construction will be in fact the major step forward in making it possible for ocean-going cargo vessels to navigate that section of the river. Upon its completion, the canal and locks can readily be built, thus completing that link in the seaway.

I can assure you that I have always believed that the people of the two neighboring countries should make the fullest possible use of their great resources and that this means its development for the joint purposes of navigation and power. I have not altered this conviction.

The preliminary work which I have authorized is designed to avoid loss of a construction season when construction of the project is undertaken. In view of the importance of the power to war production, I trust that the construction of the project will not be long delayed and that the hopes of the people who have long anticipated deep water navigation and cheap power from this undertaking will be on the way to realization.

Sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Hon. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER,
United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Playing Politics With the National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 20, 1940

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the situation presented yesterday was not unlike the situation which existed following the meeting of the Republican conference on June 2, in which a resolution opposing adjournment was unanimously adopted. Following the publication of the action of the conference, President Roosevelt commented somewhat sarcastically on the action taken and said the business of the Congress was finished and the only thing to be gained by Congressmen through their refusal to adjourn was the privilege of "making speeches."

Yesterday, we were again confronted with a proposal to adjourn. In this instance, unlike the former one, the President was not publicly demanding that Congress adjourn and go home. He said, however, that he had no further communications or requests to submit, indicating that the business of the Congress was again completed.

In view of these facts it is interesting to note that since June 4, upon which day the President first suggested the Congress quit and go home, we, at his request, appropriated and extended contractual authorizations for more than 8½ billion dollars for the national defense. We passed the legislation bringing the National Guard into active service. We passed the conscription bill and I think nothing we did pleased the Executive more than this last-named act.

At the request of the President we also passed an act providing $500,000,000 additional funds with which to make so-called defense loans to Central American and South American countries.

All these, and many others of lesser importance, we disposed of after the President declared the work of this Congress had been completed.

His subsequent demands for the legislation I have mentioned indicates that one of three things is true: First, that either the business of this Congress was not completed, as he stated; or, second, that up to that time there was no coordinated plan for building up the national defense, the real necessity for which was not at the time realized by the Executive; or, third, that someone was playing politics with the national safety, and in the latter event it was not the Republican Members of the Congress who were indulging in that scandalously unpatriotic conduct.

In view of these things, Mr. Speaker, it was possible that the President might again have been mistaken.

The rapidly shifting kaleidoscopic world events are such that the Congress should remain on the job. To adjourn, leaving Washington at this time, might have been proven to be a mistake, a tragic mistake, and, in my opinion, it was this thought which prompted Republicans and many Democrats to vote against adjournment at this time.

It is my judgment that the action of the House was very, very wise.

Congress Rightly Remains in Session During Critical Time in Our History

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 20, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON POST

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, let it be fully understood that I have full confidence in the President of the United States. I said during the recent campaign, in many speeches, that I believed our Chief Executive desires to keep this country out of war—and that he will do all in his power to keep us from entering into a foreign conflict.

I say this because I do not want my vote against adjournment on yesterday to be construed as a lack of confidence in President Roosevelt. As a member of a coordinate branch of our Government, I feel keenly that there is a responsibility on the part of the legislative forum to remain in session to meet any possible emergency which might arise.

We are not expected by the people of the Nation to meet even daily, or to pass bills every week—but they do have the right to desire earnestly that their elected Representatives stand close to their posts of duty.

Expressive of this view is an editorial, from which I quote, which appeared in today's Washington Post:

CONGRESS REMAINS

No doubt a great majority of the congressmen who reassembled in Washington yesterday would like to go home and remain there until the new session begins on January 3. Congress has been continuously in session for 10½ months, with only brief recesses for the national political conventions and the election. In that period many legislators have worked hard and are now weary, in addition to being eager to renew their contacts with their constituents at home, particularly at this festive season. Yet the majority have decided to remain in Washington.

The vote on adjournment in the House yesterday reveals a proper sense of obligation. Before the election it was said that many Congressmen remained at the capital because they feared criticism if they returned home. With the election over, legislators are naturally much less sensitive to criticism of that sort. Presumably the majority voted to stay on the job because the Nation needs their services. Having voted to mobilize part of the country's manpower and having called on many groups to be prepared for sacrifices, the House obviously concluded that it, too, should place national interests above the personal wishes of its members.

Opponents of adjournment were surprised at the size of the vote—191 to 148—to keep Congress in session. The majority group included 44 Democrats and the entire bloc of Republicans. And the Senate having accepted this decision, Congress will probably continue in session for several weeks, and there may be no adjournment until the Seventy-sixth Congress expires.

This was all very creditable. But there were other encouraging indications, too, Congress intends to work while it is standing by for possible emergency action. Both houses yesterday approved the conference report on the Ramspeck bill, and sent that measure to the President. This represents the greatest achievement in the field of personnel legislation during recent years, and such action alone would fully justify the resumption of legislative duties, even if there were no emergency to keep Congress on the job.

Representative Daniel A. Reed Unmasks New Deal Claims of Helping Howard University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMILTON FISH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 20, 1940

ARTICLE RELEASED BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following release from the Republican National Committee, dated October 31, 1940, in answer to claims made by the New Deal as to new construction at Howard University, in order to have the record straight:

Congressman DANIEL A. REED, veteran Republican of Dunkirk, N. Y., representing the Forty-third District, who has served consecutively from the Sixty-sixth Congress up to and including the present Seventy-sixth Congress, took note today of the publicity sent out by the Democratic National Committee publicizing the new chemistry building at Howard University, Negro institution, located at the Nation's Capital, which was dedicated by the third-term candidate October 26, 1936—and now trotted out for another Presidential contest. It is being stated that Howard University is indebted to the New Deal administration for the chemistry and other buildings on the campus of that institution.

Also, Congressman REED, in his statement released by the Republican National Committee, said that this tricky performance is typical of former instances of the same character. The appropriations made for the buildings at Howard University by Republican Congresses and approved by Presidents Coolidge and Hoover were impounded on March 28, 1933, by the New Deal. The several buildings were then released one by one as New Deal Democratic gifts. As a matter of fact, each one of them was made possible by Republican congressional action and approved by Republican Presidents.

HAROLD ICKES NOT HOWARD'S DISCOVERER

Further, Congressman REED said:

"The New Deal has often boasted of the fact that it has apportioned millions of dollars for buildings and improvements at Howard University, the Negro college located at the Nation's Capital.

"Great credit has been given Harold Ickes as the discoverer of Howard University. As a matter of fact, appropriations by Congress for Howard University began in 1879, when it received a first appropriation of $10,000. It has been the constant recipient of increasingly larger appropriations year by year, granted in 1879 and in practically all succeeding years by Republican Congresses. These appropriations were approved by Republican Presidents.

"Whatever difficulties it has had with respect to its appropriations were at the hands of Democrats, such as 'JIMMY' BYRNES, of South Carolina, and other Democrats, who consistently made points of order against appropriations for Howard University, until a Republican Congress passed statutory legislation revising the charter of Howard University by amendment to section 8 of its act of incorporation.

"This action, which now prevents Democratic Members of Congress from making points of order against Howard University appropriations was approved December 13, 1928, by President Calvin Coolidge. This simple statement does not adequately convey any idea of the hard work, the sympathy, and the support of the Republican subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations for the Interior Department.

"As chairman of the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives at that time, I had the honor of fathering the bill providing the sufficient statutory legislation authorizing appropriations for Howard University, and preventing points of order against its appropriations.

"HOWARD'S TRYING YEARS

"The members of the subcommittee who stood by Howard University through trying years were in addition to Martin B. Madden, ex officio; Louis C. Cramton, of Michigan; Burton L. French, of Idaho; and Frank Murphy, of Ohio. The president of Howard Uni-

versity repeatedly referred to Dr. Hubert Work, Roy O. West, and Dr. Lyman W. Wilbur, as being, each, from Howard University's standpoint, the best Secretary the Department of the Interior had had.

"Latterly this President of Howard University has bestowed the honor of the 'best Secretary of the Interior' upon Mr. Ickes, despite the fact that each of the buildings dedicated with great eclat from time to time has been labeled Democratic recognition of a desire to support the education of Negroes, when in truth and in fact its record is quite to the contrary. Mr. Cramton was even tendered a banquet by Howard University officials in gratitude for his efforts in helping the institution.

"The publicity experts of the Interior Department have constantly played the Secretary of the Interior and President Roosevelt up to the general public as benefactors of the Negro race through Howard University.

"Prior to the advent of the New Deal Administration, the following buildings at Howard University had been appropriated for by Republican Congresses and approved by Republican Presidents:

"BUILDINGS GIVEN BY REPUBLICANS

"1. Three dormitories for young women—the physical beginning of Howard University's 20-year building and educational program—at $729,000.

"This legislation, calling for one women's dormitory in its first stage at $150,000, was approved by President Calvin Coolidge on January 12, 1927. On May 29, 1928, in the first deficiency bill, President Coolidge approved an increase in this dormitory appropriation from $150,000 to $190,000.

"In 1929, under President Hoover, the second session of the Seventy-first Congress, an additional $539,000 was appropriated for Howard University women's dormitories 2 and 3, thus making a total in all of $729,000 made available by Republicans for the women's dormitory project at Howard University.

"2. On March 7, 1928, a Republican Congress, under President Hoover, appropriated $390,000 for the chemistry building at Howard University.

"3. In 1931, a Republican Congress, under President Hoover, appropriated $200,000 for the emergency construction project at Howard University, which consisted of all the extensive grading and landscaping which have so beautified Howard University in the Fourth Street and MacMillan Park area, and provided Howard University with its imposing system of entrance gates and other enclosures.

"4. Under date of September 14, 1931, under President Hoover, Howard University received appropriations for:

"A. A classroom building (Douglass Hall), $460,000.

"B. Heat, light, and power tunnel, $225,000.

"C. General library building, $800,000.

"5. On February 17, 1933, under President Hoover, Howard University received an appropriation of $460,000 for the construction and completion of the heat, light, and power plant.

"A GRAND TOTAL OF $4,032,500

"These six building projects, totaling $3,264,000; and three additional earlier building projects, a dining hall, at $201,000; the medical school building, at $370,000; and a gymnasium, armory, and athletic field, at $197,500, totaling $763,500, a grand total of $4,032,500—all made available to Howard University by the Republicans in a sincere desire to help—far surpass any benefits that have accrued to Howard University through the Administration of the New Deal.

"Perhaps it is because the New Deal has no such record of benefits to Howard University to show that, with the aid of the president of Howard University, the New Deal Administration adroitly seeks, in this slippery way, to take unto itself, unearned credit for the physical and educational development of Howard University. Let them dispute this record."

The Cloak Room

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. LAMBERTSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 22, 1940

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, while the Lone Star State holds her Jack, the Senate draws a King for Acting President pro tempore.

We are asking the Ladies' Mount Vernon Association for a temporary amphitheater around the tomb for January 20.

Through crop curtailment on one hand and intervention on the other, we are being encouraged to beat our plowshares into swords and our pruning hooks into spears.

An investigation in January will disclose how abundantly the surplus commodities were pitched into the laps of a surprised people around November 1. We are not referring to the "hen fruit" and tomatoes that were heaved at the Willkies.

Talk about Thanksgiving Day being moved up a week, that is nothing—Christmas was pushed up 60 days. There were more Santa Clauses in this country the last of October, giving pistols and powder, than there will be in December in all the stores.

On the first day back, running true to form, we created a new office, Under Secretary of War, for the duration of the emergency, fixing the time the last day of the third term. We said in the campaign that the "emergency" powers would never be surrendered by F. D. R. even if hostilities should cease around the world.

"There is no reason why people should live merely to work," says Harry A. Millis, new Chairman of N. L. R. B. As boys and girls on the farm, we were taught by our pioneer parents that "the struggle for existence marks the beginning of the struggle against mere existence." Not many soar from flowery beds of ease, Mr. Millis. How disdainful to the present spending era must the words be on the top of the New York Macy store, "It's smart to be thrifty."

Why the Congress Should Not Adjourn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAYMOND S. SPRINGER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 22, 1940

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the question of the sine die adjournment of the Congress has been disposed of, and by a very large majority the Members have determined to remain in session at this time. That decision is a wise one. Throughout the present session in 1940 I have advocated that as long as the European situation is critical the Congress should remain in session, and I am happy that the vast majority of the membership in the House have so decreed.

While many of the Members in the House would like to go to their homes—and they have so expressed themselves—and many of the Members are tired and worn by the long and arduous session, yet, Mr. Speaker, if the emergency, as it has been referred to, is great enough to cause the appropriation of many billions of dollars for our national defense and to enact a peacetime draft law, then it is of such importance that the Congress should remain in session throughout. If the taxpayers are to be inconvenienced by having the great burden of a staggering sum of money borrowed for our national defense, which, in the end, must be repaid with interest, and if the boys of our Nation are to be drafted for compulsory military service in time of peace, then I am convinced it is time that the Members of Congress submit to some little inconvenience by "staying on the job" and guarding our Nation. The people are deeply concerned regarding our country, and they are convinced, I am certain, that the Congress should continue in session in order to meet any emergency which might arise. I am happy to advise that I voted against the adjournment of the Congress because I was convinced it was far safer for this great legislative body to remain in action for the peace and security of our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the people are greatly disturbed and constantly worried over our foreign policies; they do not want our country to become involved in this war; they want peace in the United States of America; they want everything to be done which can be done to prevent the involvement of the United States of America in this European war; and, to this end, the people want the Congress to remain in session throughout this crisis in order that it may act if action is necessary in order to preserve our peace.

Quite recently, and since the vote was cast on the adjournment resolution, I have received many congratulatory

messages, among which I received one message from a large group of citizens in Indiana, who have constituted themselves as the "Citizens Information Committee," and whose activities embrace the distribution of factual information regarding our country and the progress of the European war, and this group of our people in my home State expressed their views respecting the practicability of adjourning Congress in a very terse message, which was as follows:

Hon. RAYMOND S. SPRINGER,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:
Your vote against adjournment of Congress during this emergency is noted and has our hearty approval.
CITIZENS INFORMATION COMMITTEE.

This, Mr. Speaker, is the general thought of the people in my State. They are relying on their chosen representatives in the Congress to do those things which will assure our peace and security in our Nation. They are well aware that if the Congress should adjourn it cannot be legally assembled immediately; the legal processes must be observed; much time would be lost before the Congress could be legally assembled and ready to function. This possibility of the loss of time in this emergency is a very serious threat to our people, as they view the solemn and sacred duty which our great lawmaking body has before it. And in the discharge of that duty, which is ours, we can accomplish those tasks only when the Congress is in session and when the Members of Congress are present in Washington. Therefore we can only discharge our duty as representatives of the people by remaining true to the trust reposed in us and by staying on the job, regardless of the inconvenience suffered; that is our sacred duty in this emergency, and the people so regard it.

May I say again that I will steadfastly urge that the Congress remain in session throughout this emergency, all to the end that our peace and security may be enhanced and that we may aid in keeping our country out of this European war.

Responsibilities of Citizenship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE W. GILLIE
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, November 20, 1940

LETTER FROM J. LYLE TUCKER

Mr. GILLIE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS COLLEGE.

Hon. GEORGE W. GILLIE,
Member of Congress, Fourth District, Indiana,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR GEORGE: Like many others, I voted for Wendell Willkie. I am proud of my American citizenship and I appreciate living in a country where one can vote as he pleases.

Now that the election is over I pledge my allegiance to our chosen leaders and promise, as an American, to do everything within my power to aid and assist in meeting the problems of our Nation.

Many grave decisions involving the safety and security of our Nation face our leaders, decisions that will tax their ability, hearts, and souls, but I am confident our ship of state will ride the storm and bring our people safely into port.

You and I, as plain, loyal, American citizens, must assume our share of the responsibility. Fortunately we have positions of leadership in our field and we will have many, many opportunities.

A nation will stand or fall according to the character of its people—that's where we come in. We must take an inventory of our personal lives. None of us is perfect, but we must strive for perfection and live lives that will be an inspiration to others.

Strong in character, we will not use sharp practices in our business dealings, cheat, lie, or hit below the belt. Kind in spirit, we will be more thoughtful and more considerate of others. Asking little, we will give much. We have a grand opportunity and we will do our part. By so doing, we will increase our self-respect, be happier, and contribute to the happiness of others. Thus we will further the interests of the grandest nation on the face of the globe.

Brother, that's my message.

J. LYLE TUCKER, *President.*

The Vultee Strike—Its Significance in Relation to the National Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. COSTELLO
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, November 22, 1940

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of the House a situation affecting our national-defense program which I believe to be most serious and far-reaching in its ultimate consequences. We have embarked on a program of defense which calls for the immediate doubling of the size of our Navy, for the expansion of our Regular Army, and the immediate training of large numbers of our citizens to be available in the event of an emergency, and for a vast increase in the air force of the Army and Navy.

If this program is to be carried forward expeditiously and effectively, we must have the complete cooperation of all industry—both employer and employee—as well as the approval of our entire citizenry. The young men of the country have responded in a most patriotic manner to the call for registration and training in our Army. The many problems surrounding the initiating and letting of contracts have been largely solved so that industry today is rapidly expanding its capacity for production in order to meet the tremendous requirements of the defense program. Munitions plants are filled with laborers. All shipyards are working at full capacity. The motor and steel industries are all cooperating to the fullest extent, while the aviation industry is not only producing at capacity, but is actually doubling and trebling that capacity without permitting the construction and expansion of facilities to impede the delivery of airplanes to the Government.

The picture throughout the Nation would be very promising were it not for the cloud now overhanging the aircraft industry in southern California. The strike now in progress at the Vultee Aircraft Co. in Downey, Calif., causes me great concern at the present time, not because of the delay in defense production at this one factory—serious as that is—but because of what this strike portends and what its ultimate effect on all industry will be—what its effect on the cost of our defense program will be, and, above all, what its effect on the individual taxpayer, on every citizen in this Nation, will be.

A number of the employees at the Vultee plant at Downey have recently been organized by the U. A. W. A., an affiliate of the C. I. O. A working agreement between the company and its employees has been in the process of formation since the C. I. O. was recognized as sole bargaining agent of the employees in August 1940. Full agreement had been reached on practically all points other than wages, the dispute over which has occasioned the present strike. No question has been raised regarding the fairness of the company in its policy toward the union in its organization and subsequent negotiations. There is no complaint as to the attitude of the company or its officials in relation to the union or its members. It is only because of the union demand for a greatly increased wage scale far in excess of that offered by the company that the present strike has been called. By studying the existing wage scale in effect at Vultee prior to the strike, and comparing it with the scale prevailing in southern California, as well as that prevailing in other industries, we can obtain a fair estimate of what the problem here is.

On October 22, 1940, the pay in the aircraft industry in southern California was as follows:

Company	Average earning rate	Minimum starting rate	Periodic increases
Douglas	$0.751	$0.50	Analysis charts filled out by the supervisors: 3 months, 50 to 60 cents, 2½ cents; 4 months, 60 to 70 cents, 2½ cents; 6 months, 72 cents and over, 2½ cents.
North American	.74	.50	Reviewed every 3 months to 60 cents in 1 year, then 6 months review up to 80 cents, then the foremen.
Consolidated	.70	.50	Review rates every 4 months; no set raises.
Lockheed	.777	.51	2 months to 57 cents, 6 months to 60 cents.
Vultee	.76	.50	3 months, 55 cents; 6 months, 60 cents.

	C. I. O. demand	Vultee offered—
Group 1	$1.30	$1.05.
Group 2	1.15	90 cents.
Group 3	.95	75 cents.
Group 4	.75	60 cents.
To start		50 cents with 55 cents in 3 months; 60 cents in 6 months.

The average rates without overtime at Curtis, Brewster, and Martin are 66 to 68 cents per hour. At Lockheed they are 71.4 cents. At present at Vultee they are 68.7 cents and under the wage rate offer of Oct. 22, 1940, would be 74 cents as of Dec. 31, 1940.

As indicated, the minimum starting rate of pay at Vultee is in line with that of other companies in southern California. The C. I. O. union is demanding a minimum starting rate of 75 cents per hour, an amount far in excess of that paid anywhere for unskilled, untrained, or apprentice labor. To grant this increase would mean an increase in the average earning rate of all employees from 74 cents to $1.03, or an increase of 39 percent.

By presenting a chart of the existing scale of wages and the number of employees receiving such wages as of November 4, 1940, I can more clearly show to you what the ultimate cost of that program will be.

Hourly employees as of Nov. 4, 1940

Asked	Rate	Number			Hourly increase by asked rate
		Day	Night	Total	
	$0.50	505	531	1,036	$155.40
$0.65	.525	71	72	143	17.875
	.55	278	181	459	45.90
	.575	50	35	85	10.625
$0.70	.60	194	145	339	33.90
	.625	51	18	69	5.175
$0.75	.65	138	76	214	21.40
	.675	32	16	48	3.60
$0.80	.70	108	57	165	16.50
	.725	38	11	49	3.675
	.75	114	55	169	8.45
$0.85	.775	37	20	57	4.275
	.80	134	59	193	9.65
$0.90	.825	27	16	43	3.225
	.85	88	49	137	6.85
	.875	11	17	28	.70
$0.95	.90	76	40	116	5.80
	.925	16	7	23	.575
$1.05	.95	51	28	79	7.90
	.975	9		9	.675
	1.00	72	27	99	4.95
	1.025	6	4	10	
	1.05	25	14	39	
	1.075	7	1	8	
	1.10	18	13	31	
Blanket 3-cent increase	1.125	1	2	3	6.69
	1.15	87	17	104	
	1.175	1		1	
	1.20	19	3	22	
	1.225	1		1	
	1.25	4		4	
Average $0.765	.667				
Total		2,269	1,518	3,787	373.79
Increase night bonus, 1,518×2 cents					30.36
Total hourly increase					404.15
Hourly amount, $2,898.17	2,524.28				

Approximately $404.15×52=$21,015.80 per week.

$21,015.80×52=$1,092,821.60 per year.

Estimated cost under latest union demand of 65-cent minimum

Increase by rates	$21,015	$1,092,821
Increase by classification after above (estimated)	2,600	135,200
Total	23,615	1,228,021
Increases since Sept. 1, 1940	3,595	186,940
Total	27,210	1,414,961

This does not take into consideration other than productive employees, although the nonproductive employees must of necessity be also raised in proportion. This involves about 1,400 additional employees.

This annual increase in labor cost of $1,414,961 may not be significant if the Vultee Co. alone is concerned. Yet even here we must recall that although the C. I. O. leaders claim that Vultee is making millions, in fact the company suffered a loss of $856,422 on the delivery of 63 planes recently. With the bulk of that contract yet on order, should there be a continuance of the same low efficiency which has obtained in the past, even without a change in the wage scale, the ultimate loss would run into the millions. Instead of making millions, the company is in a position to lose millions unless the present staff of new unskilled employees speedily acquire greater efficiency and greater competency in their work. A great portion of these new workers are young men just out of school, receiving their first employment in industry. It is for these young workers, the great body of whom are not married and many of whom reside at home, where there are other wage earners in the family, it is for these that the C. I. O. is demanding a $6 a day minimum wage. Of the last 500 employees hired by the company, nearly half of them were under 25 years of age.

I understand that Army contracts with the Vultee Co. provide a 50-percent provision for labor. If the C. I. O. demand is granted, then the cost of these contracts would be increased by 20 percent. These wage increases would lead to a proportionate increase of the wages of the nonproductive employees, so that the ultimate cost to the Government under existing contracts would actually be 40 percent higher instead of 20 percent. This increase at Vultee would soon spread not only throughout the aircraft industry, and the C. I. O. assert that they will move against North American next and Douglas after that, but the increase in wages would spread beyond to all industry. The cost of materials and supplies will therefore rise until the aviation manufacturers will be forced to pay 20 percent added costs for their materials.

The net result of this will be an added cost to the Government of from 35 to 40 percent of its aviation contract prices. Over six hundred and ninety millions in aviation contracts are held by firms in southern California. An increase in that sum of 35 percent or more means an added cost of $240,000,000, a cost which the Government will not only have to pay but will have to collect from the public through taxation. It is due to this serious effect upon the ultimate cost of the defense program that the present strike is of immediate concern to every citizen in the land.

According to the Monthly Labor Review, published by the United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, for September 1940, the average hourly earnings in the aircraft industry were 74.2 cents per hour, compared with an average of 67.2 cents per hour for all manufacturing industries. Of the 110 crafts listed, only 30 exceed the aircraft industry in respect to the average hourly earnings, while 80 rank below the aircraft industry.

The aircraft industry is comparatively a new industry, yet no other industry listed by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has expanded employment so rapidly during the past year. Almost every aircraft manufacturing plant has increased the size of its plant from 2 to 5 times its original size during the past 2 years. Of necessity this has meant that the industry has found it necessary to take on a disproportionately large number of unskilled and untrained workers. This has automatically helped to keep down the average rate of hourly earnings in the industry. Yet in spite of this fact, the aircraft industry has paid wages well above the average for United States manufacturing industries as a whole. As indicated only 30 crafts exceed aviation in respect to the average hourly wage.

According to the admissions of the strike leaders themselves, and according to the admissions of their Communist sympathizers, writing in the People's World and the Daily Worker, it is recognized that the wages at Vultee have been no lower than those of other aircraft manufacturers for the

corresponding grades of labor. What then is the meaning of this attack upon the Vultee Co.?

The C. I. O. leaders of this strike admit that this is but the first attack in a battle to be fought throughout the aircraft industry and ultimately throughout defense industries generally in order that they may take advantage of the national emergency in behalf of a particular faction in the labor movement. They selected the Vultee Co. for their first attack, because it appeared to be the most vulnerable and hence they would have the greatest likelihood of success.

The Vultee Co. was the most vulnerable spot in the industry for two reasons. First, it is producing training planes, which are essential to the entire program of expansion of the Army Air Corps. It is a vital bottleneck of the entire defense program, by means of which the American public can be frightened and thereby forced to surrender to the dictation of this faction of the labor movement. In fact, if sufficient panic can be created by the stoppage of training-plane production, this attack might be used to start a demand for the nationalization of the industry and the destruction of private enterprise in the same manner as French industry was hamstrung under the Popular Front Government of Socialist Leon Blum.

The second reason for the vulnerability of the Vultee Co. was the fact that it had undergone tremendously rapid growth during the past year. This expansion has been at the rate of 1,100 percent during this year. This is the sort of growth which the War Department hoped for and which the American public not only expected but also demanded. Efficient operation during such rapid growth is only possible under a free private industry. It is a growth of which all America can be proud and which alone can keep our Nation strong and free if permitted to continue.

Because of this rapid growth the company has found it necessary to expand its working force from a few hundred employees to several thousand within a few months. It was following a similar expansion that a sit-down strike was inaugurated at the Douglas plant in an effort to force unionization on the workers at that aircraft plant. Obviously, with such expansion, it is not possible to obtain fully skilled and trained workers for a new industry in such large numbers and in so short a time. It was necessary to employ large numbers of young beginners who must have several weeks or even months of training before they would become useful, productive, skilled workers. Nearly half of those employed in the past 6 months were given a 3-week preemployment training course at company expense. Many of these employees were young men just out of high school, who were being given their first regular employment. Because of this a large number of the employees at Vultee are to be found in the low-wage group at or near the starting rate. In order to refute the charge that all new employees are paid the 50-cent minimum wage, I am inserting here a chart showing the number of men hired during the past 3 months and also showing the wages which they were paid:

Men hired at each rate during August, September, and October

Rate	August	September	October	Total
$0.50	390	72	92	554
$0.525	2	4	2	8
$0.55	60	11	15	86
$0.575	12	3	6	21
$0.60	20	17	11	48
$0.625	8	12	5	25
$0.65	11	13	17	41
$0.675	8	4	7	19
$0.70	12	16	19	47
$0.725	5	8	13	26
$0.75	23	9	16	48
$0.775	4	2	14	20
$0.80	24	18	14	58
$0.825	1	2	7	10
$0.85	14	10	14	38
$0.875	2	6	7	15
$0.90	16	12	12	40
$0.925	2		5	7
$0.95	5	5	13	23
$0.975				
$1.00	2	10	17	29
$1.025			1	1
$1.05	7	17	5	29
$1.075		1		1
$1.10		7	3	10
$1.15	1	8	16	25
$1.12			1	1
$1.20		2	1	3
$1.25		1		1
$1.50			5	5
Total	629	270	338	1,237

Of the 554 persons hired at 50 cents an hour during the past 3 months, 228 were given the 3 weeks' preemployment training course of which I spoke. This was given at the expense of the company. Also it is interesting to note that 263 of those hired at 50 cents an hour were under 25 years of age. Of the 1,237 persons employed altogether during this 3-month period, 568 of them were paid 60 cents or more when first employed.

Because of this situation, where a third of the productive employees were hired during the past 3 months, the leaders of the C. I. O. union seized upon this opportunity to press their demands. To have delayed doing so would have been fatal, as the employees of the company have been receiving continuous raises in wages granted voluntarily by the company as the workers became better trained. Under the voluntary wage-increase system employed by Vultee, by January 1941 there would not have been a single present employee receiving the 50-cent rate, and only 29 would have been receiving the 55-cent rate. Before these automatic increases became effective, it was necessary for the labor leaders to act at once if they were to get credit for the pay increases. They wanted this strike to gain publicity for their efforts and thereby attempt to discredit not only this company but the entire industry in the eyes of the public.

That this strike stopped the production of aircraft vitally necessary to get the Army's aviation training program started did not matter. That it stopped production when it was zooming upward week by week to new levels ahead of schedule did not matter. That it would require several weeks to get production running smoothly again and to get the organization back in stride after this interruption did not matter. That the strike was called in utter disregard of the company's offer to arbitrate every point of difference, and in disregard of an agreement to give prior notice to the Defense Advisory Commission, did not matter. A strike was needed, and it was needed now.

The defense program cannot go forward without the fullest cooperation of labor; it cannot go forward without the fullest cooperation of industry itself. Industry must be prepared to accept reasonable profits, which it has done by its approval of increased taxation for defense purposes. Labor must be willing to accept reasonable wages and reasonable working conditions likewise. The American public is today demanding immediate and adequate defense preparation. It will not permit any slowing down of the production of essential items, and it certainly will not tolerate any effort to socialize the aircraft industry. Unless harmony and cooperation is secured, I fear that the public will demand the elimination of all strikes and the enforcement of compulsory arbitration of all disputes wherein the public interest is affected. To allow the public to suffer in order that a few labor leaders and organizers may gain prestige will soon bring the labor movement into disrepute and cause the loss of the many gains which labor has attained. To avoid this situation, this strike should be settled without delay upon a reasonable basis, a basis which is fair to the company, which is at present not making a profit, fair to labor, so that regular increases in wages may be obtained as the workers become skilled, and fair to the public, which must not be called upon to pay an unreasonable cost through taxation for the defense equipment which is so sorely needed at this time.

I am advised this morning that only yesterday the company readily accepted the proposal of the War Department representative, Major Simpson. However, the C. I. O. leaders,

although expressing satisfaction with the wages and working conditions offered, nevertheless refused to accept the agreement on the sole ground that they would not guarantee, as provided in the agreement, that there would be no further strikes and consequent interruption of defense production during the effective term of the agreement. The C. I. O. leaders likewise rejected the principle of arbitration provided in the agreement.

I ask you where is this country heading if in the midst of this dire national emergency the C. I. O. leaders still refuse to assure the American public of their cooperation in the national-defense program by refusing to guarantee uninterrupted production and refusing to submit future disputes to arbitration, the time-honored American method of settling such problems?

Star Route Carriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER M. PIERCE

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 22, 1940

ADDRESS BY ROBERT E. LAMBERT

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address recently delivered by Robert E. Lambert, clerk of the House Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads: •

As was said in the opening speech of his campaign by an aspirant to the highest office in the gift of our people—

"In very few places in the world is it possible for a man to do what I am doing here. * * * To appear before a free people for the purpose of giving free * * * expression to views contrary to those of the government in power."

I do not propose to give expression contrary to what I believe in the intent and purpose of the Government, and in that I appear to be in agreement with the candidate since he has approved practically every program of the present administration. However, in exercising the freedom enjoyed by all citizens, I may express some views that are contrary to the views of the Government employee who works in the administration of certain laws enacted by the Congress and approved by the President of the United States.

But the point I first want to make is that we are a free people, that we are a democratic people, that we are a most-favored people. This convention, which represents a cross section of our land, is the best form of proof that we are a free and democratic people. Delegates gathered here are from the far reaches of our country, they have come of their own volition and in the free exercise of their desire and judgment. They were not required to come, and when they decided to come were not required to obtain a permit from anyone, save, perhaps, their own wives. And I dare say that not one of you was molested in any way during the trip from your home to Boulder City. No police or gendarmes interfered to ask for identifications, where you were going or why; no inspector in a restaurant, eating house, or hotel asked to see your food-rationing card. In fact, no restrictions of any kind are placed upon you that you would not place upon yourself, such as doing unto others as you would have them do unto you.

Yes; we are truly a free people; and because we enjoy the freedom of speech and the freedom of assemblage guaranteed to us by an unsullied organic law, this convention has convened for the purpose of discussing the problems of the star-route carriers in an effort to improve their lot, better their relationships in the organization, secure more favorable working conditions, and enlarge the returns for the labors performed. These are all proper objectives, but I doubt that any one of us has stopped to say a little prayer of thanks for the privilege of meeting so openly and freely to discuss these problems that are so vital to each individual member. We take such rights and privileges as a matter of course in this country, scarcely stopping to consider that, as stated by the candidate for the Presidency, there are very few places in the world where that is possible.

After you have ironed out the organization difficulties, if any, you will approach the questions of presenting your claims for more favorable working conditions and better compensation directly to the legislative body of your Government. You will not consider presenting these claims as serfs to a master, but exercising the freedom and guaranties of citizens will present them as one equal to another. You realize, as do all citizens of this country, that you do not have to take your hat in hand, leave your pride at home, and go on bended knee to a would-be benefactor and plead with him for sustenance of life; but, through your chosen representative, your claims will be presented in a manner of freemen and an opportunity will be given for an open hearing, where all the facts bearing on the matter can be presented. And I can say to you without fear of contradiction that it is the purpose of the committees of Congress before which your claims will come to endeavor to get all the facts pertaining to any problems placed before it and consider every phase of each upon its merits.

During the past several years your organization has had experience in presenting problems to the Congress with varying degrees of success, and no one has taken a position that the present star-route law is perfect. I say no one, save perhaps some in the Department, and I will have something to say about that later. In other words, it is generally recognized by all who are familiar with the present system that there is need for improvement in the relationship of the star-route carrier and the Government.

The competitive system of bidding for the right to carry star routes has been in vogue for a long time, and while there is much merit in a competitive bidding system in many lines of contractual relationships, there are some very material differences between the work performed under contracts for carrying mail on star routes and the work performed for the Government under other contracts, such as the construction of buildings.

The Government does not enter into contracts resulting from competitive bidding for personal services, and to all intents and purposes the carrying of the mails is a personal service as is recognized in the system established for rural routes. Of course, in addition to the personal service involved there is the matter of furnishing equipment, but it is the personal responsibility of the individual that is controlling in whether he will be engaged to carry rural or star-route mail, not the equipment he may possess.

For all other types of personal services the Government establishes a certain definite pay basis, and in the rural-delivery service in addition to the pay provided for the personal service there is provided an equipment allowance upon a mileage basis giving to the carrier who has a short route the same consideration proportionately as the carrier with a long route. In many instances mail is carried on star routes for less than the mileage allowance on rural routes.

When I first became interested in the star-route service I was surprised to learn that in many instances—not isolated cases—the star-route carrier does exactly the same type of service as the rural-delivery carrier—by that I mean they make box deliveries—and in addition to furnishing the same type of service, also carry the mail from post office to post office. I have learned many things about the service since I first became interested in it that anyone must know before they can deal intelligently with it.

As I have stated, no one comes forward to defend the competitive bidding system as applied specifically to star-route carriers, and there is one very great reason why they do not. That reason is that after the first competitive bidding which gives the successful bidder at most a 4-year contract, there is never again an open and free competitive bidding. No doubt that statement will be challenged, but it is my contention that after the first contract has been performed, the price of that contract establishes a price beyond which no bidder can go with any expectation of securing the contract. The result is that the contractor, if he desires to retain the route, submits a bid lower than his previous bid, and any new bidder who seriously expects or hopes to secure the contract submits a bid lower than the present known contract price. Thus over a period of a few years the amount paid for the route becomes less than a reasonable amount for the services performed. And it is my belief that our Government intends to pay a reasonable amount for any and all services performed for it.

There may be a few instances where the present system of competitive bidding for star routes does not beat down the price, but in a great majority of cases the successful bidder for a route that has previously been under contract knows he must enter a bid at a figure less than the former contract price if he expects to be considered. The tendency of reduction in the contract price, whether due to the present competitive bidding system as is my belief, or otherwise, is definitely proven by the annual reports of the Postmaster General showing comparative costs of the service from year to year. Beginning with the year 1924—and I have not gone back further for fear of making this statement monotonous—the annual report shows:

Average rate of cost per mile of scheduled travel is:

	Cents
1924	13.85
1925	13.37
1926	13.15
1927	12.31
1928	11.99
1929	11.49
1930	11.12
1931	10.38
1932	9.87
1933	9.15
1934	8.16
1935	7.10
1936	6.69
1937	6.52
1938	6.33
1939	6.00

Thus from the year 1924 to the year 1939 the cost of the service was reduced more than one-half, from the average rate of 13.85 cents per mile to 6 cents per mile. Has the cost of any other service in the Postal Service been so reduced?

I have no doubt that if the Government could readvertise any of its contracts entered into after competitive bidding that the next bidding would show a reduction, for anyone bidding would know that his bid to be considered must be less than the former low bid. And if the jobs of the employees in the Postal Service could be let by competitive bidding I am sure the cost of the service could be materially decreased. I am not advocating that, however, but only wish to point out that should reduction in cost be the paramount issue there are many places in the Service where considerable savings could be made by applying the same system as is now in vogue in the Star Route Service.

The above tabulation does not portray the entire picture by any means so in order that the record may be a little clearer from a statistical standpoint I have compiled some other figures as disclosed by the Postmaster General's annual reports showing the number of star routes, length of travel one way, and the approximate expenditure per annum of the Service.

Year	Number of routes	Length of route (miles) 1 way	Approximate expenditures per annum
1924	10,802	159,573.05	$12,748,297.47
1925	10,906	164,209.19	12,735,000.00
1926	10,991	169,258.34	12,935,000.00
1927	11,215	179,945.44	12,890,000.00
1928	11,472	190,960.59	13,450,000.00
1929	11,695	202,007.34	13,770,000.00
1930	11,788	209,573.29	14,325,582.00
1931	12,089	226,370.32	14,325,000.00
1932	12,443	239,714.24	14,600,000.00
1933	12,596	248,295.36	14,300,363.05
1934	12,237	251,824.26	12,942,233.72
1935	11,853	251,983.00	11,357,220.46
1936	11,663	256,864.00	10,881,747.00
1937	11,572	261,689.00	10,800,073.00
1938	11,393	263,127.00	11,035,259.00
1939	11,462	299,582.00	10,847,668.00

The greatest number of routes was in 1933 with 12,596, having a one-way length of 248,295.36 miles, costing the Government $14,300,676. The greatest expenditure, however, in any one year was in 1932 when the sum expended was $14,600,000. It is interesting to note that the mileage traveled has increased each year from 159,573 miles in 1924 to 299,582 miles in 1939, and that the cost of the service for the greater distance traveled in 1939 was less than the cost of the service in 1924 by $1,900,529.47.

During the present Congress representatives of your organization caused to be introduced in both the Senate and House of Representatives a bill which had for its purpose, among other things, a renewable contract provision. It was considered and passed by the Senate, although there was before the Senate committee an unfavorable report originating in the Bureau of the Budget. Under the renewable contract provision a regular contract might, in the discretion of the Postmaster General, and in the interest of the Postal Service, be renewed for single periods of 4 years from date of expiration, at the rate prevailing at the end of the contract term. The same provision was contained in a bill vetoed during the Seventy-fifth Congress, it being specifically pointed out that the Postmaster General, in the discretion granted him could not without obtaining competitive bids, determine whether or not the renewal of a contract would in fact be in the best interests of the United States. Its inclusion in the bill enacted during the Seventy-sixth Congress most assuredly would have caused a veto which would have resulted in the loss of the other provisions of the bill. The House committee made a careful study of the provision and also of the attitude of the Post Office Department, and the veto message of the prior Congress, and were convinced that if they accepted the bill as it came from the Senate that it would be vetoed and all the provisions of the bill lost.

Under these circumstances the House committee, and in turn the House of Representatives, acceded to the recommendations of the Post Office Department. These recommendations were concurred in by the Senate and the bill became a law on May 31, 1940.

This new law gives a carrier additional compensation for increased travel caused by obstruction of roads. It also provides that he may be released from his contract where there is a material increase or decrease in the amount of service required; where there is an increased amount of mail necessitating larger capacity equipment; or where there is a change in schedule requiring the contractor to be away from his initial terminal an excessively longer or shorter period of time. Last, but not least, it contains a provision whereby a contractor may be relieved of his contract where it has been bid in at a wholly inadequate price.

I hope there will never be an occasion to use the provision last mentioned, but the other provisions may come in good stead for any carrier, for who knows when changed conditions may necessitate the changing of a route of a schedule, or the use of larger equipment?

Another provision of the new law relates to the bidding for star-route contracts and provides that the contract shall be awarded to the lowest responsible bidder tendering sufficient guaranties of faithful performance in accordance with the terms of the advertisement. Prior to the enactment of this new law the award must be made to the lowest bidder. Now it must be made to the lowest responsible bidder. A great deal of the success of the law depends on the manner in which the administrative officials interpret the word "responsible." If it is interpreted in accordance with its true meaning given it by the Second Assistant Postmaster General in presenting the Department's views to the House committee, which is in accord with court decisions, the change will be of material help in the letting of contracts. But if it is narrowly construed with no thought to the true legal meaning of the word there will be little or no change in the present method of letting these contracts. Only time, perhaps, will tell just how it is going to be interpreted.

Another provision of the new law limits bidders to legal residence of the county or counties traversed by the routes, or counties adjoining such counties. This is a limitation made in the interest of keeping the bidding with those who by reason of their proximity to the route to be carried should know the local conditions that would be encountered and who, therefore, could submit an intelligent bid.

The recommendations that came from the Department and which are now contained in the law were considered and approved by a man in whom I have great confidence, and if he had remained in a position to administer them there is no question in my mind that they would have been administered in a manner satisfactory to all fair-minded men. I refer to the Honorable Ambrose O'Connell, former Second Assistant Postmaster General but now First Assistant Postmaster General. He is a man of wide experience, having obtained most of that experience before entering Government service. He is sincerely interested in the welfare and betterment of the Service and has the respect of those who are trying to enact intelligent laws under which the Service must operate. He brought new blood and new experience into the Service and it is hoped that his pioneering blood will be instilled into the personnel of the Department and be an inspiration to move forward and improve the Service, and above all will cause the new star-route law to be administered in the spirit in which it was written.

Lord Lothian, British Ambassador to the United States, Now Asks That American Men Fight in Europe for the British Empire

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 20, 1940

DISPATCH FROM THE BOSTON POST

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following dispatch from the Boston Post:

[From the Associated Press]

BRITAIN WANTS MEN FROM UNITED STATES—LORD LOTHIAN SEES NEED IF VICTORY TO BE SURE

LISBON, November 13.—Lord Lothian, British Ambassador to the United States, is expected to reach Lisbon by plane from London tomorrow for a conference with Sir Samuel Hoare, British ambassador to Spain, who already is here.

Lord Lothian previously had been expected here today, presumably en route back to Washington, but was inexplicably delayed. The British Broadcasting Co. reported he already had made a recording of a 5-minute talk for broadcast to the United States tonight.

In the broadcast, as heard in New York by Columbia Broadcasting System, Lord Lothian expressed the thanks of Britons for the help Americans have given them, especially for the relief of suffering, and said:

"But we also need planes, men, and ships if we are to be sure of defeating the Nazi threat to liberty. Without adequate assistance from you in the three spheres I have described, we cannot be sure of victory.

"With such assistance we have no doubt whatever that the Nazi threat to the freedom of mankind will be decisively defeated."

Congress Shows Wisdom in Remaining in Session During World Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, the House, by its vote, has refused to adjourn. It has shown wisdom in remaining in

session during this world crisis. I have returned from my district which is over 3,000 miles from the Capital. I will remain here until the Seventy-seventh Congress convenes in January. Likewise, I deem it a mistake for Congress to remain in session and refuse to devote itself to the work before us which is piling up awaiting attention.

It is true we have passed all of the legislation needed to inaugurate the rearmament program. The actual work, however, of making effective this program lies ahead of us. We can prove that democracy will work by going full speed ahead with the construction program. We must not permit a few troublemakers in key industries to tie up the defense program. The Attorney General has stated that these subversive interests are at work in the war industries. Any legislation needed to give authority to weed them out should be passed at once. This is our job as a Congress. American labor is honest and loyal. Ninety-nine percent of labor is ready to do its share in making America strong and impregnable. It is the 1 percent that is guilty of attempting to bog down the construction work.

Mr. Speaker, we are here to work. We are paid to work. We are the only ones under the law who can by legislation provide the laws and the machinery to clean house in the war-defense construction program. Let us do it, and do it without further delay. Every Member of Congress should stay here on the job until January. The Congress should give the green light to the committees and we should take up on the floor for discussion and passage the laws needed to defend America and to save our democracy. Above all, we should see to it we are not pushed into the European war through the back door.

The administration is in control of both Houses of Congress. It can, if it wills to do so, permit the majority to go forward with this legislative work. The administration leaders, however, will not do so until they are given the word to go ahead. Many speakers today on this floor from the majority side have made the issues clear and pointed the way. It only remains to see if we, as a Congress, will be allowed to function. The minority is powerless. It can do nothing. The legislative program and the committees are controlled by the majority. With them rests the sole power to determine whether the Congress is to be a legislative body or only an aggregation of do-nothings. With them rests the power to determine whether or not our defense program shall fail.

Mr. Speaker, I have not missed a roll call during this third session of the Seventy-sixth Congress until I returned home for the election during the 3-day recesses when Congress was marking time. I want to do my share in helping to make America strong and proving that our democracy will work. I would, of course, enjoy a rest at home during the holidays. I feel, however, our duty is here. It is useless, however, to stay here and keep in session and merely mark time when there is so much important work to do. Indeed, the fate of America and of democracy may well depend on what we as a Congress do in these fateful days. Mr. Speaker, I urge that we all lay aside all partisanship and with unity of purpose begin today with full speed ahead to rebuild our America—strong and secure. Let the Congress point the way. Let it set the example. Let us not be the slackers we are now. We are engaged in a sit-down strike against our Government. We are refusing to work, but we are drawing our pay. We have by our votes conscripted the young manhood of our Nation to go into camp and prepare to fight to defend America—to give their lives if necessary—yet we sit smugly by and refuse to raise a hand to stamp out sabotage in the war industries that they may have guns and munitions and ships and clothing and food. A day of reckoning will come. We will have to answer for our folly. Let us awake now before it is too late. America is calling to us. Will we heed the call?

Hon. Lindsay C. Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BUTLER B. HARE
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, November 11, 1940

Mr. HARE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I desire to record my impression of some of the demonstrated outstanding legislative virtues of the Honorable Lindsay C. Warren, of North Carolina, during his 16 years of service as a Representative in Congress prior to his resignation today that he may accept appointment as Comptroller General of the United States. We regret to see him leave a work in which he has been so signally successful.

It shall not be my purpose to discuss or relate the history of his services, or go into detail showing the contribution he made in the enactment of legislation. This has been well done by his former secretary and worthy successor, the Honorable HERBERT BONNER, and others. I shall be content to call attention to some of the personal and legislative virtues which to my way of thinking have contributed to his successful career and which have been an inspiration to many of us who have had the privilege of serving with him.

There are many Members of Congress who become experts or recognized authorities in some specific field of legislation, but there are not a great many endowed with the ability, inclination, and determination to familiarize themselves with parliamentary procedure and all types of legislation as thoroughly as did Mr. Warren. There are a few men probably in all legislative bodies who have an idea that their power or influence is contingent upon their much speaking and they therefore usually avail themselves of every opportunity to discuss practically every matter considered but, as a rule, they add but little to the clarification of the matter involved. Mr. Warren was not one of these. He never addressed the Congress without bringing inspiration and added information to its membership. He had the happy faculty of properly interpreting the question under consideration and presenting it in such a logical and forceful manner that effective reply rarely ever prevailed. He never allowed himself to resort to flimsy or subtle reasons to carry his point. In debate he demonstrated courage without daring, expressed his convictions without abuse, and supported his arguments with irrefutable facts and convincing logic. And when he had presented a matter he was conscious of a discharged responsibility and never fretted, worried, or complained about results.

His success was not an accident nor was it attained by ingenius or crafty tactics. It was hard work and concentrated application, coupled with his frankness, fairness, and honesty toward his associates. The membership of the House will remember him as one who could be trusted and relied upon at all times to discharge his obligations in an able, forceful and conscientious manner, and it is my prediction that these same virtues will be outstandingly characterized in his new field of labor and it will not be long before his services there will be recognized and appreciated as highly as they are by every Member of this body. We all wish him continued success in service to his country.

The Late Senator Ernest Lundeen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GERALD P. NYE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 25 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIALS FROM GAELIC AMERICAN AND THE STEUBEN NEWS

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, when the voice of a former colleague is stilled in death and unable to speak out against those who would attack or question his deep patriotism, the very least one can do is to submit for the RECORD such presentations as go to the facts governing the times.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD two editorials with reference to our former colleague the late Senator Lundeen, of Minnesota.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Gaelic American of October 5, 1940]

KEEP UNITED STATES OUT OF FOREIGN WARS—INTERVENTIONIST GHOULS TRY TO CRUCIFY AMERICAN PATRIOTS UPON THE CROSS OF CALUMNY—WARMONGERS SMEARING EVERYBODY WHO OPPOSES JOCKEYING UNITED STATES INTO CONFLICT TO SAVE BRITISH EMPIRE

(By J. Frank Webber)

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 25.—Recently the puppet forces of intervention in America have hit a new low.

Straightforward advocacy of their campaign for direct involvement of the United States of America in a foreign imperialistic war no longer suffices. It is my sorry duty to report that there is now under way a well-financed aggressive movement to misrepresent, smear, and discredit every American of any importance who dares to speak out as a noninterventionist.

The truth or the facts do not matter. That cardinal journalistic quality of accuracy no longer counts for a certain section of the ribald interventionist press.

The fanatical interventionists now would remove at all costs to decency, accuracy, or justice all opposition to their hellish design to sacrifice American lives, property, and national freedom to the European imperialistic hydra.

Misguided, intentionally or otherwise, they brook no interference to their far-flung plans for involvement. If an American patriot speaks in opposition he is branded a "fifth columnist," a "Benedict Arnold traitor," or by some other interventionist-chosen epithet to arouse distrust and hatred. They have forsaken principle, scuttled the Monroe Doctrine, and interred the warning of Washington's Farewell Address into the unhallowed grave of iniquitous babblings.

Not content with distortion of the profound final admonition of the Father of his Country, these interventionist ghouls proceed to crucify American patriots—living and dead—upon the cross of calumny.

PM'S GHOULISH ASSAULTS

Leading this campaign of calumny is a strange New York tabloid, PM, interventionist controlled. Its violent interventionism is equaled only by its inaccuracy and misrepresentation. It holds the unenviable role of carrion bird to the William Allen White Interventionist Committee.

PM's ghoulish assaults have ranged from daily attacks on Col. Charles A. Lindbergh among living American patriots to abuse of the late United States Senator Ernest Lundeen, some 60 hours after this great noninterventionist and our colleague met tragic death in an airplane accident.

This started things. Not to be out-ghouled in the cause of interventionism by the four-column tabloid which apparently exists for the sole purpose of getting the United States into foreign war, certain apologists for the New Deal led off their widely circulated newspaper column with a fantastic rumor that Senator Lundeen at the time of his death was being shadowed by Federal investigators.

But this last charge was too preposterous for the administration's Attorney General, Robert H. Jackson, who knowing something about persecution during the last World War, issued a flat official denial of the report of the alleged investigation.

"I wish to deny emphatically recently published press reports to the effect that the late Senator Ernest Lundeen, of Minnesota, at the time of his death in an airplane accident on August 31, was under investigation by the Department of Justice," declared Attorney General Jackson. "No inquiry into the affairs of Senator Lundeen has ever been instituted or contemplated, either by the Federal Bureau of Investigation or by any other agency of the Department of Justice, and any statement or report to the contrary is untrue."

The pity is that the Attorney General has neither the time nor the facilities to enter an equally emphatic denial to each false charge levelled by the fanatical interventionists.

Judging by their oft repeated standards, Andrew Jackson, the great hero of Senator Lundeen, was in actuality the predecessor of Colonel Lindbergh as the chief of the "fifth column" in this country. Also, Abraham Lincoln would not be considered the Great Emancipator but a Benedict Arnold traitor for accepting German and Russian sympathy and financial support upon the occasion of America's greatest crisis.

Thus do the ghouls implant the Judas kiss upon the cause of democracy. Thus do the ghouls betray the fair name of American journalism and American fair play for 30 pieces of ill-gotten silver.

Thus, finally, do the ghouls crucify American patriots upon the cross of calumny.

The inside history or background of this ghoulist attack is revealing. These gutter-bred vilifications stem from the occasion 6 weeks ago when Senator Lundeen's noninterventionist committee first defended Colonel Lindbergh from the vile and excremental attacks daily heaped upon him by the vituperative PM.

A SMEAR CAMPAIGN

As the Islands for War Debts Defense Committee (formerly Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee) predicted in its now famous defense of Colonel Lindbergh, PM or the interventionists can only reply to the Colonel and the cause of nonintervention by a smear campaign.

Despite the solemn warning that these attacks upon American patriots must cease forthwith or they would be held for trial before the court of American public opinion, PM redoubled its smear attacks.

Afraid to face Senator Lundeen in the land of the living, these interventionist vultures seek comfort in invading his grave and American principles. Requiring 60 hours in which to muster up their courage to attack a dead American statesman, the PM ghouls were able to crowd from their places of hiding to report his pro-American movement as more than a little ghostly.

(Maj. Gen. Smedley D. Butler, committee vice chairman, had also recently passed to his reward, together by coincident, with several other committee officials.) As regards the ghostly indictment, it might be pertinent to suggest that the spectral figures of approximately 6,000,000 murdered Russian kulaks must certainly hover over the editorial sanctums of PM, as well as the ghosts of the founding fathers of our country—their eternal slumbers disrupted by such nonsensical bilgewash.

ABUSE CONTINUES

Meanwhile, PM continues—totally oblivious to its cardinal violation of the canons of journalism—to heap abuse upon a great American without any basis in fact whatsoever. Joined together for the march to Brooklyn's Calvary—the office of PM, published in the Brooklyn Eagle plant—along with our late colleague, Senator Lundeen, and Colonel Lindbergh are other great Americans who have dared to speak out against participation in foreign imperialistic warfare—Henry Ford, James D. Mooney, and other prominent Americans.

These attacks are similar to the visitations of a strange bird known to jokesters as the willygaloo, which once in every 5,000 years flies to a granite rock mysteriously situated in a remote part of the Pacific. This barren rock is a mile high, a mile long, and a mile wide. The willygaloo wipes his bill upon it—just once, mind you—and then flies away. When that bird wears the rock down to sea level the millennium allegedly is at hand.

Mr. President, the interventionists are the willygaloo birds of America. That rock is our patriots. I leave it to you as to which one will wear out first.

[From the Steuben News of September 1940]

PM'S PLOT TO CRUCIFY COLONEL LINDBERGH

The Islands for War Debts Committee (formerly the Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee) views with extreme disfavor and abhorrence the daily attacks of the publication PM upon the character of America's "lone eagle," Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, through the office of Ralph Ingersoll, editor.

Inasmuch as Senator Ernest Lundeen, national chairman of the committee, was a friend of the colonel's father, Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., in Congress, and was also pilloried for his anti-war expressions along with Congressman Lindbergh during the European fiasco to "save democracy" of 1917–18, it is only natural and right for the Senator to believe that any attempt to besmirch the reputation of a great American should be summarily dealt with.

To differ with someone's opinion is a democratic privilege guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. To vilify him because he merely differs in opinion, and to attempt to obscure an issue such as intervention versus nonintervention by scurrilous writing is reprehensible to decent-minded people and can or should be adjusted through the laws governing libel.

However, in the case of PM, it seems to be only a cheap bid for questionable publicity—a stunt to increase circulation, much in vogue during the era of "yellow journalism."

Colonel Lindbergh's thankless attempts to keep the United States out of war have cost him considerable in both time and money. If he is that much interested in our common welfare, surely his opinions can be received with a greater degree of courtesy. As a flier of world renown he is accepted by all. He is a Reserve officer, subject to the call of his country—and if the emergency arose there is little doubt that he would contribute his share to make this world a safe place for Mr. Ingersoll and the vituperative PM.

But PM evidently proposes to offer up Colonel Lindbergh as a daily sacrifice upon the altar of newspaper circulation.

Another blast emanated figuratively from the pulpit when the Reverend Charles Grant Hamilton, D. D., of Washington, D. C., newly elected corresponding secretary of the Islands for War Debts Committee, commented upon this situation thusly:

"A strong feeling of aversion and disgust arises in the mind of every thinking citizen when he reads the vituperative statements PM is daily publishing concerning Colonel Lindbergh, which are merely attempts to malign the latter's good name.

"The description of Colonel Lindbergh as an 'intellectual bigot' shows that those using that term are unfamiliar with the high purposes dominating his life, namely, the advancement of aviation and of medicine, not to bring glory upon himself but to promote the well-being of all mankind. It is furthermore unfortunate that anyone should class as one of a group who 'love their country's enemies' and as a 'fifth columnist' a man like Lindbergh, who has world-wide contacts and who is familiar, especially with affairs concerning aviation, in many countries.

"The fact that 48 hours have brought no reply to our committee's telegram asking Mr. Ralph Ingersoll, editor and publisher of PM, to state when and under what circumstances Colonel Lindbergh intimated he was anti-Jewish would indicate the former at least, and possibly his associates, have been overcome by the sudden discovery that they are prevaricating.

"It is my prediction that Colonel Lindbergh will go down in history as one of our country's truly great men and that his influence will continue long after the above-mentioned abusive, hate-provoking statements have been forgotten," concluded Dr. Hamilton.

Mr. Ingersoll, the "watchdog of truly American principles," has nominated the colonel to his order of Benedict Arnolds. If history and memory do not betray the committee, Arnold sold himself for British coin. Inasmuch as Lindbergh is charged with being sympathetic with the Nazis, the epithet is hardly appropriate unless one wishes to trace the $165,000,000 British slush fund in this country down the various journalistic rat holes and apply it to the most deserving.

On the first day of the attack Ingersoll refers to Lindbergh as a "former American hero." It is wagered in some quarters that the Lone Eagle will still be a hero to Americans when PM has become but a fleeting memory to those who expected more of a publication requiring a 2-year publicity build-up. Truly the mountain brought forth a rodent.

Two days following Colonel Lindbergh's radio address of August 4 in Chicago Mr. Ingersoll in a front-page editorial blast pompously declares: "I say very simply that Colonel Lindbergh in his speech in Chicago Sunday identified himself as spokesman No. 1 for the " 'fifth column.' " The reader of PM will notice that the publication carries but four columns in print—it doesn't require a fifth column, which, if we are to deduce correctly from Mr. Lyons' appraisal, allegedly exists in the staff.

Again, in the same front-page editorial Ingersoll remarks: "Lindbergh is a political novice. Who are the people who did his thinking and helped in his writing?" The same question might be properly addressed to Mr. Ingersoll as to the people framing PM's policy.

On the editorial pages PM allegedly invokes the racial issue by innuendo—a cartoon of Colonel Lindbergh placing a sign bearing the word "Aryan" upon the mechanical heart which the colonel and Dr. Alexis Carrel perfected. Mr. Kenneth Crawford, Washington correspondent for PM and president of the allegedly "red"-ridden American Newspaper Guild, echoed the slur in his dispatch of August 6. Evidently PM does not have many gentile readers and this attempt to stir up the Jews against Lindbergh is most offensive to propriety.

Two telegrams were sent to Mr. Ingersoll by the committee on August 12 and 13 reading in effect: "When did Colonel Lindbergh intimate that he was or is anti-Jewish?" To date there has been no answer. Nor will there ever be one, for PM's policy is pussyfooting and evasion. The name "PM" probably stands for "Pussyfooting Maledictors."

As far as Mr. Ingersoll's reference to Lindbergh's returning his medal to Hitler, it might be apropos to suggest that Ingersoll turn over some of his staff to the Pravda and Izvestia, Soviet propaganda organs. How about the British and French medals Lindbergh received?

As for the item regarding Congressman MARTIN L. SWEENEY, distinguished vice chairman of the Islands for War Debts Committee, it might be pertinent to remark that he is extremely sensitive to libelous references.

Congressman SWEENEY, 3 months ago, indirectly forecast vicious attacks such as that perpetrated by PM when, over a Nation-wide hook-up, he addressed the Nation on the subject, Let Us Be Pro-American and Keep the United States Out of War, exposing the uncanny parallel between war propaganda of today and that preceding America's entrance into the last World War.

Said Congressman SWEENEY: "Let us return to the sound and safe principles of America's first isolationist, George Washington, then the mistakes of 1917 will not be repeated. Today, in many quarters of the United States, the term 'isolationist' is viewed with suspicion. Assert yourself pro-American today and certain interests characterize you as pro-German or pro-Communist."

But it has remained for the brilliant and scholarly retiring editor of the Washington Post, Felix Morley, new president of Haverford College, to demolish the PM School of Lindbergh Detractors and Benedict Arnold League Inventors.

The Pulitzer prize-winning editor-educator wrote in the Post: "On Monday, Senator PEPPER denounced Lindbergh from the floor as 'the chief of the "fifth column" in this country.' That same night Senator LUCAS came in on the radio to defend the President against charges of warmongering which Lindbergh had not made. On Tuesday the publisher of PM, Mr. Ralph Ingersoll, devoted his first page to an editorial endorsement of the PEPPER calumny. 'I say very simply,' said Mr. Ingersoll, 'that Colonel Lindbergh, in his speech in Chicago Sunday, identified himself as spokesman No. 1 for the "fifth column."'

"That allegation is worthy of quoting largely because there has been a lot of newspaper reaction to the same effect, though not much of it in such extreme form."

Then after several columns of keen analysis of Lindbergh's pro-American radio addresses Dr. Morley in scholarly style sums up his defense of the Lone Eagle, branded by PM as an "intellectual bigot." Senator LEE's assertion that Lindbergh "would have us grasp Hitler's hand, * * * dripping with human blood," according to Dr. Morley, "is intolerable to any well-developed sense of justice."

Continuing his erudite and penetrating demand for American fair play, the noted editor concludes:

"Comments of this sort encourage two impressions. One is that Lindbergh's arguments must be very difficult to answer if they can only be countered by smear tactics. The other is that if Lindbergh is really 'the chief of the "fifth column" in this country,' as Senator PEPPER says, then that supposititious 'column' is not nearly as black as it has been pictured.

"Those are certainly not the reactions that Lindbergh's most vociferous critics wish to inspire. But they are the sort of reactions which come naturally to a fair-minded people whenever there is an organized effort to vilify a man of courage and conviction. And the American people, in spite of much provocation to be otherwise, are still fair-minded."

Armistice Day Address of Judge W. G. Roberds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RANKIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 18, 1940

ADDRESS OF JUDGE W. G. ROBERDS

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting excerpts from a very able address delivered by Judge W. G. Roberds, professor of law at the University of Mississippi, at the Armistice Day celebration of the American Legion at West Point, Miss., on November 11, 1940.

The matter referred to follows:

Fellow Americans, when the guns fell silent at the eleventh hour on the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1918 some noted that it was the eleventh hour—not the twelfth, the hour of completion. Then, when the day was officially designated Armistice Day, there was the ominous note again—not peace day, but Armistice Day—an armed truce. Well, the truce has been broken; and today, the twenty-second anniversary, many are asking what we shall do with this day in the future. Public observance overseas was largely omitted this year; assemblies make too tempting targets for aerial bombs. In the United States the day has never been observed by the general public, but then the public is largely indifferent toward the celebration—and more especially toward the true meaning of Independence Day, Constitution Day, Flag Day, and other national anniversaries. Our national holy days have become national holidays. Then what of Armistice Day?

For the members of the American Legion, for the soldiers who came back, for the families of those who rest in Flanders Fields, in the sea, or near the site of plague-struck camps, that question does not arise; for them the dawn of the 11th of November will always break upon an ineffaceable memory. The war ended 22 years ago, we say, but for these, and the inmates of our overcrowded veterans' hospitals, that war will never end.

But what of the rest? Time marches on; a new generation appears; they go about their daily affairs oblivious of 1914–18. Surely, though, events of recent months have sobered all of us to see and try to understand the things that are occurring, and the effects upon our country, our happiness, and those to follow us. Armistice Day, then, may yet serve as a lofty lookout, a listening post, a watch tower from which to judge the mighty conflict of light and darkness in the realms of life.

As we look from that tower the spirit of the world must bow in shame in the return of brute violence and barbarism we thought had gone forever.

True, in days gone, those with power used it as they would, regardless of right—moral challenge of such conduct had not been born. But we got beyond that.

True that in those days men settled private disputes by killing each other in duel; but that passed.

True, it was the custom to chain and starve and abuse the mentally deranged and helpless; but that passed.

Pirates and robbers ranged the seas, and ships that needed sailors stole those sailors from other ships; and that passed.

Slave ships sailed the seas, their victims kidnaped from their native lands, chained and manacled in filthy holes, dying of disease and mistreatment; but that also passed.

That hatred and brute instinct cast to the beast helpless victims of that hate, but with the light of Christianity that passed. History is a vast procession of evils departing from human practices. We thought these things were gone forever.

But from this tower we see that is not correct. We see the world afire, burning, destroying, sweeping away property, arts and treasures, the fruits of toil for thousands of years. Charred remains remind us of dying civilization.

We hear bombers in the heavens—toward which we, in our childhood, had been taught to look for the Father of Mankind—dropping their deadly bombs, killing the old, the helpless, the women and the children, and we see those who can running hither and yon like rats to their holes.

We see the periscopes of the sneaking submarine and, following the trail of the torpedo, like that of the serpent, it explodes, and ships and those on them, including refugee children, go down to sea, and there shall be no more dry eyes in the homes of these.

We see the huge tanks as they lumber across the lands and possessions of other peoples, spurting fire and destruction as they go.

With all we see this huge mechanized war machine, such as was never seen before, overrunning the fair lands of friends and neutrals, violating sacred agreements and treaties, enslaving and killing their peoples—a mechanized system constructed through years with the criminal and deliberate intent of enslaving, if possible, the rest of mankind.

Aside from this, which has not come to us yet, there is being trampled and challenged those things we consider most sacred to our existence.

Our forefathers believed that all power rested in the people; that the Government had no powers except those granted it by the people. They say the people have no inherent rights or powers; that they are simply tools of the state.

Our forefathers knew that freedom and liberty depended largely on a free press, to present to the people the truth and to expose wrongs and injustices. The Nazi controls the press; the truth is concealed and the people kept in ignorance, realizing that the greatest assets to a tyrant and the only way in which he can survive is the control of the press, supported by a mighty army at his command.

Our forefathers said there shall be free speech—that out of free discussion the truth shall emerge. The Nazi and Fascist say there can be no free speech. Whispers and glances to make sure none hear are the practices of these people. It is a crime to listen to certain radio programs.

Our forefathers provided that courts should be open to all. These say the ruler may condemn without trial and order to death or imprisonment without opportunity to be heard. Life even is not an inherent right; the dictator takes it or lets you live at his whim.

The founder of our Government provided that every person might worship as his conscience and beliefs might dictate. The Nazi denies religious worship and denies religion altogether.

Do these things concern us? No intelligent person can say they do not vitally affect us.

Tax burdens are heaping upon us even when there is no war. A debt now of $65,000,000,000 is suggested.

Even without war, just as a defense, the entire young manhood of the country is being registered for armed service.

What can we do?

Every citizen of the Republic has a task and a duty—civilian and soldier. Individual rights, individual privileges carry with them individual responsibility.

We want no territory and we expect to give none.

We must prepare to defend ourselves; have an adequate army, an adequate navy, adequate air army, and all modern mechanized machinery, with trained personnel to handle it.

We must help the morale of the people. The "fifth column" undermines, disrupts, and paralyzes. We must recognize that once the morale of the people is gone they are easy prey. We could have no better example than France. Here is a job in which we can help. We must purge our country of nazi-ism, communism, fascism, and all other "isms" except Americanism.

We must reinterpret to the individual, and especially to the younger generation, the spiritual values of freedom, the love of liberty, and the priceless heritage of freemen. We must awaken and quicken the national conscience and effect a rebirth of those virtues and ideals of right to life, to liberty, to free speech, and freedom to worship. We must save our democracy.

I know you to whom I speak will do that.

This is our United States—the United States our forefathers created and brought into being; for which they fought and died that we might have the heritage.

This is our United States—under the blessings of which and the liberties which have been ours we have prospered, as no other people have ever prospered, for 160 years.

This is our United States—where free men speak freely; where free men vote secretly; where we have just witnessed 50,000,000 voters selecting by their ballots their own leader for the next 4 years; where the voter is the sovereign and the officials are the servants—not the tyrants.

This is our United States—to save and protect it; to preserve and keep it. We must fully realize and appreciate it is ours and no one else can save it and, in my judgment, no one else can destroy it. It must remain ours.

This is our United States—all that we are, all that we have, and all that we hope to have are pledged that it shall remain our United States. We look back through the heroic history for more than 160 years and we strike hands and salute the makers of our great Constitution and "with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

This is our United States—and by all the gods of peace and by all the gods of war it shall remain our United States.

Opposes Intervention in World War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 25 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

STATEMENT BY HON. CHARLES G. DAWES

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by former Vice President Dawes opposing intervention by the United States in the World War.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY GENERAL DAWES OPPOSES INTERVENTION—FORMER VICE PRESIDENT AND AMBASSADOR TO LONDON FAVORS OUR AIDING BRITISH, BUT SAYS ENTERING WAR WOULD BE "AN ACT OF NTIONAL FOLLY"—WOULD ONLY PROLONG AND INTENSIFY CONFLICT, NOT RELIEVE IT, HE ADDS—NOT CONVINCED INTERESTS OF TWO NATIONS ARE INDISSOLUBLY UNITED

Last week at a small gathering of my comrades of the Seventeenth Engineers, A. E. F., living in Chicago and vicinity, I gave my views informally on the possible intervention of the United States in the present war. A condensed and somewhat inaccurate report of what I said was published, and I have received requests to state more fully my position on this important subject.

There must be many others like myself who feel that at this particular and critical juncture of international affairs they should obey the promptings of conscience and express themselves as opposed, in the best interests of the United States, to its intervention in the present European and Asiatic wars. We should do this while the policy of intervention has not yet been decided upon and we are still at peace. * * *

If the awful calamity of war engulfs us, debate ceases, and we, as a people, will stand unitedly behind our Government, as we now stand unitedly behind the policy of proper military preparedness.

I make this statement as a call to duty to a group of Americans who are sympathetic with the heroic and struggling people of Britain—who, like myself, have been inarticulate—who have not been influenced by acrimonious debate and who have been deeply troubled by their inability to be convinced that the ultimate interests of the United States and Great Britain are indissolubly united.

Our position up to this time may be considered weak by those whose favorable and no doubt conscientious opinions on intervention were early formed.

I am one of those who favor aid to Britain short of war and confess that I approve this policy notwithstanding a sense of its tendency to bring us into war. In the interest of honesty, I omit here the excuses and ethical generalizations often invoked in this debate to conceal human instincts, and admit that my English and New England descent in large measure accounted for my willingness to have my country assume this risk.

But now—right now—when many determined men are organizing to bring pressure upon the President and Congress for direct intervention of the United States in this foreign war, it is my clear

duty—and the clear duty of all those who are in the same position and oppose intervention—to stand up and be counted for what they believe in their hearts is for the best interests of our country, irrespective of the conflicting claims of any other nation on earth.

As some of us of English descent have been troubled in this matter, so many other good Americans who love their country, but are of different descent from ours, are likewise troubled by the pull of human and racial ties from across the seas.

Our group, therefore, in reality, comprises a vast number of Americans who desire peace and are against intervention. To them I say that the real issue before the people today is not, "Shall we continue to aid Great Britain with material and essential military supplies?"—that we are doing—but is this: "Shall we now enter the European war upon the assumption that it is necessary in the best interests of the United States?"

To this latter proposition vast numbers of those approving the first proposition will emphatically dissent, and it is to them that I call, for it is being taken for granted by many in Congress and elsewhere that those who supported the first proposition necessarily approve the latter one. Write immediately to your Congressmen and Senators that this is incorrect, so far as you are concerned.

The progress of this war thus far seems to demonstrate that it is practically impossible to land troops by sea in an enemy country, even over so short a distance as the English Channel. It is also said to be demonstrated that air wars of themselves will last a long time and are not likely to be quickly conclusive of important military results. The battle between Great Britain and Germany, therefore, will probably continue indefinitely—a stalemated air battle, with the navies of each seeking a blockade of the other—chiefly in food supplies.

When finally proud and powerful nations go to war, it is practically impossible for them to withdraw until the war ends in a military victory or a military defeat or in economic exhaustion compelling surrender.

Britain, with the acquiescence of our Government, has now made contracts with American manufacturers for a vast number of airplanes, the delivery of which is currently increasing the aerial power of Britain and should in time put her nearer an equality with Germany in the number of planes with, however, a superiority of quality in equipment.

Neither side is likely to run out of airplanes, nor does it seem that naval blockade of food supplies will be effective except over long years. Great Britain, with her great preponderance in naval strength, should be able to protect her food convoys, and Germany, while in the last war her morale broke after 4 years of Allied food blockade, in this war will receive additional supplies from the Danube Valley and other European sources.

What a horrible future would seem to confront these two nations from a prolonged and ceaseless bombardment of their respective civilian populations in air battle, which will continue until a successful naval blockade of food supplies starves into surrender the remaining portion of one or the other of these suffering peoples.

The intervention of the United States would only prolong and intensify this terrible situation, not relieve it.

Voluntary intervention of the United States in a world war of colossal magnitude extending, as it will, over many years and involving incalculable losses of every kind—human, social, and material—possibly including its own form of government—would be an act of national folly from which God grant we may be spared.

Objectives of the Regular Veterans' Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS SHEPPARD

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 25 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

OUTLINE ADOPTED BY THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be incorporated in the RECORD an outline of the 1940–41 objectives of the Regular Veterans' Association.

There being no objection, the outline was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL DEFENSE

A highly trained and well-equipped Army, capable of defending the entire Western Hemisphere.

A two-ocean Navy, capable of meeting and destroying any possible combination of enemy naval forces.

Repeal, modification, or amendment of all existing State laws that prevent citizens of such States who are serving in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard from voting. Such service men should be allowed to vote by absentee ballot.

R. V. A.'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM 1941 AS ADOPTED BY THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

1. Privileges of hospitalization of all United States veterans' facilities for former Regulars of the military and naval service. Amendment of public law No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, so as to permit any person having an honorable discharge from any of the regular services to be eligible for admission to the various Veterans' Administration homes.

2. Increase in pensions to widows and dependents of deceased Regulars who have died of service-connected disabilities.

3. Elimination of regulations which prevent members of the United States Soldiers' Home and of the United States Naval Home from receiving their full pensions while residing in these homes.

4. Upward revision of the present pay scale throughout the Regular Establishment.

5. Increase in the quarters and rental allowances for all retired personnel to $30 per month.

6. Provisions for retirement privileges for enlisted personnel of the Regular Army after 25 years of service.

7. Opposition to any law that will permit States or local political subdivisions to apply sales taxes to sales made in post exchanges or similar stores on military and naval reservations, ships, or stations.

8. Retention of the reenlistment allowances until it can be replaced by satisfactory pay schedules.

9. Good-conduct medals for all honorably discharged Army Regulars.

10. Continued preference to all honorably discharged veterans of the Regular Establishments under all rules and regulations promulgated by the United States Civil Service Commission, and a law that will require this Commission to publish all eligible lists and to make appointments from the list in order of merit, with no eligible passed over without legal and adequate reason therefor.

11. Preference to all honorably discharged regulars in admission to C. C. C. camps and on W. P. A. jobs.

12. Elimination of the so-called green ticket of the Coast Guard.

13. Adoption of a uniform salute to the flag for civilians and soldiers alike.

14. Equalization of charges to all veterans residing in United States Soldiers' Home and United States Naval Home.

15. Increase of $10 per month in amount now being paid hospitalized regulars.

16. Equalization of pay and allowances among the services.

17. First pay grade, pay and allowances, and rank for first sergeants of the Army and Marine Corps.

18. Brigadier general rank for our Army Chief of Chaplains.

19. Removal of legislative restrictions on Army post exchanges.

20. Permanent noncommissioned officers' warrants for noncommissioned officers of the Army with promotions based on merit as evidenced by tests, records, and examination.

21. Placing the fixing of Army noncommissioned officer strength in the hands of the Secretary of War.

22. Making the purchase of Government life insurance by military and naval officers and enlisted men possible at any time during active service instead of 120 days after acceptance of rank or enlistment.

23. Educational institutes for the Army and Navy whereby correspondence, educational, and vocational courses may be made available to personnel of the Army and Navy similar to personnel of the Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and United States Army Air Corps.

24. A law to extend the date of expiration of enlistment of personnel under treatment in hospitals. (This bill introduced by R. V. A. Its number is S. 4326, Seventy-sixth Congress.)

25. Reduction in hospital rates for dependents of Coast Guard personnel from $3.75 per day to $1 per day.

26. Adequate pensions for dependents of deceased retired regular officers and enlisted men.

27. Pensions for service-disabled Regulars to equal that of wartime rates.

28. Discontinue the monthly reductions from pay of Regulars for the maintenance of the United States Soldiers' Home in Washington, D. C.

29. The same allowance for enlisted men of the first three grades throughout the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard.

30. The pay and allowances of their wartime rank upon retirement be given to warrant officers and enlisted men who served during the World War.

31. Retirement pay for ex-temporary commissioned World War officers of the Coast Guard and Navy be similar to that provided for the Army.

32. Legislation looking toward the increase of appropriation for land and sea border patrol.

33. Retired Army men to be entitled to hospitalization.

34. Cancelation of the existing list of eligibles for appointments to warrant officer in the Army be opposed.

35. The Navy and Coast Guard veterans who served abroad in time of war or during peacetime expeditions be entitled to campaign medals.

36. Credit for purposes of longevity pay for service in the National Guard, Regular Army Reserve, Navy Reserve, Marine Corps Reserve, and Coast Guard Reserve.

37. Three-quarters retirement pay with minimums for career enlisted men of the regular services.

38. Complete overhaul and modernization of the entire pay, pension, and retirement systems of the regular services.

39. Chief warrant officer rank for the Army, with all enlisted men of the first three grades being given opportunity to qualify.

American Jewry in World War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. W. WARREN BARBOUR

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 25 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE JEWISH TIMES

Mr. BARBOUR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article American Jewry in World War I, by Bernard Postal, appearing in the Jewish Times under date of November 15, 1940, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN JEWRY IN WORLD WAR I—A PROUD RECORD OF PATRIOTISM, LOYALTY, AND HEROISM

(By Bernard Postal)

Just before the first drawing of draft numbers in Washington on October 29, President Roosevelt read letters from representatives of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths, including one from Rabbi Edward L. Israel, president of the Synagogue Council of America. Said Rabbi Israel: "It is my supreme confidence that you, Mr. President, and the officials of our Nation will ever be mindful of the fact that this peacetime selective-service system is an extraordinary measure in the interest of preserving democracy and that the system will therefore be administered so as to deepen in the minds and hearts of our youth a love and respect for democracy."

Rabbi Israel knew whereof he spoke, for when the 16,000,000 Americans of all races, creeds, and stations in life registered for selective service they gave one of the greatest manifestations of democracy in action that has ever been witnessed. Every registrant knew that he was being asked, voluntarily, to prepare himself to help keep America at peace by making her strong against foes from without and enemies from within. Among those millions were hundreds of thousands of Jewish youth, ready and willing to serve their country.

In so doing they were but giving the latest manifestation of the undying patriotism of the Jew in America. The pages of American history are rich with the stories of Jewish heroism. And none are richer than those that deal with World War I.

The fateful moment when Secretary of War Henry Stimson drew the first number in the 1940 draft called to mind the equally dramatic occasion on July 20, 1917, when the late Congressman Julius Kahn, of California, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, drew the first draft number from the bowl. A few days later he said: "I desire to congratulate my coreligionists on the splendid showing they are making in the matter of serving our country in this war. Many of the boys who go to the front will be wounded. Many of them will be killed. But Jews at all periods of the world's history have been ready to make the supreme sacrifice whenever the land that gives them shelter demands it.

"And it is fitting that we, as American citizens, go forth gladly in defense of American rights and the maintenance of American honor and prestige. As I drew the first draft number from the bowl there passed through my mind the thought that this land of the free which has given the people of my creed absolute freedom of religious worship, which has placed opportunities untold within the reach of the humblest among us, was a country worth fighting for. I know that I voice the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the Jews in the United States when I say that we will do our share toward keeping Old Glory floating proudly in the skies so that it may continue to shelter under its folds the downtrodden and the oppressed of every land."

Congressman Kahn spoke no idle words. His promise that "we will do our share" crystallized into a record of patriotism which is one of the brightest chapters in Jewish history. When the call to arms was sounded Jews responded whole-heartedly. Citizens and noncitizens, immigrants who only a few years before had found in America a hospitable haven from persecution abroad, rallied to the armed forces of the United States. That the Jews of America contributed their share toward winning the war, and more, is now a matter of incontestable record.

By proportion of population the Jews of America should have numbered about 3 percent of the armed forces. Actually they contributed between 4 and 5 percent of the military and naval personnel, or a third beyond their normal share. Two factors accounted for this. First was the fact that the selective service system operated more effectively in the North and East than in the South and parts of the West, and in the urban than in the rural areas—that is, in the larger centers of population which also happened to be the centers of Jewish population. The comparatively larger number of exemptions granted to workers in agriculture and mining and metal industries, where Jews were least extensively employed, created a situation whereby the Jewish elements of the population were drawn upon more heavily, in proportion to their numbers, than the average of the other elements. But the chief reason for the high percentage of Jews in the service was to be found in the large number of Jewish volunteers. The records show that there were from 30,000 to 40,000 Jewish volunteers, or 18 percent of the entire Jewish contingent. In other words, the normal Jewish quota of 3 percent was contributed through the draft, and the excess was supplied by volunteers.

Reference to the exhaustive study made by Julian Leavitt, director of the Board of Jewish War Records, and supplementary figures gathered from other sources, reveal that there were 225,000 Jews in the various branches of the armed services of the United States during the World War. Of these 171,000 were in the Army, 23,500 in the Navy, 12,250 in the Marine Corps, and 18,000 in other branches of the service.

Breaking down these figures we find that the distribution of Jewish service men in the various branches of service discloses some interesting facts. Although distinctions between the combatant and noncombatant branches have become almost meaningless in the organization of modern warfare, and are therefore not to be overemphasized, certain striking comparisons are worthy of note. On November 11, 1918, the armed forces of the United States numbered approximately 4,800,000 men. The combatant branches of the American Expeditionary Force—infantry, artillery, cavalry, engineers, and signal-aviation, constituted 60 percent of the total. But the records of Jewish soldiers show a distribution of 75 percent among these branches.

The infantry branch comprised 26.6 percent of the entire Army, while among the Jews it constituted 48 percent. Artillery was 14 percent of the Army, 8 percent of the Jewish total. In the cavalry the rate for the entire Army was 2 percent, for the Jews 1.3 percent. The Engineer Corps contributed 11 percent of the Army strength and 3 percent among Jews. The Signal and Aviation Corps represented 7 percent of the Army total, and 15 percent of the Jewish total. The Medical Corps was 8 percent of the Army total, 9 percent of the Jewish total. Ordnance was 1.7 percent of the Army total, and 1.5 percent of the Jewish total. The Quartermaster Corps was 6.2 percent of the Army total and 5.9 percent of the Jewish total.

A further analysis of the figures on Jewish service in the Army is afforded by the accompanying table:

	Total	Percent	Jews	Percent Jews
Infantry	1,491,400	26.6	87,973	48.0
Artillery	797,000	14.0	14,989	8.0
Cavalry	388,000	2.0	3,223	1.3
Engineers	655,000	11.0	5,130	3.0
Signal-Aviation	455,000	7.0	27,650	15.0
Medical Corps	391,000	8.0	17,390	9.0
Ordnance	231,000	1.7	3,565	1.5
Quartermaster Corps	377,600	6.2	9,089	5.9

Additional evidence on this point is found in a comparative study of two branches of the service differing so widely in their functions as the Quartermaster Corps and the Marine Corps. In view of the fact that the Quartermaster Corps is essentially the business organization of the Army, and that the Jewish recruits, as a class, possessed undoubtedly greater business training and greater capacity for organization than their non-Jewish comrades, it might reasonably have been expected that this branch of the service would possess a far higher percentage of Jews than all the other branches. The evidence, however, points to the contrary. While the personnel of the Quartermaster Corps constituted 6.2 percent of the Army as a whole, it constituted only 5.9 percent of the Jewish total.

The Marine Corps, on the other hand, is essentially a fighting organization. Every man in this corps was a volunteer, enlisted with the full knowledge that the corps would be sent wherever the fighting was thickest. Of the Marine Corps records examined by the Board of Jewish War Records 3.4 percent proved to be Jewish. Of the 12,250 Jews in the Marine Corps, fully 30 percent joined immediately after June 5, 1918, the day when it was announced to the world that the Marines were the American shock troops at Chateau Thierry.

How did these thousands of Jews in the American forces measure up as soldiers, as comrades, and as men? The volume of evidence as to the high quality of Jewish courage, loyalty, and devotion on the battlefield is most impressive. No men were better qualified to speak of Jewish heroism than those American non-Jews who fought side by side with Jews, commanded them as officers, stayed with them in the trenches, shared with them the miseries of war, and rejoiced with them in the glories of victory.

It is no secret that when the Regular Army officers were, in the early days of mobilization, confronted with the task of converting city-bred Jews into proper soldier material, they were openly skeptical, not to say apprehensive. But it was not long before the ready wit of the Jewish recruits, their cool intelligence, their amenability and discipline, and the deadly seriousness with which they threw themselves into the work, convinced all the skeptics of their worth.

It is reported that one of the officers at Camp Upton, who was assigned to a unit comprised of 60 percent Jewish recruits, at first made no effort to conceal his dismay. Two months later, however, when a call was sent to him to transfer a selected number of his men to Camp Gordon, he was careful to retain practically all of the Jewish boys in his command. He had learned to appraise them accurately, and his revised opinion of their qualities was later completely vindicated by their conduct in the Argonne.

Lt. Col. Douglas Campbell, addressing a meeting at the Educational Alliance, New York, on April 8, 1919, declared: "The Jewish

boys of the Seventy-seventh Division were the best soldiers on earth. They participated in the greatest battles and emerged sound. The Seventy-seventh Division, of which 40 percent were Jewish young men, was the only American division to reach the Aisne, after having penetrated further into the German lines than any other division." Maj. Gen. Clarence R. Edwards, of the Twenty-sixth Division, told an audience in Temple Ohab Sholem, Boston, that "the Jews made an enviable record. I remember instances where formerly intolerant gentiles asked that the Jews be made officers in order that they might be made leaders. Many a Jewish lad of the Twenty-sixth gave his life with a smile on his face."

Captain Harrigan, of the Three Hundred and Seventh Infantry, said, "too much cannot be said for the boys who went across from the East Side. They stood out for conspicuous bravery and utter disregard for self when they went up against the Germans in France. They had splendid nervous resistance. They put into their fighting the same qualities that the Jews put into business or professional work. They used their keen Jewish intelligence in the business of fighting, just as they would use it in any other business. They went after a concealed German battery just as they would have gone after the conquest of some business difficulty."

GENERAL PERSHING'S OPINION OF THE JEWISH SOLDIERS

"Jews are an essential part of America. As citizens among us they have always done their full part. When the time came to serve their country under arms, no class of people served with more patriotism or with higher motives than the young Jews who volunteered or were drafted and who went overseas with our other young Americans.

"I well remember in my inspection of New York divisions seeing so many patriotic, well-disciplined, well-behaved young Jewish soldiers, whose commanders spoke of them in the highest terms. During the war there was no such thing as race or creed—they were forgotten."

But the best evidence of the high quality of Jewish courage in the war is to be found in the official citations for gallantry in action or devotion above and beyond the call of duty. No less than 1,100 citations for valor were conferred on Jewish soldiers in the American Army. Of these, 723 were conferred by American command, 287 by the French, 33 by the British, and 46 by various other allied commands. The rare Congressional Medal of Honor was won by 6 Jews. The Distinguished Service Cross is worn by 150, the French Medaille Military by 4 American Jews, and the Croix de Guerre by 175 Jews in the A. E. F.

Clarence Baer was the first American to receive the medal of the Reconnaissance Francaise; Joseph Berg and Abe Levinson, lookouts in Chateau Thierry wheatfields, regardless of heavy artillery fire, succeeded in putting three machine-gun crews out of commission, and Merrill Rosenfield met death at Verdun leading a group that silenced a similar machine-gun nest; Morris Silverberg, George Westenberg, and Bernard Neitelbarren went into the open fields under constant shell fire to rescue wounded comrades.

Sam Arnstein and Axel Bergman, of the engineers, continued at their bridge building in the thick of concentrated attack; Peter Zion, bayonetted and with a slashed arm, scorned to have his wounds dressed until his platoon gained its objective; Isaac Hirsch and Max and Louis Gerstein, voluntary stretcher bearers, were decorated for bringing wounded comrades through shell fire to ambulances; Julius Goldstein piloted a lost company back to the lines at Chateau Diable; Samuel Block, after others had been shot down, carried messages through an artillery barrage; Jacob Kaplan, crawling out in advance of the first line close to an enemy machine-gun nest, sent signals that directed the destruction of German guns; Nathan Lieberman rushed a machine-gun nest, taking four prisoners; John Blohn, from his shell hole, seeing a wounded comrade dragging himself through the grass, bleeding from wounds, quitted his protected place to rescue the comrade, conveyed him to a partial shelter behind a tree to bind his wounds, thence slipped into the water to swim with the unconscious man across the river, and then carried him over 200 yards of open field in broad daylight and in the face of continuous machine-gun fire.

Jacques Swaab, Roy Manzer, and Louis Bernheimer, of the Air Corps, attacked hostile planes, reconnoitered behind enemy lines, and assumed every high altitude and plunging risk; Julius Toelken surprised a gun crew and then turned the fire of their own guns upon the foe; William Shefrin, a cook, after both his feet were torn away by a bursting shell, directed the work of rescuing wounded comrades till, his lifeblood ebbed away, he fell forward dead; Julius Ochs Adler risked his life to save men under his command and led his company, heavily depleted by casualties first, into St. Juvin, capturing 50 prisoners; Abraham Krotoshinsky, rescuer of the Lost Battalion; Albert Cohen, youngest American soldier in the war, who enlisted at the age of 13, and fell during the Meuse-Argonne offensive; and Sam Dreben, "the fighting Jew," who was decorated for heroism at St. Etienne, were other Jewish heroes.

Equally interesting with regard to Jewish participation in the war are the figures for Jewish officers. The records show that there were nearly 10,000 Jewish commissioned officers in the several branches of the service. In the Army there were more than 100 colonels and lieutenant colonels, over 500 majors, 1,500 captains, and 6,000 lieutenants. In the Navy there were over 900 Jewish commissioned officers, the highest rank being reached by Rear Admiral Joseph Straus, who was in command of the mine-laying squadron in the North Sea. In the Marine Corps there were at least 100 Jewish officers, headed by Brig. Gen. Charles H. Lauchheimer.

One more piece of statistical evidence remains to be added to complete this record—Jewish casualties. Figures compiled by the Board of Jewish War Records show that 3,500 Jews died fighting—1,800 in action, 500 of wounds, and 1,100 of accident, disease, and other causes. The Jewish wounded number 12,000. Thus the total Jews killed was 5 percent of the entire death roll and the total Jews who died or shed their blood was over 15,000.

Such was the epic of Jewish heroism in 1917–18. And it is an epic that can be matched in every crisis that has confronted America. Today, when the call to service has become the greatest opportunity for patriotism in action, Jewish youth is again answering that call, proudly and loyally. Come what may, the youth of American Israel is on the march with all other American youth, on the march to the defense of the American way.

Dear Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, November 25 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE BY HELEN ESSARY

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD a very interesting article from the Sunday Times-Herald written by Helen Essary and having to do with American aid for Great Britain.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEAR WASHINGTON

(By Helen Essary)

There must be times when the British, who deserve both help and praise in their valiant stand against the Nazis, are a little embarrassed by the exuberance of their American friends.

For we have gone hysterically British in this country, and nobody knows this better than the British themselves.

Ammunition, arms, bombers, and destroyers—all of such aid that we can spare and that the British can pay for—let us send across the Atlantic Ocean with enthusiasm. But even the British do not expect us to underwrite their war. Even they are astounded at the extent of our assistance. I have seen such surprise in the faces of recent visiting Englishmen.

Nor do the British expect us to concentrate our characteristic national sympathies for troubled foreign humanity on the British alone. They are amazed at the number and kind of benefits given for their relief.

Most of such benefits are excellent undertakings. They deserve conversational and financial support. But among the worthy efforts there are here and there some affairs got up by socially conscious and idle ladies that leave many innocent bystanders bewildered.

I mean the sort of a benefit now being arranged in Baltimore for the purpose of giving a Christmas stocking to every British seaman in the port of Baltimore on Christmas Day.

The wish to cheer lonely strangers at Christmas or at any other time is very nice, indeed. But why select only British seamen? There will be seamen of other nationalities in the port of Baltimore on Christmas Day. Why not add to the charitable plan a stocking for every American seaman in the port of Baltimore?

Or why not a can of beans to each of the several thousand Americans living not far from the Baltimore docks who won't be too well fed on Christmas Day?

I write these paragraphs as a result of a conversation yesterday with an intelligent, generous man. This gentleman, a retired general in the United States Army, says such American performances as this Baltimore benefit are making him contrary in his attitude toward the British. He is beginning to feel that he doesn't want to be pushed too far.

"Out of pure cussedness," he says, "I think I should protest in some way against such silliness, and so I find myself arguing against help for England. This is unfortunate, too, and I realize it.

"Understand, please, my real feeling is for England. I want her to win. I venerate her superb courage—her endurance. I want her type of civilization preserved.

"In addition to this, or maybe it's primarily, I want England to win because the United States needs to have her win. But, by George, the snobbish behavior of some Americans makes me slightly ill.

"If it keeps on, the English may be saying, 'We can take care of our enemies, but heaven save us from our friends.' Honestly, I don't blame the British at all. If they can profit from our hysteria, why shouldn't they?

"Undoubtedly there are many Americans who feel as I do, but they are afraid to say so. Mine isn't the socially smart opinion to express at this time."

Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark, wife of the Senator from Missouri, has joined the America First Committee. So has Charles Francis Adams, former Secretary of the Navy, and William R. Castle, former Under Secretary of State.

I am going to join the America First Committee because the committee was formed with this object:

"To encourage and maintain in the United States of America (1) peace and the democratic ideal; (2) a program of adequate defense; and (3) in furtherance of peace on this continent, a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other continents, and to encourage the giving of help to refugees and the needy in other lands insofar as such help does not endanger the maintenance of peace in the United States."

Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting chairman of the committee, and other members who do not believe that war is inevitable include such representatives of various points of view as: Henry Ford, Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler, wife of the Senator from Montana; Alice Roosevelt Longworth; Kathryn Lewis, John L. Lewis' daughter; Lessing Rosenwald, and Gen. Hugh S. Johnson.

Interventionist groups, so I understand, have added to their line of attack the American Defenders of Freedom, Inc., who want an immediate declaration of war.

I know that America's job is right here at home. And I'm beginning to be frightened by those who think it lies abroad.

Jobs Confronting Congress at This Time

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, more important work confronts the Congress of the United States today than has ever confronted it in all its history. We should be getting at that work at once.

Never has a democratic people had to look to its legislative representatives for quite such wise, farsighted, and effective action as the American people must expect from their Congress in the months and years immediately ahead.

First. All important is the problem of how we are to finance the defense program and necessary domestic measures for the welfare of our people without some day running into either inflation or repudiation. This problem is too great to be solved by ordinary, easy, or even familiar measures. Before we are through with it we shall have had to revise and extend our whole tax system; we shall have had to remove all really unnecessary expenses but to provide properly for every expense essential to keeping our production at its fullest and for conserving our natural and human resources in the best possible way; and we shall have had to recapture for our Nation the function of creating and making constructive use of its own credit. Obviously these measures should command the attention of every Member of Congress for a matter of months. We should start now.

Second. Comes the necessity for taking action to assure a sufficient distribution of purchasing power among our own people to provide a full market for the output of our industry, no matter what may happen to our foreign trade. Much has happened to it already. More may happen. America, to be truly free, must be able to consume in proportion to her production. A general old-age pension certainly is called for in this connection; and there must be a fair, orderly, and just method devised whereby we can maintain a dependable core of buying power under all circumstances. And it must be done in such manner as not to develop a dependence on any government—Federal, State, or local—for doles to those who want jobs instead. Extension of the stamp plan of the Surplus Marketing Corporation comes under this heading. This is a necessary and constructive move.

Third. It is the duty of Congress to follow through with its responsibility with regard to defense expenditures—to keep its word to the American people that these expenditures will result in their receiving a dollar of defense value for every dollar spent, and that the drafting of men for training will never be allowed to be accompanied by the undue enrichment of anyone as a result of the Nation's effort and necessity. I believe a committee of Congress should be set up now to make a continuous and running review of defense expenditures—not with an idea that it will find anything wrong in connection with them, but rather to assure itself, the Congress, and the people that everything is all right.

Fourth. The great effort of the administration to establish a cooperative peace and a unity and solidarity based on understanding and mutual help in the Western Hemisphere is certainly deserving of the earnest consideration of the Congress. The Inter-American Highway is not completed, there is only a trickle of students and professors now being exchanged between the schools and colleges of North America and South America, there has hardly been a beginning made at the development in South and Central America of critical products now purchased from the ends of the earth by the United States. In this great program of hemispheric solidarity there may not be much time to lose. Thought and study must be spent upon it now.

Fifth. Although the tremendous defense outlays will put to work many of the unemployed, everyone knows they offer no real answer to the unemployment problems. For the long pull we have our choice of drifting toward the answer Germany gave to unemployment—namely, a ruthless dictatorship—or else developing our own better answer out of our democratic machinery and economic order. To this end there should be created now a continuing commission composed of representatives of government—legislative and executive—agriculture, labor, and industry to work continuously at this problem. Not only that but every earnest representative of any district or State in America has got to realize that on his shoulders rests in part the duty of working out a dynamic democratic answer to unemployment before it is too late.

Finally, the Congress, with the President and his Cabinet, has the obligation of seeing to it that the burdens of America's great defense effort, of her effort at rounded national strength are borne equally by all of us in proportion to our ability to bear them. We have the duty of seeing to it that every person and every group have some part to play in this great work and that each young person is able to feel that his part is necessary and important. In large part this task may be one that goes beyond the field of legislation and into the realm of our national spirit and of the everyday relationship of the American people with one another. But there should be inspiration from the representatives of the people in Washington, and it should be practical inspiration. A program of service to our Nation in some chosen field of necessary work or training by every man in the country and the replacement of the selective draft of certain men for military service only by such a program is certainly something we have got to consider and attempt to think through.

Nor is this all. Days and nights ought to be spent by us all in thinking and studying over the proposals which have been and will be made for the establishment of a decent and lasting peace throughout the world. For some way, some how, that must be done or mankind is doomed.

These are some of the tremendous tasks that lie before the Congress of the United States. They are tasks upon the reasonably successful accomplishment of which the future of democratic government almost certainly depends.

Henry Wallace and the Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

ADDRESS BY GEORGE N. PEEK

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include therein

an address by Mr. George N. Peek entitled, "Henry Wallace and the Farmer." This speech was delivered on November 1 to the Agricultural Club of Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Peek is unquestionably one of the greatest living authorities on American agriculture. He was President Roosevelt's foreign trade adviser, having been placed in this important position because of his intimate knowledge of the subject. He resigned this post when he became convinced the Presidential foreign-trade program would wreck rather than aid American agriculture. He has devoted a large part of his life to a study of the needs of this most important activity, and in this address discloses the tragic failure of the administration's agricultural program. Certainly this information should be in the hands of every legislator and every farmer in this country.

HENRY WALLACE AND THE FARMER

On October 19 Henry Wallace addressed the Agricultural Club of Chicago on the subject, Will McNary-Haugen Work Today? and then he proceeded to answer his own question to his own satisfaction, which he later broadcast to the Nation.

He said that Gen. Hugh Johnson and George Peek made the first public presentation of the principles which later were incorporated in the McNary-Haugen bill. That is true. What were those principles? They were all embodied in what the farmers understood Candidate Roosevelt was promising them in 1932. He promised that there would be no reduction of agricultural tariffs. He promised an expansion of markets to remove surpluses through a policy of Yankee trading. He promised a tariff benefit on export crops the price of which was determined by world markets.

Farmers relied on these promises and voted for Mr. Roosevelt accordingly, with the added promise that the Roosevelt farm policy would be a policy run by farmers.

This is what the farmers were promised. What they got would be laughable if it were not pathetic. When they got to the Department of Agriculture, they found Henry Wallace, who to be sure had acquired an impressive farm background, under the aura of his distinguished and honored father. But flanking Henry Wallace they found a group of left-wing intellectuals and social experimenters represented by such sterling dirt farmers as Henry Morgenthau, Rexford Tugwell, Mordecai Ezekiel, and Jerome Frank, who largely controlled Henry Wallace, and to some of whom, I think, he had incurred deep obligation. They, with Henry Wallace, had very different ideas for agriculture.

Every single one of Candidate Roosevelt's promises went out the window in favor of a system of free trade, acreage restriction, and farm regimentation, directed from Washington, of course, by an enormous, constantly increasing, and highly paid Federal bureaucracy.

Instead of tariff protection of the home market, as Mr. Roosevelt promised, they got Mr. Hull's trade-agreement program, which at last has cast off its camouflage and is admitted by Mr. Hull to be a general tariff reduction, effected without congressional sanction, although this had been flatly denied by Mr. Roosevelt late in 1935. Under it many important agricultural schedules were reduced, among them cattle and dairy products.

At the same time, under the influence of the free-trade notions of Secretary Hull and Henry Wallace, no effort was made to dispose of surpluses of our export crops by Yankee trading or any other kind of trading in foreign markets as Mr. Roosevelt promised. This was in the face of practical demonstrations that such trades could be made. For example, in 1933 we disposed of important surpluses of fruit and tobacco by adopting a "business" attitude in our issuance of wine and liquor import licenses.

There was no financial aid given to exporters of surplus crops after 1933, when we disposed of the Pacific Northwest wheat surplus, until 1938. Then after a lapse of 5 years some new export subsidies on wheat were made. They have since been stopped. There has been but little effort to provide producers with tariff benefit payments on export crops, as promised by Mr. Roosevelt. Not until 1938 were these payments made in substantial amounts, and then only under heavy congressional pressure.

In the belief that the 1932 pledges would be fulfilled I had taken the post of A. A. A. Administrator in 1933 and special adviser to the President on foreign trade in 1934. In 1935 I withdrew from the administration on account of continued repudiation by Mr. Roosevelt of his 1932 pledges. I was in politics for agriculture, not in agriculture for politics.

In 1936 the Republican Party, in its platform and Governor Landon, picked up those broken pledges and promised to redeem them. I supported Governor Landon. But in 1936 general confidence in Mr. Roosevelt was still strong and Governor Landon was defeated.

Since then the situation as regards any permanent solution of the fundamental farm problem has not changed, save to become more acute. The 1932 pledges remain abandoned and unfulfilled, and the patchwork quilt of farm relief that the administration has substituted falls far short of anything the farmers had been led to expect.

If farmers had parity prices, the 1940 farm income should be about $14,000,000,000, according to reliable private authorities, instead of only $9,000,000,000, to which new dealers point with pride.

The cost of government—Federal, State, and local—is $18,000,000,000 now, and this, in turn, is $5,000,000,000 more than it was in 1930. It is double the farm income.

There are 122,000 employees on the Department of Agriculture pay roll, compared with 26,000 in 1933—the farm depression does not extend to the Federal bureaucrats.

What has Henry Wallace contributed toward a permanent solution? He was not on the fighting line in the early days of the McNary-Haugen struggle, although his father was. Henry, the New Dealer, did not appear in the picture, save as a free-trade editor of Wallaces' Farmer, until 1928, and then only to pay lip service to the McNary-Haugen principles. He has since confessed that his enthusiasm for them even then was lukewarm.

Mr. Wallace now declares that the McNary-Haugen principles are worthless. He is not a competent or unprejudiced critic. He never favored the ideal upon which the McNary-Haugen bills were based—that of a domestic American economy independent of world economy—he favors a world economy and a reduction in the American standards of living to the world level. It was Mr. Wallace, more than anyone else, who sabotaged President Roosevelt's 1932 pledges to agriculture, and thereby destroyed any hope of attaining the objective which the McNary-Haugen bills sought.

It is curious and saddening to see what personal power and the urge for more power will do to an originally honest, simple man, who has gone political. In his partisan appeals to the farmers, Mr. Wallace has sought to arouse prejudice and sectional antagonism. He has sought to claim credit for himself where credit was not due. He has not hesitated to disregard essential facts where they might be damaging to his case. For example, he recently stated that by 1936 our major foreign markets for farm products were gone, and as corroboration cited the abrupt drop in our exports to Germany in 1937 and after. He omits to mention that the only reason they were gone was because the administration had deliberately refused to trade in them, regardless of Mr. Roosevelt's campaign promises. The markets were there, the demand for our products was there. Between 1933 and 1936 we had repeated opportunities to dispose of large quantities of surplus products—cotton, dairy and pork products, to the leading trading nations of the world—England, Germany, Italy, and Japan, but they were turned down flat by the administration. In the case of Germany they were rejected mainly for reasons which were personal and political. For the rest they were turned down because they involved some application of a two-price system which the administration refused to consider; also because they would interfere with its free-trade program to merge our American economy, price and wage levels into a world economy with its lower price and wage levels. For this failure, or should I say refusal to trade, Henry Wallace, Secretary Hull, and the President are responsible, but you must remember that the reopening of foreign markets would have interfered with the administration's scheme of farm control, economic and political.

Again he has had the effrontery to tell the farmers that the main reason we lost our export markets was because foreigners could get no dollar exchange to buy our farm products. This is false, and Mr. Wallace must know it. The facts are that under the administration's policy of buying gold and silver abroad in unlimited quantities at fancy prices we have furnished to foreigners, during the past 6 years, 1934–39, $10,000,000,000 more than they have needed to settle all their current accounts with this country. In 1940 this trend continues at an accelerated rate. They have had the dollars to buy from us all the farm products they could use. They elected to buy elsewhere. Mr. Wallace knows all this, but he dare not recognize it—to do so would expose the fallacy of the New Deal's whole farm and foreign trade policy, and would puncture his pretensions to the Vice Presidency.

Mr. Wallace claims that cotton and wheat farmers are getting close to a parity price on their crops if you count in the cash benefits received from the United States Treasury. He omits to say that the price the farmers pay is obedient submission to a Federal farm dictatorship in Washington and their acceptance of permanently reduced acreage and consequent reduction of total income. I agree with Senator MCNARY when he says:

"I do not believe any farmer would choose a benefit check in preference to his fair share in the American market at a parity price."

Mr. Wallace now says that because our foreign markets are gone (this is his idea, not mine) the McNary-Haugen plan would not work today. He says that the cost of marketing would cut into farm income, that higher prices in this country would hurt consumers, that we would be shipping our soil fertility abroad, and that it would be unkind to ask foreign nations to take our surpluses in return for the privilege of trading in the American market. He is confusing the issue. What he really objects to, is the full protection of the home market and the use of a two-price system on export crops so that our producers can get an American price on what is consumed in the United States as Mr. Roosevelt promised. This shocks his free-trade soul. Taking his objections in order: (1) The farmer could well afford to take a lower price on what goes into export if he were sure of getting parity prices in the home market. If the loss on export became too great, you would see a voluntary readjustment of production far more effective than anything the wise men of Washington could devise.

(2) Mr. Wallace objects to consumers having to pay higher prices and apparently thinks parity prices are too much for the farmers to ask. If this is what he believes, and I think it is, it is small wonder that the farmer is not getting parity prices or parity income. If he wishes to continue having farmers subsidize city

consumers at less than cost of production let him say so openly. Farmers are entitled to know his views.

(3) His talk about exporting soil fertility is sheer rhetoric. If farmers can get profitable prices for all they sell in the home market, they are not going to work overtime or ruin their land to grow crops for an unprofitable export market. I have indicated the result would be a voluntary readjustment of production through the working of natural forces instead of through the new economic commandments laid down by the Washington bureaucrats. Mr. Wallace regards such a result as undesirable.

(4) Again, still under the spell of free trade and a universal world economy, he feels that it is immoral to ask foreign nations to pay a quid pro quo for the privilege of entering our markets. He believes that if we scrap our economic defenses entirely, the world will somehow become one happy family. It is an inspiring thought, but it assumes a transformation of human nature, of human society and of human behavior. Look about the world, and you will see violence, force, and barbarism in all human relations. I do not suggest that we seek to add to these, but I do suggest that we should take every possible measure, military and economic, to protect our own people, now while the storm is raging and after. Economic defense is as necessary as military defense, for without it we can have neither a military machine nor a national morale. Bills to effect such economic defense have been introduced in Congress by Senator VANDENBERG and by Representative WOODRUFF of Michigan. They are vital to the economic security of all producers, farm and industrial. They should have the support of all who would preserve our American standards of living.

If we turn to the political phases of Mr. Wallace's speeches, we find him making much of the hostility of the Republican leadership in 1928 to the McNary-Haugen program. Let me say right here that there was quite as much hostility to the farmer on the part of the Democratic leadership in Congress. Southern Senators, many of them, had to be dragooned into line to support the McNary-Haugen bills. In 1932 the emergency Norbeck-Rainey farm bill, which followed some of the McNary-Haugen principles and which was passed by a Republican Senate, was deliberately shelved in the Democratic House for the admitted purpose of keeping the farm crisis alive as a political campaign issue.

Mr. Wallace goes on to profess great concern over the fact that many of the Republican Members of Congress have failed to support some of his pet agricultural bills—notably in the matter of crop loans. This he cites as evidence of Republican hostility toward the farmer. It seems not to have occurred to him that the Republican opposition to his bills might be due, not to any hostility toward the farmer but to an unwillingness to put unrestricted and arbitrary power in the hands of men who cannot be trusted to use it wisely.

The record of Henry Wallace is hardly a record to reassure any farmer, yet on the basis of it he is appealing to the farmer to elevate him to still higher office. He is asking the farmer to pay him and Mr. Roosevelt in votes for the cash benefits that agriculture has received from the United States Treasury—benefits which admittedly are insufficient to bring equality for agriculture.

Now for the other side.

Let me quote from Senator MCNARY's speech at Hutchinson, Kans., of October 15. He said:

"I think I know one reason for the New Deal's failure to bring back prosperity to the farm. The New Deal's program was evolved far from the soil by theorists.

"I prefer the Republican method of arriving at a policy—the method employed last December when JOE MARTIN sent his Republican agricultural study committee of 46 Congressmen from 22 States out into the country to find out from the 'grass roots' where the trouble lay.

"They found, as they went along, that the farmers, in all the States alike, were writing their own farm program. The farmers were united in three demands.

"They wished, first, the American market for the American farm producer.

"They objected to the New Deal contradiction of contradictions whereby Secretary Wallace subsidized the American farmer not to produce and Secretary Hull subsidized the foreign farmer to produce more for the American market.

"Secondly, the farmers demanded the American—or parity—price for what they produced for the American market.

"And third, they demanded relief from the excessive bureaucracy which burdens the New Deal farm program and has, incidentally, increased the number of Department of Agriculture employees fivefold.

"They wanted the farm credit system divorced from politics and the Department of Agriculture. They wished extension of rural electrification policies.

"I stand on the farmers' platform.

"It is infinitely to be preferred over Mr. Wallace's best program.

"I promise that the next farm program will not be worked out by theorists, treating the six and a half million farm families of this country as guinea pigs for experiments toward the perfect, regimented State."

It is no mere accident that Senator MCNARY is the Republican candidate for Vice President. He played a great and vital part in the farm fight of the twenties. In the Senate he has always shown himself as a consistent friend of agriculture. I knew Senator MCNARY well in the farm fight of the twenties and I know him now. Make no mistake, he is for the farmer and for equality for agriculture.

Nor is he speaking for himself alone; he is speaking for the Republican candidate and for the Republican Party. He was the personal choice of Mr. Willkie for the Vice Presidency, and I may add he was the enthusiastic choice of his party convention. His campaign for agriculture has the full and explicit endorsement and backing of Mr. Willkie. Speaking to a group of farm editors in Rushville, Wendell Willkie described the veto of the McNary-Haugen bill as one of the major tragedies of the twentieth century. More recently in his Omaha speech he paid to Senator MCNARY the following warm tribute:

"I regard myself as most fortunate in having as my running mate Senator MCNARY, who for more than 20 years has been a great leader in the fight for agricultural equality. There is no man in whom the farmers of America have more confidence, or who is more deserving of that confidence. It shall be my purpose, if elected, to avail myself of his ability and experience. And in the course of this campaign, Senator MCNARY will undertake full discussions of the major phases of our task."

Mr. Willkie has further encouraged the friends of agriculture by his promise to take the farm problem away from the bureaucrats and social experimenters in Washington and to give it back to the farmers themselves. He promises to appoint as Secretary of Agriculture, and I here quote Mr. Willkie, "An outstanding, forward-looking farm leader to be chosen with the consent of Senator MCNARY." In the words of Curley Brooks, of Illinois, Republican candidate for the Senate, "Willkie is giving the farmers the McNary-Haugen plan and Senator MCNARY along with it."

President Roosevelt and Henry Wallace have failed the farmer. The election of Wendell Willkie and Senator MCNARY represents the best hope of equality for agriculture that we have had since 1928. They are both men of character, wisdom, strength, and honor. They are men whom the farmer can trust. I am with them 100 percent. The Republican Party is with them, a host of Democrats and independents is with them. I believe that on November 5 the farmers will be with them. The country will elect Willkie and MCNARY.

The Press and the Presidential Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH B. SHANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

ADDRESSES BY DISTINGUISHED NEWSPAPERMEN

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune to be present on the occasion when these distinguished newspapermen discussed the conduct of the press in the recent campaign.

The participants were: Mr. Herbert Agar, editor, Louisville Courier-Journal; Mr. Irving Brant, contributing editor, St. Louis Star-Times; Mr. Arthur Krock, chief of Washington Bureau, New York Times; Mr. John W. Owens, editor in chief, Baltimore Sun and Evening Sun; and Mr. Theodore Granik, chairman and moderator.

I listened with rapt attention. How it reminded me of my home town. I think I might say that almost every American city has at least one of these fearless publications as described by some of the speakers; independent but not neutral, this always self-asserted, however. Regardless of the fitness of candidates, or what they may stand for, they are always for the G. O. P., from township assessor to President.

ADDRESS BY IRVING BRANT

We had some queer organizations in the recent campaign—Democrats for Willkie, Republicans for Roosevelt, Associated Willkie Clubs—but one of the most important didn't get a name. The newspapers of America should have called themselves the Press-for-Willkie Club.

A questionnaire in mid-October showed that, outside the solid South, Willkie was supported by 78 percent of the daily newspapers which had then declared their position. The newspapers were for Willkie; the people were for Roosevelt. That shows vitality in our democracy.

The editorial position of newspapers is relatively unimportant if they print the news. But in this campaign the pro-Willkie press turned itself inside out trying to elect its candidate. It gave the Republicans nearly four times as much news space as the Democrats. It played news up and played it down, suppressed news, and distorted it to aid Willkie and injure Roosevelt. That was the real reason why the President took to the stump.

On October 18 Arthur Krock published a column article in the New York Times defending the fairness of the press. I measured the news and feature space given by the Times on that day and the next favorable to each party. Willkie got 71 percent, Roosevelt 29 percent.

The New York Times will rate among the fairest members of the Press-for-Willkie Club. Observe how this relatively fair newspaper handled campaign news, and judge what the others were like. When Wendell Willkie dedicated a new building for his Consumers Power Co. of Michigan, his name appeared seven times in a New York Times story nearly a column long. Six days later the Federal courts found the Consumers Power Co. guilty of violating the Wagner Act by fostering a company union and intimidating its employees. The Times gave the story 3 inches without Mr. Willkie's name. And what sort of a story? It said that the court had upheld the right of a Labor Board examiner to telephone to Washington. I could talk for 10 hours giving similar instances of suppression and distortion of news by the free and impartial American press.

A condition like this is a threat to the existence of our American democracy for three reasons:

1. Owing to the huge investment needed, it is practically impossible to establish new newspapers.

2. The newspapers are permanently allied with reactionary financial interests whose lavish use of money in politics is in itself a threat to self-government.

3. This combination of big newspapers and big money can only be opposed successfully by a glamorous personality, and sooner or later a choice between money and personality will lead to disaster.

ADDRESS BY HERBERT AGAR

I have two main points. First, I think new dealers tend to attack the press for the wrong reasons. They seem to think the long and growing hostility to Mr. Roosevelt is a sign the press is not free; that it is the slave of the advertisers, or of the banks, or of some outside evil influence. I am sorry to say they are wrong.

If they were right, the problem of the press would be much more easy to solve. If advertisers were the trouble, advertisers could be put in their place. If banks were the trouble, banking control could be eliminated. But the real trouble with the press is the publishers—and they are not so easy to get rid of.

The press is not unfree, as in the totalitarian states; it is merely timid. The press is not venal, as in pre-war France; it is merely conservative in the dullest sense of that word. This timidity and dullness are breaking the influence of the press, and may finally drive it out of business. The public will not long support so unimaginative and so boring an institution. But the problem is not a problem of freedom versus slavery. It is a problem that results from the natural timidity of big capital.

When a newspaper was very small business, the press was bold and exciting. It had the courage of the individual publisher's or editor's opinions, and it represented the diversity of human thought. Modern inventions have made a newspaper bigger and bigger business, with an ever-larger capital outlay. As the size of the enterprise grew, the boldness and the intellectual freedom diminished. A dangerous and exciting age.

So the trouble with the press is the publishers. And the trouble with the publishers is that they are human beings—a serious handicap, but one that is hard to surmount. Because they are human, they are subject to the ordinary economic pressures. As they became big businessmen, most of them became timid businessmen. This timidity may yet be the death of their business; but it is hard to make most publishers see that point.

My second point arises from the first. If the publishers—who represent the big capital needed for a modern neswpaper—tend to be timid and dull, the same cannot be said of the rank-and-file journalists. I would guess that almost 80 percent of the working staffs of the newspapers were for Roosevelt in the last campaign, whereas almost 80 percent of the papers on which these men and women worked were for Willkie.

The raises two questions. First, who is the press? Is it the little group of men who meet at A. N. P. A. conventions and worry about Mr. Roosevelt and dictatorship, or is it the much larger group of men who get out the Nation's newspapers? Second, is there any way in which this larger group can exert a larger influence on the policies of the papers? Is such a thing as a cooperative paper possible in view of the huge investment involved? If it is not possible on the financial level, is it possible to develop a cooperative policy-making, such as prevails on some of the best papers today, but on nothing like enough? How about a privately financed yardstick?

I don't know the answers to these questions, but I know this: If the press goes on being as lumpish and as divorced from the popular mind as it is today, the press will die.

ROUND-TABLE PANEL DISCUSSION

Mr. KROCK. I would like to ask Mr. Brant a question. What were those dates, Mr. Brant, on which you found that the New York Times gave 71 percent of its political campaign reporting news space to Willkie and 29 to the Democrats?

Mr. BRANT. October 18 and 19.

Mr. KROCK. What was Mr. Roosevelt doing on those days? Was he campaigning?

Mr. BRANT. Mr. Roosevelt? No.

Mr. KROCK. Should we have said, "If Mr. Roosevelt had made a speech today he would have said so-and-so"?

Mr. BRANT. Your political news is not necessarily confined to the remarks of the President.

Mr. KROCK. Our political news is confined to what happens, and I dare say that if the Times had 71 percent Republican campaign news and 29 percent Democratic that day, perhaps an average of a less conscientious paper might have been 85 to 15. I think your reporting on that subject is not particularly professional, since you didn't mention the fact that Willkie perhaps made 10 speeches that day, and a number of other Republicans did.

Mr. BRANT. Suppose I give you the figures for the rest of that week.

Mr. KROCK. I would still want to know what was happening.

Mr. BRANT. All right. On the 17th you were 66.9 percent Republican, and the President made a speech on that day on the draft, and I counted that as a political speech. On the 16th it was Republican 77.3 percent, on October 15 it was Republican 69.1 percent. For the entire week it was Republican 69.5 percent. That is for the entire week. And I made a count of the headings. For instance, on October 17 it was 70.8 percent Republican.

Mr. KROCK. Is it your belief and contention that the New York Times had not measured the news fairly to the degree that you bring out in your percentages?

Mr. BRANT. There is no question of it whatever, and I think it has sinned even more grievously in position of news.

Mr. KROCK. In your opinion.

Mr. BRANT. Yes. I have here the first-page top headlines of 21 copies of the New York Times which I collected within the last hour and a half—all I could get. They show 18 Republican headings on the first page, 3 Democratic headings on the first page, and only 1 Democratic heading was of any importance.

Mr. KROCK. Of course, I had no preparation on this, because I didn't know what you were going to say. I probably could have got some data.

Mr. BRANT. Here are the headings. You are perfectly free to look at them.

Mr. KROCK. The headings don't mean anything.

Mr. BRANT. I think the headings are very important.

Mr. KROCK. What is your conclusion from this exhibit; that the management of the New York Times has given orders to play up Republican news and play down Democratic?

Mr. BRANT. I don't know whether they needed to give any orders. I doubt it.

Mr. KROCK. So the working personnel of the New York Times, composed of perfectly honorable newspapermen like yourself, dishonestly handled the news without being told.

Mr. BRANT. No, sir; not at all. They are acting under economic pressure.

Mr. KROCK. If that is your best argument, I will leave it at that. I am not under economic pressure.

Mr. BRANT. No, sir; and you are for Willkie by preference.

Concerning Adjournment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 20, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE DETROIT NEWS

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include therein the following excerpts from an editorial which appeared in the Detroit News on November 12, 1940:

The interval until early January should as far as possible be free of national controversies, that President Roosevelt may better devote time and thought to the formation of his third administration. * * *

As to keeping Congress in session until the new Congress meets in January, the election has changed the situation.

On foreign and domestic scenes alike the President's ascendancy is established. There can be no exaggeration now of any new foreign development made for political purposes. As to sudden Washington action that might involve the country in the war, there are the President's clear campaign pledges to do his utmost to keep us at peace.

As to turns of events that might draw this country in, the foreign outlook seems less alarming than it did a few weeks ago. For better or worse, American destiny in foreign relations has been placed largely in the President's hands. Foreign uncertainty, the only compelling consideration, would seem no longer a reason for keeping Congress in session either until or during the Christmas season.

Uncle Sam's New Cavalry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS H. CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

ARTICLE BY CLARK H. GALLOWAY

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted by the House, I offer for the RECORD a very informative article on the new Cavalry organization in the United States Army written by Clark H. Galloway, a Capitol correspondent for the Associated Press, who himself is a captain in the Cavalry Reserve, and has for 15 years been attached to that branch of the service. In view of the expansion of our defense forces the article will be of special interest to all Members of the House as well as readers of the RECORD generally. The article is submitted as it appeared in the San Diego Union.

NEW STRATEGY DEVELOPED BY UNITED STATES CAVALRY

(By Clark H. Galloway)

WASHINGTON, November 9.—Horse cavalry, a symbol of military dash and spirit since the days of Attila and Ghengis Khan, will take its place in Uncle Sam's new Army as a heavily armed force able to look a tank corps in the face.

Fire power—tremendous and devastating—coupled with mobility is to become the United States Cavalry's dominant characteristic.

Sabers, which flashed in the hands of charging horsemen and turned the tide of battle many a time between 1861 and 1865, became obsolete a decade ago and are in limbo with the lance and armor of the medieval knight.

The cavalry charge is out, too, except against small groups of opponents taken by surprise or an enemy put to rout.

The new cavalry, carrying out a time-honored American doctrine and keeping in mind European war experience, travels on its horses, but fights dismounted. Using horses to move quickly on the battlefield, it dismounts, strikes, mounts, and hastens to some other sector or flank which needs strengthening.

TANKS IN MAJOR ROLE

Tanks and armored cars have assumed a major role in modern warfare, but their movements are limited to roads and terrain which is fairly easy to traverse. Their vast consumption of gasoline and oil makes supply a major problem.

Horses, on the other hand, can live off the country through which they are passing, if necessary. A little grass and grain will enable them to keep going until better sources of supply are available.

The individual cavalryman, armed with a pistol and a semiautomatic rifle and mounted on a dependable horse, is an individual fighting unit who can go on distant missions over virtually any kind of terrain. He can work alone or in large groups. He is unconcerned about gasoline supplies or roads.

Experience in the Polish campaign showed what United States cavalry officers already know that horses and men, no matter how gallant, could not withstand tanks unless they had adequate weapons. Poland's cavalrymen carried the long-outmoded lance, and thus fell an easy prey to German mechanization.

Heavy guns, many of them, are the United States cavalry's reply to the question, "How can horse cavalry combat mechanized troops?" The latest version will be embodied in the first cavalry division at Fort Bliss, Tex., soon to be revamped and strengthened, and in the second cavalry division to be organized at Fort Riley, Kans.

Howitzers, antitank guns, and heavy automatic weapons will give these divisions the ability to hit harder than any other horse units ever organized.

NEW GUN EVOLVED

The main spring of its effort to grapple with mechanized units is the new 37 mm. antitank gun. Evolved from an earlier type long used by the cavalry, this weapon has an effective range of 2,500 yards, and can send a projectile through 1-inch steel armor plate at 1,000 yards.

A well-trained crew can fire 10 aimed shots a minute with deadly effectiveness, and 1 well-placed high-explosive shell can disable a tank and its crew.

"That's something for an enemy tank crew to think about," one cavalry officer observed.

Mounted on ball-bearing wheels and weighing 975 pounds, the new gun is pulled by a scout car, but is sufficiently maneuverable so that a gun crew can move it by hand.

Some of these new guns are on hand; many more of them are on order.

Attached to division headquarters will be an antitank troop armed with 12 of these guns. Each of the 2 brigades in the division will have a weapons troop carrying 12 of these guns, 6 81-mm. mortars, 25 caliber .50 machine guns capable of piercing armor, 42 heavy caliber .30 machine guns, and 41 submachine guns of the tommy-gun type.

To the division artillery, consisting of 2 horse battalions armed with 2 dozen 75-mm. howitzers, will be added a truck-drawn battalion with 12 105-mm. howitzers. Normally 1 horse battalion will support each cavalry brigade in an attack and the truck-drawn guns will be used in general support.

SCOUT SQUADRON USED

An innovation will be the division reconnaissance squadron. It will have 1 combat car troop equipped with 13 light tanks; a motorcycle troop carrying riflemen on 80 motorcycles; and 2 reconnaissance troops, each with 20 machine gun-equipped scout cars and 22 3-wheeled motorcycles each carrying 3 riflemen.

The division will have also a squadron of observation planes, a signal troop, a medium ordnance maintenance company, and an engineer battalion.

Arms and equipment of the 458-man engineer squadron will include 12 machine guns, pistols, rifles, bulldozers for repairing shelltorn roads, water purification sets, assault boats, and a power-driven auger.

The backbone of the division will be the four horse cavalry regiments, two in each brigade.

Each regiment will have a special-weapons troop with four 81-millimeter mortars and 8 caliber .50 machine guns. Regimental machine gun troop will have 12 heavy caliber .30 machine guns. Regimental headquarters and service troop will contain 36 caliber .50 machine guns, 36 submachine guns, and 14 heavy and 18 light caliber .30 machine guns.

The aggregate strength of the regiment will be 70 officers and 1,480 enlisted men, as against 69 officers and 1,204 enlisted men under prior tables of organization.

"If the French had had a few divisions of this kind," one American cavalry officer said, "they could have prevented the German break-through at Sedan."

Will We Keep Out of War?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. ALEXANDER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit the following for the benefit of the lovers of peace in America.

In order to answer the question which gives the title to my remarks, "Will We Keep Out of War?", I wish to read a remarkable poem which has been sent to me by Mrs. Dana Malone, of Heath, Mass. It is a dramatic tribute in the name of the 10,000,000 young men who gave their lives in the World War of 1914–18, and to the other many millions who were wounded, and in its verse it also connotes the plaint of those millions upon millions of girls and women of that generation and this who, because of these losses, have been denied their God-given right to a husband and to a home and children. Normal, mature women want homes, not jobs. Millions of men with families are out of work, and one of the causes is that so many women are working who have been denied marriage to a suitable man because war wounded and killed off 40,000,000 of them a few years ago. These women's hearts are crying for homes, and Poet Herman Hagerdorn has sensed that, has caught up the wails of all the human hearts of today as he gives us this great, beautiful, soul-stirring poem: Youth of America listen. Men of America listen, this may be the voices of your sons calling.

Tremble, O worlds! Bow down! Cringe! Be afraid!
You look on ghosts! Not one alone! Ten thousand!
And yet again ten thousand, and again
Ten thousand, and again to the bleak rim
Of this dear earth, where there could be such living,
Such labor, and such climbing of green hill—
Ten thousand times ten thousand shapes—with eyes!
Eyes that are living, eyes that are fires! Young eyes!
They do not blink, they do not waver; they watch.
Bow down, bow down! Open your hearts! And hear!

We are your sons. You lured us to your homes
With talk of love and mirth and music
That the heart makes when it goes out with drums
Along the highway, celebrating love, with warmth you lured us,
With the hearth fire blazing, with open, clean hands, tables cleanly set,
White beds and books and birds and songs and friends
And mountaintops to win and seas to conquer,
Green things to marvel at, far isles to long for—
With love you lured us and with loveliness!

Remember! Now that we are ghosts, remember!
You said no word of hate and slaughter—not one!
Of war you breathed no blighting syllable!
You trumpeted the call of beauty down the heavenly valleys.
We heard and came. You blew no harsh reveille of guns and battle.
You trapped our unborn innocence with love—
Tremble, for we have eyes!

We are your sons, and we are ghosts. We came to love, to labor,
And to know. We died before we loved, before we learned to labor,
Before we knew more than the twice-told tales you murmured
To beguile our puzzled ears. You cried across the world
And called us sons! We came as sons, but what you made of us
Were bleeding shapes upon an altar, slain to appease your god Inertia
Where he sits muttering dead words and chewing at old bones.
Because you would not think, we had to die!

We have been loyal. We have fought for you,
And suffered of the cold, and starved for you. And miserably laid
Our bodies down before your idol, while the incense rose.
Weep not for us but for your own trapped selves. We died. And there
You stand no step advanced! And after all, when you have set
More millions beside our millions, and beside them yet more millions
Of brave fellows who die well,
You still will have to wake some day and think.
You will let many die ere you do that, and yet the day will come.

Bow down, and hear! You have more sons than these
And they have fancies and imaginings and dauntless spirits
And hearts made for love and clean hands and clear eyes and high desires.
They will go forth and die if you command, as we have died,
Since they love liberty even as we loved her, and would give her cause
The only gift they are aware is theirs.
Wake, dreaming world! Think, oh gray world bewitched,
Out through untraveled spaces where no mind
Has dared to venture, let your sails be spread!
O world, there is another way to serve justice and liberty,
Than thus to fling the glory and the wonder of young lives
Beneath the hoofs of horses! Send your soul into the earth and through
The clouds to find it.
Remember, world, this is the age of winds!
Beyond the clouds the stars are, and the stars will not forever
Vainly wait the aeronaut who shall uncover laws to lift men up
More potent than the laws that drag men down.
Out of the grave, I cry: The way to life is not through death,
Nor the way to law through blood;
Not through the gates of hell is heaven reached!

Dead eyes keep watch! You shall not rest.
We died. And now you others who must live
Shall do a harder thing than dying is—
For you shall think! And ghosts will drive you on!

Mr. Speaker, for years in America this same theme has been given you in prose, but now it has been given you in poetry so touching, so fine, that it is sure to burn itself into our hearts, and make us want to think, think through this tough problem of war and peace. In a government of the people, such as ours, individual citizens must think, as they are the Government; otherwise we can but fail.

A first step in this particular thinking process, it seems to me, is to think about what we have done—in the name of peace—and then to realize that it has proven incapable of stemming the rising tide of war.

For some time after the World War, as a cure, we busied ourselves with a plaything known as taking the profits out of war. Later, we toyed with disarmament conferences, naval limitations, peace pacts, sanctions, and then neutrality. Congress has spent almost as much time and has filled more pages in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on the subject of neutrality in the last 5 years than on any other single subject. And now, after all has been said and done, the movement is on foot to remove all Neutrality Act restrictions, including running our own ships into the war zones and making loans to the British, so, in terms of peace preservation, we are almost back to pre-1917 status. Thinking through these well-nigh forgotten and discarded cure-alls, can we reach any other conclusion than that they are false hopes in terms of laying hold on a real and lasting peace, and were, moreover, fakes from the beginning?

It seems to me that if the rank and file of the reading, breathing, life-and-blood men and women of America can think and get through that first step in solving the war problem, then there is hope. They may then be willing to take the next step, which, in terms of football, is to apply a flying tackle to the question of what to do that is worth while if we are to save ourselves.

As long as this war continues there is great and even imminent danger of our being drawn into it. But who is going to stop the war? There are three possible answers, perhaps others. The three I mean are: First, Hitler may force England to surrender; second, England may win her blockade against the Axis Powers, starving them into submission, and thus get a plea for peace as in 1918; or third, we and all other present nonwarring nations may be able jointly to act as friendly mediators and win the leaders to a peace table. This is in accordance with House Joint Resolution 610, which I introduced October 4, and which is now before Congress for action. But just now, for purposes of the line of thought which we are pursuing, I do not care much which one of those three alternatives you subscribe to or think most apt to happen, for whichever does happen we, as a Nation and as individuals, are bound to be affected and involved in one way or another.

I assume that most people would, notwithstanding the profits involved, much prefer to see the third alternative come to pass; that is, the immediate ending of the war with the leaders gathered around the peace table.

That is most important, and so, also, is the kind of thinking—getting back to the thinking again—which we do about the sort of peace we need to arrange at that table.

We should be just as interested in that as we are in stopping the war, for our future prosperity and safety depend on it. We have learned that since 1919. We failed to follow through then and to keep our finger on the world's pulse, so now we are about to pay off the fiddler who played while we were dancing, instead of thinking. In other words, we have a duty and that duty will not be accomplished by flaunting our strength as a giant and boasting of our splendid isolation, but rather by bending in helpfulness, over a sick and wounded world, like a good samaritan in courageous cooperation.

Think Americans! It will not be accomplished by treading again the old, worn, bloody pathway which ends inevitably in chaos and disaster, but in blazing a new and much-needed trail. The United States must lead along that trail just as we led in 1787.

Yes; the United States has its internal problems, its social and economic disorders which need to be solved. But, do you think our entry into the war will do anything but make these problems a hundred times worse? Can you escape seeing that those of our sons who do return from the battlefields will be confronted with a reconstruction problem that will make the social and economic disorders of the past 10 years look like a pink tea?

Instead of putting our heads in the sand, let us, anguished as we are by our own distress and by world-wide slaughter, danger, and untold sufferings of millions of our brothers, strive more faithfully to bring about a realization of world fellowship and world unity by a duplication of our constitutional organization which we cherish here in America for a design and pattern for world government.

And now finally, again I hear you asking, "Will we keep out of war?" Let me ask you some questions in review: Do we deserve to keep out? Have we done our duty as citizens and thought through the problem during these twenty-odd past few years? Have we been chasing false gods, or have we put into effect sound and constructive measures for peace as suggested a moment ago? Will Hitler win; will the British; or will we effectuate a peace conference? Your answers to these questions will give you the correct answer to our big question mark of the day. Americans, prepare!

Political Activity in the W. P. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] on November 19 addressed this body on what was charged to be W. P. A. political activity in Ohio. He stated that he held a letter which stated that W. P. A. regulations required that each applicant must have on file a statement of political policy before he could be given full consideration and assignment in a supervisory capacity. He identified this statement as ADM–743, Statement of Political Activity.

His comments on this statement were as follows:

It is apparent that the Hatch Act meant nothing in the last election to the W. P. A. and that its violation throughout the country was a regular practice rather than an irregular practice.

I am sure that it would be of interest to all of you to have the complete picture presented to you. The form letter, ADM–743, referred to, issued on August 14, 1939, by the W. P. A. State administrator in Ohio reads as follows:

TO ADMINISTRATOR W. P. A. IN OHIO:

I hereby certify that I have received and read General Letter No. 280 and I promise to comply strictly with its provision. I further certify that I am not a member of any party committee or organization the duties of which are concerned with political management or political campaigns, and I further promise that I will not at any time in the future become a member of such committee or organization so long as I am employed by the W. P. A. in an administrative or supervisory capacity.

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(Name) (Address—street, city)

The general letter No. 280 referred to in this statement was issued by the W. P. A. central office in Washington on August 4, 1939, and stated the applicable limitations of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1939 as to political activity. This general letter specifically forbids any political activity in the Work Projects Administration and required the State administrator to take such action as might be required to effect compliance with its regulations.

This general letter was distributed throughout the country and it was required that it be posted on all W. P. A. project bulletin boards. The State W. P. A. administrator in Ohio saw fit to require the signing of the statement in order to be sure that the terms of the general letter were understood and faithfully observed by all administrative and supervisory employees. It was not necessary for the W. P. A. State administrator in Ohio to go this far to be sure that our wishes in this matter were observed. However, he did this and now finds himself criticized for taking these precautions.

To fully answer the charge and to present to you definite and full proof as to the W. P. A. efforts to remain out of politics, I wish to read into the RECORD at this time general letter No. 280 issued by the Commissioner of Work Projects:

FEDERAL WORKS AGENCY,
WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., August 4, 1939.

General letter No. 280.
To: All State work projects administrators.
Subject: Political activity.

The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1939, Public Resolution No. 24, Seventy-sixth Congress, approved June 30, 1939, contains the following provisions:

"SEC. 29. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to solicit, or knowingly be in any manner concerned in soliciting, any assessment, subscription, or contribution for the campaign expenses of any individual or political party from any person receiving compensation or employment provided for by this joint resolution.

"SEC. 30. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person, directly or indirectly, to promise any employment, position, work, compensation, or other benefit, provided for or made possible by this joint resolution, or any other act of the Congress, to any person as consideration, favor, or reward for any political activity or for the support of or opposition to any candidate in any election or any political party.

"(b) Except as may be required by the provisions of subsection (b) of section 31 hereof, it shall be unlawful for any person to deprive, attempt to deprive, or threaten to deprive, by any means, any person of any employment, position, work, compensation, or other benefit, provided for or made possible by this joint resolution, on account of race, creed, color, or any political activity, support of, or opposition to any candidate or any political party in any election."

Public Resolution No. 24, in sections 29 (b) and 30 (c) provides the following penalty for any person found guilty of violating the above-quoted sections:

"Any person who knowingly violates any provision of this section shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned for not more than 1 year, or both. The provisions of this section shall be in addition to, and not in substitution for, any other provisions of existing law, or of this joint resolution."

The Division of Investigation of this Administration will be responsible for the investigation of all complaints or information alleging a violation of the above-quoted sections of Public Resolution No. 24. State Work Projects administrators are directed to forward all complaints and information indicating a possible violation of these sections to the Director, Division of Investigation, Work Projects Administration, Washington, D. C., for appropriate attention. In transmitting such complaints or information to the Division of Investigation, where a W. P. A. employee is alleged to be involved, the State administrator will include in his letter of transmittal the name, address, W. P. A. title, and W. P. A. employment record of the person charged with the violation of these provisions of Public Resolution No. 24.

Public Resolution No. 24, Seventy-sixth Congress, in section 31 (a) and 31 (b) provides that:

"SEC. 31. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person employed in any administrative or supervisory capacity by any agency of the Federal Government, whose compensation or any part thereof is paid from funds authorized or appropriated by this joint resolution, to use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof. While such persons shall retain the right to vote as they please and to express privately their opinions on all political subjects, they shall take no active part, directly or indirectly, in political management or in political campaigns or in political conventions.

"(b) Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be immediately removed from the position or office held by him, and thereafter no part of the funds appropriated by this joint resolution shall be used to pay the compensation of such person. The provisions of this section shall be in addition to and not in substitution for, any other provisions of existing law, or of this joint resolution."

The term "administrative or supervisory capacity" as used in section 31 (a) is interpreted to include persons paid on administrative or project pay rolls, who have actual supervision over any other employee or employees or who are in such positions that by reason thereof they may exercise authority or influence over other employees irrespective of whether they have actual supervision over the work of any employees.

Any person in an administrative or supervisory capacity who violates the provisions of section 31 (a) shall be subject to immediate discharge and thereafter such person shall not be eligible for any employment which is compensated from funds appropriated to the Work Projects Administration. Where alleged violations of section 31 (a) of Public Resolution No. 24 are investigated by the State administrator, a copy of the report of each administrative investigation, together with a report on the administrative action taken as a result of the findings of each investigation, shall be forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner, Work Projects Administration, Washington, D. C., immediately upon completion of the inquiry.

Section 32 of Public Resolution No. 24 provides as follows:

"SEC. 32. No part of any appropriation in this joint resolution shall be used to pay the salary or expenses of any person in a supervisory or administrative position who is a candidate for any State, district, county, or municipal office (such office requiring full time of such person and to which office a salary or per diem attaches), in any primary, general, or special election, or who is serving as a campaign manager or assistant thereto for any such candidate."

To carry out rules and regulations relating to political activity and to effect compliance with the provisions of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1939 and of Public Resolution No. 24, Seventy-sixth Congress, no person employed by the Work Projects Administration in an administrative or supervisory capacity, as defined above, shall be retained in such employment if—

1. Such person is a candidate for any Federal, State, district, county, or municipal office in any primary, general, or special election or who is serving as a campaign manager or assistant thereto for any such candidate.

2. Such person is holding an elective office the duties of which would necessitate being absent from a W. P. A. position during regular working hours or to which a salary, per diem, or other compensation is attached, provided that under no circumstances shall such person hold any public office through which such person would be involved in political management or political campaigns.

3. Such person is a member of a party, committee, or organization the duties of which are concerned with political management or political campaigns.

The policy of the Work Projects Administration concerning the exercise of the voting franchise by W. P. A. employees remains as follows:

Every citizen who works for the Work Projects Administration, whatever his job, has a right to vote in any election for any candidate he chooses. When the hours during which polling places are open or any other conditions prevent employees from freely exercising their voting privileges, scheduled hours of work may be adjusted to provide the necessary time for this purpose. Employees shall not be paid for time allowed during which to vote, but they shall be permitted, insofar as practicable through a rescheduling of working hours, to work their full quota of hours during the payroll month for which the time off is granted.

Section 28 of Public Resolution No. 24 provides as follows:

"SEC. 28. Any person who knowingly and with intent to defraud the United States makes any false statement in connection with any application for any work project, employment, or relief aid under the appropriations in this joint resolution, or diverts, or attempts to divert or assists in diverting, for the benefit of any person or persons not entitled thereto, any portion of such appropriations, or any services or real or personal property acquired thereunder, or who knowingly, by means of any fraud, force, threat, intimidation, or boycott, or discrimination on account of race, religion, political affiliations, or membership in a labor organization, deprives any person of any of the benefits to which he may be entitled under any such appropriations, or attempts so to do, or assists in so doing, or who disposes of, or assists in disposing of, except for the account of the United States, any property upon which there exists a lien securing a loan made under the provisions of this joint resolution or the Emergency Relief Appropriation Acts of 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938, shall be deemed guilty of a felony and fined not more than $2,000 or imprisoned not more than 2 years, or both. The provisions of this section shall be in addition to, and not in substitution for, any other provisions of existing law, or of this joint resolution."

The regulations prescribed by this general letter shall be effective immediately, and State administrators are directed to take such action as may be required to effect compliance with these provisions. In order that these regulations shall be known by all W. P. A. employees and by other persons, the State work projects administrators shall arrange to have copies posted on bulletin boards at the site of every project and at all administrative offices throughout the State.

This letter supersedes and rescinds General Letter No. 240 dated March 7, 1939, as to actions occurring after June 30, 1939.

F. C. HARRINGTON,
Commissioner of Work Projects.

Roosevelt's "Successful Labors"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE LOS ANGELES TIMES

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Los Angeles Times for September 29, 1940:

[From the Los Angeles Times of September 29, 1940]

ROOSEVELT'S "SUCCESSFUL LABORS"

In the language of the Democratic Party platform adopted at Chicago on July 17, paraphrased on major points by Vice Presidential candidate Henry A. Wallace in his two speeches here yesterday, the Roosevelt administration seeks a third term on its record of having "labored successfully during the past 7 years to strengthen democracy by increasing our economic efficiency and improving the welfare of the people."

This extraordinary claim, seriously made in the Roosevelt-dictated platform and by his chief spokesman and running mate, is worth critical examination. It is the whole crux of the campaign. If true, it means that 7 years of the New Deal have "increased economic efficiency and improved popular welfare," as shown by all or most of accepted economic indexes, over what they were during a comparable period before the New Deal's labors began.

Taking, wherever available, the figures of the administration's own Government departments and, where not available, the next best authority, what does such a comparison show? (Sources given in parentheses.)

For national income, the Department of Commerce figures show a per-year average for the 7 pre-New Deal years, 1926–32, inclusive, of $69,062,000,000; for the 7 New Deal years 1933–39, inclusive, $59,783,000,000, a drop of 13 percent.

Unemployment (American Federation of Labor), 1926–32 per year average, 4,820,000; 1933–39, 10,617,000. Increase, 120 percent. This was one subject which Mr. Wallace, in his eulogy of administration benefits to workingmen, failed to mention.

Federal taxation (United States Treasury), 1926–32 per year average, $3,647,000,000; 1932–39, $4,331,000,000. Increase 19 percent. (This is direct taxation only; indirect has risen to a point where the total of Government revenue from taxes has more than doubled.)

Cost of Federal Government (United States Treasury), per year average, 1926–32, $3,944,000,000; 1933–39, $7,570,000,000. Increase, 92 percent.

Seven-year rise in public debt (United States Treasury), 1926–32, $1,029,000,000; 1933–39, $20,985,000,000. Rise in per capita public debt, 1926–32, $21.98; 1933–39, $152.41.

Wages and salaries paid, per year average (Department of Commerce), 1926–32, $46,700,000,000; 1933–39, $37,300,000,000. Decrease, 20 percent.

Interest received by individuals (Department of Commerce), per year average, 1926–32, $5,200,000,000; 1933–39, $3,740,000,000. Decrease, 23 percent. Dividends received by individuals (same authority), $4,860,000,000; 1933–39, $3,740,000,000. Decrease, 23 percent.

Cash farm income (Department of Agriculture), per year average, 1926–32, $9,043,000,000, which includes no Federal benefits, since none were paid; 1933–39, $7,697,000,000, which includes Federal benefits paid of $442,000,000. Exclusive of these benefits, average per year farm income dropped 20 percent in the second period as compared with the first; counting the benefits in, the drop was 15 percent. Though he has been Secretary of Agriculture throughout the Roosevelt regime, Mr. Wallace's account of its "improvement" of farm conditions was confined to generalities. Income he did not mention.

Value of agricultural exports (Department of Agriculture), per year average, 1926–32, $1,420,000,000; 1933–39, $738,000,000. Decrease, 48 percent.

Commodity-price index (1926 equals 100), 1926–32, 87.30; 1933–39, 77.7. Decrease, 11 percent. (Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor.)

Weekly pay roll of factories (Bureau of Labor Statistics), 1926–32 average, $169,252,000; 1933–39, $148,334,000. Decrease, 12 percent. Mr. Wallace said the workers have been better off.

Number of strikes (Bureau of Labor Statistics), per year average, 1926–32, 795; 1933–39, 2505; increase, 215 percent. Number of workers affected by strikes, per year average, 1926–32, 301,600; 1933–39, 1,176,500; increase, 291 percent. Mr. Wallace said the Roosevelt "recovery" has been the only one in our history not accompanied by an increase in strikes. He said the Wagner Act has reduced the number of strikes and cited a drop between 1937 and 1938 to prove it. What he did not mention was that the number of strikes under the New Deal increased in every prior year and that immediately after the Wagner Act was upheld on April 12, 1937, such an unprecedented wave of strikes followed as to make that year the worst in our industrial history. There were 4,740 strikes in 1937, involving 1,860,621 workers and causing a loss of 28,424,857 man-days of work. The number of strikes was 400 percent greater than in 1929 and 100 percent even above 1936. Why didn't Mr. Wallace tell the truth?

Index of industrial production (Federal Reserve System), per year average, 1926–32, 98; 1933–39, 93; decrease, 5 percent. (In this the 1923–25 average is taken as 100.)

Average of 60 bond prices (Standard Statistics), 1926–32, 93.8; 1933–39, 85.4; decrease, 9 percent. Average of 420 stock prices, 1926–32, 122; 1933–39, 87; decrease, 29 percent. Per year average of new capital issues, 1926–32, $3,520,000,000; 1933–39, $629,000,000; decrease, 82 percent. Mr. Wallace said that under the rule of the Securities Exchange Commission, investors have been better off.

Dollar value of all exports, per year average, 1926–32, $3,990,000,000; 1933–39, $2,597,000,000; decrease, 35 percent. Imports, 1926–32, $3,369,000,000; 1933–39, $2,134,000,000; decrease, 37 percent.

Dividends paid by corporations (Bureau of Internal Revenue), per year average for last 5 pre-New Deal years (7-year averages unavailable), $7,277,000,000; for first 5 New Deal years, $5,961,000,000; decrease, 18 percent.

Index of residential building (Federal Reserve System, 1923–25 average equals 100) per year average, 1926–32, 79; 1933–39, 32. Decrease, 60 percent.

Private construction (Department of Commerce), per year average, 1926–32, $6,410,000; 1933–39, $2,322,000,000. Decrease 64 percent.

Department-store sales (Department of Commerce), per year average, 1926–32, $3,931,494,000; 1933–39, $3,256,389,000. Decrease, 17 percent.

Revenue freight-car loadings (Association of American Railroads), per year average, 1926–32, 45,766,000; 1933–39, 32,844,000. Decrease, 28 percent.

In other words, for the average worker, the "successful labors to improve his welfare" of the Roosevelt administration have cut his pay check 20 percent and more than doubled the number of men without jobs. The taxpayer—Federal only—has had his burden raised by half and his share of the national debt more than doubled. The investor has had his income from dividends cut nearly a fourth, the value of his stocks has dropped nearly a third, and his investment outlets almost twice. The farmer has lost half of his foreign markets and his cash income from sales of produce is down 20 percent. The number of strikes has increased more than 200 percent and the number of workers affected nearly 300. The railroads have lost more than a quarter of their revenue freight, the home builder 60 percent of his business, the manufacturer and merchant from 17 to 37 percent in trade. Of the enumerated indices of "economic efficiency and welfare of the people," the boasted improvement is not only nonexistent but every one of them shows a disastrous loss. Will Mr. Wallace or somebody explain?

Adjournment of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

ARTICLE BY ARTHUR KROCK

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Arthur Krock, published in the New York Times on November 20, 1940:

[From the New York Times of November 20, 1940]

IN THE NATION—SOME REASONS FOR FAILURE OF ADJOURNMENT

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, November 19.—Members of the House who voted against the adjournment resolution today were divided, being human beings, into the human categories of the sincere, the insincere, the timid, and the partisan. But some of those who read the November 18 issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, circulated this morning, must have been impressed with a statement of reasons against adjourning which were given in the House yesterday.

The speaker, Representative CHURCH, of Evanston, Ill., a Republican, is a member of the minority and otherwise not a keyman in the House. He is rated industrious and earnest. He was one of the citizens' committee for military camps in 1916, a war veteran, and has many legal distinctions. But in the smelter of the House, Mr. CHURCH has not been thought to yield the stuff of leadership.

Nevertheless, this Representative, in a few minutes, added striking items to the arguments against adjournment with which the public is generally familiar: the delay in vital defense measures which would have been the result if Congress had followed the President's suggestions that it adjourn in June; the value to democracy in these times of a continuing parliament session as a symbol; the check which the very presence of Congress, though inactive, provides on the Executive and on the bureaucrats; the logical sequence that, if a crisis exists in the world which prevents Mr. Roosevelt from being more than a night's travel from the Capital, Congress should be as quickly available, too.

Mr. CHURCH led these citations to a point of effective comparison. "I have no doubt," he said, "that the young men entering the training camps and on the high seas would rather be with their families than hundreds or thousands of miles away. * * * Surely Members of Congress who asked these boys to come to the aid of their country are no less willing to make personal sacrifices."

A POLITICAL THRUST

This is the type of argument that alarms a politician. He can hear his opponent in the next election saying it as he listens or reads it nearly 2 years before.

The Representative proceeded to attack two statements in favor of adjournment: That there is nothing more for Congress to do, easily disproved by a glance at the calendar; that the whole duty of Congress is to pass bills and vote appropriations sought by the President. "We have the responsibility," he said, "of seeing that the money is wisely spent." The committees which provide defense moneys should remain in Washington constantly to check their disbursement, he asserted, adding it might be better for a joint committee of the two branches to operate in this field, not to interfere with defense work, but to keep Congress and the public informed. Then he offered an illustration.

He reminded the House that in March 1938 four members of the Naval Affairs Committee filed a minority report opposing the limitation, for the first time, on the number of aircraft which the Navy might have. The limit set was 3,000. "The administration in 1938 did not accept our view," said Mr. CHURCH. "Today our view is the administration's view." Later, he said, a committee minority insisted that a battleship could be destroyed by aircraft. "We were opposed in that view by the majority, by the Navy Department, and by the administration." What happened recently at Taranto he offered as proof that the minority was on good ground.

Mr. CHURCH went on to say that he did not mention these things in the spirit of criticism, but merely to prove that the humblest Members of Congress might have something constructive to suggest toward national defense, and therefore Congress should stay in session to be in a position to receive and consider these suggestions.

A DUGOUT WOULD DO

Reviewing the explosions in munitions plants, the forthcoming request for funds of the Dies committee, the indicated revelations of espionage activities by that committee, and the tax, Budget, and deficit situations, the Representative contended that Congress could not live up to its public obligation without remaining at its post to deal with these matters.

"This is not a one-man government," he said. "This is a republic. * * * We must be ever mindful that we are servants of the people. We are their voices." He stressed what a delay of a few days could mean in the present status of the Nation. And Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts, referring to the statement that the House had best adjourn because its Chamber roof is suspected to be unsafe, remarked: "In England the people are carrying on in dugouts. * * * Congress should remain in session even if we have to meet in a dugout."

The speech and the observations of other Members which followed it obviously made an impression on the few present who listened, and there was evidence today that a much larger number had read and marked the passages in the RECORD. This fact helps to explain those votes cast against the adjournment resolution, which were not registered merely as units in a partisan front; it might even explain why the adjournment resolution failed despite the determined efforts of the House majority leadership.

National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. GRANT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

Mr. GRANT of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, yesterday's press carried the news that Attorney General Jackson had disclosed that an F. B. I. report to the defense officials attributed the strike in the Vultee aircraft plant to communistic influence. This "confidential report," Mr. Jackson is quoted as saying, "described the communistic influence which caused and is prolonging the strike. It identified those leaders of the strike who are either members of the Communist Party or affiliated with the Communists and the persons who are the contacts between the strike committee and the leaders of the Communist Party."

Attorney General Jackson is further quoted as saying—

While the activities of the parties involved may not constitute a Federal crime warranting prosecution, the details have been furnished to the War and Navy Departments.

Mr. Speaker, what are we coming to? This Congress has appropriated billions upon billions of dollars for national defense, and now we learn that Communists can wreck and destroy this program and that this Government is powerless to do anything.

Upon the same page of yesterday's paper it is noted that the War Department is asking the National Defense Commission to stop production of commercial transport planes and cause aircraft factories to devote their facilities to building war planes. England crying for planes—this Nation crying for planes—civilians wanting to purchase planes. Plants not able to deliver them on account of military orders, and now on top of this we have Communist influence closing one of our largest plants. This is not what I say, but it is from the Attorney General of the United States, and you know it must be true.

I do not know what can be done, but I feel like the old fellow who was a member of the Georgia Legislature, when, after someone had made a great patriotic speech, the old man made a motion that they get up a company and go somewhere. I am not willing to stand silent with conditions existing like this.

We have another great strike in Pennsylvania which is holding 6,500 aluminum employees out because one of the employees threatened a dues collector.

What a different story we have on the other side. Oh, yes; the Government has the right to sentence a young man who does not register. Several days ago a New York court passed sentence on a man because he did not register. The chances are that he would not have been called for military service, but because he did not register he was sentenced to 18 months in prison. Many of those working in these plants are eligible for compulsory training but would be exempt because they are working in key defense industries.

This is a beautiful picture: Here in America a young man drawing high wages, time and a half overtime, who is out on strike, and his neighbor down the street of the same age doing

duty in a military camp for $1 a day, perhaps some young man who has had to give up a good salary or business, and who will probably be unable to recover them when he returns 12 months hence. To me, this just does not make sense.

When I voted for military conscription of the young men of this Nation, I made a solemn promise that I would, insofar as lay in my power, see that these men would have the necessary implements of modern warfare. Never again do I want to see the flower of the youth of this land go into battle untrained as they did in the last war. Therefore I voted for billions and billions for defense preparedness. Everyone knows that in modern warfare you are lost unless you have ample planes. We have thousands of young Americans waiting to be trained as pilots. These unnecessary strikes are tying up the whole defense program.

In order for our defense program to properly function all citizens of this country must cooperate. Congress has done its duty in appropriating the necessary funds to carry out this great defense program. There is now a duty upon others to see that this program is enacted.

Yes, the Government has a right to say to a young man down in my district, "We demand that you give 12 months service to your country." It has a right, under the law, to say to the farmer who has lived in his old homestead for many years, when he loves every inch of the soil upon his farm, "We need this property for an airfield, training camp, ammunition dump, or for some other type military use," and this old man has to sell his place. He has no further say-so as to whether he will sell or not. Yes; the Government has a right, and has enacted that right into law, to say to the manufacturers who are manufacturing war material, that they shall not make a great profit out of our defense program. We must not have a condition like that which existed after the last World War and this condition will not exist after this emergency because no one shall unduly profit from the services of others.

We should all remember that, when Germany entered France, because of some of the same conditions existing here the French were "out to lunch."

We feel that Congress has done its duty in appropriating the necessary money for adequate national defense but if the proper authorities cannot cope with the situation under present laws it is our sacred duty to see that the program which we have enacted shall not fail.

A Program for the Attainment of National Defense and National Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUDOLPH G. TENEROWICZ

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

Mr. TENEROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, it was with a great deal of satisfaction that I noted the recent report given to our defense commission by the Bureau of Agricultural Chemistry and Engineering of the United States Department of Agriculture.

In April of this year I introduced a bill (H. R. 9582) designed to conserve petroleum resources and increase the use of agricultural commodities by regulating interstate commerce in certain petroleum products. This bill would make the shipment in interstate commerce of nonblended motor fuel an unlawful act. Because at the outset it would be an impossibility to produce sufficient agricultural alcohol for a preferred 10-percent blend, the bill specifies that the mixture be increased on a graded scale over a period of 5 years. The scale calls for a 2-percent blend the first year; 4 the second; 5 the third; 8 the fourth year; and 10 percent the fifth year.

In a speech appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 30, 1940, I stated that industrial alcohol can be distilled from "everything that is soil grown, but that corn is generally recommended by agricultural chemists." I pointed out that the immediate cultivation of 32,000,000 acres would be necessary if corn were to be used to produce a 10-percent blend. This calculation is based on the fact that approximately 24,000,000,000 gallons of gasoline are now used annually for motor fuel in this country. The acreage estimate was based on a Department of Agriculture analysis, showing that an acre of corn will yield about 75 gallons of alcohol.

The adopting of a 10-percent blend would require the erection of approximately 800 distilleries, each capable of a daily output of 10,000 gallons. Whereas corn is generally believed to be the best alcohol source of all the crops, good results are obtainable from a variety of other farm products such as apples, sugar beets, rice, barley, sweetpotatoes, sorghum, rye, and oats. All surplus commodities would serve as potential grist for the commercial alcohol distilleries, but all of our present farm surpluses would not be sufficient to supply a 10-percent alcohol blend.

It is interesting to know that 21 countries are now using gasoline blended with alcohol for motor fuel. Germany, in her invasion of Poland, did not destroy a single distilling plant, but instead doubled the capacity of each of Poland's plants.

In a message to the Congress of the United States early in 1939 regarding the conservation of national resources, the President stated:

> Our resources of coal, oil, gas, and waterpower provide the energy to turn the wheels of industry, to service our homes, and to aid in national defense. We now use more energy per capita than any other people, and our scientists tell us there will be a progressively increasing demand for energy for all purposes. Our energy resources are not inexhaustible, yet we are permitting waste in their use and production. In some instances, to achieve apparent economies today future generations will be forced to carry the burden of unnecessarily high costs and to substitute inferior fuels for particular purposes.

Mr. Charles Edison, former Acting Secretary of the Navy, recognized the need for conservation of our petroleum deposits, due to the fact that every vessel in the Navy, the Coast Guard, and the merchant marine is driven by oil.

The recent report of the Bureau of Agricultural Chemistry and Engineering of the United States Department of Agriculture brings out the fact that the United States Government is prepared to design and supervise the location and operation of manufacturing plants to be used in the production of an agricultural blend alcohol. This alcohol would be manufactured to blend with gasoline in order to not only conserve oil but also to provide a substitute for gasoline in case of a national emergency. I quote from the report, Defense Research:

> The United States used approximately 22,000,000,000 gallons of gasoline in 1939. On this basis, the production of a 10-percent alcohol mixture would require as raw material over 900,000,000 bushels of corn, 800,000,000 bushels of wheat, 3,000,000,000 bushels of white potatoes, over 2,000,000,000 bushels of sweetpotatoes, or some combination of the four.
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> To produce a billion gallons of motor-fuel alcohol per year (representing 10 percent of the gasoline consumed in the United States in 1937), on the basis of 300 days of operation per year, a total daily plant capacity of 7,100,000 gallons would be required. Assuming that existing industrial alcohol plants now find normal market outlets for only 42 percent of their present capacity (824,915 gallons daily), 478,450 gallons daily unused capacity would be available for the production of motor-fuel alcohol. It must be remembered, however, that in time of war or other unusual market demand, this capacity would be applied to meet the more urgent needs. And in addition the raw material in the past has come largely from imported blackstrap molasses. In any case, an additional daily capacity of at least 6,621,550 gallons would be needed. Assuming an average daily plant capacity of 20,000 gallons, about 330 such plants would have to be built. At a cost of about $750,000 each, this would call for a total investment of practically $250,000,000.
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> The Bureau of Agricultural Chemistry and Engineering has given a great deal of attention to the production of motor fuel from farm products, and is prepared to design and supervise the location and operation of manufacturing plants in this comparatively new field. A pilot plant for extensive research in this field is now being assembled at the Bureau's northern regional research laboratory at Peoria, Ill.
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> In connection with any technical aspects in the use of alcohol-gasoline blends in motor vehicles, the Division of Mechanical Equipment is in a position to furnish pertinent information and is especially qualified to make such studies and tests in engines as may be necessary. The engineers of the Division are particularly familiar

with automotive equipment and have experimented with blends of different strengths in tractors, trucks, automobiles, and stationary engines.

The report further brought out that, although there was no immediate danger of a shortage of gasoline, it could not be safely assumed that such a shortage would be impossible—

Particularly in view of the possibility that there will be a tendency to turn to petroleum as a raw material for the production of many replacement products. Motor fuel is such a vital necessity that, as a measure of precaution, all possibilities of extending the supply should be explored. Large mechanized army and air forces would use enormous quantities of fuel. It may become necessary to export more than the normal amount. Insurance against possible domestic shortage should be sought through development of fuels which may be blended with gasoline. It is within the bounds of possibility that such research may develop new motor fuels superior to present-day gasoline for aviation or for other special uses.

We are all aware of the fact that gasoline is an indispensable war material. Due to the fact that this commodity may be denied us from other parts of the world due to conditions arising from military action, such as shipping shortage, or transportation difficulties, or trade operations of totalitarian blocs, I feel the inauguration of a program to conserve much of our mineral and petroleum resources should be undertaken now in order that we may not be caught napping. Our defenses must be impregnable and no one can question the vital part that petroleum is playing in this highly mechanized carnage across the seas. The people of America are particularly fortunate that they are able to produce substitutes for strategic materials within the confines of their own borders.

Kings Canyon—Castles in the Clouds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERTRAND W. GEARHART

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

ARTICLE BY CHESTER VERSTEEG

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, as the author of the legislation which created and brought into legal existence the Kings Canyon National Park in California, I was impressed with the excellence of an article which appeared in the weekly magazine section of the Christian Science Monitor of August 17, 1940, an article which the author, Mr. Chester Versteeg, a lifelong wilderness enthusiast, aptly entitled "Kings Canyon: Castles in the Clouds."

Because of the high quality of Mr. Versteeg's production as well as the fastly growing public interest in the scenic area which he describes so vividly, I ask the consent of the membership of this body to the inclusion of that which he has written in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in which is recorded the proceedings of this day's session.

The unanimous consent of the membership being indicated, Mr. Versteeg's article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of August 17, 1940]

KINGS CANYON: CASTLES IN THE CLOUDS

(By Chester Versteeg)

From the Sierra crest westward across the great valley and the coast range, Kings Canyon National Park faces toward the rugged shores of the blue Pacific. The new national park lies nearly mid-length of the high Sierra of California—Sequoia National Park immediately adjacent to it on the south; Yosemite National Park not far distant on the north. Within its new boundaries are more than 400 alpine lakes and tarns, varying in elevations from 9,500 feet to more than 12,000 feet. White and still they lie under their winter snows under the cold shadows of granite ramparts, or, iridescent and alive, they sparkle under warm suns of Sierra summer.

Within the park there are more than 150 peaks over 12,000 feet high; more than 50 over 13,000 feet high; 4 peaks over 14,000 feet in elevation. Countless are the far-flung alpine meadows—deep green under Sierra sunlight and richly decorated always with alpine flora. Here lupines paint the meadows with blue and purple and white; delicately colored columbines nod gracefully in the cooling spray of plunging waterfalls. For here there are no disturbing sounds in all this great space, save the sounds of the winds, be they soft or loud; the occasional deep-throated roar of the thunder of the Sierra; and, far away, the muffled sound of rushing waters.

Yes; there is another sound that will grow more frequent in this climbers' paradise. Where the richly perfumed polemonium meets the climber, never lower than the 12,000-foot level, and accompanies him never higher than the 13,000-foot elevation, there and beyond you may meet up with a team of climbers and there watch "the blend of teamwork and solitude." For here are "the furtive scuffle of rope; the tingling roughness of the rope in a man's fingers; the click of hobnails out of sight; the jokes, the silences—on sunbaked slab or sharp arête, in shadowy chimney depths, in the serene and earthy smell of the rock."

And here in this new park is found a campers' paradise. Mighty glaciers have carved out cirques in the great divides and on the floors of these cirques the sky-blue waters of Sierra lakes, the bronze of foxtail pines, the brown of tamaracks, the dove gray of Sierra granite, and the greens of Sierra grasses produce an unforgettable pageantry in color, while far away across some mighty canyon a stream leaps over the canyon edge to become but a silver cord tied to the canyon floor in a cloud of mist. And here sometimes, at night, the wind bites hard standing up, but misses the campers' lowly sleeping bags.

More than 200,000,000 years ago there was a violent commotion in the salt-blue waters of what we now call the Pacific Ocean There was an uplifting and folding of a great series of layers of slate, shale, and sandstone. This region then sank again slowly into the sea. But about 130,000,000 years ago there came a second upheaval and there arose out of the Pacific a second system of mountain ranges destined to more staying power and greater honor among mountains. Thus a new mountain range faced the western sea—the great Valley of California still covered with ocean, the Coast Range still unborn.

Some 20,000,000 years ago the region became the scene of repeated disturbances, volcanic eruptions, and mountain-building movements. All along the Pacific coast of America, like a system of answering beacons, blazed up volcanic chimneys—mountains with flame and lava in their throats. The rent mountains glowed with outpourings of molten stone. Sheets of lava poured down the slopes of the Sierra. These were hot days and nights when the air was a woolen blanket on the earth. Rivers and lakes floated up in a cloud of steam and were gone forever.

Not much more than a million years ago renewed vigorous tilting, accompanied by strong faulting movements along its eastern margin, caused the Sierra Nevada of California to stand forth as a lofty block range with a steep eastern front. This eastern front, the crest of which is the eastern boundary of the new park, rising as it does 11,000 feet above the Owens Valley floor, is one of the grandest mountain escarpments anywhere.

Then came the ice age, the higher part of the range being repeatedly mantled by glaciers. All this seemed to stop some 20,000 years ago, And through this gigantic labyrinth of canyon and meadow and lake and divide and cirque, where the Paiute and Mono, the Kaweah and the Yokut have followed the trail of mountain sheep and bear and deer, the white man has followed the trail of all seven.

There are several profound canyons within the new park, notably Paradise Valley, LeConte Canyon, and the canyon in which lies the beautiful Simpson Meadows. But the most profound and finely sculptured of all is the canyon of the south fork of the Kings River, with its east-west trend, running at right angles to the Sierra crest, and the canyon from which the park derives its name—Kings River Canyon.

And here, on the floor of this lovely canyon—halfway meeting place where the Paiutes and Monos of Owens Valley and eastern California met with the Kaweahs, the Tule River Indians and the Yokuts from the western slopes and foothills of the Sierra—was conducted barter and trade when the West was young. Salt and pine nuts and flour made from dried cozaba flies packed by human pack animals from Owens Valley across the great 11,000- and 12,000-foot passes of the Sierra. Acorns and duck and antelope meat from the western foothills of the Sierra and the plains of the San Joaquin.

The Kings River Canyon is often compared with the Yosemite Valley. They are most closely similar in their larger modeling, less so in their detail sculpture. François E. Matthes, United States Geological Survey, one of the world's foremost physiographists and a student for the past 20 years of the geologic history of the High Sierra, compares them as follows:

"Both are hewn like gigantic troughs, steep sided, level floored, and remarkably constant in width throughout, although more or less sinuous in course. In cross section they are broadly U shaped. * * * The Yosemite and the Kings River Canyon both have the appearance of being complete in themselves, set off from the canyons above and below, although in reality they are but short links in extensive canyon systems. They nevertheless differ appreciably in their proportions—their ratios of length, width, and depth. The Yosemite is 7 miles long, on an average three-fourths of a mile wide from cliff base to cliff base, and 2 miles wide from brink to brink; and it has a depth of 3,000 to 3,500 feet from brink to floor. The Kings River Canyon, on the other hand, is 9 miles long, on an average only about three-eighths of a mile wide from cliff base to cliff base, and but slightly over 1 mile from brink to brink, insofar as it can be said to have any brinks. Its depth below the same ill-defined brinks ranges from 2,000 to 2,500 feet."

Throughout its alpine length and hugging fairly close to the Sierra Crest runs the famous and excellent John Muir Trail, extending from Yosemite National Park on the north to the summit of Mount Whitney (14,495 feet) in Sequoia National Park on the south. On the headwaters of the South Fork of the Kings River, in the new

park, the Muir Trail travels along the shores of Rae Lake (10,560 feet), recognized for 30 years as one of the most beautiful alpine lakes in the New World. The Muir Trail leads through Evolution Basin, which is ringed about by mountains and which contains Evolution Lake.

The Kings River was named by early Spanish explorers in the San Joaquin Valley as the Rio de los Santos Reyes. The new park, irregular in shape, of greater length than width, its length extending north and south along the Sierra Crest and its width westward from that crest, contains 703 square miles. Sequoia National Park, on its southern border, covers 604 square miles. Yosemite, somewhat to the north, 1,126 square miles.

The first scientific exploration of this area was made by a field party of the early California State Geological Survey in 1864. Mount Brewer (13,577 feet), first High Sierra peak ever climbed in this area, was ascended by members of this field party on both July 2 and July 4. On the latter date the American flag was placed on the summit. It was from the summit of Mount Brewer that Mount Whitney, standing on the Sierra Crest across the Kern Basin to the east of Brewer, was named in 1864. Prof. Josiah Dwight Whitney was the chief of the survey. Clarence King, an assistant geologist with the survey, and later to become the organizer and first Chief of the United States Geological Survey, in his book, Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada, eloquently tells the story: "For years our chief, Professor Whitney, has made brave campaigns into the unknown realm of nature. Against low prejudice and dull indifference he has led the survey of California onward to success. There stand for him two monuments—one a great report made by his own hand; another the loftiest peak in the Union, begun for him in the planet's youth and sculptured of enduring granite by the slow hand of Time."

Nearly half a century ago—in 1891—John Muir first proposed preservation of the Kings River area as a national park. It has been a long, uphill fight over many years—largely the fight of the Sierra Club of California. The Gearhart bill creating the park carried the alternate name of John Muir National Park. The bill became law over the President's signature on March 5, 1940.

The new park is best reached from the west or San Joaquin Valley side by the way of Fresno, the General Grant section of the new park, and the new extension of the general's highway, which carries up the Kings River and on to the floor of the Kings River Canyon. It is best reached from the east or Owens Valley side by pack-animal trails leading over the following passes: Kearsarge or Sawmill, out of the town of Independence; Taboose Pass, out of the town of Big Pine; and Bishop Pass, out of the town of Bishop.

In addition to the General Grant section, somewhat isolated from the main body of Kings Canyon Park, there is also the Redwood Mountain section—both sections containing lovely groves of sequoia gigantea—the "big tree." (Redwood Mountain has long borne this misnomer. The redwood—sequoia sempervirens—is found only on the coast. Sequoia gigantea—the "big tree"—only in the Sierra Nevada.)

The Redwood Mountain section of the new park was dedicated on June 9, on which occasion a plaque was unveiled, mounted on a great sequoia slab placed at the base of three sequoia "saplings," about 500 years old. Early in July was held at Cedar Grove, on the floor of Kings River Canyon, the main park dedication. Represented on both of these occasions were the chambers of commerce of all the Tulare County and Fresno County cities, the Western Federation of Mountaineering Clubs, the John Muir Association, the Sierra Club, the United States Forest Service, the United States National Park Service. Dedication ceremonies at Redwood Mountain were in charge of Phil S. Bernays, past president of the Sierra Club and a member of its board of directors. Dr. Harold Bryant, superintendent of the new park, will carry on.

Kings Canyon National Park, like its neighbor on the south, is to be maintained as a primitive-area park—minimum of roads; maximum of truly alpine wilderness.

Study of Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

LECTURE DELIVERED BY ERNESTO GALARZA, CHIEF OF THE DIVISION OF LABOR AND SOCIAL INFORMATION OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, while we are hearing so much and thinking so much about hemisphere solidarity and defense, it is time that Members of Congress and the people of the United States generally took pains to know about and appreciate the history and culture of the other peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

An excellent start in this direction will, I think, be furnished by a careful reading of the following lecture delivered at the Conference on Inter-American Affairs, by Ernesto Galarza, chief of the division of labor and social information of the Pan American Union:

THE STUDY OF LATIN AMERICA

Once in about every generation the people of the United States rediscover Latin America. During the last 100 years the interest of the citizens of this country in the development, the culture, and the affairs of the southern lands has been characterized by a kind of spasmodic expansion, closely related to basic changes in economic, social, and international relations.

The first of these discoveries centered around the 1820's when the independence of the Spanish colonies in the New World was a matter of deep concern to the chanceleries of Europe and to the statesmen at Washington. On the northeastern corner of a vast continent the new-born United States of America was poised precariously, wedged between the colonial ambitions of rival powers. The truths of democracy, republicanism, and representative government were self-evident to its founding fathers, but they were not so convincing to the crowned heads of Europe. The possibility that new supporters, in theory at least, of such revolutionary theories might be secured in America through the secession of Spain's overseas possessions awakened in North American statesmen a keen interest in the struggles of Bolívar, San Martin, and their contemporaries.

Then came the period of expansion which reached its peak in the 1840's. The steady aim of the Crocketts, the Rogers, and the Boones; the persistent courage of the lumbering prairie schooners with their cargoes of land-hungry pioneers—these and other powerful forces changed the little Republic into a young giant anxious to muscle its way across to the other ocean. The tide of conquest soon leveled off the great hump of wilderness north of the Rio Grande unconquered by Spain, and the United States of America reached the Pacific.

Its geographic destiny manifestly completed, the great Nation gradually developed new types of intercourse with its neighbors, until in the 1880's there was brought forth a new conception of inter-American comity. Pan Americanism, with a heavy accent on trade, was born, and with it a third period in which not only statesmen and buckskin fighters but also shippers, traders, and commission men became aware of Latin America.

The fourth rediscovery dates from the 1900's. A successful war against Spain, accompanied by the sudden flowering of yellow journalism and the martial spirit, left the United States in possession of the remnants of the Spanish colonial empire. Millions of American citizens became aware of their country's role in the affairs of Latin America, or at least those portions bordering the Caribbean. Thereafter Panama, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Colombia, Santo Domingo became familiar names on the map to increasing numbers of people in the north.

The fifth and final rediscovery, which we are witnessing today, began near the end of the administration of Herbert Hoover and coincides with the administration of President Roosevelt. Its manifold expressions have been summarized as the policy of the good neighbor. The latest and most dramatic phase of this period opened with the advent of Hitler to power and is now moving swiftly in the direction of hemisphere defense, in support of which new instruments are being created in diplomacy, economic relations, finance, and military strategy.

Viewing this process strictly from the standpoint of the United States, these peaks of interest, separated by long periods of indifference, coincided with significant changes in the social development of this country. As Jefferson's agrarian democracy moved westward in surges of discontent and hope, the vacuum it left behind was filled by new forms of life. These new forms arose out of the vast natural resources, the increasing technical skill of the American people, and the favoring institutions of North American democracy.

Industrial, and later financial, America followed one step behind the pioneer and the homesteader, until it finally caught up with them, overtook them, and spilled its exports, its accumulated capital, its trade into the markets of the world. These domestic changes were reflected in the evolving relationships with other nations, especially with Latin America. In this light the drives and motives behind the rediscoveries of Latin America were, first, self-preservation and survival; second, expansion and land hunger; third, trade and commerce; fourth, national pride and prestige; and, finally, world influence, economic stability, and military defense.

In each of these periods there were created the instruments of international relations adequate to existing conditions. For the first period the chief instrument was diplomacy; for the second, it was the expansion of the border populations; for the third, it was the international conference; for the fourth, it was the American Navy; and for the fifth, it is a combination of diplomacy, conference, trade, finance, and the armed power of the United States.

But viewing these changes from the standpoint of the United States leads only to a superficial understanding of Latin America. In their own way, and at their own pace, the other American lands were making economic, political, and cultural adjustments to the old forces that gradually died within them and the new ones that came knocking at their doors. The study of Latin America must explain the major epochs of this adjustment, their significance when they rose and declined, and the way in which they determine the present relations of the American peoples.

The first great epoch with which the study of Lattin American history must deal is that which came to its close with the landing

of the white man. The continent was inhabited by tribes in various stages of cultural development and by a few great culture groups which, by the end of the sixteenth century, had achieved control over their weaker contemporaries. Of these the two which clashed immediately with Spanish arms were those of Mexico and of Peru.

These empires, or confederations, were based on the superior force, skill, and ability of a military theocracy which ruled more or less benevolently from the center. Its economic basis was collective labor, serfdom, and tribute. Its social framework was a rigid caste system. It had found decorative uses for the precious metals. It had developed a folklore and a set of traditions which lived on in the hearts and memories of their people after the consummation of the conquest.

Their inner political weaknesses, their primitive technology such as the lack of wheeled vehicles, their lack of fast and sturdy beasts of burden such as the horse, and their comparatively inferior arms doomed them to speedy destruction as political entities. The empires collapsed and the process of social integration, which had probably been going on for hundreds of years, was cut short.

But the Indian peoples survived. Those who could took refuge in the mountain fastnesses, where the hounds and the horses of the conquerors could not pursue them. The rest remained as chattels on the land of their forefathers. Their maidens gave birth to a new race of bronzed men fathered by the new masters, and thus Indian blood entered into the permanent stream of life in the new Spanish empire. Against disease and hard labor, drink, and poverty, the Indian masses fought and survived, passing on to our own day between twenty and thirty million of their descendants—silent, hopeful, and enduring men—the men nobody knows.

Meanwhile, in the short and brilliant period of the conquest, the conquistadores swarmed over the continent. Lytton Strachey has called them "the hasty children of vigor and hope." Impetuous they certainly were and driven by the most curious complex of motives that ever fired men to great achievement.

They were, to begin with, seekers of fabulous wealth. The gold and silver mines, the ornaments of palaces and temples baited them across swamps, deserts, and stormy seas. After 50 years of fighting and wandering, the Spaniard took stock. To his great surprise and to our wonder, he found that the lure of easy treasure had led him substantially to every part of the New World.

Side by side with the treasure-seeking soldier had gone the missionary, eager, as one of them said, "to wrest from the devil in the New World what he has stolen from us in the old." There must have been much reckoning in those places where the newly saved savage souls are set down on the heavenly rolls. The converts, so old missionary records tell us, numbered into the millions. The cross was set up on the smoking ruins of heathen temples.

But the conquistadores also pushed forward constantly because they were ever hungry. They had to live on a hostile country, and often as not they were forced to push on as much by the search for food as by the temptation of gold or by religious zeal. Many a new land was discovered and possessed in the name of His Catholic Majesty by a handful of lean men whose supplies had run out and who had no alternative but to go on.

Climate, too, was an important factor in the rapid conquest and settlement of the new lands. The Spaniard remembered the river valleys, the pleasant uplands of his native home, so different from the fever-ridden tropics which bordered America. So he left the coastal jungles as fast as he could, and pierced the heart of the continent in search of pleasant skies and mild suns, like those he had left behind.

There was not a little pride and the spirit of fierce individualism to account for this achievement of half a century during which America was overrun. No sooner was an outpost of empire established by some captain than a few lieutenants, chafing under a hard discipline, rebelled and took off into the wilderness to carve out principalities of their own. For the King was ever ready to reward handsomely those who added provinces to the royal domain larger than Spain itself. Ensigns and foot soldiers became captains general. Shepherds who had watched their flocks under the stars of Andalusia might reasonably hope to stand with peers and courtiers after success in the Indies. For a great notion of empire was arising out of these epics of valor and brutality, and those who founded that empire were never backward about putting forth their claims to royal recognition of their services.

Thus did European feudalism find a refuge in America at the very moment when its decline was setting in. The medieval dogmas of state, church, family, property, and morals migrated overseas and were grafted on the remnants of the native culture which it submerged. The military heroes of the conquest rendered a perfunctory obeisance to a king who was 6 months sailing away while they refashioned the old society on new soil. Politically, this new society became a loose conglomerate where captains and bishops fought for power, much as they had along the shores of the Rhine and the Guadalquivir. Isolation of the colonies and of the encomiendas and haciendas from one another, and of all of them from the mother country, was geographically inevitable and, from the standpoint of each local lord, politically desirable. And this isolation set the tone of culture and civilization for nearly 300 years.

The major traits of that colonial society survive in many sections of Latin America today. Educational progress is in many places conditioned by the ideas rooted in 300 years of custom. Men still poke a hole in the ground with a stick and drop a seed of corn in it; they still plow behind the ox; modernity has invaded Latin America with a will in the great seaports and the sumptuous capitals. But 50 miles out of any of them we can still see life, the relations of economic power, the exercise of social prerogative, much as they were at the end of the colonial regime.

For Spanish rule came to an end, but feudalism did not collapse. Lytton Strachey, in that rounded and beautifully cadenced opening paragraph of Elizabeth and Essex, gives a description of the English Reformation which I want to quote, because it states so precisely and compactly what did not happen in Spanish America at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Strachey said:

"The English Reformation was not merely a religious event; it was also a social one. While the spiritual mold of the Middle Ages was shattered, a corresponding revolution, no less complete and no less far-reaching, occurred in the structure of secular life and the seat of power. The knights and ecclesiastics who had ruled for ages vanished away and their places were taken by a new class of person, neither chivalrous nor holy, into whose competent and vigorous hands the reins and the sweets of government were gathered. This remarkable aristocracy, which had been created by the cunning of Henry VIII, overwhelmed at last the power that had given it being. The figure on the throne became a shadow, while the Russells, the Cavendishes, the Cecils ruled over England in supreme solidity. For many generations they were England; and it is difficult to imagine an England without them even today."

Here is the antithesis of what happened in Spanish-American society a century and a quarter ago. Spain's colonies were pried away because the inner structure of empire was loose, corroded, and stagnant. Into its many vulnerable spots the growing commercial power of the western European powers, especially England, drove with privateers, freebooters, and contraband. The unheard grievances of Spanish colonial gentlemen merged with the everlasting and blind suffering of the masses. Finally, diplomacy drove its bargains, and the wars of revolution began. When the last Spanish soldier left the New World, new republics came into being, and the balance of the Old World, according to Canning, was redressed.

But the new republics, with all their constitutionalism and republicanism, left the old molds unbroken. At bottom still lay the hacienda and the latifundio as the basis of society rather than the joint-stock company. In the bosom of these societies there was no militant class in possession of new and dynamic technologies anxious to scale and able to hold the heights of political power; rather the contrary. Landed gentlemen were content to let things continue in the old grooves, while ambitious caciques contended for the right to sit briefly and dangerously in the presidential chair of the republic.

Culturally, during the early years of the nineteenth century, republicanism made small difference because, as has been said, it did not reflect a deeply moving shift in centers of power. There was a national language, but millions continued to speak indigenous tongues. Among the masses the creative spirit turned upon its own immediate resources, producing forms of the song and the dance that had a strong regional, almost local, tang. The very few who resorted to literature as a means of expression found that the past was barren and that there was no present. The best of them turned to Paris as the fountain of spiritual guidance, where they belatedly became infected with the maladie du siècle, and for 50 years wan poets copied and mimicked the pale lost lilies of the European romanticists.

During the first 50 years of the nineteenth century, Latin America marked time behind its barrier of tropical coasts. Feudalism was still sufficient unto itself. Only here and there broader concepts of national unity were taking hold, backed by the self-interest and the vigor of enterprising men. Communications were primitive; capital was scarce and cautious; caste lines were as rigid as in the old days.

But there were momentous changes pending. Through the door to trade and investment which the revolutions of independence opened, foreign capital began to trickle. By the middle of the century it had grown to a steady flow. In another 50 years it had become a golden stream; and by 1914 it constituted one of the greatest stakes of western capitalism in the nonindustrial areas of the world. Billions went into railroads, mining, large-scale tropical agriculture, and stock raising. Albeit the underlying structure of Latin American society was unchanged, at those points where contact was established between European and American capital on the one hand and Latin American raw materials on the other, progress came with a rush.

Why, in spite of the obstacles and the losses incurred now and then, did this new conquest proceed with such swiftness? For one thing, Latin America was a land of incredibly cheap labor. As one American engineer in Mexico said in the 1890's, "If a peon is killed, you can get another one without additional outlay of capital." Men accustomed to work as serfs from sun to sun gladly fled from the haciendas to earn 50 centavos or a peso on the railroad gangs, and even more in the oil fields. Moreover, the privilege of laying the rails and drilling the wells was easily acquired. The concession system was developed to a high degree; businesslike citizens and often public servants bought up franchises and turned them over to foreign corporations at a handsome profit. Hundred-year mortgages on the natural resources and the public domain were on the market at bargain prices. Communications with the outside world improved; ships moved faster; the expanding population of the United States required more and more of Latin America's wealth; banks were ever more ready to finance public works and private enterprise; refrigeration was perfected; raw materials began to enter more and more into the strategy of the world empire taking shape slowly.

I have said that this fabulous stream of wealth left the underlying structure of Latin American society unchanged, except at those points where the actual exchange of values took place—the ports,

the capitals, the more easily accessible areas of production. The reason was that this wealth was wealth in transit, not wealth in circulation. Railways, pipe lines, roads, and banks had one primary function—to move vast quantities of raw material into world commerce as quickly and as cheaply as possible. The men who directed these operations were merely, as Chester Lloyd Jones has put it in brilliant phrase, "the resident international interests" in Latin America. And, making due allowance for impressive but misleading appearances, this was not a society generating steam from within.

For the traditional institutions which had been handed down from the colonial period, this was of great significance. It meant that democracy continued to be, in many parts, a figure of speech, or something to be handed down from President to President. It meant that the barriers to production, exchange, and consumption internally were left as they had been found except insofar as they interfered with the transit of raw materials to the sea ports. It meant the continuation for many parts of the continent of that isolation which had characterized colonial society.

Nevertheless, new currents of life and thought were set in motion here and there. Native entrepreneurs caught the spirit and established the beginnings of national industry, heavily buttressed behind protective tariffs. National interests began to compete in their own modest way for spheres of influence over nitrate deposits, oil fields, and cattle ranges. Litigation became more remunerative, brokerage more profitable. Nationalism began to take on a different meaning for a few.

But withal, a few alert spirits were aware of the main drift. They saw that this progress was in the main rushing seaward like a roaring waterfall. As intellectuals, they reacted violently against it. Ruben Dario nailed his mocking inscription on the foot of the Statue of Liberty and Rodó, introducing romanticism to psychology, called the newcomers the brutish Calibans who were intent on corrupting sweet and simple Ariels. In a more powerful and creative vein, however, men like Montalvo and De Hostos kept alive the idea of a great international ideal, a great American fatherland in which all might take pride because all might have a share in it—a conception to which we have yet to rise.

The last great epoch of Latin American evolution is that in which we of this generation are living. It may be called the epoch of reckoning. During these years, the social gaps and contrasts in Latin America have become, if not wider, at least more striking. Some areas are in the midstream of world economy, while many more are untouched by progress, producing goods at excessive cost in terms of human effort and preserving a culture which is primitive and Spanish colonial in essence. Those areas which look to Europe and the United States for the purchase of their products find themselves disrupted from time to time by war, trade competition, industrial depression, and financial panic. They have had to learn the trick of destroying surplus stocks to maintain prices. They have watched science level down those prices by producing synthetic rubber and nitrates. They have had to repudiate debts, inflate currencies, and increase tariffs in order to keep from going under. And those areas which this "progress" has left unaffected still face a shortage of manpower, credit, food, and shelter.

Thus Latin America has given birth to social, intellectual, and political movements which reflect this awakening. Trade-unionism has developed here and there. Social insurance has been adopted to mitigate, as much as may be possible, the effects of prolonged crisis. A new kind of literature has emerged—novelists who for the first time look into the complicated mesh of Latin America's past, its own color, its own defeated men and women. The historical sense always strong, has been intensified by the study of the aboriginal cultures in search of values that may offer some hope to the present.

This last and current epoch of reckoning may very likely be the shortest epoch of all. In contrast with the unrecorded ages of indigenous culture, the 300 years of Spanish rule, the 75 years or so that preceded the inflow of foreign capital, the half century in which foreign investment did its work—in contrast with these, the present era is barely three decades old.

And it is already reaching its close.

For the advance of national socialism will change violently the relations of Latin America to the world. The old rules of the game have been changed by one of the competitors. To the masters of the Nazi regime, Latin America's populations are an inferior race, in possession, through some mischance of history, of raw materials which Germany needs. These two considerations alone will justify, in the eyes of national socialism, the domination of those lands. In addition, they are the back door to the United States where democracy still has believers and friends. Fascism's triumph cannot be complete until it has undermined the basis of United States military defense, weakened the sympathies of the Latin American peoples and established bonds of understanding with those in this country who will do business at any stand so long as it is business.

In the face of this situation, everything points to a sixth and proximate historical period for Latin America. Its central issue will be the redefinition of the democratic process, the creation of instruments of defense and the extension of that democracy so that millions of Americans throughout the hemisphere will rise to use those instruments against the attacker, because they have a share in that democracy. Why does America need to redefine democracy?

Because the definition of democracy must be as clear, as unequivocal, as compelling, as dynamic as the definition of fascism. Against the fuehrer principle it must stand solidly on the principle that government controls must be subject to the express will of the people. Against racial hatred, it must stand for racial tolerance. Against the suppression of inquiry, it must stand for encouragement of it.

But a sharp and fighting definition of democracy requires that America recognize what are the essentials of democracy and what are not. Democracy is not nineteenth century liberalism exclusively. The tenets of that liberalism—free press, free assembly, free discussion—were the instruments of underlying forces, not their essence. They were vitally useful instruments, to be sure, instruments which America must not under any circumstances give up. But they are useless unless they are wielded by men organized to create higher forms of social life.

And democracy is not technology, or the ability to make one machine produce what a hundred men produced before. The machine is a useful instrument—one which America must improve. But it is an instrument which can be used equally to destroy democracy as it can to create it.

Democracy is not the false dilemmas that its enemies have been heaping upon it to confuse its defenders. It is not inefficiency, it is not indiscipline, it is not soft living, as our generation will have to take care to prove.

Democracy is the ceaseless and progressive elimination of the barriers that stand in the way of a better life, created by all in proportion to their skill and abilities and enjoyed by all. It is the increasing multiplication of the powers of every man without the concentration of irresponsible power in any man. It is the use of those powers to the satisfaction of him who has them and the benefit of those whose cooperation made them possible. It is the recognition of the truth stated by Gen. Casius M. Clay, who once said that certain people "were the natural supporters of freedom because they did not own slaves."

I put these ideas forward merely as personal convictions. The next great period of Latin American history, which more than ever will be inseparable from the next great period of history for the United States, may not take this form. If, as John Erskine said, history, as "the most meticulous form of imaginative literature," is "one long interpretation of meager vestiges," prophecy is much less than that.

But for all their meagerness, those vestiges may be all that shall stand between us and another dark age. We may use them to sharpen our understanding of our past mistakes and our defects; they may force us to recall much that we have stuffed down into the historical subconscious; they may assist us to organize, direct, and consciously apply those blessings which good luck has placed as if by chance in our way.

Merchant Marine Heroes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE BOSTON POST

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial from the Boston Post, of Boston, Mass., dated Saturday, October 12, 1940, under the heading "Merchant Marine Heroes":

[From the Boston Post of October 12, 1940]

MERCHANT MARINE HEROES

The World War Veterans of the United States Merchant Marine are holding a convention here in Boston today.

Not so much is known of this organization as of other larger organized groups that originated in the World War. In fact, they may fairly be called the forgotten men of that time, the unsung heroes of the war.

But they were the men who served as seamen and officers in our merchant marine in the dangerous task of carrying essential foods, supplies, and munitions through the blockaded submarine zones.

They were the young men of that time who were called upon by proclamations of President Wilson and Secretary of War Baker to volunteer for a work that had to be done. As Admiral Sims said of them: "They were just as necessary a part of our fighting forces as the Navy and, without them, the Navy could not properly function."

They crossed the ocean and dodged the German submarines when they could. Their ships were armed, but mostly with obsolete guns of short range. Often a submarine with more powerful guns could stand just outside the merchant vessel's range and pepper them without risk of return shots.

They were picked men. No aliens were allowed in this service for fear of sabotage. All had to be bona fide American citizens between the ages of 21 and 35.

After the war the Government seemed to lose interest in them. Those that remained in the merchant service often found themselves greatly outnumbered in crews composed of aliens, many of whom were so dangerously unfriendly that continuance in the service was almost intolerable.

They deserve far better recognition of their services than has been accorded them.

Proposed Acquisition or Use of British Possessions in the Orient

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 26 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

LETTER AND MEMORANDUM FROM WARREN A. SEAVEY, OF THE LAW SCHOOL OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter from Mr. Warren A. Seavey, of the Law School of Harvard University, together with a memorandum accompanying the letter.

There being no objection, the letter and memorandum were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LAW SCHOOL OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
Cambridge, Mass., October 15, 1940.

Hon. WILLIAM H. KING,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: A group of us in this law school are intensely interested in your bill for the acquisition or the use of British possessions in the Orient and the reduction of Great Britain's indebtedness to the United States. We are now doing what we can to urge not only the use of British bases but a complete embargo against Japan, which is the natural concommitant of such action.

We would be glad to do what we can to forward your purposes, and hence would be glad to assist you in any way in which you can suggest our assistance may be of use.

Sincerely,

WARREN A. SEAVEY.

THE FAR EAST—A PROPOSAL FOR ACTION

1. THE SITUATION

Germany dominates the continent of Europe, possesses a military machine unrivaled in the history of the world, and has given the clearest indications of an intention to use that machine for the purpose of becoming dominant throughout the world. Japan, nourished by imports of war materials from the United States and sustained by the proceeds of exports to the United States, is on the point of establishing herself as the dominant power in the Far East and is devoting all her energies to that purpose. Japan has joined forces with Germany and Italy with a view of pushing military conquest to its uttermost limits and extending economic domination to those regions where military conquest may be impracticable. There are two major obstacles which Japan must overcome before she can pursue her designs and become an effective partner of the Axis Powers: (1) She must win the Chinese war, where her energies are being dissipated in the conquest of 400,000,000 people, eager and able to fight, but lacking the supplies and munitions necessary to carry on much longer an effective war; (2) she must acquire undisputed naval dominance in the South Pacific.

2. THE THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES

If Japan is successful in overcoming these obstacles, the course of events is marked with substantial certainty:

(a) Japan would seize and absorb Indochina, Siam, and the Dutch East Indies.

(b) With these possessions consolidated in Japanese hands, there would be no further effective obstacle to the conquest of all British possessions in the Far East, including Australia.

(c) The most that the British could hope for as a result of the present war would be the successful defense of their island against German invasion—a defense which would be rendered even more precarious by the fact that Germany had acquired the Japanese alliance.

(d) With the Axis Powers dominating Europe and Japan dominating the east, economic control of South America by these three would be a probability; and history has shown that economic domination merges by imperceptible degrees into political domination.

In a world where the foregoing events had taken place the position of the United States would not be an enviable one. In the first place, there would be a constant necessity of maintaining a military and naval establishment of wartime proportions, with the attendant disruption of our peacetime pursuits, dissipation of our national income in armaments, and waste of millions of valuable years of the lives of our young men in military service. Second, our foreign trade would be substantially eliminated, a condition which could not fail to affect, directly or indirectly, every person living in this country. Third, the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine would become an impossibility, due to the extent of the pressure that could be exerted upon South America and the extent of our preoccupation with our own defense. And is it too imaginative to suggest that ultimately we should have to fight?

3. WHAT WE CAN DO NOW

The conditions precedent to the success of Japan are the conquest of China and the acquisition of naval dominance in the South Pacific. We can prevent both of these conditions from being fulfilled; but this can be done only by immediately and vigorously taking the initiative. The steps that must be taken to accomplish this result are the following:

(a) We must deprive Japan of raw materials which she must have to wage effective war. The embargo on aviation gasoline and scrap are steps in the right direction. They should be followed by embargoes on pig iron, copper, oil, gasoline, motor vehicles, and machinery, all of which can now be freely shipped to Japan. Moreover, there should be an embargo on imports from Japan, for without exporting to this country Japan cannot acquire the credits necessary to the acquisition of materials she must buy.

(b) We should give all possible aid to China. This means granting substantially unlimited credits to the Chiang Kai-shek government. In meeting the Japanese and axis menace, it is far better that we provide, gratis if necessary, the munitions to enable the Chinese to fight than that, sooner or later, we sacrifice not only our munitions but also the lives of our young men. The Burma Road is available to transport all supplies the Chinese could purchase. English cooperation in reopening this road is a foregone conclusion since Japan joined the axis.

(c) We should arrange with Great Britain to share or assume control of the Singapore naval base and other British bases in the East, so far as this is practicable from the point of view of sound naval strategy. The United States Navy is now superior to that of Japan. This condition may not long continue, for it is probable that there are Japanese ships under construction adequate in numbers, tonnage, and modernity to tip the balance against us. With the United States Navy based at Singapore, Japanese conquest of the East Indies from distant bases would be a practical impossibility.

4. WOULD THE COUNTRY BACK THIS ACTION?

Up to the present time the national administration could not be blamed for its inactivity, for the American people have believed in the protective power of the seas that surround us and have had a rather vague conviction that somehow or other the kind of wickedness we have been observing would not long prevail, and that, as before, the British would prove invincible. But a change has taken place. The country is now awake. Since the conquest of Norway and the Low Countries we have learned the lesson which Munich and the conquest of Czechoslovakia could not teach us: That to permit the predatory nations to take and hold the initiative leads to disaster; that a belief in the power of appeasement is a life in a fool's paradise; and that the only method of dealing with the totalitarian powers is to act before they act and thwart them before they have nourished themselves by conquest into a condition of irresistible strength. The Nation applauded the sale of destroyers to England and the embargoes on scrap and high-octane gasoline. It applauded the English Fleet action at Oran; it deplored the fiasco at Dakar. It is in a mood for vigorous action. It no longer has its head in the sand. It will not long fail to condemn any man or any party whose dilatoriness and indecisiveness bring upon this Nation the tragedies that Chamberlain brought upon Britain. It is prepared to follow, and it is eager to be led.

Warren A. Seavey, W. Barton Leach, Livingston Hall, Eldon R. James, Edward S. Thurston, John M. Maguire, Sheldon Glueck, Austin W. Scott, James A. McLaughlin, A. James Casner, Philip W. Thayer, E. Merrick Dodd, George K. Gardner, Joseph Warren, Sam Bass Warner, James M. Landis.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Government By Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 26 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE BY MARK SULLIVAN

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from

the Washington Post of November 26, 1940, entitled "Government By Law," by Mark Sullivan.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post of November 26, 1940]

GOVERNMENT BY LAW—CONGRESS STANDS AGAINST ONE-MAN RULE

(By Mark Sullivan)

At a time when throughout the world parliamentary government is in decline, when in country after country the legislative branch of government has completely disappeared, when even in England parliamentary government is voluntarily restricted, when the tendency toward one-man government and the extinction of legislative bodies is practically world-wide—at such a time it is poignantly desirable that the Congress of the United States should so conduct its work as to preserve its function, insure public respect, and give no cause for diminution of its standing. It is poignantly desirable that Congress should give no faintest justification for any tendency in the United States to turn toward one-man government on the plea that it is more efficient than parliamentary government.

In Congress the present legislative situation is simple. The House has practically nothing to do. The decision of the House to remain in session was made, very much to its credit, mainly in the spirit of remaining on guard. The House was willing to remain here chiefly in order that it might be available in any emergency that might arise. The House has no legislation pressing; there is no important bill that has been passed by the Senate and awaits House action.

In the Senate the situation is different. The willingness of the Senate to remain here includes among its reasons the same laudable purpose as the House, to be present in case emergency should arise. But the Senate has legislation to perform. There are before the Senate two measures which the House has passed.

The names of these measures are the Walter-Logan bill and the Labor Act amendments. The bills are here named only to identify them. Nothing is said at this time about the merits of the two measures. It is not necessary even to explain what the measures are. For the purpose of what is here said, these bills could be called the X bill and the Y bill.

Whether the Senate should vote for these measures or against them is not the present question. The present question is solely whether the Senate should take these measures up—take them up, conduct the debate upon them with reasonable expedition, permit no obstruction that has only the purpose of obstruction, amend them if it is deemed desirable to amend them, and finally act upon the measures. What the final action should be does not matter at this stage. What does matter is that the legislative branch of the Government of the United States should function. In the light of that necessity, the reasons for the Senate taking up these measures are imperative.

Both measures have been in the Senate a long time, substantially the whole time since the Congress began in January 1939. Both measures passed the House months ago, the Walter-Logan bill April 18, the Labor Act amendments June 7. Passage by the House was in both cases by large majorities, the Walter-Logan bill by 282 to 97, the Labor Act amendments by 254 to 134. These facts gave these two measures a standing which demands that the Senate take them up.

Of one bill, the Walter-Logan measure, it is said that if it is passed the President will veto it. That would conform completely to the American mechanism of government. If the President vetoes it. Congress can pass it or not pass it over the veto—that again is according to the American system.

But that the Senate should refrain from action merely because of an anticipated or threatened veto—that would not be according to the American system. That would be precisely the sort of deference by the legislative branch to the Executive, which amounts to partial abdication of the legislative function, compromise of its status, and tends toward what unhappily has come to pass in other countries.

That there should be, within reasonable limits, consultation between Senate leaders and the President to the end of arriving at a form of measure which the President would not feel called upon to veto—that, if kept within reasonable bounds, would be according to the American tradition about party government and party leadership. But if the leadership of the party controlling the Senate goes so far in deference to the Executive as to amount to supineness, then the Senate leadership would be faithless to its true trust, which is to the legislative branch of the Government, at a time when everywhere in the world parliamentary government desperately needs the devotion of all who owe it loyalty.

Again, about the Labor Act amendments, it is said they are no longer necessary—that since the House passed them the condition that caused them has ceased to exist. It is said that recent changes in the personnel of the Labor Board assure a conduct of the Board's function so improved that amendment of the law is no longer necessary.

To admit that would be to admit a classic perversion. It would deny that principle which says that government must be by laws, not by men. The function of the Labor Board, as of every Government board or official, should be prescribed by law, not left to the discretion of men, possible to be administered radically by radical men, conservatively by conservative men.

Lord Lothian's Address From England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 26 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLES FROM NEW YORK SUN AND NEWSWEEK

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, on Wednesday, November 13 of this year, the British Ambassador to the United States, Lord Lothian, delivered from London a broadcast to the people of the United States which was heard by thousands upon thousands of Americans to be a demand upon the United States for men as well as money and planes. Subsequently, however, the official British news agency gave out a contention that what Lord Lothian had said was a demand for planes and ships and finance, without the inclusion of the term "men." It so happens that the recording devices of the Columbia Broadcasting System also recorded the use of the term "men" in the demand made by Lord Lothian on the United States.

In the complete final edition of the New York Sun of Saturday, November 16, appears an account of this singular episode. It happens to be the only edition of that newspaper in which it appeared, and the only New York newspaper in which it appeared. For the information of the American people, I ask unanimous consent that that account may be included in the Appendix of the RECORD, together with an extract from Newsweek of November 25 dealing with the same episode.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, is the Senator putting in the corrected speech?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am not putting in any speech. I am putting in a story from the New York Sun recounting the controversy between the British official news agency as to what was the statement in the broadcast and the Columbia Broadcasting System as to what their recording devices showed Lord Lothian to have said.

Mr. BARKLEY. I saw the article referred to, and I saw a number of explanations of how, in the condition of the atmosphere, it was entirely possible that a word might have been misunderstood. Lord Lothian has stated that he did not use the word "men," but used the word "financial." Whether he said "financial" or whether he used the word "money," which might even more probably be misunderstood for "men" over the radio——

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I will say to the Senator from Kentucky that I heard the broadcast. I am in no sense whatever hard of hearing; and in my hearing the word "men" does not sound at all like the word "financial." However, I am not drawing any conclusions. I am simply asking unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD this article, which sets out the contention.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know what Lord Lothian said. I did not hear his address and have not seen a copy of it; but I did see that he insisted that he did not say "men," but that he said either "financial" or "monetary." I suppose we are bound to take his statement about it in good faith. I should not think he would have made a statement that included the word "men," even if he wanted to. However, I have no objection to the request of the Senator.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Sun of November 16, 1940]

BRITISH AMEND LOTHIAN TALK—CABLE THAT HIS AIR SCRIPT ASKED NO "MEN"—RECORD CAUGHT WORD HERE—"BRITAIN NEEDS MEN, FINANCE, AND SHIPS," OFFICIAL VERSION

Considerable confusion has developed as to what Lord Lothian, British Ambassador to the United States, actually said in a broadcast picked up from England by short wave by the Columbia

Broadcasting System's listening station on Wednesday. It was originally reported that the Ambassador had said that England needs "planes, men, and ships."

The admission that men were needed was startling in view of the fact that British spokesmen hitherto had stated that England had all the manpower she needed for the prosecution of the war and that she looked to America only for the materials of war.

RECORDING HAS IT "MEN"

Although the Ediphone recording of Lord Lothian's address seems to indicate beyond a doubt that the Ambassador said "planes, men, and ships," a cable from London said that his script called for him to say "planes, finance, and ships," the Columbia Broadcasting System announced today.

"In view of the fact that atmospheric conditions were disturbed on the night of November 13, and since the historical record rather than the imperfect Ediphone record will show 'men, finance, and ships,' we sent the above correction," Columbia's press department said.

The full importance of Lord Lothian's statement is apparent when taken with the context, and the seriousness of the misunderstanding as to what he actually said cannot be denied.

THANKS AMERICANS FOR AID

"In this battle," he said, "my countrymen are very grateful for the immense and growing help you have given, especially for the relief of suffering, for ambulances, canteens, mobile kitchens, clothes, food, and medical supplies. They are grateful, too, for the many Americans who are over here fighting or helping in other ways."

Then came the passage in question: "But we also need planes, men [or finance], and ships if we are to be sure of defeating the Nazi threat to liberty.

"The next year of the war may be as dangerous, perhaps more dangerous, both to us and to you, than the last," Lord Lothian concluded.

"Without adequate assistance from you in the three spheres that I have described, we cannot be sure of victory. With such assistance, we have no doubt whatever that the Nazi threat to the freedom of mankind will be decisively defeated."

[From Newsweek of November 25, 1940]

More disquieting than cheering was a special short-wave broadcast to the American people from London by the Marquess of Lothian, British Ambassador to the United States. The envoy himself had left for Washington, leaving his message on a recording. Across the Atlantic in New York the Columbia Broadcasting System also "waxed" Lothian's words as they came through. But C. B. S. monitors shot bolt upright in their chairs when their amazed ears picked up the words: "We also need planes, men, and ships if we are to be sure of defeating the Nazi threat to liberty."

American press services, apparently basing their London stories on official handouts, used the words "planes, finance, and ships." Newsweek asked C. B. S. for an explanation. C. B. S. issued an "explanation," which said in part: "There seemed little doubt from our play-backs of the recording that Lothian said 'planes, men, and ships.' However, a cable from London says that Lord Lothian's script called for him to say 'planes, finance, and ships.'"

But had the envoy said what his script "called for him to say"? Many an isolationist-noninterventionist group in America was willing to believe that he had not. For scores of such organizations oppose even such aid as is now being given to Britain. The America First Committee, which numbers men like Gen. Robert E. Wood, of Sears, Roebuck & Co., chairman; Henry Ford, Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, and Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, believes that "we must keep all the ships of our Navy, all the equipment of our Army, for our own defenses—not sell or trade them even to our friends." America's Future, Inc., the Keep America Out of War Congress, the War Resisters League, the American Federation of Peace, the Youth Commission Against War, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Peace Section of the American Friends (Quaker) Service Commission, the World Peace Commission of the Methodist Church, World Peaceways, and many other groups heartily agree with the America First Committee. Here and there individual crusaders, like the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin and Porter Sargent, Boston educator, have added their voices to the isolationist chorus.

The Pope's Prayer for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 26 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM NEW YORK SUN

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the New York Sun of Monday, November 25, 1940, entitled "The Pope's Prayer for Peace."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Sun of November 25, 1940]

THE POPE'S PRAYER FOR PEACE

More prayer than sermon, yesterday's homily by Pope Pius XII spoke to the hearts of all men of good will, regardless of nationality, creed, or race. It uttered a cry as old as Christianity itself, a cry of protest against the brutality of enthroned violence. Quite fittingly it was based on the famous chapter in the Gospel of Matthew wherein Jesus answered an inquiry from His disciples affecting His second coming and the end of the world. The Pontiff did not quote the words of the twenty-eighth verse, yet its significance must be clear to those who look abroad on a war-stricken world:

"Wheresoever the body shall be, there shall the eagles also be gathered together."

Every religious man, every thoughtful Christian in particular, must be asking himself the question that seemed to run all through this discourse: How can the Christian doctrine of nonresistance, of love for enemies, of universal peace be made effective in these days of world-wide slaughter? The Pope says in substance that the answer is not with man but with God; that man can but rest his faith in the idea that somehow, in God's own way and time, He will speak words that will penetrate and overcome hearts, enlighten intellect, and assuage anger.

Only those of no faith, or of little faith, can doubt the profound effect this poignant appeal may have on the hearts of the peoples of the warring nations. The Pope has voiced a hope common to countless millions of men. When millions wish a thing heartily enough and long enough and purposefully enough, such a thing has a fashion in the long run of coming to pass.

Hon. William Brockman Bankhead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADOLPH J. SABATH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 19, 1940

Mr. SABATH—

> It becomes a man,
> To cherish memory, where he had delight,
> For kindness is the natural birth of kindness.
> Whose soul records not the great debt of joy
> Is stamped forever an ignoble man.

Mr. Speaker, it is a melancholy pleasure for the friends of Mr. BANKHEAD to be here today. It is a pleasure for us to be here honoring the memory of a man who is so worthy of honor. It is a pleasure for us to read the praise of the man we very much admired written by others who also admired the friend we have lost in death. But, precisely, because we have lost a friend, there is a sadness with the pleasure. The praise sounds in our soul like sweet music. It is sad, but it soothes. The praise tells us that others have appreciated what we have appreciated; that others, well qualified to judge accurately of men and things, have admired the man who was our friend and appreciate the work he accomplished.

Though we lament the death of Mr. BANKHEAD, occurring as it did on September 15, 1940, whilst his years were yet far from the term set for the span of human life; though sadly we think of what he might have done if he had been granted, say, 15 more years, yet we may well feel consoled as we consider how much he did accomplish; and especially so when we remember the fact which it is my privilege to emphasize:

> That life is long which answers life's great end.

I first met our honorable dead when he became a Member of the Sixty-fifth Congress. During all the years we served here our official relations were intimate and pleasant, especially after I became a member of the Committee on Rules.

During the more than 33 years I have had the honor of serving in this great legislative body I have intimately known all the Speakers—Cannon, Clark, Gillette, Longworth, Garner, Rainey, Byrns, Bankhead, Rayburn—a galaxy of jeweled stars; and I can truthfully say that, in my opinion, Mr. Bankhead was the equal of the best in every way. He may be, I feel, favorably compared with all the Speakers of this honor-

able body from Muhlenberg, including Henry Clay, James K. Polk, Schuyler Colfax, James G. Blaine, Samuel J. Randall, John G. Carlisle, Thomas B. Reed, Joseph G. Cannon, Champ Clark, Henry T. Rainey—to the present distinguished Speaker.

When Mr. GARNER left us to become Vice President in March 1933, and the selection of another Speaker was being considered, I urged Mr. BANKHEAD to support Illinois' candidate, Mr. Rainey, pointing out that by the selection of Mr. Rainey he, Mr. BANKHEAD, would be placed in an advantageous position to become majority leader; but this good man, having committed himself to the candidacy of his long-time friend and fellow Alabaman, Mr. McDuffie, for the Speakership, would not renege or beg to be relieved of his espousal of Mr. McDuffie's cause, even when it appeared likely that his friend's candidacy was doomed to failure.

That is a good indication of the sterling qualities of our departed friend. He did not change his mind to suit men and circumstances. He relied upon the reward given to men who do not flinch before the cries of the multitude and who do not seek their political fortune in the success of the moment. He walked straight in what he thought was the right path as a patriotic citizen and a truly responsible legislator. His was a high standard of probity, political honesty, and an abhorrence of political corruption. Surely such a memory will be fervently cherished as long as intellectual excellence, purity, and singleness of heart are revered among mankind.

It is worthy of note that a former very useful Member of the House, Judge Heartsill Ragon, also died on September 15, 1940. I had the pleasure of serving with Judge Ragon on the Committee on Insular Affairs a long time when that committee was very active.

One who attempts to speak of Mr. BANKHEAD here must at once sense that he is, in view of Mr. BANKHEAD'S far-ranging fame, indulging in tautology. It would indeed be difficult, if not impossible, to add, for Mr. BANKHEAD'S contemporaries, any information concerning, or bestow higher praise upon, the life and public service of this many-sided, beloved man. It remains for us only to cherish the example of his beautiful life, and to pray that, speedily purged from all dross of earthly stain, he may soon rejoice in the beatific vision of eternal life.

As a man our subject was endowed with that gift which renders all mental garniture effective—the gift of patient work. He comprehended the scope of every undertaking, and he had the courage to carry it on to a legitimate end, despite any of the adverse circumstances surrounding him. Milton characterized this quality of mind as the highest philosophy:

> To know
> That which before us lies in daily life
> Is the prime wisdom.

The fixedness of principle and of purpose, forming the substratum upon which was reared the edifice of Mr. BANKHEAD'S character, must have been deeply grounded in the soil of early years.

No storm, however angry, no temptation, however seductive, could ever successfully assail the intellectual structure built upon such a foundation. Indeed the ideal of youth must have passed into the ideal of manhood without any apparent change. It was the fruition of—

> That awful independence on tomorrow,
> Whose yesterdays look backwards with a smile.

Although his nature was essentially intellectual, he escaped the chief fault, the outcome in many lives, in which the purely intellectual predominates. The key to this fact is found in the truth which he recognized, that the intellect of man is a share in the uncreated intellect of God. Purified by faith, it became in him a tower of strength as a good man, an eminently successful legislator, and an unselfish patriot.

It pained him to think ill of anybody, and this virtue of looking at the best in men assumed sometimes almost the gravity of a fault, but, as the poet says—

> And yet the light that led astray
> Was light from heaven.

Sirs, he had his loyalty to those who were his friends and allies. Unto neither of these was there a surrender or compromise. Born to the briar and not to the purple, he was proof to young Americans of the land that struggling young manhood may upon merit rise to reward and renown. The apostrophe of the eminent orator who has just closed in a fitting quotation from Tennyson upon one who "breaks his birth's invidious bar" and has risen above the barriers that barricaded his progress was eminently descriptive of our deceased friend, to his honor.

With a kindly heart and a sympathy so comprehensive, he gained and retained the friendship of men of all creeds and all parties. He filled up to the fullest measure the last of the three golden postulates attributed to St. Augustine—in omnibus caritas—and it is on this side of his character, the efflorescence, so to speak, of his high worth as a man that his friends now delight to dwell in recalling memories and scenes forever associated with his name.

Mr. BANKHEAD was predestined to politics. His father and brother were both United States Senators, and he himself started a political career long before the New Deal was ever thought of; but it was as a thick-and-thin supporter of the current administration's policies that he attained national prominence. Whatever misgivings he had were rarely registered in a vote, and his skillful conciliation eased the way of most of the controversial legislation of recent years.

Born on a plantation in the cypress swamplands, at Moscow, Lamar County, Ala., April 12, 1874, in the long shadow cast by the War between the States, WILLIAM BROCKMAN BANKHEAD developed into a curious mixture of the old and the new, a courtly southern gentleman and the astute realistic scenter of fresh political winds. His background and traditions were those of the southern aristocracy. A brief excursion toward the footlights was vetoed by his mother, but his boyish ambition was vicariously realized in later years through the successful stage career of his daughter. His training in politics, curious enough, was that of Tammany Hall. As a young lawyer he entered the Wigwam. Soon tiring of the great city of New York, Mr. BANKHEAD returned to Alabama to begin his long climb to Congress, arriving, as I have said, in 1917. He made it his first job to learn the rules and he became chairman of that important committee. He was a New Dealer by adoption, but as floor leader and Speaker he attached himself wholeheartedly to the administration's causes and seldom faltered except when southern interests were very vitally concerned.

Mr. BANKHEAD'S own tendency was to skirt around opposition and melt it in friendly contacts. His later record was that of an advanced reformer, but his methods were those of the conservative tactician. His friends felt that his loyalty and devotion entitled him to the Vice Presidency, but if his 329 votes in the recent Democratic Convention seemed to place him in opposition to the President's wishes it was only a momentary aberration. Had he lived through the campaign, he would have proved himself as stanch an administration man as ever. Party conformity was part of his nature. His talents placed him high among the party leaders, and at the end of his busy and useful life he retained the compassion of his friends, the respect of his opponents, and the confidence of the country.

Mr. BANKHEAD was a popular and efficient Speaker, in the opinion of all his colleagues, and he came to that post by the traditional hard path. He had been a public servant in various capacities for 40 years and had served in the House since 1917, when one of his first experiences was hearing Woodrow Wilson deliver his message to the Congress asking for a declaration of war against the Central Powers.

In 1933 he had advanced sufficiently in the hierarchy of southern Democrats who succeed to committee chairmanship by their long seniority, when the Democrats are in command of the House, to be elected chairman of the powerful Committee on Rules on the death of Representative Pou. From that point forward his rise was rapid.

The Democrats, when they retained control of the House following the election of 1932, elected Mr. Rainey as Speaker, and Mr. Rainey's former post as majority leader was taken by Mr. Byrns, who became Speaker on Mr. Rainey's death in 1934.

These developments brought the advancement of Mr. BANKHEAD from the chairmanship of the Committee on Rules to

the post of majority leader to succeed Mr. Byrns, whom he followed as Speaker. However, Mr. BANKHEAD's first service as floor leader was rendered in absentia. He was sworn in as a Member of the Seventy-fourth Congress on January 26, 1935, while a patient at the Naval Hospital. This was the first serious manifestation of the heart weakness from which he never fully recovered.

The doctors would not permit him to take up his duties during that session of the Congress, and the leadership was exercised by others. Mr. BANKHEAD's health mended, however, and he took the floor leadership in 1936. Speaker Byrns died on June 4, 1936, before that session of the Congress had adjourned, and Mr. BANKHEAD was elected to replace him. The House reelected him in 1937 and again in 1939.

As a man, Mr. BANKHEAD commanded not only respect but love. As a man, it was not his mind that appealed most to those who had the good fortune to be in the circle of his personal friends but it was the purity, the sincerity of his sympathetic love. In these days, when we all must feel that the prophecy of St. Paul is unhappily being realized and that men are largely without affection, it is wonderful to study in his useful life the power of true human love and of divine sympathy over the minds and hearts of others. Whatever his gifts, the casual observer would not discern them. It was only in the sweet communion of souls that one who spoke with him felt the sweetness of his character, the broadness of his sympathy, and the sturdiness of the faith that gave him true charity.

Our great deceased was true to every instinct of liberty; true to the whole trust that it reposed in him; vigilant of the Constitution; careful of the laws; wise for liberty, in that he himself through his life had known what it was to suffer from the stings of slavery, and to prize liberty from bitter personal experiences.

He lent to the fervid eloquence of this honorable body the assistance of his vast erudition, his powerful dialectics, his most ingenious argumentation. He has left a very worthy record, which is his best panegyric, studded with complete consistency in an era that exacted the best of brain and heart.

Such teaching and influence have not been ineffective, but death has made them more solemnly impressive and has added a kind of consecration to the lofty example which we have too listlessly seen builded in our midst. If we may hope that these teachings and examples of our honorable deceased have been endued by death with new potency, as forces creating better and purer citizenship, and with graver import as instrumentalities in the creation, stimulation, and harmonization of patriotic ideals, and if we may hope that our countrymen will with sincerity heed the way of duty they point out, we may not only be doubly assured that our dead is not lost to us, but may confidently renew our faith in the American people as custodians of their scheme of free government.

I have spoken too much, because it is enough to say that the subject of our encomiums stands in the foremost rank of that select few who, in the words of Keats,

Tower in the van
Of all the congregated world.

War Hawks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, under the permission granted me, I present for printing in the RECORD one of a series of articles prepared by me entitled "War Hawks."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSITY WAR HAWKS

Two of the outstanding "war hawks" in the United States are presidents of two of our largest institutions, Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, and James Bryan Conant, of Harvard University.

There are many others of this group in the colleges and universities of the United States. The William Allen White committee list shows a "whole flock of these birds." Some of the members of the White war committee are not as vicious as others. Some hope that we can get half way in the war without taking the final step.

These "hawks" have become "soldiers of the king." They have become native American troops for the duration of the war.

In a previous statement I outlined the propaganda work in the colleges and universities in these words:

"GETTING THE PROFESSORS

" 'Enlisted for the duration of the war.'

"That was the view of the English propaganda directors during the last World War of certain American college and university professors and presidents. They admitted that they had to get them in the 'proper frame of mind.' This was done by personal contact with English scholars, lecturers, and others, as well as by 'the printed word.' Books, pamphlets, and all types of literature were sent to these individuals to show them the English side. Once these persons were won over, they became the most active and most zealous propagandists for the cause.

"The Allies were so successful in this drive that they crowed about their victory in the schools.

"Again, in 1939 and 1940, the college and university professors and presidents are being won over for English propaganda for the duration of this war. They have become so active that their intervention viewpoint met student reaction. But the work of these individuals was not alone worth while to the viewpoint of students, but particularly for their quoting purpose in newspapers and their ability of writing books and pamphlets.

"For instance, when the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies wanted a book they easily got volunteers in the collegiate circle to aid in the writing of that book. In this way both the inspired propaganda group and the professors were supposed to gain. Many presidents of scholastic institutions have been used as 'window dressing' for this committee, a known intervention outfit. Such names as Butler, of Columbia; Seymour, of Yale; Conant, of Harvard; Kingdon, of New York University, are found.

"The reasons for activity on the part of professors and presidents are numerous. Some have actually owed allegiance to the Empire of Great Britain. Some have desired to get in with the financial circles, whom they felt would be interested in intervention and some of whom they knew to be active on their college boards and active in their contributions to the school.

"LORD LOTHIAN AND COLLEGES

"Lord Lothian, the British Ambassador, had made many contacts with these professors and presidents. He was secretary of the Rhodes Trust and had made approximately 15 trips to the United States as a part of his work with the Rhodes money. He knew President Frank Aydelotte, of Swarthmore, for instance. Aydelotte is on the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. He was a Rhodes scholar, being in Oxford many years ago. In 1918 he was named American secretary of the Rhodes trustees. Four years later he was named a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation. This is just one of the many contacts Lord Lothian had in this country with the important intelligentsia. Editors of important papers were Rhodes scholars. For instance, when one of them had written a strong editorial for more active interest in the war, the Round Table, founded by Lothian in London, spoke of his being a Rhodes scholar.

"Records show in the last war that many college professors were calling for war long before our entrance. Again the same drive is being made. Thirty individuals, including many professors, have already called for our declaration of war against Germany.

"They want to 'educate the educators' for our involvement.

"But let us look at the activities in 1914–17:

" 'BEGIN WITH PROFESSORS'

"Sir Gilbert Parker, who did the propaganda work for the English Government preceding the entrance of the United States in the last World War, said:

" 'We had reports from important Americans constantly and established association by personal correspondence with influential and eminent people of every profession in the United States, beginning with university and college presidents, professors, and scientific men, and running through all the ranges of the population.'

"John Masefield said at that time:

" 'A big application of the idea of the Rhodes scholarships along with public mark of thanks to Yale or Harvard for their sons who have served the Allies might be of great value' (the effort to establish a belief in the identity of interests of Great Britain and the United States).

"James Duane Squires, in his informative book British Propaganda at Home and in the United States, says:

" 'According to David Lloyd George, almost the first thing that Parker did after assuming his new duties was to make a careful analysis of American press opinion on the war, following that with an equally thorough investigation into American opinion in the colleges and universities. From other sources we know that on the basis of these investigations and on a careful reading of the Ameri-

can Who's Who a mailing list was prepared. It was this mailing list containing thousands of names which was the basis for the distribution of Wellington House propaganda in the United States. The list was complete about the middle of December 1914, and mailing operations began immediately.

" 'To the persons on this mailing list, and to others whose names were subsequently added, there was sent the propaganda literature which the men in Wellington House believed would be most useful. Sometimes the books and pamphlets had enclosed with them suave and skillfully phrased letters. The enclosure cards which came with the books carried only Sir Gilbert's name and address, never any mention of Wellington House. The whole appearance was that of a kindly, friendly Englishman, who more or less was doing only his simple duty by his many American friends in sending them this literature and inviting their observations on it or on the war in general. Sometimes, to vary the thing, the enclosure cards apparently came from the authors of the books and pamphlets, especially when the authors were well-known men like J. W. Headlam, Viscount Bryce, or John Buchan. But this was generally a ruse de guerre. They usually came from the same place—Wellington House.'

PROPAGANDA IN THE SCHOOLS

"Prof. H. C. Peterson, who did a real job of research in his excellent book Propaganda for War, writes:

" 'Starting as early as August 1914, prominent men of America hastened to join a cause that was intellectually fashionable. Industrialists and financiers, one by one, took up the cudgels for the belligerents with whom they were doing so much profitable business. Preceding them came the imposing array of American society women. They swung into action with great gusto—at long last finding a cause worthy of their talents. Politicians, with the instinct of the chameleon, caught and reflected the popular shades of opinion. College professors and school teachers repeated with a great show of wisdom the arguments which had originated in Wellington House or in la maison de la presse. Close behind the educators came the ministers, and before long the American clergy was preaching a holy war, enlisting God and the Bible in the cause which newspapers told them was righteous. Just as strange as the enlistment of the clergy was the enlistment of liberals throughout the country. Usually such individuals spend most of their time talking about the value of peace. When it came down to hard realities, a large number of these people was found on the popular side assisting in establishing a climate of opinion favorable to war.

" 'By February 1916 Sir Gilbert Parker was able to report that the articulate people throughout the United States had joined the Allies. The success of the British propagandists corroborates the statement that there are no limits to the field of propaganda. The only restrictions are on the manner of approach. The wealthy can be persuaded to support a cause by getting them to invest their money in it; educators can be controlled simply through controlling their reading matter; liberals and preachers are the easiest of all to enlist by the mere introduction of an idealistic flavor to the propaganda.

" 'GOT IN TOUCH WITH THE UNIVERSITIES'

"Sir Edward Grey wrote in September 1914 that he was sending over J. M. Barrie and A. E. W. Mason 'to meet people, particularly those connected with the universities, and explain the British case as regards this war and our view of the issues involved.'

"It will be recalled that Masaryk came to this country in 1916, and the British report as to his work states that he 'got in touch with the universities, particularly with historians and economists.'

"The central committee of National Patriotic Organizations kept up the drive for the professors, reporting that 'practically every professor of every faculty has received * * * private packets of literature in his own language.'

"It had its effect. Yet Senators who voted for war have tried to say that propaganda had nothing to do with our entrance in that conflict.

"Many of us get letters about giving aid. Here is a letter that may be of interest:

" 'We owe to the Allies whatever moral support and financial assistance it is in the power of this Nation to give. * * * Let us enthusiastically approve supplying the enemies of Germany with financial aid and munitions of war and resist with all our moral strength those who would place an embargo on munitions.'

"But that is not a letter received in 1939 or 1940. That is a letter written by Josiah Royce, a professor of Harvard University, on January 30, 1916.

"The same call is heard today, except in different voices."

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD one will find my discussion of the pro-English background of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. He is the outstanding spokesman for the English cause in the colleges of the United States. It will be noted that he was cited for his pro-British propaganda in an investigation of history textbooks in New York.

The trustees of Columbia have in their membership some of the well-known war-hawk group, such as English-born William T. Manning and Fredric Coudert, adviser of the English Government in the United States preceding and during the last World War, in which we were a participant. Both of these men had a very active part in that drive to involve the United States 25 years ago.

The story of the financial holdings of some of the trustees is very definitely linked with war trade and interest in the continuation of the war traffic. But this is a story in itself that I shall cover at a later date. But in passing, I desire to say that the background of the trustees and overseers of some of the higher educational institutions would answer many questions as to why some of the college officials have taken a position to get our country involved in the war.

JAMES BRYAN CONANT

For instance, the Morgan interest is very powerful with President Conant, of Harvard. He is one of their war spokesmen and can be counted to deliver a radio address for their war outlook at any time. It sounds better to have the president of Harvard make a statement for war than to have it made by J. P. Morgan.

After specifically citing Conant, the Harvard University Crimson said:

"It is especially disquieting that leaders of youth, the college presidents, should have spoken so soon and so openly the words that may send to destruction the lives of their charge. They are earning an unenviable place in the road gang that is trying to build for the United States a superhighway straight to Armageddon."

They also called Conant's statement "a copious stream of propaganda coming by the back door."

Conant and Butler are both trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. With them on the board are seven members of the William Allen White Committee. Horace Coon speaks of the Carnegie fund as "an endowment for war" and discusses it at length in his book, Money to Burn. It is very significant that Thomas W. Lamont, partner in the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. is also a trustee. The record of Lamont's activities to get us in the war before 1917 and his activity to get us in this one are too well known to relate. The Morgan firm made millions out of the last war and they are making millions out of their increased war profits in this one. Lamont is an adviser of Conant.

It is also an interesting story to check the holdings of both Columbia and Harvard. They have much money, in the millions, invested in stocks and bonds that are directly related to the war trade and their value increases as the production for war material increases. Foreign holdings are also noted but that is too much of a story to discuss at this time.

Porter Sargent in his book, What Makes Lives, has this interesting observation:

"What does it matter if the universities are hotbeds of war? Only a small percentage of our population goes to the universities. But our lower schools follow their lead, our teachers are trained by their cloistered professors. So it does matter.

"The universities are good propagandists in their own right. They promote themselves as searchers of the truth and preservers of the truth—handing down the wisdom of the ages, they tell us. Actually they are preservers of privilege and the past, time binders, not time annihilators.

"How does this come about? Our college presidents, carefully selected after observation as safe men, are then further conditioned. For funds they look to the financiers who guard the great reservoirs of accumulated capital. University presidents and other college officials sit on the boards of these foundations with the big men of finance, with agents of the British Empire. They become infected, conditioned, immunized, and intimidated. They have to protect and keep open the sources of income, lest deficits declare them failures. This year their subservience is the same as 22 years ago; they are ready to sacrifice and waste the human resources of the country to preserve the present status in world dominion. This attitude is absorbed by the faculty, who look forward to receiving pensions and who must find favor with the administration."

The record of the newspapers of the country do not show the interest of either Drs. Butler or Conant in the rights of small nations or in their now much proclaimed interest in democracy, except when the interest of the English Empire was at stake. Where have they spoken out for the Irish in their fight for liberty? When have they condemned the atrocities of England in India?

Once the stand of Great Britain is known, it is easy to predict where Conant and Butler will be.

They hold their positions through the actions of many who have an interest in war profits. They speak the voice of those men. They are the spokesmen for those who dare not speak out loud in this drive to force the United States in war.

Even if the Roof Falls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. JONES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE PIQUA (OHIO) DAILY CALL

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial written

by C. Frank Ridenour, editor and publisher of the Piqua Daily Call, of Piqua, Ohio:

EVEN IF THE ROOF FALLS

Even if the roof falls Congress is going to stay on the job. In this determination the Congress will have the full backing of the people. In fact, such action probably pleases nearly everyone except the New Deal administration leaders who have been anxious to get Congress out of Washington so they would be more free to develop their policies. These administration leaders have been clamoring for adjournment of Congress for several months. Recently they trotted out a new excuse—the roof over the heads of the Representatives and also the roof over the Senate Chamber were declared unsafe and about ready to fall in. It was said that Senators and Representatives were in danger of their lives and Congress should adjourn at once so these two roofs might be repaired.

Members of Congress apparently were not frightened and so handed administration leaders a defeat on their first test of strength since the election.

It is not likely that another attempt will be made to adjourn Congress during the war crises. And while they are waiting around members of Congress may decide to act upon one or two pending bills, which are unpopular in New Deal quarters, and would automatically be killed if Congress adjourned.

Yes; Congressmen would rather risk having the roof fall in on them than risk the displeasure of their constituents if they pulled up stakes and went home.

Congress Should Fix the Thanksgiving Day Date for the Nation Insofar as the Federal Government Has the Power To Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARL C. MICHENER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, this is the last Thursday in November, and 16 States of the Union, in keeping with long-established custom, are celebrating Thanksgiving Day. Last Thursday, November 21, 32 States, pursuant to Presidential proclamation, celebrated Thanksgiving Day.

To celebrate this occasion on the last Thursday in November is not only a tradition, but it has become a fixed custom approaching a principle in the United States. Those initiating the custom set aside a day on which to give thanks to Almighty God for the blessings bestowed upon them. It was intended to be Nation-wide. In fixing the date they gave no consideration to the commercial aspects. They were thinking of higher things. Down through the years the day has been generally accepted throughout the length and the breadth of the land as a day of thanksgiving as well as a day of rejoicing. True, there is nothing sacred about the last Thursday in November. Nevertheless, that day has been associated with our national thanksgiving so long that it is very difficult for the American people to change the date, even though mercenary consideration might in some instances make such a change profitable financially.

I am wondering if we are not doing too much streamlining in these latter days. Too much change without justification. In 16 States in the Union, today is a legal holiday, except for Federal activity. Banks are closed, factories are not operating, church services are held, and typical American families are meeting in reunion and thanks. Nevertheless, the post offices are operating. A week ago today the same things happened in 32 States; the post offices, however, were closed. This caused and is causing much annoyance and difficulty. This confusion is apparent right here in the Congress. It is impossible to arrange the work of Congress so that the Members and their staffs may all observe the same Thanksgiving Day with their families in the States. Now, it seems to me that there is no necessity for all this.

The President has the right, under existing law, by proclamation to fix such date for national Thanksgiving as to him seems expedient. This proclamation controls all Federal activities but, as has been demonstrated, is not respected by all of the States of the Union.

In these circumstances, it would seem that the Congress should take some action looking toward the fixing of a definite date as national Thanksgiving Day. I hope that the next Congress will give consideration to this matter. If the majority of the people's Representatives, coming from the several States, select a particular day, so that the date cannot arbitrarily be changed in the discretion of any one individual, that legislation would certainly be wholesome. I assure the Congress that proper legislation will be presented to the Seventy-seventh Congress looking to this end.

I have had several inquiries recently from the congressional district which I represent, asking for information as to national legal holidays. I asked the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, to give me this information. Therefore, pursuant to the permission given to me to extend these remarks in the RECORD, I include herein the statement prepared by the Legislative Reference Service, which I am sure is authentic and will, I believe, be useful in the files of every Member of Congress. The memorandum is as follows:

NATIONAL LEGAL HOLIDAYS

The so-called national holidays are not strictly national in the sense of being effectively established by act of Congress binding on the country as a whole. Legal holidays in each State are prescribed by the legislature of that State; the only instance where Congress has purported to declare a national holiday throughout the United States appears to be the act of March 2, 1889 (25 Stat. 980, sec. 4), which used the expression with reference to April 30, 1889, the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of the first President of the United States.

However, Congress can legislate effectively regarding holidays for the District of Columbia; it can also regulate governmental activities and prescribe rules for Federal employees at large.

It has thus established holidays effective for purposes within Federal jurisdiction, as follows:

The Fourth of July and Sundays were excepted from a provision of law which required customs inspectors to attend to the delivery of cargo each day. (Act of Mar. 2, 1899, 1 Stat. 667. This provision was incorporated in sec. 2877 of the Revised Statutes, which was repealed by the act of Sept. 21, 1922, 42 Stat. 939.)

The President was requested to "recommend a day of thanksgiving, to be observed by the people of the United States," in a resolution of Congress at the close of the War of 1812 (3 Stat. 250, No. XIII).

New Year's Day, the Fourth of July, Christmas Day, February 22, and "any day appointed or recommended by the President of the United States as a day of public fast or thanksgiving" were declared to be holidays in the District of Columbia and to be treated as Sunday in the matter of payments on bank checks or other negotiable or commercial paper. (Act of June 28, 1870, 16 Stat. 168, ch. 167, as amended by act of Jan. 31, 1879, 20 Stat. 277, ch. 38. These provisions were superseded by the District of Columbia Code of 1901.)

January 1, February 22, July 4, December 25, and any day designated by the President as "a day of public fast or thanksgiving," were declared legal holidays with pay for employees of the Government Printing Office (joint resolution of Apr. 16, 1880, 21 Stat. 304, No. 22. Superseded by act of Jan. 12, 1895).

May 29, 1880, was declared a day for which Government employees at Washington were entitled to pay (joint resolution of May 31, 1880, 21 Stat. 307, No. 38).

January 1, February 22, July 4, December 25, and "such days as may be designated by the President as days for national thanksgiving" are declared holidays with pay for employees of the navy yard, Government Printing Office, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and other Government per diem employees (joint resolution of Jan. 6, 1885, 23 Stat. 516, No. 5, U. S. C. 5: 86).

Memorial or Decoration Day and July 4 are declared holidays with pay for Government per diem employees "at Washington or elsewhere in the United States" (joint resolution of Feb. 23, 1887, 24 Stat. 644, No. 6, U. S. C. 5: 86).

Inauguration Day was added to the list of holidays for the District of Columbia (act of June 18, 1888, 25 Stat. 185, ch. 391; superseded by the District of Columbia Code of 1901).

Labor Day (or Labor's Holiday), the first Monday in September, is declared a "legal public holiday" on the same basis as Christmas, January 1, February 22, May 30, and July 4 (act of June 28, 1894, 28 Stat. 96, ch. 118, U. S. C. 5: 87).

January 1, February 22, July 4, December 25, Inauguration Day, Memorial Day, Labor's Holiday, and any day designated by the Presi-

dent as "a day of public fast or thanksgiving" are designated as legal holidays with pay for Government Printing Office employees (act of Jan. 12, 1895, 28 Stat. 607, sec. 46, U. S. C. 44: 44).

Christmas, July 4, February 22, and any day designated by the President "as a holiday or as a day of public fasting or thanksgiving" were declared holidays under the Bankruptcy Act; i. e., such days were not to be counted in reckoning time under the act (act of July 1, 1898, 30 Stat. 544 (14), U. S. C. 11: 1; this provision was amended and superseded by act of June 22, 1938, 52 Stat. 841 (18), U. S. C. Supp. 11: 1, by including also Memorial Day, Labor Day, Armistice Day, and days designated as holidays by the Governor or legislature of the State where the proceedings are filed or pending).

New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, July 4, Decoration Day (May 30), Labor's Holiday, Christmas Day, every Saturday (after noon), any day designated by the President as "a day of public fasting or thanksgiving," and Inauguration Day are declared to be holidays in the District of Columbia "for all purposes" (sec. 1389 of the District of Columbia Code of Mar. 3, 1901, 31 Stat. 1404, District of Columbia Code 22: 126, as amended by act of June 30, 1902, 32 Stat. 543).

February 12, 1909, the centennial anniversary of Lincoln's birth, was declared "a special legal holiday in the District of Columbia and the Territories" (joint resolution of Feb. 11, 1909, 35 Stat. 1164, No. 10; proclaimed by the President Feb. 11, 1909, 35 Stat. 2222).

New Year's Day, July 4, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas Day are designated as days on which seamen on vessels in a safe harbor must not be required to do unnecessary work (act of Mar. 4, 1915, 38 Stat. 1164, sec. 2, U. S. C. 46: 673; this provision was amended and reenacted without change by the act of June 25, 1936, 49 Stat. 1933, sec. 2, U. S. C. Supp. 46: 673).

New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, Christmas, and days set apart by the President as "fast or thanksgiving days" are declared holidays in the Postal Service (act of July 28, 1916, 39 Stat. 416, U. S. C. 39: 119).

Any additional holidays set aside by the President to be observed throughout the United States are to be applicable in the Postal Service to the same extent as in the executive departments (act of Feb. 28, 1919, 40 Stat. 1193, U. S. C. 39: 119).

November 11, 1921, was designated "a holiday" in connection with the burial of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington (proclamation of the President of Nov. 4, 1921, 42 Stat. 2255, under authority of a joint resolution of the same date, 42 Stat. 211, ch. 117).

December 26, 1936, was declared "a legal holiday in the District of Columbia for all purposes" (joint resolution of June 20, 1936, 49 Stat. 1568, ch. 648).

November 11 is declared "a legal public holiday to all intents and purposes" in the same manner as January 1, February 22, May 30, July 4, the first Monday in September, and Christmas Day (act of May 13, 1938, 52 Stat. 351, ch. 210, U. S. C. Supp. 5: 87a).

New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, and other days declared holidays by Federal statute or Executive order are recognized as holidays for Government employees who are on a per diem, hourly, or piece-work basis to the extent of allowing the same pay as on days on which work is performed (joint resolution of June 29, 1938, 52 Stat. 1246, ch. 818, U. S. C. Supp. 5: 86a).

NOTE.—There appears to be no act of Congress that has ever designated a particular day as Thanksgiving Day. The first Thanksgiving Day designated by a President was Thursday, November 26, 1789 (see 47 Stat. 2540). Other days so designated were: February 19, 1795 (11 Stat. 754, No. 5); second Thursday in April 1815 (11 Stat. 764, No. 16); August 6, 1863 (13 Stat. 734, No. 6); first Thursday in December, 1865 (13 Stat. 773, No. 50). Beginning in 1866 (14 Stat. 817, No. 5), the last Thursday in November was regularly[1] designated as Thanksgiving Day until 1939, when November 23 was designated (Proclamation No. 2373, 4 Fed. Reg. Di. I. 4443).

President Lincoln proclaimed the last Thursday in September 1861 as a day of "public humiliation, prayer, and fasting" (12 Stat. 1261, No. 8), and Thursday, April 30, 1863, as a day of "national humiliation, fasting, and prayer" (12 Stat. 1270). The former of these proclamations had been recommended by Congress, which asked that the day "be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnity" (joint resolution of August 5, 1861, 12 Stat. 328, No. 3), but it was not designated as a holiday, either by Congress or by the President.

By proclamation or Executive order the President has from time to time designated a number of special holidays for Government employees, for example: April 15, 1915 (fiftieth anniversary of death of Lincoln; Executive Order 2171); September 29, 1915 (G. A. R. parade; Executive Order 2249); March 5, 1917 (Inauguration Day; Executive Order 2540); October 24, 1917 (Liberty Day, after 12 m., for Second Liberty Loan; 40 Stat. 1706); April 26, 1918 (Liberty Day, after 12 m., for Third Liberty Loan, 40 Stat. 1771); October 12, 1918 (Liberty Day, for Fourth Liberty Loan; 40 Stat. 1854–55); September 23, 1936 (until 1 p. m., for G. A. R. parade; Executive Order 7450, 1 Fed. Reg. 1410); September 17, 1937 (after 1 p. m., Constitution sesquicentennial; Executive Order 7700, 2 Fed. Reg. 1799); the day before or after Christmas or New Year's (frequently).

[1] Except in 1869, when November 18 was designated (16 Stat. 1129).

Armistice Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HARRY B. COFFEE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. HARRY B. COFFEE, OF NEBRASKA

Mr. COFFEE of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted by the House, I am inserting an Armistice Day address I made under the auspices of the Paul R. Halligan Post of the American Legion at North Platte, Nebr., November 11, 1940:

Twenty-two years ago today, on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month, an armistice was signed, bringing to a close what up to that time was the most devastating war in all history.

We assemble today to pay tribute to our comrades who sacrificed their lives in that war to preserve the high ideals of democracy. In the World War, vainly fought to end European wars, 126,000 American boys died or were killed in action.

We all remember the chain of events that led our country into the World War. Democracy was at stake. Our sympathies were aroused and our patriotism was fired into action. More than 4,000,000 men were mobilized into the armed forces of the United States, 2,000,000 of whom were sent overseas. There was never a more valiant fighting force on the European battlefields than this American Expeditionary Force. We are still thrilled by the American doughboys' deeds of heroism in that war.

While we today pay tribute to those who gave their lives to preserve democracy, we must not forget the sacrifices made by those who returned wounded, sick, and disillusioned. Many of these men, stirred by patriotic motives, gave up promising careers to serve their country. Because of economic maladjustments resulting from the war, many have not yet been able to reestablish themselves. They are still paying the price, and they, too, must not be forgotten.

Democracy was born of sacrifice and can be maintained only by sacrifice. We are enjoying today the liberties won by the sacrifices made by our forefathers and our contemporaries.

It was 2,500 years ago in ancient Athens that some of the ideals of democracy were conceived. The seed of democracy that was planted in Greece began to grow 500 years later during the rise of the Roman Empire. It survived persecution and blight during the Middle Ages, and flowered with the signing of the Magna Carta in 1215, and bore fruit in the Constitution of the United States of America. We Americans are enjoying liberties gained by 2,500 years of struggle for freedom and equality of opportunity. So the memory of our comrades who sleep on the battlefields of Europe is an inspiring challenge to us to carry on. Let us rally to safeguard that democracy for which they gave their last full measure of devotion.

Mere words cannot describe the horrors of war. In the last war, of the 12,000,000 mobilized Russian soldiers, more than 9,000,000 were either killed or wounded. France had approximately 8,500,000 soldiers mobilized, and over 6,000,000 of those were casualties. The British casualty list totaled more than 3,000,000 out of a total mobilized strength of 8,900,000. The United States mobilized 4,355,000, with a casualty list, killed and wounded, of approximately 350,000 or 8 percent. Among the Central Powers 90 percent of the 7,800,000 mobilized by Austria-Hungary were killed or wounded. Germany mobilized 11,000,000 men, with total casualties amounting to over 7,000,000. Such enormous destruction of human life staggers the imagination.

Thus the way was paved for the chaos that followed. Had the United States suffered in proportion to the other countries in the World War, it is a serious question whether our democracy could have withstood the resultant political and economic repercussions.

I hope we may always remember some of the lessons we learned in that war. We entered the war to make the world safe for democracy. What was the outcome? The rise of communism, fascism, and nazi-ism in Europe. Our reward was $12,000,000,000 in defaulted Government loans, billions of dollars of worthless foreign securities, and the ingratitude of the world.

We find ourselves now at the threshold of another war where ruthless dictators are engaged in an effort to destroy the last vestige of democracy in Europe. In this war, as in the last, our sympathies are with Great Britain, and we are all praying that the cause of democracy will triumph. I believe that the United States can and should avoid war. Should we become involved, I am convinced that we would lose our democracy and the liberties we seek to preserve. We can best serve the cause of democracy by protecting the United States, the last safe haven for democracy left in the world.

Those who advocate our intervention in either the European or Asiatic war should analyze carefully the probable repercussions that

may follow as an aftermath of war. We should follow the dictates of reason rather than appeals to emotions. We must realize that millions of dollars are now being spent on propaganda to involve our country in war. Many loyal and patriotic American citizens, particularly in the East, sincerely believe that the United States should enter the war now on the side of Great Britain, because they believe that should Britain be crushed the United States would be the next victim. The Hitler forces are naturally anxious to involve the United States in war with Japan, in order to stop the flow of war materials to Great Britain. There are other forces also at work endeavoring to secure the intervention of our Navy. It will not be an easy task to keep America out of this conflagration, but I am convinced that it can and should be done.

Long before the outbreak of the last war Congress gave notice to the world through the passage of the Neutrality Act that it would have no part in any future foreign wars. As evidence of her desire for peace and her anxiety to prevent any incident that would lead to war, the United States has voluntarily surrendered her right to the freedom of the seas. To secure that right and to maintain that principle, the War of 1812 was fought. Under the Neutrality Act American vessels are no longer permitted in the war zones and American citizens are prohibited from traveling on belligerent vessels. American exports are available to belligerents on a cash-and-carry basis. Under the Johnson Act no further credit may be extended to countries now in default on their debts to the United States. Practically every legislative precaution has been taken to prevent the United States from ever again becoming involved in a foreign war. The United States is now curtailing her normal prerogatives in order to avoid any incident that might lead this country into war.

During the War with Spain, when the spirit of imperialism prevailed, we acquired the Philippine Islands, which have ever since been an economic liability to the United States. We are now endeavoring to give them their independence in 1946, which is provided for under the Philippine Independence Act. Our possession of the Philippines at this time, in view of the war in Asia, is proving most embarrassing from a military as well as an economic standpoint and may yet be the cause of involving us in the Sino-Japanese war.

Time has proved that we should adhere strictly to the Monroe Doctrine, which contemplates noninterference by the United States in European or Asiatic affairs and in turn noninterference in the Western Hemisphere by any non-American power. The Monroe Doctrine is as vital today toward preserving peace in this hemisphere as it was when it was first enunciated.

There is no group in America today that can exert a greater influence against war than the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and their auxiliaries. They know what war means. They recognize the steps that lead to war. They have served their country in time of need—their patriotism cannot be questioned. We must create and crystallize a greater sentiment of pro-Americanism in this country. Let us do that which is best designed to protect the peace and future security of America.

During this last session of Congress billions of dollars have been appropriated to build up our national defense, to make the United States invulnerable to attack by any foreign enemy. Preparedness is the best insurance for peace. I am glad to say that your Government is now exerting every effort to expedite our national-defense program, designed to prevent the spread of war to this hemisphere.

It is heartening to know that the United States today has the strongest and most efficient Navy in the world, and that Congress has recently authorized a 70-percent increase in its present strength to provide a two-ocean Navy. It must be remembered that the Navy must be sunk before this country can be successfully invaded.

Although the atmosphere in Washington is charged with war hysteria, I believe the United States, by thus strengthening its national defenses against its enemies, both from without and within, and by improving its internal economy, can avoid war, preserve its democracy, and become the dominating power of the world. Blessed with one-half the wealth of the world, and with the highest living standards of any nation on earth, we must prepare our bulwarks against economic invasions and the infiltration of the foreign ideologies. It is our duty to focus the spotlight of public opinion on all subversive elements that seek to destroy our form of government. We must stamp out all isms in this country not compatible with Americanism. Whether it be communism, fascism, or nazi-ism, it should be remembered that all end in dictatorships. Under a dictatorship there is no freedom of speech, no freedom of the press, and no religious liberty. Representative government therein does not exist. To criticize an official is tantamount to asking for a one-way ticket to a concentration camp. Personal liberties and property rights vanish. There are few people under the totalitarian governments today who would not gladly exchange what they have for American citizenship. In the United States the Government is the servant of the people—a happy contrast with the dictator countries where the people are the servants of the governments. We regard our heritage and the privileges we enjoy too lightly.

The American Legion is to be highly commended for its work in fostering Americanism. It was largely through the influence and support of the American Legion that the authorization by Congress of the Dies investigating committee was made possible. This committee has functioned courageously and effectively in exposing the subversive elements that seek to destroy our democratic institutions. If we are to protect our representative form of government, every patriotic American citizen must stand guard with the Legion against these termites that bore from within.

Let me review the noble aims and principles to which the American Legion and the American Legion Auxiliary are dedicated:

"To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America.

"To maintain law and order.

"To foster and perpetuate a 100-percent Americanism.

"To preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the Great War.

"To inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community.

"To combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses.

"To make right the master of might.

"To promote peace and good will on earth.

"To safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy.

"To consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness."

The spirit of Americanism which tolerates freedom of expression not only of applause but also of criticism is fostered and encouraged in our democracy. We may not agree with what is said but we forever defend the right to say it.

Recently we have witnessed a national election wherein every qualified American citizen had an opportunity to choose his Chief Executive and Representatives in his Government. In this country differences of opinion are determined by ballots—not by bullets. We accept the majority rule, and we present a united front against any foreign power. Partisanship ends at the water's edge. Differences of opinion on issues will continue to be debated and settled by votes so long as we remain a democracy.

Our Government, under the Constitution, is set up to protect our liberties, freedom, rights, privileges, and opportunities without infringement. To maintain a system of proper checks and balances we have three separate and distinct branches of the Government: The executive, legislative, and judicial. So long as the independence and integrity of each is maintained, a dictatorship cannot be established in this country. Our Constitution will protect us, if we protect the Constitution.

Our fallen comrades cherished our constitutional democracy and peace. Let us rededicate ourselves to the task of preserving the principles and ideals of Americanism. Let us be conscious of the fact that this is the last safe haven of democracy where man is master of his destiny. Let us reconsecrate ourselves to protect the free institutions of our land, confident in the belief that the next 150 years of our history will show progress as remarkable as that of the last 150 years. Let us keep faith with those who have paid the supreme sacrifice and pledge anew our allegiance to the Constitution and to the ideals of our Republic. Let us hold high the torch of freedom left in our charge by our noble dead.

"The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo;
No more on Life's parade shall meet
That brave and fallen few.
On Fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards, with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead."

"Mother" Berry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALL DOXEY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. PAT HARRISON, OF MISSISSIPPI

Mr. DOXEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I deem it a privilege and honor to include therein the address delivered by our distinguished senior Senator from Mississippi, the Honorable PAT HARRISON, on November 16, 1940, at Blue Mountain College, Blue Mountain, Miss., in honor of Mrs. Modena Lowrey Berry on her ninetieth birthday.

We all love "Mother" Berry, as Mrs. Modena Lowrey Berry is affectionately called by all who have the privilege of knowing her. Her life has been an inspiration to this generation, and will be to generations yet to come.

"Mother" Berry is the sister of former Congressman B. G. Lowrey, who for many years represented the Second Congressional District of Mississippi as my predecessor and rendered distinguished service, not only to Mississippi but to the entire Nation.

Senator HARRISON's address was as follows:

We are gathered here today to enjoy the rare privilege of participating in the festivities incident to the observance of the ninetieth milestone in the life of a gentle and beloved woman. We meet on the grounds of a historic institution to break the bread of good fellowship in paying affectionate tribute to a majestic personality whose career has formed a radiant and vibrant chapter in the history of her State and Nation and whose works and deeds are as a shining monument in a world buffeted by turmoil and distress.

Let us reflect that in all the sweeping narrative of human aspirations, gallant deeds, and achievements there is no part of it so inspiring and so capable of eliciting praise and admiration as the accomplishments of a noble, good, and courageous woman whose life has been spent unselfishly in serving others. Mankind, ever reverent for the finer things, bestows the greatest accolades on those who, with wise and understanding hearts, carve themselves a niche through unceasing labor in the vineyard of usefulness.

On November 16, 1850, a tall man of piercing eye and handsome features stood in his humble home near Farmington, in Alcorn County, and looked down upon his first born, a daughter, who was to be named Modena. The year Modena Lowrey was born was the year in which Jefferson Davis, later to become President of his beloved Confederacy, was elected to the United States Senate from Mississippi, a State which had been in existence about 20 years. Even then the causes which led to the internecine conflict of the Civil War were being intensified. In the Senate, in 1850, Daniel Webster was fighting for the compromise which he hoped would avert disaster.

As the months passed into years, differences became more bitter and relationships more strained. It was a tragic era. Modena Lowrey, the oldest of 11 children who blessed the home of the industrious brickmaker, saw it climaxed at the age of 11, when in April of 1861, the Civil War, that had been inevitable ever since Lincoln's inaugural address a month before, crashed upon a divided Nation.

The South sprang to arms. Modena Lawrey's preacher-father, who had been ordained by the Farmington Baptist Church in 1853, rode away to the conflict at the head of a company of volunteers. He was among the first to go, although he was opposed to human enslavement and was not a slave owner. Sixty days later he was commissioned a colonel in charge of the Thirty-second Mississippi Regiment. That was the real beginning of an illustrious career for Mark Perrin Lowrey, whose exploits for the South gained for him praise from many as "the bravest man in the Confederate Army." He fought in the Battle of Chickamauga, in the Georgia campaign, and with General Hood. He survived the terrific Battle of Franklin. He commanded a brigade and later a division, but the war was over before he received his well-earned commission of major general.

A soldier of the cross as well as a soldier of the Confederacy, M. P. Lowrey was respectfully described by his men as "the fighting parson of the Army of Tennessee," for throughout the war he continued to preach the gospel.

In 1865 M. P. Lowrey came home from the battles, penniless and with no home for his wife and children except the two-room cabin they had occupied for 3 years. But, like his comrades of the South, that forthright, brave, and splendid man knew no defeat. He had seen the carnage of the battlefield and the terror of the shot and shell, and his wife and children had experienced the bitter hardships that come when men seek to settle their disputes with blazing guns. But the future held a challenge for strong men, and that fearless and skillful general of war turned his talents to peaceful pursuits and to the rehabilitation of a stricken people. Active in all enterprises that meant advancement for his fellow men, he served as State evangelist for Mississippi Baptists for 2 years and for 7 years was Mississippi editor of The Baptist, a denominational periodical published in Memphis.

So engrossed was he in his community and church work that he brushed aside entreaties which would have sent him to the United States Senate and also declined the secretaryship of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Church at a handsome salary.

By 1870 General Lowrey, struggling to recoup his family fortunes during a period marked by the depredations of the despicable carpetbaggers, had been able to put his eldest daughter through a small college at Corinth. After that Modena Lowrey attended a boarding school at Pontotoc and then returned to this community to teach.

In 1873 the institution we now know as Blue Mountain College was formally opened by General Lowrey as the Blue Mountain Female Institute, with an initial enrollment of 55. Modena aided her father in the initiation of that great adventure in education—an adventure in which she has thrilled down through the years and which now finds her vice president emerita of the institution which grew from an humble start into one of the outstanding colleges for women in the South. Here, too, she began another great adventure, for in 1876, at the June commencement exercises, she spoke the sacred vows of matrimony with W. E. Berry in a wedding solemnized on the stage in full view of the student body with her father officiating.

Here she has remained, contributing her talents to the cultural, spiritual, and civic development of her community, her State, and her Nation. Her influence has not been confined to a limited area. It is a singular and refeshing thought that scattered throughout our vast country there are 85 alumnae chapters of Blue Mountain College, every member of which has been privileged to come within the sphere of the benign personality of Mother Berry.

Hers has been a full and rich life. As a child she lived through the agonizing days of civil strife, days during which she gathered great inspiration from the examples set by her gallant mother, a woman of indomitable spirit and magnificent courage. She lived through the darker days of reconstruction. She watched as the South gradually began to see the sunlight after the period of travail and as this great country was taking the shape we now know it. New frontiers were being pushed back by a hardy people. New horizons beckoned to the brave and intrepid. In 1867 we bought Alaska. A short time before a compromise with Great Britain over the Northwest Territory completed possession of the area now occupied by the 48 States. Mother Berry, as others in her day, heard men talk of American empire.

A transcontinental system was well under way with the steam locomotive in common use. Steamships were crossing both oceans. The relativity of time was being demonstrated by the telegraph and the cable. In 1876 Bell invented the telephone. Dissemination of thought through the printed word was being made swifter and cheaper with use of the rotary press. Planting and harvesting machines moved across the prairies. Vulcanization of rubber had been invented and was awaiting the automobile. The sewing machine was being developed.

All this Mother Berry watched and read of. She no doubt could feel the quickened pulse of a nation reawakened. As the years passed there came the gay nineties—the decade of big ideas. Then came another war as the United States contributed to the liberation of Cuba. In 1903 Orville Wright, envisioning a new horizon and seeking to open new frontiers to the human race, flew over the sand dunes of Kitty Hawk in the first successful flight of a machine heavier than air. The whole pattern of American life was beginning to be changed, particularly with the phenomenal development of the automobile, which brought about the construction of the greatest highway system known to any country.

History was being made on all sides. Then came the explosion of the World War—new periods of distress and horror and devastation. In America woman's suffrage became a reality. Years piled on years, new years that brought the golden era of the late twenties, followed by the torment of depression, the fury of financial panic and storm, and the terror of economic uncertainty.

Ninety years!

Ofttimes it is difficult for us to comprehend and realize the progress that has been made, the changes that have occurred, and the history that has been written in that time. Wars have been fought, tragedy has stalked the earth, hunger and pestilence have gripped the races. But onward and onward we have moved to better things. Where once we lived in an era of slow transportation and poor communication, we now have as an integral part of our existence the radio, the telephone, the electric light, the automobile, and the airplane. The tempo of the times beats faster and faster. Our habits have changed; our forefathers would gaze in open-mouthed amazement at this new civilization.

If I were of prescient mind, I should like to see what lies ahead for us, but no man can know what the future will hold. What person 10 years ago could have foreseen the bewildering events of the past decade? Who today can tell what the years ahead will bring? These are stirring times, when the mists of doubt and uncertainty swirl about us.

International brigandage hovers in all its horrible form over parts of the world. Modern buccaneers, seemingly intent on wrecking all that is good and all that which we hold sacred, stride upon the stage, their mutterings and their threats having repercussions even in this community. America strengthens herself for self-protection; she girds her loins so that our way of life shall not perish. Free men in a free nation move in impressive phalanx toward solidarity against aggression.

It has been said that America is great because America is good. And let me submit to you the fact that America is good because her way of life has been written with a pen of iron and the point of a diamond, because her growth and her glory and her greatness are found in her schools, her colleges, her churches, and her homes, ablaze with righteousness.

Those institutions have been ablaze with righteousness because of the matchless leadership, the superb courage, and the dauntless spirit exhibited by those women whose record of achievement is so well exemplified in the life work of Mother Berry, still eager, just as in her vernal years, to spread the knowledge of the value of the tested, durable things and the goodness of the fundamental truths.

In 1923 Woodrow Wilson said that "if our civilization is to survive materially, it must be redeemed spiritually." That is as true today as it was then. National character is our greatest defense. Moral rearmament must be a vital part of our defense program. We must not become bogged in the miasma of cynicism and despair. And we shall not, for there seems to be a strange stirring, a revival of the beliefs in the soundness of the old faiths, and a resurgence of the forces which augur ill to evildoers.

Because the picture is so challenging, it is heartening to stand here today in the presence of a kindly, warm-hearted, and generous woman whose life has been dedicated to a continuous teaching and strengthening of the moral values. Hers has been a work in the faith carried forward with a love for her fellow beings that is as true as steel and as unvarying as the stars. God fearing, home loving, tried and true, her unselfishness, her deep spiritual life, and her interest in others have brought her to an eminence seldom equaled in the annals of those who have achieved high renown or who have basked in the spotlight of popular acclaim.

Her way of life reflects that passage we find in the Old Testament:

"And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might. And these words which I have commanded thee shall be in thine heart; and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children and thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house and when thou walkest by the way and when thou liest down and when thou risest up."

When Mark Perrin Lowrey died in 1885 he left a rich inheritance to those who follow in his footsteps. Of him, Dr. J. R. Graves, editor of the Baptist, said:

"As a brave and intrepid soldier, as a fearless and skillful general, as a clear and able writer, as a preacher of the gospel, as a fond father, and as a peerless Christian gentleman Mark Perrin Lowrey came nearer filling the standard of the 'perfect man' than any other man whom we have ever known."

Though born in poverty and orphaned in infancy, he defied adversity to leave a living monument. He pioneered in the education of women. Self-disciplined, he learned that Christian principle is the soil from which all worth-while learning must spring.

Modena Lowrey Berry persevered in her father's great work and now the fruits of her endeavors live in the hearts of the many so fortunate to know her. When the history of Blue Mountain College is finally written, and even after those pages become friable with age, the imperishable imprint of the influence of Mother Berry will be a part of the character of Mississippi. It happily can be said that the story of Blue Mountain will be woven inseparably with the career of this Mother who has never denied a plea for help, who always has been eager to share her possessions with the poor and needy and who has piled up enough good deeds to give her an overflowing of the stars in her crown.

The education of the thousands of young women who have marched through these portals has been made the more complete because of their association with Mother Berry. For she has suffused them with the value of the simple virtues, has shared among them her years of experience and ripened wisdom and has given unto them a practical philosophy which emphasizes the goodness of doing for others, the wealth that can be garnered through sympathy and understanding and the satisfaction that can be obtained through pursuing a life of service.

Long recognized as a leader among leaders, honors which she has carried in a spirit of humbleness have fallen about her from time to time. Though never a member of a federated club, she was singled out for a signal honor when the Federated Women's Clubs of Mississippi selected her as one of the four notable women of the State to represent Mississippi in the Hall of Fame of the Sesquicentennial Exposition in Philadelphia, Pa., several years ago. The gesture met with wide approval in every section of the State and the South.

As a mother she reared her sons and daughters in a spirit which made them ready to dare and to share and imbued them with a courage and an unselfish devotion which made of them men and women who have brought glory to the family name.

There is probably no other woman in the South whose life has inspired more men and women. With her work, Mother Berry has undoubtedly reaped the greatest happiness of all, for those who bring sunshine to others cannot keep it from themselves. Her career is an impressive chapter in the saga of the Lowreys and the Berrys, who have served the South long and well. Listed among them are the founder of a college, college presidents, and many successful teachers, all members of families which have written scintillating records in many fields of endeavor and which have girdled the globe with their influence for good.

A figure such as Mother Berry is as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. As the years pass and as she rests in the mellow glow of an autumn sun, she finds strength in the help and assistance of her daughter, Miss Clara Etta Berry, who for over a quarter of a century has been at her mother's side, aiding her to bear every burden and sharing every responsibility. All the while she grows gracefully and quietly in the many splendid qualities which are making her great and beloved like her illustrious mother.

On the Mississippi Gulf coast, Beauvoir, the old home of Jefferson Davis, the peerless leader of a peerless people who fought a lost cause, soon will be converted into a shrine in memory of his greatness. Here in this community we shall have another shrine honoring another great southerner, for the history of Blue Mountain College is the history of the life work of Modena Lowrey Berry.

Mother Berry, we salute you. We love you. Your career as a teacher, as a counselor, as a comrade to so many and as a mother to a greater number is an inspiration to us all and is a magnificent part of the educational advancement of our glorious State.

The Railroad Situation From the Standpoint of Investors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH E. CHURCH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

ADDRESS BY JOHN A. STEVENSON, PRESIDENT OF THE PENN MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of John A. Stevenson, president of the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co., before the annual dinner of the Association of American Railroads, Biltmore Hotel, New York, November 13, 1940:

Mr. Chairman, members and guests of the Association of American Railroads, there are many reasons why I am, and ought to be, deeply concerned over our railroads and their welfare. If there were no other tie, I should always follow their fortunes with the keenest interest, because of the prominent part in the councils of this industry played by my distinguished friend, John J. Pelley. He may not remember it, but the fact remains that we played baseball on competing teams when, as boys, we lived in the same county in Illinois. In going back there each year, I have always taken very great pride in the bronze tablet placed on the station in Anna, Ill., stating that it was here the career of John J. Pelley began. Therefore, in discussing the railroad question with him and the other members of this impressive group, I feel like the debutante who was seated next to a prominent foreign diplomat at a Washington dinner party. By way of making conversation with his charming partner, he was deploring the fact that the various crises in world affairs had left him no time for anything else. "Why," he said, "do you know I've never even had time to study out how an up-to-date radio works."

"Oh," said the debutante, reassuringly, "I'll show you how. You just turn it on and there you are."

As a matter of fact, I can't even go as far as the debutante, for I can't even attempt to show you how to solve any of your problems. However, I'd like to make a few general observations from the standpoint of view of the layman and also as one charged with the responsibility of investing life-insurance policyholders' money—a sizable proportion of which, in past years, has flowed into railroad securities.

In times like these, naturally, the safety of the Nation commands the first place in the heart of every patriotic American. From that viewpoint, the function of the railroads, as an indispensable part of the machinery of national defense, becomes of most immediate importance.

In modern warfare, capacity for industrial output is now universally recognized as the greatest single factor in determining victory or defeat. In other words, the nation best geared to continuous mass production on the largest scale will eventually triumph over any less completely equipped adversary, provided the other factors in the contest are on anything like a comparable basis.

Mass production, in its turn, is absolutely dependent upon efficient mass transportation, and railroads are the only agency yet devised that can continuously provide mass transportation upon the scale and of the quality necessary to meet the requirements of a country as vast as ours. The railroads, therefore, stand as a fundamental factor in carrying through whatever plans our Nation may make to put itself under arms.

The character of the role which the railroads must play is completely recognized in the transportation plans of the Army and Navy. Moreover, it is reassuring to note that these plans are based not only upon the vital necessity of the work the railroads must perform but upon their demonstrated ability to do the job. Reflecting the views of the defense service, Louis Johnson, then Assistant Secretary of War, not long ago said:

"We, in the War Department, have full confidence in the innate capacity, in the ability, and in the patriotism of our railroads to cope successfully with the transportation problems that any grave military emergency would involve. Our faith is well founded."

Those words appeal to me as recognizing much more than mere capacity to do a necessary task. They recognize also the spirit of service and devotion to country that is in the hearts of railroad men.

Equally indispensable are the railroads to those industrial and commercial activities by means of which the everyday life of the Nation is sustained. So spectacular has been the rise of highway transportation that probably a large majority of the people fail to realize to what an overwhelming extent the burden of heavy transportation service still rests, and must continue to rest, upon the railroads. Aside from the important question of national defense, if my information is correct, not any one of the other forms of transportation, nor all of them put together, could supply the needs of industry and agriculture, or support our present form of national life, if the railroads were taken out of the picture. Therefore, in the anxiety to see that these other forms of transportation should be allowed their place in the sun it is not surprising to find a growing feeling that justifiable precaution might well have been taken to make sure that the absolutely indispensable railroads were not unfairly made to suffer and did not have their utility diminished.

I am engaged in a business in which one of the greatest and almost critical problems at the present time is the finding of safe and productive investments for the money which comes to us from 64,000,000 policyholders. In the past the expansion and improvement of railroads furnished one of the best and largest fields for putting our trust funds to work. During recent years this field has shrunk very materially, and its contraction has intensified the problem of safe and secure investment.

The managements of all fiduciary institutions would be delighted to see the railroads again encouraged to enter the capital market freely on an accelerated program of revenue-producing betterments and improvements. We realize, of course, that there is little, if any, need to build into new territory. But the enthusiastic reception accorded to such recent developments as the new high-speed, streamlined trains, as well as the demand, which I am told exists,

for new types of freight equipment, for instance, indicate that the further possibilities of progress are almost limitless, provided incentive and encouragement are forthcoming.

As a believer in the fundamental soundness of our social and economic system, I am especially concerned over the railroads, because I believe the solution of their problem may indicate a trend in our social and economic life. If the railroads can be perpetuated as self-sustaining enterprises, owned by our citizens and financed out of their savings, I would consider that one of the surest safeguards for the preservation of an economic system which is based upon the private ownership of property and the freedom and initiative of the individual. If, however, the railroads are not given the opportunity to keep their present status, then it would seem that the first definite step toward state socialism had been taken. Surely other important forms of enterprise would speedily follow this trend, and the American people in accepting the results of this theory must be prepared to accept a form of centralized social and economic organization which they have certainly up to this time always dreaded and feared.

So far, I repeat, the theory of the American way of life has been that the dignity and welfare of the individual is the primary purpose of government. If we forsake that ideal, we shall inevitably gravitate to the opposite theory, which is that the individual exists for the state. If we value our institutions, let us guard against losing them by inadvertence. Railroads are our largest single aggregation of private capital and enterprise. The future of the railroads may be the key to the outcome of all other forms of private economic endeavor.

Two years ago, at Cleveland, your own leader, John J. Pelley, made the following statement:

"Railroads are in trouble because the margin between what they take in and what they must pay out is too thin."

That sums up the situation admirably, particularly from the viewpoint of one like myself, whose direct responsibilities with respect to the railroads have to do with questions relating to investments made in their securities. That margin between income and outgo is the basis upon which depends the security of income on railroad investments already made, and is also the basis of credit upon which future investments may or may not be justified. In other words, it determines the solvency of the railroads, as at present capitalized, and the possibility of further improving their plants and facilities by attracting additional funds from the savings of the general public.

Speaking from the outside looking in, it seems to me that over a long period of years, and particularly during the last twenty, the railroads have been subjected to two sets of unfavorable influences. One of them has constantly tended to diminish their revenues and the other to increase their expenditures. No matter how gradually these factors work, they can have only one outcome if long enough continued.

It has long been a pet idea of mine that one of the follies of human nature is the belief that it is possible to get something for nothing. Also, one of the great dangers inherent in the democratic form of government is the fact that men seeking to get or hold office are under constant temptation to promise their supporters something for nothing, or something below cost. Common sense and experience alike tell us that someone always pays, and usually more dearly than if the attempt to avoid payment had not been made. Yet the folly persists, and, as I see the situation, it has played no small part among the influences which have injuriously reacted upon the earnings and expenses of the railroads.

Needless to say, the economic disturbances of the last few years were bound to have much the same effect on the railroads as on other industries. Their injury to the railroads, however, has been aggravated by other influences peculiar to the railroads alone which, when we get to the bottom of the situation, seem to result from the human frailty, to which I have already referred, of desiring to get something for nothing.

We have seen commercial highway carriers insisting upon the privilege of using publicly owned highways for private gain, without adequate payment for their use, and resisting for a long time successfully all attempts at regulation. They have closed their eyes to the fact that if gasoline and vehicle taxes are segregated exclusively to highway purposes, then these taxes are spent solely for the benefit of highway users, which virtually exempts them from payment of taxes toward the general support of government. Indeed, as highway costs have so far considerably exceeded the total contributions toward those costs made by motor-vehicle users, highway transportation has remained a tax consumer, whereas railroad transportation has been a tax producer, actually contributing toward the subsidies enjoyed by its competitors. Waterway and air transport also lean heavily upon the taxpayer and, in common with the highways, have been the beneficiaries of a general attitude on the part of the Government which has been promotional rather than regulatory. In contrast, the attitude of the Government toward the railroads has been chiefly regulative and restrictive.

No amount of resourcefulness can withstand competition of this kind. In consequence we find today that, although the physical volume of industrial production in the Nation has risen above the predepression levels, railroad freight traffic remains far below the averages of that era.

As one responsible for the investment of trust funds, I fully agree with the contention of the railroads that subsidies and all inequalities of treatment as between various agencies of service should be abolished. Unless this be done, the value of investments whose soundness would otherwise be unquestioned may be destroyed.

Again it seems equitable that tolls should be imposed upon the users of the artificial inland waterways and that these tolls should be fixed at levels sufficient to cover fixed charges on the investment, plus maintenance costs, operating expenses, and depreciation. That would place waterways and railways upon an equal competitive footing, because the users of both forms of service would be required to pay the costs in full, whereas at present that is true only of those who use the railroads.

I understand that repeated studies in widely scattered sections of the country have shown, without exception, that when the test of all-inclusive costs is applied, inland-waterway transportation by artificial channels is more expensive than railroad service in addition to being slower, less dependable, and in many cases subject to interruption by floods or low water and to complete suspension for months at a time by ice. The only thing that keeps it alive, if this view is correct—and I have every reason to believe it to be—is the fact that the public pays a substantial part of the costs; in many instances by far the major portion.

Had the test of all-inclusive costs been applied in the first place, the conclusion seems evident that few, if any, artificial waterways would have been created for a good many years, since railroad transportation conclusively demonstrated its overwhelming superiority nearly a century ago. Nor would the people of the State of New York have comparatively recently expended approximately $177,000,000, supplemented by $11,000,000 of Federal funds, in enlarging and deepening the toll-free New York State Barge Canal, which was originally opened in 1825, before any steam railroads were in existence. Under this test the soundness of the St. Lawrence waterway project would be questionable. Possibly it should never be built at all; certainly, at least, not until the transportation needs of the United States and Canada begin to test the capacity of cur existing means of transportation to handle, and that is something that none of us here need worry about.

Closely related to the question of subsidized competition has been the attrition of freight rates, which, I am told, in about the last 19 years has cut down the average revenue per ton-mile approximately 23 percent. Here, I realize, I am in a field where expert knowledge is necessary. Therefore I cannot attempt to discuss the subject in detail. However, I believe it is a matter of general knowledge that while in a considerable number of cases reductions were made for sound commercial reasons, and have presumably been beneficial, nevertheless in far too many cases they have been forced upon the railroads by subsidized and unregulated, or only partly regulated, competition. In much the same category, also, according to many very able railroad officials, must be placed the reduction of passenger fares. Certainly the view that this may have been carried too far gains at least some support from the present generally downward trend in gross passenger earnings.

Fortunately the passage of the Transportation Act of 1940 has laid the basis for greatly clarifying this whole problem. Following largely the recommendations of President Roosevelt's Committee of Six, consisting of three representatives of railroad management and three representatives of railroad labor, and conforming also to recommendations of the Interstate Commerce Commission's Committee of Three, as it is usually called, this new measure provides for a limited regulation of domestic waterway transport by the Commission, much as was provided for highway transport by the Federal Motor Carrier Act of 1935. It is true that both in the case of the waterways and of the highways only a partial regulation is prescribed. Nevertheless a real start has been made in the right direction. Ultimately, speaking only as a businessman, and with no thought of posing as a transportation expert, I am unable to see why all forms of commercial transportation service should not be regulated in as nearly identical manner and degree as physical differences between them permit.

When railroads were practically the only carriers it was deemed to be in the public interest to have stable published rates and require rigid adherence to them. It is not easy for me to see why the principle should not work equally well in other fields.

Probably the greatest possibilities for good in the new Transportation Act, however, lie not so much in its regulatory provisions as in the new three-member Transport Board, for which it provides, and which is empowered to investigate and make recommendations in three very important fields:

1. To determine what are the genuine economic spheres of each of the various agencies of transport;

2. To consider the methods by which these agencies may be brought together into a national nonconflicting transport system;

3. To ascertain to what extent these various agencies receive subsidies from the Government, or contribute to its support by payment of taxes.

While this Board has not yet been appointed, if men of the proper caliber are named to it, they have it in their power to fulfill one of the Nation's greatest needs—the formation of a national transportation policy, such as the Committee of Six recommended, to end wasteful competition, place all agencies of service upon the basis of equal opportunity, and reduce the national transportation system to order.

Before passing from this subject, a topic suggests itself which offers the opportunity for a little worth-while speculation. The question has often occurred to me, what the results would have been if the motortruck had been developed more as an auxiliary

of the railroads and less as a competitor. From the broadest viewpoint of the public interest, would it have been better or worse for the country as a whole?

If trucks today functioned more largely in the terminal and short-haul areas and as extensions of the rail lines into adjacent territory, rather than as through city-to-city carriers, would there be any lack of adequacy in service to the public? To what extent might the cost of our highways and the indebtedness incurred for them have been kept within smaller bounds? What effect might this have had on taxes upon real estate, income, and business in general, including that of the railroads? What might have been the effect also on railroad employment, on the capacity of the railroads to put more capital to work, and on prosperity and employment in the industries which supply railroad equipment and materials? Would the Nation as a whole have fared better or not so well?

While this is past history, nevertheless a survey of these questions might prove extremely valuable to guide those dealing with future problems having to do with the competitive relationships between motor and rail transport, including the future policies of State and Federal authorities toward highway planning and construction.

Of great interest, in this general connection, has been the opening of the new 160-mile Pennsylvania superhighway between Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, traversing the mountain belt of Pennsylvania in a series of tunnels and on grades which can be negotiated by the heaviest trucks in high gear. It has been widely publicized as the first link in what is pictured as a national system of superhighways.

It has also been heralded throughout the Nation as a self-liquidating project. This, however, seems to require some qualification. Of the total sum of $70,050,000 made available for the project, $40,800,000 was raised by bonds sold to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and subsequently resold to private investors. This portion of the cost is to be amortized by tolls, but the remaining amount, $29,250,000, or approximately 42 percent of the total cost, is an outright public grant from the Federal Works Administration. Therefore, if tolls are discontinued when the R. F. C. bonds are liquidated, users of the superhighway will enjoy in perpetuity the fruits of the Federal grant. In addition, the State will be called upon to meet operating expenses which, it is estimated, will in a few years exceed $650,000 annually. These considerations indicate that the project may be far from self-liquidating in its entirety.

Already trucking interests are combining to force a reduction in tolls, yet the justification for this is not readily apparent from the figures which are available. The toll schedules for all kinds of vehicles have been worked out to provide for liquidation of the bonds, and also have been set at levels intended to make the highway attractive to commercial and all other users, from the viewpoint of savings in time and running costs as well as other advantages.

According to the engineering studies, a 39,000-pound tractor-semi-trailer combination using the highway would save in lower fuel consumption, lower wear and tear on tires, reduced maintenance and drivers wages, an average of $17.69. Against this it would pay a toll of $7.50 leaving the owner a net saving of $10.19. A 62,000-pound truck-and-trailer combination is estimated to save an average of $27.60, and its toll is $10, producing a net saving of $17.60.

Smaller commercial vehicles pay less. A passenger automobile pays $1.50. However, on the ton-mile basis—the universal transportation yardstick—a small private automobile pays more than twice as heavily for its use of, and wear and tear upon, the highways as do the largest trucks. To be specific a small car, with its passengers, pays 4.7 mills per ton-mile; a very large truck pays as little as 2 mills.

As far as facts and figures such as these go, the thought strongly suggests itself that the trucking interests which are seeking a reduction in tolls may be animated, at least in part, by the old human weakness of wanting to get something for nothing, or at any rate partly for nothing. The cost as we know must always be paid in full, and if it is not paid by the beneficiary it falls upon someone else.

Turning now from those influences which diminish the traffic and revenues of the railroads to the factors which tend to increase their expenses, a foremost place must certainly be assigned railroad-wage costs. In this field we have a striking anomaly. Wage scales are at the all-time high, while the traffic and earnings of the railroads are still at depression levels and the industry, as a whole, barely earning its fixed charges.

Speaking again from the viewpoint of the investor, it seems to me that in the era which now lies ahead of us it is extremely important that workers, including management, owners, and the public should all shoulder their share of responsibility for the financial condition of the railroads.

Railroad men are and should be well paid; they have favorable working conditions, retirement allowances, unemployment protection, seniority rights, and many other advantages of which the public generally approves. I do not think, however, that the public which in the end pays all the costs of railroad operation, wishes to see those costs wastefully inflated.

An excellent illustration of what I have in mind in speaking of needless costs was afforded by the so-called full-crew or extra-crew law in Pennsylvania, which has been declared unconstitutional by the courts. This law required the presence of an extra man, with no specific duties to perform, on the crews of many freight and passenger trains. Had it become effective it would have added $10,000,000 annually to the cost of providing railroad service in the State of Pennsylvania, but without in the slightest degree improving the quality or character of the service, or benefiting any class of citizens whatever, except the extra men who would have been put on the pay roll.

The sole and only justification advanced for this law was the plea that the additional man was needed in the interest of safety. The case was fully and carefully examined in the courts. Both sides had every opportunity to present their contentions. No investigation of any question could have been more thorough and impartial. The final result was that the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, by unanimous vote, without a single justice dissenting, upheld the decisions of the lower courts, that the additional man was not needed for safety, and that the law was invalid.

A law having a similar purpose—placing a limit on the length of freight trains in order to force the operation of more trains, and hence the employment of more men—was, as I recall, enacted in a Western State, but also declared unconstitutional. The public, and particularly the very large part of the public which has an interest in railroad investments through the medium of insurance policies, savings bank deposits, etc., will understand that any law of this kind which forces an enterprise to waste its resources by putting unnecessary men on the pay roll, imperils the soundness of the investment in that enterprise. The only way to get more employment on the railroads is to get more traffic on the rails, and that will never be accomplished by forcing the railroads to put unnecessary men on the pay rolls or to waste money in any other way.

Another factor tending to increase the expenses of the railroads is the constantly mounting tax bill, though I realize, of course, that railroads are not alone in feeling the burden of taxation. Nevertheless they are in the unfortunate position of having to pay taxes toward supporting their competitors.

Much has been made of the funded debt of the railroads and the difficulty of meeting the interest on it during a period of depressed traffic. However, last year taxes amounted to 86 percent of the interest on the funded debt, so that, as a burden, they are assuming proportions of great magnitude. It is interesting at this point to note that current tax payments in dollars are nearly at the levels of the most prosperous predepression years, although the net operating revenue of the railroads is down approximately 40 percent, and taxes consume one-third of it. The general public should understand out of every dollar paid for a railroad ticket or a freight bill 9 or 10 cents go for taxes.

Costs of materials and supplies used by the railroads also continue their long-time upward trend, thus creating another source of mounting expenses in the face of diminishing sources of revenue.

One additional source of increased expense to the railroads is not, perhaps, as widely understood as it should be. I refer to the vast improvements in facilities and service which have been made on the railroads since the last World War, and particularly within a decade. These developments, of course, reflect the continually more exacting demands of the public for speed, frequency, dependability, and luxury in service. From the standpoint of progress, they are wholly admirable, and the last thing any one of us would want would be to see railroad progress checked or reversed. Nevertheless, investors, the general public, and railroad management alike should face the fact that this progress costs large sums of money, even though it has been accompanied by notable advances in economy and efficiency of operation.

The picture I have tried to present shows the railroads caught between two groups or forces, which, on the one hand, operate to narrow their earnings and, on the other, to widen the channels of their expenditures. This constitutes the railroad problem as an investor sees it. Personally, while I realize the difficulties involved, I consider them to be in no way insoluble.

Every intelligent man knows that railroads are necessary to our country, whether in peace or war, and will continue to be indefinitely; for to do the yeoman carrier work of the Nation there is no agency in existence or in sight to replace them. As a sounder general prosperity returns to us the railroads will share in it as in the past, and will do their part to make it possible.

It is, therefore, interesting to note that in Business Week of November 9 a report states that the total railway ton-miles and revenue for 1940 are expected to be the highest since 1930, and combined net income for the industry in 1940 is expected to top 1939 by about 75 percent.

The tone of regulation in the railroad industry is the most constructive in its history, and the Interstate Commerce Commission has earned one of the highest reputations among our governmental bodies for industry, integrity, and experience.

Finally, I see in this association and its able leadership one of the strongest grounds for optimism as to the railroads' future. For the first time in its more than a hundred years of development the industry now has a united voice and an effective means for dealing collectively with its patrons and the Government and for settling its internal affairs. I have considered it a great honor to have a part in opening this meeting and to assist in a program which I hope will be beneficial to this great industry and helpful in leading to a better public understanding of its problems, its necessities, and its indispensable value.

Armistice Day, 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. JONES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

REMARKS OF REV. ROBERT KENNEDY, PASTOR OF TROY (OHIO) FIRST METHODIST CHURCH

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks of Rev. Robert Kennedy, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Troy, Ohio. He is a courageous American and speaks from the heart:

ARMISTICE DAY, 1940

This is Armistice Sunday. I shall speak upon a subject very close to all of our hearts. My topic is, Must we enter this war? Many are saying that our involvement is inevitable. Is this true? Our President has promised that he will not lead us into war unless we are attacked. Can we not bank on that promise? In 1916 another President was elected by the slogan, "He kept us out of war." Within 6 months we had entered the world conflict. We are blaming President Wilson in no degree whatever. There was a rising tide of war feeling which eventually overcame all opposition, and we became involved. Will history repeat itself? Many things point in that direction. If we are to have peace, the peope of this country must pay the price of eternal vigilance.

There are two things upon which we are all pretty well agreed. We must build up our national defenses so that no one will dare attack us. Both candidates in the recent election were agreed on this point. Whether we will or no, we must deal with the dictators, and we can talk to them only in the language of force, because they know no other language. In the present world a weak defense is perilous; it will invite attack. However, there is also a peril in preparedness. Our people are aroused to the danger that confronts us. We are on the way toward becoming the greatest military power in the world. We have the natural resources, the inventive genius, the productive capacity, and everything that it takes. We will soon have a war machine second to none. Can we trust ourselves with it?

We are not an aggressive people. We covet nobody's territory and nobody's gold. We are interested only in our own national security. We want only to defend our own. But some military strategists tell us that the best defense is an effective offense. Germany justified her "blitzkrieg" on Norway on that basis. Once admit this principle and any kind of a war may become interpreted as a war of defense. Herein, then, lies our danger. When once thoroughly prepared, if we are threatened we may become too quick on the trigger and try to get the other fellow before he gets us. We are achieving preparedness as a matter of national safety. But our very preparedness may become our peril if we lose our heads or cease to be vigilant.

We are also fairly well agreed that we ought to render all possible aid to Britain "short of war." However, we are not quite so unanimous on this point as we are on the matter of defense. It is my own conviction that all aid should be given to Britain consistent with our own national safety. This is not merely a matter of sentiment, but of national self-interest. At present our lack of complete preparedness might well invite attack. The British Navy is our first line of defense. When we help Britain we help ourselves. But we must not delude ourselves. In giving aid to Britain we are doing a very dangerous thing. We are increasing the possibilities of our becoming involved. If we see what these dangers are, we may be able to avoid them.

Of course we are giving offense to the dictators. Perhaps this cannot be avoided. Still this aid will be less offensive if we do not talk about it so much. We can aid Britain without making faces at Hitler and Mussolini.

Many of us have tried to help an individual in straitened circumstances. We have discovered that the more we give the greater is the demand upon us. This is happening in the case of the assistance we are giving England. When war broke out, we wanted to help the Allies, so we modified our neutrality in behalf of the cash-and-carry plan. Today we have gone far beyond that. We have given Britain 50 destroyers. We are promising 50 percent of our airplane production. There is a persistent demand that the Johnson law be repealed and that we extend credit. The demand for aid short of war will continue to increase until we are faced by the inevitable question, Shall we drop the short of war phrase and go the whole length? The more help we give, the greater is our stake in British victory. We won't like to see our side lose, so our people are being psychologically prepared for the great day.

Another element is entering into our psychological preparation. Some very clever propaganda is coming from somewhere. The subtle idea is being insinuated into our American thinking that Britain is fighting our battle—the battle for democracy, Christian civilization, etc. To many of us this sounds disturbingly similar to what we were hearing in 1916 and 1917. The American people are good sports. They will not allow anyone to fight their battles for them. Once convince our people that this is their war, there will be a popular demand for entrance. But the speaker is not at all convinced. France and Britain did not consult us before they entered this war. This conflict is the outgrowth of the balance-of-power policy which has been pursued in the Old World for centuries. It is not our affair. This is not our war. If we allow this insidious thought to dominate the mind of the American people, then the hope of peace is gone.

We are being emotionally prepared for participation in this great cataclysm. Our sympathies for Britain are mounting higher and higher. Perhaps they should be. Our hatred for the dictators is becoming more and more violent. Never during the World War did we hate the Kaiser like we hate Hitler today. In these perilous times hatred is a luxury in which we dare not overindulge. We need just one thing to make our war psychosis complete—that is a panicky fear. Britain is in a position to provide that whensoever she desires. She need only threaten to surrender the British Fleet to the Axis Powers; then the war party on this side of the water will begin to envision great armadas coming to the slaughter and will begin to shout that it is far better to fight it out over there than to allow it to come here to our shores, and our people will be ready for the fray. Here, then, are some of the perils that confront us as a result of our sympathetic aid to Britain. Shall we then desist from this aid? We answer, a thousand times, "No." But if we see the pitfalls, then, perchance, we can avoid them. Eternal vigilance is the price of peace.

We must stay out of this war because we have far more to lose as a nation by going in than by staying out. If we enter it, it will be with the expectation of winning. To win this war will be far more difficult than to win the last one. Italy, France, and Japan were with us before, but all of them would be against us now. It is beginning to look as if Russia might even be against us. We have a great fleet, and will soon have a great air force, but no continental war can be won in the air or on the sea.

As things stand today, even a blockade would be ineffectual, for the Axis has at its disposal the resources of the entire continent of Europe. Germany with all her superiority in the air and with her vast Army has not been able to invade England and disarm her. In order to win the war against the Axis Powers we would have to invade the continent of Europe. Perhaps this could be done, but at what a sacrifice of blood and treasure. And even if it were done, then what? Would we have to repeat the process again in another 20 years?

Our involvement in this war would mean the temporary loss of our liberties and might mean the permanent loss of the same. We have already seen that this war is the outgrowth of Old World power politics. It is a struggle for political and economic power. During the World War we were drawn into this circle of power politics. We got out with only a few scars. But if we are drawn in again it will doubtless be permanently. This will mean a change in our American way of life and our American form of government. American civilization, instead of being something separate and distinct will be assimilated into European civilization. The efficacy of a government will be decided on the basis of its war-making powers. European diplomats have been playing at the game of power politics for centuries. We can never beat them at their own game. If we are to play the game at all, there must be some radical changes in our form of government. In this great game, governments must make secret commitments, they enter into secret treaties, they seek to checkmate one another, they must always be ready for a "blitzkrieg." If our country is to play this game, then war-making and treaty-making powers must be taken out of the hands of the legislative body of our Government and put into the hands of the executive department. Conscription, which is designed only as a temporary device, will be made permanent. All this will result in a loss of freedom.

Furthermore, we will lose our security. Already our indebtedness has gone above the $50,000,000,000 mark. If this war is fought to a bitter finish it will be a long war. Our indebtedness will be doubled, perhaps even trebled. Can a government so burdened with debt meet its social-security obligations? Germany could not after the World War. We may have much to lose by staying out—that is, if Britain goes down to defeat—but even so we will have much more to lose by going in.

But suppose that the time comes when Britain cannot win without us. Shall we stand by and see her go down to defeat? No one has a greater love and admiration for gallant Britain than does the speaker. It is our conviction, however, that every nation has a right to follow its own national interest. Even Britain acted in her own interest when she withdrew her army from the debacle on the continent before it was too late, and brought them to protect their own home and firesides. As Americans, we have a right to take as our motto, "America First." It is not to our own national self-interest to become involved in this war.

Providence has a destiny for our Nation here in the Western Hemisphere and we will render the largest service to ourselves and eventually to the world by pursuing that destiny. Not aggressive war, but peace is the genius of America. We build our defense in the interest of peace. It is ours to hold aloft the lamp of freedom as a beacon light of hope to the enslaved and oppressed people of the world. Inspired by our example, some day they will throw off the yoke of bondage, and assert their God-given rights as free men.

They won't happen because, as a result of the lessons learned then by all of us—Government, shippers, and railroads alike—we already have in operation the means which will prevent them.

Next time the Government will control its own use of the little priority tags which did so much to slow up and congest the movement of freight, if it should ever again become necessary to issue such things.

Next time thousands of carloads of materials will not be rushed to locations where they are not yet needed. Freight will not be put into cars unless it can be unloaded promptly at destination.

Next time, through the machinery of the 13 regional shippers' advisory boards, and through the resources of the car-service division of this association—neither of which was in existence in 1917—shippers and railroads will cooperate in the handling and use of the car supply.

Next time, shipping and railroad transportation will be coordinated.

I say that with confidence because the machinery by which these things will be accomplished is already in existence. It has, in fact, already been tested and has met the test.

Eighteen months ago the railroads were asked as to their capacity to handle an increase in business. In May 1939 the railroads reported that with the car supply then available they could handle 25 percent more business than was then moving, and that by putting more cars in repair they could handle 45 percent more.

The first test came in September and October 1939 when railroad tonnage went up faster in a shorter time than it had ever done before. At the peak of the movement in October, even though the equipment-repair program had not been completed, the railroads handled not 25 percent more than they had handled in May, and not 45 percent more—but 55 percent more. And they did it without congestion or delay, and with an average daily surplus of more than 60,000 cars.

Unlike many other lines of business, railroads cannot go on a delayed-delivery basis when the rush comes. They are expected, and rightly so, to meet the peaks—even though the peak movement comes for but 3 or 4 weeks in October of each year. The peak movement in this year of 1940, which was slightly less than the peak in 1939, found us with an average daily surplus of 75,000 serviceable cars. What the peak of 1941 may be, I do not know, but when it comes in October we shall have on the railroads at least 150,000 more serviceable freight cars than we had in October 1939—if it should develop that we have need for so many.

The second test within the past year was in the movement of troops to and from the four Army maneuver areas in August 1940. One hundred and fifty thousand men, the number moved, does not sound like many men when compared with the 4,000,000 under arms in 1918, but in 1918 the maximum movement of troops in the peak month of July averaged only a little more than 20,000 men a day, while in 1940 the railroads moved an average of nearly 40,000 men a day, and moved them in better fashion than they did in 1918.

This 1940 movement was not perfect, of course. There were lapses and failures, here and there, but, on the whole, it was a successful demonstration of two things—the supreme usefulness of railroads in mass transportation, and the successful coordination between the Government and the railroads, working through the military-transportation section of this association.

The third test which the railroads have met in the past 12 months is the movement of export freight through the Atlantic and Gulf ports. The export movement through the North Atlantic ports this year has averaged more than three-fourths as much as it was in the war year of 1918, while right here in the port of New York there have been months when the flow of freight for export equaled that of the same months in 1918. But so well has the movement been coordinated through the efforts of port authorities, shipping lines, and railroads, acting through the port-control section of this association, that there has been no sign of congestion or delay. The movement has been so smooth, in fact, and so apparently effortless, that it has completely failed to attract public attention.

So far I have discussed only the new organizations which we did not have in the time of the last crisis—the 13 regional shippers' advisory boards and the national association of those boards, organized for cooperation with railroads for better service and greater efficiency; the traffic-control plans worked out by the War and Navy Departments through the joint Army and Navy Munitions Board; and the better organization of the railroads themselves, with their car-service division, including its port traffic-control section and its military transportation section.

These are all important factors in getting better use out of our railroads, but there is another fact of equal importance. We have better railroads.

The 1940 railroad is not the same sort of thing as that of 1918. We still run trains on tracks, and that we shall always do, because only in trains on tracks is it possible to produce the low-cost, economical, universal mass transportation which this country must have. But the trains we run today are better trains, made up of larger cars and stronger cars, pulled by more efficient locomotives. These trains run on better tracks—heavier, stronger, and tougher steel rails, laid on chemically treated ties, supported by better ballast. Curves have been straightened, grades reduced, bridges strengthened. Signals have been improved, shops have been bettered. Every element in railroad operation has gained from research, invention, and investment in these past 20 years.

So there are the twin reasons why we of the railroads can say with such confidence that the railroads are ready to do their part—we have better railroads and better organization to get the best use out of them.

Federal Finances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALLEN T. TREADWAY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

Mr. TREADWAY. Mr. Speaker, according to current newspaper articles, administration leaders are finally coming to realize that the great task that lies before us of putting the Nation's finances on a sound footing cannot longer be postponed.

I well recall the President's timely warning of March 10, 1933, that "too often in recent history liberal governments have been wrecked on rocks of loose fiscal policy." Our present financial condition is more serious than at any time in our history. For 10 years we have been spending $2 for every dollar of revenue raised. As a consequence, our national debt approaches the $50,000,000,000 mark, or twice the amount outstanding at the close of the World War. Everyone realizes that we cannot go on indefinitely spending more than we have.

In 1916 the Government undertook a defense program somewhat as we are doing today. Yet at that time our financial position was essentially sound. The public debt was only a little more than a billion dollars, and our tax resources were largely untapped.

Today the situation is radically different. We have already authorized sixteen billions for national defense, and we face tremendous future expenditures the extent of which no one can now foresee. Indications are that we have only just begun the defense program, which, of course, is vital to national security. Yet we find the Treasury "broke" by reason of having exhausted its authorized borrowing power, and the outlook for increased tax revenues is not very hopeful, for we have already taxed the people and business very heavily, and there are few sources left where any substantial amount can be raised. Nevertheless, we are faced with the task of raising more money if the defense program is to go forward and national bankruptcy is to be averted. The people must be prepared to pay more taxes and pay until it hurts.

During the present session Congress has voted appropriations totaling approximately twenty billions, and it is anticipated that actual expenditures during the current fiscal year will exceed fifteen billions, while the revenue yield will be around six billions. This means that we are faced with a deficit of at least seven billions this year.

While no official estimates have as yet been given of the size of the Budget which the President will submit in January, it is variously estimated that it will call for expenditures of from fifteen to twenty billions of dollars, or approximately three times the anticipated revenue. In the face of an accumulated deficit during the past 7 years aggregating nearly thirty billions, the situation confronting the country is obviously a serious one.

For years I have been advocating a program of economy as a means of helping to bring our revenues and expenditures into balance. It is absolutely imperative that such a program be instituted at once insofar as nonmilitary expenditures are concerned. There can be no excuse for wasting a single dollar of the taxpayers' money when conditions are as they are. Every cent that is expended must be shown to be necessary, and money's worth must be obtained for it. Waste at such a time as this verges on treason, in my opinion.

I am glad to note that the gentleman from North Carolina, Chairman DOUGHTON of the Ways and Means Committee has been in touch with the President regarding the future financial program of the Government. I agree with their statement that nonmilitary expenditures must be reduced, but I would like to see some action along this line. We have waited for 7 years, and we have seen no such reductions as yet.

our sons and daughters of all the principles on which civilization depends; but let him as much as whisper, "Academic freedom; I've got my fingers crossed," and no professional educator dares to say a word of criticism. Of course, the liberals in the street who may spell "academic" with a "k" set up the chant whenever a liberal on the campus wants to attack a policeman or forge checks. If only Gilbert and Sullivan were here.

But what about us, who live a common-sense life, who dream a little bit wistfully at times of a world that is fit to live in? We all worship at the shrine of Freedom. We would give our lives for it any day, but only after we have defined our terms. Freedom in a civilized country is not immunity from restraint to do anything; it is immunity from restraint to do what is right. And that supposes some objective standard. So academic freedom should be immunity from restraint to teach, not anything but to teach what is true—and that supposes some objective standard, too. Subjectivism, however, and superstition, combined with a national contempt for systematic philosophy, have made some of our leading institutions purveyors of elaborate and dangerous nonsense which too many of our teachers have taken seriously.

What, for example, is the prevailing philosophy of education in America today? It is a home product, manufactured right here in New York, but distributed nationally. Perhaps 65 percent of the Nation's superintendents of education have been brought up on it. But what are its ingredients? First, exaggerated experimentalism; second, pragmatism; third, socialism—and of the three the first is easily the most dangerous. For the whole tendency of this particular experimentalism is toward cutting off the past, ignoring the accumulated experience of the human race, starting anew, as if no one had lived before us.

Prudent experiment, of course, can always add to our treasury of knowledge, but scrapping the past can only make us the playthings of intellectual violence. So that, convinced of the old mid-Victorian heresy that man is progressing from slime to perfection and that whatever is, is better than what went before, the men who shape our national education are engaged in a perpetual scramble for novelties. As if we needed novelties! We are nauseated with novelties. What we need are things that are old, things that have stood the test of a hundred generations, things that are immutable.

I'll tell you what we need. We need two virtues in our students which are anathema to the high priests of American education. One is discipline, the other is humility. This discipline should show itself externally in obedience to legitimate authority; internally, not only in trained intellects which can use a set of carefully selected intellectual tools, but even more in trained wills. For, as someone has said, "The worst education which teaches self-control is better than the best which teaches everything else and not that." The other essential virtue mentioned was humility.

This has, of course, no trace of hypocrisy or timidity about it. It is miles away from an inferiority complex. It is simply an important application of realism. It is a recognition of my own absolute and relative values. It shows me my place in the plan of creation. It shows me my purpose in life. With these virtues cultivated in my youth I can hope some day to be not only learned but wise. Without them, I can never rise above the organized campus forces of confusion.

Can anything be done, then, in our present circumstances that would further the end which we all feel is the first point in our educational program? Fortunately—yes. The board of education took a step forward yesterday; but as the hostile crowd that packed the hearing gave due notice, the fight is only just beginning. We can use our influence to have our children in the public schools—at least those whose parents so desire—trained each in his own religion in a way that will impress the child with its importance. We can insist that schools be not controlled and classes be not taught by professed enemies of all religion, and we can more and more as occasion offers lighten the burden of schools, colleges, and universities where the ideals that are dear to all of us are still cherished, sometimes at great sacrifice. I cannot be more specific without falling into the role of Cicero pro domo sud.

As a matter of fact, all this can, I am sure, be done in stride by an ancient and honorable chamber which already has to its credit reservoirs and subways, bridges and tubes, and the Erie Canal. Because you have been so cordial and so courteous tonight, I shall say nothing about your part in building the Erie Railroad. [Applause.]

Railroads in the Defense of the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH E. CHURCH

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

ADDRESS BY J. J. PELLEY, PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN RAILROADS

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of J. J. Pelley, president of the Association of American Railroads, at its annual dinner at the Biltmore Hotel, New York, November 13, 1940:

During the day we have heard interesting discussion of the relations between railroads and investors, railroads and shippers, railroads and agriculture, and railroads and research. This evening we shall hear, from a distinguished source, discussion of some aspects of relations between railroads and government.

It was our hope to hear today, also, a discussion of transportation and the national defense, by Mr. Ralph Budd, member of the National Defense Advisory Commission in charge of transportation matters. Had it been possible for Mr. Budd to be with us, he doubtless would have outlined to you the part which all forms of transportation are playing in our program of preparedness, since, by designation of the President, he acts for the Government in dealing with all forms of transportation. It is indeed fortunate that a man of Mr. Budd's breadth of vision and range of experience was available for this service to the Nation.

Mr. Budd, unfortunately, could not be with us. It will not be possible, therefore, to have the discussion of national defense and transportation in general which we had hoped for. Nevertheless, I believe that you will want to have some report from us as to the part of the railroads in the defense of the Nation.

The key to the whole program of preparedness is the efficient utilization of our resources, both our physical resources, and the even greater resource of our manpower. In getting the fullest use out of those resources, we must have and maintain a system of transport adequate to the demands which may be made upon it, and efficient in meeting those demands.

In our railroads we have the backbone of such a system, adequate, efficient, and ready. Railroads haul anything anywhere, any time—we are organized to move anything from a package to a huge tank or a giant gun. Railroads can move the freight, whatever it may be, from shore to shore, across the plains, through the mountains, wherever need may be. And railroads can move it in all seasons, in the ice-bound winter as well as in the open summer months. Other forms of transport may be specially adapted to doing special tasks, but the nearest thing we have to a universal, all-purpose, all-round system of transportation is the railroad.

In the entirely natural and proper public interest in the development of other forms of transportation, some of us are inclined to overlook the development that has already gone into our railroads. We take it as a matter of course that any shipper, at any station, may pick up his telephone and order a car to be placed for loading with any commodity, to be moved to any other station on the continent, and to be moved on any day of the year. When you stop to think of it, the fact that anyone can ship anything, anywhere, any time, on the American railroads is something of a marvel of coordination and cooperation in transportation.

Now, how are the railroads set to carry on in the program of preparedness, or in any emergency which may follow? That is a question which is asked us so often that I feel justified in taking your time tonight to give you, briefly, the answer as we see it, and some of the facts which justify our belief.

The railroads are ready—now—to do whatever they may be called upon to do. The railroads will keep themselves ready, ahead of any demand which may come. And they will do it under private ownership and operation.

But—and I can almost hear the question in the minds of some of you—what about 1917? Didn't the railroads break down then and have to be taken over and operated by the Government?

There was a break-down in 1917—but it wasn't the break-down of the railroads as transportation machines. It was a break-down, or rather an almost complete lack of organization, for the proper use of railroads.

Mr. William G. McAdoo has given us the best description of the causes of congestion which led up to his appointment on January 1, 1918, as Director General of the railroads for the Government. Only one of the several causes which he mentioned had anything to do directly with railroad plant or operations. He said there was a shortage of motive power. There may have been, although no one can say positively, because the other causes which Mr. McAdoo mentioned made it impossible for the railroads to get proper use out of the power they had.

Here are what Mr. McAdoo described as these other "potent causes" of the congestion of 1917:

First, a lack of control of the right of Government officials to demand priority for Government shipments. There was not only no central control, said Mr. McAdoo, there was not even control within a single department.

Second, the ordering of materials by the contractors who were building camps, shipyards, and other great Government projects far in advance of their ability to receive and unload the cars—the classic example cited by Mr. McAdoo being the 5,000 carloads of piling alone rushed by rail to the Hog Island shipyard before it was ready to accept and unload them.

Third, the purchase by manufacturers of raw materials in excessive quantities, with the result that arrivals were badly bunched and unloading slow and difficult, causing the tie-up of still more cars and still more precious terminal track space.

Fourth, the lack of coordination of rail and overseas transportation.

These were indeed "potent causes" of congestion, a congestion which at one time had as many as 200,000 freight cars standing idle, under load, waiting for someone to unload them and release them for further service.

These things won't happen again.

The First Point in Our Educational Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN J. KENNEDY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

ADDRESS OF VERY REV. ROBERT I. GANNON, S. J.

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of the Very Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S. J., delivered at the one hundred and seventy-second annual banquet of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, held at the Waldorf-Astoria on Thursday, November 14, 1940.

In my opinion, the address of Father Gannon should have a special appeal to every serious-minded person, because the subject matter of his talk deals with a problem which affects the life and home of every citizen. That problem—education without religion—must be solved, and I believe Father Gannon has suggested, in his usual lucid, logical, and modest manner, a positive solution.

The address follows:

When your gracious committee some weeks ago invited me to speak at this brilliant dinner tonight they enriched my education by leaving a number of your descriptive pamphlets with me. These I have read with even more care than a prospective member would, and perhaps with even more satisfaction. I read, for instance, that your charter had been granted by George III, King of Ireland, among other places, and Defender of the Faith. That was interesting because the establishment of a body such as this upset the otherwise perfect record of that glorious monarch for stupidity. I was impressed, too, by the firm stand you had taken against the inflation of our currency and by the fact that your walls are adorned with the pictures of so many previous Secretaries of the Treasury. Your regulation excluding lawyers showed a very keen sense of self-preservation, something which is never wholly lacking in a successful banker. But if the reason given be correct, that lawyers talk too much, I cannot understand your inviting a clergyman to address you. It must be that you forget the clergyman in the University President, and you know that university presidents have to satisfy so many people that they can never afford to say too much.

It was, however, this very combination that gave me such relish in reading quotations from the report of your special committee on economical and efficient education. It was a thrilling and a heartening experience for me to realize that an old and powerful organization like yours which in the past has done so much for the welfare of the city and of the State sees so clearly that commerce cannot be adequately considered apart from human life; that is, apart from human conduct; that even the financial success of our country depends on personal integrity and that personal integrity depends on what you have called so well "a deep, true, religious understanding." Only a very superior, farsighted body of men would have subscribed to the following sentence which is perfectly amazing as part of a chamber of commerce report and which your committee asked me to take as the subject of my remarks tonight: "The United States cannot have or maintain a right system unless it is based on true religious principles, and therefore, in spite of the fact that some hesitate to include religion in our educational program, we place it first."

I only wish that this report had been at hand 2 years ago when plans were being rushed for an educational exhibit at the World's Fair. It was proposed to show, at that time, by a series of transparent pictures, that education is a lifelong process to which various factors contribute, even from the cradle. A few of us were surprised to find that religion was not included, even as a passing factor, to be regretted by the more enlightened. But after some little debate it was agreed to insert a panel that would illustrate this rather doubtful influence on education. So at the next meeting the compromise sketch on religion was exhibited. It showed an uncertain Gothic arch in the background, and standing in front of it a rather noncommittal boy and girl raffling off a ham. The only suggestion I thought worth making was that they attach an amplifier to the Gothic window which at stated intervals could reverently shout "bingo." It was evident, however, that several of the committee members regarded our conviction about religion having a part in education as a curious and somewhat embarrassing survival. And now that I come to think about it, I am inclined to agree with them, because it has survived, thank God, and curiously, too, in view of the unceasing attacks by three generations. The only embarrassing part of it is that our spiritual ignorance lets us down so terribly as a people.

To offer a defense of our parts in the situation we should perhaps turn to the recent history of our schools, public and private, because although we have in a sense helped our fathers to write that history, the tangled threads of the story have been for many years so difficult and complex that no one of us single-handed could be expected to get very far with corrective measures.

To begin, then, with the public schools, they were conceived in a time when men had a childish confidence in the wonders to be wrought by the three R's. Over and over again it was said that if every child in the country could only be put in a public school crime would vanish from among us. Today the first part of the dream has been fulfilled. Today we have the largest and most expensive public-school system in the world. We have more students in our secondary grades than all other nations combined but crime has not vanished from amongst us.

The report published this week by the citizens committee on the control of crime in New York is a stirring cry of alarm. Crime is on the rapid increase and shows no signs of abatement. One New Yorker in every 53 was arrested in the course of the past year—not for traffic violations or for leaving ash cans uncovered, but for serious violations of the law. How many escaped arrest baffles the imagination. Of those arrested, the majority was young, resident in the city and far from destitute. A surprising proportion of the thefts, for example, was perpetrated, to quote the words of the report, "by persons who are not unemployed, who do not live in poverty but in comfortable, even luxurious homes, who are of superior intelligence." It is cold comfort even for a native New Yorker to read further on that the rest of the country is worse than we are. Back in the age of innocence and bicycles, they used to sing the song of Eliza Cook, "Better build schoolrooms for the boy—than cells and gibbet for the man," but now every time we put in an order for a classroom, we have to include an order for two sanitary cells and a chromium gibbet.

These awful facts have been facing our educators for 25 years, and they have tried every remedy but the one you proposed in your report as the "First point in our educational program." Mr. Owen D. Young's inquiry went on record as saying that New York State would have its ideal scholars if there were universal opportunity, a democratic system, good teachers (who must not, however, mention religion), character building (without, however, stressing religious motives), useful schooling, more adult opportunity, home rule, with academic freedom (whatever that means), and finally, economy. Religion does not figure in the report.

The very mention of religion is considered to be dynamite—as much in education as in politics, for reasons which were fairly obvious before they were aired yesterday at the open hearing of the board of education. There is, first of all, the old church-and-state row; the old colonial revolt against domination by the Church of England. We know how much validity that has today. We know that the repeated cry for the separation of church and state is now little more than a set of brass knuckles for the lowest type of politician.

Our State could never be tied to any church in the country, and no church in the country would ever want to be tied to the State. More serious than that is the view that religion cannot be mentioned without offense or even danger to certain groups. That, too, should be a relic of a time when people were persecuted for their religious views.

Seventy-five or a hundred years ago, if an Irishman in New York were asked his religion, he knew it meant the loss of his job or a fight, usually both. But I said merely that it should be a relic.

Unfortunately that spirit is still with us, though the sufferers are now the immigrants of more recent years. That is, I feel, the reason why so many leaders of a certain group who are high type religious men oppose the introduction of religion into the public schools today. They feel that it will emphasize differences and cause discrimination. But that, gentlemen, is the attitude of despair. That is the admission that we can neither make religion work nor educate our children. For anyone who is truly religious or truly educated can realize the differences which exist among good men and appreciate the merits of them all. Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish children in the public school can see the differences now, but they would have to think more of one another and not less if they knew that each one was proud of his own religion, knew what it was all about, and lived up to its precepts.

The principal difficulty, however, in achieving the first point in your program is the attitude of too many of the teachers. Too many of them have brought to their tasks spiritual ignorance, spiritual confusion, spiritual revolt. Too many have been poisoned by drinking at poisoned wells, and that brings us to some private as well as public institutions of learning.

Like most of our troubles, the situation is a legacy from another generation. For 50 years ago or more the United States suffered its first severe attack of Ph. D.-itis. It became the academic fad to go to Germany, just as in a still older day all Englishmen had to take the Grand Tour. There our most promising young men and future leaders drank deep draughts of Emmanuel Kant and Paulsen of Berlin and found that "the human mind produces its own object, creates its own truth."

Man thinks differently at different times, so that what is true today is false tomorrow. Hence, since objective truth does not exist, who will dare say that anything is nonsense?

From this subjectivism was born the principal fetish of American education—academic freedom. No one has any clear idea what it means. It is mumbo jumbo to anyone who is used to clean-cut distinctions, but doctors' hoods and gold tassels shake with terror all over the country if someone just gets up and shouts, "Academic freedom." So great is this superstitious fear that men have been allowed in the academic world a license which is justly denied in every other. Even their conservative colleagues are like children in a game when somebody has his fingers crossed. For anyone in a cap and gown can hack away at the foundations of life, can rob

There is absolutely no reason why nondefense expenditures should not be brought within existing revenues. If this cannot be done wholly by economies, then it should be done by increased taxation to make up the deficit. I cannot understand why the administration has waited 7 years even to think about doing this.

In my opinion, further defense borrowing should include some provision for its amortization, such as was done in connection with the four billions of defense bonds authorized earlier this year. We cannot possibly raise enough in new revenue to pay for the defense program as we go, but we can certainly raise sufficient revenue to retire these defense borrowings over a limited period of years. Only by so doing can the Nation's credit be saved.

I am utterly opposed to Secretary Morgenthau's program for a blanket increase in the national debt by some fifteen or twenty billions. I think such a blanket increase would have a bad effect, as it would not only be evidence of an inflationary policy on the part of the administration but it would unnecessarily jeopardize the public credit. There is no necessity at this time, as I see it, for increasing the national debt by any such amount, even for defense needs. The money appropriated for that purpose cannot be spent more than so fast, and there is no reason why Congress should not keep control of the situation by limiting any new borrowings for defense purposes to the amounts actually needed within the period immediately ahead.

Great criticism has already been leveled by the people against the so-called blank-check authority which has been given to the executive branch under previous legislation. I for one not only have opposed but will continue to oppose legislation of this character. A $20,000,000,000 blank check is not only too much for any administration to ask, but it is also too much for Congress to grant to any administration.

Even if the administration has no legislative program to submit at this time, Congress should take advantage of the opportunity it now has to get impending legislation for next year under way. I can readily foresee the situation that will otherwise develop after the Seventy-seventh Congress comes into session. The administration will submit a prepared program and expect it to be adopted by Congress with practically no consideration. The excuse will be made that we must make haste. The tax problem in particular is so complicated that this method of procedure would be unfair to taxpayers and ill-advised from the standpoint of proper legislative consideration. In my opinion, the only adequate way to deal with the tax situation which is facing us is to appoint a nonpartisan commission representing all interested groups to make a complete and impartial study of the whole problem and come forward with recommendations for an overhaul of our entire revenue structure. It has grown up in a hodgepodge, piecemeal manner, and the revision I have suggested is long overdue.

Frank V. Kelly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE BROOKLYN EAGLE

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Brooklyn Eagle of Tuesday, November 26, 1940:

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of November 26, 1940]

MR. KELLY'S ENHANCED PRESTIGE

Few Democratic chieftains came through the Presidential campaign with such greatly increased prestige as Frank V. Kelly, Kings County leader. With the final official figures of the recanvass of the vote now in, Brooklyn is shown to have returned a plurality of 348,134 for President Roosevelt.

That is a remarkable figure even for the county which is the second largest voting unit in the Nation, particularly in view of the fact that many complications were faced in this county which did not exist 4 years ago when Mr. Roosevelt amassed a plurality of 525,454.

As a matter of fact Mr. Kelly's organization made a better showing this year than 8 years ago against Herbert Hoover, whose candidacy was not regarded hereabouts as so menacing as Mr. Willkie's this year. The plurality over Mr. Hoover was 321,636.

The showing in Brooklyn on November 5 was one of the decisive factors in the President's success in carrying New York State by 233,093. New York County gave Mr. Roosevelt a plurality of 195,017 and the Bronx gave him 219,066, so Mr. Kelly topped both Congressman SULLIVAN and National (and incidentally Bronx County) Chairman Flynn.

A shift of about 120,000 votes here would have cost the President his home State. To Mr. Kelly goes the credit for landing those vital votes.

It should be borne in mind that Borough President Cashmore and all the county-wide ticket also won with resounding pluralities.

As the most powerful Democratic county leader in New York State, Mr. Kelly's influence at Albany and Washington should be at a new high in the months ahead.

The Honorable John Andrew Martin, Late a Representative From the Third Congressional District of Colorado

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE LEWIS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE REPRESENTATIVE JOHN ANDREW MARTIN FROM AN OLD-TIME FRIEND

Mr. LEWIS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the biography of JOHN ANDREW MARTIN is a record of continuous growth and development. His life was ever onward and upward; a typical American career.

For many, many years we were warm friends—from a time long before 1933, when we began our service together in the House of Representatives, until the day of his death. First I knew him when I was a young boy and he a young man in Pueblo, Colo. Some men reach their maturity in thought and character too soon, and then, like a plant that has grown too fast, suffer, in middle age or later, deterioration if not decay in mind or in character before they actually die. Not so with John.

In temperance of thought, action, and speech, in tolerance, in wisdom, and in character he continued to grow and mature down to the day of his death, December 23, 1939, at the age of 71 years.

Nothing is more tragic or heart rending to friends than to see a man deteriorate in mentality or in character toward the end of his life. We who knew JOHN MARTIN well had no apprehensions that he would ever suffer such a melancholy fate, however long he might live. It is, however, a great tribute to him and a satisfaction to his friends to know that his was a life of continuous progress in service, in wisdom, and in character.

Another solace to his friends is that John died after only a short illness and at a high point of his public career.

The year preceding he had been elected by a large majority to his fourth consecutive term as Representative of the Third Congressional District of Colorado. Years before, from 1909 to 1913, he had served in the Sixty-first and Sixty-second Congresses as one of the Representatives from Colorado and had then voluntarily retired. Only a few months before his death, after 7 years of patient and intelligent effort, he had secured the approval by the Congress and had seen the initiation of work on a great public improvement, near Caddoa, Colo., which for generations to come will be of benefit to many communities in southeastern Colorado and western

Kansas—now known as the John Martin Dam and Reservoir on the Arkansas River. He had won, and deserved, the affection, respect, and esteem of his constituents and of all those of both parties who served with him in the Congress of the United States.

Some men, prominent in public life, reach their climax and then, beset by vicissitudes of health and of political fortune, gradually descend into the realm of those who are half forgotten or but faintly remembered. Incapable any longer of effective service, with most of their friends dead, they fade into an innocuous, relatively obscure and rather pathetic old age. JOHN MARTIN was spared any such melancholy anticlimax to his useful public career. Apparently in full health, although manifestly wearied by the labors and exacting duties of the office to which he had so conscientiously devoted himself, in the full possession of his mental powers, and at the very peak of his career, he was swiftly taken away—without the agony of a long and distressing illness.

I have never understood the prayer, "From sudden death, good Lord deliver us." I could not so pray for one who, throughout his long and useful life, had lived as a good man—as did JOHN MARTIN.

Assures Americans the Federal Bureau of Investigation Is Capable of Coping With Any Situation Which May Arise

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED L. CRAWFORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

STATEMENT BY ATTORNEY GENERAL JACKSON

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, so much is being said about the defense-industry strikes, the part that is being played by the Communists and their friends, by the departments of Government and the Dies committee, that I believe it would be of interest to the people of the United States to read in full the statement of Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, issued under date of November 24, 1940.

Ahead of us we have many miles of rough road to travel. The defense program is just being talked about now more than it is being put into operation. Someday we shall have to get down to bedrock or the program will fail, or, it may be too late. We may find ourselves in the position of the young fellow who found some old dynamite. He was curious and wanted to find out if it would still explode. Information and enlightenment came after it was too late to be of any use to him. A lot of this defense equipment may be delivered, if at all, after it is of no use to us. The other fellow may be the beneficiary.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation under Mr. Hoover has been doing splendid work in coping with this situation—such fine work that the recent statement of the Attorney General gives them special credit. Mr. Jackson makes a special point in assuring the Nation that this agency is capable of meeting any situation which may arise.

The statement of Attorney General Jackson follows:

I very much regret that Congressman DIES has seen fit to accompany his recent disclosures with an effort to disparage and discredit the good work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation under Director J. Edgar Hoover.

I have inclined to the view that there was sufficient field to warrant the publicity activities of a legislative investigating committee even if some of those activities have the effect of endangering by premature exposure the work of this Department. It would not seem, however, that such legislative activities need be accompanied by attacks on the Federal Bureau of Investigation whose purpose in investigation is quite different from that of a legislative committee and, of course, should not and must not compete with the legislative committee for publicity.

The fact that much of the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is necessarily carried on quietly and without publicity does not diminish its effectiveness. For example, Mr. DIES says that next week he will investigate the strike at the Vultee Aircraft Corporation. The Federal Bureau of Investigation already has investigated this strike and has supplied confidential reports to the War and Navy Departments and to the National Defense Commission. This confidential report describes the Communist influence which caused and which is prolonging the strike. It identified those leaders of the strike who are either members of the Communist Party or affiliated with the Communists and the persons who are the contacts between the strike committee and the leaders of the Communist Party.

While the activities of the parties involved may not constitute a Federal crime warranting prosecution, the details have been furnished to the War and Navy Departments and to the National Defense Commission so that they may take such action as may be warranted in the protection of the Government's interests.

The Dies committee has published a report on the propaganda activities of Manfred Zapp and Transocean News Service. These activities had been under investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which was trying to complete a legal case with admissible evidence. The action of the committee made further effort in this direction fruitless, and on October 28 last, based on Federal Bureau of Investigation reports and the Dies material, the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice instituted a grand-jury investigation of Zapp, the Transocean News Service, and others to determine whether violations of Federal law were involved. This secret grand-jury investigation is now in progress in the District of Columbia.

At Chicago, Congressman DIES announced that Heinrich Peter Fassbender, described by Mr. DIES as a former Gestapo agent, would describe the full workings of the Gestapo in this country. Fassbender has long been known to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Its files contain a detailed record of his life and activities from his birth in Düsseldorf, Germany, on August 14, 1917, down to the present time. In this country he has operated under 15 different aliases in addition to the name Fassbender. He entered the United States on August 2, 1938, jumping ship when the steamship *Westmoreland*, of the Bernstein Line, docked at pier No. 3 in Hoboken, N. J. He has worked in this country as a waiter in New York City, as a taxi driver in California, and he has twice been the subject of Federal Bureau of Investigation white-slave investigations. He is also suspected of having operated a confidence game.

In experienced investigative circles Fassbender is known as a professional and unreliable informer. He has been known to offer to sell information on both Communists and Nazis for a price. I make no criticism of Mr. DIES for examining this witness. It may be that he may furnish information or leads which might be useful for the purposes of a legislative investigating committee, but witnesses of Fassbender's type are of limited usefulness for court purposes, and I do not feel that evidence obtained from such a source can properly be used as a springboard from which to launch an attack on the methods of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In the protective field the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been making a highly creditable record. In September of 1939, at the request of the War and Navy Departments, the Bureau initiated a program of surveying the protective facilities of industrial plants. The program extends to all plants in which the War and Navy Departments have a particular interest. To date the War and Navy Departments have requested surveys of 1,214 plants.

Surveys have been completed and reports and recommendations have been submitted, or are being submitted, with reference to 1,032 of these plants. A total of 112 plants are in the process of survey at the present time. Among the 70 plants yet to be surveyed are a number in which the survey is being held in abeyance pending completion of building programs, awaiting the outcome of labor difficulties, and for other reasons. It is anticipated that the remaining surveys will have been completed by December 1.

The rate at which these surveys can be made is indicated by the fact that between October 22 and November 14, 668 surveys were completed.

The surveys are conducted by a specially trained group of F. B. I. agents and are intended to reduce to an absolute minimum the possibilities of espionage and sabotage operations within the plants surveyed. The surveys cover the entire physical property of the companies upon the priority list and include a study of the plant police force, the communication system, the care of confidential materials, handling of mail, the issuance of identification badges to employees, a study of power lines and source of power, as well as other sources of essential materials, the establishment of restricted areas, and all other items and factors pertinent to the proper protection of the plant.

Anticipating increased activity in this type of work in the future in view of the present rearmament program, a course of training has been installed in the Training Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation which is designed to qualify all of the special agents of the F. B. I. in this type of work.

The Dies committee has reported on the activities of Ferdinand Kertess in the field of international business and espionage. The activities of Kertess have been under inquiry by the Department of Justice for a year and a half. Kertess was subpenaed by the Department to appear before the Temporary National Economic Committee in May of 1939, and he appeared and testified in connection with the Department's investigation of the beryllium industry. This investigation, which was the subject of public hearings before the Temporary National Economic Committee, demonstrated that the beryllium industry was subject to patent control and penetration by German interests.

For over 2 years the Department of Justice has been investigating the penetration of foreign influence into American industry. Indictments have already been obtained in three industries. In addition, there are pending investigations in a large number of defense industries involving foreign penetration and control.

I am disclosing these facts to reassure the American public as to the ability of the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to cope with any situation which may arise.

I think it is highly regrettable that Mr. DIES should seek to undermine the confidence of the American public in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which has long been regarded, and which I think deserves to rank, as the finest investigative organization in the world.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has gone about its task in an efficient and workmanlike manner without alarmist tactics and without sensationalism. It will continue to supply the prosecutive agencies and Government authorities with reliable, thoroughly sifted evidence as to subversive activities in this country. Efforts to arouse public sentiment or emotion, if that be desirable, will have to come from other sources.

A Happy, United, Prosperous People, an Important Factor in Our National-Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JED JOHNSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, when this House last met we listened to much heated discussion with reference to the unfortunate strike situation in the Vultee airplane factory on the west coast. Several Members of Congress demanded that labor laws be revised and the Wagner Labor Relations Act be amended immediately to prevent any further strikes against concerns having large defense contracts. If the present laws are inadequate and special legislation is essential in order to forestall any further strikes against the Government's preparedness program, then this Congress should have the courage to amend the laws to put teeth into them without delay.

It was announced that the representatives of the Government were doing everything humanly possible to effectuate a fair and just settlement, and we rejoice that this strike is apparently settled. Let us make sure that we are not faced with the same or a similar situation in other plants. It has been pointed out by the Attorney General that a few Communists and Communist sympathizers were the cause of the trouble on the west coast. It is surprising to me that Communists, who advocate the overthrow of the Government by force, would be permitted to work in any plant or industry having Government contracts. We have by law forbidden the enemies of this Government from participating in the W. P. A. or other agencies of the Government, and certainly this should apply to industries where it would be comparatively easy to sabotage and make death traps of our own planes.

It has also been suggested that the workers of this great factory went on a strike because of the fact that they receive a minimum of 50 cents per hour, which is scoffed at as a mere pittance. It may be that 50 cents an hour is insufficient for these workers, considering the increased cost of living, and also considering the huge profits that the airplane factories are receiving at the hands of the Government. It is my understanding that the Vultee airplane factory, with millions in Government contracts, agreed to a substantial increase in wages.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBBS] called attention of the House last Monday to the fact that the average farmer in Alabama receives only about 5 cents an hour for his work, and that the farmers are not out on a strike. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] placed the wages of farmers at about 10 cents an hour. It is evident that somewhere between these figures is the average pay of the average farmer of America.

It is also generally agreed that during 1941 there is going to be a boom in the United States. The wages of the average worker in industry are decidedly on the increase. Thousands of industries, especially those with Government defense contracts, have doubled and tripled their production, as well as running day and night shifts of workers, who receive one and one-half times their pay for overtime. The cost of living is going up by leaps and bounds.

But there has been practically no increase in the price of any farm commodity. The farmer in 1941 must pay more for everything that he must buy on the market, but prices of his wheat, cotton, corn, hogs, oats, and alfalfa have not advanced. The fact is, the farmer is not getting anything like the actual cost of production, and until there is some degree of prosperity among the farmers of this country we cannot hope for any general prosperity. It will be a sorry spectacle to witness America booming in the industrial sections and half starved in the rural and small-town areas of the Middle West and South.

Now comes the report that an effort will be made by certain groups in Congress to eliminate all cash payments to farmers under the A. A. A. program, including soil-conservation checks, from the 1941 program. There are also rumors afloat that a serious effort will be promulgated by certain groups to eliminate any appropriation for the farm-tenancy program, just now getting started. We are told that all appropriations affecting farmers must be slashed in the interest of national defense.

Mr. Speaker, I have been pleased to support the national-defense program in all its phases wholeheartedly and enthusiastically, but so long as the present farm program is in existence I shall oppose any effort to eliminate these farm benefits. Of course, the benefits they are now receiving will nothing like put the farmers on a parity with industry, and the coming session of Congress must by all means give agriculture a break.

I maintain, Mr. Speaker, that a happy, united, and prosperous people of America, whether they live on the farms, in the towns, or in the cities, is an important factor in our national-defense program. Merely to raise wages and have a boom in the industrial sections for a while will not bring about national prosperity. The goods on the shelves of the retail and wholesale merchant throughout the country will be moved when the farmer comes into his own and gets a reasonable price for the products of the soil.

In my judgment, the outstanding problem facing the next Congress is not that of building more or faster planes, as important as that is to our national-defense program, but Congress must face the more serious problem of dealing justly and fairly with the average farmer of America, who is struggling to remain on the farm, rear and educate his family, and live in decency.

If the present Farm Act remains on the statute books, it must be amended in many respects. The present law gives the advantage to the so-called land hog. It permits him to tear down the rented house, force the renter on relief, collect the benefit-payment checks from the Government, discard the livestock and small implements, and replace them with a tractor. The fact that payments were limited in the last bill to $10,000 has caused several large insurance companies holding hundreds of thousands of acres of farm land in Oklahoma and other farming States to throw these lands on the market. The maximum payment under the farm bill ought to be reduced again, and the funds available under the farm-tenancy program should be increased and the program expanded so that the small farmer would have an opportunity to farm on a basis on which he could earn a livelihood and eventually have an opportunity to own and operate his own farm. We will never have a happy, contented people in our rural areas without a real home-ownership program.

The next Congress should extend the food-stamp plan for the disposal of surplus commodities. That program has proved a decided success not only in assisting those with small incomes to buy surplus foods but in tackling one of our most

critical problems, that of disposing of surplus farm commodities. The results of the food-stamp plan have given abundant evidence that our problem in America is not so much one of overproduction of farm commodities as it is one of underconsumption.

I am glad to have had a part in the program of inaugurating and extending the farm-tenancy program, which is still only a drop in the bucket as compared with our needs—with the inauguration and extension of the popular rural-electrification program, with the extending of the soil-conservation program, as well as that of the food-stamp plan. All of these, so vitally important to the happiness and economic welfare of the farmers, have justified their existence. These important and far-reaching benefits to the farmers must not be abandoned or curtailed in the name of national defense, but we must realize that the most effective and practical defense of the Nation's welfare in any crisis is a well-fed, well-clothed, and contented people.

Tribute to Congressman Marvin Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, no one person in America has accomplished more for the farmers of this country than Congressman Marvin Jones, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture. No Member of the House or Senate knows more about agricultural problems than Congressman Jones, and no person in America has fought for the rights of people engaged in agriculture with more sincerity, ability, and effectiveness than he.

When Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, advocated a protective tariff, he also advocated a bounty or subsidy for the farmers on the theory that it would be unfair to require the farmers of the country to buy in a protected market and sell in a world market. Although a tariff bill was the first general bill to pass the First Congress when it assembled in 1789, the other part of Mr. Hamilton's philosophy regarding benefits to farmers to offset their disadvantages caused by the protective tariff lay dormant for almost 150 years.

It was Marvin Jones who unearthed this logical and reasonable philosophy of Alexander Hamilton and put forth the most effective effort to put it into effect. It was 1933 before he was successful in getting the attention of the country and the administration in power. Since that time, under his leadership, more laws have been enacted for the benefit of farmers than were enacted for their benefit by all previous Congresses. It is gratifying to the farmers and their friends to know that now the farmer's part of Alexander Hamilton's philosophy has at least been placed into practice by the farmers receiving approximately a billion dollars a year in benefit and other payments. When the farmers are helped the entire Nation is helped.

I have never served with anyone during my 12 years' service in Congress in whom I had greater confidence in his honesty, sincerity, and ability than Marvin Jones. His retirement from Congress is a great loss to our country, and especially those engaged in agriculture.

The President of the United States is to be congratulated for appointing such good and fair men as Marvin Jones to judgeships in the higher courts. No judge will more carefully weigh and consider the facts and the law in an effort to do complete justice in every way than he. Although I personally would much prefer that he remain in the House of Representatives, where he occupies such a high position of prestige and influence, I am proud of the fact that his valuable and constructive service has been recognized and rewarded by an appointment to the high court judgeship, which he has accepted.

Long after Marvin Jones has left these legislative halls his words of wisdom will be read and reread, and his constructive achievements will be emulated.

Homestead Lien Act Becomes too Hot for Stassen Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. ALEXANDER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, on November 19, I placed an extensive argument in the RECORD against the Minnesota Old-Age Assistance Homestead Lien Act. The Minnesota papers carried an account of it, and 5 days later the Stassen administration admitted the matter was too hot an article to hold any longer so gave the green light to their mouthpiece, the Minneapolis Tribune. In a specially prepared article on the 24th they gently hinted they might be wrong with this piece of subversive legislation, no doubt keeping in mind the beating which they took on November 5, not only in St. Paul, but in South St. Paul, the Governor's home town, as well as in most of the wards in Minneapolis.

For instance, in the wards in the Third Congressional District, all but one went to the opposition with rather conclusive scores such as 1,589 to 5,660, or not quite 4 to 1 against the Governor in the first ward; 5,365 to 9,790 in the third ward; fourth ward, 1,731 to 2,731; ninth ward, 4,530 to 8,005, or nearly 2 to 1; and tenth ward 7,277 to 10,390.

The Tribune article admits the strength of the drive for repeal in the following suave manner:

[From the Minneapolis Tribune of November 24, 1940]

STATE LIEN ACT FACING REPEAL DRIVE IN 1940

(By Orlin Folwick)

Minnesota's homestead lien law, major storm center in the series of reforms enacted by the 1939 legislature for Governor Stassen, is facing a determined drive for repeal in the forthcoming session.

This was revealed yesterday by Roy E. Dunn, house majority leader, who said he has been advised that attacks on the law will come from two sources—one an effort by the Farmer-Labor minority and the other within the majority group—to write the law off the books.

Farmer-Laborites, at their caucus shortly after the election, made repeal of the lien law one of their major objectives for the 1941 session. Regardless of what attitude the conservative majority takes toward it, the Farmer-Labor group will vote for repeal.

HART LEADS ATTACK

The conservative attack is being planned by Representative Richard T. Hart, of Moose Lake, one of the leaders in the majority group. Hart has advised members of the group that he intends to introduce a repealer and expects to get sufficient help from the conservatives to put it over.

While Governor Stassen is expected to object to repeal of this law, likely getting some help from conservatives who believe the law is a good one, Dunn said the legislature should consider the act again.

WOULD EXTEND REDEMPTION

"The legislature ought to have a chance to declare itself again on this law without any pressure," he said. "Since the law was placed on the books there have been complaints in all parts of the State against it. If there is a public demand for its repeal, the members of the house will know it and can vote accordingly."

Should a repealer fail, some amendments are certain to be introduced to eliminate major complaints. State Senator Donald O. Wright, of Minneapolis, chairman of the civil administration committee, is preparing one change that would extend the period for children of old-age pensioners to redeem property foreclosed under the lien law from the present 1-year limit to a much longer period.

But now comes the doughty and ultra-conservative Indiana Tax Digest and puts the indelible stamp of approval on the very point which I have been repeatedly making in my fight to safeguard our form of government against such un-American legislation as the homestead lien law; that is, that

this law destroys the urge for home ownership, one of the first cornerstones of our constitutional government.

Listen to what the Digest says, especially the last sentence in the first paragraph and paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 and the concluding statement:

HOME AND FARM OWNERS BEST FRIENDS OF BUSINESS

"We believe in observance of property rights, the sanctity of contracts, in economy, sacrifice, and sound management of public affairs with an eye to the debts of the future as well as to the problems of today. Our study and experience has convinced us that the desire to acquire and to respect property, and to meet one's obligations fairly and squarely is not confined to any one economic strata of society, but extends clear through it from top to bottom. We have found that the surest index of this attitude, and its strongest rallying point, is the ownership of a home or farm.

"This association stands for the home owner first and last. We are convinced that in the long run industry, trade, the management of large real-estate properties and banking will best be served by the identical variety of honest, clean, responsive government efficiently and economically operated which is to the best interest of the average home owner.

"And we are still more strongly convinced that in these days of rampant radicalism the various business groups had better pull in behind the practical leadership of the home owners and farm owners (who have the popular vote) or it may be just too bad. This is no time for a selfish business group to try to exploit the home owner or farm owner.

"The greatest enemies the business elements of this State and Nation have to contend with are the greedy and selfish within their own ranks."

The above is reprinted from the Digest of February 25, 1939. We think it needs to be restated.

Business, and in fact the entire capitalistic system of free enterprise and private ownership of property, has been under serious attack for about 10 years. Business was put into the doghouse of public opinion because too many people had suffered from the legalized larceny of a greedy and selfish minority of businessmen.

This vicious minority has in recent years been forced by public pressure to lie quite low. The normal operation of legitimate business has restored quite a bit of public confidence in private enterprise.

With the storm clouds clearing somewhat, these shifty promoters are today beginning to come out of hiding. Being smooth, politically minded operators, their first move is to try to hoodwink reputable business organizations to fight in the name of all business for repeal of reasonable regulation and a return to the good old jungle days. A lamentable phase of the campaign now being carried on is to split business groups from fundamentally conservative home owners and farm owners, who have stuck up for good business but have not opposed regulation of bad-business practice.

Already the sneering at the farm owner has become plainly audible. Consideration of the urban property owner merely as a rich market to be exploited down to the last dime is beginning to crop up around the edges. Already businessmen are forgetting who their real friends have been these past years when the radical elements would have taken them over lock, stock, and barrel.

In all friendliness but in deadly seriousness we say to business groups that they had better help to suppress the evil minority in their ranks, and be considerate of their friends, the home owners and farm owners. Because it may well be that in the next few years private enterprise is going to be given its last final chance to prove to the majority of the people that it really is better for them than the socialistic order which the radicals are promoting.

What more conclusive proof do we need for the repeal of this un-American piece of legislation put over by a "rubber-stamp" legislature? Out with it, and all other subversive acts.

National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. GRANT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

LETTER FROM A FORMER ALABAMAN

Mr. GRANT of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from a letter recently received by me on the subject of national defense:

NATIONAL DEFENSE

ARLINGTON, CALIF., *November 21, 1940.*

Hon. GEORGE GRANT,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: You draft our boys at $21 per month to provide for defense. The mechanics here at Downey, near me, are working to provide for our defense. They get $1.30 per hour and strike for higher wages. If the soldiers were to strike for more pay, they would be punished, rightly so, but these Communists strike for the chief purpose of delaying our defense program. Those working on a defense program should immediately be drafted into the Army.

No; I am not a Republican, but an Alabama Democrat, educated at Troy, Ala.

These Communists do not need the money; they want to delay the defense program. In California we are in 10 times the danger of Communists as Nazis, and we have some Nazis. There should never have been but one sit-down strike. It takes drastic measures to deal with Communists. Stalin is much more dangerous and deadly than Hitler. We do not endorse selling Stalin $6,000,000 in tools needed both by the United States and England.

The Communists of Hollywood are today having a feast at $10 a plate to raise money to get French Communist actors to the United States via Cuba and Mexico. The chief speaker was in Russia 10 years, wrote a book in 1937 comparing the freedom of Russia with the starving in the United States, etc.

The Communists boast they have 500,000 friends in Los Angeles County. They polled 20,000 votes.

Stay on the job, drafting a law making all who work on defense, soldiers. Why dilly-dally longer with these Communists? Take courageous, drastic steps and do a real job of preparedness.

Marvin Jones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, when the President of the United States appointed the Honorable Marvin Jones as Associate Justice on the Court of Claims the farmers of the Nation sustained a great loss. As chairman of the Agricultural Committee of the House, he showed a deep sympathy for those who till the soil. His service to agriculture is not to be measured by the bills he introduced and piloted through the Congress, although nearly every act of importance to agriculture during the last 6 years bears his name. His value to the farmers of the Nation is to be found in the sympathy he always showed to those who were in distress—whether they were farmers or those whose prosperity and happiness depends upon the success of the farmers.

Mr. Speaker, Marvin Jones just did not happen to feel this way about distressed people. He came up from that class himself, and one whose early life is surrounded by the struggles on a farm never forgets distress no matter where it may be found. Marvin Jones was born on a farm near Gainesville, Tex., on February 26, 1886. His early life was a struggle for an existence and for an education. He worked his way through college, receiving the degrees of A. B. and LL. B., and I have always noticed, Mr. Speaker, that those who have to struggle for an education usually get a good one.

Marvin Jones' early life on a farm where he learned to work even though no profitable returns came in and the education he secured himself gave him that outstanding equipment for public service which enabled him to make a mark in the House of Representatives which few hereafter will attain. In the presentation of bills before the House, Marvin Jones was clear in his analysis and forceful in his arguments. He was a speaker of unusual ability and carried conviction always. He was so generous to his opponents that on many occasions they found themselves agreeing with him. I tried to analyze his amazing leadership in the House on many occasions; my conclusions were that he knew all about his subject, that he was honest in every move he made, and never foreclosed any subject by saying there was no other side to the argument.

In conversation with him on farm problems he often said that all legislation was a compromise; that it was impossible to get all we asked, but that he always made a point to secure the best legislation on farm questions that it was possible to get. His favorite expression was, "It is a step in the right direction." "If it works, we can come back and make it work better." The farm-security program was much belittled in the House because it helped only a few farmers because of the small appropriation, but Marvin Jones argued that if the program only helped a few it was only because a larger appropriation could not be obtained. It had helped a few without expense to the Government and saving a few was better than saving none. "If," he said, "public opinion becomes aroused to the benefits of this program, then larger appropriations will be made to help destitute farmers to help themselves."

Mr. Speaker, public opinion is now becoming aroused to the benefits of this program, and in my opinion no political party entrusted with the direction of this Government will dare repeal the law under which farmers in every section of the country are being taken from relief and charity rolls and made self-sustaining. Instead of repealing the act it should be extended, for the benefits outlined by Marvin Jones in his argument before the House have surely come to pass.

Mr. Speaker, the leadership of Marvin Jones in the House of Representatives was not a partisan leadership, but a broad leadership that always had in view the general public good. He was not a man who would vote to send others to do a task which he himself was unwilling to do. He was a Member of the House in 1917 and voted for the declaration of war against Germany. At that time he was the youngest Member of the House—31 years of age. He did not claim his privilege of a House Member, and, like many other Congressmen, enlisted in the United States volunteer service and served until the end of the war.

What the farmers will lose in the appointment of Marvin Jones to the bench, the Court of Claims of the United States will gain, and I will predict now that no just claim against the Government of the United States will be rejected by him. He will take with him to his elevated position not only the background that made him great in the House, but a rich legislative experience that will come directly into play in performing the duties of his new office.

I doubt if any other man in the history of the Nation ever left the House of Representatives with more universal acclaim than that accorded to Mr. Jones by the Members of the House of Representatives.

The President's Sound Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS LUDLOW

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Appropriations Committee, as a citizen, and as a representative of citizens who feel concern over the future of our country, I desire with all of the earnestness I possess to commend President Roosevelt for his determination to lead in a movement to cut the nondefense appropriations of the Seventy-seventh Congress to the bone, as announced by him at his press conference on Tuesday. Like many others, I have never been a believer of the theory that big spending is the gateway to national prosperity. On the contrary, I believe it is the gateway to national bankruptcy and disaster. I am sure that the President's proposal harmonizes with a sentiment that has long been predominant in the Appropriations Committee and that he can depend upon the cooperation of our committee. The President's announcement will be invigorating tonic to rehabilitate and revitalize the business and industrial elements which so much need to be built up to a normal state of health and activity if America is really to be prepared to face the perils of threatened war. Economic strength and soundness is as much a sine qua non of preparedness as battleships and big cannon. A nation that is trembling on the edge of bankruptcy cannot be an effective fighting nation. It must have strong economic and financial fiber to stand the stress of war.

The President deserves the encouragement and support of the Congress and the entire country in this new movement to bring the tongue and buckle of our nonmilitary appropriations nearer to the meeting point, to the end that our national debt may be held within safe bounds. Secretary Morgenthau has recently staggered the country by proposing that the statutory debt limit be raised to $65,000,000,000. It may be that limit is necessary and it may be that the limit will go even higher unless we put on the brakes. I do not know—no one knows—where safety would end in piling up our national debt, but we all know there is a limit somewhere. Perhaps we will never know where the limit is until we reach it, and then we will be tragically informed when we wake up some morning and find that nobody will buy Government bonds. When the credit of the Government is gone we will be headed for a debacle the like of which America has never known.

In pointing the way to drastic retrenchment the President has given wise and sound advice. The problem cannot be solved by wishful thinking. It requires action. The economy goal envisioned by the President can be reached only by the closest cooperation between the Executive and Congress, and the undertaking will test the Spartan qualities of both. The Budget Bureau is the President's agency. It speaks for him. It can take the first great step toward economy by inserting the pruning knife to the hilt in the estimates that come to it from the various departments, bureaus, and activities. Unless the Budget does its part, unless it cuts as it has never cut before, there will not be much hope of maximum success of the economy movement, for we all know that when an estimate comes up to the Hill from the Budget Bureau terrific pressure is brought to bear to get it enacted into law.

We Members of Congress cannot do our part in the economy drive unless we completely lose sight of local desires in the general welfare. We must bid good-bye for the time being to that post-office building, that Coast Guard station, that river and harbor improvement, or whatever else may be the cherished apple of the community eye. This is no time for "pork." We must measure every appropriation request by the yardstick not of whether it is desirable but whether it is necessary. Highway projects are desirable, river and harbor improvements are desirable, reclamation projects are desirable, but these and many more of various kinds are not necessary in these times when stern retrenchment is demanded by every interest of the Nation.

Although the country is now beribboned from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf with hard-surfaced highways, there are those who would empty the mythical contents of an empty Treasury and place a bondage of debt on our great-grandchildren to build still more roads.

From 1933 up to and including the fiscal year 1940 our Federal appropriations for roads amounted to the prodigious total of $2,884,700,000. This includes both regular and emergency road funds. Of this amount $1,893,700,000 has been disbursed through the Public Roads Administration of the Department of Agriculture and $991,000,000 through the three emergency agencies, W. P. A., C. W. A., and F. E. R. A. I wonder how many of our citizens can realize the magnitude of this outlay of the taxpayers' money on road building during the last 7 years. Perhaps it can be fairly well understood from the fact that it amounts to more than $4,000 for every day since the beginning of the Christian era. In the interest of the retrenchment so vitally needed to reassure business and to bring about recovery, public building construction can well wait a while, as can improvement work on rivers and harbors. We have constructed public buildings all over the United

States during the last 6 years but on top of these lavish expenditures we now find a demand for a new building program so that every Member of Congress may have another new building in his district. In the name of common sense I do not know why every Member of Congress should get a new post-office building any more than a lighthouse or a Federal penitentiary. If the urge to build more roads is too strong to be controlled let us at least lay off of the Federal Treasury and emulate the example of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, the finest highway in the world, built and operated on a toll basis.

If there is to be a real retrenchment in the cost of government, it must come largely in the public-works items. There are certain types of appropriations—as, for instance, those for the Postal Service—which are largely service items, and which cannot be cut. There must be adequate relief appropriations, for the people of our country will not tolerate starvation and nakedness under the American flag. Veterans' benefits must remain inviolate. But there are places in abundance to cut. I believe that we can, and should, save a minimum of half a billion dollars a year by a sanely directed policy of retrenchment. There is nothing essential about reclamation projects, public roads, river and harbor works, and public buildings. The wise course is to put these and other nonessentials over until better times.

For years our nondefense appropriations have been wildly out of hand. It is time to apply a curb. In the first session of the present Congress, before we really started on the preparedness program, Congress appropriated the colossal sum of $13,480,216,000.39, half a billion dollars more than the entire appropriations of our Government for 20 years—from 1890 to 1910. What a lesson to contemplate. Defense must go on, but the purse strings should be tightened on all of those wasteful, extravagant, nonessential appropriations, so familiar in the past, that are not related to defense. In my opinion, President Roosevelt has rendered a major service to the country by directing its thinking toward economy. I hope he will remain inflexible as a stone wall in that resolve, and that Congress, casting aside all petty considerations and acting with clear vision and high patriotism, will back him to the limit.

Un-American Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of November 22, 1940:

[From the New York Times of November 22, 1940]

THE DIES DOCUMENTS

Mr. DIES had given such a "build-up" to his impending disclosures that the published documents come almost as an anticlimax. To anyone who knows the structure of the Nazi Reich, there is nothing surprising in the evidence that German consuls here have helped to subsidize a Nazi propaganda service, or that German businessmen have been planning trade conquests in this hemisphere. The Dies White Book seems to tell chiefly of little schemes and little men, and of techniques as clumsy as Von Papen's in the days of the World War.

But the Dies documents do not and cannot tell the whole story of totalitarian efforts in the United States. Behind agents named in these pages there are more formidable principals; and behind the principals there are bound to be some Americans who, consciously or otherwise, encourage them. It is an avowed and integral part of the mission of the Nazi Reich to organize Germans abroad, whatever their citizenship, for the furtherance of Nazi ambitions. The vast resources of the German dictatorship stand behind Herr Bohle's world-wide organization in Stuttgart, which directs such activities; and we know, from intimations in the Dies documents, that unlimited money as well as fanatical zeal are at the disposal of the Bohle organization in other countries as well as our own.

The Dies report, for all its shortcomings, will be valuable if it makes Americans realize that active and unscrupulous work is being done by enemies in their midst. The succeeding installments, dealing with Italian, Japanese, and Russian activities here, will be useful for the same reason. This is not to encourage witch hunting or to turn neighbor against neighbor; the function of the Dies committee should be to sharpen the awareness of the American people, and nothing more. The work of watching and catching totalitarian schemers can be left to the Department of Justice, which is keeping alert eyes on them and accumulating the necessary evidence in its files.

The High Cost of Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. ALEXANDER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, in the Appendix of the RECORD, at page 6113, I placed an article in the RECORD regarding our transportation problem which has attracted Nation-wide interest among reading and thinking people. In it the question of the connection between our economic depression and our hodgepodge transportation system was discussed in some detail.

As a result I have received letters of commendation from the Hudson to the Rocky Mountains giving support to the theory expressed in that article. One of these from Denver, Colo., is interesting in that it raises a point which was not touched on previously, so I will place it in the RECORD for the inspection and study of all patriotically inclined and interested persons. If those in charge of our railroads would be able to answer the charges made by my correspondent, I would like to have them do so.

The article is entitled "Crimes That Breed War."

CRIMES THAT BREED WAR

Some crimes are so black and foul that they will not down, and some so universal and calamitous that they breed war.

How many miles of steam railway line are operated in the United States? That is a query that apparently cannot be accurately answered anywhere on earth. In 1924, Carl R. Gray, then president of the Union Pacific Railroad Co., stated in the public prints, that there were "more than 400,000 miles of single track." If he had said more than 500,000 miles, it would probably have been equally correct. During the past 16 years the Interstate Commerce Commission reports expenditures for ties, rails, ballast, and "other track material," plus track laying and surfacing, sufficient to construct 300,000 additional miles. Beyond all question of doubt there are more than 700,000 miles of single track operated in all 48 States and the District of Columbia.

For more than half of a century I have devoted much time and considerable money each year without exception, to controvert the pamphlets of misinformation with which the public libraries are filled to overflowing. I now have in my possession a rare collection of such literature. No other subject can be mentioned concerning which such gross misinformation has been persistently broadcast over the land as the subject of steam-railway transportation, hence the prevailing public ignorance of the subject.

It is not true, as stated in the columns of the subsidized press, and at least three different times announced on the floor of the United States Senate, the past year, that one-third of all steam railways have been reduced to "hopeless bankruptcy; another third "tottering on the very verge of bankruptcy" and the entire system on the high road to ruin. It is not true as stated by an official of the New York Central Lines that traffic rates had been reduced from nine hundred and forty-six one-thousandths of 1 cent per ton per mile to seven hundred and sixty-six one-thousandths of 1 cent per ton per mile. It is true, however, that freight can be moved at a good profit at a rate of four-tenths of a cent per ton per mile. And right here it is proper to state that traffic rates are seldom if ever reduced, and never by any one other than those who control the railways. Seven thousand and sixty tons moved 60 miles in 207 minutes at a rate of 30 cents per 100 pounds, earns rail income of $42,360, which is a rate of 10 cents per ton per mile.

No line of equal length and less traffic can be found in the United States than the 1,810 miles from Billings, Mont., south along the regions of the Rocky Mountains where prairie dogs frolic,

and the sagebrush grows, to Galveston, Tex. Its rail income per day per mile of line is no less than $50. It is composed of six sections of 300 miles each, and it operates no less than 36 trains, 6 trains each day on every section. That is the minimum. The maximum is the two greatest transportation lines on the face of the globe, namely, the New York Central and the Pennsylvania lines. Together they operate upward of 6,000,000 trains in 365 days, and together they operate 60,980 miles of line. See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 4420, May 27, 1933.

In a pamphlet published by the Union Pacific Railroad in 1924, it is stated that "in order to earn enough gross revenue to purchase a pint of ink we must haul a ton of freight 42 miles." That is not true.

The truth of the matter is this: For 114 years, every year from the beginning in 1826, the railroads have been realizing fabulous profits while preaching the most infamous prevarications, and the consequence is a bankrupt Nation; a house divided against itself. A national calamity now hangs like a pall over the Nation and the end is not yet. The story is so startling and staggering that it passeth understanding and it has now to be discovered by the public and contended with. The steam railway profit which emanates from "our splendid system of boulevards of steel," has bankrupted the Nation. The aggregate profits for 100 years and more has created an aggregation of long-term-bonds debts; an unknown factor which will, when recognized, shake the foundations of society from center to circumference as never yet shaken since the battle of Bunker Hill.

Here is the financial problem the people of the United States have to contend with and it involves war cost no less than the cost of transportation and billions and thousands of billions of other costs.

The annual cost of transportation

The Billings line, 1,810 miles	$33,032,500
New York Central and Pennsylvania lines, 60,980 miles	556,442,500,000
All other lines, 637,210 miles	2,716,715,643,970
The grand total, 700,000 miles	3,273,191,176,470

An advertisement of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. in 1917 reads thus:

"The Pennsylvania Railroad, taking into account every affiliated company both east and west of Pittsburgh, in the 3 calendar years 1914–16, operated upward of 9,000,000 trains, carrying both freight and passengers. In this period 553,890,063 passengers, equal to 5½ times the population of the United States, were conveyed a total distance of approximately 15,000,000,000 miles, or 150 times the distance from the earth to the moon."

A publication of the Encyclopedia Brittanica in 1921 declares that the New York Central carries more through passengers between New York City and Chicago than the Pennsylvania Railroad and four other lines combined. The greatest exposition of "frenzied finance" (bookkeeping fiction) in the history of the Nation impends. The credit Mobilier scandal of the early seventies, the life-insurance scandal of 1905, the Teapot Dome scandal of late years, and the prodigal expenditures of aspirants for senatorial honors is trivial and insignificant in comparison.

From whence comes so much money? That is the question that needs our utmost immediate consideration.

The author of this article advises me that he has studied the transportation problem for 25 years in connection with the economic problems of his State and section and the Nation, and also as an accountant, and that he has grown hoary with age and groans in despair over the prospect of getting justice for America's citizens in the matter of transportation rates. All farmers and shippers should organize to correct this evil.

The Patriotism of the Citizens of South Carolina

REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARA G. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mrs. CLARA G. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, in all patriotic endeavor in our country South Carolina has been at the forefront. The prominent part she has played in the building of this great Nation is well known by all of you. The names of her illustrious citizens fill the pages of our civil and military history.

The State of South Carolina again demonstrates to the world her patriotic zeal, her readiness and willingness to answer the call of her country for men to protect and defend it.

South Carolina will not have a single man drafted into the service in the first call under the Selective Service Act. On the other hand, she will have over 450 volunteers waiting for the second call, which comes in January. South Carolina deserves a great deal of praise and commendation. I am proud of my State.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks and to include the newspaper article on which I based my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The matter referred to follows:

SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY IN STATE VOLUNTEER; NONE TO BE DRAFTED IN FIRST QUOTA

COLUMBIA, S. C., November 24.—So many selective-service registrants have volunteered for their year's military training that "we are not going to have to draft a single man from South Carolina" when the State's initial quota of 195 men is called to duty next month, Governor Maybank announced today.

He said that more than 650 South Carolinians who registered for the draft had signified their willingness to go into the Army now and that 195 of them would be selected.

"Therefore," the Governor said, "we will have no draftees at this time." He expressed the belief that this might be the only State with such a record.

"I am very proud of South Carolina's showing," he added.

Those volunteers not selected under the first quota will have to await the next call, which will come in January, for about 6,000 men from this State.

Maybank's announcement came in connection with the release of initial quota figures for all counties. The 195 volunteers to be selected for service will be allocated as follows:

County	White	Negro
Aiken	2	1
Allendale		1
Anderson	4	2
Bamberg		4
Beaufort	1	3
Barnwell	1	2
Berkeley		4
Calhoun		2
Charleston	6	
Cherokee	2	1
Chester	4	2
Chesterfield	1	
Clarendon	3	2
Colleton		1
Darlington	1	1
Dillon	2	
Dorchester		1
Edgefield	2	1
Fairfield	2	1
Florence	3	3
Greenville	14	2
Greenwood	4	1
Hampton	3	1
Horry	7	4
Jasper	2	1
Lancaster	2	2
Laurens	4	1
Lee	1	3
Lexington	5	1
Marion	2	1
Marlboro	4	
McCormick	1	1
Newberry	4	1
Oconee	5	2
Orangeburg	2	5
Pickens	5	2
Richland	2	1
Saluda	3	
Spartanburg	14	5
Sumter		1
Williamsburg	4	2
York	4	1

These figures were prepared by Lt. Col. W. N. Cork, assistant State selective-service director, and Maj. George Warren, mobilization officer on the selective-service staff. They explained that Georgetown and Union Counties were not assigned quotas at this time because both already had credits for more than their share of men in the Nation's armed forces, and that Abbeville and Kershaw Counties were also omitted for technical reasons.

Of the 126 men out of the total quota of 195, the first 42 will be inducted into service December 4. The next 42 will follow December 5, and the final 42 December 6. Thirty-five Negroes will be inducted December 9 and the other 34 the following day.

All those selected will be sent to Fort Jackson.

Expression of Loyalty by Americans of Hungarian Ancestry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

TELEGRAM FROM BELA LUGOSI, HONORARY PRESIDENT, MAGYAR HOUSE

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor to me to include with my remarks the following telegram, which is certainly a heartening message and which speaks for itself:

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF., *November 27, 1940.*

Representative VOORHIS,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The loyal Hungarian-born Americans who are members of the undersigned organizations wish to let the American Government know through you that it has their pledge of complete loyalty.

Prompted by Hungary's recent alinement with the axis powers, these Hungarian-born Americans greatly desire to make two points: One, that they are in no way in sympathy with the action Hungary took; and, two, that they do not want to be grouped either collectively or individually with the peoples of the axis group. They want the Government to feel that they can be counted upon with absolute trust to serve the best interests of the United States.

It goes without saying that the Hungarian Government took the course it did because it had no choice. Hence these Americans who know Hungary's vexing problems so well feel that Hungary is entitled to no small degree of sympathy, and they hope the American Government will be as generous and understanding as it can under the circumstances.

BELA LUGOSI,

Honorary President, Magyar House, which consists of American Hungarian Pioneer Families of California, United Hungarian Singing Society, Magyar Athletic Club, Magyar Ifusagi Kor.

Walter-Logan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to discuss the Walter-Logan bill at length. The House has had the benefit of a masterly presentation by the very able chairman of the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALTER], some time since. But I wish to go on record at this time as favoring this bill for several reasons.

I contend that if there was need of revision of the procedure of invulnerable administrative agencies a year ago there is infinitely more need of this today. In the hysteria of the moment it is imperative that this body be increasingly alert to protect the fundamental rights of American citizens. With the growing emphasis upon defense emergencies, it will be all too easy to forget that the basic structures of our freedom must not be undermined.

Under stress of a constantly reiterated alleged emergency, laws have been hastily written and passed and there have been created bureaus without number that are acting as legislative bodies. These, however, do not follow the legislative procedures of open hearings to which all interested are merited to give testimony. Rather do they proceed in the "star chamber" fashion. The result has been confusion worse confounded in the business world and in the country at large. In addition to the assumption of the legislative functions, these bureaus act also as courts without being bound by court rules.

A continuance of the present method will put an end to one of the most basic of all our American democratic principles: That of the right of the individual to be heard.

The suggestion by the administration that enactment of the Walter-Logan bill would cause delays by a frivolous and dilatory use of appeal is amply covered by penalties imposed by the law.

Present methods are carrying us rapidly away from the principles of justice and freedom that are of paramount importance not only to the efficiency of any effort for adequate defense but even more to the future welfare of America.

For these reasons I consider it imperative that the Walter-Logan bill be passed.

Development of Federal Reserve Banking

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

Friday, November 29 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. M. S. SZYMCZAK

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by M. S. Szymczak, a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, at the annual fall dinner meeting of the Chicago District Illinois Bankers Association, at the Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, Ill., on Thursday, November 14, 1940.

The former Senator from Illinois, Mr. Slattery, had intended to put this address in the RECORD, but was not afforded an opportunity to do so, and I ask to have it printed in the RECORD at his request.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In what I have to say this evening I want to emphasize the contribution of experience to the development of the Federal Reserve System. Experience is a good teacher. It forces people to modify their theories and to improve their practices. Its lessons can, of course, be resisted; but the quarter century and more of Federal Reserve activities discloses, I think, a consistent and sincere readiness to adapt both the powers and the operations of the Federal Reserve System to the living and changing needs of the banking and business world. With that same readiness the System now faces the future.

For more than a century before adoption of the Federal Reserve Act in 1913 this country had experienced critical difficulties arising from the lack of adequate sources of reserves and adequate machinery of currency supply. The purpose of the act was to provide for the exercise of powers that experience had repeatedly shown to be necessary. When the Federal Reserve System was established, the emphasis in the popular mind was largely upon its currency function. In a deeper sense, however, as the System's name implies, its reserve function was the more important.

The machinery of currency issue authorized by the Federal Reserve Act has solved the problem of providing an adequate and elastic supply of currency. The supply of currency, in marked contrast to what used to be the case, no longer gives us any trouble. There are aspects of other problems, however—concerned with bank reserves and with the utilization of bank credit—that continue to arise from time to time.

From 1914 to 1932 there were many minor changes in the Federal Reserve Act and a few of more fundamental nature. In 1917 an amendment excluded cash on hand from the required reserves of member banks and provided that such reserves include only the funds that member banks have on deposit with the Reserve banks. At the same time the percentage of reserves required was substantially reduced.

The legislation in 1917 also gave greater flexibility to Federal Reserve note issue by providing that notes be issued against gold as well as against commercial paper, and it made membership in the System more attractive to State banks by assuring them explicitly that they might become members and at the same time retain their charter privileges under State law.

In 1927 legislation removed the limitation on the life of Reserve bank charters which would otherwise have expired in 1934. Their life is now continuous unless made determinate by act of Congress.

Meanwhile times and conditions continued to change. New problems arose. Experience is a good teacher and its lessons were taken to heart. In 1932, 1933, and 1935 legislation was enacted which made more and greater changes in the System than had ever occurred before. To these changes the Glass-Steagall Act of 1932 and the Banking Acts of 1933 and 1935 each made contributions. Provisions that were tentative or limited in an earlier measure became permanent and comprehensive in a later one. I shall not take time to trace the separate and partial contributions of each of these acts to provisions in their present form, for the succession of legislative details is of less importance than the main results they eventually brought about. And I shall mention briefly four significant changes these three pieces of legislation effected without attempting to indicate their relative importance. One was the change in the disposition of Federal Reserve Bank earnings; another was the recognition given to the monetary significance of open-market operations of the Reserve banks; a third was enlargement of the power of the Board over the reserve requirements to which member banks are subject; and a fourth was liberalization of the lending powers of the Reserve banks.

In respect to Reserve bank earnings, the Federal Reserve Act formerly provided that the Reserve banks pay the Treasury an annual franchise tax comprising all earnings above necessary expenses and charge-offs, 6 percent dividend payments to member banks, and the transfers to surplus authorized by the statute. Under these provisions the 12 Reserve banks in the course of 18 years had paid the Treasury $150,000,000, had paid dividends of $120,000,000 to their member banks, and had accumulated $280,000,000 of surplus. Of this accumulated surplus, about half was paid in 1934, at the direction of Congress, to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and provided the latter with about half of its capital. The surplus was reduced thereby from $280,000,000 to $140,000,000. Since the requirement of a franchise tax was discontinued by the Banking Act of 1933, larger transfers were made possible for restoration of the Reserve banks' surplus, which is now $150,000,000.

Open-market operations were given a new status by the Banking Acts of 1933 and 1935. Originally they had had almost no recognition as a means of Reserve policy, but they have now taken their place among the foremost statutory responsibilities of the Reserve authorities. They were formerly regarded as a matter of Federal Reserve bank investment policy. The view was that when the Reserve banks had little or no demand for discounts, they should invest in securities in order to provide themselves with income. Accordingly each Federal Reserve bank bought and sold Government securities at its own individual discretion. But experience showed that these purchases and sales disturbed the reserve position of member banks, for when the Reserve banks purchased securities, the reserves of member banks were found to be enlarged, and when they sold securities, the reserves of member banks were found to be reduced. These results made it imperative that open-market operations be coordinated and unified. The statute now recognizes this necessity by giving the Federal Open Market Committee, which comprises the members of the Board of Governors and 5 representatives of the 12 Federal Reserve banks, full responsibility for open-market operations.

I have already referred to the reduction of reserve requirements effected in 1917, when the percentages now in the statute were adopted, namely, 3 percent on time deposits for all member banks, and on demand deposits 13 percent for central Reserve city banks, 10 percent for Reserve city banks, and 7 percent for other banks, generally referred to as country banks. Since 1933 these requirements have been subject to change by administrative action, and since 1935 the Board of Governors has had its present power to change the requirements within limitations. It cannot reduce them below the statutory percentages nor raise them to more than double those percentages. Another provision related to Reserve requirements in certain of its effects was that of prohibiting payment of interest on demand deposits, and therefore barring interest payments on corresponding balances.

Finally with respect to the lending powers of the Reserve banks, which were formerly limited to the discount of certain restricted classes of paper, the law now provides that Reserve banks may make advances to their member banks upon any satisfactory assets without regard to the maturity of those assets. The liberalization of Federal Reserve lending powers was made necessary by the great change that has overtaken bank portfolios with the evolution of business and the means by which it is financed. It would be almost futile to limit the discount powers of the Reserve banks to types of assets that constitute a constantly decreasing percentage of member bank portfolios, so those powers have been broadened to include all types of earning assets. This liberalization has proceeded by many steps, some small, some large, throughout the period of Federal Reserve operations. The present provision marks the largest step of all. Its significance is that any sound asset of a bank is available for conversion into reserve funds at the Federal Reserve bank.

Experience has clarified and emphasized certain basic principles lying behind the important changes that I have just described. These principles are the following: The Reserve banks are not operated for profit; the proprietary interest of the member banks in them is little more than nominal; they do not use the funds of their member banks in lending and buying operations; and bank reserves, under the provisions of the Federal Reserve Act, have become less important as an assurance of liquidity than as a means of exercising a regulatory influence upon the availability of bank credit. These principles indicate the essential difference between Reserve bank operations and member bank operations—a difference that the member banker is impelled by familiarity with his own bank's operations to overlook.

The member banker naturally thinks of the Reserve bank in terms of his own bank and takes it for granted that the operations of both are based on the same governing principles and conditions. He is led to underestimate the importance of the fact that his own institution is operated competitively and for profit, whereas the Federal Reserve banks are not. In particular, it is easy for him to assume that since his own bank is dependent upon its depositors for the funds with which it makes loans and investments the Reserve bank is dependent in the same way upon its depositors; and that when the Reserve bank discounts or purchases securities it uses the funds in the reserve balances which the member banks maintain at the Reserve bank. In brief, he thinks of his reserve balances as playing the same part in Reserve-bank operations that the deposits of his customers play in his own bank's operations.

In fact, however, the two cases are not parallel at all. In terms of bookkeeping the balances which member banks keep on deposit at the Reserve banks resemble the balances which customers keep on deposit at member banks; but in function and use the two differ widely. The reserves of member banks on deposit with the Reserve banks are not used in the lending and investing transactions of the Reserve banks and do not determine the ability of the Reserve banks to lend and invest. Furthermore, the purpose of reserve requirements is not at all to provide the Reserve banks with funds, and, generally speaking, they are not in fact a means by which funds are acquired. The Reserve banks are not in a competitive business and are not looking for funds. Quite the contrary, they are a source and origin of funds. They generate funds, as a dynamo generates electricity. They might conceivably be without a cent of reserve deposits and yet might make loans and purchase investments as much as ever.

For the sake of illustration, suppose the Reserve banks had no deposits. Suppose member banks maintained no reserve balances whatever at the Reserve banks, but instead were required by law to keep their reserves in Federal Reserve notes held in the member banks' own vaults. Then, if the Reserve banks were called on to discount, or if they were called on to buy securities, they would in either case complete the transaction by paying out their notes in exchange for what they received. Under these circumstances the Reserve banks, with no deposit liabilities but with note liabilities in their stead, would have the same lending power they now have, and they would have the same assets they now have.

It happens, however, that the Federal Reserve banks do have deposit liabilities and that these deposit liabilities constitute the legal reserves of member banks. It is the need of member banks for additions to these reserves that gives direct occasion for the Federal Reserve banks to discount member-bank obligations. Increases in these reserves also result from purchase by the Reserve banks of securities in the open market. When the Federal Reserve banks acquire either the discounts or the securities, they give in exchange not notes but credit to member banks' reserve balances. Consequently, if the Federal Reserve banks increase their portfolios of discounts and of securities, they equally and simultaneously increase their aggregate deposit liabilities—that is, the aggregate reserves of member banks. Obviously an operation that increases the reserve balances of member banks as a whole is not an operation that uses those balances.

But if the Reserve banks are not dependent upon their member banks for funds, why the requirement that member bank reserves be maintained as they are? The answer is that the requirement provides a means of restraint upon the use of member bank reserves. If the Reserve authorities had their present power to furnish reserve funds to banks and had no corresponding power to put brakes on the use of such funds, the situation would be a very lopsided one. It wou'd be all "go" and no "stop." As it is, the Reserve authorities have been equipped by Congress with both powers. Through the requirement of reserve balances, the member banks are made amenable to Reserve policy. At the same time that means are provided of meeting fully their need of reserve funds, they are kept under a requirement with respect to the institutions whence they derive those funds.

But, as you know, there is not a perfect balance of powers nor any attempt at complete control. The Reserve banks are not the only source of bank reserves nor was it ever intended that they should be. The basic source of bank reserves was and is gold, and the Reserve banks were intended as a supplementary source. They were authorized at a time when experience indicated that the stock of gold would fluctuate around $3,000,000,000, and their powers were such that they could offset those fluctuations and minimize their effect. But in recent years member banks have received such a plethora of reserves from the inflow of gold—principally as a result of capital transfers from abroad and payments to this country for our excess of exports—that occasion for the Reserve banks to be called on as a source of funds has not arisen. The Reserve banks have become merely repositories of those funds, and so long as the gold remains in this country, and bank reserves remain correspondingly swollen in excess of requirements and needs, the Reserve authorities must expect to have little demand made upon them as a source of more funds.

This leads me to refer to the idea sometimes expressed that the Government deficit is responsible for the excess reserves of banks. The idea is fallacious. If the Government's expenditures were financed by issues of fiat currency, bank reserves would, it is true, be expanded thereby. But since the expenditures are financed with

borrowed funds, they return to the reserve balances of banks the funds transferred therefrom when the Government borrowed, and the only difference is that the reserves are moved around from bank to bank. If you, for example, buy a million dollars worth of Government obligations newly issued, the amount of the purchase sooner or later is debited to your reserve account on the books of the Reserve bank and credited to the Treasury's account. That means an outright reduction in the volume of bank reserves. When the funds are expended, the Treasury's account on the books of the Federal Reserve bank is debited, and the reserve balance of some bank or banks, not necessarily your own, is credited. The net effect is a redistribution of reserves among banks but no change in the aggregate amount one way or the other. The same is true if the Treasury expends the funds first and borrows later to replenish its balance. It makes no difference which comes first, the debit or the credit, for one is sooner or later followed and offset by the other.

Another misconception which study of reserve operations must correct is that changes in the reserve position of the banking system as a whole have the same effect on lending power as changes in the reserve position of the individual bank. If the individual banker has a deficiency of $50,000 in his reserves as a result of adverse balances at the clearing house, he is under the necessity of finding that amount, and if he cannot raise it otherwise he may have to reduce the amount of credit he has outstanding—say by the collection of some receivables or by the sale of some of his investment securities. But in any event all he needs is $50,000. Correspondingly, if he gains that amount in excess of requirements, he can expand his loans and investments by $50,000.

But this fact is misleading with respect to the banking system as a whole. In the banking system as a whole a given change in the volume of reserves means a change several times as great in the amount of credit that banks can have outstanding.

How can this be true? How can it be that what is possible for the banking system as a whole is impossible for the individual banks that make up that system?

To get the answer to this paradox let us go back to the case of the banker who has gained $50,000 reserves in excess of requirements. Suppose this banker reminds himself that this additional $50,000 would be adequate reserves against additional deposits of 10 times as much or $500,000. (The reserve requirement is not 10 percent, but that will do for illustration.) In other words, if he could increase his deposits by $500,000, he already had the reserves that would be required. Suppose he has customers who want to borrow $500,000, that he lends them that amount, places it to the credit of their checking accounts, and thereby increases his deposits—and his earning assets as well—by $500,000.

What is the matter with that?

The answer is easy, of course. His customers would check out the $500,000, or most of it, and he would have an adverse balance at the clearing house which would take all of his $50,000 of fresh reserves and a great deal besides. Knowing this perfectly well in advance, the banker would not even think of undertaking such a fantastic transaction. Having $50,000, he would think in terms of $50,000 and not of anything more.

But now let us suppose that he has no competition, that there is no other bank to which those funds he lent can be checked, that there is no clearing to be met, and that the most his depositors can do is to check the funds to and fro among themselves. In this mythical situation he would be in no danger of losing reserves. No matter how large his deposit liabilities were, nor how great the volume of check transactions, the aggregate would remain on his books while he busily credited to one account what he debited to another. In fact, he could go on building up his deposit liabilities and his earning assets dollar for dollar without any reserves whatever, and be virtually in the position of the ancient Bank of Amsterdam, which, being a monopoly, continued to transact business on its books long after its cash reserves were gone.

But let me remind you that this situation which is fantastic and impossible for any bank that is part of a banking system, is approximately true in principle of the banking system as a whole. The banking system as a whole is a vast unit in which all competition between the parts cancels out. As in a clearing house, the debits of all the banks equal the credits of all the banks, and the total remains unchanged no matter how much shifting there is from bank to bank. Going further, the position of the banking system as a whole is like that of a single bank with no competition and all the banking business in its own hands. Consequently it can experience an expansion of credit on the basis of a given addition to reserves which is beyond the control of any individual bank, and which the individual bank can participate in only to the extent that it shares in the increased reserves. If any individual bank could hold the extra increase, it could have the entire expansion; but that "if" is an impossibility.

This condition which is within the powers of the banking system as a whole but outside the powers of the individual bank is a governing condition of Federal Reserve operations. Every additional million dollars of gold or of Federal Reserve bank credit means not merely an addition of so much to bank reserves but a potential increase many times as great in the volume of earning assets and deposit liabilities. Federal Reserve policy is therefore not alone a matter of individual relationships with banks but of potentialities and actualities that are apparent only from the point of view of the banking system as a whole. Moreover, from that point of view they are of the utmost significance.

In other words, what is a fantastic impossibility in the province of the individual banker is an important reality in the province of Reserve banking. In the commercial banker's experience a dollar of reserves is a dollar of reserves, but in the Federal Reserve bank's experience a dollar of Reserve bank credit may mean several dollars of expanded bank credit. Similarly a dollar of reserve bank credit withdrawn from bank reserves may mean a manifold contraction of bank credit.

Then there is the different meaning reserves have for the commercial bank and for the Reserve bank. In the operations of the individual commercial bank, reserves are thought of as those assets most immediately available for use in meeting the bank's obligations. But from the point of view of Reserve banking, reserves are chiefly significant because of their bearing on the bank's credit operations. A bank with inadequate reserves is in a tight position. A bank with adequate reserves is in an easy position. Since bank reserves are of this cardinal importance, an ability to influence bank reserves is an ability to impose and withdraw restraints upon credit expansion. And this is the significance of reserves from the Federal Reserve banking point of view: They are the channel through which Reserve banking operations achieve their effectiveness.

Let me dwell for a moment on what this word effectiveness implies and what it does not imply. It does not imply push-button control. It does not imply interference with bank management. It does not imply coercion. It implies the correction by governmental means of general conditions over which individual management has no control. It implies the maintenance of such monetary conditions as are most favorable to the general interest. It implies that within the restraints which the authorities try to set upon unwholesome developments the greatest possible freedom of action is preserved for individual management. It implies the principle that in a democratic economy a proper balance must be maintained between individual freedom of action and the restrictions necessary to protect that freedom.

Before leaving this subject, I wish to mention another respect in which the significance of reserves is greatly altered. In the early days of American banking each bank kept its reserves in cash in its own vaults. Like pioneers in general, each bank relied on its own resources. With the change from note issue to deposits, with multiplications in the number of banks, and with improvements in transportation and communication, banks became interdependent. They were able to rely on each other. Under the Federal Reserve System this collective security has been carried still further. A member bank of the Federal Reserve System may procure funds from its Reserve bank upon any satisfactory assets, regardless of classification. There is still a slight differential in favor of so-called eligible paper, but any kind of obligation, provided it is sound, may be the basis of an advance by the Reserve bank. When we have facilities for converting any sound asset into reserves, it is apparent that the nature of reserves and the standards by which their adequacy is judged have changed enormously. A hundred years or more ago reserves were of primary importance as a means by which the individual bank maintained itself in good condition. Today reserves are of primary importance as a means by which the banking system as a whole—including the individual bank, which is dependent on the whole—maintains itself in good condition.

A good many bankers seem to feel a conscientious aversion toward the view of the banking system as an organic whole. They feel that if every banker ran his own business properly the banking system as a whole would never be in trouble. They feel that everything comes back to a matter of individual responsibility.

The last thing I want to do is minimize that sense of individual responsibility. On the contrary, I want to extend it. I want to make it clear that individual responsibility falls far short of its aims if it confines itself to the individual institution, its assets, and its obligations.

Let me illustrate this point by reference to membership in the Federal Reserve System. Most bankers when they evaluate membership, compare what the Reserve bank does for them with what the city correspondent bank does for them. They think of the Reserve bank as a place where reserve balances are kept which they might otherwise keep with the city correspondent, and they weigh the relative convenience of handling collections and procuring currency through one as against the other. If it is a matter of borrowing, they weigh advantages of calling on the Reserve bank as against the city correspondent. It is all reduced to a question of which is more advantageous to the individual bank. The tacit assumption seems to be that the Federal Reserve bank is simply a competitor of the city correspondent and the local banker is to take his choice between them. This attitude is based on a serious misconception.

To a limited extent what the city correspondent does is comparable with what the Reserve bank does, but in reality the two are essentially unlike, as I have tried already to show in dwelling on the difference between Reserve System powers and operations and commercial bank powers and operations. The Reserve banks were established for the direct purpose of doing what it had been demonstated could not be done without a central banking organization. The Reserve banks do something no city correspondent can do. They advance reserve funds that did not previously exist.

It is true that when an individual bank borrows from a Reserve bank, the transaction from its point of view is practically the same as when it borrows from its city correspondent: In both cases it gets the funds it needs. The difference is that what the city correspondent lends comes out of the existing stock or pool of reserves, whereas what the Reserve bank lends is created in the act of lending. (This is not a creation of something out of nothing, but a conversion of earning assets into cash assets.) Every time a city correspondent lends, its ability to lend is diminished by that

much; and if there is general demand, it cannot make its funds go round. That happened again and again in crises before 1914, when there were no Reserve banks and the general demand of banks throughout the country was concentrated on the big correspondent banks in New York and Chicago. But when the Reserve bank lends, there is no such diminution of its ability to lend. That ability, though under a legal limitation, is for practical purposes unlimited. The price of funds may rise, but the funds do not run out. The Reserve bank is a lender of last resort. It is behind the city correspondent as well as the country correspondent.

The individual banker may say, of course, that it makes no difference to him, when he wants reserves, whether he tightens the money market as a whole in the process of getting them and makes the situation more difficult for other bankers. I do not believe, however, that many bankers would say this—most bankers recognize that a system whereby every individual bank is assured of adequate reserves without necessarily tightening the supply of reserves as a whole is to the interest of everyone—to the banker's interest and to his depositor's interest.

My point is, that in this respect as in others, it is impossible to see what is really to the individual banker's interest unless we bring into the picture those facts that are not discernible in the individual bank's operations, but only in the banking system's operations as a whole. It then becomes apparent that every bank that owns a bond or holds a promissory note is a beneficiary of the Federal Reserve System's operations whether it shares all the benefits and obligations of membership or not.

In the light of conditions that have prevailed in recent years, many of the considerations that I have been discussing so far may seem of little immediate importance. Few banks have needed to borrow. Though the Reserve banks have had occasion to guard bank portfolios against the effects of disturbances in the bond market, they have had little or no occasion, by discounting for individual member banks, or by buying securities in the open market, to enlarge the fund of reserves available to banks. In the aggregate, bank reserves have greatly exceeded requirements. Our estimate is that member banks, as a whole, have excess reserves of nearly $7,000,000,000, and that the banks of Chicago alone have excess reserves of about a half a billion. It is obvious that if this situation presents any problem at all, it is a problem of superabundant reserves and not of insufficient reserves; and that if any action by the Reserve authorities will be called for, it will not be action to provide for expansion but to guard against overexpansion. What such action might be one cannot say until the need for action develops. There certainly is no such need at present. But beyond that is the important fact that the present situation and its potentialities are such that the powers of the Federal Reserve authorities would not be effective against them. Those powers were based on experience which included no precedent for what now exists. They were based on the assumption that reserves greatly in excess of requirements, practically speaking, would never exist. That assumption, in the light of former experience, was thoroughly reasonable. There was no ground for any other assumption. The figures, the charts, and the discussions that reflect conditions as they were, prior to 1932, show no excess reserves. If any excess had developed through imports of gold or liquidation of bank credit, it could have been readily offset by open-market operations, if necessary. At present, the most that the Reserve authorities could do by open-market operations would be to reduce excess reserves by much less than half.

During the past few years the superabundant excess reserves have not been put into use, and therefore it has been hard to arouse interest in the need of safeguards against overextension of bank credit.

However, we see bank reserves now forming a potential basis for an overextension of credit just at a time when the defense program gives occasion for an immense demand for credit.

The uncertainties of the future are indeed tremendous. How long and extensive will the war be; will our participation be belligerent or nonbelligerent; will the victory be partial or complete; will the peace be constructive or vengeful? However events may answer those questions, we may be sure that the central banking functions of the Federal Reserve System will be more and more essential to our economy. We shall have more occasion than ever for a wise regulation of domestic credit, so that it may be readily available for proper use wherever and whenever needed, and so that it may not be available for harmful, speculative use. This requires that central banking responsibilities be implemented with effective powers, and not left, as at present, with powers that the developments of recent years have rendered ineffective. We shall also have more occasion than ever for a strict husbanding of our credit resources against the time when they can be used for restoration of trade relations with other countries. It is in this process, both for our own good and that of the world at large, that proper use for our gold stock must be found, and as the gold now abnormally accumulating here is redistributed, Federal Reserve bank credit may be counted on to take the place of the gold withdrawn, if necessary to prevent disturbance of the domestic supply of credit.

That is the problem as it presents itself to the central banking authorities. If we wait until the problem reaches the doors of your individual bank, then it may be too late. If it is met and solved as a central banking problem, it need never present itself as an individual banking problem. That is what we are supposed to prevent. The solution, however, is not for the central banking authorities to devise and apply by themselves. It is a collective matter. It is one that concerns you and demands your participation. Yet it requires more than merely the point of view of the individual bank. It requires that the point of view of the banking system as a whole be taken, that the close interconnection of bank with bank in an organic system be recognized as a fundamental condition, and that the essential purposes of central banking action be understood. For that reason I have taken much of your time and given much of my time this evening to clarifying the relationship between commercial banking and central banking—between the things that stand out from the point of view of the individual bank and the things that stand out from the point of view of the banking system considered as a whole.

Please understand that in emphasizing the point of view of the central banking organization I am not asking for the sacrifice of any other point of view. I am not suggesting that the individual banker give up any of his principles. Instead, I am saying that a solution of the problem requires not only the point of view of the individual bank with its recognition of the facts brought to every banker's attention by day to day experience, but also the point of view of central banking with its recognition of the facts that stand out in the operations of the banking system considered as a whole.

Meanwhile it goes without saying that these problems are receiving concentrated attention within the System. At the Board we are constantly engaged in studying them—the problem of idle money, for example, the problem of gold, the problem of trade after the war—and we are studying them not as abstract, theoretical questions but as problems which experience presents and which, in the light of experience, must be solved. You are familiar with by-products of this study as they appear from time to time in the Federal Reserve Bulletin and other publications of the Board.

In particular, you will recall that in its Annual Report to Congress for the year 1938 the Board presented a comprehensive discussion of the existing situation. A copy of this discussion was sent to every bank in the United States, members of the Federal Reserve System and nonmembers. As you know, the Senate last year adopted a resolution, introduced by Senator WAGNER, calling for a thorough study of monetary and banking problems by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency.

The situation, as described in the Board's 1938 report, is made up of many elements of different kinds, some concerning the structure of the banking system and some its functions. Reference is made in the Board's report to the multiplicity of banking laws and jurisdictions. Reference is made to the confusion of overlapping authority, which makes it necessary for banks to look one way for one thing and another way for something else. Reference is made to the inequality of competitive condition between the various classes of banks. Reference is made to the problem of uniformity of bank examination.

These problems constitute one part of the picture. I have had no time to go into them, but then they are matters that I imagine you know too well from experience. In fact, bankers are telling us about them every day. Moreover, they are problems that involve other departments and agencies as much as the Federal Reserve System. I have chosen to discuss instead the problems of reserves and credit policy, which constitute another part of the picture and to which reference is also made in our 1938 annual report. In the solution of both types of problems we bespeak your indispensable cooperation.

The Federal Reserve System, of which member banks are a part, operates in the interest of all banks in the country on behalf of industry, commerce, and agriculture, with just one objective—the public good.

Philippine-American Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST W. GIBSON

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 29 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY MANUEL ROXAS

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. President, on November 17 last, over the trans-Pacific radio from Manila, came the clear voice of a leading Filipino leader expressing Filipino loyalty to America, offering cooperation in national defense, setting forth the economic effects on the Philippines of the raging wars, and suggesting a reappraisal and reexamination of Philippine-American relations for the purpose of extending them beyond 1946, the date when by the Tydings-McDuffie Act complete Philippine independence shall become a legislative fact.

The voice was that of Manuel Roxas, secretary of finance in President Quezon's cabinet and chairman or member of various Philippine missions to the United States in years past.

Mr. Roxas' statement was approved publicly by President Manuel L. Quezon. I trust every Member of Congress will

take time to read it and be prepared to give it the most sympathetic consideration. It is terse, timely, and carries the stamp of sincerity, patriotism, and statesmanship.

As most of the Members of the Senate know, my father, the late Senator from Vermont, took an unwearied and intense interest in the welfare of the Filipino people. He would have been encouraged by the reading of Mr. Roxas' statement. May I say that during his entire service in Congress, extending for a generation, my father gave much thought and attention to the Philippines, and his every impulse was to secure a square deal for the Filipino people and to cement the unity of the United States and the Philippines for their common good.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Manila Daily Bulletin]

SUGGESTS EXTENDING INDEPENDENCE LAW PROVISIONS 10 YEARS—WAR IS REASON—NORMAL WORLD CONDITIONS NO LONGER EXISTING, AMERICA TOLD—CAN'T STAND TAXES—FINANCE SECRETARY MAKES BROAD APPEAL TO FAIRNESS OF UNITED STATES

The views of Secretary Roxas, who is chairman of the national economic council as well as finance secretary, are regarded as specially significant because they are understood to reflect those of President Quezon. He was known to have had conferences with the President before he made the speech.

TEXT OF THE ADDRESS

Mr. Roxas spoke as follows:

"I am happy to be able to address a radio audience of Americans through the recently established facilities of station KZRH of Manila. This service, I am certain, will bring the United States and the Philippines closer together and will greatly help in making the Philippines better known to Americans and in promoting a better understanding by them of its vital problems. This is the more to be welcomed because in the past we have not had the opportunity to fully inform and acquaint the people of the United States with the conditions prevailing here. For that reason, it has often been extremely difficult for us to direct the attention of the Congress of the United States to our most pressing problems so that it might take such action as might we warranted. Fortunately, American Presidents and their representatives in the Philippines have always shown solicitude for our welfare, and because of this fact we have at critical times secured necessary action by Congress. It is my hope that with the facilities of this radio broadcasting service we will be able to arouse more interest among our American friends in the fate and future of the Philippines.

"The world is going through a painful crisis and the Philippines, although not directly involved in the armed conflict, is, nevertheless, suffering from its harmful consequences, perhaps more than is the case with continental United States. True, the Philippines is still the one bright spot in this part of the world. We are completely surrounded by warring nations and yet we live in peace, practice democracy, and maintain individual liberty under the American flag.

"FILLED WITH MISGIVINGS

"The international situation, however, is filling us with misgivings as to the future. We see danger signals ahead and we are impotent to face possible emergencies were they to eventuate in the near future. We are desirous of preparing ourselves adequately to meet any challenge to our liberties. We are anxious to cooperate. We are determined, as we are bound by law, to place all our men and material resources at the disposal of America when the bugle call of defense is sounded. We would be glad to fight for every inch of our land against invasion if we are given the opportunity and the means to meet that ordeal.

"We do not expect American soldiers to shed their blood in the Philippines. We claim that duty as our own. We have now approximately 150,000 trained men for the defense of our Territory—a force which is being augmented each year by some 30,000. We have conscription. We have an adequate framework. We have intelligent leadership. We have patriotism and determination. What we need are more arms and ammunition, more airplanes and other equipment essential to modern warfare which are not produced in these islands. These, I believe, the United States can supply us while, at the same time, safeguarding our communication with continental America with her powerful fleet. It cannot be the plan to leave the Philippines to its fate and to permit it ruthlessly to be overrun by an invader.

"That would be inhuman. It would be repugnant to American honor and traditions. It would destroy 40 years of American altruistic efforts in this country to prepare us for independent nationhood and to advance the frontiers of democracy. We Filipinos do not believe that American pride and prestige would allow such a thing to come to pass. We believe that the conscience of America would revolt against it. We believe the American people will fight to prevent the desecration here of the American flag and to stop the invasion of this American territory.

"WOULD FORESTALL WAR

"It is the considered judgment of qualified observers that if the United States should today make herself strong in the Philippines that alone would tend to forestall her involvement in a war in this section of the globe. Our present insecurity is a source of great danger to the peace of America. I make this assertion because of my loyalty to America, because of my fervent wish that she may continue to live in peace, and because of my deep concern for the safety of my country.

"I also desire to call attention to the progress of our efforts to prepare the Philippines economically for independence in 1946. The Philippine Independence Act approved by Congress in 1934 grants us 10 years from the date of the inauguration of the Commonwealth government in 1935 to make ready for an independent existence and the termination of preferential trade with the United States. This was considered essential in order to permit Philippine economy gradually to adjust itself to conditions under independence when this country will be outside the tariff walls of the United States. When this plan was adopted, tremendous difficulties were already anticipated. Considering that the basic economy of the Philippines was dependent upon free trade with America, it was expected that many of her primary industries would be destroyed if preferences in the American market were withdrawn.

"The aim of the plan was gradually to make the Philippines less dependent on the free American market. The Philippines was expected to find other markets for her exports, particularly among her neighbors, reduce production costs so as to meet competitive conditions, and shift production to such articles as may be produced profitably without requiring preferential treatment in foreign markets. Our government has endeavored to formulate plans for the accomplishment of this task. This has been done to the best of our ability, sparing neither effort nor sacrifice on the part of our people in the execution of such plans. But the congressional formula, as well as the plans we have adopted, were predicated upon normal conditions prevailing in the world, with commerce flowing freely among nations on the basis of free competition. That basic condition, however, no longer exists. More than one-half of the population of the world are engaged in war. We have lost our trade with Europe and our commerce with China and Japan has been drastically curtailed.

"BOUND CLOSER TO UNITED STATES

"The effect of the current conflicts upon our economy has been to bind it more closely with that of the United States, for America is practically the only market that remains open to us. As a consequence, instead of reducing our economic dependence on America, we find ourselves today even more dependent on her market than we were when Congress enacted the independence law. Besides, for the last 2 years we have been suffering from an unfavorable balance of trade which is being accentuated from month to month during the duration of the world crisis. Our trade with the United States has also been favorable to us partly because of the extraordinary low prices for our export commodities—chiefly sugar, copra, and hemp—and because of continuously rising freight and insurance rates. Of great significance is the large increase of our volume of trade with the United States. We are not only buying but we are selling to America more than we did when the Independence Act was passed, which shows a contrary trend to what the Congress of the United States had projected.

"We are anticipating acute economic hardships in the Philippines unless world peace is reestablished soon. We now find our task of economic readjustment not only extremely difficult but practically impossible during the period granted to us. These difficulties will be aggravated by the imposition of export taxes and quota limitations on our exports to the United States beginning next January. Cordage is restricted to a fixed quota; coconut oil and cigars are subjected to yearly decreasing quantitative limitations, while sugar and other articles will bear gradually increasing percentages of the American tariff, and this will happen at a time when we shall not be able to find markets for products that we cannot sell in America and in the face of mounting production and marketing costs because of war conditions.

"APPEAL TO FAIRNESS

"I wish to bring this matter to the attention of the American Government and the American people, who I know want to be fair to the Philippines. We will have to undergo great human suffering unless we are granted an immediate relief from the operation of congressional statutes that will increase our burdens during these times of stress. I ask for this relief because the circumstances which make it imperative were not anticipated by Congress, and are beyond our control. Concretely, this relief should consist of prolonging the economic adjustment period for at least 10 years more and postponing the gradual imposition of quotas and tariff duties on Philippine exportations to the United States until 4 years after peace has been reestablished.

"I make bold to ask this relief because our whole program of economic adjustment has been wrecked by war conditions and because it is now practically impossible to accomplish the task of economic readjustment within the remaining 5 years before independence. Congress has provided for the calling of a trade conference between representatives of the United States and of the Philippines to meet at least 2 years before 1946 in order to formulate plans for trade relations between the two countries after independence. I am of the opinion that that conference should meet before the end of this year so that our present problems and difficulties may be considered and a sounder and fairer plan may be submitted to Congress for action at its next session. Any change in the program of economic adjustment need not postpone or alter the date of independence prescribed in the Independence Act. I make this proposal in the firm belief that the American people, today as in the past, have the interest of the Philippines at heart and that it is their desire to launch the Philippine free republic under circumstances which will permit it reasonably to survive and not to be a helpless prey to the greed and tyranny of other powers."

The Neutrality Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR CAPPER

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 29 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. ALFRED M. LANDON

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "Stand by the Neutrality Act," delivered by the Honorable Alfred M. Landon, of Kansas, at the meeting of the Kansas City Cooperative Club, November 26, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We are all of us interested in the kind of conditions and government we are going to live under and do business under. And I making no pretense, in the present chaotic world, of attempting any accurate forecast. There are, however, a few factors which will have a definite effect not only on business but on the life of every American—man, woman, and child.

The rule is for a public speaker to be optimistic and cheerful. But today, in hitting some of the high spots of the factors I think are going to affect us, I am going to try not so much to be cheerful as to do some straight thinking in considering these questions.

Of course the immediate present and the immediate situation as it affects Kansas City trade territory are easier to evaluate than the more distant future. Right now we are facing the best winter-wheat prospects in Kansas that we have enjoyed for 10 or 12 years. It would seem that the only thing to prevent a bumper wheat crop in 1941 in Kansas would be an extremely wet spring. I remember President Farrell, of Kansas State, told me once that more good wheat crops were spoiled in Kansas by wet weather than by dry weather. Of course, that was 7 or 8 years ago, before we got started into this terrible dry cycle we have been going through.

On top of the excellent wheat prospect in Kansas we will probably produce more oil in 1941 than we have produced in a good many years. I expect to see us exceed by 50 percent the daily average production of the years from 1936 to 1941, inclusive. Along with this increased daily production will come an increased drilling campaign, in which new sections of the State, particularly northeastern Kansas, will certainly receive some development.

This estimate of increased demand for Kansas oil is not based on any expected war demands. It is caused by certain domestic facts. So that any increased demand for American oil by reason of war requirements would be added to the natural economic market that is now available for Kansas oil.

When we get away from Kansas territory and contemplate other things that are going to affect our lives and our business conditions, the future is not so rosy. In the thirties we all looked back on the twenties as halcyon days. Well, I would not be surprised if before we are through with the forties we will be looking back on the thirties as halcyon days. When this present war boom is over we will face the gravest public financial crisis in our history.

The big "if" in the future is whether we are going to get into this war or not. It is not necessary to paint a picture of the brutal impulses that are released by war and the terrible suffering and toil and hardship that will come to everyone of us in this country if war occurs. The American people are intelligent enough to know what war means in the way of suffering and hardships and heartaches. But it needs to be constantly reiterated, because, after all, we have in reality only had a theoretical experience. The people of this country would really have to go back to the Civil War for a taste of what war really means to the civilian population. And 1917 and 1918 will seem like child's play compared with what we shall go through if we get into this war.

A new world is being born today. It is not a pleasant world to contemplate, regardless of the outcome of this war. If we choose wisely our course of action now and in the months to come, we can avoid the grim spectacle of distressed women and children and disabled men. The chief victims of any and every war are the average folks.

We have little comprehension of the cost to all of us of the present necessary national-defense program.

For more than a year we have been considering and debating and discussing public policies from the angle of whether or not they will increase our chances of getting into war. And if we are not to become a belligerent, there is more need to center our attention on this question today than ever before. The basic question in the background of all discussion of international policies today is whether we should or should not become an active belligerent, and send another armed expeditionary force to Europe to participate in another—and this time longer and bloodier—world war. If we are not going to participate actively in the fighting, we cannot extend any new form of aid by further amending our neutrality laws. We should not make this change without knowing what it means. I say this because of the effect on public feeling here in America of the sinking of American ships.

It is not a question of determination by the Chief Executive to keep us out of war. It is a question of avoiding policies which will stir the American people to the point where they will be engulfed in a wave of war hysteria, which has swept us before, and which can sweep us again if we are not constantly on our guard.

The overwhelming majority of the American people are heart and soul with the English in their great fight for all the things we believe in and the kind of a world we want to live in. But I think we have gone about as far as we can go in helping them without involving ourselves as an actual belligerent. And once we become a belligerent it inevitably follows that we must send an armed expeditionary force to Europe once again.

There is no question but what England is in a desperate plight. If we become involved in this war as an active belligerent, the world then will be facing 100 years, at least, comparable to the Dark Ages.

It is rather evident that Russia does not intend to become involved in any major fighting now, preferring to wait until the other six great powers, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States—if we become involved—wear each other down, so that a desperate, war-weary, bankrupt, jobless, and hopeless people will be ready to grab at the pseudo-communism of Russia as a drowning man grabs at a straw. Then, if it works out as Moscow hopes it will, Moscow hopes to rule the world as Rome ruled it in days of old.

But the inherent weakness of their plans for world division is that nazi-ism and communism fail to provide a decent civilization for the average man.

Both Hitler and Stalin have in foreign countries followers who take orders from Berlin or Moscow instead of being loyal to the country of their citizenship.

But we hear too much emphasis on the bunds these days, and not enough emphasis on the Communists themselves, both of whom are alike in following the dictates of a foreign party leader rather than the party policies formulated in the free discussion and debate of American politics.

The very first question we must consider, in the light of America's interest, is whether we should go any further in our aid to Great Britain. The President said the other day that we were going about as far as we could under our present laws. Already there is a drive being organized to further modify our neutrality laws. I supported the change that was made a year ago last September, but I cannot support any further change, because I believe that if we ever start sending our ships into the war zones we might as well declare war and prepare to send an armed expeditionary force to Europe. Future events will prove that the vote of any Member of the Congress to amend our present neutrality law will have been tantamount to voting for a declaration of war.

The minute an American ship is sunk by a submarine, the war temperature will start a rapid climb, and it will not take many incidents of that kind before we become an active belligerent.

The left-wing radicals of America are the war party today. The very ones who a few years ago were saying that we went into the World War because of the credits which had been extended to the Allies are now favoring the modification of the Johnson Act which would make possible once again extending of credit to Great Britain.

Because I never believed that we went into the war of 1917 because of the credits, I am not so much concerned about the modification of the Johnson Act. I don't believe we will follow our dollars into the war. But the left-wing radicals who preached that, as I have said, up until the last year or two are now convicted by their own words of pursuing a policy in favoring this repeal which would involve us in war.

If, when England is reaching the end of her finances, we could consider the question of the Johnson Act separately and apart, and know that there would be no further attempts to involve us by modifying our present neutrality laws, that might be one thing. But there seems to be no stopping place. Some of these folks who want to aid Great Britain are perfectly willing to do anything, regardless of the effect on America's chance for peace.

I say that if we modify the Neutrality Act to permit our ships to enter the war zones, then it will be a case of "Johnny get you gun, get your gun, get your gun."

One of the arguments of those who want to ignore every other consideration in their aid to Britain is that if England loses, Churchill and his government will move to Canada and continue the conflict there.

They say the Monroe Doctrine would then operate to suck us in. That would depend on so many things that I see no reason, at this time, why we should assume it is going to occur. We might well have a negotiated peace before the English Government would move to Canada. It is true that this negotiated peace might be more or less a temporary armistice. But, beyond that, it seems to me Herr Hitler is not going to be in any position, by the time he gets through with England, to come to America, or even to any spot on the Western Hemisphere, with an armed force. Regardless of the duration or the outcome of the war, his hands are going to be full for a long, long time.

Of course, there is no question of the necessity of defending the Western Hemisphere if Herr Hitler should be so foolhardy as to attack it any place.

But if we do get into the war, it will mean fighting Germany and her allies in Europe, with Japan in the Far East, and with the "red bear" watching from the sidelines and licking its chops.

Therefore, I, for one, who have favored the repeal of the Neutrality Act, up to date, and everything we have done, up to date, in assisting Great Britain, say that it is time to stop seeking new ways of assisting her when these new ways will inevitably involve us in war.

Let us continue, by all means, our present scale of assistance. I am perfectly willing that we divide our airplane production, our rifle production, our tractor production, and everything else. But I repeat again, that if we send our ships into the war zone, let us face it frankly as a declaration of war.

Assuming the very worst, it is a paradox that the more Hitler conquers, the weaker he becomes. The problem of a foreign totalitarian government successfully governing permanently a free, courageous, and patriotic people like the French and the Dutch and the Norwegians, is going to be an insurmountable one for Herr Hitler. And this despite the new military technology which gives those who control the machine gun and the armored car a greater advantage than the old feudal knight over the average man. The strain and the tension of such a situation are too much for both sides to long endure.

If we succeed in staying out of actual armed conflict in Europe, we may be engaged in economic warfare for some years to come, in which trade takes the place of bayonets.

The man who controls the machine-gun squads of a country today controls the trade, just as did the feudal knight in his castle a few hundred years ago. And practically all Europe and Asia are organized on that basis. It is not at all certain, however, that the German people will find it to their advantage to continue such a policy of pure barter. Even in victory there are many things probable that will effectively force Herr Hitler to many compromises. This economic warfare of barter and controlled trade is going to cause great dislocations in business and labor and standards of living in this country—but not so great dislocation as actual participation in the war would bring. And it cannot last indefinitely.

In my opinion, this country of ours will stand or fall in the perilous years ahead of us by the way we meet the problem of national unity, and so will England, because she is dependent on our industrial output.

Labor is fighting labor. Labor has been and is being taught to hate those for whom it works. Too many teachers in our public schools, and educators in our colleges, are instilling fear and cynicism in the youth of the country against our institutions generally; and, fanning the fire, in labor, in schools, among our youth, and among the Negroes and other racial and economic groups, etc., are swarms of Communists and fellow travelers. These people do not want our democracy to succeed. They do not want our people to be happy. A happy and contented country is proof against those who would destroy us from within or from without. Normally I have no fear whatever of nazi-ism or fascism. These breeds are fairly well discredited in the United States. I have yet to hear of a single labor union, school, university, church, or public official advocating such ideologies in this country. A handful of stupid citizens of Germanic or Italian origin have formed "bunds," or something, but we can see them and know them for what they are; and doubtless, just as they had during the World War, the Germans have their spies and saboteurs in our national-defense industries, but these we could and should deal with as they deserve. But to read the left-wing publications you would think the "bunds" and the Fascists were the only "fifth column" in the country. They ignore our own Communists and fellow travelers who are more than liberally sprinkled throughout our national set-up—in journalism, the law, the pulpit, and the universities, down to the organized ranks of the unemployed, and the twelve to fourteen million Negroes amongst whom the agitators are working like beavers.

If we ever have any form of fascism in the United States, it will come as a reaction against communism, just as it has in Europe. It will come as a choice between two hateful evils. It is no choice as far as I am concerned. One is just as bad as the other.

That is why I think unity is so important. In fact, unity is more than important. It is vital. It is life or death for our country.

Now, by unity I do not mean we give up our right to complain and protest in deliberative procedure regarding things economic, political, or otherwise. But the "fifth column" of Communists and Nazis within our midst, who owe allegiance to a foreign country and who do not want our system to work, are trying to keep this customary procedure from working by organized propaganda of intolerance and hate and violence.

Some folks seem to have a hard time describing and defining just what unity means. To me it means getting along together, just as we used to before all this name calling became fashionable.

It's a pretty black picture as I see it. But we may be able to save ourselves, and ultimately the rest of the world, if we will only unite in this country, forget class hatred, and pull together, with the fire of conviction in the glorious destiny of the Republic. Do that and arm ourselves so terrifically that we can lick any other country or likely combination of countries that presumes to attack us.

National Conference on Palestine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 29 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

RADIO ADDRESSES ON PRESENTATION OF REPLICA OF GOLDEN BOOK OF JERUSALEM TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, in St. Louis, Mo., on the 10th day of November, a convention of the Jewish National Fund of the United States was held. The Jewish National Fund is an organization whose purpose is to raise money in an effort to assist Jewish refugees in Europe and elsewhere, and particularly to seek to find them homes in the Holy Land, in Palestine. They have done a wonderful work in that connection in a very brief time. They have been able to repatriate nearly 500,000 members of the Jewish race in Palestine and put them on land from which they will be able to find a living and sustenance and, I hope, peace.

In connection with the convention in St. Louis, which was held on November 9, 10, and 11, there was a ceremony Sunday morning, in which a replica of the Golden Book, which rests in the city of Jerusalem, was presented to the President of the United States. In this marvelous and beautiful book there appear a thousand names, each one of a person or organization contributing $100, making a contribution of $100,000 represented by the names which are printed in gold in this beautiful book.

As evidence of the appreciation of the members of this organization for his consistently friendly attitude and the help rendered by the President of the United States, they have given to him an exact replica of the book which rests in the city of Jerusalem, and as a part of the ceremonies of presentation a brief address was delivered by Mr. Jacob Sincoff, in which he introduced Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Jewish National Fund, presenting this beautiful book to the President, through me, as the President's representative and spokesman on that occasion.

I have here also a letter from the President of the United States to Dr. Goldstein thanking the organization for the book, as well as a very brief address delivered by me in accepting the book on behalf of the President of the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that these proceedings be printed as a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY MR. JACOB SINCOFF ON PRESENTATION OF ROOSEVELT GOLDEN BOOK VOLUME TO DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

Dr. Goldstein, Senator BARKLEY, ladies, and gentlemen, 2 years ago, shortly after President Roosevelt had convoked the intergovernmental conference to consider the plight of the refugees from persecution, the Jewish National Fund of America resolved to register its appreciation to the great humanitarianism of the President of the United States.

It was resolved that in our golden book of remembrance, which is lodged in Jerusalem, a new section be dedicated to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Into that golden book inscriptions of gratitude have been entered by 1,000 American groups and organizations representing nearly 500,000 men and women throughout the United States. Every inscription has been accompanied by a gift to the Jewish National Fund for the purchase of an acre of land in Palestine upon which a refugee can establish himself.

As chairman of the national committee for the Roosevelt golden book, I have the pleasure to report to you the successful completion of this $100,000 tribute, and I have the high honor to turn over to you, the president of the Jewish National Fund of America, this beautiful replica of the Roosevelt golden book in Jerusalem.

ADDRESS BY DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN AT ROOSEVELT GOLDEN BOOK PRESENTATION EXERCISES

Senator BARKLEY, ladies, and gentlemen, 150 years ago, in 1790, the Hebrew congregations of New York, Philadelphia, Newport, Richmond, Charleston, and Savannah, representing the then Jewish population of the United States, sent addresses of felicitation and gratitude to George Washington upon his election as the first President of the newly established Nation.

Washington's responses to these addresses are among the most precious texts and traditions of our democracy. The following paragraph of his reply to the Newport congregation is characteristic:

"The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy—a policy worthy of imitation.

"It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it were the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights, for, happily, the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanctions, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

"May the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants—while everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid."

Today those words stir us as much as they stirred our forebears a century and a half ago, because the civic and political gains which have come to western Europe in this century and a half under the impulse of the American Revolution and the French Revolution, are now, alas, blacked out in nearly all of Europe, with England left almost alone to struggle for their preservation. We thank God that on this hemisphere the social philosophy of George Washington is still operative. His words uttered 150 years ago are as vibrant as if they were being uttered this moment, because they are a challenge today as they were then.

It is with a sense of historic sequence, as a sequel to those sentiments of felicitation and gratitude which our forebears offered to the first President of the United States, that the address to our present Chief Executive has just been read; that the names in this book, representing a constituency of 500,000 American citizens of all political groups and parties, have been inscribed; and that the golden book containing the address and the inscriptions is now being dedicated to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The original volume, of which this is a replica, will rest in Jerusalem alongside of other volumes which honor such names as Woodrow Wilson, Arthur James Balfour, Lloyd George, Albert Einstein, and Theodore Herzl.

We believe that Americans of all groups, who are imbued with the spirit to which our first President gave utterance 150 years ago, join with us here and now in hailing the humanitarianism of the Chief Executive of the American people and his forthright espousal of the rights of man.

When 2 years ago he convoked the intergovernmental conference to consider the plight of the refugees, he was giving practical expression not only to his own humanitarianism but to that of the American people. He saw then what all of us see now, that tyrants who begin by oppressing helpless minorities end by seeking to oppress all mankind. If that conference did not produce the results which had been hoped for, it was nevertheless a reminder to the forces of darkness and brutality that there was still a conscience among men, and it was a reminder to the victims that the "Redeemer yet liveth" in the hearts of men.

That there was a special fitness in having the inscriptions in the Roosevelt golden book result in tangible help to the refugees in Palestine is recognized by those who know that since 1933, when the problem became acute, more refugees have found a home in Palestine than in any other land, including our own United States. In past periods this continent was the refuge No. 1 for the oppressed and persecuted of the Old World. Our Nation has been built up by refugees—Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, Britishers, Germans, Slavs, and Italians—beginning with the *Mayflower*, which was a boatload of refugees. In the past decade little Palestine, with one-thousandth of the area of our vast country, has been refuge No. 1, and to the Jewish refugees has been not only a refuge but a home.

The $100,000 realized from inscriptions in the Roosevelt Golden Book have provided for the homeless of our people footholds of salvation and acres of livelihood in the Jewish national home.

Whatever the fate of the Jew in the rest of the world may be, even after the war will have ended in victory for civilization, and no matter how many Jews there may be in other lands, there will always be need for a Jewish national home where the Jew can take up again the thread of his great past and body forth again a characteristic way of life which will again enrich the whole of civilization.

This program of rehabilitation and renascence, made dynamic by the twofold drive of deep idealism and grim necessity, has received the endorsement of the Congress of the United States nearly 20 years ago in the Lodge-Fish resolution and has been approved by every American President since that time.

Many a refugee who has found an acre of salvation in Palestine, thanks to the Roosevelt Golden Book project, is today fighting valiantly at the side of Great Britain in that strategic outpost in the battle for democracy, grateful for the opportunity to exercise the elementary right of a people to defend its national home and the larger cause with which it is linked. There on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean 500,000 Jews are ready to do their share toward the achievement of an objective which American policy, as declared by the spokesmen of all parties, would like to see achieved, namely, the defeat of the foes of democracy.

These ceremonies of the dedication and presentation of the Roosevelt Golden Book are therefore more than ceremonies. They touch the deepest concerns and the highest aspirations of our time.

What you see here is a replica of the original volume which on this same day is being dedicated by the world head of the Jewish National Fund, Menahem Ussishkin, in Jerusalem, in the Holy City of the Holy Land, which is holy to Christian and Jew alike, whence emanated those timeless imperatives, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," "Love the stranger, for ye were strangers once in Egypt," "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." May the time not be distant when these Biblical mandates which America has taken to its heart will be taken to the hearts of men everywhere.

Senator BARKLEY, as you have been designated by the President of the United States to represent him in these ceremonies, I have the honor to present through you to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt this token of gratitude and felicitation from a people which knows how to cherish the champions of the weak and the spokesmen of the free.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, November 2, 1940.

MY DEAR DR. GOLDSTEIN: It is with deep appreciation that I accept the replica of the Golden Book which has been so graciously presented to me by the Jewish National Fund of America at its annual convention.

In reaffirming the faith of the founders of our great democracy, we must rededicate ourselves to upholding the inherent right of all peoples, regardless of race, creed, or color, to live in peace, to follow the religious teachings of their fathers, and to have a homeland free from the persecution of those who refuse to admit this right. In doing so I again call upon all free peoples to strive for these ideals and principles through which the family is reunited, the nations of the world strengthened, and the future welfare of the individual secured.

With best wishes for a successful meeting, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Dr. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN,
President, Jewish National Fund of America.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR ALBEN W. BARKLEY ACCEPTING REPLICA OF GOLDEN BOOK

Dr. Goldstein, ladies, and gentlemen, it is indeed a signal honor which I enjoy today.

In truth, it is a double honor—the honor of representing the President of the United States—this significant and historical ceremony—and the honor of being your guest on this occasion.

There are two compelling reasons which make appropriate the presentation of this replica of the Golden Book to President Roosevelt.

The first reason is found in the outstanding service which he has rendered to the cause of humanity—especially distressed humanity—throughout the world. He has made this contribution as President of the United States, and he has devoted to this cause his public influence and responsibility. As Chief Executive of this strong Nation of free men and women, his voice has not only spoken, it has been heard throughout the world, and it has been heeded.

You are familiar with the call for a world conference on the fate of refugees for which he was responsible.

You are also familiar with his consistent and aggressive demand for justice and fair play for men and women of every race, nationality, creed, or color, in America and throughout the world.

But this demand for justice and fair play, for the opportunity to enjoy the resources with which God has endowed this world, would not have been sufficient or as powerful if it has been only official.

It has been more than official.

Its official character gave to it a wider audience—a more universal forum among men and nations.

But its real quality was personal. It came from the heart. This is what has endeared him so tremendously to men and women of all classes and all races. This is the characteristic which has caused him to become known as the greatest humanitarian who has occupied the Presidency of this Nation. A humanitarian may be merely a President, or a king, or a minister of state. But he may even more likely be also a man.

President Roosevelt combines them both so admirably that the dividing line between them is scarcely discernible.

The original of this Golden Book is in Jerusalem, the city of David, the city of God.

What a wealth of historic memories this day must rekindle among a race which from Moses to Brandeis and Frankfurter and Einstein has enriched every field of human endeavor in which it has labored.

This Golden Book represents the financial gifts and sacrifice which spell new hopes and new lives for thousands of Jews in their ancient homeland. It spells likewise a new pride and a new joy in the hearts of those who have made this great thing possible, and whose names are forever associated with the event.

As an American, and as a gentile, I share with you the joy and the spiritual exhilaration which comes from the knowledge that America constitutes the atmosphere and the workshop of a democracy which fosters the belief, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and which will triumph over every enemy that may seek to undermine it within our own borders or from any other quarter of the earth.

With profound pleasure and a full appreciation of the deep significance of the spirit which has inspired you to tender to the President this Golden Book, I accept it for him, and if it be your wish, shall deliver it to him, and for you and all that you represent I bespeak immeasurable devotion and success.

I am sure that the President will cherish this gorgeous book during the remainder of his days, and that his children and his grandchildren will bless you for this recognition of his great service not only from your pockets but from your hearts as well.

Health in Wartime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN J. FRAZIER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 29 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE BY BERNARR MACFADDEN

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in the November 30 issue of Liberty magazine, written by Bernarr Macfadden and entitled "War—Health—Doctors." Mr. Macfadden is an authority on health and physical culture, and I believe the editorial is well worth while. He compares the number of deaths during the World War from influenza and pneumonia under medical treatment with the number which it is claimed would have occurred under other forms of treatment, such as osteopathy, naturopathy, or chiropractic. He contends that if the other methods had been followed there would have been 450,000 lives saved during the war. I regard the editorial as timely, because we are sending our boys into the draft, and they should be taken care of.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Liberty for November 30, 1940]

WAR—HEALTH—DOCTORS

Approximately 375,000 people in this country lost their lives during 1918 from influenza. About 125,000 died in 1919, 107,000 in 1920. It was in 1918 that our boys began to train for the World War.

The cause of influenza was supposed to be a germ acquired from foreign sources. An added danger is its frequent development into pneumonia. But now that American boys are again in training, it is quite appropriate that further investigation be made.

We have various systems of doctoring—the allopaths, homeopaths, osteopaths, naturopaths, chiropractors, and a number of other systems of healing, the advocates of each system maintaining that their particular procedure is the best.

The death rate among the soldier boys suffering from pneumonia was 34¼ percent. They were treated in accordance with the allopathic measures advocated by the medical system that controlled the healing art in this country.

The osteopaths maintained that their mortality rate in treating the civil population—since they were not allowed to practice in Army camps—was only one-fourth of 1 percent for influenza as compared to 5 to 6 percent under medical care. The osteopathic claim for pneumonia is a fatality record of 10 percent as compared with the medical fatality record of 33 percent.

Chiropractors, who were also excluded from army camps, claim a mortality record in the treatment of influenza of about 2.1 percent. Chiropractors cite that in the last 5 years, out of 4,193 cases of influenza, 4,104 cases recovered. This is a record of 97.9 percent recovery and a mortality rate of 2.1 percent. In lobar pneumonia, of 364 cases reported, 322 recovered. This is a recovery rate of 91.2 percent and a mortality rate of 8.8 percent.

Figures on the naturopaths' results are not available, but could be expected to be similar.

When the figures were published after the last war they attracted general public attention; but will our new soldier boys attacked by this ailment have to take the same treatment which brought such a disastrous mortality record? The medical department of army life should give some attention to the various methods in the treatment of this disease, and, in fact, all diseases.

Our boys enter the Army. They are given serums of various kinds to protect them from diseases, and the exact effect of this treatment is certainly not similar in every instance. There are many different stages of health and disease, and the effect of these serums will depend upon the vital condition of the victims.

Training for soldiery is rather monotonous. Mealtimes are a pleasing variation, and very heavy eating is the rule, and even the heavy work is not always sufficient to use up the large food intake. Unless one has enough vitality to stand the functional strain, the tissues become loaded with toxins, and colds, pneumonia, influenza—almost any disease—is liable to appear.

If the doctoring system, upon the appearance of this disease, insists on the continuance of the three meals per day, unless the patient has the vitality of an ox, he has but small chance to survive.

Doctors everywhere agree that the vitality can be raised to such an extent as to make the body immune to disease. Why is not such a system tested in the Army?

It is reasonable to ask why the homeopaths, osteopaths, naturopaths, and chiropractors are not given a chance to demonstrate the value of their methods. Why give a monopoly of the healing art to one particular profession?

If the osteopaths' claim is accurate and their method had been universally used in 1918 in the United States, at least 450,000 lives would have been saved, even if all the victims had had pneumonia.

Were these lives worth saving? Are political favoritism, the rigid rules of medical ethics, or other questionable measures to interfere with the search for life-saving knowledge? There has been too much commercialism in the medical profession. There is too much hide-bound ethical nonsense.

The science of healing is becoming more complicated year by year. We have specialists of all kinds, and the intricate methods used are given so much attention that the importance of normal functioning is sometimes forgotten.

Nothing should be too good for our boys who are training for war, and they should not be experimented on like guinea pigs. Nor should it be taken for granted that the serum injections to which they are subjected are what they pretend to be. So-called serum protection from disease is not compulsory in the British Army, and our boys should also have the privilege of rejecting this pus-poisoning procedure.

BERNARR MACFADDEN.

Dinner of Jesuit-Xavier Jubilee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 29 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES A. FARLEY

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a very able address delivered by the Honorable James A. Farley at the civic testimonial dinner of the Jesuit-Xavier Jubilee, held on the evening of November 24, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To help one's friends celebrate an important anniversary is always gratifying. It is doubly gratifying when the event commemorated was the beginning of a long series of brilliant and successful achievements. If the anniversary does not mark the end of service but rather offers promise of still greater deeds and more striking successes to come the joy is complete. It is this complete joy that I feel tonight in helping the Jesuits and their friends of Cincinnati to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the Society of Jesus and the hundredth anniversary of Xavier University.

Today more than in the past the standard by which men judge the worth of any organization is the standard of service. They ask: "What concrete benefits to its fellow men does it bestow? What betterment of social and economic condition does it effect? What contributions does it make to individual and social happiness?" This is not a new standard. We were told long ago, "By their fruits you shall know them." But today that standard is being applied in a more exacting way.

Judged by this rigorous standard of service, the Society of Jesus stands forth preeminent among the great civilizing and beneficent organizations of history. Its record of 400 years is a record of magnificent achievement. Its missionaries have penetrated into the most remote corners of the earth, and have brought truth and civilization to pagan and barbarian lands. St. Francis Xavier, after whom this great university is named, was the greatest Christian missionary since the days of St. Paul. The annals of history record no greater achievement in the rapid civilization of barbarous tribes than the Jesuits obtained in the reductions of Paraguay in South America, and the intrepid courage and incredible hardship such missionary endeavors entailed are nowhere better exemplified than in the heroic lives of the famous Jesuits of early American history. Their daring exploits have thrilled every American schoolboy. Their eagerness to plant the faith and civilize the American Indian surpassed even the greed of the traders. The only canonized saints of the Catholic Church in the United States today are three Jesuit missionaries, Sts. Isaac Jogues, Rene Coupil, and John Lalande.

They planted the seeds of that church by incredible labors among the Indians and nurtured it with their martyr's blood. American historians will forever preserve the memory of their deeds, and with them the deeds of countless other Jesuit missionaries, explorers, and civilizers, such as Fathers Marquette, Allouez, De Smet, and Kino. They first penetrated the forests and mapped the courses of the rivers, blazing the trail for the nation of freemen who would follow after them.

The deeds of the Jesuit missionaries here found their counterparts in South America and Africa and Asia. Jesuits were found along the banks of the Amazon and in the crude straw huts of the Congo; they disputed with the Hindus of India and found entrance through their erudition to the courts and universities of Japan. There was scarcely a sea that some daring Jesuit did not sail; scarcely a land or an island that they did not evangelize. Their founder, St. Ignatius of Loyola, is known as the soldier saint. No conqueror of ancient or modern times, be he Napoleon or Caesar or the power-mad dictators of today, ever inspired his followers with greater zeal to spread their kingdom than Ignatius inspired in his men to spread the light of the Gospel. The path of the world conquerors left nothing behind but smoking ruins and broken bodies; the advance of the Jesuit missionary has meant the coming of peace, of learning, and of civilization.

Not only in its missionary efforts has the Jesuit Order been outstanding. Its record of achievement has been equally splendid in other fields. Few organizations, either within the Catholic Church or outside it, can boast of such a long and continuous line of distinguished writers, brilliant teachers, eloquent preachers, and eminent men of science. Wholly devoted to the interests of religion and humanity, the order has adapted itself to every circumstance and utilized every means, both human and divine, to stem the growing tide of irreligion and revolutionary destruction in the Christian west. Its numerous schools have sought to bring the advantages of learning and science to the masses of the people. There is scarcely a branch of learning or a field of science in which its members have not distinguished themselves and made notable contributions. Countless books and periodicals on every variety of subject, both religious and profane, have been published by them. Not only by the written word, but by their lectures and preaching, their retreats and missions. Their spiritual administrations, their work among the poor and in the hospitals, and, above all, by the forceful example of saintly lives, they have endeavored to bring religion and culture into the lives of the people. They have sought to combine the blessings of modern progress and free institutions with the beauty of revealed truth to make men's lives more happy and their salvation more assured.

Nowhere has the Jesuit ideal to unite earthly wisdom and progress with religious truth and sanctity been better illustrated than in the great field of Catholic education. Nowhere has it produced more noteworthy results. Over 300 years of practice in some of the greatest universities of Europe and America has amply proved the deep wisdom of the Jesuit system of education.

The Jesuit graduate bears the unmistakable stamp of an education based upon a definite philosophy of life and aiming at the full and harmonious development of all the faculties of man. He shows the results of a training which seeks to train the heart and the will as well as the intellect, to produce men with deep-set convictions about the meaning of life, and with the moral character necessary to translate those convictions into deeds. He is a man trained to think clearly and act resolutely in all the emergencies of life; he is prepared to fulfill intelligently his part in society, whether it be in the learned professions, the duties of public office, or the walks of business.

Xavier University today celebrates its hundredth year of glorious effort to bring these educational advantages to the people of Cincinnati. In 1840, Bishop Purcell donated the Athenaeum founded by the zealous Dominican, Bishop Kenrick, to the Jesuits to become St. Xavier College. The little school under Father Elet, its first rector, numbered but 8 professors and 76 students. Today it has grown to the stature of a great university, the cultural and religious influence of which is felt not only in Cincinnati but throughout the Ohio Valley. Its graduates have distinguished themselves in every walk of life. They have been vital forces in the promotion of the social, economic, and cultural progress of this great city of Cincinnati, which the first Jesuits often referred to as the Queen City of the West. In spite of its mounting enrollment and departmental expansion, Xavier University has remained true to the Jesuit ideal of education. It has labored to produce genuine Christian gentlemen possessed of taste, learning, character. It has striven to educate citizens conscious of the benefits of free and democratic government and prepared to do their part to make such government last. It is in the fullest sense a Jesuit university, aiming at the full and harmonious development of all the faculties of every student coming under its care. It does this because it believes firmly in the great principle upon which Christianity and the democratic way of life is built. It believes in the tremendous worth of the individual man. The individual is of no importance in a totalitarian state; he is of great importance in a nation of freemen. For a hundred years Xavier has emphasized the importance of the individual.

Like the larger history of the Society of Jesus itself, these hundred years of Xavier's existence have been years of noble achievement bought at the price of labor and sacrifice. The splendid results we see in the Xavier University of today were won in the face of constant difficulties. Attacks by the "know-nothings" made the position of the early school difficult. The Civil War threatened its infant existence. It has always been hampered by financial troubles. At one time it was largely through the efforts of the famous Jesuit missionary, Father De Smet, that the work was not abandoned entirely. But in spite of difficulties and hardships, the college continued to serve the community, and bring its educational and cultural advantages to the people of Cincinnati. The citizens of this community have reason to be grateful to the brave men who carried on the work. It was for the interests of the citizens of this city, and not for any motive of self-interest, that they labored.

The original small structure donated by Bishop Purcell gradually grew to a number of buildings. The names of such men as Fathers Elet, Weninger, De Smet, and, more recently, the popular writer of boy's fiction, Father Francis Finn, came to be associated with the university. At the turn of the twentieth century the school was still small and struggling for existence. But between 1910 and 1920 departments of commerce and economics, journalism, sociology, and law brought new educational opportunities and cultural advantages to Cincinnati. The next decade saw the erection of eight new buildings on the beautiful campus at Avondale through the generous donations of the alumni and friends of the university. By 1930 the once small school had developed into a great educational institution, and Xavier College became Xavier University.

Another significant event was the adoption of an R. O. T. C. Field Artillery unit as part of the university. This event symbolized a characteristic of Xavier University—the cultivation of loyal and intelligent citizenship. The R. O. T. C. was another means to instill an appreciation of the American form of government. It emphasized a basic principle of Jesuit education—that one cannot be a good Christian unless he is also a good citizen. The students of Xavier have been in training for years to defend their country against all invaders. If it ever becomes necessary to defend our freedom—and we pray God it may never be necessary—I feel sure that day will find the graduates of Xavier both willing and prepared to serve, and, if need be, to die in defense of the American way of democratic government.

A celebration such as this is like the rest a mountain climber takes on a convenient ledge before continuing his ascent to the heights. A swift look back over the way he has come gives him new courage for the labors of the climb that lie ahead. In the crisis that confronts this country, as well as the whole world, there is need of institutions that will keep insisting on the value of the individual man, and resist every effort to make him a mere cog in an all-powerful state. There is need of schools that will train citizens to value the benefits of democratic government, and be ready to promote such government in peace and in war. There is need of universities that will give men a correct philosophy of life calculated to preserve the blessings of peace and freedom, and further the genuine progress of science and the arts without losing sight of the higher values. Such benefits we may confidently expect from the continued labors of the Society of Jesus, and in particular from schools like Xavier University. Their labors to promote religion and form loyal, upright citizens may require the dauntless courage of heroes. But we have no reason to think that the spirit of their soldier-founder and of the great Jesuits of American history is waning. Rather, the existence of an institution such as this great university assures us that the spirit is still militantly active. Tonight, then, we can look back with satisfaction upon the 400 years of the Society of Jesus, and the hundred years of Xavier University, and with the faith borne of great achievements, we can shower our congratulations upon the past with supreme confidence in the future, and bid both the order and the university to go forward to new successes and greater service in the cause of God and country.

Latin American Legal Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MORRIS SHEPPARD

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 29 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE BY JOHN THOMAS VANCE

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I present for publication in the RECORD an article entitled "Need for a Center of Latin American Legal Study," written by John Thomas Vance, law librarian of Congress, appearing in the September 1940 issue of the American Bar Association Journal.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEED FOR A CENTER OF LATIN AMERICAN LEGAL STUDY

(By John Thomas Vance,[1] Law Librarian of Congress)

When James Monroe enunciated the doctrine of America for the Americas, he took the first step on a road along which we have since

traveled a considerable distance. From that principle that the Americas offered no longer a possibility for the imperialistic ambitions of nations of the Old World there has naturally developed the theory that a closer cooperation between the American nations is essential to prevent the Monroe Doctrine from being disregarded at will by other nations. A further recent, but natural, corollary has been the principle of partnership and joint enforcement of the doctrine.

COOPERATION BETWEEN LAWYERS IN THE AMERICAS

Cooperation and collaboration between the countries of the Americas, if it is to endure, has to rest upon those political and economic principles in which these countries believe and practice. They may be subject to change, but only with the proviso that there shall be no restriction of those ideas of liberty and equality which are to the New World the very essence of life itself. A collaboration on the basis of these principles demands free economic and legal cooperation, which, of course, would be diametrically opposed by totalitarian philosophies. Although dictatorships are not unknown in the Western Hemisphere, they have always been resorted to as temporary expedients and have not been of long duration; nor have they been asserted as principles of national policy, but rather sought to be excused as necessary for public order.

Unfortunately, nature has erected certain barriers preventing the complete cooperation between these nations that our imagination might envision. All forms of cooperation ultimately have to rest upon an economic basis to prevent them from becoming mere phantasmagoria. Economic collaboration has to consider the many differences in resources, climate, population, standard of living, and technical development. These and other factors offer frequently as many tendencies for a close cooperation as they may ultimately prove to be its cause.

As the races of mankind have progressed we have observed the growth of a highly integrated system of law among nations to take the place of primitive force in organizing the increasing and multitudinous economic activities on a basis of fairness and justice. Unfortunately, this international system of law and economics is now being severely put to the test, and the question is whether the lex talionis may become the law of this hemisphere, as the dictators have established it on the continent of Europe.

An important principle of the totalitarian philosophy is to develop large regional economic units with outlying possessions. These units are, according to the new philosophies, divided into primary and secondary regional economic units, which will not expect to trade upon a basis of equality, either with each other or with other parts of the world.

To prevent the Americas from being relegated to the rank of regions of economic dependence from these powers is one of the most essential problems of our day. This problem, although fundamentally economic, is nevertheless legal. The traditional democratic system lacks sufficient defense against totalitarian economic and cultural penetration, if left merely to economic factors alone.

To a very high degree, it will be the task of the statesman and the lawyer to work out a system of national and economic collaboration between the Americas that will be beneficial to all countries, and at the same time proof against the foreign penetration which menaces them.

To weld this hemisphere into a cultural and economic unit in which every country will do its share, and where the south will profit from the north, as much as the north from the south, is a task which demands the best of all of us. Much has already been done in the field of international cooperation, but the situation demands an increase in intensity and continuity of effort. Therefore, knowledge of the legal institutions of the Latin American republics, varied and different among themselves, has become of increasing importance to the Government official in the United States, as well as to the individual lawyer or businessman.

Hitherto the North American lawyers interested in pan-American law and Spanish law have been restricted to those members of the profession who have been appointed to posts in the Philippines, the Canal Zone, or Puerto Rico, or who have represented firms having business in those regions or in Latin American countries. As a rule, the North American lawyer has taken up the study of the civil law and the Spanish or Portuguese language after having begun practice at home, or as law clerks or junior members while serving their firms abroad.

A number of the law schools have given elective courses on Roman law, while but few courses have been offered in Latin American law and legal bibliography. This seems, more and more, a short-sighted view, having in mind the fact that lawyers, judges, and public administrators equipped to deal with pan-American problems have been needed in the past and will be needed much more definitely in the future. An intellectual curiosity on the part of the law-teaching profession would demand an interest in the laws of our Latin neighbors, if it were not already indicated by our international and economic needs.

MUTUAL INTERESTS OF THE LAWYERS

It may be argued on behalf of the North American lawyers that an interest in the Spanish and Portuguese languages and the legal systems of the Latin American countries would be of no practical benefit, since no "Yanqui" lawyers, save those practicing in the large cities of this country or along the Mexican border, are likely to have any cases involving Latin American law. This may be true; but our ancient and honorable profession has degenerated into a mere business, indeed, if it be limited in its interests to a knowledge of merely its own system. Would it not be better to eliminate some of the intensification of emphasis on "cases" in our system of legal education and give more time to cultural study of a practical nature? Could we not, with profit, read something of the Spanish background of our own States and of the systems of our neighbors to the south of us?

Aside from the cultural value of the study of comparative Latin American law and the various civil-law systems from which it has sprung, the North American lawyer will find his Latin American colleague far more interested in the social and economic problems of the day than his own brethren. Considerable experimentation is taking place in these fields in Latin America that is worthy of our study. For example, the new Cuban Code of Social Defense is a very advanced work on penal legislation, which subject has received serious consideration also in Mexico, Colombia, and Ecuador. In the field of administrative law, of which the North American lawyer has only recently become aware, he will find well-established systems and voluminous literature. The Mexican write of "amparo," which combines the virtues of the habeas corpus and the injunction, is worthy of study, if not adoption.

IMPORTANT PLACE OF AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

Twenty years ago a column or so of the American Bar Association Journal was assigned to the Comparative Law Bureau for the review of foreign legislation, jurisprudence, and noteworthy legal literature, and the members of the association were enabled to keep somewhat informed of the law of the more important countries of Europe and Latin America. Now is the time to revive and intensify this stimulating custom.

The American Bar Association is in a position to assume the leadership in this work of cooperation between the lawyers in this hemisphere, representing as it does 90 percent or more of the organized bar of the United States. It is fortunate that the association is already equipped for effective and intensive work of intellectual cooperation in the field of the law with the other American republics. The section of international and comparative law, the successor of the Bureau of Comparative Law, and the International Law Committee, which were consolidated in 1933, has already done notable work in reporting the status of Latin American law in certain fields of commercial law and in honoring visiting Latin American lawyers and judges at the meetings of the section.

INTER-AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

A noteworthy achievement in the field of cooperation between lawyers of the Americas has recently been made. We refer to the Inter-American Bar Association, which was organized during the May 1940 meetings of the American Law Institute and the Eighth American Scientific Congress. Certain incidental features of the constitution of the Inter-American Bar Association have been criticized and may well be changed, especially the failure to permit individual members in the Americas to join. There are many lawyers and law professors in both hemispheres who would delight in cooperating in this work, and who would render effective collaboration, but who are deprived of membership through not being representatives of the various organized bars. The new association will no doubt contribute materially to a rapprochement between the North, Middle, and South American bars and inter-American understanding.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

At present the inter-American organization which deals with legal matters between the two Americas, namely, the American Institute of International Law, has its seat in Habana. It, too, has made important contributions to legal science. Since its field is limited, there is no reason that similar organizations should not be established in other parts of the Americas, and especially in the United States, where our research facilities are extensive. There is no doubt that a center of Latin American legal studies in Washington would answer an important need under the present conditions.

LAW LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Such a center could be easily established in connection with the law library of Congress. The law library has specialized for 25 years in Latin American law. Particularly during the last decade and a half intensive efforts have been made to gather as complete collections as possible of the legislation and jurisprudence of the 20 Latin American republics and the mother countries of Spain and Portugal. Representatives have been sent to these countries and contacts have been made with government officials, book dealers, and publishers in order to obtain a constant flow to Washington of the official and private legal publications. The Library of Congress possesses a distinct advantage in being able to offer the official publications of the United States Government in exchange for those of the foreign governments, which reciprocal privilege is enjoyed by all of the Latin American countries. Diplomatic and consular representatives are also helpful in calling attention to out-of-print material or whole collections, and frequently a North American lawyer residing or traveling in Latin America renders valuable service in scouting for desiderata.

A series of legal guides and bibliographies was inaugurated under the direction of the law library of Congress in 1915. A guide to the law of Spain has been prepared by a specialist on Latin American law, Thomas W. Palmer. Dr. Edwin Borchard's well-known guide to the law of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile appeared in 1917. A guide to the law of Mexico has been in preparation for some time.

[1] Chairman, Section of International and Comparative Law, American Bar Association.

Fortunately, the present Congress has seen the need for intellectual cooperation among the American republics, and has provided a moderate appropriation for the continuation of the work of interpreting the laws of our southern neighbors to our own bar and students of the political and social sciences. Thus, it may be possible to inaugurate the nucleus of a center of Latin American legal research, ample funds for which it is hoped will be soon provided for either by the Congress or by private endowment.

PROPOSED CENTER FOR LEGAL STUDIES

It it proposed that the work of the center should be devoted primarily to making available every substantial publication relating to the law of Latin America and the mother countries. This would include the cataloging of periodical literature, monographs, and fugitive pamphlets which throw light on the law and its history. Such material would be available not only to the United States Government in all its branches, but also by interlibrary loan or by microfilm to the North American lawyers no matter how far they be situated from Washington. As a gesture of cooperation it is expected to extend this service to the Latin American lawyers and students. The program of the center also would provide for original research, both legal and bibliographical, and the publication of guides, lists, and monographs on subjects of current interest to the United States Government and to North American legal scholarship. Specialists on Latin American law on the staff of the law library could be of great service in the preparation of special studies and in collaborating with the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, the American Institute of International Law, the Pan American Union, the Division of Cultural Relations of the State Department, the various Government agencies, universities, and colleges in the United States as well as in Latin America, bar associations, etc.

It is primarily the task of the various governmental agencies to develop Latin American relations according to the policy and program of the Government, but in addition to the studies as an immediate goal, there is undoubtedly a need for long-term legal studies on a broader foundation in connection with the possibility of a closer economic cooperation.

The problem of inter-American codification is another question which deserves continuing attention, although the Commission of Jurists at Rio de Janeiro of 1925 and 1927, and the pan-American congresses, have done important work in this field. Particularly in commercial law and procedure, in copyright and trade-mark law, and in social legislation there are still many problems that await solution. Continuation of the efforts for unification of law in the United States would undoubtedly accelerate this trend which is already stimulated by the constantly expanding realm of activity of the Federal Government.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES NEEDED

Another field, and perhaps the most important one, where a rapprochement between the American republics would be a promising subject of study is the legal philosophy of the various countries. The general outlook on life—the social and economic thought—is the source where the actual laws, statutes and decisions find their origin, and where a mutual understanding should start. As Justice Holmes has said: "Law is a plant that lives long before it throws out its bulbs."

The common-law system of the United States, and the civil-law systems of the Latin American republics might find it easier to arrive at an understanding under the present conditions than hitherto. That the differences between the two legal systems are considerable is not gainsaid, but in view of the fact that both systems have profited from each other—and peoples are able to live side by side as in Canada and the United States, under the two systems—it would seem that the task of reconciling the two would not be an impossible one, provided the parties desired it.

Also the economic and social background of the respective legal systems are subjects upon which capable minds may feel inclined to devote their attention. Law develops gradually and cannot be understood except on the basis of historical reality. Without a relation to this reality, law in itself forms neither a system, nor is it logical; it merely becomes a set of rules. The historical background of the Americas offers so much similarity and so much difference that it provides an excellent field for comparative studies.

We have attempted to indicate some of the problems of study which would come within the realm of a center of Latin American legal studies, although obviously its first and most elementary task would remain that of providing the material without which no productive work could be accomplished. In normal times such a project might be attractive from a cultural point of view; under the present conditions it becomes far more important than that; it becomes a part of the urgent task to preserve those economic and political liberties which may be saved from destruction.

It is confidently expected that this small beginning by the United States Government may, therefore, stimulate compelling interest on the part of the bar and the law school in the legal systems and languages of our American neighbors. Their value would be both practical and cultural, even though there were no threat against the solidarity of the western countries, our republican institutions and our philosophies of life. Their study becomes imperative when we contemplate the impending danger to inter-American solidarity.

The Drift Toward War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 29 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE BY EDITH O. NEWBY

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "It Can Be Stopped," written by Edith O. Newby and published in the Christian Century of October 30, 1940. It is an exposé of the purposes of the William Allen White committee. She says in her article that if we want to stop the drift toward war we must stop the William Allen White committee, because that committee was organized and promoted with the direct intention of getting the United States into the war.

I may say that the William Allen White committee is financed by blood money—and I mean blood money—furnished by individuals who are making profits out of this war. One of the first checks received by it was from J. Pierpont Morgan, the lovely protector of democracy in this country.

I may also say that if Senators will go through the list of those financing and sponsoring the William Allen White committee, they will find the names of persons in the munitions racket who are raking in dollars as the result of the death of somebody's son somewhere. It is also composed of numerous individuals in this country who feel that the American Revolution should never have occurred. Some of these individuals hoped that when the King ate his "hot dogs" over here the fire to roast the "hot dogs" would be started by burning the Declaration of American Independence.

The William Allen White committee is a war committee. I have hertofore asked and obtained leave to place in the RECORD a history of the individuals composing the committee, and I shall do so. I may say it is the most startling story of mass pressure of finance and foreign propaganda that this country has ever seen. The American people should know the story of the William Allen White committee. The article which I ask to have printed in the RECORD is written by a housewife who went to a meeting at which members of the William Allen White committee spoke. The story is very illuminating. She states that the way to peace is to stop the propagandizing for war.

Mr. President, why is it that the administration will not expose the English propagandists in this country? The administration is very glad to expose all others, and I am glad it is doing so, but why draw the line? There is only one group of propagandists in this country trying to get us into war, and that is the English propagandists, but no official agency and no committee of Congress will dare touch it.

The American people will find it out, but I fear they will not find it out until American boys are killed on the battlefields of some other continent. Let us look into the matter early. Why is it that the administration dares not touch these propagandists, but lets them run wild throughout the country, wherever they desire to go?

I ask that the article by Edith O. Newby be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Century of October 30, 1940]

IT CAN BE STOPPED!

(By Edith O. Newby)

The drift to war can be stopped. It is being done in my own community in war-minded New Jersey within hailing distance of

the great estates of the richest and most influential leaders of the William Allen White Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

Our counteroffensive began less than 2 weeks ago, with a home meeting of peace-minded men and women intent on action to dispel the atmosphere of confusion and helplessness hanging like a pall over the Nation's homes. Because the feeling has been growing that interventionists are not revealing their ultimate purposes, we invited a speaker from the local chapter of the William Allen White committee, whose county leaders are Mrs. Dwight Morrow and Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen. Three of the committee members arrived and, thanks be to God, for once they spoke frankly.

This is the ghastly program which was dragged out into the light, as can be testified by 50 witnesses:

1. The United States should be in the war now to protect its far eastern interests in rubber, tin, and quinine, said one spokesman.

2. According to another, Germans are biologically different from other people; the status quo in Europe ought to be destroyed, and we, if we enter the struggle, will be permitted to "supervise" the "reconstruction."

3. The 25 "flying fortress" bombers for which the White committee is now campaigning are to be sent within the next week or two, and anything else the British ask for they must be given.

4. There came finally angry admission that "talk of measures short of war is the bunk." We have already committed acts of war; we ought "to see it through"; our entry into the war is a matter of weeks, and the White committee is content that it should be so. Antidraft youth is cowardly and antiwar adults are blind and stupid.

Of course, it may be said that this was not an official pronouncement of program by the White committee but only an expression of opinion by members, though these seem to be very influential members. One daily paper, in reporting the meeting, said: "The speakers explained that they were not necessarily reflecting the views of the White committee * * * but evidence has come * * * of a committee meeting in California, a continent away, where the same brutal program was proposed, also with the qualification that it was only a personal opinion."

When told that we "should see it through," one parent asked, "How far should we see it through? Even to our sons?" The White committee's representative turned on the questioner almost savagely. "Why are you people so afraid to die? Why should your sons be afraid to die? Jesus died on the cross, didn't He? England's battle is the same thing." It sounds incredible, this business of pitching men down into blood and slaughter and calling upon the cross of Christ to justify the deed. But it happened, just as I am reporting it.

NO RELAXATION OF THE HUNGER BLOCKADE

Not content with defiance, one spokesman resorted to what was either ignorance or deliberate falsehood. He was asked, "Is the White committee in favor of sending food to German-occupied countries?" And the White committeeman replied: "Yes; but Hitler won't allow it. England is only too eager to relieve the victim populations * * *." He was reminded that England's reply to tentative approaches from the United States seeking a way to feed civilians in occupied countries had been indignant refusal to relax her blockade. The "William Allen Whiter" did not press the point.

Sickened by what we had heard that evening, we nevertheless felt we ought to listen to the national leaders of this movement. So a few who could, 2 days later, attended a meeting of the county chapter of the White committee, presided over by Mrs. Morrow and Dr. Van Dusen.

We walked into an American public school whose halls were plastered with appeals for Britain, asking everything from guns to blood for transfusion "from American veins." Posters shouted at us that our democracy is a gift from a benign England, and that without her generations of guardianship of our coast we should today be the vassals of totalitarian beasts. We saw pictures of bereaved English mothers; the composition and the titles seemed to indicate that we had no right even to try to keep our own homes intact.

The meeting opened with that British imperialist anthem which is sung to Elgar's Pomp and Circumstance:

"Wider still and wider
Shall thy bounds be set;
God who made thee mighty
Make thee mightier yet * * *."

Said one newspaper: "You got the impression that with the traditional abettance of the Almighty, the Crown would do all right for itself!"

MR. SHERWOOD SPEAKS

The speaker was Robert Sherwood, author of the Stop Hitler Now advertisement. Mr. Sherwood explained that he would have to sit down and read his speech, "because I simply cannot be trusted to speak extemporaneously on this subject," which turned out to be our "stupid Congress" and the "subversive activities" of those trying to prevent our taking part in this war. I have never heard a speech that equaled it for venom. It was an attack on Americans in general, and those who did not agree with the William Allen White committee in particular. We were stupid, obtuse, recalcitrant, and vicious. Senator TAFT was "goofy," "thick" and "muddleheaded." The rest of us, including Senator RUSH HOLT, who had exposed by name and station the financial interests back of this committee, were either Communists, Nazis, or, by innuendo, plain cowards. We did not understand all we owed England.

The propaganda that we ought to stay out of this war was insidious and to be regarded with aversion and suspicion. The same "articulate minority" responsible for foisting prohibition with its gangsterism and its crime upon the country, screamed Mr. Sherwood, was back of this crafty attempt to prevent Congress from coming to the aid of Britain. The ultimate cost to us of this aid Mr. Sherwood was careful not to detail—yet. The President of the United States, however, could be depended on, he emphasized, to do right by Britain, and to ignore this "blind minority," if the committee's followers produced another storm of telegraphed demands when the committee again called for them.

The papers reported about 900 present, most of them members or sympathizers, and they gave vigorous approval to this monstrous speech. But then there was an invitation for questions. It is with the first question and its effect that I wish to deal chiefly. It produced a shocked silence which one could never forget. As the questioner, I confess that it took nerve to get up in that lion's den and ask it. Here is this terrible question:

"The first appeal for an American expeditionary force of soldiers has just been made. It comes in a book by H. N. Brailsford, political commentator of the Manchester Guardian. Mr. Brailsford says that Englishmen are grateful for the materials already sent them, but that this is not what they need. They need men. He believes this war must be fought on the Continent. Soldiers are needed. If America will send such an army, Great Britain will make us certain concessions. In other words, the politicians of England will sit down with the politicians of our own country, and for certain imperialist gains we are to hand over the lives of 500,000 American youth who had nothing to do with this war. I should like to ask whether this is the ultimate objective of the William Allen White committee, and whether it is a part of secret agreements made between this administration and Great Britain."

"IF WE DO SEND OUR FORCES * * *"

The effect was as if someone had opened a dark closet, revealing a gruesome secret. There was a stunned silence. Then suddenly a burst of spontaneous applause, amazing from an audience which was supposed to be 99 percent in favor of the White committee program. Suavely, but with a dismay impossible to conceal, Dr. Van Dusen replied that the answer to both parts of the question was a "categorical 'No.' "

The questioner pursued the point: "What assurance do we have that this will not happen? Only last year we were told that all that was necessary was the repeal of one clause in the Neutrality Act—the arms embargo. Since that time one protection after another has gone, until we are now actually handing over, without benefit of Congress, destroyers, bombers, and other materials. * * * I want to know what assurance we have that our men will not go." Dr. Van Dusen was embarrassed and not quite clear in answering. He felt it necessary to explain that we could not know "what can happen in these circumstances * * * but if we do send a force, it will be an air force which is needed."

A recognized political writer then rose to read from their own prospectus the objectives of the William Allen White committee:

"Release—at once—to Great Britain of 20 motor torpedo boats; release of 25 four-motor flying fortresses; release of 20 Navy P. B. Y. bomber flying boats; release of 250,000 Lee-Enfield rifles; release of all present 6-per-day production of modern tanks for the African campaign; use of American training fields in Texas and California for training Canadian pilots during the winter, and finally, release of the heavily guarded American bomb sight."

Dr. Van Dusen denied these objectives. But the questioner persisted: "Then how do you account for the presence of these 7 requirements in the William Allen White news-service telegrams to 50 key United States papers on September 8 as the White committee's absolute demands?" Dr. Van Dusen replied: "That was a list submitted to the committee by English officers when asked what their ultimate desires would be." Read that again carefully.

At this point three more people leaped to their feet for questions, but neither Dr. Van Dusen nor Mrs. Morrow saw them. The musician was beckoned quickly to the piano, and the question period abruptly terminated.

The leaders of the William Allen White committee have been called skillful propagandists. Propagandists, yes. But no longer skillful. When they are not feeble and vulnerable, without an argument strong enough to stand up under direct question, they become brutal, and appeal to hate and fear as in the Sherwood speech. And the one thing of which they are mortally afraid is a question designed to make them speak plainly concerning their ultimate objectives.

Americans in a thousand communities throughout the country can stop the drift to war by stopping first the William Allen White committee. You do not need money or prestige. Just go to their own meetings and hear their own fantastic technique for saving democracy. Take others with you. Ask your questions. Truth is the weapon to use, and truth wielded by an aroused and unafraid people will dissolve the atmosphere of helplessness this committee has created. Courage is contagious. In our town out of that first home meeting has come a branch of the Keep America Out of War Congress.

Results have been amazing. A visit to the publisher of the local daily has revealed more sympathy for our cause of keeping this country out of war than we had hoped for. The paper's political columnist, genuinely interested in our fragmentary information on the White committee, began some research which has resulted in a series of four brilliant articles, which have reached thousands of people. That all this is making itself felt might be the reason one aspirant for Congress called me on the telephone one evening to say that these were his sentiments exactly. Now a mass meeting is planned at which Gen. Hugh Johnson will speak. Hundreds of

communities acting at once can stop the drift to war, because that drift slows down the minute the propaganda of the White committee is seriously challenged.

We can stop the drift to war now. There is only one holy war—the war for peace. With the help of God and a little nerve, it can begin here in America at once.

Tribute to Heroes of the Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, November 29 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY EDWARD N. HURLEY

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the United States Shipping Board in 1918, at a meeting of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce on September 27, 1918, paying tribute to the heroes of the American merchant marine.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is true that today we lead the world in ship construction, but we must back it up with officers and seamen, training and discipline. We are training from 4,000 to 5,000 men each month to enter the merchant marine, and they are all typical Americans, who have the spirit which Pershing's men showed at Chateau-Thierry. I don't believe the American people appreciate the wonderful work these men are doing to help us win the war. We have every reason to be proud of what we have accomplished so far in the training of men to man our ships.

Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, of the British Navy, said recently that the officers and seamen of the merchant marine have founded during this war a new and glorious tradition in the teeth of undreamed of peril. While there has been glory and official honor for the Army and Navy, merchant seamen have been taking their chances down in the forehold and in the lifeboats and on pieces of wreckage in the freezing North Atlantic waters for ordinary day's wages. For them there have been no decorations or war correspondents. They have faced the piratical submarines and the torpedoes not once but again and again as a regular part of their duty and stuck to the job until they were crippled, killed, drowned, or frozen to death. In many cases their names and achievements have not been given publicity, for military reasons.

That is the spirit that has made the merchant marine so important a part of the military forces of America and the Allies. The dogged courage of the British marines is the result of long training and fine traditions. As we build up our own merchant marine we shall support it with the same spirit. We must back it with officers and seamen, training and discipline. It is not enough to have ships. From one end of this country to another we must become ship-minded. We must go out over the world and give to other nations the peaceful service which is the basis of world trade. We must take the lean years with the fat years in shipping, and instead of theorizing about the difficulties and limitations show our determination to keep a merchant marine intact as a basis for commerce in time of peace and a protection in the event of war.

War Hawks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, under the permission granted me, I present for printing in the RECORD one of a series of articles prepared by me, entitled "War Hawks."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

J. P. MORGAN

From the Civil War to date the Morgan family have made money out of war. Again they are active in promoting war propaganda for America's involvement in the present European conflict.

The students of United States history recall the story of the carbine deal of J. Pierpont Morgan during the Civil War. It made money for the Morgan firm and was called by the House of Representatives committee fraudulent and "a crime against public safety." The chairman of the committee, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, referred to it as "an organized system of pillage * * * robbery, fraud, extravagance, and peculation."

That story of the selling of condemned carbines to the Government for huge profit can be checked with the record of the Civil War fraud cases. As I recall, these carbines were sold by the Government for $3.50 and bought back by the Government for $22. The elder Morgan got his profit.

The history of the Spanish-American War shows that the firm of Morgan got their war profits in that conflict. Prices of steel and iron doubled and tripled in some instances.

HELPED FINANCE BOER WAR

About the same time (1900) the firm of J. P. Morgan floated a loan of $15,000,000 for the British Government to finance the Boer War. (Note their particular interest in small nations and liberty and democracy.) Another loan of $28,000,000 was floated by Morgan & Co. for the English Government and another for $100,000,000 in 1901. After that another large loan was sold by this banking group. It was stated that one-fifth of the cost of the Boer War was underwritten by American capital underwritten by J. P. Morgan & Co.

WORLD WAR

The story of the Morgan firm in the World War of 1914–18 is known. The Senate Munitions Investigating Committee brought to light some very important information, and much of it is in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Walter Millis, now of the editorial staff of the pro-war New York Herald Tribune, once said in a book:

"Great sections of American industry and finance led by the Morgan firm * * * devoted themselves to establishing the economic complex which tended constantly thereafter to thrust the Nation more and more deeply into an economic alliance with the Entente and consequently nearer and nearer to war with Germany."

He also noted that the allied credits directed by Morgan had quite a part in our involvement. He said: "Nor can it be forgotten that our great war-industries machine was running more and more on credit, and the allied bonds which J. P. Morgan & Co. had peddled for the good of American industry were now beginning to operate as a powerful propaganda for allied victory."

As Ambassador Page cabled before our entrance in the war:

"Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted."

In passing, I quote from the book of Lewinsohn entitled "The Profits of War" about Morgan's interest in the war:

THE MORGAN LOANS

"The picture is altogether different when we turn to neutral countries, who soon began to take a part in furnishing war supplies. And here an important part was played by banks. In Holland, Sweden, and Spain they made enormous profits in financing supplies. But the United States comes easily first in the profits accruing to 'neutral' financiers.

"John Pierpont Morgan, Jr., whose father, the great John Pierpont, had died a year before the war, was the first to realize the unrivaled opportunities offered. He immediately set out, by providing generous credits, to corner this particular market. He lent $12,000,000 to Russia, and he was ready to offer France a credit of $100,000,000 to be spent in the United States. Then the Washington Government stepped in, Mr. Bryan declaring that loans to belligerents were incompatible with the spirit of neutrality.

"The Allies were faced with a difficult situation, for American goods were indispensable. France and England paid in bullion for what they got so long as they could, but this was not possible for long. Nor was it possible for them to pay in pounds or francs without weakening the exchange value of their currency. Other means had to be found. At the beginning of the war America was a substantial debtor to Europe, and by liquidating this indebtedness the Allies could raise funds in the United States in a manner to which Washington could make no objection. Accordingly they sold the American bonds they held, these for the most part passing through Morgan's hands. Morgan was after all able, in spite of Government opposition, to arrange the issue of some small loans, but these were so small as to be practically negligible.

"After long efforts, England and France succeeded in overcoming the opposition from Washington. On March 31, 1915, President Wilson made a statement on the Government's policy regarding loans which gave the desired loophole. He admitted that the Government had been aware of credits having been provided for belligerents; but although disapproving of them the Government did not feel entitled to intervene.

"His meaning was obvious. From now onward loans were permitted. Morgan, who meanwhile had become agent of the British Government for the purchase of war material, offered a loan to England, but on such stiff terms that the Treasury hesitated to

accept. Difficulties also arose over another loan. In conjunction with the National City Bank and the First National Bank, Morgan was to issue a $50,000,000 loan for France. The three banks themselves took up half the loan. When, however, they tried to get the public to subscribe the other half, only a little over a million dollars was forthcoming. This serves to show the skepticism and lack of interest in the European war shown by American capitalists at that time.

"It was only later when war exports were in full swing that Americans realized what good business the war was for them and were in consequence prepared to invest their capital in it. Morgan himself was still hesitant. He thought it impossible to issue a loan for more than $250,000,000 on one occasion. Financial experts of the Allies, however, pointed out that in such matters big figures inspire more confidence than small ones. At the start $1,000,000,000 had been suggested. The Americans refused to go so far, but in the end they agreed that half this sum might be possible.

"So, in October 1915, under Morgan's aegis, a joint loan to the French and English Governments of $500,000,000 was arranged with a group of American bankers. From this moment war business flourished in the States and everybody seemed to be making money. Credits followed each other at ever shorter intervals. Up to the time of America's entry into the war the Allies had borrowed $2,500,000,000, the greater part of their debt having been contracted under Morgan's auspices.

"Pierpont Morgan did not fail to let it be known that he received no remuneration for having acted as intermediary in the negotiation of these loans. But we should make a mistake in thinking that he had gained nothing by all these transactions. It is true that the purely financial profits he made were less important than what he received for placing orders for munitions and dividends he drew as a shareholder in the various armament firms, but the profits he drew from his banking business with the Allies were far from negligible. The $500,000,000 loan contracted in autumn 1915 brought to the group of bankers, at whose head Morgan was, a net profit of $9,000,000, for they bought at 96 and sold to the public at 98. Of this sum, however, Morgan's firm only received $66,000. Again, in 1917, the French Government paid to Morgan's and other banks a commission of $1,500,000, and a further million in 1918.

"Besides the issue of loans, there was another source of profit—the purchase and sale of American stock which the Allies surrendered so that they could buy munitions in the States. It is estimated that in the course of the war some $2,000,000,000 passed in this way through Morgan's hands. Even if the commission was very small, transactions of such dimensions would give him an influence on the stock market which would carry very real advantages.

"Those who had imagined that with the death of the old John Pierpont Morgan the great days of the bank were over were completely deceived. The $70,000,000—leaving aside the art treasures—which the old man left in 1913 was probably at least doubled in a few years by his son, and the power of the bank was greater than ever."

MORGAN'S CONTRACTS

"The greatest war profits were made in America. The United States possessed in abundance everything Europe needed. The export of goods was not prohibited, and transport difficulties were got over in spite of the shortage of tonnage. There was only one serious question left to solve: In what way were the belligerents to pay for their purchases? The financial difficulties already described in chapter II were in the early days of the war a serious obstacle to international trade.

"On the European side other difficulties were experienced. The French and English Governments were far from being satisfied by the way in which war purchases in America were being effected. In London complaints were made of the multitude of agents and intermediaries of all sorts who offered their services without in many cases being able to render any. In Paris dissatisfaction was felt at the results obtained by the missions sent over to the States for the purchase of war material. Accordingly a general desire was expressed for the centralization of purchases.

"But to have a central organization for placing Government orders and to place the whole business in the hands of a private individual—those are two very different things. And even if a private individual was to be entrusted with the job, why should a man be chosen who was not an exporter or importer nor had any technical qualifications for dealing in arms, but a banker? In raising that question, one realizes at once that it was the financial factor which was decisive for the Allied Governments.

"The man elected for this task was none other than John Pierpont Morgan. His partner, Henry P. Davison, seems to have been the first to have had the idea. At any rate it was he who suggested to the British Government that, to get war purchases in America onto a good business footing, it would be best for them to be placed in Morgan's hands. Lloyd George, who was at the time Chancelor of the Exchequer, was delighted with this plan. An agreement was concluded toward the end of January 1915 by which J. P. Morgan & Co. were officially appointed commercial agents of the British Government. As things turned out, this was the biggest contract which any government ever signed with a private firm.

"Morgan's agreement with the British Government was the first step. Lloyd George urgently advised Allied governments to do the same. To bring the war purchases of the various governments onto a common footing, a conference was held in Paris early in February 1915 between the finance ministers of France, England, and Russia. Although at that time it was impossible to know how well his agreement with Morgan would work, Lloyd George nevertheless strongly urged the others to follow his example.

"The French Government did not jump at this solution. The question was subjected to a detailed examination which lasted several months. In the meantime a rival appeared on the scene. William P. Bonbright & Co., representing a group which included several prominent American politicians, endeavored to get a general contract for placing French orders in the States. But 'Mr. Lloyd George felt it was necessary to get things in one hand.' He intervened again in Paris on Morgan's behalf and Bonbright's were eliminated.

"However, J. P. Morgan, who had come personally to Europe, did not want to act for the French Government till France and England were in complete agreement with one another on the question of financing their purchases. An understanding on this question was come to on April 30, 1915, and a few weeks later Morgan was officially appointed agent of the French Government. As Lucien Petit says, a monopoly was thus in fact placed in Morgan's hands. 'Un monopole de fait se trouva ainsi établi au profit de la Maison Morgan.' Lucien Petit, it may be added, is the official historian of French war finances, and his profound work has remained so far the richest source of information on the subject of Morgan's dealings with the Allies.

"This new contract gave Morgan similar rights to those he possessed as agent of the British Government. Orders reached him through his Paris agents, Morgan, Harjes et Cie. It was then for Morgan to get in touch with American contractors or manufacturers, arrange terms with them, and draw up contracts. Approval of the French Government had to be obtained before he signed on its behalf, but this clause did not really restrict Morgan's powers to any great extent. French control was, in fact, practically confined to technical inspection of the quality of the goods before they left the American factories.

"Contracts such as Morgan had concluded with England and France inevitably gave rise to criticism. In England and France, as well as in the United States, the principle of free competition was at least theoretically accepted. In America, in fact, there were a whole series of laws aimed at preventing the establishment of monopolies. According to the Sherman Act, 'every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal.'

"Naturally Morgan took every possible legal precaution to safeguard his position from any attack from this direction. In clause 14 of his contract with the British Government it was emphatically laid down that the contract was not exclusive in character. As the contract was not published, this did not allay misgivings. Besides, it was obvious to all that the placing of orders in the States was in fact being more and more concentrated in Morgan's hands. In England, particularly, a good deal of resentment was felt. Davison was obviously the man to overcome any difficulties of this sort. Before the war, when the Senate had instigated a searching inquiry into the Money Trust, Davison had defended the interests of J. P. Morgan & Co. This time, too, he managed to get things smoothed over. He went over to London and succeeded in reassuring importers who saw in Morgan's contract an infringement of their rights. At Westminster, Lloyd George defended the contract with Morgan in Parliament and managed to silence opposition. So John Pierpont Morgan came out the winner.

"Ribot, the French Minister of Finance, had never been so enthusiastic about Morgan's agency as was Lloyd George. Nevertheless, things took much the same course in France as in England. The Allies did, it is true, get loans from other American banks than Morgan's. For instance, Bonbright's gave four credits of fifteen million each to Schneider-Creusot, which credits actually helped the French Government to pay for purchases made in America. Moreover, there were purchases, particularly of raw materials, which were made independently of Morgan. But the preponderating role played by him up to the entry of the United States into the war was never menaced for a moment.

"According to the Senate Munitions Committee, five-sixths of all actual war material bought by the Allies from America was bought through J. P. Morgan & Co. In figures, the amount was $1,843,000,000, out of a total of $2,187,318,000; i. e., 84 percent.

PROFITS OF THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

"But all the money made in Europe, either by individual capitalists or by companies, is negligible in comparison with what was made by the Americans. J. P. Morgan, who was the Allies' agent in America for war purchases, was at the same time a director and a shareholder of the United States Steel Corporation, which raked in the biggest war profits of any firm in the country or even in the whole world. The profits of this concern rose to three times what it had been before the war; and, considering the size of the trust, that means something enormous.

"The first period of the war saw a serious diminution in the profits of great steel trusts of America. After the excellent year of 1913, that of 1914 opened badly, and the outbreak of war accentuated the depression. Enterprise seemed lacking; people were inclined to wait to see what happened in Europe. Supplies to the belligerents encountered opposition from the Government. So in the United States Steel Corporation profits fell from $127,000,000 to $71,000,000.

"But as soon as Morgan managed to overcome the Government's opposition to war exports all was changed. In 1915 the United States Steel Corporation was once more able to announce a handsome profit—$135,000,000, as much as had been made in the best years before the war. The needs of the war now came to be fully realized, and the United States Steel Corporation, which so far had only been making arms in one or two of its subsidiaries, now organized

the production of war material on a vast scale. As a result, profits in 1916 amounted to $333,000,000."

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE COMMITTEE

One of the first financial contributions for the William Allen White committee came from J. P. Morgan. It is very interesting to note that for a long time the committee did not print Mr. Morgan's name as one of the sponsors and only did so when they felt the war hysteria had developed to such an extent that little harm could be done to identify the committee with Morgan.

Those who studied the propaganda and developments preceding the entrance of the United States in the World War in 1917 remember how J. P. Morgan was also interested in the financing of the National Security League, an organization that was condemned by a House of Representatives committee. The committee asked for criminal prosecution. This also has been discussed by me on the floor of the Senate.

Thomas Lamont, partner in the Morgan firm, has been a moving force behind getting the right strings pulled for more active participation in the conflict. His activity with well-known literary figures, including authors and columnists, is an interesting story in itself. Certain publications are under obligation to the partners of the Morgan banking firm and these publications have been active in the war dance. While all of these things have been happening, the profits from war trade continue to pour into the coffers of Morgan and his partners. It has been said that the Morgan interests expect much larger profits than ever before because of the mechanization of this war and its increased cost.

Morgan partners have had tremendous influence on school officials. They have donated money, part of which was acquired in war trade, to these institutions. They have certain college presidents and professors who speak for them; for instance, Conant, of Harvard. The Morgan interest is particularly strong at Harvard.

Henry S. Morgan, son of J. Pierpont Morgan, is an overseer of Harvard University. It is worth noting in passing that Henry S. was born in London, England.

Their connections with foundation funds is such that they have a tremendous hold on the distribution of the money, which, in turn, influences college officials. Lamont is a trustee of one of the Carnegie funds.

Of course, their banking connections through their own firms in London and Paris are important in considering their interests in the war. But they always favor American participation on the ground of "liberty," or because "democracy is at stake," or for "the rights of the small nations," or at least they state so publicly. Recently Thomas Lamont, in presenting their front, William Allen White, stood on high ground in stating his reason for interest in America's further participation in the war.

It was to a former Morgan partner, Robert Bacon, that Hanotaux, the French historian, attributes this statement:

"In America there are 50,000 people who understand the necessity of the United States entering the war immediately on your side (Allies). But there are 100,000,000 Americans who have not even thought of it. Our task is to see that the figures are reversed and that the 50,000 become the 100,000,000. We will accomplish this."

That was a conversation during the early days of the World War. Remember, "We will accomplish this." America did enter the war. Today the same interests are at work to get the same action in 1941.

EDWARD STETTINIUS

There are so many incidents of the recent path to war that recall the path taken by the United States 25 years ago. For instance, Edward Stettinius was in charge of the war purchases for J. P. Morgan & Co. in 1915–17. Today his son, Edward Stettinius, Jr., is Chairman of the National Defense Council, which is purchasing supplies for the United States. The London papers have commented upon the hope that there is a similarity of action.

The tremendous influence of this force of Morgan for war is impossible to describe. Lewis Corey, in his book, The House of Morgan, said that the interlocking directorships of Morgan showed interest in corporations with assets of almost $75,000,000,000. He also states that the Morgan combination had 2,450 interlocking directorships in corporations.

Today Morgan and other financial "war hawks," which will be named and discussed later, are profiting from the blood-drenched prosperity of the trade in war supplies and implements of death.

Let's look at the facts before it is too late. Shall we once again sacrifice thousands of fine young Americans in the hope of "preserving our preeminent trade position" and "averting a panic"? My answer is "No."

Our Government of Check and Balances Has Frequently Been Out of Balance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. MURDOCK

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

Mr. MURDOCK of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, some time ago, as a diversion and also for instruction, I turned again to Woodrow Wilson's Congressional Government, a book written more than a half century ago, and widely used as a text when I was a young man in college. Once more I recommend to my colleagues a rereading of this notable work by Dr. Wilson, feeling sure that many of them had the same feeling of respect toward this textbook as I myself had in younger days.

Professor Woodrow Wilson, at that time in his life, had a very high regard for the English parliamentary form of government and, by way of contrast, pointed out numerous weaknesses in the American congressional system. Evidently this college instructor favored in America more of executive leadership and control. Such is not surprising. In the middle of the next to the last decade of the nineteenth century, when this book was written, the author being barely 30 years of age, the American Congress was not any too well organized and was frequently pulling at cross purposes with the President.

At that time a different type leader was found in the United States Senate from the type of men such as Benton, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, who had represented senatorial leadership before the War Between the States. In the House a half century ago the Speaker's power had not yet developed to the limit it later reached. Czar Reed had not yet brought the House of Representatives under his thumb and Uncle Joe Cannon's sway was even further in the future when Professor Wilson wrote his Congressional Government. With a Congress of one political party and the President of another political party it is not surprising that the period about 1885 is known in American history as The Period of Political Doldrums.

According to the classical conception, the framers of our Constitution planned that we should have a tripartite arrangement of total governmental powers, with an equal division of authority among the three great departments in such a manner that each could have a check upon the other. In theory it was a beautiful system of checks and balances, but in actual working some of the checks have not checked nor has the whole always been in balance. In the relation between the Presidency and the national lawmaking body much has depended upon the personality of the President at any given time and also much upon the personality of leaders in Congress even more than upon the Constitution or upon congressional rules. If we have a strong character as President, and especially if Congress be of the same political party, we are apt to have a period of executive ascendency. On the other hand, if there are strong leaders in Congress and a President in the White House who is not outstanding, or who happens to be of another political party, the country is likely to have a period of congressional supremacy. Such alternations have been noticeable of late years.

If, in a time of great national crisis, the public safety requires that the President have full rein and also that Congress should rubber-stamp his plans, the constitutional balance is thrown further out of balance than usual. This occurs particularly in time of war. A notable case is that of Lincoln during the Civil War and Wilson during the first World War. In both cases the war emergency under our Constitution made the President virtually a dictator and Congress patriotically accepted the President's leadership and approved his program without delay or question. Our country has been in some such situation during most of the past decade.

It is an interesting fact, which probably has its explanation in human nature, that in all such cases where the President has been accorded such great power for a time, Congress finally reasserts itself when the danger is considered past and takes back power from the President which he had used during the emergency. It will be recalled that strong-willed congressional leaders just after Lincoln's death took back control from the President and exercised it in their own way. It will also be recalled that at the close of the World War strong-willed congressional leaders curbed some of the powers of President Wilson and took management of national affairs into their own hands. A sad thing to relate is that this recovery of power from the President by Congress is sometimes done in a vengeful spirit, working to the hurt of

the country's welfare while restoring the constitutional balance.

Aside from a war or great national emergency, how can a President gather unto himself so much power as to throw the constitutional scheme somewhat out of balance? By what means can congressional leaders get so much control over the national business as to throw the system out of balance in the opposite direction? Perhaps, in the first case, a strong-willed President can usurp legislative powers by doing more than merely inform the law-making body on "the state of the union" through his periodic messages. He may control individual Members of Congress through patronage or in some other way so that he can tell individuals how to vote, or control their vote. It may be that such a President will actually draft bills and send them up to the Congress for legislative approval. We have had such a President and in certain instances such executive leadership met with the approval of the American people.

If congressional leaders seize more and more power, it may be done by strong personalities through the aid of the rules of the House or Senate. The very liberal rules of the Senate may explain many things as to the action of that body, and the very complicated rules of the House may tend to throw great power in the hands of the Speaker, or in the hands of two or three men such as the Speaker of the House, or the chairman of the Rules Committee. There was a time when the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means had greater power than under existing Rules of the House. The strong leadership of Speaker Reed and the stronger leadership of Speaker Joseph Cannon will illustrate this latter suggestion.

In our comparison of congressional government today with that as pictured in 1885 by Professor Woodrow Wilson we must recall that Speaker Reed rose to power and Speaker Cannon rose to greater power under provisions of House rules in the interval and that subsequently a great change was made in 1910 whereby the Speaker's power was curbed. Although there are many minor differences being noted, the greatest change in rules of the House of Representatives pertain to the power of the Speaker, which change came about very suddenly in 1910 when Uncle Joe Cannon was shorn of the vast powers he had long exercised. In our further study we should note other changes in House Rules, Practice, and Procedure as they are found today as compared with a half century ago.

Neutrality of Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN J. FRAZIER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS BY EAMON DE VALERA

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Eamon de Valera before the Dail Eireann on Thursday, November 7, on the subject of the neutrality of Ireland.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Irish World (N. Y.) of November 16, 1940]

I think that every deputy, when he read the statement of the British Prime Minister with reference to our ports, must have wondered somewhat. I do not know whether everybody was prepared to take that statement in the way that I was prepared to take it as a simple, perhaps natural, expression of regret, or whether it portended something more. I would have refrained from making any comment upon it were it not that it has been followed by an extensive press campaign in Britain itself and reechoed in the United States of America, the purpose of the campaign being that we should surrender or lease our ports to Britain for the conduct of the war. Now the aim of our government uniformly has been to try to bring about good relations between the people of this island and the people of the adjoining island. It has been the prime, the fundamental motive of most of the things which we did. We realized that these good relations could only be based on the recognition by Britain of our fundamental rights by removing the causes which over the centuries have made the history of the relations of our two countries such tragic reading. In pursuit of that object we strove with the British Government to get a complete agreement with regard to all the outstanding issues between us. We succeeded to the extent that with the exception of one outstanding matter, fundamental no doubt, we had settled those outstanding differences in such a way that if that matter could only be settled we could say that the quarrel of the centuries has been ended.

Unfortunately, that outstanding matter, the matter of partition, which affects so deeply every man and every woman of Irish blood throughout the world, was left unsettled and it remained unsettled at the outset of this war. But we had settled the points of difference so far as the immediate territory under the jurisdiction of this Government was concerned and we had hoped that these matters were settled forever and that never again was there going to be any question of the right of the people of this part of Ireland to exercise complete sovereignty over this territory and to be able to choose the policy which would best seem to serve the interests of the community that lived in the territory.

No doubt giving us back what was our own may appear to many to have put a burden upon those who gave it back. To restore that which has been taken does I suppose always imply a sacrifice for those who restore it. But if justice is to be done that sacrifice has to be faced and we fully expected not merely on the part of the British Government but on the part of the British people that that was completely and fully understood. I want to say, before I say much more, that up to the present certainly it has been understood and that there has not been since the beginning of this war a single suggestion that this community of ours was not entitled to act as we have acted and to remain out of this war. It is because I am anxious that that should continue that I am choosing this opportunity to address the house and to speak to our people and to the people of the adjoining island. We have chosen the policy of neutrality in this war because we believed that it was the right policy for our people, it is the policy which has been accepted not merely by this house but by our people as a whole and nobody who realizes what modern war means and what it means particularly for those who have not sufficient air defenses will have the slightest doubt that that policy was the right one apart altogether from any question of sympathy on one side or the other.

Now, as I have said, we want friendly relations with the people of Britain as we want friendly relations with all other peoples, but we naturally want them with Britain because Britain is the nearest country to us on the globe. We have many relations of various kinds which make it desirable that the two peoples should live in friendship. It was partly for that reason and partly because I knew perfectly that it was a condition of neutrality that years before we came into office, and several times since we came into office, I announced that it would be our policy to use our strength to the utmost to see that this island was not going to be used as a basis of attack upon Britain. We have never swerved in the slightest from that declaration. Everything that we could do has been done to make it sure that that policy would be made as effective as it was within our power to make it.

Before the war, in order to increase our strength and so put us in a better position to make sure that in the event of a war and in the event of our declaring our neutrality as I expected we would, we should be in a position to see that that neutrality would be respected by all belligerents, we tried to get arms. We sought them in America, we sought them in Britain, we sought them on the Continent even, and it is no fault of the Government if our armaments are not even several times stronger than they are. We did not ask to be given a present of these arms; we were prepared to buy them and to the extent to which they were on offer either here or in the United States of America we have purchased them. There has been no want of faith, good faith, as far as we are concerned. We have abided by our public as well as by our private promises. It is a lie to say that German submarines or any other submarines are being supplied with fuel or provisions on our coasts. A most extensive system of coast observation has been established here since the war. I say it is a lie and I say further that it is known to be a falsehood by the British Government itself.

Having said all that, I now come to the question of our ports. There can be no question of the handing over of these ports so long as this State remains neutral. There can be no question of leasing these ports. They are ours. They are within our sovereignty and there can be no question as long as we remain neutral of handing them over on any conditions whatsoever. Any attempt to bring pressure to bear on us by any side by any of the belligerents by Britain could only lead to bloodshed. Certainly as long as this Government remains in office we shall defend our rights in regard to these ports against whoever shall attack them as we shall defend our rights in regard to every other part of our territory. It would

be a strange thing indeed if the reason for an attack upon our ports should be that they would be useful. If that is a good reason then I suppose it is universally a good reason and it is not necessary for me to point the moral by saying where or for whom. I want to say to our people that we may be, I hope not, facing a grave crisis. If we are to face it then we shall do it anyhow knowing that our cause is right and just and that if we have to die for it we shall be dying in that good cause.

Activities of Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the New York Times referring to an interview with Mr. William Allen White on the subject of Mr. White's ardent efforts to drag this country into war.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of November 29, 1940]

"THE INSIDE STORY"

William Allen White, chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, has now told the supposed "inside story" of "how the committee organized public opinion in favor of sending the 50 United States destroyers and 26 flying fortresses to England."

"Our first job [he said, among other things] was to send the destroyers to England. We (the committee) learned there were certain overage destroyers that could easily be spared—150 of them—but we plugged for 50. Taking that number as the goal, 50, was 'pure hunch,' but I want to say that we've never had an objective that wasn't approved in advance by the General Staffs of the United States Army and Navy. * * *

"We put General Pershing on the air, but the really smart trick we pulled was that after Lindbergh made his speech we put his mother-in-law [Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow] on the air—and was that a face card? It was.

"She said, 'Telegraph the White House and your Congressman,' and the next day * * * 15,000 telegrams came tumbling down on Washington, saying 'Give the destroyers to Great Britain.' They never knew what hit them."

Mr. White's remarks in this instance are unfortunate. They obviously exaggerate the role that the committee played in the destroyer-bases transaction. They will give many the impression that the General Staffs of the Army and Navy are cooperating with the White committee in its efforts to influence public opinion. And by his references to the "smart tricks" that the committee "pulled," Mr. White may needlessly arouse suspicions and injure the future usefulness of his committee.

The truth is that the country approved the destroyer and the flying-fortress transfer and other help to Great Britain because the British are now the one great nation standing in the path of aggressors bent upon destroying all the values of civilization. A committee similar to Mr. White's could have pulled any number of smart tricks to get us to send the 50 destroyers to Germany or Italy, and their efforts would have been worse than vain.

The White committee did not create the American sentiment for aid to Britain; it is merely one of the instruments through which that sentiment has been expressed. Mr. White recognizes this when he declares that the committee were "merely organizers of the great majority of American public opinion which had believed all along in the principle that we must defend ourselves by helping Great Britain." Precisely.

During the last 20 years a hardy myth grew up that America got into the war against Germany in 1917 through British propaganda, or forged documents and faked photographs, or war loans, or the intrigue of munitions makers, or smart tricks that somebody pulled. The myth grew up that America went to war, in short, for any and every reason except spontaneous feeling or clear-sighted recognition of the need of defeating Germany at that time. We should not permit now the creation of the myth that we have to be tricked into taking actions to insure Hitler's defeat.

College Men and the War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SHERMAN MINTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM DELPHI (IND.) CITIZEN

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, Mr. Allen Bailey, who recently graduated from Butler University and took up the editorship of the Delphi Citizen, a fine Middle West country newspaper at Delphi, Ind., in a very forceful editorial, and in very colorful language, expresses his views about college men and the war. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Delphi (Ind.) Citizen]

COLLEGE MEN AND THE WAR

Here is a little editorial on the subject of the war as it affects, or, more correctly, does not affect, the college campus. I am writing it in first person because it expresses my own personal opinion.

I have just finished reading correspondence from a representative cross section of the undergraduates of the country in reply to a recent prowar article which appeared in the Atlantic Monthly. The letters reveal, as might be expected, that isolationists rule supreme on the campus. The college youths are deeply moved by any politician who inveighs tearfully against those who are scheming to send mother's darling boy to die in the shambles of a foreign war, but they have long regarded such sentimentalists as Patrick Henry and John Paul Jones with suspicion.

While enjoying the blessing of peace and the opportunity for study amid the Hollywood splendor of the American campus, the youth of today write of their bitter disillusionment. Somebody has failed them. They are a poor, sad lot of depression victims. They have, to judge from the attitude of the college journalists, about lost faith in everybody and everything, including democracy.

For them, as with millions of other Americans, there is no longer any right and wrong in affairs between nations. There are no moral values at stake in this war. If they favor aid to Britain, it is not because Britain is right and Germany is wrong, but because such aid will more likely save their own skins. They are immune to sympathy and are open-minded about Hitler and his plans of conquest.

College men are at present exempt from selective service. Why? A year in camp would go a long way toward tempering their cynicism. Those who wouldn't go willingly should be yanked away from their bridge tables by their hair and given an introduction, long overdue, to the world of 1940.

For my part I believe the boys in the C. C. C. camps are entitled to more respect and admiration than the young men who are wasting their time and their dad's money in the coke departments and dance halls of the universities. They have a greater love of their country and a greater appreciation of their opportunities. And I'd have to see proof before I'm convinced that their I. Q. isn't higher.

If the country had to depend on the university men for its defense (which, thank God, it does not), the United States would be a soft touch for Guatemala.

The undergraduate's only sustaining interest is in the blond who sits next to him and his only dreams revolve around the hope of making a million dollars just as soon as possible after graduation.

This new college generation can have its laugh about "saving the world for democracy," but I believe that in the scale of history one R. A. F. pilot will outweigh a full thousand of them. And one company of Greek soldiers, skirts and all, is worth as much in today's world as a campus full of poker-playing, class-cutting, draft-ducking college heroes.

There are exceptions which remove some of the stain from the teachers, parents, preachers, and writers who have brought up this collection of moral delinquents, who shout about their rights, but change the subject when somebody mentions their duty. There are young men who will gladly serve whenever and wherever they are needed. There are those among the college students who would stake their lives for the ideals in which they believe and be grateful for the opportunity. They have the same love of their country as the young English aviator, lately dead, who wrote these words to his mother:

"Those who serve England must expect nothing from her; we debase ourselves if we regard our country as merely a place in which to eat and sleep. * * * We are faced with the greatest organized challenge to Christianity and civilization that the world has ever seen, and I count myself lucky and honored to be at the right age and fully trained to throw my full weight into the scale. For this I have to thank you. * * * I have no fear of death, only a queer elation."

A sentimentalist, perhaps, but the kind of sentimentalist who will save the world from darkness if it is to be saved.

A. B.

The Railroads and Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY DONALD KIRKPATRICK BEFORE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN RAILROADS

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Donald Kirkpatrick, of the Farm Bureau Federation, before the annual meeting of the Association of American Railroads at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City, November 13, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RAILROADS AND AGRICULTURE

American farmers are vitally interested in the maintenance of a highly efficient transportation system. Most of our commercial farmers live in the South, the Midwest, and the far West, while a great part of the consumer market is concentrated in the industrial Northeast. This means that farm products must travel hundreds—yes; even thousands—of miles en route to consumers. For example, it is estimated that the commercial supply of fresh fruits and vegetables, the most perishable of all farm commodities, travels an average of 1,400 miles on its way from producers to consumers.

This figure doesn't seem so high when we stop to consider that the city of New York receives approximately 40,000 carloads of fresh fruits and vegetables, or about one-fifth of its local supply, from California producers every year.

And what does this agricultural traffic mean to the railroads? In 1939 agricultural products, including animal and forest products, accounted for 17 percent of all freight shipped on the Nation's steam railways and, more important, accounted for 26 percent of 1939 railway freight revenue.

If the need for a means of getting their products to market is the first interest our farmers have in an efficient transportation system, their second interest is to obtain delivery of the industrial products they must buy. In addition, farmers are interested in anything which affects the general welfare, as transportation most certainly does.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has long been aware of the importance of railway transportation to farmers. And I think that the attitude of our organization toward the railroads can very well be summarized by a quotation from one of the resolutions adopted at our 1938 annual meeting:

"We recognize that American railroads constitute an essential transportation agency and believe their continued operation under private ownership will best assure the highest degree of efficient and improved service to the public.

"Rules and regulations causing enforced costs entering railroad operations and transportation rates of railroads should be adjusted to the extent necessary under efficient operations to permit improvement of services and a reasonable return on prudent investment.

"On the other hand, the railroads must continue under such reasonable regulation as will assure the public fair and reasonable rates and adequate service; but the underlying purposes of such regulation should be to foster and encourage, rather than to restrict, sound and orderly development and operation of an efficient and economical railroad system. Reasonable freedom and flexibility should be left to railroad management in fixing rates and in exploring all avenues to economy, including consolidation and elimination, all improvements in service, and every advancement in methods.

"To accomplish this end requires the immediate readjustment of governmental policies to provide relative treatment of different types of transportation without limiting any natural advantages accruing to any particular type where such advantages are being reflected in the public interest."

In this and other resolutions the American Farm Bureau Federation has consistently advocated: (1) private ownership of the railroads; (2) economical and efficient operation; (3) preservation of the inherent and natural advantages of each type of transportation, and (4) a just and equitable rate structure.

I know that when the policy-forming body of our organization has made these pronouncements it has appreciated the rapidly changing competitive situation the rail carriers were having to meet—a situation still very tense. In the year of the enactment of the first Interstate Commerce Act, the rails possessed for all practical purposes a monopoly. Today through the upper lanes, the air lines compete for the extra-fast passenger service, the mails and light express; beneath the surface the pipe lines divert the liquid and gaseous fuels and lubricants, in midair through transmission lines the energy of the mines is carried to the consuming centers, and upon the improved inland waterways substantial cargoes of both commodities are delivered to industries or to coastwise ports.

I would discuss with you the relationship of the national farm program to the railroads. As most of you know, the present farm program is an attempt to solve a surplus problem that has been more or less chronic since the end of the first World War.

Inspired by the slogan "Food will win the war," American farmers plowed up 40,000,000 acres of new land during the first World War to feed the soldiers and civilians of the United States and her Allies. Exports of farm products continued large for a time after the war, then began to dry up. Our own high tariff policy and the nationalistic attempts of other countries to attain self-sufficiency were having their effects.

On top of declining exports came the rapid shift from horses to farm tractors. Horses which formerly consumed 35,000,000 acres of feed crops were eliminated.

As farm markets dwindled, farm prices and farm income dropped. All through the 1920's agriculture was out of balance with the other groups in our economy. Then in the early 1930's the bubble of industrial prosperity burst. Farm prices and farm income dropped even more sharply than before, for the decline in industrial employment left consumers without income with which to buy farm products. The farmer's situation was even worse than the decline in farm prices would indicate, because there was a corresponding decline in the prices he had to pay for the things he needed to buy. Industry attempted to maintain prices by reducing production as demand declined, while farmers continued to produce but got very little for their output.

Let's compare the impact of the depression on the railroads with its effect on farmers. Both farmers and the railroads were hurt but in different ways. The years 1925–29 were not particularly prosperous for the railroads or the farmers, but in the light of what happened later they were not so bad. So we will take that 5-year period as a base.

In 1932, at the bottom of the depression, production was still 99 percent, as great as in the 1925–29 period, while the production of freight service had fallen to 54 percent and production of passenger service to 51 percent of the base period. Farm prices, on the other hand, were down to 44 percent of the 1925–29 average, while railroad freight revenue per ton-mile was still 97 percent as great and revenue per passenger-mile was 77 percent as great as during the most prosperous base period. This was not entirely the railroads' fault. They would have been glad to handle more traffic had industry created it. But farmers cannot help wondering if rigid rates were not a factor in the situation. We know rigid industrial prices were a big factor.

The farm program which was inaugurated in 1933 with the original Agricultural Adjustment Act is an attempt to bring farm surpluses under control and to restore agriculture to a parity with other groups in our economy. By parity income we mean a per capita net income for individuals on the farm from farming operation that bears to per capita net income of individuals not on farms the same relation as prevailed during the period from August 1909 to July 1914—a period generally believed to be one in which farm and nonfarm incomes were in balance. So far as funds have been available, the program has proved effective. Farm income has risen from less than four and a half billion dollars in 1932 to about nine billions in the current year.

Under the soil-conservation program farmers receive conservation payments for shifting some of their land from the production of soil-depleting crops such as cotton, tobacco, wheat, and corn, into the production of soil-conserving crops, such as pasture and legumes. Farmers can also earn payments by performing certain soil-conservation practices, such as terracing and fertilizing. More than 3,000,000 tons of lime have been delivered to farmers under this program—all of which means more business for the railroads. Since our principal surplus crops are soil depleting this program not only conserves the soil for future generations, but also reduces the surplus problem by putting a brake on its production.

The production control features of the program are in no sense a program of scarcity. Section 7 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 specifically states that the powers granted to the Secretary of Agriculture under its provisions "shall not be used to discourage the production of supplies of foods and fiber sufficient to maintain normal domestic human consumption."

Under the ever-normal granary plan farmers can store a part of their surplus under Government loan until consumers need it. Since agriculture is a biological industry whose output cannot be predicted or entirely controlled, this benefits both farmers and consumers. In years of bumper crops removing surplus production from the market by means of a loan supports farm prices and insures adequate supplies to consumers in later periods when adverse weather conditions may have caused a short crop.

In some cases, the ever-normal-granary program evens out the flow of products seeking transportation to market; in other words, it probably results in a larger portion of the total crop moving to market. Today, for example, much less wheat is fed to livestock than formerly.

A third method of attack upon the surplus problem consists of efforts to stimulate domestic and foreign consumption of agricultural products. Subsidies have been paid on exports of such crops as cotton and wheat. Subsidies have been used domestically to divert surplus farm products into byproduct and other uses. Most important of all, a vigorous attempt is being made to increase consumption among the low-income groups of our own people through such devices as the stamp plan, the school-lunch program, and the direct distribution of surplus products to the needy.

It is not likely that farm program has greatly reduced volume of farm products shipped to market. Even with a production-control program in effect for several of our major crops, total production of agricultural products in 1939 was 107 percent of the 1924–29 average. Insofar as the farm program is stimulating increased consumption, it is increasing the volume that moves to market. Insofar as the farm program has improved farm prices it has also tended to increase the proportion of their total supply farmers will sell. Volume of agricultural products transported by railroads is smaller today than it was in 1929, but this is largely due to the competition of other forms of transportation.

The real effect of our national farm program on the transportation industry is to be found in the increased business that has come to transportation agencies as increased farm income gave farmers and nonfarmers directly or indirectly serving farmers more purchasing power with which to buy industrial goods. There is a wealth of evidence to show that farmers are good spenders, and that if they have money they will spend it for industrial goods which some transportation agency must carry to them from the industrial centers. Records of mail-order sales, rural retail sales, and automobile registrations in rural areas all bear this out.

To test the thesis that farmers buy more when their income increases, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration analyzed the movement of industrial goods from the 16 northern and eastern States which have about 75 percent of the manufacturing carried on in this country to the 32 States which receive about 70 percent of the country's cash agricultural income for the 3 years, 1933–35. Shipments of manufactured commodities from the 16 industrial States were 60 percent larger in the 12 months ending June 30, 1935, than in the 12 months ending June 30, 1929, the last year before the agricultural program was inaugurated. Cash farm income increased 58 percent from 1932 to 1935, illustrating the remarkable correlation that exists between farm income and farm purchases.

This increased buying power helped the railroads, for shipments of farm implements and machinery increased 161 percent in the first year of the farm program and jumped to 309 percent the following year. For the same 2 years, shipments of tractors and parts gained 111 percent and 303 percent respectively. Steel fence posts increased 146 percent and 197 percent, refrigerators increased 82.4 percent and 260 percent, clothing increased 3 percent and 28 percent, automobiles gained 126 percent and 277 percent. These are only a few examples but they indicate the trend.

Let's look into the traffic diversion that I mentioned a few minutes ago; rail shipments of fresh fruits and vegetables dropped from 1,000,000 carloads in 1931 to 800,000 in 1937, while total production increased about 15 percent. If the railroads had merely held their own relative to other methods of transportation, they would have hauled 1,150,000 carloads in 1937 instead of 800,000.

One of the important reasons for the loss is inadequacy of the terminal markets now serving many of our large cities. The principal wholesale fruit and vegetable market in Philadelphia, for example, is located some distance from rail facilities. A farmer shipping fresh tomatoes to Philadelphia by rail must truck the tomatoes from his farm to the railroad, pay freight to Philadelphia, and then pay cartage charge of around $30 a car from the railroad station to the wholesale market where they are finally sold. In some cases rail shipping means an extra middleman. Often it means extra handling and delay, both of which are important causes of deterioration.

The lower Manhattan market, which handles three-fourths of the fresh fruits and vegetables shipped into New York City, is another good example of a terminal market with inadequate rail service. Only one rail line has a direct freight connection with Manhattan, and this line does not go into Washington Street where most of the wholesale stores are located. The other rail lines maintain freight terminals on the New York and New Jersey mainland from which they float fruit and vegetable cars across to Manhattan.

At one time rail shipments were largely sold at the receiving piers, but the increasing importance of motor trucks as fruit and vegetable carriers has shifted so much of the wholesale business to Washington Street that rail receivers are now forced to truck a considerable part of their produce to Washington Street stores. This cartage cost averages $32 per car. Similar conditions prevail in other cities. In a recent study the Bureau of Agricultural Economics discovered that some hauling from railroads to the principal wholesale markets is necessary in 35 out of 40 large cities. In this same study the Bureau of Agricultural Economics found that "cartage and handling charges on produce arriving by rail in the wholesale markets of some cities are twice the charges on truck receipts." As long as such conditions prevail the railroads will continue to lose fruit and vegetable traffic. Rate makers should remember that shippers consider total marketing costs and not merely rail rates versus truck rates.

To date the railroads have not taken the constructive action required to prevent the diversion of fruit and vegetable shipments to truck lines. They have allowed new markets to be built without rail connections to the wholesalers' stores. As a matter of fact, some roads have objected to making such connection with the wholesale markets.

It's true that individual roads have built what they call markets in a number of cities, but much of the money spent in this way has been wasted because of poor location. Roads which have built markets habitually bar all produce except that arriving over their own lines. As a result, their markets are unable to provide buyers with the quantity and variety of produce needed. Consequently, much of the produce delivered to these railroad markets is hauled to other markets by truck.

Such individualistic effort often makes the marketing situation worse instead of better. If the railroads really want to retain their fresh fruit and vegetable business, they must get together and cooperate with other groups in an effort to get complete markets (not more than one to a city as a rule) located where rail delivery can be made directly into the market buildings as easily as truck delivery.

In the case of livestock there has been a substantial loss of volume to the railroads, much of it traceable to failure of the carriers to make adjustments to meet competitive transportation systems.

As in the case of fruit and vegetable markets, we here again find markets have been built by railroads and others where buying power seems insufficient to bring into play the buying competition so needed by livestock to maintain price levels.

Advancing rates on livestock during the past 25 years have restricted movements by rail. Consideration should be given to adjusting rates within the respective rate districts and particularly on shipments moving from one district to another.

Rules and regulations, while necessary, can be carried to the point where they become a barrier in the movement of traffic. For instance, at some market points sale in transit and diversion privileges are available while at others they are denied. "What difference," we ask, "does it make to the railroad, who owns the livestock being transported by it so long as it is sure of collection of the freight charges for the service performed?" For example, a car of livestock moving between two given points pays one rate, but should the ownership of the livestock in this car be changed during the course of movement, a substantially higher rate is charged.

Farmers cannot understand nor appreciate why the mere change of ownership should affect the rate while the service performed by the carrier is practically identical.

This is representative of many similar situations.

Fat livestock (especially hogs and cattle and calves), cotton, milk, butter, poultry and eggs, baled hay and straw, sugar and sugar beets are other farm products in which the railroads have lost significant portions of the total traffic. To a certain extent this loss has been a result of the rate-making policies followed by the railroads.

As you all know, one of the primary rules of railroad rate making is the value of service principle. At times, the application of this principle has placed a disproportionate rate burden with respect to cost of service on commodities of relatively high value and on short-haul traffic. This has been an open invitation for truck companies to undercut rail rates on this type of traffic, for it is the very type trucks are best adapted to handle. Lower rates by trucks have been usually welcome to the farmers during recent years of low farm prices. As long as freight rates do not change with prices, a drop in farm prices forces the farmer to pay out a relatively larger part of the receipts for transportation. For this reason farmers have long advocated more flexible rates. They are particularly opposed to rate increases at times when farm prices are dropping, as was demonstrated when the Interstate Commerce Commission held hearings on a proposed 15-percent increase in January 1938.

Of course, the railroads probably would have lost some farm tonnage even though their rates had been more flexible. The ability of a truck to pick up and deliver at their farms is important to farmers. In the case of livestock, trucks have a considerable advantage in being able to adapt their schedule to his convenience.

However, I am convinced that if the railroads are to prevent further losses of agricultural tonnage they should adopt a more realistic rate policy, if it is at all possible to do so. The old philosophy of raising prices in boom times to pay higher operating costs and raising them again in depressions to compensate for reduced volume hurts both the farmer and the railroads. Research has shown that farmers tend to sell more of a given supply when prices are relatively high than when prices are relatively low. An increase in freight rates amounts to the same thing as a decrease in prices, particularly for the farmer who is far from the market. Consequently, high freight rates tend to reduce freight volume. Furthermore, rigid rail rates permit trucks to cut into railroad business, and truck interests have been more eager to adjust their rates to economic conditions than have the railroads.

High rates cannot insure railroad prosperity. Rates alone mean nothing. It's rates times volume that tell the story of transportation revenue.

Farmers believe that rail rates should be adjusted downward when prices fall, as this would tend to maintain volume, prevent diversion of traffic to other agencies, preserve employment. In the end, such a policy would benefit the railroads, agriculture, and the

public generally. Conversely, the railroads should be allowed reasonable rate increases in times of prosperity. Even then, in their own interest, railroads should not ask for rate increases which would divert traffic to other transportation agencies.

Agriculture appreciates that labor is the largest element of cost in rail transportation. Railway employees should be vitally interested in maintaining the volume of rail traffic. What possible advantage can railway labor gain from maintenance of rigid wage scales when either depression or high freight rates or both together are heavily reducing traffic or diverting it, perhaps permanently, to other agencies? Railroad employees actually working now number scarcely one-half of the number employed in 1920, yet their average compensation, both per hour and per year, is 15 percent to 30 percent higher than it was in 1920. Throughout the depression and up to this hour the real wage of railway employees who are actually employed has been from 10 to 30 percent higher in terms of its purchasing power than it ever was in the post-war period down through 1929. Railway labor surely recognizes that it is at least as much responsible for the maintenance of unduly high and rigid rail transportation rates as rail management and the owners of railway securities.

Many of these long-run problems I mention have been pushed temporarily into the background by problems incident to our current rearmament program. What about car supply? The railroads reduced their supply of serviceable cars about 30 percent from 1929 to 1939 by retiring worn-out cars more rapidly than they bought new ones. Formers first became aware of this in the fall of 1939 when an unexpected upswing in business activity reduced the supply of surplus cars to the vanishing point and overtaxed the reserve supply which the railroads were able to make available by hurriedly repairing unserviceable cars. In spite of everything that could be done to meet the emergency, some car shortages developed, and, while these were not serious, they set farmers to thinking about what might happen with further increases in business activity.

Under the stimulus of defense spending by our own Government and heavy war orders from England, industrial production has already passed all previous peaks. Yet we are told that the defense program is still in the make-ready stage. As industry completes new plants and swings into the actual production of guns, ammunition, tanks, and other war materials, further increases in business activity will occur.

Some economists say that an increase of 20 percent from the present level of business activity is likely to take place before industry can complete the defense program as it is now outlined. This assumes that the United States does not become involved in active hostilities, a development that would, of course, make all present estimates ultraconservative. Everyone agrees that the defense program will cause a substantial increase in our output of industrial goods, which means more shipping, particularly for the railroads, since much of industry's expanded output will be heavy goods.

Farmers want to know whether or not the railroads are going to be able to handle this increased business when it arrives. A serious car shortage hits farmers first. They know that if it becomes necessary to ration freight cars, defense shipments will have first call on the available supply.

Starting with the facts that industrial production is as high now as it was last fall and that some actual car shortages were reported at that time, forecasts for a Federal Reserve Board index of 150 in production make the prospective car shortage seem very real.

Another alarming fact is the large percentage of the present car supply verging on the retirement age. Figures compiled by the American Railway Car Institute show that in January 1, 1940, Class I railroads had more than 400,000 cars that were 25 years old or over, or about 25 percent of all the freight cars owned by these roads on that date. Since the life expectancy of a freight car is about 29 years, a rather heavy replacement program will need to be followed for at least the next 3 or 4 years if a further decline in the supply of serviceable cars in the near future is to be avoided.

Only a few more than 200,000 railroad and privately owned freight cars were built in the 8 years from 1932 to 1939. Twice this number will reach the retirement age in the 4 years 1940–44. A considerable number of new freight cars were ordered last fall, but in recent months orders have been few. The railroads are still the farmers' most important means of transportation even though they do not handle as large a proportion of the total agricultural traffic as they did a few years ago. Consequently, agriculture is likely to be seriously hurt by a car shortage. Without adequate and timely freight service, agriculture would be helpless.

I want particularly to emphasize the importance of timeliness to farmers. Perishable fruits and vegetables cannot wait a week or 10 days for the railroads to find an empty car—they must be shipped as soon as they are ready for market or heavy spoilage losses will result. Fertilizers can be applied only at certain times of the year. New machinery and machinery repairs must arrive at the harvest or planting time for which they were ordered—not 2 or 3 months later. The commercial poultry men and dairy men of our east and west coasts must get regular shipments of feed from the Midwest. Stocker and feeder livestock must not be detained at central markets for want of cars to carry it to midwestern feed lots.

Continuation of a car shortage for any length of time would hurt consumers by lowering the quality of farm products available to them. It would greatly increase the shift to truck and water transportation. Such a development would be almost certain to cause a very unfavorable reaction against the railroads. On every side there would be cries for the Government to do something drastic to speed up transportation. Popular clamor might force the Government to again take over the railroads, as it did in the last war. I think that all of you can see what this might result in, for I have heard it said many times that, if the Government took over the railroads again, returning them to private owners would be much more difficult than it was 20 years ago.

Railroading, like agriculture, is an industry in which tradition is strong. I very well remember, as many of you do, the hangover from the "Granger Days" of the latter part of the nineteenth century. Farmers had a grudge against the railroads, and railroad men bore just as deep a grudge against the farmers for the trouble they had caused the carriers by the extreme measures they advocated.

Happily, those days have gone, and with them has gone the bitterness of feeling that prevailed. Both groups attack their own problems on a much broader basis, and both attack their problems through a much more intelligent approach. In those days railroads had a near-monopoly on transportation, but today they face the keenest of competition, which puts a totally different aspect on the situation today.

Even, as I cheerfully grant that the railroads now make a broad-gaged approach to their problems, so also I maintain that farmers, in meeting their problems, now utilize economics, rather than emotion, in their attempts to influence national policies with respect to agriculture. The farm groups have demanded and secured government help in attempting to solve their big problems, just as the railroads and other groups have done. But also the Farm Bureau group, which I am speaking for today, has taken a leading part in trying to create public opinion in favor of voluntary action by all groups to attempt to iron out some of the difficulties which our tremendously complex industrial economy has created.

Two years ago, the American Farm Bureau Federation invited to its annual convention representatives of industry, labor, and agriculture, and the consumer. Each group spokesman was encouraged to speak frankly and forthrightly with respect to the aims and objectives of his own group, as well as to criticize, if so inclined, the steps taken by other groups in their own behalf. The results of that meeting were highly constructive, in my opinion. At the end of the meeting, our convention unanimously adopted a resolution urging the President to call a Nation-wide conference of leaders of the different segments of our national economy to lay the ground work for a program of voluntary and coordinated action by all groups toward one objective, namely, the attainment of fair economic balance between groups.

Such a conference has not been called. With so much at stake, I am wondering if representatives of the rail brotherhoods, of organized agriculture, and the rail carriers, might not on their own motion effect such a conference or series of conferences wherein a common ground could be discovered and the mutual and public interest be advanced.

It is the conviction of the Farm Bureau forces that permanent national prosperity can be attained only through abundant production, with goods and services measured in prices which will permit the greatest freedom of exchange between groups. We believe that mass production can only be supported by widespread ability to buy, and that if one individual or one group gets a dollar that it doesn't earn, then some other individual or group will not get a dollar that it does earn. That, of course, can only mean curtailed buying power, reduced production, reduced employment—depression and all of its evils.

If the spirit of American enterprise is to be perpetuated, unfair restrictions—whether legal or illegal, and whether imposed for the benefit of capital, of labor, or of agriculture, must be discarded. For this Nation is blessed above all others in that it has the natural resources, men and the machinery, the inventive genius, and the administrative ability, the skilled labor, and capital, to create here an abundance for all, such as has never been attained in all the history of the world. We can do it, if we will simply use common horse sense in utilizing the tremendous assets that a kindly Providence has placed at our disposal.

War—Short Cut to Fascism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE BY WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLAIN

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the American Mercury and written by an eminent foreign correspondent, Mr. William Henry Chamberlain, entitled "War—Short Cut to Fascism."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the American Mercury of December 1940]

WAR—SHORT CUT TO FASCISM

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

Never in history has liberalism been in such peril of total eclipse as at the present time. By liberalism—for many intellectual crimes have been committed in its name—I understand a system under which there is freedom of elections, of speech and press, of trade-union and professional organization. I understand a system under which the individual has genuine legal safeguards against the arbitrary violence of the state.

Liberalism in this sense has been almost completely blotted out on the European Continent. All Europe is directly or indirectly under the power of the German, the Soviet, and the Italian dictatorships, to all of which the whole credo of liberalism is anathema. The collapse of France was the last resounding crash in the decline and fall of European liberal civilization. England, the classical stronghold of liberalism, with perhaps the best record of any nation as regards the systematic toleration of unpopular dissenting opinion, is fighting the most desperate battle of its long history, faced by an enemy more formidable than Philip II or Louis XIV or Napoleon.

The dilemma of the liberal in America, the sole large country with a predominantly liberal political and intellectual tradition still outside the battle, is a difficult, if not an insoluble one. It can, I believe, be briefly summed up in the following paradoxical question: Is it possible to resist the totalitarian onslaught without going totalitarian in the process?

I consider myself a reasonably consistent liberal. I detest both the Communist and the Fascist forms of the challenge to individualist civilization with all my heart. As a result of first-hand observation in the Soviet Union and in the Third Reich I was one of the first writers to emphasize the essential likeness between Stalinism and Hitlerism at a time when many self-styled liberals were extolling the Soviet dictatorship as an advanced form of humanitarian democracy. I have no illusions as to the dark night that would descend on liberal ideals all over the world, as to the iron age which America itself would face if England should fall. So, on returning to America after living through the downfall of France, I could understand and to some extent share some of the strongly marked trends in the evolution of American public opinion during these months.

Aid to England by measures short of war and with regard for the vital necessities of America's own defense? Yes. Strengthening of America's own defenses to a point calculated to assure the security of the American Continent against hostile attack? Certainly. But, just because I care about liberalism as a way of life, just because I cherish America not as a geographical expression but as one of the last citadels of freedom, I am depressed by the many preliminary indications that an alleged anti-Fascist crusade is far and away the most probable route to the establishment of some kind of fascism in America.

There has been one object lesson in this connection that should not be forgotten. When did America most resemble a Fascist state? The answer may sound ironical; but I don't think it is open to factual dispute. It was when we were engaged in our great crusade to make the world safe for democracy. Nazi judges and Nazi guards in concentration camps would certainly voice guttural approval of some of the 20-year sentences meted out to war critics, of the sadistic brutality which mobs and prisons officials practiced against I. W. Ws, conscientious objectors, and other dissidents. Living in Russia, I felt that there was something reminiscent about the amiable habit of the official Soviet writers' organization of denouncing any author suspected of deviating from the ever-narrower part of Communist orthodoxy. Why, of course, there was that organization of American writers during the World War who called themselves the Vigilantes and constituted themselves censors of un-Americanism and zealous, if amateurish, spy hunters.

And can one remember without weary disgust those ministers of the Lord who went stumping up and down the country shouting "God damn the Kaiser," and hastily assuring their audiences that they weren't swearing? Or those rural bankers who combined patriotism with profit by forcing Liberty bonds on more or less willing customers to an accompaniment of 4-minute orations on the manifold wickednesses of the Hun? The approved climax of these talks was, "And I'd compare the Huns to snakes, only it would be insulting the snakes." And there was Pittsburgh, proving its martial fervor by banning Beethoven.

Weren't all these familiar American wartime phenomena painfully suggestive of the everyday routine of life in the modern Fascist or Communist state? And some of the immedate post-war developments were equally disquieting. Seattle experienced a local fuehrer named Ole Hansen, who, on closing down the headquarters of a labor organization which he didn't like, gleefully announced: "We didn't have any law, and we didn't need any. We used nails." Another local hero of the time was one Arthur Guy Empey, who gathered some ex-soldier hoodlums and started a chase for "reds" in the best style of Black Shirts and Brown Shirts. Certain local units of the American Legion acted very much like Fascist Squadristi in putting unruly labor in its place; and it is no accident that the Ku Klux Klan enjoyed one of its most flourishing periods immediately after the war.

II

America, at the moment of writing, is not yet at war; but there is every indication that the destruction of liberty which was so pronounced during the last war will be equally characteristic of the next one. The term "fifth columnist" is thrown about as a general epithet of abuse. Recently I listened on the radio to an outburst by a magazine editor; in the name of democracy he was proposing to suppress the whole foreign-language press and to give the Federal officials "any laws they needed" to track down seditionists. That was just what Hitler wanted and took in 1933. I see no reason to believe that the results would be any more pleasing in America than they have been in Germany. To one who, like the writer, is familiar with the mentality and formulas of public prosecutors under dictatorships, there is an ominous ring in a recent statement by J. Edgar Hoover, of the F. B. I.:

"The time is rapidly approaching when as a Nation we must choose between the welfare of the great masses of Americans and a few interlopers who hide behind the Bill of Rights while they undermine the Nation."

In the Soviet Union, in Germany, and in Italy there is, of course, no Bill of Rights behind which to hide. But this fancied opposition between the interests of the great masses of the people and those of a few troublesome critics has been invoked as justification for all the terrorism in Europe today. This question of freedom of speech and press and opinion is not so simple for the liberal now as it would have been 5 years ago. Voltaire himself might have been a little hesitant about defending the civil liberties of some ultra-reactionary aristocrat or priest who made no secret of his intention, on obtaining power, to liquidate Voltaire and all his works. My own attitude on this question is dictated not by pure dogma but by what seem to me the pragmatic teachings of experience.

Repression and intolerance are a source of strength to a totalitarian state. They are a source of weakness, of internal poisoning, to a democracy. Look at the practical example of France and England. Whatever the French may have neglected in the matter of war preparation, they did not neglect censoring, as the extensive white spaces in their newspapers testified. They jammed German radio broadcasts; they suppressed opposition newspapers; they slashed the cables of foreign correspondents; they concealed the magnitude of the defeat to such a degree that the final capitulation came as a shock to the man on the street. England has systematically published German communiqués in its newspapers, lets anyone listen in on German radio broadcasts, has maintained a civil liberties record in the midst of a grim life-and-death struggle. No one certainly will say that England, with its relative freedom, has made a worse war showing in actual war than France with its repression.

I believe the danger to American democracy of permitting home-grown Communists and Fascists to express their views freely, subject only to the restrictions of the ordinary laws against libel and incitement to disorder, is very much less than the danger that would be implicit in launching a campaign of arbitrary repression. Such a campaign, by its very nature, knows no limit. What might begin as a process of cracking down on Fascists and Communists would soon become a witch hunt against all isolationists and pacifists and would almost certainly end in the establishment of the totalitarian theory that the administration can do no wrong.

The ugly combination of profiteering and intellectual repression, so characteristic of America during the World War, is again raising its head. It was accidental, but highly significant that the same issue of the New York Times which published the Venerable Butler's warning to all Columbia professors to accept his views or get out also printed on its financial page the following note: "A long war would be bullish for securities; and traders now apparently expect just such a state of affairs." And I was frankly shocked at the public pronouncement of a number of clergymen and educators against sending food to the occupied countries of Europe. There is good Scriptural warrant for feeding one's enemies and in this case it was a question of feeding people whose only fault was that they were not strong enough to withstand the German invasion.

III

In these times one scarcely needs to be reminded that it takes two to make peace and that a nation may be forced to choose between the alternatives of war and submission. In such a case liberals, except for a minority of nonresistant pacifists, would choose the first alternative. But there is a far greater danger that America will drift or blunder into war as a result of a disastrously belated access of the bellicose spirit, of a stretching of the conception of American security to include such remote parts of the world as Singapore and the Dutch East Indies and Dakar.

The risks of avoidable war, from the standpoint of maintaining liberalism, should be clearly recognized and stated. Here, I think, there has been a deplorable failure on the part of the majority of American liberals, including some who had an honorable record of critical skepticism in regard to the last war. It is perhaps the same loss of the essential liberal faith in the value and dignity of the individual personality that prompted such a widespread acceptance of the Soviet dictatorship in "liberal" circles a few years ago that accounts for the myopic indifferences of these circles to the dangers of involvement in war.

The three brutalitarian systems which have spread their sway over Europe originated in the first World War. There is no agency for revolutionary upheaval remotely comparable in efficacy with war. All the teaching of recent history points eloquently to the fact that there is no surer recipe for rapid and violent change, and change in an anti-liberal direction than participation in war, with the suffering and dislocation which this involves and the consequent predisposition of large masses of people to take short cuts to some Utopian mirage. A good many liberals sinned and repented in regard to America's entrance into the World War. Then sinned and repented in regard to the Soviet Union. Now they are sinning again insofar as they are urging measures which are reasonably certain to bring

the United States into war. But this time it is doubtful whether they will have any chance to repent.

Must the American liberal remain impaled on the two horns of the dilemma, divided between the recognition of the need for greater national defense in a world where protective balances of power have broken down and naked conquest and power politics are rampant, the perception that war carries with it every probability of the destruction from within of the very liberalism in the name of which the war would be waged? I am not prepared to say with certainty that there is a satisfactory solution of this dilemma. It may be that liberalism is doomed, whichever alternative it may choose, that the world is entering on a much lower cycle of civilization. Yet before giving up the problem as quite hopeless, one should at least try to consider whether there may not be some rational middle course between the illusion of complete unpreparedness, which would expose American democracy to the danger of being crushed from without, and the illusion of turning the country into a huge barracks, in which democracy would just as certainly perish from within. Maybe there is a difference between a German Gauleiter or Oberführer and a Grand Exalted Cyclops of the Ku Klu Klan or some other homegrown type of bully and boss. But the difference is not great enough to be reassuring.

There should be much clearer thinking about the nature of war, about what it can and what it cannot be reasonably expected to achieve. On this subject an appalling amount of muddled and confused thinking has been finding expression. Is America arming to defend itself and adjacent parts of the continent against possible invasion? Or to restore integrally the map of Europe as it existed before September 1, 1939, or the map of Asia as it was before Japan conquered Manchuria? Or to go on a holy crusade against the totalitarian form of state wherever it may exist? Or as an antidote (certainly a quack antidote) to the failure of our economic system to solve the problems of unemployment and of poverty in the midst of plenty? Or—perish the thought—because in the words of the Times, "a long war will be bullish for securities"?

There is a general failure in America to distinguish between two aspects of the totalitarian revolution which has swept over Europe and east Asia. In this revolution there is an element of forceful conquest that must be resisted if it ever directs itself against the American Continent. But there is also an element of social and economic change which cannot be effectively opposed by force of arms. No one has been more consistently critical than the present writer of the totalitarian systems. Yet it seems fantastic to me to believe that one can bomb, shoot, torpedo, and starve Russians, Germans, Italians, and Japanese into being good individualistic democrats. Force can and must be met by force. But ideas, however mistaken, which have caused revolutionary changes in the internal social and economic structure of a large nation cannot be crushed by violence applied from the outside. If, for different reasons and in different ways, Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, and Japan have all virtually nationalized their foreign trade, it is scarcely feasible for the United States to force them to denationalize it. Special governmental measures may be necessary to meet particular cases; but our best hope is to prove in competition that our economic system is superior to those of the dictatorships.

IV

As part of the general campaign for the inevitability, if not desirability, of American participation in the present war there has been a surfeit of predictions of calamity as a result of German methods of state-controlled foreign trade. In the same way a few years ago sensational newspapermen made much ado about the "red" trade menace of the Soviet Union, which was expected to conquer all the markets of the world and to reduce the capitalist states to bankruptcy. An extreme example of hysteria in connection with possible future trade with Germany recently appeared in an editorial in a leading New York newspaper. Referring to Germany, it said:

"Can we make treaties with such a power? Can we compromise murder and slavery on a territorial basis? Can we buy from a slave power, sell to it, travel in its territories, welcome its besotted admirers in our own land? If we ourselves propose to keep our freedom and our honor we cannot."

It might be a pertinent comment on these rhetorical questions that we have been doing all these things with another slave power, the Soviet Union, without visibly impairing either our freedom or our honor.

There could be no surer prelude to national disaster and to the establishment of some kind of totalitarian dictatorship in America than to adopt, consciously or unconsciously, a foreign policy which would impose on us the obligation to overthrow every totalitarian regime in the world. This would mean war with some 400,000,000 people, all more systematically trained in military affairs than we are. Even if the war should assume only the form of commercial nonintercourse, the impact of the sensitive individualist economy of the United States would be more destructive in all probability than the effect on the more rigidly disciplined economies of the dictatorships.

The example of France should be a solemn warning against pitching foreign policy in a key higher than the majority of the people wish to follow. Defense of the United States and of the American Continent is a policy on which the substantial majority of Americans are agreed. Crusading into Europe or Asia, despite all the highly organized articulate publicity in favor of such a course, is profoundly suspect to a large minority, probably to a majority of the people. A very similar situation existed in France last year on the eve of the outbreak of the war. All Frenchmen, except for a few extremists or actual German agents, would have fought wholeheartedly for the frontiers of their own country. But many Frenchmen were averse to fighting on an east-European issue. To quote a phrase that was much used, they did not wish to "die for Danzig." Pushed into war on an unpopular issue, the French people soon lost their morale, with the disastrous results that were evident in May and June.

I hope I shall never see America in the same state of pitiful collapse in which I left France, or, for the same reason, an unwise decision of the Government to embark on an avoidable war for which the country was not properly prepared, either materially or psychologically. How many Americans, on a referendum vote, would wish to die for the Dutch East Indies, for Singapore, for Thailand or Senegal?

It has become fashionable during the last few months to uphold the thesis that the security of the American continent cannot be maintained unless the United States has a grip on large sections of Asia and Africa. One publicist or military expert clamors for Dakar, another for the Azores, still another for the Dutch East Indies, and I am anticipating the day when the possession of Tibet and Afghanistan will be represented as vitally necessary to the security of Kansas and Nebraska. There is no logical end to this elastic conception of "security" short of the conquest of the whole world. What makes me skeptical about the validity of this wave of expansionism is the large number of books, written in years when American thought on world affairs was calmer and more cool-headed, which uphold the general thesis that a firm American grip on the islands of the Caribbean and a holding of the Alaska-Hawaii line in the Pacific would insure America against attack from either Europe or Asia.

Those Americans who believe in a liberal, democratic, individualist way of life face extremely difficult problems and decisions in a world which is increasingly ruled by totalitarian armed force. On the one hand there must be quick, efficient preparation to meet the physical menace of such force. I could wish that the American record for the last years could show more airplanes and tanks, and men who know how to use them, and fewer intemperate alarmist speeches and vague dangerous commitments to action in remote parts of the world. On the other hand, war is far and away the surest and swiftest means of bringing to America all the essential characteristic features of the totalitarian state: universal regimentation, hysterical intolerance, physical and intellectual goose-stepping. War, moreover, whatever hectic flush of inflation it may bring in the beginning, can only deepen and aggravate our economic problems in the long run and set back constructive social progress indefinitely.

Liberal strategy, therefore, should be to see to it that war does not take place unless it is clearly unavoidable, in other words, unless there is a direct military attack against the American continent. The greatest and most irretrievable error into which American liberalism could fall today would be to be lured into supporting another crusade, another aggressive war in Europe, or Asia, or both, prompted by a general dislike of the totalitarian idea and by the pathetic illusion that all the broken pieces of Europe, Asia, and Africa could be neatly put back in place by means of such a war.

It is the Randolph Bournes, not the Walter Lippmanns, who were vindicated by the results of the Wilsonian experiment in utilizing war to promote the realization of such ideals as international cooperation and self-determination of peoples. Ends cannot be divorced from means. Such a brutal and irrational means as war can lead only to brutal and irrational results. To believe that America will contribute to a better world order by participating in war is on a par with the illusion of believing that the Soviet Union will achieve a desirable and humane social order by the systematic use of executions, deportations, universal espionage, and terrorism.

It is a familiar teaching of history that men learn nothing from the observation of the past. Yet America's experience in the World War is surely recent enough to afford some useful guidance. The Dead Sea fruits of America's first crusade to make the world safe for democracy were communism and fascism. A second crusade, which would have to be on a much larger scale because America would have fewer allies, could have, I think, only one certain result: the definite and perhaps permanent disappearance of liberalism in America.

The Walter-Logan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. COCHRAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1940

EXCERPTS FROM AN EDITORIAL FROM THE ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH AND AN EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks today, I include an excerpt from an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Friday, November 29, and also an editorial published in the Washington Times-Herald on November 28.

The Post-Dispatch editorial follows:

A VETO REQUIRED

The wise men who drew up the American Constitution 153 years ago provided that the President might, when he believed such a course required, veto bills passed by Congress. They provided further that bills so vetoed could become law only through repassage by a two-thirds majority.

The founding fathers did this because they knew that occasions would arise when the power and office of the President would be needed to protect the people from unwise action by their elected representatives. They knew that on occasions only the President could withstand ill-advised pressures under which Members of Congress would yield.

Such an occasion arises with the passage of the Logan-Walter bill. This bill is the most backward step Congress has taken in years. It flies in the face of an orderly development of administrative law, shaped over a half century by Federal agencies and commissions, with the understanding and assistance of the Supreme Court in hundreds of decisions. It is a measure utterly without perspective.

In reality the Logan-Walter bill is the current stick which enemies of the New Deal and its humanitarian reforms are using to beat the Roosevelt administration. Every session of Congress since 1933 has had such a stick. In one session it was the fight on the Truth-in-Securities Act. In another it was the fight on the Wagner Act. In another the fight on the Executive Reorganization Act.

If the Logan-Walter bill becomes law, every finding of fact by most of the expert administrative bodies which Congress itself has established will be subject to judicial review. This means that judges will be called upon to decide not only whether these agencies have observed the law, as courts must now decide, but to pass upon factual matters.

The Logan-Walter bill, in short, gives to the courts powers they do not now have; powers which will inevitably tie up administrative procedure, which will hobble the Federal Government in its conduct of complex problems, the while opening up a happy fee-hunting ground for political lawyers who will like nothing better than opportunities to file more suits.

But President Roosevelt's veto is needed not only to save the administrative agencies from emasculation by selfish interests. His veto is required to protect the Senate itself, which passed the bill 27 to 25—a margin of one vote really, with slightly more than half the Senate and barely a quorum present.

In a less-confused time and a time freer from pressures by reactionary forces, this bill would never have been reported out in either Chamber, let alone be approved.

After allowances are made for those who may be misguided, passage of the Logan-Walter bill becomes essentially a move to embarrass Mr. Roosevelt. It puts it up to a President who has just been elected for a third term to veto a measure apparently approved by both branches of Congress.

But the partisan basis of it all is evident to anyone who will study the roll call objectively. Not a single Republican voted against the bill.

The economic plunderers who oppose proper Government regulation in the public interest want the Logan-Walter bill to become law.

President Roosevelt needs no more guide than that when it reaches his desk. Let him have his veto pen ready and the inkwell open.

[From the Washington Times-Herald of November 28, 1940]

THE LAWYERS' DELIGHT BILL

The Walter-Logan bill passed the Senate Tuesday by a surprise vote of 27–25. It goes back with some Senate amendments to the House, which passed the main bill last May by the heavy vote of 282–97. The House is expected to pass the amended bill, after which the President is expected to veto it.

This is the bill which would grant the right to appeal to the courts from various administrative boards and bureaus set up by the New Deal.

The bill's backers claim that too many of these agencies are given to handing down rulings and decisions arbitrarily and without a fair hearing for both sides. They see the executive branch of the Government thus getting too much power, since it appoints most of these agencies' members, and they fear a dangerous growth of bureaucracy.

Exempt from the threat of appeal to the courts would be such old, established Government agencies as the Military, Naval, and State Department set-ups, Federal Reserve Board, Interstate Commerce Commission, Civil Service Commission, and numerous others. Subject to court appeals would be all the newcomers which the New Deal has set up to handle administrative work.

The theory of the bill looks good. But, on the other hand, as its opponents say, it will open up a big field for litigation, and a lot of that litigation is bound to be frivolous as well as costly.

The Walter-Logan bill has been justly called the lawyers' delight bill. If it becomes law, it ought to relieve much unemployment among the younger lawyers.

And while we should keep close tabs on the growth of bureaucracy, we cannot avoid some increase in bureaucracy as the Government goes in for more and more regulation and supervision of business, labor, and everybody else. This Government trend was endorsed, it may be remembered, by both parties in the campaign that ended November 5.

This editorial sounds like one of those "if, as, and when, on the other hand, there's much to be said for both sides" editorials. Well, that is the kind of editorial it is, because the Walter-Logan bill is the kind of bill it is. It is neither black nor white, as far as we can make out; it is gray, and the rights and wrongs of it have not been clearly defined as yet.

Wouldn't it just be better to drop this long and complex bill and start all over again in Congress next session? The main object should be to clip only such bureaucrats' claws as need clipping when the need appears.

Let's Live for America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY PAUL G. HOFFMAN BEFORE CONVENTION OF AMERICAN TRADE ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Paul G. Hoffman, president of the Studebaker Corporation, before the twenty-first annual convention of American Trade Association Executives, held on September 26, 1940, at Chicago, Ill.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S LIVE FOR AMERICA

About 3 months ago I accepted your invitation to be here with you today. I was delighted to do so, because you gentlemen, who are the executives of trade associations, are in a position to influence substantially the attitudes and actions of our business community during the difficult period which lies immediately ahead. If our free enterprise system—our American way of living—is to be preserved, businessmen must understand the obligations imposed upon them by this system and meet them fully. So must labor and so must our Government.

It is a difficult, terribly difficult, job to make our free enterprise system work and work well for the greatest good for the greatest number. But we must make it work because, if we don't, our democracy will fall. There can be no freedom, no liberty, unless enterprise is free. The recent history of Russia, Italy, and Germany proves that conclusively.

Those who have deep faith in the democratic way of life, as I have, could not but be disturbed by events of the past two decades. In the 1920's, national income was at a high level, but there was inequitable distribution of that income; in the 1930's national income was at a depressed level despite greater population. For the first time in our history, national income at the close of a decade was lower than at its commencement. Meanwhile, instead of unity, we have had strife; instead of fighting for America, we have been fighting each other. Millions of men who wanted work have been unable to find it. Billions of dollars seeking investment have lain idle. For more than a decade our National Budget has been unbalanced, despite constantly mounting taxes. Today, in order to protect ourselves from external aggression, we are faced with the necessity of spending an untold number of billions to prepare ourselves adequately. It is high time that we set about finding out why democracy hasn't worked well and what we must do to strengthen it.

In my opinion, the root cause of our present difficulty is selfishness—blind, dumb selfishness—on the part of individuals and, more particularly, groups. In too many instances, organized business, organized labor, and bureaucratic government have pursued their own selfish objectives without giving thought to the general welfare of all the people.

The inevitable consequence of free play for selfish ambitions is a degree of disunity inimical to our national security. The pitiful part of it is that an overwhelming majority of businessmen, workingmen, and Government officials are decent, good citizens, and good Americans, but they have permitted articulate, self-seeking minorities to speak and act for them.

Some business groups have been guilty of fostering monopoly. Through fixed prices and production controls, they have sought the easy road to profits. They forgot that if free enterprise is to live, competition must prevail. To say that it shall be fair competition is not to qualify this primary consideration. And in free competitive enterprise, obviously, there is no place for special privilege. Some employers have steadfastly resisted the clear right of labor to organize for its own protection. They overlooked the fact that collective bargaining is an integral part of the democratic process.

Organized labor has been no less free from those seeking self-aggrandizement to the disadvantage of their own group as well as to the country as a whole. Some have conspired individually and collectively for their own economic and political advancement and have conspired with conscienceless employers to the detriment of those who trusted them. Their unions have been their tools, not they their unions' servants. Labor, as a body, has sometimes had its mind so concentrated on the protection of its own rights that it has lost sight of the joint obligation it has with management of producing the highest quality of goods for the lowest price to the consumer so that a larger volume of production is encouraged to the end that there should be more jobs. They have lost sight of the fact, pointed out by President Tobin, of the teamsters union, and I quote: "There is a point of saturation for wages and hours, and if you go beyond that point, or even if you reach that point, in some instances you can rest assured that if you go any further, you will destroy the employment and, therefore, destroy yourself."

Government, which should be the representative of all the people, all groups, and all interests, has perpetrated abuses which have done incalculable damage as has been true of leaders of other branches of the economy. There have been those in government who placed their own ambitions above that of national welfare. Pitting group against group and class against class, they have fostered disunity.

In the levying of new taxes the first consideration has not been that of seeing that the impositions were equitable, but rather the primary objective has seemed to be the impact of them upon the voting population. Taxation must be taken out of the political arena if we are to have a sound system.

What I have said, in effect, is that too many Americans have so lived that the life of our democracy is threatened. Strangely enough, the very men who have put our liberties in jeopardy are in all probability willing to die for their country. I can personally testify to the fact that almost every American is willing to do that, because during the last war I was stationed at an artillery replacement depot and questioned hundreds of young Americans as to whether they wanted to go to France and risk their lives. Practically without exception, every man was eager to do so. But it isn't enough to be willing to die for our country. The big question, the real question, which faces us is, are we ready to live for our country?

The America we know was built by the way men lived. Our freedom and our material wealth were shaped by the determination of Americans to live in a way which would produce and preserve those advantages. If this American way of life is worth dying for, certainly it should be worth living for, and I suggest here and now that we start to live for America. If we don't, we may lose our America whether or not any foreign aggressor sets foot on our shores. I shall specify precisely what I mean.

Business must refrain from asking special privileges from government. It must stand on its own feet. It must be willing to share the hazards as well as the benefits of the competitive system. It must deal honestly with labor, accept collective bargaining as labor's right, not its privilege. And if industry is going to live up to its recognized responsibility in this emergency, the matter of profit to be made from defense work must be a minor consideration. A guaranty of profit is no guaranty of survival. The big idea is to get the job done and get it done quickly.

Labor must do its share. It should clean out the racketeers in its own ranks. It should remember that the customer is still king; that the only way our standard of living can be improved is by producing more and better goods at lower and lower prices.

Our Government officials must rededicate themselves to the service of the country, the whole country, and create a new spirit of unity, trying to harness opposing forces rather than setting them against each other. Our common problems and our joint interests can utilize their full attention both in their official acts and in their public utterances. An immediate attack should be made upon the problem of taxation. Taxation for punitive purposes should be eliminated. The prime objective should be a system of taxation which will produce the revenue needed with the minimum of impairment to our economy.

Business, labor, and the Government should join forces in an attack on the major threat to our democracy—unemployment. As businessmen, we have listened to many speeches in which the statement was made that private industry could absorb all of the employable unemployed if business were encouraged rather than attacked. This may or may not be so. But of one thing I am certain. We must meet this issue head-on. I am convinced that if there is too much unemployment for too long a period democracy cannot survive. I am equally convinced that a palliative such as the W. P. A. is not the answer. I am not saying that the W. P. A. should be eliminated. My objection to it does not arise out of the circumstances that many of its projects were futile. Some were not. Nor do I object to it on the score that some men have loafed, because many have given full value or more for the pay they received. What I am saying is that the only cure for unemployment is employment on useful work at prevailing wages. That means simply this—that if private industry under the stimulus of the defense program cannot absorb the services of those who are willing and able to work and do a real day's work for a real day's wages, work must be provided on useful public projects, carried out under private contract. As for those who cannot do a day's work or who don't want work, I contend that they are charity cases and the problem as it relates to them should be met on that basis. I make this categorical statement and offer no proof. I realize also that it is an oversimplification of a very complex problem, but time will not permit a full discussion.

As I stated at the beginning of this address, I welcome the opportunity to offer my suggestions to you gentlemen as to responsibilities that business, labor, and the Government must assume if our free enterprise system is to survive, because you hold a position of much influence in the life of our Nation. If you are in agreement with my conclusions, you can be most helpful in getting something done. In addition to these broad objectives there are certain specific things that you and I, as individuals, can start doing tomorrow morning that will be definitely constructive from the standpoint of promoting national unity.

First of all, let's call a halt to this pastime of name calling. A labor leader who calls a strike is not necessarily a racketeer, nor is the businessman who hesitates to accept a Government order before he can see blue prints and specifications of what the Government wants, a traitor. The college president who favors selling our flying fortresses to Great Britain may not be a warmonger, and, conversely, the citizen who wants to keep the United States out of war isn't necessarily a "fifth columnist." Even in a normal period, name calling is apt to arouse unhealthy emotions; in emergencies it may produce hysteria. As an example of this I should like to tell you a story told by a young lady employed in our Brussels, Belgium, office. We received a letter from her the other day after many weeks during which we could learn nothing of her whereabouts. Among many other nerve-racking experiences was one on a train from Paris. The coach was filled to capacity with refugees. Occupying the seat next to the one in which our Brussels girl rode was a somewhat older woman who showed signs of extreme nervousness from the outset and who appeared to get worse as the train sped on. She mumbled to herself constantly, and although much of what she said was unintelligible our girl got the impression that she was repeating, "Fifth column, fifth column." Finally, with not a word of warning, the woman reached down to the floor, picked up a large bottle lying there, and with a curse on her lips struck a man, who was a perfect stranger to her, a resounding crack on his skull, letting out as she did so a scream of "Fifth columnist"! She kept repeating this phrase at the top of her voice until she was forcibly quieted. Well, America isn't France, but if we want to promote unity here, let's give those who don't agree with us the benefit of the doubt and cease indulging in the luxury of name calling.

Next I suggest that we immunize ourselves against the hazards of accepting slogans, catch phrases, and loose statements without first subjecting them to a challenging analysis. As an example, I saw a headline a few days ago which read, "France—a victim of the 40-hour week." The article went on to point out that France had a 40-hour week, Germany a 60-hour week, and as a consequence, France fell. There was a strong intimation that unless America went to a long workweek Hitler would get us, too. It so happens that I am opposed to the principle of fixing hours of work by legislation. I believe that should be arrived at through the collective-bargaining process. Nevertheless, until all men who want work can be put to work, I see no point to arguing for a longer workweek.

Next, I'd like to pay my respects to that pleasing phrase that if we conscript men we should conscript wealth. That's more than a phrase, because such a proposal was set up as an amendment to the Burke-Wadsworth bill. It was rejected on a technicality, but not before 23 votes—almost 25 percent of the Senate total—had been recorded in favor of having it admitted.

This particular attempt for so-called conscription of wealth, it seems to me, explodes a popular misconception of the meaning of that phrase. The powers of the Government to conscript wealth via taxation are well known to most of us, and the authority inherent in the power of eminent domain is likewise recognized for its application to property declared to be vital to national well-being. But here was an attempt to create a vast new area of authority under which all property, regardless of size or apparent relation to national security, could have been, for all practical purposes, reduced to ownership by the state. Such measures are the initial steps to a totalitarian state. The conscription of wealth promulgated here would not have taken money away from the rich and given it to the poor. This measure would have hit the poor man hard and low—harder and lower than it would the rich man. Not only his money but his home, his insurance, and all of his possessions would be subject to draft by the Government in exchange for low-interest-bearing bonds having as high as a 50-year maturity. Whatever of his property wasn't in cash would have to be mortgaged to the Government if the latter saw fit to enforce the law to the hilt. This is just another example of an appetizing morsal of language having a poisonous substance.

Perhaps I have already indulged in too much advice and too many warnings. You may well have the idea that the difficulties of so ordering our lives that our democracy may live are dismaying. That is definitely not so. Strange as it may seem, I believe that Hitler has given us a demonstration that we should heed. By taking advantage of scientific research, by making full use of modern facilities, he has shown that it is possible to wage a war of new destruction. The fact that his genius is evil and his objective vicious should not blind us to his accomplishments. Let us remember, rather, that his resources and his facilities for research do not compare with ours. Let us determine to take even fuller advantage of our greater opportunities for constructive and not destructive purposes. If we once make up our minds that we're going to be Americans first, business leaders second, Americans first, labor leaders second, and Americans first, political leaders second, we will, within the next decade, show once more to a doubting world what a free people, working under inspired leadership, can do.

Walter-Logan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. WILLIAM DITTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mr. DITTER. Mr. Speaker, I have made every effort to find some reasonable basis upon which those who oppose the Walter-Logan bill can, in good conscience, rest their case. The search has not been a hurried one. There appeared to be no necessity for speed. The opposition insisted on patience and ignored promptness. Certainly ample time has been afforded for an exhaustive examination of the excuses advanced by the opponents of the measure, with more than 2 years elapsing since it started its tedious and troublesome journey through the labyrinth of parliamentary obstacles.

One might be tempted to suggest that what the opposition lacked in justification it sought to make up by deliberate delay. Such a policy has been pursued on other occasions when political expediency forbade a forthright disposition of an issue which might invite disastrous consequences if a final decision were reached too soon. But, despite the delay and the opportunity afforded to find reasons for the objections, I confess, Mr. Speaker, that my search has been in vain, unless we are prepared to admit that the lawmaking powers of the Congress should be surrendered to the arbitraments of administrative agencies.

For myself, I am not prepared to make such an admission. In fact, I am at a loss to see how any Member of the House could make such an admission after the hue and cry that has been raised over the abuses of authority which we have been forced to endure at the hands of some of these agencies. I am still persuaded that a government of laws provides a greater degree of security for those who have the will to be free than can possibly be hoped for under a government of men. And this is so no matter how seemingly benevolent the men may be or how altruistic their motives may appear. If it be true, as Justice Hughes has said, that "extraordinary conditions do not create or enlarge constitutional powers," then it is likewise true that such conditions do not destroy or decrease constitutional duties. To delegate duties to administrative agencies without providing the possible curbing of the exercise of autocratic and arbitrary authority by such agencies by courts of law is contrary to our whole system of checks and balances. Let it be remembered that ambitious administrators easily become expert executioners.

The Walter-Logan bill seeks to prevent this. Administrators are not to become the executioners of the rights and liberties of the people. I believe that it is unnecessary, Mr. Speaker, to make any extended observations on the extraordinary growth of administration agencies in the last decade. The most casual observer cannot fail to be impressed with the number of bureaus, boards, and commissions that have been created. Most of these bodies develop policies, formulate programs, assume extended powers, become enthused with their functions, and issue orders and decrees reaching far beyond the intent of the Congress at the time of their creation.

These orders and decrees have the force and effect of law. No one denies this, and yet the opponents of this bill object to a measure which would keep the operations of these lawmaking, law-interpreting, law-enforcing agencies within the bounds of the law. The course of unrestrained administrative adjudication leads to only one end—the complete destruction of our system of the separation of powers. That means that the protection which has been afforded by recognized judicial processes will become increasingly impotent as arbitrary administrators or their appointed assistants permit their prejudices to punish those upon whom they look as enemies of their purposes and plans.

Flagrant abuses of power by certain administrative agencies have been so commonplace that the attention of the House need not be directed to them. In many instances fact finding has been a farce. No attempt has been made to comply with any rules of evidence. Hearsay, rumor, and the imaginative creations of gossiping tongues have been accepted as the basis on which issues have been determined and upon which far-reaching and sweeping orders and decrees have been entered. The Walter-Logan bill will bring these abuses to an end.

It is high time that we reassert our faith in established procedure and in recognized institutions of government. This is especially true in those fields of law and justice and equity where current threats indicate the presence of the most serious dangers. Today, as never before, the rights of men are in jeopardy. These are the rights which we seek to protect by this measure.

It is also high time, Mr. Speaker, that we reassert our faith in parliamentary practices and our willingness not to delegate but to assume the duties which are ours.

These purposes will be accomplished by the immediate enactment of the bill now before the House.

Veterans' Statistics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 2, 1940

STATISTICS COMPILED BY MILLARD W. RICE, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Members of this House, I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some very interesting and illuminating statistics which were compiled by Millard W. Rice, national legislative representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, from figures secured from several Federal agencies, but principally from the Veterans' Administration.

These cold figures, which show the cost of war in human lives and dollars and cents, constitute an eloquent argument for peace, as well as much valuable information on many phases of veterans' affairs.

The attention of the House is called to the fact that Gen. Frank T. Hines, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, is authority for the statement that the death rate of World War veterans has now reached the figure of 101 daily and that the last veteran of the World War will die in 1996.

The compilation by Mr. Rice follows:

VETERAN STATISTICS AS OF JUNE 30, 1940

4,757,240 served in United States armed forces during World War.
4,057,101 served in Army, 2,059,629 overseas.
596,073 served in Navy and 104,066 in Marine Corps, about 50 percent overseas.
24,234,021 registered for the selective draft.
2,810,296 were inducted after draft selection.
250,240 were discharged from the draft after being called.
10,250 Army men were dishonorably discharged.
130,128 total deaths.
39,362 were killed: 37,568 Army, 1,454 marines, and 340 Navy.
14,009 died of wounds: 12,942 Army, 1,008 marines, and 59 Navy.
53,371 were combat deaths: 50,510 Army, 2,462 marines, and 399 Navy.
75,460 died of diseases: 69,446 Army, 701 marines, and 5,313 Navy.
1,297 died of other causes.
201,325 wounded, not mortally: 193,611 in Army and 7,714 in marines.
348,164 World War veterans—less than 9 percent of all—receive compensation for service-connected disabilities: 38,595 on temporary partial ratings, 1,696 on temporary total ratings, 274,988 on permanent partial ratings, and 32,885 (9.44 percent) on permanent total ratings.
Twenty-five percent of all service-connected disabled World War veterans receive less than $20 per month compensation; 45 percent less than $30; 58 percent less than $40; 65 percent less than $50; 81 percent less than $60; 91 percent less than total; and only 8.6

percent receive compensation for total disabilities, an average as to all of $39.77 per month ($40.24 year ago).

60,296 World War veterans receive pensions for permanent total non-service-connected disabilities of $6 (single men in facilities) or $30 per month.

36,051 disabled Regulars were receiving pensions averaging $31.48 per month (only $21.91 year ago).

2,381 Civil War veterans were receiving pensions.

2,216 Indian war veterans were receiving pensions.

159,230 Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, and Boxer Rebellion veterans were receiving pensions averaging $54.96 per month ($52.48 year ago).

1,801 emergency World War officers were receiving retirement benefits.

158,597 service-connected death claims have been allowed; 99,479 are now active, providing pensions for 29,947 widows, 32,576 children, and 81,079 parents at an average monthly payment of $46.49 per case.

17,524 deceased World War veterans, who died by reason of some disability other than their service-connected disabilities, provide pensions for 14,949 dependent widows and 26,232 children, at an average monthly payment of $35.60 per case.

57,720 deceased Spanish-American War veterans provide pensions for 55,332 widows, 7,584 children, and 341 parents, a total of 63,257 dependents.

4,055 deceased Indian war veterans provide pensions for 4,015 widows, 69 children, and 11 others, a total of 4,090 dependents.

50,141 deceased Civil War veterans provide pensions for 48,006 widows and 2,317 children, a total of 50,323 dependents.

130 widows of Mexican War (1848) veterans receiving pensions.

1 deceased War of 1812 veteran provides pension for one daughter.

235,264 veterans received hospital treatment during last fiscal year.

56,596 veterans were in Government hospitals on June 30, 1940; 50,912 were World War veterans, of whom 10,552 were service connected, 39,255 nonservice connected, and 1,105 observation cases; 3,005 were other war veterans; 2,679 disabled Regulars, 28 allied veterans, 91 C. C. C. and W. P. A. employees; and 126 miscellaneous.

33,041 were NP patients, 19,097 general medical and surgical patients, and 4,703 were TB patients.

29,111 veterans were admitted for domiciliary care last fiscal year; 16,518 remaining on June 30, 1940, of whom 15,242 were World War veterans (14,293 nonservice connected).

78,134 beds—59,637 hospital and 18,497 domiciliary—in 86 Veterans' Administration facilities.

2,754 beds in other Government hospitals (Army, 1,037; Navy, 989; Public Health Service, 646; and Interior Department, 82).

38,375 veterans were under guardianship.

4,118,219 veterans have applied for adjusted compensation, involving $3,765,916,334.21.

4,500,000 World War veterans applied for war-risk insurance, involving $39,000,000,000.

608,923 Government life-insurance policies were in force, with face value of $2,564,984,223, with $59,195,825.24 received in premiums and $8,781,642.37 paid out in dividends during year to 408,901 policyholders.

766,476 World War veterans were then less than 45 years of age, 2,102,566 between 45 and 50, 1,068,447 between 50 and 60, 3,241,322 more than 45, 1,138,756 more than 50, 70,309 more than 60, and 25,688 more than 65.

4,007,798 living World War veterans now constitute about 3.18 percent of the total population and about 4.7 percent of total adult population of the United States.

$577,840,544 appropriation to Veterans' Administration for year ending June 30, 1941, is only about 3.1 percent of all Federal appropriations for year.

$24,154,000,000 has been expended because of relief to veterans and their dependents since Nation was founded, which, however, is only about 13 percent of the grand total of all Federal expenditures of about $185,000,000,000, of which more than 60 percent was incurred directly because of preparation against or for war, participation in war, and to provide for the aftermath of war.

Age and death rate in 1941

	World War	Spanish-American War	Civil War	Indian War
Average age of all veterans in 1941	48	66	96	81
Average age of widows on rolls in 1941	47	62	79	
Average age of emergency officers in 1941	53			
Estimated number of veterans dying per day in 1941	103	24	3	1

Estimated number of living World War veterans at the beginning of each calendar year by age groups

Attained age	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
35-39	11,068	1,414	245	56	2							
40-44	1,304,670	765,062	410,535	238,326	90,036	10,691	1,366	236	54	2		
45-49	1,823,976	2,102,566	2,136,345	1,934,814	1,655,710	1,254,991	735,415	394,322	228,655	86,295	10,242	1,308
50-54	753,698	956,957	1,116,212	1,301,575	1,507,983	1,743,152	2,008,021	2,037,762	1,842,698	1,574,670	1,191,978	697,802
55-59	86,583	111,490	225,704	361,738	526,354	709,554	898,946	1,048,225	1,221,810	1,414,901	1,634,450	1,881,052
60-64	39,295	44,621	51,462	58,982	67,827	78,937	101,514	206,514	330,950	480,839	646,753	817,375
65-69	14,286	16,933	19,620	23,611	28,353	33,968	38,334	44,167	50,653	58,288	67,902	87,451
70-74	5,501	6,334	7,170	8,546	9,792	11,255	13,209	15,293	18,453	22,175	26,551	29,884
75-79	1,597	1,985	2,399	2,734	3,258	3,702	4,173	4,725	5,647	6,481	7,439	8,727
80-84	303	384	444	577	708	844	1,003	1,207	1,376	1,643	1,861	2,092
85-89	36	48	55	67	78	107	125	143	188	229	274	324
90-94	4	4	3	3	4	4	5	6	7	8	12	14
95-99												
Total	4,041,017	4,007,798	3,970,194	3,931,029	3,890,105	3,847,205	3,802,111	3,752,600	3,700,491	3,645,531	3,587,462	3,526,029

Responsibilities of Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WESLEY E. DISNEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1940

Mr. DISNEY. Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that the American people are weary of useless strikes. That this dissatisfaction goes not only to strikes against the defense program of the Government, but as against all types and kinds of violence resulting from labor troubles. The right of the general public is paramount.

I am also convinced that the laboring man himself is dissatisfied with strikes. That the average American laborer would prefer to work rather than to engage in violent activities. He would prefer pay and regular labor to idleness and delay and attendant loss of wages.

In America we have settled most of our difficulties by amicable means, by negotiation, adjustment, agreement, and, when those have failed, we have resorted to the orderly processes of the courts. The same list of processes should be applicable to labor difficulties.

Labor has been demanding and securing its rights. No administration has done so much for labor as the present one.

Now, in turn, labor must assume its responsibility. That responsibility requires that, if it claims its rights, it assert those rights by peaceful rather than by violent means.

I am convinced that Mr. Green, of the A. F. of L., prefers the orderly processes of government rather than violence. I am convinced that Mr. Lewis and Mr. Murray, of the C. I. O., believe in those principles. If the contest between A. F. of L. and C. I. O. has so aroused their pride of power as to permit that contest to adversely affect the public, then their leadership is not in line with the American idea.

The American people are not interested in whether C. I. O. controls or A. F. of L. is in power. They are interested in labor having its rights and in its assuming its responsibilities and that orderly processes and peaceful means shall be the rule.

As I have said, the American way is the orderly process, and public opinion will finally enforce that idea.

The racketeer in labor must go. If the labor unions do not drive him out, public opinion will.

Recent important developments along the lines I am suggesting have been made in the conferences in recent weeks in Chicago, where Dr. Harry A. Millis agreed to act for 25 local unions in shaping their public relations, conditioned on their cleaning up the racketeer. Along the same line is the cooperation of William M. McFetridge, who succeeded Scalise as president of the Building Service Employees Union. The general idea is the selection of a public relations spokesman by the unions to adjust differences—a nonpartisan spokesman, interested in the public welfare as well as in assisting the unions.

This process is outlined in an article by Frederick W. Carr, appearing in the Christian Science Monitor for November 27, 1940, which is of special interest to students of the problem discussed. It reads as follows:

THE WIDE HORIZON—A NEW ANTIRACKET PLAN

(By Frederick W. Carr)

Organized labor has invented a way in Chicago of cleaning up the horny situation left by a labor racketeer after he is out. The method, which has also lately been applied in New York, signals progress for the labor movement in handling its gangster parasites.

What the labor unions concerned have undertaken is their reorganization after the exits of Carrozzo and Scalise. Carrozzo was a one-time Chicago gunman who worked himself into control of common-laborer unions there, while Scalise, another gangster, thrust himself into the presidency of the Building Service Employees' Union of the United States and Canada. Scalise recently started serving a sentence of from 10 to 20 years in Sing Sing for stealing funds of his union.

Carrozzo's principal local office was that of president of the Hod Carriers' District Council of Chicago, a group comprised of 25 local unions, among them some very fine organizations.

These unions had the label of "Carrozzo" on them, with all that implied. To see what could be done about it, they conferred with Victor A. Olander, secretary and treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, who has served as secretary of the resolutions committee of a number of American Federation of Labor conventions.

Mr. Olander told the unions that nothing they could say would help them because nobody would believe them. The only thing that would be of any consequence would be action understandable to the public. He suggested the following course as a means whereby they could rehabilitate themselves and their organizations in public confidence:

Let them select some man in the university field whose reputation was unassailable and who had a broad knowledge of trade-union problems. Then let them publicly invite that man into consultation with them for the purpose of obtaining his advice as to the general state of the unions and what ought to be done for the future.

Further, let them offer such a man every opportunity to make any inquiry into the affairs of the organizations that he might deem necessary, and say to him that he was at liberty to make such public statements from time to time as might seem wise in his judgment.

Mr. Olander suggested Dr. Harry A. Millis, professor emeritus of economics at the University of Chicago, the man whom President Roosevelt 2 weeks ago appointed to the National Labor Relations Board. The unions seized on the idea with eagerness. Dr. Millis consented to act, with the understanding that the detail work would be done by Prof. Frederick H. Harvison, an associate of Dr. Millis at the University of Chicago.

Next the hod-carriers' council, in accord with Mr. Olander's advice, named a committee consisting of 1 man from each of the 25 local unions to confer with Dr. Millis. Immediately after this meeting, a public statement was issued by Dr. Millis announcing the project.

The plan is going ahead, slowly of course. But no one is impatient about that. There is no place for the gunman in this picture, because even that kind of a fellow would hesitate to intrude himself into such an atmosphere.

One of its effects is to furnish a sort of shelter for the officers of the union while the process is going on, in that whenever any question arises which troubles them, they have some place to go for advice, and to which they must go, and everybody knows this.

As to Scalise and New York, William L. McFetridge, who in May succeeded Scalise as president of the Building Service Employees Union, is an old Chicagoan and a close friend of Mr. Olander. They have on occasion worked together.

To rebuild the union in New York out of the damage left by Scalise, Mr. McFetridge recently named a public committee there. He gave the committee full authority to inquire into the affairs of the affiliated unions and to advise him as to what ought to be done. It is a high-grade committee. Mr. McFetridge stated in his announcement that he intended to follow its advice.

Then he suspended certain of the officers of the local union and called on Mayor LaGuardia for some person who could take charge of it while awaiting decisions from the public committee he appointed.

This is a big thing from a labor standpoint—the first of its kind ever undertaken by a national or international union, according to veterans of the labor movement.

Interstate Trade Barriers and the Cotton Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRITZ G. LANHAM

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1940

ADDRESS OF PAUL T. TRUITT, CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE TRADE BARRIERS

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with leave granted to extend my remarks, I am including herein an address of Paul T. Truitt, chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Interstate Trade Barriers, before the Cotton Research Congress at Waco, Tex., on June 27, 1940, which I have been requested to submit for the information of the Members of the House of Representatives.

The address follows:

INTERSTATE TRADE BARRIERS AND THE COTTON INDUSTRY [1]

The question of barriers to trade between the States has received much warranted discussion and publicity during the past 2 years. The States, through the council of State governments, have participated in national and regional conferences on this subject. Two agencies of the Federal Government, the Work Projects Administration Marketing Laws Survey and the Department of Agriculture, have issued substantial reports indicating what and where trade-barrier laws are and have discussed some of the economic effects of this type legislation. The United States Department of Commerce, directed by Congress "to foster, promote, and develop the foreign and domestic commerce, the mining, manufacturing, shipping, and fishing industries, the labor interests, and the transportation facilities of the United States," is therefore concerned with the recent growth of this movement so damaging to domestic commerce.

In November of 1939, Secretary Hopkins invited the heads of 10 agencies of the Federal Government to name representatives to join in forming the interdepartmental committee on interstate trade barriers. Functions of this committee include implementing present research, instituting further research, coordinating anti-trade-barrier activities, and in cooperating with the State governments and their organizations in seeking to restore free but not unregulated trade in practice as well as in theory between the States.

Indeed, we must protect ourselves against dishonest business practices, various kinds of fraud, food adulteration, and short weights and measures. The control of animal and plant diseases must be maintained; even improved. In short, the public morals, health, and public welfare must be protected, but it must be emphasized that only those laws, rules, and regulations are warranted which actually accomplish this result—and which do not impose a direct and substantial burden on interstate commerce. Regulatory laws are not justified because of their prosperity-giving powers. It is doubtless true that while such enactments restrict national prosperity to some degree, their cost is outweighed by their benefits in preventing other greater economic losses. All other barriers to interstate or intercommunity trade, not measuring up to this fair standard, hurt national domestic commerce more than they help it. Free internal trade, regulated only according to necessity, points the way to greater national prosperity.

The accelerated growth of interstate trade barriers goes back to the post first World War period. During this period, their effect was not so keenly felt because of the sustaining force of prosperity evident until late in 1929.

With the tightening of economic regulations which accompanied the 1929 depression, a considerable variety of market-freezing statutes and regulations were adopted with the result that free trade between the States was hampered.

In the field of motor vehicles, the growth of this type of legislation, through licensing and regulation statutes, was most noticeable after 1930 and it has continued to the present time. Motor vehicle "border wars" broke out between the various States in 1931 and have continued intermittently, 13 being recorded in the following 6 years. Since 1937, there has been a lull in these wars, the chief reason for which has been the adoption of reciprocity agreements authorized by many State acts.

The type of motor-vehicle regulations that caused the greatest disadvantages to interstate commerce were those statutes that required out-of-State trucks to take out a second registration. If such truck had to pass through numerous other States, each State imposing the same restriction, the burden imposed was out of all proportion to the amount that the intrastate carrier paid in license fees. A new device was then introduced. Several States adopted statutes requiring out-of-State trucks to pay a relatively higher ton-mile tax. The difference in the requirements between the

[1] See appendix.

States as to out-of-State trucks is great. Although some of the States do not burden out-of-State trucks, the extra fees are made contingent upon the granting of reciprocal privileges by the other States concerned. This type of law has grown to great proportions since 1929; hardly a session of the legislatures in the various States has passed since then without the passage of further restrictions.

In 1933, port-of-entry legislation first made its appearance. The Kansas law of that year was directed merely at petroleum and petroleum products but on January 1, 1934, port-of-entry control was extended to all motor carriers entering the State. In 1935, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Oklahoma followed with this type of legislation and in quick succession Arizona, California, Idaho, Utah, and Colorado enacted the same type of legislation. Oklahoma's law was repealed in 1939. Delaware and Missouri enacted similar laws, but do not enforce them.

Closely allied to the motor vehicle problem is that of the merchant trucker. The type of laws that go beyond the necessity of protecting the consumer against fraud and are nothing more than a restrictive measure, are all of recent origin such as those in Idaho and Washington imposing fees of $300 per year in each county, plus a surety deposit of $500 placed with the county treasurer. The trend toward such type of legislation is shown in the fact that itinerant merchant legislation was introduced in 22 legislatures during the 1939 sessions.

Restrictive liquor legislation began in 1934 with the repeal of national prohibition and the adoption of regulatory acts by the States. The restrictive laws of California, Missouri, Michigan, Minnesota, and Kentucky were upheld by the United States Supreme Court. California and Missouri have, however, repealed the very statutes that were upheld in the Supreme Court.

Public purchase preference laws requiring preference in State purchases for State residents or products (and sometimes both) are not all of recent origin. California had such a law in 1897, Colorado in 1919, Oregon in 1901. New enactments of such laws have increased within the last 10 years. In the following States preference laws of one type or another have been enacted since 1929:

California, 1931; Colorado, 1937; Georgia, 1931, 1933; Illinois, 1937; Indiana, 1931; Iowa, 1934, 1937; Kansas, 1931; Louisiana, 1934; Maryland, 1939; Massachusetts, 1931; Missouri, 1937; Mississippi, 1932; Montana, 1933; Nevada, 1931; New Jersey, 1934; New Mexico, 1933, 1938; North Carolina, 1931; North Dakota, 1929–38; South Dakota, 1939; Utah, 1933; Vermont, 1933; Washington, 1933; Wyoming, 1931; total, 23 States.

The adoption of the general use tax as supplementary to a State sales tax is of recent origin. Sales taxes appear to be a revenue measure adopted by the States to bolster receding revenues due to the economic depression. The noncompensatory type of use tax is the one that has the most effect on interstate commerce; this type use tax has been adopted by six States. All such acts have been enacted since 1934.

The type of legislation that becomes the greatest hindrance to the free movement of livestock and nursery stock is not of recent origin. In a time of economic distress, rules and regulations promulgated by the administering official are very effectively used to keep out-of-State products out of the market. As an example of such an order is the Bang's disease regulations adopted by the State of New York in 1932. The contagion of this type regulation is shown by the enactment of legislation in 1938 by Louisiana providing for blanket retaliatory quarantines and embargoes relating to agricultural produce.

In the field of grades, standards, and labels of agricultural products, the largest amount of such type of legislation was enacted before 1929. There have been numerous enactments since that time, such as the minimum-standard laws of California, Arizona, Colorado, defining specific standards for specified fruits and vegetables. Laws of similar nature and applying to grading and labeling have been passed since 1929 by Ohio, Indiana, Montana, Oregon, Washington, Maine, and New York (which is now repealed).

Egg legislation has been in force a long time, but these acts have been either amended or new enactments have been made since 1929, as in the following States: Arizona, 1933; California, 1931, 1933; Colorado, 1933; Florida, 1933, 1935; Georgia, 1935; Idaho, 1933–39; Iowa, 1931; Maryland, 1935; Massachusetts, 1935; Missouri, 1939; Oregon, 1931; Nebraska, 1931; New Hampshire, 1935; New Jersey, 1934; and in other States. The lack of uniformity and the desire to protect home industry comprise the trade-barrier aspect of these laws.

The great mass of legislation affecting the dairy field has been largely enacted in the last 10 to 15 years; but even before 1929 the effect of long-distance competition was felt by the local producer through the advent of hauling by truck. Prior to 1929 a few of the States attempted to offset the effect of this competition by requiring permits and inspection of source of supply. Within approximately the last 10 years legislation has been enacted by Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Florida requiring all milk coming into these States to be from farms that have either been licensed or inspected by such State. The next barrier set up by the States was the limitation of milksheds and the stabilization of prices in such sheds by price-fixing measures. This step was accomplished by the enactment of milk-control laws, of which there are now 23, and all have been enacted since 1931.

Trade barriers diminish the efficiency of our national economic system. They make for a lower standard of living. Perhaps even more unfortunate is another effect of trade barriers—that is, the sectional bitterness that they often arouse. It is interesting that as long ago as 1934, before trade barriers were in the public eye, a warning against trade-barrier measures was given by a prominent member of the poultry and egg industry. Speaking of certain egg laws which had a decided trade-barrier aspect, he said: "Such rank discrimination is, in my opinion, one of the neatest tools to use to take the United States apart that has been fashioned since the days of slavery."[2] There are many businessmen to whom the trade-barrier question is not a mere subject for discussion and for whom its evils have not been any merely academic matter but whose businesses have been ruined or seriously crippled by trade-barrier measures which shut them out of markets in which they had been doing business.

All measures that set up barriers to the movement of goods across State lines tend to break the national market up into little segments. It is obvious that if this were carried to an extreme, each State striving to be self-sufficient, all of our industries depending on a Nation-wide market would be ruined. The efficiency of production and distribution which such industries have been able to achieve by reason of their wide outlets would be lost. Moreover, the advantages of having each region specialize in the production of the things that it is best adapted to produce would also be lost. The Kansas wheat farmer, the Iowa corn and hog farmer, the Wisconsin dairyman, and the Texas and Florida citrus growers are among the agricultural producers who would suffer in this way. These farmers produce for a Nation-wide market just as does the Ford factory in Detroit and in their own way they are just as specialized as the Ford plant. The Texas cotton farmer belongs in this group of specialized producers, and, further, he produces for an international as well as a national market. At present he is faced with disorganized foreign markets and with a large surplus of cotton in the domestic market which has been carried over from past seasons. A prime objective of the cotton industry, therefore, is the elimination of trade barriers which directly or indirectly curtail domestic consumption of cotton and its byproducts.

It is important to note that the largest group of buyers of cotton products is the so-called low-income group of families and individuals.

Interstate trade barriers affecting the sale of cotton fibers are found in the consumers goods field. It has been estimated that annual expenditures for cotton goods by nonrelief families is as follows:

Estimated annual expenditures for cotton goods by nonrelief families, 1935–36 (preliminary, subject to revision)[1]

Income class	Clothing				Household goods	Total	Approximate number of families
	Husband	Wife	Boy, 6 to 11	Girl, 6 to 11			
	Dol.	*Dol.*	*Dol.*	*Dol.*	*Dol.*	*Dol.*	
Under $500, 14.2 percent	5.65	3.50	4.17	2.94	1.64	17.90	4,000,000
$500 to $1,000, 41.7 percent	8.57	4.86	5.96	4.65	3.33	27.37	8,000,000
$1,000 to $1,500, 64.7 percent	10.84	6.24	7.41	6.56	5.68	36.73	7,000,000
$1,500 to $2,000, 79.1 percent	12.80	7.45	8.75	8.30	7.08	44.38	----------
$2,000 to $3,000, 92 percent	15.47	9.13	10.50	10.44	10.01	55.55	----------
$3,000 to $5,000, 97.4 percent	20.19	11.61	13.33	13.59	14.85	73.57	----------
$5,000 and over, 2.6 percent	31.79	71.29	17.11	16.83	28.94	111.96	----------

[1] Estimates prepared by Marketing Section, U. S. Department of Agriculture, based on survey records obtained in Consumer Purchases Study conducted by Bureau of Labor Statistics and Bureau of Home Economics, in cooperation with the Work Projects Administration, National Resources Committee, and Central Statistical Board.

The potential low-income market includes about 29,400,000 families and 10,000,000 single persons, making a total of approximately 126,000,000 persons.[3] Almost two-thirds of the American families are estimated to have incomes under $1,500 annually, the average for this group being $826 annually or $69 per month. Obviously, families in this income group must spend most of their clothing budget for merchandise made of cotton. Other competing fabrics are more expensive. Any trade barrier raising the price of cotton cloth, or of any other necessity which low-income groups must buy, directly reduces the amount of money available for the purchase of cotton clothing and strikes a blow at the cotton industry.

Mr. John Moloney, of the National Cottonseed Products Association, and Mr. C. H. Janssen, of the National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, testifying before the Temporary National Economic Committee last March, established the fact that the most damaging of all trade barriers to the cotton industry are the laws in the field of margarine, which prior to 1929 were only mildly restrictive as to interstate commerce. Those laws were for the most part attempts at the prevention of fraud and included some not too restrictive license fees. However, most of the effective restrictive legislation has been enacted since 1929. In that year, Utah adopted a 5 cents per pound excise tax on uncolored margarine. In 1931, 10 States followed and today an excise tax is levied on this product by 24 States. In the highest bracket are Washington and Wisconsin with their 15 cents per pound tax on all margarines. Prohibitive license fees have been added to other restrictions since 1931 by Montana and Wisconsin.

It is remarkable that the present unfair discriminatory margarine tax laws remain in force since they are not needed to protect the

[2] Charles A. Urner, American Creamery and Poultry Review, October 17, 1934.

[3] Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bureau of Home Economics, National Resources Committee.

public health and they do not raise substantial revenue. These taxes are peculiarly regressive. That fact alone seems to me an unanswerable argument for the repeal of the margarine taxes. Figures complied by the Bureau of Home Economics indicate that the lower the income of the family, the less butter they buy and the more they buy of other table fats including margarine. Let me give you some figures.

Amount spent weekly per adult or adult equivalent in the family

[Pounds]

	$1.33 to $1.99	$2 to $2.66	$2.67 to $3.32	$3.33 to $3.99	$4 to $4.66
Yearly per capita consumption of—					
Butter	12.0	13.4	18.3	23.8	39.8
Other table fats	8.6	6.2	5.2	5.9	0

A family with a weekly expenditure amounting to from $4 to $4.66 for each adult or adult-equivalent in the family buys about 40 pounds of butter a year per adult or adult-equivalent, but practically no margarine at all, according to this study, and thus entirely escapes margarine taxes. A family with a weekly expenditure of from $1.33 to $2 for each adult or adult-equivalent, on the other hand, buys only 12 pounds of butter a year but over 8½ pounds of other table fats per adult or adult-equivalent. The proportion of other table fats supplied by margarine is not known, but it is evident that any tax on margarine falls almost exclusively on the lower income groups. If it is so high as to stop them from using margarine entirely, their loss in one sense is complete since they must use some inferior substitute for margarine.

Dairy farmers probably gain very little from taxes on margarine. If people can afford butter they apparently buy that in preference to margarine. It, therefore, seems reasonable to believe that if the price of margarine is raised so that people cannot afford it they will turn not to butter but to some other product, such as lard, cooking fats or oils, or even to cheap jam. It has been estimated that, if the sale of margarine were completely prohibited throughout the United States, the price of butter would not be raised. The effect of curtailing margarine consumption in a State which produces a surplus of butter, then, can have no depressing effect on the price paid for butter in that State. (See table No. 11, Appendix.)

Rather than burden you with further statistics, I have included, in the appendix to these remarks, some tables showing various damaging effects of excise and license tax laws on the cottonseed-oil industry. The facts are that cottonseed oil as a margarine ingredient is taxed out of the markets in 14 States at an estimated annual loss of 29,000,000 pounds of oil. In other States, millions of families do not have an opportunity to purchase margarine even at high prices. License fees are so high that only the larger stores can afford to take out a sales permit. All customers in outlying or other areas who of necessity and convenience must patronize smaller stores are therefore denied an opportunity to buy margarine.

Laws prohibiting the purchase and use of margarine in State institutions supported wholly or partly by public funds have been passed by 20 States. One effect of such laws is the unfair and erroneous inference that margarine is not a wholesome pure-food product.

It should be pointed out that if, on account of a surplus of fiber, it is not possible to produce domestically an additional amount of cottonseed oil required by the elimination of interstate trade-barrier laws against margarine that unused cotton acreage could be switched to other oil-bearing crops. Such crop diversification should add to the economic stability of the cotton-producing States and contribute substantially to raising the living standards of low-income groups. Such results are economically and socially most desirable. An expert witness testifying before the Temporary National Economic Committee on this subject stated the situation in a few words when he said:

"The historic policy of our Government and our people has been to invite and to encourage competition. The taxing power of government has more frequently been resorted to to encourage new products and to maintain competition than to destroy them.

"The contrary is abhorrent to our sense of fairness and our concept of government. Nor is there any basis in our fundamental law, in reason, or in common sense, on which we can condone or justify any legislative act that would close our highways of commerce to one product of American agriculture in order to benefit another, for we have believed in and ordered equality of opportunity in commerce for all." [4]

The timely and vital question now is, What can be done to get rid of barriers to the free use of cotton and cotton byproducts? I will suggest three different lines of attack.

In the first place, a method, the possibilities of which are being explored, is the use of Federal legislation that would either prohibit or else make impracticable the erection of State barriers against the sale of margarine. The great difficulty in this method lies in the unrestricted power of the States to tax, as long as they do not tax goods moving in interstate commerce or set up unreasonable and discriminatory classifications of things taxed. In the leading case on margarine taxes the Court declared that a sales tax on margarine did not tax the product while it was in interstate commerce and that setting up margarine in a separate classification for taxation purposes was not unreasonable.

[4] Testimony of Mr. C. H. Janssen, president, National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, before the Temporary National Economic Committee during hearings on interstate trade barriers.

It would seem to be a good principle to prohibit States from levying special taxes on any commodity that has not been removed from the protection of the interstate-commerce clause.

Alcoholic beverages and prison-made goods are two examples of commodities that have been so removed. If this principle could be established, there would no longer be an opportunity for States to levy, as at present, burdensome or prohibitory taxes upon a commodity of which they produced very little or none at all, yet which competed with the product of a major industry.

A new and more practical move for the solution of the trade-barrier problem is the establishment of a joint Federal-State committee, as proposed to the Temporary National Economic Committee by Mr. Frank Bane, executive director of the Council of State Governments. If established, this committee would be appropriately empowered with staff and funds to investigate trade barriers from all angles and to recommend remedial legislative action jointly or separately to the Federal and State governments. Many benefits are seen to develop from this form of endeavor.

There exists what has been called an intergovernmental zone in which the Congress has broad commercial regulatory power but which Congress has not specifically acted, but in which the States have passed laws which may or may not be unconstitutional. This fact of constitutionality, of course, can be determined only by the United States Supreme Court, and only in such cases as actually reach this tribunal.

It must not be inferred that the United States Supreme Court has failed to enumerate applicable principles which State legislatures may well use as a guide in framing new legislation; but, on the contrary, it must be understood that a satisfactory solution of the trade-barrier problem cannot be had by this method. This proposition was stated most recently by Justices Frankfurter, Black, and Douglas in *McCarroll* v. *Dixie Greyhound Lines:* "Judicial control of national commerce—unlike legislative regulations—must from inherent limitations of the judicial process treat the subject by the hit-and-miss method of deciding single local controversies upon evidence and information limited by the narrow rules of litigation. Spasmodic and unrelated instances of litigation cannot afford an adequate basis for the creation of integrated national rules which alone can afford that full protection for interstate commerce intended by the Constitution." In this same case, the Justices went on to say: "Maintenance of open channels of trade between the States was not only of paramount importance when our Constitution was framed; it remains today a complex problem, calling for national vigilance and regulation."

With an increasing number of trade barrier cases coming before the United States Supreme Court in recent years, the Court stated in *South Carolina Highway Department* v. *Barnwell,* decided in 1938, that "courts do not sit as legislatures either State or national. They cannot act as Congress does when after weighing all conflicting interests, State and national, it determines when and how much the State regulatory power shall yield to the larger interests of national commerce."

There is a great need for a nonpartisan probing of the facts from all angles of the trade-barrier problem. It is, therefore, our hope that the recommendation of Mr. Bane to establish a joint Federal-State committee will be made by the Temporary National Economic Committee to the first session of the Seventy-seventh Congress and that it will be favorably received. Secretary Wallace, the Interdepartmental Committee on Interstate Trade Barriers, and others have already endorsed the proposal.

In the second place, it seems to me that a vigorous educational campaign, and here I distinguish between education and propaganda, would be an effective means of getting appropriate remedial action. Certainly it would be the least likely to arouse sectional feeling, which, I think, we all agree is always unfortunate and to be avoided. There are very strong and powerful arguments against State margarine taxes. These arguments are (1) that they are unfair to an industry which produces a healthful and wholesome product and especially (2) that they are peculiarly regressive in nature, and (3) that the benefits to dairy farmers are imperceptible. I think that if these last two points were generally understood and accepted among the voters, and the dairy farmers themselves, in the States that have imposed taxes on margarine, there would be a good chance for repeal of such legislation. In fact, the general public as far as the record shows, has by way of referendum, indicated there is no public demand for such laws, and that the public favors their repeal. There seem to be no cases on record where consumer, or other noncommercial groups have gone to the defense of margarine tax laws. Education then seems a definitely practical method of attack.

I would suggest that you request the Agricultural Extension Service, the Division of Program Discussion of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture, and other local and national commercial, civic, educational, and fraternal groups to place the subject of interstate trade barriers, and specifically margarine taxes, on their list of discussion projects. I firmly believe that if a knowledge of facts and of the simple fundamental economics of the question can be made general and widespread, the very least result will be to make the way much easier for the removal of existing barriers against the sale of margarine.

In the third place, I mention, and most heartily condemn, one of the most commonly discussed methods for getting the State taxes on margarine removed which is to retaliate in some way against the States imposing these taxes. It is a very difficult thing, however, to retaliate by any official action against particular States without also injuring other States, and frequently the home State, which are not objects of the retaliation.

When the products of a large area of the country are severely hampered in their normal movement in interstate commerce by un-

fair, discriminatory trade-barrier laws, it is only natural that the persons in the affected area should consider retaliatory measures. We all know that the use of this method has been considered by those who realize the essential unfairness of laws, which, in economic effect, impinge upon the free use of cotton and its byproducts. Despite these provocations and natural tendencies, I urge that such action be avoided. It inevitably contributes to national discord. In certain countries, forces of barbarism have been unleashed, making it imperative that this country engage in a rearmament program unparalleled in time of peace. We now must make a great, concerted, unified national economic effort. We all know an army is no stronger than its supporting economic system. Discord and recrimination between areas of our country furnish no aid to the successful accomplishment of these immediate tasks. During times when the public is engaged with questions of great national import, less spectacular domestic problems, intrinsically most important, are likely to be overlooked. Certainly the present foreign situation should serve to highlight and further emphasize the immediate need for the complete eradication of all barriers to the free flow of commerce between the States. We hear much now-a-days about "fifth column" activities. I urge you to classify interstate trade barriers as a domestic "fifth column" and to wage war on them unto the finish.

APPENDIX

The assistance of Mr. Edgar L. Burtis, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, Mr. Haskell Donoho, Office of the Solicitor, Department of Agriculture, Mr. A. H. Martin, Jr. W. P. A. marketing laws survey, and Mr. Day Monroe, Bureau of Home Economics, Department of Agriculture, in the preparation of this paper is acknowledged with appreciation.

Table 1: Comparative statement of licensed retail dealers in oleomargarine and potential total of dealers for this product.

Table 2: State excise and license taxes on oleomargarine—year of enactment and exceptions to such.

Table 3: Revenue obtained from margarine taxes in selected States, year ended December 31, 1938.

Table 4: Retail margarine dealers in States taxing cottonseed oil margarine, 1928 and 1938.

Table 5: Retail margarine dealers in States which do not tax cottonseed oil margarine.

Table 6: Retail dealers licensed to sell uncolored oleomargarine—number before State excise taxes were imposed compared with the number after excise taxes were imposed grouped by different types of tax.

Table 7: Ingredients used in margarine production, year ending June 30.

Table 8: Farm cash income—cotton and cottonseed.

Table 9: Prohibiting the purchase and use of oleomargarine in State or penal institutions, supported wholly or in part by public funds.

Table 10: Referendum record oleomargarine tax laws.

Table 11: Average per prices of butterfat received by producers for States mentioned, 1928 to 1938, inclusive.

Comparative statement of licensed retail dealers in oleomargarine and potential total of dealers for this product [1]

	Tax law effective—	Licensed retail dealers [2]					Total number retail food stores, potential margarine dealers [3]
		1930	1932	1933	1935	1939	
5 cents:							
Idaho	1931	469	66	1	6	-------	1,340
Iowa	1931	7,692	4,513	1,364	3,634	2,302	9,079
Utah	1929	527	315	33	193	252	1,530
10 cents:							
North Dakota	1931	1,222	3	-------	1	1	2,233
South Dakota	1931	1,736	553	189	64	27	2,187
Tennessee	1931	3,234	960	379	473	317	11,503
Oklahoma	1931	4,152	2,177	1,200	197	404	7,173
15 cents:							
Washington	1931	4,740	12	3	-------	-------	6,273
Wisconsin	1932-35	5,191	911	13	22	-------	10,401
Animal-fat States:							
Minnesota	1931-33	5,747	2,691	1,667	2,480	1,816	9,053
Nebraska	1931	3,649	2,341	1,613	2,630	2,986	4,161
Wyoming	1931	338	208	83	298	351	760
10 cents with exceptions:							
Alabama	-------	2,418	1,648	1,509	2,038	2,615	9,976
Arkansas	-------	1,860	1,389	1,050	1,346	2,159	7,763

[1] Testimony of Mr. C. H. Janssen, president, National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, before the Temporary National Economic Committee during hearings on interstate trade barriers.

[2] Annual reports, Collector of Internal Revenue.

[3] Census of Business 1935—exclusive of candy and confectionery stores, fruit stores and vegetable markets, egg and poultry dealers, fish and sea-food markets and bakeries and caterers. Reliable trade data indicates an increase of approximately 10 percent in number of retail food stores since 1935. This would total potential number of dealers to about 525,000 as of 1940.

Comparative statement of licensed retail dealers in oleomargarine and potential total of dealers for this product—Continued

	Tax law effective—	Licensed retail dealers					Total number retail food stores, potential margarine dealers
		1930	1932	1933	1935	1939	
10 cents with exceptions—Continued.							
Colorado	-------	2,492	1,761	1,210	2,221	2,431	3,469
Florida	-------	2,151	2,087	1,794	2,918	5,160	6,681
Georgia	-------	1,683	1,817	2,186	2,549	3,339	12,873
Kansas	-------	5,644	4,175	3,087	4,928	5,310	6,219
Louisiana	-------	1,951	1,202	884	-------	2,831	10,517
Maine	-------	1,665	1,027	786	1,580	2,165	3,804
New Mexico	-------	302	217	166	387	628	1,651
North Carolina	-------	2,062	2,054	1,777	2,269	2,846	11,433
South Carolina	-------	862	971	870	1,436	1,751	6,943
Texas	-------	3,735	2,795	1,930	4,453	8,735	20,743
No excise taxes:							
Arizona	-------	824	769	627	717	1,031	1,465
California	-------	14,537	11,563	9,196	9,573	12,348	21,572
Connecticut	-------	1,304	754	305	1,356	812	7,193
Delaware	-------	336	207	162	423	425	1,285
District of Columbia	-------	330	542	614	918	983	2,033
Illinois	-------	16,090	13,244	11,417	15,380	15,535	27,157
Indiana	-------	10,155	8,522	7,523	8,960	9,536	12,004
Kentucky	-------	2,474	2,093	114	2,972	4,367	12,797
Maryland	-------	2,401	2,169	1,956	3,043	3,282	7,858
Massachusetts	-------	4,910	3,438	904	4,982	4,192	16,699
Michigan	-------	11,511	9,271	8,603	10,523	11,797	16,465
Mississippi	-------	503	312	193	468	666	7,197
Missouri	-------	8,274	6,489	5,269	6,907	8,750	13,860
Montana	-------	31	5	2	18	32	2,018
Nevada	-------	109	80	73	86	140	361
New Hampshire	-------	758	246	286	802	991	2,057
New Jersey	-------	5,593	3,557	2,888	5,989	4,756	18,758
New York	-------	15,128	10,079	7,636	13,565	12,272	53,401
Ohio	-------	16,172	13,308	12,579	15,541	16,136	24,175
Oregon	-------	2,932	1,903	1,647	2,003	2,735	3,719
Pennsylvania	-------	4,862	4,668	3,431	3,945	4,332	40,401
Rhode Island	-------	876	340	191	1,059	885	2,882
Vermont	-------	336	124	80	276	423	1,557
Virginia	-------	2,648	2,200	2,004	3,270	4,012	11,498
West Virginia	-------	3,361	3,259	1,981	3,615	4,562	7,879
Total	-------	191,977	135,035	103,475	155,381	173,426	484,066

State excise and license taxes on oleomargarine, year of enactment, and exceptions to such [1]

	Per pound excise tax			License taxes			
	Colored	Per pound tax [2]	Exceptions to tax	Retailers [2]	Wholesalers	Manufacturers	Restaurants, boarding house consumers
Ala	Prohibited	(35) 10	Dom				
Ariz							
Ark		(35) 10	Dom				
Calif	Prohibited			(23) $5	$50	$100	$2
Colo		(35) 10	Dom. S. B.	(31)	25	25	
Conn	Prohibited			(33) 6	50	100	3
Del	do						
Fla	do	(35) 10	Dom				
Ga		(35) 10	Dom				
Idaho	Prohibited	(31) 5		(29) 50	200		
Ill	do						
Ind							
Iowa	Prohibited	(31) 5					
Kansas		(33) 10	Dom. S. B.				
Ky							
La		(34) 12	Dom				
Maine	Prohibited	(35) 10	Dom				
Md	do						
Mass	do			(86) [3]	(3)	(3)	(3)
Mich	do						
Minn	do	(33) 10	Dom. (A)	(31) 1	1		
Miss			Dom	(20) 10	(32) 100		
Mo	Prohibited						
Mont	do			(25) 400	1,000		
Nebr		(31) 15	Dom. (A)	(25) 1	25	100	
Nev							
N. J	Prohibited						
N. H	do						
N. Mex		(35) 10	Dom				

[1] Testimony of Mr. C. H. Janssen, president, National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, before the Temporary National Economic Committee during hearings on interstate trade barriers.

[2] Figure in parentheses indicates year in which tax was enacted.

[3] Local sellers' registration fee, 50 cents.

State excise and license taxes on oleomargarine, year of enactment, and exceptions to such—Continued

	Per pound excise tax			License taxes			
	Colored	Per pound tax	Exceptions to tax	Retailers	Wholesalers	Manufacturers	Restaurants, boarding house consumers
N. Y.	Prohibited						
N. C.	do	(35) 10	Dom.	(4)	75		
N. Dak.	do	(31) 10		(31) 2	5	15	
Ohio	do						
Okla.	do	(31) 10		(31) 5	10	10	2
Oreg.	do						
Pa.	do			100	500	1,000	10
				(1899)			50
R. I.							
S. C.	Prohibited	(34) 10	Dom.				
S. Dak.	do	(31) 10					
Tenn.		(31) 10			$3	$5	$3 2 1
Texas		(34) 10	Dom.				
Utah	Prohibited	(29) 5			[5] 5		
Vt.	do				[5] 25		
Va.							
Wash.	Prohibited	(31) 15					
W. Va.	do						
Wis.	do	(15 and 6 (35)		(31) $25	500	1,000	1 25
Wyo.	do	(31) 10	Dom. (A)				

[4] Reduced, 1929.
[5] All sellers.

Revenue obtained from margarine taxes in selected States, year ended Dec. 31, 1938 [1]

State	Revenue from excise tax	Revenue from license tax	Total revenue
5 cents:			
Idaho	$1,430.00	$330	$1,760.00
Iowa	170,385.00		170,385.00
Utah	32,059.81	1,390	33,449.81
10 cents:			
North Dakota	533.40	2	535.40
South Dakota	2,275.60		2,275.60
Oklahoma	0	0	0
Tennessee (10 cents)			17,649.48
Washington (15 cents)	0		0
Wisconsin (15 cents)			5,148.00
Montana ($400 retail license tax)		[2] 11,200	11,200.00

[1] Testimony of Mr. John Moloney, National Cottonseed Products Association, before the Temporary National Economic Committee during hearings on interstate trade barriers.
[2] Estimated on basis of Federal licensees.

Source: Institute of Margarine Manufacturers. Data were obtained by inquiries addressed to States in question.

Retail margarine dealers in States taxing cottonseed-oil margarine, 1928 and 1938 [1]

State	Number of retail dealers		Decrease
	1928 [2]	1938 [2]	
Idaho	699	7	692
Iowa	7,400	3,935	3,465
Utah	733	266	467
North Dakota	764	4	760
South Dakota	1,523	51	1,472
Oklahoma	2,363	716	1,647
Tennessee	3,498	375	3,123
Washington	3,986	3	3,983
Wisconsin	5,007	50	4,957
Montana	[3] 300	28	272
Vermont	196	451	255
Minnesota	5,416	2,221	3,195
Nebraska	3,410	2,959	451
Wyoming	275	397	122
Total	35,570	11,463	24,107
Estimated annual loss of margarine—sales in above States			76,410,000
Estimated annual loss in terms of cottonseed oil			28,500,930

[1] Testimony of Mr. John Moloney, National Cottonseed Products Association before the Temporary National Economic Committee during hearings on interstate trade barriers.
[2] Fiscal year ending June 30.
[3] Average 1922–24. Montana first enacted a retail license tax in 1925 and increased rate in 1928. The year 1928 would therefore not be representative.

Source: U. S. Bureau of Internal Revenue, Annual Reports of the Commissioner.

Retail margarine dealers in States which do not tax cottonseed-oil margarine [1]

State	Retail dealers		Increase
	1928 [2]	1938 [2]	
Alabama	1,389	2,428	1,039
Arizona	531	953	422
Arkansas	1,432	2,362	930
Colorado	2,362	2,551	189
Delaware	341	437	96
District of Columbia	443	978	535
Florida	2,288	4,102	1,814
Georgia	1,601	3,491	1,890
Illinois	15,536	16,642	1,206
Indiana	10,306	9,939	−367
Kansas	7,278	5,464	−1,814
Kentucky	1,954	4,304	2,350
Louisiana	1,602	3,006	1,404
Maine	1,435	2,067	632
Maryland	1,958	3,519	1,561
Massachusetts	4,629	5,011	382
Michigan	10,516	12,505	1,989
Missouri	6,986	9,092	2,106
Nevada	63	162	99
New Hampshire	699	1,243	544
New Jersey	5,817	4,960	−857
New Mexico	194	671	477
New York	13,986	13,952	−34
North Carolina	821	3,146	2,325
Ohio	16,298	16,613	315
Oregon	2,530	2,693	163
Rhode Island	604	1,057	453
South Carolina	432	1,925	1,493
Texas	2,341	9,150	6,809
Virginia	1,824	4,141	2,317
West Virginia	2,094	4,875	2,781
Total	120,190	153,439	33,249

[1] Testimony of Mr. John Moloney, National Cottonseed Products Association before the Temporary National Economic Committee during hearings on interstate trade barriers.
[2] Fiscal year ending June 30.

Source: U. S. Bureau of Internal Revenue, Annual reports of the Commissioner.

Retail dealers licensed to sell uncolored oleomargarine: Number before State excise taxes were imposed compared with the number after excise taxes were imposed grouped by different types of tax [1]

State	In States having excise taxes on all uncolored oleomargarine			
	1927–28, retail dealers	1936–37		Percentage change in dealers
		Retail dealers	Excise tax per pound	
	Number	*Number*	*Cents*	*Percent*
Idaho	699	6	5	−99.1
Iowa	7,400	3,989	5	−46.1
Utah	733	286	5	−61.0
Total (5 cents)	8,832	4,281		−51.5
North Dakota	764		10	−100.0
South Dakota	1,523	48	10	−96.8
Tennessee	2,363	320	10	−86.5
Oklahoma	3,498	344	10	−90.2
Total (10 cents)	8,148	712		−91.3
Washington	3,986	11	15	−99.7
Wisconsin	5,007	3	15	−99.9
Total (15 cents)	8,993	14		−99.8
Grand total	25,973	5,007		−80.7

[1] Testimony of C. H. Janssen, president, National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, before the Temporary National Economic Committee during hearings on interstate trade barriers.

Source: State and Federal Legislation and Decisions Relating to Oleomargarine Bureau of Agricultural Economics. U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Carrying the foregoing down to the Report of the Internal Revenue Collector for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, we find that the process toward complete elimination of the product from sale in those States has continued to the following point, as seen below:

	Tax law effective—	Licensed retail dealers					Total number retail food stores—potential margarine dealers
		1930	1932	1933	1935	1939	
5 cents:							
Idaho	1931	469	66	1	6		1,340
Iowa	1931	7,692	4,513	1,364	3,634	2,302	9,079

	Tax law effective—	Licensed retail dealers					Total number retail food stores—potential margarine dealers
		1930	1932	1933	1935	1939	
5 cents—Contd.							
Utah	1929	527	315	33	193	252	1,530
Total		8,688	4,894	1,398	3,833	2,554	11,949
10 cents:							
North Dakota	1931	1,222	3		1	1	2,233
South Dakota	1931	1,736	553	189	64	27	2,187
Tennessee	1931	3,234	960	379	473	317	11,503
Oklahoma	1931	4,152	2,177	1,200	197	404	7,173
Total		10,344	3,693	1,768	735	749	23,096
15 cents:							
Washington	1931	4,740	12	3			6,273
Wisconsin	1932–35	5,191	911	13	22		10,401
Total		9,931	923	16	22		16,674
Grand total		28,963	9,510	3,182	4,590	3,303	51,719

The severity of license taxes, plus stringent administrative regulations in Idaho, North Dakota, Washington, and Wisconsin in addition to the excise tax on the product, have proven a 100-percent effective trade barrier, shutting this legitimate, wholesome food product out of interstate and intrastate commerce completely.

Ingredients used in margarine production, year ending June 30 [1]

[In pounds]

	1936	1937	1938	1939
Babassu oil	11,407,743	17,188,787	10,452,039	12,206,917
Beef fat				36,914
Butter	37			
Coconut oil	167,214,593	101,375,166	87,054,115	70,759,226
Color	2,527	1,860	1,714	1,421
Corn oil	830,256	1,326,932	1,224,807	554,467
Cottonseed oil	93,917,152	137,017,862	177,582,605	109,224,141
Cottonseed stearin				960
Derivative of glycerin	1,024,628	1,194,550	1,229,507	881,572
Lecithin	20,343	26,254	70,462	87,966
Milk	75,251,561	72,369,931	76,976,779	64,712,110
Neutral lard	2,044,215	2,010,409	1,604,925	1,230,556
Oleo oil	15,180,898	18,039,308	11,739,156	13,025,484
Oleo stearin	3,199,642	3,251,988	3,443,958	2,968,399
Oleo stock	1,949,202	1,826,788	1,239,914	1,416,123
Ouricury		441,598		
Palm oil	750,470	1,607,463	109,615	990
Palm-kernel oil	1,062,253	6,089,352	7,593,744	1,244,459
Rapeseed oil	8,786			
Rice oil			69,658	
Peanut oil	3,918,323	3,732,092	3,243,767	2,748,616
Salt	19,440,573	18,159,053	18,085,183	14,517,288
Sesame oil	91,992	22,962		
Soda (benzoate of)	180,106	162,508	164,726	134,820
Soybean oil	3,736,178	26,842,239	33,222,115	53,982,075
Soybean stearin				17,907
Vegetable stearin				9,174
Vitamin concentrate			11,517	14,363
Margarine produced	371,737,616	389,264,249	415,121,856	332,874,281
Cottonseed oil:				
As a percentage of fats and oils used	30.8	42.7	52.4	40.5
As a percentage of margarine produced	25.3	35.2	42.8	2.83

[1] Testimony of Mr. John Moloney, National Cottonseed Products Association before the Temporary National Economic Committee during hearings on interstate trade barriers.

Source: U. S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Annual reports, except data for 1939 which is from monthly releases. Percentages of cottonseed oil are our own calculations.

Farm cash income—Cotton and cottonseed [1]

Year (calendar)	Cotton	Cottonseed	Total	Percentage of total from cottonseed
1929	$1,363,007,000	$148,943,000	$1,511,950,000	9.5
1930	726,911,000	97,234,000	824,145,000	11.8
1931	455,342,000	41,614,000	596,956,000	8.4
1932	418,514,000	42,180,000	460,694,000	9.4
1933	528,838,000	48,713,000	577,551,000	8.2
1934	758,523,000	104,331,000	862,854,000	12.1
1935	608,328,000	103,458,000	711,786,000	14.5
1936	763,360,000	141,519,000	904,879,000	15.6
1937	770,377,000	129,776,000	900,153,000	14.4
1938 [2]	$575,741,000	$91,494,000	$667,235,000	13.7
1939 [2]	525,320,000	83,485,000	608,805,000	13.7

[1] Testimony of Mr. John Moloney, National Cottonseed Products Association before the Temporary National Economic Committee during hearings on interstate trade barriers.

[2] Preliminary from releases by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Source: U. S. Department of Agriculture. Bureau of Agricultural Economics. "Income Parity for Agriculture," pt. I: sec. 1.

(D) PROHIBITING THE PURCHASE AND USE OF OLEOMARGARINE IN STATE OR PENAL INSTITUTIONS SUPPORTED WHOLLY OR IN PART BY PUBLIC FUNDS [1]

California: Prohibited in penal and charitable institutions of State.

Connecticut: Prohibited in humane, charitable, reformatory, or penal institutions under State or county control, except State prison, State prison for women, State farm for women, State reformatory, and county jails.

Idaho: Prohibited in county and State charitable, educational, penal, and reformatory institutions.

Illinois: No more than 25 percent of the oil or fat requirements of State institutions in form of substitutes for butter or lard may be used.

Iowa: Prohibited in college for the blind, school for the deaf, or any State institution under the management of the board of control.

Kansas: Prohibited in all State, county, and municipal institutions.

Kentucky: Prohibited in all State, county, and municipal institutions.

Michigan: Prohibited in all public institutions except in penal institutions.

Minnesota: Prohibited in all State institutions.

Montana: Prohibited in all State institutions.

Nebraska: Prohibited in all State institutions, except penal institutions.

New York: Prohibited in all State, county, and municipal institutions.

New Hampshire: Colored margarine is prohibited in all State institutions.

North Dakota: Prohibited from being served to any inmate of any State institution.

Oklahoma: Prohibited in all State, county, and municipal institutions.

Oregon: Prohibited in State institutions and State schools.

Pennsylvania: Prohibited in all charitable and penal institutions.

Tennessee: Prohibited in all State, county, and municipal institutions.

Washington: Prohibited in all State institutions.

Wisconsin: Prohibited in all State institutions and public schools.

REFERENDUM RECORD OLEOMARGARINE TAX LAWS

The people of Oregon have four times overwhelmingly rejected such laws by their votes as follows:

November 1920 by 119,126 against 67,101.

November 4, 1924, by 157,324 against 91,597.

November 8, 1932, by 200,496 against 131,273.

November 1933 by 144,542 against 66,880.

The people of Michigan repealed such a law on November 8, 1932.

California voters have twice rejected such a law through referendum, once on November 2, 1926, and again November 3, 1936, by the overwhelming vote of 1,359,096 against 345,470.

The people of Washington rejected such a law on November 4, 1924.

Source: Testimony of Mr. C. H. Janssen, president, National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, before the Temporary National Economic Committee during hearings on interstate trade barriers.

Average per pound prices of butterfat received by producers for States mentioned, 1928 to 1938, inclusive

	Arizona	Nevada	Oregon	Utah	California
1928	49	48	48	46	49
1929	45	48	48	45	50
1930	39	38	36	35	39
1931	26	27	26	26	28
1932	18	20	18	19	22
1933	18	20	19	18	22
1934	25	24	22	22	25
1935	31	30	30	30	32
1936	35	35	34	34	36
1937	35	36	35	36	37
1938	28	30	27	28	31

NOTE.—The price of Utah butterfat remained at the same comparative level both before the margarine tax went into effect and afterward, so that no benefit in price accrued to the Utah dairymen.

Source: U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Taken from Supplement to Oral Statement on Behalf of the Association of Southern Commissioners of Agriculture for the Hearing Before the Utah Commission on Interstate Cooperation on Jan. 13, 1940, R. J. Goode.

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[1] Testimony of Mr. C. H. Janssen, president, National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, before the Temporary National Economic Committee during hearings on interstate trade barriers.

Sweetpotato Crop of East Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 2, 1940

ARTICLE BY VICTOR SCHOFFELMAYER

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mr. Victor Schoffelmayer, agricultural editor of the Dallas News, which appeared in the Gilmer (Tex.) Weekly Mirror, November 28, 1940. This article concerns the significance and importance of the sweetpotato crop to the farmers of east Texas, and therefore to the farmers in the Third Congressional District, the district I represent.

[From the Gilmer (Tex.) Weekly Mirror of November 28, 1940]

RECORD $2,000,000 YAM CROP BRINGS WEALTH TO FARMERS

(By Victor Schoffelmayer, agricultural editor of the Dallas News)

GILMER, TEX., October 27.—Old Mother Nature and science, working together, are putting a lot of new wealth into the pockets of east Texas sandy-land farmers from this season's crop of sweetpotatoes.

During the annual "yamboree" celebration at Gilmer hundreds of yam growers told of a record crop which is bringing thousands of dollars to communities and probably more than $2,000,000 to the yam belt of east Texas. This new wealth from the soil comes at a time when cotton prices are disappointing. It also follows last year's poor sweetpotato crop and low farm income from that source.

But Mother Nature, working overtime at the job, made a lot more oversized yams than the market can take. Those July rains gave the yam crop a big start and by the middle of August many fields were ready for a record harvest. By letting the potatoes stay in the ground longer than necessary farmers have a larger proportion of unsalable "jumboes" than normally. Right now they wish there were buyers for these big sweetpotatoes, which rightfully ought to be going into the making of dehydrated stock feed and starch in a big way.

East Texas yam growers need industries which will keep off the food markets the offgrade potatoes which now are being hauled by truckers to all parts of the Southwest, West, and North. That is something to think about for next year. Nothing will do more to round out the east Texas yam industry by the adding of chemurgic processing as the one now confronting both growers and shippers.

HAVE BUILT BIG INDUSTRY

East Texas is fortunate in having many high-class sweetpotato shippers at such strategic centers as Pittsburg, Gilmer, Mount Pleasant, Tyler, Athens, Sulphur Springs, Mount Vernon, Omaha, and others. These men have built up an enviable trade which reaches to Chicago, St. Louis, Denver, Kansas City, Des Moines, Omaha, Detroit, and Pittsburgh. It is astonishing how northern manufacturing centers are willing to pay as high as 25 cents a crate premium for the east Texas high-quality product over competing yams.

During the sessions of the growers and scientists in the Upshur County courthouse on the day preceding the "yamboree" an interesting fact came to light—why northern buyers are taking a larger volume of juicy, sugary southern sweetpotatoes in recent years, when in times past they preferred the "dry chokers" from New Jersey and Maryland, which largely had the market to themselves.

It seems that when hundreds of thousands of Negroes from Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas and other parts of the deep South migrated from the cotton patch to the steel mills and automobile factories around St. Louis, Chicago, Pittsburgh and Detroit, they demanded the kind of yam to which they were accustomed. Little by little the trade demand in great mill centers was enlarged as not only the workers but the general public were educated to the fine flavor and high quality of the southern sweetpotato. Old established prejudices were dropped as formulas for baking and cooking east Texas and Louisiana yams were distributed along with the potatoes.

The high average yield this season is said by growers and shippers to range between 125 and 150 bushels an acre, compared with an average 10-year yield of 65 to 75 bushels. But the high proportion of off-size yams must be reckoned with.

The big rains in June and July gave the yams a better than average start. They have kept on growing in size as long as they stayed in the ground because of the unusually warm and sunny fall weather.

In Gilmer, Pittsburg, and other east Texas centers first quality yams during the writer's visit there brought growers 60 to 70 cents a bushel, 25 cents above last year. But the big crop has attracted a lot of motortruck operators to east Texas who not always are as careful about quality as the big established shippers. The truckers load a cargo of second grades of various sizes and quality and offer them at a lower price and help to break the market for the high-quality yams. It is exactly the same situation as with south Texas grapefruit and oranges, which are loaded in trucks regardless of quality and distributed far and wide over the land.

ONE-THIRD YAM CULLS

It is estimated that about one-third of all yams grown are offgrade and culls. A crop estimated at, say, 3,000,000 bushels in east Texas, therefore, must have 1,000,000 bushels of sweetpotatoes which should go into other channels of trade and not compete in the food markets against high-quality yams. If these were processed into cattle feed, starch, sirup, protein, and vitamin flour, pectin, and what not, the yam growers would be helped not only in holding up the price for best-quality but, they could add substantially to their income by selling the culls at perhaps $5 or $6 a ton to yam-dehydration plants.

Any sensible man who has looked into the possibilities of producing valuable new products from the sweetpotato knows that sooner or later this idea must be converted into a reality. A profitable way to use all the potatoes grown in east Texas is better than to let a third of the crop break the market or go to waste.

Protection for Airplane Plants Working on Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LELAND M. FORD
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 2, 1940

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY INGLEWOOD, CALIF., REALTY BOARD

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend by remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted by the Inglewood Realty Board, of Inglewood, Calif., in respect to the need for military protection for airplane plants working on production under the national-defense program, and urging increased surveillance of possible subversive activities in airplane factories.

INGLEWOOD REALTY BOARD,
Inglewood, Calif., November 19, 1940.

Hon. LELAND M. FORD,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FORD: The Inglewood Realty Board begs to call to your attention the following resolution, passed at its meeting of November 18:

"Whereas there has been an undercurrent of rumor for many months past as to possible subversive activities in the airplane manufacturing plants adjacent to Inglewood; and

"Whereas MARTIN DIES has recently made public the fact that he has specific information revealing plans of sabotage in these same factories; these plans purporting to reach materialization within the next 90 days; and

"Whereas it is obvious that every preventive effort possible should be made to protect the lives of the workers and the property which might be destroyed or damaged; and

"Whereas our Government, through its promise of assistance to Great Britain through the manufacture and delivery of airplanes puts such manufacture definitely within the realm of military activity: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the Inglewood Realty Board does earnestly and urgently pray the Government of the United States to provide, without further delay, the military protection necessary to safeguard the lives and the property of the citizens of this vicinity."

We know from past experience that we can depend upon you to do anything and everything possible to bring so serious a matter to the attention of the proper authorities.

Please accept our thanks and our good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

NORINE DAWSON,
Assistant Secretary.

Coal Division Director Declares Act Is Functioning Smoothly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 2, 1940

LETTER FROM H. A. GRAY, DIRECTOR OF THE BITUMINOUS COAL DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, TO JESSE V. SULLIVAN, OF THE WEST VIRGINIA COAL ASSOCIATION

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter of H. A. Gray, Director of the Bituminous Coal Division, Department of the Interior, to Jesse V. Sullivan, executive secretary of the West Virginia Coal Association:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BITUMINOUS COAL DIVISION,
Washington, November 30, 1940.

MR. JESSE V. SULLIVAN,
Executive Secretary, West Virginia Coal Association,
Charleston, W. Va.

MY DEAR MR. SULLIVAN: I have read certain statements attributed to you in lengthy articles carried by the Associated Press and numerous newspapers concerning coal production since the establishment of minimum prices on October 1, 1940. I presume you were not misquoted.

Your assertion that the minimum prices have caused Pennsylvania producers to gain business at the expense of producers in West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and Illinois is utterly without foundation. An unbiased study of production statistics in the light of well-known circumstances in the coal industry shows that conclusively.

Contrary to the inference of your statement, the Coal Act is functioning smoothly, and it is giving the coal industry the first real protection it has ever had. National coal production has returned to normal seasonal levels, and the industry is rapidly settling down to rebuild itself into a financially sound and stable unit of the national economy, now that the burdens of demoralized marketing conditions have been removed.

I might point out that while the 60-day period in which the law permits persons to ask the United States circuit courts of appeals to review the Division's determinations has passed only 3 court cases were filed out of the more than 13,000 producers and the hundreds of thousands of consumers affected by the minimum prices. Only 1 of these cases attacked any fundamental features of the minimum-price structure, while the other 2 were limited to specific prices for specific mines. None of them attacked the fairness of the Division's procedure.

The stocking of coal by consumers in anticipation of a price rise had the effect of temporarily interrupting steady production for a few weeks after the minimum prices became effective, but production now has settled down to a normal rate. Production increased at more than the usual rate prior to October 1, 1940, while the consumers were pouring coal into stock piles, and then it slacked off for a few weeks afterward while consumers used up the excess stores they had accumulated.

Because of circumstances peculiar to the coal industry, this temporary interruption was a little more pronounced in West Virginia and other States than in Pennsylvania. A greatly larger portion of the coal production is owned or controlled by consumers in Pennsylvania than in other States, and there was no reason for such consumers to store coal in anticipation of a price rise. Therefore, production did not increase as greatly in Pennsylvania prior to October 1 as it did in other States, nor did it decrease as much after the prices became effective. This great block of consumers who produce their own coal in Pennsylvania kept right on taking coal direct from the mines throughout the period.

In case you are not familiar with the statistics on stock piles—even though you compared the 1940 production with the 1939—you might be interested to know that as of October 1, 1940, industries had 42,177,000 tons of coal in storage as compared to 30,243,000 tons a year ago. Retail coal yards had 9,000,000 tons on hand as compared with 6,700,000 a year ago.

Production statistics for the week ending November 16, 1940, show the country's total production of coal to be 10,000,000 tons for the week. This is approximately the same tonnage as was produced during the comparable week of a year ago. This indicates that coal marketing again is following normal characteristics. It is interesting that during this particular week production in Pennsylvania decreased slightly, although still maintaining a high level, while production in West Virginia increased substantially. Other States also showed increases.

There are two other factors to be considered in comparing the production in Pennsylvania with other States—the influence of industrial buying and seasonal fluctuations.

The proportion of the tonnage used for the manufacture of steel and other industrial purposes is greater in Pennsylvania than it is in the other States. Pennsylvania's production is subject to greater fluctuations over the years than any other major coal-producing State because of fluctuations in demands for industrial coal. Therefore, increased demands for industrial coal—particularly in the steel industry—also contributed to holding up Pennsylvania's tonnage since October 1. Our records show that while ordinary commercial production dropped after October 1 because of the stocking, the production of Pennsylvania's consumer-owned or affiliated mines actually increased.

A greater proportion of the tonnage produced in West Virginia and the other States is used for domestic heating than of that produced in Pennsylvania. Therefore, the warm fall weather also helped to reduce the demand for coal produced in West Virginia and other States, in addition to dealers' stocking. This seasonal influence was less marked in Pennsylvania, since a smaller proportion of her coals is used for domestic purposes.

The Coal Act provides machinery for making immediate adjustments in the minimum prices when and if they cause shifts from one producer or area to another. Producers or producers' boards can file petitions asking for adjustments in the minimum prices and get very quick temporary relief while final action is pending in such cases.

If, as you said, the minimum prices were causing business to be diverted from West Virginia and the other States to Pennsylvania, the Division would have been swamped by petitions seeking relief long before now. I can say without reservation that we have had no such storm of petitions. Even the petitions filed by individual producers in isolated cases seeking price changes because of alleged diversion of business to producers in other districts are moderate in number and in scope, and they are quickly disposed of.

I might point out that the statement issued by W. A. Richards, Bluefield, W. Va., president of the Sovereign-Pocahontas Coal Co. and a member of the Producers Board of District 7, which is one of West Virginia's greatest coal fields, branding your charge "as ridiculous as it is untrue," said:

"The district boards representing these producing districts are naturally checking the resulting distribution of bituminous coal under Government price fixing very closely. To date there have been little or no shifts in tonnage from one district to another. Mr. Sullivan can rest assured that if any shifts of tonnage actually do occur, that district boards Nos. 3, 7, and 8, representing West Virginia, are perfectly capable of bringing about a correction, and that in the meantime he should leave comments on production ratios to men who have at least studied that subject and can analyze them fairly."

Sincerely yours,

H. A. GRAY, *Director.*

United States To Receive Half Canadian Apple Exports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOMER D. ANGELL
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 2, 1940

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to some remarks I made on November 28, appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for that date, page 13771, with reference to the plight of the American apple grower. In the Portland (Oreg.) Journal of November 25 there appeared an article by Mr. Carl Smith with reference to this matter, which I include as a part of my remarks. The article follows:

UNITED STATES TO RECEIVE HALF CANADIAN APPLE EXPORTS

(By Carl Smith)

WASHINGTON, November 25.—In its latest review of the apple markets, the Department of Agriculture indicates that half the exports of Canada will move to the United States. The total predicted movement, mostly boxed apples from British Columbia, is 650,000 bushels.

Early in November, it is stated, these shipments aggregated 400,000 bushels, chiefly Jonathans, and only 100,000 boxes of this variety remained in British Columbia. Shipments from that Province to eastern Canada were expected to aggregate 3,500,000 boxes, compared with 2,621,000 boxes in 1939–40.

On the latest record no apples will be sent to the United Kingdom, the United States taking 650,000 bushels; South America, 350,000 bushels; South Africa, 50,000 bushels; continental Europe, 40,000 bushels; Newfoundland, 40,000 bushels; and miscellaneous, 10,000 bushels.

Mr. Speaker, at a meeting of the Oregon State Farm Bureau, held at Hood River, Oreg., on November 13, a resolution was adopted pertaining to the critical situation which exists with reference to importation of fresh apples and pears into the United States. It is not only depressing the price of our local products but is depriving the American farmer of a market for his products. Many of these farmers who are engaged exclusively in the growing of apples or pears have found it impossible to cope with the situation. As a result they have not only lost their complete crops but in many instances have lost their properties as well by reason of their inability to meet their financial obligations.

The following article appeared in the Portland Journal, November 26, quoting the text of the resolution adopted by the Oregon State Farm Bureau to which I refer, and also detailing some of the material facts with reference to this acute situation. It is hoped by the growers of my State that the Federal Government will take effective steps at once to prevent the hardships being visited upon our American growers, and particularly they will take effective means to prevent the threatened importation of apples and pears from Argentina and Chile. The growers of my State are fearful that there will be large importations from these countries in February, March, April, and May which will add to the troubles created by the Canadian importations. I urge my colleagues who have growers in their districts to cooperate in finding a solution for this problem.

The article in the Oregon Journal, November 26, is as follows:

FARM BUREAU AND THE FRUIT PROBLEM—A RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE OREGON STATE FARM BUREAU AT HOOD RIVER, NOVEMBER 13

The members of the Oregon Farm Bureau, assembled in annual meeting at Hood River, Oreg., wish to bring to the attention of the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Agriculture certain conditions that at present apply to the import of agricultural products into this country, particularly apples and pears.

FOR TRADE TREATIES

We wish to state that we are not only sympathetic to but endorse the principles of reciprocal treaties. These treaties we believe have tended not only to increase the normal volume of trade with various countries, but also helped to reduce surplus stocks of farm commodities and are generally beneficial where true reciprocity has been obtained. We hold that where like commodities are exchanged between two countries the export and entry of these commodities should be carried on on the same basis by each country and that neither country should have the preference for any particular commodity. This does not presently pertain in respect of apples and pears.

The United States' duty on apples is approximately 15 cents a bushel. The Canadian duty on apples at an arbitrary evaluation of $1 f. o. b. would amount to approximately 61 cents a box compared with the United States' duty of 15 cents.

The United States duty on pears is approximately 23 cents a bushel. The Argentine duty on pears is approximately 77 cents a bushel. In addition to this discrepancy, Argentina resorts to quota restrictions, exchange permits, and variations in the value of their currency.

Canada, with an exchange depreciation of approximately 15 percent at the present time, practically avoids the payment of the duty. Shipments are being made from British Columbia, with freight prepaid in depreciated Canadian currency, arriving in the United States markets in competition with fruit at a freight considerably higher to United States growers. Canadian apples are being sold in the principal auction markets. During October these Canadian shipments depreciated the price of apples shipped by growers in the United States from 10 to 25 cents a bushel. At the same time the Surplus Marketing Administration was buying apples in large quantities to reduce the surplus, but foreign fruit was coming into our markets, nullifying to a certain extent the efforts of the Department of Agriculture to support and increase the price of United States farm products.

HOW IMPORTS HURT

We maintain that it is not merely the amount of any farm commodity entering the market which tends to reduce the price, but the circumstances and conditions under which imports are made which thereby adversely affect the price, and in the present situation is destroying all the efforts of the Department of Agriculture to support and improve price conditions for farm products.

Last year 115,000 boxes of Canadian apples were imported into the United States. This season, to November 5, the amount imported was 514,894 boxes. Of this amount 56,035 boxes were reexported from New York to South America, leaving a net importation of 458,859 boxes, or 607 cars. No quota has been set on Canadian imports, and no definite limitations have been fixed on these imports for the balance of the season. Of the 56,035 boxes reexported from New York it is estimated that this quantity is 90 to 95 percent of the total shipments to South America. Payment is made in United States dollars, presumably from the funds loaned by the Export-Import Bank for the purchase of American products.

Similarly, last year, with the previous season's imports from Argentina amounting to approximately 97,000 boxes of pears, it was stated that it was expected that 150,000 boxes would come in from that country. In fact, nearly 300,000 boxes of pears were shipped into the United States to the detriment of the growers of the Pacific coast. This year at least 500,000 boxes of pears will come into this country unless a limitation is set in the very near future. Similarly to the movement of Canadian apples, Argentine pears can be laid down in New York at a lower price, duty paid, than the cost of pears shipped from the Pacific coast laid down in the same market.

Many thousands of growers are engaged in raising pears on the Pacific coast. These growers have invested their lifetime savings in their orchard properties, warehouses and cold-storage plants. Business interests such as the railroads, lumber mills, paper manufacturers, manufacturers of insecticides, spray materials, fertilizers, etc., are dependent for a considerable part of their business on the purchase of farm supplies and materials by these growers. The fruit growers are attempting to pay living wages. They must pay taxes and support their families, but they cannot do so in competition with the present situation, which permits this flood of pears from Argentina.

We recognize the acute distress confronting producers of agricultural commodities in most of the nations of the Western Hemisphere through the loss of a large part of the European market. We believe this situation should be met in the spirit of true cooperation as good neighbors, by the adoption of a policy wherein each would refrain from wrecking the markets of others by dumping an amount greatly in excess of the normal shipments to their markets.

THE SUGGESTED REMEDY

In order to make this policy effective with respect to our market in the United States for agricultural commodities we recommend:

1. That the Tariff Commission be requested to make an immediate investigation with the thought that continued importations are reasonably certain to interfere with governmental programs under the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act under sections 22 and 32 of the A. A. A. We recommend that global quotas be established and that importation of agricultural commodities grown in this country be placed on a quota basis, such quota to be the approximate amount of shipments of an average 3- or 5-year period prior to 1940, each country importing quantities of any particular agricultural product to be limited to the percentage of that product which said country imported during that period.

2. We believe that added legislation should be enacted to protect the agricultural interests of this country under war-emergency legislation. Such legislation would enable action to be taken quickly where our vital interests were affected or there was danger of domestic prices being lowered on account of unusual importations of agricultural products. This legislation might not be necessary, but we believe that it would be better to have this available for use rather than to be in the present situation, where it is desirable and not available.

The Jeffersonians

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES HAWKS, JR.

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1940

Mr. HAWKS. Mr. Speaker, today in the State of Missouri a new chapter in the political history of the State and perhaps the Nation is being written. The Jeffersonians, a group of patriotic Americans, devoted to the teachings and principles of Thomas Jefferson are starting a campaign to bring to the people a more general knowledge of their National Government and to oppose those policies which must inevitably lead to State socialism.

The Jeffersonians are headed by a group of distinguished Americans, including former United States Senator James A. Reed, of Kansas City; Hon. Lee Meriweather, of St. Louis, and Hon. Robert L. Lund, of St. Louis. Distinguished citizens from all parts of Missouri make up the advisory committee.

The principles of the Jeffersonians will appeal to many Americans who have grave apprehensions for the future of representative government in this Nation. These principles while few in number are comprehensive in scope and merit the careful consideration of all. The principles are:

THE JEFFERSONIANS

1. Will earnestly support the Government in all its proper efforts to lead and safeguard the Nation, but, if and when policies are proposed that lead to state socialism and are big with danger to

true Americanism, we shall oppose them with all the vigor patriotism lends us.

2. We are pledged to preserve the Constitution, that great bulwark of American liberty, and shall defend it against domestic as well as foreign enemies.

3. In view of present critical world conditions, we believe the Nation's resources and credit should cease being used for unnecessary and wasteful enterprises; such resources and credit must be used to hasten and complete national defense.

4. We oppose further unlimited spending of borrowed money, because an ever-increasing national debt constitutes an invisible, but nonetheless unbearable mortgage upon every person, home, and farm in the United States.

5. We favor an amendment to the Constitution forbidding a third term to any President.

6. We insist upon the instant dismissal of the multitude of Communists and other subversive elements now on the Federal pay roll.

7. We condemn concentrating all the powers of the American state in the President's hands, and the use of such powers to encroach upon the authority of the Congress and the courts.

8. We demand an end to the war on private enterprise, so that business may be encouraged to invest in job-giving industries; only thus can we end the tragic spectacle of millions of Americans vainly seeking work, and depending upon the Government for their daily bread.

Regardless of party affiliations, we invite the support of all Americans who approve these principles.

The Republican Party and the National Emergency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMILTON FISH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS OF HON. HAMILTON FISH, OF NEW YORK

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio speech delivered by me over the blue network of the National Broadcasting Co., Saturday evening, November 23, 1940:

What the American people need more than anything else is to maintain their courage and faith in our American system; in our free institutions; in our democratic processes; and in our representative, constitutional, and republican form of government. Once that faith and courage dwindles away and vanishes, as it did in some Old World democracies, then the future destiny of America and our free institutions will be a lost cause.

The American people, regardless of party, must be willing to stake everything they possess to maintain their liberties against the onrushing tide of dictatorship and totalitarianism. No sacrifice of effort or treasure is too great to uphold and defend our freedom and our liberties against all forms of dictatorship and aggression, both from within and from without. The glorious destiny of America is only in its beginning. The American people stand united in support of our own democratic institutions and against despotism and one-man government wherever it may be.

There can be no compromise between Americanism and either nazi-ism or communism. They constitute an open and avowed repudiation of our American principles of Government, ideals, and traditions. Foreign agents in the United States would be making a great mistake if they do not realize that the American people, regardless of party, would be solidly united against any foreign threats, interference, or meddling with our own American problems.

We are in no mood for Nazi or Communist or any other foreign propaganda or activity in the United States. We propose to defend democracy or democratic institutions on this continent with our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. We believe that our free institutions are still the hope and aspirations of the struggling masses of mankind whether they be in Germany, Italy, or Soviet Russia. Come what may, we intend to hold aloft the torch of liberty, humanity, democracy, and peace, as a beacon of hope and light to an oppressed and war-torn world.

On election night I sent the following telegram to President Roosevelt at Hyde Park, in my congressional district: "Congratulations. I pledge you my support for national defense and national unity against attacks from all aggressor nations, and to keep America out of foreign wars. HAMILTON FISH, of the firm of MARTIN, BARTON, and FISH."

The election is over. A majority of the American people have expressed their confidence in President Roosevelt and his policies. From now on there should be a minimum of partisan politics in the solution of our vital national problems.

Certain facts stand out as a result of the Presidential campaign as guide posts for future action by Congress and the administration. I estimate that 90 percent of the people favor an invincible national defense. Ninety percent are in sympathy with England, and favor aiding her within the limits of the Constitution. Ninety percent favor upholding the Monroe Doctrine and cooperating to the fullest extent with Latin American nations. Ninety percent favor national unity in maintaining our own democratic institutions and those of our neighbors against threats of aggression from Europe and Asia.

Ninety percent of our people dislike Hitler, Stalin, and all foreign dictators and acts of aggression against democratic nations. Ninety percent of our people, however, irrespective of their sympathies, are opposed to our involvement in foreign wars except in defense of America.

On all of these issues I am in entire accord with the overwhelming sentiment of the American people, and I believe that the new Congress will reflect that sentiment in its acts during the session beginning on January 3.

I anticipate a clash in Congress and a division of public opinion over what constitutes acts short of war, such as turning over our fleet and air pilots to England. This, according to all students of international law, would be a cause of war and probably would be considered as an act of war. I do not believe that even the interventionist press would call such a proposal an act short of war.

Outside of amending the Johnson Act, prohibiting loans to belligerent nations that have failed to pay their war debts, I know of nothing practical we can do beyond expediting what we are already doing in providing England with material aid.

There is still considerable misunderstanding in the minds of the American people over the problem of aiding Great Britain. The fact is that England can buy anything we produce in America, including arms, ammunition, airplanes, tanks, merchant ships, steel, copper, lead, and foodstuffs. She has four billions in gold and a similar amount in securities with which to purchase whatever she wants on the American market, and our entire resources are available to her.

I see no reason to consider amending the Johnson Act until English gold and securities have been exhausted and consumed by the ravages of war. If the war continues another year, it may be necessary to take stock of the situation at that time and determine what is for the best interest of America.

At the present time the American people are unwilling to pay the bill and hold the bag for more European wars unless we are in it and then only reluctantly and by necessity.

Before it ever becomes necessary to change the Johnson Act I would suggest that we cancel World War debts in return for possession and complete ownership of the British and French islands off our eastern coast and in the Caribbean Sea—outright possession of them. The deal, as a result of the 50-destroyer transfer, is merely for leases which is bound to be confusing, costly, and unsatisfactory, and maybe dangerous in the years to come.

If Great Britain does not want to yield possession of these islands for the cancelation of the war debts, then I would be in favor of paying her a billion in gold or giving her an additional 50 of our old destroyers with the consent of Congress. I would even suggest taking a billion dollars in gold out of the Government vaults in Kentucky to purchase these islands and enable England to buy more war supplies in the United States.

These islands are not productive in the sense of monetary returns, but are essential for purposes of national defense and use as American bases for airplanes, submarines, and for our fleet. They are of no particular importance to Great Britain, and should belong to us geographically and commercially. I am in favor of paying 10 times or more what they are worth in gold.

I opposed adjournment of Congress this week, as I have no faith in President Roosevelt's will or ability to keep us out of war. To intervene or not to intervene—that is the question; or, in other words, to go to war or not to go to war. This is by far the greatest of all issues affecting the security and destiny of the United States, yet the American people had no opportunity in the recent campaign to vote on it. That question was carefully sidestepped, camouflaged, and avoided. Generalities were bandied about in the name of peace, and pledges given by both candidates not to send American soldiers abroad, yet there was no solemn referendum to the people not to go to war except in defense of the United States and the American continent.

I am convinced that the Republican high command lost the election on its failure to emphasize and concentrate public opinion on this issue. After talking with scores of Members of Congress in the last few days, both Republicans and Democrats, I found it was their unanimous opinion that if Mr. Willkie had stressed the war issue from the beginning, while urging aid to Great Britain within the limits of the Constitution, he would have swept the Nation.

Mr. Willkie is to be commended for carrying his program to the American people against the third term and in behalf of business enterprise and increased production. No candidate for President ever conducted a more determined or courageous campaign. He deserved a better fate, and no one deplores his failure to be elected more than I.

The next Congress will have a determining voice and vote on the issue of intervention and war. I am convinced that not more than 1 percent of the Republican Members of Congress will vote for war except in defense of America and this continent. The question of peace or war is the single greatest issue. Congress is the real first line of American defense. The stakes are beyond all party

affiliations, affecting the lives of the American people and the destiny of America.

The destiny and mission of America is peace, not war. Preparedness for defense, but not for aggression. The Congress should appropriate whatever sums are necessary to make America invincible from all foreign attacks on sea, land, and air. There must be some stabilizing influence left in the world to promote and insure peace when the proper time comes, but not through appeasement to aggressor nations.

Tomorrow has been set aside by the Catholic Church as a day of prayer for world peace. It takes real vision and faith to wage war on war in the present world crisis. In these days of war hysteria, emotionalism, poisonous propaganda, and hate war seems inevitable.

In spite of the eastern seaboard press, war is not inevitabe. It would be economic, financial, and political suicide for us to be involved in it except in self-defense. The only ultimate victor would be communism. Our free institutions would disappear overnight and be replaced by a dictatorship as harsh as the Nazis. Intolerance and censorship would replace our civil liberties and bankruptcy and autocracy would consume what is left of our American way of life and freedom.

I am willing to go a long way to aid England, short of war, within the limits of the Constitution and international law, but not one step that would constitute a definite cause of war or make war inevitable.

The duty of the Republican opposition in the Congress is to support all proper measures for national defense in this world emergency, and to stand for national unity against threats of aggression from any foreign nations. Carping criticism and petty politics are out of place in such an emergency.

We owe it to 22,000,000 Americans to scrutinize carefully and debate fully all New Deal and administration policies and to oppose them if unsound and detrimental to the interests of our American system of government.

This is no time for defeatism among Republican Members of Congress. They owe it to the Nation to carry on under our two-party system, not for partisan advantage but to fight with all their might in defense of American principles of government and to preserve the American way of life as opposed to one-man government, national socialism, national bankruptcy, and war. If there is any country in the world worth living in and defending it is the United States of America.

In the few remaining minutes of my time I want to take this opportunity to present some facts that endanger our free institutions, undermine representative government, and reflect on the integrity of the press.

Senator GILLETTE, of Iowa, is conducting an investigation into the smear tactics of the recent political campaign for the purpose of framing remedial legislation. I appeared before his committee last Tuesday as one of the intended victims of the most scurrilous, contemptible, and false smear attacks that I have ever heard of in American politics. A hundred thousand or more circulars were distributed and mailed throughout my district and even outside by an unlisted nonpartisan committee, displaying a picture of Fritz Kuhn, the bund leader, now in jail, and myself, with a statement that I was associated with him.

The facts are that 3 years ago I was a delegate to the New York State Constitutional Convention at Albany and was appointed chairman of the committee on military affairs. I introduced a resolution to prohibit the arming, drilling, parading, and uniforming of Nazi, Communist, and other un-American groups. A hearing was held in the assembly chamber, which was packed. Fritz Kuhn, representing the bundists, opposed it, as did Communist spokesmen. The photographers took a picture of Kuhn and myself at the hearing, and this photograph was reproduced to smear me as the associate of Fritz Kuhn, who appeared against my resolution. I never saw Fritz Kuhn before or since, and no one in public life has been more opposed to his un-American activities.

This smear sheet was circulated at the eleventh hour, and I had practically no time to deny or offset such malicious and false propaganda, which in these days of hysteria was bound to be effective in misleading some of the voters of my district.

Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, in their syndicated column, also issued a false statement that implied that my father's house in New York, which had been rented to the German consul general in New York several years before Hitler came to power, had been rerented to the Nazi consul at an increased amount, not once but twice. Such a statement is absolutely false, and the authors ought to be horsewhipped. I am considering instigating a libel action.

The fact is, there never was a single increase, but just the opposite—the original rental was reduced by $800. The present rent scarcely pays for the taxes and maintenance. I have only a fifth interest in the house, and have never met the German consul general who lives there. But I do know that a few years ago he refused to attend a German day meeting in Madison Square Garden, where I was one of the speakers, because I had denounced the persecution of Jews in Germany and Hitler's acts of aggression. The Pearson-Allen statement is damnably false, and Congress should enact legislation to protect both the public and public officials from such political ghouls and character assassins.

This is not a personal issue, but if permitted to continue it may undermine the confidence of the people in the integrity of public officials and destroy our free institutions and democratic government, which is under attack throughout the world.

Fish and Game Plan Urged for Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1940

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am particularly interested in the conservation of our wildlife resources, being a member of the special committee dealing with that subject. As a part of my remarks, I include an article by Clark C. Van Fleet, chairman of Businessmen's Wildlife Committee, which appeared in the Oregon Journal under date of November 25, 1940. The article follows:

FISH, GAME PLAN URGED FOR OREGON

(By Clark C. Van Fleet, chairman of Businessmen's Wildlife Committee)

The committee composed of myself as chairman, Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Smith, Mr. Chown, and Mr. Wells has prepared a report of activities to date, keeping in mind that the committee was given a rather comprehensive task and that it would be impossible to have a complete study prepared in the time allotted.

The first task was a study of the activities of other successful States in game management, to find out what practices prevail which have made those States successful, and to compare our own activities with the activities of these States to determine if present methods pursued here were measuring up fully to the requirements of the job. With that end in view, we obtained reports from the States of Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, and North Carolina, studying as well the activities of our sister States, Washington and California.

FIND SERIOUS GAPS

In making the comparisons we found that a serious gap existed between the prescribed activities of our State game commission and the responsibilities of our State police in law enforcement. We found that by statute the activity of the State police was limited to punitive enforcement of the Oregon laws. We found, on the other hand, that the State game commission limited itself to operation solely within the statutes as defined from time to time by the legislature. We found very satisfactory conditions in the hatchery system, used for the propagation of State game and fish, but we do find that the gap existing between the final release of State-raised game and its arrival in the creel or game bag of the sportsman is a wide one.

Our committee consulted with Superintendent Pray at some length regarding the duties of the State police. This highly satisfactory body is limited by statute to the duty of policing infractions of the State game laws. No provision is made for the educational work, the game study work, field survey work, or predatory-animal control that is performed by like officers in States where successful game management is carried on.

LEGISLATION INADEQUATE

We also interviewed the chairman of the State game commission. He advised that he felt it was the duty of the State game commission to administer under the statutes provided in the laws of Oregon. It was admitted that no effort was made to obtain more satisfactory legislation even though the present legislation was antiquated or inadequate. No legislation was contemplated, or had been proposed, on the part of the commission to correct any faults in the present statutes; in fact, general satisfaction was indicated with both present administration and present condition of our State game laws.

The committee had a long discussion with the faculty of Oregon State College, and it was indicated that they could afford material help in the solution of game problems, should it be requested. With the exception of a few stream and lake surveys, their assistance has not as yet been requested. We believe that more effective use of the State college would materially benefit game-management activities.

SUGGESTED PROGRAM

Our study leads us to believe that a more forward-looking policy should be recommended to the legislature and the State fish and game commissions. The committee feels that the gap between the enforcement of game laws and the activities of the commission should be filled in the following manner; we therefore make these recommendations:

1. That an educational program of some magnitude be planned by the commission in conjunction with a State conservation advisory council to be selected by the Governor. This would involve moving-picture showings, speaker engagements, and field demonstrations.

2. That the advisory council, in conjunction with the fish and game commissions, give a careful study to our present game laws and revise them to provide more modern statutory regulations.

3. That farmer cooperation be enlisted with the end in view that certain lands be set aside as public shooting lands, with

restricted hunting and fishing, to the end that natural brood stocks be kept in a healthy condition, as well as to obtain more comprehensive information regarding stream pollution, screens, and water conditions, and that natural foods, vermin control, and land postings would be properly carried out.

4. We believe that game refuges should be more carefully selected, and that upon their acquisition, food crop and cover maintenance, vermin and disease control, and fire and patrol activities should be fully exercised over those areas.

5. We believe that game research and study should be made in conjunction with the State college, to the end that brood stock and restocking should be carried on so that strong and healthy natural brood stocks can be fully maintained.

6. Reference to budget adjustments for above work.

These are but a few of the more important recommendations we have to make after our study, and to attain these ends we suggest the following course:

We recommend that the Governor be given a complete brief of the studies of the committee; that a committee should be appointed to enlist the support of other State bodies interested in the fish and game conservation activities; that the present committee continue its studies and prepare a full comparative report for the edification of the Governor, of the contrast of our State system with that of successful States in game management; finally, a delegate should be appointed to wait on the Governor, with appointees from other interested State bodies, to present the whole program for his consideration.

Mr. Speaker, in the Portland Journal, in the same issue, there appeared an editorial dealing with this subject matter which is of interest. The article follows:

FISH AND GAME BRING BIG BUSINESS AND DESERVE TO BE TREATED AS SUCH

Game is a business. Wildlife is a salesman.

The Oregon outdoors is a compelling cause in the sale of millions of gallons of gasoline, on every gallon of which the State collects a 4-cent tax. There are many who serve and earn when tourists come.

Last year 700,000 people came into Oregon in private cars and spent $24,750,000 having a good time here.

Add those who came by other conveyance and the total is 900,000, the total spending $45,000,000.

Which is just a beginning.

It is a sound business proposition when businessmen propose to propagate game and sustain wildlife on an ascending scale. The way businessmen deal with wildlife opportunity is set forth in an adjoining column.

The report contains proof that game is bound business for Oregon and that there will be profits for the State in setting up a wildlife program most certain to win results.

In the program outlined there are legislative suggestions. These, initially, are to be taken to Governor Sprague. There may well be wide public discussion, because this is also public business. The subject is interesting to Oregon people for a great reason outside the value of tourists. They love and enjoy their own outdoors much in proportion to the amount of wildlife and unspoiled scenery.

This week at Corvallis, the Oregon Wildlife Federation, composed of anglers' and hunters' organizations, holds an annual session. To these outdoorsmen game is fun and wildlife a recreation.

Here, too, the profits are as definitely statable in the terms of health, sanity, and pleasure.

And, to get back to the gasoline-tax income again, the folks who live in Oregon and those who came as visitors had, up to September 1, consumed this year 172,852,490 gallons of gasoline, and by September 30 they had paid to the State in gas taxes $9,850,375.12. This is but one return to one agency from travel largely stimulated by the outdoors.

The case for game as a business, and for wildlife as a salesman, is complete.

The Cloak Room

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. LAMBERTSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, the Marquis of Lothian, C. H., the eleventh member of our Cabinet, confers with F. D. R. over financial aid to England—shall we call it loans?

The House, meeting in a large committee room, find its only gallery on the floor behind. A colleague, in a feverish short speech, forgetting, glanced up.

The President not only beat Willkie but he passes Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Grant, and Wilson. Why should not January 20 be the most glamorous of all such days?

The able Congressman MILLER of Connecticut, who lost both legs in a combat plane crash in France—was defeated for reelection by HERMAN KOPPLEMANN. This could not happen in any other place in the United States of America.

W. C. Bullitt, who may soon represent us at the Court of St. James, where he-men of the past have trod, played the lovely lady parts in dramatics at Yale. We might just as well send Dorothy.

While MURDOCK, from the Salt Lake, and BREWSTER, of Quoddy, made the crossing to the north wing—the no-less-able mariners, BILL LEMKE, from the Red River of the North, and BRUCE BARTON, of Manhattan Island, were torpedoed on the way. 'Taint worth the chance.

It was on a sleety night in New York. At the Music Box on West Forty-fifth Street the young reporter hero had crashed through. In the middle of his plea for a story he said, "And William Allen White stayed in Emporia." Thousands of Kansans in small towns appreciate this of the great moulder or interpreter of public opinion.

The Forgotten Heroes of the World War, 1917–18

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE J. BATES

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1940

LETTER FROM NICHOLAS CEFALO, OF THE WORLD WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Nicholas Cefalo, of the legislative committee of the World War Veterans of the United States Merchant Marine:

In 1917, when the United States of America declared war, the Congress of the United States appropriated large sums of money to build merchant ships in order to be able to carry across the ocean war cargo, supplies, munitions, and other materials of war, as well as millions of troops. The cry in 1917 was to build a bridge of merchant ships to France. This program was placed into the hands of the United States Shipping Board, a Government agency. It was soon discovered, as this shipbuilding program went along, the need of able seamen to man these ships. The then President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, asked the Congress of the United States for an appropriation for recruiting and training officers, engineers, and crews for American vessels. The Sixty-fifth Congress appropriated $6,250,000 for said purpose.

In December 1917 the Sea Training Bureau of the United States Shipping Board Recruiting Service was ready to receive applications from Americans willing to take a course which would fit them for service as sailors, firemen, coal passers, oilers, water tenders, cooks, and stewards for vessels of the United States merchant marine.

The men enlisted were given a course of training from 6 weeks to 3 months on board training ships. Upon leaving the training ships they were assigned to merchant ships and Army transports, where they were entrusted with the important responsibility of carrying safely across the ocean war cargo and troops.

The applicants for merchant-marine service were picked men. No aliens were allowed in this service for fear of sabotage. All had to be bona fide American citizens between the ages of 21 and 35.

They were the young men of that time who were called upon by proclamations of President Wilson and Secretary of War Baker to volunteer for a work that had to be done. The enlisted men of the merchant marine, in carrying out their precarious duties on the high seas, were at all times subjected to the same hardships, suffering, and dangers as those enlisted men of the United States Navy.

The seamen of the merchant marine faced the piratical submarine and the torpedo not once but again and again as a regular part of their duty, and countless numbers of them were shipwrecked, crippled, killed, drowned, or frozen to death.

The service rendered by the wartime merchant marine sailor was of tremendous value in the proper carrying out of America's part in the World War, for it was this service that was in truth the main connecting link between our source of supply in the United States and our battling troops on foreign soil. Had the merchant marine failed

in its duties it would have been impossible for this country to have brought about the final victory.

Rear Admiral William S. Sims, of the United States Navy, said in his Lowell Institute lecture on December 11, 1930:

"Praise for the officers and crews of American merchant ships who transported supplies across the Atlantic during the war. The skill and seamanship of these sailors was something that amazed naval officers, and they proved themselves to be seamen in a sense that naval officers never have the opportunity to become. Courage, initiative, and a sense of responsibility, skill in handling ships of all types, and noteworthy seamanship characterized the merchantmen. I'd like to see a bunch of 30 naval officers trying to handle 30 heterogeneous ships as the merchantmen did. I don't think they would like it. Without the merchantman's skill, courage, and loyalty the war could not have been won."

While rightfully there was glory, official honor, and recognition for those who served during that period in the Army and Navy, it is regrettable that the valiant service rendered by the men of the merchant marine, who in countless instances were engaged in the same duties as the men of the United States Navy, has been permitted to go without recognition during all these years since the cessation of the hostilities of the World War.

There is before the Congress H. R. 9485, a bill which simply calls for the granting of domiciliary and hospital care to those veterans of the wartime merchant marine who find it impossible as age advances to adequately or properly care for themselves. This bill does not in any way seek pensions, bonuses, or compensation benefits of any kind.

Many of these veterans of the wartime United States merchant marine are without means for hospital care or burial, which is poor recompense for their service so vitally important to our country in 1917–18.

WORLD WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE,
NICHOLAS CEFALO,
Legislative Committee.

Feed Hungry Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1940

ARTICLE BY HERBERT HOOVER

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an article written by Herbert Hoover on Feed Hungry Europe.

Certainly our Nation, with its abundant stores of food and grain, is not going to dismiss this problem as though it were no concern of ours. We pride ourselves on being a great Christian nation. Here is an opportunity for real service, not merely lip service. Thirty-seven million starving people—mostly the aged, women, and children—should have more than compassion and sympathy. Let us as a nation study this problem and make a sincere effort to be of real assistance. It seems to me we can afford to do no less.

The article follows:

FEED HUNGRY EUROPE

(By Herbert Hoover)

Famine and pestilence are on the march in Europe in this second winter of this second World War. They will not come to the belligerents but to the innocent victims of the war. Particularly will famine come to Finland, Belgium, Norway, Holland, and central Poland, who fought and suffered for the allied cause. Of these 37,000,000 people, more than 15,000,000 are children.

Their normal supplies are stopped by the German occupation on one side and the British blockade on the other. Unless some sort of method can be set up with the belligerent governments by which aid may be extended to these victim nations, the world will witness this winter a death roll from famine far greater than during all the 4 years of the last World War. It will witness the death or stunting of millions of children who surely have a right to live. Death will come to the weaker in the men and women.

As famine and disease rise with the winter, the cries of these people will ascend above any press censorship, any war hysteria, or any government official. And in America we have ten or twelve millions of citizens who are of these racial stocks, many of them with actual relatives in these countries. These racial groups have long since organized themselves into a multitude of relief committees seeking aid for their people. They will not be silenced. Throughout the world in the colonial possessions and in other neutral countries are millions of people of these racial groups. They are not content to see their families suffer without effort to save them.

This problem has been under debate in all parts of the world during the past few months. No man or group of men can end this question by saying "Hush, hush." Nor can it be ended by emotional controversy over who has the responsibility for this situation. My views upon that subject are probably as strong as those of anyone. But the starving people will be there just the same.

THE TRUTH ABOUT EUROPE'S FOOD

Therefore we had better calmly explore the cold, hard facts and seek for remedy.

There are many sources from which the facts as to food supply on the Continent of Europe can be checked. All of the European countries, outside of Russia, carry on accurate production statistics. The necessary food imports of each country over long terms of years before the war are well known. Most of the countries on the Continent are today rationed and it is possible to check back their food supply from the amount of the ration. In any rationing of the civil population the government never withholds any food that it can afford to give because no government wants either to deprive its people or lower their morale unnecessarily. Thus the ration can always be taken as the index to the maximum supply available. And in many of the countries of Europe the various American relief organizations have experienced men who are able to formulate independent conclusions. To all these sources I have full access—and some experience. That experience consists of having directed the food supply to some 23 nations during or after the last World War.

First, we may dismiss Russia from our considerations. Russia has been without adequate food supply for years. Scarcely a year has gone by in which the population of the larger cities has not been rationed. Rationing means inadequate supplies.

Russia during the past year has acquired Bessarabia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, eastern Poland, and east Finland. All of these areas normally produce a surplus of food. It must be assumed that the Russian people will absorb this surplus. These sources are thus cut off from the rest of Europe.

The Communist government, of course, could unquestionably deprive its people of food in order to trade it for military advantages. If there is any export of a surplus, it would go mostly to Germany rather than to any other area. But it is difficult to believe that Russia will be a source of any great quantity of supplies to other parts of Europe during the forthcoming winter and spring.

THIRTY PERCENT SHY

Taken as a whole, the 325,000,000 people in Europe now outside of Russia normally bring in approximately 15 percent of their food from outside. This includes direct import of food, import of feed from which food is made, or food from fisheries not now available. All that is now effectively stopped by the British blockade. Moreover, the inevitable effect of war is degeneration in farm production because of the mobilization of manpower, lack of fertilizers, and the destruction of battle.

This year, also, the crop of breadstuffs over parts of Europe is short because of the hard winter. Apparently, taken as a whole, the production is down about 15 percent. Our Department of Agriculture reports that the wheat crop alone is down by 340,000,000 bushels. And wheat is only one of the bread grains that are thus affected. Combining the shortage due to blockade with the shortage of production, Europe, outside of present Russian boundaries, has a supply about 30 percent below normal.

The British Minister of Economic Warfare on October 2 insisted "that there would be no famine on the Continent provided the Nazis distributed fairly the available food."

This means a universal reduction of food supplies to all these 325,000,000 people to 30 percent below normal, even if equally distributed. Whether populations like Europe, where the normal food intake is little above absolute necessity, can get through with 30-percent reduction in essential foods, is very doubtful. It has never been really tested. It is not, however, important to elaborate this point because the food supply cannot be evenly distributed. We can well explore this distribution question in more detail.

The largest area in Europe is greater Germany itself, with 90,000,000 people, where the domestic production this year is about 85 percent of the normal food supply of that country. Does anybody believe the Germans will reduce this to a 70-percent basis in order to distribute it over other countries?

Then there are the Balkan states—Rumania, Hungary, Jugoslavia, and Bulgaria—with 50,000,000 people. This area normally produces a considerable surplus. In 1939 this area produced 14,000,000 tons of bread grains. This year, 1940, the crop is under 10,000,000 tons. That is apparently less than their need for home consumption.

It seems unlikely, therefore, that there will be any consequential export surplus from the Balkan states. In any event, they will naturally retain a 100-percent food supply for their people if they produce it within their own borders. No country will reduce its people to a 70-percent basis or any other basis below normal in order to export supplies. In other words, these nations will use 100 percent if they can produce it.

The 45,000,000 people in Italy produce somewhere in the neighborhood of 90 percent of their normal food supply. Is it likely that Italy will reduce its people to a 70 percent basis in order to divide up with other nations?

The 40,000,000 people in Spain, Portugal, and Greece are short of food. So long as Spain and Portugal remain neutral they can import food from overseas. Sweden, with six and three-tenths

million people, is very nearly self-supporting. Switzerland imports nearly half her food but has accumulated considerable reserves. While there may be privation, it does not appear that they will be plunged into the area of famine.

The situation in Denmark is not yet clear. Her three and seven-tenths million people ordinarily import large quantities of feed and export meat and fats. The blockade has made it necessary to kill a considerable amount of livestock. She should have a fat supply, but may have some shortage of breadstuffs.

Thus about 245,000,000 out of the 325,000,000 total will apparently have enough to get through on restricted rations. But they will not be giving away much to the other nations.

France, with her 42,000,000 people, presents an uncertain situation. She is normally almost self-supporting in her food supply, especially if her North African possessions are included. This year, however, due both to the mobilization of manpower and the destruction of battle, there is some substantial reduction in crops. It is both claimed and denied that the Germans have taken considerable quantities of food from the occupied areas. These occupied areas are the more fertile parts of France, but the crops are both less and greatly destroyed. The so-called Free France is the most sterile part. Certainly, unless some aid is given to the 15,000,000 of French people and refugees in this area, there will be very acute suffering. In any event, at the time this is written the amount of available food is not clear.

THESE WILL BEAR THE BRUNT

There remain Finland with three and seven-tenths million people, Norway with three million, Holland with eight and seven-tenths million, Belgium with eight and three-tenths million, and central Poland with fourteen million. Here about 37,000,000 people have a different story. They have the full impact of the European shortage.

Finland must import a considerable part of her breadstuffs. The destruction of her war has created a shortage in fats. She has an Arctic port open and until recently was allowed to import food in supplement to her sparse domestic production. But with the German placing of troops in Finland, the British are hesitant to allow food imports. There may be a sad time before this brave country.

If we calculate the values of feed imports as they result in human food, as well as direct food imports, Belgium normally imports 50 percent of its food supplies. Holland imports 30 to 40 percent of its food supplies. Norway imports from 50 to 60 percent of its food supplies. Central Poland—the industrial area, which is now separated from its agricultural provinces by the Russian annexation—must import 30 to 40 percent from over its borders. The crops in all these countries are below normal from war causes.

Nor is the position in these little countries as simple as it might appear from these percentages. The agricultural population in any country will retain close to 100 percent of its families' normal food supply. No government yet has been strong enough to get away from the farmers food that deprives their wives and children. Moreover, the agricultural villages get the second call on the farm products, because of their close relation with the farmers. Thus in these countries the agricultural and village population will absorb a very large portion of the domestic production.

The consequence in these small countries is that the main impact this winter will concentrate upon cities and towns. That means a total of about fifteen to eighteen millions of people in these places will sooner or later be practically without food. They are the sort of final resting place of the European shortage. The surplus native production over the farmers' needs will supply the cities and towns for a certain period following the harvest. But if the cities live on these supplies during the fall, then even more complete catastrophe comes with the winter and spring.

The essential foods to prevent famine are breadstuffs and fats and there must be some provision of milk for children. A population can get over a famine period only if it has a supply of both breadstuffs and fats. Holland and Norway have normally imported considerable feed from over their borders, through which they have raised more cattle and hogs and sheep than their own soil would sustain. Holland normally exports fats from these sources. Norway exported some dairy products but imported other fats. With the German and British blockades these countries are without sufficient feed and are compelled to kill a considerable part of their animals in order to preserve a nucleus for the future. It would appear that the Dutch may be able to sustain on their own feed enough animals to provide their people with a fat and meat supply over the winter. They, however, must have imports of breadstuffs. The Norwegians, the Finns, the Belgians, and the Poles, on the other hand, must import fats as well as breadstuffs.

Barely to tide over above the famine level, it would seem that this group of little nations must import monthly a total of 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 bushels of breadstuffs, about 30,000,000 pounds of meats and fats from somewhere outside their borders. And also there must be preserved milk for the children in the cities of Belgium, Norway, Finland, and central Poland.

It is impossible to conceive the source of so much food from anywhere on the Continent. A large part of it must come from overseas and thus through the blockade, either from North or South America.

When the food supply falls to famine levels people don't lie down and die from starvation. Long before they get to that point their physical resistance is so lowered by the malnutrition that they die of disease. The children weaken first, the women and the old men next. The common cold turns to pneumonia. Influenza seems to become very much more virulent and deadly in its passage through nonresistant populations. Typhoid and smallpox are more prevalent because of lowered resistance. Typhus always appears, for when a population is approaching famine levels it will eat all of its fat supplies and thus deprive itself of soap. Soap is the greatest disinfectant that the human race has discovered. With the absence of soap, lice at once spread, and from lice comes typhus.

This problem of great cesspools of contagious disease not alone concerns the victims directly but it also concerns the entire world.

CONSIDER THE NEXT GENERATION

These conditions are already beginning to show up. In Brussels the bread ration is only 7 ounces per day per person, being about one-half of the normal. In Warsaw typhus has already appeared.

But beyond contagious disease and death are the stunted bodies and debilitated minds of the children—that is the generation we next have to live with.

The word "relief" as we use it in America connotes individual service such as that performed by our Red Cross and our multitude of relief organizations. The problem we are discussing is the mass food supply of a people. The operation required in these countries is food administration, not individual relief in the ordinary sense. Food administration means requisition of the native food supply beyond the need of the farmer's family. It means purchases abroad and the management of ships, cars, barges, flour mills, bakeries, dairies, abattoirs, retailers and restaurants. It means setting up soup kitchens to get the maximum use of meat and fats. It means that all the food must be rationed equally so that rich and poor share alike. It means all machinery for issuing ration cards to every person, every month. It is a tedious and heartbreaking job. But in this fight against famine in any nation there rises the highest devotion of a race. For it is a fight to save the race.

The world has had experience with this problem under precisely the same conditions that exist today. In 1914 the Commission for Relief of Belgium was created under my direction. It was a body without nationality. It secured permissions from the British to operate through the blockade and guaranties from the Germans then occupying the country, protecting the food supplies. It set up all of the machinery mentioned above and operated it for 4 years in relief of 10,000,000 people in Belgium and northern France.

In that undertaking we created a central committee of devoted Belgians for Belgium and Frenchmen for northern France. They controlled the central warehouses and the food in transit or in manufacture and distribution. Every province had a similar committee in charge of the provincial warehouses into which imported food was poured from the central warehouses. Into them also was brought all the harvest beyond each farmer's own need. Every city and commune had its committee and its own distribution stations from which food was issued to the ration-card holders, the soup kitchens, and the child-feeding stations.

Every member of these committees was Belgian or French. No one was allowed a ration card but Belgians or French. Every pound of food was receipted and accounted for to its final destination. Over all were the American and other neutral supervisors and protectors. There were over 50,000 Belgians and French. They were mostly women and nearly all volunteers. The first purpose of organization was an ironclad system by which none but Belgians or French could even touch the food. And no food could escape without its being known.

Over 11,000,000,000 pounds of food was imported to Belgium through the blockade during that war and distributed together with the domestic food. Nearly $900,000,000 was spent. None of this food went to the Germans. Where there were occasional infractions it was replaced from German stocks under agreement.

I can say this unhesitatingly, and there is the proof of it in a great series of reports and books written by many who participated, including statements of the American Minister to Belgium and the British Prime Minister. It was attested by the detailed accounts of every pound moved, which accounts are still preserved. And to doubting Thomases I may point out that the last war was also a war where starvation was a major strategy. The British Government contributed over $100,000,000 and the French Government over $200,000,000 to the Belgian relief. Their intelligence services functioned all over the occupied territory. Their representatives outside Belgium inspected every letter, every report, every item of movement. These Governments would never have paid this bill month by month if they were not satisfied that the Germans got none of the food. Nor would they have paid the bill unless they were satisfied that the Germans received no military benefits from it.

When the armistice came, the people in Belgium and northern France were found to be in good condition, the people over the German border were near starvation.

STARVATION AS A WEAPON

It is only the foolish who say that the hates and distrusts of the combatants were any less in the last war than in the present war. One major strategy of the present war is identic with that of the last World War: that is to cut off the enemy's food supply and starve her civil population until public health and morale break. The British therefore are maintaining a vigorous food blockade on all the area occupied by Germany and Italy. The Germans are trying to destroy British food supplies with submarine and air sinking of her food ships.

In the last war the Allied blockade did, after 4 years, reduce German food supplies to a point that greatly damaged morale and contributed to victory.

But in their preparations for this war the Germans and Italians have greatly increased the food production within their own boundaries. Germany within her own territory has lifted her food production by 20 percent in the past 15 years, thus rendering herself nearly self-sufficient. Taking the situation as now developing, there is

much less prospect of starving Germany and Italy out in this war than there was in the last.

The prospects of starving out Great Britain are even much more remote. One million tons of shipping in constant operation between Great Britain and North America can carry the food they need and despite all the sinkings the British still have more than 20 times that amount of tonnage.

Altogether the part that starvation will play in the determination of the outcome of this war is much less than in the last war.

But it may mean the vast destruction of children, women, and men in the little nations who also fought. The position of the small countries of Norway and Holland is worse than in the last war. They were neutrals then and imported their essential needs. Belgium is faced with identically the same disaster from which it was then rescued. Finland drew from Russia in the last war. Poland suffered dreadfully in the last war—millions of lives being lost by famine and disease.

PROBLEMS AND ANSWERS

With this background we may consider the present problem of these countries:

1. Something like 18,000,000 people in their cities, mostly women and children, will be without food before the winter is over unless it is brought in from somewhere outside their borders.

2. With the situation in Russia and the Balkans there is little if any surplus to be had from there. The Germans and Italians are unlikely to reduce further the already reduced food supply of their own people.

3. If there are any supplies from the Balkan states, they ought, for transportation reasons, to be used for Poland. Finland is unlikely to secure much from Russia. Her hopes are also from overseas.

4. Belgium, Holland, and Norway have always obtained their major imports from overseas. There appears to be no hope for them unless that door can be opened.

5. The people in these countries have appealed that these doors be opened.

6. These people fought and suffered for the cause of democracy in the world.

7. They have a right to live. The world to come needs their lives.

In response to their appeals that I raise a voice on their behalf, on August 11 last I proposed the following plan:

"If these little nations are allowed to keep their accumulated stocks of food and their present harvest the situation will not begin to be acute until some time in the fall and will become fatal in the winter and spring next year—as domestic supplies are exhausted.

"Something must intervene if these people are to be saved. There is no reason it should not be done again by a neutral nongovernmental organization as was done in the first World War. That case as applied now would require:

1. The Germans to agree:

(a) To take none of the domestic produce of these people.

(b) To furnish an equivalent of any food already taken.

(c) To permit imports from Russia and the Balkan states.

(d) To allow free passage of ships without attack.

(e) To permit adequate control of distribution by the organization so as to enable it to assure that these guaranties are carried out.

2. The British to agree that ships carrying cargoes solely of food for these people should be allowed to pass their blockade so long as the guaranties are fulfilled.

3. The de facto or fugitive governments of Finland, Holland, Belgium, Norway, and Poland should finance such an organization with their resources in the United States and elsewhere—which are considerable. It would probably cost $20,000,000 a month at the start and $40,000,000 a month before the winter is over.

"This sort of method applied to the then circumstances worked for 4 years from 1914 to 1919 and can be applied again if there is the good will to do it."

There are people who refuse to believe that agreements and organization can be formulated that will not result in feeding the Germans. They refuse to accept any previous experience as evidence that it can be done. To them may I suggest that whatever is done in war rests not upon altruism or humanity. It rests upon self-interest of the belligerent nations. One can expect nothing more than that when their own women and children are being daily slaughtered. But it happens to be in Germany's self-interest to the extent that such relief prevents a cesspool of contagious disease with dangers of their own infection. To the British there is a measure of self-interest in the fact that it preserves the good will of millions of the nationals of these little nations.

And there is a more direct interest. If these people are not fed, their skilled workmen, to protect themselves and their families, will accept jobs in Germany to make munitions, for there they will be both paid and fed.

Those who are timid about the Germans seizing the food under these circumstances could bear in mind one protecting circumstance. The total stock of imported food under such an operation would not exceed 140,000 tons in all these countries at any one time. About this amount is necessary in order to maintain regularity in distribution. But as Germany consumes 1,400,000 tons a month, if the Germans seized it all, it would be only a 3-day supply. And if they seized it, then the operation necessarily and automatically ends. Therefore, the danger amounts at most to prolonging the food life of Germany by 3 days. And Germany seems to have enough food to live for years anyway.

It is assumed by many that the Germans have already taken large amounts of food from Norway, Holland, Belgium, and central Poland. My own advices are that it has not been substantial, simply because no large stocks of food are carried in these countries. The domestic food largely rests on the farms until it is needed. Nations that feed themselves by imports do not carry large stocks for the reason that food is perishable and the services of daily supply are open in peacetime. Be that as it may, the proposal above is conditioned upon a return of the equivalent of any food taken.

WHY AMERICA HAS AN INTEREST

It is true America is not in this war. We have no right to dictate its policies. But we are daily asked to aid in "every way short of war." Many Americans will have little enthusiasm for this support if this war is to be fought on the basis that not even an attempt is to be made for the saving of these people.

These little nations fought and sacrificed for the preservation of democratic institutions. That they are to be deserted without even a trial at their relief is not a pleasant argument. And the more do these arguments become potent when experience shows that they can be saved without prolonging the war a day or giving important military advantage to either side.

And there is even a more positive American interest. As I have said, there are some ten or twelve million Americans who are descendants or relatives of the Finns, the Norwegians, the Dutch, the Belgians, and the Poles. They have a concern for the welfare of these people that will be satisfied with no arbitrary decisions.

And in the final analysis, those whose fates we are discussing are millions of children. Yet some would think military gains or losses are to be calculated in terms of their life or death. Nor am I oblivious to the suffering children of other nations. But does that justify the abandonment of these? Should Americans decide that these millions of children and women are to be a sacrifice that must be made to protect America in this war?

We hear much of the purposes for which this war is being fought. They include the upholding of the standards of Christianity. One of the major distinctions of the Christian faith is mercy and compassion. The parable of the Samaritan has played a large part in the moral foundations of all these nations and has a live hold upon the hearts of their people and our people. And compassion is part of the woof and warp of democracy. From this ethic has sprung our vast fabric of benevolent institutions, the relief of our unemployed, our hospitals, our solicitude for the weak and the unfortunate. Today the Christian world is confronted with preserving the lives of ten or fifteen million people.

We cannot as a Christian nation dismiss our concern that some solution be found by which they may be saved. And the parable of the Samaritan has pungent implications other than the compassion of the Samaritan alone. Perhaps some will remember the condemnation, which has echoed over centuries, of the priest and the Levite who passed by on the other side. And perhaps some will remember that the Greatest Teacher of all time did not allow His immortal vision to be clouded by a debate on the previous sins or the ideology of those who "stripped him of his raiment and wounded him * * * leaving him half dead. * * * He had compassion on him."

Work of Campaign Expenditures Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SHERMAN MINTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 5 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. GUY M. GILLETTE, OF IOWA

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE] on December 2, 1940, relative to the work and policies of the Special Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditures.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On the evening of May 6 last, I had the privilege, by invitation, of speaking over this network and through a courtesy of the Washington Star similar to the one extended to me tonight. That request was for me to speak of the work and policies planned by the Special Committee on Campaign Expenditures of the United States Senate, which was created by a Senate resolution early in the year, and also to discuss those proposed plans and policies as the designated chairman of the committee. The work, under the terms of the resolution which created the committee, is now rapidly approaching a close, and once again I am asked, as the committee chairman, to discuss briefly and in a general way some of the work

accomplished by the committee during the past few months, and especially in view of the heightened interest in this work which is so strongly accentuated at this time because of the general election held such a short time ago.

I have hesitated to accept this invitation principally because our committee is a direct agent of the United States Senate, our authority comes from them, and our responsibility is to them, and our reports will, and must, be made to them for such use and action as the Senate itself shall determine. It is very improper, then, for any member of the committee to anticipate an agent's report to his principal, and it is even more unbecoming and presumptuous for me as one member of the committee, and one only, to even indicate in a public address what committee action may be. This is true in a greater degree when such indication or statement is based solely on my own personal opinions and my own personal deductions. But while I have thoroughly in mind the improprieties of what I am tonight doing, I have carefully weighed these against what I conceive to be an immediate public desire and need for some statement from the committee relative to the unusual features of the recent Presidential campaign, and it is this need that the Evening Star is attempting in a small degree to meet in their invitation extended to me tonight.

First, I believe I will be pardoned if I state that I have never seen a group of men bring to their labors and duties a higher sense of public service and its responsibilities than has been brought to the work of the committee by my associates in its membership. The committee was bipartisan in individual opinion, but it was nonpartisan in its efforts and in its labors, and I am confident it will be nonpartisan in its conclusions and its report. I have seen, from time to time, sporadic charges or insinuations appearing in some editorial columns suggesting that the committee had been remiss or at least lethargic in its labors. Some of these charges have emanated from those who honestly failed to know or understand the scope, the powers, and the limitations of the committee. In some few instances the attacks can be traced to partisans who had attempted to use the committee and its agents for attack on their personal or party opponents. To thwart all these attempts has been the constant, and I believe successful, effort of the committee.

In my statement on May 6, last, I said that the committee in outlining its policy had determined that it would be in no sense of the word a "snooping committee," and that it would be just as insistent that it could not be used as a "smear committee," neither could it be used as a "whitewashing committee." Limitations of power, time, funds, and facilities made it wholly impossible for the committee itself to conduct investigations throughout the thousands of counties and precincts in the 48 States of the Union, but every complaint which came to the committee or its members from any source whatever was given careful and thoughtful consideration. The committee membership handled literally hundreds of such complaints covering not only every phase of the work we were authorized to do but going far afield and directing attention to matters of State or local concern concerning which there was no power whatever vested in the committee. As I have suggested a few moments ago, scores of efforts were made to induce the committee to send its agents into States and sections with little or no basis or justification in the hope that the attendant publicity would militate against the interest of some rival candidate or party. The committee ordered and undertook investigations in 33 specific complaints which seemed to be based on apparent factual foundation sufficient to warrant committee action. Some of these investigations were in connection with preprimary and preconvention activities and some of them were instituted and carried on in connection with the fall campaign preceding the November 5th election. Several of these investigations took weeks of time. Committee agents and investigators went into 18 different States and in several of these carried on their work in relation to several different complaints and on various occasions.

The committee also, through subcommittees of its own membership, conducted extended public hearings in nine instances. One of these hearings was conducted by a subcommittee consisting of Senators HILL and REED in the State of Delaware and embodied the taking of testimony in both the cities of Wilmington and Washington. This same subcommittee conducted a public hearing in the State of Illinois and in the city of Chicago. A subcommittee consisting of Senators ADAMS and TOBEY conducted, over a period of weeks, an extended public hearing in the State of New Jersey, investigating charges of irregularities in the county of Hudson and in several coastal counties of that State. The chairman of the committee, with such members of the committee as were available, from time to time, and acting as a subcommittee, conducted six public hearings in the city of Washington, and which hearings covered a wide and varied field of investigation, study, and testimony. Preparations were made for a subcommittee public hearing in the city of Philadelphia, and the groundwork for the hearing was laid by the labors of the committee investigators, but a Federal grand jury was empaneled to investigate charges of election frauds prior to the availability of the subcommittee members for the hearings in that city, and our investigators were instructed to report to and work with the Department of Justice in connection with the grand-jury work in that city. It would perhaps be not amiss to refer at this point to the fact that Federal grand juries were empaneled in Wilmington, in Chicago, and in Newark for the purpose of considering the same situation as to alleged election irregularities as was being investigated by our subcommittees in those respective cities, and the subcommittees and their investigator agents cooperated in every way with the Department of Justice in its work in that connection and made available to them our reports and facts.

Committees of the type of ours are in no sense of the word prosecuting organizations. Nor do they have any duty or power to institute criminal prosecutions for alleged violations. We are fact-finding bodies only, appointed for that purpose by the United States Senate. When the committee agents uncover facts indicating violations of existing election laws, either State or Federal, we make these facts available to the respective Federal or State prosecuting authorities for such action as they deem wise and proper under the circumstances. And I wish further to emphasize that contrary to the opinion of many our committee has no power, authority or concern whatever with State, local, or House congressional elections.

A multitude of requests have been received by us to intervene in gubernatorial, local, and legislative election matters. We had certain specific and definite duties, and these were to investigate the collection and expenditure of money, as well as the use of official influence or of public funds in connection with the nomination or election of candidates for President, Vice President, and United States Senate. We were charged with investigation in this field to secure information in the public interest, either for use as a basis for the suggestion of remedial legislation, or as a basis for the institution of a contest for a seat in the United States Senate.

I hope I may be pardoned if I use a little of my time at this point to make a few general remarks on the all-important subject of the freedom of the ballot. It may be urged that such remarks are unnecessary, and are but a repetition of the things that every American citizen knows, believes, and appreciates. And yet I am convinced that it would be impossible to overemphasize these matters, and that no amount of reiteration would be useless.

A large portion of the world today has definitely repudiated democratic processes of government and the agencies freely selected by the people themselves as their governmental representatives. Scarcely a day passes in which thoughtful Americans are not strongly reminded of the potential threat to our philosophy of government in America, and to the sections of the world who still adhere with us to democratic methods and processes. We are spending the earnings of unborn generations of Americans every day in a stupendous though feverish effort to prepare ourselves to defend our Nation, its territory, and its institutions against the philosophies of fascism, nazi-ism, communism, and all similar totalitarian viewpoints. All and each of these schools of political thought scoff at and deride as obsolete the institutions of democracy, which we have erected on the foundation of right to live, labor, and have our happiness and security under laws and rules enacted by those whom we have freely chosen to represent us. We will be the last to claim that our methods and institutions are faultless in conception or application, but we will insistently assert and acclaim that we alone are responsible for our shortcomings and our failures, and we alone have the power and control the means of time, place, and manner of correction. But everything that we have been, everything that we are today, and everything that we believe in, rests wholly on the basic right to choose our legislative, executive, and administrative agents of our government freely and without improper influence. And all the pompous dictators who have ever inflicted themselves on a suffering world, and all the Hitlers, Stalins, and Mussolinis who now arouse our resentment, cannot carry as deep and terrible a threat to this America of ours and her future security as the methods which are consistently and persistently used to subvert, debauch, or destroy the right of free expression at the polls, or the supineness and indifference with which many of us continue to ignore or even to laugh at these methods and their sponsors, or the selfish unconcern with which some of us attempt to excuse these methods when they have aided or will aid our own party or personal friends.

While there have probably been irregularities, frauds, violations, and abuses in all elections of the past, I believe that I do not exaggerate when I say that never before in American history have we seen a more patent, potent, and potential attempt to influence the American electorate ballot box through the expenditure of huge sums of money than in the campaign which has just closed. It is inevitable that large sums of money will be properly expended in a Nation-wide Presidential election. There can be no just criticism of such proper expenditures, but when attempts are made to collect and spend tremendous sums of money in violation of the spirit if not the letter of existing laws, it is a situation which no American citizen can afford to allow to pass unnoticed.

While the statement is purely a guess, I think I am speaking conservatively when I say that the recent Presidential election cost the American people over $20,000,000 over and above the routine election costs of election boards, ballots, and similar expenses.

A committee similar to ours, known as the Sheppard committee, performed a great public service in the 1938 campaign by its investigation and subsequent reporting of facts to the United States Senate, indicating the improper use of political power and public funds, particularly those provided for the relief of the needy, in coercing or influencing voters in their election decisions. An able United States Senator, Senator CARL HATCH, of New Mexico, made use of this report, together with the results of his own studies and of his fine mental equipment, as basis for the introduction of a bill embodying certain corrective provisions designed to prevent these election abuses. His proposals, with some amendments, were on two different occasions enacted into law by the Congress and are referred to as the Hatch Acts. Our committee was the first one appointed to observe an election which was held after the placing of the Hatch Acts on the Federal statute books, and the public interest, as well as ours, was keenly and specifically directed

toward the effect and the value of the new statutes as applied to the 1940 election, and particularly toward noting what amendments or changes might be indicated by the attempts to administer these election provisions.

Again reminding myself that my position in this talk is a delicate one and reminding my hearers that what I now say is an expression of my own individual opinions and ideas and must not be chargeable in any degree whatever to the other committee members, and possibly may not even be an indication of the committee's future action, I wish to state that while these Hatch Acts represent a long step forward in the attempt to secure clean election supervision and control by the Federal Government, yet the recent experience in the administration of these acts, and also the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act, clearly indicate insistent need for amendment. On my own responsibility, I am going to list some few specific things, abuses or evasions, which, in my opinion, need legislative attention and correction. In many of these there will be extreme difficulty in keeping thoroughly well defined the line between Federal and State authority over the voter and his ballot. Some legislation must clearly come from the States; some can be properly enacted by the Federal Congress; some may be secured by supplemental action of both agencies; and some may be better secured by court decision, under present statutes, through cases presented to the court for judicial interpretation. Here are a few of the phases of the problem that have given me personal occasion for thought:

1. The Hatch Act limits the amount which a "political committee" may expend in any calendar year to $3,000,000, and a "political committee" is defined by the Corrupt Practices Act as one operating in two or more States, or with subsidiaries in different States. All of these must report to the Clerk of the House at stated times. Up to the present moment, the reports are not all in, but at this date they show expenditures by the Democratic National Committee and Roosevelt political committees as a bit over two and one-half million, and the expenditures by the Republican National Committee and the Willkie political committees as aggregating just under five million. As I have stated, these reports are not complete, and even when completed they will not show the huge sums spent by the host of political committees organized to operate in one State alone. Neither do they, nor will they, show the reports of the various State central committees throughout the Union nor the myriad of local committees who do not have to make a report under the State laws or the Federal laws, nor the expenditures by the multitude of individuals and small groups who have made large expenditures during the campaign with no way whatever of checking or auditing them. But even the meager facts I have just given must clearly indicate that legislation is essential to prevent further wholesale debauchery of the ballot box and its purposes. And may I say here that many of these committees claimed to us that they had been advised by their legal counselors that each of them could collect and spend $3,000,000, if they so desired. I believe our committee will have some concrete suggestions to meet this need embodied in its report to the Senate.

2. The Hatch Act specifically limits individual contributions to $5,000, but expressly exempts such contributions made to State and local committees. It is at once apparent that no surprise will be occasioned when I state that our committee investigators found that this limitation as to individual contribution was evaded by making contributions within the named limitation to the Federal fund and making any number of contributions under the $5,000 limitation to the different State or local committees. This method of clear evasion must certainly be stopped by statutory provisions.

3. In every campaign scurrilous, obscene, or subversive literature is used and clandestinely circulated. In this last campaign, the use of this type of filthy material was carried to the *n*th degree of abuse, and every prejudicial and unfair appeal was made through its use to racial or religious antagonisms and to individual and personal prejudices. The committee has assembled an astounding amount of this material. Most of it is unsponsored, unsigned, and unlabeled. I am confident the committee will make an exhaustive study into the possibility of imposing restraints on the circulation of this type of material by devising means whereby the sponsorship and responsibility for the printing and circulating can be determined.

4. In many instances the attention of the committee and its agents was directed toward the use of official position and power to coerce voting action or to secure contributions for campaign purposes within the official circles of the States themselves. While this is wholly without the province of the committee, I am hopeful that attention will be directed to it in the report, with the hope that the people of the respective States will initiate legislation along the lines of the last Hatch Act pertaining to coercion by State officials.

5. While the present Hatch Acts have been measurably effective in preventing abuses in the W. P. A. and similar agencies in connection with coercion of employees and recipients of relief, repeated instances were brought to the attention of the committee of the use of coercive methods by private employers of labor with the implied or direct threats of loss of employment unless the employee voted in accordance with the suggestions of the employer. This factor is being studied.

6. The committee spent much time and money in assisting the Department of Justice and local agencies in purging registration lists of voters. The frauds and corruption in connection with these lists in several jurisdictions should bring the blush of shame to every American citizen within the boundaries of those States where these conditions are extant.

7. There was much evidence produced by the committee agents of studied evasion or direct disregard of the requirements of the Corrupt Practices Act as to listing of large contributions with the Clerk of the House and as to prohibited contributions by corporations and as to improper activities of banks under national charter.

8. The committee made careful study of the many charges that were made that the A. A. A. was improperly using its official power to influence voting action and to solicit funds for campaign purposes. These charges pertain, in most instances, to actions by the members of the local A. A. A. committees. The claim was made that these local committee members, though paid by Federal funds, are in fact employees of the farmers themselves and are not such officials as come within the provisions of the Hatch Act relative to the use of official influence by Federal officials or those paid with Federal funds. In my opinion, it will be exceedingly helpful in the future if this matter is fully clarified and these abuses corrected.

I have not the time to go further into the long list of balloting abuses which the committee has been studying and on which it hopes to report, but I believe I have referred to enough of these to command the interest of the public in these problems and the crying need for correction of election abuses. Every free American should have a right to cast his vote uninfluenced, uncoerced, and uncontrolled, but he must have more than this. He must have that ballot counted after it is cast at its full value, which will mean, necessarily, that there must not be offset against his voted expression of opinion, the counting of ballots improperly cast, which have been cast in the name of someone nonexistent, or cast as the result of a purchase of the individual's sovereign right. It is my hope and belief that our committee will have something tangible and helpful to suggest to the Senate of the United States when our report is filed next month.

I desire at this point to direct attention to another serious threat to our opportunity for free expression of national opinion at the polls. I would be the last to suggest any legislation seeking to limit the public press or other publicity media in the full use of their constitutional rights to expression of opinion. No one can properly be heard to express resentment at any such proper expression through either editorial or commentary opinion. But there has grown up in the practice of some few members of the public press an evident plan to influence public opinion through appeal to the so-called headline readers. During the past campaign our studies show that around 64 percent of the daily newspapers were supporting the candidacy of Mr. Willkie, about 23 percent were supporting President Roosevelt's candidacy, and a little better than 13 percent were independent, or claimed to be so. Out of about 10,000 newspapers of weekly, semiweekly, or biweekly publication north of the Mason and Dixon line, about 45 percent were Republican, 25 percent Democratic, and 30 percent independent. I have just referred to these percentages not by way of criticism but to direct attention to the tremendous influence which could be exerted by this preponderance of campaign support if the editorial pages and columns are supplemented in any large degree by improperly colored and front-page headlines to give a distorted or false impression of the news reports themselves. Unfortunately, this has been done in several instances throughout the recent campaign, and I am convinced it was deliberately done. However, this situation, as well as many others, cannot be met by legislation. Neither will the sanctity, safety, and security of the ballot box of the American people be secured alone by legislative enactment, either Federal or State, or by the administration of these laws after their enactment, or by punishment of violations of these legislative provisions by the imposition of penalties. All of these things will be helpful, but the real security must come from the enlightened public opinion of the mass of our people, who must resent with all the force of their will and influence these encroachments on the sovereign rights of the American voter and his full and free opportunity to cast a ballot on the same basis as every other citizen similarly situated and then to have that ballot counted at its full value in comparison with every other ballot cast at the election. Every American interested in the preservation of our country and her institutions is asked to enlist in the effort to keep inviolate and secure the right of national suffrage.

A Realistic National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 5 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON, OF COLORADO

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me in Denver on November 25, over

station KLZ, under the sponsorship of Dr. Ben Cherrington, of Denver University, in his weekly program of Journeys Behind the News.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR COUNTRY MUST BE DEFENDED

Every reasonable person and most certainly every patriotic American will support a defense program sufficiently strong to protect our country against the evil designs of all potential enemies and combination of potential enemies. Our country above all must be defended. The cost of that defense necessarily becomes a secondary consideration.

When a man's house is on fire he does not consider the expense of extinguishing it and neither can a nation threatened by war count costs. Before his house starts to burn, however, the prudent man provides the best fire-fighting equipment money can buy and takes every precaution against all known fire hazards.

That should be this Nation's attitude in this hour of world confusion and chaos. Nevertheless Congress and the administration owe it to the taxpayers of the United States to provide the most effective and realistic defense procurable at the least possible cost. The last session of Congress voted many billions for the defense program and while they passed two additional revenue measures, and while we thereupon reached a new high in Federal taxes levied, not one cent of current revenues collected therefrom has been or will be used for defense purposes. All of the defense program is being financed on borrowed money which our children and their children must repay, and the sad part of it is that billions of these borrowed dollars are being squandered in the holy name of national defense. That is partially due to the hysterical and frenzied haste in which we have proceeded to rearm, and it is partly due to the fact that we have no well-conceived and carefully considered defense objective. National defense has not been planned, it has gone forward in confusion and chaos and has grown up like Topsy. Industrial, economic, and political teamwork is the crying need of the hour.

CONSCRIPTION WASTEFUL

The Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill is one of the most wasteful and extravagant measures ever enacted by Congress. It proposes to build up a citizens' army of 4,000,000 men over a 5-year period at a total cost of $5,000,000,000, or $1,000,000,000 annually.

In the days of Paul Revere a citizens' army was a good defense. In those days every frontiersman knew how to handle a rifle and the rifle was the accepted weapon of war, but it requires 3 years of intense application today to learn to pilot a bomber or a pursuit ship, 2 years to operate a tank, 5 years to become an expert gunner, and many, many years to become a valuable seaman. An effective army today is an army of skilled career men who are willing to make soldiering their life's work. There is no place in the modern army for the citizen soldier.

General Marshall, Chief of Staff, readily admits that he cannot properly train even a foot soldier in less than 18 months. The conscript under present plans will receive but 12 months' training of the most rudimentary character. He will be taught military drills and little else.

CONSCRIPTION A POOR DEFENSE MEASURE

Conscription will not give us one airplane pilot, one expert gunner, one mechanic, one tank operator, one seaman, or any other military technician. It will give us nothing more than partially trained foot soldiers. It will provide little or no defense.

I hold that if every male citizen of the United States were armed with a Springfield rifle, equipped with a bayonet, trained to make fatigue marches, versed in military drills, and educated to the rough and tumble of army life, that we would not have a defense worthy of the name. You cannot stop a 20-ton tank moving 60 miles an hour with a bayonet, nor bring down a bomber 5 miles in the air with a Springfield rifle. Our present peacetime conscription bill is based upon such a fallacious assumption.

It must be apparent that first things come first in a good, sound, sensible defense, just as they do in every other venture. But our statesmen have not kept our lines of defense in their natural order. They have made the last line of defense the first. They have proceeded to build the fourth line of defense before building the first line of defense.

FIRST THINGS SHOULD BE PROVIDED FIRST

The Navy is generally considered the first line of defense and if the Navy be adequate, no enemy can approach our shores. The second line of defense is our air force and if the enemy gets through our Navy, he cannot land until he has gained the supremacy of the air on the coast line over the projected point of landing. The third line of defense is our mechanized Army with its artillery and tanks. This third line will never be needed until we have been whipped out of the sea and driven out of the air and an enemy landing has been accomplished. The fourth line of defense is our citizens' army and it will not be called upon until the other three defenses have been routed. The chances are 100 to 1 that we shall never need that fourth line. Most certainly we shall never need the fourth line if the first three lines hold. Why then should we not devote our energies toward strengthening those first three lines instead of wasting our borrowed dollars on something which we do not need.

CONSCRIPTION TO COST BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR

Machines are not automatic. Men must be thoroughly trained to operate them. That training requires much time and effort and we ought to be at it. Our conscript army will cost $1,000,000,000 a year—the exact total of all of the assessed valuation of the whole State of Colorado, including all of its private property. The annual cost of conscription would train 100,000 pilots plus 200,000 first-class mechanics. If we ever provide an adequate national defense in the air for the United States, we must have not less than 100,000 pilots and 5 times that many airplane mechanics, regardless of the number of conscripts we have in training and in reserve.

One billion dollars would provide 10 first-class battleships or a fleet of 200 destroyers or 150 submarines a year. In 10 years' time such an annual expenditure would give us a navy stronger than all of the combined navies of the world now floating on the briny deep. Or it would build each year 4,000 flying fortresses, the popular name for our 20-ton, 4-engined bombers, the most destructive weapon ever devised by man. Think of it! The money we are wasting on our conscript army would build 4,000 of these "holy terrors" of the skies a year. Or it would build 20,000 of the finest pursuit planes yet conceived by our research laboratories. The cost of our conscript army for 1 year would build all of the tanks, artillery, and weapons needed by a mechanized army of 500,000 men.

PRODUCTION WILL MAKE US STRONG

Instead of putting every idle man to work producing armaments, we waste our manpower by training the finest potential industrial army ever to trod this earth, not in the production of armaments but in the use of obsolete military weapons.

Instead of putting a million men to work manufacturing munitions and the modern weapons of war when democracy is threatened for a lack of these things, we waste their time and our treasure with fatigue marches, bayonet practice, and military drills. Democracy, liberty, and freedom have been driven to the edge of the precipice, and are begging for the modern weapons of war to spare them from the imposition of slavery and the philosophy of paganism—and we respond with lip service, confused thinking, and sham battles in the swamps of Louisiana.

OBSERVE THE LAW

Nevertheless, peacetime conscription is the law of the land and is entitled to the respect of every American citizen so long as it shall remain the law of the land. Whether it is a wise act does not enter into it at all. So long as it remains on our statute books, it must be fully and completely observed by every citizen. I have no patience with misguided and high-handed youths who try to evade it.

THE ANSWER TO HITLER MUST BE FOUND

Eight years ago Mr. Hitler took over a discouraged, idle, and broken nation, hanging precariously on the very brink of disaster, woefully deficient in every natural resource and raw material, and in an inconceivably short period, through unprecedented production of modern armaments, whipped it into the most powerful nation of all time. If Hitler can stop the world in its tracks with little more than an indomitable passion to conquer, we with all of our matchless wealth of raw material and capable manpower can surely make this one land which he dare not molest. If American students and observers are correct in their estimation of Hitler and his objectives, we have no other choice if we would live. It does little good to grieve because Hitler has not used his genius constructively instead of destructively, or that he is the product of grievous conditions; it is for us to find the answer to his threat.

He rose to power through mass production—production of immense quantities of modern armaments, implements of war, and munitions. Not only did he create the latest, the most deadly, and the most modern machines, but he trained the manpower of Germany to operate them with great skill, coordination, and effectiveness. The peoples upon whom he had designs had advance knowledge of what he was accomplishing, and while they really tried to get their own industrial development under way to offset his phenomenal military growth, yet, because of political confusion and the absence of strong virile political leadership, they were unable to do so.

Shortly after the present war got well under way nearly all of his opponents collapsed. Great Britain alone fought on. Great Britain alone began the production and acquisition of the weapons which made him superior. At the eleventh hour Great Britain has resolved that the answer to Hitler is production. If production made Hitler strong, if it is saving Great Britain, it will do these things for the United States also.

SOLUTION IS SIMPLE

When stated in realistic terms, the solution of the threat of Hitler seems very simple, and it is very simple. Our banks are overflowing with idle capital, our streets are being pounded by 10,000,000 unemployed, vast quantities of raw materials are awaiting the factory and the forge and all necessary resources, including huge supplies of food, are piling up in burdensome surpluses. We have inventive and creative genius to spare, and there is almost no limit to our technological skill, mechanical knowledge, and industrial leadership. We lag only in political leadership. Eventually we will get our bearings and Mr. Hitler will know his master.

Is there a statesman in the United States so stupid that he cannot see that the answer to Hitler is production? Is there anyone in this country who does not realize that the United States, the richest and the greatest potential industrial nation of all time, alone and unassisted by any other people can match the Axis, weapon for weapon and bomb for bomb, if she will but set herself to that task? This is the machine age, and Mr. Hitler has had the vision and imagination and the daring to base his scheme of conquest and the science of war upon that premise. If the world does not want to be conquered, it must awaken quickly and adopt the

weapon to resist him which he has employed so successfully to enslave it.

VOLUNTARY COOPERATION WILL SAVE THE DAY

We should also constantly bear in mind, however, that the most effective national defense, as well as the most realistic, is an international relationship based upon the good-neighbor policy.

In this world of hate, suspicion, and selfishness we, of all peoples, must not forget that brotherly love is a powerful factor among men and that cooperation and not force must finally be adopted by mankind if civilization is to be preserved. Jesus asked, "Can Satan cast out Satan?" The answer is obvious. It is important in this dark hour of international trouble that we hold fast to our faith in God, keep our powder dry, and by precept and deed constantly crusade to advance voluntary cooperation and good neighborliness among the family of nations.

Activities of Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 5 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM UNCENSORED (NEW YORK)

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, one of the most valuable and veracious periodicals that come to my desk is the mimeographed weekly called Uncensored, which, in my opinion, is edited by one of the ablest and most patriotic boards of editorial sponsors of any publication in the history of the United States. It is entirely a nonprofit and patriotic organization, devoted to an effort to filter a modicum of truth through the mists of propaganda which now enshroud the Nation. The editorial sponsors are Harry Elmer Barnes, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, John Chamberlain, Stuart Chase, John T. Flynn, C. Hartley Grattan, Hubert Herring, Quincy Howe, George R. Leighton, Ernest L. Meyer, Burton Rascoe, Selden Rodman, and Oswald Garrison Villard.

This week's edition of Uncensored is an extremely interesting one particularly, because it contains a statement by Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, president of Vassar College and a member of the William Agard White Committee to Get Us Into War, repudiating the latest statement of Mr. White. I ask unanimous consent that the November 30 issue, which is short, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, Uncensored for November 30 was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Uncensored (New York) of November 30, 1940]

FUTURES

For more than a month the administration has been working on a plan for the settlement of labor disputes in defense industries. It will be compulsory, not advisory, but will be carefully labeled "temporary." The plan will be baited for employers by forbidding strikes and providing for compulsory arbitration. It will be baited for labor by compelling union membership in all plants working on defense orders, with the Government enforcing the check-off. To administer the plan a special labor board will be formed with the following groups represented: (1) Labor, (2) industrial management (as distinguished from ownership), (3) industry (the owners). Both Sidney Hillman, of the C. I. O., and Dan Tobin, of the A. F. L. teamsters, were in on the formulation of the plan and are reported to have taken it to the Atlantic City and New Orleans conventions for discussion behind closed doors.

Senator WALTER F. GEORGE, newly elected chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, is seriously considering a quick trip to all the principal capitals of Europe. If it materializes, as many as 10 Senators, including GERALD NYE and HIRAM JOHNSON may go along. The Senate noninterventionist bloc considers GEORGE a definite improvement over Pittman. GEORGE was a member of the Nye committee investigating the munitions industry and has never forgotten what he heard. Having survived the Roosevelt purge 2 years ago, he will regard the President's recommendations as recommendations, not orders.

This time the identification discs that soldiers wear are going to yield a lot more information than they did in 1918. In addition to identifying the soldier himself, each disc will identify the relative or friend to be notified of his possible demise. It will also identify the soldier's blood type in case transfusion should ever be necessary, and it will list the injections he has had so that medical officers will not give him anything to conflict with his previous medical attention. So far is mechanization of the Army advancing, that it may be possible to conduct roll call by having the men place their discs under a moving tape that will record identification numbers. No plan has been devised to prevent a man from being blown loose from his disc and ending up as the Unknown Soldier.

TOO LONG FOR SHORT

Only one short step remains to complete the appointed round of William Allen White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies: Open advocacy of an immediate declaration of war by the United States. The current policy of the committee—preparation of the public mind for a declaration of war—was first put forward in a committee pamphlet, Battle of America (Uncensored, November 16). Last week White gave this policy his personal blessing (Uncensored, November 23). This week, on November 26, the committee officially accepted it in a new statement of aims signed by its policy advisory committee.

The committee threw out for "frank and fearless discussion" the question of whether Americans can permit Britain to be defeated. It had "no doubt what the answer will be." It warned "regretfully that no one can guarantee that the United States can avoid active military involvement."

The statement then outlines an immediate program which it persists in describing as "the only chance of avoiding war." The program includes: (1) Dictatorial powers to the President to speed industrial production because aid to Britain "is now insufficient and slow"; (2) "Under no circumstances" must the sea route between the United States and Britain be cut and "the United States must be prepared to maintain it"; in other words, convoying merchant ships with the United States Navy. (3) "Repeal or modification of restrictive statutes which hamper this Nation in its freedom of action when it would cooperate with nations defending themselves from attack by nations at war in violation of treaties with the United States"; in other words, complete abandonment of neutrality legislation.

The committee for the first time recommends a Far Eastern policy. It involves "the United States and Great Britain should announce that their naval bases in the Pacific are open to each other's fleets. The United States should establish a clear naval understanding with Great Britain which will permit the two fleets to be placed in the most advantageous position to protect the Atlantic for the democracies and to stop the spread of war in the Pacific."

REVOLT

If this policy constituted simply the views of an important group of Americans, it would be significant enough. But it is now generally recognized that the White committee is the administration's reconnaissance battalion. After the most recent of White's visits to what is becoming known as the William Allen White House, President Roosevelt disclosed that "Mr. White's future activities had been discussed." That visit was 1 week before the announcement of the new White committee policy.

Up to now the committee has never been too far in advance of the public opinion it sought to lead. But in proclaiming its new policy, it may have overreached itself. There are definite signs that the White committee is losing support. When President Henry Noble MacCracken, of Vassar College, a committee supporter, read its new program, he promptly addressed himself to the editor of the New York Times. In a letter which appeared in the Times on November 28, MacCracken denounced the policy as a " long step in the direction of war" and urged general opposition to it. MacCracken expressed the betrayal felt by Americans who want to help Britain but are sincere in wanting that help to be short of war. His letter said:

"The argument that the United States cannot face the Axis Powers alone, and that it must therefore make common cause with Britain, is a question that must be left to our military and naval experts. It is the understanding with most Americans that our present defense program is intended to provide us with an adequate defense in any contingency. With all respect to the distinguished names which are quoted as responsible for the composition of the document, I must express my preference for the American way of defense as I understand it at the present time. This is to avoid entangling alliances, to defend the American Hemisphere by the use of our armed forces, to defend the Philippines if possible, and, under the present laws, to assist the British Empire by the sale to Britain of all food and military supplies for which Britain can pay. Less than this would not be in accordance with our protests against aggression; more than this would commit us to a definite war policy for which our country is not prepared, and which she is not willing to undertake."

REWARD

However, in adopting its new policy the White committee may have known that it would lose public support. The committee may be reconciled to the fact that it is outliving its usefulness and that its old slogans will be too obviously phoney in the light of its new war policy. No other explanation—except hitherto unsuspected stupidity—can account for the brutally frank speech concerning the committee's propaganda methods delivered by White on November 27. White's revelations were made in accepting an award from the National Association of Accredited Publicity Directors, Inc., for "outstanding service in publicity." In the callous terms of the press agent, White gave the inside story of his committee's accomplishments. It was not a new story to professional

propagandists to whom the White committee's methods have been obvious all along. What was amazing was White's gay boasting of the "smart tricks" he pulled to sell the country—not a new breakfast food—but a war. In pulling off the destroyer job, White said, they decided on 50 by "pure hunch." But he hastened to explain that "we've never had an objective that wasn't approved in advance by the general staffs of the United States Army and Navy." William Allen White no doubt deserved a citation from an organization of professional publicity men who know how to sell a product. But White had an unfair competitive advantage. No other press agent can discuss his campaign with the President and get advance approval of his plans from the general staffs of the armed forces.

White's boyish boasting brought him a scolding in the leading editorial in the New York Times of November 29, which described his remarks as "unfortunate" and likely to "injure the future usefulness of his committee." From the Times this is virtually a kiss of death. The Times will stand for nothing underhanded in the effort to preserve the eternal verities. Such talk, laments the Times, is likely to create the impression that propaganda had something to do with the country's last effort to save civilization. "During the last 20 years," the Times primly observes, "a hardy myth grew up that America got into the war against Germany in 1917 through 'British propaganda,' or forged documents and faked photographs, or war loans, or the intrigue of munitions makers, or 'smart tricks' that somebody 'pulled.' The myth grew up that America went to war, in short, for any and every reason except spontaneous feeling or clear-sighted recognition of the need of defeating Germany at that time." From now on the press agents may be expected to do their boasting in the back room where they cannot interfere with the gradual development of spontaneous feeling and clear-sighted recognition.

FOUR-DAY WONDER

The technique of keeping a dead story alive by the use of phoney follow stories is a particular accomplishment of the Washington staff of the New York Times. On November 23, Lord Lothian stepped off the *Atlantic Clipper* and announced: "England needs planes, munitions, ships, and perhaps a little financial help." Next morning the Times gave it a four-column head on page 1 reading: "Lothian says British need United States credits."

Next morning, November 25, the Times carried a story on page 1 from Hyde Park, by one of its ablest dissemblers, Frank L. Kluckhohn. The headline: "Lothian to discuss Britain's credits with Roosevelt." The only shred of news in the story was the fact that the President was returning to Washington. To support the headline, the story said: "White House aides indicated today that the President would receive Lord Lothian early this week. It was disclosed, however, that the British diplomat, who is now in Washington, had not yet asked an appointment. * * * It was thought probable that arrangements for a meeting would be made after General Watson's return to the Capital, and that the President would discuss any proposals made by Lord Lothian with Secretary Morgenthau and other advisers." Apparently, though not definitely, Lothian was to see the President, but nowhere did the story say they were to discuss credits. The dispatch also said: "It was deemed unlikely today in circles close to the Chief Executive that any action toward revision of the Johnson or Neutrality Act would be taken before the new Congress convenes in January."

Next day, November 26, the Times carried a page-one story from Washington, by Turner Catledge, stating that Lothian had seen Roosevelt and Hull. Lothian, the story said, "insisted that he did not discuss the question of American credits" with either of them. The story also reported that the King resolution to permit financial aid to Britain and the Nye resolution to investigate British holdings in the United States would be discussed by the Foreign Relations Committee on the 27th.

Next day, November 27, another page-one story from Catledge, this time with a four-column head, "United States to study British financial needs." To support this headline there was literally not a shred of news. The story said that the Nye and King resolutions "would be reached in routine order" at the Foreign Relations Committee meeting next day—a fact that had been reported in the previous day's story. It further said that Senator GEORGE had specifically denied that he had discussed further aid to Britain in conversations with Roosevelt and Hull.

Next day, November 28, Catledge reported that the Foreign Relations Committee had unanimously deferred the King resolution until the new session of Congress, which was obviously what the committee was going to do from the start. Senator NYE simply did not press his resolution. So ended the Times' 4-day wonder—a headache for future historians.

STRIKES

One of the most frequent falacies in discussions of industrial relations is the notion that agitators cause strikes. It is a fallacy entertained mostly by men who have never personally faced a strike vote. It is a fallacy on which some Congressmen are basing their approach to the problem of keeping defense industries going without strikes—get rid of agitators and there will be no strikes. Last week Attorney General Jackson, in describing his Department's activities in the now settled Vultee strike, pointed out that the F. B. I. had made a report which "describes the Communist influence which caused and which is prolonging the strike." The leaders of the Vultee strike may have been Communists—the United Auto Workers is not Communist-controlled—but the positive assertion that Communist leaders caused the strike would take a lot of proving. Striking is serious business. Workers know this better than do editorial writers. Strikes—such as the Vultee strike—are the result of economic grievances. Labor leaders can point out ways in which these grievances can be redressed by organized action. They cannot, out of thin air, foment a strike among 3,800 workers who are trustworthy enough to work in a war-plane factory. The Government, in the name of national defense, may put every labor agitator in jail. Such action will not eliminate the economic grievances that cause strikes.

A Supertransportation System—Charleston, S. C., to Cincinnati, Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BUTLER B. HARE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1940

STATEMENT ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. HARE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks and include therein some observations made and filed with the President a few weeks ago, I desire to submit the following, and conclude by calling attention to a few matters only incidentally referred to in my original statement:

TO DEFEND THE MONROE DOCTRINE A SUPERTRANSPORTATION SYSTEM BETWEEN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC SEABOARD AND MIDDLE WEST IS AN URGENT MILITARY NECESSITY

I desire to address myself to the proposal to complete the construction of a double-track railroad and build a superhighway through the Blue Ridge Mountains from Walhalla, S. C., to Maryville, Tenn., as a national-defense project. The idea is not a new one. Military experts and national leaders, as far back as 1828, felt there was a military necessity for a better transportation system leading from the granaries of the Midwest to the southeastern seaboard. It was considered sufficiently important to warrant construction at public expense, for the records show that President Jackson, in 1832, appointed Colonel Long, an Army engineer, to assist in making preliminary surveys of various proposals. The first idea was to construct a railroad from the Ohio River across the mountains of Virginia to the southeastern coast, but study and investigation revealed that the mountains farther south were lower and the road could be constructed with fewer miles and at much less expense, it being agreed that probably the most feasible route would be from Cincinnati, Ohio, to Charleston, S. C., by way of Knoxville, Tenn., and Walhalla, S. C.

Both military and business experts considered the proposal as being essential for the proper defense of the Southern and Midwestern States in case of an invasion by armed forces. They felt it would enable them to be better prepared in securing the necessary materials in the manufacture of munitions and implements of war, in supplying coal and equipment to our Navy, and in the transportation of an army from one section of the country to another.

Following the appointment of Colonel Long a tentative survey was made from the mouth of the Nolichucky River in Tennessee via Walhalla to the head of the Congaree River at Columbia, S. C. Robert Y. Hayne, former United States Senator and Governor of South Carolina, manifested a great deal of interest and enthusiasm in the proposal, both from the standpoint of national defense and industrial development of the entire country. In discussing the proposed on November 4, 1832, he is reported to have said:

"The period has arrived when the work can no longer be neglected without a criminal supineness and fatal disregard of our own best interests, as well as the duties which we owe to ourselves and to posterity."

The first great national economic depression in 1837 seems to have been responsible for delayed action on the part of the Government. However, it is interesting to observe that while the States and the Federal Government were slow in developing the project as a military necessity, those who saw the commercial value of the proposal practically captured or appropriated the idea and proceeded to inaugurate plans to construct the road with private capital. A company or corporation was soon formed and a charter obtained proposing the construction of a railroad from Maryville, Tenn., to Columbia, S. C., where it would connect with other transportation systems at both places, the estimated cost being placed at $11,884,046. The road was surveyed and most of it graded both east and west of the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains territory. All but about 80 miles were actually built and put in operation.

Twelve or thirteen small mountains were to be tunneled, one or more of which were completed, and about two-thirds of the 5,800 feet through solid granite in what is known as Stump Mountain was completed before the project was abandoned at the beginning of the Civil War. The distance remaining to be constructed proceeds west from Walhalla, S. C., across the Blue Ridge Mountains through

what is known as Rabon Gap and down the Little Tennessee River toward Knoxville, Tenn., to Maryville.

Apparently, representatives of the Federal Government were very much interested in this proposal and there is little doubt but what a substantial grant would have been made had it not been for the panic of 1837 and the local opposition based upon the ground that it would be an unwarranted invasion upon the rights of the States. Some of the local newspapers violently opposed the suggestion that the road should be built by the Federal Government even though it was admitted to be of great military value to the country.

Their attitude is well illustrated by the following editorial which appeared in The Athenian published at Athens, Ga., March 17, 1829:

"The South has thus far kept aloof from all participation in the pecuniary gifts and loans of the Federal Government; our hands remain untainted with these indirect bribes; we have always opposed them when extended to others, upon principle; and we are sorry to see agents from South Carolina, men of standing, members of the legislature, knocking at the doors of Congress and with cap in hand begging a portion of the Treasury scraps. Still more should we regret to see them succeed. We know the language held by pliant politicians on such occasions, that while these good things are going we might as well take our share. This is bad reasoning and will produce bad consequences. It is admitting by our acts what we deny by our words, the power of Congress to make such grants. And it will be a most pernicious example to our younger sisters of the South. If we hope ever to bring Congress to a rigid adherence to the letter of the Constitution, and prevent them from assuming every power by construction, we should abstain from all participation in the unholy thing, and instead thereof steadily assert our principles and show by our example what we really believe and wish to establish, what we are contending for."

Looked upon from the standpoint of local commercial value this view may have been well taken, but from the standpoint of internal improvement, or standpoint of national defense, there is no reason why it should not be sponsored by the Federal Government, particularly at this time when Congress has only recently said to the world that we intend to uphold and if necessary defend the Monroe Doctrine.

A study of the map in the light of present world conditions removes every doubt as to the necessity and wisdom of immediate and favorable consideration of this proposal; that is, if the Congress meant what it said a few weeks ago when it adopted a resolution reasserting the Monroe Doctrine it is no time to backtrack or quibble about making the preparation necessary to execute this purpose.

If it becomes necessary to defend the Monroe Doctrine our South Atlantic coast will certainly furnish the rendezvous for our military activities, the loading place for naval supplies, the storehouse for every implement of war, and there should be no delay in providing transportation facilities that will mean shorter mileage by both land and sea to the scene of operations, for speed, distance, and direct transportation are vital factors in any defense program.

As some of the many reasons that may be assigned in support of this project as an aid to national defense we submit the following:

(1) It will facilitate the transportation and concentration of the many essentials in wartime to the South Atlantic ports that will be indispensable should an attempt be made to attack the United States through the countries south of us, and our military experts are saying that if attacks are made they will come from that direction.

(2) It will afford easier access to those sections of the country where, on account of climatic conditions, our soldiers are trained in peacetime and would be assembled in wartime.

(3) It will afford better connection with the textile and munition plants, the iron and steel plants, the munitions factories, and storage plants in both the South and Midwest areas.

(4) It will in time of war furnish quick service in the delivery of coal, iron, etc., to plants engaged in the manufacture of munitions, war implements, etc.

(5) The territory immediately adjacent to the project furnishes most desirable locations for underground storage places for fuel oil, gasoline, tin, manganese, rubber, and other materials used in the manufacture of explosives and other war essentials.

(6) It will be an outlet for the transportation systems of the interior to the south Atlantic seaports from which South America and the Panama Canal Zone will necessarily be served in case of war, particularly if air and naval bases are to be established and developed on nearby possessions recently obtained from England.

(7) It will furnish a right-angle route from the interior to the navy yard at Charleston, the marine barracks at Parris Island in South Carolina, the ports at Savannah and Brunswick, Ga., the increasingly large air base at Pensacola and other ports on the Florida coast.

(8) It will mean that all the steel mills, munition plants, airplane factories, packing plants, grain elevators, cheese factories, garment factories, and every other industrial or military enterprise between the Allegheny and Rocky Mountains on the one hand and the T. V. A. and the Great Lakes on the other will be from 200 to 300 miles nearer the southeastern seaboard—the base of concentration of our every military agency, including the Army, Navy, and Air Corps—should this country become involved in the war we are not trying to obviate or are preparing to meet.

(9) In addition to facilitating transportation, the suggested superhighway could easily be made a further vital factor in the defense program by having runways or landing fields thereon at points varying from 10 to 15 miles apart so as to accommodate the landing or taking off of any type of airplane. The terminal of this highway should, of course, be on the Atlantic coast and some central point in the interior, probably Charleston, S. C., on the coast and Cincinnati, Ohio, in the interior.

(10) Press reports say that if the invasion of Britain does not come this fall or winter it will come when and if Germany manages to smash the railroads and highways to be used in bringing men to the scene of attack.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to the reasons already submitted in support of the proposal, it should be said that a great deal of work has already been done in the Blue Ridge Mountains between Walhalla, S. C., and Maryville, Tenn., in the way of constructing fills, excavating tunnels, and installing culverts, and we might suggest, in passing, that some of these tunnels should afford excellent sites for underground munition plants and storage of war materials, explosives, and so forth.

Proceeding from Walhalla to Charleston, S. C., the proposed route parallels the Savannah River, only a few miles distant, for about 150 miles and passes near Clarks Hill, where the Army engineers and other governmental agencies have recommended the construction of a dam for flood-control and power purposes, and when the dam is completed there will be sufficient power for any war industries that may strategically be located nearby. The system would be equally near the inexhaustible kaolin deposits found in western South Carolina and eastern Georgia, which would be of unusual strategic military value should it at any time in the future become necessary to obtain aluminum from such deposits for use in the construction of airplanes, for it is quite conceivable that the present source from which 60 or 65 percent of aluminum material is obtained in French or British Guiana may no longer be available and we would then be forced to obtain aluminum from kaolin or other sources.

Furthermore, the proposed route would pass through the heart of the textile business of South Carolina—an industry of extreme importance in case of war or in the preparation for defense; it would pass within sight or a few miles of the recently constructed Buzzards Roost power project at Greenwood, as well as the power plant on Lake Murray, near Columbia, and the Santee-Cooper power project now under construction between Columbia and Charleston, S. C., all of which go to emphasize the strategic military value of this proposal.

America and the Famine in the Five Little Democracies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARL C. MICHENER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HERBERT HOOVER

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the privilege given me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the address delivered by the Honorable Herbert Hoover, former President of the United States, at Poughkeepsie, November 15, 1940. The address is as follows:

A PROBLEM FOR AMERICAN OPINION

I wish tonight to present to the American people the plight of some millions of children, women, and men in the little nations of Finland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and Central Poland. I am not making any proposals as to the French, although they are indeed suffering, because of the present obscurity of their food and political situation. And let me emphasize again that I am not talking about feeding Europe as the headlines so often state. I am talking only of the five small democracies.

I am asking for no gifts, no government appropriations, no use of American ships. I am not going to discuss ideologies or who is to blame. I simply wish to present the case of these people to America. I will suggest that their lives and infinite suffering can be saved. And I will suggest that we have a moral responsibility.

I have postponed discussing this question at length for the past 2 months because I did not wish so tender and difficult a subject to be stained with any color of partisanship. That election is

behind us and my obligation to participate further in partisan questions is ended. It is a problem that calls for cooperation and not for controversy.

Tonight I wish particularly to lay this question before the educational and religious leaders of the United States, for upon them rests a heavy duty in American moral leadership.

I do not have sufficient time on this occasion to review all the many factors that bear upon this subject. I have stated the details more fully in today's issue of Collier's Weekly.

I may first summarize coldly those facts of background as to which I believe there is no longer any dispute.

1. Those five little nations of Finland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and central Poland comprise about 37,000,000 people, of whom about 15,000,000 are children. About one-half of these people live in towns and cities. They are of all religious faiths—about 13,000,000 are Protestants, about 3,500,000 are Jews, and more than 20,000,000 are Catholics. And they have a right to live.

2. These little nations—all of them—sacrificed and fought against overwhelming odds to maintain freedom and their democratic ideals.

3. They normally obtain a large part of their food supplies from outside of their borders in exchange for their products. Most of their food imports have come overseas from the Western Hemisphere, Africa, etc. Central Poland is a special case. Her plight is due to the Russian seizure of her agricultural provinces.

4. The domestic production of these little countries, if it could be justly distributed, would apparently take care of the rural and village populations. In any event, the farmers and villagers will hold on to it grimly. In consequence the burden of shortage will fall on the town and city populations, with all of their millions of children, women, and noncombatant men. They will reach the acute stage sometime this winter or next spring.

5. Supplies which could preserve their lives cannot be obtained in the German-occupied areas of continental Europe because of the decreased harvests, war destruction, and the blockade. Moreover, themselves short of supplies, the Russians, Germans, and Italians are not likely to aid.

6. The only hope lies in restoration and protection of their domestic food by the occupying army and in the import of food from overseas through the British and the German blockades under full safeguards.

7. All of these little countries have a certain amount of liquid resources safely outside of their own borders from which they should be able to pay for their food and they can provide their own ships.

8. The British contend that the German Army has occupied these people in violation of the laws of God and man and that it is the German obligation to feed them or evacuate their armies. The Germans assert that these people (except central Poland) have always lived largely by imports from overseas, and that the British blockade is the cause of their starvation.

I feel as deeply as anyone on the moral questions here involved. And I boil that these things can be.

But I am trying to face an existing situation with action and not with debate over responsibilities. Whoever is right or wrong, these little nations are ground between these millstones. And the stark fact of oncoming famine remains.

9. Their plight is similar to that of Belgium and Northern France in the last war. That 10,000,000 people were occupied by the German Army. They were blockaded by the Allies. One purpose of both combatants in that war—just as in this war—was to starve the enemy. Their distrust of each other was just as great as it is now. Yet the Belgian Relief Commission under my direction secured protective agreements from all belligerents and those agreements were faithfully adhered to for 4 years. About $1,000,000,000 worth of food supplies were imported to those people from overseas and another billion dollars of their own domestic produce were requisitioned and distributed justly among them. The British people generously supported that effort with hundreds of millions of dollars and were completely satisfied that there were no unremedied violations of these agreements. I am able to say this not only because Americans were in charge upon the ground but because the rigorous watching of the British Government found it so and have certified to it time and again. And they were chiefly concerned that the food did not go to the German Army. The lives of those 10,000,000 people were saved by this effort. We therefore have an outstanding demonstration of the practicability of such an action.

10. Some 3 months ago leaders of these little nations asked that I raise a voice to the world on their behalf. They asserted that devastating famine and pestilence would be upon them with winter. No man can receive such an appeal of human misery without action.

11. I proposed a plan as the basis of agreement by the war governments.

These proposals were that the Germans, on one hand, agree (a) not to take any of the domestic products of these people and to furnish the equivalent of any food that may already have been taken; (b) to permit such imports as can be had from other parts of Europe; (c) allow free passage of food ships without attack.

On the other hand, the British to raise the blockade so as to allow one food ship at a time to pass so long as the guaranties are fulfilled. And finally, both sides to agree to adequate control of distribution by a neutral organization to assure that these agreements are carried out.

12. The safeguards in these proposals were not fully understood by the British people. In any event the plan was not received favorably by the Government of Great Britain. I, indeed, had little hope that they would be favorably received at that time. Then the Battle of England was in the balance. The British were fighting desperately and heroically to save their own homes. They could give little thought to such necessities. It was hard for the world to believe in the realities of famine that was still months away.

The British have now demonstrated the effectiveness of their defense. The people of Brussels are already on a ration of 7 ounces of bread a day. Typhus already rages in Warsaw. Holland is killing its animals for lack of feed. Now the time has come when I am compelled to raise the question again, for 3 months would be required for organization and there is no time to be lost.

THESE NECESSITIES CANNOT BE SILENCED

And the problem I am putting to you tonight cannot be ended by saying hush, hush. As famine and disease rise with the cold winter and the bleak spring, the cries of these people will rise above any censorship, above any smug statement in comfortable drawing rooms or offices. And in America and other neutral countries there are 20,000,000 people descended from the Finns, the Dutch, the Norwegians, the Poles, and the Belgians. They will not be quieted by polls of American public opinion or the conclusions of the wise. While all the argument and the blame and the recrimination are going on these suffering people are a moving appeal for human help.

AMERICAN RELATION TO THE QUESTION

American public opinion and American moral leadership have responsibilities. They have unfortunately already assumed such responsibilities because through misunderstanding American views on this question are being misrepresented in Europe. Let me explain this.

After my proposal was made last August, a poll of American public opinion was made on the question.

"If there is starvation in France, Holland, and Belgium this winter, should the United States try to send food to these countries in our ships?"

About 62 percent of Americans were reported as opposed. I was surprised that even 38 percent approved, because the question put to the American public implied hundreds of millions of American money. It implied sending of American ships through the war zone. It implied the using of American food. And it did not include my stipulations for protection from seizure by the German Army.

That was not the proposal that I had made to the world on behalf of these suffering people. I did not propose that American money should be used, or that American ships should be sent into the war zone, or that necessarily American food should be supplied, and I did propose that adequate protections should be given so as to see that there was no food benefits to the Axis countries.

This presumed attitude of the American public opinion has been further reinforced by the statements of various groups. I do not challenge their sincerity. But their opposition must be based on a lack of understanding of the facts, or of the problem involved, or of the tragedy which impends, or the protections which we know from our wide experience can be given.

These actions have become important because they have led to the belief both in America and in Great Britain and in these agonized five little countries that the American public opinion is against any effort to save the lives of their millions of children. It is a sad day when those who have looked to America as the great moral reservoir of democracy and compassion are now being disillusioned that this light has gone from the world.

These millions of suffering people know it is possible to easily answer the arguments which are raised in opposition to their salvation.

There is one group who contend that we should use American food to feed our own people. Such persons do not realize that we have vast surpluses of food in the United States; or that our Government is daily offering to sell this food abroad at less than our domestic prices to get rid of it. In any event, if any question of source of food should arise, there are ample food supplies to be found in South America where they earnestly want to sell it.

There is a group of persons who close their minds with the idea that the Germans would get the food and that it would help the Germans to win the war and that therefore the subject should not be further discussed. They obstinately refuse to believe the fact that such an effort was successfully managed in the last war, and that the occupying army did not benefit. They do not realize, moreover, that such an operation is conducted in such a way that there would be only a small stock of food supplies on hand in the occupied area at any one time. This stock would not exceed 120,000 to 140,000 tons. The German Nation consumes about 1,400,000 tons a month. If they seized it all, they would be getting only a 3-day food supply. That would not prolong the war very much. In any event, under any such violation the whole work would have to stop as hopeless.

Driven from these positions, this sort of people then fall back on the argument that agreements made now would be less likely to be respected than those in the last World War. But agreements with belligerents during war are not to be based only upon altruism, humanitarianism, or good will. With people who are desperately fighting in a great war, agreements must be based on self-interest.

When the food supply falls to famine levels, people don't lie down and die from starvation. Long before they get to that point their physical resistance is so lowered by malnutrition that they die of disease. The children weaken first, the women and old men next. The common cold turns to pneumonia. Influenza seems to become very much more virulent and deadly in its passage through nonresistant populations. Typhoid and smallpox are more prevalent because of lowered resistance. Typhus always appears, for when a population is approaching famine levels, it will eat all of its fat supplies and thus deprive itself of soap. Soap is the greatest disinfectant that the human race has discovered. With

the absence of soap, lice at once spread, and from lice comes typhus.

It is to the interest of the German Army that these cesspools of disease and contagion are not created. And it is to the interest of the whole world that they are not created. For contagion, once it starts from such cesspools, will spread irrespective of borders or nations or ideologies. You may remember the malignant influenza epidemic during the last war which first appeared in starving central Europe and spread over the whole world. Such an operation as this is in the interest of Great Britain and America. If confidence in the ideals of democracy is to be upheld in these peoples now is the time to hold it.

There is another group who say that the British blockade is the great instrument in the fight against totalitarianism and that it must not even be opened for a single ship. This idea is based upon an illusion. That is that a blockade is a sort of earth embankment and that if a single hole is permitted it will automatically enlarge until the embankment is swept away. A blockade is nothing of the kind. It is a notification that traffic cannot pass except by permission. That permission is in the control of the dominant sea power. It can be extended and withdrawn at will, ship by ship.

As a matter of practice, permissions are in operation against Spain today and daily these permissions are given for food ships to pass through to those people. It is even suggested that we collaborate in thus relieving the dire distress of the Spanish people. I should like to see it done. But if so, why should we discriminate against the others?

In any event, what is proposed here is that we should be given an opportunity to try to save these people. The American opponents of this action cannot say that if such agreements are set up and faithfully adhered to they would still insist that millions should be condemned to die. If the food supplies cannot be protected from the German Army, it will be evident at once, and the operation would be justifiably ended.

I simply refuse to believe, and I am going to continue to disbelieve, that American public opinion, when it understands, is going to condemn 15,000,000 people to die upon flimsy arguments and informal polls.

THE ORGANIZATION OF RELIEF

The word "relief" as we give it in America connotes individual service such as that performed by our multitude of home relief organizations. The problem we are discussing is the mass food supply of a people. The operation required in these countries is food administration, not individual relief in the ordinary sense. That means control of native as well as imported food.

When we talk of relief of these starving people we are not talking quantities which envisage themselves from our home experiences. Our public relief allowances today average about $50 per month for a family of five. It is drastic enough. But what I am talking about is supplying less than $5 per month worth of raw material in food to a family of five, or about 10 percent of our American practice. Even that would require that these little nations should find over $400,000,000 for the winter and spring. But I believe it would provide the margin between death and existence. It will barely tide them over above the famine levels.

I had originally proposed that the American Red Cross should undertake this work. I have been informed, however, that they do not feel that mass feeding of peoples is within their province. There are, however, other agencies which could be used. Obviously the leadership in such detailed negotiations and the subsequent guardianship of the guaranties need the informal cooperation of our Government and the governments of the other neutral states. That is not a job which I wish to undertake. But there are many men available for such service. I must, however, raise the issue.

THE MEANING OF WAR

We are today living in one of the darkest hours that has ever come to humanity. After discussing these questions in comfortable American rooms and after good meals, I often come away wondering if it is possible for our people to learn the meaning of modern war.

To state the cold statistical fact that two-thirds of the peoples of the world are at war illuminates little of its dreadfulness. It is the most inhuman war of history. There was a time when war was carried on exclusively by soldiers and sailors. Brave men fought with brave men. They held to the ancient chivalries for the protection of women and children and noncombatants. But modern warfare has transformed all this. It consists today mainly of armed men fighting against noncombatants. Blockades, rains of explosives from the air, sinking of ships without warning are the major destructive operations. The strategy is to terrorize and break down the resistance of the civilian population that they may beseech peace at any price.

I am perhaps one of the few living Americans who had full opportunity to see intimately the moving tragedy of the last great war from its beginnings down through the long aftermath of famine, pestilence, and depression. During that war and for a year afterward it was my appointment to care for the hungry, the homeless, the frightened, and the helpless. In the service of those war years, I moved constantly in and out behind the trenches on both sides of the conflict. I witnessed its misery and its backwash upon civilians in its most hideous forms. I saw the nightmares of roads filled for long miles with old men, women, and children dropping of fatigue and hunger as they fled in terror from the oncoming armies. I saw even then the terrors of a score of air raids, with the women and children flocking to the cellars in futile hope of escape. I saw the dreadful effect of the blockade in starvation. I have seen the women and children of whole cities practically at the exhaustion point of food. I have seen the raging of pestilence that is the implacable companion of famine. I witnessed their sufferings in over 20 nations.

When one speaks of war to me, I do not see the glorious parade of troops marching to tunes of gay music. Nor do I think of great statesmen planning and worrying in their chancelleries. Nor of army captains calculating their strategies. Nor do I think of those dazzling chambers where the peacemakers of the world meet to settle the affairs of mankind. In retrospect we always dwell upon the glories of war—the courage, the heroism, the greatness of spirit in men. We weigh its purpose in the destiny of nations and social systems. I myself should like to forget all else.

But I cannot forget the faces of the hungry, despaired, and terrorized women and little children, who are the real victims of modern war. I cannot forget the unending blight cast upon the world by the sacrifice of the flower of every race not only in the trenches but in the cradle. All that was dreadful in the last war beyond any words of mine. But it is far worse and there is far more of it in this war. It is not alone the vast increase in air power. But there is an increase in its ruthlessness and brutality. And while in the last war only one little democracy was invaded, today there are all these others. Truly the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse—war, death, famine, and pestilence—have come to them in a terrible host.

Can you believe that American public opinion or the spiritual leadership of America has so lost its bearings as to be opposed to even an effort to aid those who lie in the ditch?

To show that American opinion is not indifferent to their sufferings is their only hope today.

There are things in this world that are not silenced by ideological argument or armchair strategists or declamation as to who is responsible. They are not to be settled that way because of the teachings of Christ which have resounded down these 2,000 years. That teaching gave to mankind a new vision and part of that vision was mercy and compassion. The greatest Teacher of mankind did not argue and debate over the ideology and the sins of the two thieves. And He thundered scorn at the priest and the Levite who passed by.

Hjalmar M. Seby

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, the House did a very fine act today in passing Senate bill No. 3729, for the relief of Hjalmar M. Seby. For those interested, the report submitted by the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEOGH], from the Committee on Claims is No. 3070, Seventy-sixth Congress, third session. This report concurs in the Senate report No. 2013, Seventy-sixth Congress, third session, which report was submitted by Senator GIBSON, of Vermont.

Senator GIBSON is a very distinguished and able attorney in his State and is recognized as such in the other body.

The author of this bill is one of the leading Senators, the Honorable MORRIS SHEPPARD, of Texas.

By accident I met the claimant, Mr. Seby, and after listening to his explanation as to the facts, became interested in securing action on this measure at this session of Congress.

My remarks are directed to those people who scan the actions of Congress for the purpose of advising as to Presidential vetoes. I want such persons to know that any objections to the passage of this bill have been carefully noted by able Members in the House and the Senate and that such objections have been considered not well founded.

In this bill, the claimant, Hjalman M. Seby, was an experienced contractor and erected many substantial buildings in Texas. He secured a contract to remodel a post-office building at Vernon, Tex. His troubles commenced when the inspector wanted Mr. Seby to give him certain gratuities. In plain language the inspector was a grafter. The most damning proof of this fact is found in the two letters, one signed and one unsigned, in which the claimant was asked to certify that the inspector was a good, honest person and had never done anything wrong in his life.

From the day that Mr. Seby made public this correspondence, he was a marked man. An investigation was had and another inspector came in. In the meantime, the misunderstanding was apparently becoming worse and worse and re-

sponsible officials had Mr. Seby arrested and had a grand jury investigation.

Of course, the grand jury refused to indict but all unfavorable publicity about the arrest and the grand jury episode was circulated. It could have no other effect but to injure credit and character. Incidentally, specifications had been changed and Mr. Seby was ordered to perform his contract with altered specifications. As things developed, the officials refused to furnish him money with which to meet one of his pay rolls and without money he could not meet the pay roll. The Government officials locked up the premises, ordered him to stay away and ordered the bonding company to complete the contract.

They refused to return Mr. Seby's tools and equipment. This is a simple recital of wrongdoing and does not begin to tell the whole story.

Of course, the P. W. A. officials acted as prosecutor, judge, and jury, and saw to it that they turned in an adverse report. It is my opinion, that on account of the self-interest and for other reasons, this report can be entirely ignored.

It was probably written to avoid embarrassment of local and minor officials. We should naturally expect that the attorney who prepared this report would admit the statements hereinbefore set forth and leave it up to Congress to determine the equity and the justice of this claim.

The claimant has no legal rights now which he can enforce and must depend upon the fact that Congress is willing to correct mistakes and do justice where cases of this character come before it.

The report of the Comptroller General is adverse. Undoubtedly, that report following the Department report, could not be otherwise because that office in the past has been favorable to legal technicalities and has done so in connection with the present bill.

The adverse report means nothing.

In conclusion, I again want to comment on the fact that the Members of Congress may be very proud of the action taken on this bill at today's session and have made it possible for an American citizen to get justice at the hands of the greatest deliberative body in the world, which can take time off from its important duties to pass a measure of this character.

Walter-Logan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. COCHRAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, on Monday I charged that the Walter-Logan bill would throw a monkey wrench into our great national-defense program. I pointed out that neither the provision in the House bill nor the Senate amendment was sufficiently broad to exempt all or nearly all the governmental activities necessary for any extensive defense program. I gave a number of examples of agencies which would not be exempted and said that it was "extremely doubtful whether the administration of the Selective Service Act is excepted from the provisions of the bill as amended by the Senate."

The distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee [Mr. SUMNERS] challenged this last statement. I have searched his argument, however, for any clue as to the reasoning on which he based his opinion.

The exemption as it passed the House reads as follows:

> Nothing contained in this act shall apply to or affect any matter concerning or relating to the conduct of the Military or Naval Establishments.

The annotated copy of the bill (S. Doc. No. 145, 76th Cong., 3d sess., p. 24) indicates that "the conduct of the Military or Naval Establishments" is intended to include only the activities of the War and Navy Departments themselves. Thus, the annotation refers to "the conduct of the Military or Naval Establishments," and in the sentence immediately succeeding speaks of "these two Departments." It is a little hard to see, therefore, how these activities, under the Selective Service Act which are not administered by the War or Navy; Departments, come within the exemption as it passed the House.

Then along came Senator HATCH a few minutes before the Senate passed the bill and added the following words:

> Including the Council of National Defense and the Advisory Commission thereto, the Priorities Board, and any other agency or authority hereafter created to expedite military and naval defense.

There is certainly nothing in this provision that would exempt activities under the Selective Service Act not administered by the Departments of War and Navy. Other than the agencies expressly named, only agencies "hereafter created" are exempted.

What the learned chairman of the judiciary committee seems to have been contending was that the original House provision, passed before there was any realization of the nature and extent of the national-defense program that would become necessary, exempted everything that had anything to do with national defense. The trouble is that the House provision did not say that the annotated copy of the bill indicates the contrary, and the Senate amendment exempts by name a number of agencies which would have been exempted by the House provision under the gentleman's interpretation. I cannot help but think that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SUMNERS] was doing some legislative wishful thinking.

At that, the Selective Service Act case is a simple one compared to others that would arise under the bill. I doubt very much whether an agency set up to exercise the price controls which might be necessary in a period of national emergency would be considered an agency "created to expedite military and naval defense." If not, such an agency would be subject to the paralyzing provisions of this bill. Then, too, in addition to the agencies listed, the exemption only applies to those "hereafter created." Existing agencies which are performing functions indispensable to the workings of our defense program are not exempted. I give you as examples the Defense Communications Board which works in conjunction with the Federal Communications Commission and the Bacon-Davis unit in the Department of Labor.

The President has just placed Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt in charge of health, medical welfare, nutrition, and recreational aspects of the Nation's defense activities. Would you say Mr. McNutt's orders and regulations are exempt under the bill?

The real point of all this is that the provision supposedly exempting national-defense activities is as badly drafted as the rest of this bill, and nobody can tell whether any particular activity is under the bill or not. And that, mind you, is just as bad as being under the bill because it will give those who want to delay our national-defense efforts the chance they are waiting for to go into court and tie up governmental activities.

The only thing that can save this Congress from the eternal disgrace of having enacted into law this governmental straitjacket is a Presidential veto. I have confidence that the President will save the Congress from that disgrace.

Mr. Speaker, under permission granted me, I include as part of my remarks an editorial from Labor of December 3, 1940. It follows:

LOGAN-WALTER BILL SHOULD BE VETOED—MEASURE ENERGETICALLY PROMOTED BY ANTI NEW DEALERS SEEKS TO DEFEAT WILL OF PEOPLE AS VOICED AT POLLS IN RECENT ELECTION

At the recent election the American people, in the most convincing manner, decreed that New Deal social and economic reforms should be continued and strengthened. That was the meaning of the overwhelming reelection of President Roosevelt.

But foes of the administration sought to nullify that verdict by putting through the Senate this week the Logan-Walter bill—vicious legislation that is aimed directly at the nullification of reforms adopted during the past 8 years. Labor safeguards are the principal targets of the measure.

The Logan-Walter bill is not a bill to facilitate court review of the decisions of administrative agencies, as its supporters contend; but is a bill to give the courts vast new powers—powers which they never had in the history of the Nation, powers which the courts should not want and must not have.

Chief among these would be the grant of power to the courts to review findings of fact as well as of law of more than three score Federal agencies, and that power could be used to wipe out every safeguard enacted for the protection of ordinary Americans from predatory greed.

Consider what might happen were the Logan-Walter bill to become a law. A judge, following either his judgment or his prejudices, could decide whether a certain food is poisonous or not, or whether an electric-light rate was fair and reasonable, or whether a proposed stock flotation was a swindle.

An employer aggrieved by a finding of the National Labor Relations Board that he had cheated or discriminated against his workers could, if he found the right judge, have the ruling rescinded even in the face of overwhelming evidence that the Labor Board's decision was right and proper.

If the Government undertook a low-cost housing project to provide slum dwellers with decent homes, a landlord who felt his interests might be injured could hold up the proposal indefinitely by dragging it through the courts.

The legislation is the final major onslaught against the New Deal, and it is significant that its principal advocates were two "lame duck" Senators.

The Logan-Walter bill is an unmitigated fraud and should and undoubtedly will be vetoed by President Roosevelt.

Committee on Un-American Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. HOOK

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON POST

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post of December 4, 1940:

[From the Washington Post of December 4, 1940]

ALTER EGO TO THE F. B. I.?

Chairman DIES of the House Committee on Un-American Activities has a strange conception of the job to which he was assigned when this investigative body was created. He seems to regard his committee as a sort of super law-enforcement agency charged with the task of running down spies and saboteurs. It is fully evident from his radio address of Monday night that he has forgotten the original objective of his inquiry.

The committee of which Mr. DIES is head may rightly claim credit for exposure of subversive activities on the part of Nazi, Fascist, and Communist groups. It has rendered a genuine service in arousing the country to an awareness of the enemies within our gates. If that task had not been completed, Mr. DIES' plea for more funds to keep his committee functioning would undoubtedly meet with a sympathetic response.

But the nature of the problem has completely changed since the Dies committee was organized. There is no longer any cause for exposure to public view of every plot or overt act of the "fifth columnists." The present situation demands that aliens working to destroy our Government and undermine our defense efforts be given their walking papers and that citizens engaged in similar activities be closely watched and vigorously prosecuted at the proper time. In other words, the problem is no longer one of mere exposure of subversive elements but of active law enforcement to protect our national interests.

Mr. DIES' misconception of his assignment was amply revealed in his radio address. He insisted that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is not physically able to cope with the spies and saboteurs at work in this country, and he cited a number of instances in which his committee has brought to light cases of sabotage. His plea was basically that the committee be given a new lease on life so that it could help the F. B. I. track down saboteurs plotting "wholesale acts of treason."

Clearly the irrepressible Texan is trying to horn in on the executive function of enforcing the law. Apparently he can't justify continuation of his inquiry on the ground of collecting evidence for the information of Congress and the public. He wants to make his committee a sort of detective agency—a second F. B. I. that would be free of some of the restraints under which this investigating arm of the Department of Justice works. So the issue is not whether the Dies committee should be silenced. Rather it is a question of maintaining a proper division of functions between the legislative and executive branches.

If the findings of the Dies committee have led it to believe that new legislation is essential, it should lose no time in submitting its recommendations to Congress. But the task of running down and prosecuting saboteurs and other lawbreakers must be left to the Department of Justice. It would be a grave mistake for Congress to grant the Dies committee a new lease on life as a kind of alter ego to the F. B. I.

The British Viewpoint

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

LETTER FROM STANLEY A. BEVIN

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very interesting letter which was written by Mr. Stanley A. Bevin, nephew of the Minister of Labor of England, Mr. Ernest Bevin, setting forth the position taken by the English people in their present great struggle against the totalitarian forces. Mr. Stanley A. Bevin is the managing director of the Brillo Manufacturing Co.'s British subsidiary, and his letter was written to Mr. M. B. Loeb, president of the Brillo Manufacturing Co., Inc., of Brooklyn, N. Y.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *October 21, 1940.*

From time to time we have endeavored to keep you informed concerning the welfare of our Brillo British company and its members. Many times your leading account executives and buyers inquire concerning the welfare of Brillo British.

Again it is my privilege to present to you the major portion of a letter received from our Mr. Stanley A. Bevin, dated Friday, October 4, 1940, and submitted to you just as it has been received. I am sure the matter which Mr. Bevin has presented will be of more interest than the newspaper material you and others interested read daily.

"You know the reasons for our reduced turn-over which have already been given. Firstly, the Government taking the major part of our production; and, secondly, production lost last month due to the fact that each day throughout the month we were subjected to day and night air raids, sometimes as many as 9 and 10 times a day and throughout the night from 8 p. m. until 5:30 a. m. the following morning.

"Without fear of contradiction, I can say that this plant has worked longer periods through the day and night raids than any plant situated in the immediate vicinity. Naturally, during the first week or two there was a general inclination on the part of the workers to take cover when the air-raid sirens sounded, but after the first 2 weeks a system of roof spotting was initiated and the men carry on their work until they are advised danger is immediately overhead, when they proceed to the shelter.

"As a matter of fact, for many nights past there has been an intense barrage, or antiaircraft guns of all calibers, but our men for the most part have carried on their work, working with steel helmets. Naturally, shrapnel, pieces of shell casings, nose caps, etc., fall around and some pieces have penetrated to the works through the roof, but we are pleased to say that no injury has resulted to our operatives.

"Yesterday we had an unusual day—from 2 p. m. until 5:30 p. m. there was a continuous air-raid alarm, and it was a real nasty day—poor visibility, low clouds, and a fine rain, so that it was impossible to spot any airplanes, but the antiaircraft guns were firing immediately overhead, and whilst the workers sheltered for one-fourth hour the writer then suggested they should return to their work, and they worked throughout the remainder of the day without a break, whereas factories in the immediate vicinity lost 3 hours' work. Admittedly, we took a great risk, but it was impossible to discern any aircraft, although they were directly overhead, and with our knowledge of indiscriminate bombing we knew that bombs were likely to fall at any moment. Our staff have now become so accustomed to these scenes of devastation that they are unmoved by same, excepting that their spirit of resolution is stiffened.

"We know we cannot expect a clean fight with these barbarous creatures—one cannot enter any district of London without finding houses of the workers completely demolished, and in each case no military objective within reasonable distance. Only yesterday trains were machine-gunned, and in London itself there are a large number of churches which have been bombed and completely destroyed or severely damaged, and a very large number of hospitals bombed, and in fact they seem to take a sheer delight in wanton destruction.

"I must not tell you the extent of damage in London, but London is a large place with a population exceeding 10,000,000 people, and viewing from that angle the damage is not serious; but even in my own home town, which, you know, is outside of industrial London, we have had some continuous air raids night after night, and quite an appreciable amount of damage has been done in the district, and in talking with one's friends it is ascertained that people who have moved out into the most remote country districts have had their visits from these enemy bombers, so that, really speaking, one is just as safe in London as elsewhere, although he has an unbroken record of attacking us each day and night for 6 weeks without a break, and as I am dictating this letter now antiaircraft guns are

firing overhead, but Miss Heileman is carrying on completely unperturbed.

"In all seriousness, it is really remarkable how the masses of the public who have not previously experienced shellfire have settled down to conditions in which we are living, and, of course, there is a great deal of physical discomfort, all of which is accepted cheerfully.

"Masses of the public have been provided with small splinter-proof shelters which are fixed in their gardens, and to which they retire during the night raids, but those less fortunate (in which category the writer is included) bring their beds down to the ground floor, select the strongest corner of a room, and place their beds on the ground and hope in this way to secure a limited amount of rest, but our "friends" arrive with such precision, at 8 p. m. nightly, and have such a real affection for us they do not leave until 5:30 a. m. or 6 a. m., that we are beginning to feel they are always with us.

"Most of the members of the staff have had their experiences, and two of the workers have had their houses severely damaged. Two of the office girls who live within the vicinity of the plant have been aroused on three occasions when time bombs have fallen near their house, and they have had to vacate the premises and rush across to the plant and take shelter at night in our air-raid shelter, but they cheerfully accept the situation and when the time bomb has been disposed of they return to their homes.

"Mr. Ray was caught in a heavy barrage of firing the other night and took shelter in a public air-raid shelter, which unfortunately received a direct hit, and although, unfortunately, there were a large number of casualties, Mr. Ray was untouched.

"In conclusion, you can appreciate this constant bombing affects public services. Throughout this week the gas supply in many parts has been reduced to a minimum and has meant cooking has been difficult in some sections. In other areas the water supply has been cut off by damage to the water mains, and that has happened to the plant here, but we have had a supplementary supply arranged and whilst I am dictating this letter the electric power has suddenly been cut off, no doubt due to a bomb falling in the vicinity, but this will be adjusted in a very short space of time, as repair services are out continuously and they are doing a wonderful job.

"No one can speak too highly of our voluntary fire-fighting services, who in some cases have worked 2 and 3 nights without a break dealing with incendiary-bomb type of fire to extensive fires over large areas. You can appreciate that this fire-fighting service has to work quickly, as the idea of the enemy bomber is to come over early in the evening, drop incendiaries, making a wonderful flare for further squads of bombers to complete their destruction by high explosive later in the evening.

"We are glad to see from press reports that the United States of America is now thoroughly resolved to give Great Britain all the material she requires, which is not necessary for the defense of the United States of America, and we can say that in sending this material to us you can consider Great Britain as America's first line of defense, as there is not the slightest shadow of doubt that world conquest is the aim of these arch murderers.

"However, this intensive night warfare has now continued for 3 months and on some days six and seven hundred planes have been used on raids, and each time they have been thrown back, but Goering is no nearer air mastery than he was 3 months ago; in fact, he has taken a bad beating and the constant hammering of our R. A. F. on military objectives in Germany must be causing a serious dislocation of the war machine.

"We sincerely hope that business conditions in the United States of America are continuing good and that within a relatively short space of time we shall be right through this spot of trouble and be permitted to live our normal lives again."

Again I am sure you will agree with me that our British members are again undergoing terrific sacrifice, hardship, and strain, and each and every one of them deserves our great admiration and praise for his bravery, tenacity, and spirit in this great struggle to retain a democratic form of government and, in so doing, to assist the United States.

Sincerely yours,

BRILLO MANUFACTURING CO., INC.,
M. B. LOEB, *President.*

Freedom of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SHERMAN MINTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 5 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article from the New York Times of December 3, 1940, entitled "Ickes Calls Stand on Press a Benefit."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of December 3, 1940]

ICKES CALLS STAND ON PRESS A BENEFIT—SAYS RESPONSE TO ATTACKS ON FREEDOM SHOWS HE CAME NEAR "TO HITTING BULL'S-EYE"—CITES CLEVELAND LETTER—C. S. EATON, FINANCIER, WROTE OF BIG ROOSEVELT LEAD THERE WITH NO NEWSPAPER SUPPORT

WASHINGTON, November 28.—Secretary Ickes said today that his recent statements inviting comment on the freedom of the press in this country had "roused a great deal of interest," the effect of which he believed would be "beneficial."

So heated, as well as interested, had been the response in the form of letters, open letters and editorials, Mr. Ickes said, as to convince him that he had come near "to hitting the bull's-eye" in his first challenge that by its opposition to the reelection of President Roosevelt a majority of the Nation's press had demonstrated that it was not "truly" free.

Not only publishers, to whom the "challenge" was issued, but others having no connection with newspapers had written to him, Mr. Ickes told his press conference today, and he cited as indicative of the attitude of the reading public a letter received from Cyrus S. Eaton, Cleveland financier.

"That gentleman," said Mr. Ickes, "is so disturbed by the situation in his city that he is disposed to buy or establish a newspaper in Cleveland."

LETTER STRESSES CLEVELAND VOTE

Mr. Eaton's letter read:

"Your recent suggestions for a reconsideration of the role the press should play in a democracy are of particular interest in the light of election returns in Cleveland. President Roosevelt polled 69 percent of the Cleveland vote, although all three of the local dailies agitated constantly on behalf of the Republican nominee for months before the election.

"The Cleveland newspapers campaigned for their candidate in the customary manner, as instanced by their generous use of space and by the material with which they filled that space. The editorial comment was ably done and the political stories were well written, all with an eye to stressing the virtues of their candidate and subjecting the record of his opponent to the most searching scrutiny. With no paper to perform the same service for the opposition it is inconceivable that anyone less widely known than the President would have had a fair chance of carrying Cleveland.

"In a two-party system of popular government like ours it is imperative that each party should have equal opportunity for the presentation of its point of view. A jury, after all, is never expected to reach a verdict until it has heard both arguments in a case. And the voters can be counted on to make allowances for the extreme accusations and claims of the two political parties, even as a jury discounts the exaggerations of counsel for both sides in a trial.

"The President's plurality here undoubtedly would have been much larger had he received the backing of a single one of Cleveland's papers. How much support would have helped will, of course, never be known, but the fact remains that a group representing more than two-thirds of Cleveland's population lacks any medium of publicity through which its convictions and aspirations can be expressed.

"The feeling here is so acute that some action seems likely to be taken to supply the deficiency. Perhaps that is the only remedy for other parts of the country where the same problem exists, unless the newspapers have some solution of their own to offer."

Billions Wild

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. TAFT

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 5 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Billions Wild," published in the Saturday Evening Post of date of December 7, 1940. The editorial deals with the danger of the lending policy of the Federal Government.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Saturday Evening Post of December 7, 1940]

BILLIONS WILD

It is now impossible to discuss Government finance without seeming to attack the public credit; and since that is a risk no one likes

to take, it follows in a perverse way that the more extravagant the facts become the more immune they are from criticism in the popular language.

The magnitude of the debt is not what is dangerous. The country could bear a much larger debt as it very well may have to do, and still public finance could be perfectly sound. The United States Government is not insolvent; the financial mentality of the New Deal is and has been from the beginning. In its attitude toward debt, the idea of solvency has been treated as a superstition. There is a billion-dollar way of thinking. The origin of a billion dollars is a dollar mark, a numeral, nine ciphers, written in pencil on a scratch pad, and sent over to the Treasury; the Treasury does it in ink and sends it out to the banks. The banks write it down in their books to the credit of the Government, the automatic check-writing machines in the Washington bureaus begin to work, and there it is. A billion dollars like that. What is it? Where is it? Where does it come from? But nothing happens. It is done again and again, and still nothing happens. It gets to be a habit. Congress, terrified at first, gets in the way of doing it offhand.

A few weeks ago the Congress was asked to increase the borrowing power of the R. F. C. by half a billion in order that it might borrow and lend that sum to its Export-Import Bank, so that the Export-Import Bank might be able, in a general way, to aid the economy of friendly nations, especially South American nations. There was no plan. The credit might be used for almost anything under a good-neighbor policy. The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency asked Jesse Jones if the R. F. C. did not have some reserve lending power in its drawer; and he replied, according to Senator TAFT, "in a vague way" that the R. F. C. had probably a billion in reserve, but it needed that as a working margin. So both the Senate and the House voted the R. F. C. half a billion more for the Export-Import Bank, but the two bills were not otherwise identical, which meant a conference to make them both alike, and when the Senate got its bill back from conference it was astonished to see that an extra billion had been added. Jesse Jones had written a letter saying another marginal billion was required for general operations, "as a matter of prudent policy." So, then, two marginal billions for the R. F. C. Senator TAFT said, and he was not disputed: "I challenge any lawyer or accountant to be confident of what the additional borrowing power of the R. F. C. is today."

In this issue of the Post is the second of two articles by Samuel Lubell on Jesse Jones and the Government-owned Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Mr. Lubell is struck by the financial power that seems to reside in Mr. Jones as Federal Loan Administrator. But this power is the power of an agent, and the domain ruled by Jesse Jones is a puppet kingdom. His undisputed authority there and the awe with which it is respected may be simply explained. New Deal finance required magic, and he was the master magician, with a pride in the art that amounted to a private passion.

The first thing the amateur financial wizards of the New Deal did was to seize the power to manipulate money, credit, and prices, saying: "We know how the brigands of the skyscrapers did it. We have studied the black art of Wall Street. Now we shall do it, but with this difference, that we do it for the people, not against them."

But there was more to it than they knew. Something was lacking. It may have been the professional touch or the wicked incentive. Just then they discovered Jesse Jones and the R. F. C., both inherited from the Hoover administration. At the worst of the depression the R. F. C. had been gingerly created with a revolving fund of half a billion out of the United States Treasury to make distress loans, and Jesse Jones had been called up from Texas to manage it because, for one reason, Texas was a long way from Wall Street in both distance and feeling.

Well, there he sat, like Aladdin with the wonderful lamp in his lap. All you had to do was to rub the lamp in a certain way, and a beautiful thing happened. A spherical body of credit appeared, floated gently to its place in the financial firmament, and stood there, revolving on its axis. The way to rub the lamp was to pass a law saying, "The lending power of the R. F. C. is increased by so much." That meant also, of course, that its borrowing power was increased by the same amount. What took place—the mechanics of it—was that, in the name of the R. F. C., Jesse Jones made a stroke of the pen on a piece of paper and sent it over to Mr. Morgenthau at the Treasury, and Mr. Morgenthau said, "That's perfectly good"; or that the same piece of paper was sent out to the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Reserve System said, "O. K. We write it down in our books as a credit to the R. F. C." Then again the check-writing machines could go to work in the Washington bureaus, producing the phenomenon we speak of. As the spherical bodies appeared and floated upward, there was only one man who could keep them in order there, keep them revolving, keep them from falling down. That was Jesse Jones.

His feats are prodigious. He has created a complete astral system of stars, satellites, and comets; and the illusions are such that it becomes easier to speak of things as they seem than to think of them as they are. As we know the sun does not rise, yet still talk as if it did because it looks that way, so we know that the Government cannot lend money to itself—not really—and yet that is what is seems to be doing, and we accept the illusion because not to accept it requires an exertion of the mind.

The R. F. C. is not a bank. It is a credit engine. Beginning with a grant of $500,000,000 credit from the Treasury, to be used as a revolving fund to make economic loans on a distress basis, it has been able to lend billions to the Government for all purposes—for example, more than $3,000,000,000 for relief alone, $750,000,000 to the Commodity Credit Corporation, $500,000,000 to the Secretary of Agriculture for crop loans, $200,000,000 to the Secretary of the Treasury to buy the capital stock of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, $146,000,000 to the R. E. A., $625,000,000 to the P. W. A., and so on—and after all these loans to the Government that created it, besides loans of $5,000,000,000 to railroads, banks, business, and industry there is still in Jesse Jones' drawer a reserve lending power vaguely twice as much as the entire national debt was 30 years ago.

Actually, of course, the Government cannot lend money to itself. What happens is that the R. F. C. writes its I O U's and sells them to the banks. Then it has credit in the banking system. And this credit in the banking system is what it lends to the Government. Having borrowed from Jesse Jones the credit he has borrowed form the banks, the W. P. A., the P. W. A., the C. C. C., the Secretary of Agriculture, and all, write their checks and send them out, and the people who receive the checks go straightway with them to the nearest bank and deposit them, and the bank is then ready to buy more of Jesse Jones' I O U's.

There were further possibilities. The R. F. C. could be the Government's alter ego, or its unknown left hand, by the wicked old Wall Street technique. For example, if the Government in a direct manner extended subsidies of credit to the competitive agriculture of Brazil and Argentina, the American farmer would be heard from; therefore, let the R. F. C. do it as a matter of good business. It might embarrass the Government diplomatically to make direct loans to China as a belligerent; therefore, again, let the R. F. C. do it. Owing to the Johnson Act, which forbids our defaulting war debtors to bororw money here—even private money—it would be awkward for the American Government to lend money to Great Britain to finance the manufacture of armaments in this country, and it would be legally unneutral perhaps; but the R. F. C. can do it.

We have said the R. F. C. is a credit engine, not a bank. It is above profit and loss. Yet Jesse Jones speaks of profit and loss, and sets forth a figure to represent a very modest profit. Mr. Lubell refers to it. But we see that in the Jones firmament are two kinds of spherical bodies, one kind white and one kind red. He makes himself responsible for the white ones, and when he speaks of profit, he is thinking only of them, segregated in his mind. The red ones are those he has been directed to raise, such as loans to the Government for relief and political loans to foreign countries. He will not be responsible for what happens to these.

In 1938 his firmament was too full of the red bodies, representing disbursements "by direction of Congress," and he asked Congress to wipe out more than $2,500,000,000 of them, which the Congress did. A wiggle of the pen created them; a wiggle of the pen destroyed them. Specifically, the Congress authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to tear up $2,665,000,000 of Jesse Jones' I O U's and forget them. That was credit the R. F. C. had raised on its notes at the Treasury in order to lend it back to various of the Government's own spending agencies. Jesse Jones owed the Treasury, the Treasury owed Jesse Jones, and the Government returned to itself the money it had borrowed from itself, or was it, or did it, or what?

Did you ever wonder what the master magician would be thinking to himself during the show? What would Jesse Jones think of Government bonds as an investment? On May 14, last, he appeared before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, and the Washington correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce reported that his testimony was startling. He had broadly hinted that he himself would feel safer with a little piece of ground than with a Government bond at this time. "He indicated," said the Journal of Commerce correspondent, "that he regarded the market for Government bonds to be a fictitious one."

Realism in Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. BENDER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 2, 1940

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, no issue before the American people today is so vital to the future well-being of our country as the development of our defense program. Yet no single topic in the forefront of public attention has been left so completely undefined in the Nation's mind. Today the most intelligent American is completely at a loss in virtually every phase of our national-defense program. We do not know what the United States is prepared to defend. We do not know whether the Army and Navy are thinking in terms of the Dutch East Indies, the Philippine Islands, or Hawaii. We recall some vague talk of an Alaska-Hawaiian Islands defense

line a few years back. But even these uncertainties as to our far eastern position are positive by contract with the still greater mystery of our position in the Atlantic.

Apart from a crystallization of public opinion against the totalitarian states, including Russia, Germany, Italy, and Japan, we have nothing concrete upon which we may predict the future course of our foreign policy. We do not know whether any commitments have been made to the nations toward whom we are sympathetic. All that we see leads us to believe that secrecy has replaced frankness in the normal relations between our own country and Great Britain. The return of Ambassador Joseph Kennedy from London with his astonishing assertion that there is nothing for him to do there prompts the belief that our diplomatic relations with the British Empire are being conducted through channels other than the customary offices of our Ambassadors. In times like these, with our own country doing everything "short of war" to aid England in its struggle for survival, it would seem that the post of our Ambassador in London should be the most important in our entire Department of State. The confession that it is insignificant is a circumstance which must be viewed as suspicious to say the least.

Yet even these important elements of vagueness which surround our foreign policy in every major sphere would not be in themselves objects for concern if we were prepared to meet any emergency. What bothers the American people as they survey the situation before them is the obvious failure of our National Government to formulate a plan for building our own defenses. With magnificent grandiloquence we have named ourselves the protectors of the Western Hemisphere. We have told South and Central America that we are ready to stand guard over their sacred soils. To Canada we have sent commissioners who almost gaily pledged us to preserve the greatness of the British Empire in any contingency. No one can guess how far we have gone in exploring the possibilities of a British commonwealth centered at Ottawa. And all this goes on while our factories turn out fragmentary portions of the rearmament equipment we need for ourselves. We permit ourselves to talk about aid to England in terms of 12,000 planes when we count our output in the three hundreds month after month. All this takes place while we permit the Nation's productive machinery to languish in uncertainty, not knowing how far it may be called upon to go, because no one knows. We see further evidence of the internal feuding within the ranks of labor which can halt any program of production in its tracks, because no one knows precisely what labor will be called upon to do in the years ahead.

Ignorance in high places in emergencies like these is not bliss. It has proven little short of fatal in modern Europe. The American people must have a leadership which knows its way. We must have men running the defense program who have a clear view of every step in our process.

Under our present national Government, no one can state with certainty what we are prepared to do in the Far East. No one can declare the policy of our Government with respect to an acceleration of the battle of England. No one can tell exactly which plants will be called upon to do the specific jobs of rearming our vulnerable surface fleets. No one can tell when and how we shall be producing the 50,000 planes we heard so much about only a few months ago. No one can tell how many man-hours of work it must prepare to furnish in the next 12 months to get the job done.

Certainly, these tasks are difficult. But their difficulty makes them all the more urgent. Until we know what must be done, we shall go on dreaming our foolish dreams of big profits for capital, higher wages for labor, and some mysterious New Deal hocus-pocus to pay for these things without affecting any one of us. There is only one way in which we can get down to the bedrock of facts in the days before us. We must give some one man the authority to talk. We must vest in one man the chairmanship of the many groups which are severally going about the huge task of planning for the national defense. Let that man talk concretely. Let him speak in terms of dollars and cents. Let him talk honestly and frankly of the men whom we must train for specific jobs, the number of hours we must work each week to accomplish the task. Then there can be no uncertainty or fear in the coming years. We shall know what we have to do, and we shall do it.

Any other course points in the direction of disillusionment. The people of America have learned to face facts realistically. We do not relish the job ahead. But we are not naive children who like to believe that we can accomplish our ends without sweat or sacrifice. We are prepared to sweat and to sacrifice. What we must know is how much and for what end.

Mackinac Straits Bridge—Check the Design

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRED BRADLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, many people in the Nation, most of the people in Michigan, and certainly all of those living in my congressional district, which borders on both sides of the Straits of Mackinac, are intensely interested in the question of joining the Upper and Lower Peninsulas of Michigan by a permanent bridge across the Straits of Mackinac, which is a narrow body of water but some 4 miles in width, but which, however, is extremely deep in its central portion.

During this session of Congress, with the able assistance of the distinguished junior Senator from our State of Michigan, PRENTISS M. BROWN, I helped to secure the passage of enabling legislation for this proposed bridge. Under that legislation the Congress granted permission to the State of Michigan to construct a bridge across these Straits of Mackinac.

By an act of the Michigan State Legislature in 1934 there was created in our State the Mackinac Straits Bridge Authority, which was authorized to study this question, to conduct surveys, make soundings, design, provide for the financing, and build a bridge across the Straits of Mackinac when and if congressional approval could be secured. The Mackinac Straits Bridge Authority was to be a bipartisan board of three members to be appointed by the Governor to serve for staggered terms of 6 years each.

Mr. Speaker, I have been personally, as a citizen of northeastern Michigan, very much interested in this proposed bridge since 1934 when I attended a hearing in Washington on a proposal to construct a bridge via the so-called island route, as suggested by Mr. C. E. Fowler, who was then the consulting engineer for the authority. Under this proposal, a bridge would have started from 7 miles east of Cheboygan, Mich., thence to Bois Blanc Island, thence overhead from Round Island to Mackinac Island and thence via a causeway to St. Ignace, a total distance of about 24 miles. It was proposed to permit vessel passages through drawbridges or swinging bridges in the causeway between Cheboygan and Bois Blanc Island and St. Ignace and Mackinac Island, and vessels would pass between Round Island and Mackinac Island under an overhead structure. This latter route would have caused steamers coming up Lake Huron, bound for Lake Michigan, or vice versa to travel approximately 2 miles additional out of the way, but the alternative route because of the difficulty of navigating through the causeways in thick or bad weather was greatly objected to by the steamship operators.

At that time, also as the consulting engineer, the authority had engaged temporarily the services of Prof. James E. Cissel, of the Engineering School of the University of Michigan. With the rejection of the island route proposal, Mr. Fowler passed out of the picture and for a time Professor Cissel continued on as an active consulting engineer for the bridge authority.

Professor Cissel's interest in this subject has never waned, and he has endeavored to keep in constant touch with it, not only through constant study of such facts and figures as have been made available to him from the surveys conducted by the authority, but likewise has made numerous trips about the country studying bridges of similar design, all with the thought in mind of looking toward the best possible design for this proposed Mackinac Straits Bridge. Last summer, during the university vacation period, Professor Cissel drove clear out to the west coast to study the new suspension bridge at the Tacoma Narrows and also the famous bridges at the Golden Gate in California.

During the past 2 years the survey and preliminary design work on the Mackinac Straits Bridge has been handled by the firm of Modjeski & Masters, of Harrisburg, Pa., who have a very enviable reputation, and in June of this year, in collaboration with Mr. Leon S. Moisseiff, of New York, they submitted to the Governor and highway commissioner of Michigan a report on a proposed crossing for the Straits of Mackinac. The bridge as proposed by them would be constructed from a point south of St. Ignace, directly across the straits to a point on the northerly shore of the Lower Peninsula at Mackinaw City. There would be two main spans of the suspension type, one 2,950 feet long and the other 4,600 feet long. The latter span would be the longest in the world. The center of the structure would clear the waters of the straits by 150 feet. The water to be crossed has a total width of 4 miles.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as I have mentioned previously, the people of my district and of the entire State of Michigan are vitally interested in this bridge. If a bridge is to be built, it must be safe and it must provide for a comfortable crossing by vehicle. There must be no accident as recently occurred in the tragic collapse of the Tacoma Narrows Bridge.

Early last year the term of Mr. Patrick H. Kane expired and, because of his long interest in this bridge and because of his long background in bridge-design studies, I joined with many other citizens of the State of Michigan in requesting the Governor to appoint to the bridge authority Professor Cissel. I sincerely felt that he was the one man in our State most eminently qualified, not only by experience but by his interest in this particular structure, to serve as a member of this authority. Many letters were written to the Governor in behalf of Professor Cissel, and I personally made several trips from Washington to Lansing to suggest his name. That the Governor decided to appoint someone else to the authority was, of course, his prerogative, and I find no fault whatsoever with the estimable gentleman, Mr. Joseph Green, of Crystal Falls, whom he eventually selected. The authority is now composed, in addition to Mr. Green, of Mr. Otto W. Lang and Mr. G. Donald Kennedy, recently appointed our State highway commissioner, as chairman. All of these gentlemen are fully capable and I know are fully aware of their responsibility in securing the proper design for this bridge when, and if, it is built.

However, Mr. Speaker, in the design as contained in the report of last June, we find that it is proposed to build an abnormally thin bridge. Generally speaking, bridge engineers have determined that suspension bridges should have a slenderness ratio of 1 to 35. By that I mean that the length of the bridge should not exceed 35 times its width. In this particular instance, it is proposed by the engineers that the Mackinac Bridge have a slenderness ratio of 1 to 97, which has been considered dangerous by Professor Cissel and possibly by other noted engineers.

The Tacoma Narrows Bridge, which recently failed, had a ratio of 1 to 72. That bridge failed, and therefore it seems to me it behooves the engineers on the Mackinac Bridge to very carefully recheck their figures.

That they might have been in doubt when they reported is evidenced by their statement on page 12 of the above-mentioned report, from which I quote as follows:

The design calculations are based on the theories and methods used at present in calculating the stresses and design of long-span suspension bridges and are conservative and accurate in all respects. However, on account of the great length of the larger suspended span and the resulting slenderness ratio of width to length, in order to determine if a span of these proportions might be subject to oscillations or periods of harmonic vibration due to external wind or live-load forces in such a magnitude as to affect the driving conditions, a small-scale model of the span should be constructed to which external forces can be applied. If the results of the model analysis show any objectionable oscillations or vibrations in the structure means should be provided to dampen or control such movements; the cost of providing such control is included in the estimate.

Now the possible failure of the Tacoma Bridge, Mr. Speaker, was predicted by Professor Cissel 8 weeks before the Tacoma Bridge collapsed. I quote in part from a statement made by Professor Cissel as contained in an editorial from the Detroit Times of November 13, 1940:

Standard bridge design calls for a slenderness ratio of not more than 1 to 35. This ratio has been maintained on all large bridges until the construction of the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco. An experiment was made in that case and the ratio was stepped up to 1 to 47. It is generally believed that this has proved successful.

Only one experiment has been made on a bridge with a higher slenderness ratio and that is the Tacoma Narrows Bridge, which is 72 times longer than it is wide. I have already received reports that a wave motion rolls along this bridge when heavy trucks cross it. Engineers who have seen it are extremely doubtful about it.

The proposed Mackinac bridge calls for a slenderness ratio of 1 to 97, which would make it even more slender than the Tacoma Narrows Bridge.

Even though it was mathematically correct on paper, I believe it would be foolish to build such a bridge.

It would sway and tremble under a high wind, and even if it did not fall it would frighten motorists to such an extent that few would care to cross it a second time.

Likewise, Mr. Speaker, I wish to quote from a letter which Professor Cissel wrote me under date of October 15, 1940, as follows:

The Tacoma Narrows Bridge represents the very latest development in suspension-bridge construction and, as you know, is of unprecedented slenderness. It has a span of 2,800 feet with side spans of 1,100 feet each, making total length for the main-bridge structure of 5,000 feet. In point of span length it is the third longest span bridge in the world. The particular feature of the bridge, however, is the very slender proportions as measured by the ratio of width to span length, which is in the order of 1 to 72 as contrasted to 1 to 45 as used on the Golden Gate Bridge. The stiffening system consists of two 8-foot girders and the main-span cables are very stiff, having a sag ratio of 1 to 12.

The bridge was opened for service this summer. I had heard rumors of difficulties which had been encountered as regard to the behavior of this bridge shortly after its opening, and, of course, the extreme slenderness has made it an interesting subject for numerous of us interested in bridge design. Upon reaching Seattle, I contacted friends at the University of Washington, where a very elaborate model of this bridge has been constructed for the purpose of investigating its probable behavior. The rumors as to its performance were confirmed by the men who were working on this model who gave me a demonstration of what was happening. As the result of wind forces, vibrations are set up in the structure which reach almost unbelievable proportions. For example, they told me that a vertical movement as great as 48 inches had been actually measured as the result of the action of a 15-mile-per-hour wind. This consists of a vertical deflection which passes through the structure as a sort of a wave motion and, in fact, forms an almost perfect sine curve. I spent almost an entire afternoon in the laboratory observing the action of the model. The next morning I drove out to the structure and was fortunate enough to arrive when it was putting on a performance. I could hardly believe my eyes when I drove upon the approach to the main span and saw the floor ahead moving up and down in the series of waves, but, taking courage, we paid our toll and started across. The sensation was somewhat similar to a boat moving across water with fairly heavy swells, with a sinking sensation that results from coasting over the crest of the wave down into the trough and up again on the other side. At this time the observed vertical movement was about 20 inches. I was told that night driving was particularly thrilling over this structure, and this can be understood when one considers the fact that the extended beam of light from the car's headlights magnifies the actual motion many times. People have been very much frightened by these circumstances.

The structure is, of course, wholly unsatisfactory, and they were, at the time I was there, working day and night in the attempt to find a solution. So far as I know at this time, no satisfactory means of correcting the condition has been found. I do not know that this condition is one of danger to the structure, but it certainly is unsatisfactory to those who use the bridge. As a result of my observation of this structure, you will appreciate that I am even more skeptical of the extreme slenderness proposed by the engineers for the Mackinac Straits bridge. It was my understanding of their

report that they propose a somewhat similar design, at least one based upon the same general plans, and in the matter of width to span ratio, using 1 : 90 as compared with the 1 : 72 of the Tacoma bridge. It would take a lot of persuading to convince me that such a design would be satisfactory.

Likewise, Mr. Speaker, I wish to quote from a letter received November 8, 1940, from Professor Cissel in which he states that he was not surprised at the failure of the Tacoma Bridge, based upon his observations of that structure last summer:

You have, no doubt, noted the report of the collapse of the suspension bridge at Tacoma about which I wrote you some time ago. I was very glad to have had the opportunity to observe the behavior of this structure before the collapse. I was, of course, not in the least bit surprised at the failure of this structure. What effect this failure will have in the Mackinac project remains to be seen.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, may I again repeat that the people of the State of Michigan are all very much interested in this question of bridging the Straits of Mackinac. The tourist and resort business is the lifeblood of northern Michigan. The tourist and resort industry brings into the State of Michigan over $400,000,000 annually. A large proportion of this money goes into our northern district which is blessed, in the summertime, with one of the finest climates to be found anywhere in this universe. In order to obtain the full benefit of this industry, we must have adequate transportation. In these days, that means good roads and it means above all an adequate crossing of the Straits of Mackinac. Northern Michigan will never feel the full benefit of the resort and tourist industry until it has been put upon a 12-month basis. There are numerous times during the year when our ferry service across the Straits is totally inadequate. There are numerous times during the winter when the ferries are unable to operate because of unusual ice conditions. A bridge is the answer, in order that this flow of traffic may continue uninterrupted at all seasons of the year. We want the bridge and as sure as day turns into night, it must eventually be built. But when it is built, Mr. Speaker, it must provide for absolute safety, and it must provide for a comfortable and enjoyable crossing of the Straits of Mackinac.

In view of the collapse of the Tacoma Bridge structure, which was built on a 1 to 72 slenderness ratio, it would seem very dangerous in the extreme to contemplate building the Mackinac Straits Bridge on a 1 to 97 slenderness ratio, and therefore I think it behooves the engineers, and it certainly behooves the Mackinac Straits Bridge Authority to check and double-check their figures and make absolutely certain that there be no possibility of any collapse of a Mackinac Straits bridge.

Memorial Services for the Late Senator M. M. Logan of Kentucky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VIRGIL CHAPMAN
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. CHAPMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks today, I include an account of services held before the Court of Appeals, Frankfort, Ky., October 4, 1940, in memory of M. M. LOGAN, late Senator from Kentucky and former chief justice of that court.

The article follows:

HIGH TRIBUTE PAID LATE SENATOR M. M. LOGAN BY STATE LAWYERS AT FRANKFORT MEMORIAL RITES

(By C. W. Bailey)

FRANKFORT, KY., October 4.—"MARVEL MILLS LOGAN was a man of real value to his State and Nation, and his death has caused the loss of an unusual citizen and a public servant of surpassing usefulness."

Thus, a special resolutions committee of Kentucky lawyers summarized resolutions paying tribute to the late Senator, former judge and chief justice of the court of appeals, at memorial services before the court of appeals in honor of LOGAN.

Members of the court, too, responded with words of tribute to the character and public service of Senator LOGAN, who died a year ago yesterday.

The resolutions were signed by Benjamin F. Washer, Louisville; Judge Richard Priest Dietzman; Orie Ware, Covington; Leslie W. Morris, Frankfort; Davis M. Howerton, Ashland; George R. Hunt, Lexington; and John B. Rodes, Bowling Green.

"EMINENT SERVICE"

The resolutions read:

"Died at Washington, D. C., October 3, 1939, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, the Honorable MARVEL MILLS LOGAN, after a distinguished career at the bar, an enviable occupancy of the bench, and eminent service in the halls of legislation.

"He was born in Edmonson County, Ky., January 7, 1875. His education consisted of such as a country community supplies. He held no diploma from high school, college, or university. He needed none. All the essentials to progress and preferment came to him from a glowing heart and a strong mind.

"From 1896 to 1912 he was engaged in the practice of the law at Brownsville, Ky. In 1901 he was declared elected county attorney of Edmonson County and served for 2 years.

"In 1912 he was appointed first assistant attorney general of Kentucky and in 1915 was elected attorney general of the State. He held the position until June 1917, when he resigned to become chairman of the first State tax commission. This office he resigned on December 1, 1918, and resumed the practice of law in Louisville which he continued for more than 3 years.

"MOVED TO BOWLING GREEN

"In 1922 Mr. LOGAN removed to Bowling Green to engage in the practice of the law as a member of the firm of Thomas, Thomas & Logan. The partnership was dissolved in 1926, following his election to the Court of Appeals of Kentucky for a term of 8 years.

"Judge LOGAN served as a member of the court of appeals for 4 years, resigning in 1931, after he had been elected United States Senator. The last 4 months on the bench he presided as chief justice.

"He was a Member of the United States Senate for a full term from 1930 to 1936, was reelected in 1936, and was serving his second term at the time of his death. He occupied his seat in the Senate during the Seventy-second, Seventy-third, Seventy-fourth, Seventy-fifth, and a part of the Seventy-sixth sessions of the Congress.

"Senator LOGAN reached the end of his work at a period when his enlarged experience and matured talents were likely to have been exerted with the greatest utility and at a time when such experience and talent were most needed.

"FULL MEASURE

"Few men of this State have ever occupied offices so varied in character and so vital in the administration of good government. MILLS LOGAN filled to a full measure the requirements of every place to which he was called.

"The occasion does not permit mention of the many things he accomplished for the public service. He left no duty unperformed; no trust was ever betrayed. He sought and held high place with more thought and concern for the duties than for the honors or emoluments thereof.

"His mind was robust rather than nimble; his style of speech and writing significant rather than graceful; his achievements resulted from diligent research and preparation rather than inspiration. But above all other qualities, MILLS LOGAN was possessed of a dominating honesty, a generous human sympathy, the spirit of patriotism and civic virtue.

"A deep sense of religion created in him a zealous attachment to his church and developed a genuine loyalty to the morals and temperance taught by that church.

"All who enjoyed the privilege of his acquaintance, personal and political, will vouch for the fact that in his make-up there was no malice or meanness. Whatever the turn of an issue might be, his reaction was always without a shade of discontent or a drop of bitterness. He lived by the precept of the prophet * * * 'to do justice, to love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God.'

"NO FINER CHARACTER

"The individual members of the committee presenting this report noted separately his appraisement of Senator LOGAN, and such expressions as these were written:

" 'No finer character, from the standpoint of ability, clear thinking, integrity of mind and heart, ever graced public office.

" 'He never hesitated to change his mind as to any decision when convinced that justice and the facts warranted a change.

" 'His actions were always controlled by diligence, sound judgment, and honesty of purpose.

" 'His heart could sing as the great heart of Lincoln, with malice toward none, with charity for all.'

"While these words may be dictated by an affectionate remembrance, they still ring true—MARVEL MILLS LOGAN was a man of real value to his State and Nation, and in his death has been lost an unusual citizen and public servant of surpassing usefulness.

"In the name of the profession which he honored, the committee asks that this tribute to ability and worth, this expression of deep regret, be incorporated in the records of this court."

Attorney General's Committee on Administrative Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HATTON W. SUMNERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

LETTER FROM DEAN ACHESON, CHAIRMAN

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S COMMITTEE
ON ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE,
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D. C.

HON. HATTON W. SUMNERS,
Chairman, the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR JUDGE SUMNERS: In view of the fact that the work of the Attorney General's Committee on Administrative Procedure has been the subject of discussion on the floor of the House of Representatives, I wish to report to you the facts regarding the committee's membership, meetings, and work.

The committee was appointed by Attorney General Murphy in February 1939, at the request of the President, and was directed, in his words, to investigate "the need for procedural reform in the field of administrative law," and to make "a thorough and comprehensive study of existing practices and procedures with a view to detecting any existing deficiencies and pointing the way to improvements."

The present membership of the committee, which was enlarged in the spring of 1939, is: The undersigned, chairman; the Honorable Francis Biddle, Solicitor General of the United States; Prof. Ralph F. Fuchs, Washington University Law School, St. Louis; Dean Lloyd K. Garrison, University of Wisconsin Law School; Chief Justice D. Lawrence Groner, United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia; Prof. Henry M. Hart, Jr., Harvard Law School, and temporarily associated with the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice; Mr. Carl McFarland, Washington, D. C., former Assistant Attorney General; Judge James W. Morris, United States District Court for the District of Columbia; Prof. Harry Shulman, Yale University Law School; Dean E. Blythe Stason, University of Michigan Law School; Mr. Arthur T. Vanderbilt, of New Jersey, former president of the American Bar Association. Prof. Walter Gellhorn, of the Columbia University Law School, has served as director of the committee's staff.

The following is a record of the committee's meetings:

March 16, 1939; May 6, 1939; October 21, 1939; November 25, 26, 1939; December 22, 23, 1939; February 24, 25, 1940; March 30, 1940; April 27, 1940; June 6, 7, 8, 1940. Public hearings, June 26, 27, 28, and July 10. 11, 12, 1940; October 24, 25, 26, 1940; November 18, 19, 20, 1940.

A further meeting is scheduled for December 7, 1940.

The meetings prior to June 26, 1940, were devoted by the committee to extended analyses of reports made by its staff upon the procedure of each of 27 individual agencies. In these meetings the committee members discussed the reports with the staff, and heard and examined representatives of the agencies. The reports as revised, were published with the request by the committee for public criticism and suggestion. The public hearings were announced in the Federal Register, the press, professional journals, and by 100,000 mailed notices.

In the course of the public hearings, the committee sat in divisions of three and heard the criticisms, suggestions, and recommendations of every individual requesting to be heard.

Immediately upon the conclusion of the public hearings, a drafting subcommittee composed of some of the committee members themselves began to work upon the preparation of the report. These subcomittee members devoted their entire time to that task, to the exclusion of their other affairs throughout the summer and fall. The meetings in October and November have been devoted to consideration of drafts of the report.

A more detailed statement of the committee's methods and work is contained in a progress report to the Attorney General appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 13, 1940, and a statement to the American Bar Association appearing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 24, 1940.

Most sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON, *Chairman.*

On the Induction of Southern California Men Into the Armed Forces of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

SPEECH OF JUDGE PIERSON M. HALL, OF THE SUPERIOR COURT, LOS ANGELES

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, there is little that could be added by any introductory words of mine to the simple strength of the speech which follows. I am glad to be able to introduce it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the request of the junior Senator from California, the Honorable SHERIDAN DOWNEY.

SPEECH OF JUDGE PIERSON M. HALL, OF THE SUPERIOR COURT, LOS ANGELES COUNTY, TO THE FIRST GROUP OF MEN FROM SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA INDUCTED INTO THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE SELECTIVE-SERVICE LAW

In the annals of America, this is an historic day.

Washington recommended universal military training to Congress, as did Madison and Jefferson.

And now, after 160 years, today marks the selection of men for military training by uniform civilian units, the local boards, throughout the United States for the first time in peace.

In the annals of mankind it is also an historic day. It marks the ability of the one great unassailed democracy of the world—a free people—quickly and effectively and totally to prepare for the defense of our land, our principles, our peace—and, it well may be—the sacred name and fact of liberty itself, the right of men to be free upon this earth.

Liberty is an eternal compact whereby the living keep faith with the dead who have gone and with the unborn who are yet to come.

In the War of the Revolution over 150 years ago the young men carried the battle. Over three-fourths of General Washington's army were under 21 years of age.

For 2,000 years governments throughout the world had been run and people ruled by the brutal and the powerful, who by force and ignorance subjugated and exploited them for the benefit of those few who ruled. But those young men kept their faith to future generations and founded here a government based upon the rights of man and not the strength of rulers.

Their faith has been kept by each succeeding generation. And it is written in the history of a free people, grown mighty by the capacity and opportunity of free minds to invent, to develop, and to build. It is not a coincidence that the great inventions which make life easy, such as the steamboat, railroads, telephone, telegraph, the radio, the sewing machine, the automobile, the airplane, and many others, are American. Nor that the very instruments of war of the dictators—the armor plate, the submarine, the depth bomb, the tank, and the airplane—are American. It has not been because our minds have been better but because great minds have been free and each has had his chance.

From the example of the faith and courage of those generations there flowed throughout the world the force of the idea of freedom and the doctrines of the rights of man. Many people followed our example. But there were a few nations who have never accepted the substance of the democratic way of life. One of them, 20 years ago, in that cradle of intolerance known as Central Europe, attempted by force to impose its will on the world. To the glory of America, it responded to that assault with her might and strength. And millions of men had the honor of their generation to wear the uniform which will soon be yours and thus to keep the faith with you—their sons—and with us.

The four nations which have never accepted the substance of democracy have heretofore been enemies of one another or of each other or of groups of one another. But they have been and are now united in a common cause to destroy democracy throughout the world and to restore the power to enslave whole peoples by might alone. They propagandize our people with descriptions of some new theories of government, and would lead us by high-sounding phrases and shibboleths and boasts of military might.

But we are not deceived. They are the same old wolves of absolutism, monarchy, and oppression dressed up in modern sheep's clothing.

We recognize that we live in a world where now the law among nations is written in one word—force. America accepts the challenge. A free people can and will do things quicker and better

than the dictators. We shall be ready whenever and wherever we need be. This generation will keep the faith.

Many minds have worked at patient detail for months, many men have volunteered with their time, their energy, and their money to set up and operate the gigantic civilian machinery to register and classify in over 6,000 boards the sixteen and one-half million young men who so cheerfully responded on registration day. All phases of civilian life are industrious in doing and getting ready to do the things that will mobilize this mightiest of countries.

You have volunteered freely and gladly to train for the service of preserving our way of life. You come from all sections of the county and all walks of life.

You will shortly take the oath of a soldier.

On behalf of the officials of southern California and of all those of us who will be denied the honor of wearing the uniform of our country, it is my honor to bring you salutations and good wishes.

May the strength of each of you be as the strength of 10. May you be filled with joyful determination that the flag which flies above us shall always enrich the heavens as the symbol of everything worth living for, and, if need be, everything worth dying for.

America's Inner Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

SPEECH OF C. V. WHITNEY

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, the American Arbitration Association was established in 1926 by the union of the American Arbitration Society and the American Arbitration Foundation. Its purpose then and now is to provide for business, government, and industry a short cut to equitable settlement of disputes without recourse to the courts. In many States, decisions reached by its arbiters are recognized as legally binding on subscribing parties.

Since its organization, the American Arbitration Association has settled more than 20,000 contractual disputes. It has a staff of 7,000 volunteer arbiters made up of outstanding businessmen and civic leaders in 1,600 cities. Its field extends also to Latin America where its work promises to have increasing importance for hemisphere defense. It is a nonprofit organization supported by the contributions of private citizens and the industry it serves.

I am heartily in accord with the objectives of the American Arbitration Association as explained recently by its new president, C. V. Whitney, of New York City, and I believe this association affords American business a truly democratic way of reaching the much sought goal of industrial unity in these times of stress. It is with pleasure that I insert his speech in the RECORD:

I feel the responsibility of this occasion very deeply. For many years I have been interested in the progress of this association. My interest has grown to active proportions during the last 2 years in a changing world and with increasing threats to the principles of democracy. I have concluded that now, more than ever before, arbitration and its uses must be more generally understood and applied.

It is obvious that economic disputes lay a heavy burden upon people in times of peace and that burden becomes a source of danger to a nation in times of war.

The technique of force which is abroad in the world today requires a new technique to combat it. It is not enough to order the building of a tremendous army, navy, and air force. Guns and marching men may be rendered useless against foes of the American way of life if the nation behind that first line of defense is involved in disputes which disrupt industry and commerce.

A strong foundation for national unity must be the civilian's contribution to the national-defense program. American labor, business, and government must end strained relationships and stand in a world at war as a solid model of working democracy.

The voice of every man and woman of America should now be raised against any and all attempts to create bad will between business and government or to destroy public confidence in American institutions. Americans are alive to the menace of internal controversy at a time of national emergency. They have seen great nations of Europe disappear because their inner unity failed to hold up under stress. One of the most effective weapons used by the totalitarian rulers of Europe in their conquest of resisting democracies is the fomenting of disputes within those countries. That weapon must be made to fail in the United States. It must also fail against the other republics of our Western Hemisphere. It can only be defeated through the building of inner unity, and arbitration can play an important part in achieving this goal.

Through 14 years of development your association has worked with untiring efforts toward the prompt and fair settlement of disputes which otherwise might have caused jealousies and hardships to all concerned. By adopting the association and its system of arbitration, Americans are creating a civilian line of defense. It is a voluntary system, entirely in keeping with our democratic institutions; it constructed, paid for, and manned by volunteers. It is for the use of the individual and the community, the employer and the worker, the producer, the manufacturer, and the consumer. Each of these is in a position to make some contribution to our defense program.

Between the mechanized units of our front line on land, sea, and in the air and the civilian armies of our factories, farms, and cities there stretches a great gap through which goods must move promptly and safely. This flow of goods must be kept free of economic disputes, which clog industrial channels, slow up production, and hamper cooperation with other friendly nations. Arbitration has helped and must continue to be more effective than ever in the problem of keeping these channels open. The American system of private enterprise is built on a sound basis of cooperation and nothing must be permitted to adversely affect cooperation.

During my forthcoming term as president of the American Arbitration Association there is more to be accomplished. In behalf of the achievement of this task the organization is expanding its facilities actively into 1,600 cities in the United States and Canada and nearly every country of Latin America. For coordinating the work of these far-flung units central arbitration bureaus are being established in major industrial areas.

Through arbitration, I wish to propose an American inner defense program aimed at the following goals:

1. To greatly increase the types and numbers of businesses now using the arbitration clause in their business contracts. The association is now geared and manned with sufficient personnel to handle many times the number of cases being brought to it.

2. To improve the relations between government and business by urging arbitration, and not law courts, to settle their disputes.

3. To drive for arbitration laws in the States which have not yet provided them.

4. Development of better business relations in inter-American trade through the elimination of misunderstandings in Latin-American markets. This, I think, can best be done through setting common standards of business practice and by coordination of commercial and governmental efforts.

5. Expansion of better business and economic relations with the Dominion of Canada as part of Western Hemisphere defense.

6. Expansion of arbitration in the Pacific to cover the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, and other countries with which this country has commercial relations.

In closing I wish to thank the Executive Committee for its diligence in the past, to commend the officers for their loyalty and devotion to a cause, to acknowledge with appreciation the service of our arbitrators, and to ask all of you to continue your enthusiasm for the principle which we must not allow to perish in this hemisphere—the principle of democracy—and for this democratic institution which is dedicated to the building of a strong American "inner defense" as its contribution to the welfare of our country.

Reclamation in 1941 and 1942

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

ADDRESS BY JOHN C. PAGE

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an address entitled, "Reclamation in 1941 and 1942," by the Honorable John C. Page,

Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation, of the Department of the Interior.

Mr. Page is an imminent authority on this subject. Incidentally, may I say that Mr. Page is a former Nebraskan of whom we are all proud. His address delivered at Great Falls, Mont., September 25, 1940, at the Eleventh Annual Convention of the National Reclamation Association was enthusiastically received, and it is as follows:

What lies ahead for reclamation during the years 1941 and 1942?

We have here, on the one hand, a piecetime program geared to a long-range plan, a work looking toward increased security and added wealth. There, on the other hand, we have an intensive plan for complete defense, rapidly being geared to meet a national emergency, a work which is commanding stupendous efforts.

In the minds of all who are interested in the conservation of our natural resources and in the national defense is this question: Must the preparations for defense engulf the conservation programs?

Obviously, anything which is in conflict with the needs of defense must be shelved and shelved now. It is equally clear that our conservation activities must not needlessly be disrupted, for in them will be found the strength of the sinews of the America of the future.

Part of the work in progress as a result of the reclamation program is important directly and immediately to the national defense. I refer to the construction and equipping of power plants in connection with such dams as Boulder, Grand Coulee, Shasta, Seminoe, Green Mountain, Elephant Butte, and Parker. These are providing much and will provide more power for essential industries, such as the manufacture of airplanes and the mining and smelting of metals and minerals.

An additional part of the work may be of importance in the comparatively near future. If defense needs should develop an urgent requirement for new sources of food supplies, as did happen once within the memory of every person in this room, the expansion by irrigation of cultivatable areas will assume real importance. This will be made possible by construction now in progress of irrigation works to serve such new land projects as the Yakima-Roza, the Boise-Payette, the Shoshone-Heart Mountain, the Gila, and the All-American Canal.

Still another part of the work, come war or remain peace, is needed to provide internal stability. I refer to the projects designed to furnish supplemental water to areas faced with depletion of supplies, surface or underground, upon which farmers and townspeople depend for a livelihood, such projects as the Central Valley project, the Colorado and Utah projects, and others. Projects of the type devised for the Great Plains serve this same end and so fall into this category as well.

None of the work of the Bureau of Reclamation is incompatible with national defense.

We must all understand, however, that the demand for funds and men for defense will establish the priorities of work until our democracy, our liberties, and our way of life have been safeguarded. It seems inconceivable now that a crisis could develop which would demand cessation of the work we are doing.

As President Franklin D. Roosevelt said last May and repeated just this month, "There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives—conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, better housing, and help to the underprivileged."

The year that has passed since I addressed you in Denver has seen our reclamation construction program proceed without interruption, our work in the operation and maintenance of projects receive additional emphasis, progress made in launching projects in the Great Plains, and other developments of interest. Before reviewing these in more detail, however, I would like to present some information of general interest.

In many western sections the 1940 crop season has been critically dry. Grain and range areas of the Great Plains south of the Dakotas have been hit hard by drought, and farther west spotty droughts have caused critical local situations. This drought, in most of the area of the Great Plains and in some other western localities, is but the continuation of a period of deficient rainfall now a decade long. Without dwelling on this point unduly, I would like to point out some of the consequences of this drought.

During this drought the States of Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and North Dakota experienced a net loss in population for the first time in their histories. Between 1930 and 1940 the population of these States declined by 302,314. The dry farm counties in western Texas, in the eastern sections of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana suffered similarly.

The net loss of population does not reflect the whole force of the migrations from the blighted area. The effect on the economy of the Great Plains has been most serious. Taxable values have decreased, schools and other public services have been hampered, and the demands for Federal relief have been high.

That the impact of migrations from the Great Plains has been felt most heavily in the far western States is shown by preliminary census figures for 1940. While the population of the United States as a whole in the last decade increased only 6.5 percent, the gain in the 11 Mountain and Pacific States was more than 13 percent.

In contrast to the experience of the dry farm counties is the record of gains in population registered by counties in which Federal reclamation projects are located. Almost without exception these counties have continued their unbroken growth. Scotts Bluff County in the heart of Nebraska's drought area may be cited as an example. Its population has increased 13 times since the North Platte project turned its range land into flourishing irrigated farms. With the completion of the Vale and Owyhee projects the number of persons in Malheur County, Oreg., increased in population by more than 8,500 in the last decade.

The importance of irrigation in the development and secure growth of these Western States becomes more impressive when one compares the population records of irrigated counties and contrasts them with the records of the dry farm counties.

I shall not attempt at this point to estimate the number of needy farm families who have migrated to the far Western States in the last decade. You are no doubt familiar with figures which show the pressure of the population on the land in California and in areas of the Pacific Northwest. In the San Joaquin Valley of California the population increased 30 percent over 1930, due primarily to migrant families. In Yakima County, Wash., another irrigated area, an increase of 27.4 percent was recorded in the 1940 census.

The many needy families moving westward have found few good opportunities to make homes. Some have attempted to eke out existence on marginal land or in settlements with marginal opportunities, many have relied on seasonal farm work, and many have subsisted on relief. They clamor, however, at ratios as high as 10 to 1 for every farm unit the Bureau of Reclamation is able to offer.

No complete figures are available as to the cost of the relief, which has been made necessary by the drought and by the migrations, some resulting from the drought and some from other causes. Expenditures for Federal relief in the last 7 years in the 17 States represented by your association have amounted to more than $2,500,000,000. Reports show the heaviest relief expenditures were in counties hardest hit by drought. Reports also show that very few bona fide irrigation farmers needed help in counties in which Federal projects are located. The relief costs in these States appear to have exceeded by about $250,000,000 those which would have been justified on the basis of the 1930 population.

I do not mean to imply that utilization for irrigation of all the waters remaining available in the West would have eliminated the relief requirements. I do say, however, that the necessary Federal relief expenditures were unusually high in these 17 States because of the absence of plans for a water conservation program for the Great Plains at the time the drought began to pinch and because of the lack of sufficient irrigated land in the West to offer home seekers the opportunities they sought.

It takes time to plan and to build an irrigation system. The Federal Reclamation program cannot be expanded overnight to meet the impact of an urgent need, quickly arising. It would have been a boon to the West and to the Nation had our work in investigating and planning been stepped up 10 years before the drought set in. Heavy migrations were beginning, however, before the expansion of the Bureau's planning and construction programs was authorized. For those reasons it has been impossible as yet to provide any large numbers of farmsteads for the migrants. This should be a convincing object lesson in the necessity for continuing the preliminary investigations on their present scale, a scale which will make it possible to prepare and to keep current a long-range, expansible program.

Since 1930, however, facilities have been completed to bring into cultivation 381,000 acres of desert land and new storage works have been placed in operation to supplement the irrigation supply for an additional 304,000 acres which were previously inadequately watered. Thus, in this last decade settlement opportunities have been provided for or security assured to more than 15,000 families.

Despite spotty droughts in most of the Western States last year and again this year, the water supplies of reclamation projects have held up satisfactorily, with a few exceptions. In 1939 the value of crops on Federal Reclamation projects was $114,000,000, or more than $37 per acre, nearly two and a half times the average worth of the per-acre production of all crops in all areas of the United States. It is a matter of pride with us that in the 38 years since the reclamation law was enacted, Bureau projects have added $2,657,000,000 to the national wealth through crops produced, an amount 10 times the cost of the projects in operation.

Turning now to specific problems which will interest the members of the National Reclamation Association, the task of placing in operation the Reclamation Project Act of 1939 this year has given added emphasis all along the line to operation and maintenance activities. Much preliminary work has been done on revision of repayment contracts. Some requests for reclassification of land are being filled. We are now looking forward to a report from a special committee named by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, to investigate the repayment problems of certain project units as was contemplated by section 7 of the 1939 act. The operation and maintenance division is now expanding its organization to increase the amount of assistance that can be given directly to the settlers, new and old.

As a result of one of the President's reorganization orders, a certain class of soil conservation work was transferred to the Department of the Interior. This transfer will make it possible for the Bureau of Reclamation to institute this year on its projects some work of this type. Studies are now in progress to design a program for the projects. We must, of necessity, start slowly along this new line. I believe that a sound beginning made this year may lead to major betterments and benefits in the future.

The maintenance of an even flow of repayments into the Reclamation Fund is essential to the orderly completion of nearly a score of projects which are being financed from the fund. Even

then the old problem of augmenting the fund continues a pressing one. About $200,000,000 will be needed altogether to complete these projects over a period of several years. Since accretions to the fund have been depleted by the virtual cessation of public land sales, the fund is now inadequate. It seems apparent that some time in the near future to meet a temporary situation it will be necessary either to advance money from the General Treasury to the Reclamation Fund or to shift the larger projects now being financed by appropriations from the Reclamation Fund to the column of general fund appropriations. When the large projects, such as Grand Coulee Dam and the Central Valley project, begin their repayments, this situation should be considerably relieved. The repayment record has been satisfactory for the most part. Extensions have been granted under the provisions of the so-called Little Relief Act of 1939 for less than 20 percent of the amounts due on construction costs.

Returning now to the broader questions, at the outset you will recall that I showed that reclamation aids defense and does not conflict with our present defense program. It was demonstrated also that social programs should not needlessly be sacrificed and that long-range planning is required to meet adequately such situations as that created by drought in the Great Plains.

The migrations are continuing of those who are found to be in need of manual employment when they reach the checking stations at the California State border. The 11 far Western States have gained 1,800,000 persons in 10 years, and of these 40 percent have farm backgrounds.

The new type of irrigation project which combines reclamation and relief was devised to meet the situation which has developed most critically in the Great Plains during the drought years. Both reimbursable and nonreimbursable funds are used in the construction of projects of this type. The objective of such projects is to stabilize communities which otherwise would be broken up by failure of dry farm practices, or to reestablish those communities on nearby irrigated land. The settlers on the land within these projects will repay in accordance with their ability to repay, and the nonreimbursable funds actually are a part of necessary relief programs. The continuation of this particular type of program as it is now set up is contingent upon the existence of relief programs. Projects of this type have been approved and are now being started in the Northern Plains States. They will, by developing irrigation water supplies and providing canal systems, relocate near their present homes thousands of distressed families. This will make possible by increasing the size of holdings, the rehabilitation of other families on nearby dry farm land, and will tend to buck up the whole region. By increasing appropriations under the Wheeler-Case Act to between $5,000,000 and $7,000,000 annually and by continuing adequate supplemental funds or services for which reimbursement will not be necessary, this program could be made of primary importance in the task now before us of rebuilding on a stable basis many sections of the West.

If appropriations for the regular reclamation program are continued during the next decade at the present rate, new opportunities on irrigated land can be provided progressively for 40,000 to 50,000 farm families now uprooted and wandering. With the development of new farm units by these people between 75,000 and 100,000 additional families would be located in villages, towns, and cities nearby. Supplemental water projects, a type of project which now makes up an important part of our program, would in addition make more secure about 85,000 families on farms and 250,000 families in towns and cities.

In its implications, a grave social problem is created by the inability of farm families to remain in the older areas and to find safe harbor in the new. The reclamation law was born of such considerations. Its purposes have been to provide a maximum number of settlement opportunities and to provide for the enjoyment of decent living standards. The law has been amended and supplemented many times with these ends in view. The historic policy was further elaborated by the Congress this year when it said that "in the opening to entry of newly irrigated public lands, preference shall be given to families who have no other means of earning a livelihood, or who have been compelled to abandon, through no fault of their own, other farms in the United States."

It is evident that because of the importance of reclamation to the job of rehabilitating many now homeless and the emphasis the Congress has placed on this phase of our work, the Bureau of Reclamation must plan carefully the settlement and development of its project lands, and that it must continue the investigations of water and land resources by which potential future developments are blocked out. The first of what I feel will be a series of thorough studies for the planning of the development of project lands has been in progress this year. I refer to the joint investigations of the Columbia Basin irrigation project. More than 40 agencies, Federal, State, and local, are cooperating to determine the best methods for the development of the 1,200,000 acres which will be irrigated by Grand Coulee Dam. The investigations for preconstruction planning have continued at a satisfactory rate this year. It has been possible, as a result of larger appropriations in recent years to place some of these preliminary investigations on a drainage-basin basis rather than on a project basis. This is an important advance, and I hope that funds may continue to be made available at rates which will permit the expansion of the practice to cover all of the West. Sound planning demands it. Let me emphasize this point. Studies broad enough to cover the entire area drained by a big river system may be expected to bring about the best plans for the use of the water and the land, and thus will best serve the public interest. There is danger in confining studies to specific areas in which half-crystallized projects are being proposed. There is the danger of overlooking and blocking for all time in the future excellent little projects that might have been planned and constructed if the problem of the use of the resources of the region had been approached with a broader view. And there is the possibility that although a satisfactory project thus may be found and constructed, a more desirable one may be missed and lost forever.

I am sure all will be interested to know that we have been able by virtue of the preliminary investigations to obtain a more nearly accurate picture of the ultimate extent of western irrigation.

First, let me say that at present about 20,000,000 acres are irrigated, and that this area provides virtually all the opportunities for close settlement in rural areas which now exist west of the one-hundredth meridian. We estimate that approximately 43,000,000 acres may be irrigated eventually. This total includes land now irrigated and about 2,500,000 acres which are within areas to be served by projects now under construction.

We are, in other words, approximately at the halfway point in the development of the West by irrigation in this year of our Lord 1940. One has but to see what has resulted from irrigation in the past to anticipate what is yet to come.

Sugar Beet Acreage Allotments for 1941

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Z. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter addressed by me today to the Secretary of Agriculture:

DECEMBER 5, 1940.

Hon. CLAUDE R. WICKARD,
Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am writing to call your attention to a serious problem now confronting California agriculture. Although of primary concern to the producers of sugar beets, it also affects the welfare of other types of farmers.

As you undoubtedly know, the Sugar Division of the Department of Agriculture has recently announced preliminary sugar beet acreage allotments for 1941. The California acreage has been sharply decreased—from 182,000 acres in 1940 to 140,000 acres for the coming year. This drastic reduction is a discouraging blow to the sugar-beet industry and promises to exert a far-reaching influence on California agriculture in general.

In many sections of California the production of sugar beets is a very essential part of general crop rotation and proper soil usage. Furthermore, land that is now utilized for sugar will necessarily be turned over to the production of other field crops, most of which are even now faced with a surplus. It is not an encouraging outlook, to say the least.

As Secretary of Agriculture, you are already aware of the effects of the European war upon the producers of specialty crops in my State. The loss of export markets has resulted in ever-increasing demands for Federal aid, and thousands of distressed farmers are facing severe economic losses. Any curtailment in crop acreage at this time can only be followed by additional hardships and adversity.

Mr. Secretary, many of the growers whom I represent have rented land on long-term leases and at a price that, under present conditions, can only be repaid by producing sugar beets. Moreover, their equipment is designed for beet growing and harvesting and cannot readily be adapted for the production of other crops. Beet producers also find that local banks are more willing to finance sugar-beet production than the production of other field crops of a more speculative nature.

Frankly, I am not in accord with the present program of permitting the American farmer to continue producing only a small percentage of the sugar that is consumed in this country. Threatening world conditions plainly indicate the necessity for becoming more self-sustaining in the supply of this very vital product. A substantial increase in the domestic quota would be good future insurance for the consumer as well as the producer, the processor, and the sugar-beet laborer in both field and factory.

May I respectfully urge that you give this problem your most considerate attention. Surely you will agree with me that the welfare of the American farmer is more important to all of us than is the producer of sugar in foreign countries and distant territories.

Looking forward to receiving your reply, and with every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

J. Z. ANDERSON.

Is Your God Inertia?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN G. ALEXANDER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. ALEXANDER. On Thursday night of last week in a broadcast over the Mutual network, I presented a poem which has been dedicated by its author, Herman Hagerdorn, to the millions of youth who were killed and wounded in the first World War. A part of that remarkable, soul-stirring poem reads like this:

We are your sons and we are ghosts. We came to love, to labor,
And to know. We died before we loved, before we learned to labor,
Before we knew more than the twice-told tales you murmured
To beguile our puzzled ears. You cried across the world
And called us sons! We came as sons, but what you made of us
Were bleeding shapes upon an altar, slain to appease your god Inertia
Where he sits muttering dead words and chewing at old bones.
Because you would not think, we had to die!

We have been loyal. We have fought for you,
And suffered of the cold, and starved for you. And miserably laid
Our bodies down before your idol, while the incense rose.
Weep not for us, but for your own trapped selves. We died. And there

You stand no step advanced! And after all, when you have set
More millions beside our millions, and beside them yet more millions
Of brave fellows who die well,
You still will have to wake some day and think.
You will let many die ere you do that, and yet the day will come.

My friends, has it ever occurred to you that, as the poet says, our god is Inertia? Has it ever occurred to you that the reason why war is sweeping the earth and is about ready to engulf even this Nation and its citizens is because we have been sitting idly by while the war machine has rapidly developed? In 1931, when Japan first thumbed her nose at the League of Nations and at the United States and started her drive into Manchuria and China, where were you, and what were you doing for peace? Since then war has grown visibly month by month and year by year through a chain of similar developments, all of which we could have headed off had we been wise and active in the cause of peace instead of sitting idly by not knowing what to do nor caring to know. Yes; the poet has described us exactly—Inertia is our god.

Furthermore, is he not right when he says—

You still will have to wake some day and think.
You will let many die ere you do that, and yet the day will come.

On October 4 I made some remarks in the House of Representatives entitled "Prepare for Peace," which, judging from the scores of letters I have since received, have been widely read all over the Nation. These remarks were in support of House Joint Resolution 610, which is now before the Foreign Affairs Committee and which calls for an appropriation by our Government for the purpose of promoting and preparing for peace. Something new, is it not? Have you ever heard of a cent being provided directly for that purpose?

This year Congress has appropriated approximately $17,000,000,000 for national defense, preparedness and preparation for war. That is an average appropriation per day for every day this year up to this date of about $50,000,000. My contention is that we should set aside one of these 1-day appropriations for the purpose of promoting and preparing for peace in nonmilitary ways instead of all for military ways, as we are doing. The resolution just referred to provides as follows:

Resolved, That this Congress promptly prove that we are not limiting preparation for defense to military means only, but are also attempting to prepare for defense and security by nonmilitary means, such as bona fide efforts for peace; and to this end be it further

Resolved, That the President be, and he hereby is, instructed to take immediate joint action with all possible like-minded governments of nations not at war in offering their services openly and publicly to the belligerents in the cause of peace; and be it further

Resolved, That in order to satisfy the longing for peace of all the peoples of the world a cessation of all hostilities under joint neutral supervision should be openly demanded, and at the same time the actual extension of the system of federation into a world union of nations should be offered and pledged to the belligerents by the joint neutrals as the only practical means of readjusting the status of newly conquered nations, or long-held colonies and dominions, of underprivileged or overprivileged states, and permitting mankind to build a new and better civilization in safety, without fear of war and organized destruction: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That in order to finance the above-described program of joint neutral efforts for the present and future of the world, the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring) hereby appropriates $50,000,000 as our safest and least costly defense.

But in order to work out a program of preparation for peace we would have to get rid of our god Inertia and do some individual thinking beforehand, for if there is no adequate study and preparation for a just and lasting peace we will never find it any more than we did in 1919 at Versailles.

Peace, like everything else worth while, must be prepared, must be purchased at a price. It is probable that the price would not be anywhere near $17,000,000,000 if we went at it in the right way, and furthermore my advice is not to settle back in your easy chairs and be too sure that this $17,000,000,000 for preparedness will keep us out of war. I will let you in on a little secret: To many people to whom I have talked, it is the clearest evidence needed to prove that we are already in the war in a polite, modern, up-to-date way without ever having asked Congress to really declare war, except by way of the voting of this tremendous expenditure, and by way of the revision of the Neutrality Act and also by way of the conscription law.

Will we keep out of war? We would show great wisdom if we do, and would save a lot of money. Someone has figured it out that it cost about 75 cents to commit legal murder of a man by war in Caesar's time, $3,000 per man a few hundred years later when Napoleon was at it, $5,000 in our Civil War, and then the price rose to $21,000 per man in the World War. But estimates for the present war indicate that it may cost the warring nations not less than $50,000 for each man killed.

Now, shall we the people in America demand that Congress appropriate, by adopting House Joint Resolution 610, what it costs to kill 1,000 men and thus save millions of men, women, and children, or shall we just let our great god Inertia take complete charge of us so that we do nothing but sit idle while the war machine overwhelms us? At the price set in this resolution in order to start a program to promote peace, if it were used for war, it would kill 1,000 at present rates, but it might save millions if spent for peace.

Some of you may be asking, "Well, just what would you do with $50,000,000 to promote peace?" Three things definitely should be done. First, we should have a great, honest, open-minded debate, with every possible person in the world taking part, discussing the reconstruction of the world for peace and for living. It is evident that a formula providing security for the English and French, and removing the specter of starvation for the Germans, Italians, and others is a man-sized job, well worthy of the prayerful consideration by debate and otherwise of every last one of us capable of thinking.

Secondly, we should gather together and finance all the peace groups and useful individuals in every neutral country, in order to set them to work at the task of developing and organizing a peace conference.

Thirdly, we should use our fund to cloak with authority and to send the best trained and most capable peace salesmen and women into the capitals and principal cities of every important warring nation in order to encourage peaceful and like-minded citizens there to organize and develop sentiment for and to attend such a peace conference.

There are many other things which should be done, but were we to start with only these three, think what an inexhaustible reservoir of new help and strength, spiritual and otherwise, we would unseal.

If I am not mistaken the world is waiting for this, for the leadership it now seems so sadly to lack. That is why there is such chaos. That is why such misfit leaders as Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and our Jap militarists can take charge of things. That is why we are so fearful that we may lose this world contest now being waged. Is not Hitler's, and all the others', idea and program aimed at organizing the world in their way? Sure it is, and you know it, and still we sit idly by and wait, while they act. If I am not mistaken, what we need to do to save both ourselves and all other real values is to take the leadership away from such war makers. We are for peace, but we must organize the world for peace as the antidote for organizing the world for war. This means some concretely defined ideals for world government, such as a United States of the World.

For our debates we should be discussing that organization right now in every hamlet, every pulpit, school, and forum. In every home, in fact, we should be talking about America's new order for the world; we should be studying and discussing what to do about a world postage, a world money, credit, raw materials, a world language, immigration, and overpopulated areas, also underdeveloped areas, food surpluses, famines, a world court for the settlement of disputes between nations, a world congress like our United States Congress here in Washington, a world educational system. Do you believe in a universal God, in the brotherhood of man? If so, then are not these your problems to solve to prove your belief and faith?

For a copy of this address or for additional information on this subject write me here in Washington at the House of Representatives, and if you want to hear more, watch for the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, when I plan to discuss the subject, What Are We Fighting Over?

And in the meantime do not forget we need to prepare for peace. To act constructively you should urge the chairman—Hon. SOL BLOOM, and other members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to act at once on House Joint Resolution 610.

Investigations Seem To Be in Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the small minority of individuals who, for outright pay, or for other reasons, are so lustily shouting for war, while, at the same time, behind the scenes others are trying to push this Nation into the conflict, are beginning to meet with the inevitable reaction that must be produced by any propaganda as blatant, as bold, and as boisterous as the war propaganda is at this time.

Letters from the mothers of the Nation are beginning to pour in upon Members of Congress protesting against the efforts of the war propagandists and the strike propagandists. These letters from American mothers are asking two pertinent questions. The first is, "Who is behind this propaganda to get an unprepared America into an overseas war?" The second is, "How is it that strikes can so easily take place in defense work when the boys drafted for military service dare not complain, let alone strike against conditions or pay which they may not like?"

This growing volume of protests from citizens throughout the Nation is going to lead to two results. One is that in all probability the next Congress will investigate the source of the money which is financing the Nation-wide propaganda to force or lure this Nation into war. The other result will be that mediation and arbitration will have to replace strikes in the defense industries.

It is encouraging that the opposition to this Nation being forced into war which, for a time following the election, seemed to have been stricken silent, is again becoming articulate. It is amazing—and perhaps not amazing after all—what a thorough and widespread propaganda for war was suddenly unleashed on the Nation immediately following the election. The movement to at once begin to finance Britain in her war broke out in too many different newspapers in too many different parts of the country to be coincidental. There is no question but that it was British-inspired propaganda. The outbreak of strikes in the defense industries is, according to the C. I. O. publications, a part of a plan for a Nation-wide wave of strikes for higher wages at a time when the C. I. O. leaders believe they can take advantage of defense work to enforce their demands.

It is amazing and somewhat dismaying that such a large segment of the American people cannot seem to see the necessity for unity—practical unity—in this emergency. The United States has a task that will tax our utmost powers as well as our utmost income to build an adequate defense for this Nation alone. Every thinking citizen must realize that it is the height of folly for us to talk about going into a war to save Great Britain when the President and all his spokesmen have been telling us and continue to tell us that we are in no position at this time to defend ourselves.

The time has come when good American citizens not only must assert themselves, but they should not fail to let their representatives in the Congress know they are against this Nation going into war; that they are against promotional strikes to enlarge the power of certain selfish leaders over industry, and that they are against the disunity which is being aroused by these efforts to drag us into the war by fair means or foul, while at the same time we are temporizing with the influences that threaten both the success and the efficiency of our national-defense program in this time of peril.

Amendment of the Immigration and Naturalization Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LELAND M. FORD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

RESOLUTION PASSED BY TWENTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION, CALIFORNIA-NEVADA DISTRICT OF KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL, SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution adopted by the twentieth annual convention, California-Nevada District of Kiwanis International, Santa Barbara, Calif., in which a proposed amendment to the immigration and naturalization laws is suggested:

AMENDMENT OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION LAWS

Whereas there are between four and five million unnaturalized persons residing in the United States who owe no allegiance to the United States Government; and

Whereas many of these aliens would make good citizens; and

Whereas an unknown number of them are undesirable aliens: Now, therefore, be it, and it is hereby

Resolved (by the California-Nevada District of Kiwanis International, in convention assembled at Santa Barbara, Calif.), That we recommend to the Congress of the United States the amendment of the immigration and naturalization laws so as to provide that any alien, who may elect to do so, may go into the United States district court, and upon renouncing his allegiance to the country of his origin and taking an oath of allegiance to the United States Government, be awarded a decree of indeterminate status as a resident nonnational for a period of 5 years; and be it further

Resolved, That any alien who fails to take advantage of such procedure within a reasonable period of time, to be prescribed by Congress shall, upon the expiration of said period, be considered an undesirable alien and deported to the country of his origin.

Election Frauds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, a committee of the Senate is investigating the use of money in the 1940 campaign. It is calling as witnesses officials of the two major political national committees. It is seeking information from those who are reported to have made contributions to either political committees or to candidates.

Information as to the violation of the Hatch Act should be sought in Michigan by making inquiry among the employees of the State highway department, who did some real active campaigning, during the last fall. An investigator should have no great difficulty if employees were put under oath in ascertaining whether or not contributions were made by highway employees, or services rendered in violation of the Hatch Act on election day and during the weeks preceding election day.

And while the committee is about it, it might go back and seek information as to an election held in the State of Kentucky. That information as to the Kentucky election might be used as a yardstick to measure the election contributions and activities of the last campaign. It might call as witnesses those who were then candidates for the United States Senate. It might call as a witness the President of the United States who did some real effective campaigning at that time.

If memory serves correctly—on July 8, to be exact—President Roosevelt made a speech at Covington, Ky., which even he might admit was a political talk. Among other things, he is quoted as having said:

> In these 6 years the Federal Government has allotted to Kentucky in new kinds of Federal expenditures for relief, work relief, public works, the education of youth, farm rehabilitation, and crop benefits approximately $280,000,000.
> In these 6 years the Federal Government has spent in more traditional forms of Federal expenditures at least another $50,000,000.

Prior to that time, the President had warmly commended one of the candidates. To one of the candidates he wrote a letter addressing him as "Dear ———," using the candidate's first name.

The President, speaking, as it were, from the political stump, then said:

> I have no doubt that Governor CHANDLER would make a good Senator from Kentucky, but I think he would be the first to acknowledge that as a very junior Member of the Senate it would take him many, many years to match the national knowledge, the experience, and the leadership in the affairs of the Nation of that son of Kentucky, of whom the whole Nation is proud.

The foregoing would be considered fairly effective campaigning on the part of the President in behalf of one of the candidates; but so that there might be no misunderstanding, one of the candidates then took up the theme song and said:

> If you want to swap all you're getting now for a set of balanced books down in Washington, then vote for "Happy" CHANDLER. But if you want to keep on getting what you're getting and get some more, too, then vote to keep me in the Senate.

If the foregoing statement was not a plain, unvarnished threat that if the speaker was not elected Senator the State would not receive any further Federal money, a plain bid for political support in return for political "pork," what was it?

"If you want to keep on getting what you're getting and get some more, too," then vote for me.

Was there ever a more open attempt to influence voters by the use of Federal funds?

The Senate committee now investigating campaign expenditures might well go back to the report of a previous committee dated January 3, 1939, and reiterate the statement there made that—

> The committee believes that funds appropriated by Congress for relief of those in need and distress have been in many instances diverted from these high purposes to political ends.

PLAYING POLITICS WITH HUMAN MISERY

The same report referring to the campaigning in Kentucky, contained this statement:

> The findings of the committee's investigators in reference to these charges indicated solicitation of W. P. A. employees and officers for contributions to the campaign funds of candidate ——— and a systematic canvass of W. P. A. employees as to their preference in the race for the Democratic nomination.

While the foregoing was a conclusion of the committee, and, by the way, it was a Democratic controlled committee, the report itself cited specific instances substantiating its conclusion.

Harry Hopkins, then W. P. A. head, made no successful denial of the truth of the charges as to the corrupt use of money in the Kentucky campaign. In fact, when he appeared on January 11, 1939, before the Senate Commerce Committee and was questioned about the acts of the W. P. A. executives in Kentucky, among other things, referring to W. P. A. employees, he said:

> I think they should have been pitched out on their ear. They were not. I don't want to duck responsibility in my shop, see. I think we should have fired them. We made mistakes.

The foregoing facts are called to the attention of the House with the suggestion that the House itself do a little investigating on its own account if the Senate committee does not take some effective action to ascertain whether the Hatch law has been violated.

There was a great hullabaloo over the necessity for the enactment of this act. Putting it on the books was of no benefit, unless it is enforced.

America's Ace Commentator Discusses for Walter-Logan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KARL E. MUNDT
OF SOUTH DAKOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, an independent newspaper columnist or radio commentator these days is about as rare in this country as an open-forum discussion in the capitals of Europe. With five or six highly commendable exceptions, a casual reader can follow most of today's commentators or columnists for a week or 10 days and be sure he can classify them correctly and predict with certainty that their succeeding statements will follow the same obvious pattern of prejudice as "pro-war," "pro New Deal," "anti New Deal" or some other groove of consistent plugging for this, that, or the other cause.

The old-fashioned, courageous, strictly independent analyst of press or radio seems to have lost most if not all of his or her independence. Instead of frank and helpful criticism and comment on the day's passing events, the columnists and commentators of 1940 seem to be so imbued with the desire to sell their own particular brand of foreign or domestic policy to the American public that their statements have lost much of the sparkle and significance of commentators of a few years ago.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., remains, however, as a gratifying exception to the prevailing tendency among radio commentators, and his rise to the top among radio news commentators has been well-merited. He has succeeded exceptionally well in the difficult task of submerging his personal prejudices and policies so his slant on any subject is unpredictable and his

statements continue to command increasing respect by his steadily growing radio audience. Among newspaper columnists, David Lawrence and Hugh Johnson seem in a class by themselves for the independent thought which they reflect and the unwillingness of either to permit his daily column to become simply a run-of-the-mill propaganda column for or against some particular personal point of view on foreign and domestic affairs.

Because of his independent attitude and his frank and fearless record for many, many years as a careful and constructive critic of national and world affairs, David Lawrence is being incresingly referred to as America's ace commentator. While I feel that Gen. Hugh Johnson of recent years has been crowding him closely for this honor, I am inclined to agree with the rating of "tops" which so many readers in America assign to David Lawrence. Because of his long record of honest, impersonal analyzing of public events, and because of his obvious detachment from the pitfall of plumping steadily for or against any specific policy or personal program, the thoughts of Mr. Lawrence on the Walter-Logan bill are especially valuable and important. Under leave granted me by the House, therefore, I include at this point a highly thought-provoking article written by David Lawrence in this connection, and published in the Washington Evening Star on Tuesday of this week:

VETO AT SEA SEEN BLOW TO DEMOCRACY

(By David Lawrence)

Nobody begrudges President Roosevelt a vacation. After the strain of the campaign he is entitled to a rest, but it is open to question whether any President in time of a crisis should absent himself from the territory of the United States and remove himself almost completely from the processes of public opinion.

Mr. Roosevelt plans a sea trip. The announced purpose is inspection of defenses, but there is nothing that he can inspect that his high Army and Navy officers cannot inspect for him.

The Nation has just witnessed a bitter campaign. The principal argument for a third term was that a foreign situation of acuteness and gravity necessitated a breaking of the precedent and Mr. Roosevelt himself declined to travel further than 12 hours' distance by rail from Washington.

It is true that the President can travel by airplane and get back in a hurry. But that isn't the reason why there will be criticism of his proposed voyage. It is that he ignores the whole system of democratic government by taking even as little as 15 days away from direct contact with the American people.

LEGISLATION IN BALANCE

Here, for instance, the Congress refuses formally to adjourn and keeps itself in readiness for instant resumption of sessions. Here, too, legislative business of prime importance hangs in the balance, but the President will not be available to receive petitioning citizens, nor to confer with their elected representatives.

The most essential thing for the preservation of government is that there shall be sincerity all along the line and that the citizens who are being drafted for military service and those who are being asked to make heavy sacrifices shall not lose faith in their own Government. Otherwise the battle for democracy will seem meaningless.

There is before the country exactly such an issue today. It goes to the heart of the problem of preserving democracy by preserving faith in its fairness, its sense of sportsmanship, its readiness to give the minority a fair deal in the operations of government.

For nearly 2 years the Walter-Logan bill has been pressed for passage. In essence it is a measure to curb arbitrariness in the exercise of governmental power by boards, commissions, bureaus, and their subordinate personnel. The bill has been persistently fought by the bureaucrats themselves behind the scenes, and it is widely assumed that they have the ear of the President, who is expected now to veto the measure.

ISOLATED FROM PETITIONS

It is the President's right to go away from the country and allow a veto message to be prepared for him by the bureaucrats and have it announced by radio from his ship somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean. But that is not democracy. Nor is it fairness as applied to our process of government by public opinion.

After the passage by Congress of any important bill, the President is expected to listen to the petitions of the citizenry and to weigh thoughtfully their argument for Executive approval or disapproval of a pending piece of legislation. If Mr. Roosevelt is on the ocean when this happens the citizens will not have access to him.

The Walter-Logan bill has plenty of defects. It probably goes to extremes in its curbs on the bureaus, but it will be recalled when the new dealers jammed through imperfectly written legislation in the last 7 years they always argued that it was necessary to start with an extreme measure in order to correct an abuse and that as the particular reform was subjected to the tests of experience it could be revised and amended. That same argument counts now for the enactment of the Walter-Logan bill.

It would be a fine thing if Mr. Roosevelt recognized in the Walter-Logan bill the true nature of the protests which the 22,000,000 people who voted for Wendell Willkie wanted registered. They felt that a third term would lead to arbitrariness on the part of the Executive and that he would decline to curb his own group.

If Mr. Roosevelt's expected veto of the Walter-Logan bill were accompanied by a definite pledge that he would recommend and press for passage at a definite time a bill that does meet the administrations' objections and yet accepts the objective of the measure it would be heartening. But the administration has had nearly 2 years in which to offer such amendments and get behind such a substitute bill, and none has been enacted.

ECHO IN 1942 FORESEEN

The Walter-Logan bill may become, if the President vetoes it now, the big issue of the 1942 congressional campaign, symbolizing the need for correction of arbitrarily exercised power. If the veto comes, citizens will be justified in forgetting about the slogan "national unity" as it may relate to domestic issues and begin now to mobilize for the 1942 congressional campaign. An effort naturally will be made to pass the bill over the President's veto, and a record vote will be obtained. Then the citizens can prepare to defeat at the polls those individual Members of Congress who by their action allowed bureaucracy to be substituted for democracy and fair play.

Mr. Roosevelt's veto of the Walter-Logan bill will reopen the whole campaign fight, but this is essential if liberalism is to win at Washington and the reactionary tactics of those in the boards, bureaus, and commissions greedy for maintenance of their powers are to be frustrated. It is regrettable that America has to resume so soon the intensity of domestic controversy, but this is the price that must be paid in a democracy when the protests of 22,000,000 people and a majority of both Houses of Congress are ignored by the Chief Executive. For by removing himself from contact with the citizens as they plead with him to sign the Walter-Logan bill and revise it afterward, as experience teaches, the President will be increasing rather than diminishing the basic reasons for our disunity. It's a tremendous responsibility.

LEGAL PAPER PRAISES COL. O. R. M'GUIRE FOR HIS LEADERSHIP IN WALTER-LOGAN FIGHT

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I also include the following article from American Law and Lawyers, a weekly paper sponsored by the American Good Government Society of Washington, D. C. It is from the November 30, 1940, issue and pays a well-deserved tribute to Col. O. R. McGuire, distinguished bar leader and general counsel of the American Good Government Society—a gentleman whom I am proud to number among my friends. The article follows:

THE LOGAN-WALTER BILL

Whether or not the Logan-Walter bill survives an anticipated Presidential veto, the fact remains that this first serious legislative effort to trim our necessary but sometimes arrogant bureaucracy to fit the pattern of democratic American government stands approved by both Houses of Congress.

That means, if our lawmaking body is truly representative, that the majority of the American people are wary of government by boards, bureaus, and commissions. They want a government of laws. They want their rights and duties finally determined not by irresponsible bureaucrats but by the agency of government set up for that purpose alone and long found to be trustworthy—the courts.

Of course, it cannot be said that the people considered and approved the Logan-Walter bill. But that they understood and placed themselves squarely behind the principle of that legislation admits of no doubt.

This in turn means that whatever the fate of the Walter-Logan bill, the people are demanding some regulation of the regulators. And an aroused public opinion in this country of free men gets what it demands.

It is therefore evident that American democracy has reached another milestone, the point at which a growing tendency to break down our ancient system of checks and balances and to confide great powers unconditionally to agencies that represented all three branches of government is finally arrested.

At this point it is altogether fitting to recognize and pay our respects to the individual who, almost single-handed, wrought this notable reform. We refer, of course, to Col. O. R. McGuire, chairman of the American Bar Association's committee on administrative law, who, resolving to waken the country to its danger, endured first a deadening apathy, then ridicule and abuse, and at last had to encounter all manner of parliamentary devices designed to sidetrack the measure.

No man knows how many addresses Colonel McGuire made in every part of the United States, how many articles he wrote, how many conferences he held. There must have been long periods of deep discouragement before the bar got behind the measure. It was still an uphill fight after other important elements in the population—business, labor, farm groups, the press—began to see the light.

The general public doesn't know, and probably never will know, to what an extent a lone individual was responsible for what has occurred. But the bar knows, and every lawyer can appreciate how big a job was undertaken—and completed.

The bar of America salutes you, Colonel McGuire.

Organized War Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, a singular letter came to my desk this week. At the top were the names of men who are high in the educational circles of the State of Michigan. It is not necessary to name them in these comments, because it is obvious they are part of a Nation-wide propaganda campaign. The letter, however, shows such a distorted view of actual conditions, and such a departure from good American common sense that it should be given some analysis in the public print. The letter was dated November 22, 1940, and was as follows:

DEAR MR. WOODRUFF: I believe in the last week or 10 days England has suffered damages to her industrial area which can never be repaired or replaced. I believe at the present time that England's situation is most serious and not only dangerous to herself but the same applies to the United States.

I believe we should repeal the Neutrality Act immediately and I don't mean in days or weeks because it is a matter of hours. We should immediately take over the convoying of all ships to English ports, relieving the British Navy of any part of this. As long as we have a live England we can hold Germany at arm's length. When England is gone, I fear it is the end of democracy.

It will be very difficult for the United States to overcome the Eastern Hemisphere without the aid of England. The sooner we get in and help, the less chance England has of losing more tonnage and thousands of lives. I believe the time has come when the majority of the people of the United States realize this situation and I believe are in accord with the views that I am transmitting to you.

It is my hope that you, as well as our other Representatives from the State of Michigan, do everything in your power that England and the British commonwealth of nations receive all material, planes, and battleships that are needed to the end that this war may be kept going by England until we are ready to step in there and finish off the Axis Powers.

The second paragraph of this letter is an appeal to the Congress to put this Nation into the war without the slightest regard for the question of where we would get the trained men, munitions, ships, tanks, airplanes, antitank guns, anti-aircraft defense, and a multitude of other requisites to a nation at war. Such an appeal is the height of foolhardiness and represents a state of mind utterly dangerous to the security of this Nation.

The third paragraph of the letter is significant in that it says, "It will be very difficult for the United States to overcome the Eastern Hemisphere without the aid of England." It will be news to the Members of Congress, as it was to me, that the American people contemplate active and aggressive war with those powers.

In the face of the President's warning and the warning of our military and naval officials that we are totally deficient in our Navy, in airplanes, and in all other equipment, even blankets, cots, housing, or rifles for the Army, here is a plea that we divest ourselves, without regard for our own defense, of everything the British ask for. That is not patriotism; it is a war spirit gone hysterical, to say the least.

This letter is a part of a Nation-wide propaganda campaign headed by William Allen White, the so-called sage of Emporia, Kans., and his Committee To Defend America by Aiding the Allies, to involve this Nation immediately and actively in this war. The last paragraph of the letter shows this. It will be noted this paragraph says:

* * * to the end that this war may be kept going by England until we are ready to step in there and finish off the Axis Powers.

It is nothing less than astounding that those whose names appear on the head of the letter should attempt to tell the Congress and the American people that Hitler, failing to cross 23 miles of British Channel to subdue England, can transport an army across 3,000 miles of stormy ocean to subjugate America. These people cannot be that stupid. It is equally as foolish to believe that we could transport an army across 3,000 miles of sea, an army unequipped with proper machines and matériel, and mop up the Axis Powers.

It is regrettable, but obviously true, that this letter is based not upon ignorance of conditions but upon what is evidently a blind emotional impulse to drag this Nation into war and to spill the blood of millions of our youth on foreign battlefields.

This whole appeal is based upon false premises, false assumptions, and false statements. It might be interesting for the country to know the motivating influences behind it.

War Hawks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSH D. HOLT
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, October 8 (legislative day of Wednesday, September 18), 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, under the permission granted me, I present for printing in the RECORD one of a series of articles prepared by me entitled "War Hawks."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The deadly parallel.

That is what Hartley Grattan calls the present actions of the United States. And so it is. It is the path of 1914–17 but the great difference is that this attempt to involve our country in war is more deliberate, more planned.

The war hawks had been "educating" America for this involvement for many months preceding the actual start of hostilities. Raymond Moley in his very important book, After Seven Years, tells the story of how this move to "educate" the people for a "stronger foreign policy" had its beginning. I have presented that excerpt in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The London Round Table, founded by Lord Lothian, told its English readers of this manipulation for a long period of time and spoke of the fact that we "were far along the road of 1917." This also has been discussed by me in the Senate.

In the present Cabinet of the United States there are three men who are and have been active as war hawks, Henry Stimson, Secretary of War; Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy; and Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury. The latter has not been as active in issuing warlike statements as the other two but he has been doing much of the inside work.

Let us look at the record of these Cabinet members.

HENRY STIMSON

There was a great amount of material presented to the United States Senate during the confirmation debate on Henry Stimson. Much more was left unsaid because of reasons not necessary to enumerate here.

Before we were advised that Harry Woodring, former Governor of Kansas, would retire from the President's Cabinet as Secretary of War, English sources advised that he would go. He was to be fired. It is worthwhile to repeat his statement at that time:

"There is a comparatively small clique of international financiers who want the United States to declare war and get into the European mess with everything we have, including our manpower. They don't like me because I am against stripping our own defenses for the sake of trying to stop Hitler 3,000 miles away. Eventually they will force me to resign."

They did. And in his place was named a man whom they wanted. If they wanted to get rid of Woodring because of the reasons stated, the natural reason would be that they wanted a man who would do the things he wouldn't. Henry Stimson was their man.

They did not have to guess about that matter. His record of 25 years was testimony to his position. It will be recalled that he was one of the active members of the infamous National Security League, investigated and condemned by the House of Representatives. He traveled with the English paid Fredric R. Coudert through the western part of the United States for active participation in the last World War. He was one of the critics of President Wilson's peace proposal in 1916. He was one of the speakers who referred to that war as one for the preservation of democracy. He said it was "our duty to send troops abroad" before we were in the war.

His record in Nicaraugua shows his belligerency.

Since there is again much talk of loaning money, it is interesting to recall what Senator CARTER GLASS said about Stimson:

"He snapped his fingers in the face of the Senate, and the very next day promulgated additional so-called rules and regulations under which the State Department could continue exercising that lawless function with the result that, with the approval of the

State Department, the portfolios of banks from one end of this country to the other were filled with worthless foreign securities which today are a tremendous contribution to the existing depression and the curtailment of credit under which we are suffering."

Incidentally, it was Henry Stimson that approved the policy of J. P. Morgan & Co. at that time to float the German reparations loan of 1930 in this country.

It has been charged in publications that Stimson was Morgan's appointee in the Cabinet. Certainly every effort of the Morgan forces were at work to round up support for Stimson when he was appointed to his present position. It was exceedingly gratifying to the English Government to see Stimson named. The London Times was active in praising the appointment as a great victory. The papers spoke of his value in "crystallizing public sentiment for intervention," and that this was a move for a "war Cabinet." Those who had been advocating war praised Stimson and Knox appointments as "magnificent."

It might interest some of my readers to know that it was highly important to have the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy interested in involvement because recent laws by Congress required approval of these Cabinet officers before certain steps toward war could be taken. There would be no trouble to get either of these men to do what Great Britain desired. They had already committed themselves to such a policy.

He had expressed it time and time again, and during the week of his appointment called for a program which would make the United States enter an undeclared war.

Mr. Stimson's record is too well known to bother the reader with more comments about his background for war. He was appointed for that reason. He has carried out the policy the war crowd expected.

FRANK KNOX

As Secretary of the Navy, the President named Col. Frank Knox, who was very bellicose as editor and owner of the prowar Chicago Daily News. I have been given certain information as to the financing of that purchase which I think would be extremely important for the country to know. Colonel Knox was not near as bellicose when he appeared before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee and led some of the Washington wags to say that he was the latest convert to the cause of isolation. However, there was a reason for such a course.

He denied the statement of Mrs. Helen Essary that he had told her that he wanted the United States to go in the war. Here is what Mrs. Essary said:

"Col. Frank Knox, new Republican appointee to the post of Secretary of Navy, is an interventionist. I say this not because of anything I have read in anybody's paper or heard by hearsay.

"Colonel Knox told me in a conversation I had with him on one of his recent visits to Washington that we should go into Europe at once. Not only with cash and credit and supplies, but with men."

But Mrs. Essary, a reputable newspaper writer, has since called attention to his actions that would verify her side of the controversy.

His speeches have been extremely jingoistic. He has been more active in the drive for intervention since assuming his post as Secretary of the Navy.

Both Colonel Knox and Henry Stimson were active for the William Allen White Committee from the start. They were in that war-propagandizing outfit and knew what its real purpose was.

Colonel Knox had previously advocated going to war if Japan started to invade the East Indies. When questioned about that in the committee, his qualification was that it might not be advisable at the time for strategical reasons but did not dispute the original contention

HENRY MORGENTHAU

Long before he had companions in the Cabinet such as Knox and Stimson (although one must admit that Colonel Knox had not spoken of Morgenthau in such endearing terms when he referred to him as "out of his depth") Henry Morgenthau was known for his viewpoint for war.

Before the beginning of the war, it was Morgenthau who had directed the unneutral moves of foreign military observers in this country. It will be recalled that it was he who had given the authority for the French observer to be in the military plane that had the misfortune to be in an accident. Had not the accident occurred the people would not have known that these secret deals were in existence. Those on the inside speak of the work that the Secretary of the Treasury has done for the transference of our war equipment. He was not in agreement with Secretary Woodring, who objected to "stripping our own defense."

Much of the activity of the Secretary will not be known until a later date when these matters "eventually out." But he is one of the most active of the group in the President's Cabinet for the cause of intervention. The powers he has are clothed in secrecy, and how he uses them will not be known until it may be too late. It can be marked down that Henry Morgenthau will not stand in the way of involvement.

As I say, most of his work is that type of activity that is very important but not traceable as is that of Knox and Stimson.

However, it is important to note that Morgenthau is not the actual planner of the steps. He carries them out afterward.

It will not be surprising to find that funds, the operation of which are clothed in secrecy, have been used by Secretary Morgenthau for aid to belligerents.

HAROLD ICKES

Of course, there are others who lean toward intervention in the President's Cabinet but they are not important cogs in the machine taking us down the road to war. One must not forget Harold Ickes. He is the Cabinet's cheer leader. He has a duty to go out and stir up hate, because no nation can be taken into war unless that nation hates. No person has a better background for such a task than Ickes. He would just as leave hate somebody in Europe as somebody in this country, just so long as that would bring him some attention. But, the Secretary of the Interior is of the "lesser fry" in the war hawks organization. They do not even rate him in their secret conferences.

Years after the last World War, the papers of Secretary of State Robert Lansing and the work of David Houston, as well as other members of the Cabinet, were printed. The story of these individuals shows that they believed we should get in the war long before we did. Secretary Lansing stated that "Public opinion is not yet ready to accept this point of view. The American people will have to be educated * * *." He also said that he was convinced that we were going into that war from the day of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. But all of the time the American people were being advised that the country was not going into the war, just as others are telling the people today.

But if a comparison of plotting and planning is to be made, it is my judgment that the drive for getting into the present war is far more despicable than the moves of 1914–17. They are following much of the same pattern but they are doing so with the definite experience of the past. We hope that some of the moves 25 years ago were blunders. The same cannot be said about the repetition of 1937–40. I use the term 1937 because this move toward getting ready is not of the present war itself. There was the preaching of hate, the advising of foreign diplomats to tell the nations to go ahead, and many unneutral and unnecessary actions long before the invasion of Poland by Germany—history will so record—the deadly parallel!

Merrily We Poll Along

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER M. PIERCE

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

ARTICLE BY CEDRIC LARSON

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article on the polls by Cedric Larson:

MERRILY WE POLL ALONG

(By Cedric Larson)

Now that the smoke of the campaign has cleared away, the time has come to hold a post mortem on the greatest of all American indoor sports: The forecasting by various methods of the winner of the Presidential race.

To the man in the street the 1940 campaign in the final weeks metamorphosed into something of the most glorified guessing game in our history. A formidable array of prophets waxed eloquent in political augury after due consultation with crystal balls, tea leaves, astrology, mind reading, and other less familiar forms of divination.

But once the election had transpired, the pay-off was at hand. The disappointed have swallowed their grief, bettors have settled their wagers, the columnists have gone into reverse and told us how it all happened, and the contradictory views of the various polls have been reconciled as best they could.

The sampling of public opinion by privately conducted polls is a phenomenon that is largely American. It might even now be termed an American institution, an accepted part of our scheme of things, and as nationally typical as a barbecue or a football game. During the last few weeks of the campaign the weekly communiques of the pollsters were awaited with an agony of suspense on the part of the public only rivaled by the tenseness during the last game of a world's series.

The American public seem to have an almost insatiable appetite for the inside dope, whether the issue be Saturday night's "rassling" match or airplanes for Patagonia. This devotion to "dope" articles is largely the result of the ingrained impatience for waiting which is so characteristic of Americans.

One of the great secrets of the popularity of a political poll is the predominance of the suspense or "X factor." One can visualize the armies of ardent political fans in both camps who mopped the perspiration from their brows as they noticed that their favorite candidate had dwindled in a pivotal State from 51 percent to 49 percent between the middle of October and the last of the month, and on election eve hovered tantalizingly at the 50 percent mark.

But now that "the people have spoken" the question may be asked: "Are public-opinion polls trustworthy yardsticks?"

The polls were on trial in 1940 as never before, and they realized this fact. To begin with, the Literary Digest debacle of 1936 and the consequent interment of that periodical in the graveyard of ill-starred publishing enterprises was a solemn warning to all professional political prophets not to go out on a limb too far. In the 1936 contest the Digest polled 2,376,523 straw votes by mail, picked Landon to win, and was in error some 19 percent when the popular vote was counted.

The sins of omission and commission of the Literary Digest poll of 4 years ago have been recounted many times. The cardinal error of the Digest poll, it may be said by way of summary, was a blind sampling of too restricted a class of pollees—telephone subscribers and car owners chiefly, it was said.

To avoid the pitfalls into which the Digest fell, the pollsters of 1940 tried in the main to make a predetermined sampling of the population curve of every political unit in rough uniformity to its composition by age, industry, wealth, religious beliefs, and the like. The results obtained would then give, it was felt, a more nearly "scientific" picture of the true political complexion of the Nation.

One of the major charges hurled against the pollsters in 1940 was that they themselves were machines of propaganda. This accusation represents the attitudes of many thinking Americans toward them, but this objection seems to rest upon unfounded presumptions upon a closer scrutiny.

At the outset we should realize that in a democracy popular opinion cannot strictly be said to crystallize. On the other hand, it is eternally changing, and on the events of 24 hours may turn a complete reversal of the public attitude on a given question. In short, no one can foretell with absolute finality what way the cat will jump when the moment of decision arrives.

In August of 1940, when the Gallup poll showed Mr. Willkie leading by 77 electoral votes, Charles Michelson, publicity director of the Democratic National Committee, compared this particular survey of opinion to fortunetelling and disparaged its accuracy.

Two months later, however, when the Gallup survey revealed a Roosevelt trend, Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, who described himself as an antipoll crusader, spoke disparagingly of the results obtained and predicted that the Gallup poll would go the way of the Digest poll. While he denounced this recent Gallup blast of 499 electoral votes for Roosevelt, he praised up the Dunn survey, which at the time, October 7, 1940, showed some 331 votes for Mr. Willkie, or 47 more than necessary to elect.

Other dissident voices in the Willkie camp were raised in outspoken opposition to the polls in October which revealed Roosevelt in the lead. Representative BRUCE BARTON, of New York, unsuccessful Republican candidate for the Senate, denounced polls as misleading which showed the Democratic nominee in the front because they did not consider that 1 out of every 100 persons interviewed had not yet made up their minds. Mr. BARTON'S objection may have been a legitimate one, but the undecided voter did not determine the outcome of the election as against the leading forecasts in the actual results.

Before making a roll call of the various polls and noting their relative accuracy, a few of the election figures themselves may be given.

More votes were cast in the 1940 Presidential election than in any previous campaign—almost 26,500,000 for Roosevelt and just short of 22,000,000 for Willkie. Mr. Willkie's vote surpassed Hoover's winning 21,392,190 votes in 1928, and the 1940 Republican standard bearer received more ballots than ever voted for any winner except Roosevelt. Statisticians figured out that a shift of 450,615 votes in 10 States (from 0.75 percent of the total vote cast in Wisconsin to 4.1 percent of the total of Delaware) would have elected the G. O. P. nominee. An even smaller shift in the States carried by Mr. Willkie would have given Mr. Roosevelt all the electoral votes.

The polls were bound to be "on the spot" in such a photo-finish election as the 1940 contest. The various forecasts agonizingly seesawed back and forth and showed first one candidate in the lead and then the other. Few Americans would say that a candidate who had won 449 out of 531 electoral votes had not enjoyed a landslide, and yet, as our electoral system goes, the race was a close one. Under these circumstances, the predictions of the 5 major polls—the Gallup, Fortune, Crossley, Dunn, and Hurja forecasts—are of especial significance in the light of the outcome since the views of all 5 were widely broadcast in preelection weeks.

Probably the best known of these polls was Dr. George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion, which follows a scientific sampling procedure. In 1936 this poll accurately predicted Roosevelt's reelection, although it underestimated his strength by 6 percent. In 1940 his overall error for the entire 48 States was less than 3 percent, as against a normal margin of sampling error of 4 percentage points. No error at all was made in the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, and Wyoming; with a deviation of only 1 percent for the States of Arkansas, Connecticut, Kansas, Minnesota, Mississippi, and North and South Dakota—13 States reported within 1 percent of perfect accuracy.

A total of 23 States was reported within 2 percent of the final election returns by Dr. Gallup; 14 States within 3 percent; 6 States within 4 percent; one State (New Mexico) within 5 percent; 3 States (Idaho, Kentucky, Maine) within 6 percent; while only one State (Utah) was as much as 7 percent wide of the mark.

Dr. Gallup gave five crucial doubtful States on the eve of the election to Willkie by slim margins: Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania (each listed as only 49 percent Democratic), and Illinois (listed as 48 percent Democratic). Although the actual results deviated only 3 percent for the first 4-mentioned States, and 4 percent for Illinois, the shift of the real vote from the predicted outcome was enough to give Roosevelt 153 electoral votes of these 5 doubtful States which had been consigned in the eleventh hour by Dr. Gallup to Mr. Willkie.

In Nation-wide popular vote Dr. Gallup reported 52 percent favoring the third-term candidate, as the Republicans called him, while the actual count showed a Roosevelt victory of 55.2 percent. But the Princeton pollster had somewhat protected himself when on the day before election he wrote in the newspapers carrying his poll that he did not feel that the data "justify a prediction of the outcome of this election."

The Gallup poll, although the most accurate of the State-by-State polls, seems to have underestimated Roosevelt's strength all along. It has been suggested that many workers feel intimidated when interviewers come up and ask them about party preferences. Another factor would seem to be that the interviewers themselves are from the middle bracket income group and may not reach all they should in the bottom social stratum to give a true population sampling.

Dr. Gallup, in his State-by-State polls, has about 1,100 part-time interviewers, and they may approach as many as 60,000 persons. He admits the polling machinery and sampling techniques as constituted at present leave much to be desired and are continually being improved.

The American Opinion Forecasts poll, operated by Edward J. Wall on a scientific sampling principle, estimated the Roosevelt popular vote at 52 percent, with a majority "in excess of 3,200,000." He predicted Roosevelt would win the popular vote, although Mr. Willkie might swing a majority of the electoral college, and allowed himself a statistical error of 2 percent. Mr. Wall had some 4,000 interviewers throughout the Nation canvassing opinion.

The estimate nearest accurate in 1940 was that of Fortune magazine, conducted by Mr. Elmo Roper, who since 1933 has been engaged in ascertaining public likes and dislikes as a commercial researchist. With a comparatively small staff of 80 interviewers, he checked the opinions of about 5,000 persons carefully. Five days before election his survey revealed a 55.2-percent popular majority for Roosevelt, within 1 percentage point of the actual result.

The poll conducted by Mr. Archibald M. Crossley gave Mr. Roosevelt a narrow margin of advantage in the returns published 2 days before election. He pointed out that the Democratic candidate might win the popular vote and lose the electoral vote. He found the actual "undecided" vote as the zero hour of November 5 approached to be very small, and his figures showed Roosevelt as having 488 possible votes, with 221 "fairly definite."

The Dunn survey, conducted by Rogers Dunn, and commended by Gen. Hugh S. Johnson in his column, surveyed about 40 States, and just prior to election he placed 29 States with a total of 364 electoral votes in the Republican column and 11 States with 124 electoral votes in the Democratic column. This survey was conducted by other methods than the scientific sampling process of Dr. Gallup, a fact which tends to credit the technique employed by the Princeton pollster.

In 1932, 1934, and 1936 the Democratic chieftains listened to Emil Hurja, their able statistician, and accepted his prophecy that their party would win the many local, State, and National elections. His figures were so uncannily accurate that he was known as "Farley's guess man" at the Democratic National Committee. He severed his connections with the committee in 1937, but retained his reputation as a political soothsayer.

As publisher of the Pathfinder, Mr. Hurja conducted a poll through his magazine chiefly through the use of postcards, and the development of what he called the trend-analysis system. He gave Mr. Willkie 353 electoral college votes and a popular majority of about 4,000,000.

There were many other types of polls in the days preceding election. Reuters News Agency of London made a canvass of the United States through their almost 50 representatives scattered throughout the country. The Reuters poll gave Mr. Roosevelt 34 States and 366 votes and Mr. Willkie 14 States and 165 votes.

The omniscience of columnists and analysts was taxed to the limit this year. These prescient individuals, with whom hunches and instincts seem to have a paramount role, played their part in forecasting the results. Ernest Lindley, columnist, predicted a Roosevelt victory, with a possible 500 electoral votes. Boake Carter, columnist and radio commentator, foresaw Willkie winning by a landslide, counting on a heavy feminine vote for the Republican standard bearer. Kenneth Crawford, Washington correspondent of PM, prophesied that the G. O. P. nominee would swing only 10 States, while Ray Tucker, columnist, saw the scales tipped in favor of the Hoosier candidate. Dorothy Thompson, supporter of the President, predicted his reelection. Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, authors of the Washington Daily Merry-Go-Round, picked the President to win just before election Tuesday. Most of these estimates were based upon political observation, fan mail received from the various parts of the Nation, or personal travels into much of the country.

In retrospect, it may be said that the polls which relied upon a scientifically determined sample of the population in each State proved to be reliable in their over-all forecasts. In a nip-and-tuck race, such as the 1940 election, the pollsters who were right on their aggregate predictions describe in glowing terms their uncanny accuracy.

It might be noted, for example, that Dr. Gallup allowed himself an over-all margin of error of 4 percent in the election; in other words, the average error would not exceed 4 percent. This is, how-

ever, a plus or minus 4, so the range in reality would be about eight points, which in a close contest would be a pretty wide figure.

Since the Literary Digest failure, the polls have made a serious effort to improve their accuracy and win popular esteem, but the charge of partisan bias still lingers. In 1936, for example, Dr. Gallup's error in 46 of the 48 States favored the Republicans (in size it ranged from 1 percent in Arkansas to 14 percent in Arizona) with the median error at 5 percent, 1 percent above the norm which he allows. In 1940 his margin of error favored the Republicans in about two-thirds of the States; in other words, he underestimated the Roosevelt majority in about two-thirds of the States, although the percentages were close.

There is a growing body of opinion in this country, which thinks that polls themselves should be investigated. Not a brow-beating affair or an inquisition, but merely to put on the record the techniques which the pollsters employ in arriving at their impressive results.

One of the prime movers of this agitation is Gov. WALTER M. PIERCE, Democrat from Oregon, who in January 1941 will commence serving his fifth successive term in the House of Representatives. He has been a close student of public-opinion polls for 20 years, and has written and spoken much upon this subject. In nearly every session of Congress he has introduced a bill authorizing the holding of a congressional hearing on public-opinion polls.

In 1935 a hearing was held by the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads of the House on Governor PIERCE's bill to prohibit the use of the mails for taking straw votes. The Governor at the hearing testified that he distinguished "eight distortive factors" in this type of poll, such as manipulation of votes, stuffing the ballot box, geographical and class bias, and lack of provision for change of sentiment over time.

A letter from James A. Farley, dated March 12, 1935, to the chairman of the committee holding the hearing, effectually killed the bill's chances of getting out of committee. Mr. Farley stated that while his Department had no particular interest for or against this legislation, it was a question of public policy for Congress to determine, but he added: "It perhaps should be stated that insofar as the use of the mails in conducting straw ballots in the past is concerned no objectionable features have been encountered. On the other hand, such ballots have been a source of considerable revenue, amounting in some cases to hundreds of thousands of dollars."

Governor PIERCE has carried on his antipoll fight from year to year despite the pressure of far-reaching international questions and intends to renew his attempt in 1941. His major contention is that preelection polls sway unduly the "bandwagon vote." He says people ask: "Why go on when we are licked? Did you not see the straw vote?" He believes it introduces a spirit of defeatism into the party whose candidate is trailing.

In a speech before the House of Representatives on June 19, 1940, the Governor said: "The census, which is older than any living American, experienced difficulty in attempting to obtain complete cooperation from the public. Such difficulties do not seem to attend the efforts of Dr. Gallup's interviewers, for, according to his statements, representatives of his bureau which has operated only for 4 years were able to secure the most sacred opinions from a cross section of the public. In the face of such contradictions, a complete examination of the accuracy of public-opinion polls is necessary. Such an examination is imperative in view of the wide acceptance of these polls not only by the public but by legislators who quote them as authority."

Later in the year it was called to the attention of Governor Pierce that conductors of polls were writing articles explaining how the polls operated, and even books on the subject had been published, such as The Pulse of Democracy, by George Gallup and Saul F. Rae. To these arguments, the Governor answered on the floor of the House on September 25, 1940:

"Since the failure of the Literary Digest, the polls have made an earnest and honest effort to win popular approval. Yet their tendency to guard their techniques as secrets of the trade has raised certain questions as to their basic reliability. On the face of it, through pamphlets, magazine, and newspaper articles and books, the polling people have appeared willing to inform the public of their methods. Such is actually not the case. Their explanations have been little more than broad generalizations, and the important information has been withheld." He pointed out that Dr. Gallup himself in his book testified to the inability of persons to identify properly their economic strata, not to mention their willingness to confide it to an interviewer.

Many critics feel with Governor PIERCE that the polls exercise a deleterious influence on the bandwagon vote. Last-minute shifts of allegiance of wavering voters who wish to cast their vote for the winner so that it will not be wasted is often determined by the eleventh-hour reports of the pollsters, the argument goes. Independent investigation, however, would tend to show that voters change their sentiments slowly for the most part, and that a popular shift at the zero hour is the exception and not the rule.

The phraseology of the questions is sometimes an important element in eliciting a certain response. This is where the controversial science of semantics comes in. We are all allergic more or less to certain stereotyped words and phrases, and merely to hear them in a sentence might conceivably influence four out of five persons questioned to respond in a definite way. To be a trustworthy yardstick, the public-opinion poll must word its questions simply, clearly, and concisely, and thus escape the charge of ambiguity.

Framing of the questions has in the main been done with care. Words that stir up a class bias, or might guide the voter in answer, are avoided. Interviewers are even cautioned to guard against voice inflections which might influence the response.

Frequently heard is the remark: "I've never seen anyone who has been interviewed by the polls." In reality, thousands are interviewed (sometimes as many as 60,000 for the Gallup polls), but the chances that any one voter in 50,000,000 will be interviewed are as great (as Dr. Gallup points out) as that of being struck by lightning.

Timing is a vital factor in these polls. In the national election we know the outcome the following day, but in the popular polls the lag is from a 1- to 3-week interval before the results can be tabulated, checked, and published. In this sense the polls are behind the trend, a tendency which some of them endeavor to rectify by statistical methods.

One hopeful factor in the public-opinion poll is that the pollsters themselves recognize the limitations of their methods. In some ways they are their own severest critics, and the first to admit fallibility. They state that political elections is only one phase of their function, and that their real mission is to reflect public sentiment on major social issues, such, for example, as conscription, housing subsidies by the Government, or aid to Britain.

In the 1940 campaign, neither the Dunn poll nor the Hurja Pathfinder poll followed the method which past experience has demonstrated to be the most reliable, namely, that of scientific sampling. The 1940 score card of the polls would seem to indicate that analysis of public opinion by means of editorial sentiment, circulation of papers, or post-card polls, is on the way out.

Public-opinion polls can approach a high index of accuracy only in a nation where genuine freedom of expression obtains. Only where there is an honest rivalry of propagandas can persons vote for or against candidates or measures. Many critics argue that the public-opinion polls were used chiefly as propaganda in the 1940 election. The results of the survey made by Editor and Publisher showed that only about 23 percent of the daily press supported the President in seeking his third term. The tendency would always be present, or at least the temptation would be there, for the pro-Willkie papers to display prominently on the first page poll returns which favored their candidate, and to bury or omit a return which favored the Democratic candidate.

These and many other factors must be kept in mind when weighing the place of the public-opinion poll in a modern democracy. Whether or not they could survive in a war economy is a debatable question. They were not able to do so in the case of France, and it is safe to assume that if a poll revealed a trend in popular opinion in the United States while we were waging war which would embarrass the Government, it would be suppressed.

After all the arguments against the public-opinion polls have been heard, the fact remains that those which base their findings on a scientific sampling of the population appear to be growing more trustworthy, although there is still room for considerable refinement of technique. And until the day that by some occult process our foresight can rival our hindsight in accuracy and consistency we will probably have to consult some such admittedly faulty barometer as the poll for the interim drift of opinion between elections.

Railroads and the Public Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VIRGIL CHAPMAN

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

ADDRESS OF HON. CLARENCE F. LEA, OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. CHAPMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a very able address delivered by the chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the Honorable CLARENCE F. LEA, November 13, 1940, at the annual dinner of the Association of American Railroads, at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City.

Mr. LEA's address follows:

I am going to speak to you on some phases of railroads and the public interest.

Transportation and its problems have been Nation-wide subjects of discussion for many decades. I have little hope of saying anything new to you upon these subjects tonight. Sometimes, however, it is important to be reminded of the obvious.

If we consider transportation of the country as only a private industry, its welfare would be of great economic importance to the Nation. Its billions of invested capital represent a sizable fraction of the wealth of the Nation. It is one of the greatest buyers of raw and manufactured products and a great employer of labor.

It substantially contributes to the economic condition of the Nation, and is in turn a barometer that records these conditions.

We all recognize the important interest of the owners of railroads, the stockholders, the bondholders, management, and shippers. Beyond that we cannot fail to recognize the broad and important interest of the people of the Nation in our transportation system. The public looks to these agencies for service. We are all among the producers and customers of the Nation. Transportation includes every agency that takes articles of commerce from their producers and delivers them to the customer. In practically everything we buy transportation is part of the cost; much of the time it is a very material part. That cost stands between the producer and the customer. Favorable transportation opens up new markets, or under other circumstances, the cost of transportation closes markets to producers and customers. Our transportation agencies are a part of our economic life that can no more be disassociated from our welfare than the food we eat or the clothing we wear.

In the first century of our Government the legal status of transportation agencies was not materially different from that of private industry generally. Public regulation was the outgrowth of changing economic conditions and political relations. Our public carriers are still privately owned, but publicly regulated. Out of the need of stability of rates, equality of charges, prevention of discrimination, dependable service, the protection of investors, as well as fairness to the carriers themselves, the States and Federal Government have assumed the power of regulation.

The rail carriers, as regulated agencies, have their special relation to Congress and Federal legislation. They have their special relation to the Interstate Commerce Commission as the regulatory body of the Federal Government having jurisdiction over many of their activities. The rail carriers have a special relation to the other agencies of transportation, to the shippers, and to consumers. They have an important relation to national defense.

In recent decades the Nation has accepted the doctrine that the public interest is the primary consideration in the regulation of transportation agencies. Recognizing that the railroads perform an important service to the country, we have also recognized that public interest is concerned as to the welfare of the carriers themselves. We have assigned our public carriers an important job and accepted the principle that it is in the public interest to keep our carriers in condition to perform that job.

I happen to be chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House of Representatives and have observed its work for a number of years. If you should appear before our committee seeking legislation concerning railroads at the next session of Congress, the primary yardstick we would attempt to apply would be whether or not your proposals are in the public interest. If your proposal is to adopt some measure that would benefit the rail carrier, or other transportation agencies, consistently with the public interest, we would recognize that as a legitimate reason for legislation. I would not attempt to speak for our committee or any other committee of Congress, but not without reason, I would like to feel that the railroads, or any other transportation agency, or, in fact, any class of businessmen, may appear before us in the next session of Congress and present their case with a feeling that our committee will give you a fair deal and a square deal.

The relation of the Government to transportation agencies must be one of three alternatives—unregulated private ownership, Government ownership, or private ownership and operation publicly regulated.

The practicability of restoring private unregulated ownership is no longer a matter of serious consideration. The complexities of modern conditions make such plan of operation impossible.

Government ownership and operation have always had their advocates. In my opinion, there is one insuperable objection to Government ownership and operation. It is hard to conceive of such an operation free of those political influences that would more than counterbalance any advantages from unified Government ownership and operation.

We have what is probably the cheapest and most efficient railroad system in the world. Government ownership is usually suggested on account of the deficient earning power of part of our railroads. Government ownership would not eliminate the difficulty of making such roads self-supporting. In the main, it would simply transfer to the Public Treasury the burden of making up the deficits.

In my judgment, the evolution of transportation in the last three decades has made Government ownership of railroads increasingly undesirable. Three decades ago air and pipe-line transportation were unknown, water competition was of minor importance, and highway transportation instead of being a competitor was a feeder to the railroads. Now all these agencies are important factors in our transportation system. They are in competition with each other. How could we expect privately owned and operated transportation agencies to compete on a fair or equal basis with publicly owned and operated railroads with the political favors they would likely receive? The natural evolution of the Government-ownership plan would be to take in all the competing agencies with a duplication of service and deficits.

We are now operating under a system of private ownership and operation, and public regulation. It will be freely confessed that this system has not been a complete success. We can scarcely hope that it will ever be an ideal success. Up to this time, water carriers, one class of important competitors in transportation, have been substantially free of regulation. That unrestrained and unregulated competition, as well as the lack of unified control, substantially added to the difficulties of successful regulation. The removal of that barrier was one of the essential steps necessary to the improvement of our regulatory system.

Essential features of a good transportation system must include efficient operation and continuity of service, stability of rates, equal enjoyment of rates by shippers and the public, protection against discrimination as between persons, traffic, and sections, efficient service at reasonable cost, just and fair relations between the competitive carriers and as a means of encouraging investment in our transportation agencies and securing efficient operation, they must be financed on a sound basis. Such agencies must be so operated as to give to the Nation the inherent advantages of each particular class of carrier. Few, if any, would deny that each of these are essential to the transportation system that this country needs. It is within the legitimate purposes of regulation to foster such conditions.

The new Transportation Act has many provisions that we hope will, to a greater or lesser degree, contribute to the betterment of transportation. Its outstanding feature, however, from the standpoint of the historical evolution of our transportation system, and its regulation, is that domestic interstate carriers by water are placed under unified control with land transportation. Without this unified control and without coordination of these different agencies we could scarcely hope that interstate regulation could reach anything like its maximum degree of efficiency and usefulness. In other words, in this new act we have taken one great step absolutely essential looking toward the betterment of our regulatory system. No pretense will be made that our regulatory system is complete or perfect. Time and experience will point the way to other betterments.

I am bold to predict that within a very few years the carriers who resisted water regulation will be advocates of that system. We have had an evolution of the need of interstate regulation in this country. The demand and need have grown out of changed economic conditions. With the duplicated service that can now be afforded by rail, highway, and water the carriers need the protecting power of regulation fully as much as the public.

While transportation legislation was recently pending in Congress we heard repeated declarations that the regulatory powers of the Government should be used only for the protection of the public and not for the protection of the carriers. That was a mistaken idea. The abuses by discriminations and rebates in the old days were as much offenses against the competitive carriers as against the public. That practice was one of the reasons for enactment of the original Interstate Commerce Act. The shipping and consuming public of this country cannot receive their just protection unless regulation looks also to the benefit of the carriers themselves—the protection against unfair methods of competition, whether resorted to by the competitor voluntarily or when driven by necessity.

In the legislation which Congress recently enacted, we attempted to prescribe no magic remedies, we provided for no subsidies, we gave no guaranties. We had no hope of maintaining transportation agencies that exist without economic justification. The ultimate end that we hope for is that the road economically justified shall operate on a self-supporting basis, and in the course of years receive an income that will justify investors' financing it as a successful going concern.

We recognize that a successful railroad needs a good volume of traffic, efficient management, reasonable expense accounts, protection in the enjoyment of reasonable rates, and fixed charges within sound financing. It should have protection against extortionate local taxes, excessive amounts of bonds, particularly at high rates. It must in the course of years bring in a return to its owners that will justify and attract investors.

Only in part, at least, can the law or regulation give to carriers these essentials of successful operation. A very large part of the problem must be that of railway management.

Changing modern conditions have very substantially changed the interest of our country in its transportation agencies. At the same time the relation of these agencies has likewise greatly changed. In the last 30 years we have seen marvelous results following the development of the internal-combustion engine. Motor vehicles took over 14,000,000 horses and mules off the farms and highways of this country. That same mechanism greatly reduced the market for farmers' feed and grain supply. The motor vehicle ushered in the modern highway with its paved surface, on which 30,000,000 motor vehicles now operate. Trucks and busses on those highways give a service that was not within the dreams of the country 40 years ago. Millions of privately owned machines have come into the transportation field and displaced older methods of transportation.

The Panama Canal cut the Isthmus and made intercoastal transportation practicable for half the population of the United States. Modern ships and barges furnished improved service. Refrigeration in transportation made the perishable products of every land available in every section of our country. Air commerce became a reality. Pipe lines carry an important commerce. The Federal and State Governments within three decades have developed rivers, harbors, and highways, and for free use, as never before.

In the transportation act Congress for the first time declared a national transportation policy. It declares for the fair and impartial regulation of all modes of transportation and so administered as to preserve the inherent advantages of each and to foster sound economic conditions in transportation and among the several carriers. All these things are declared to the end of developing, coordinating, and preserving a national transportation system by water, highway, and rail, and other means, to meet the needs of commerce and national defense. The act is to be administered with a view of carrying out those policies.

That declaration of policy is a recognition of the need of impartial justice as between all different transportation agencies. To a great degree, it recognizes the interest of the people of the Nation in the welfare of the transportation agencies themselves.

I regard the coordination of our various competitive transportation agencies as a problem of the first magnitude in our regulatory system. On its success depends the success of the regulatory system itself. We have a great transportation business. These agencies perform useful and essential services to the country. We have recognized the right and the duty of our regulatory bodies to restrict competitive agencies to the needs of the public and thereby prevent uneconomic and destructive competition. We have acted on the theory that the country is better served by properly financed and live, going agencies than by cutthroat competition of an unrestrained character.

We recognize that all our transportation agencies—rail, highway, water, pipe line, and air carriers—are useful and essential to the public welfare. Each of these agencies has its own particular inherent values in some respects not supplied by its competitors. There are many phases of transportation in which two or more of these agencies can advantageously compete. There is a tendency, perhaps, in each of our transportation agencies, through aggressive competition or otherwise, to crowd out its competitors where their services are needed.

It is perfectly apparent that if we are to preserve to the country the benefit of the inherent value of each of these agencies, we must protect the rates of each in that useful field of service which constitutes each particular function of value to the country.

A coordinated system of transportation, as well as justice between these competitive agencies, requires that through a just rate structure these agencies will find their place economically justified in the competitive field. Needless or useless service or competition within those reasonable bounds will necessarily, even if unfortunately, serve to weed out those surplus or unnecessary transportation agencies which are not justified by economic conditions.

In the proper adjustment of the rate structure there should be little room for cutthroat competition; neither should there be justification for excessive rates because of lack of competition. It may well be that carrying out this purpose will require a greater degree of initiative by the Interstate Commerce Commission in establishing a proper rate structure than has heretofore been the practice.

The American Government has given to its people a freedom and equality of rights that makes it noteworthy among the nations of the world. Equally outstanding by comparison with the rest of the world has been the economic progress accomplished by this Nation. The high standard of living of our people, their opportunity and ability to enjoy the good things of life, gives the highest commendation to our Government in its rating among nations. It is important for our people to remember that its high standard of living, the favorable social status of its people, is an outgrowth of the economic success of business in this country. No amount of benevolence can bring physical comforts and conveniences and opportunities enjoyed by our people in lands where trade does not flourish.

Government has two sides necessarily in its relation to business. One definite responsibility is to foster, protect, and encourage legitimate trade and industry to bring their full benefits to the people of the Nation. On the other hand, by necessity, under any form of government so far known to man, government owes the duty as protector of all its people to guard against the selfish abuse of economic and political power. The first great accomplishment of government is to give its country national security.

Scarcely less important is the responsibility of a popular government to secure for its people social justice. I do not use that term as Father Coughlin would use it. By social justice I do not mean financing improvidence or simply taking from those who have to give to those who have not. Nothing is more creditable to a humane and enlightened government than a just and generous response to the wants of our deserving needy in misfortune's dreary hour. We cannot afford, within the bounds of our reasonable capabilities, to refuse to invest in our greatest resources, youth and men and women.

The point that I would like to emphasize at this particular hour is that industry, frugality, production, trade, commerce, business investment, and employment are the sources from which have come these favorable accomplishments of our Nation. To continue these accomplishments, to advance these humane functions, to continue and raise the standard of the life of our people, we are dependent on these sources of strength.

One of the greatest things that progress of government can accomplish is to make it easier for men, whether rich or poor, to secure and maintain their just rights. The opportunity for advancement in our country, as I see it, includes the need of more social justice for the businessman.

We have nothing to gain from giving organized wealth or any business unjust privileges to take advantage of those less able to take care of themselves. We may have much to gain by removing prejudice against business because it is business or because it represents wealth. We may, with profit, reappraise the laws of our country and their administration with a view of removing all unjust or needless handicaps to business. I have as little desire to give business any unjust privileges as any man. We should want to remove only those handicaps that can be eliminated for the best interest of the country. To the extent we can give business assurance of a friendly government, or dependence on stabilized conditions, or elimination of unnecessary handicaps, we help everybody in the land. Good clean legitimate business helps all, and none more than the man who by the sweat of his brow earns a living for himself and his family and in daily toil seeks the welfare of their future.

In our great expanse of territory, the wide distribution of our productive areas, and with the great consuming power of the American people, the need of low-cost transportation is apparent to all. It is a basic condition to our prosperity, the utilization of our resources, and the development of the interior sections of the United States. There can be no arbitrary rules of rate making. The elementary principles of rate making must, to a degree, yield to the necessity that will let the traffic move, and permit a reasonable latitude that competitors must share in the traffic. Such economic conditions require and necessitate a discretionary power in building up the rate structure. Those economic conditions are separate from cases where cut-throat conditions are set up for peculiarly artificial reasons, and due to no economic justification.

This is a popular form of government. The people select their representatives in the National Congress, who largely reflect the viewpoint of the folks back home. Popular opinion and the influences at work in the various districts of the country are reflected in the legislation that Congress enacts.

The old statement is still true, that either wisdom or folly is eventually written into the laws of the land, depending upon who writes those laws.

Part of the virtue and part of the weakness of popular government is that legislators readily respond to the wishes of their constituents. Sometimes aggressive, assertive groups have influence out of all proportion to their numbers. Sometimes temporary and temperamental phases of popular opinion are written into permanent law.

We cannot appraise popular government without recognizing that men in public office, as in every other position of life, desire to maintain and promote their own success. We always have, at least, the temptation to follow the easy course conforming to prevailing sentiment.

The best service of a representative of the public is to give to that public the advantage of his own conscience, experience, and wisdom, whatever that may be. Duty would seem to demand that the legislative representative should not do less, even though it may involve political penalties.

The problems of the carriers cannot be disassociated from that of the balance sheet, particularly when about 30 percent of rail carriers have been under the custody of the courts. Under our system of regulation the Government owes the carrier reasonable regulations as to rates, fair conditions of operation, and protection against unfair competitive methods. Beyond that the financial success of the carrier is primarily dependent on economic conditions and carrier management.

We accept, as a basic principle, that the carrier is entitled to a reasonable rate. We want him to be paid properly for his service. We recognize that through the course of the years the carriers cannot function efficiently, and therefore perform their duty to the country, unless they be properly compensated. The individual shipper may be glad to get the lowest rate possible, no matter how inadequate, but Congress, in its legislation, has recognized that the public is interested in seeing that the carrier is properly rewarded. That is not only fairness to the carrier, but desirable to the public, as a national policy.

We are committed to the position that a reasonable rate is due the carrier. Under that plan, the shippers, and the consuming public, bear the just burden of our transportation system. Equity, as well as national policy, requires that so far as practicable that burden should be equally borne by the consumer of the Nation. A corollary of this rule should be that a cutthroat rate is an injustice to the carrier, the shipper, and the consumer as well. If one part of the consumers pays less than its share of maintaining our transportation system, another part must pay more than its share, or the carrier is inadequately rewarded.

Practical rate making does not yield itself to arbitrary rules. The most abstract and fundamental principles of rate making are qualified by such considerations as I have just mentioned. We are forced, by necessity, if not by prudent choice, to place a very great discretionary power in the hands of our regulatory body.

At this point, we must recognize a difference between legislation and administration of our regulatory measures. Congress attempts to lay down the rules that in general terms define the duties of the Interstate Commerce Commission. We recognize a great difference between the pronouncement of abstract principles of legislation and the practical administration of law necessary to accomplish purposes intended by Congress. There is a great difference between law writing and law administration. The administration of our transportation laws is left primarily to the Interstate Commerce Commission. The responsibility of that Commission, the demand upon it for ability, fairness, comprehension of our transportation problems, and devoted service in attempting to carry out its purposes, are very great.

This Commission is set up with a view of giving stability and continuity of policy to its work. It is composed of a group of men, appointed for substantial periods, whose terms of service terminate intermittently. Its responsibilities call for the highest type of service. Fortunately, that Commission has established a reputation for ability and judicial fairness that inspires confidence as it assumes still greater responsibilities for the future. Improvident legislation by Congress complicates the difficulties of the Commission. No difference how wise may be the legislation that Congress provides as the guide post for the Commission, there still rests with it a great responsibility for the results that may be achieved.

In the recent Transportation Act we made no fundamental changes in the set-up of the Commission, but did adopt some procedural changes which, it was thought, might add to the efficiency of the Commission and expedite its work. I am one of those who believe that the Commission's work is of such importance that we should

facilitate its work by any practical methods that would increase its efficiency, lighten its burdens or expedite its work.

Our transportation policy recognizes the necessity of maintaining a prepared transportation system and particularly recognizes the importance of that system from the standpoint of national defense. The Transportation Act is to be administered having in mind the development and maintenance of a transportation system that can serve the purposes of national defense. The last year has emphasized the importance of that consideration in dealing with our defense and transportation problems.

Our roads are now probably better fitted to handle a national emergency than at any other time in our history.

The country is now experiencing an upturn in economic conditions including transportation, no doubt largely due to the increased foreign trade and production for national defense purposes. The roads are moving a good volume of traffic and railway labor employment has reached its highest number since October 1937. During the last year the roads with commendable foresight have been improving roadbed and equipment and are today the best prepared to handle peak requirements of any time in the history of the country. Perhaps no one would be warranted in predicting how long this situation will continue, nor how abruptly the demand for transportation for defense purposes may cease. Unfortunately, world conditions indicate that this generation of Americans will not be able to return safely to the lower standards of military preparedness of the past. We must prepare for that world in which we are going to live which for the moment seems to be quite a different world from that in which America has heretofore lived. When peace comes it will bring economic changes the extent of which will depend on circumstances yet undeveloped. Prudent foresight may largely discount the unfavorable reactions that follow intensive defense preparations.

We do not discuss the long-time viewpoint except on a speculative basis. One thing is certain however, this country will still have a vast volume of traffic for our public carriers. The problem of the government and the carriers is, by prudent legislation, administration, and business management, to make our transportation job well done and enable our useful transportation agencies to enjoy, at least, a fair reward for their services to the country.

Food-Stamp Program Must Be Expanded

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JED JOHNSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, the Members of the House know of my long-standing interest in the Department of Agriculture's food-stamp plan. This is the program which is attacking the dual problem of surpluses on our farms and diet deficiencies among millions of our lower-income families.

When this plan was inaugurated in May 1939, many of us held very high hopes for its success. It looked like a sensible way of moving excess supplies which had been holding down many farm prices, and at the same time helping to build up the health of our people by giving the underprivileged a chance to get the food they needed. We all know that the problems of 18 months ago are even more acute today. The war has cut off a good part of our normal farm export markets, and national-defense needs make it more imperative than ever to secure health and strength for all our people.

With these thoughts in mind, I recently asked the Department of Agriculture to furnish latest available information regarding the food-stamp plan—information as to just what it has already accomplished. I should like to give you a brief summary.

Started slowly, on an experimental basis, the food-stamp plan has been expanded gradually until today—December 5—it is available in 238 areas throughout the United States. These areas, which are scattered among 47 of the 48 States, include about 30 percent of the total population of the country. Records show that more than 1,300 communities have asked for the stamp plan, but it has not been possible within sound administrative procedure and available funds to reach more than the present total.

Two million five hundred thousand members of public-assistance families are using the blue surplus stamps today. These stamps, which are exchanged at the local grocery store for a list of nearly 20 officially designated surplus farm commodities, give needy families a 50-percent increase in their food-buying power.

Latest complete figures available are for the month of October. During that month 2,200,000 persons used $5,100,000 worth of the blue stamps to buy surplus commodities. Importance of this new market for our various agricultural producers is shown by a break-down of the foodstuffs actually bought with these surplus stamps. Of the total, 14 percent was used for butter; 14 percent for eggs; 17 percent for flour, rice, and other cereal products; 12 percent for vegetables; 13 percent for fruits; and 30 percent for pork products.

Quantities of some individual farm commodities bought with blue stamps and eaten by needy families during the month were as follows: 2,158,000 pounds of butter; 10,450,000 pounds of pork products; 15,361,000 pounds of potatoes; 2,657,000 dozen eggs; 17,456,000 pounds of flour; 7,674,000 pounds of other cereals; a combined total of 7,245,000 pounds of dry beans, fresh snap beans, cabbage, cauliflower, and tomatoes; 2,478,000 bunches of beets, carrots, and celery; and carloads of apples, pears, oranges, raisins, and dried prunes.

It is apparent that the high hopes we held for the food-stamp plan are being fully realized. It is taking large quantities of surplus crops off the farmer's market, and helping him financially. It is adding healthful, body-building foods to the meals of hundreds of thousands of our neediest families. Also, and this is important, it is moving these agricultural supplies entirely through the normal channels of trade, thus helping the food-distributing industry and all business.

Reports available to me show that the program is operating with remarkable success in every area where it has been started. Local public and relief officials handle much of the administration of the plan. They designate the eligible families and distribute the stamps. Grocers and other businessmen play an integral part in the actual operation of the program. The Federal Government supervises and directs. It is a plan that calls for teamwork, and we can all be proud of the fact that cooperation has made this teamwork possible in a typically American way.

The Department of Agriculture is continuing to designate new areas in its gradual expansion of the program. We hope that it will be possible for this work to go forward steadily in order that additional millions of our needy people may have the benefit of these health-building foods, and in order that our farmers may have the benefit of badly needed wider markets for their surplus crops.

The following table gives information on the estimated value and quantity of surplus foods moved through the food-stamp plan during each of the first 4 months of this fiscal year. This table shows the steady and sound development of the stamp plan as a service program.

Estimated use of the blue food-order stamps for July, August, September, and October 1940 (Economic Analysis Section, S. M. A.)

Commodity	Value				Quantity			
	July	August	September	October	July	August	September	October
Butter---pounds	$538,000	$647,000	$635,000	$718,000	1,710,000	2,045,000	1,995,000	2,158,000
Eggs---dozen	504,000	616,000	675,000	718,000	2,194,000	2,558,000	2,531,000	2,657,000
Pork---pounds	1,054,000	1,187,000	1,147,000	1,200,000	6,031,000	6,630,000	6,108,000	6,619,000
Lard---do	220,000	259,000	272,000	321,000	2,610,000	3,172,000	3,249,000	3,831,000
Cereals---do	663,000	719,000	780,000	868,000	18,425,000	20,499,000	22,349,000	25,130,000
Vegetables [1]	407,000	576,000	495,000	640,000				
Fruits [1]	129,000	497,000	629,000	635,000				
Total	3,515,000	4,501,000	4,633,000	5,100,000				

[1] Quantities are not given for fruits and vegetables because of the different units of measure used for the various commodities.

Thomas Todd, the Man

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VIRGIL CHAPMAN
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 5, 1940

ADDRESS OF JUDGE EDWARD C. O'REAR

Mr. CHAPMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an interesting, informative, and eloquent address delivered by former Chief Justice Edward C. O'Rear, of Kentucky, at Frankfort, Ky., February 1, 1940, on the occasion of the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Supreme Court of the United States. The ceremony, held under the auspices of the Franklin County Bar Association, took place in the hall of the house of representatives, with Gov. Keen Johnson presiding. The subject of the address was Thomas Todd, the Man.

Judge O'Rear's address follows:

Your excellency, your honors, and gentlemen of the bar, commissioned by the Franklin County bar to review the life of one of its most distinguished members, Mr. Justice Todd, long passed into the beyond, I choose the man from the many subjects which this one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the commencement of the great court of which he was a member for many years might fittingly suggest.

History, the diligent penman of Time, busies itself mainly with great events. It but seldom pauses to note those commonplace activities which at last best illustrate character and account for achievement.

After a century and a half, that one is able to find many evidences of such activities is proof of unusual celebrity.

Thomas Todd was born in Virginia, in King and Queen County, in tidewater, Va. His parents, of English stock, had resided there for such length of time as to establish a state of generous prosperity and social and political influence.

Richard Todd, the father, and nee Elizabeth Richards, a woman of culture and refinement, the mother, had born to them five children. The eldest, William, became high sheriff of his county—an office of dignity in the colony as it was of importance in England. Thomas was the youngest, born January 27, 1765. The father died when Thomas was 18 months old. Under the law of primogeniture which existed in the colony, the estate devolved upon the oldest son. But debts, the canker of fortune, soon dissipated it. The widow betook her younger children to Manchester—a town opposite Richmond. Her labors, her planning, her judgment, her sacrifices—faculties so often developed in widows of scant fortune—enabled her to supply such schooling as the times afforded for the education of those orphans, including Thomas. It could not have been considerable. The Revolutionary War had raged for the most of that child's life, and though Virginia was exempt from major military actions at first, young Todd finally enlisted in the Continental Army at the age of about 14, serving some 6 months. That must have been about the time of the threatened invasion under General Leslie, after Lord Cornwallis' victories in the South, when it seemed that his army and Sir Henry Clinton's from the North would, acting as a nutcracker, crush the spirit of the revolutionists of Virginia and Maryland. Dire must have been the situation when manpower was so far exhausted that children took up arms for their country's life and freedom.

In 1780–81 Gen. Benedict Arnold was dispatched by the British to accomplish what Leslie had postponed—the crushing of the Virginians. He landed at Old Point Comfort, soon took Richmond, and carried on a campaign of devastation and destruction of private property not much different from the most modern madness.

Young Todd enlisted again, this time with the Manchester troop of cavalry. He was then 15 or 16 years old. That campaign intensified until the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 20, 1781.

It will be remembered that General the Marquis de Lafayette was in command of the American forces until Washington and Greene arrived. So, Todd must have served under that sagacious, intrepid patriot-ally. Upon de Lafayette's tour in 1825, in passing through Fankfort, he visited in two homes—that of Senator John Brown and that of Justice Todd.

Between 1781 and 1783 young Todd went to live in the family of his mother's kinsman, Harry Innis, a lawyer of distinction, in Bedford County. Young Todd became the tutor to the Innis children, while studying law under his kinsman's direction. He also then took up the study of land surveying. That connection and those two studies influenced, indeed finally determined, his whole after life.

In 1783 Mr. Innis was appointed judge of the United States district court for the newly created district of Kentucky. He at once repaired to that frontier region and set up his court at Danville. Young Todd remained in the Innis family in Virginia until Judge Innis had prepared for their future residence in Kentucky, whence they repaired in 1786, under the escort of their young kinsman-tutor.

Thomas continued teaching, while pursuing his study of law, till in 1789 Judge Innis appointed him clerk of his court.

Through many years, busy with important events momentous to both, they remained the closest and warmest of friends. Innis predeceased Todd by several years. Todd was buried in the Innis burial ground on the thousand-acre farm of the latter which lies on Main Elkhorn in this county, many years later removed and reinterred in the Frankfort Cemetery. A loyalty ending with death only is not excelled.

There were five conventions held in Kentucky seeking separation from the mother Commonwealth, looking to setting up housekeeping for themselves by the Kentucky-Virginians. Thomas Todd was selected by each of those conventions to act as its secretary, as well as of the final convention that adopted the first constitution of this State. The original of that document in his handwriting may be inspected at the Kentucky Historical Society Library.

Upon the organization of the State in 1792, Thomas Todd was appointed clerk of the Court of Appeals—the first to hold that office.

He had theretofore been admitted to the bar. He specialized in the practice affecting land titles. The system of disposing of public land, in this State as well as in Virginia and Tennessee, was a rather loose one, and as every lawyer knows, was fruitful of litigations involving priority and superiority of conflicting and overlapping entries and surveys—sometimes as many as five different surveys embracing the same land. Virginia, justly mindful of her dignity as granting sovereign, had insisted that the compact of separation should preserve to her entrants and those claiming under them, the same integrity that would have protected them in the courts and under the then existing laws of that State.

Rapidly increasing immigration as well as the desirable quality of this new land of great forests, fertile soil, and lustful opportunity, multiplied the perplexities of the situation as to land titles. Thus, a practical knowledge of land surveying, as well as of the statutes of Virginia and Kentucky, and decisions affecting the proper execution of public land appropriations, was of the first importance to the aspiring practicing lawyer of that day. Mr. Todd early gained a reputation for a thorough knowledge and able exposition of that branch of the law, a reputation not confined to his own State, but extending into those adjoining.

When the Court of Appeals was organized naturally its first members were selected with respect to their long tried experience. They were appointed by the Governor for life or during good behavior.

In 1801 it was found that the Court composed of a Chief Justice and two Associate Judges, was constituted of rather elderly men. Sensing the desirability of infusing younger blood into the Court the assembly created the office of fourth judge of the court of appeals. Gov. James Garrard selected and appointed to that office on December 19, 1801, our Mr. Thomas Todd, then aged 35 years, 11 months.

George Muter was then Chief Justice. Time and the price of an unusually active life were telling against the old jurist. He had served gallantly in the Revolution as commander of a vessel in the Navy. He resigned as Chief Justice in 1806, whereupon Governor Greenup appointed Thomas Todd to that office. Judge Muter took up his abode with Judge Todd and remained a pensioner on the good graces of his friend and comrade till his death.

In 1807 population had so increased in Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee, with consequent increase in litigations affecting the most important incident of the economic life of those people—their landed estates—that the Congress created the sixth circuit, composed of the States named, and provided for the appointment of an additional Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

The President, Mr. Jefferson, viewing the conditions named, had recourse to a then novel method of selecting the judge. He requested the delegates from those States, it is said, to submit to him in writing the first and second choice of each as the most suitable man to be nominated. Thomas Todd was either first or second choice of each of the delegates. His nomination and confirmation quickly followed. The first intimation he had that he was being considered, was the notification of his appointment.

He was appointed Associate Justice in April 1807, at the age of 41 years.

He served until February 7, 1826—the date of his death—aged 61 years.

If Judge Todd wrote many opinions for the courts of which he was a member there is not official identification of them. At the beginning, and for some 15 years after its organization, the written opinions delivered by the court of appeals were anonymous. Nor was there an official reporter for that court till after Judge Todd's resignation in 1807. The Kentucky reports contemporaneous with Judge Todd's membership are the volumes of Sneed and Hardin. Beginning at page 1067 of Sneed's reports (May 31, 1804), the published opinions during Judge Todd's service on the Kentucky bench ended with page 27 of Hardin's reports (Apr. 11, 1807).

From 1801 to May 31, 1804, there are no published opinions of the court of appeals, due to the fact that the clerk's office and many of its records were destroyed by fire in 1804.

It seems to have been the course in the Supreme Court, as well as in the Kentucky Court of Appeals, during their first years to deliver opinions without designating their authors. After Judge Bibb became the first official reporter, in 1808, the Kentucky

opinions designate their authors, though some years later that course was discontinued for a while.

At the beginning the docket of the Supreme Court was light. For the first two terms it delivered no written opinions. Thereafter, and until now, written opinions are not delivered in all cases. Perhaps the matter lies partly in the notion of the judge pronouncing the Court's decision. It is said that whilst Andrew Jackson was an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, although his colleagues wrote freely, he never delivered a written opinion.

In courts of justice it is the decision, rather than the opinion, that is most important. A matter decided wrong is nonetheless wrong though an eloquent and specious reason be assigned for the injustice inflicted. But if the thing is decided right the verities are established, no matter what is said. There is, to be sure, an obvious value which accrues to the public and to the profession in the published opinions of the courts of last resort. But, basically, the thing decided is that which controls.

The labors of a judge of a court of appeals are by no means confined to, nor are they to be measured by, the written opinions he delivers. The study of the record—of the facts, which control the decision of every lawsuit—the research among the authorities for precedents, or analagous circumstances and principles, the attention to arguments of counsel, and perhaps most importantly, the discussions among the judges in consultation, constitute the bulk of the most valuable services of the associated justices. Then the decision. Into the latter there enters not alone the learning gleaned from the precedents, from arguments of industrious and able counsel, from the views of the associate members, but also the exercise of that sound judgment by the individual judge in casting his vote in the matter to be decided, that calls into action the highest qualities of soul as of mind. Whilst cases of greatest magnitude are generally entrusted to single judges sitting as courts of first instance, always courts of last resort are constituted of several judges. For the very reason that in the interchange of views, close examination of reasoning, and the act of voting wherein the character of the man imparts an influential value to his act, it is deemed safest to have such courts so constituted. "Where no counsel is, the people fall; but in the multitude of counselors there is safety." As the power of a court of last resort is tremendous, it is a guaranty against its possible abuse that the power be divided. All division of power is a check against its abuse.

Notwithstanding the paucity of accredited written opinions of Mr. Justice Todd, and besides the inferential value of such services by one of such official standing, we are not without the testimony of witnesses respecting his work.

On a bleak day in February 1826 the bar and officials of the Supreme Court assembled at the courtroom in Washington. The meeting was presided over by the brilliant Wirt, Attorney General. The resolutions were presented by Mr. Daniel Webster. The occasion was to note the passing and to pay tribute to the character of Justice Todd.

Said the National Journal, in the issue of February 20, 1826:

"We have not received any particulars of the decease of Judge Todd, who had long been severely indisposed. He was one of the most excellent men that ever lived."

When Mr. Justice Todd took his seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court (1807) his associates were: John Marshall, Chief Justice; Bushrod Washington, William Johnson, Joseph Story, and Smith Thompson, Justices.

There is reason to believe that his relations were closer with Justices Story and Johnson. Mr. Justice Story wrote thus of him:

"Mr. Justice Todd possessed many qualities admirably fitted for the proper discharge of judicial functions. He had uncommon patience and candor in investigation; great clearness and sagacity of judgment; a cautious but steady energy; a well-balanced independence; a just respect for authority, and, at the same time, an unflinching adherence to his own deliberate opinions of the law. His modesty imparted a grace to an integrity and singleness of heart which won for him the general confidence of all who knew him. He was not ambitious of innovations upon the settled principles of the law, but was content with the more unostentatious character of walking in the trodden paths of jurisprudence—'super antiquas vias legis.' From his diffident and retiring habits, it required a long acquaintance with him justly to appreciate his judicial as well as his personal merits. His learning was of a useful and solid cast; not, perhaps, as various or as comprehensive as that of some men, but accurate and transparent, and applicable to the daily purposes of the business of human life. In his knowledge of the local law of Kentucky he was excelled by few, and his brethren drew largely upon his resources to administer that law, in the numerous cases which then crowded the docket of the Supreme Court from that judicial circuit; what he did not know he never affected to possess, but sedulously sought to acquire. He was content to learn without assuming to dogmatize. Hence he listened to an argument for the purpose of instruction and securing examination, and not merely for that of confutation or debate. Among his associates he enjoyed an enviable respect, which was constantly increasing as he became more familiarly known to them. His death was deemed by them a great public calamity, and in the memory of those who survive him his name has ever been cherished with a warm and affectionate remembrance. No man ever clung to the Constitution of the United States with a more strong and resolute attachment. And in the grave cases which were agitated in the Supreme Court of the United States during his judicial life, he steadfastly supported the constitutional doctrines which Mr. Chief Justice Marshall promulgated in the name of the Court. It is to his honor, and it should be spoken, that, though bred in a different school from that of the Chief Justice, he never failed to sustain those great principles of constitutional law on which the security of the Union depends. He never gave up to party what he thought belonged to country. For some years before his death he was sensible that his health was declining, and that he might soon leave the bench, to whose true honor and support he had been so long and zealously devoted. To one of his brethren, who had the satisfaction of possessing his unreserved confidence, he often communicated his earnest hope that Mr. Justice Trimble might be his successor, and he bore a willing testimony to the extraordinary ability of that eminent judge. It affords a striking proof of his sagacity and foresight; and the event fully justified the wisdom of his choice. Although Mr. Justice Trimble occupied his station on the bench of the Supreme Court for a brief period only, yet he has left on the records of the Court enduring monuments of talents and learning fully adequate to all the exigencies of the judicial office."

During Justice Todd's service within that Court those great cases were decided that gave the Court, the Nation, and the Constitution that firm standing, that promise of perpetuity, that power, and that dignity which they now enjoy. Such as Woodward against Trustees Dartmouth College, McCullough against Maryland, and Marbury against Madison.

At the age of 23 Mr. Todd was married to Miss Elizabeth Harris. She died in 1811. To them were born five children. Their second son, Col. Charles S. Todd, served with distinction in the War of 1812, for a while on the staff of Gen. William Henry Harrison. Later he served as Minister to the United States of Colombia, and then at St. Petersburg.

In 1812 Justice Todd married Mrs. Lucy Payne Washington, young widow of George Steptoe Washington, nephew of General Washington. She was a sister of the celebrated Dolly Madison, brilliant wife of President James Madison. The marriage took place in the East Room of the White House—the first event of the kind to be celebrated in the national mansion. Of that union there were three children, Madisonia, William Johnson, and James Madison. Among the descendents of Justice Todd were Capt. Harry Todd, one time warden of the Kentucky State Prison, a leading spirit in Kentucky political and commercial life; Rear Admiral Chapman Coleman Todd, of the United States Navy; Maj. George D. Todd, mayor of Louisville; and Mr. James M. Todd of Lexington, prominent in commercial and social life of central Kentucky.

Judge Todd, upon removing to Frankfort in 1801, early identified himself with local civic affairs. He was one of the charter members of the Kentucky River Co., the first company formed to promote navigation of Kentucky waterways. An inventory of his estate, made part of his last will, discloses he was also owner of turnpike shares in Kentucky, the first publicly improved highways west of the Alleghenies; as he was of the bridge at Frankfort spanning Kentucky River. Besides his home on Wapping Street, valued at some $25,000, by him, he owned a farm of 50 acres adjacent to South Frankfort, another farm of 100 acres in Woodford County; 1,485 acres in Garrard, 400 acres in Muhlenburg; 1,666 acres "on the Mississippi below the iron works"; 2,500 acres west of the Tennessee; 1,000 acres on Green River, and some twenty-odd pieces of real estate in the city of Frankfort. After having provided for his elder children "their full proportion," as he expressed it, the remainder of his estate, at the low values then put on out lands in Kentucky, totaled some $70,429. Measured by whatever standard, here was an eminently successful man.

Of the eight Associate Justices of that great Court appointed from Kentucky, or who were bred and nurtured to manhood in this atmosphere and of this stock, viz, Justices Todd, Trimble, McKinley, Miller, Harlan, Brandeis, McReynolds, and Reed (three of whom were members of the Franklin County bar), he was a worthy and notable first fruit of the Kentucky bar—a contribution to American jurisprudence of which this State may well be, and is, proud.

Of him whose memory we today celebrate, his life may now be scrutinized in long perspective.

Spending his childhood in the shadow of the conclave of those great Virginians whose mouthpiece was Patrick Henry, whose warrior was Washington, whose statesman was Jefferson; a witness to the early struggles of a whole people for personal liberty and political freedom, of a great war begun in Massachusetts to be ended in Virginia in the midst of his people's desolated firesides; an attendant upon the momentous debates in the Virginia Convention participated in by Marshall, Madison, Mason, and Henry, where the body and spirit of a national constitution were so earnestly, ably, and eloquently debated; a companion in arms and under the eye of Lafayette and Washington and the Lees; tutoring in the woods, learning in adversity; recording in terms of precision and understanding the deliberations of the representatives of an independent people writing their mandates to their public servants and boldly declaring the inalienable rights and undying dignity of man in the erection of a state; the selected associate of the first great judges in the courts of the people, State and national; sitting in consultation, participating in discussion and sharing in deciding the first cases that were destined to be beacon lights in our national jurisprudence, participating as collaborator with Marshall, Story, Johnson, in that court whose beginning a nation today celebrates, a tribunal standing as a peak in the developed philosophy of political government—unique in its exalted powers, uncharted; and sharing in its contribution to the body of law that so highly serves while it so richly ennobles man in his social relation—this man was called

unto rare privileges, chosen for great ends, destined to immortal service.

One must have been loved and trusted of the gods, to have been cast for his part.

This day this bar has attended in a body and laid a wreath upon the tomb of our illustrious member. We now place in our records this inadequate testimony of our reverent respect for his high character and enduring labors.

God save this State; God save this Nation; help us to preserve and transmit the institution of constitutional government; and keep its courts stainless and unafraid.

The Cloak Room

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM P. LAMBERTSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, the Queen Bee for the honey makers is Dorothy Thompson. She is to sweeten the coronation so the country can swallow it at the crossroads better.

You would think that anyone who had the temerity to take a third term would be content to ascend the throne stealthily.

Our first definite step toward war was the quarantine speech—the last, the sixty-seventh step, is the offer to give England our merchant ships—the sixty-eighth the loan to China.

The theme song of the cloakroom this winter will be reciting the new evidences of our dictatorship and our further trends toward war.

Joe Kennedy, our ambassador who quits England, becomes our highest hope for an almost hopeless peace. He knows more about Britain, too, than Senators CLAUDE PEPPER or JOSH LEE.

The hundred-million loan to China could have been saved by a stroke of the pen 3 years ago on scrap iron to Japan.

Anyway, Alf Landon did not sell his party down the river like his running mate, Frank Knox, for a mess of pottage in the form of a temporary Cabinet seat.

It is planned to have two budgets, one for the regular set-up and one for war emergency. They tried that in 1933 on the regular and "temporary set-ups" and then later made the new set-ups permanent. The war emergency, too, is just as lasting as the New Deal.

The threatening strikes in the lumber industry in the West are no doubt encouraged by the attitude of the new chairman of N. L. R. B., when in his first public utterance he said, "One should not live merely to work."

St. Lawrence Waterway Project—Waterway Advocates Met December 5, 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 9, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important meetings ever held in connection with efforts to secure action that will lead to the building of the St. Lawrence waterway project took place at Detroit, Mich., on December 5, 1940. At this meeting various groups interested in the greatest engineering project of modern times were in attendance.

When the Defense Council was formed by representatives of the United States and Canada it was pointed out that the deepening of the St. Lawrence so as to permit ocean-going boats to travel from the Atlantic Ocean to Duluth, Minn., was very materially a part of national-defense developments. In a letter which President Roosevelt wrote me he very definitely agreed with this position.

Subsequently, when the question of developing this waterway project for immediate power purposes was under discussion, it was stated by President Roosevelt that he was by no means overlooking the importance of the navigation angle.

Mr. A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, read a message from President Roosevelt at the Detroit meeting, which message is as follows:

To My Friends of the Great Lakes Seaway and Power Conference:

As I said in a message to your last conference 4 years ago, this assemblage of leaders from many sections of the country for a most practical purpose is a welcome and significant event.

I said then that "an opportunity is presented to complete a seaway comparable in economic value to the Panama Canal," a seaway to which "the public development of St. Lawrence power is inseparably linked."

It was then an opportunity. It is now a vital necessity.

The United States needs the St. Lawrence Seaway for defense. The United States needs this great landlocked sea as a secure haven in which it will always be able to build ships and more ships in order to protect our trade and our shores.

The United States needs, tremendously needs, the power project which will form a link in the seaway in the International Rapids section of the St. Lawrence River to produce aluminum and more aluminum for the airplane program which will assure command of the air.

Selfish interests will tell you that I am cloaking this great project in national defense in order to gain an objective which has always been dear to me. But I tell you that it has always been dear to me because I recognized its vital importance to the people in peace and in war.

Let those who oppose the immediate undertaking of this project sit here at the center of the national-defense effort in Washington and feel the pressure of the National Defense Commission calling for more and more power for our great aluminum plants and for other munitions industries requiring lots of cheap power. I am sure that they will know that the opposition which defeated the St. Lawrence treaty in 1934 was a mistaken opposition, based on failure to appraise the full needs of their country in the world situation which was even then developing.

What would we not give today, we who are responsible for the country's supreme defense effort, if the great St. Lawrence turbines were already in place, steadily revolving under the drive of St. Lawrence waters now running to waste, producing every hour of the day 1,000,000 horsepower to supply the expansion of our essential defense industries.

Had this project been started in 1934, as we urged, it would now be completed and occupying a place with other great projects, such as the Tennessee Valley in the Southeast, Boulder Dam in the Southwest, and the Columbia River projects in the Northwest, among the great national-defense assets of this continent.

No one who has studied our national-defense problems and the international situation can possibly fail to see the need for this project in the defense of the continent. The Congress of the United States, in providing funds for a two-ocean navy on a program covering many years, has properly recognized the essential place of sea power in continental defense. The world's merchant tonnage is diminishing at the rate of tens of thousands of tons a month. The distances which may be effectively covered by bombing planes are rapidly increasing.

Seacoast shipyards are already overtaxed with uncompleted construction. Shipyards on the Great Lakes, with access to the ocean, yet close to the sources of supply of labor, raw and finished materials, further removed from possible attack, may be a vital factor in successful defense of this continent. They will help to build the ships which will bring back commerce to the harbors of the Atlantic coast ports.

Opponents of the project have pointed out that it takes 4 years to build this seaway. They know, but fail to mention, that it takes at least that long to build a battleship. They also know that this project will cost the United States less than three battleships and that the power project will be entirely self-liquidating.

We hope that the world situation may soon improve. But we are bound to be prepared for a long period of possible danger. Who can say, with assurance, that we shall not need for our defense or peaceful pursuits every possible shipbuilding resource, particularly those that exist and may be developed in the interior of our country? Only one who can say that we do not need the battleships that we are now building will dare to say that we do not need the essential Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway.

The need for the seaway is coupled with an increasing demand for the power. Already our defense industries in the Northeast have been required to import huge blocks of electric power from Canada. They are asking greater imports, and Canada can agree to supply this power only temporarily. A new source of cheap power for national defense must be developed immediately.

Along with its benefits to national defense, this project will contribute to the peacetime welfare of a multitude of laborers, small businessmen, home owners, and farmers. I said in 1936, and I say now, "Such a development as we propose to carry out in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin unquestionably will result in

greater activity for all ports and transportation agencies. This has been the history of all new navigation projects and improvements directed to better commercial communication in this country and throughout the world. The fear that the seaway will result in injury on the lower Mississippi or to our Atlantic ports is groundless."

What this project means to the ordinary man and woman cannot be too highly stressed. It means a more secure nation. It means a continent protected and served by the additional shipping built in inland shipyards. It means more industries, both defense and domestic, thriving on the cheapest power in history. It means more comforts in the homes of many cities and rural areas. It means more work for the ordinary citizen in shipyards, factories, and other transportation services connecting the center of this continent with this great highway to and from our national and international markets.

I am preparing to press for the immediate construction of this project. Because of its vital defense character I have allocated $1,000,000 of the defense funds made available by the Congress to make the necessary engineering surveys and to prepare the preliminary plans and specifications so that no time may be lost in starting the undertaking.

I am conducting conversations with our neighbor, Canada, to work out the international aspects of the development of this great common asset. I shall propose to the Congress of the United States. which will assemble in January, that it take the necessary steps toward completion of this St. Lawrence seaway and power project, on which so much of our national safety and welfare depend.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

The conference was also addressed by Mr. Berle, who discussed the development of this great project. He said:

It is unnecessary for me to add very much to the President's message.

The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence development is today the most far-reaching physical project before the people of North America. It has been more thoroughly studied than any project on the continent.

Under date of October 16, 1940, the President appointed an advisory committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Leland Olds, head of the Federal Power Commission, to proceed with and complete the preliminary engineering survey to carry forward the development of St. Lawrence power. This was done, as Mr. Olds will tell you, because the power resources of Canada are already taxed to capacity for defense needs, and because already we need more power on the American side of the St. Lawrence for urgent defense needs. Specifically, we need to manufacture more aluminum at the plants at Massena, more chemicals at the plants of the Union Carbide and other companies in the St. Lawrence Valley, and we are only at the threshold of our defense needs.

There are people who say that we cannot develop the power now because it will arrive too late. All that proves is that this project ought to have been adopted in 1934, when it was originally presented by President Roosevelt. If the job had been done then, as it should have been, we would have had the power resources immediately available for the vast increase in our defense needs which now we have to supply.

There are those who say that we ought to forget about the power from the Great Lakes, and utilize steam plants instead. The people who say this are no doubt honest, but equally they are very badly informed. If you tried to buy steam power-plant units today, you would find that you could not get sufficient for the total amount of power needed until long after power will be actually available from the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence overflow. In urging that the power development be done now, we are getting our power in the quickest way we can get it.

Of equal interest to you here in the Great Lakes region is the seaway. I believe that the seaway is of equal necessity for defense. Let us look at the situation.

This war, like the previous World War, is steadily destroying ships. Many millions of tons of new ships will have to be built, not only during the war but after the war. Ordinary common sense indicates that we must have available yards where ships can be built—far removed from any possible attack. This will not affect the work of the Atlantic coast shipyards. They, too, will be busy for years to come. But we shall need as a reserve, shipyards a thousand miles inland which can continue to build without interruption. As the President has observed, we shall need these facilities for years ahead—just as we shall need battleships for years ahead.

As we emerge into the post-war situation, I think you will find that American products will be needed in every part of the world. The agricultural crops, and the growing manufactures of the Mid-west States will need all the transportation they can get—both rail and water. The seaway will become a necessary link in the chain of transportation. Whether for defense or for the civil needs of peace, it is vital.

I believe the seaway will benefit not only the Great Lakes ports, but every Atlantic port. My home is in New York City, and I think I know the needs of that port. Its principal need is to have ships which come and go supplying the need of that great area of population. No port ever yet existed without ships; and the Great Lakes Basin is one of the places from which the ships must come.

In this respect, our needs are not limited to the immediate war situation. Some day this war will be over—we cannot say when. We do not know the conditions we shall then have to meet; but we do know that the North American Continent will probably be called upon to take the economic leadership in the post-war reorganization. It may have to carry that huge burden for a long period of time.

This means that we shall have to develop to the full every method of production and transportation.

The time has come to reverse the mistake that was made in 1934. Both for American defense today, and for American economic defense after the war, we need to release the seacoasts which the Great Lakes can be; the enormous power resources of the St. Lawrence Spillway; and the tremendous manufacturing resources which can be brought into existence by the combination of raw materials, deep water, and electric power.

The interest of groups like your own is a welcome proof that the development of North America is not yet finished.

Getting America Into War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR CAPPER

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 9 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. ARTHUR CAPPER, OF KANSAS

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address delivered by me on November 24, 1940, on the subject Getting America Into War.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I look for two major drives early in the next Congress to put the United States in position where it must go to war in Europe for Britain when Britain says the word.

First major drive has been launched by Lord Lothian, British Ambassador to the United States, for revision of the Johnson Act and the Neutrality Act so that Britain may get credit—loans—in and from the United States.

For any foreign government in default on its previous war debts to the United States to be allowed to float loans in the United States, the Johnson Act would have to be repealed or amended.

But what Britain really wants is not just the privilege of floating loans—that means selling its bonds in the United States to individuals. Britain also wants the United States Government to help finance the war, either through loans or outright gifts of moneys or credits.

This situation, as those who believe the battle of Britain really is the battle of America—as the William Allen White committee declared through one of its publications almost immediately following the election—the situation, as these people see it, is very clearly argued by David Lawrence:

"The talk has been of repealing the Johnson Act so as to permit private loans to Britain," Mr. Lawrence writes, "but this is merely a drop in the bucket. If private loans would satisfy the situation, repeal of the Johnson Act would not be necessary at all. For both Canada and Australia could borrow from the United States and lend in turn to Britain."

And here is the significant sentence in Mr. Lawrence's statement:

"It is amendment of the Neutrality Act itself which is involved because the billions needed can be furnished only by our Government."

Lord Lothian's appeal for credit for Britain from the United States early in 1941—he said it would be needed by the middle of next year—is not meeting with much favor, even among those who want the United States to go the limit and become an ally of Britain in the present war.

Britain needs help, and Britain is getting a lot of help from the United States. But the claim that Britain needs financing by the United States strikes rather a sour note even among the most pronounced pro-Britishers.

Lord Lothian's warning that Britain lacks capacity to pay does not seem to square with the facts. Britain came through the previous World War without having to dispose of much of her overseas investments. At the outset of the present war Britain's investments in other parts of the world amounted to something between fifteen and eighteen billion dollars. As of July 31 this year, British holdings in the United States amounted to four and one-half billion dollars, plus another one and one-half billions owned in the United States by Canada and other British dominions. That makes a total of seven billions of British Empire investments in the United States.

I am glad that a Senate committee is going to investigate this matter of financial holdings of foreign nations in the United States early in the coming session of Congress.

I say the investigation should be very thorough. We want the facts.

There is another thing that I believe should be thoroughly explored, and perhaps utilized, before we begin lending—or just plain outright giving—of billions of dollars to Britain.

Britain has some real estate in the West Indies. There are the Bahama Islands, Barbadoes, Trinidad, most of the Windward and Leeward Islands.

These islands are not of any great economic value to Britain; generally speaking, they are liabilities rather than assets. But their strategic value with reference to our Panama Canal is very great.

From the viewpoint of our own national defense, these islands ought to be owned by the United States, not by any European power, even though that power today is a very friendly one.

It is true that in the destroyer deal with Britain we got some 99-year leases from England for air and naval bases. But the future security of the United States—none of us know what the European situation may be 100 years from now.

I say it might be well worth while for us to consider buying some of these islands—preferably all of them—from Britain, and pay a good round price for them, before we consider lending or giving money and credits to Britain, with nothing of tangible value coming to the United States in exchange.

While on this matter, the United States might well be looking into the matter of French-owned islands and other possessions around the Caribbean. The French possessions in that neighborhood are of value to us for defense of the Panama Canal and our own shoreline. Their only value to any European nation is their strategic—that means potential threat—value in any contest involving defense of the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

I believe in adequate national defense. I believe we ought to prepare ourselves to defend ourselves against any and all possible aggressors. We must become strong enough to do that job ourselves. When we are that strong, then we might be in position to form alliances as these seem to be called for by world situations. But in the last analysis the defense of the United States is up to the United States—and we should never lose sight of this basic fact.

I am emphatically opposed to these huge loans by our Government to other governments. We already have a national debt of $50,000,000,000. We are engaged in a national-defense program that calls for expenditures of at least another fifty billions in the next 5 or 6 years, even if we do not go to war ourselves. If we add another twenty or twenty-five billion dollars of loans to Great Britain—well, you just figure that out for yourselves. The struggling taxpayers of this country simply cannot carry the load.

Any such Government loans we know at the start never will be repaid. They will not be loans. They will be expenditures. And as expenditures, we should get whatever we can of real value in exchange.

I have my suspicions that Lord Lothian was not really as much interested in getting credits at this time as in getting the United States thoroughly and irrevocably committed to the cause of Britain. The real idea is to work up American public sentiment to the point where all Americans feel a personal and national responsibility for Britain's winning the war. After that, the job of getting all aid short of war, and including war, from the United States will be easy.

The other major drive I expect in the coming session of Congress is to repeal the "carry" as well as the "cash" provision of the Neutrality Act.

Britain—and this is not a criticism of Britain, but just good British common sense—Britain I say probably wants American ships to carry American-made munitions and other supplies to England. Not only because of English shipping needs, but also because the sinking of a few American ships by Hitler's submarines or bombers would inflame all America, and the alliance with Britain would be accomplished in short order.

Coupled with this proposal will be one that the United States Navy convoy these ships to England. That would make inevitable a sea battle between German and United States naval forces—and the alliance of Britain and the United States would be accomplished.

I am opposed to letting down the bars for loans or credits.

I am opposed to repeal of the Johnson Act.

I am opposed to repeal of the cash and carry provisions of the Neutrality Act.

I am for national defense of the United States; I am opposed to the United States becoming the world's policeman.

I look forward to the coming months with a heavy heart. I hope and pray we will get through without dragging America into another European war. I shall continue to do my best to keep out of it.

Proposed Transfer of Additional Destroyers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 9 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of yesterday entitled "Should Our Navy Be Weakened?"

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHOULD OUR NAVY BE WEAKENED?

Giant gantries swing armor plate and barbette into place as America's warships of the future slowly take shape in the cluttered shipyards. It is touch and go as to whether this Nation can have a two-ocean Navy built and prepared by 1945. It is hoped that by then the Navy will have 17 more battleships, 43 more cruisers, and 170 more destroyers. Some progress is being made despite the inadequate building facilities, the miles of red tape, and the shock of the enormous demand made on the relatively unprepared warship-building industry.

But there is a dangerous, half-hidden reef in the way of this two-ocean Navy goal. On it beat the white breakers that monotonously echo: "More warships for Britain; 50 more destroyers; 100 more; some cruisers; a few battleships, too."

What of our two-ocean Navy goal that a mad world makes necessary? What if the Monroe Doctrine is challenged by a fait accompli? What if a victorious totalitarian combine strikes at us before 1945 in Atlantic and Pacific? Would we then need these destroyers that some persons mistakenly believe are obsolete and useless to us? Right now the Navy has only 159 destroyers, plus about 30 old ones that have been converted for special duties, such as mine laying. And it takes about 15 months from the time the keel of a new destroyer is laid until it joins the fleet as a seaworthy unit.

So important does the Navy deem our need for small ships that it has been buying Gloucester fishing trawlers, luxury yachts, tugs, motor cruisers, and other small craft that seem at all convertible to its use. With the need that desperate, why should any American advocate more United States Navy ships for Britain? Why seek a two-ocean Navy and proceed at the same time to scuttle our one-ocean Navy?

It is false to assume that 50 more destroyers would not be missed. No admiralty ever admitted it had enough destroyers. In war the destroyers are invaluable for scouting, patroling, laying smoke screens, convoying, hunting submarines, and primarily for attacking capital ships. They are deadly and they are fragile. A machine-gun bullet will pierce a destroyer's side. In a major fleet engagement the commanding officer expects to lose at least half his destroyer force. Like projectiles, they are highly expendable.

If there is any need to provide positive proof of a destroyer's value, recall the battle of Jutland. One of the main features of that fight was the influence of the German destroyers on the British grand fleet. They were a constant menace to Jellicoe, and at a crucial moment Britain was robbed of a Trafalgar when the little German flotilla of hornets charged the British battle line and caused 27 capital ships to turn away from the fleeing German high-seas fleet.

It may prove vital to our defense—in a world changing so rapidly that no man knows what tomorrow may bring—to keep the destroyers we have, as well as all our other warships, push construction on our new ones, and find some other way to aid Britain. If we don't we may weaken ourselves to the extent that we court an attack from abroad.

American Involvement in War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 9 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

LETTER FROM WILLIAM B. LLOYD, JR.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter dated November 2, 1940, addressed to me by William B. Lloyd, Jr., director of the Campaign for World Government. I present this without comment, but feel that the people should have the benefit of the idea of the resolution referred to in the letter.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CAMPAIGN FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT,
Chicago, Ill., November 2, 1940.

Senator RUSH D. HOLT,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR HOLT: Since the press gave little notice to it at the time, I would like to call your immediate attention to

House Joint Resolution 610, introduced on October 4 by Congressman JOHN G. ALEXANDER, of Minnesota.

The purpose of his bill is to offer the American people a chance, perhaps their last, to avoid involvement in war—to stay out of war by doing their best to stop the wars now raging abroad. What has Congress so far done along that line? Nothing but leave it all to the President, and his efforts have failed.

We have not yet tried the method of "open covenants openly arrived at." We have not yet made public offers of friendly services to both belligerent groups. This we ought to try over and over again.

Our Government has officially, by word and act, become so partisan that even if our country should act alone and make such an offer now it could hardly be effective. But if the Americas and other neutral nations cooperated in an offer to supervise the cessation of hostilities, their offer would stand a chance, and both the belligerents might be glad to accept it.

Congressman ALEXANDER'S proposal is further strengthened by the offer of the nonbelligerents to lead the way to a United States of the World as the only practical long-range solution to all the war problems.

The resolution necessarily omits details of the future world society but appropriates a practical sum for the initial steps necessary to any such plan. The offer of world government as a substitute for war might start a whole new era of law and order in international relations. The United States and the Americas can develop solidarity by taking the lead together to extend democracy into the chaos of world affairs.

Even those now whooping it up for war must admit that peace will come some time. Ordinary common sense demands that we be prepared for it, just as the war system demands preparedness for conflict. Peace requires preparation, and we'll never get it nor keep it unless we're willing to spend cash for it. We get what we prepare for, and so let's say, "In time of war prepare for peace."

War appropriations of $17,000,000,000 by the present Congress will cost each man, woman, and child in America $126. The appropriation Congressman ALEXANDER requests means only 37 cents per capita, and we think it is worth that much to try the ways of peace.

Text of the bill follows:

"PREPARE FOR PEACE

"Whereas the Seventy-sixth Congress has appropriated or authorized about $17,000,000,000 for military preparedness; and

"Whereas an important national election is now impending, when all peace-loving citizens will justly challenge on their record their former Representatives: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this Congress promptly prove that we are not limiting preparation for defense to military means only, but are also attempting to prepare for defense and security by nonmilitary means, such as bona fide efforts for peace; and to this end be it further

"*Resolved*, That the President be, and he hereby is, instructed to take immediate joint action with all possible like-minded governments of nations not at war in offering their services openly and publicly to the belligerents in the cause of peace; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That in order to satisfy the longing for peace of all the peoples of the world a cessation of all hostilities under joint neutral supervision should be openly demanded, and at the same time the actual extension of the system of federation into a world union of nations should be offered and pledged to the belligerents by the joint neutrals as the only practical means of readjusting the status of newly conquered nations or long-held colonies and dominions, of underprivileged or overprivileged states, and permitting mankind to build a new and better civilization in safety, without fear of war and organized destruction: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That in order to finance the above-described program of joint neutral efforts for the present and future of the world, the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring) hereby appropriates $50,000,000 as our safest and least costly defense."

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM B. LLOYD, Jr., *Director*.

Propaganda for Entry of United States Into War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 9 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch entitled "What About It, Mr. White?" It refers to the activities of Mr. William "Alsop" White, the chairman of the committee to get us into war.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT ABOUT IT, MR. WHITE?

William Allen White, self-styled rooster on the cow-catcher of that powerful engine of propaganda, known as the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, made an interesting speech in New York recently. The speech brought from the New York Times an editorial which labeled it as "unfortunate," and it caused Jay G. Hayden, well-known correspondent to write: "There are increasing evidences that the advocates of American aid to Great Britain has overplayed their hand."

Mr. White's remarks were made in the course of accepting an award from the National Association of Accredited Publicity Directors, Inc., for "outstanding service in publicity." According to the New York Times, he was telling the supposed "inside story" of the deal by which 50 United States destroyers were traded to Britain last September. Said Mr. White:

"Our first job was to send the destroyers to England. We learned there were certain overage destroyers that could easily be spared—150 of them—but we plugged for 50. Taking that number as a goal was "pure hunch," but I want to say that we've never had an objective that wasn't approved in advance by the general staffs of the United States Army and Navy.

"We put General Pershing on the air, but the really smart trick we pulled was that after Lindbergh made his speech, we put his mother-in-law, Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow, on the air. And was that a face card? It was.

"She said: 'Telegraph the White House and your Congressmen,' and the next day * * * 15,000 telegrams came tumbling down on Washington, saying, 'Give the destroyers to Great Britain.' They never knew what hit them.

In commenting on this speech, J. William Terry, of the White committee, said he would like to have it understood that the word "trick," in reference to Mrs. Morrow's radio address, was used in the sense of a card game rather than a shrewd act.

Now, let us turn the calendar back to August 9 of this year. On that date the Post-Dispatch printed the results of its investigation into the mystery behind General Pershing's radio address. The mystery grew out of the fact that, although reports were current in Washington that General Pershing would make a speech on international affairs, inquiries made of Colonel Adamson, the general's aide, and of the War Department, brought forth statements that they had no information that a Pershing statement was forthcoming. Four days later the speech was made.

In the course of its inquiry the Post-Dispatch asked Mr. White about it. The following is quoted from the story of August 9:

"Pershing's advocacy of much greater aid to England 'short of war' directly supported the campaign conducted by William Allen White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, but the Emporia editor, reached by telephone at Estes Park, Colo., said regretfully that he had nothing to do with the speech and had only learned an hour beforehand that it was to be delivered.

"When White's attention was called to a statement in Gen. Hugh S. Johnson's column yesterday that 'nobody can tell me that the General wrote that speech; it smells to me like Bill White,' White said:

"'Lord! I never heard of it until Clark Eichelberger, our executive secretary, called me by long distance to tell me to listen to it. If our committee had participated in the arrangements, I'd have known it long in advance, because Eichelberger is constantly in touch with me, calling on an average of twice a day.'"

In August Mr. White was serenely unaware of the Pershing speech; had nothing to do with it; didn't even know it was going to be delivered. In December, boasting of the achievements of himself and his committee, Mr. White says: "We put General Pershing on the air."

It strikes us an explanation is in order. Since Mr. White and his committee have such remarkable influence with the United States Government as to bring about the destroyer deal, the operations of that committee and its chairman properly become matters of public discussion and inquiry. In fact, from numerous quarters has come the request that White and his propaganda engine be investigated by Congress.

Will Mr. White and the committee lay their cards, including their face cards, on the table?

What Are We Fighting Over?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. ALEXANDER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

Mr. ALEXANDER. I have a letter from William C. Durant, of New York, in which he promises to place me among his 40 national leaders if I will answer three questions for him. He flatters a little, do you not think, when he says in his letter,

"these 40 men and women have demonstrated their ability to think." Then he asks these questions:

1. If England wins the present war and you occupied Winston Churchill's position, or were in control of the situation, what would you do?
2. If Hitler succeeds in winning the present war and you were in his position, how would you handle the situation?
3. If you have given any thought to world peace and are desirous of obtaining world peace, how would you go about it?

Now what would you do if you were Churchill or Hitler and won the war? How would you handle the situation? If you can answer those two questions, you can then help to answer the question of this address, What Are We Fighting Over?

We all know Hitler claims he is fighting for living room and access to world markets and world raw materials. We then assume Churchill and the British are fighting to prevent that, or for what is usually termed the "status quo," or in terms of real-estate contracts to keep things "as is." Those objectives are both easy to understand.

But I have a feeling this problem goes a bit deeper than a battle for markets and raw materials. It may have started out on that basis, but I have an idea which keeps percolating through my otherwise complacent mind that this contest is developing into an epochal event testing not alone the comparative strength and vitality of two great nations; testing not alone the relative strength of totalitarianism versus the British commonwealth of nations, but testing rather whether even we ourselves have lost beyond recall the original tenets and principles of our founding forefathers who based their conception of the political economy of government and of a society of mankind upon the challenging statement that "all men are created equal." From that idealistic beginning we founded a government which, up until a few years ago, made a magnificient record of progress, of happy homes and prosperous business, and of high living standards. A record for the rest of the world to envy. But today there is being heard the rumor that there is a new order, a new world order which proposes to eclipse and to supplant the so-called democracy of France and England. Even our own long-cherished Constitutional and Bill of Rights guaranties are being weighed in the scales by these well-advertised and well-sold new orders.

Hitler is now selling his new order to the Balkan nations and elsewhere in Europe and the world. Japan is proclaiming in the Far East that the status quo must give way to a new order there. Russia is not lagging as she continually sells her new order. Hitler boasts that he is able to use productive capacity to the full, eliminating unemployment, unused resources, and depression—though so far the new economic efficiency has been developed only for war, but that is not saying it cannot be developed for peaceful pursuits. I have said before, that what we in America need, to combat these new orders with, is a more forward-looking new order of our own.

Sometime ago I heard a great Chinese philosopher deliver an address. When he finished I was tempted to ask him of what earthly good are all these Chinese philosophies and centuries of Chinese culture and learning if the people live in misery, poverty, and undergo great sufferings—war and destruction. The exploitation of the masses in China, and in Japan too for that matter, has been so great that after centuries of it we find that only a few families have any real wealth; that 17 families in Japan own 75 percent of her wealth. One Rajah in India has an income of $90,000,000 a year, while the people in India starve. One man in Pittsburgh, before his death, had $1,500,000,000 and the schools of Pittsburgh were forced to close for lack of funds. Of what good is the hoarding of $1,500,000,000? What joy or satisfaction do these people get from allowing and sometimes even forcing their fellowman to suffer? We hear people say, if these men had any real common sense or foresight they would realize that their exploitation and injustices eventually bring about strikes, rebellious wars, chaos, and their own downfall.

But did it ever occur to you that perhaps what we term "the democracies" have been just as criminally selfish as those men and equally unjust and guilty as regards the millions of people in other nations who are starving? Or does not the original principle of our sainted founders "that all men are created equal" apply? At least it seems to have resulted in a war, because of our neglect to apply it.

But from that war there seems to be two new ideas in the making and which we may sooner or later decide to incorporate in our own economics of government. The first of these ideas is that a nation can get along without tremendous quantities of gold; and the second is, that even the most bankrupt nation can carry on an internal program which can feed and gainfully employ its teeming multitudes as well or better than we have done with all of our great wealth, our store of gold, and our natural resources. In both the case of Japan and Germany they have carried on tremendous programs without having a hoard of gold. In 1933 we know Germany was bankrupt and at a very low economic ebb. In 1937 when Japan started her present drive into China, were not we telling ourselves she could not last a year because they were bankrupt? War-mad Hitler boasted on September 1, 1939, that they had spent $40,000,000,000 in preparation for that day. Where did they get all that money as long as they were bankrupt? And in the months since how could these wars be financed? These are questions which these "new orders" make it necessary for us to face, much as we hate to be jolted from our status quo and our self-satisfied repose. This is part of the problem of "What Are We Fighting Over," for their answer is tearing at the very heart and stability and future of all democracies on earth.

It seems to me that every day is saying to us louder and louder, "It is not enough to say we are fighting for freedom, democracy, civilization, or even the defense of our territory from invasion." It is not enough, because it only suggests a defense of what we have, which is sometimes not too good, as I suggested a moment ago when I referred to the concentration of wealth and income. A defense of what we have, or the status quo, is not adequate against a dynamic world revolution such as is evidently now going on judging from the seeming ease with which "new orders" are being sold, and so-called bankrupt and destitute nations are carrying on tremendous programs against an amazed world that until recently virtually had a corner on everything except ideas and the spirit to sell a "new order." Cannot you see that this thing we are faced with is bigger even than Hitler and can only be met successfully and defeated by an alternative "new order"? If the totalitarian powers are selling their new orders through war, then we should, it seems to me, sell ours through peace, for even if we went to war and won, and destroyed their military strength, their new ideas would triumph unless countered by other ideas equally as fundamental and dynamic. And so out the window goes your status quo, win or lose.

If we are to save democracy, it is important that we realize the full implications of its ideals, its meat and substance, for it is not the ideals that are at fault, but the failure to carry them through to their logical conclusion, and that logical conclusion, by the way, is the best, the most powerful, the strongest and in fact the only answer and force which can win this catastrophic contest which is upon us. But before we get into that subject let us go a step further into this suggestion of selling our new order through the promotion of peace.

I assume the alternative to that is what we are doing—that is, preparing for war by appropriating and spending $17,000,000,000 for war machinery—and I am not saying that those who have promoted that program do not have to do it now to meet the menace we are faced with as the situation stands and into which we have allowed ourselves to get by our inattention to fundamentals. But I do suggest and say with all the force at my command that it is a waste of time and money to concentrate entirely on military defense and to do nothing about nonmilitary defense, a matter suggested and provided for in House Joint Resolution 610, which I placed before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on October 4, and, again, December 5, and which provides for a constructive movement for peace with all neutral nations joining with the United States to press the case for peace against both sides of this war. I have no doubt but that we have the strength and power to bring these groups to a peace table if all the nonwarring nations will exert that force in the name of a just and lasting peace.

And that brings us back to our discussion of the democratic ideal, because I do not believe there can be any just and lasting peace under dictatorship or under any other form of government except under Christian democracy. The democratic ideal stems from and includes the Christian concept of universal human brotherhood. "Love thy neighbor as thyself" is another way of saying "All men are created equal." Yet the democracies have perpetuated the hostilities of savage tribes. They enslaved and exploited the colored races. They have considered that neighborliness stopped at their political frontiers, and that the alien was always a potential enemy. They have perpetuated the barbarian's belief that to slaughter the community's enemies was noble. They have set up the national state as a god for whom human sacrifice was "the last full measure of devotion."

The democratic idea is the most revolutionary and dynamic idea in all history, but it has fallen short at two points. First, it did not embrace all humankind. It was limited to the national state. Even those national states where it developed furthest built prisons for the democratic leaders of their subject people and great armies and navies to defend their national interests. The world will not be made safe for democracy until believers in democracy establish, however long it may take, a world commonwealth based on the idea of the brotherhood of man. Secondly, the democratic idea was corrupted by the specious idea of individual pursuit of wealth without social direction and control.

We have written the worth and dignity of the individual human being into our basic law, yet we have left millions to go hungry; we have condemned countless children to the blighted lives of poverty; we have looked the other way and denied that we were our brother's keeper, all in the name of individualism and all under the banner of democracy. Gigantic dislocations of economic processes went unremedied. When governments have sought to deal with them, those who have profited in the grim struggle for wealth use their vast power to obstruct reform and to confuse the people as to the nature of democracy. The planning and organizing of economic activity is left to those whose prime interest is armed power. Even our public schools are used to promote the idea.

The unemployed, the underpaid, the sharecropper, the migrant represent the failure of democracy and are prospects of our "fifth column." These provide the raw material for revolution. Insofar as millions of our citizens are denied the right to the pursuit of happiness, to that extent our democracy is a sham.

When a Hitler marches into a peaceful country, ignoring the cost in shattered lives, does he not differ from us only in degree, not in kind, for our sense of brotherhood has likewise stopped at our own frontiers and at our own slums.

Hitler and Stalin are the spearheads of a world revolution not against freedom and democracy but against the limitations of freedom and the failure of democracy. They denounce plutodemocracy, knowing that we are most vulnerable in our contrast of wealth and poverty.

Only as democracy regains the revolutionary drive it once had can we meet the assault of totalitarianism. No Hitler could rise in the midst of a happy, prosperous people. No Hitler could bore from within or defeat from without a great nation at the peak of its strength with a bold and generous international policy. No revolution can succeed where all the people have a stake in their own well-being. If we had forgotten about gold and about profits and interest and bonds, and had concentrated on being our brother's keeper, not with charity and hand-outs but with a real program to end unemployment, with provision for old age, sickness, and the building of health, then we would have no cause to fear "fifth column" movements, nor conquests from without. These are actually the things that we are fighting over, and the sooner we catch up, the sooner we bring democratic ideals right up to date, both on the social-reform front and internationally, the sooner can the world be made peaceful and happy and safe for democracy.

The question is, Which do you prefer: Reform with dictatorship or real democracy?

Overseas and Domestic Service of United States Armed Forces According to State of Residence During the Period of the World War I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

CHART INSERTED AT THE REQUEST OF MILLARD W. RICE, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, during these portentous times, while most of Europe is involved in world war II, I think it would be interesting to the Members of the House of Representatives to have accurate information as to the number of World War I veterans who served overseas or in this country with the United States Army and United States Navy, according to their State of residence.

Total strength by branch of service

Army		4,057,101
Navy		596,073
Marine Corps:		
Officers	3,566	
Enlisted men	100,187	
Marinettes	313	
		104,066
Total		4,757,240

Total casualties by branch of service

Cause of death	Army	Navy	Marine Corps	Total
Killed in action	37,568	340	1,454	39,362
Died of wounds	12,942	59	1,008	14,009
Died of disease	69,446	5,313	701	75,460
Died of accidents	----------	1,109	----------	1,109
Died of other causes	----------	67	121	188
Total	[1] 119,956	6,888	3,284	130,128

[1] Does not include deaths of men enlisting after Feb. 28, 1919, and Regular Army officers who reverted to peacetime status prior to death. Total deaths in military service, Apr. 6, 1917, to July 2, 1921, being approximately 124,000.

Statement showing the number of veterans from each State that served in the Army and Navy during the period of the World War, the combined strength of the armed forces, and the number of casualties reported for each branch of service

State	Army									Navy												
	Men			Nurses			Grand total			Regular force				Reserve force					Grand total			
	Overseas	Domestic	Total	Overseas	Domestic	Total	Overseas	Domestic	Total	Officers	Men	Nurses	Total	Officers	Men	Nurses	Yeomanettes	Total	Officers	Men	Nurses and yeomanettes	Tota
Alabama	38,312	39,990	78,302	71	86	157	38,383	40,076	78,459	142	3,170	1	3,313	292	1,617	2	24	1,935	434	4,787	27	5,248
Arizona	6,026	4,519	10,545	11	24	35	6,037	4,543	10,580	19	995	1	1,015	45	576	1	1	623	64	1,571	3	1,638
Arkansas	31,304	33,570	64,874	38	81	119	31,342	33,651	64,993	91	3,124	3	3,218	172	1,521	4	5	1,702	263	4,645	12	4,920
California	60,739	66,683	127,422	492	733	1,225	17,084	67,416	128,647	469	11,374	6	11,849	1,678	14,817	166	411	17,072	2,147	26,191	583	28,921
Colorado	16,961	18,952	35,913	123	119	242	17,864	19,071	36,155	112	3,775	9	3,896	151	1,331	11	4	1,497	263	5,106	24	5,393
Connecticut	28,192	25,634	53,826	191	240	431	28,383	25,874	54,257	219	4,603	5	4,827	762	6,956	22	298	8,038	981	11,559	325	12,865
Delaware	4,425	3,497	7,922	6	28	34	4,431	3,525	7,956	51	588		639	51	448	1	4	504	102	1,036	5	1,143
District of Columbia	8,514	11,531	20,045	75	115	190	8,589	11,646	20,235	189	1,529	11	1,729	256	2,260	40	1,830	4,386	445	3,789	1,881	6,115
Florida	16,403	19,608	36,011	44	50	94	16,447	19,658	36,105	108	1,966	2	2,076	459	3,335	2	29	3,825	567	5,301	33	5,901
Georgia	43,382	49,939	93,321	125	113	238	43,507	50,052	93,559	205	4,123		4,328	443	3,905	2	29	4,379	648	8,028	31	8,707
Idaho	9,017	9,963	18,980	20	30	50	9,037	9,993	19,030	43	1,437	2	1,482	81	655		6	742	124	2,092	8	2,224
Illinois	142,828	130,676	273,504	720	860	1,580	143,548	131,536	275,084	667	13,650	10	14,327	2,130	24,528	37	168	26,863	2,797	38,178	215	41,190
Indiana	54,371	63,236	117,607	188	303	491	54,559	63,539	118,098	320	6,436	4	6,760	653	5,768	8	37	6,466	973	12,204	49	13,226
Iowa	53,466	47,736	101,202	239	371	610	53,705	48,107	101,812	200	5,767	5	5,972	309	4,776	25	24	5,134	509	10,543	54	11,106
Kansas	33,299	38,018	71,317	70	253	323	33,369	38,271	71,640	158	3,906	5	4,069	263	4,140	10	20	4,433	421	8,046	35	8,502
Kentucky	41,502	42,429	83,931	153	88	241	41,655	42,517	84,172	177	3,738	3	3,918	160	4,656		33	4,849	337	8,394	36	8,767
Louisiana	29,806	37,861	67,667	100	70	170	29,906	37,931	67,837	122	3,845	5	3,972	357	3,155	4	122	3,638	479	7,000	131	7,610
Maine	11,958	14,876	26,834	71	82	153	12,029	14,958	26,987	168	2,331	6	2,505	500	2,823	36	43	3,402	668	5,154	65	5,907
Maryland	25,368	25,329	50,697	265	170	435	25,633	25,499	51,132	320	3,908	10	4,238	608	4,455	1	417	5,481	928	8,363	428	9,719
Massachusetts	75,319	69,782	145,101	873	653	1,526	76,192	70,435	146,627	955	12,922	17	13,894	3,776	30,106	96	1,244	35,222	4,731	43,028	1,357	49,116
Michigan	72,905	69,241	142,146	408	421	829	73,313	69,662	142,975	353	5,244	6	5,603	1,264	11,154	22	27	12,467	1,617	16,398	55	18,070
Minnesota	59,432	44,203	103,635	306	475	781	59,738	44,678	104,416	189	5,873	3	6,065	187	4,883	100	4	5,174	376	10,756	107	11,239
Mississippi	28,598	28,100	56,698	29	62	91	28,627	28,162	56,789	107	2,967	1	3,075	202	1,786	1	36	2,025	309	4,753	38	5,100
Missouri	67,236	71,025	138,261	325	400	725	67,561	71,425	138,986	329	9,180	3	9,512	979	8,639	21	19	9,658	1,308	17,819	43	19,170
Montana	19,491	15,621	35,112	72	98	170	19,563	15,719	35,282	36	1,839	3	1,878	108	810	1	10	929	144	2,649	14	2,807
Nebraska	24,155	25,609	49,764	151	204	355	24,306	25,813	50,119	135	3,600	1	3,736	157	2,526	2	9	2,694	292	6,126	12	6,430
Nevada	2,547	2,448	4,995	4	6	10	2,551	2,454	5,005	31	155		186	8	98	1	3	110	39	253	4	296
New Hampshire	7,472	8,281	15,753	45	77	122	7,517	8,358	15,875	110	1,068	2	1,180	248	1,358	8	77	1,691	358	2,426	87	2,871
New Jersey	62,557	52,759	115,316	240	398	638	62,797	53,157	115,954	542	9,877	12	10,431	1,539	13,583	44	310	15,476	2,081	23,460	366	25,907
New Mexico	6,153	6,533	12,686	7	9	16	6,160	6,542	12,702	18	969	1	988	42	546			588	60	1,515	1	1,576
New York	210,982	185,127	396,109	1,791	1,743	3,534	212,773	186,870	399,643	1,670	25,413	50	27,133	5,445	48,068	182	2,143	55,838	7,115	73,481	2,375	82,971
North Carolina	43,275	34,790	78,065	113	91	204	43,388	34,881	78,269	187	2,750	11	2,948	517	4,176	6	181	4,880	704	6,926	198	7,828
North Dakota	13,494	11,663	25,157	74	112	186	13,568	11,775	25,343	37	1,141		1,178	61	539	7	5	612	98	1,680	12	1,790
Ohio	117,202	96,342	213,544	536	706	1,242	117,738	97,048	214,786	501	7,999	11	8,511	984	8,686	44	168	9,882	1,485	16,685	223	18,393
Oklahoma	40,336	42,216	82,552	29	122	151	40,365	42,338	82,703	77	4,388	3	4,468	75	2,533	9	22	2,639	152	6,921	34	7,107
Oregon	14,815	19,653	34,468	117	115	232	14,932	19,768	34,700	100	4,053	2	4,155	306	2,456	9	68	2,839	406	6,509	79	6,994
Pennsylvania	178,740	131,475	310,215	971	1,339	2,310	179,711	132,814	312,525	1,206	16,139	57	17,402	2,304	20,305	130	940	23,679	3,510	36,444	1,127	41,081
Rhode Island	10,857	9,067	19,924	43	71	114	10,900	9,138	20,038	289	2,420	1	2,710	66	4,596	49	198	4,909	355	7,016	248	7,619
South Carolina	27,178	29,929	57,107	31	50	81	27,209	29,979	57,188	170	2,501	2	2,673	461	2,482	5	137	3,085	631	4,983	144	5,758
South Dakota	14,897	14,536	29,433	37	94	131	14,934	14,630	29,564	48	1,207	1	1,256	86	757	5	6	854	134	1,964	12	2,110
Tennessee	43,981	37,399	81,380	96	87	183	44,077	37,486	81,563	179	3,872	2	4,053	256	2,258	1	51	2,566	435	6,130	54	6,619
Texas	86,102	83,211	169,313	136	327	463	86,238	83,538	169,776	303	13,599	6	13,908	391	4,505	50	57	5,003	694	18,104	113	18,911
Utah	8,163	10,138	18,301	36	39	75	8,199	10,177	18,376	39	1,601		1,640	40	350	4		394	79	1,951	4	2,034
Vermont	6,277	5,725	12,002	38	57	95	6,315	5,782	12,097	68	850		918	78	729	7	17	831	146	1,579	24	1,749
Virginia	42,577	34,295	76,872	164	110	274	42,741	34,405	77,146	448	4,601	14	5,063	1,246	6,171	7	1,061	8,485	1,694	10,772	1,082	13,548
Washington	21,603	29,490	51,093	206	211	417	21,809	29,701	51,510	204	6,575	4	6,783	581	5,128	35	145	5,889	785	11,703	184	12,672
West Virginia	26,607	26,947	53,554	60	117	177	26,667	27,064	53,731	96	1,599	2	1,697	166	1,463	3	136	1,768	262	3,062	141	3,465
Wisconsin	53,852	50,396	104,248	184	264	448	54,036	50,660	104,696	300	4,673	4	4,977	757	8,620	21	73	9,471	1,057	13,293	98	14,448
Wyoming	6,120	5,198	11,318	14	19	33	6,134	5,217	11,351	29	486	1	516	19	180	1		200	48	666	2	716
Alaska	257	1,696	1,953	1		1	258	1,696	1,954	5	49		54	16	46			62	21	95		116
Canal Zone	114	218	332				114	218	332					1				1	1			1
Guam											245		245		3			3		248		248
Hawaii	174	8,929	9,103		3	3	174	8,932	9,106	14	227		241	37	130		24	191	51	357	24	432
Philippine Islands	104	21,442	21,546				104	21,442	21,546		4,529		4,529		256			256		4,785		4,785
Puerto Rico	45	17,645	17,690				45	17,645	17,690	5	393		398		25			25	5	418		423
Samoa											88		88		2			2		90		90
Virgin Islands											52		52	4	3			7	4	55		59
Others											837		837		1,531		54	1,585		2,368	54	2,422
Total	2,049,490	1,985,176	4,034,666	10,139	12,296	22,435	2,059,629	1,997,472	4,057,101	12,560	246,246	308	259,114	31,777	293,209	1,243	10,730	336,959	44,337	539,455	12,281	596,073

NOTE.—For the Navy, the assignment to sea duty at any given date was approximately 50 percent of the total force.

Additional Civil-Service Legislation Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, in spite of the fact that the House has just recently passed civil-service legislation, there still appear to be a great many inequalities in connection with the compensation of many employees on Capitol Hill. I have not investigated all of the various wage scales, but did have occasion to check up on the pay of Federal mechanics. To my surprise I learned that the Federal mechanics employed in the buildings on Capitol Hill have a wage scale as low as $1,680 per year as compared with other and higher wage scales. We go down to the District buildings and find that the mechanics have a base wage scale of $1,976 per year. I checked up on the Government Printing Office, and I find that the Federal mechanics there have a base pay of $2,745 per year. Likewise, over in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing the base pay is $2,745 per year.

In checking up on the hours put in by these employees, I find that our own employees in the Capitol and old and new House Office Buildings put in 208 hours more per year than the mechanics employed elsewhere. In my opinion, Congress is and should be entirely liberal in appropriations for the District buildings and the Government Printing Office, but extremely overconservative in its treatment of its own employees in the buildings occupied by it.

I believe that something should be done to correct these discriminations, and I call these facts to the attention of Congress because I am sure we want to do the fair thing by the employees on Capitol Hill.

Threescore Years and Ten

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAM HOBBS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 11, 1940

POEM WRITTEN BY HORACE C. CARLISLE

Mr HOBBS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following poem written by Horace C. Carlisle, of Alabama:

THREESCORE YEARS AND TEN

Today I'm threescore years and ten,
And, if I still am living when
  I reach my fourscore years,
I trust that I, on looking back
Along my life's receding track,
  May, ere it disappears
From mem'ry's passing-picture wall
Find these next ten the best of all.

I'm threescore years and ten today,
And trust that my next ten years may—
  If I shall live that long—
Serve better still my fellow men;
And, if I reach fourscore and ten,
  I trust I'll still be strong
Enough to serve and help my friends
Attain to higher, nobler ends.

Yes, threescore years and ten am I,
With many things to occupy
  My meditative mind;
And, while I entertain no fears
Of living to be fivescore years,
  In my heart is enshrined
The hope that my last year on earth
May be the best one since my birth.

—*Horace C. Carlisle.*

Review of Leading Cases Construing Emergency Legislation of 1917–18

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCK R. HAVENNER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

ARTICLE BY GEORGE H. CABANISS, JR.

Mr. HAVENNER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the review of leading cases construing emergency legislation of 1917–18, as prepared by George H. Cabaniss, Jr., a member of the San Francisco bar, and published in the State Bar Journal of California for November 1940.

REVIEW OF LEADING CASES CONSTRUING EMERGENCY LEGISLATION OF 1917–18

(By George H. Cabaniss, Jr., of the San Francisco Bar)

The interest of members of the bar in the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 is by no means academic. All attorneys under the age of 36 have been obliged to register. Other attorneys will either have members of their families elegible to register or will be members on legal advisory boards or appeal agents assisting in the execution of the act. Many cases may arise where attorneys will be obliged to advise their clients as to legal implications of the Selective Service Act.

The constitutionality of compulsory military service was conclusively decided by Mr. Chief Justice White in *Arver* v. *United States* (Selective Draft Law Cases, 245 U. S. 366, 385), wherein the Chief Justice, a former officer of the Confederate Army, said:

"It may not be doubted that the very conception of a just government and its duty to the citizen includes the reciprocal obligation of the citizen to render military service in case of need, and the right to compel it."

Mr. Justice Butler, in *United States* v. *Schwimmer* (279 U. S. 644), said:

"That it is the duty of citizens, by force of arms, to defend our Government against all enemies whenever necessity arises is a fundamental principle of the Constitution."

He also quoted with approval the language of Mr. Chief Justice White in *Arver* v. *United States, supra.*

United States v. *Macintosh* (283 U. S. 605, 622), it was said:

"Whether any citizen shall be exempted from serving in the armed forces of the Nation in time of war is dependent upon the will of Congress and not upon the scruples of the individual, except as Congress provides."

In *Hamilton* v. *Board of Regents* (293 U. S. 245), a California case, compulsory military training in a university, which was a land-grant college, was sustained, the Court citing the above cases.

STATE PROVISIONS

Nine of the Original Colonies provided for compulsory military service in their constitutions which were adopted prior to the drafting of the Constitution of the United States. Jefferson was the author of the section providing for compulsory military service in the Constitution of Virginia.

During the Revolutionary War General Washington suggested to the Continental Congress compulsory military service.

In the latter part of the War of 1812, President Madison, who had been a leading member of the Constitutional Convention, and his then Secretary of War, James Monroe, afterward President and author of the Monroe Doctrine, drafted a bill which was introduced into committee in Congress to provide for compulsory military service. The war having ended before the bill was considered, the matter was allowed to drop.

The Mexican War, which was undertaken upon a volunteer basis, saw the conquest of Mexico impeded and the fruits of victory almost destroyed by reason of the fact that a large proportion of General

Scott's army, who were volunteers and had volunteered for a limited period of time, were allowed to leave Mexico before the war was completed. Their departure and the awaiting the arrival of new volunteer troops delayed the progress of the war.

The War between the States was commenced in the North by a call for volunteers upon the part of President Lincoln. In the Southern Confederacy compulsory military service was adopted (*Ex Parte Coupland* (1862), 26 Tex. 387; *Jeffers* v. *Fair* (1862), 33 Ga. 347; *Burroughs* v. *Peyton* (1864), 16 Gratt. 470).

The victory of the Union was only attained after the Compulsory Draft of Man Power Act was enacted by Congress, the legality of which was sustained in the lower Federal courts in *McCall's case* (1863) (Fed. Cases No. 8669, p. 1225).

WORLD WAR CONSCRIPTION

The World War saw the Selective Service Act adopted by Congress and approved by President Wilson May 18, 1917 (47 Stat. 76).

In *Arver* v. *United States, supra,* the constitutionality of the 1917 act was challenged upon the grounds that it was a violation of the thirteenth amendment (involuntary servitude), and that there was an unlawful delegation of legislative power in the President being empowered to establish regulations for the enforcement of the act.

The 1917 act, section 3, differed from the Civil War act by forbidding the payment of bounties for inducing the enlistment of any person in the armed forces of the United States, prohibiting the furnishing of a substitute for service by a person eligible to be called, and by not allowing the release of any person from military service prior to the expiration of the term of service by the payment of any sum of money as a consideration for release from the military service of the United States.

The 1940 act differs materially from the 1917 act in that under the former act certain classes were granted exemption from the draft, but in the present act, under section 5 (a), certain persons, Army and naval officers, enlisted men, personnel reserve, diplomatic and consular attachés are not required to register.

In time of peace, section 5 (b) persons who had satisfactorily served 3 consecutive years in the Regular Army, members of the National Guard who have served 1 year in active Federal service and subsequently for at least 2 consecutive years in the Regular Army, or in the active National Guard, or who have served in the National Guard for 6 consecutive years, or been on the eligible list of the Officers' Reserve Corps for 6 consecutive years, are relieved from the obligation of serving.

In place of the exemption under the 1917 act, deferred classification may be granted to certain persons in various enumerated classes. However, each case involving the application for deferred classification will be individually examined upon its own facts and no class as a group will be allowed deferred classification.

ALIENS DRAFTED

The Federal courts were called upon to construe the 1917 act in many cases, a number of cases involving the liability of aliens.

In *Ex parte Larrucea* (249 Fed. 981) four aliens, Spanish subjects, who had previously filed their intention to become naturalized, were arrested for evading the draft. They claimed exemption from compulsory military service because of a treaty between Spain and the United States wherein each country had agreed that nationals of each would be exempted from compulsory military service in the territories of the other. Application was made for the issuance of habeas corpus. Judge Bledsoe declared that the aliens were liable for military service, that the Selective Service Act had superseded the treaty between Spain and the United States which had been proclaimed April 20, 1903.

United States ex rel. Bartalini v. *Mitchell* (1918) (248 Fed. 997). Bartalini, an alien, had taken out his first citizenship papers but had failed to file his petition within 7 years. He was held subject to the draft upon the authority of *Angelus* v. *Sullivan* (246 Fed. 54), where the findings of the draft board were held conclusive. It was said:

"A court could inquire by way of habeas corpus or certiorari into the proceedings of the bodies created by the draft law only to the extent of seeing whether they were acting entirely outside the law by which they were created; in other words, whether they were acting without jurisdiction."

In *Angelus* v. *Sullivan, supra,* complainant sought to enjoin the draft board on the ground that he was exempt from military service by reason of alienage and had never declared his intention of becoming a citizen, and that the appeal board of the city of New York affirmed the findings of the local draft board certifying him to report for military service. The court held the findings of fact of a draft board were conclusive, that an injunction would not lie, but that habeas corpus was the proper remedy. Judge Rogers said:

"That the civil courts can afford relief from orders made by such boards in any case where it is shown their proceedings had been without, or in excess of their jurisdiction, or had been so manifestly unfair as to prevent a fair investigation, or that there has been a manifest abuse of the discretion with which they are invested under the act."

United States ex rel. Kotzen v. *Local Exemption Board for the City of New York, Southern District of New York* (252 Fed. 245) was an application for habeas corpus, the daft board finding that the petitioner was not an alien upon conflicting testimony. The court held the burden of proof was upon the petitioner to show that he was an alien and entitled to exemption.

MILITARY JURISDICTION

When one receives notice that he is drafted he is immediately amenable to military jurisdiction and is subject to the regulations of the Army, including the Articles of War, and if he fails to report for duty can be tried by court martial for desertion.

Franke v. *Murray* (1918) (248 Fed. 865; 160 C. C. A. 623). The court, speaking of the power to review the findings of draft boards, said:

"It is only when the action of such a board was without jurisdiction or, if having jurisdiction, it failed to give the party complaining a fair opportunity to be heard and present his evidence, that the action of such a tribunal is subject to review by the courts."

The decision of a local draft board holding a registrant subject to service after hearing based on evidence cannot be reviewed by habeas corpus, unless it can be shown that either the hearing was unfair or that there was no evidence sufficient to support the findings. (*Ex parte Platt,* 253 Fed. 413.)

Where a draft board has abused its power or exercised it arbitrarily, habeas corpus may be granted to review an alien's claim of exemption. (*Ex parte Hutflis,* 245 Fed. 798.)

Speaking of draft boards, Judge Bourquin said:

"Such bodies and persons are special tribunals vested by law with authority and duty to hear and determine such matters as the law directs. They are but quasi judicial and of inferior and limited jurisdiction. But within this jurisdiction, if they proceed as the law directs, their decisions, with some exceptions not material here, if unaffected by fraud or mistake, are conclusive upon the courts, and wherever collaterally questioned. On the other hand, if they have not, or exceed their jurisdiction or substantially depart from the procedure of law prescribed for them, their proceedings and decisions are without jurisdiction and void everywhere. Any person aggrieved by their proceedings can appeal to the civil court to inquire therein. Such inquiry extends no further than whether or not they had and kept within jurisdiction and proceeded in substantial conformity to statutes and rules, whether or not there is competent and adequate evidence tendered to support their decisions, and whether or not the latter are free from fraud or mistake. If the answers thereto are affirmative, the court cannot disturb the proceedings or decisions of such special tribunals." (*Ex parte Beck,* 245 Fed. 967, 969.)

As a result of the war, Congress enacted varying legislation dealing with the emergency.

The Espionage Act (40 Stat. 219), enacted June 15, 1917, and amended May 16, 1918, provided in section 3 of the act a $10,000 fine, or not more than 20 years' imprisonment, or both, for anyone who, among other things, shall obstruct "the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States."

It was held that registrants who had received their serial numbers were a part of the military forces of the United States; that one who counseled draft registrants not to report when ordered to do so for duty was guilty of violation of section 3 of the espionage law, which read as follows:

"Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the military or naval forces of the United States, shall be punished" (*United States* v. *Sugarman,* 245 Fed. 604).

PUBLICATIONS EXCLUDED

Conclusions of the Postmaster General in excluding publications from the mail were held not to be reviewable by the courts. It was said:

"The performance of that duty involves exercise of his judgment and discretion" (*Masses Publishing Co.* v. *Patten,* 246 Fed. 24, 118 C. C. A. 250; L. R. A. 1918, ch. 79; Ann. Cas. 1918, b. 999).

A publishing company, on the responsibility of its agent, may be held guilty of a violation of the Espionage Act (*United States* v. *Nearing,* 252 Fed. 223).

The 1917 Selective Service Act, as an exercise by the President of the war powers under article I, section 8, of the Constitution, cut across the State's police powers. Section 13 of the Selective Service Act authorized the Secretary of War to do what he deemed necessary to suppress houses of ill fame within such distances as he would determine from any military camp; that any person who violated such rules would be guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by fine of not more than $1,000 or 12 months' imprisonment, or both. The constitutionality of the regulation of the Secretary of War forbidding houses of ill fame within 5 miles of a military reservation was sustained in *McKinley* v. *United States* (249 U. S. 397), and *Pappens* v. *United States* (252 Fed. 255).

The legality of wartime prohibition was sustained in *Hamilton* v. *Kentucky Distillery Co.* (251 U. S. 146).

Section 4067, Revised Statutes (Comp. Stat. 1916, p. 7615), states:

"Whenever there is a declared war between the United States and any foreign nation or government, or any invasion or predatory incursion is perpetuated, attempted, or threatened against the territory of the United States by any foreign nation or government, and the President makes a public proclamation of the event, all nationals, citizens, denizens, or subjects of the hostile nation or government, being males and age of 14 years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed as alien enemies. The President is authorized in any such event by his proclamation thereof or other public act, to direct the conduct to be observed on the manner and degree of restraint to which they shall be subject and in what cases and by what security their residence shall be permitted, and to provide for the removal of those who, not being permitted to reside within the United States, refuse or neglect to depart therefrom,

and to establish any other regulations which are found necessary in the premises and for the public safety."

President Wilson, in accordance with the provisions of the statute, issued a proclamation upon December 11, 1917.

Graber, formerly a citizen of Croatia, a subject state of the Kingdom of Hungary, a part of the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Government, had declared his intention of becoming a citizen and filed petition for naturalization. He had been confined, by virtue of the Presidential proclamation, and applied for habeas corpus. Judge Clayton said:

"The President, acting in the manner and under the powers vested in him by law, had determined that the petitioner is a person who, either for the safety of the United States or for the petitioner's own protection, should be restrained or interned. He has further decided that this alien enemy should be restrained as prescribed in section 4067, Revised Statutes. The officers of the law should take the summary action authorized by that section, and the question is presented by petitioner whether the action of the President is subject to judicial review. The Court thinks not."

HABEAS CORPUS AVAILABLE

The court held that the principles applicable to habeas corpus proceedings, reviewing the decisions of the Secretary of Labor under the Immigration Act and by boards created and passing upon claims for exemption under the Selective Service Act, governed the proceedings (*Ex parte Graber*, 247 Fed. 882).

Among other enactments of wartime legislation was the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of March 18, 1918, which was reincorporated in the present Selective Service Act.

Section 120 of the National Defense Act of 1916 provided that the President, in time of war or emergency, was empowered to take over any factory which had refused to furnish arms, munitions, or war equipment for the Government, through the ordnance department, to operate that plant. Any person not complying with the provisions of the section should be guilty of a felony and punished either by not more than 3 years' imprisonment or by a fine not exceeding $50,000.

Except for minor changes in phraseology, the section has been reincorporated in section 9 of the 1940 Selective Service Act.

A case interpreting section 120 was *International Paper Co.* v. *United States* ((1930) 282 U. S. 399), wherein it was held that the Secretary of War, in making a wartime requisition of electric power, exercised eminent domain.

Omnia Company v. *United States* ((1922) 261 U. S. 502). The Government for war purposes requisitioned the entire production of steel of a manufacturer which prevented the performance of outstanding contracts with a customer. The customer could not recover damages from the United States.

Where the Secretary of War requisitioned a pier in New York, the lessee was entitled to payment of the equivalent of value of use at the time of taking, payment to be made contemporaneously with the taking (*Phelps* v. *United States* (1926), 274 U. S. 341).

Where land was condemned by the Secretary of War, the owner was entitled to compensation for the land actually taken but not for the diminution of value of remainder by reason of severance (*Campbell* v. *United States* (1924), 266 U. S. 368).

As a result of the emergency through which we are passing, members of the bar in all probability will encounter problems of military law, military government, and martial law.

Military law has often been used to comprehend military government and martial law. Strictly speaking, however, military law is that law applicable to the personnel of the armed forces of the United States. Military government is the law established for civilian population in a foreign country, or in the case of revolution or insurgency in hostile territory under the occupation of the military, for the government of a civilian population. Martial law is established by proclamation of the executive when civil government has broken down, the necessities of the situation are such that the military is relied upon to maintain law and order, and certain civil rights of a fundamental character may be suspended for a time.

In his dissenting opinion in *Ex parte Milligan* (1866) (4 Wall. 2), Chief Justice Chase differentiated military law, military government, and martial law.

Under the articles of war which govern military personnel, questions of whether the jurisdiction of the military is exclusive or concurrent with the civil authorities often arise, *Grafton* v. *United States* (206 U. S. 333), the questions of jurisdiction of a court martial and double jeopardy were fully discussed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A few works which may be of practical interest to members of the bar upon the subject are:

A Source Book of Military Law and Wartime Legislation, prepared by the War Department committee on education and special training, of which Dean Wigmore, then a colonel in the Judge Advocate General's department, was chairman. Published in 1919 by the West Publishing Co. represents a combination of the leading legislative enactments and cases upon military law up to that date.

Freedom of Speech, 1920, Zechariah Chaffee, Jr., is valuable for it contains a list of all the reported cases involving the draft and espionage acts.

Rules of Martial Law, 1930, Charles Fairman. History of martial law in the United States and England, including a bibliography of Law Review articles and cases upon that subject. Now out of print.

A few Law Review articles that are pertinent are:

Law in Wartime, 1917. 31 Harvard Law Review, 692, Charles M. Hough.

Military Law: A Study in Comparative Law. 32 Harvard Law Review, 340, William Herbert Page.

Concurrent Jurisdiction, Military and Civil Tribunals. Note 32, Harvard Law Review, 576.

In the September issue of the 1940 American Bar Journal is a masterly article by Maj. Claude V. Mickelwait, wherein the legal basis for conscription is fully discussed and the leading authorities upon the subject are thoroughly analyzed. This article is also published in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pages 5570–5573, inclusive.

Attorneys should familiarize themselves with the Articles of War which are to be found in the United States Code Annotated; Military Laws of the United States Annotated, and the Court Martial Manual.

The 121 Articles of War form the substantive and procedural criminal law governing the officers and enlisted personnel of the armed forces of the United States.

British Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH B. SHANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

ARTICLE BY WILLIAM E. BARRETT

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the following article by William E. Barrett, entitled "Paints Gloomy Portrait of America If We Step Into War at Britain's Request," which appeared in the Ohio State Journal, Columbus, Monday, December 9, 1940:

[From the Ohio State Journal, Columbus, of December 9, 1940]

WHITE PAPER PAINTS GLOOMY PORTRAIT OF AMERICA IF WE STEP INTO WAR AT BRITAIN'S REQUEST

(By William E. Barrett)

There are a great many people in the United States who believe that if one opposes the William Allen White committee for aid to Britain one must be a lover of the Nazis. Too many people believe that an American has only two choices; to be pro-British or to be pro-Nazi. Speaking for one American, I would like to set them straight.

Hitler hasn't got it in his soul to create anything which will ever remotely approach the system under which the United States is governed—and no King nor British Parliament, with the wealth and resources of a subordinate empire at their disposal, has ever given the English people as a whole a way of life to equal the pattern of living created by the representatives of the Thirteen Original Colonies on this continent.

We can toss away a system that was born in patience and suffering, sacrifice and idealism. We can sabotage it to help a fading, selfish, stupid system to prevail over a savage, ruthless, intolerant system. In the end the world will be poorer. Great Britain will impose her system of peonage, diplomatic trickery, and greed upon Europe again—and hatred will simmer beneath the surface for another 20 or 40 years until it bursts forth and Britain fights once more for another term of dominance, for the armed right to reimpose the same money-making pattern for the few that has stained the earth red every place her flag floats.

Only next time there will be no pattern of idealism and no sanctuary of hope for the stricken and the homeless, such as exists today. The great pattern of the United States of America will have been destroyed and remolded to the British pattern. Year by year Britain's propagandists have grown bolder. British statesmen declared this war. They picked the moment for it—and from the firing of the first gun British propagandists have sought to involve us.

The very cornerstone of British propaganda in this country is a monstrous lie—and the edifice that is being built by the William Allen Whites and their like is an edifice called "Union now," in behalf of which paid advertisements have been run in American papers. One of these ads carries a rewritten version of the Declaration of Independence, canceling out everything for which our forefathers fought, abolishing the pattern by which we have lived for 160 years, and reducing us to the rank of satellite to a boasting Britain that will whine to us for help and still treat us as a colony to be levied upon.

They threaten us with the fact that we will be alone if Britain falls. So be it. Alone we are strong enough in soul and resources to defend that which we have; tied to Britain we exchange what we have for what Britain has not.

That is why this one American refuses to be pro-British. That is why I and millions of others are opposed to the William Allen White committee and all of its works. We hate a war propagandist. We particularly hate a war propagandist who trickily leads a trusting, sympathetic people step by step to a point where a war becomes inevitable, assuring them at every step that the road does not lead to war.

The heart of the American people has been reached by the gallant stand of the English people against war and adversity. But shall we permit the propagandist uses of our warm-hearted sympathy to betray us into transferring our admiration for a people's courage from the people's to their government? Shall we yield to the lords of greed and of monopoly who, as so often before, had betrayed their own people into the path of suffering by using their feelings for humanity as a flag behind which they were rallied to protect a vicious system of economic pressures?

There are loyal Americans on farms and in small towns and cities who have never been outside the boundaries of their own States, men who know only one corner of their vast homeland but who love it all because they love their own corner so deeply. The propagandist addresses himself to those men and women, appealing to the sentiment that has grown around a little corner of America—in order to make those citizens the tools of a failing empire. The right of Britain's ruling class to take toll of the seven seas and the kingdom of the earth is the stake—and yet there are Americans who would insure that stake with American blood and subordinate America's pattern of freedom to the British pattern of exploitation.

It is because Americans put their hearts before their heads that most of us hate propagandists. It is because Americans will put their trust and their devotion to their native land in the hands of men who tell them America is in danger, that it is time to demand facts of those who seek to link us to the chariot of empire.

As for William Allen White, if I were "the sage of Emporia," I would not exchange the confidence, trust, and esteem of my neighbors in Kansas for the honors which a grateful Britain will doubtless bestow. The wheat that grows in Kansas is tended by American citizens. The wheat of Egypt, India, and the farflung empire which competes with the United States of America is tended by British subjects. There is a distinction and a difference which this once great American must have missed.

A Step Toward War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMILTON FISH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

STATEMENT BY DR. H. N. MacCRACKEN AND EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a statement by Dr. H. N. MacCracken, president of Vassar College, and an editorial from the New York Times.

The letter of Dr. MacCracken, criticizing the recent efforts of the William Allen White committee to get us into war, is so clearly and admirably stated that it should be read by all Members of Congress who may have to vote on the issues discussed and on the ultimate issue of war or peace.

The editorial from the New York Times is just a sidelight on the type of propaganda emanating from Mr. White's committee. I have no quarrel with Mr. White, but some of his fanatical subordinates in New York are not helping the cause of England by their political activities or their contemptible tricks.

The statement and editorial follows:

STEP TOWARD WAR SEEN HERE—DR. MAC CRACKEN BELIEVES STATEMENT OF WHITE GROUP TENDS THAT WAY

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Although a supporter hitherto of the general aims of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, and even speaking from the same platform as William Allen White on one occasion on this subject, I think that the declaration of policy published in the Times today is a long step in the direction of war. Those who believe that the United States should not enter the war at this time should record their opposition to the policy declared by the committee.

In contradiction to the President's recent statement that the United States is doing all it can in aiding Britain at this time, the committee states that our aid is now insufficient and slow. The committee demands that the President mobilize all industrial resources of the Nation for maximum production. This amounts practically to conscription of our industry.

The committee demands that the United States supply Great Britain with all possible merchant ships and assume responsibility for maintaining the so-called life line between Great Britain and the United States. This can only mean that our warships shall be employed to convoy merchant vessels between the United States and Great Britain, and an act of war would inevitably follow.

The committee also demands repeal of various statutes which would make the United States a recruiting ground for Canada and urges the repeal of other statutes to which it does not make specific reference.

The committee urges that the Pacific naval bases of the United States and Great Britain should be open to each other's fleets. This can only mean the abandonment of any pretense of neutrality.

The committee urges the President to call a conference for a reaffirmation of faith in the world of peace based upon justice and the security of nations, but this step can only obscure the real purpose of the steps quoted, which seem to me calculated to bring us into the war at the earliest possible moment.

The argument that the United States cannot face the Axis Powers alone and that it must, therefore, make common cause with Britain is a question that must be left to our military and naval experts. It is the understanding with most Americans that our present defense program is intended to provide us with an adequate defense in any contingency.

With all respect to the distinguished names which are quoted as responsible for the composition of the document, I must express my preference for the American way of defense as I understand it at the present time. This is to avoid entangling alliances; to defend the American Hemisphere by the use of our armed forces; to defend the Philippines if possible; and under the present laws to assist the British Empire by the sale to Britain of all food and military supplies for which Britain can pay.

Less than this would not be in accordance with our protests against aggression; more than this would commit us to a definite war policy for which our country is not prepared, and which she is not willing to undertake.

H. N. MACCRACKEN,
President, Vassar College.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., November 26, 1940.

[From the New York Times]

"THE INSIDE STORY"

William Allen White, chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, has now told the supposed "inside story" of "how the committee organized public opinion in favor of sending the 50 United States destroyers and 26 'flying fortresses' to England."

"Our first job," he said among other things, "was to send the destroyers to England. We," the committee, "learned there were certain over-age destroyers that could easily be spared—150 of them—but we plugged for 50. Taking that number as the goal, 50, was pure hunch, but I want to say that we've never had an objective that wasn't approved in advance by the General Staffs of the United States Army and Navy. * * *

"We put General Pershing on the air, but the really smart trick we pulled was that after Lindbergh made his speech we put his mother-in-law, Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow, on the air—and was that a face card? It was.

"She said, 'Telegraph the White House and your Congressman,' and the next day * * * 15,000 telegrams came tumbling down on Washington saying, 'Give the destroyers to Great Britain.' They never knew what hit them."

Mr. White's remarks in this instance are unfortunate. They obviously exaggerate the role that the committee played in the destroyer-bases transaction. They will give many the impression that the General Staffs of the Army and Navy are cooperating with the White committee in its efforts to influence public opinion. And by his references to the "smart tricks" that the committee "pulled," Mr. White may needlessly arouse suspicions and injure the future usefulness of his committee.

The truth is that the country approved the destroyer and the flying fortress transfer and other help to Great Britain because the British are now the one great nation standing in the path of aggressors bent upon destroying all the values of civilization. A committee similar to Mr. White's could have pulled any number of smart tricks to get us to send the 50 destroyers to Germany or Italy, and their efforts would have been worse than vain.

The White committee did not create the American sentiment for aid to Britain. It is merely one of the instruments through which that sentiment has been expressed. Mr. White recognizes this when he declares that the committee was "merely organizers of the great majority of American public opinion which had believed all along in the principle that we must defend ourselves by helping Great Britain." Precisely.

During the last 20 years a hardy myth grew up that America got into the war against Germany in 1917 through British propaganda, or forged documents and faked photographs, or war loans, or the intrigue of munitions makers, or smart tricks that somebody pulled. The myth grew up that America went to war, in short, for any and every reason except spontaneous feeling or clear-sighted recognition of the need of defeating Germany at that time. We should not permit now the creation of the myth that we have to be tricked into taking actions to insure Hitler's defeat.

The United States Is Not at War—President Roosevelt Has Six Times Definitely Promised To Keep America at Peace—Let Defeatists and Despair Artists Cease Saying, "We Are Already In"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, the forces trying to push the United States into the ghastly war in Europe and Asia have recently adopted a new technique. They are now trying to circularize the impression that the United States is already in and that it is merely a matter of time before men, and ships, and planes, and money will be actively engaged in the killing overseas and another generation or two of American manhood will begin rotting in the soldiers' graves of the blood-drenched continent of Europe. This new device of the warmongers in trying to soften the shock of suggesting the abandonment of our American peace by "conditioning" the American public to the idea that "we are already in" is admittedly clever and effective war propaganda.

It is time that innocent assistants in this ghastly scheme be made aware of the devastating consequences of their careless acceptance of this skillfully devised propaganda to saturate America with the impression that we are already so far in the war there is no longer a chance of our keeping out.

Total warfare, as it is fought today by belligerents on all sides, is not an easy contest to be entered as light-heartedly as a ball club entering a championship tournament and it is not an activity in which a great Republic like ours should engage without serious discussion, clear-cut debate concerning its consequences, and a definite advance knowledge of what we might expect to do with a victory after we have won it. Military experts have indicated that if America should really enter this blood drama of Europe and Asia it might involve us in a 10- or 20-year war and that even if it could be ended—and we hope conclusively won—in 4 or 5 years it would take a half century or more to offset even its major serious consequences to this Republic. Just winning a war is of no avail until and unless we know conclusively and definitely what we would do with such a victory after we had spent perhaps 3,000,000 lives, a hundred billion dollars, and traded our own system of constitutional free government and capitalism to secure it. As yet even the most persistent war peddlers in this country have not dared to suggest what they would do with a war-won victory after its bloody conditions came to pass.

AFTER THE WAR—WHAT?

"After the war, what?" Mr. Speaker, there is a question serious-minded people should begin to answer and to which a concrete, black-on-white reply should be known throughout the land before careless circulators of such flimsy fiction as "we are already in" give strength and substance to this sly scheme to weaken the war resistance of this last great citadel of Christian peace and freedom in the world. More than 20 years ago, America traded the lives and happy future of millions of men and sowed the seeds of still existent economic and social problems to earn what historians call victory in a war. We won the World War, but death, desolation, depression, and disaster reaped the victory.

After the war, wisely or foolishly, we refused to enter a world compact to tie the destiny of America forever in with the quarrels, the boundary disputes, the national hatreds, the lust for land, the hereditary hostilities, and the ceaseless wars of Europe and Asia. We refused to sign the treaty of peace because we doubted our right to write finis to change and we entered the war. We refused to enter the League of Nations because we did not want to lose our identity as an independent and freedom-loving state. We refused to permanently assign great armies of American soldiers and shiploads of sailors to the thankless task of patrolling the innumerable boundary lines of Europe and fixing the post-Versailles geography as the eternal plan of things because we doubted our right to write finis to change and our ability to force upon the world a peace made possible only because our armed might patrolled its boundary lines. So we fought the war and won it; we traded lives and liberties, men and munitions, dollars and prosperity, peace and contentment for a nightmare of war and for a cessation of fighting, and then we came home. Before our fighting heroes reached these shores, the undersurface seething preceding the breeding of new wars, new dictators, and new "isms" began the first slow processes which have kept all the major nations of Europe at each other's throats for more than a hundred of the last 150 years.

ARE THESE THE THINGS FOR WHICH WE WOULD FIGHT?

Now the same forces and the same interests, some purely selfish and others shortsightedly patriotic, are using the same slogans, the same scare stories, the same sly propaganda to lure us into another war. But the question of "After the war, what?" again lacks a definite and intelligent answer. This time there can be no turning back. Once in this great scourge of war now slowly wrecking two entire continents, Americans must reconcile themselves to the fact that never again can we become a great and generous independent neutral. Never again can we even enjoy the dignity and distinction of being an unneutral nonbelligerent. Should we enter this latest war and, God willing, again trade enough human lives, happiness, and liberty so that we could bring it to an end—with Death and his other horsemen again the victors—we must underwrite the consequences. We must police and patrol the world or turn it back to new generations of madmen and dictators; we must decide upon the proper boundary lines for two dozen different nations and employ our armed forces to keep them fixed; we must reduce our standards of living to the world level so that international jealousies will not turn to hatred of this haughty country which condemns certain groups to poverty and famine and would secure for all time to other groups the right to rule the world; we must forget about our private profit system, our free schools, our independent churches, our constitutional self-government, to concentrate our efforts, private and governmental, upon the mighty task of maintaining by armed strength the peace of a subdued but unhappy and unwilling world. All this and much more must be written into any honest, factual, black-and-white answer to the question, After the war, what?

NOW IS THE TIME TO KNOW THE ANSWERS

To contemplate the passage of our known civilization on this continent is no happy vision but it is time America quit kidding itself and faced the facts. It is easier now, while we are at peace to contemplate what would follow our entrance and success in the war—probably no American would dare to contemplate what might follow if we entered the war and failed—than to sacrifice millions of lives and centuries of progress first, and then belatedly ask ourselves what to do when the fighting ceases, but the turmoil and torture continues. Now, because America is at peace, is the time to think straight. Now is the time to insist upon a factual answer to an honest question. Now is the time to know—after the war, what? Saving democracy of serving Christianity by the gentle art of killing millions of enemies while losing millions of our own best citizens in the slaughter beds of war is a delusion as old as it is dishonest. Europe has been wrapping the horrors of war in the garments of sanctimony for 20 centuries but democracy and Christianity have grown less and less sacred in the minds of men while the methods of warfare have become more and more diabolical. This time, let the formula for saving democracy and serving Christianity precede the finale to peace and the fictitious illusion of war. This time, let all America insist that the answer be written where all can read and understand—after the war, what?

BEWARE OF THE APPEASEMENT PROGRAM OF THE GOD OF MARS

But, Mr. Speaker, what I started out to say is that America is not in the war. America is at peace. Whether we are

neutral in our thought or actions is beside the point; whether the war will affect our future business relations is not the question at issue; we are dedicated to a policy of helping the forces of freedom and our friends throughout the world to the full extent of our ability to do so without endangering our position of peaceful noninvolvement or jeopardizing our own national defenses. To say that we are already in is to preach defeatism and despair; it is to surrender to the merchants of war. To repeat the fiction that we are in so far we cannot keep out is to give credence and respectability to the nefarious propaganda inspired by interests seeking to involve us in the war; it is to do a great disservice to this Republic. To smugly answer that we are already in when asked the question of whether America can stay out of the war is to join our influence to that of those whose joy or job it is to push this country farther and farther down the road to war. It is essentially the appeasement program of the God of Mars; it is effectively the awful policy of attempting to prepare a peace-loving Nation for the shock of war. It should be avoided like the plague by every American who desires to rescue this country from involvement in what might become a war to end civilization or a war to save the world for a coterie of celestial junk dealers if America should expand the rivers of blood by thoughtlessly plunging into a war to secure a decision with which we would know not what to do.

THE WORLD NEEDS A COURAGEOUS NEUTRAL

The world is in a very bad way, Mr. Speaker. Power-mad men are leading illusioned people and countries to destruction. A frightful toll of human life is being given up on the altar of misunderstanding, of greed, and of ambition; and after it is all over, there seems little hope that either victor will impose a formula for human relations which will prevent a repetition of the current chapter in Europe's 2,000-year-old book of battles. What the world needs today is not another belligerent to make bigger the rivers of blood. What the world needs is a courageous, well-prepared, determined neutral eager to bring order out of chaos and to restore sanity while there yet remains a haven large enough to house the dove of peace. A careless and a callous columnist said not long ago that this country must "take action so that the war may be prolonged," and courageous "kibitzers" to the death-dealing game of war are writing that even Pope Pius in his plea for a Christmas truce is out of order because it appears they fear the war spirit will be dampened and its ardor cooled if belligerents everywhere even for a single day once again taste the blessings of peace. What manner of men have we become that we should openly argue that even a Christmas truce should be opposed?

A CHALLENGE TO POPE PIUS AND/OR TO UNCLE SAM

To suggest that both sides could make a better peace now than either side can make from the shambles of their respective countries 2 or 12 or 20 years from now need in no way mean that the aggressors are to be exalted and the oppressed condemned. If Pope Pius or Uncle Sam, or if Pope Pius and Uncle Sam, could use their respective or united mighty influences to bring around the council tables representatives of all belligerents and all neutrals, who is there to say that anything could be lost by the effort? The worst that could befall would be a break-down of the effort and the resumption of terrible, total war. But the best that could result is so attractive and so enticing that it seems worth the trial. The best might be better than any optimist dares dream today, for, after 15 months of war, there must be many men, and the vast majority of mothers, in all countries ready once again to curtail selfish interest, personal ambitions, and national pride for the outside chance—remote as it may be—that from peaceful deliberations could come more of happiness, security, and liberty for all concerned than can ever come from continued destruction of the people and property of two great continents. Certainly the suffering of all concerned in every embattled land is great enough and real enough after this 15-month demonstration of life in the lap of hell so that no representative of any belligerent could well afford to bring down upon himself the resentment of his nationals for failure to be reasonable and rational around a conference table dedicated not to the prolongation of the war but to the settlement of international differences, the restitution of international decency, and the development of an international formula for peaceful living.

No matter how much longer the slaughter continues; no matter how many more lives are lost; no matter how many more peaceful little nations of innocent people are trampled over by mighty armies playing for bigger stakes; no matter how many dictators fall and are replaced by perhaps meaner or maybe better men; no matter what nor when the outcome of the insane torture of a warfare which bombs mothers and starves babies, all in the name of national defense, when it is all done and over with and the men who are left limp up to the peace conference the same problems existing now as to how to work out a formula for international behavior will then exist. What must be done eventually might at least be tried now before the mantle of eternity closes upon several million more of the world's choicest citizenry from which should come the scientists, the inventors, the doctors, the artists, the authors, and the statesmen to make this world a better place in which to live rather than to keep the world a bombing range in which to spread destruction and despair.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SIX TIMES HAS PROMISED PEACE

Mr. Speaker, President Roosevelt has on six occasions within the past 4 months given his solemn pledge to keep America at peace. There are those who deem war as inevitable or desirable who would smirk at these public pledges of the President. There are those who point to other public statements about debt reduction or decreased pay rolls and argue that since the President failed to follow through on them he will equally fail to keep his public promise to keep this country out of war. But such argument has more of partisanship than patriotism as its base, and the promises about debt reduction and pay-roll curtailment were made before the candidate was in office and before he really knew the problems involved in redeeming them. President Roosevelt's sixfold pledge to keep America out of war rests on no such insecure foundation. The President made these reiterated solemn pledges after being in office for more than 7 years. President Roosevelt spoke from experience when once in September, four times in October, and once in November he deliberately and definitely promised this great Nation that as its Executive it would be his solemn pledge to keep America out of war.

The President made these six promises after he had served as the Nation's Chief Executive for more than 12 months of the European war; he made them after he knew from his many inside sources the full import and consequences of the European war; he made them after the nations had selected their allies across the seas and after many valiant and freedom-loving nations had been temporarily overrun by cruel military machines. With this vast background behind him, President Roosevelt told America, not once but six times, that he would preserve our peace, and in this effort he is entitled to the wholehearted support of every patriotic citizen in the land.

Were he to break these repeated obligations, he would enter history as history's most deceitful leader because a great people, by a free ballot, placed their trust in his sincerity of purpose and his sense of honesty. I cannot believe that he intends to break these obligations. I intend to support him in every effort he makes to redeem these promises, and I join with the vast majority of all America in wishing him strength and health and vision so that he can make good as our national leader in carrying out the most important pledges ever given any free people by their chosen Executive.

So that the permanent RECORD may be clear and so that defeatists who weakly whimper that "We're already in" may know the facts, Mr. Speaker, I shall now insert in the RECORD the exact context of the six public pledges given by President Roosevelt within the past 4 months to protect the peace of America and to keep this country out of war.

These are the President's campaign pledges to keep the country out of foreign wars:

"I hate war now more than ever. I have one supreme determination—to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand with my party upon the platform adopted at Chicago: 'We will not participate in foreign wars and we will not send our Army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack.'" (From address to teamsters' union convention, Washington, September 11, 1940.)

"For many years every ounce of energy I have has been devoted to keeping this Nation and the other republics at peace with the rest of the world. That is what continues uppermost in my mind today, the objective for which I hope and work and pray." (From radio address on Western Hemisphere defense October 12, 1940.)

"To Republicans and Democrats, to every man, woman, and child in the Nation I say—your President and your great Secretary of State are following the road to peace. We are arming ourselves not for any purposes of conquest or intervention in foreign disputes. I repeat that I stand on the platform of our party. * * * It is for peace I have labored; and it is for peace I shall labor all the days of my life." (From address in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, October 30, 1940.)

"Your Government will devote its every thought, its every energy, to the cause that is common to all of us—the maintenance of the dignity, the prosperity, and the peace of our country." (From address opening the draft drawing, Washington, October 29, 1940.)

"I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars. They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. The purpose of our defense is defense." (From address at Boston Garden, October 30, 1940.)

"The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war. At the same time we seek to keep foreign conceptions of government out of the United States. The second purpose of this policy is to keep war as far away as possible from the shores of the entire Western Hemisphere. We make it clear that we intend to commit none of the fatal errors of appeasement. Through it all there have been two thoughts uppermost in my mind—to preserve peace in our land and to make the forces of democracy work for the benefit of the common people of America." (From address at Cleveland, November 3, 1940.)

THE PRESIDENT'S PLEDGES MUST BE KEPT

Mr. Speaker, let no man say at this crucial time that our President gave these foregoing promises with intent to deceive the people and with hidden purpose of violating them and putting this country into war, by indirection or otherwise, soon after the campaign echoes had stilled. No criminal of life or drama could be so cruel and conscienceless as to traffic with human life by such deception. Let us of every walk of life and of all parties accept the good faith of President Roosevelt in these voluntary pledges to protect our peace. Let us not move an inch closer to the awful cataclysm of war. Let us remember there is a vast and wholesome difference between where we are and where we would be if we were actually in the war. Let us give full attention to the development of our national defenses and let us keep out of war. We have our President's pledge for peace—let us all join in implementing its redemption.

REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS ALSO PLEDGE PEACE

Finally, Mr. Speaker, let me close by pointing out that not only does the sacred responsibility for preserving our American peace repose upon President Roosevelt as a result of his six-times repeated public promises but it also reposes upon each of us in Congress, at least upon each of us representing either of our two major political parties. Both great parties in their party conventions in Philadelphia and Chicago gave the people of this Republic in black and white their collective public promises to keep America out of the war. So that the permanent RECORD may also reveal exactly the positions to which each of us is bound whether we be Republicans or Democrats I shall now quote verbatim from the two great party platforms of 1940 in the order in which these solemn pledges were written and presented to the people for their approval.

The Republican Convention meeting in Philadelphia, June 24–29, 1940, had this to say about preserving the peace of America and I quote the exact words of the platform, unanimously adopted:

The Republican Party is firmly opposed to involving this Nation in foreign war. We are still suffering from the ill effects of the last World War—a war which cost us a $24,000,000,000 increase in our national debt, billions of uncollectible foreign debts, and the complete upset of our economic system, in addition to the loss of human life and irreparable damage to health of thousands of our boys. The Republican Party stands for Americanism, preparedness, and peace.

Mr. Speaker, the Democratic Convention, meeting in Chicago July 15–20, 1940, was no less specific in its solemn pledge to keep America out of the war. I now quote the exact words of the Democratic platform, unanimously adopted:

The American people are determined that war raging in Europe, Asia, and Africa shall not come to America. We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack.

Thus each of us who is either a Republican or a Democrat is bound by solemn platform pledge to vote and work against the involvement of this country in the war. Each of us is bound by the party of our choice to help President Roosevelt redeem his sixfold pledge to keep this country out of war. Some critics of this Republic and its great two-party system scoff at the idea that a party-platform pledge should be redeemed or that a promise made in a political campaign should be fulfilled. They would destroy the faith of a great people in our form of free government by indicting all political organizations or candidates as rascals or knaves who have no intention of keeping faith with the public. This tendency to destroy confidence in common honesty must be ended. We can ill afford to give further basis to such sharp criticism. Both great parties are in honor bound to protect our American peace and to perpetuate it just as President Roosevelt is honor bound to keep us out of war.

WENDELL WILLKIE ALSO PROMISES A PEACE-LOVING AMERICA TO WORK FOR PEACE

Not only did the victorious candidate in the election give his word that his election would bind him to pursue a path of peace for the United States, but Wendell Willkie, both before and after the decision on election day, promised he would bend every effort to preserving our American peace. To keep these promises these men must, of course, do more than give lip service to the denunciation of war or to resist an outright declaration of war. To give substance to their statements, both President Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie must resist the trend toward war; they must oppose steps leading us to an inevitable involvement in the war; they must use their influence to keep the face of America turned toward peace—the course of America free from journeys into untried schemes which contain the ominious possibilities of involvement in war. To support programs leading toward war would be as deceptive as to support our entrance into the war itself; in fact, in some respects to flirt with war by indirection may be less honest and respectable on the part of prominent men than to favor an outright declaration of war, because it would be to mislead men and deceive citizens until they have been placed in a position from which war is the only escape or eclipse. To complete this record of public statements by prominent statesmen I now include the statement of Wendell Willkie reaffirming his pledge to peace and enunciating his confidence that President Roosevelt will keep faith with America in his repeated promises to preserve the peace of this Nation:

Mr. Roosevelt and I both promised the people in the course of the campaign that if we were elected we would keep this country out of war unless attacked. Mr. Roosevelt was reelected, and this solemn pledge for him I know will be fulfilled, and I know the American people desire him to keep it sacred.—Wendell Willkie, November 12, 1940.

THE GREATEST PROBLEM IN AMERICA TODAY

As we enter the next Congress, with its complex issues and its tempting proposals, Mr. Speaker, let us all rededicate ourselves to the preservation of the American way of life. Our greatest problem in this country today, sir, is the maintenance of the American system of self-government right here on this continent. Let us protect it by developing to the fullest extent of our complete ability a Military Establishment which will repulse any and all possible invaders. Let us protect it by curtailing all subversive groups in this country and exposing to the pitiless spotlight of publicity all war-propaganda organizations now operating under high-sounding names to put us into war. Let us deal vigorously and effectively with Communist camps, with bundist cells, and with Fascists fronts in this country. Let us quickly deport aliens who prefer their own country at war to an America

at peace, regardless from which foreign land they come. And, let us above all, in Congress or out, from the President on down to the lowliest citizen, rededicate ourselves to redeeming the platform pledges of our two great parties and vindicating the confidence which most Americans still have that honest, straightforward, faithful government functions best in all the world here in the United States with its two-party system and its constitutional guaranties for the protection of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Danville, Ky., the First Post Office of the United States West of the Alleghenies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. VIRGIL CHAPMAN

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

EXCERPTS FROM AN ARTICLE BY DR. WILLIAM JENNINGS PRICE

Mr. CHAPMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave accorded to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including parts of a very interesting article by Dr. William Jennings Price, of Danville, Ky., and Washington, D. C. It was published in the October 1940 number of the Filson Club History Quarterly. The Filson Club, Louisville, Ky., is a long-established and outstanding organization, devoted to historical research and publication, and has done a most important work in behalf of the Kentucky region in this respect. Dr. Price for 8 years was our country's able minister to the Republic of Panama, having served during President Wilson's two administrations. Centre College and the University of Panama have conferred upon him the degree of doctor of laws. His historical narrative establishes that Danville, within the district which I have the honor to represent in Congress, was the first post office of the United States established west of the Allegheny Mountains. What is thus said upon the subject constitutes not only a valuable contribution to "Kentuckiana" but, as well, to the whole subject of the settlement of the Kentucky region, with its important sequences, such as the conquest of the Northwest Territory under the leadership of George Rogers Clark and the extension of American influence southwestwardly, paving the way for the Louisiana Purchase. The first post office in Ohio of the Northwest Territory or in any of the Southwest Territory was not established until some 2 years after the installation of the post office at Danville in Kentucky.

DANVILLE WAS THE FIRST POST OFFICE ESTABLISHED IN KENTUCKY AND IN THE TERRITORY BEYOND THE ALLEGHENIES

(By William Jennings Price, Danville, Ky., and Washington, D. C.)

The thrift and homely wisdom of "Poor Richard" contributed in a marked degree to the establishment upon a sure foundation of the American Postal Service. Benjamin Franklin is listed as the first Postmaster General. The revenues of this Department of the Government for 1 year, 1939, reached a total in round numbers of three-quarters of a billion dollars.

Beyond any material sense of achievement, however, one is led to contemplate with admiration the beneficences of this instrumentality eloquently described as follows in the carving above the architrave of the handsome and costly building in the Nation's Capital, from which its far-flung activities radiate:

"The Post Office Department, in its ceaseless labors, pervades every channel of commerce and theater of human enterprise, and, while visiting as it does kindly every fireside, mingles with the throbbings of almost every human heart in the land. In the amplitude of its beneficence, it ministers to all climes and creeds and pursuits with the same eager readiness and with equal fullness of fidelity. It is the delicate ear trump through which alike nations and families and isolated individuals whisper their joys and their sorrows, their convictions, and their sympathies to all who listen for their coming."

It is deemed safe to assume that the selection of the community for the establishment of the first post office of this governmental agency in the vast territory west of the Alleghenies constitutes an event of historic interest and gives official recognition to the importance of that particular place. It has been so proven. The significance of the selection becomes more marked when proper consideration is accorded the aptness of Emerson's postulate: "Europe stretches to the Alleghenies; America lies beyond." Now a battle of facts and dates has ensued with reference to priority among claimants to this selection, to bring to a final end of which this recital has been launched.

Swift, in 1607, cleverly depicted what he called the Battle of Books. In imagination, Descartes, Aristotle, Plato, and Hobbs, Virgil and Dryden, "had been 'clapped together' in the King's library at St. James." It was a satire upon a sanguinary contest for the truth between the ancients and moderns.

In October last year (1939) there came from the press a book styled "Kentucky—A Guide to the Bluegrass State." It was compiled and written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Kentucky. There has been incorporated in this volume the statement that the first post office in Kentucky was located other than at Danville. On page 367 appears the statement, under a narrative devoted to the town of Washington, in Mason County, that—

"On Main Street is the clapboarded log building that was the first Kentucky post office, the distributing point for mail for Kentucky and the Northwest Territory (now the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin)."

The nearest approaches to this contention, it would seem, that have appeared in print were in a local history of Mason County and in a printed address of Judge Charles Kerr. Both bore the modern date of 1936. In G. Glenn Clift's History of Maysville and Mason County, volume 1, page 126, appears this vagrant statement in his treatment of the town of Washington: "Already was its infant post office (the first west of the Alleghenies) serving five States." Judge Kerr delivered a finished oration upon the occasion of the sesquicentennial of the founding of the town of Washington. If there was any exuberance of fancy possessing him in his recital of the glories of the place of his nativity, the accuracy in the choice of words that marks a good lawyer and historian (both of which he is) evidently restrained him to the following statement: "As the mail-distributing center for the Northwest, Washington was one of the first towns of importance in Kentucky."

* * * * * * *

The travel route for the overwhelming number of the immigrants into Kentucky from beyond the Alleghenies, including those from Pennsylvania and Maryland as well as from Virginia, had been the Wilderness Trail or Road.

Thomas Speed in the Wilderness Road, published by the Filson Club in 1886, page 11, refers to a book of personal observations, published in 1792 by Capt. Gilbert Imlay, an officer in the Revolutionary War, gained from visits to Kentucky. Speed quotes Imlay as saying:

"Even then (1792) the way from Pittsburgh by river was so tedious and dangerous that those who did not carry much baggage found the way 'through the great wilderness' preferable."

Speed said further: "Even as late as 1792, when Imlay wrote, there was no such convenience as a regular business of carrying passengers and their luggage down the Ohio, but at Pittsburgh or Old Fort a flat boat or passenger boat might be obtained, according to the good luck of the traveler."

Speed on page 27, referring to "the Wilderness Road" again said: "It especially became known as 'the road leading through the great wilderness.' It led directly to Danville, which was the center of the first efforts of State establishment and the place where the early conventions were all held."

From Kerr's History of Kentucky (1922), volume I, page 286, may be cited the following:

"The settlement of Kentucky began in 1775; statehood was granted in 1792. The number of population requisite for admission as a State set down in the Northwest ordinance for the Territories north of the Ohio had here been exceeded by over 13,000."

From the same source, page 297:

"Many immigrants from Maryland and even as far north as Philadelphia, rather than travel 300 miles to Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) to brave the dangers of the Ohio, came southward through the Shenandoah Valley to pick up the Wilderness Trail (Thomas Speed, The Wilderness Road, pp. 1–47; Speed, The Political Club, Danville, pp. 21, 22.)" (The Filson Club Publications, No. 2 (1886) and No. 9 (1894)). "Virtually all travel back eastward went over this road. During this period, 1775–92, Danville was the most important road center in Kentucky. The Wilderness Trail, leading directly to this place, poured out its stream of settlers to be scattered over the country."

From the foregoing references, it is logical to conclude that Danville would be the natural selection for the first post office to be established in Kentucky when the time arrived for such action to be taken. The method of mail communication prior to that is vividly described by Kerr in volume 1, page 298, as follows:

"There were no post roads in Kentucky at this time. Letters from the East were carried by responsible settlers moving westward; letters from Kentucky were often carried across the mountains by the groups that frequently gathered at Crab Orchard in order to make the trip over the Wilderness Trail in greater safety. Notices of the date of departure of these parties were regularly put in the Kentucky Gazette (established in 1787) for the purpose of collecting their members as well as for announcing their willingness to carry letters back east. There was always a certain amount of travel back and forth of responsible people on business, as, for example, the Kentucky representatives in the Virginia General

Assembly. They offered a safe and convenient way of carrying letters."

It is true that the Federal Writers' Project in its Guide gives Danville the credit for being central Kentucky's first post office. The following are excerpts from its recitals about Danville, pages 284–286:

"Danville * * * was founded in 1775. Ten years later the Supreme Court of Virginia made it the seat of government west of the Alleghenies and ordered court buildings erected here. At Danville were held the nine conventions preceding the admission of the State into the Union. * * * The old Danville court square (R) on Main Street, between First and Second Streets, was once Virginia's western capital. * * *

"Central Kentucky's first post office, established in 1798, occupied the corner of a room in the old house at 310 West Walnut Street. This building, now used as a dwelling, has been weather boarded, and has an addition of a one-story wing. Originally built of hewn logs, the structure was rectangular in plan and a story and a half high. The dormers seem to be part of the original plan. Gen. Thomas Barbee was the first postmaster."

Other dates in said recital may have consideration later, but an official record of the United States Government will now be cited in contradiction of the statement above made that 1798 was the date of the establishment of the post office of Danville, and in refutation of its preceding statement limiting it as a first post office to central Kentucky.

In 1935 recourse was had to the Post Office Department of the Federal Government at Washington, D. C., for a determination of the question as to which was the first post office established in Kentucky. The following letter from the then First Assistant Postmaster General makes it clear that the first post office was established at Danville on August 20, 1792, with Thomas Barbee as postmaster; that it was nearly 2 years before the post office at Harrodsburg was established, and it was more than 2 years before the post offices at the following places were established: Washington, Lexington, Bairdstown (later Bardstown), Bourbontown (later Paris), Frankfort, and Louisville.

The order contained in the Postmaster's letter of June 11, 1794, referred to in the letter hereinafter copied, was an order to the postmaster at Danville to communicate with and deliver the paraphernalia of office to the first postmasters in the towns therein designated—these offices, as stated, being "established in Kentucky, by order of the Postmaster General's letter of June 11, 1794." The date of this letter, as is evident, is nearly 2 years subsequent to the establishment of the post office of Danville on August 20, 1792.

The archives of the United States Post Office Department show that the postmasters at the towns listed below rendered their first accounts to the United States Post Office Department on the following respective dates, after having been established in their offices by Gen. Thomas Barbee pursuant to the order to him so to do of the date of June 11, 1794, above mentioned:

Washington, October 1, 1794; Bourbontown, January 1, 1795; Lexington, October 1, 1794; Frankfort, October 1, 1794; Bairdstown, October 1, 1794; Louisville, October 1, 1795.

The letter of the then First Assistant Postmaster General, under date of December 2, 1935, cited above, is as follows:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
Washington, December 2, 1935.

Hon. WILLIAM J. PRICE,
Danville, Ky.

MY DEAR MR. PRICE: In accordance with your request there is enclosed herewith a complete list of postmasters and the dates of their appointments for the post offices of Danville and Harrodsburg, Ky., as shown by the official files of the Department.

The records also show the following offices established in Kentucky, by order of the Postmaster General's letter of June 11, 1794, and the first postmasters.

Washington, Thomas Stoo (or Sloe); Bourbontown, Thomas Eades; Lexington, Innest B. Brent; Frankfort, Daniel Weisiger; Bairdstown, Benjamin Grayson; Louisville, Michael Lacassagne.

Sincerely yours,

W. W. HOWES,
First Assistant Postmaster General.

DANVILLE, BOYLE COUNTY, KY.

This office was established in Mercer County, August 20, 1792, with Thomas Barbee as postmaster.

Walter E. Strong, July 1, 1795 (first returns); Thomas Barbee, January 1, 1796 (first returns); Ephraim McDowell, July 1, 1799 (first returns).

* * * * * * *

Louis E. Rue, December 22, 1921; Ben D. Herndon, March 18, 1930; Henry H. Price (acting), July 1, 1934.

HARRODSBURG, MERCER COUNTY, KY.

This office was established under the name "Harrodsburgh" June 11, 1794, with Philip Bush as postmaster.

Henry Palmer, October 1, 1797 (first returns); William Timberlake, January 1, 1799 (first returns); George Marr, October 1, 1799 (first returns).

* * * * * * *

Mrs. Sue C. Beardsley (acting), August 16, 1921; Mrs. Sue C. Beardsley, April 7, 1922; Willard Gabhart, June 20, 1932.

Since the preparation, on December 2, 1935, of the two foregoing lists of Danville and Harrodsburg postmasters, each town, as is well known, has had another postmaster: Mr. Henry Herbert Price, of Danville, was succeeded by Mr. James H. Bean, and Mr. Willard Gabhart, of Harrodsburg, by Mr. John Hal Grimes.

Recourse again was had in late weeks to the Post Office Department in Washington for additional and more detailed information relative to the first postal service to and in Kentucky. These communications have elicited the following from the chief post-office inspector of the Department, Division of Library, Information, and Research, in letters of the dates of July 20, August 3, and August 23, 1940:

"An act of the United States approved February 20, 1792, directed that from and after the 1st day of June 1792 a post road be established 'from Richmond, by Columbia, Charlottesville, Staunton, Lexington, Fincastle, Montgomery Court House, Wythe Court House, Abingdon, and Hawkin's Court House, in the territory south of the river Ohio, to Danville in Kentucky.' That act is the earliest available record of contemplated postal service to Kentucky. * * *

"The records show that under date of August 20, 1792, the Postmaster General forwarded to Thomas Barbee a commission as postmaster at Danville, Ky., advising that 'from the information I have received I conclude it will be agreeable to you to accept the office of postmaster.' Subsequent records show that Thomas Barbee accepted the appointment, but the exact date of the opening of the office is not now available. There is no indication in Post Office Department records of an earlier establishment of a post office in Kentucky.

"An act of May 8, 1794, established a post road 'from Pittsburgh, by Washington in Pennsylvania, West Liberty in Virginia, and Wheeling, on the Ohio, to Limestone and Fort Washington.' Under date of May 19, 1794, the Postmaster General advised William Alexander, postmaster at Lexington, Va., that 'pursuant to the new law for the regulation of post roads, I am preparing for the carriage of the mails from Pittsburgh down the Ohio to Kentucky and Fort Washington.' He added that as soon as the arrangement was put into operation the mail would go no farther than Abingdon, where it would turn off to Knoxville.

"Under date of June 11, 1794, the Postmaster General advised Thomas Barbee that the plan to carry a mail 'by the Ohio, from Pittsburgh (or rather Wheeling) to Limestone' was nearly ready for execution. The Postmaster General asked Mr. Barbee to hire suitable persons to carry the mail 'from Limestone, by Washington, Bourbon, Lexington, Frankfort, and Harrodsburg to Danville, and back by the same route, once in 2 weeks. The service and pay to commence with the arrival of the first mail at Limestone.'

"Under date of June 20, 1794, the Postmaster General advised Thomas Barbee that 'the mail boats are now ready and the first mails for Kentucky and Fort Washington go hence tomorrow.' The records do not show, however, whether or not the service was commenced on June 21, 1794, as scheduled."

* * * * * * *

"You will probably be interested to know that the act of May 8, 1794, to which reference was made in the letter of July 20, 1940, contains the following paragraph:

"'*Provided*, That until the Postmaster General shall have made provision for the regular transportation of the mail from Wheeling to Limestone the present post road from Abington to Danville, in Kentucky, shall be continued; and if such provision cannot be made within a reasonable time, then the post road shall be extended from Danville, to Frankfort and Lexington, and thence to Washington.'

"Under date of June 11, 1794, the Postmaster General advised Thomas Barbee, at Danville, that he was sending 'the necessary papers for the establishment of post offices at the towns in Kentucky.' The Postmaster General requested Mr. Barbee to forward the papers 'as opportunities shall present.' He also stated that, in case any of the gentlemen named for postmasters should decline, he wished Mr. Barbee to place the office 'in such other hands as you think fit.'

* * * * * * *

"With reference to the first postmaster at Bourbon Court House, it might be assumed that Thomas Reeder declined to serve, and that the office was placed in the hands of Thomas Eades by Mr. Barbee, since the appointment records show that Thomas Eades was the first postmaster at Bourbontown, or Paris, and that he submitted his first account under date of January 1, 1795."

Dovetailing with the data furnished by these letters is the item in the old Kentucky Gazette that the first mail received by this first post office was on November 3, 1792.

The Gazette, November 1792, further recites that Thomas Barbee had given notice that the first mail for Kentucky would arrive on said date, the carrier returning east with mail on the following Monday, and that thereafter the service would be on a 2-weeks basis. "The records indicate," it was stated in the letter of July 20, 1940, from the chief inspector of the Post Office Department, "that the first mail from Staunton for Kentucky was scheduled for October 18, 1792."

A brief summary of the official letters copied hereinbefore shows that the first act of Congress establishing a post road to Kentucky bore the date of February 20, 1792, and directed that the mail be routed over the road better known as the Wilderness Trail to Danville in Kentucky; that not until more than 2 years had elapsed, namely, May 8, 1794, was there enacted a bill authorizing a post route by the Ohio River. This was to run from Pittsburgh to Limestone and Fort Washington (not Washington, Ky.); that Thomas Barbee was commissioned as postmaster at Danville under date of August 20, 1792; that the post office at Washington, Ky., was not established until after June 11, 1794, approximately 2 years following the establishment of the first post office at Danville; that

Thomas Sloe, as the first postmaster at Washington, Ky., was not commissioned until nearly 2 years after Thomas Barbee had been commissioned; that Barbee was advised by the Postmaster General, under date of June 11, 1794, that he was sending "the necessary papers for the establishment of post offices at the towns in Kentucky," which towns included Washington; that Barbee was authorized in the letter to forward the papers establishing said offices and appointing said postmasters and was invested with the authority to place the office "in such other hands as you think fit," in the event any of the gentlemen named (including Mr. Sloe) should decline the appointment.

* * * * * * *

It is evident therefore that Washington was not the "First Kentucky post office" nor "the distributing point for mail for Kentucky," nor was "its infant post office the first west of the Alleghenies."

It is significant that the act of Congress of May 8, 1794, providing for mail service by the Ohio route did not mention Washington, Ky. It established a post road "on the Ohio, to Limestone and Fort Washington." Limestone was then the name for what later was denominated Maysville. "Washington, sometimes called Fox's Station," says Collins in his History of Kentucky (vol. 2, pp. 555, 556), "3½ miles southwest of Maysville."

* * * * * * *

Fort Washington was some 60 miles farther down the river from Limestone on the northwest bank of the river—"Fort Washington, in Losantiville or Cincinnati" (Collins, vol. 2, p. 435).

* * * * * * *

Danville, the recognized capital of the district of Kentucky, was the western capital of Virginia, while Kentucky remained a part of the Old Dominion. Here the first educational institution was inaugurated. It was here that statehood was wrested from Virginia. Here the conventions were held, which resulted finally in the achievement of "the first great act of self-government," the adoption of the State Constitution of 1792. "The Wilderness Trail, leading directly to this place, poured out its stream of settlers to be scattered over the country" (Kerr's Kentucky, p. 298). Its claim to have been "the Cradle of the Commonwealth" is meritorious, and it continues to be, as in the early days of Kentucky history, a center of culture, of wealth, and of activity in those things upon which only can be built the true greatness of a proud people's government.

From the foregoing official letters from the Post Office Department these excerpts are recopied as perhaps the most pertinent to the subject under discussion in this article and to emphasize the complete official record authority for the contention that the first post office in Kentucky and in all of the western country beyond the Alleghenies was established at Danville in Kentucky:

"An act of the United States, approved February 20, 1792, directed that from and after the 1st day of June 1792 a post road be established from Richmond (Va.) * * * to Danville in Kentucky. * * * That act is the earliest available record of contemplated postal service to Kentucky."

"The records show that under date of August 20, 1792, the Postmaster General forwarded to Thomas Barbee a commission as postmaster at Danville, Ky. * * * There is no indication in Post Office Department records of an earlier establishment of a post office in Kentucky."

"An act of May 8, 1794, established a post road 'from Pittsburgh, by Washington in Pennsylvania, West Liberty in Virginia, and Wheeling on the Ohio, to Limestone and Fort Washington.'

"Under date of June 11, 1794, the Postmaster General advised Thomas Barbee that the plan to carry a mail 'by the Ohio, from Pittsburgh (or rather Wheeling) to Limestone' was nearly ready for execution. The Postmaster General asked Mr. Barbee to hire suitable persons to carry the mail 'from Limestone, by Washington, Bourbon, Lexington, Frankfort, and Harrodsburg to Danville, and back by the same route, once in 2 weeks. The service and pay to commence with the arrival of the first mail at Limestone.'"

Tales From Buffalo Land—Our Colleague Usher L. Burdick as an Author

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, one of our esteemed colleagues the gentleman from North Dakota, Hon. USHER L. BURDICK, has demonstrated literary talents in writing a book which has just recently come from the press. Its title is "Tales From Buffalo Land," and it deals with the history of the Northwest, commencing with May 2, 1670.

The biographical sketch of the gentleman from North Dakota, Congressman BURDICK, in the Congressional Directory will strike anyone who looks it up as being probably the longest description of a Member of Congress ever inserted in the Congressional Directory. It contains exactly eight words. Our colleague is extremely modest, but I am informed that in the days of his youth he was an outstanding football player at the University of Minnesota.

His literary production deals with Fort Buford and the story of the pioneers in the Dakotas and Montana. It is truly descriptive of some of the characters in the great West. He discusses the empire builders and their struggles in this frontier country.

This book is not the ordinary type. In simple language the story of the building of the western empire is related. You will find it interesting and also informative. Let me urge you to take the time to get acquainted with the sons and daughters who lived and builded a great West and whose records are here chronicled and probably are not found anywhere else except in Tales From Buffalo Land.

President Wilson's Call to Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. BOEHNE, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

CALL ISSUED BY PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

Mr. BOEHNE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I submit President Woodrow Wilson's Call to Sea for the benefit of the World War veterans of the United States merchant marine:

PRESIDENT WILSON'S CALL TO SEA—RINGING CALL TO THE SEA BY PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON IN BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

The President of the United States has issued the following call to sea, in behalf of the American merchant marine:

To All Those on Land or Sea Who Have Followed a Seafaring Life:

The men who go down to the sea in ships have become an important factor in our national life. Their services are extremely essential in handling the ships to carry our soldiers in safety to Europe, in transporting the munitions and food supplies for their maintenance for the sustenance of the armies and people of the countries with which we are associated.

Safety in handling transport and merchant vessels requires not only a knowledge of navigation and the details of management, maintenance, and control but also that long experience with the various conditions at sea which gives confidence, quick judgment, and steady action in an emergency. There are many men with this kind of experience employed on our merchant marine and many others who have left the sea and are now following other occupations. The vigorousness of the war has impelled us to build vessels in larger numbers than ever before. We are launching a continuously increasing tonnage. These vessels will need skilled seamen to man them. No more honorable or serviceable task can come to any of our people than that of manning our merchant marine. With an increasing tonnage being put into service, we must know where skilled men can be obtained to furnish at least the basis of the crews that are to man them. With such information available, there will be no doubt of the efficiency of our vessels for the period of the war.

The history of the American seamanship is a glowing record of patriotism, courage, and achievement unsurpassed by any people anywhere. I therefore confidently call upon all seamen and all men engaged in other occupations who have heretofore been seamen to give, in connection with the questionnaires they submit to the local boards, full information about their rating and experience at sea to enable the boards to place them in their proper classification and give to the Government a knowledge of where experienced seamen may be secured when their services are required. The kind of skill that makes an efficient seaman can only be obtained at sea. It is the product of experience and must include among other things that subconscious swaying of the body to the motion of the vessel known as "sea legs." There can be no safe, efficient management of vessels that does not include a large proportion of officers and crew having skill and experience. It is indispensable in emergencies such as we must be prepared to meet in times of war.

It is the patriotic duty of young men who join the Merchant Marine Service to make every effort to learn their work in the

shortest possible time and of the skilled men to assist these young men in their efforts. It is the duty of owners and managers of vessels to cooperate in this work and to give to the young men such shipmates and such treatment as will cause them to respect the service and build up within them a desire to make it their life work. The work of a seaman is so vitally important to the conduct of the war that it has become necessary for the Government to provide deferred classification for them in its efforts to secure a sufficient supply of skilled men for the maintenance of speed and safety, having in mind the brilliant record of the American merchant marine, the honorable position it occupies in economic affairs, and the important part it plays in winning the war, every seaman should give to the service the best that is in him and should not hesitate to accept deferred classification when the Government has decided that such deferred classification is necessary no matter how eager he may be to join the fighting forces of the Army or the Navy.

WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *Washington, D. C.,*
October 1, 1918.

Cardinal O'Connell Denounces War Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH B. SHANNON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 9, 1940

ARTICLE BY CARDINAL WILLIAM O'CONNELL

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD I include the following article by Cardinal William O'Connell entitled "Cardinal Flays Attempt To Get Nation Into War," which appeared in the Chicago Sunday Tribune, December 8, 1940:

[From the Chicago Sunday Tribune of December 8, 1940]

CARDINAL FLAYS ATTEMPT TO GET NATION INTO WAR—SHOULD THINK OF PEACE, SAYS O'CONNELL

BOSTON, MASS., December 7.—Cardinal William O'Connell, declaring this Nation should keep out of war and work for a permanent peace, today denounced propagandists for war at home and certain expatriates he said were seeking to have America become a sort of tail-end of a foreign empire.

"Not only should we keep out of war as the best thing for America and Americans," said the cardinal in an interview on the eve of his eighty-first birthday, "but we might well be turning our thoughts toward a speedy and permanent peace among the nations.

"Notwithstanding the too-prevalent propaganda from all sides, the hopes and prayer of the American people today is that we shall be spared the horrors of war. They have taken for granted that the authorities in Washington meant what they said and said what they meant when they promised to keep us out of war."

PEACE BASED ON JUSTICE

Alternately raising his right hand in a gesture of blessing as he called for peace based on justice instead of on the power politics in Europe, and pounding his great fist on the arm of his chair as he scored propagandists, the cardinal said it's hard for him to understand why some of these propagandists are allowed to cry down the normal wish of the American people for peace.

"What is their purpose?" he asked. "They cannot be real Americans because real Americans think of their own country first.

"There are certain expatriates—I think you know whom I mean—who are raising their voices in loud accents with the preposterous proposition that America sink her individuality and become a sort of tail end of an foreign empire. If this is not an example of exalted hysteria, I don't know what could be."

OPPOSED TO PROPAGANDA

He said it still was a mystery to him that the voices of people who haven't found this country good enough to live in, although they got their incomes here, should be allowed to be raised and even applauded.

Declaring the United States needs the greatest unity and defense and that the Nation should not fritter away its energies on useless chimeras, he said the Nation should strive to weld all its races and religions in the strongest bond of brotherly love in the defense of our country. He said we should help provide an oasis—an island of peace—to which the warring nations could turn for an example of religious justice when they have laid down their arms.

"We can't have a permanent peace without justice," he added. "That was the trouble with the Versailles Treaty. It was not just. Power politics in Europe is not a basis of justice; it is a basis of imperialism which is the cause of all their troubles."

Social Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. THEODORE F. GREEN, OF RHODE ISLAND

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me on November 1 last on the subject of social security.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

My fellow citizens, may I speak to you tonight about social security as a Government undertaking? I choose this subject not only because it is one in which I have been deeply and actively interested ever since our State program was carried into effect under my administration as Governor, but also because the subject has unfortunately been made timely by the careless and irresponsible speeches of the Republican candidate for President when he was hereabouts. He said, of course, that he was for all of this sort of thing, though he could do it better than President Roosevelt, under whose leadership Congress had put the law on the statute books. He was rather indefinite as to how he would do it better—but, as I understand him, his policy is threefold.

1. He will give everybody a real good job, so that there won't have to be any Government relief.

2. He will give "expanded relief"—I think that was his expression—which means more relief to the people who get it or the same relief to more people, or both.

3. He will greatly reduce the cost of relief.

Mr. Hoover was the last Presidential candidate who promised anything so grand. He promised a chicken in every pot and two cars in every garage if he were elected, but grass growing in the streets if he were defeated. Mr. Willkie, however, does it better. He promises all I have told you if he is elected, but if you dare defeat him the country will not only go bankrupt but also go to the bow-wows altogether.

Seriously, however, is it not a sad spectacle when a candidate for high office tries to get votes for himself by misstatement of facts and boundless promises? It is tragic when he tries to arouse fear in the minds of the aged, the widows, the children, and the unemployed that they will cease to get pensions, their help, and their relief.

So I want to review briefly what the Social Security Act has accomplished in the Nation and in this State, and to reassure the workers who fought so hard and so long to have it enacted into law, that the fears Mr. Willkie sought to arouse are unfounded.

The Federal Social Security Act was passed in 1935 and celebrated its fifth anniversary in August of this year. That act has already demonstrated its capacity to promote the goal set by President Roosevelt "to employ the active interest of the Nation as a whole through government in order to encourage a greater security for each individual who composes it."

The Social Security Act has, in fact, taken care of human needs. Every worker and his family in this Nation realizes, and I think appreciates, the firm economic backing which he enjoys today.

Now, what are the facts that nullify all Mr. Willkie's statements upon which his inconsistent promises are based?

As of June 30 this year the Social Security Board had expended great sums for the welfare of the poor and destitute; to raise their standard of living; to give them a chance to enjoy the better things of life. Nothing like this was ever experienced by them before.

The spending of this money was divided about as follows:

One hundred and ten thousand people received benefits amounting to more than $2,000,000 a month from the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance; these people were workers who had retired and their wives and the widows and children of deceased workers, together with aged parents.

Four hundred and eighty-two million five hundred thousand dollars was paid out by the Unemployment Compensation Board as benefits to workers.

Three million five hundred thousand workers obtained jobs through the Employment Service. Of these placements, 3,000,000 were in private industry.

Four hundred and fifty-three million three hundred thousand dollars was paid to men and women who found themselves in need in their old age through the several States' old-age assistance programs made possible by Federal grants.

One hundred and nineteen million five hundred thousand dollars was paid to dependent children to keep them in homes where they can receive the benefits of family life.

Twelve million five hundred thousand dollars was given to aid the blind so that their tasks may be lightened.

But this, my friends, is not the whole story by any means. Bear with me a few moments to see how this program dips down into the very heart of our social problems and attempts to alleviate unrest and suffering: There was also spent $4,800,000 for maternal and child welfare; $3,400,000 for aid to crippled children, to rehabilitate them and equip them to meet the tasks of life; $1,500,000 for child-welfare service; $9,500,000 for public health work—a progressive program for the protection of the health of this Nation.

The total sum so expended by the Social Security Board amounted to the vast sum of $1,223,400,000.

This is money actually paid over, and more is being paid every month. Do these payments indicate bankruptcy? With this experience should the workers be uncertain whether they are to receive benefits when they become unemployed or when they reach the age of 65?

This economic structure is built upon the firm determination of a united people and will not be destroyed by enemies who threaten it and would undermine confidence in it. It is as sound as the Government of the United States itself.

In this State of Rhode Island alone workers have received benefits in the amount of $20,233,000 since January of 1938 from unemployment compensation by reason of their being out of work. Can the Republicans convince the workers that this program is not for their benefit? They know through experience now that the promise was not only made but kept. How would Mr. Willkie do it better?

This social-security program in this State was enacted into law during my administration as Governor. I am proud of it. I have a right to be. Our program, however, could not be carried on if it were not for the Federal act. Let us look at the picture here in this State to determine whether the Federal Government is operating a bankrupt system.

I should explain in all fairness that the social-security program, as far as the States are concerned, is in part a grant-in-aid to the States. This means that, besides some outright grants to the States to assist them in their social problems, the Federal Government matches their grants on specific projects. For example, if the State of Rhode Island decided to pay, through old-age assistance, a pension of $40 a month to aged people, then the Social Security Board would give to the State $20 of this $40 pension. This means that the State's budget for relief purposes is protected and the State appropriation can cover double the number of people.

You may want know just what this act means in dollars and cents to Rhode Island.

During the fiscal year 1939–40 the Federal grants were made as follows:

Seven hundred and forty-six thousand two hundred dollars for old-age assistance—enabling the State to pay pensions to 7,100 people over the age of 65.

Two hundred and twelve thousand four hundred dollars was for aid to dependent children. By this means 1,300 families were kept intact and 3,500 children were guaranteed a home and the protection of motherly love. The home has always been the vital objective of this program because the Democratic administration recognizes that it is the very foundation of our national structure.

The State of Rhode Island also received $5,500 to aid 70 blind people. This figure is low only because our State has been slow in adopting a State plan whereby more Federal funds could be received to assist blind people. It is my expectation that these afflicted people will receive the maximum benefits under this beneficent act if the Democrats are returned to power.

Six hundred and forty-seven thousand three hundred dollars was given to the unemployment-compensation commission for administrative expenses.

Sixty-four thousand two hundred dollars for the public health of Rhode Island.

Thirty-seven thousand seven hundred dollars for the maternal and child-health service in this State.

Twenty-one thousand three hundred dollars for the crippled children of this State.

Thirteen thousand six hundred dollars, so that Rhode Island could carry on its child-welfare services. To add this up, during the fiscal year 1939–40 alone the Federal Government granted to the State of Rhode Island for social security the sum of $1,748,000.

Just what would this State do financially without these appropriations? Could the Republicans then claim a balanced budget? Would they scrap this program so deeply affecting the worker and his family? Up to date they have not shown much solicitude for the afflicted, the underprivileged, and unemployed.

What a shame that any candidate or any party or any disgruntled individual should distort this picture, attack the President and the party who made it and try to wreck havoc with the aged and the needy.

Now as to the financial future of social security, which has been so viciously attacked by the Republican candidate for President, based deliberately upon falsification of facts.

Since social security went into effect the collections have amounted to the sum of $1,843,800,000, which is considerably in excess of what was paid out. This, of course, indicates beyond any shadow of doubt that the financial status of social security is liquid and bankruptcy does not appear even as a probability, even if the Republican Party comes into power.

To those workers who are contributing every week for security in their old age, and insurance protection for their wives and families, let me say this: The reserve fund for the Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance is in perfect financial shape. There has been appropriated to this fund over the last 4 fiscal years $1,706,000,000; it has accumulated interest on its investments and there is available for benefits $1,744,198,000 this year and future years. The Democratic Party knows that the workers will rest easy and contribute gladly from their pay 1 cent on the dollar for their own security; it is theirs by right and will not be taken from them under this national administration.

The fund from which unemployment benefits are paid is also strong financially. Let every worker study these figures so that no amount of election propaganda will distort his mind. During the last 4 years there was deposited in the United States Treasury $2,729,335,000 for unemployment benefits. The various States drew out for benefits to workers the sum of $1,118,534,000 and there remains a balance of $1,693,164,000 as of June 30, 1940.

The worker may rest confident that he will draw his benefits when he becomes eligible. Is not this a splendid record? The Social Security Board is not bankrupt, my friends. It is, as President Roosevelt so aptly said, "a cornerstone in a structure which is being built but is by no means complete." The aged worker can still retire at 65, the widow and minor children of all workers will still be taken care of; the worker who has lost his job through no fault of his own will receive weekly benefits to carry him over until he is able to locate again in industry or commerce.

The Democratic Party in the Nation and in Rhode Island is pledged to the social and economic security of the workers of this Nation and State. These tremendous advances in providing social security have been made under the Democratic administration of President Roosevelt in the Nation and under my Democratic administration in Rhode Island. They have been made in spite of Republican opposition. Will you trust their supervision and their further development to those who have by their acts proved themselves their friends? Or will you turn these over to those who, though they now make glittering promises, in the past have by their inaction or active opposition proved themselves their enemies? There should be no doubt as to your answer.

If your answer is what I think it is, you should vote for the Roosevelt-Wallace Presidential electors and those supporting them on the Federal ticket. You should vote for Howard McGrath for Governor and the others on the ticket for general officers of the State.

And may I remind you also to vote for the Democratic candidates on your city or town ticket. Remember in some places there are two levers to pull down. In those places don't make the mistake of pulling only one, as over 9,000 voters did 2 years ago in Providence. By these votes you will not only retain the benefits of social security you already enjoy, but in general a liberal and progressive administration in Nation, State, and municipality.

Centenary of an Institution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS LUDLOW

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 25, 1940

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, in some parts of the Old World an establishment 100 years old might be considered almost modern amid its more venerable surroundings, but it is not so out in the Midwest of America. In our part of the New World, with its relatively brief history, a hundred years is a long time, and an establishment that has weathered the gales of a century bears all the signs and earmarks of antiquity.

Out in my home city of Indianapolis the firm of Charles Mayer & Co. has rounded out its first century and there has been a running celebration of the occasion lasting several weeks, with an avalanche of tributes from the public platforms and in the news columns, for Charles Mayer & Co. long ago ceased to be a mere store and became an institution.

The history of this store probably is unmatched in the mercantile annals of America. The store was opened on November 18, 1840, at 29 West Washington Street, Indianapolis, and at that location it has remained ever since. It bears the same name it had on its opening day and it is operated by the same family. All of the other long-established stores, even on the Atlantic seaboard, have either slipped from the possession of their original families or have moved from their original locations, so that the Mayer store is truly sui generis—the only one of its kind.

The original Charles Mayer, the founder of his tribe, who had served an apprenticeship in merchandising in his native Germany, started his store in a room 8 by 10 feet, and for a time hauled in all of his goods by wheelbarrow. He had

worked hard and saved his money, tolerating no foolishness. The population of Indianapolis then was 2,692, and there was nothing to indicate that 100 years later it would be a great city of more than 368,000 inhabitants. It was the day of pioneers, candlelight, and travel by keelboat on the Ohio River and by stagecoach throughout Indiana. Covered-wagon travel was pushing westward. It was not until years later that the first railroad was built in Indiana from Madison to Indianapolis. In 1840 a wilderness surrounded the little town, now the big city, of Indianapolis. William Henry Harrison had just been elected President of the United States. Godey's Lady's Book was fashion authority for the hoop skirts and bonnets worn. In one respect there has been no change. There was turmoil and revolution in Europe then; there is turmoil and revolution in Europe now; and, as far as we can foresee, there will be turmoil in Europe when the firm celebrates its second centenary. For 100 years the store has been operated in turn by its founder, his son, and grandson, all bearing the name Charles Mayer.

The celebration has brought to light many of the letters and other valuable documents written by the original Charles Mayer, as well as early ledgers and price lists. He kept meticulous records, beautifully written in long hand. In these days of pyramided taxes it is interesting to know that in the store's archives is a tax receipt dated December 7, 1848. The tax was $27, which paid its State, county, and road tax in full. Still in possession of the store is a price list of 100 years ago. Shoes were $1.25 a pair. Eggs were 4⅙ cents a dozen, and dried beef 10 cents a pound. Sugar was 12½ cents a pound, more than double the present price, but whisky sold for the amazingly low price of 37½ cents a gallon. Butter was 10 cents a pound. Barter was an accepted way of doing business in Indianapolis in those days. One of the first fixtures young Mayer bought for his store was a stove, price $15, and the hardware dealer took out the price in trade, including, in part, 8 pounds of sugar for $1, a quart of whisky, and a lead pencil.

Charles Mayer I had a steadfast faith in the future of Indianapolis, and he laid the foundations of his future business deep and strong in the bedrock of square dealing and rugged honesty. Time has vindicated his wisdom and his vision. Among the many tributes to the firm on its centenary, there was none more striking than the compliments of competing companies, which paid good money for newspaper advertising space in which to shower their accolades on their competitor; and I can think of nothing more appropriate than this little bouquet by a neighboring store:

One hundred years—one location—one family. If we knew Mr. Ripley better, we would ask him if any other establishment has such a distinction.

Universal Bible Sunday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE L. HERRING

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE H. PAYNE

Mr. HERRING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address delivered by Federal Communications Commissioner George Henry Payne on Sunday, December 8, 1940, on the subject of Universal Bible Sunday.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNIVERSAL BIBLE SUNDAY

I am deeply sensitive of the honor that the Federal Council of Churches and the American Bible Society have conferred upon the Federal Communications Commission in asking a member of that body to carry its message to the American people today. And I thank my fellow Commissioners for having chosen me as their voice on this occasion.

I have misgivings as to my own worth as the bearer of that message, but no misgivings or doubts as to the worthiness and rightness of this being the arm of Government that should carry this message.

That sublime Testament—the Bible—by which men not living by bread alone have lived for centuries before and centuries after the dawn of our Christian era, is being particularly honored today throughout the land on this Universal Bible Sunday sponsored by the American Bible Society. Because of the tragedy of our times, and because in times of tragedy men reach out hungrily for the thoughts and inspiration of lofty minds, which by their very loftiness have become eternal and belong to all the ages, this Sunday is particularly significant.

In the history of the world there were two great crises. The first occurred many centuries before the birth of Christ, the second at the time of his birth.

During the first crisis a child was born in Egypt, and because he wasn't wanted he was abandoned among the bulrushes on the River Nile. But Providence saw to it that he wasn't lost, for the child grew to manhood and became a great leader.

Moses' people at the time were toiling under the lash of Pharaoh. They had known sorrow and degradation. It seemed that for them there was no redemption.

But Moses freed his people from slavery and out of them built a great nation, and this nation left the Old Testament, a great document, that has affected vitally the civilizations of the world.

It wasn't, therefore, Pharaoh and his wealth and his power that recreated the world spiritually, but rather Moses and his suffering people. Pharaoh and his empire have long ago disappeared from the world, but that which Moses and his people have done is with us still—an active force in our daily lives.

Herodotus, the father of history, moving from place to place, peered into every corner and sought out the news of the ancient world. He was a faithful reporter, but he did not discover really important developments that had been going on for centuries.

He couldn't see that there had been brewing a spirit and a faith that would stabilize the world when, in time, it would drift away from its moorings, and that this spirit would give comfort to countless millions of human beings in the countless centuries to come.

Hundreds of years later another child was born—this time in a stable in Bethlehem and among the same people. The history of that child is told in another great document—the New Testament.

This child in due time grew to manhood also and became the greatest spiritual leader the world has ever known.

In his time also, many many historians moved from place to place and peered into human affairs, but sensed not, nor reported, the vital thing that was happening before them. They saw the Roman Empire and its works, but they did not see Jesus and His much greater works.

For the world at that time was falling apart and was abandoning the great standards set by the Old Testament. The world was again drifting.

And it was this child, now grown to manhood, and His handful of disciples that brought new life to the world, gave it new standards to live by, and reaffirmed its faith in the old.

We see then how hard—how impossible—it is for contemporaries to sense or to know what is really going on around them.

When we look about us today, what do we see? A world beset by disaster, a world that is fast drifting away from its moorings, a world that is fast becoming the victim of unchecked savagery.

Out of our bewilderment and suffering may we expect a new spiritual rejuvenation? Perchance, the real conquerors now, as in the past, will not be the men who hold the sword, but the quiet leaders who are uncelebrated by their contemporaries. Perhaps from this holocaust there will arise a new civilization.

Millions will recall, as they look back over their lives, the beginning of that influence or some tender memory which sheds a kindly light on their past associates or their own lives.

The manner in which the Bible was first brought to my boyhood mind left not only a memory but a pathetic picture.

I was barely 7 years of age when my father read aloud to me Tennyson's beautiful poem Enoch Arden. Long years thereafter I still seem to hear the cadence of his voice.

You will remember that Tennyson's story of Enoch Arden tells of the three children—

> "Annie Lee—
> The prettiest little damsel in the port,
> And Philip Ray the miller's only son,
> And Enoch Arden, a rough sailor's lad."

These three grown to manhood and womanhood, Enoch Arden and Annie Lee marry. Then Enoch goes away and is lost in a shipwreck, and Philip takes care of Annie and her children, and at length becomes a suitor for her hand.

"At last one night it chanced
That Annie could not sleep, but earnestly
Pray'd for a sign 'my Enoch, is he gone?'
Then compass'd round by the blind wall of night
Brook'd not the expectant terror of her heart,
Started from bed and struck herself a light,
Then desperately seized the Holy Book,
Suddenly set it wide to find a sign,
Suddenly put her finger on the text,
'Under the palm-tree.' That was nothing to her;
No meaning there; she closed the book and slept;
When lo! her Enoch sitting on a height,
Under a palm tree, over him the Sun!
'He is gone,' she thought, 'he is happy, he is singing'
Hosanna in the highest: yonder shines
The Sun of Righteousness, and these be palms
Whereof the happy people strowing cried
'Hosanna in the highest!' Here she woke,
Resolved, sent for him and said wildly to him
'There is no reason why we should not wed.'"

A quarter of a century ago a notable writer called attention to the need of encouraging those agents that spread faith in the Bible, naming as the two most important the press and the home.

Today there has been added another, the extraordinary invention and discovery known as radio.

It is hard to realize the great progress that has been made by radio in less than 25 years, bringing as it has done into millions of homes the most spiritual concepts, the loftiest music, and endless mental and intellectual recreation.

Particularly are we happy that so much of the spiritual and cultural has been brought into the home, which, with the church, is the first line of defense for all the treasures of the Bible.

It is curious that in all the literary and social history of the Mosaic and the Christian eras there have been so few great expositors of the Bible. Their place has been taken by the countless unknown but sincere and God-fearing servitors of the holy message in millions of humble homes. These have been the great expositors, even if inarticulate.

It is difficult to conceive how many millions are these humble defenders of the faith. It has been reported that 5,000,000 copies of the Bible, or some part of it, were sold last year in the United States alone, and about 26,000,000 in the whole world. In China, in the past 6 years, during 3 of which it has suffered indescribable devastation, 61,000,000 were distributed. It is especially noteworthy that during the past 5 years 200,000 more Bibles were sold in Germany than Hitler's Mein Kampf.

There is little new that can be said of the Bible, but there is much which is old that may well be repeated time and time again. At a time when the world is groaning with the suffering of millions of men, women, and children, and nations are frantic with despair, the lessons of the Bible are more insistent and pertinent than at any other time.

And of these lessons, the one that we are most likely to forget today is the one which is most important—the oneness of the human race as shown by the world's acceptance of the Bible as its book.

The Bible has, in fact, been adopted by most of the peoples of the world as their own. It is, in truth, The Book to them—the book in which they find comfort and inspiration.

A little story of an actual occurrence is an apt illustration of this general acceptance of the Bible by the people—showing the oneness of the human race:

An anxious Chinese father wrote a letter to the Bible depot in Mukden, Manchuria, as follows: "My son is going to the big city to college. He will be studying English. Tell me, has the Bible been translated into English yet? If so, as I would like to give him a copy in that language, would you please send me a copy?"

This Chinese father, like millions of his countrymen, has come to look upon the Bible as his native book.

When I said that there have been comparatively few great expositors of the Bible I did not mean to say that the great men of letters for thousands of years have not paid their tribute to the inspiration and the lessons of the Bible. Far from it. Even many who were critical of theological doctrines have paid moving tributes to the beauty and loftiness of the Testament. Could there be more touching praise of the character of Jesus than that written by one who proclaimed his own doubts as to the divinity of Christ?

It was Ernest Renan who said:

"He lived only by His Father and by the divine mission with which He believed Himself charged. * * * Whatever unlooked-for events the future may have in store, Jesus will never be surpassed. His worship will unceasingly renew its youth; His story will call forth endless tears; His sufferings will subdue the noblest hearts; all ages will proclaim that among the sons of men no one has been born who is greater than He."

Among scientists and metaphysical philosophers, no one has expressed Christian philosophy more adequately than John Stuart Mill. He does not say that his inspiration is born from the Bible, but Christian doctrine and belief could not be more adequately expressed than it is in these noble words:

"All the great sources of human suffering are in a great degree, many of them almost entirely, conquerable by human care and effort, and though their removal is grievously slow, though a long succession of generations will perish in the breech before the conquest is completed, yet every mind sufficiently intelligent and generous to bear a part, however small and inconspicuous, will draw a noble enjoyment from the contest itself, which he would not, for any bribe in the form of selfish indulgence, consent to be without."

I would remark that not once throughout this short speech have I referred by quotation to the Scripture itself. It did not seem necessary. It speaks for itself, does the Scripture. It is better known to more millions than all the quotations of others or the facts of history, social, and ethical progress.

And so, when we come to the last word it is not the facts of history and spiritual advancement that speak as eloquently as the Book itself.

It is not Renan, Lord Tennyson, or John Stuart Mill—it is not the Emersons, the Carlyles, or the Macaulays—with their fine acknowledgments of indebtedness, who can speak the last word. It is the Bible itself.

To a stricken world and a world in anguish the Bible carries the message better than any of the masters of language. That message is found in one line of Revelation, with which I close: "* * * and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

The British Blockade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST W. GIBSON

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY RT. REV. HENRY W. HOBSON

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by the Right Reverend Henry W. Hobson, bishop of southern Ohio, on the subject Food or Freedom.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOOD OR FREEDOM

(By the Right Reverend Henry W. Hobson, bishop of southern Ohio)

A monstrous hand of death has been laid upon the world. Total war strikes down the civilian—including innocent women and children—more often than the soldier bearing arms. Bombs fall on them; ships carrying them to safety are sunk; famine and disease claim them as first victims. Among those threatened are the populations of the countries conquered, or partly subdued, by the totalitarian powers. Our hearts go out to these sufferers. We long to help them.

On August 11, Mr. Herbert Hoover proposed a plan for feeding certain of the conquered countries of Europe. The program was stated in clear terms and simple words which he who runs may read and understand. It seems strange, in view of the fact that this suggestion comes from a man who had such wide experience in relief work during the last World War, and that such a large number of people have so deep a sympathy and sincere desire to help, that there has been little popular response. A widely circulated statement presenting and elaborating on the proposal, put forth by the relief agencies which Mr. Hoover represents, clearly implies that those who hesitate about or oppose the plan either do not understand it or have succumbed "to an emotional hate where they are losing all sense of human decency." I believe there are other reasons which we dare not overlook as we face the efforts of Mr. Hoover to win support for his suggestions.

In presenting these reasons I appreciate the gravity of the situation in the countries concerned—those associated with Mr. Hoover, and others who know the tragic facts, have drawn the picture for me. I believe I have the capacity to understand the plan—which is clear-cut in its basic proposals. I am not a victim of emotional hate. The attempt of certain of Mr. Hoover's chief supporters to smear those who raise questions about the wisdom of his plan by implying that they are willing to see "tens of millions of innocent women and children"—"die in order to create human cesspools" is not worthy. It is especially unfortunate when aimed at such persons as Mary E. Wooley, Henry Sloane Coffin, Henry St. George Tucker, John W. Davis, Henry P. Van Dusen, William Scarlett, A. Lawrence Lowell, and Robert E. Speer—to mention but a few of many who have opposed the Hoover plan—whose intelligence, humanity, honesty, and eagerness to help suffering people is unsurpassed by anyone.

As a Christian, I am forced to oppose the Hoover plan for a number of reasons, two of which are closely related and fundamental.

First. I am convinced that in the long run it would cause more rather than less suffering.

1. We are in the midst of a world revolution in which man's fate for centuries hangs in the balance. We must consider not only the suffering of the innocent victims of the present day but the suffering which might come to not millions but billions during future generations. The choice today is either to stop the aggressors, who are responsible for present suffering, or to condemn mankind to enslavement for such long-drawn-out dark ages of suffering as history has never known. I am convinced that to aid Hitler in meeting a responsibility which is clearly his, and in a situation which in the long run is the greatest threat to his success, would be a tragedy whch would take its toll in suffering for centuries to come.

2. Even when we limit our view to the people who are suffering now, the plan might easily raise false hopes and create a condition which would produce greater dangers for them. It would encourage the Nazis both to neglect their responsibility and to enlarge their program of using populations for purposes other than working for their own maintenance. Then, when the plan of feeding broke down—as it would be very apt to do in any plan depending upon honesty on the part of Hitler—the latter state of the populations would be far worse than the former. Hungry people often sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, but such action is short-sighted, and it is unworthy to encourage it.

Second. I am convinced that at best the plan would prolong the war, and at worst do much to assure a totalitarian victory.

1. We cannot avoid the fact that Hitler's chance for success depends upon supplies, the maintenance of his war machine, and manpower for Nazi armies and industries. The pressure is now on, and he is already using supplies, manufacturing facilities, and manpower in the conquered countries. To maintain his program these conquered countries must not only be kept under control but fed sufficiently to make active work possible. This is recognized in the rationing of Germany, where the workers get a larger ration because they have to produce more. To help Hitler by making it easier to use the resources of men and machines in conquered territories would be playing right into his hand.

Mr. Hoover argues that not to feed these people would encourage them to go into Germany for employment in order to provide for their families. Since when has Hitler hesitated to seize what he can use, or to force those under his control to render the service he requires? He is already using some of the populations of the conquered countries to support his aggression, and would not hesitate to use more of these unfortunate people if he needs them.

2. One of the serious difficulties Hitler faces is to so control the people of the countries he has overrun that there can be no successful uprising making it possible for these people to throw off the yoke that he has placed upon them. We cannot get away from the fact that to feed the people of these countries, and thus removing the danger of the economic suffering which war brings, will greatly lessen the difficulties he faces. Certainly widespread dissatisfaction with the conditions under which they live, will have its effect upon the people of Germany and upon the populations of the countries which they have conquered. It is not foolish to hope that the growth of this dissatisfaction will cause such a serious condition that the economic and military program of Hitler will break down. The greatest uprisings of history have been started by hungry people.

3. When "total war" is forced upon the world by a ruthless aggressor it is far more hellish than anything Sherman was talking about. It cannot be stopped by any "half war." The blockade, which has always been used in warlike indiscriminate bombing and sinking of ships, brings suffering on a vast number of innocent people. Without a blockade against the Axis Powers, the British hope of survival would be negligible. A half-way blockade is useless. The people of the conquered countries are still involved in the war, and they cannot escape the suffering, any more than the innocent people of Coventry, or the children on a torpedoed ship. We all want to see this war end just as soon as possible, and we want to have the British victorious because we know that this offers the only chance for freedom, righteousness, and justice to prevail in the world in the years to come. The tighter the British blockade, the sooner the war will be brought to an end, and thus centuries of desperate suffering avoided.

While the two reasons given above are paramount in this issue, there are a number of other factors concerned with the Hoover plan which should be considered.

1. The plan is impractical in certain fundamental respects. For instance, Mr. Hoover proposes that Germany shall "agree to furnish an equivalent of any food already taken" from these conquered countries. Thus by assuming that certain very doubtful conditions are possible, Mr. Hoover creates a sympathy for the plan and an antagonism against those who oppose it because they sincerely feel these conditions are really fantastic. It is like building a house and encouraging people to live in it without being sure of the foundation. If it turns out to be sand, "great will be the fall thereof." Surely before beginning a Nation-wide campaign to get support for a program it would be wise to find out whether the conditions of the plan are feasible. Which leads me to the next point.

2. On August 11 last Mr. Hoover presented his plan to the country. It is said that rumors about it pushed forward this date. However, after the announcement weeks passed and the conditions included in the plan were not presented to the governments of the countries involved. It was almost 2 months before the British Embassy in this country knew anything about it except through press reports. It is doubted whether the German Government has yet been asked to say whether the terms of the plan would be acceptable. All this time speakers, literature, broadcasts, and magazine articles have been making an appeal, often very emotional, for the people of this country to "speed the food ships."

Mr. Hoover tells, in his recent article in Collier's, how cooperative the governments of the warring countries were back in 1917–19, how willing they were to meet any reasonable plan presented. Would it not have been the course of wisdom to have once again consulted the governments involved before loosing a propaganda for support of a plan which many trusted leaders feel would be most dangerous? Whatever may have been the intentions, the net result is that we are urged to support a program which seeks to use the people of this country not to give relief to sufferers, but as a pressure group to put the British Government (which had no chance to consider the plan before it was made public) "on the spot." Which brings me to still another objection.

3. The people of America are not being asked by the Hoover plan really to share in any relief program or to make a single sacrifice to help the sufferers involved. Mr. Hoover includes in the plan that the government of the countries involved "should finance such an organization with their resources in the United States and elsewhere." A statement issued by the agencies with whom he is working says that what is being asked is "not for appropriations from the American Government—not for ships, nor even for food from the United States." The only thing left to the people of America is to bring pressure on England. Considering the fact that she is holding off the Nazi aggression from us, and that we are seeing her people make the supreme sacrifice partly for us, it would not be an evidence of courage, humility, or humanity for us to tell England what she should do in a matter which involves her survival. I cannot join Mr. Hoover in an effort which does not ask that we give, but which seeks to arouse a feeling in this country that would force Britain to accept his plan.

4. Certainly Christians should be deeply concerned about human suffering anywhere and ready to make such sacrifices as are for the well-being of all concerned. But in the light of the facts presented above, many sincere Christians object to the efforts now being made to use the churches of America as a propaganda agency to bring pressure on Britain. Especially is this true when the course being urged is one which many feel would not, in the long run, produce humanitarian results. The more active the propaganda becomes the more serious will be the division of opinion among Christian people. The determination on the part of some to have the church favor the proposal would result in a countercampaign on the part of those Christians who sincerely feel that such a course would be a serious blunder. It would be a tragedy in this day when there is so great a need for a united front in order to face the dangers which threaten the very survival of Christian principles and life, and when such unique progress has been made in the direction of Christian unity, if the church in America were seriously split by a program which has the grave defects and dangers presented in the appeal being made by Mr. Hoover. The very fact that the countries involved in the proposed agreement have not really considered the plan, or provided any facts for our information, would mean that any action taken by us would be premature, to say the least. Before we can take wise action we must have not only sympathy in our hearts but facts in our minds.

5. Statements about the Hoover plan would indicate that the starvation in Europe and the number of refugee people exceeds in its gravity anything that can be found elsewhere in this world. This is just not true. The number of people who are facing starvation in China and the 50,000,000 or more people of that country who are in the refugee group, paints a picture which is far more serious than any accurate statement of the conditions in Europe can possibly present. The comparatively small amount of help which we have given to China through these years of its suffering is really shameful. We face there a country whose people are the victims of the same sort of totalitarian aggression that Hitler is using. To help them in any way is to further the cause of righteousness and justice, and will aid in blocking the program of aggressive force.

While it is no argument to say that because we should help the suffering Chinese we should not consider the Hoover plan, yet it is not accurate to present the situation in Europe in such a way as to make our people think that they can find there the great chance to be of service to suffering humanity. Many Christians feel that there is no comparison between these two opportunities we are facing to help people in their suffering. To assist the people of Europe in the countries overrun by Hitler would run the serious danger of aiding the Nazi program. To aid the people of China would have just the opposite effect.

There are many other questions which those who sincerely seek light on this grave question are asking. Is there any way you can trust a man to keep an agreement or to prevent him from taking advantage of you when he has a contempt for truth and will go to any ruthless end to achieve his purpose? Are not the conditions in the present war, where there are far larger areas of conquered territory infested with hundreds of thousands of the Gestapo and other German agents, such as to make almost impossible an adequate supervision of the proposed program? Since experts differ widely in their reports what are the actual facts about the extent of

the present suffering? Does the widespread plan of forcing the use of German paper money for purchases in conquered territory make it possible to decide questions covering value and amount of withdrawals to date? Should not the support of armies of occupation by subject peoples be considered? Since Germany is applying a blockade against the conquered countries on imports from the Balkans and Russia should not Hitler be required to relax these blockades, so as to meet his present responsibilities under international law before any plan is attempted to lift the British blockade? These and other questions are not of equal or primary importance but must nevertheless be considered if an intelligent judgment is to be formed in the wisdom of any suggested problem.

Mr. Hoover closes his Colliers' article by referring to the parable of the Good Samaritan. I submit that the question of giving or withholding aid to the victim of the thieves in that story was strictly one of the willingness of the Samaritan to give aid regardless of the trouble, expense, or inconvenience it caused him. There was no issue as to whether helping the victims would aid the bandits in oppressing others. Those guilty of the crime were out of the picture before the Samaritan came along. In the present world agony this is not the case. Those who "passed by on the other side" were impelled by motives which have nothing in common with the sincere and honest objections to the plan held by many Christians in this country. Instead of being guilty of lack of compassion, as Mr. Hoover implies, they are using a more far-sighted compassion which is always of value in cases of relief.

The ultimate question being decided today is whether man shall live as a slave of a dictator or as a free child of God. Freedom cannot be found along any easy road, and at times is won only through courageous suffering and sacrifice. We dare not pass judgmen on who should endure such agony. However, we can have faith to believe that when there is a situation in which by relieving innocent sufferers we might be guilty of doing greater harm to others, there still are values which come to those who are "persecuted for righteousness sake." There are those who will lead the way into a new day—when or where we do not know—but our faith tells us it will be those who have passed through great tribulations; those who have learned through suffering that freedom expressing itself in both justice and mercy is the only basis upon which abundant life can be built; yes, those whose souls are purged of selfishness through the power of sacrifice, and have learned that "men shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

Message From President Roosevelt to David Sarnoff

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEWART

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE FROM NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a clipping from the New York Times of December 11, 1940, containing a message from President Roosevelt addressed to Mr. David Sarnoff.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of December 11, 1940]

TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The text of the President's message, sent from the cruiser in which he is making an inspection tour of the Caribbean and addressed to David Sarnoff, president of the Economic Club, is as follows:

"DEAR DAVID: I regret exceedingly that I cannot be with you on the occasion of the one hundred and thirty-fourth dinner of the Economic Club of New York and the first under your guidance as president. A tremendous opportunity for useful service is yours.

"I know of no greater objective any organization can have than the stated purpose of your club—'to aid in the creation and expression of an enlightened public opinion on economic and social subjects.' I like particularly the inclusion of social subjects in the discussion of economics. The two belong together. You and I know that in order to maintain our American system of private initiative and private enterprise it must function as a system that will do the greatest good for the greatest number. It is only by keeping our economy socially conscious that we can keep it free.

"The determination that we shall remain free, economically, socially, and politically, must spring from the will of our people. That is why the tradition of the American town meeting—a tradition older than the Constitution itself—is close to the hearts of all of us. The free and frank discussion of national problems in open meeting, as in the public forum of the Economic Club of New York, helps to create an enlightened public opinion. It invokes the spiritual strength of a free people. It helps to make human liberty a flaming reality, notwithstanding the fact that for the time being liberty lies prostrate in a large part of the world.

"I congratulate the Economic Club for having chosen this year as the first topic for discussion national unity for defense. No subject is of more vital concern to every man, woman, and child in this Nation. The very discussion of this problem in an open forum highlights the contrast between the totalitarian and democratic concepts of government. In the totalitarian scheme such a discussion has no place. There can be no real unity where the people have no voice. In a democratic order national unity is the voluntary expression of the mind and spirit of a free people. Such unity gives our democracy an unshakeable strength.

"The freedoms that we must and will protect in the United States are the freedoms which will make the individual paramount in a true democracy. In our American way of life political and economic freedom go hand in hand. Our freedoms must include freedom from want, freedom from insecurity, and freedom from fear. I firmly believe that we can best secure these freedoms by Government and private enterprise working together for these common objectives. In this joint effort there must be provided proper reward for labor, proper incentive for enterprise, and a proper return on investment.

"Today the challenge which we as a democracy must meet is the challenge to make the best possible use of our vast resources, and to achieve speedily the common purpose of national defense and national progress. It is a challenge to government, to labor, to industry, and to capital alike. I have unbounded faith that we shall succeed in this task.

"Very sincerely yours,

"FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT."

Air Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY CAPT. EDWARD V. RICKENBACKER

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech before the Economic Club of New York on December 10, delivered by Capt. Edward V. Rickenbacker, a leading American combat ace during the last war.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We Americans are profoundly concerned about our safety in the air. We are seeking for an element of security and for the method of obtaining that which will definitely place us beyond reasonable danger from any and all other nations.

I doubt very much if the right method consists of trying to hold first place in an armament race of the air. It seems madness to me to place our chief reliance on building plane for plane against potential enemies.

We know perfectly well that the most important units of a competent air fleet become obsolete within 2 years from the date of production, due to the rapid progress and development of the art.

In view of these facts, it becomes essential that the foundation of defense in our military or commercial aviation program is an aviation transportation industry linking every community within our boundaries, of 2,000 population or more, for the purpose of transporting passengers, all first-class mail, express, and light freight.

In order to develop this air transportation industry, it is essential to carry all first-class mail by air, which will have the following results:

1. Multiply the demand for designing and creative engineers.
2. Multiply the demand for planes.
3. Multiply the demand for brick and mortar called "manufacturing plant capacity."
4. Multiply the demand for administrative personnel.
5. Multiply the demand for manufacturing personnel.
6. Multiply the demand for meteorological personnel.
7. Multiply the demand for radio technicians and mechanics.
8. Multiply the demand for maintenance and service mechanics on the line.

9. Multiply the demand for pilots and copilots.

We are now transporting by air approximately 25,000,000 pounds of mail per year within our boundaries.

We are transporting by air approximately 12,000,000 pounds of express per year.

We are transporting by air approximately 2,000,000 passengers per year.

And the foregoing is just an infinitesimal part of the potential, as is evidenced by the following:

AIR-TRANSPORT TRUNK-LINE SYSTEM

1. Air mail: There is approximately 350,000,000 pounds of first-class mail transported by all means of transportation between approximately 50,000 post offices throughout the United States. Deduct approximately 25 percent of this first-class mail, which would be considered as urban communication, and there would be sufficient poundage left to increase our present air-mail activities 30 times. By carrying all first-class mail by air over our air-transport trunk-line system as it exists today, it would be necessary to increase the number of transport planes in use from approximately 500 to 10,000, and since it requires approximately 4 crews per transport plane, there would be an increase from approximately 2,000 pilots and copilots, as exist today, to 40,000 pilots and 40,000 copilots in day and night service for 365 days of the year.

2. Feeder systems: The carrying of first-class mail between communities with a population of 2,000 and over and feeding into the trunk-line system as it exists today would require a minimum of 10,000 single-seater planes with mail compartment and approximately 30,000 pilots to man them. As it requires approximately 15 technicians per airplane in service, we would automatically have a demand for approximately 300,000 technicians to maintain this program. This is exclusive of the manufacturing personnel to produce this volume of transport planes.

3. Air express and air freight: Potential air express and air freight within our boundaries could multiply from 12,000,000 to 100,000,000 pounds in 5 years, which would add approximately another 25 percent to the equipment and personnel requirements to those mentioned above.

4. Passenger potential: With the ever-increasing demands for rapid transportation by passengers for commercial, social, and political intercourse, the potential in 5 years' time could well reach 10,000,000 passengers per year to be served by the air transport industry, instead of 2,000,000 per year as at the present. This would mean conservative additional requirements of approximately 50 percent in all categories, as mentioned above, to carry all first-class mail by air.

PEACETIME AVIATION INDUSTRY

It is a known fact that in time of war our Army comes from the civilian population. Our naval personnel also comes from the merchant marine and civilian population.

Our shells, battleships, and armaments come from a peacetime steel industry, merchant-marine industry, and general manufacturing industry. Our tanks and ground transports come from our great peacetime automotive industry.

And in order that we may have an abundance of military pilots, technicians, mechanics, and planes we must have a peacetime aviation industry to meet the requirements of an emergency.

PILOT TRAINING

It is evident that the military forces cannot and will not be able to create and develop pilot personnel as fast as necessary in case of an emergency.

It is further evident that the Civil Aeronautics Authority's elementary-training program has not and cannot develop pilot personnel necessary for military emergencies.

In spite of the fact that the Civil Aeronautics Authority's elemental training program has a fundamental value, the program is incomplete. With combat planes flying at 300 to 400 miles per hour, this elementary training places these thousands of young men in the stage of fledglings, leaving a vast gap between them and their qualifications for military service, due to the limited experience on elementary training planes only.

With the foregoing program mentioned, these young men leaving the Civil Aeronautics Authority's training program would be required to join a commercial feeder system flying single-seated planes with a mail-express compartment, such as our advance trainers, which could be produced by the thousands cheaply and quickly, in daylight operations only for a period of 3 to 6 months.

The second step would be to place them in the night commercial feeder service for a period of 3 to 6 months with the same type of equipment.

The third step in their preparatory training would be to act in the capacity of copilot on the commercial trunk-line system with large multimotored equipment for a period of 3 to 6 months in day and night service.

From this bracket they would then be required to go into the military service with from six hundred to a thousand hours of training in all kinds of weather, both day and night, winter and summer.

By coordinating the Civil Aeronautics Authority's training program with the commercial program and the military program we would have a reservoir of pilot material constantly in the making, and secondary to none.

AIRPORTS

Such a training program for commercial and military services requires a vast expansion and multiplication of our airport facilities with three distinct types of airports in the metropolitan areas.

1. From one to three airports, depending on the size of the community, to serve passenger-carrying planes only.

2. From one to three airports, depending on the size of the community, to serve the first-class mail and freight-carrying planes only.

3. An integral system of airports for private plane owners, charter services, and training schools, distinct and apart from the first two in order to keep the airways clear and minimize the hazards.

AFTER THE WAR IS OVER

After the present emergency is over and the demand for military aviation personnel disappears, we must and will be prepared to absorb these hundreds of thousands of young men into civilian aviation with an opportunity to earn an honest living, and offer our country a service of rapid means of transportation and communication in peacetime second to none.

Such an industry must be prepared for now in order that the opportunities will be available when necessary. It will further knit together every State in the Union for peacetime service which, in a measure, will have justified the billions in taxation now being expended.

Had such a program been prepared by our Government 5 to 6 years ago no nation under the sun, or combination of nations under the sun, would need to be feared.

Further, if such an industry and reservoir of equipment and manpower had been available in this country in August 1939 Hitler would not have dared to precipitate the present world war.

Further, we Americans have been living in a fool's paradise—wanting something for nothing—yes; we have it, but in the wrong place.

Now we must learn in the hard way. We have spent billions more to teach them how.

Our system of education must be revamped immediately to prepare for the emergency facing us, and the terrible collapse which inevitably must follow the declaration of peace.

HOLLOW HOPES AND WISHES

It has been the fault of our system and our hollow hopes and wishes. We have sent our boys and girls off to school with the thought that all they needed was a high-school education or a college degree, which would permit them to graduate into a white-collared job with a big salary.

Now, we must teach them to use their hands, as well as their heads. Coordinate the two and back them up with the spirit called Americanism.

I say to you, today, we are facing grave problems for years to come, and since Americans have never feared a problem if they knew the facts, it is the duty and obligation of the leadership of this Nation to frankly and freely present the facts concerning the problems with which we are faced.

Then, and then alone, need we never fear for men and women of character to carry on.

I say to you, tonight, that you of this generation are enjoying liberties at this moment that you will never enjoy again as long as you live. You are enjoying a standard of living that you never again will enjoy, regardless of the outcome of world war No. 2.

Should the British capitulate, America will and must become the greatest militaristic nation in the world for the protection of the Western Hemisphere and everything within 2,000 miles of its shore in any direction.

This will not cost ten to twenty billions of dollars, but will cost one hundred to one hundred and fifty billions of dollars within the next 10 years.

That means dictatorship, which, in turn, means loss of liberties.

The expenditure of one hundred to one hundred and fifty billions of dollars in addition to the $50,000,000,000 debt existing means taxes upon taxes, and more taxes, which means a drastic lowering of our standard of living.

Should the British Government be driven from the British Isles and retreat to Canada with her Navy, it will mean the merging of the English-speaking peoples of the world, and again the militarizing of the Western Hemisphere with its huge expenditure, and its huge taxation. This again means loss of liberties and lowering of the standard of living.

THE MEANING OF TOTAL WAR

Last but not least, should these gallant British withstand the terrific onslaught of the totalitarian states until the summer of 1941, it is my sincere conviction that by that time this Nation will have declared total war on the totalitarian states, meaning:

1. The complete cooperation of our Navy and that of the British Empire.

2. The amendment of our Neutrality Act permitting American ships with munitions and supplies to sail the oceans of the world again.

3. It will mean the amendment of the Johnson Act permitting billions upon billions of credit to the British, which will not be repaid any more than the debts of World War No. 1.

4. It will mean shipment of thousands of fighting aircraft and long-range bombers.

5. It will mean thousands of American pilots and thousands upon thousands of American mechanics being transported overseas.

6. Last, but not least, it may eventually mean millions of our Army being transported to the Old World with all of the latest and most deadly instruments of war for a continental invasion and for the final blow to the totalitarian states.

This will mean a minimum of a 3-year total war and a grave possibility of it lasting for 5 or 6 years.

All of which means the expenditure of one hundred to one hundred and fifty billion dollars with its loss of liberties, and taxes upon taxes with their consequent lowering of the standard of our living.

OUR MOUNTING NATIONAL DEBT

To the leaders of finance and industry, well may you remember that this country's national debt was only $1,000,000,000 at the start of World War No. 1, and well may you remember that today we have a national debt of approximately $50,000,000,000.

The war of 1914–18 cost this Nation $47,000,000,000, and due to the improved deadliness of methods and weapons since the World War, the rapidity of destruction of both mankind and property will be many times greater—meaning that should this Nation be forced into this war it will cost us another $150,000,000,000.

This will leave us with a national debt of approximately $200,000,000,000 when peace is declared, all of which means the dollar will be worth very little and the clothes on your back may be your only assets.

Particularly will this be true in view of the fact that all the belligerents were financially stable at the start of World War No. 1, whereas by comparison they are bankrupt today.

Bear in mind when peace is declared, and that day is as sure as death and taxes, with forty to fifty millions of men being thrown back into productive effort, and their countries' treasuries and pantries being empty, men will become serfs and slaves for the sake of three meals a day and a place to rest their weary bodies at night.

This will mean one simple fact—that their ability to produce commodities and products for export at prices so low will eliminate the possibility of this Nation having even a semblance of our present normal export trade left.

It will bring about a depression in this country that will jar our teeth loose and make the depression of 1929 to date, a mimic affair by comparison.

Who dare say, with a debt of $200,000,000,000, that the youth of this Nation will accept such obligations in the future for the mistakes of the past?

Inflation, and inflation alone, will follow as it did in Germany during those disastrous years from 1921 to 1926.

Face these facts like true Americans and the problem is not insurmountable. Fail, and the consequences multiply.

I say to you and the rest of my fellow Americans, we had better prepare today to die fighting rather than to fight dying.

Tribute to the Late Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. C. WAYLAND BROOKS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

RESOLUTION BY THE ILLINOIS DIVISION OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution adopted by the Illinois Division of the National Woman's Party expressing deep sorrow at the loss of Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch.

Mrs. Blatch was a noted lecturer, the daughter of Henry Brewster and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She was graduated from Vassar College; president of the Women's Political Union, 1907 to 1915; and head of the Speakers' Bureau of the United States Food Administration in 1917.

Mrs. Blatch was the author of Mobilizing Woman Power; A Woman's Point of View; and Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Reminiscences, Letters, and Diary.

It is a pleasure to offer the following brief tribute of the Illinois Division of the National Woman's Party to Harriot Stanton Blatch.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Women of the United States of America have suffered the loss of one of their great leaders in the recent death of Harriot Stanton Blatch. To her the women of the country owe a great debt because it was her able guidance and energetic leadership which brought success to the campaign for equal suffrage and to other movements for equal rights and privileges.

Mrs. Blatch was a woman of broad culture—a lecturer and writer of renown. Her personality and her words of wisdom and advice will be sorely missed in the councils of our civic and social welfare groups: Therefore be it

Resolved by the National Woman's Party (Illinois division), That we express our deep sorrow and our realization of our great loss in the passing of our eminent leader and that we extend to her daughter, Nora Stanton Blatch Barney, our heartfelt sympathy; and be it further

Resolved, That we respectfully request the Honorable C. WAYLAND BROOKS, United States Senator from Illinois, to extend these resolutions on the permanent records of the Nation through the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Message From President Roosevelt to Farm Bureau Federation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEWART

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE FROM NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD an article from the New York Times of December 11, 1940, containing a message addressed by President Roosevelt to the convention of the Farm Bureau Federation at Baltimore, Md.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of December 11, 1940]

ROOSEVELT URGES SPREAD OF WEALTH—EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION NEEDED FOR EFFECTIVE ARMING, HE TELLS FARM BUREAU—HITS WORLD "NIGHTMARE"—MESSAGE READ AT BALTIMORE AND WICKARD SPEECH OFFER NEW PARITY PRICE HOPE

BALTIMORE, December 10.—President Roosevelt declared today that mobilization of men and munitions alone would not effectively arm the country, because there was required also "an equitable distribution of the wealth from our unparalleled material resources, help for the underprivileged, security for workers and farmers, and whatever else is necessary to keep democracy a dynamic force."

He said that America was arming "to preserve freedom and to see to it that the enslavement of millions of human beings will pass like the nightmare that it is."

His statements were in a message read to 4,000 farmer delegates at the convention of the Farm Bureau Federation.

The message and a speech by Secretary Wickard promising greater effort in behalf of farmers were hailed by Edward A. O'Neal, federation president, as a pledge that the administration would continue to fight for "its social aim of improving the lot of the less fortunate."

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

President Roosevelt's message was as follows:

"The first World War injured our entire national economy, and no industry was hit harder than agriculture. But out of the troubles of farmers grew a better realization of what must be done to help make democracy effective. Farmers found that they must organize and work together. To some this may have seemed a slow process, but out of it, among other things, have emerged national farm programs for agriculture. These programs are built from the bottom up.

"Nowadays, the second world war is having an injurious effect upon our economy and the economy of the world. But out of this war already has emerged a clearer realization of the value of democracy and the danger to it from unbridled force and aggression. Using the democratic processes, this Nation is arming to preserve freedom and to see to it that the enslavement of millions of human beings will pass like the nightmare that it is.

"In this effort to meet the threat to our liberty, the Nation can count upon your organization and farmers everywhere. In a time of crisis America knows it can depend upon the men who live upon the land. It has been so in the past, it is so now, and it will be so in the future.

"To rearm effectively, however, means more than men and munitions. It means an equitable distribution of the wealth from our unparalleled material resources, help for the underprivileged, security for workers and farmers, and whatever else that is necessary to keep democracy a dynamic force.

"It is good, therefore, to know that we can depend upon the American Farm Bureau Federation to do its part in the work all must do to preserve and enrich the American way of life."

WICKARD GIVES PARITY PLEDGE

Mr. Wickard, while outlining economic gains which, he said, farmers had made under New Deal crop programs, pledged his "utmost efforts as Secretary of Agriculture" to reach the goal of

existing farm legislation—"assisting farmers to obtain, insofar as practicable, parity prices and parity of income."

The major question before the convention, as put by federation leaders, was "How can we boost farm prices to parity levels?" Such levels, they asserted, would give farmers a much larger share of the national income.

They predicted that the federation would go on record for a system of Government commodity loans which would peg farm prices at parity and thereby eliminate the need for parity payments from the Treasury. Support in administration quarters was claimed for this plan.

Sponsors of the plan professed to see administration opposition to a processing-tax proposal made in a speech by Chester A. Davis, agriculture's representative on the National Defense Advisory Commission. Under this proposal, money raised by processing taxes would be used to pay farm subsidies.

"Additional consumer and sales taxes," Mr. Davis declared, "do not fit the Nation's needs as long as widespread unemployment prevails and while we are striving to speed up production."

FOR LATIN AMERICAN IMPORTS

Davis, who is agriculture's representative on the Defense Commission, urged that American farmers forget their prejudices against Latin American agricultural imports in the interest of total defense against European dictatorships.

Mr. O'Neal, in his speech opening the convention, asked an all-out policy of aid for Great Britain, to which he referred as a great ally.

"We must not allow that ally to weaken or to be defeated," he declared. "Upon the fate of Britain rests the decision as to our way of life. I am in favor of outright repeal of the Johnson Act—if Britain needs money, that is the first thing we should provide. The neutrality legislation should be repealed; let us abandon the cash-and-carry and substitute a policy of cash-and-credit munitions to the full extent of the need."

The British Blockade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST W. GIBSON

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY J. B. PRIESTLEY

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a radio broadcast by Mr. J. B. Priestley from London on November 19, 1940, on the subject of the British blockade.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Let me say at once that, although I cannot accept Mr. Hoover's arguments, I wouldn't dream of questioning his deep sincerity. He is aware, as he points out in the beginning of his address, of the terrible plight of the millions of men, women, and children in Norway, Holland, Belgium, and central Poland, and so, we assure him, are we here in Britain, but we are also aware of the terrible plight of men, women, and children everywhere in this world. But the Nazi dream of world conquest has to be shattered forever, and our object is to free the world from this intolerable menace as soon as is possible. Our own women and children are being bombed night after night, and enduring great hardships and dangers in order that sooner or later these other women and children in the German-occupied territories can be delivered from the Nazi jack boot. Whatever gives the Nazis additional power and resources will widen the bounds of this great catastrophe and bring more suffering to more and more men, women, and children.

Now, Mr. Hoover's case, reduced to its simplest statement, is that these innocent people of the conquered countries will soon be faced with starvation because their own resources are nearly at an end and Germany won't be able to feed them; therefore, under the proper safeguards, some of the vast surplus stores of food now waiting in the United States should be sent across the sea to these countries, the British blockade being lifted for this purpose. It was possible to do this successfully in the last war, Mr. Hoover contends, and therefore it ought to be possible to do it again in this war. In this way lots of the appalling misery would be averted, and nobody would be any the worse off.

One of the safeguards, already mentioned, is that the Nazis should agree not to take any of the domestic products of these conquered people and to furnish the equivalent of any food that may have already been taken, and, of course, that the imported foodstuffs should not be used to feed the German Army. Would the Nazis agree to these proposals? I think they probably would. They are always ready to sign anything that suits them at the moment—peace pacts, vows of eternal friendship—anything you like; of course, with not the slightest intention of honoring their words, but of cheating and swindling and lying.

Personally I don't think these safeguards are worth anything. Can you imagine the Nazis solemnly making inventory of all the edible loot they have taken from Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France? Why, if they are capable of furnishing the equivalent of what they have already stolen, then they are capable of feeding these people themselves, without any interference with our blockade. For example, it was estimated here that at the time of the German invasion, Norway had in hand a year's supply of cereals, at least 9 months' supply of sugar, and substantial stocks of other foodstuffs. Where has all this gone to? The answer is, of course, that since the invasion the Nazis have plundered the country as they have done all the other countries they have invaded.

Let us look at the Nazis for a moment—what are they up to? It was "guns before butter." Having got the guns and denied themselves the butter, they then proceeded to make use of the guns in order to get other peoples' butter. Now that this supply is running out, it is proposed that we should cut down our war effort in order that they should be supplied with more butter and, probably, as we shall see later, with more guns.

Let us take another look at the Nazis. As is usual with them in this matter of blockade of food supplies, they tell the world two contradictory stories. They give out, and I have in front of me a dozen samples of such propaganda, that it is we here who are in danger of starving and that there is plenty of food in Germany. Here is an extract from the Bremen radio: "The British Broadcasting Co. is spoon-feeding Great Britain and the world with fairy tales about starvation on the Continent. These stories about the non-existent famine in Europe are a psychological preparation of the people of Great Britain for that famine which will be their fate in the near future." There you have it. Great Britain is about to starve but on the Continent, where Hitler's new order is about to take shape at any moment, there is plenty of food. "If any country is blockaded," says another Bremen broadcast, "it is England, not Germany." So you see, if this is true, Mr. Hoover ought to be worrying about us and not about the people on the Continent.

But now, when the question is raised about feeding the people in the occupied countries, the whole German tune is instantly changed. Now it seems there is a British blockade, a terribly efficient affair, and the result of it is that the unfortunate conquered populations can't import their usual stocks and poor Germany can't help them, so that it looks as if they will have to starve, all because of the cruel British. The wolf, now, as in every Red Riding Hood story, has put on granny's nightgown and cap and spectacles and is whining in bed with one eye on the basket of provisions that the visitor has brought.

My own view is that whatever the safeguards, the Nazis will get around them, laughing up their sleeves at the simplicity of their opponents. The only safeguard that they couldn't cheat away is the conditions that we in this country have already proposed, namely, that they should completely withdraw their armies from these territories. As it is, they've milked these countries dry, looted right and left; they've fed great armies on the occupied countrysides; they've made ample use, chiefly for attacks or future attacks upon us, of all the ports and airfields of these territories; they've seized stocks of war materials; they've compelled the people to work for them, binding many in slavery to the vast Nazi war machine. There is no possible advantage to themselves that they haven't made full use of against ourselves and all the remaining free peoples in the world. And now, when it comes to paying a little of the bill, they're whining—that is, when they're not busy boasting.

Mr. Hoover said that the question of responsibility for the shortages in these unhappy countries is a matter of indifference. But we here can't accept that view. Those shortages are directly due to Germany's systematic plunder, entirely for the benefit of their own war effort. If the rest of the world refuses to help the Nazis by feeding these people after they have been plundered, then the Nazis will be compelled to feed them themselves. Otherwise, their efficiency as rendered to the German industrial and agricultural system will be reduced. In a recent broadcast a Nazi propagandist boasted of the export surplus of wheat obtained from the occupied territories of the west.

Here I must say a word about what our blockade is intended to do. In the first place, it's intended to cut off the imports of essential war materials, such as oil. In the second place, it's intended to compel the Germans, by depriving them of imported food, to divert some of their manpower from the army and the making of munitions to the production of foodstuffs. It should be remembered that in the last war the German civilian population suffered because the German General Staff would not divert their manpower in this way, and preferred—as we know they've done since—guns to butter. The choice was theirs then, as it was later—in peacetime, mark you—when Goering produced this slogan. Nobody seriously believes that a country can be starved into submission by a blockade. There is far too much loose talk on these lines. What the blockade does is to attack the whole general war effort, with its primary aim of cutting off the supplies of essential war materials. And here it should be remembered that you can't make this problem of foodstuffs an isolated one, simply because it's impossible in these days to draw a line between foodstuffs and the munitions of war. For example, if enough food is imported into the conquered territories to enable Germany to save an equivalent amount, that amount which is saved isn't necessarily used as food at all, but may well be used to feed, not women and children, but the German

war industry, that very machinery of aggression and conquest which has brought such misery to Europe.

This is an age, as we know, of radical conversions of substances, and the Germans are masters of this art. Therefore what begins as food may very well end as something else. Let me give you some examples. Ten shiploads of wheat—say, 50,000 tons—will give place in food value to 187,500 tons of potatoes, from which could be made nearly 17,000 tons of alcohol. This alcohol could be used instead of petrol or gasoline for a great many purposes, and would free approximately 11,000 tons of petrol, enough to enable 500 planes to raid London every night for two months. Again, 10 shiploads of meat—50,000 tons—could be converted into more than 6,000 tons of fat, or 600 tons of glycerine, which is important to the manufacture of blasting explosives and for many industrial purposes, such as treating cloth and making plastics. An equal cargo load of milk—50,000 tons—would make at least enough butter to replace well over 2,000 tons of margarine. This would release enough fats to make 1,850 tons of lubricating oils, which is enough to lubricate 50 submarines on 12 journeys across the Atlantic. The residue from the milk could be made into 1,500 tons of glycerine for plastics. Such plastics, remember, are used for airplane parts.

Therefore what began as a nice, warm-hearted gesture from Mr. Hoover and his friends could end—as far as we here are concerned—with more bombing planes dropping more high-explosive bombs on us, blasting hell out of our cities, and murdering our women and children.

Again, the day of release of all these conquered peoples from the crippling Nazi tyranny would obviously be put back. The loss of life, the distress, and misery on all sides would be worse; the menace to the world's future, including that of Mr. Hoover and his friends, would be greater even than it is now.

Our hearts are sad, as his is sad, at the plight of the conquered populations, and, in addition, we have much more to be sad about than has as yet come his way. I would remind him, however, of the behavior of these citizens under the Nazi yoke, when, as is often necessary, our bombing planes come roaring over their ports and inland towns, searching for important military objectives. No matter how carefully our men pin-point their targets, there's bound to be some danger in risk of bombing to the people who live near these objectives. Nevertheless they welcome those squadrons of the R. A. F. bombers, because they know that, with every roar and crackling blast, their vanished freedom takes another step on its return journey to them, that the "big bully" is being hit and hit hard. As with the bombing, so with the blockade. We must be resolute in order to bring the end of the tragedy nearer.

Meanwhile, I quote our Prime Minster: "We can and we will arrange in advance for the speedy entry of food into any part of the enslaved area when this part has been wholly cleared of German forces and has generally gained its freedom. We shall do our best to encourage the building up of reserves of food all over the world, so that there will always be held up before the eyes of the people of Europe, including—I say it deliberately—the German and Austrian people, the certainty that the shattering of the Nazi power will bring to them all immediate food, freedom, and peace."

The Migrant Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. TOLAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

STATEMENT BY DR. PAUL S. TAYLOR, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. TOLAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the testimony given on December 2 by Dr. Paul S. Taylor, professor of economics, University of California, before the Select Committee of the United States House of Representatives to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens. Dr. Taylor is a nationally known authority on this subject. His suggestions and cooperation have been invaluable in the work of this committee. The testimony presented herewith is a forthright discussion of recent developments in the mechanization of the Corn Belt:

In American agriculture today are forces which jeopardize the security of a substantial proportion of our people who make their living from the land. These forces—notably in the Cotton and Wheat Belts—already contribute to the streams of destitute people who cross State lines, and who constitute the subject of your inquiry. Many persons have assumed, however, that the stability of our Corn Belt was so assured that nothing could seriously threaten the structure of farming and the position of farmers in the great granary of the upper Mississippi Valley. Perhaps for this reason the chief investigator of your committee has requested me to present to you the results of some observations which I made recently in the Corn Belt.

The processes of mechanization, which for some years have been moving rapidly in wheat and cotton, now show clear signs of acceleration in the Corn Belt. A complexity of forces, among which machinery is outstanding, already is beginning to produce profound social changes. The wide adoption of corn pickers, tractors, pick-up hay balers, and the spread of good roads and rubber tires are eliminating farm families, or reducing them in status, and making of farming more and more a commercialized enterprise. This is on land where once the Homestead Act was the ideal, and where its pattern of independent, working farmers was roughly achieved in fact.

Machinery is advertised to save labor, and purchased because it does. A well-known mechanical corn picker is sold with the following appeal:

"Little or no outside help is required when you use a * * * picker to harvest your crop. It takes only one man to operate both tractor and a picker. Thus the problem of finding and boarding a large crew of outside help at corn-picking time is eliminated, and the women folks, too, are relieved of worry and extra kitchen work."

To be sure, machines lighten the burden of toil, save labor of the family, and reduce the farmer's dependence on outside help. But they also deprive wage earners of the farm employment upon which they are dependent. Only last August Professors Case and Wilcox, of the University of Illinois, called sharp attention to this fact:

"One of the unfortunate aspects of all these changes—more mechanization and less labor entering into crop production—has been that the farm affords less opportunity for employment. On the cash grain farms in the study the number of laborers hired declined almost in proportion to the reduced labor requirements for crop production."

Reports of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission as early as 1938 show how quickly the public welfare agencies must begin to share the cost of this lowered demand for farm labor.

A second effect of mechanization is the displacement of farm operators, especially tenant farmers. Basically, the impulse to displace farmers rests on this simple economic fact: A most effective way to reduce per acre and per bushel costs of power is by increasing the size of farm in order to lengthen the hours which power machinery works. Professors Case and Wilcox in their bulletin, Organizing the Corn Belt Farm for Profitable Production, state plainly this principle of the economy of using farm power to its capacity:

"The cost of power is one of the largest items of expense in operating farms, frequently amounting to 25 percent of all operating costs. * * * Interest on the money invested in a tractor and depreciation—two items which remain the same regardless of the number of hours a tractor is used—make up the biggest part of the cost of operation. The hour cost is therefore markedly influenced by the number of hours the tractor is used."

Studies of actual farm records by the Purdue Agricultural Experiment Station and the College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin show conclusively that per acre investment costs of power and machinery are materially lower on larger farms than on smaller. A Purdue bulletin entitled "The Cost of Using Farm Machinery in Indiana" sums it up in the statement that "noticeable economy is effected in per acre cost, investment, and repair cost of machinery as size of farm increases." Professor Case points the clear application:

"The introduction of mechanical power and larger-sized equipment makes it possible for the same number of farm workers to operate a larger acreage. Furthermore, the desire to have a full line of mechanized equipment means a heavy overhead expense unless the area operated is somewhat larger than it is on many farms. The advantage is obvious—more economical production can be secured if operators do a good grade of farming."

As one travels through the Corn Belt it is plain to be seen that enterprising operators are recognizing this fact and are enlarging their farms to take advantage of it. Authorities within the Corn Belt already are noting this with some regret. As recently as last August the two Illinois agricultural economists quoted earlier wrote in their bulletin Twenty-five Years of Illinois Crop Costs:

"Many other farmers, in order to reduce the overhead cost of operation and to make use of labor released by mechanical power and large-sized equipment, have taken on additional land, either by rental or by purchase, and have thus increased the size of the farming unit. * * * The results of this tendency have not been entirely satisfactory, because, for one reason, the increasing of the size of farming units has resulted in fewer farms and consequently in forcing some tenants off farms at a time when other employment has been difficult to obtain." (Wilcox and Case, Bulletin 467, p. 403.)

To be sure, farms have been slowly enlarging since original settlement of the Corn Belt, but now they are enlarging much more rapidly and becoming more commercialized, and there is neither a new West as there was 50 years ago nor an expanding industry to offer haven to the displaced. As Prof. H. C. M. Case stated in September:

"The settling of new areas, especially in the Dakotas, Minnesota, and Canada, made it possible for many tenants with small savings to become farm owners through the purchase of low-priced land or the homesteading of new land. Farmers leaving the old-established farm areas like the Corn Belt gave many young men in these areas an opportunity to become farm tenants and to take over farms which were vacated by tenants moving into new areas. At

the present time, however, the agricultural area of the United States has ceased to expand. Now the competition is for farms which are already established."

The keenness of this competition is reflected in the impressive statistics which earlier witnesses presented to your committee of 25,000 farmers unable to find farms to rent in the Corn Belt. The distress of those farmers already dislodged and the deepseated fears of more thousands of tenant farmers still on the land but insecure, are registered in the editorial, special feature, and farmers' correspondence columns of Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead, the Des Moines Register, the Bloomington Pantagraph, and other papers of the Middle West, and in the sober looks and speech of farmers when the subject is raised.

Mechanization moves progressively into every phase of farm production. Rubber tires on tractors are followed by rubber tires on combines, plows, and other machinery. The increased mobility which this provides makes it possible to enlarge farms by renting fields 1, 2, 5, and even more miles distant. Headlights make possible night work by shifts. Pick-up hay balers, mechanical feed hoists, and assembly-line lay-outs bring industrial methods to the handling of forage crops and the feeding of livestock. Mobility of labor and machinery makes it possible with but little manpower to deliver great work power within a very few days and over a wide radius. Farms grow in size more easily since fields no longer need be contiguous. At point after point the bottle-necks which have held Corn Belt farming to a moderately small family operation are being broken.

A striking example of the possibilities of farm consolidation on good land was described to me by an enterprising operator in Iowa who is enlarging his farm. About 3 years ago he began to add to his home farm of 200 acres by leasing successively 40 acres 3 miles away, 440 acres 6 miles away, and 320 acres 75 miles away. He operates the entire 1,000 acres of the best cash-grain lands of Iowa with two laborers hired by the month, and a little help in summer from his young boys, and he now runs a large business in town besides. Sensitive to public opinion he says: "Every farmer in the State who is not secure in his ownership is scared that he may lose his land by consolidation. The tenant who loses his place has no chance, absolutely no chance to find a farm here in the good land."

The effects of farm consolidation often are seen in a chain of successive displacements, reports this operator. A western Iowa tenant moved off the best land by consolidation moves with his equipment into southern Iowa, where land is poorer and where he can outbid tenants already there because of his superior equipment and ability. The tenant so displaced then moves to the poorer lands of the Ozarks in Missouri or Arkansas, displacing a family there either by leasing or purchasing their land. These are areas, as your committee already has been told, from which streams of families migrate to the far West. Thus consolidation of farms in the Corn Belt transmits a series of shocks, the last of which may be visible as the flight of an Arkansas or Missouri family across the country to Arizona or California. Or, as a middle-western farmer put it, "They go over like a row of dominoes."

A third effect of mechanization is to reduce farm laborers from their traditional status as hired men, living in something like social equality with their employer and with opportunity ahead, to a status approximating that of the lower grades of industrial workers. For those who are unable to remain on the farms as operators of machines or to find a place in industry for which they are not trained, this is the prospect. It is described by a report from the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission in 1938:

"Farm operators have in large measure discontinued giving foodstuffs and shelter in addition to wages, regarding their workers more as employees in other industries. This circumstance may contribute to another phase of the problem, since it tends to result in the use of casual and transient labor, especially in seasons of greatest need. This results, as pointed out by the representatives of the Farm Bureau, in absence of needed skills. The Farm Bureau particularly emphasized the fact that a man doing only occasional farm labor, even if this has been his principal occupation, may now be helpless under present-day farm mechanization."

Sons of farmers are among the victims of mechanization and consolidation along with other laborers. A recent bulletin by Case and Wilcox, of the Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station, states:

"The sons of farmers are finding, as they approach maturity, less opportunity of becoming established as farmers themselves. There are not so many farms for rent, and the opportunity to get a start by working as a hired laborer has been reduced."

A fourth effect, attributable in part to mechanization, is the decline in status of tenants. Not only are many individual tenants themselves reduced to labor status, but those who remain tenants find themselves in a position in which, as one put it, "The landlord has the whip hand." The Bureau of Agricultural Economics has described this lowering of tenant status in its August 1940 report on Techonology on the Farm:

"The result—of mechanization in the Corn Belt—is greater competition for land and a consequent increase in the rents. The common practice of charging cash rent for use of buildings, pasture, and land not in cash crops on share-rented farms permits an increased rent for the farm without changing the sharing of cash crops. When adjustments in rent of this type are made the benefits of new developments are shifted from the tenant to the landlord."

During my researches last summer in the Corn Belt I noted four current phases in the reorganization of agricultural work that seemed particularly significant:

1. Enlargement of farms under a single operator.
2. Growth of professional farm-management services for absentee owners.
3. Custom work as potential displacer of farm operators.
4. Cooperative ownership of mechanical equipment.

1. Enlargement of farms under a single operator: This process, as I have described it, may represent either expansion of the lands operated by a working farmer or a working farmer and his sons to, say, 400, 500, or 800 acres, or it may represent large farms operated by a manager using hired laborers. Of the latter type, by all odds the largest wage-labor operation which I saw was a 9,000-acre corporate grain and livestock farm in Ohio.

2. Growth of professional farm-management services for absentee owners: One of these services, in a pamphlet entitled "Agricultural Service for Absentee Owners," states that it "was organized and is conducted by master farmers to give the nonresident landowner competent and permanent management of his farm lands, such as he would provide himself were he living near the farm and qualified to do so." Services of this type are numerous enough in the Corn Belt to have formed a professional society. The economic basis of managerial service is superior skill of professional managers over other farm operators and the possibilities of collective buying and marketing and of unified operations. These services offer genuine benefits to the landlord and to the land itself and doubtless to some tenants. But it is equally plain that they promote (1) absenteeism, by making it profitable; (2) united control of large acreages; (3) large-scale operations by developing and utilizing its economies. These results, of course, are no part of the pattern contemplated by the Homestead Act.

How far absenteeism, represented by ownership of farms by city and town businessmen and by industrial corporations, has advanced in the Corn Belt is not clear. There are indications that its growth is significant. One of the management services referred to earlier has among the 190 properties which it operates for "the nonfarming farm owner" a 2,000-acre farm owned by a railroad. On my train en route to Washington the sales manager of a national manufacturing corporation with Ohio headquarters told me that among businessmen in his part of the country "it's now the rage" to buy farms, partly for diversion instead of golf, partly as a safe place to put funds; indeed, in some cities these businessmen have formed "farmers' luncheon clubs." The extent to which industrial corporations are using their position to buy machinery for their farms at cost from the manufacturer instead of through retail dealers evidently is becoming of concern to some dealers. In last month's issue of Farm Implement News the secretary of the Michigan and Ohio Farm Equipment Association wrote:

"A dealer reported to me that a farm located next to his had been purchased by a large soap company some months ago and that he had been supplying most of the equipment for that farm in recent years. The soap company had a contract and is located 50 miles away. They sent 2 tractors, with cultivators and other tools, to this farm, and it so happens the dealer sells the same make of machinery and is a very good, substantial dealer. The only business this or any other dealer in this community will get from that farm is an occasional sale of an emergency part.

"This thing is growing so rapidly that many good dealers in that section are beginning to wonder how much longer they will be able to last. Their attitude is this: 'Why should large companies buy this land to avoid income taxes and then be able to buy their equipment at cost while the farmer next door, bending every effort to get along, must pay the long price? It just doesn't look right.'"

Several lines of further investigation touching the stability of our farm population, including taxation and the role of industrial corporations on the land, seem to be suggested by this quotation. If the entry of manufacturing corporations into farming is becoming so important as to cause concern to farm-implement dealers, certainly it is important enough to farmers to receive the closest public scrutiny.

3. Custom work as potential displacer of farm operators: Custom work means performance of a particular farm operation, such as plowing or threshing, by a contractor. It is an old practice in American agriculture, and in 1925, at perhaps its zenith, it is estimated that there were about 140,000 custom threshing outfits in the United States. In earlier times, when the single, extreme peak power requirement on the farm could be met only by expensive steam engines and threshers, custom work was a boon to the small farmer. He was obliged to thresh either on contract or as a member of a cooperative threshing ring, since he could not afford heavy investment in a great power plant to be used only a few days.

Custom work can be either a boon to working small farmers or, depending upon circumstances, a detriment to them, even to the extent of jeopardizing their economic existence. It is like the two-edged sword which can cut both ways. To understand this it is necessary to remember that a large proportion of income to the working small farmer is really a wage for his labor. Therefore, when custom work represents, as it sometimes does today, the service of man and machine without opportunity for such auxiliary employment of the farmer, as was customary around the old-time threshing rig, the farmer is losing opportunity for his own employment. It is true that successful custom operators can often afford to offer very attractive prices when they use their machines to capacity, but working small farmers who become fully dependent on custom work have thereby lost their own wages, and are at the mercy year after year of a differential between prices and contract costs sufficient to enable them to survive. The indefinite continuance of such a favorable differential, of course, is highly problematical.

In the Corn Belt last summer I encountered personally only two instances of farms virtually without farmers because every one of its operations were performed on contract. But the potentialities for displacement of farmers in this manner were plain to be seen. In Ohio I met a very successful custom operator who has a small fleet of tractors, tillage machines, combines, etc., and a force of from 8 to perhaps 15 or 18 wage workers. He operates a large farm of his own, and keeps his machines working to capacity by performing custom work within a radius of about 15 miles. He was fully conscious of this threat to the working small farmer which is latent in this method of operation. In the February 1939 number of Agricultural Engineering, he wrote:

"We are prepared to undertake almost any farming operations that we may be called on to do, except two, corn planting and corn cultivating. As you can see, the presence of a large amount of machinery doing custom work in a community which is 55 percent tenant farmed might give some people the impression that we are out to take over the whole neighborhood. This is not true, as we consider our services as purely auxiliary for those farms where the machinery investment for one reason or another is being kept low. By leaving corn planting and cultivating tools out of our custom equipment, we are able to sidestep requests to take over a complete operation, and can pursue a policy of not working on land that does not have an owner or a tenant living on it."

4. Cooperative ownership of mechanical equipment. The practice of cooperative ownership of machinery probably is as old among American farmers as the practice of custom threshing. Indeed, the cooperative threshing ring was the small farmers' alternative to custom work. It was another way of keeping their overhead costs low. To an extent cooperation is practiced in the Corn Belt today. Professor Case states:

"Many tenants are successfully cooperating with other tenants by owning some of the more expensive pieces of equipment in common, or by exchanging labor with some of their neighbors and thus avoiding a large outlay of money for the purchase of every piece of equipment used on the farm * * * farmers can afford to own jointly or exchange the use of many of the more expensive pieces of equipment."

Last August a breeder of hybrid corn described to me experiments on his Illinois farm which give promise at an early date of eliminating the necessity of row cultivation of corn, and of making possible the harvest of corn by combined threshers which deliver the kernels in sacks in the field. He stated:

"This, together with combines for soybeans and grain, will make it impossible for the small 80- to 160-acre farmer to compete. When these developments take place, 640 acres will be the minimum-size farm that can operate economically in the Corn Belt. It will require not over two men to operate. The only possibilities are (1) custom work; (2) large units; (3) cooperative ownership of machinery in groups of 10 to 12 farms."

The practice of economic cooperation, however, has not yet attained an extent where it is adequate to resist the threatened wholesale displacement of farmers in the Corn Belt. It should be stimulated to the point where it will be.

Industrialization of corn and cotton is producing a serious maladjustment between land resources and population. Prof. Charles L. Stewart, of the University of Illinois, has recently described this growing unbalance in statistical language:

"The thinning-out effects of modernized operations on land of suitable topography throws the ratio of plowland acres per farm occupied into high figures, while in other areas, not so settled, population is piling up while the proportion of acres suited to plowland use declines."

In July of this year the Bureau of Agricultural Economics summed it up in terms of ill-guided human migration:

"In general, it may be said that in the areas best adapted to commercial farming there was enough migration away from farms to bring about a reduction in farm population, but in the areas less well-adapted to commercial farming there were increases."

This way of using our land, which in varied forms and in differing degrees is spreading in our best agricultural regions, is our new farm problem.

In the decades before the War between the States men were deeply concerned with how our land should be used. Our great agricultural problem then was, How shall the public lands be settled? Speaking in 1862, Congressman Holman of Indiana answered:

"Instead of baronial possessions, let us facilitate the increase of independent homesteads. Let us keep the plow in the hands of the owner. Every new home that is established, the independent possessor of which cultivates his own freehold, is establishing a new republic within the old and adding a new and a strong pillar to the edifice of the State."

A decade earlier Representative Julian, of the same State, was laying a basis in Congress for the reform which culminated in the Homestead Act:

"The friends of land reform claim no right to interfere with the laws of property of the several States or the vested rights of their citizens. They advocate no leveling policy designed to strip the rich of their possessions by any sudden act of legislation. They simply demand that in laying the foundations of empire in the yet unpeopled regions of the great West, Congress shall give its sanction to the natural right of the landless citizen of the country to a home upon its soil. The earth was designed by its Maker for the nourishment and support of man."

Congressman Julian was chairman of the Committee on the Public Lands when the homestead bill became law in 1862.

Our ancestors of three generations ago found the solution for their goal of independent working farmers, secure on the land, in the land-reform clauses of the Homestead Act, which gave away land in quarter sections, in fee simple, for $1.25 an acre. Today the march of mechanization and other economic forces have produced dependence and insecurity on the land for our generation. Stern necessity compels us to find our way to maintain independence and security among those who work the soil.

America Must Be Kept Worth Defending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. FREDERIC C. WALCOTT

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, as we intensify this country's defense efforts and step up our productive enterprises as we must and should, there be always the increased danger that short-sighted, hurried projects will do much to bring about permanent damage to the natural resources with which this country has been so richly blessed.

Frederic C. Walcott, president of the American Wildlife Institute, calls attention to some of these problems in a thought-provoking address recently delivered before the Maryland State Game and Fish Protective Association, and I respectfully suggest that all Members read this message which I am reprinting in the RECORD at this point.

Mr. President, distinguished guests, members of the Maryland State Game and Fish Protective Association, ladies, and gentlemen, at the specific request of your beloved president, Mr. J. Hammond Brown, I am to talk tonight about a subject very near to my heart—a subject of great importance to every American—the misuse of our important natural resources in times of emergency.

There is, perhaps, no group in the United States that could more aptly sponsor a talk on that vital subject than the Maryland State Game and Fish Protective Association. Your organization is the oldest of its kind in the country. It was formed in 1895, succeeding an organization that had come into being many years before that. The Maryland State Game and Fish Protective Association has existed through many periods of national emergency. Your group has lived through many of the growing pains of our Nation. You have survived through periods of economic stress that were a part of those growing pains. You have lived through two major wars. But, never during the 45 years since your organization came into being have the principles, the basic foundations upon which this Nation has grown, been so seriously threatened as at the present time.

To you, who have experienced the wanton squandering of our natural resources brought by other periods of national emergency, this is a reminder. To those who do not know from experience what irreparable damage can be inflicted on our basic natural resources by hysterical waste during times of stress, this is a warning. A warning not to carelessly undermine the foundations upon which our country is built—the Nation's natural resources.

To better understand what might happen today, let us consider what has happened in other days. In the matter of our land, our soil, for instance, let us turn back the calendar some 22 years to see how hysteria during a critical period helped create a cancerous growth in the very heart of our country from which we are not yet fully recovered. I refer, of course, to the damage done to our land by soil erosion—soil erosion, the eating away of the land which, with water and air, is the source of all sustenance.

Every schoolboy knows, of course, that when the first settlers came to this brave New World they found a land of unsurpassed natural wealth. Dense forests and lush prairies stretched almost the entire length and breadth of this country. Almost everywhere the soil lay deep and fertile. Wherever the settlers went they turned the rich earth for a living. Their plows turned the virgin sod, their axes cleared the mantle of protective trees and undergrowth. Truly it may be said that our forefathers built this country as much upon its basic natural resources as upon their firm determination to create a new nation where all might live in equality, justice, and freedom.

As the pioneers moved westward their cultivation of the soil exposed everwidening areas to wind and rain. Millions of acres once covered with fertile soil were stripped to sterile clay. The climax of this saga of despoliation of an indispensable source of our sustenance was reached during the last World War.

Nations in Europe were starving. The price of wheat mounted to unprecedented heights. Perhaps with the kindliest of motives—

to feed the starving peoples of Europe—or perhaps for purely mercenary reasons—to cash in on the high price of wheat—shortsighted, or misguided, individuals planted to wheat acres and acres of ground normally unfit to raise any kind of decent crop. By some strange quirk of nature these unfit lands did produce crops for a time; but at what a cost!

Stripped of the protective grasses that had held them together, these lands joined the millions of other acres that had been pulverized. So was the stage set for one of the greatest tragedies of modern times. Disastrous droughts turned the pulverized soil into fine sand, to be blown like the shifting dunes of the Sahara. Thus was born the Dust Bowl—a horrid sore in the body of what had once been the healthiest, strongest country the world has known. The cancerous growth drove thousands of fine American families from their homes, created a migratory class comparable to those that wander Europe and Asia in search of sustenance.

The ugly sore of erosion is still receiving expert medical attention, but it is still an ugly wound—a wound of war which might have been avoided, certainly would not have been so severe, had we not been so reckless of our lands in a time of stress.

Can that happen to our soil again? We are once more facing a national emergency; once again we may be called upon to feed a war-deprived world.

Today the reserve stocks in this country include 500,000,000 bushels of corn; 200,000,000 bushels of wheat; large reserves of many other foodstuffs and commodities—at least enough to take care of our own needs even in times of emergency. But we are told by some eminent humanitarians that many of the peoples of Europe are today facing starvation if we do not feed them. If the big heart of America feels impelled to feed the world, there is no telling where it will end, nor how much serious damage will again be done to our soil by unwise cultivation, if we do not guard against misuse of the land.

Let me say that I do not think any American would tolerate the starvation of any woman, child, or noncombatant—regardless of creed, race, or nationality—so long as we have a crust to share in our larder. That is not the American way. But, by the same token, we must save our basic resources—the very elements which make us an enormous bread basket for less fortunate countries—to be used in the future both for ourselves and the rest of the world. That principle, too, has become a part of the American way.

During the last great national emergency, the soil was not the only basic natural resource that was squandered. Our fish resources, for instance, suffered heavily. Canned fish provides a light, compact, and very nourishing source of food. Its consumption increased tremendously. Let us see just how this increased consumption, both before and after we entered the last war, affected our fish resources. Let us consider salmon, for instance. During the 5 years preceding the last World War, the Alaska salmon catch averaged about 5,000,000 cases a year. During 1917 and 1918 it jumped to 8,000,000 cases annually—an increase of 37 percent. The effects of such overfishing were felt in a steady 3-year decline, until in 1921 the catch was barely more than 3,500,000 cases a year.

During the same emergency period—that is, in 1917 and 1918—the catch of tuna rose 77 percent over the preceding 5 years. The California sardine is still feebly struggling to recover from the blow it received when wartime consumption jumped 1,130 percent over the normal 5 years preceding the last great national emergency.

Those are just a few of the statistics of the waste during the last period of national stress which is comparable to the days we now face.

There is, of course, another phase of the despoliation of our fish resources which does not readily lend itself to cold figures. I refer to the damage done by pollution—the poisoning of our waters.

In carrying out the preparedness program, which preceded our entrance into the last World War, and during that war itself, thousands of factories were erected along once fine, clean bodies of water, which furnished either water power or easy disposition of waste, sometimes both. These factories poured pollutants into the water, poisoning it to the point where no living thing could exist. Much of this pollution was unnecessary, even in times of grave emergency. One needs only to consider that thousands of new plants probably will be needed to carry out our present defense program to realize that we are again facing further despoliation of our waters by needless pollution.

I have conferred at great length with those whose primary interest in conservation centers around the preservation and wise use of our forest resources. These people are deeply alarmed—and rightfully so—if a certain instance on the Pacific coast is any indication of what lies in store.

This particular instance concerns the Olympic National Park, which is covered with virgin stands of spruce. This spruce is much in demand for certain activities in our national-defense preparations. The addition of new lands adjoining this park has already been authorized. These new lands also contain some spruce.

Needless to say, the price of spruce has risen sharply under the heavy demand and certain commercial interests, apparently seeking to cash in on the high market, are moving heaven and earth to obtain permission to cut in the new lands being added to the national park—in fact, would like to cut out the old area of the park. Those who are in close touch with the situation tell me there is no reason for cutting the timber in this national park and its new additions, excepting to cash in on the rising market. They tell me there is enough spruce for national-defense needs available elsewhere, but, nevertheless, those who seek to spoil this virgin timber in this forest sanctuary have gone so far in their efforts as to charge the Government department administering the affairs of the park with obstructing national defense.

Of course, this is a somewhat remote instance to the people of Maryland, as such, but it is indicative of what may be expected all over the country. And, even though the breadth of a continent separates Maryland from the Pacific coast, the problem there is one in which every American should be interested. I do not think the efforts to despoil the national park on the coast will be successful, but other attempts just as wasteful, just as selfish, may be, if we are not careful.

Those more conversant with our forestry problems than I, tell me that our every defense need can be met without overcutting, without unsound practices that will jeopardize our capital stock of timber. This, they say, can be accomplished by careful planning, which certainly should be done to protect our future supply of timber.

I realize, of course, that many of you are, as I am, vitally interested in our country's wildlife—its birds and animals. What of them? Just this. We have learned, through years of experience, that bird and animal life is so dependent upon proper use of our land, water, and forests that it cannot exist under abnormal conditions. It would be difficult to estimate the indirect damage done to wildlife by erosion, by pollution, by the indiscriminate hacking down of forests some 23 years ago. How much of the good done by the splendid wildlife restoration work of the past 15 or 20 years might be wiped out during the present emergency no man can say, but we do know that as the forests, waters, and land suffer, so will the wildlife that affords the recreation and sport which is so essential a part of our way of life.

We must remember, also, that in times of emergency, when we are prone to turn all our thoughts and energies to immediately pressing problems, there is an inclination to forget the long-haul battle that is always with us. I mean by that simply that we must guard against curtailment of the budgets necessary to carry on the work of preserving and restoring our natural resources. That, I know, is difficult at a time when money is so badly needed for the building of warships and tanks and air forces and all the component parts of a great military and naval organization that will one day make us defensively the strongest Nation in the world. But we must remember that the money to administer properly our fish and wildlife, our soil, and forest resources, is just as badly needed if we are to continue in the American way. A battleship or a plane or a tank will ultimately become obsolete. A forest or good soil or a useful bird never outlives its usefulness if it is properly used and administered.

It is not my intention to stress the importance of the wise use of minerals or oil. I have a very good reason for this omission. It is not that these valuable resources should not be wisely used. It is because man has always been able to work out a substitute for these resources when their supply was threatened. Very fine ersatz oil is now being made from coal or lignite. We need tin for our defense activities, and the regular sources of supply are none too dependable, for one reason or another. So, we are experimenting with a number of substitutes, and making arrangements for other—and more dependable—sources of supply. And so ingenious man devises substitutes for practically all mineral resources, but no scientist has yet been able to devise a workable substitute for soil or water. No man alive has yet managed to create an ersatz duck or quail or rabbit. No man has ever developed a substitute for a tree, which is one of our most valuable growing natural resources. Once we waste these precious necessities they are gone beyond the power of scientific substitution.

And so you have, briefly, a picture of what may happen at any time in the immediate future; but painting a black picture such as that is not constructive. So let us see if we can devise some means of safeguarding our resources during this critical period. Let us see if we cannot get by without mortgaging our future.

I can suggest only one plan which is big enough, comprehensive enough, and effective enough to safeguard our resources at this time. It is this: We have a National Defense Advisory Commission, which advises those charged with administering our defense program how the needs of that program can best be met. I suggest a similar commission to advise in the defense administration of our natural resources. I suggest a national advisory board for conservation, appointed by the President, to advise how our natural resources can be used for defense needs without imperiling the future supply.

Such a conservation board would, for instance, pass on the matter of cutting the virgin timber in the national park which I mentioned a few moments ago. The conservation board would find out whether it was necessary to cut that particular supply of spruce to meet defense needs, and so advise those in charge of its administration. If the conservation board, after careful study, advised that the demand for spruce could be met without cutting in that particular national park, it would have to show where else the essential wood could be obtained without inflicting lasting damage to the resource. If the conservation board found it was necessary to cut that particular spruce, they would be the highest advisory authority.

Through such an advisory board our natural resources could be wisely administered, no matter how great the national emergency.

In closing, let us remember that we, as good sportsmen, good conservationists, and even better Americans, want our country to have a national-defense system so strong that no nation, or group of nations, will dare attack. We wish Uncle Sam to stand as a bulwark of strength in a world gone berserk; but we also wish to safeguard the very things that have made us a nation capable of such defense. Let us spare no effort to make our Nation impregnable; let no sacrifice be too great to achieve national defense; but let us keep America a land worth defending.

Military Command of First Army and Eastern Corps Area Outstanding in Point of Efficiency and Accomplishment—Lieutenant General Drum and Brigadier General Phillipson are Military Leaders of First Rank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS D. CULKIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

Mr. CULKIN. Mr. Speaker, the American high command of the land forces was plunged almost overnight into the colossal business of equipping, feeding, and turning into trained soldiers hundreds of thousands of young Americans. It will be comforting to the public to know that the Army leadership is, from every angle, doing a splendid job. During the years that have gone by the General Staff has preserved the democratic tradition of a small, compact, and efficient land force. During this period the War Department was most modest in its demands of Congress for appropriations. However, during this time the high command was establishing standards of efficiency, fitness, and high qualifications for the field officers who, when the time came, would have to take on the tremendous duty of increasing the land forces to a sufficient degree to meet the menace of danger from outside. The ease and efficiency with which the present expansion is being accomplished entitles the farseeing and patriotic military leaders and field officers who planned this development to the grateful thanks of the country.

My congressional district is located in the Second Corps Area and I have seen at close range the high efficiency with which the great responsibility of organization and training has been carried forward.

In the past the First Army for the most part was quartered quietly in a filing cabinet "where it won many battles on paper." Today the First Army is a living reality and stretches from Maine to the Carolinas.

Lt. Gen. Hugh A. Drum is now in command of the First Field Army. Lieutenant General Drum's name rarely appears in the press, and that is how he wants it. In the records of the World War, and notably in General Pershing's book, he receives more than honorable mention, and it is of record that General Drum, as chief of staff of a division, took the green troops of which it was composed and made them a match for the German veterans. General Drum is an expert in military science and has a full appreciation of the demands of modern warfare. Under his leadership our soldiers are being trained to the highest degree of mental, physical, and military efficiency. In due course they will be able to meet and repeal all phases of the "blitzkrieg," whether in the air or on the land.

Supplementing his efforts, Gen. Irving J. Phillipson commands the Second Corps Area of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. General Phillipson succeeded General Drum in this position. The colossal demands of expansion, quartermaster, ordnance, and organization work now pass over General Phillipson's desk. There is no longer an overlapping of effort. As Chief of Staff of the Eastern Corps Area, General Phillipson won his spurs and brilliantly supplemented and put into effect the program laid down by General Drum. The teamwork of these splendid officers is perfect. Assuming that the work of Generals Drum and Phillipson is being duplicated in the other corps areas, the American people may be sure that within a short time the continental United States, and, indeed, all the Americas, will be immune from successful attack.

Pursuant to the permission of the House, I append hereto an article that appeared in the Watertown Daily Times of December 6, 1940. The writer of the article was obviously impressed with the teamwork, outstanding ability, and official accomplishments of General Drum and General Phillipson.

The article follows:

[From the Watertown (N. Y.) Daily Times of December 6, 1940]

GOOD TEAMWORK BY TWO GENERALS—CHANGES ARE APPARENT ON GOVERNORS ISLAND—DRUM AND PHILLIPSON CITED—WRITER FINDS THAT TWO OFFICERS ARE BUILDING AN EFFICIENT MACHINE—EFFECTS OF EUROPE'S WAR EVIDENT

NEW YORK, December 6.—William Brennan, staff writer of the New York World-Telegram, wrote the following article for his paper, which appeared in Wednesday's edition:

"There was a time, before the Nazis' love for soil, oil, and turmoil got past the stale fumes of a Munich beer hall, when the commander of Fort Jay and many of his men doubled in brass. This was the era of comfortable theory and the Sunday polo on Governors Island was good. It was peacetime.

"The Second Corps Area was commanded by the same general who headed the First Army. They all lived together on the island. The First Army, for the most part, was quartered quietly in a file cabinet, where it won many battles on paper. It was still peacetime.

"That has all changed now. The borders of Europe are shifting like a sand dune. And Governors Island, although still headquarters for both the First Army and the Second Corps, is changing every day.

"About the most important transition in the fort during recent times is a personnel subject. There are two generals there now. Lt. Gen. Hugh A. Drum now commands probably the most important military group in the United States. It's the First Army, and it's not on paper any more. It stretches from Maine to the Carolinas. Brig. Gen. Irving J. Phillipson commands the Second Corps Area of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. He succeeded General Drum in this post. The two coordinate, but no longer overlap. The teamwork between the two is now that of an efficient, prepared machine.

"General Phillipson, a medium statured man, is a graduate of the Military Academy, class of '04. His face gives quick, live responses to conversation.

"'In the past,' the general recalled, 'the commander of the First Army was also the Second Corps Area chief and the functions of the two were so interlocking that when the field forces had to move for maneuvers it was necessary to improvise a temporary Second Corps.'

"General Phillipson explained that now it is possible for the First Army to operate in the field without delay. He said that organizing a First Army for this past summer's maneuvers near the St. Lawrence River required 8 months' preparation.

"And getting right down to what the new system on the island means to the enlisted man: When the Sixteenth Infantry Regiment moves out to maneuver with the First Army about 200 of them aren't left behind any more to make up the Second Corps. General Drum has his First Army and General Phillipson administers his Corps Area with his own men now. The Army is growing up fast."

California Firemen Adopt Splendid Resolutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HINSHAW

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 28, 1940

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted on November 28 to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I am happy to present to the Congress, and other readers of the RECORD, a letter addressed to me on November 29, 1940, by Mr. H. E. Strasser, secretary-treasurer of the California State Firemen's Association, and two resolutions that were unanimously adopted by that organization in annual convention assembled. The letter is as follows:

CALIFORNIA STATE FIREMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
Long Beach, Calif., November 29, 1940.

The Honorable CARL HINSHAW,
Congressman, Eleventh District, California.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Knowing you are vitally interested in the welfare of our country at all times, and especially at the present time, due to the existing conditions throughout the world, which requires the necessity of every precaution being taken for the protection of the United States, am enclosing for your information and consideration copy of Resolutions Nos. 11 and 12, adopted at the eighteenth annual convention of the California State Firemen's Association in Santa Rosa, Calif., on September 26, 1940, and we sincerely hope both resolutions will be favored with your support and cooperation for their national adoption.

Respectfully yours,

CALIFORNIA STATE FIREMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
By H. E. STRASSER, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

Mr. Speaker, the following are the two resolutions transmitted by Mr. Strasser:

Resolution No. 11—Resolution urging citizenship or deportation

Whereas the present Federal Statutes permit an alien to reside indefinitely in the United States without applying for citizenship papers; and

Whereas the present defensive programs of our National and State Governments are being hampered by "fifth column" activities, carried on, in the main, by subversive groups having as members and leaders those not only alien in thought and actions but actually citizens of other countries; and

Whereas such aliens are allowed to obtain positions of affluence and influence in this country and by their position of leadership are able to teach doctrines inimical to the best interests of the United States; and

Whereas such traitorous activities of those who are opposed to our form of government are a menace to the life and property of stable citizens of every community within the boundaries of the United States; and

Whereas we, as members of the fire service, are imbued with a love of country, respect of citizenship, and a desire to provide protection in case of danger or emergency: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the members of the California State Firemen's Association, in convention assembled, September 23 to 26, inclusive, of the year 1940, That we urge adoption of amendments to the present Federal laws that would make mandatory the deportation or expulsion of any alien from the United States of America when such alien does not avail himself or herself of the rights of citizenship, both for first and final papers, after having resided within the boundaries of the country the specified time; and be it further

Resolved, That the legislative committee be instructed to contact the successful candidates for United States Senator and United States Representatives from the different districts of the State of California immediately after the November election, provide them with a copy of this resolution, and urge their presenting and supporting the necessary legislation to carry out the intent and purpose of the above paragraph.

Unanimously carried.

Resolution No. 12—A resolution pertaining to conservation of natural resources

Whereas the number of brush, timber, and mountain fires is increasing each year with a resulting increase in the destruction of timber, scenery, flowers, wildlife, natural resources, and human life, as well as the ruination of watersheds and the creation of greater soil erosion plus the great expense and danger of extinguishing such fires; and

Whereas this matter is of such great importance not only to the fire service but is a matter of great concern to every citizen of the United States; and

Whereas the possibility is ever present that in case of war an attempt will be made on the part of the enemy to cause forest fires; and

Whereas the topography of the State of California would be conducive to the success of such subversive efforts; and

Whereas the United States Forest Service is charged with the administration and protection of 175,000,000 acres of land capable of producing perpetual supplies of timber and water; and

Whereas there are unlimited funds available to the United States Forest Service for the extinguishing of such fires but the funds available for fire prevention, education, etc., are extremely limited: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the delegates assembled at the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the California State Firemen's Association in San Jose, Calif., September 23 to 26, inclusive, 1940, That the Congress of the United States appropriate sufficient funds for the United States Forestry Service so that the forests of the United States and the natural resources of the country may be protected and preserved by the adoption of the following program:

1. The creation of a Federal Fire Prevention Bureau.

2. This Bureau to be supervised by the Federal, State, and county forestry departments jointly in their respective areas.

3. The Bureau to create a national film library of the following films:

A. Thirty-five-millimeter shorts for use in regular theater.

B. Sixteen-millimeter shorts for use in local fire departments to be shown in the local theaters, schools, service and patriotic organizations. All films to rotate throughout the several States.

4. Speakers schooled in fire prevention and public relations to be available the same as films.

5. Speeches and similar printed material made available for local speakers that represent the local fire departments.

6. Suitable window and car posters and displays.

7. Warning signs, such as no smoking, campfire warnings, etc., made available for distribution and posting by local fire departments and others; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the separate Senators and Members of Congress who represent the State of California in the United States Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That every Member of the United States Congress from the State of California be urged to support and initiate such legislation necessary to accomplish the purpose of this resolution; and be it further

Resolved, That the legislative committee of the California State Firemen's Association be instructed to obtain the services of some Member of the United States Congress so that the necessary bill or bills will be presented to the Congress of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the California State Council of Defense appointed by the Governor of the State of California.

Unanimously carried.

Mr. Speaker, I have presented this letter and these resolutions not only for the purpose of informing the Members of their contents, but also to illustrate the fact that the people of the United States are giving very careful thought to some of our most pressing problems. The advice herein given is sound and should be followed by us as nearly as may be possible.

Water Power—An Engine of Democracy

REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RANKIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, for more than 7 years I have been telling the American people that there is enough hydroelectric power in our navigable streams and their tributaries to electrify every home in America, including every farm home, together with every commercial establishment, and then have enough left to operate the industries of the Nation.

That statement has been questioned from time to time by the enemies of public power, by the enemies of the T. V. A., by the enemies of rural electrification, and by other propagandists for the private power companies throughout the country and for the vast and useless holding companies that control them.

Under permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am going to insert an address delivered by the Honorable John W. Scott, a member of the Federal Power Commission, in which he points out that the total installed capacity of water-power plants in the United States during the year 1937 was 10,474,000 kilowatts, and that the energy output that year totaled 43,702,000,000 kilowatt-hours. He goes on to say that even at the present time less than 20 percent of the water-power resources of the United States has been developed for power purposes. He says it is estimated that the feasible undeveloped water-power sites existing in this country have five times the capacity now used, or a possible production of 273,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours a year—which is considerably more than twice the amount of electricity used for all purposes in the United States during the year 1939 or the year 1940.

By developing our vast water-power resources in every section of the country, and distributing the electricity produced to the ultimate consumers at rates based upon the cost of generation, transmission, and distribution, we can make this the richest, the most powerful, the most prosperous, and the most contented nation on the face of the earth.

I hope every one of you will read Mr. Scott's able address, which I am inserting at this point.

The matter referred to follows:

ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE STUDENTS AND FACULTY OF THE LAW SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, N. C., DECEMBER 12, 1940, BY HON. JOHN W. SCOTT, MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

Dean Van Hecke, members of the faculty, and law students of the University of North Carolina, you have a great educational institution here at Chapel Hill—a truly fine school that numbers among its illustrious sons and daughters leaders in every walk of life residing in many sections of the Nation. It is a great pleasure to be with you today and to have this opportunity to discuss some of the functions of the Federal Power Commission.

Time, of course, will not permit an exhaustive analysis and discussion of the manifold activities of our Commission. At best, I can but sketch in brief outline and in nontechnical language a few of the important functions of our agency, and trust that my remarks may kindle an interest in the minds of some of my listeners to explore more deeply into the economic, social, and legal problems lying within the ambit of our regulatory field.

At the outset, and before taking up the main theme of my discussion, I should like to remark that out of the boiling cauldron of rhetoric concerning the Walter-Logan bill come charges that the administrative agencies and commissions of the Federal Government are bureaucratic boards that have "forced upon the American system of government a series of arbitrary procedures that deny the citizen a fair hearing." Prominent but unfriendly columnists broadcast throughout the land accusations to the effect that these agencies are establishing an authoritarian type of government in Washington patterned after the conception of courts under German nazi-ism and Russian communism. It would appear, therefore, that the time has arrived when we should lift the veil of blasphemy and epithet and examine the reasons for the establishment of these agencies. Time will permit neither a technical discussion of administrative law nor a consideration of the provisions of the Walter-Logan bill recently advocated as a requirement to curb the Federal agencies. However, it is most unfortunate that the public has been given a biased and unfair presentation by these writers. In most instances they have utterly failed to present the real facts concerning the complex problems dealt with by the many well-organized and properly conducted agencies and commissions; they are silent about objectives sought to be attained by regulation and the techniques necessarily required to make such regulation effective. What is even worse, these same writers have left their readers in complete darkness concerning the effect the provisions of the Walter-Logan bill may have upon the public interest. Not one of them has told what most competent experts believe, that this measure will strangle effective regulation and cause innumerable delays in the administrative process.

Why Federal regulation? Why a Federal Power Commission?

A quarter of a century ago the distinguished corporation lawyer, Elihu Root, perhaps the ablest president of the American Bar Association, pointed out in his presidential address to that organization, in discussing the development of administrative law and the establishment of regulatory commissions, that—

"There is one special field of law development which has manifestly become inevitable. We are entering upon the creation of a body of administrative law quite different in its machinery, its remedies, and its necessary safeguards from the old methods of regulation by specific statutes enforced by the courts. * * * There will be no withdrawal from these experiments. * * * We shall go on; we shall expand them, whether we approve theoretically or not, because such agencies furnish protection to rights and obstacles to wrongdoing which under our new social and industrial conditions cannot be practically accomplished by the old and simple procedure of legislatures and courts as in the last generation."

Since this utterance of Elihu Root the problems of regulation have become more complex and technical. Our society has become highly industrialized, interdependent, and most involved. Millions of Americans daily require the many public-utility services, such as telephone, telegraph, railroad, gas, and electricity. No one today would suggest for a moment that we lay aside the advantages of these abundant services that daily enrich our lives. However, by reason of the immense aggregations of capital represented by utilities and the tremendous power and influence such capital naturally commands, the individual citizen and consumer is at a great—in fact, an insurmountable—disadvantage in dealing with them alone. It is, therefore, a plain duty of his Government to see that adequate service is available at a fair price. Moreover, where private capital is unwilling or unable to make these services generally available, it is the responsibility of a government concerned with the welfare of its people to satisfy the need directly.

The business of companies rendering these services becomes "affected with a public interest"; it cannot be permitted to operate without regulation and definite control. Lack of regulation would permit monopolies to run rampant and consumers of the essential utility services would be charged exorbitant rates. It is obvious, therefore, that the answers to my questions are found in the realistic determination of the people to assure adequate protection of the public interest.

It is interesting to note that the regulation of business is not as modern as some persons would have us believe. It can be traced as far back as the famous code of the great lawgiver Hammurabi, who lived about 2100 B. C. Regulation of many things was resorted to in the Middle Ages. After the great plague of London, 1664–65, the maximum price of labor, for instance, was fixed for a period of time. It was Lord Chief Justice Hale who, over 200 years ago, coined the phrase "affected with a public interest" so often referred to by the Supreme Court of the United States in determining whether businesses are legally subject to regulation. Chief Justice Waite, in *Munn* v. *Illinois* (1876), borrowing that phrase, stated that businesses affected with a public interest had ceased to be juris privati only and, further, "it has been customary in England from time immemorial, and in this country from its first colonization to regulate ferries, common carriers, hackmen, bakers, millers, * * * innkeepers, and so forth," and fix maximum charges.

The Federal Power Commission was created by the Federal Water Power Act of June 10, 1920, and originally consisted of the Secretaries of War, Agriculture, and the Interior. Later, I shall discuss more fully various provisions of this act.

In 1930 the Commission was given the status of an independent agency, composed of five members appointed by the President. By Title II of the Public Utility Act of 1935, the name of the Federal Water Power Act was changed to the Federal Power Act, and, in addition to retaining all the jurisdiction under the former, broad regulatory powers over electric utilities which own or operate facilities for the transmission or sale of electricity in interstate commerce were conferred upon the Commission. The functions of the Commission were further extended by the Natural Gas Act of 1938. That act authorizes the Commission to exercise broad regulatory powers over natural-gas companies engaged in the transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce and in the sale in interstate commerce of natural gas for resale. The Tennessee Valley Authority Act, as amended, the Bonneville Act, the Fort Peck Act, and the Flood Control Act of 1938 are other acts which impose duties and confer authority on our Commission.

Under the Tennessee Valley Authority Act that Authority may not issue bonds for the purpose of raising funds with which to extend financial assistance to public agencies for the acquisition of distribution facilities or interconnecting transmission lines unless the proposed contract between the Authority and the public agency is approved by the Commission. Under the Bonneville and Fort Peck Acts the Commission is required to make allocation of the costs of the respective projects for the purpose of determining the proportion of the total cost properly attributable to power development. No schedule of rates or charges for those projects can become effective until the Commission has confirmed and approved the schedule. The administrators of both projects are required to keep accounts in accordance with whatever requirements the Commission may impose.

Under the Flood Control Act of 1938, it is provided "that penstocks or other similar facilities adapted to possible future use in the development of hydroelectric power shall be installed in any dam herein authorized when approved by the Secretary of War upon the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers and of the Federal Power Commission." This act initiated a new policy with respect to the determination of the feasibility of development of hydroelectric power at Federal dam and reservoir projects constructed primarily for flood-control purposes. Under this act the Federal Power Commission has a great responsibility concerning the future development of power at flood-control projects.

In the carrying out of our many activities we have borrowed from the principles of preventive medicine and public-health work and are trying innovations which have as their purpose a speeding up of the regulatory process. Great stress is being laid upon preventing abuses rather than correcting them after they have occurred.

A few years ago the Federal Trade Commission admirably exposed unsavory and even vicious inflationary practices among the utility companies. The studies of that Commission disclosed hundreds of millions of dollars of inflation in capital structure, both in securities and plant investment. The Federal Power Commission is now engaged in a serious endeavor under the authority delegated to it by the Congress to correct these abuses. One of the important steps in this direction was the prescribing by our Commission and by some 27 State commissions of a uniform system of accounts which requires electric utilities to record their properties at the original cost thereof. All amounts other than original cost are required to be segregated and earmarked in separate accounts for disposition as the Commission may later determine. It is intended that this system of accounts will insure accuracy of the records on the new basis.

For many years electric and gas utilities have followed haphazard and diverse methods of setting up depreciation reserves. Corrective measures in this field are under way, in that depreciation accounting is now prescribed for electric utilities. Another corrective measure in the electric field is the regulation of securities. When watered securities have been issued, it is too much to expect adequate service to be rendered at reasonable rates. The preventive measure, therefore, is to require Commission approval before securities are issued and genuine supervision in this field will accomplish much. In addition, approval of purchases and sales of utility properties, plus the control of price, and accounting therefor are other preventive measures.

An important example of regulation by the informatory process, is the requirement of comprehensive reports and the publishing of worth-while statistics. (See statement by Chief Justice Hughes in *Electric Bond & Share Co.* v. *S. & E. Com.*, 303 U. S. 419, 437.) Anyone who has the desire or interest to investigate these data may obtain important information concerning the business operations of the utility and likewise be able to determine in some degree the effectiveness of regulation. These are but some of the things that are being pursued by our agency in an effort to prevent abuses.

Time will not permit a more extended discussion of these interesting activities and the effect thereof upon company operations and consumer costs for essential utility services. I must hasten on.

At this point I should like to direct your attention to a consideration of the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, now part I of the Federal Power Act. This act and the provisions of the Flood Control Act of 1938 are essentially conservation measures. They are designed in connection with protecting the navigable capacity to obtain maximum economic development and benefits by harnessing the waters in streams under Federal control, and thereby make available to the people of the Nation cheap electric energy.

Historically the Federal Water Power Act was a result of constant agitation for many years on the part of far-sighted individuals and legislators for the conservation of the water resources of our country for the use and benefit of all the people.

Conservation of our natural resources was first born in the hearts and brains of those who placed the public good first. When Theodore Roosevelt called the conference of Governors at the White House in 1908 he stated that the meeting was "called to consider the weightiest problem now before the Nation. * * * The natural resources of our country are in danger of exhaustion if we permit the old, wasteful methods of exploiting them longer to continue." It was realized at that time that our great forests were

being rapidly denuded, soils impoverished, and our magnificent streams polluted. Concern was felt about the possible exhaustion of our supplies of coal and oil. Our one inexhaustible source of fuel and energy—water power—was then receiving more than covetous glances from those who sought its monopoly.

Gifford Pinchot, former Governor of Pennsylvania and former head of our Forest Service, has stated that the "struggle for control of water power began when the United States Forest Service, first among Government organizations, undertook to control and direct the private development of water power within its jurisdiction—that is, on streams in the national forests." Pinchot has made the further significant observation that before that fight began "the electric-power interests were all for Federal control—because there wasn't any. Now these same interests are all for State control—because for nearly all practical purposes there isn't any."

It was the early practice to secure special authorization from Congress for the development of power sites on streams under Federal jurisdiction. This, however, was abruptly halted by the conservationists under the leadership of Pinchot and Theodore Roosevelt. On January 15, 1909, just before his retirement from office, the latter, in vetoing the James River bill, made this significant statement:

"The great corporations are acting with foresight, singleness of purpose, and vigor to control the water powers of the country. They pay no attention to State boundaries and are not interested in the constitutional law affecting navigable streams except as it affords what has been aptly called a 'twilight zone' from any regulation."

And the then President concluded his message:

"I esteem it my duty to use every endeavor to prevent the growing monopoly, the most threatening which has ever appeared, from being fastened upon the people of this Nation."

The fight was on. Tremendous pressure was brought to bear upon Congress by the power companies. Of the struggle one writer relates:

"It is the old story. When clever legal representatives of rich corporations could fashion their arguments to play upon those prejudices of legislators built upon theories of state sovereignty or of laissez faire they were all but invincible."

The conflict in Congress was prolonged and extremely bitter. The conservationists never waivered in their support of strong Federal control of the development of the Nation's vast water resources. To them credit should be given for the passage of the Federal Water Power Act of 1920 which is essentially a conservation measure.

This act created the Federal Power Commission and gave it authority to license for not more than 50 years water-power developments located on lands of the United States and waters subject to Federal control. It recognized such hydroelectric development to be essentially a public business that might be entrusted to private enterprise to the extent it served the predominant public interest in the development of the Nation's water resources in an orderly and comprehensive manner in harmony with the best interests of the public.

The act provides for the right of the United States to take over projects at the end of the license period. The Government may exercise this right of recapture only upon the condition that before taking possession it shall pay the net investment of the licensee in the project or projects taken, not to exceed the fair value of the property. Provision is made for Commission supervision over the accounting of the licensee and for the regulation of services and rates in the absence of any such State regulation. Inflation of project costs through valuations placed on goodwill, going value, prospective revenues, or on water rights and lands in excess of the actual reasonable cost of such properties at the time of acquisition is prohibited.

In issuing preliminary permits or licenses for water-power developments, the Commission is required by the act to give preference to applications of States and municipalities. Whenever the development of any project should, in the judgment of the Commission, be undertaken by the United States, itself, the Commission is directed, after investigation, to submit its findings to Congress with recommendations for construction of the project.

Let us direct our attention to a consideration of the scope of the Commission's licensing jurisdiction. The authority delegated under the act rests ultimately upon the right of Congress (1) to require its consent before anyone may occupy power sites located on lands of the United States, and (2) to require its consent for the use of waters subject to Federal control under the interstate-commerce clause of the Constitution.

What is the nature and extent of the Commission's jurisdiction when no public lands are involved and when constitutional authority must rest solely on the commerce clause?

The interstate-commerce clause—article I, section 8, clause 3, of the Constitution—provides:

"The Congress shall have power * * * to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

Undoubtedly the authors of this clause contemplated that the Federal Government would have authority to prevent the States from interfering with the freedom of commercial intercourse between themselves or with foreign nations. The clause itself, however, contains no such limitation. It contains an express grant of power to Congress to regulate commerce.

Chief Justice Marshall, in the early case of *Gibbons* v. *Ogden* (1824) (9 Wheat. 1), decided that commerce under the Constitution comprehended navigation, and that "a power to regulate navigation is as expressly granted as if that term had been added to the word 'commerce.'" It followed therefrom that Congress might regulate the navigable waterways as highways of interstate commerce.

Congress has declared in the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, as amended, that it shall be unlawful to construct and operate a hydroelectric development "across, along, or in any of the navigable waters of the United States" without a license issued by our Commission.

What are "navigable waters of the United States"? Two tests were enunciated by the Supreme Court in the early case of *The Daniel Ball* (1871) (10 Wall. 557, 563):

(1) Navigability in fact: Irrespective of whether they are waters of a State or of the United States, in the language of Mr. Justice Field:

"Those rivers must be regarded as public navigable rivers in law which are navigable in fact. And they are navigable in fact when they are used, or are susceptible of being used, in their ordinary condition as highways for commerce, over which trade and travel are or may be conducted in the customary modes of trade and travel on water * * *."

(2) Interstate in character: The Court continued:

"* * * they constitute navigable waters of the United States within the meaning of the acts of Congress, in contradistinction from the navigable waters of the States, when they form in their ordinary condition by themselves, or by uniting with other waters, a continued highway over which commerce is or may be carried on with other States or foreign countries in the customary modes in which such commerce is conducted by water."

Later, the Supreme Court, in *The Montello Case* (1874) (20 Wall. 430, 442–443), though noting that there had been rapids and falls with carrying places, disapproved the lower court ruling that the Fox River in Wisconsin was not navigable before it was improved, on the ground there were obstructions to unbroken navigation, and said that such tests of navigability cannot be adopted:

"* * * for it would exclude many of the great rivers of the country which were so interrupted by rapids as to require artificial means to enable them to be navigated without break. Indeed, there are but few of our fresh-water rivers which did not originally present serious obstructions to an uninterrupted navigation. In some cases, like the Fox River, they may be so great while they last as to prevent the use of the best instrumentalities for carrying on commerce, but the vital and essential point is whether the natural navigation of the river is such that it affords a channel for useful commerce. If this be so, the river is navigable in fact, although its navigation may be encompassed with difficulties by reason of natural barriers, such as rapids and sand bars."

Citing with approval the test laid down by the Court in these early cases, the Supreme Court, in the case of *Economy Light & Power Co.* v. *United States* (1921) (256 U. S. 94, 121–122, 124), stated:

"Navigability, in the sense of the law, is not destroyed because the watercourse is interrupted by occasional natural obstructions or portages; nor need the navigation be open at all seasons of the year, or at all stages of the water."

In this case it was contended that the Desplaines River in Illinois had lost its character as a navigable stream, but the Court, speaking through Mr. Justice Pitney, said:

"The Desplaines River, after being of practical service as a highway of commerce for a century and a half, fell into disuse, partly through changes in the course of trade or methods of navigation, or changes in its own condition, partly as the result of artificial obstructions. In consequence, it has been out of use for a hundred years; but a hundred years is a brief space in the life of a nation; improvements in the methods of water transportation or increased cost in other methods of transportation may restore the usefulness of this stream; since it is a natural interstate waterway, it is within the power of Congress to improve it at the public expense; and it is not difficult to believe that many other streams are in like condition and require only the exertion of Federal control to make them again important avenues of commerce among the States. If they are to be abandoned, it is for Congress, not the courts, so to declare * * *."

You may now ask whether the jurisdiction of the Federal Government under the commerce clause extends over only the navigable portions of the "navigable waters of the United States." In this regard your attention is invited to the River and Harbor Act of 1890. Congress therein prohibited "the creation of any obstruction, not affirmatively authorized by law, to the navigable capacity of any waters in respect of which the United States has jurisdiction." The Supreme Court, under this act, held, in *United States* v. *Rio Grande Dam and Irrigation Co.* (1899) (174 U. S. 690), that Congress could control the erection of structures in nonnavigable tributaries which might affect the navigability of the waters into which the tributaries flow.

It was in the light of pronouncements like the foregoing that Congress, in the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, defined for the first time "navigable waters" of the United States. Section 3 (8) of the act, as amended, provides:

"'Navigable waters' means those parts of streams or other bodies of water over which Congress has jurisdiction under its authority to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and which, either in their natural or improved condition, notwithstanding interruptions between the navigable parts of such streams or waters by falls, shallows, or rapids compelling land carriage, are used or suitable for use for the transportation of persons or property in interstate or foreign commerce, including therein all such interrupting falls, shallows, or rapids, together with such other parts of streams as shall have been authorized by Congress for improvement by the United States or shall have been recommended

to Congress for such improvement after investigation under its authority."

In thus precisely enumerating certain relevant factors establishing navigability, Congress has indicated one class of streams where license is required.

Achievement of an orderly development of our water resources would appear to require exercise of Federal authority over projects located upon nonnavigable reaches or tributaries of streams wherein such construction and operation will affect the downstream navigable capacity of any river. Otherwise, the benefits accruing from developments under license on the lower waters, in many instances, could be destroyed through the construction and operation of upstream projects; the comprehensive development of a river basin for the maximum possible benefit to the public of the water resources of the region might be thwarted; and navigation in the lower reaches seriously impaired.

In this regard, attention is invited to the authority and responsibility of the Commission under section 4 (a) of the act, as amended:

"To make investigations and to collect and record data concerning the utilization of the water resources of any region to be developed, the water-power industry and its relation to other industries and to interstate or foreign commerce, and concerning the location, capacity, development costs, and relation to markets of power sites, and whether the power from Government dams can be advantageously used by the United States for its public purposes, and what is a fair value of such power, to the extent the Commission may deem necessary or useful for the purposes of this act."

And section 10 (a), as amended, stating that all licenses issued under this part shall be on the following conditions:

"That the project adopted, including the maps, plans, and specifications, shall be such as in the judgment of the Commission will be best adapted to a comprehensive plan for improving or developing a waterway or waterways for the use or benefit of interstate or foreign commerce, for the improvement and utilization of water-power development, and for other beneficial public uses, including recreational purposes; and if necessary in order to secure such plan the Commission shall have authority to require the modification of any project and of the plans and specifications of the project works before approval."

Congress has here, with regard to proposed water-power projects to be licensed and regions to be developed, expressed very broad objectives for attainment. To meet these requires a comprehensive study of the entire river basin. This, obviously, is essential to make certain that a proposed development will not only conserve and utilize to the fullest possible extent the power resources of a particular site, but also will be an integral part of a comprehensive plan to conserve and utilize in the public interest all the water resources of the entire river basin. Licensing authority over merely the developments on navigable waters, defined as we have noted, would appear insufficient if the objectives expressed by Congress are to be attained.

Congress has not so limited its grant of licensing authority. It has provided in section 23 (b) of the act as amended:

"Any person, association, corporation, State, or municipality intending to construct a dam or other project works across, along, over, or in any stream or part thereof, other than those defined herein as navigable waters, and over which Congress has jurisdiction under its authority to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States shall before such construction file declaration of such intention with the Commission, whereupon the Commission shall cause immediate investigation of such proposed construction to be made, and if upon investigation it shall find that the interests of interstate or foreign commerce would be affected by such proposed construction such person, association, corporation, State, or municipality shall not construct, maintain, or operate such dam or other project works until it shall have applied for and shall have received a license under the provisions of this act. If the Commission shall not so find, and if no public lands or reservations are affected, permission is hereby granted to construct such dam or other project works in such stream upon compliance with State laws."

Under this section of the act, the Commission performs a function of jurisdictional fact finding. For illustration, from your own State of North Carolina there was filed with the Commission, in June 1937, by Carolina Aluminum Co. a declaration of intention to construct a hydroelectric power development on the Yadkin River near Tuckertown, N. C., 79 miles upstream from Cheraw, S. C. This development was to be in addition to the five existing dams then located on the river between Salisbury and Cheraw.

What did we do in connection with this matter? An engineering investigation of the situation presented led us to set the matter down for public hearings, which were held on July 23 and September 13, 1937. Among those participating in the hearings in addition to members of our staff were representatives of the declarant, the attorney general and assistant attorney general of your State, the chief engineer of the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, and the attorney general of the State of South Carolina. After completion of hearings briefs were filed and thereafter a report was submitted to the Commission by its trial examiner.

Upon consideration of the facts developed at these hearings concerning the proposed project and the effect of its operations, the Commission, on November 16, 1937, adopted an opinion concluding that the proposed Tuckertown project would cause serious fluctuations in the state of the Pee Dee River from Cheraw downstream, that such fluctuations in stage would alter and modify the conditions and capacity of the navigable channel of the Pee Dee River, and found that the proposed construction would affect the interests of interstate or foreign commerce.

The Commission's action obviously did not deny the company the privilege of constructing the dam. We merely performed the function of fact finding delegated to us by Congress under the act. If, upon our action, the licensing provisions of the act became operative, then upon compliance with these provisions the construction of the company's dam could have gone forward.

Notwithstanding our action, certain newspapers in your State exclaimed that we had held that the river was navigable at the proposed site, and that "the Federal Power Commission denied the company the right * * * to enlarge its business in North Carolina." In the light of Commission action, these statements are obviously untrue. The company at no time sought a license to build a dam, as the act requires, and the Commission did nothing to deny the company the right to build.

It is interesting to note that of the 158 declarations of intention filed with the Commission since its creation in 1920, it has found in approximately half of them that the construction proposed did not affect the interests of interstate or foreign commerce.

The constitutionality of the act has not been directly passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States. There is, however, pending in that Court the Appalachian Electric Power Co. case which may determine the constitutionality and validity of the act.

In rationalizing the constitutional problem we must be mindful of the fact that our ever-expanding society has increasing requirements for electric energy. The total installed capacity in water-power plants in the United States was 10,474,000 kilowatts on January 1, 1938, and the energy output therefrom during the calendar year 1937 totaled 43,702,000,000 kilowatt-hours. In fact, at the present time less than 20 percent of the water-power resources of the United States has been developed for power purposes. It is estimated that feasible undeveloped water-power sites exist in this country having 5 times the capacity now in use, with estimated annual energy output therefrom of 273,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours. This amount of undeveloped energy is in excess of over twice the total amount of electric energy generated and consumed in the United States in 1939. Its waste is the result of our national blindness. Its conservation and maximum utilization is essential to the progressive development of the Nation. As a willing servant it can be substituted in part for exhaustible fuels. It appears therefore that the development of the water resources of the country should be orderly, comprehensive, and for multiple purposes such as navigation, flood control, irrigation, recreation, and the generation of electricity.

Streams, river basins, and watersheds are unaware of State boundaries, and their proper development cannot be confined thereto. Rainfalls and snow blanket the slopes of our mountains without regard for State lines. These blessings of Nature are bestowed without regard for political subdivisions. The founding fathers worried little about flood control, yet today it has become a real problem requiring the construction of many control works and large projects to protect people and property located in cities built upon the flood plains of our streams. Electric energy was unheard of by those who wrote the Constitution. Its use for industrial and domestic purposes, so essential today, was not in contemplation or within the minds of those who wrote the commerce clause. Little did the men who fought at Guilford Courthouse, Yorktown, and Valley Forge dream that electric energy would some day be the most essential thing required in the production of armaments, weapons, ships, and airplanes needed for an adequate national defense. Yet the framers of the Constitution were conscious that they were preparing a document for the ages, not one adapted only for the exigencies of the time. It was Hamilton who stated (The Federalist, No. XXXII):

"* * * we must bear in mind that we are not to confine our view to the present period but to look forward to remote futurity, * * * Nothing, therefore, can be more fallacious than to infer the extent of any power proper to be lodged in the National Government from an estimate of its immediate necessities. There ought to be a capacity to provide for future contingencies as they may happen; and, as these are illimitable in their nature, it is impossible safely to limit that capacity."

The conservation and maximum utilization of the water resources of the Nation, and, in fact, the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, as amended, challenge our imagination to fashion a dynamic legal definition and interpretation of the commerce clause reasonably broad enough to permit the comprehensive development of our streams in the public interest. Today, when we hear so much talk about preserving democracy, we are afforded an opportunity to bring it about in part, at least, by demonstrating "a capacity to provide for future contingencies," emphasized by Hamilton, in determining the constitutionality of the Federal Water Power Act, as amended. Let this, then, be our lodestar.

Upholding the constitutionality of the act will result in harnessing the subtle magic of water power in America—a step forward upon the highway of civilization. For, in my opinion, the hand of destiny beckons to an awakening, virile citizenry cognizant of the potentialities of this energy source.

As has been so aptly stated by a great statesman of the past:

"Our ideals are like the stars. We will not succeed in touching them with our hands, but, like the seafaring man upon the desert of waters, we choose them as our guide, and, following them, reach our destiny."

A Tribute

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK E. HOOK

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

POEM BY ALEXANDER C. CORKUM

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and poem:

DECEMBER 11, 1940.

Hon. FRANK E. HOOK,
Member of Congress.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: In the interest of the World War Veterans of the United States merchant marine who are asking the Congress of the United States for its long overdue recognition, there is enclosed the following poem, written by Alexander C. Corkum, of 1452 Beacon Street, Waban, Mass., who served as a captain on board of one of the United States merchant marine vessels and took part in the naval burial of Seaman Atkinson.

Yours truly,

WORLD WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE,
NICHOLAS CEFALO,
Legislative Committee.

A TRIBUTE

To Seaman Atkinson, who fell in battle on U. S. Army transport *Amphion* on October 12, 1918, and was buried at Bermuda with naval honors:

Rest, brave sailor, rest!
Rest, for the conflict's done;
Peace is the need for a warrior's deed,
So rest, for that deed you've won.

You served 'neath our battle flag,
And fell in your country's cause;
But for services seen in the merchant marine
No credit's allowed by our laws.

You rest on a foreign isle,
But one that is ever green,
'Neath a flag that is flown where true valor is shown
By the men of the merchant marine.

—*Alexander C. Corkum.*

The Antispeculation Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KNUTE HILL

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

NEWS RELEASE OF BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, about 2 years ago in connection with the proposed development of the Columbia Basin under the Coulee Dam, the Congress enacted an antispeculation law to prevent owners and real-estate agents from defrauding prospective purchasers.

The law is definite and clear. But innocent land seekers now residing in the Middle West, East, and South are being induced to purchase land at prices above the value appraisal set by the Federal Government because they are not acquainted with the provisions of the law. I therefore ask unanimous consent to include in my extension of remarks a news release given out on December 2 by Hon. John C. Page, of the Bureau of Reclamation. It is essential to the best interests of all concerned—except the real-estate promoters—and also the Columbia Basin project itself that the real facts be disseminated as widely as possible.

[Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, December 2, 1940]

Taking cognizance of reports of misrepresentation, Commissioner John C. Page, Bureau of Reclamation, said today that no real-estate agent has any right to pretend that he represents the Government in connection with the sale of lands within the Columbia Basin irrigation project.

Mr. Page reported to Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes that a distressing number of letters had been received indicating that some people had been persuaded to purchase land in the State of Washington supposedly within or near the project area by salesmen who gave the impression that the Government was behind them.

"The Bureau of Reclamation has no land to sell for farming purposes in the area," Commissioner Page said. "No other agency of the Federal Government has any to sell. I fear that the object of any salesman in giving the impression that he represents the Government must be to take advantage of uninformed people.

"Anyone who is approached by any agent or landowner seeking to sell land within or near the Columbia Basin project area on the strength of the fact that the land may eventually be irrigated by the Government project would be acting wisely if he got in touch immediately with the Bureau of Reclamation at Coulee Dam, Wash., or at Washington, D. C., to find out whether the land actually is in the project area, whether it has been classified and appraised by the Government; and if so, when the impartial appraisal indicating the value of the tract will be available.

"I wish I could get the word to everybody that all the land which is to be irrigated by the Columbia Basin project is being appraised impartially by the Government, and that these appraisals will be made available free to those who inquire. There certainly is no reason for anyone to be in a hurry to buy land in the area if he intends to farm it by irrigation from the project, since the irrigation canals have not as yet been begun and cannot be ready for use in several years. It should be emphasized that some of the land in the area may remain without water for 20 years or more."

The land to be irrigated from the Grand Coulee Dam is owned chiefly by individuals, corporations, counties, and the State of Washington. Although prospective settlers must buy their land from such owners or from such agencies, if any, as may later be provided to acquire lands for resale to settlers as development progresses, they may be protected from speculative land prices by the Antispeculation Act, passed by both the Federal and State governments.

"Every owner, prospective purchaser, or individual interested in the land included in the Columbia Basin irrigation project should be thoroughly familiar with this Antispeculation Act," Commissioner Page continued.

The act is designed to protect settlers from speculative land prices and to provide opportunities for many farm homes by limiting land ownership to specified maximum areas.

The act limits ownership by a private individual to 40 irrigable acres of land, and by a man and wife to 80 irrigable acres; requires landowners to agree to sell holdings over this limit at a fair Government-appraised price; denies water to holdings over this limit, and to land over this limit sold for more than the fair Government-appraised price; requires fair, impartial appraisal of privately owned lands within the irrigable area at present-day market value, without reference to proposed irrigation works; and requires contracts with the irrigation districts for repayment of that part of the cost of the project allocated by the Secretary of the Interior to irrigation.

The act does not deprive any landowner of his rights to buy or sell freely at any price. That is the landowner's inherent right. However, unless the landowner contracts with the Government to comply with the provisions of the act, water cannot be supplied him.

The Columbia Basin project embraces an area of two and one-half million acres in eastern Washington, principally within Franklin, Adams, and Grant counties. Of this total area, about one-half, or 1,200,000 acres, is estimated to be irrigable, that is, suitable for irrigation farming.

The primary purpose of the land-classification survey is to insure that water is delivered only to those lands on which irrigation farming can succeed. In addition to the classification of land as irrigable or nonirrigable, however, the irrigable land is divided into three classes: In class 1 is included the best arable land, in class 2 those of intermediate or average value, and in class 3 the least desirable land for which it is proposed to provide a water supply.

Appraisals of the irrigable lands are based on the land's nonirrigated value—the earning power of the land—determined by its character and use, without reference to the prospect of irrigation. From less than $5 per acre, in the case of raw desert land, appraised values range to more than $30 for the better, improved wheatlands.

To date, more than 1,593,457 acres of land have been classified and more than 1,121,861 acres have been appraised. Appraisals and surveys of the entire project area are expected to be completed by January 1, 1941. Information about these classifications can be obtained from the Bureau of Reclamation, Coulee Dam, Wash.

Although provisions of the Antispeculation Act will not become operative until contracts have been executed with the irrigation districts for repayment of that part of the cost of the project allocated to irrigation, meanwhile the existence of the act and the data on tracts can be effective in protecting the buyer, if the buyer is wary.

Some of the reports of activities of agents indicate that they allege that water will be delivered in 1943 and that no charges will be assessed for the first 6 years. Although Grand Coulee Dam is nearing completion, the irrigation system must be constructed before water can be made available to irrigate any of the land. At the rate of construction planned, 50,000 acres will receive water in 1944, and thereafter from 50,000 to 70,000 acres or more will be added each year until all of the 1,200,000 acres receive water, which will probably take about 25 years.

Terms of repayment have not yet been established. The cost of water will depend upon two items—that part of construction costs of the project which is allotted to irrigation, and the annual cost of maintenance and operation of water-distributing facilities. It has been estimated that the average for water rights will lie between $85 and $100 per acre. Under existing authority, the Secretary of the Interior may defer the date of the first payment on account of construction costs for a period not to exceed 10 years to ease the financial burden of the settler, after which construction charges, without interest, may be spread over a period of 40 years.

The Bureau of Reclamation, in cooperation with 40 other agencies of the Federal, State, and local governments, industries, educational institutions, and civic organizations, has launched joint investigations to plan for the successful settlement and development of the Columbia Basin area. Anyone interested can obtain additional information by writing to the Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation, Washington, D. C., or the Supervising Engineer, Bureau of Reclamation, Coulee Dam, Wash.

On Christmas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JERRY VOORHIS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 12, 1940

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, there is only one thing in all the world that is stronger than armed might; there is only one thing that can right the wrongs under which people suffer, end the hatred that causes and is caused by war, and bring hope back to the nations which now suffer so terribly.

That one thing is a spirit of complete devotion and self-sacrifice in the hearts of men and women. We celebrate Christmas time because it was at the first Christmas that a life began on this earth which exemplified and set forth that spirit so that all might understand.

Never did we need the spirit of Christmas so much as we need it now. The very fact that puffed-up dictators and their manufactured paganism attempt to shut that spirit out of whole nations and areas of the world makes it all the more important for it to be cherished and fanned by us into a mighty flame of light.

But we need that spirit, not for a day or so but for all the months and years ahead. And in this world of tragic loss and suffering it is an abiding strength and understanding of life's meaning that we should wish for one another rather than just a few "merry" hours.

In this spirit, then, I send to you a heartfelt wish that Christmas may mean more to you this year than it has ever meant before, and to all of us, as Americans, may it cause a closer drawing together, a clearer vision of what our country's duty and mission is, and a renewed sense of our dependence on one another.

Financing Farm Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WALTER M. PIERCE
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 12, 1940

ADDRESS BY R. M. EVANS, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by R. M. Evans, Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, before the Field Crops Conference, American Farm Bureau Federation annual meeting, Baltimore, Md., December 9, 1940:

I am more than glad to take part in the deliberations that you folks are beginning here today. A farm organization such as this carries great responsibilities even in ordinary times. Today, when the impact of war is hitting agriculture with the force of an earthquake, farm organizations serve their highest purpose. They give voice to the convictions of their members. They give force to policies aiming at the welfare of all farmers. And they represent agriculture as an ever-ready battalion in the front line of America's defense.

I know that all of you will keep the national interest in the foreground throughout this convention. For two decades the Farm Bureau Federation has battled for legislation to give agriculture a fair share of the national income. You supported the McNary-Haugen measures back in the twenties when there were still enough foreign markets to make farm exports profitable. You helped formulate the first Nation-wide farm program early in 1933, when agriculture was bankrupt after 12 years of below-parity prices. And when the Supreme Court gave us all a set-back in 1936 you helped us enact new legislation that came into full operation only last year.

We can be proud to say that now we have the best farm program that any nation has ever had at any time. Farm income has just about doubled since 1932, and the buying power of this larger income is greater than it was in 1929. Our conservation work extends over 82 percent of the Nation's cropland. When the Defense Commission took inventory of agriculture's preparedness it found a full ever-normal granary—abundant supplies protected by loans, and also abundant reserves stored up in the fertility of the soil that we have been nourishing in the last few years. What's more, agriculture was already organized for defense in the democratic way. Local committees of farmers, the hands and the eyes of the Triple A, were carrying out the farm program in their communities. The Triple A committees—community, county, and State—are carrying out the program today. The work of these local committees, which are elected each year by the farmers themselves, is living evidence that our farmers can adjust themselves to changing conditions in an orderly manner and that the democratic way can be made to work.

Since the Triple A began there has been a steady trend toward more and more decentralization of the program and today the local committees have a larger share in the running of the program than they have ever had before. And, so far as I know, they play a greater part in carrying out a national program than farmers ever have before, in any country. In every one of 3,022 agricultural counties in the United States there is today a Triple A committee. And in more than 24,000 communities, farmers have elected their neighbors to serve as community committeemen. These men, totaling altogether more than 135,000, represent a significant force in our democracy today. These committeemen have worked many times, at a financial sacrifice to themselves, to perform the greatest service to agriculture on record. They are entitled to a world of credit, and you as an organization can be justly proud of the efforts of your members who have served on these committees.

It is difficult to realize fully what the farm program has meant in the past year because it has done such a good job in cushioning the shock of war upon agriculture. Foreign markets for our farm products have been shattered. Without acreage adjustments to prevent a mountainous backlog of surpluses and without commodity loans to support our farm prices above world levels, we would certainly have returned to the ruinous conditions of 1932—or worse. We would have 30-cent wheat, 25-cent corn, and 5-cent cotton. That would mean a tidal wave of farm bankruptcies and foreclosures.

I have just recently returned from Canada, where I discussed some of their problems with the members of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool. I found that Canada is facing a very serious wheat crisis in the absence of acreage adjustment or any kind of production control. The wheat surplus has forced the Government to limit the marketings of every producer to a fixed quota, which began at 5 bushels per acre and is now from 8 to 15 bushels, depending on local storage facilities. Since Canadian farmers produced about 20 bushels per acre on the average, they have on their hands a huge surplus of wheat that they are forbidden to market on penalty of fine or imprisonment. On the wheat that is permitted to be marketed, the Canadian Government pays a fixed price, which amounts to about 50 cents a bushel to the farmer on the Canadian prairie. The wheat supply is piled up so high that Canada can meet all its domestic and export requirements for the next 2 years even if it entirely stops producing wheat during that time. You can readily see why Canadian officials are giving serious consideration to the Triple A wheat program in the United States and to other possible measures.

Argentina is another farm-export country that is struggling with surplus problems because there was no production-adjustment program to meet the shock of falling markets abroad. The Argentine Minister of Agriculture has authorized the sale of government-purchased corn as fuel for railroads and electric power. Excess supplies have driven the price so low that corn can be burned as cheaply as coal, wood, or fuel oil.

I am telling you about Argentine corn and Canadian wheat only to emphasize that these export crops in the United States would be in the same kind of trouble if we had not been prepared in advance with a program complete enough and flexible enough to meet any emergency in time of war as well as in peacetime.

The ability to meet changing conditions is one of the most outstanding features of the A. A. A. farm program, and here again I want to pay tribute to the local elected committeemen who have been so efficient in adapting the program to new situations.

Shrinking foreign markets for agricultural commodities began before the war when nation after nation tried to become self-sufficient in food supplies. After the war is over, no matter which side wins, the prospects are unfavorable for our export trade in

farm commodities because impoverished nations will not have the money to buy from us.

It seems to me that the producers of export crops in this country are going to have to get ready for some important adjustments. Come what may, there will have to be greater controls in our farm program. I can tell you frankly that the outlook now indicates the need for marketing quotas next year on wheat and corn, as well as on cotton and tobacco. Our recent experience with tobacco suggests the possibility of voting on 3-year quotas at one time. You may wish to consider the 3-year-quota method because it simplifies administration and reduces costs.

But the export troubles of some of the other countries in the Western Hemisphere are much more serious than ours. In order to work out our mutual problems cooperatively and avoid undue hardship for any group of producers, I hope we can arrange for some commodity agreements among the American nations whose destinies are linked together by historic forces.

A second vital factor in the economic picture is the prospect that farmers will have to pay higher prices for the things they buy. Expanded production for our defense program is expected to result in higher prices for many products that the farmer uses. As a matter of common fairness, the farmer has an equal right to expect higher prices on the things he sells. It is obvious that the goal of parity prices for agriculture will be harder to reach in the near future.

A third significant fact which we have to face is that record-breaking expenditures for defense are going to make it increasingly difficult to finance the entire farm program adequately with funds from the Federal Treasury.

Naturally direct appropriations will be necessary for certain purposes. Farmers can expect Congress to provide funds to conserve the soil, to increase food consumption among low-income families, to aid the exportation of farm products, to promote research, to carry on the rural rehabilitation and tenant-purchase programs, and to finance certain other needs of agriculture.

Yet all this will not give farmers parity prices and parity income. We have never had a sufficient appropriation for full parity. Last year an additional one and one-half billion dollars would have been required to bring farm income up to par with nonfarm income, as measured by the parity period in the 5 years before the first World War. Farm income and farm prices have been below the parity level for 20 years. During this time farmers suffered a total income deficiency of $35,000,000,000 because their prices were below the level of other prices.

Parity is the goal set up by Congress in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938. It is still our goal today.

Farmers are not asking for a special privilege of any sort. In asking for parity they simply want to be put on an equal footing with the rest of the population. As a matter of justice, farmers have a right to the kind of equality which Thomas Jefferson wrote into the Declaration of Independence.

It does not seem fair that the farmer should have to go to Congress every year and beg for a fraction of his birthright. Industry profits from billions of dollars worth of tariff protection which does not have to be renewed annually. I believe agriculture likewise deserves a self-financing program to achieve the goal of parity.

The difficulty of obtaining full parity appropriations next year because of extraordinary defense outlays puts squarely before us the consideration of proposals to finance a parity program in the market place. I want to make it perfectly clear that today I am not going to make any recommendations as to future financing policy, official or otherwise, but I will give you my personal views on two possible methods for getting parity without large annual appropriations from the Treasury.

I am not going to discuss the question of price fixing. Most schemes to peg farm prices by Government decree fail to provide for the controls that are necessary to prevent surpluses from upsetting the kind of balanced agriculture we have built up so carefully. Price fixing would be feasible only if accompanied by acreage adjustment, marketing quotas supported by high penalties, conservation, ever-normal-granary reserves, and other features of the present Triple A program. If all these things are added to price fixing, I believe there is a more desirable alternative. A high-loan program, by comparison, would put a floor under prices without putting a ceiling over them. Under a price-fixing plan, the farmer can get only one price—no higher and no lower. Under a high-loan program, the farmer's price would be free to rise above the loan rate. Because of that advantage, among others, I am going to discuss the possibility of a high-loan program rather than price fixing.

Commodity loans can be raised to any percentage of parity that seems practicable. In effect, the loan guarantees the participating farmer a minimum price. At harvest time he can obtain in cash the loan rate on the production of his acreage allotment. Moreover, since he retains title to his crop, the farmer can realize an additional gain by selling his product if the market price rises above the loan rate.

Achieving parity through a high-loan policy has a number of advantages.

First. Parity returns could be obtained without appropriations to provide funds specifically for parity payments.

Second. All features of the entire farm program could be retained, and the existing machinery could be used to carry out the new policy.

Third. It would be possible to bring participation in the program up to virtually 100 percent, provided marketing quotas were put into effect at the same time. If all producers were subject to marketing quotas, practically everyone would welcome commodity loans, acreage adjustment, soil-conservation practices, and all other advantages offered by A. A. A.

One point which I want to emphasize very strongly is that marketing quotas and high penalties for noncompliance would be essential for a high-loan policy. Otherwise noncooperating farmers might expand their production and take advantage of the rise in market prices that would result from the loan program. If nonparticipation proved to be more profitable for very many farmers, the conservation and acreage-adjustment programs would cease to be effective. There would be a grave danger of uncontrollable surpluses in the hands of both the Government and the farmer. Then the commodity loan program would suffer the same fate that the Federal Farm Board met when it tried loans without production control.

I am convinced that we need about 90-percent participation at least to reap the full benefit from a Nation-wide conservation and acreage-adjustment program. In order to get that degree of participation, there must be a wide margin of benefit which the cooperating farmer enjoys over the noncooperating farmer. One way to get that margin of difference and thus induce nearly all farmers to take full part in the agricultural program is to combine marketing quotas and high penalties with commodity loans.

Another factor that would have to be taken into account in connection with a high-loan policy is the problem of export payments. Obviously, you cannot move any export crop into foreign markets at parity prices—or at any price above the world price. Unless we are going to give up our farm exports altogether—and I do not believe we can afford to do that—it will be necessary to make subsidy payments as long as commodity loans keep the domestic price above the world price. The higher we raise the domestic price the more we will have to pay to move export crops into foreign markets. Consequently, a high-loan policy would mean higher export subsidies.

Under a high-loan program, when the farmer received a fully adequate price in the market place, he would not require all of the allotment payments that he receives now. By that I mean he would not need the present 8 cents a bushel on his normal yield of wheat, or similar payments for corn and cotton, because he would be getting his price in the market place. Funds that are now made for planting within acreage allotments could be placed in a pool to be used to pay storage charges and to finance the export of loan stocks that did not move into domestic consumption. In the case of some commodities, especially livestock and dairy products, these funds could be used to increase domestic consumption. Under this program, additional funds would also be available for increasing the payments for soil-conserving practices after the administrative expenses had been deducted.

Now I want to discuss another plan that could be self-financed in the market place—the certificate plan. Its purpose would be to assure producers of certain export commodities a parity return on the domestically consumed portion of their crop. Various specific measures have been worked out, but I am going to confine myself to the broad outlines of the proposal. Briefly, this is the way it would operate:

Marketing certificates would be issued to producers in proportion to the normal production of their acreage allotments. The value of the certificates would be based on a prescribed formula to take up some of the margin between the market price and parity. Manufacturers would be required to purchase certificates covering the amount of the commodity destined for domestic use, and they would have to return the canceled certificates to the Government. It might also be advisable to set up a revolving pool to buy certificates from farmers and sell them to manufacturers.

In the present unsettled condition of the world, it seems to me that our consideration of a certificate plan must assume that it would be used in combination with a low-loan policy, such as we have at present.

Whether our loans are low or high, as long as we loan money on commodities at values higher than world prices, we must recognize that our program must provide for two things: First, some funds must be made available for getting rid of the stocks that accumulate under the loan; and there are only two places to do this—in the domestic market and in the foreign market.

Second, there would have to be marketing quotas and high penalties to prevent noncooperators from breaking down the program, unless the value of the certificates were high enough to guarantee a very high degree of cooperation without them. Under the certificate plan, if participation is to be entirely on a voluntary basis, the value of the certificate must be great enough to make it more profitable for a farmer to cooperate than not to cooperate.

For certain crops the certificate plan has some of the advantages of a high-loan policy. It would eliminate the need for specific appropriations for parity payments. It would permit retaining conservation, acreage adjustment, marketing quotas, commodity loans, and all other phases of the present farm program. It would strengthen participation in the Triple A program.

Under both the high-loan policy and the certificate plan, I believe the program would require more control than at present. Under the loan policy we would have to depend, to a large extent, upon strict control to insure compliance. With the certificate plan there would be more inducement for voluntary compliance, but there would be a heavy administrative task in connection with certificate payments and collections.

The certificate plan is suitable for export commodities that pass through centralized marketing or processing channels, such crops, for instance, as wheat, tobacco, and rice. For cotton, it might be less suitable because of the large proportion of the crop that normally goes into the export trade. It is not adapted to corn,

because most of the corn crop is either used directly on the farm or sold for feed. Corn-hog producers have found that the loan and ever-normal-granary program for corn has been a great stabilizing force on hog production and prices. Undoubtedly corn-hog farmers will want to consider a higher loan policy as a means of approaching parity prices.

There is just one final word I want to leave with you at this time. No matter what plan is used to finance parity, no matter what additional changes may be necessary to adapt the farm program to new conditions, we must maintain a unity of purpose in the interest of agriculture and the Nation as a whole. Unless all farmers stand together in working for this larger objective, agriculture will suffer and the Nation will suffer, too. In a democracy it is necessary to iron out personal disagreements and to harmonize group differences in order to achieve constructive action. We have done this successfully in the past and I am confident that we will continue to do so in the future. The American Farm Bureau Federation can serve no higher purpose than to assume leadership at this time when agriculture needs unity of effort to meet changing conditions brought about by powerful world forces.

Teaching Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OSCAR YOUNGDAHL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE MINNEAPOLIS TIMES-TRIBUNE OF DECEMBER 9, 1940

Mr. YOUNGDAHL. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Minneapolis Times-Tribune of December 9, 1940:

[From the Minneapolis Times-Tribune of December 9, 1940]

TEACHING DEMOCRACY

The problem of inculcating democratic principles through the schools and still preserving complete freedom of academic inquiry seems to puzzle some people. Two high-school teachers in Des Moines have struck the happy medium. Earl Kalp and Robert Morgan, both teaching social sciences at Theodore Roosevelt High School there, are authors of a pamphlet, Democracy and Its Competitors. Sale of the booklet has astounded people; it is already in its third printing and has not been out for much more than 2 months.

Here is the balanced approach which the Iowans make in this important matter of selling young Americans on the superiority of our own system without denying them the right to study others—they acknowledge our mistakes but point the way toward their correction. "We must," the pamphlet argues, "get rid of corruption and inefficiency in government in order to compete successfully; must provide more adequate educational opportunities; reduce crime; provide better housing and public-health programs."

Very properly, the teachers conclude that "American democracy will live and succeed if it has enough interested, informed citizens who know how to study current issues for the purpose of finding a considered, rational course of action based on sound information and personal decision."

Stabilization of Chinese Currency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS T. MALONEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE HARTFORD (CONN.) TIMES

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Hartford Times of December 5, 1940, referring to a vote of confidence recently registered at a joint session of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and the House Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, referring to a plan of the Secretary of the Treasury to use funds for the purpose of "stabilizing Chinese currency and thereby protecting the American dollar."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Times of December 5, 1940]

MOVING TOWARD UNITY

Welcome indeed, as demonstrating the unity of the American people on vital issues, is the vote of confidence which the joint session of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and the House Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures gave Secretary Morgenthau when the Treasury head outlined what this Government proposed to do to assist China in her effort to repel the Japanese invaders. Republicans who, a year ago, had attacked the Secretary for his policies, now have joined with Democrats in approving his present action, even though they had some doubt at first as to the statutory legality of the program.

Secretary Hull's outline of the situation in the Far East as this Government sees it was a prelude to Secretary Morgenthau's statement of the present policy of the administration. Most unusual was Mr. Morgenthau's statement that, in the spring of 1939, when he had argued for continuance of the stabilization fund, he had asserted that the fund was not being used to support the currencies of any of the warring nations, as administration opponents had charged, and that whenever it appeared advisable to use any Treasury funds in support of a warring nation he would "come before the proper committee and ask for guidance." In keeping with that pledge, he was appearing before the committees to explain the Government's action. Some $50,000,000 is to be extended to China through the Export-Import Bank as an additional credit for the purchase in this country of supplies for China, and $50,000,000 from the stabilization fund will be used to support Chinese currency against Japanese sabotage.

The unanimous vote of confidence by the committees is a matter of tremendous significance, first, as to the sincerity of American support of China in her resistance to Japanese aggression, and secondly, as to the attitude of Congress toward Japanese plans in the Far East. With reference to the latter, it is warning that the United States will continue to give all possible aid to China, and, by inference, that it will insist on maintenance of the status quo in the Far East. Russia will be influenced by substantial American assistance to China probably as much as the Soviet will be influenced by what has been happening in Greece and the Mediterranean. Huge stakes—the preservation of democracy—are on the table in the international poker game. American players never have lacked either nerve or skill at this game, and as for chips, there is no lack of them.

Un-American Activities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN, OF NEW YORK

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by me over station WJZ on December 6, 1940:

ANSWER TO THE DIES COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

In the last few days a committee of Congress, commonly known as the Dies committee, filed a so-called report. This report is a most useless expenditure of public funds, and there is nothing in this report which throws any light on the conditions existing in this country today with reference to subversive activities in our midst.

A little history of the Dies committee might be of public interest. This committee was a continuation of another committee which was created by Congress 6 years ago, at the time when the menace of German propaganda first came to the attention of the public. At that time it was I who, on the floor of the House and in the public press and on the public platform, called attention to the dangerous conditions, and it was at my insistence that a committee was created by a resolution of the House of Representatives, of which committee my colleague, MCCORMACK, was made chairman and I became the vice chairman. This committee sat during 1934, and, with a very small expenditure of money, was able to expose real, dangerous, and menacing conditions. We showed how German propaganda was flowing into this country by the tons and how the German consulates were the hotbeds for the spread of Nazi propaganda; we showed the menace of communism, and, for the first time in history, long before anyone was aware of any tie-up, showed how Communists and Nazis, although technically fighting each

other, were really working hand in hand for the same object—the destruction of American democracy.

It was after the exposure by our committee and after we recommended a great deal of remedial legislation that the so-called Dies committee was created. This committee was created as a successor to our committee, and its duty was to continue the investigation which we had commenced. Instead of that, the committee took it upon itself to set itself up as a department of government, and, without producing one additional fact and without in any way following up the leads which my committee had furnished, set upon a campaign of enlisting public support for its existence and became the finest publicity medium in the United States. It was this desire for publicity which prompted me to take the floor in Congress on November 8, 1940, and expose it for what it was worth.

The public press, particularly the New York Telegram, which otherwise is one of the finest papers in the country, set itself up as a sort of mouthpiece for Mr. DIES and his committee. It gives him credit for everything. It was Mr. DIES, they say, who was first to expose William Dudley Pelley and the Silver Shirt racket. It was DIES, they say, who was first to tackle Fritz Kuhn and the German-American Bund. It was DIES, they say, who was first to focus public attention on the fact that the Communist Party was a tool of Russia. It was DIES, they say, who was first to reveal that there were a good number of high-sounding Democratic organizations which were guided by the Communist Party line. In other words, it was DIES who discovered it all, and if there had been no Dies committee the public would not know the first thing about it.

To top it off the Associated Press sent a press release yesterday morning to the effect that Chairman DIES is going to show how our post office is made to disseminate German propaganda at the expense of the American taxpayer, another discovery made by Mr. DIES.

I believe the public knows by this time how ridiculous these assertions are. Everyone of these matters which Mr. DIES claims to have exposed was called to the attention of the public by my committee or myself 6 years ago. Anyone reading the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or our public newspapers, or following the radio for the discussion of public questions, knows very well that William Dudley Pelley was not only exposed by me 6 years ago but that I was successful enough in having him convicted and given a suspended 5-year sentence for violations of law. Anyone who is acquainted with public affairs knows that Fritz Kuhn and the German-American Bund was exposed by me many years ago, and that the district attorney of New York County, Mr. Dewey, is entitled to the credit for having him arrested and convicted as a common thief. Everyone who follows the radio knows that the Communist Party of the United States is merely the mouthpiece of the Moscow Internationale. So that these so-called exposures of the Dies committee are merely a rehashing of material which I described to the public years ago.

A little amusing note was injected by the committee recently. I say amusing, although it is costing the taxpayers of the United States large sums of money, but, nevertheless, it is amusing. The committee published a so-called red book, in which it fills more than a thousand pages with excerpts from official Russian publications, things which are copied from books, and which do not show anything that the public does not know. This is a sample of the stuff which is peddled to the public by a congressional committee.

When I spoke on the floor of the House, I made it perfectly clear that it is not my desire to prevent any legitimate discussion of subversive propaganda, but what I am opposed to is making capital and giving the public scary headlines by presenting half-baked facts. I particularly praised the work of our Federal Bureau of Investigation, and said that I would not exchange one G-man or one man of the Department of Justice for all the Dies committee investigators that have been on its pay roll. This statement still holds good. Not only has the Dies committee not presented anything new, but, on the contrary, it has blocked any attempt to get at real facts where this committee could legitimately follow up certain leads which were given to it by me as a result of a 7-year investigation at my own expense.

You must always bear in mind that this is a country of three coordinate branches—legislative, executive, and judicial—and that none of these branches has the right to encroach on the duties and functions of another. Congressional committees have certain well-defined duties and prerogatives, and if they stick to their own line, there is no likelihood of any clash of authority.

The Dies committee was established for the purpose of gathering material to convince Congress that certain laws were necessary to eradicate certain evils. But, strange as it may seem, the very long report of the Dies investigating committee, which costs the public hundreds of thousands of dollars, has not seen fit to suggest one law to eradicate the conditions described in the report, be it saboteur or "fifth columnist." Instead of following the instructions of Congress to bring in recommendations for remedial legislation, the distinguished chairman of the committee has been going around the country making unsupported statements and interfering with the work of the executive agencies of the Government to such an extent that it was necessary to check his activities along these lines.

A few days ago, the chairman of the committee published a book in which he again claims credit for everything done, and wishes to show the public that he is the savior of America. Of course, it is an old story that men in public life like to claim credit, whether or not they deserve it. Perhaps even in the days of ancient Rome, Caesar and Augustus were showing to the public what they accomplished, and perhaps even claimed credit for good weather. But it exceeds all bounds of propriety when a Congressman in his desire to claim credit for himself, overlooks the work of others who have real accomplishments to report, and sets himself up as a supersleuth. When such a situation arises it is time that the public be told about it.

Anything to get a headline in the newspapers, that seems to be the principal motto of the committee. To achieve this result, it has specialized in assassinating the character and public reputation of prominent men and women by accusing them of being guilty of various kinds of "isms," in cases where there was not the slightest evidence to back up such an accusation. When the persons who were thus assailed pleaded for the opportunity of appearing before the committee and clearing themselves, such an opportunity was not given to them. This, of course, is in direct contradiction to the American way of doing things, and is clearly undemocratic and in violation of every principle of decency and fairness.

When a few days ago, there was some public discussion of sabotage in plants engaged in the rearmament program of our Government, again the Dies committee saw fit to claim credit for having exposed conditions, although as a matter of fact no details or any pertinent facts were presented to the Department of Justice, nor was the Department of Justice given the slightest help in tracking down the culprits, and doing its work of investigating or prosecuting. This is another instance of loose talk on the part of the Dies committee, and I can only explain it by its insensible desire to get public attention under any circumstances.

If the committee realized that to ferret out culprits and prosecute them is the task of the Department of Justice, it would save itself the trouble of making ridiculous public statements, which can only result in its being discredited to a large extent to which its own actions have condemned it.

The latest outburst of the committee, in which its chairman tells the public that it is costing the American taxpayers large sums of money for our Post Office Department to disseminate German propaganda, is again something which the chairman could have heard on the floor of the House if he had listened to my speech of August 27 last. At that time I called attention to the fact that under our international treaty, our post office is compelled to transmit through the mails literature which comes from Germany, and that this literature under the existing set-up is nothing more or less than pure Nazi propaganda. I gave facts and figures in my speech to show what this propaganda consists of, and listed in detail the type of mails which come to this country from Germany. But, of course, the distinguished chairman of the committee has no time to listen to speeches by his colleagues, and, besides, what good would it do that chairman to admit that perhaps other Members of Congress may have some ideas, too.

It is clear that the Dies committee is not considering itself bound by limitations of congressional committees. It has taken the position that it has the right to act as an executive, legislative, and judiciary body, all rolled into one, so that we find this committee trying in one breath to act as a congressional investigating committee, governmental detective bureau, and a judiciary body—an imposing position which can only result, if persisted in, in the destruction of the well-defined limitations of governmental power. This is the nearest approach to constitutional anarchy.

In another press release Dies is quoted as having said that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is helpless to cope with the situation. If such is the fact, why not bring in a recommendation to Congress to create sufficient legal authority to let the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or any other agency of Government, dispose of this menace? How does the Dies committee expect to accomplish things which the Federal Bureau of Investigation is helpless to eradicate?

Personally, of course, I want it distinctly understood that I have no quarrel as an individual with my colleague from Texas, but, on the contrary, our relations with each other have been at all times friendly. But it is America, and our democracy, which must be considered first, last, and always.

Walter-Logan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM RHODE ISLAND FREE PRESS

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Rhode Island Free Press on the subject of the Walter-Logan bill.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Rhode Island Free Press of December 6, 1940]

WRONG IN PRINCIPLE

The expected veto of the Walter-Logan bill will give Congress an opportunity to await the findings of the special committee appointed by Attorney General Robert H. Jackson to inquire into the new field of administrative law. The bill which barely slipped through the Senate was drafted by the American Bar Association.

While the press generally has been giving the public the impression that the law is needed to curb the most effective agencies of the New Deal agencies which came into being to overcome the grosser abuses of the laissez fairé philosophy, the Walter-Logan bill, in the form sent to President Roosevelt, would put the courts in charge of the executive departments to such an extent that an executive department may not issue regulations for its own conduct without the approval of the courts.

If such a bill becomes law, it would be possible to hold up and postpone departmental procedure almost indefinitely, for it would not be until everything that happens in an executive department or agency could be thrashed out in the courts, and almost to the highest court, that there would be any assurance that a policy or an order or a regulation of the department involved could be settled and become effective.

The unwillingness of the sponsors of the bill to await the recommendations of the special committee, now shaping its report, gives indication that they want to apply an identical formula for the future administration of all the executive departments, regardless of their varied functions. This is wrong in principle. Congress should await the findings of the committee of eminent lawyers selected to make their recommendations on the proper procedure in administrative law.

It has been well said that the sharpest spear point of democratic advance today is the administrative commission. Its intelligence and its morale may be decisive factors in determining whether real democratic government, administered through the Executive elected by and responsible to all the people, shall survive through the transition period now being recorded in American history.

It is therefore not at all surprising that the reactionaries in America, who just lost their third successive Presidential election, should have trained their heaviest guns on the administrative commissions, particularly the National Labor Relations Board, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Tennessee Valley Authority. They speak of them in terms which show an utter contempt of democracy and the fight currently being made through that nebulous, not yet crystallized, symbol known as the New Deal.

To judge these administrative commissions from any objective viewpoint, the conclusion must be that, by and large, they are carrying out their prescribed function with caution and tolerance. The good they achieve is always obscured from the public. They are accused of overstepping their administrative bounds and entering the area of the legislature and of the judiciary, thus subjecting the individual, personal, or corporate to the unchecked power of a small group of men.

Yet the combination of executive, legislative, and judicial functions is exactly what makes them an effective new governmental form. They have investigatory and administrative tasks, in which they act in a quasi-judicial capacity; they have rule-making powers that have been delegated to them by Congress.

It has been well observed, in relating these thoughts, that the National Labor Relations Board, which has been most vigorously attacked for combining these functions, has been upheld by a tolerably liberal Supreme Court in an overwhelming number of test cases.

Who won the election anyway? Not those who sponsored the Walter-Logan bill. They were defeated. In fact, the two votes which guaranteed passage of the bill in the Senate came from two Democratic Senators who were repudiated by their own party through denial of renomination. This is a "lame duck" bill as far as passage in the United States Senate is concerned—passage which conflicts with the very spirit and substance of the most recent amendment to our Federal Constitution.

Danger of War With Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

ARTICLE BY MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM C. RIVERS

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, I insert herewith an article entitled "Danger of War With Japan," written by Maj. Gen. William C. Rivers, United States Army, retired.

Major General Rivers has many years of service in the Far East and his observations are considered timely and of interest to the Members of Congress.

The article is as follows:

DANGER OF WAR WITH JAPAN

(Memorandum, dated December 8, 1940, by Maj. Gen. William C. Rivers, U. S. Army, retired)

I hope this memorandum may be read by some of the gentlemen in Congress who are interested in the arguments which have brought our country to the verge of war with Japan, a war from which we have absolutely nothing to gain.

There is no such thing as great trade with the Far East. Decades and decades will have to pass. The countries out there are at any rate striving more and more to make at home the articles they have had to import from western nations. We do have with Japan a substantial trade, with a large balance in our favor.

About one-twelfth of the farm products and manufactured articles which the American people sell goes abroad; that is, foreign trade. Only one-tenth of what is sold abroad, our foreign trade, is with the Far East. That includes the amounts we sell to Vladivostok, and on down to all countries including Australia.

Our crisis is with Europe. This is clearer and clearer day by day. Then why take the risk of a war in the east—a war that would be a major national effort and cost the Nation many, many billions of dollars?

I have spent 11 consecutive years in the Philippines and have long been a student of the strategy of the North Pacific Ocean. Any strategist knows we would fight Japan at a great disadvantage, as we have no bases in the Far East.

Congress cannot build at Guam a base, 3,500 miles west of the Hawaii base. All the Congress can construct at Guam would be an exposed, untenable salient. Guam is in the western Pacific. Our policy has been to hold the eastern part of the Pacific, where we are building about eight small advanced bases. The United States should hold from the mid-Atlantic westward to the mid-Pacific. That will cost great sums of money. It ought to be enough, as it includes about one-half the circumference of the earth.

Given the great distances over the North Pacific, the shape of the curved coast lines of northeastern Asia and the location of Japan, and of her encircling chain of defensive islands running from the Arctic to the Equator, the United States does not possess the power to defend the Philippines. In a war with Japan the Filipinos would at once be crushed between the two great fighting nations.

All the business of Americans and of Filipinos would be at once largely suspended or destroyed by a blockade of the Philippine Islands.

Where Goes the Navy's Money?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

ARTICLE BY REAR ADMIRAL C. J. PEOPLES, UNITED STATES NAVY, RETIRED

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, Rear Admiral C. J. Peoples, United States Navy, retired, needs no introduction to the membership of this House by me. In his capacity as Director of Procurement from 1933 to 1939, I doubt if there is a single Member who did not on one or more occasions have personal contact with Admiral Peoples and were impressed, like I was, with his splendid businesslike qualities, his engaging personality, and by the complete grasp he possessed of the big job of which he was the executive head. I doubt if there is any man in the public service more highly regarded on Capitol Hill than is this splendid officer.

Identified with the Supply Corps of the Navy throughout his naval career, of which he was the head—Paymaster General of the Navy—from 1933 to 1935, I can conceive of no better authority on naval finances or the conduct of naval business than Admiral Peoples. In the Navy Day magazine of October 27, 1940, an article appears by the admiral entitled "Where Goes the Navy's Money?" The subject is one of unusual interest at this particular time, and, under the permission I have been granted, I insert the article in its entirety at this point:

The Navy's money goes for such a great variety of purposes and to so many fields of human endeavor, that a detailed analysis would

tax the patience of the average person; but, as my primary purpose is to show that practically 90 percent of the Navy's money goes for labor or personal service in some form, a few figures are necessary. Statistics are as dry as Sahara; but the dollars from the Navy's purse go directly or indirectly in the form of wages to the man in the mine, in the mill, in the factory, in the forest, in the field, in the store, in the office, on the street, or in the home.

A summary of naval activities shows that during the month of June of this year, Congress appropriated moneys for expenditures on account of the Navy amounting to over $2,000,000,000—about 90 percent of which represented labor, or wages, or services of labor in some form:

For construction of new ships, $468,000,000; for ships in commission and attached to the fleet, $160,000,000; for maintenance and operating expenses of navy yards, $80,000,000; tests and experiments, $8,000,000; freight, $3,000,000; armor, armament, and ammunition, $194,000,000; aircraft and fleet air bases, $285,000,000; reserve materials, $10,000,000; alterations to naval vessels, $41,000,000; for public works at yards and stations, $250,000,000; for athletic outfits and movies for recreation of the enlisted men, $469,000; for prizes for excellence in gunnery and for economy and efficiency in engineering, $70,000; for ocean and lake surveys, $90,000; for hydrographic work on maps and charts, $112,000; for State marine schools, $190,000; for the Medical Department, including medical stores and hospitals, $5,500,000; for the Naval Reserves, $23,000,000; for fuel oil, $15,500,000.

Incidentally the cost of maintaining a battleship in commission, though each varies according to size and age, will be about $1,600,000 per year; an aircraft carrier, $1,900,000; a heavy cruiser, $900,000; a destroyer, $180,000; a submarine, $120,000, exclusive of repairs and alterations.

The total amount of the Navy's money seems large, as for the fiscal year 1939 it amounted to about $996,000,000, and for 1941 slightly over $2,000,000,000. It is a specious argument to charge that the Navy's money is spent for the purpose only of the Federal Government. It is for the benefit purely of national defense and of national security, of which every State, every county, and every municipality receives its full share.

The spending of this money goes directly to a great many industries. The average person thinks it goes only for ships and boats as such, and that little of it goes for the benefit of the public at large; on the contrary, the Navy's money goes everywhere and affects everyone in the vital industries employing labor. For illustration (selecting random items and approximate estimates), to the small boiler and engine industry there was spent about $2,000,000; to the lubrication-oil industry about $700,000; to the electric cable and wire industry, $2,500,000; to the radio and wireless industry, $5,500,000; to the industry manufacturing electric apparatus, $6,000,000; for instruments of precision, including gyrocompasses, about $700,000; to firms manufacturing cordage and rope, about $1,000,000; for boat and ship utensils, about $250,000; for things coming within the general category of drygoods, cotton and woolens, produced by mills, about $6,000,000; to manufacturers of bath and toilet fixtures, about $170,000; for heat-insulating materials, about $200,000; to manufacturers of packing, hose, and gaskets, $600,000; for leather belting, about $150,000; to publishers of library books, $100,000; to manufacturers of athletic goods, $300,000; to the lumber industry, $1,500,000; to manufacturers of machine tools, $3,000,000; to mills producing hand tools, $900,000; to miscellaneous hardware manufacturers, $800,000; to factories making bolts, nuts, rivets, and screws, $750,000; to mills producing pipe tubing, $2,000,000; and pipe fittings, $1,400,000; to the steel mills, about $15,000,000; for caps and gloves, etc., about $715,000; for acids, chemicals, and drugs, about $2,000,000; to the paint industry, about $1,800,000; to the producers of tableware, $350,000; to the shoe industry, about $1,000,000; and another big item for all kinds of provisions, fresh, canned, and bagged, produced by the farmer directly, by the fruit and vegetable packers, and meat packers, $27,000,000.

As to the country-wide distribution of the Navy's money in the manufacture of various ship commodities, it is enlightening to know that for machinery 24 States are interested; for steel and steel products, 12 States; for lumber, 17 States; for metal fixtures, fittings, and valves, 12 States; for electrical equipment, 8 States; lead and zinc, 17 States; paints and oils, 18 States; insulating, deck covering materials, 15 States; galley outfits, 9 States; ship furniture, 8 States; bedding, etc., 19 States, hardware and tools, 7 States; navigational outfits, 7 States; foods, 48 States. In the shipbuilding industry 14 States on the Atlantic seaboard, 5 States in the Gulf, and 3 States on the Pacific seaboard; 8 States on the Lakes and 13 States on our inland waterways have shipyards large or small interested in commercial or public shipbuilding business.

Of these tremendous sums, from 80 to 90 percent of the amount for new construction was paid to the thousands engaged in labor either at the shipyards or to the thousands of outside artisans and mechanics who contributed to manufacturing the material and equipment entering into the construction or to supplies for maintenance of ships of the fleet. In other words, the principal part of the cost of a vessel or of the supplies or equipage necessary to maintain her in active service, lies not in steel and machinery, or in furnishings and equipment as such, but 90 percent was paid in wages to specialists in their trades, or other labor, skilled, unskilled, or professional. No other American industry helps directly so many types and kinds of workingmen as does shipbuilding or in the supply of the fleet.

Furthermore, practically all of the Navy's money is spent at home. Many think of the Navy as being away at sea somewhere doing nothing but shooting away the people's money; but, while the powder and shell expended at target practice cost only about $3,000,000, every dollar of that sum had been paid for wages to some mechanic at home. Then, too, it need only be recalled that when in the spring of 1925 the fleet was sent on its good-will cruise to Australia, that entire fleet of 25,000 men absent from home bases nearly 5 months, was completely subsisted, fueled, and supplied from home ports—a demonstration in efficiency which then astonished the world.

The cowboy on the western range driving a herd of cattle or a drove of sheep to the shipping pens would be surprised to know that part of the leather and wool would find its way into the uniforms of the enlisted men of the Navy; or for beefsteaks and mutton chops for their mess tables.

EXPERIMENTAL AND DEVELOPMENT WORK

Millions of the Navy's money have gone into the development of radio, particularly in its early and experimental stages.

The Navy was a pathfinder in the establishment of high-power radio apparatus to the benefit of the manufacturing companies. This likewise applies to the development of the vacuum tube and for high-frequency communication systems and receiving apparatus. The radio compass owes much to the Navy, including underwater sound receivers and echo-sounding systems.

In commercial marine engineering the Navy has greatly assisted in the standardization through exhaustive tests of engine-room materials. It has also greatly helped in the evolution of the compound engine, then the multiple-expansion engine, then the turbine, and finally the electric drive for the main motive power; also with the development of main boilers and auxiliary machinery and accessories. The development of the submarine has caused special attention to the use and improvement of the Diesel engine. In the development of marine distilling plants, condensing plants, refrigerating plants, marine lubricants, and electrical appliances suitable for use at sea, millions of the Navy's money have gone for each purpose.

IMPORTANCE TO THE MERCHANT MARINE

In ship design, not only of vessels of the Navy but also in the design of merchant vessels, the Navy has had a far-reaching hand. In the early stages of the steel industry the Navy's guiding hand was directly felt. It was a pioneer in the use of large steel castings, special steel, and an aluminum alloy. Its experiments in artificial ventilation have been felt in the better ventilation of schools, theaters, public places, mines, and subways.

Much of the Navy's money has contributed to the development of aviation. In the design of airplane bodies and airplane engines, and in the development of suitable materials and metals used in the construction thereof, the Navy's money has been largely responsible, and in lighter-than-air craft its millions have made it a pioneer.

Much of the Navy's money is responsible for the evolution of steel forgings, brought about through the need for high-power guns and high-resisting armor. In the field of special instruments, optics, photography, and explosives the Navy's money has been of direct assistance to each line of industry.

In the development of drydocks, radio towers, storage, and warehousing the Navy's money has brought about structures of primary efficiency. In the standardization of coal and of fuel oil for use afloat, its standards are in daily use in commerce. Exporters of steaming coal make their sales to South America and to Europe according to Navy standards, and the term "U. S. Navy standard" is a byword in trade. The work of the Navy's Hydrographic Office, its ocean and lake surveys, its Naval Observatory, and the development of navigational instruments is of primary importance to the American merchant marine.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

The Navy has spent much money in the education of its officers and in the training of its enlisted personnel. Thousands of its officers and hundreds of thousands of its men go back into civil life and into commercial pursuits to there become useful citizens. The Navy's money which has been spent upon their education and upon their training has been and will be an important factor in contributing toward the standards of American citizenship.

Much of the Navy's money has been spent for humanitarian purposes, such as assisting in the relief of famine, disastrous earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and in assisting in the relief of such disasters as those of Smyrna, Yokohama, and many disasters at home.

The Dies Committee and the F. B. I.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KNUTE HILL

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON POST

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from today's Washington Post:

[From the Washington Post of December 12, 1940]

RESTRAINING MR. DIES

The effect of the understanding reached by Attorney General Jackson and Representative VOORHIS, of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is to relegate the committee to a minor role. Conferees on both sides agree that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the so-called Dies committee have separate functions, and that actual enforcement of the law against "fifth columnists" must take precedence over the mere exposure of foreign propaganda and subversive activities. That conclusion is both reasonable and essential to our national defense.

Two important questions arise out of this informal agreement between the committee and the F. B. I.:

1. Can the committee under Mr. DIES' chairmanship be relied upon to refrain from interfering in cases that should be left to the Department of Justice for secret investigation and prosecution?

2. Will the committee serve any useful purpose after its work has been thus restricted?

Mr. Jackson has expressed a willingness to leave to the judgment of the committee the question as to whether facts it uncovers should be exposed or referred quietly to law-enforcement officials. It is understood, however, that the committee will not interfere with cases suitable for prosecution. That understanding seems to imply that there will be no more indiscriminate raids by the committee, for such raids would obviously tend to disrupt undercover investigations by the F. B. I. If the committee lives up to its agreement not to encroach upon the executive function of enforcing the law, it will have to be far more circumspect than it has been in the past.

With the committee's activities thus restricted, how can it give the public or Congress a complete picture of the subversive activities going forward in this country? If the work of the most dangerous spies and saboteurs is left to the F. B. I. for investigation, as it should be, the committee at best will be able to reveal only a fragmentary view of this undercover work. Its information will probably be less complete than that of the F. B. I. In the circumstances, Congress may in the future be able to obtain its most valuable guidance in this field from the Department of Justice.

It is gratifying to note that the Dies committee and Attorney General Jackson have agreed to stop working at cross-purposes. But Congress can scarcely avoid recognizing the fact that the division of functions outlined in the current exchange of letters goes a long way toward depriving the committee of its raison d'etre.

Prospect of War in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN J. FRAZIER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM C. RIVERS

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address delivered by Maj. Gen. William C. Rivers, United States Army, retired, over station WQSR on October 8 of this year on the subject Are We Facing War in Asia?

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Many Americans say that we should save French Indochina from the Japanese. Also that we must send the American Battle Fleet to Singapore to cooperate with the small British fleet and the Netherland's fleet so as to protect the Netherland East Indies from Japan.

Some such persons appear to feel there is no limit to what the United States is capable of accomplishing. They certainly fail to consider that we have only in the past few months started our armament program—the defense program. Many who talk of our protecting all of southeastern Asia have apparently failed to give consideration to the danger of our own country being attacked—being attacked by way of South or Central America by a victorious Germany and Italy.

Any attempt on our part to engage in naval operations in southeast Asia would mean that we are at war with Japan. Emphasis is given to this talk on an American-Japanese war by the fact that our fleet is retained at Hawaii—well out toward the mid-Pacific and 2,000 miles from the Canal at Panama.

Europe is far more important to us than the Far East is. The advance of totalitarianism in western Europe means much more to our institutions than anything that could happen in southeastern Asia. Our fleet ought to be safely east of the Panama Canal, probably in the Caribbean Sea. Because any attack on our country will doubtless come by way of South America. The acquisition of the eight new island bases in the west Atlantic emphasizes the need for our fleet in the Atlantic. We should arrange our affairs with Japan so that the fleet can come to the Atlantic.

Of course, we must not fight in Eastern Asia, because (a) we have failed, as a people and a nation, to discover in the Far East a region of vital interest to our strategic security and economic welfare; (b) the distances across the North Pacific are too great; and (c) because to fight in the Far East would be deliberately to expose the United States to the danger of an attack on the Panama Canal by way of South America—attack on the part of a victorious Germany. This latter possibility is the gravest danger to our Nation. Our fighting in eastern Asia would not only greatly enhance this chief danger to the United States but it would also throw Japan more and more into the arms of Germany and Italy.

Geography is of tremendous importance in the relations between nations. Speak of our fighting in eastern Asia, you at once learn from the naval authorities how dependent on bases are the great, costly modern fleets.

Admiral Yarnell told a naval committee of Congress a few years ago as follows: "I would say if you wanted any assurance of going to the Philippines in time of war with a reasonable chance of success you need to build drydocks and a base in the Philippines, and you need a fleet perhaps two to one with regard to Japan."

Admiral Leahy said to the committee 2 years ago: "The Navy which America now has and the Navy which it will have when it is increased by the authority in this bill will be seriously inadequate to the task of sending a naval force to the Philippines." The admiral said also: "The defensive line of the American Navy at the present time reaches from the Aleutian Islands to the Hawaiian Islands, to Samoa, and to the Panama Canal." Japan has no desire to attack the United States; at any rate, the distances are too great.

Send our fleet to Singapore to work with the British Fleet, when we all know that Britain has had no capital ship east of Suez since the bomb explosion at Agadir in 1911! It would stagger the imagination to figure the number of merchant ships that would be required to supply our fleet at Singapore—a far greater number than the total number of merchant vessels in all our foreign trade.

Maj. George Fielding Eliot, well-known and usually an accurate critic, made the most remarkable proposal recently—that we send our small Manila fleet of two light cruisers, a dozen destroyers, and a dozen submarines to join the small British fleet from Singapore and the small Dutch fleet, this concentration to be made in the Dutch East Indies in order to prevent the capture of the Dutch territory there. Major Eliot suggested also that the main American fleet can go out from Hawaii 5,000 miles to Manila and then, if necessary, proceed to the Dutch East Indies.

Send our fleet off on such a wild-goose chase and leave the powerful fleet of Japan behind. Japan has some 12 battleships, 34 cruisers, 140 destroyers, and 75 submarines. This seasoned armada would be free to attack Alaska or the Philippines, both of which are left open by Major Eliot's proposal.

Two students of experience have just published their views on the Far East. Robert Aura Smith's book Our Furture in Asia is just out. Mr. Smith is frankly an imperialist in his view. He feels we have a very important position in the Far East. Also, that we ought to retain the Philippines as a dominion. He states: "Our greatest peril is not the danger of fighting a naval war too far from our shores. It is that we should resign ourselves to defeat without putting up a fight." Very brave words, indeed. The author, a civilian, differs from the experts of our Navy on fighting a war 7,000 miles from our west coast and 5,000 miles from our base at Hawaii.

The author makes much of our trade in the Far East. He draws with compass a circle with a radius of 1,000 miles and the center between Saigon and Borneo. There you have safely in the circle 130,000,000 customers in the South China Sea. But he omits to state that we sell to one customer in the North China Sea—Japan—almost double the amount we sell to his three colonies in the south—Hong Kong, Dutch East Indies, and the Philippines. Mr. Smith emphasizes that we get 850,000 tons of sugar yearly from the Philippines, but omits to state that we take the Philippine sugar as a favor to the Filipinos; that we can buy that sugar cheaper in Cuba or in Hawaii. The same with many other things we get from the Philippines; we can buy them in tropical lands to the south of the United States. We sell abroad only 8 percent of the manufactured articles and foodstuffs we produce. Eastern Asia, in which is included the Philippines, buys only one-tenth of the 8 percent that we export.

Our trade with the Philippines and China has been a great disappointment. There is a familiar illusion that teeming millions insure great trade. Canada has a population about the same as that of Greater New York—10,000,000. Yet we sell to Canada at our door far more goods than we sell to the 500,000,000 people in the Far East, from Vladivostok to Java. All countries are now making efforts to get machinery and to set up plants within their own borders for manufacturing the goods they require.

There is as yet no great trade in the Far East. Decades and decades will have to pass. We do have considerable trade with Japan. That trade is, I suppose, our vital interest in the Far East. Our trade with Japan is far greater than our trade with China and the Philippines combined. Our trade with Japan has a balance favorable to us. The balance is unfavorable to the United States on its trade with both China and the Philippines. The favorable balance on our trade with Japan compensates for the unfavorable balance on our trade with the 20 nations to the south of the United States.

Mr. Smith does acknowledge that the Filipino people are capable of governing themselves. He agrees—what most students of

government on our newspapers have long written—that for the United States to retain the sovereignty of the Philippines after having granted all power there to the Filipinos would be a very unusual situation—responsibility for the islands without real authority over the islands. There has never been a dominion where the people of the controlling state and the dependency were entirely different as to race.

The best and most balanced study of this whole subject is an article by Prof. A. Whitney Griswold, of Yale. It is called Our Policy in the Far East. It is in Harper's magazine for August 1940.

I have been on Guam and on Wake Island. They are in the western Pacific and so surrounded by Japanese islands that we can never make tenable forts on Guam or Wake. All we can make will be distant and untenable salients. No one objects to the several air bases in the eastern Pacific. There are several in the Aleutians, in Alaska, and others north and south of Hawaii. All this will, however, cost much more than the idea given the public simply by the naval estimates sent to Congress. Naval estimates for fortifying Guam and Wake run to the colossal sum of $350,000,000. But that includes no money for pay of soldiers of the Army Artillery to guard these places; for many large cannon and for concrete gun emplacements, barracks for soldiers and so on. This will amount to a great deal.

NEW TREATY ADVISED

My own conviction is—after 10 consecutive years' service with the Philippine government—that we ought to make with Japan a new treaty of trade and friendship. That the treaty should contain clauses indicating Japan's interest in the continued independence of the Philippines after 1946. Japan will not try to annex the Republic of the Philippines. She will not make a division of her fleet and armies with Soviet Russia so near at the north. Many Japanese have left the Philippines to return to Japan since the start of the war in China. In any event, Japan will have much of the trade with the Philippines. Japan has not the power or the desire to attack the United States. The distances are too great.

I hope the Filipinos will obtain the independence they have so long desired, and which we have so long promised them. I have affection and admiration for the Filipino people. But their country is too far from my country for continued political relations. The inevitable logic of geography is that we should control from the mid-Atlantic westward to the mid-Pacific, a matter of great expense. If we endeavor to maintain a navy large enough to try to defend the indefensible Philippines, and to aid the defense of South America, it will fetch financial ruin to my own country.

Statements to the effect that the Filipinos no longer desire independence are erroneous. They are, I believe, put out by people who desire our permanent control of and responsibility for the distant Philippines.

John Gunther, who visited Manila, says on page 300 of his book, Inside Asia, that, in his opinion, the sugar interests of the Philippines oppose independence for the Filipinos.

Sugar people at Manila desire to continue sending their costly sugar to the United States free of all duty. Such a practice would be against the interests of the farmers in many of our own States.

We have no territory in Asia proper and no political interests at all in Asia. We are not going to interfere in Asiatic affairs; the United States is not the guardian of Asiatic morals. The future of eastern Asia will inevitably be settled by the people who live there—by Japanese, Chinese, and Russians. Britain and France took much of the territory of China by force of arms. This includes places such as French Indochina, Hong Kong, and much of southwest China. They have made no proposal to return this territory to the Chinese.

We buy tin in Europe and America—from those who have smelters to which they take the ore they get in the Netherland East Indies or in other parts of the world. Rubber we buy from men who have stocks of it in Singapore, Liverpool, or other markets for rubber. We could, if it were necessary, send ships by the Atlantic to actually haul rubber and tin from Java. We need not send by way of Japan at all. Then the cooperation in the Far East with the British Fleet. We all know Britain has had no capital ships east of the Mediterranean since the Agadir explosion in Morocco in 1911. It is inevitable that the peoples who live in eastern Asia will settle the future of eastern Asia—what President Roosevelt called a sort of Monroe Doctrine for the Far East.

More than 5,000 of the some 20,178 Japanese residents of the Philippines, among the 16,000,000 Filipinos, have returned to Japan since the start of the China war.

I have walked many days and weeks in the Philippine jungles and mountains; have been rowed for days slowly up the great streams, such as the Rio Grande in northeast Luzon, the Agusan in northeast Mindanao, and the Cotabato in Mindanao. Reared on a farm. I was a capable observer of the forests, crops, and such matters.

The Philippines lack oil, rubber, usable coal, and genuine hardwoods.

The great forests of the Philippines are of softwoods. There is no real ebony or mahogany and the export of local hardwoods is nominal.

The coal in the islands is so soft that this article comes from Japan and Australia.

The present high price of gold makes gold mining again profitable; yet we are never told the cost at which the gold is produced.

The American Commission controlling the islands had the greatest ideas as to the production of the Philippines. Railways were built which did not return the amount of money borrowed in New York. The Filipinos have paid from their taxes large sums to make up the difference between earnings of the railways and this guaranty.

Press reports give account of several unusual public addresses by President Quezon. Mr. Quezon is said to have declared that political parties are not needed in a democracy, that they should be abolished. President Quezon has been voted by the assembly, at his request, many great additional powers over the liberties of individuals and over trade, commerce, labor, and other unusual "emergency" powers. The Filipino Civil Liberties Union has publicly stated its belief that this is an unmistakable sign that the President of the Commonwealth desires totalitarianism for the Philippines. I recollect recommending that Philippine independence be granted on July 4, 1940, when I testified before the Tydings Insular Committee in March 1939. Continuation of trade privileges ought to be at the same time granted the Filipinos for several years.

World War Service Given Credit in Computing Railroad Retirement Benefits

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

ANALYSIS PREPARED BY MURRAY W. LATIMER, CHAIRMAN OF THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, since the Railroad Retirement Act became effective thousands of World War veterans employed in the railroad industry were denied credit for the period of service rendered as members of the armed forces of the Nation.

On October 8, 1940, an amendment to the Railroad Retirement Act was approved which provides that certain military service rendered prior to January 1, 1937, and which includes the World War period, shall be credited toward retirement benefits under the 1935 and 1937 Railroad Retirement Acts.

Approximately 25,000 employees of the railroads of the United States who are World War veterans will benefit as the result of this amendment.

For the information of World War veterans affected by this legislation, the Honorable Murray W. Latimer, chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board, recently prepared the following interesting and informative analysis of the amendment for the guidance of all concerned:

CREDITABILITY OF MILITARY SERVICE TOWARD ANNUITIES UNDER THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACTS

A. WHEN MILITARY SERVICE MAY BE CREDITABLE

1. Military service is creditable only if two conditions are met by an individual:

(a) The military service must have been preceded by employer service rendered by the individual in the same or in the preceding calendar year; and

(b) The individual must be entitled to credit for employer service rendered prior to January 1, 1937.

2. Military service, to be creditable, must have been rendered prior to January 1, 1937, and either—

(a) During a war period; or

(b) Immediately after a war period by an individual who was in service at the end of a war period and was required to continue in military service; or

(c) During a period for which the individual was required by an act of Congress (or by regulation, proclamation, or order pursuant thereto) to enter and continue in military service.

3. Military service includes service in both the land and naval forces of the United States, including the air units of each.

B. NONCREDITABLE MILITARY SERVICE

1. Military service rendered after December 31, 1936. A bill is now pending in Congress which proposes to credit such service.

2. Military service rendered prior to January 1, 1937, by an individual who is not entitled to credit for service rendered prior to January 1, 1937, to an employer.

3. Any service entered upon voluntarily unless the individual entered such service during a war period.

4. In no event is credit given for military service unless the first day of military service which would otherwise be creditable is preceded by covered railroad service rendered either in the same calendar year in which such first day of military service occurs, or in the preceding calendar year.

5. Military service will in no event be creditable so as to make the total years of service more than 30.

C. TO GET CREDIT FOR MILITARY SERVICE INDIVIDUALS MUST FILE APPLICATION THEREFOR

(For instructions for filing application see notice below)

1. Individuals who are now receiving annuities based on 30 years of service cannot receive additional credit for military service. These individuals should not apply for military-service credit. Individuals now receiving annuities based on less than 30 years of service and whose annuities would be increased by crediting military service may apply for such credits.

2. Individuals who are entitled to credit for service rendered to employers prior to January 1, 1937, but whose claims for annuity have been denied because of insufficient service and who would be eligible if their military service were credited, should file a claim for such service.

3. Individuals whose applications for annuity are now pending before the Board, and who believe they have rendered creditable military service, should file claim for military-service credit if they have not claimed 30 years of employer service or if they believe it will not be possible to verify at least 30 years of employer service already claimed.

4. Individuals who have not yet filed applications for annuities and who desire to get credit for military service should so indicate on the application (revised form AA–1) or may attach the special form (RR–27) if the application blank used is an old one not including questions relating to military service.

D. NO DUPLICATION OF BENEFITS BASED ON MILITARY SERVICE

The benefits under the retirement acts resulting from crediting military service are subject to a reduction in cases in which the military service is used as a basis for payment of periodic benefits under any other act of Congress. In cases in which an individual would not be eligible for any railroad retirement annuity without the military service, such eligibility will be preserved regardless of the use of the military service as a basis for payment of other periodic benefits. In no event, however, will the reduction operate to decrease the amount of annuity based on other than military service.

E. MEETING COSTS OF CREDITING MILITARY SERVICE

The legislative history of the military-service amendment makes it clear that the additional costs will be met from general Government revenues. Taxes on employees and employers will not be affected.

NOTICE

Forms on which claims for military service may be made and instructions for their use will soon be available. There will be a special form (RR–27) on which persons who have already filed claims, or who in the near future use the old application form, may file application for military-service credits. The regular application and prior-service forms will be revised so as to permit a claim for military service on the same form with employer service. The special application form (RR–27) will be available by November 9 in Washington and shortly thereafter in the regional and district managers' offices. Revised regular application and prior-service forms will be printed as soon as possible.

Claims for credit for military service should be filed promptly on Form RR–27. Any questions about military service may be sent to the Board. However, the filing of claims for credit for military service should not be delayed because of such questions.

Labor Pledges Cooperation in Defense Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE WASHINGTON EVENING STAR

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, respectfully I recommend to every Member of the House a careful reading of the following article containing a statement of labor's record in the defense work and its pledge of continued full cooperation with the program. It would, I think, be wise for us to consider this before taking hasty action which might destroy a spirit and attitude which is priceless to our Nation at this time.

[From the Washington Evening Star]

ORGANIZED LABOR PLEDGES COOPERATION IN DEFENSE WORK—MEMBERS OF THREE GROUPS ASSURE HILLMAN OF SMOOTH PRODUCTION

Organized labor's cooperation in assuring uninterrupted production in defense industries was pledged today in a statement issued by the National Defense Commission's labor policy committee.

Representatives of the A. F. L., C. I. O., and the Independent Railroad Brotherhoods, meeting with Sidney Hillman, in charge of the Commission's Labor Division, issued a statement which declared:

"In this time of world crisis American labor is awake to the crucial need for a strong national-defense program. Labor recognizes fully that if the democratic way of life is to be preserved and enlarged our country must prepare itself for total defense, morally and materially. Labor knows that it is the first to be trampled under the march of dictatorship.

"Labor knows that if workers are to remain freemen, and keep their free choices, democracy—as a living faith, as a living reality—must be equipped to meet the threat of totalitarianism, within and without. Labor has been, and is, cooperating wholeheartedly throughout the entire defense effort. Until very recently no single serious interruption of production in defense industries had occurred; and then only two such work stoppages took place, the first lasting 6 working days, and the second 4 days.

"This record is ample evidence that labor recognizes the importance of continuous production to meet defense needs. Labor again reaffirms its assurance of cooperation with the national-defense program and further pledges itself to take no action which may in any way impede production before all conciliation facilities of the Federal Government for resolving any existing controversy have been exhausted."

Mr. Hillman declared that "the point of view expressed by this committee, which speaks for all sections of organized labor, again confirms, and underscores, what has been and remains the serious determination of labor's leaders and its rank and file to give unstinted support to insure the success of the national-defense program."

One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Bridgeport (Conn.) Times-Star

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS T. MALONEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE BRIDGEPORT (CONN.) TIMES-STAR

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Bridgeport (Conn.) Times-Star entitled "Our One Hundred and Fiftieth Year." The Bridgeport Times-Star is a newspaper which for a century and a half has contributed to the advancement of a great State and to the progress of our Nation since the days of George Washington.

I take pleasure in inserting this particular editorial in the RECORD because it permits me—although in a limited way—to pay tribute to those who have maintained a progressive attitude in an uncertain period.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Bridgeport (Conn.) Times-Star of November 20, 1940]

OUR ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH YEAR

Today the Times-Star begins its one hundred and fiftieth year of continuous publication and we begin it in the humble realization that there are many events more important than this to occupy men's thoughts today. But it is nonetheless heartening to know we have survived so long and grown so much, for this could not be possible without the confidence of our readers to sustain us.

It is idle, though it would no doubt be interesting, to look backward over the years since George Washington was President, when this newspaper, as the Farmer's Journal, later the Bridgeport Farmer, began. It is better to look around today and to look ahead into the future, to chart the course for the coming times.

We shall try as we have tried in the past to advocate causes which lead to the greatest good of the masses of people, to protest against too much power in the hands of those who do too much self-seeking.

We shall try to see the truth as clearly as possible and to adhere to it with all the courage at our command.

We shall hope to be as little diverted as possible by what may seem advantageous to ourselves and, if we stray from this course, we hope our readers will call us back to it.

In this kind of world, we may be pardoned if we prize the symbolism of a century and a half at our masthead, but prize even more highly than that the unashamed idealism which, in such measure as it is present, is the deathless and ageless sign of what we want to be in the newspaper field, and the reason, we know, for such public confidence as we enjoy.

A newspaper can continue to live—too long—by different principles than these. But it cannot grow greater and stronger without them. This is the way the Times-Star has grown in the past century and a half and this is the way it must follow in the years to come. To that course, as the one hundred and fiftieth year begins today, this newspaper dedicates itself.

National-Defense Training Program of the Civilian Conservation Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JED JOHNSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

LETTER FROM JAMES J. McENTEE, DIRECTOR OF THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS, TO PAUL V. McNUTT, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, for the information of Members of Congress as well as others interested, I am placing in the RECORD a copy of a communication on the program of the C. C. C. national-defense training program forwarded by James J. McEntee, Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, to Paul V. McNutt, Administrator of the Federal Security Agency. I am glad to call attention to this report, because it shows that in this critical period of our history the Civilian Conservation Corps is keeping up the fine record of accomplishment which it has maintained since the corps was launched in the spring of 1933.

When the corps was initiated its first major job was to furnish gainful employment to a vast army of young men caught in the backwash of economic depression. By placing these men in a great chain of outdoor camps and putting them to work on such projects as tree planting, the control of soil erosion and the demonstration of improved methods for saving the soil, the improvements of forests and parks for public use, and the development of vitally needed facilities for wildlife, the C. C. C. greatly alleviated the unemployment situation among young men and at the same time started the Nation on its first large-scale conservation program.

As the corps developed it was seen that the young men of the C. C. C. needed something more than jobs. They needed training which would help them to find and hold permanent employment. These youngsters also needed to be built up physically. They needed discipline, and they needed self-confidence.

On June 28, 1937, Congress approved legislation continuing the life of the corps and placing greater emphasis upon the development of vocational training in the C. C. C. camps. That the corps training programs have been successful is shown by the fact that over the last 7 years more than 500,000 young men have left the C. C. C. camps prior to the completion of their terms of enrollment to accept jobs outside the Government.

Mr. McEntee's communication discloses that C. C. C. officials are stressing those phases of its work and training programs which contribute the most to national defense. The 43,000 pieces of automotive and heavy machinery which the corps operates in the advancement of its work program are being utilized to train men as truck and tractor operators, and as maintenance and repair men. The work projects are utilized to train men as surveyors, as telephone line-construction workers and linemen, as road and bridge builders, as experts in the handling of dynamite and explosives, as construction men in such fields as the building of fire towers, truck trails, bridges, tool houses, cabins, large concrete dams and other structures, as welders, quarry workers, and as trained workers in many other types of work. In the camp kitchens and in cooks' and bakers' schools hundreds of men are now receiving practical training as cooks and bakers. Large numbers of the enrollees spend their evenings studying in camp educational schools or receiving vocational training in camp shops or in nearby vocational schools.

I am advised by Director McEntee that all junior enrollees are now required to take 15 minutes of physical training exercises every weekday morning and that all enrollees are required to attend Red Cross first-aid classes. There is no doubt but that the training enrollees receive, coupled with the experience obtained working in forests and fields and living in well-disciplined camps makes better workers and better citizens. I hope that arrangements can be made to increase the national-defense training received by enrollees. Such a step certainly would be in the national interest.

Mr. McEntee's letter follows:

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY,
CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS,
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR,
Washington, D. C., November 13, 1940.

Hon. PAUL V. McNUTT,
Administrator, Federal Security Agency,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. McNUTT: This is to advise that a survey completed a few days ago disclosed that the Civilian Conservation Corps, as of November 1, 1940, was providing practical experience and training related to national defense to more than 300,000 men, including 268,000 young men in their teens and early twenties, 27,500 war veterans, 7,000 Indians, and 4,000 residents of Alaska, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Virgin Islands. This training program ranges from courses in first aid, personal hygiene, safety, and physical hardening, which all enrollees are required to take, to the training of young men to become truck and tractor drivers, semiskilled mechanics, cooks and bakers, telephone linemen, or road and bridge construction workers.

Development of physical hardihood in young men—85 percent of the juniors in the corps are under 21 years of age—and practical training in construction occupations given enrollees while they are at work on full-time asset-producing jobs in our forests and parks are the capstones of the corps' training program. This type of training makes good citizens and good workers. It prepares young men for useful and productive lives. It is training that will prove of maximum value to young men, whether they are engaged in normal peacetime economic activities or in the defense of the Nation.

The corps' training activities have been revised to place maximum emphasis upon those phases of the program which contribute the most to national defense and good citizenship. They may be divided into four major classifications: Vocational, provided both on the job and in camp vocational shops and vocational schools and colleges adjacent to camp; health and citizenship training; academic courses taught in camp and nearby schools and colleges; and technical training related to camp administration.

All enrollees receive practical training on the job. This instruction ranges from training to develop what might, in want of a better term, be called trained workers, to the training of men in skills such as the operation and repair of vehicles, surveying, bridge building, telephone-line construction, carpentry, blasting, and the driving of heavy bulldozers and graders. About one-half of the enrollees supplement the practical instruction received on the job by taking vocational courses at night in camp shops or in nearby trade schools. Approximately 37 percent of the young men in the camps attend academic classes in the camp educational buildings or in nearby schools or colleges during their off hours.

Altogether there are many jobs or skills related to national defense in which enrollees receive instruction, during work hours, on camp work projects, in camp administration, in the operation of the central motor repair shops and in the repair of equipment in camp motor repair shops, in cooks' and bakers' schools and in camp kitchens. The following table shows some of these jobs and skills, together with the number of enrollees receiving this training during the regular workday:

Operators of trucks, tractors, power shovels, draglines, etc., and other heavy equipment	60,000
Road-construction workers	60,000
Building-construction men (including workers in concrete, practical carpenters, stone masons, painters, electricians, and plumbers, etc.)	25,000
Telephone-line construction workers	10,000
Operators of air hammers, air compressors	8,100
Blasters and powdermen	7,900
Bridge builders and bridge-construction workers	7,500
Semiskilled mechanics	500
Maintenance mechanics and mechanics' helpers	5,000
Practical welders	1,500
Practical blacksmiths	1,500
Surveyors, map makers, map readers, and draftsmen	3,000
Axmen, sawyers, sawfilers, and sawmill men	12,135
Operators of crushers	975
Pipe-line construction workmen	5,900
Quarry workers	6,200
Clerks	3,200
Warehousemen	3,000
Cooks	4,500

Bakers	2,000
Mess stewards	1,500
Supply stewards	1,500
Hospital and infirmary attendants	3,000
Radio operators	600

About one-half of the enrollees supplement the training which they receive on the work project by attending classes in camp vocational shops or nearby trade schools where training is available after the regular camp workday is over.

A list of the subjects available in these shops, together with an estimate of the number which will receive this training annually, follows:

Bookkeeping	2,000
Business mathematics	1,500
Business management	2,500
Typing	12,000
Office practice	3,000
Shorthand	1,500
Practical electrician	3,000
Radio work	3,300
Carpentry	8,500
Cabinetmaking	5,500
Masonry	1,000
Agriculture	5,000
Soil conservation	5,000
Forestry	7,000
Auto mechanics	15,000
Blacksmithing	2,500
Welding	2,500
Surveying	3,500
Drafting	3,000
Aircraft mechanics	1,000

One example of the values of such training is Company 2948, Vista, California. This camp has established a training program for aircraft construction workers. During the period October 1939 to October 1940, 124 enrollees completed their training and secured employment with firms such as Consolidated Aircraft Co. and Douglas Aircraft Co.

Another example is that of a C. C. C. radio school established at Fort Benning, Ga., in March 1939. Since that time 102 enrollee radio operators have been trained. A recent report from the War Department stated: "Agencies needing radio operators have made such demands on the school that at present the District radio net requiring 31 operators barely has sufficient men to operate all of its sets."

Recent instructions sent to the field make attendance at first-aid courses mandatory for all enrollees and daily calisthenics for all junior enrollees. This means that 300,000 men are now taking the Red Cross 20-hour first-aid course, and about 270,000 calisthenics.

Another 240,000 enrollees have received or are receiving training as forest-fire fighters.

The preparation of inexperienced, unemployed young men for maximum usefulness during national emergencies is a major objective of the national-defense program. To be fully effective, a youth-training program must turn out strong, healthy, alert citizens. The Civilian Conservation Corps has been aiding young men to build up their strength and vigor for 7½ years. Already 2,300,000 young men have been made stronger, healthier, and more immune from disease. They have become ablebodied men and good workers through hard outdoor work, through calisthenics, through good food, regular habits and hours, discipline, and excellent medical attention.

To the great majority of these men, enrollment in the C. C. C. meant their first baptism of work experience. These men have lived together in barracks; they have fought forest fires together; they have learned together to follow instructions. On the average, these men have gained from 7 to 15 pounds each, depending largely upon the length of time spent in the Corps. Each one has hardened his muscles and broadened his shoulders and increased his physical endurance.

In the C. C. C. each year at least one quarter of a million young men enter the camps and go through the rigors of camp life and through their first school of hard work. National preparedness is furthered by furnishing youth widespread practical experience and training in occupations concerned with engineering, construction, operating, repairing, and building.

The purpose of this report is to advise you of the corps' national defense training program. No attempt has been made to include in the above list of jobs a complete record of the results of C. C. C. training for youth. No figures are included showing the large numbers of enrollees who learn about practical conservation through working in forests, in parks or on farms threatened by erosion. Likewise, the fine results which come from raising the educational level of enrollees, important as they are to the national welfare, are barely touched upon.

It is sufficient to say that the entire pattern of camp life and discipline and work all contribute to the making of good citizens and good workers out of the hundreds of thousands of young men that each year go through the 1,500 C. C. C. camps. The corps' contribution to national-defense training and to a more vigorous youth population will increase as our program is perfected.

Sincerely yours,

J. J. McENTEE, *Director.*

The following summary will also be of special interest:

A brief summary of certain phases of the C. C. C. program in the United States. As indicated, the Civilian Conservation Corps, in its 7½ years of operation, has greatly advanced conservation efforts throughout the country and substantially aided national defense by improving the industrial usefulness and physical hardihood of 2,350,000 young men. Forestry experts of the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture state that reforestation, forest protection, and recreational development work have been advanced from 20 to 30 years. The C. C. C. work record includes the planting of more than 2,000,000,000 trees, development of recreational areas for millions of persons, and the prosecution of soil-conservation projects on millions of acres of farmlands. Earnings sent home by C. C. C. enrollees have helped more than 10,000,000 dependents. Nine C. C. C. companies are now on national-defense projects.

Aggregate number of men given employment April 1933 to Sept. 30, 1940 (estimated)	[1] 2,726,977
This figure includes:	
Junior and veteran enrollees	2,493,896
Nonenrolled personnel (camp officers, work supervisors, etc.)	233,081
Authorized number of enrollees in C. C. C. barrack camps	300,000
Indian enrollees	7,500
Territorials	4,000
Number of C. C. C. camps in operation as of Oct. 1, 1940	[2] 1,500
National, State, and private forests	611
Soil conservation	391
Fish and Wildlife Service	36
Bureau of Reclamation	44
National parks and monuments	109
State, city, and metropolitan parks	199
Grazing service	89
Army (defense)	9
Miscellaneous	12

April 1933–June 30, 1940

Forest trees planted—number	1,956,000,000
Forest stand improvements—acres	3,695,000
Fire hazard reduction—do	2,045,000
Fire fighting—man-days	5,743,000
Telephone lines—miles	79,538
Trails and minor roads—do	114,849
Erosion control planting—square yards	3,600,000,000
Trees planted on erosion control work—number	212,000,000
Erosion control check dams—do	5,456,000
Bridges, all types—do	44,300
Tree and plant disease and pest control—acres	19,870,000
Total obligations (estimated) April 1933–June 30, 1940 (includes obligations for food, shelter, construction of camps, transportation, personal services)	$2,460,000,000
Allotments to dependents by enrollees April 1933–June 30, 1940 (estimated)	$589,930,000

[1] Does not include reselections.

[2] In addition equivalent of 50 C. C. C. camps located on Indian reservations and in territories.

The Real Challenge to Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 12 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

LETTER FROM A CONSTITUENT

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written to me by one of my constituents. This is the challenge to democracy. This man spends his last 3 cents to mail a letter of appeal, not for charity, but for work. He is not heard. If some more Americans would look around this country to extend their efforts for aiding persons rather than looking across the oceans, they would be doing a better job for all concerned. This letter will not be printed in certain newspapers of the country, because they do not have room for it. They must publish the letters from Europe calling for help.

This is just one small incident, but it shows the real challenge to democracy.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CRAB ORCHARD, W. VA., *December 4, 1940.*

RUSH D. HOLT,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HOLT: This is my last and final letter. I have been out of work for 2 months now, and it doesn't seem I will ever find another job. So you can plainly see why I can't write you no more letters. This is the last 3 cents I have. I trust this 3 cents will be the means of me getting a job some place. I am in a desperate situation. I am facing starvation. If I just knew where I could find any kind of work I would be thankful.

Mr. HOLT, I am sorry I have troubled you so. But I have always admired you. And you are the only one I can look to for an answer. So if you will assist me in finding any kind of work I will certainly appreciate it.

Please let me hear from you soon if you know where I can find work.

Yours truly,

HENRY BURNETTE.

A New World Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN G. ALEXANDER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 12, 1940

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, at this Christmas season it is well that we think of our problems in terms of peace.

In discussing a new "world order" we must necessarily stop for a few moments to consider some of the new "world orders" which are being presented to us today, some in the name of peace, some in the name of war, and some in the name of prosperity and other promising pseudonyms.

In the time at my disposal I wish briefly to take up only three of these suggestions—first, Clarence Streit's idea of Union Now With the British Commonwealth of Nations; second, Adolf Hitler's idea of dividing the world into four sectors of life; and, thirdly, our ideal of American democracy for the entire world.

Clarence Streit suggests as the solution for our problems, both world and national, that there should be a political joining or amalgamation of the British Commonwealth of Nations with these United States of America, or, as he calls it, "A Union Now." We must differentiate here between the British Empire, which takes in all British colonial possessions, such as India and undeveloped African colonies, and the British Commonwealth, which takes in only England, Wales, and Scotland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and Eire.

This union with the United States would undoubtedly be a good thing for the British, as it would bolster up their resources and defenses, although they might have a little difficulty in deciding to move the capital for this union to Washington, and also the question of whether we would insist on doing away with all titles of nobility, as we did when we formed this Nation originally, might be a point for some mutual discussion.

I doubt if such a union would have much real advantage for the United States. Surely such a political affiliation would immediately make us a part of the war. In case of a wedding of the sort visualized by Streit, you could not expect the tough old British Empire to do anything but use the rich young United States money, merchant ships, Navy, air force, and the manpower to go with them in order to force its domination on the world. And I do not think we have any great number of such imperialists in America, although many are sympathetic with England.

We have a legally binding Neutrality Act on the statute books which says we are neutral, and so far no one has suggested that we violate it by organizing a union now with Germany and her empire of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Holland, Denmark, Belgium, France, Rumania, Hungary, and according to a news dispatch I have here from the front page of the Washington Times-Herald of December 8, date lined Rome, it says German-Swedish treaties similar to the German-Rumanian are imminent as well as German-Yugoslav.

But then there would hardly be room in the newspapers for the necessary propaganda to sell the German Empire to us, too, because our best newspapers are so filled with the other sort. Will someone suggest that the Dies committee investigate it as flagrantly unpatriotic and un-American?

As a sample as I prepare this article, I have before me the current and latest issue of the Washington Post of Wednesday, December 11, 1940. In the 130 inches of reading matter on the front page, which means leaving out a small picture, the main 5-column headlines, the index, and a book advertisement, there are 8 articles in 74 column inches of pro-British news and propaganda besides the first and main headline, which is also a sales talk for the British. Subtracting 74 inches from 130, we get 56 inches left for the United States, national defense, other world activities, general news, and local affairs. Of these 56 inches, 4 items, totaling 26 inches, are about national-defense problems, 2 items are very unimportant human-interest stories, 1 is a Christmas-needs story, and 11½ inches is a report of a story of Hitler's recent speech to German workers.

All of this may sound as if I am attacking the British Empire and British propaganda. It is not presented here for that purpose. I am only giving you the facts as I have found them. I am neither pro-German nor pro-British, but simply 100 percent pro-American.

If this is a fair sample of what we are getting today from our newspapers, it is no wonder they are finding it necessary to carry expensive advertisements in popular magazines, such as the New York Times has at page 6 in the current issue of Time, and the twin advertisements in the same magazine in last week's issue inserted side by side by the Minneapolis Star-Journal and the Chicago Daily News, all of which are saying, "We print all the news, and do it fairly," as if to reassure themselves. Other illustrations of the fact that our so-called leading newspapers are putting in and selling to the public what they want to sell can be gained from reading the report by Theodore Granik, of the American Forum of the Air, held here on November 17, entitled "The Press and the Presidential Election."

It is no wonder that a top-ranking Senator recently said about a paper on the floor of Congress, "It does not want the truth; and if it ascertains it, it never uses it, and would not publish it if it obtained it."

For more information on this subject and the interrelated one of the interlocking directorates held by the British and their stock-ownership control of most of our large banks, insurance companies, and other corporations in America, I suggest all true, bone-honest Americans get a copy of Senator RUSH HOLT'S article on page 13859 in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of December 9, entitled "British Interests in American Business." The reasons for our newspapers' lopsided presentations may not be far from that interrelation just mentioned.

But to get back to Streit's Union Now. As I have just indicated, we already have virtual union, except in the realm of a joint political organization; but what has it accomplished in the way of solving either our problems or those of the world?

It seems to me that adoption of the Streit plan would still leave us with large sectors of these problems still unsolved. For instance, we would still have the League of Nations sector, the International Labor Office—and all of its unsolved problems would still be a thorny crown—the Pan American Union, the Axis, the Soviets, the Japanese sector, and finally the British Empire problem of what to do as far as we of the United States are concerned in event of a union with England, with the British Crown colonies. Not a single one of these seven things would be solved by a union with the British Commonwealth of Nations. For us it would only make each of these problems more severe and more pertinent even than today, because underneath the propaganda painted

soft glove of federal union of the English-speaking countries would be concealed the mailed fist of a military alliance for war. Of course, it depends on one's viewpoint and personal interest as to whether this would be a major calamity, but judging from the several thousand requests for copies of my broadcast of last Saturday entitled "What Are We Fighting Over?" there is a great multitude in this country who are keenly sensitive to our exact problems and needs.

Now, let us examine what will be the possible line-up in this new world order that Hitler speaks of. Judging from his recent moves, if there is anything to Hitler's sales talks about a new order, it must be that he wants to unite Europe and Africa from Scandinavia to and through the Tropics into deepest Africa, thus combining Europe's great industrial centers with Africa's raw materials and agricultural largesse. He may even call it the United States of Europe.

In this new world order Russia would, perchance, then be given India, the Malay States, and perhaps the Dutch and British East Indies and Australia, thus also giving her an empire from the North Pole through into the South Seas, with their tremendous stores of raw materials and tropical delights. As an answer to the problems of an outlet to ocean routes and as a sales talk, did it ever occur to you that this pawn might well be used by Hitler to get Russia's permission to go through the Dardanelles into Asia Minor?

This would also leave Japan free to extend her dominion over a great Asiatic empire of 600,000,000 people by completing her domination, if not conquest, of China, then on into the Philippines, and perhaps even other island kingdoms of the oriental seas.

As the remaining quarter sector of the world we have left the North and South American continents, and, of course, with our Monroe Doctrine and our matchless Navy and great Army and air force in the making, there would be plenty of cause for Hitler's new orders to stop, look, and listen before assaulting any part of the Americas, although it does look bad for that little island of England if such a world quartering is carried out.

For that reason, is it not best for all and positively in the interest of England as well as the United States to call a halt to the whole proceedings while there is still an England to worry about? I have here a letter from some cousins of a friend of mine in Minneapolis, dated October 28, 1940, which expresses the thought in terms of the scene of war.

I quote:

Worthing, Sussex, England—We have been listening to the radio all day telling the story of the attacks—the wickedness of it. The only thing to do is to do our best to stop this awful wave of lawlessness and gangsterism that is sweeping over the world. If we can't stop it, then we are better all dead. Life simply is not worth living under such conditions.

So the question we Americans are faced with is: Shall we join up with England as proposed in Union Now and be a one-eighth sector in solving the world's problems, and from them our own; shall we let Hitler's new order go through, content on our part to be the dominant factor in a one-fourth sector; or shall we try to organize the world for peace before any of these events occur? To do the first undoubtedly means war; to do the second means a long drawn-out and grueling contest, both economic and military, and would drain our resources to the bone; and to do the latter by the adoption by Congress of my House Joint Resolution 610 would safeguard all we value and esteem. This resolution provides for the calling of a peace conference sponsored by all neutral nonwarring nations and for the organization of a just and peaceful world union of nations based on our own ideals of American democracy applied to all nations and peoples in a modern version of the Declaration of Independence, of the Constitution, and Bill of Rights worked out for a united states of the world.

Some may say this is not feasible; but do not be deceived as to the sound instincts of humanity. The common people all over the world are weary unto death right now with oppression and war. A strong lead by the strongest nation in the world would immediately win the devotion of countless millions of these as well as peoples still not involved in war. Our cooperation with either side offers people in the occupied territories only the choice between two evils—British or German military occupation. But a peace move based on justice and leading to rational organization will give people all over Europe something to be for. The feeling of insurgency and independence would rise in conquered territories and sweep oppression out.

Many organizations and individuals are interested and cooperating in a real movement for a new world order and others are sending in their names daily. One of the best things along this line is now being developed by Prof. W. F. Gerhardt, of Wayne University, Detroit, where, interested in our problems from the social dynamics standpoint, they have a model world democracy project set up and in the making. They are taking also H. G. Wells' World Charter as an additional suggestion from which to proceed.

In such an all-embracing pact the rights and limitations of each and every people and nation should be clearly fixed, the principles underlying the relations of governments toward one another definitely laid down, and all international agreements and obligations ascertained and determined. This commonwealth must, so far as I can visualize it, consist of a world legislature, whose members will, as the trustees of the whole of mankind, ultimately control the resources of the component nations and will enact such laws as shall be required to satisfy the need and adjust the relationships of

A world executive must aid in preserving the peace of the all races and peoples.

world and in seeing that its international laws are obeyed and its organic unity is safeguarded. A world tribunal must adjudicate and deliver its compulsory and final verdict in all disputes arising between the various nations. That would be better than settling disputes by war, would it not? At least that is the way we settle disputes in this country between States and between people, so I assume it is a qualified method.

A world script, a world literature, a uniform and universal system of currency, of weights and measures, will simplify education, trade, and business problems and will produce a better, friendlier understanding among the nations and races of mankind. In such a world society, science and religion, the two greatest forces in human life, could be reconciled and would work together instead of out of harmony as they seem to be now as we practice the art of war.

In the name of peace, sanity, and clarity, I wish you would all begin to think seriously of these things. Some thought is being given to the calling of a Nation-wide conference to work for these objectives. If you are interested, I shall be glad to hear from you and in the name of such a movement I wish you all a happy Christmas and a hopeful New Year.

The Farm Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES F. O'CONNOR

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

LETTER FROM A CONSTITUENT

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

RUDYARD, MONT., *November 29, 1940.*

Representative JAMES F. O'CONNOR,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. O'CONNOR: As you know, the farm problem is as yet unsolved.

I often wonder if a Congressman ever does get a true picture of what legislation he supports really helps or hurts or even destroys those that the Congressman honestly intended to be benefited by such legislation.

I have noticed that it is always the ones that are benefited that always get in contact and get a hearing, while the average citizen

does not, and it is the average citizen that is not forward and his opinion is seldom heard. It is this fact that has prompted me to write you this letter. It is the only way open to those of us who are trying to show the inequalities and injustices in the present Farm Act.

The small, family-sized, self-sustaining, bona fide resident farmers that have kept their cash-crop acreage down to a minimum voluntarily are required to reduce their acreage still more in order to comply and qualify for benefit payments, when their acreage is really too small to sustain their operations. They are the ones that are forced to stay out of the present program. The large, nonresident farmers, with a full base cash-crop acreage and farming on a large scale with no improvement taxes, can farm cheaper, and then the payments are usually twice as much as the small farmer receives on the same number of acres. It is the large producers that get the headlines and get to talk to his Congressman. He is the one that is taking those payments and buying the land away from the small producers and forcing them out of business and onto relief.

Now after 7 years of penalizing the small producers and forcing hundreds of thousands of farmers off from the farms the truth is just beginning to get a little notice.

Let me repeat, it is the small producer that is forced to stay out of the farm program. It is true here in Hill County, Mont. The Superintendent of the Census report shows there were 1,246 farms in Hill County as of April; 5 years ago there were 1,525 farms, a loss of 279 farms, or about 18 percent. A continuation of the present program will reach around 40 percent of the farmers being forced out of business and onto relief in the next 4 years.

What is to be done about it? There must be a way out of this situation, and it must be done immediately. As for me, I would not take any acres away from any bonafide resident farmer unless he was selfish and farmed an excessively large acreage and produced more than a reasonable reserve against the hazards of the business.

I noticed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD where you had said that if giving Cuba such a large quota of sugar to be imported into the United States meant putting the American producers onto relief, that you would rather the Cuban farmers were forced onto relief than the American farmers. Mr. O'CONNOR, why would not that logic also apply to the producers of all other American products—wheat, cotton, tobacco, apples, tomatoes, potatoes, and all competitive products of which we can produce economically? All of these injustices to the American producers should be corrected, and moreover they must be corrected if our economic problem is to be solved. There is no other way.

It was not production that broke down. It was the distributing or marketing system that failed. It is there and there only that the solution can be found. It must be solved by the National Government.

We find the Agricultural Department limiting production to balance the supply with the demand so the prices will rise up to parity; then the State Department lowering tariff duties on the very same products. Statistics show those competitve products are entering the American markets and going directly into the American consumer channels, while our own products are under loans and withheld from our own markets waiting for the prices to rise up to parity. That kind of a conflicting policy cannot work, and has not worked; that is evident. As the total maximum consumption is also equivalent to what the market will pay parity prices for, more than what the distributors can move directly into the trade channels is bound to pile up as surpluses and depress the prices. We American producers are entitled to our own markets, and as we are on a higher standard of living than any other people in the world we must have our markets protected. To allow the foreign producers to import competitive products takes that much cash or purchasing power away from the American farmers and gives it to the foreign farmers.

It is said what is imported amounts to only about 7 to 10 percent of the total consumption, but, as what is consumed by the farmers and owners of acre tracts is included in the estimated total consumption, and from which there is no cash returns or buying power, it really amounts to about 25 percent of the cash or buying power paid out by the American people for what they eat, wear, and use. It means 75 percent buying power for the American farmer and 25 percent for the foreign farmers.

The industrialists gain no more business when the Government allows the foreign producers to exchange competitive products for the industrial goods from the United States, for the simple reason the market will not absorb only what there is a demand for, whether the American or the foreign producers market that product. If we farmers cannot get enough income to buy, we cannot buy and pay for what we really need.

It is my belief Congress wishes to correct injustices in their legislation when it is shown that it is destroying instead of helping those they honestly intended to help.

It is Europe and Asia that are overpopulated and need imports of the products they cannot produce sufficient amounts of to sustain themselves; yet they have been compelled to establish the quota system to keep what they could not use off from their markets. They cannot let down the bars and permit an unlimited amount of products to glut their markets.

I wish to say I believe every Congressman should forget politics and give the world economic problem serious consideration, in order to understand what should be done for our own best interests. I do wish to say this: I believe we can solve our own marketing problem right within our own boundaries; and we need not destroy the small resident farmer to do it.

In conclusion, let me say I do not believe you or the President, either, intended to destroy the small farmer. Let me ask, Does the President know that the farm program is putting the small farmer out of business, or is that fact kept from him?

Sincerely yours,

FRED ATER.

National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SHERMAN MINTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 16 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY W. L. BATT, OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE ADVISORY COMMISSION

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, on December 4, 1940, Mr. W. L. Batt, Deputy Commissioner, Industrial Materials Division, National Defense Advisory Commission, delivered a very interesting address on the subject of national defense, before the annual dinner of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in New York City. That address has been widely commented upon throughout the country. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Some men I know—and you know them, too—insist on evaluating any given situation entirely in terms of historical precedent. Present conditions and future possibilities are judged by them on the basis of the past—by looking backward into time and experience. They are satisfied to rest their judgment in a conscious or subconscious conviction that somewhere in recorded history there will be found a valid precedent for today, and that therefore the chapter of history that follows that precedent will tell the story of tomorrow. Such men look only backward.

Other men completely reject the value of precedent, assume that there is no historical parallel for the conditions of today, and allow their imagination to paint vivid pictures of a future bearing no resemblance to the past or the present. Such men look only forward.

Still others, of course, look neither backward nor forward. They neither bolster their judgment with precedent nor unleash their imagination for a picture of the future. They simply stand pat—blindfolded and helpless.

For my part I would ignore that third group and combine the viewpoints of the other two. I would recognize some value in historical precedent as a guidebook on cause and effect as a possible key to the puzzle of the future. But I would not be bound by such precedent to interpreting the future only in terms of the past.

What I am trying to say was once much better said in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, chapter 13, verse 12:

"For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known."

The ninth verse of the same chapter reads:

"For we know in part, and we prophesy in part."

I should like to take part of the time I have with you tonight to peer through a glass, darkly; to try to make out from the murky, shifting lines of the future some hint of what shape they may take when we meet them "face to face."

I do not know how successful we shall be. I only know that this is our duty, that we are challenged by humanity, civilization, and decency and by our own self-interest to try to see through the glass that we may act as wisely as possible.

And why is this such an important duty? What aspect of today makes it so imperative that we forget the pleasures of living this moment and strain our eyes and minds in the difficult task of making out the future? Why? Because there is a war going on all over the world—a war that threatens to destroy all the progress of the human race for hundreds of years without wiping out any of its mistakes. Because civilization is rocking on its foundation. Because the highest political ideals that man has evolved are in imminent danger of extinction. Because our progress and our civilization and our political ideals are in the balance.

Here we are on the very edge of a world in flames. Our neighbor's house is burning, and unless he can put out the fire with what help we give it soon will spread to our own dwelling place. In recognition of this danger we have set out upon the most gigantic program of armament ever undertaken by any country in history—a program that will roughly double an already great navy, quintuple our Army, and multiply a projected air program at least five times. And yet, I have a definite impression that the people of this country do not understand either the size or the pressing urgency of this

undertaking. Too many of us are still thinking in terms of business as usual. Too many leaders of enterprise are still thinking of their individual competitive positions instead of gearing their respective capacities to the united effort of a whole industry. Too many labor leaders are still engrossed with personal or organizational rivalries. Too many taxpayers are complacently viewing the cost of this program as something that somehow will be met without any personal inconvenience or contribution.

I find in meeting people throughout the country that they are curious but uninformed about the fundamentals of our national-defense program. I am told, for instance, that on the Information Please radio program a week or so ago, that group of amazingly well-informed men did not know the specific jobs of Defense Commissioner William S. Knudsen, E. R. Stettinius, Jr., and Leon Henderson. How many of you here tonight do?

I do not know where the fault lies or what is the explanation. Perhaps we have undergone a national psychological let-down from the tense excitement of last May and June. Perhaps we are too cocksure of our ability to do bigger and better things than anybody else in the world.

But we are attempting to do more in 2 years than Germany did in 6—Nazi Germany, whose entire national existence was geared to this one job of armament. We are attempting to do more than the British Empire has been able to do in 4 years—some 15 months of it under war conditions.

We must grasp the enormity of these facts and what they mean. We must somehow jar ourselves out of an attitude which, if not complacent, is, in my opinion, at least too easy going.

So, before we begin probing into the future, we must first understand clearly the scope and something of the pattern of what we are trying to do right now. We must get it through our heads, by constant repetition if necessary, that modern war is a life-and-death struggle between the total economic strength of the opponents. That applies not only to war but to defense against war. For you must remember that preparation for the fighting going on today began a long time ago, and that the wiping out of a great city like Southampton is only a final phase of that effort. War in the military sense is only the final chapter in the story of a conflict that started years before with the gathering of raw materials, the building of tools, and the planning of production lines. We hope that the names of those of us engaged in today's defense job will never be read in a final military chapter of this struggle. But we do know that unless we do this job well, our names may play a prominent part—in a tragic ending.

We are now engaged in the struggle to gather raw materials, build the tools, and plan the production lines. Let me say again that this does not mean we must eventually get into war. As a matter of fact, the better we do this job, the faster we build our guns and tanks and bombers, the less chance there is of our ever having to use them.

I mentioned just a moment ago the gathering of raw materials. Now that may not sound so difficult. Not for a Nation that is the greatest producer and processor of raw materials in the world. Not for a Nation that comes closer to self-sufficiency than any other political unit on the face of the globe. But the United States is not only the greatest producer and processor of raw materials, it also is the greatest user of raw materials. It is the most highly industrialized Nation on earth, and its degree of self-sufficiency is only relative. We still must import substantial quantities of 15 industrial minerals, not to mention the nonmineral raw materials we do not have, some of which, such as rubber, are vital to armament production. The Army and Navy Munitions Board lists 14 materials as strategic—that is, materials which are not produced domestically at all, or not in sufficient quantities to support a major defense effort. There are 17 more critical materials, which we would have some difficulty in obtaining in adequate quantities.

Now you have been hearing a good deal lately about steel capacity. But all the capacity in the world for fabricating and processing steel would do us no good whatever without chromium and manganese, without nickel and tungsten. We are confident that our great automotive industry will be able to turn out more and better vehicles of transport for a motorized army than anybody else in the world. But those vehicles are no good unless they have rubber tires on which to roll. Each of these commodities I have just mentioned—chromium, manganese, nickel, tungsten, and rubber—are strategic materials. Unless they are available in the required amounts we might as well go back to flintlocks and horses.

Let me repeat some figures that I already have used on two occasions, and probably will use again. The United States normally consumes about 60 percent of all the rubber produced in the world, about 40 percent of the world's production of tin, about 45 percent of the world's chromium, 56 percent of silk, 40 percent of nickel, 26 percent of manganese, and 33 percent of antimony. All these are strategic materials. The great bulk of what we use of these commodities must be imported, usually from distant sources over routes that are already closed or threatened with disruption. When you add on top of that normal consumption the abnormal demands of an unprecedented armament program, and the incalculable but heavy demands of Great Britain, it is plain that we have a staggering task to perform at the very outset of the program, to assure sufficient supplies of the raw materials we are going to need.

Remember that we got away to a slow start and that there are many obstacles—problems of production, finance, shipping. It is impossible to know if there is a deadline for completion of the job, and, if so, when it will be. This is the task that has been turned over to the Industrial Materials Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission, in which I serve as Deputy Commissioner, under E. R. Stettinius, Jr., a man whose job the experts of Information Please could not name, but who has one of the greatest responsibilities in the United States today.

There are several avenues of approach to the problem and we must use all of them, must overcome the inhibitions imposed by years of experience with normal business practices under peacetime conditions. Domestic production, if any, must be expanded; new sources close to home must be searched out and exploited; stock piles must be purchased and placed in reserve; substitutes must be discovered and used where practicable; salvage and reclamation schemes must be formulated and tucked away in a bottom drawer for use "if, as, and when." Given time, we can be prepared in this vital sphere of defense, but we never know if we are to be granted the time. It is a big job, and many of us have not yet realized it.

I have neither the time nor the knowledge to go into the details of the tool making and production planning that also must take place before we have weapons in great quantities, although I should point out that if anyone complains that this program is lagging, he should look behind the scenes a little. There, in quarries and mines and on plantations throughout the world, on drawing boards and in tool shops, is where our national-defense program is now making progress. We have passed the phase of letting contracts. We are, as Bill Knudsen says, "tooling up." Unfortunately, that does not attract headlines. It would be more than unfortunate if the country were to draw the conclusion that we are standing still.

We have a gigantic national job to do. It is, of necessity, barely getting started. Its urgency cannot be exaggerated. There will be many and painful delays. Only by the unswerving determination of a united people can it be done. So much for the present picture.

But what about the end result of this colossal world revolution and our preparation to defend ourselves against it? What about the future? We must face the perfectly plain, inescapable, and inevitable fact that when this war is over, no matter who wins, the world will not resemble the world of 1939.

I need not elaborate on the differences if the Nazis and their satellites come out on top. But what if Britain wins? Will it be the same old story of the World War all over again, with the same old British Empire under the same leadership restored to a position of world dominance? We need only look to recent developments for a clear enough indication that the answer to that question is "no." I want to go on record right here with the assertion that capitalistic imperialism and individual control of great financial and economic power is as dead in England today as the feudal system. The social and financial aristocracy that has directed the affairs of the British Empire for so long has seen its day.

The British workingmen—the wage earners of the lower and middle classes—are the ones who have borne the brunt of this war's terror and in whose hands now rests the fate of the Empire. It is they, not the old leaders, who cry out, "This war will bloody well be fought to a finish." Britain may go down, but no compromise settlement will be engineered behind their backs. Their spirit is the soul of England today—our guaranty that if we send help it will be put to the use for which it was intended. And they are in the saddle. When the fighting is over and Britain has won, they will remain in the saddle. Whatever the precise form of England's government, I should think that you can put it down as a fact that one of her leaders will continue to be Ernest Bevin, now Minister of Labor, a trade-union leader with a record and personality and capacity for governing that has earned him the respect of all England, including his former political opponents. Do not forget that two out of seven members of the war Cabinet—Bevin and Herbert Morrison, who started as an errand boy and became one of the ablest administrators in Britain—belong to the Labor Party. They are taking on more and more influence and responsibility, not by backstage maneuvering but because this war is being fought by the middle and working classes. And these men, as representatives of those classes, are taking on an ever-increasing share of the burden of government. London might well have been lost during the worst days of the early air raids if the transport workers had not been willing to carry on; but they did carry on, not only because they were brave men and devoted to their country's fight for life but also because they were satisfied that they were represented in the Government and would have something to say about things when the war is over. According to Bevin, the war must be followed by "economic reconstruction of the whole foundation of society. * * * The task of rebuilding the world has to be done by the working class."

There, then, is a phenomenon of great importance; if Britain is victorious, it will be because of a new kind of leadership—a leadership of the working people—of the people who stand the brunt of the struggle—out of whose burning sacrifices has grown this epic soul. British labor has been a hundred years trying by one means and another to reach this leadership; now it has it.

Yes, you say, but Britain is at war, and war breeds fundamental changes, while we are not at war; we are only building up our country's defenses. Stated simply, that is true. But if we are to build our defenses high enough and fast enough to be as safe as we can in a dangerous world, we must do some things that will affect our economy almost as much as active participation—perhaps more than Britain's early war effort affected her economy. For as recently as the middle of June last the conservative and sedate London Economist had this to say: "British industry, by and large, has until recent weeks been making the maximum effort compatible with no disturbance to its continuation now or to its profit-making capacity hereafter."

And let us remember one other thing: That the most violent disturbance to our own national economy during the World War took place not while we were participants, but before. It was during 1915 and 1916, when our export trade was twisted and distorted, and our eventual Allies were placing huge munitions orders in our industrial plants, that we whirled down the road to inflation, that commodity prices increased by 100 percent and more, and that wages and the cost of living doubled. It was then that we began to change from a debtor to a creditor nation, shipping out of this country, in the 25 years following 1914, $32,000,000,000 more in goods than we brought in.

Are we not now engaged in a program which will have still more profound effects on our Nation and its relationships to a world whose make-up we cannot even clearly imagine? I think so.

Once again our export picture has undergone a complete change as a result of the war to date. Our normal peacetime sales abroad of agricultural and consumer goods has been almost entirely replaced by war material. Cotton and tobacco and typewriters and apples are not being sold abroad now, but in their place airplanes, machine tools, and army trucks, and materials like iron and steel and copper, needed by British war industries.

While this is going on our own defense program is tending to make us more than ever self-sufficient, reducing our dependence upon purchases abroad. When this emergency is over and we are trying to convert our defense factories into producers of consumer goods for sale abroad, we shall find that we require fewer products and materials from abroad than ever before. And you know that foreign trade must work both ways. We cannot sell to other countries unless we in turn buy from them. Specifically, the more manganese we produce domestically the less we buy from foreign producers, and the fewer dollars they have with which to buy our cotton and apples and electrical appliances. Out of sheer necessity we acquired a chemical industry during the World War, and we are likely to acquire new industries and new sources of materials out of this emergency. Once it is over, will we repeat the old formula of subsidies of one kind or another to maintain war-stimulated domestic production? Will we put up another Smoot-Hawley tariff to close our markets to foreign goods, and thereby close foreign markets to our goods?

This is only one of an array of vital problems that this war and our national-defense program are creating for us. Industrial problems: What to do with the excess manufacturing capacity we are creating. Labor problems: Where to find jobs for the men we are training for the production of wartime products. Political problems: Who is to own and operate the plants that the Government is building or paying for in one form or another. Financial problems: What to do about the Federal debt incurred by necessarily huge spending for defense. Monetary problems: What about the gold base when we own most of the gold in the world. All these and many more will present staggering difficulties. Am I, then, a pessimist about the future? Only to the extent that I am convinced we have our work cut out for us; that there are dark days ahead unless we look realistically at what is happening around us.

Well, what can we do about it? We have said that whether we like it or not, whether we send more help to Britain or none at all, whether we become an active participant or remain on the sidelines, this war has and is and will have a tremendous impact upon our national life. No matter who wins, the world will be fundamentally changed, and we shall have to deal with new and startlingly different sets of circumstances. The twin facts that a world war is in progress and that we are engaged in a defense program that cannot help but have tremendous repercussions throughout our national economy, means that we must constantly keep an eye to the future effect of what is going on today—both in the immediate future and the long-range future.

We must examine our every move for its short-term effect on the economy. Shall we permit marginal demands to upset our price structure by simply sitting back and letting the supply-demand situation adjust itself? Specifically, should we permit the price of copper to go up 2 cents a pound because we are going to need a little more copper than we can produce domestically at the going price—an increase that would cost the Nation's consumers $40,000,000 a year and threaten to touch off a price spiral that might lead to general inflation? Or should we take some action such as importing a small pool of copper sufficient to care for the marginal demand, and thus keep copper prices where they are? Or take the problem of steel capacity. Yesterday's paper carried a story in an inconspicuous corner of the financial page that steel mills will boost operating schedules to 96.9 percent of capacity this week. "This week," continues the story, "will see the greatest amount of steel ever produced in a similar period."

We have been charting this upward movement in the steel industry's operating rate for many months in Washington. We have also been finding out from the Army and Navy what the defense demand will amount to. Probable British needs have been estimated next. Finally we have added in the probable nondefense demand, which will naturally increase as the effect of defense spending is felt. Stacking this total figure up against present steel capacity, we have about come to the conclusion that added capacity is the only alternative to rationing.

I am convinced that the steel industry must enlarge its capacity, and I see indications that the industry realizes it, too.

But the mere adding of new capacity will solve only our immediate problem. We must look ahead to the day when steel operations will be severely curtailed, and we must set up machinery now for systematically retiring our old and uneconomic capacity when that day comes.

These are examples of the type of problem that presents itself from day to day as we go along with the program. Such problems alone are enough to tax the men who are engaged in the immediate and urgent task of arming the Nation. But there are others—more complex and long range—for which these men have no time.

Therefore it seems to me essential that we immediately create a small group of the ablest men in the country who would be charged with studying these long-range problems and working out solutions in advance. They ought to be set off in a corner by themselves, instructed to forget all about the immediate problems of procuring war material, except as it affects the future national economy. They should set to work now on the preparation of an industrial demobilization plan. Nations have spent decades preparing plans for the conversion of a peacetime economy to a wartime economy. So far as I know, nobody has seriously undertaken the preparation of plans for the opposite process—converting a wartime economy back to a peacetime economy. That might involve the discovery and development of new processes and new products for civilian consumption that could be manufactured on the same machines that now are turning out or preparing to turn out products that are useless in times of peace, plans for the absorption of our newly trained labor in peaceful pursuits, the fundamental policies of a foreign-trade policy in a world that will be vastly different from that with which we have ever dealt before.

This group would need inventors and research scientists, trade experts and fiscal experts, men of practical knowledge and great vision. They should devote their entire time to the formulation of the best plans that could be evolved for the utilization of our entire resources for the improvement of our standard of living, for the protection of our national economy from the repercussion not of war but of peace, for the conversion of the processes of economic waste to the processes of economic usefulness.

It is, as I said earlier, immensely important that we try to see through the glass, darkly, to make out at least the type and possible shape of the problems we shall meet face to face in the future. And when we discover that these problems will be many and varied and of tremendous significance to our future well-being, then we must meet the next challenge of duty, which is to undertake immediately the formulation of plans for their solution. This was entirely ignored during the World War, and we have not yet rid ourselves of some of the problems that might have been solved before the war was over if we had had the foresight to do it. In the meantime a new war has come along that will create changes of far greater importance. The men who are devoting their time and efforts to the solution of our armament problem have no time for worrying about the disarmament problem. If we wait until the end of the war, it will be too late.

There is, in Washington and elsewhere, a general recognition of the importance of planning for post-war adjustments. But as far as I am aware, there is no coordinated thinking along these lines, no organized group with a specific directive. I think that there should be, and I hope to see it accomplished in the near future, for there is no time to waste. If I have seemed pessimistic in some of the things I have said, let me now prove that I am really an optimist. I sincerely believe that if we tackle this problem of post-war demobilization of industry and manpower with all the energy we are now devoting to the opposite process, we can build an economy and a standard of living the like of which the world has never dreamed of. We can, in that process, lay the groundwork for an industrial system that will have as its only limits the limits of available manpower for production. This system would be based on a price structure designed to reach a vast reservoir of potential consumers that have in the past only been able to afford the basic necessities of life.

We would then not only be making plans for the demobilization of a wartime economy but also planning for the mobilization of all our resources—human and material—for better living in a world at peace.

French Spoliation Claims

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 16 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

STATEMENT BY TUMULTY & TUMULTY

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, the French spoliation claims have had the attention of Congress for many years. No doubt, when the present emergency ends, more will be heard on the subject.

Early in the present session, as chairman of the Claims Committee, I appointed a subcommittee consisting of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], and the Senator from Wisconsin

[Mr. WILEY]. On June 22 the majority and minority reports of that subcommittee were printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

In order that all the light available may be shed on this interesting subject, and preserved for future reference, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able and illuminating discussion of the claims, prepared by the well-known law firm of Tumulty & Tumulty.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TUMULTY & TUMULTY,
Washington, D. C., December 10, 1940.

Re French spoliation claims.

MY DEAR SENATOR BURKE: As you will recall, on May 8, 1940, a hearing was held before the Senate Committee on Claims on S. 3173, introduced by Senator WALSH, relating to the matter of the French spoliation claims.

Shortly after the hearing, at which I and others advocated the bill, the country was confronted, by events in Europe, with the crisis in the matter of preparations for national defense, and after considering this turn of events, I thought it appropriate to write you as the chairman of the Claims Committee, on May 21, 1940, that "in view of the great crisis that has arisen in our national affairs since our presentation of this matter before your committee, we do not desire to press for any action at this time."

Shortly thereafter the committee voted to postpone consideration indefinitely.

On June 22, 1940, Senator BROWN advised the Senate of this action by the committee. In the course of making his announcement, he stated that he and Senator ELLENDER, the majority of a subcommittee of three members appointed by Senator BURKE to consider the bill, had made to the full committee an adverse report on the bill, and that Senator WILEY had made a favorable report; and he secured unanimous consent that those reports be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. They appear in the RECORD of June 22, 1940, at pages 8913–8915, inclusive.

On this matter of the French spoliation claims, excluding these 2 reports, there have been 78 reports of congressional committees or Members of Congress, of which 46 have been made in the Senate and 32 in the House. Of these reports, only 5 are adverse. Of the adverse reports, 3 were before 1826, when, for the first time, Congress had before it all of the evidence in regard to these claims; 1 was a voluntary adverse statement by 9 Members of the Fiftieth Congress Appropriations Committee, to which the matter had never been referred, except under an order of the House to place the claims on the general deficiency bill; and 1 was an adverse report of the Appropriations Committee of the Fifty-first Congress against putting the claims on the general deficiency bill, accompanied by an able minority report by 6 Members strongly in favor of the claims.

All of these adverse reports were before the policy of Congress to pay these claims was finally established by the act of March 3, 1891, and since that time there has been, with the exception of the Brown-Ellender report, no adverse and only one minority report. The Brown-Ellender report quotes from, and is in part based upon, this minority report.

The most recent reports made in 1935 and 1937, by the late Senator Logan, of Kentucky, while chairman of the Claims Committee of the Senate, vigorously advocated payment of these remaining claims. In his report, made in 1935 and reaffirmed in 1937, Senator Logan said:

"Since the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of our Government have all said that these claims are valid obligations of the Government, their payment should not be longer delayed" (S. Rept. No. 746, 74th Cong., 1st sess., p. 3).

Therefore the overwhelming weight of congressional authority is against the Brown-Ellender report.

Consideration of the matter having been postponed, I have no desire to request that it be resumed during the present crisis, when you and your colleagues are burdened with so many problems vital to our national defense. However, for the record, I feel it necessary to comment upon some of the statements and arguments made in the Brown-Ellender report. I do this not in any controversial spirit, but merely in the hope of throwing some helpful light on a subject which has had a long history.

1. The Brown-Ellender report states that "in over a hundred years of effort no one has yet convinced a previous law-making authority of the United States that these claims should be allowed * * *. The failure of the law-making authority to act up to now should have weight with this Congress * * *."

As a matter of fact, the policy of Congress, as well as the judicial and administrative branches of the Government, has been fixed in favor of the payment of these claims.

In 1885, in order finally to settle and dispose of the matter and to afford an opportunity to the claimants to have their rights judicially determined, Congress passed an act to submit the question of the liability of the Government to pay these claims to the Court of Claims. This act, the act of January 20, 1885 (23 Stat. 283), was signed by President Arthur.

This act fixed the policy of Congress to submit the questions of fact and of law bearing upon the liability of the United States to the claimants to an impartial judicial tribunal.

Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, was chairman of the Claims Committee of the Senate which had in charge the act of 1885. In his committee's report on the bill he said:

"Your committee concurs in the opinion that the gravity of the case and justice to both the claimants and the Government demand a settlement of these vexed questions by an authority whose findings shall be final and conclusive."

Congress has made four appropriations to pay awards made by the Court of Claims in the exercise of its jurisdiction under this act, as follows:

Mar. 3, 1891	$1,304,095.37
Mar. 3, 1899	1,055,473.04
May 27, 1902	798,631.27
Feb. 24, 1905	752,660.61
Total	3,910,860.61

The appropriation act of 1891 was signed by President Benjamin Harrison, that of 1899 by President McKinley, and the two acts of 1902 and 1905 by President Theodore Roosevelt.

The act of 1885 and the four appropriation acts have established the policy of Congress to pay the claims after they had been judicially determined to be justly due the claimants.

Since the last appropriation, in 1905, the Court of Claims has disposed of all the remaining cases and has certified its determinations to Congress.

S. 3173 provides for the payment only of awards made in favor of claimants by the Court of Claims after litigation in each case between the claimant and the Government.

On December 6, 1910, President Taft, in his annual message to Congress, brought to the attention of Congress its delay in making provisions for the payment of these awards. He said:

"I invite the attention of Congress to the great number of claims which, at the instance of Congress, have been considered by the Court of Claims and decided to be valid claims against the Government. The delay that occurs in the payment of the money due under the claims injures the reputation of the Government as an honest debtor, and I earnestly recommend that those claims which come to Congress with the judgment and approval of the Court of Claims be promptly paid."

Again, on December 21, 1911, President Taft, in his annual message referred to the question of the payment of these awards of the Court of Claims. He said:

"In my last message I recommended to Congress that it authorize the payment of the findings or judgments of the Court of Claims in the matter of the French spoliation cases. There has been no appropriation to pay those judgments since 1905. The findings and awards were obtained after a very bitter fight, the Government succeeding in about 75 percent of the cases. The amount of the awards ought, as a matter of good faith on the part of the Government, to be paid."

President Taft, later Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, regarded the findings of the Court of Claims as, in effect, judgments against the Government.

President Coolidge, in his annual message to Congress of December 31, 1924, recommended the payment of these remaining claims. He said:

"During the last session of the Congress legislation was introduced looking to the payment of the remaining claims generally referred to as the French spoliation claims. The Congress has provided for the payment of many similar claims. Those that remain unpaid have been long pending. The beneficiaries thereunder have every reason to expect payment. These claims have been examined by the Court of Claims and their validity and amount determined. The United States ought to pay its debts. I recommend action by the Congress which will permit of the payment of these remaining claims."

The present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Hon. Charles E. Hughes, when Secretary of State, wrote Senator CAPPER, then chairman of the Committee on Claims of the Senate, on April 7, 1924, as follows:

"Inasmuch as these claims were referred to the Court of Claims by act of Congress, and the Court of Claims, in proceedings in which the right of claimants to recover was contested by the Government of the United States, found and certified to the Congress that claimants were entitled to relief, it would seem that, as recommended by President Taft, provision should be made for their payment."

Secretary of State Cordell Hull, on April 2, 1934, writing to Senator BAILEY, then chairman of the Senate Committee on Claims, reviewed in some detail the history of these claims, and stated, after referring to the fact that all other similar claims had been paid:

"The spoliations committed upon the commerce of the United States by the European nations engaged in the wars of that period were thus settled with reasonable celerity with the exception of the claims against the Government of France for the spoliations committed prior to July 31, 1801."

Secretary Hull concluded his letter by stating:

"The Department does not have before it the findings of the Court of Claims, submitted pursuant to the act of January 20, 1885, on the particular claims included in the bill under consideration and is thus not in a position to express an opinion on the merits of the individual claims contained in the bill. However, since these claims have been examined by the Court of Claims and since full information concerning them is understood to be before the Congress there would seem to be no occasion for me to

express an opinion as to the action which the Congress should take on the pending bill."

I submit that if, as stated in the Brown-Ellender report, failure of the lawmaking authority to act should have weight with Congress, then the action of the lawmaking authority in this matter ought to be regarded as final and conclusive in favor of the payment of the remaining unsatisfied awards.

Add to this the fact that the Government has had its day in court. After the fullest hearing on the merits, and repeated reexamination of the major issues of law, the tribunal to which the law gave the claimants recourse reached the conclusion that their claims were well founded.

2. The Brown-Ellender report argues that the reasoning behind the statute of limitations applies; that the claims are stale; and that the Government could not make an adequate defense against the claims because of the lapse of time and because the "real offender," the Government of France, was not legally responsible and did not appear.

The answer to these arguments is contained in the following extract from the report on French spoliation claims, of Mr. Mansur, from the House Committee on Claims, March 1, 1890 (No. 558, 51st Cong., 1st sess.):

"These claims, although old, are not stale. They are old because the United States has neglected to do by its citizens what they had a right to expect. They are not stale because the claimants, generation after generation, and continuously in almost every Congress since they arose, have been pressing them for payment. Their justice has been recognized, as above shown, many times by reports made by committees composed of men of most conspicuous ability; but their justice was never more forcibly recognized than by Congress in the enactment of the law of January 20, 1885, which gave to the Court of Claims jurisdiction to consider them.

"By that act the claimants were invited to submit their claims to that court.

"But while Congress referred to the court the question whether France was liable primarily as the spoliator, and, secondarily, whether the United States had become liable in the stead of France, this was not merely a reference of abstract questions; it was a reference of cases upon which severally, year by year, the court was to report to Congress, as these cases were tried, thus making manifest the intention to recognize them as valid if the court should so decide. This is made still more apparent when it is considered that the act further provided for the sending abroad of a commissioner to procure evidence to be used alike by the claimants and by the Government, which further indicates that it was not a decision alone of an abstract question, but the trial of cases, which was contemplated in the reference. In pursuance of this provision of the jurisdictional act Congress has made large appropriations for the purpose of getting evidence from abroad, and sent Hon. James O. Brodhead, of Missouri, as a commissioner to Paris for this purpose (see 2 Wharton's Digest of International Law 715); and subsequently sent Mr. Somerville P. Tuck as a commissioner to the various ports of France into which the vessels had been carried for the purpose of procuring evidence, and afterward sent Mr. Tuck to the West India Islands for the purpose of searching for proofs, all of which proofs have been used alike for the benefit of the claimants and the Government.

"While the act does not say so in terms, but reserves to Congress the right finally to act in the premises, yet there is in this act a clear implication of the intention of Congress to pay them; and on the faith of this the claimants have proceeded in that court.

"The questions involved have been elaborately discussed in that court; every conceivable argument against the liability of France and against the liability of the United States has been advanced and urged by the counsel for the Government.

"The Court, chosen by Congress as the tribunal to which to submit these questions, has decided against the contention of the Government. These opinions rendered are conspicuous for their ability and research, and they are in harmony, as we have seen, with the views of our most eminent statesmen, jurists, and diplomats, who have been required in the discharge of public duties, to consider them. There have been five opinions delivered on the subject of French spoliation by the Court of Claims. They are *Gray* v. *United States* (21 C. Cls. R. 340); *Holbrook* v. *United States* (21 C. Cls. R. 435); *Thomas Cushing* v. *United States* (22 C. Cls. R. 2); *Hooper* v. *United States* (22 C. Cls. R. 408)."

Twenty-five years after the decision in *Hooper* v. *United States*, after the personnel of the court had entirely changed, the five new judges, in an independent reexamination of the cases, reaffirmed the decision of their predecessors in *The Brigs Fanny and Hope* (46 C. Cls. 214 (1911)).

The Mansur report continues:

"The jurisdictional act of January 20, 1885, in which these claims are referred to the Court of Claims, excludes three important classes of claims:

"(1) All 'such claims as were embraced in the convention between the United States and the French Republic concluded on the 30th day of April 1803.'

"(2) All 'such claims growing out of the acts of France as were allowed and paid in whole or in part under the provisions of the treaty between the United States and Spain concluded on the 22d day of February 1819.'

"(3) All 'such claims as were allowed in whole or in part under the provisions of the treaty between the United States and France concluded on the 4th day of July 1831.'

"This leaves under the act only those claims 'which arose prior to July 31, 1801,' and which were directly involved in the treaty which was 'concluded' with France September 30, 1800, and 'the ratifications of which were exchanged on the 31st of July 1801.'

"To these restrictions of the statute the court has added an important and material one, as follows:

"The court holds that all of those cases which arose after September 30, 1800, and before July 31, 1801, a period of 10 months, when these spoliations were most flagrant, were valid claims as against France, but that the United States are not liable for them on the ground and for the reason that they were not released for a specific consideration.

"Another limitation which cuts off a great many of the claims as heard before the court is that it has decided that the treaties of 1778 were abrogated by the act of Congress of July 7, 1798, and that between that date and September 30, 1800, the claimants are not entitled to the benefit of the treaties, but must stand on the less liberal rules of the general law of nations toward neutrals.

"On an examination of the reports of these findings by the Court of Claims to Congress it will appear that the court has considered as to each case two fundamental questions.

"(1) Whether the claim was valid as against France in consequence of her prize court having decided adversely to the provisions of the treaty of 1778 (if the condemnation was prior to July 7, 1798) or against the law of nations (if the condemnation was between July 7, 1798, and September 30, 1800).

"(2) And, secondly, whether the claim was released to France by our Government in consideration of a release by France of claims which France held against the United States.

"So that if the court reached a conclusion adverse to the claimant on the first question it proceeded no further. But if it reached one in favor of the claimant upon the first question, then it took up and considered the second one.

"If it reached a conclusion on the second one adverse to the claimant, that also was the end of the case. But if both questions were answered favorably from the evidence in favor of the claimant, then the case has been favorably reported to Congress for the amount of loss as shown by the proofs."

During the period from 1885 to 1915, in which the Court of Claims exercised its temporary jurisdiction over the French spoliation cases, the court rendered approximately 90 opinions determining various questions of law which arose in respect of the limits on its jurisdiction, the extent of the liability of the United States, the nature of the proof required to sustain the claims, and the measure of damages to be applied. The court heard and determined hundreds of individual cases. It dismissed over 80 percent of all the claims filed for failing to meet the strict rules of substantive law and of evidence which the court laid down.

The Mansur report continues:

"The most scrupulous care has characterized the investigation of the court in these cases, and to avoid all possibility of erroneous judgments the court has required that all petitions for claims based upon any one seizure and condemnation should be heard together, and in this way antagonistic interests have been adjudicated and the court afforded the fullest information in possession of the Government and of the conflicting claimants upon which to reach its judgment, as will appear from a glance at the face of the reports made by the Court of Claims to Congress.

"An examination of these reports of findings will disclose another important fact, namely, that all the condemnations of the French prize court are based upon some alleged ground of violation of neutrality, chiefly grounds prescribed by French municipal regulations. So that it is literally true that in no case has the French court ever alleged that the United States were enemies of France, and condemned property on the ground of their property being 'enemy's property,' but up to the very last condemnation made they charge and allege that our vessels, being neutrals, were as such violating some belligerent right of France as claimed under French laws.

"The basis of the liability of the United States for these claims is the indisputable fact, fully established before the Court of Claims as a fact, that these claims of her citizens were released by our Government to France in consideration of a release to the United States by France of claims which the Republic of France had against the United States as a nation. These claims were private property used for public purposes as decided by the court, and the citizens or their personal representatives are entitled to just compensation.

"Congress by an overwhelming majority passed the act of January 20, 1885, referring the parties to the Court of Claims and inviting them to establish their rights before that tribunal. They accepted that invitation, and have pursued the remedy prescribed by Congress for years at great expense to themselves.

"It has involved suing out letters of administration de bonis non on the estates of the original sufferers; the identification by deposition of the estates administered with the person who suffered the loss; the preparation and printing of petitions, prayers for findings of facts, briefs, and summary statements; the expense of obtaining (in many instances from abroad) and copying evidence of the losses and condemnations.

"When Congress opened its court to the claimants and thus invited them to avail themselves of the opportunity of establishing their claims in pursuance of the mode provided by the statute, it was a moral assurance that Congress would pay those established before the court unless something in the decision showed that they should not be paid.

"Congress knew that the claims were old when it passed the act, and it knew just as well that spoliations were finally stopped by force.

"It knew also that seven-eighths to nine-tenths of these claims originated prior to the use of any force.

"Nothing of this kind can now be fairly assigned as a reason or excuse for the nonpayment of these claims.

"Is there anything to be found in the decisions themselves why the claims allowed by the court should not be paid?

"No such suggestion has or can be made, for the court has greatly limited the extent of the claims over which Congress gave it jurisdiction. It has also applied to the claims a more rigid test or standard than a liberal construction of the spirit of the jurisdictional act would well have warranted. It has thrown around its investigation the most careful safeguards to avoid excessive or unwarrantable allowances.

"The question of liability has been most fully and elaborately argued and reargued on behalf of the United States, and yet the court has decided that there are some of these claims for which the United States is liable; some of them only, for the number has been greatly limited and the amounts greatly reduced.

"The situation which today confronts Congress is whether this limited number, so reduced in amount, which have been found by the Court of Claims to be valid legal liabilities of the United States, shall be paid or whether they shall be repudiated."

The reasoning behind the statute of limitations does not apply because the claims have not been allowed to grow stale. Before 1885 the claimants had no tribunal to which their claims could be submitted. Until that time they continuously petitioned Congress for redress. The act of 1885 gave them a period of 2 years in which to file their claims or be forever barred, and every award covered by S. 3173 was made upon a claim seasonably filed. Every such claim was litigated to a final and favorable determination in the Court of Claims, which completed its examination of the cases in 1915, after making determinations favorable to the Government in over 80 percent of the cases. For the Government to invoke the reasoning behind the statute of limitations would be to seek to take advantage of its own wrong in falling to pay the remaining awards. The Government had every opportunity to make an adequate defense in the Court of Claims, and, in fact, there has probably never been any case on record where the Government has more strenuously, continuously, and fully made a defense.

3. The Brown-Ellender report states that "the basis asserted for these claims seems flimsy in view of our court's determination that war existed," and quotes from the minority report above referred to a reference to "a formal opinion by the then Attorney General and decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States to the effect that there was actual war between the United States and France."

As stated in the report of Mr. Bunn, of North Carolina (H. Rept. No. 1051, 53d Cong., 2d sess., p. 12):

"Some decrees of condemnation made as late as September 1800 are based on alleged violation of American neutrality. This fact of itself absolutely refutes the proposition maintained at one time by some of the opponents of these claims that they are invalid as being war claims. Your committee, however, regards this contention as being so entirely overthrown that it is deemed wholly unnecessary to go into the argument."

No search, however diligent, will be rewarded by the discovery of a number of decisions of the Supreme Court bearing on this question. There was one decision, *Bas* v. *Tingy* (4 Dallas, p. 35). The facts in that case were as follows:

Congress, by an act of July 1798, as a protective measure, authorized armed vessels of the United States to recapture American merchantmen found in possession of the French. An American vessel, in pursuance of this authority, recaptured, in 1799, an American merchantman from the French, carried her into port, and libeled her for salvage. The sole question before the Court was whether, under this act, the captor was entitled to the salvage claimed.

The Court held that he was, but each of the Judges, in separate opinions, drew the distinction between the then existing relations between the two nations and a general war, and denied that they justified any encroachments by either nation upon the rights of the peaceful citizens of the other. Said Justice Chase:

"There is no authority given * * * to capture unarmed French vessels nor even to capture French armed vessels lying in a French port."

Surely, if the United States was not justified in the capture of unarmed vessels, France could not have been justified in the capture of unarmed American vessels.

Reference to the opinion of the Attorney General—Charles Lee—shows that he held the same view.

The above case, *Bas* v. *Tingy*, followed a previous case reported in First Cranch, page 1, *Talbott* v. *Seaman*, in which Chief Justice Marshall himself rendered the opinion and held, as stated above, that the relations between the two nations did not justify encroachments by either power upon the rights of peaceful citizens of the other.

Chief Justice Marshall, in an interview with the late William C. Preston, of South Carolina, expressed himself as convinced of the justice of these claims, and that they were legal obligations of the Government. See the following letter from Mr. Preston:

COLUMBIA, *January 29, 1844.*

SIR: I have this moment received your letter of the 24th instant, inquiring of me concerning Judge Marshall's opinion on the claims for French spoliations anterior to 1800.

When that subject was under discussion in the Senate some years since, as a member of the committee to which it had been given in charge I bestowed no little pains in the investigation of it, and, as I believe it will happen to everyone that does so, I became thoroughly satisfied of the justness of the claims.

While they were under discussion in the Senate they happened to be the subject of conversation between Mr. Leigh, Mr. Calhoun, and myself one evening in our mess parlor when Judge Marshall stepped in, and, having overheard or being informed of the subject of conversation, asked to share in it, saying that having been connected with the events of that period and conversant with the circumstances under which the claims arose, he was, from his own knowledge, satisfied that there was the strongest obligation on the Government to compensate the sufferers by the French spoliations. He gave a succinct statement of the leading facts and the principles of law applicable to them in so precise and lucid a way that it seemed to me a termination of the argument by a judicial decision. It was apparent from his manner that he felt an interest in the inculcation of his opinion, arising from deep conviction of its truth.

I most heartily desire that the long-delayed and very inadequate justice now proposed to these unfortunate claimants will be made this session.

I am, dear sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM C. PRESTON.

JAMES H. CAUSTEN, Esq.,
Washington.

There is, therefore, no decision of the Supreme Court which holds that the relations then existing between the two nations justified France in the seizure of unarmed vessels of the United States or the United States in the seizure of unarmed vessels of France.

But this question of war or no war was fully argued before the Court of Claims, and the only judicial decree thereon is the decision of that court in the case of *William Gray, Adm.*, v. *United States* (21 Court of Claims Reports, p. 340), in which it was held that there existed:

"No state of public general war such as would abrogate treaties, suspend private rights, or authorize indiscriminate seizures and condemnations."

No condemnation was ever made by the French of a vessel or cargo of the United States on the ground that a war existed between the nations.

Under the conventions of 1819 with Spain, and 1831 with France, providing for the payment by the respective nations of claims of similar character, no question was ever raised of the existence of war, which, had it existed, would have been a complete bar to such claims.

The convention of 1819 provided for the payment by Spain of claims identical in every particular with those now under consideration, i. e., for American vessels captured by French privateers, brought into Spanish ports, and condemned by French consular agents. The convention of 1831 was to provide for the payment of claims for vessels of the United States captured by French privateers after July 31, 1801, as claims occurring after that date were, of course, not bartered away by the terms of the convention of September 30, 1800.

The best and most reliable information upon the question of war must be gathered from the writings of the public men of that period, the actors in all public matters of that day.

In The Writings of Washington by Sparks will be found the following:

Volume XII, page 105. Message to Congress, dated 28th February, 1795: "Our Minister near the French Republic has urged compensation for the injuries which our commerce has sustained from captures by French cruisers, etc."

In a message to Congress, dated the 4th of January, 1796, found in volume XII, page 110, the receipt of the colors of the French Republic presented to the United States was acknowledged, and the colors are deposited in The Archives of the United States.

In a message to Congress on January 19, 1797, found in volume XII, page 117, reference is made to the appointment of Mr. Pinckney as Minister to France, or rather as Envoy Extraordinary, and the following language is used, speaking of his appointment: "The immediate object of his mission was to make to that Government such explanations of the principles and conduct of our own as, by manifesting our good faith, might remove all jealousy and discontent and maintain that harmony and good understanding with the French Republic which it has been my constant solicitude to preserve."

Washington ceased to be President in 1797, and there can be no doubt that there was no war with France during the period of his Presidency.

In volume XI, folio 181, in a private letter written to Pickering, Secretary of State, Washington uses the following language: "And we have no doubt, after giving this candid exposition of facts, the Directory will revoke the orders under which our trade is suffering and will pay the damages it has sustained thereby."

This letter is dated Monday, January 9, 1797.

President Adams, on May 31, 1797, nominated Pinckney and Dana (the latter declined to serve, Eldridge Gerry being substituted in his place) and Chief Justice Marshall as Envoys Extraordinary to the French Republic, the object of their appointment being "to dissipate embargoes, remove prejudices, rectify errors, and adjust differences by a treaty between the two powers."

Again, in volume XI, page 212, in a letter from Washington to Pickering, Secretary of State, dated the 29th of August 1797, the following language was used: "I can say with truth that my mind has never been alarmed by any fears of a war with France. * * * I never did believe that they would declare an open war against us or compel us, if they foresaw what would be the result, to declare it against them."

In a letter to General Lafayette from Washington, dated December 25, 1798, found on page 376, volume XI, the following language was used: "You add in another place that the Executive Directory are disposed to an accommodation of all differences. If they are

sincere in this declaration, let them evidence it by actions, for words unaccompanied therewith will not be much regarded now. I would pledge myself that the Government and people of the United States will meet them heart and hand at a fair negotiation, having no wish more ardent than to live in peace with all the world, provided they are suffered to remain undisturbed in their just rights. Of this, their patience, forbearance, and repeated solicitations under accumulated injuries and insults are incontestable proofs."

In a letter from Washington to William Van Murray, dated December 26, 1798, found in volume XI, page 383, the following language is used, referring to Envoy Logan: "He says the inclinations of France to be upon good terms with the United States are now so strong that it must be our own mismanagement and disinclination to peace if matters with that country are not accommodated upon terms honorable and advantageous to this."

General Washington during this period was the Commander in Chief of the Army, and there can be no doubt, therefore, that if there were a war with France he should have certainly known of its existence. Van Murray, to whom he writes, was one of the envoys extraordinary appointed on the 25th of February 1799, who, together with Ellsworth and Davie, were nominated by the President to visit France and adjust differences, and who did in fact bring about a settlement.

Washington died on the 14th of December 1799. Black crepe was suspended from all the standards and flags of France. Napoleon spoke in most glowing terms of him. A funeral oration in his honor was pronounced by M. de Fontrews in the Hotel des Invalides.

John Adams was President from March 4, 1797, to March 4, 1801.

In his message to Congress in special session dated May 16, 1797, he says:

"While we are endeavoring to adjust all our differences with France by amicable negotiations, the progress of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and the general complexion of affairs render it my indispensable duty to recommend to your consideration efficient measures of defense."

In his first annual address dated November 23, 1797, he says:

"The numerous captures of American vessels by cruisers of the French Republic and some of those of Spain have occasioned considerable expense in making and supporting the claims of our citizens before their tribunals."

In his third annual address dated December 3, 1799, he says:

"Pursuing the peaceful and humane policy which has been invariably professed and sincerely pursued by the executive authority of the United States, when indications were made on the part of the French Republic of a disposition to accommodate the existing differences between the two countries, I felt it my duty to prepare for meeting their advances by a nomination of Ministers, etc."

And in a letter dated May 9, 1823, he says: "To explain all the mysteries of that period never was nor never will be in my power. It would require volumes to give a simple history of it. * * * My sole object was to preserve the peace and neutrality of the country; and that, I thank God, I obtained, at the loss of my power and fame with both sides."

Thomas Jefferson succeeded Adams and was President from March 4, 1801, to March 4, 1809.

In his first annual message on December 8, 1801, he says:

"The war and troubles which have for so many years afflicted our sister nations have at length come to an end, and the communications of peace are once more opening among them. Whilst we devoutly return thanks to the beneficent Being who has been pleased to breathe into them the spirit of conciliation and forgiveness, we are bound with peculiar gratitude to be thankful to Him that our peace has been preserved through so perilous a season. * * * But a cessation of irregularities, which had affected the commerce of neutral nations, and of irritations and injuries produced by them, cannot but add to the confidence and strengthen at the same time the hope that wrongs committed on unoffending friends, under a pressure of circumstances, will now be reviewed with candor, and will be considered as founding just claims of retribution for the past and new assurances for the future."

There never was a period when negotiations ceased between the two countries; and the instructions to Ellsworth, Davie, and Murray, dated October 22, 1799, do not recognize a state of war as existing or as having existed, for they said, "The conduct of France would have justified immediate declaration of war, but the United States, desirous of peace, contented themselves with preparations for defense and measures calculated to defend their commerce" (Doc. 102, p. 561).

The French tribunal which ratified the convention of 1800 uses the following language: " 'Twas getting past recovery. War would have broken out between America and France if the Directory, changing its system and following the counsel of prudence, had not opposed moderation to the unmeasured conduct of the President of the United States."

The only standard by which the relative situation of the United States and France can be determined is by a reference to the acts of Congress.

In the case of *Talbott* v. *Seaman*, supra, Chief Justice Marshall says: "The whole powers of war being by the Constitution of the United States vested in Congress, the acts of that body can alone be resorted to as our guides in this inquiry."

There never was an act of Congress declaring war to exist between France and the United States.

As to France—whether she considered there was war—the declaration of Napoleon at St. Helena, when speaking of the treaty of 1800, settles the question. He says, speaking of the convention, it "annulled the just claims which America might have made for injuries done in time of peace."

Thus we have seen that the Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States did not know that war existed. The President of the United States during that period states that the Executive had pursued "a pacific and humane policy" toward the French Republic. The succeeding President in 1801, while commenting on the wars which had devastated Europe in his annual message to Congress, returned thanks "that our peace had been preserved through so perilous a season," and characterized the seizures of our vessels by French cruisers as "wrongs committed on unoffending friends." And Napoleon, first consul and commander in chief of the armies of France, referred to these same seizures as "just claims * * * for injuries done in time of peace."

It is stated by Senator Goff, in Senate Report No. 643, Sixty-ninth Congress, first session, April 21, 1926, quoting the report of Senator Spencer, Sixty-eighth Congress, first session, No. 45:

"It was at this time the conflict between France and Great Britain became very bitter. Neutral shipping, as well as that of the belligerents, was indiscriminately seized and condemned. Our neutral commerce suffered greatly, particularly those vessels trading with the West Indies. Although these depredations were committed against our merchantmen, yet at no time was there any declaration of war and no actual break of friendly relations occurred. The French courts at no time based their proceedings upon the existence of a state of war. None, in fact, existed, and the diplomatic relations created under the treaty of 1778 remained in full force and effect."

Our Government insisted at all times that the seizures and condemnations of American property by the French were illegal, and violative not only of international law but of the existing treaty of 1778.

4. The Brown-Ellender report, in the following paragraph which is quoted from the aforementioned minority report, revives an old error based on a confusion between the classes of claims under the treaties of 1800 and 1803:

"The matter (i. e., the failure of the United States to live up to the treaty of 1778 with France), however, was honorably disposed of by our Government in the treaty of 1801. I quote from page 2 of the Howell report:

" 'As a consequence a treaty was concluded providing for a "firm, inviolable, and universal peace" between the French Republic and the United States, and our envoys in accord with their instructions, secured a stipulation for the reimbursement of our citizens for losses, due to the French spoliations in connection with vessels and cargoes not "definitely condemned" by prize courts prior to the agreement's final sanction.' "

The second article of the treaty of 1801 covered claims for illegal seizures and condemnations. It was these "second article claims" which were made the substance of the famous mutual set-off of claims and were used as a quid pro quo for the release of the United States from national obligations to France in the treaty of 1801. But all the illegal captures were not covered by the second article, and France in the treaty of 1801 agreed to pay certain other classes of claims. The claims thus agreed to be paid, and which were finally paid under the treaty of 1803 (under which $4,000,000 was withheld from the Louisiana Purchase price and distributed by a commission), were the fourth and fifth article claims under the treaty of 1801, for (fourth article) "property captured but not definitely condemned or which may be captured before the exchange of ratification," which France agreed should be "restored or paid for," and for (fifth article) "debts," mostly for supplies purchased from American citizens by the French Government, which France also agreed to pay. The fourth article clearly states "but this shall not extend to indemnities claimed on account of captures or confiscations."

Although France was compelled by Jefferson, under the treaty of 1803 to pay the fourth and fifth article claims, the second article claims for illegal seizures by France prior to 1800, when the treaty of 1801 was signed, were never urged upon France after the ratification of the treaty. The commissioners who made the awards under the treaty of 1803 rejected all claims for illegal seizures or confiscations by France prior to 1800.

This whole subject was clearly set forth by Charles Sumner in his famous report on the French spoliation claims (S. Rept. No. 10, 41st Cong., 2d sess.). It was also thoroughly explained and examined by the Court of Claims (*Gray* v. *United States*, 21 Ct. Cls., p. 340). And under the act of 1885, under which the French spoliation claims were sent to the Court of Claims, claims under the treaties of 1803 and 1831 were expressly excluded.

5. In the Brown-Ellender report the objection is raised that the bill would turn over to the fourth and fifth generation of heirs sums of money not as a matter of right but as a matter of grace upon the part of the Government; and that if the money had been paid in 1800 so much would have been taken by State and Federal taxes and local levies that little would have been left for present-day heirs.

In the first place, the failure to pay the claims until this late date is the fault of the Government, not of the claimants. As hereinbefore shown, and the voluminous record will amply bear out, the claimants and successive generations of their heirs have unceasingly petitioned Congress for relief, and accepted the invitation of Congress to prove their claims in the Court of Claims.

Because of the delay by the Government, the only way in which justice can now be done is by payment to the present generation of heirs, who have in many cases expended money in prosecuting their claims, relying upon the sense of justice of their Government

and the plain implication of Congress' action in authorizing the Court of Claims to "ascertain the validity of the claims, their ownership, and amounts, and all considerations affecting the legal liability of the United States" to the claimants.

To the assertion that the payment of these claims is a matter of grace and not of legal right, I answer that such a statement contradicts the decisions of the Court of Claims, repeatedly reaffirmed. The Court of Claims was not authorized to make awards to claimants "as a matter of grace." The statute of 1885 directed the court to determine "the legal liability of the United States" to the claimants. If the court had determined that there was no legal liability, and that recognition of the claims was a mere "matter of grace," it would have been incumbent upon it to dismiss all of the claims. The fact is that the Court assessed the right of each claimant from the standpoint of established and settled rules of law, and the correctness of its decisions has never been challenged.

In a sense, the submission by a sovereign to the judgment or decree of any court of its own creation is an "act of grace," since the sovereign cannot be sued without its consent, and may ignore the judgments or decrees of courts. However, in all free governments it is recognized that in matters of private right the government and its citizens stand on an equality before the law.

A brief consideration of the facts will show how bitterly the claims were contested between the claimants and the Government and how carefully they were considered by the court.

In the month of March 1886 the first case was elaborately argued before the court by counsel for the claimants and the Government, and the court, after careful consideration, on May 17, 1886, unanimously decided that they were just and valid claims upon our Government, the property of the claimants "having been taken without just compensation" to pay and cancel our national obligations to France (*Gray* v. *United States*, 21 Ct. Cls. 340). At least 3 weeks had been consumed in the presentation of the case in every possible view which the most laborious investigation could suggest.

Later in the same year, 1886, the Solicitor General of the United States applied for a reargument of the question in all its bearings. Leave was granted. New counsel were retained by the Government, by whom the whole subject was again carefully investigated. Two weeks were again consumed in argument, and the court, after careful consideration, a second time filed a unanimous opinion in favor of the claimants, on December 6, 1886 (*Cushing* v. *United States*, 22 Ct. Cl. 1).

A number of individual cases then came up for trial, to which the Government presented substantially the same defenses, the cases were again elaborately argued, and the court, on November 14, 1887, rendered another unanimous opinion in favor of the claimants (*Hooper* v. *United States* and other cases, 22 Ct. Cl. 408).

Twenty-five years later, after the personnel of the court had entirely changed, the five new judges, in an independent reexamination of the issues, reaffirmed the decision of their predecessors (*The Brigs "Fanny" and "Hope"* (46 Ct. Cls. 214), decided February 13, 1911). Judge Howry, rendering the unanimous opinion of the court, said:

"The spoliation claims as a class were valid obligations from France to the United States, and our Government surrendered them to France for a valuable consideration benefiting the Nation, and this use of the claims raised an obligation founded upon right."

The argument is made in the report that if the money had been paid when it should have been paid the present generation of heirs might not have enjoyed the benefit of it, because much would have been taken by way of State and Federal taxes and local levies. But there has been no confiscation of capital in this country. Therefore this argument must refer purely to inheritance taxes and levies, all of which are of recent origin. To assert that the failure to pay a debt for a long period of years erases the damage suffered by the unpaid creditor seems to me without justification. On the contrary, many sums, originally meager in amount, held over a period of 50 or a hundred years, have grown into substantial assets.

6. The Brown-Ellender report argues that the damage was not suffered by the claimants but by the general shipping public of the decade 1790 to 1800, and that it would be unjust to reimburse insurance companies, underwriters, and shippers on the assumption that their rates were adjusted to meet the then-existing conditions.

The assumption that the claimants did not suffer in their business as a whole during the period is one which, if material, would be difficult to prove or disprove at this late date. There is historical evidence that great hardship was in fact suffered by the claimants, many of whom suffered financial ruin because of the despoiling of ships and cargoes which they owned or had insured. There is also the indisputable fact that President Washington and Secretary of State Jefferson encouraged and incited the merchants, despite the spoliations, to continue their business, which was essential to the commerce and revenue of the United States, by the promise that the Government would obtain redress for any losses they might suffer.

As found by the Court of Claims, the claims were valid obligations from France to the United States, as trustee for the claimants, and when our Government surrendered these claims to France for a valuable consideration benefiting the Nation this use of the claims raised an obligation founded upon right.

If the treaty of 1800 had never been made between this country and France the claimants would have had perfectly valid claims against France, which would no doubt have long since been paid, as President Jackson enforced the payment of all claims subsequent to 1800 under the treaty of 1831 with France. Jackson made France pay these claims, including claims of insurance companies, which at that time received awards from France for all their losses subsequent to 1800. The United States prevented the claimants, including the insurance companies, from looking to France for their payment, because this Government by that treaty released the claims of its private citizens against France.

This Government, having released the claims of its private citizens against France, has been held by the Court of Claims to have assumed them for public use. That being the case, the United States is in the same position as France with respect to these claims.

France could never have used such a defense as that suggested by the Brown-Ellender report. The only question which could have been deteremined was whether the claims were valid and enforceable claims, and that question the Court of Claims has determined. It is no sort of a defense for a debtor to say, "I will pay you if you lost money last year, but I will not pay you if you made money." If the money is owed, it is owed justly and legally.

It is an interesting fact that Germany attempted to use the same defense against claims by private American underwriters who had issued insurance policies on ships and cargoes sunk or damaged by German submarines or through hostilities of war. Mr. Robert W. Bonynge, agent of the United States before the Mixed Claims Commission, United States and Germany, in his report (1934, pp. 59–60), discussing these claims, states: "The German agent in the first instance contested the claims on the ground, among others, that, taking the business of the insurance companies as a whole during the war period, they had not sustained a loss, or, at least, it could not be determined whether they had sustained a loss unless a survey of the business done by each of said companies during the entire war period was made."

This defense was rejected as fallacious and the German Government consented to judgments totaling over $34,000,000 to private American insurance companies on claims of this character. As a matter of fact, the United States Government itself, which operated as a war-risk underwriter during the war with Germany, made a gross profit in excess of $17,000,000 on its operations, but nevertheless received awards of over $24,000,000 for losses sustained as a result of German submarine operations.

I sincerely hope that the foregoing observations upon the report of Senators BROWN and ELLENDER may serve to throw some light upon this subject when, at a more appropriate time, it shall again be brought before the Committee on Claims for consideration.

In conclusion, may I call attention to the eloquent words of Senator WILEY at the conclusion of the hearing on May 8, 1940, where he said (hearings on S. 3173, p. 63):

"The world is an arena of broken promises and broken pledges. Personally I feel that there has been established here a promise that is not only implied, but which the Court of Claims has found to be express. Under those circumstances, I feel that the Government—now that these claims are down to some $3,230,000—could well afford to pay them and to show again to this generation that this Nation is going to keep faith with its promises."

With kind personal regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH P. TUMULTY, JR.

Hon. EDWARD R. BURKE,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

The National Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT A. TAFT

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 16 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY WILLIAM S. KNUDSEN

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, on Friday last, at the annual dinner of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Congress of American Industry in New York City, Mr. William S. Knudsen, of the Advisory Commission for the Council of National Defense, delivered an address on the subject of the progress or lack of progress in the national-defense program. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I venture to quote a portion of a recent message of our President to Congress: "We hope that the world situation may soon improve. But we are bound to be prepared for a long period of possible danger. Who can say, with assurance, that we shall not need for our defense every possible resource that exists or may be developed in our country?"

I am deeply honored by having assigned to me by our President a responsible part in this work of preparation and development.

Despotic power we abhor, but we recognize that it compels the exercise of certain qualities which we must voluntarily exercise if

we are to prevail in times of conflict. Among these qualities is concentration on definite objectives with singleness of purpose. We are a peaceful people. The ways of war are foreign to us. Our industries are now being organized for national defense, which, to be effective, must be capable of the maximum of resistance to attack.

The modern machinery of that criminal violence, war, now threatening the very dignity of mankind, is enormous, complicated, and swift in its scientific development. We are engaged in building a defense which our President has proclaimed shall be able to prevail against any possible combination and we will do it.

But as a producer, I say that our speedy procurement of the necessary defense implements which our President and Congress have promised the people demands intense concentration on production as an objective in itself.

GIVES LIST OF NEEDS

I think with this before us we might begin to realize that conditions abroad, which change almost from day to day, have a tremendous influence on our future course in arming for defense. You have read about the billions of dollars of orders which have been placed with thousands of contractors and subcontractors all over the country, and perhaps it might be well if I gave you a quick description of what all this money means in units. In round figures: 50,000 airplanes, 130,000 engines, 17,000 heavy guns, 25,000 light guns, 13,000 trench mortars, 33,000,000 shells loaded, 9,200 tanks, 300,000 machine guns and ammunition, 400,000 automatic rifles and ammunition, 1,300,000 regular rifles and ammunition, 380 Navy ships, 200 mercantile ships, 210 camps and cantonments, 40 Government factories, clothing, and other equipment for 1,200,000 men.

I have included with these quantities such British and other foreign material placed at the present time. The program, with all its subcontract and equipment features, is large and is estimated to require about 18,000,000,000 man-hours, conservatively.

When we consider this addition to the regular production in the United States and realize that the larger percentage of this load lies in the heavy-goods industries, we are confronted, due to the time elements involved, with the greatest production problem of any country in modern times.

NAMES THREE FACTORS INVOLVED

The three factors involved in this problem are the Government as the customer and industry and labor as the sellers. Behind the Government is the all-powerful force of the country's will and the all-important public opinion which must guide our actions in order to accomplish a successful result.

In my earlier talks on the problems of defense I stated that initially the defense load would be superimposed on the regular business of the country until it became necessary to adjust. The simple reason for this was that the contracting and tooling-up period would not absorb employment which might be made idle by trying to restrict regular business during this tooling-up period.

You are all perhaps familiar with the initial obstacles which had to be cleared away, such as appropriations, rapid depreciation allowances, and the plant-facilities contract. All these have been cleared away and contracts have become a much simpler matter as far as procurement is concerned.

I think we are successfully meeting the demand for spreading the Government plants to localities where surplus labor and skill is available. We have not by any means satisfied everybody, but an honest attempt has been made to meet this part of the problem the best way. The orders are more than 85 percent placed and we have arrived at the second stage of the problem.

WANTS ALL TO KNOW NEEDS

What can I, then, consistently ask for now? The defense job, to my mind, has not been sufficiently sold to industry and labor as yet. The public generally is sold on defense—letters that I get and word-of-mouth information that I get clearly indicate that the man in the street is for defense 100 percent and wants to see a lot of material turned out before he feels secure. But have the two most important elements—industry and labor—been fully sold on the serious side of the job?

Conditions abroad change rapidly from day to day. The European war is gradually taking in more and more territory, and most of us hope that we will have the time necessary to get prepared for defense and thus avert attack. Well, that might be all right, and I am not of the worrying kind; but, after all, a war depends just as much on what the other fellow thinks as on what we think ourselves. So I think that the best and the only thing the United States can do and must do under the circumstances is to prepare swiftly and well to protect ourselves—for by doing that I feel that we have the only insurance policy against attack.

It is our responsibility to see that this is done in record time, and that we proceed right here and now to show the world that we can do the things we have been so wishfully forecasting the last 6 months. I myself have done my share of wishing, and I am still betting that the tooling up can be done quickly, but I have to call your attention to some of the things I see which I think could put still more steam into the picture.

SIX-DAY WEEK URGED

Friday night has become the big night in most of our industrial picture. It used to be Saturday night—we have cut 20 percent off our machine time. Can we afford to do this? Can't we stop this black-out, this lack of production from Friday to Monday, and get more out of the equipment? We can train the men to operate it. Isn't it possible to put the defense job on a war basis, even if we are at peace?

When I think of the seriousness of the whole world situation, where the Americas are the only spot where freedom and law still have a foothold, I wonder if we are not justified in doing just that. Have we done everything we can to utilize existing facilities and offer them to companies having defense contracts? Can we subcontract more of our work and spread it so as to make speed and more speed that way?

Every manufacturing concern which has a defense contract should be informed of idle facilities in the locality so as to confine the new equipment as far as possible to special machinery.

Our machine-tool industry is working hard and well on their job. A recent survey shows that of the 115 companies, 86 reported subcontracting as follows: 23 reported complete machines, 33 reported subassemblies, 80 reported parts subcontracted, 65 reported expansion averaging 30 percent of plant area, and employment has been practically doubled in a year. Production of machine tools is estimated at a 50 percent increase in 1941 over 1940, and total value $600,000,000.

LAUDS MACHINE-TOOL INDUSTRY

Another valuable point in connection with the machine-tool industry is that you get your orders placed promptly so as to insure proper planning. An example of this was a recent instance where 30 machines had been omitted from the original order through an oversight and had to be arranged for.

The machine-tool industry has set a very good example of speeding up before us, and it is about the way other items of defense will have to proceed if we are going to make time.

The aircraft industry is still in the expanding stage; in fact, it will be in the expansion stage until spring. Still, while the production is far from satisfactory, we ought to gain from now on. Most of the heavy combat planes are new models not heretofore in production, and this has slowed the job up. The engine companies need equipment; in fact, 29 percent of all unfilled machine-tool orders are for the aviation industry; 37 percent is for the Army and Navy and other defense jobs; 28 percent is for foreign customers; and the balance covers miscellaneous.

There is one question in aircraft which I think should be realized, and that is that one plane is recorded as one plane, whether it weighs 4,000 pounds or 40,000 pounds, and whether it has a 350-horsepower training engine or four 1,250-horsepower fighting engines.

There is no use worrying about the light planes—we can get them. On fighting planes, we are in pretty fair shape, but bombing planes, from 16,000 pounds up to the heaviest, take time, and they must be worked out for real production before we can get quantities.

ADMITS FORECAST HAS FAILED

A lot of work is being done trying to subcontract parts of the planes to body manufacturing companies and others, but this in some cases involves design in order to get the best production results and must be worked out with the plane assembler and the designer.

Frankly, we are not doing anything compared to the forecast by the manufacturers and the Commission in July, and our hoped-for production figures for January 1, 1941, of 1,000 planes per month have to be scaled down by 30 percent to be correct.

Guns and machine guns are still in the tooling stage, except for such capacity as was ready before we started. However, jobs that are wholly on machines will pick up fast when the tools are ready, because the assembling is the smaller part of the hours per job. The same reasoning applies to powder and its ingredients, where the equipment installation rapidly responds to quantity production when finished.

Light tanks are being produced now at the rate of four per day, and the larger so-called medium tanks will be available from three different plants by midsummer.

One thing, however, is sure: After we have all these orders in the field we shall need a lot of help from experienced industrialists who, perhaps, are not involved directly on defense orders and who can spare us some of their time and experience to help solve problems which may arise on material, machines, specifications, and design.

SEES INGENUITY AT WORK

It has been very gratifying to me to see how, during the last month, in factories having defense jobs, a great deal of study is being given to shorten operations over that planned in the original estimates. The good old American ingenuity is coming into its own and will help the elapsed time on the job and also the quality.

I don't know whether we have done a job yet in helping labor to get the proper understanding of what this defense job means to their future and their country's future. When I look over the trend in the occupied countries in Europe, America is about the only spot left where law prevails and where the man at the bench has a chance to make his way without clicking his heels.

We all seem to be worrying about how we are going to divide the profits without giving consideration to the fact that we ourselves have to furnish the price to buy the materials with. We hear so much about all the things that ought to be fixed right now. We read resolutions from every direction.

It is my sincere hope that we will, as far as humanly possible, try to wipe out whatever differences there may be that do not depart from principles guaranteed us by the law of the land. The only

way to get this program going is to get a concerted effort and a cooperative effort—an incentive fired with the spirit of sacrifice from everybody from the bench to the manager's desk. If we can accomplish this, our program is finshed.

SAYS LAWS WILL BE ENFORCED

Congress has expressed the public will in laws such as the Sherman Act, the Clayton Act, the Walsh-Healey Act, and the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act. It has specifically directed, by the Walsh-Healey Act, that certain representations and stipulations shall form a part of the requirements and conditions in Government contracts involving over $10,000, and has prescribed the penalty for violations.

Congress has conferred upon permanent competent departments—the Department of Justice, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Labor Department, each equipped for the purpose—the power and responsibility in various forms to enforce the other acts, to determine the fact of violation, to cause the violator to be punished and the wronged to be indemnified.

Furthermore, Congress has not directed that all or any part of these other acts be written into Government contracts, and the considered decision not to do so is as affirmative an indication of congressional intent as is the direction for inclusion of the Walsh-Healey Act.

I am wholly in sympathy with the rights of labor under the law. I am happy to see the published expressions by labor of their willingness to mediate any difficulty before resorting to strikes, but I have also faith in labor's acceptance of the spirit of fair play and the necessity for avoiding discrimination against industry equally as unfair as discrimination against labor.

FULL COOPERATION SOUGHT

I cannot regard our people as divided in essential interest so that we should consider labor and industry, or any other groups, as other than parts of a compact national body. I cannot believe that either needs to be coerced or purchased, in the invidious sense. I believe all will do as I intend to do—obey the orders of the Chief Executive and the laws enacted by Congress, as construed by the courts, and help to prove that a free people are capable of self-discipline and of productive work superior to that of a dictator's subjects.

Down in Washington we are asked if we can do a lot of things. Some of them we can do and some we can't, but I can assure you this, that the group I work with on the Defense Commission will do everything that is humanly possible to smooth out whatever little difficulties you might have in the execution of your defense orders. We represent you. We are down there—you have the work in your plants.

We hear a lot about what is called red tape, which is another name for cumbersome procedure, but in justice to the top officials of the Army and the Navy, we can generally get action when requested. We are there to give you assistance in every way we can, and all we ask is, give us speed and more speed. Full-time operations of all machines. Talk to your men—make them feel that it is their responsibility as well as yours. Ask them what they think of a civilization that drives women and children to live in cold and wet holes in the ground.

APPEALS FOR HARDER WORK

We have gone back a thousand years in the last year. Why? Because a few individuals decide the actions of totalitarian nations, and democracy is fighting for its life. It makes one shudder to think that brains can devise a situation like this—where we kill the harmless because we want to break the spirit of the people. Let us work and work harder so that the possibility of such barbarism spreading to our shores will be an impossibility forever.

Let's get on this job spiritually. What is more important today? We are, to my mind, way beyond worrying about the cost the laws we think we ought to have and the way we are going to live when this is all over. The important thing now is to get this job done, or as much more of the job done as is required to permanently protect our standard of living and our institutions, our freedom and individual opportunities.

Let each manufacturer utilize his gift for organization to help the total picture. Let us not lay in inventories which we don't need. Let us order our equipment to come in to balance the operation. Get enough for one line and get it in operation without having an out-of-balance condition in the whole set-up. Sure, we have priorities, but the best way to have priorities is not to have to use them.

OLD EXPERIENCE RECALLED

I am reminded of my first experience with priorities in Buffalo 35 years ago. I was the assistant superintendent in a plant which manufactured a lot of different articles in rather small lots. The boss got the idea that the order clerk in the office should have a special ticket marked "Rush" made out of red pasteboard to drop in the boxes of material the customers had written or wired for.

I protested mildly that the foreman's work order was the best way to handle it, but the boss had his way and 3 weeks later I was able to take him through the shop and show him that practically every box had a red ticket in it marked "Rush." So he collected all the red tickets and went back to the old system of making the foreman responsible.

I mention this merely to emphasize the necessity for leaving responsibility with the proper authority. Most anybody can devise a system, but if there is no actual experience behind it, it is liable to be a hindrance rather than a help. We get lots of suggestions as to how to speed production, and we examine them carefully in the light of our experience for what they are worth. We know we are subject to criticism, constructive and otherwise, but whichever steps we take will be along the old-line policy of responsibility where it belongs.

PRICE INFLATION CONDEMNED

I should like to ask your cooperation in another matter, and that is prices. With bigger and better business prices generally get jittery and for some reason or another are subject to a lot of pressure, mostly due to conversation and seldom to fact. A price inflation through imaginary shortages or attempt to corner a supply brings with it all the evils of a total spiral.

The Commission is studying this question from every angle. They are in possession of extensive data covering raw materials, both domestic and foreign, and will be happy to give you any information regarding availability of any material where shortages may be predicted without grounds.

There is one more point I should like to bring before you, specifically, as you represent the biggest industrial organization in America. Mr. Prentis has given us the most hearty and comforting assurances of the support of your great organization and we are truly grateful, but I am going to ask you—all you gentlemen who are located in all the manufacturing centers of the United States, to support a most earnest request from the Defense Commission.

I have not tried to paint the lily in this talk. I have tried to make it clear to you that I consider the defense effort to date not satisfactory enough to warrant hopes that everything is all well. Maybe I haven't made it strong enough. However, I feel that when you made your delivery schedules there was probably some cushion in them for contingencies, strikes, and acts of God.

EARLIER DELIVERIES ARE ASKED

I am going to ask you to forget the delivery schedule and give us whatever you can in the way of advanced deliveries. I would not be surprised if they could be advanced 20 percent.

The first half of 1941 is crucial, after that we are sure to be under way; but if you gentlemen can help us better the deliveries so that we can be in swing in the second quarter, you will have done your country an outstanding service of protection, both of its shores and its institutions.

And those of you who are tooled up now, please give us of your quantities as much more as is humanly possible. I would estimate very roughly that we are 20 to 25 percent tooled up now, using the quantities as a base. I forecast that with your help we could be 80 percent tooled up by April 1 and the balance by May 31. This is naturally an over-all figure which cannot be applied to specific items, but I consider it possible to attain. I ask you to help get it.

I thank you in advance for whatever you can give us, and I thank you for the privilege of addressing the producers of America who in our day are the front line of defense.

Thank you again.

Republican Vice-Presidential Candidate's Talk to Voters on Eve of Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN R. AUSTIN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 16 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES L. McNARY, OF OREGON, AT SALEM, OREG.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I ask to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the radio address delivered by the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. McNARY] on November 4, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Friends, fellow Americans, the Presidential campaign of 1940 comes to its appointed end. A campaign conforming to our historic customs; fair play, free speech and the fearless, open exposition of sharply differing views. On our part, we have labored to discover and impart the truth, as it appears to us. The burden now falls to you. We await your decison tomorrow with confidence.

Our common fate for the next 4 years rests in your hands. In 1788, when your ancestors first elected their President, it was a brave and revolutionary procedure. In times before that the people had not been entrusted with the choice of their rulers. Tomorrow, for the thirty-ninth time in unbroken succession, you the citizen, will render this supreme decision for the Nation. Each of you will bear a part in a solemn referendum. I bid you consider the gravity of your individual part.

Today the practice of self-government has become so imbedded in our way of life that to tear it out would be a colossal and monstrous thing. I do not believe that any considerable body of citizens would look with favor on such an enterprise. I am no pessimist, coming, as I do, and speaking—as I now am—from the Far West, where our faith in the future of democratic institutions, like our mountains, rises high and challenging. Yet we must be on the alert against subtle changes; against disunity, factional strife, confused national aims and policies that lead toward national bankruptcy and the enfeeblement of the citizen's self-reliance. These and other factors contributed to the downfall of free states beyond the seas.

I do not find personal devils in politics. What I find is fallible human beings, associated in parties and committed to certain governmental policies; some affirmative and beneficial, others negative and harmful. In this campaign, we have pursued the affirmative course. The New Deal, which assumed power when our forces had been demoralized by a world economic crisis, organized a retreat. The fault I charge now is that the New Deal continued to retreat from our traditions, taking deeper and deeper refuge in paternalism and statism. Tomorrow we must decide whether this retreat shall go on. We must guard against a rout in the next 4 years; a rout, in which might be lost our personal liberties, our substance, and our power to make future decisions.

The time has come to advance.

The call to advance has been sounded with notable clarity and candor. Wendell Willkie, with unbelievable energy, courage, and sincerity, has carried the call into every corner of the land. I have marvelled at his indomitable spirit, his rugged insistence on proclaiming the faith within him. His leadership has proved an inspiration to me, as I, too, sought to summon our country to faith in our future and our capacity for growth. I have contended against the fearful doctrine that self-government and free enterprise have run their course; that we must rely increasingly upon the Government for instruction, guidance, and support.

I have recently recrossed this continent. That journey is a familiar and magnificent panorama to me. Much of the continent lies in a state of nature, undeveloped as to soil, mineral, and forest resources. Freemen bridged the continent, carrying civilization and well-being from one coast to the other. There is room for many more freemen to carry on their work. A journey across America challenges my imagination; my ability to project the future of a land so blessed.

Yet, I saw something else. I was struck again by the dire contrast between the riches brought forth by our primary producers—of farm, mine, and forest—and the poverty of their reward. In the America which we are about to re-create we cannot afford to ignore that contradiction. We must include the raw-materials producer within our economy; share with him the fruits of our vast, protected market. We see the signs of a coming industrial boom based on defense needs. We must distribute the benefits of that boom. The Nation cannot exist—to paraphrase Abraham Lincoln—half prosperous, half depressed. I believe we must, and shall, allot the American market to the American producer as we do to the American industrialist. We must, further, equate the price the farmer receives with the price he pays for what he purchases from those of us who live in the cities. I am certain that no American begrudges a fair deal to the farmer.

The spirited determination with which we embarked last June upon this crusade for a greater, freer America has been maintained. It has, indeed, grown in fervor these last few weeks. I witnessed evidences of that fervor all the way across the continent.

But faith without works avails little.

Therefore I call upon you who have shared in this crusade to manifest your faith by works tomorrow. Work, first, to get out the vote. Elections have been won by superior fidelity on the part of those committed to the better cause. Many well-intentioned persons neglect to vote unless reminded, or even transported to the polls. See that they get there.

A second task remains. Using the languge of the farm, with which I am conversant by lifelong habit, first harvest every vote, and then see that your yield is accurately and fairly counted. In cities where ruthless and un-American political machines seek to pervert the will of the voters, guard the count of ballots. Do not relax your vigilance anywhere. We must not be robbed of our choice by indifference, carelessness, lack of diligence or will.

Tomorrow, God willing, America again marches forward.

From my home in Oregon I am now happy to present the Honorable Wendell L. Willkie.

Ninetieth Birthday of Mother Berry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAT HARRISON

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 16 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, recently it was my privilege to participate, along with hundreds of her friends, in a celebration at Blue Mountain College, Blue Mountain, Miss., in honor of the ninetieth birthday of Mrs. Modena Lowrey Berry, affectionately known as Mother Berry. Scores of congratulatory messages were received by Mother Berry. Among them was a most gracious letter from President Roosevelt, which was read on that occasion. I ask unanimous consent to have the President's letter to Mother Berry incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, November 9, 1940.

Mrs. MODENA LOWREY BERRY,
Blue Mountain College, Blue Mountain, Miss.

DEAR MOTHER BERRY: I esteem it a genuine privilege to join with the legion of friends who are honoring you on your birthday. Please accept my heartfelt congratulations on the manifold achievements of a rich and a full life. To few is it vouchsafed to accomplish so much in so many fields and to reach the fine old age of 90, young in all save years, and still eager for further service.

My sincere wish is that all of your days may be filled with peace and happiness.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Comparative Study of World War Veterans by State of Residence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETE JARMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

STATISTICS COMPILED BY MILLARD W. RICE, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, the other day while having lunch with my good friend, Millard W. Rice, national legislative representative of that militant outfit composed of combatant veterans of the several wars, campaigns, and expeditions in which the United States has been engaged, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, commonly referred to as the V. F. W., he let me in on a very interesting chart of statistics which he had compiled, showing the total number of persons who served as World War veterans from each State, the estimated number of those now living in each State, the number of those who are now receiving some monetary benefits from the Veterans' Administration in each State, the total amount of monetary benefits paid to such veterans in each State during the last fiscal year, as well as the average amount paid to the average recipient of such benefits in each State, and the percentage relationship among such various figures. I am inserting such comparative study of World War veterans, by State of residence, at the conclusion of my remarks.

Although these several columns of statistics speak for themselves, a brief analysis reveals many important trends not generally known.

Although nearly 16 percent of those who served in the armed forces of the United States during the period of the World War have since then died, it is not safe to conclude that the number of World War veterans living in any particular State at the present time is 16 percent less than the number who enlisted from such State.

World War veterans have, since their return to civilian life, shifted from community to community and from State to State. California, the District of Columbia, Florida, and Wyoming now have more World War veterans within their respective borders than the number who originally came from such States. Other States, such as the four just mentioned, and Arizona, Colorado, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin, now have more than their proportionate share of World War veterans, as compared with the percentage of all veterans who enlisted from such States, whereas all other

States have less proportionately. These opposing trends in the shift of veteran populations are obviously due primarily to three factors: First, a search for employment; second, a search for health; and, third, a search for more agreeable living conditions.

Careful analyses of these statistics, supplemented by other known facts, will indicate which of these factors has proven to be the more important in causing migrations of able-bodied veterans, on the one hand, and disabled veterans on the other, into and out of certain States.

It is easy to "dope out" the fact that both able-bodied and disabled veterans have been moved into such States as California, Colorado, District of Columbia, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Wyoming. On the other hand, we find that both such groups have been moving out of such States as Kentucky, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, and Virginia.

A further comparison will show that able-bodied veterans have been moving into, and disabled veterans out of, such States as Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, and Washington. Going in the opposite direction, able-bodied veterans have been moving out of, and disabled veterans moving into, the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, and Vermont.

In some States, such as Arizona, Mississippi, New Mexico, Colorado, and Florida, we find that an extraordinarily high percentage of their veterans are receiving monetary benefits from the Veterans' Administration—probably because there has been an unusual immigration of service-connected disabled veterans into such States from other States, possibly also in part because of the greater liberality of rating agencies in such States, and/or possibly because of a greater effectiveness of the rehabilitation service maintained by one or more of the various veteran organizations in such States.

It is definitely feasible, by making a study of these statistics—possibly aided by further comparisons of similar statistics for previous years—for veteran organizations in certain States to prove the monetary value of their rehabilitation services to their respective States. On the other hand, it is possible to prove that certain States could, by the establishment of effective rehabilitation services, enable a substantial number of disabled veterans in their States successfully to prosecute claims for service connection and compensation, thus resulting in a more liberal distribution of Federal money in such States, thus in turn relieving many overloaded local charitable agencies, and, by increasing the purchasing power of disabled veterans in such States, thereby adding directly or indirectly to the taxation resources of the States and to some degree helping to raise the economic and social level of all citizens within such States.

I was disappointed to note, for example, that the annual amount paid to the average recipient of veteran benefits is lower in my own State of Alabama than in any other State, being nearly $60 per year lower than the average throughout the entire country, and being about $270 less than the highest average amount payable to the average veteran beneficiary in the State of Arizona. It is, of course, apparent that the reason for the high average amount of monetary benefits payable to veterans in Arizona is directly traceable to the fact that Arizona has much more than its proportionate share of veterans who are badly handicapped by reason of tuberculosis. Moreover, it is obvious that the high percentage of tubercular veterans who reside in Colorado accounts for the fact that the next to the highest average amount of veteran benefits per year is payable in that State.

A more careful analysis of the underlying facts might establish that a higher than average amount payable in a certain State is due to one or more of several factors—that such State has more than its share of service-connected tuberculars or disability retirement beneficiaries, that its regional office claims and rating boards have been somewhat more liberal, or that veteran organization rehabilitation services have been more persistent and effective in the technical prosecution of equitable claims.

By the same reasoning one might ascertain that a less-than-average amount payable in a certain State is traceable to one or more related factors—that a greater percentage of the State's badly disabled veterans have moved into more affable climates, that the rating board in such State is somewhat less liberal, that veteran organization rehabilitation services may not have been functioning as long, and/or that an unusually high percentage of single veterans in Veterans' Administration hospital or domiciliary facilities in such States, who consequently receive reduced amounts of compensation and pension, may be accountable therefor.

Many other pertinent facts can be ascertained by a careful evaluation of these statistics, which would be of real value in the consideration of proposals for additional steps to be taken on behalf of handicapped and disabled veterans, by the various States, and by the Federal Government.

Comparative study of World War veterans by State of residence

State of residence	Individuals in service during World War		Estimated living June 30, 1940			Receiving compensation, pension, or retirement—June 30, 1940		Percent of estimated living who receive benefits	Disbursements for compensation[1] to living World War veterans, fiscal year 1940		
	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total	Percent of State's population	Number	Percent of total		Amount for all in State	Percent of total	Amount per recipient
Alabama	84,477	1.80	58,262	1.47	2.06	8,602	2.12	14.76	$3,491,667	1.85	$405.91
Arizona	12,582	.27	12,286	.31	2.46	3,305	.81	26.90	2,232,072	1.18	675.36
Arkansas	70,496	1.50	49,542	1.25	2.54	8,220	2.02	16.59	3,701,018	1.96	450.25
California	162,719	3.46	[2]233,839	5.90	3.39	32,028	7.88	13.70	16,922,114	8.97	528.35
Colorado	43,421	.92	38,841	.98	3.46	5,620	1.38	14.47	3,344,262	1.77	595.06
Connecticut	67,746	1.44	49,939	1.26	2.92	5,432	1.34	10.88	2,707,727	1.44	498.48
Delaware	9,255	.20	5,549	.14	2.08	385	.09	6.94	184,918	.10	480.31
District of Columbia	27,651	.59	[2]32,103	.81	4.84	4,337	1.07	13.51	2,133,233	1.13	491.87
Florida	42,318	.90	[2]46,372	1.17	2.44	6,582	1.62	14.19	3,428,752	1.82	520.93
Georgia	103,785	2.21	66,981	1.69	2.14	8,656	2.13	12.92	4,150,041	2.20	479.44
Idaho	22,357	.48	15,457	.39	2.94	1,378	.34	8.92	617,113	.33	447.83
Illinois	325,307	6.92	288,930	7.29	3.66	19,926	4.90	6.90	8,308,629	4.40	416.97
Indiana	133,645	2.85	107,408	2.71	3.13	10,714	2.64	9.98	4,755,343	2.52	443.84
Iowa	114,292	2.43	89,572	2.26	3.53	6,524	1.61	7.28	2,747,968	1.46	421.21
Kansas	81,724	1.74	64,603	1.63	3.59	5,012	1.23	7.76	2,159,350	1.14	430.84
Kentucky	94,448	2.01	71,737	1.81	2.52	12,059	2.97	16.81	5,335,005	2.83	442.41
Louisiana	76,727	1.63	62,225	1.57	2.63	6,274	1.54	10.08	2,915,581	1.55	464.71
Maine	33,040	.70	24,177	.61	2.85	2,474	.61	10.23	1,076,537	.57	435.14
Maryland	62,495	1.33	54,695	1.38	3.00	5,429	1.34	9.93	2,869,784	1.52	528.60
Massachusetts	199,364	4.24	154,175	3.89	3.57	18,036	4.44	11.70	8,711,757	4.62	483.02
Michigan	164,999	3.51	153,779	3.88	2.93	12,089	2.97	7.86	5,166,183	2.74	427.35
Minnesota	119,360	2.54	95,914	2.42	3.43	11,806	2.90	12.31	5,877,862	3.12	497.87
Mississippi	62,607	1.33	42,012	1.06	1.92	9,676	2.38	23.03	4,275,463	2.27	441.86
Missouri	163,172	3.47	126,828	3.20	3.35	13,409	3.30	10.57	5,754,563	3.05	429.16
Montana	40,160	.86	20,610	.52	3.68	2,513	.62	12.19	1,227,018	.65	488.27
Nebraska	57,329	1.22	45,182	1.14	3.43	3,173	.78	7.02	1,309,962	.69	412.85
Nevada	5,457	.12	3,567	.09	3.24	532	.13	14.91	245,999	.13	462.40
New Hampshire	18,965	.40	13,872	.35	2.82	1,458	.36	10.51	709,465	.38	486.60

[1] Includes service-connected compensation, non-service-connected pensions, and emergency officers' retirement pay.
[2] Estimated number of living June 30, 1940, exceeds the number in service from State.

Comparative study of World War veterans by State of residence—Continued

State of residence	Individuals in service during World War		Estimated living June 30, 1940			Receiving compensation, pension, or retirement—June 30, 1940		Percent of estimated living who receive benefits	Disbursements for compensation to living World War veterans, fiscal year 1940		
	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total	Percent of State's population	Number	Percent of total		Amount for all in State	Percent of total	Amount per recipient
New Jersey	144,764	3.08	133,169	3.36	3.20	8,157	2.01	6.13	$3,841,601	2.04	$470.96
New Mexico	14,361	.31	11,494	.29	2.16	2,584	.64	22.48	1,454,229	.77	562.78
New York	494,020	10.52	433,197	10.93	3.21	30,767	7.57	7.10	13,792,060	7.31	448.27
North Carolina	86,898	1.85	72,133	1.82	2.02	7,051	1.73	9.77	3,642,789	1.93	516.63
North Dakota	27,591	.59	18,232	.46	2.84	1,823	.45	10.00	823,128	.44	451.52
Ohio	241,483	5.14	206,888	5.22	3.00	23,696	5.83	11.45	10,382,789	5.50	438.17
Oklahoma	90,632	1.93	76,493	1.93	3.27	8,483	2.09	11.09	3,664,412	1.94	431.97
Oregon	43,630	.93	41,219	1.04	3.78	4,612	1.13	11.19	2,250,721	1.19	488.01
Pennsylvania	361,869	7.70	294,083	7.42	2.97	25,919	6.38	8.81	11,718,933	6.21	452.14
Rhode Island	27,865	.59	23,384	.59	3.28	2,203	.54	9.42	987,468	.52	448.24
South Carolina	63,300	1.35	39,634	1.00	2.09	5,200	1.28	13.12	2,307,272	1.22	443.71
South Dakota	32,017	.68	25,762	.65	4.01	2,212	.54	8.59	924,262	.49	417.84
Tennessee	90,295	1.92	66,188	1.67	2.27	9,169	2.26	13.85	4,410,746	2.34	481.05
Texas	192,829	4.10	171,614	4.33	2.68	18,618	4.58	10.85	8,681,838	4.60	466.31
Utah	21,555	.46	16,250	.41	2.95	1,462	.36	9.00	685,831	.36	469.10
Vermont	13,940	.30	9,116	.23	2.54	1,301	.32	14.27	610,225	.32	469.04
Virginia	92,047	1.96	70,548	1.78	2.63	6,126	1.51	8.68	2,803,415	1.49	457.63
Washington	67,408	1.44	64,999	1.64	3.74	5,612	1.38	8.63	2,661,864	1.41	474.32
West Virginia	58,268	1.24	49,146	1.24	2.58	4,333	1.07	8.82	1,818,866	.96	419.77
Wisconsin	120,976	2.58	98,688	2.49	3.15	10,330	2.54	10.47	4,377,395	2.32	423.76
Wyoming	12,348	.26	12,683	.32	5.06	1,101	.27	8.68	461,702	.25	419.35
Total United States	4,697,994	100.00	3,963,377	100.00	3.01	406,408	100.00	10.25	188,660,932	100.00	464.22

All figures furnished by the Veterans' Administration, except as to the fifth and eleventh columns which were computed by Millard W. Rice, national legislative officer, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Nov. 15, 1940.

Presidential Election of 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERTRAND W. GEARHART

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

ASSOCIATED PRESS ARTICLE ON VOTING STATISTICS

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, though the cold figures will not be at all consoling to those of us who like to think of our Republic as one in which the voice of every citizen is harkened to, I ask the unanimous consent of the House of Representatives that a brief Associated Press article which appeared yesterday in innumerable newspapers throughout the country be spread upon the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

It is disheartening indeed to note from the tabulations of this highly efficient press agency that in one of the States which compose the Union no more than 5.2 percent of its population were sufficiently interested to express their opinion at the polls and that in another but 8 percent of the population were sufficiently interested to exercise their suffrage, even though issues of the greatest magnitude were involved.

When the voting records of these two States are compared with that of Illinois, where nearly 54 percent of the total population of the State turned out to vote, the comparison is anything but reassuring to those who still have faith in our democratic institutions.

The dissemination of the Associated Press figures ought to impress our country-loving, public-spirited citizens with the necessity of arousing our fellow citizens to an appreciation of the necessity of their exercising their suffrage if this great experiment in government of the people, by the people, for the people is not to perish from the earth.

There being no objection to the request of the gentleman from California, the article was ordered printed, as follows:

Almost 38 of every 100 persons in the country voted in the Presidential election November 5. There were 49,808,624 such voters out of the 131,669,275 persons in continental United States.

Voters for Franklin D. Roosevelt totaled 27,241,939, or slightly more than 20 in every 100 of the population. Wendell L. Willkie received 22,327,226 votes, or almost 17 in every 100 of the population.

The Census Bureau estimated that there were 80,528,000 potential voters—that is, native persons and naturalized foreign-born—21 years old and over. About 62 in every 100 of these potential voters actually cast ballots.

SIXTY MILLION FIVE HUNDRED SEVENTY-SIX THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINE WERE ELIGIBLE

Before election, compilation of the number of persons who registered, or who otherwise qualified themselves to vote, showed 60,576,979 were eligible to cast ballots. Of that number approximately 82 in every 100 exercised their right of franchise.

In four States more than one-half of their population voted. They were Illinois, 53.4 percent; Nevada, 53; Indiana, 52; and Delaware, 51.1. The States in which the smallest percentage of their population voted were South Carolina, 5.2 percent; Mississippi, 8; Georgia, 10; and Alabama, 10.4.

The 20 most populous States, each having 2,500,000 or more people and an aggregate population of 98,887,541, reported a total vote of 39,071,418, indicating 39.5 in every 100 of their population balloted. Those States have 367 of the 531 electoral votes.

The remaining 28 States, with a total population of 32,118,643 and 164 electoral votes, cast a total popular vote of 10,737,206, or 33.4 for every 100 of their population. Of the 663,091 persons in voteless District of Columbia, it is estimated about 150,000 voted in some State.

MILLION VOTE IN 14 STATES

Fourteen of the twenty most populous States, having an aggregate population of 80,919,993, each polled a million or more votes for President. Their total popular vote was 35,802,519, or 44.2 in every 100 of population. Their total electoral vote is 298, or 32 more than a majority. Texas cast more than a million votes for President for the first time.

Six of the States of more than 2,500,000 population each, and whose total population is 17,967,548, failed to return a million votes apiece. Their total vote was 3,268,899, or 18.2 voters in every 100 of their population. Their total electoral vote is 69.

Following are the various categories of States, with the population, electoral vote, total vote for President, and percentage of their population which cast ballots:

State	Population	Electoral vote	Popular vote	Percentage of population voted
New York	13,479,142	47	6,301,596	46.7
Pennsylvania	9,900,180	36	4,077,887	41.2
Illinois	7,897,241	29	4,217,278	53.4
Ohio	6,907,612	26	3,319,912	48.1
California	6,907,387	22	3,268,791	47.3
Texas	6,414,824	23	1,041,168	16.2
Michigan	5,256,106	19	2,085,925	39.7
Massachusetts	4,316,721	17	2,026,993	46.9
New Jersey	4,160,165	16	1,974,214	47.4
Missouri	3,784,664	15	1,883,729	48.4
Indiana	3,427,796	14	1,782,747	52.0
Wisconsin	3,137,587	12	1,405,522	44.8
Minnesota	2,792,300	11	1,251,188	44.8
Iowa	2,538,268	11	1,215,569	47.9
14 States	80,919,993	298	35,802,519	44.2

The six States, with more than 2,500,000 population each, which cast less than 1,000,000 votes each:

State	Population	Electoral vote	Popular vote	Percentage of population voted
North Carolina	3,571,623	13	822,648	23.3
Georgia	3,123,723	12	312,539	10
Tennessee	2,915,841	11	522,823	17.9
Kentucky	2,845,627	11	970,063	34.1
Alabama	2,832,961	11	294,219	10.4
Virginia	2,677,773	11	346,607	12.9
6 States	17,967,548	69	3,268,899	18.2
20 States	98,887,541	367	39,071,418	39.5

The remaining 28 States in order of population:

State	Population	Electoral vote	Popular vote	Percentage of population voted
Louisiana	2,363,880	10	372,197	15.7
Oklahoma	2,336,434	11	826,212	35.3
Mississippi	2,183,796	9	175,824	8.0
Arkansas	1,949,387	9	201,841	10.3
West Virginia	1,901,974	8	868,808	45.1
South Carolina	1,899,804	8	99,832	5.2
Florida	1,897,414	7	486,819	25.7
Maryland	1,821,244	8	660,908	36.2
Kansas	1,801,028	9	860,288	47.7
Washington	1,736,191	8	793,833	45.7
Connecticut	1,709,242	8	781,502	45.7
Nebraska	1,315,834	7	604,843	45.9
Colorado	1,123,296	6	548,099	48.7
Oregon	1,089,684	5	481,200	44.1
Maine	847,226	5	320,840	37.8
Rhode Island	713,346	4	320,313	44.9
South Dakota	642,961	4	308,427	47.8
North Dakota	641,935	4	280,775	43.7
Montana	559,456	4	247,873	44.3
Utah	550,310	4	247,817	45.0
New Mexico	531,818	3	183,558	34.5
Idaho	524,873	4	235,156	44.8
Arizona	499,261	3	150,039	30.0
New Hampshire	491,524	4	235,419	47.9
Vermont	359,231	3	143,044	39.5
Delaware	266,505	3	136,325	51.1
Wyoming	250,742	3	112,240	44.8
Nevada	110,247	3	53,174	53.0
28 States	32,118,418	164	10,737,206	33.4

Popular vote totals are official except for Nebraska and Rhode Island.

The Problem of Finland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS OF DECEMBER 14, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, on November 11 I called to the attention of the House the situation prevailing in Finland at the present time. I directed attention to an editorial by Frank C. Waldrop. Up to date no answer has ever been made to his clear-cut statement of facts. I doubt if his position in favor of sending food to Finland can be successfully attacked.

Just to keep the record straight and to bring it up to date, I submit herewith an editorial from the Washington Daily News for December 14. It is as follows:

FINLAND'S REWARD

When Finland refused the drumhead demands of Moscow and chose to fight rather than compromise her national integrity, the English cheered her on, as did we Americans.

But kind words were not enough. Help from England and elsewhere was of the too-late-and-too-little variety. Finland fought on with great valor and resourcefulness until she dropped in her tracks. And today we have almost forgotten those place names that were so familiar in the headlines last winter—Suomussalmi, Viborg, Petsamo, Karelia, Lake Ladoga, the Mannerheim Line, Helsinki.

Finland shot the works at impossible odds, suffered terrible casualties, and finally was broken at the wheel. And now it looks as if she has been abandoned by those who were once loudest in applauding her.

What does she want? Only this: the privilege of importing desperately needed food, clothing, medicine, and gasoline through the British blockade—in her own vessels, via her own Arctic port of Petsamo.

Finland is no Belgium or Poland. She is not occupied or protected by German troops. There is no question of food for Finland being grabbed off by Hitler or being used to feed workers in plants that make guns for Germany. And yet it is said that England is strangling with red tape the Finnish requests for clearance of proposed imports from this country.

It does not seem to make sense. Certainly it is not justice.

Down Lancaster Way

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH F. GUFFEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 16 (legislative day of Tuesday November 19), 1940

LETTER TO SENATOR GUFFEY FROM GEORGE W. HENSEL

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of a communication which I recently received from the dean of American columists, George W. Hensel, Jr., of Quarryville, Pa., the author of Down Lancaster Way, who has been contributing this column to the press of Philadelphia for almost half a century. I hope the columnists mentioned in this communication will receive it in the same good spirit in which the youthful Hensel wrote it.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

QUARRYVILLE, PA., *November 6, 1940.*

GLORY! GLORY! GLORY!

MY DEAR JOE: Congratulations and every good wish for your health, happiness, and contentment, to continue your helpful services and inspire us Democrats, not only of the State of Pennsylvania but the Nation. Well, Joe, when I think of the aggregation that fought us—Joe Lewis, Browder and Pompous Pegler, Sniper Kent, Vinegar Johnson, Bell Clapper, Cornless Cobb, Water Mellon, Market Sullivan, Razor Tucker, Bombast Carter, Brown Derby Smith, Lindbergh the bearer of German medals, Hambletonian Fish, Jay Cooke, Arthur James, Joe Pew, Burchard McCracken of "pauper" fame, John Cummings, Morgan's millions, 87 percent of the newspapers, many magazines, third-termites, and God knows who and what—we can rejoice the more and more.

It was a great day, and the most satisfying of nights, as the will of the people was being registered. Up to this time we have nothing definite on the Gulf of Mexico.

God has blessed America. It is up to us to show our appreciation.

Sincerely,

GEORGE W. HENSEL.

The Cloakroom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. LAMBERTSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, we should loan a hundred million to Italy because Greece has become an aggressor nation.

Jesse Jones says England is a good risk. Let a farmer ask for a new loan of his banker when he has not paid interest on old notes—then listen!

The sole high and holy purpose of the Axis Powers is to take England apart. This has been brewing for 200 years. It is ours to hold Australia high.

The Windsors, Sir Walter Citrine, and Britain's new Ambassador are different from Santa Claus; they are not coming to give.

If it is a long war and all nations are extended to the limit, it will favor Germany that men do work there 12 hours per for little over a dollar—here there is a tendency to gouge in defense.

In the little war over here between Attorney General Jackson and the gentleman from Texas, MARTIN DIES, you can expect the former to have the continued moral support of the chief and the latter will have the future financial support of Congress.

It is further proof of our new way of life—militarism—in what the President sent to the Farm Bureau convention, "that effective rearmament is an equitable distribution of wealth." It is just as much so as "I hate wah."

Atchison renews its bid for the subsidiary Capitol under the threat of sending a chamber of commerce committee to Washington. Almost anybody would rather give away his pants than meet a chamber of commerce committee.—CARL BROWN.

If we cannot get the Capitol, Carl, maybe we can get you a shipyard next year.

Comparative Study of Various Classes of World War Veteran Beneficiaries According to State of Residence for Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1940

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETE JARMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

CHART COMPILED BY MILLARD W. RICE, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, in another extension of remarks I have submitted a comparative study of World War veterans by State of residence, which appears in the Appendix of the RECORD, page 6864.

Some very interesting conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of the statistics prepared by Mr. Millard W. Rice, National legislative representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, enabling one to figure, among other things, whether able-bodied veterans, or disabled veterans or both, have migrated into or out of certain States, because of a search for (1) employment, (2) health, or (3) easier living conditions.

Interesting conjectures as to the reasons for greater, or less, than average Veterans' Administration payments—to veterans receiving compensation, disability retirement, or pension payments—according to the States in which paid, could also be made on the basis of these comparative figures.

Because of the differences shown, as to the average amounts paid out to the average World War veteran recipients of all monetary benefits in the various States, Mr. Rice decided to make a further study and analysis and has therefore compiled another chart on the basis of statistics secured from the Veterans' Administration, which appears at the conclusion of my remarks.

It will be noted that in this supplementary chart, which ought to be studied in connection with the chart previously submitted, that Mr. Rice has divided the World War veteran beneficiaries in each State into three classifications, namely, first, those who receive emergency officers' retirement pay; second, those who receive compensation by reason of service-connected disabilities; and, third, those who receive pensions, ranging from $6 to $30 per month, by reason of their permanent total non-service-connected disabilities. As to each such classification, the chart shows the number of recipients, the total amounts paid to them, and the average annual amounts paid each such type of beneficiary in each State during the preceding fiscal year.

The third column of statistics shows the average amount paid to veteran recipients of all three classes of veteran benefits in each State; such average amount is influenced by the number and proportion of recipients in each classification of benefits as compared with the total for all classes of beneficiaries, as well as by the average amounts paid to each such type of beneficiary.

The average amount paid to the average recipient of emergency officers' retirement pay in each State depends almost entirely upon the number in each rank who have been so retired. Thus, if all of those receiving disabled emergency officers' retirement benefits in a particular State consisted of retired colonels, the average amount per recipient would naturally be much larger than in a State where all of the recipients were former first lieutenants. One may therefore safely come to the conclusion that the figure as to the average amount paid to the average recipient of disabled emergency officers' retirement benefits does not indicate anything as to the comparative liberality of claims and rating boards of the Veterans' Administration in the respective States.

The average amount of compensation paid to the average World War veteran suffering with a service-connected disability, the chart shows, ranges from $401.45 in Alabama to $733.76 per annum in Arizona, with a Nation-wide average of $483.64. Evidently the differences in such average compensation payments are the composite results of several factors: (1) That badly disabled veterans, such as tubercular, have migrated into certain States, such as Arizona, California, Colorado, and New Mexico; (2) that veterans suffering with minor service-connected disabilities have moved out of, or into, certain States in a search for employment; (3) that claims and rating boards of the Veterans' Administration have been more or less liberal in certain States than in certain others; and (4) that the rehabilitation services maintained by veteran organizations and others have been functioning for a longer period of time and/or more effectively in certain States.

It is quickly apparent that the average amount of compensation paid to service-connected disabled veterans in any State may be either lower or higher than the average amount of all monetary benefits paid to World War veterans in such State; this is probably primarily due to the fact that a higher or a lower percentage than average of the total number of recipients of monetary benefits in any such State consists of World War veterans receiving pensions of from $6 per month—single veterans in governmental institutions—to $30 per month by reason of permanent total non-service-connected disabilities.

Those receiving permanent total non-service-connected disability pensions represent from 8.98 percent, in Connecticut, to 27.58 percent, in the United States possessions, of the total of World War veterans receiving monetary benefits in the respective States, whereas, as to all World War beneficiaries, the average is 14.69 percent.

The amounts payable to those receiving pensions by reason of permanent total non-service-connected disabilities during the last fiscal year ranges from an average of $239.49, in Wyoming, to $363.65, in South Carolina, with an average of $320.49 as to all such pension beneficiaries.

These statistical comparisons should enable local posts and State departments of the various veteran organizations to "dope out" the ammunition with which to demonstrate the

relative value of their rehabilitation-service programs on behalf of actual and potential veteran beneficiaries by pointing out the direct financial returns to their respective communities and States by seeing to it that justice is extended to disabled veterans in accordance with the intent of the laws enacted by Congress.

Comparative study of various classes of World War veteran beneficiaries according to State of residence, for fiscal year ending June 30, 1940

	Total World War veteran beneficiaries			Emergency officers' retirement pay			Service-connected compensation cases			Permanent and total non-service-connected pension cases			
	Number	Amount	Average per recipient	Number	Amount	Average per recipient	Number	Amount	Average per recipient	Number	Percent of total recipients	Amount	Average per recipient
Alabama	8,602	$3,491,667	$405.91	33	$55,851	$1,692.45	7,255	$3,012,674	$415.25	1,314	15.27	$423,142	$322.02
Arizona	3,305	2,232,072	675.36	14	23,527	1,680.50	2,772	2,033,994	733.76	519	15.70	174,551	336.32
Arkansas	8,220	3,701,018	450.25	22	36,713	1,668.77	6,739	3,166,696	469.90	1,459	17.74	497,609	341.06
California	32,028	16,922,114	528.35	227	372,220	1,639.73	26,924	15,009,012	557.45	4,877	15.22	1,540,882	315.94
Colorado	5,620	3,344,262	595.06	35	60,949	1,741.40	4,750	3,024,452	636.72	835	14.85	258,861	310.01
Connecticut	5,432	2,707,727	498.48	20	33,615	1,680.75	4,924	2,505,491	508.83	488	8.98	168,621	315.53
Delaware	385	184,918	480.31	1	1,273	1,273.00	333	166,012	498.53	51	13.24	17,633	345.74
District of Columbia	4,337	2,133,233	491.87	51	86,037	1,687.00	3,687	1,865,495	505.96	599	13.81	181,701	303.34
Florida	6,582	3,428,752	520.93	77	130,088	1,689.45	5,316	2,896,198	544.80	1,189	18.06	402,466	338.49
Georgia	8,656	4,150,041	479.44	52	79,702	1,532.73	7,154	3,571,064	499.17	1,450	16.75	499,275	344.32
Idaho	1,378	617,113	447.83	3	7,086	2,362.00	1,199	551,643	460.08	176	12.77	58,384	331.72
Illinois	19,926	8,308,629	416.97	100	157,860	1,578.60	16,601	7,214,769	434.59	3,225	16.18	936,000	290.23
Indiana	10,714	4,755,343	443.84	28	44,285	1,581.60	9,496	4,327,175	455.68	1,190	11.10	383,883	322.59
Iowa	6,524	2,747,968	421.21	9	15,823	1,758.11	5,410	2,389,903	441.75	1,105	16.93	342,242	309.72
Kansas	5,012	2,159,350	430.84	18	31,940	1,774.44	4,151	1,863,453	448.91	843	16.81	263,957	313.11
Kentucky	12,059	5,335,005	442.41	19	30,156	1,587.15	10,669	4,837,236	453.39	1,371	11.36	467,613	341.07
Louisiana	6,274	2,915,581	464.71	11	18,525	1,684.09	5,011	2,448,530	488.63	1,252	19.95	448,526	358.24
Maine	2,474	1,076,537	435.14	5	10,304	2,060.80	2,048	944,621	461.24	421	12.01	121,612	288.86
Maryland	5,429	2,869,784	528.60	33	55,094	1,669.51	4,614	2,586,891	560.66	782	14.40	227,799	291.30
Massachusetts	18,036	8,711,757	483.02	94	155,921	1,658.73	15,762	7,864,474	498.95	2,180	12.08	691,362	317.13
Michigan	12,089	5,166,183	427.35	42	70,953	1,689.35	10,509	4,606,690	438.35	1,538	12.72	488,540	317.65
Minnesota	11,806	5,877,862	497.87	26	40,220	1,546.92	10,402	5,408,455	519.94	1,378	11.67	429,187	311.46
Mississippi	9,676	4,275,463	441.86	12	19,191	1,599.25	8,671	3,928,854	453.10	993	10.26	327,418	329.72
Missouri	13,409	5,754,563	429.16	50	86,968	1,739.36	11,739	5,119,605	436.11	1,620	12.08	547,990	338.26
Montana	2,513	1,227,018	488.27	8	13,835	1,729.37	2,270	1,132,825	499.04	235	9.35	80,358	341.94
Nebraska	3,173	1,309,962	412.85	6	9,800	1,633.33	2,723	1,156,964	424.88	444	13.99	143,198	322.51
Nevada	532	245,999	462.40	2	2,024	1,012.00	465	222,873	479.29	65	12.21	21,102	324.64
New Hampshire	1,458	709,465	486.60	6	10,424	1,737.33	1,285	645,657	502.45	167	11.45	53,384	319.66
New Jersey	8,157	3,841,601	470.96	56	92,768	1,656.57	6,898	3,372,487	488.90	1,203	14.74	376,346	312.83
New Mexico	2,584	1,454,229	562.78	9	15,991	1,776.77	2,163	1,303,488	602.62	412	15.94	134,750	327.06
New York	30,767	13,792,060	448.27	164	272,090	1,659.08	25,121	11,935,431	475.11	5,482	17.81	1,584,539	289.04
North Carolina	7,051	3,642,789	516.63	34	52,962	1,557.70	5,533	3,085,669	557.68	1,484	21.04	504,158	339.72
North Dakota	1,823	823,128	451.52	1	1,273	1,273.00	1,583	742,486	469.03	239	13.11	79,369	332.08
Ohio	23,696	10,382,789	438.17	89	147,286	1,654.89	20,215	9,161,808	453.21	3,392	14.31	1,073,695	316.53
Oklahoma	8,483	3,664,412	431.92	15	22,590	1,506.00	7,371	3,264,391	442.86	1,097	12.93	377,431	344.05
Oregon	4,612	2,250,721	488.01	25	42,154	1,686.16	3,882	1,990,418	512.73	705	15.28	218,149	309.43
Pennsylvania	25,919	11,718,933	452.14	114	183,044	1,605.64	22,511	10,466,340	464.94	3,294	12.70	1,069,549	324.69
Rhode Island	2,203	987,468	448.24	4	5,584	1,396.00	1,873	871,879	465.49	326	14.79	110,005	337.43
South Carolina	5,200	2,307,272	443.71	25	43,649	1,745.96	4,101	1,873,054	456.73	1,074	20.65	390,569	363.65
South Dakota	2,212	924,262	417.84	2	3,303	1,651.50	1,862	816,186	438.33	348	15.73	104,773	301.07
Tennessee	9,169	4,410,746	481.05	34	56,607	1,664.91	7,814	3,906,233	499.90	1,321	14.40	447,906	339.06
Texas	18,618	8,681,838	466.31	80	126,923	1,586.53	15,634	7,565,143	483.89	2,904	15.59	989,772	340.83
Utah	1,462	685,831	469.10				1,321	639,384	484.01	141	9.64	46,447	329.41
Vermont	1,301	610,225	469.04	4	5,566	1,391.50	1,135	555,344	489.28	162	12.45	49,315	304.41
Virginia	6,126	2,803,415	457.63	36	57,676	1,602.11	5,112	2,435,799	476.48	978	15.96	309,940	316.91
Washington	5,612	2,661,864	474.32	21	29,454	1,402.57	4,731	2,367,678	500.46	860	15.32	264,732	307.82
West Virginia	4,333	1,818,866	419.77	16	27,838	1,739.87	3,810	1,622,329	425.80	507	11.70	168,699	332.73
Wisconsin	10,330	4,377,395	423.76	43	76,039	1,768.34	8,950	3,884,434	434.01	1,337	12.94	416,922	311.83
Wyoming	1,101	461,702	419.35	2	3,002	1,501.00	893	409,365	458.41	206	18.71	49,335	239.49
Total, United States	406,408	188,660,932	464.22	1,778	2,926,183	1,645.77	345,392	166,771,052	482.84	59,238	14.57	18,963,697	320.12
Outside United States	3,836	1,987,927	518.22	6	10,076	1,679.33	2,772	1,616,833	583.27	1,058	27.58	361,018	341.22
Grand total	410,244	190,648,859	464.72	1,784	2,936,259	1,645.88	348,164	168,387,885	483.64	60,296	14.69	19,324,715	320.49

South America and the Coming Era of Air Transportation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HINSHAW

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

ADDRESS BY WAYNE W. PARRISH

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Wayne W. Parrish, editor of American Aviation and American Aviation Daily, before the Sales Executives Club, Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, on November 26, 1940:

It isn't often these days that aviation people can get a brand new thrill from flying on a scheduled air line. The fast overnight flights to the West coast in absolute comfort are commonplace. We're getting used to flying long distances in a few hours.

But a few weeks ago I did get a real thrill. I flew to Rio in 3 days, to the most beautiful city in the world, where a little of Paris and New York and San Francisco and Miami Beach are all merged into one gorgeous spectacle. Rio is not only a breath-taking sight itself, but the new, fast Pan American flight is an amazing demonstration of how air transportation can make a map shrink and how 200-mile-an-hour flying can make a whole country just a mere salad course in a meal.

When I found that I was going to make an air trip to South America I brought out the maps, studied the air routes, and thought that for once I would find out about those places to the south of us that have such glamorous names—Haiti, Trinidad, the Virgin Islands, British and Dutch Guiana, and Devil's Island. When I arrived in Rio I was still wondering what they're like. We flew so high, so fast, and over such long point-to-point hops that I have no more idea of the Caribbean than I had before I left.

As a trade-paper editor I had chuckled to myself when the new four-engined supercharged Boeing 307 transports were originally announced. They were called stratosphere planes. I thought it was merely another publicity gag. Of course, these huge 33-passenger ships don't fly in the stratosphere, or even in the sub-stratosphere, but I know now what they mean. You don't actually have to fly in the stratosphere to get the feeling of being in a new world above the clouds. Flying 3 miles high is no different than soaring at 10 miles as far as one's view is concerned. And there is so much comfort within, that looking out of the windows is unnecessary exertion.

Until a few months ago Rio was a long, hard, tedious trip even by air, requiring 5 full days of flying out of Miami. Today it's a

hop, skip, and jump. It's 4,600 miles from Miami to Rio on the new cut-off route; but, believe it or not, the ship comes down to earth only four times—twice only for brief, 15-minute refueling stops. The others are overnight stops.

For example, one leaves Miami at 7 a. m., and, after one brief stop at San Juan, one comes down for the night at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, in sight of South America. On the second day there is one nonstop flight of 7½ hours, the longest continuous flight in scheduled air transportation in the world, and then the descent to Belem, Brazil, with the mouth of the great Amazon to one side and the Equator on the other. The third day is an even run of some 8 or 9 hours straight across Brazil, and by tea time it's Rio—so simple and comfortable that it is completely disillusioning to one who has had vague thoughts of jungle adventure and expectation of at least a little hardship in traversing the Tropics.

All I know of Haiti is that we passed it 3 miles high and 10 miles offshore, and it looked just like any other jot of land would look. Dutch Guiana, which had long spelled romance and adventure, turned out to be only a salad course in my luncheon. The main course occupied the passengers over British Guiana. Most of us were so contentedly engaged with our coffee as we passed over Devils Island that few of us really cared to peer out to see what it looked like. I decided later that flying the strato clipper is no way to see the Caribbean. But I did conclude that it's no more tiring or difficult to get to Rio than it is to fly from here to Chicago or Los Angeles.

Despite the vast 4,600-mile expanse to Rio, the actual flying time from Miami is only 26 hours, or 35 hours from New York. Overnight stops account for the remainder of the journey. You can see, then, how neighborly Rio will be to us here in New York when night flying comes to South America. On my whole 15,000-mile air trip over a 6-week period I flew only 82 hours. But yet, so that you may not think that all flying to the South is as high and furious as the trip to Rio, I hasten to add that for the remainder of the journey, starting at Belem, Brazil, one travels in a standard 21-passenger Douglas DC–3 transport so familiar to air-line patrons in this country. And the scenery is fantastic. Any peak which does not jut the sky to a height of 15,000 feet is a molehill along South America's jagged west coast. Pan American operates week in and week out at one airport 13,500 feet above the sea. Another field is at 10,000 feet, almost twice the heights of our mile-high port of Denver.

I am a strong believer in the social and economic benefits of air transportation. In the United States we have had a good basic start on an air-transport system, but it's only the beginning of what will come when all first-class mail is inevitably carried by air at no surcharge. In the same way that the first World War gave impetus to the use of trucks as flexible transportation, with the subsequent development of a vast motor-trucking industry offering cheap and flexible transportation for industry and commerce, so the present war, unknown and unrealized by most of us, is giving impetus to the use of the airplane for every kind of rapid transportation. With airplane manufacturing facilities already about 50 times their size only a few years ago, we are passing through a tremendous upsurge in the utility of the airplane, not alone as transportation for military purposes but as a vital transportation and communication necessity for passengers, mail, express, and freight.

That is why we should and must devote attention right now to South America.

Pan American is the only United States operator in South America, but it isn't by any means the only air line there. The few national lines, operated by governments, armies, or private companies, are not at the moment of any great significance; they are primarily air-mail lines. But the United States has stiff competition from European companies, and these have all been government subsidized and government operated since their organization.

The British once had plans for a trans-Atlantic service to South America, with extensions to important cities, but never got under way. Air France, a government line, conducted a long and honorable air-mail service across the Atlantic to Brazil, thence to Rio, Buenos Aires, and across the Andes to Santiago, Chile. There were rumors in Argentina that the Germans would attempt to reopen this line under the guise of a French company. The Italians inaugurated a trans-Atlantic mail line from Africa to Brazil early this year, extending the line south to Rio, and now have made application for an extension to Buenos Aires. The Italians average about one ocean hop a week, and have been the only ones flying this route since the present war began.

The Germans, however, developed an integrated system of air lines which have proved to be real competition and which are not there for the best interests of the United States. Several governments, notably Brazil and Argentina, have begun to clip the wings of one of the German companies, but they are far from being put out of business. The Germans recently this month filed an application to reinstate their trans-Atlantic line from Africa to Brazil. There used to be five German air lines operating in South America. One of these, Scadta, in Colombia, has been taken over by Pan American Airways and most of the German employees have already been dismissed. The other German lines are operating pretty much all over South America.

Outside of a strictly trans-Atlantic service to east coast points, there is no geographical reason why any European power should operate air lines in South America. In my opinion, it is of the utmost importance to the United States that these German lines be eliminated. They are not presently a military menace to this country, for I don't suppose there are over 40 or 50 German transport planes in all of South America, and they are slow Junkers or Condor types unfit for anything except lumbering transportation purposes, and they are scattered all over the continent from Ecuador in the north to Buenos Aires in the south. But the time will come when these air lines will be detrimental to the interests of the United States and to the interests of all of the Americas if they are permitted to continue.

Germany has built and is continuing to build large numbers of Junkers transports for military use—not for fighting purposes but for transportation. That was the secret of the Norwegian campaign—the movement within 24 to 48 hours of whole divisions of troops to all parts of Norway. This was a lesson in air power which had nothing to do with bombers and other fighting planes. It is a lesson which has been brought home to this country where the Army Air Corps and the Navy have had only a handful of transports. Transport planes are as essential to modern warfare as fighting ships. We do have, however, a sizable quantity of transport planes now on order, but we have been inexcusably late in placing the orders. At the last moment the military is awakening to the situation and is taking over at least 60 of our air liners originally destined for our commercial air lines.

Germany saw to it that her air lines in South America had sufficient spare parts to continue operating regardless of the war in Europe. Her pilots in South America, as well as her trade and propaganda agents, were ordered to remain on the job. There is no doubt that Germany has planned to use quantities of her transport planes after the war in South America. The routes are in operation and could be expanded very rapidly with surplus equipment. Furthermore, these lines offer tough competition to American companies because the standards of maintenance, operation, and service are below ours. Not one of these lines is economically self-sustaining. Germany foots the bill. Many passengers and Government officials are carried free or at heavy discounts. These lines are there for good-will purposes and have done a good job of expanding while we were looking elsewhere.

When Brazil and Argentina passed laws that pilots of air services in those countries must be citizens, Germany had her pilots and other personnel naturalized as Brazilian or Argentine citizens. More recently these governments have demanded that air-line personnel must have been born in those countries. Only this month Argentina suspended the German Condor Line between Rio and Buenos Aires because the Condor Line had not complied with the ruling. But, despite the wings that are being clipped, the German lines are far from being ousted. They have given many favors of one kind or another to those countries. I believe that with the cooperation of the governments of South America it would be a cheap investment for this country to make it possible for all tangible assets and equipment of the German lines to be bought up and end this threat once and for all. The Germans would not willingly sell, but means could be found to take them over at a fair rate. It is obvious that a large German air-line network in South America is not in the best interests of the Western Hemisphere.

We have too long neglected South America. In Argentina I heard more than once, "The United States preaches a good-neighbor policy; why doesn't it practice it?" A citizen of the United States is a total stranger in many parts of South America. We aren't liked in many places. I'm afraid the fault is largely ours. It is our fault, for example, that the well-to-do Brazilians and Argentinians have had their economic, social, and cultural relationships with Europe. We haven't made it easy for those people to come up here, and very few Americans ever go down there. Two years ago, if I had had a choice of a trip to Europe or to South America, I would have gone to Europe. But my next trip will be back to South America. I have had my eyes opened. South America can and should be a tourist paradise for North Americans, and the tourist money would be welcomed. We need more business relationships, and I don't wholly believe in the oft-repeated statement that we can't trade with South America because it grows and makes everything we do. You'd be surprised how much good a little trade would do. We need to get North Americans to South America because we've lost a lot of ground to other nationalities whose interests are not as vital down there as are ours.

We will see a terrific tourist boom to Mexico and Central America. Instead of 2 planes a day between Brownsville, Tex., and Mexico City, and 5 planes a week between Mexico City and the Canal Zone, we will have, and should have, 10 and 20 planes a day.

Air transportation and radio are often linked together as social and economic ties. Both annihilate distance. Our planes are buzzing all over South America, but our radio programs are singularly unavailable. I was surprised to discover that while London and Berlin pound the air waves day and night, our own short wave radio stations are hardly heard in most of South America. Powerful radio transmission and better programs should be a "must" project for the United States—to let South Americans know that the United States is something more than gangster movies and bright and shiny automobiles. And we must encourage the Latins to come up here. We should extend scholarships to their newspapermen, teachers, lawyers, medical students. There is no United States travel literature distributed in Spanish and Portuguese, but one finds plenty of Italian and German propaganda in those languages. Hotels in this country are just now beginning to distribute leaflets and folders in Spanish. Pan American's offices down to the south of us are crying for literature of any kind, but it must be in Portuguese or Spanish.

There are two outstanding aviation needs today in South America. One is better service—more passenger schedules, lower

passenger fares, better merchandising by the airlines. The number of passengers that can be carried today by air is startlingly low. For example, on the new fast trips to Rio a 33-passenger plane is used for the first 2 days, but because of heavy fuel requirements for long distances the number of passengers that can be carried is small. It is only about 11 per plane. This means that with 3 trips per week only some 33 persons can be carried to Rio, except for a load on 1 weekly local plane that requires 5 days. When one considers that a single domestic United States air carrier, American Airlines, carried 104,000 passengers in a recent month, you can see that air transportation to and within South America is still in its early stages. Instead of being able to carry a mere 33 persons to Rio in a whole week, we should make it possible to carry hundreds, and later thousands, at much lower fares than now exist. Down the west coast of South America and over the Andes to Buenos Aires, about 60 passengers per week can be carried, and this includes the local point-to-point traffic. Between Rio and Buenos Aires there is only 1 air line now operating, Pan American, with only 3 trips a week, or about 60 passengers each way per week. There is no railroad, and the ocean trip is 3 days. With Buenos Aires the third largest city in the Western Hemisphere and Rio one of the largest, you can see the traffic potential that has in no wise been tapped. Air transportation is the only practical way of getting about. It is important that the United States foster this means of travel, and not let it get into the hands of European powers.

The second need down there is attention to local needs—air-freight service, service that provides internal transportation at low rates. Our present United States air service is largely international, with American standards and American rates. But a great potential outlet for United States aviation equipment is in local lines, hauling all varieties of freight, from machinery to livestock, or whatever they have to transport. Feasibility of this type of service where railroads and highways are few or nonexistent has been demonstrated in Central America by T. A. C. A. air lines, which recently was purchased by American Export Air Lines. T. A. C. A. carried more air freight last year than any other line in the world, and more than all the air express carried by all of the air lines in this country.

We should not barge into South America and operate air services as purely United States concerns, but we should make it possible for the Latins to have these services with our aid, our backing, and our equipment. The Germans have done the best job of providing local service, but the big era of transportation—and it must be air transportation in South America—hasn't even started.

The easiest, cheapest, and most beneficial way of tying in the Americas is through air service—air service of all kinds, from luxury passenger lines to cheap air-freight lines. Instead of a few score airplanes, we need thousands of them, operating everywhere throughout the Americas. It's the cheapest investment this Nation can make for industry, commerce, national defense, and hemispheric unity.

Aid to Small Countries This Winter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, the holiday season is here, and we are met with emphasis on the doctrine of peace on earth and good will toward all mankind. Fortunate are we in America today to have these sublime doctrines of Christianity operate and make possible for our people to enjoy the manifold blessings that are inspired by the traditions of Christmas Day.

Across the ocean, in sharp contrast, the nations of the Old World are at war. The doctrine of hate prevails. Small countries have felt the heel of the oppressor, and hardship and misery and famine are the prospects of millions of innocent people. Britain is in a fight against Hitler and his totalitarian plans. Britain has established a blockade that will not permit the shipment of foodstuffs to 37,000,000 people in Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, central Poland, and Finland. Former President Herbert Hoover has been the leader in a relief movement to have the blockade lifted so as to permit these despoiled countries to purchase food in other countries out of their own resources, and take it to their own countries to feed their needy people. This suggestion has been met with violent protests from friends of the British cause, because of fear that this would aid Hitler and those associated with him. Those who want to aid Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, central Poland, and Finland point out that the shipment of food could be done under agreement wherein both Britain and Hitler would agree that it could not be taken to feed any belligerent country. Such a program was followed by Mr. Hoover in World War No. 1.

These small countries are noncombatants in the world war now raging. Feeding their innocent women and children and unfortunate people who are victims of the battle now going on is not a war issue. The policy followed toward them will not determine the success or failure of the combatant in the gigantic struggle going on between Britain and Hitler. It is no answer to the problem for each of the warring nations to try to put the responsibility on the other. This attitude gets us nowhere, and the fate of the small countries will be tragic indeed if such procedure is allowed to continue.

Our country should insist upon a humanitarian approach to this question. We can do no nobler act than to take proper steps to try to prevent the pestilence and famine and disease that will bring death to millions of these worthy people. This country can, if it will, do a great service to the world by taking active steps along the lines suggested by Mr. Hoover. We will then demonstrate to the world that the spirit of Christmas is not a mockery in this great Christian Nation, but a vital force in the lives of people everywhere.

The Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WALTER M. PIERCE

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

ADDRESS BY DONALD M. NELSON

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Donald M. Nelson, Coordinator of Purchases of the National Defense Advisory Commission, delivered before the Bankers Club of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., December 13, 1940:

Several weeks ago, when I first accepted an invitation to address this group, I had in mind the desirability of discussing with you certain financial aspects of the national-defense program, some of the probable and possible effects it will have on the national economy, and the opportunities I believe we have of avoiding a general inflationary movement.

This seemed to be an important subject. Moreover, I thought it would be of particular interest to this group as a whole and to its individual members, because you are bankers and these are problems of special concern to you.

But a few days ago I changed my mind and decided to talk to you not as bankers with particular interest in financial, and monetary matters but as citizens of the United States of America who, as such, share joint interests with every other citizen of this country.

The reason I mention this is because I want to explain to you why I changed my mind. There was a very important reason for doing it. And it has much to do with what I am going to talk about.

It was because from where I sit in Washington it suddenly became apparent that we need to refresh our memories—and very short memories they are—we need to go back for a moment and examine some very fundamental aspects of this national-defense program, such as its reason for existence, its justification, and the degree of urgency involved in its fulfillment. Having reexamined these fundamentals, we need to take a fresh look around us and then do a lot of hard thinking and straight talking, right from the shoulder. When I say "we" need to do these things, I mean all of us—the whole country—as citizens and not as bankers or manufacturers or farmers or lathe operators or as any other group or faction or interest. In other words, we must make this reexamination together as Americans, conscious of the inseparability of our highest national aim and our highest ideals. We can do this here today in the spirit of comradeship and unity of purpose that always ought to prevail among people of common citizenship in times of grave emergency. And I hope fervently that other groups—many of them—will do the same thing in the days and weeks that follow.

Suppose we begin by going all the way back to the starting point and ask ourselves why we have undertaken a program of national

defense of such magnitude that it will strain our every resource—human and material. The answer is obvious, but perhaps it is well to state it all over again. Let me read you a list of names: Ethiopia, Spain, China, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Poland, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Belgium, Holland, France, Egypt, Rumania, and Greece. There are 20 countries on the list. Nine of them have been overrun, conquered, and reduced to a slave status, existing at all only at the indulgence of their conquerors. Four have been absorbed completely without fighting. Two have been forced to give up territory and are leading a truncated, precarious existence, never knowing from day to day whether they will be forced to give up more. One was torn asunder by a bloody civil war that left it prostrate and semistarved. Three are still fighting, 2 of them with their own forces and the third with the help of the British Empire. A little over 5 years ago each of this list of 20 was an independent political unit, seeking to work out its own national destiny. Some of these countries were not well advanced by our standards. Some of them were not too devoted to our own form of government. But others were among the most progressive, most democratic, most enlightened, and best-governed countries the world has yet seen.

All this has happened within a little over 5 years. Today the mightiest empire in history, made up of people from whom we have largely drawn our cultural, political, and religious ideals, is fighting with its back to the wall—bloody, wounded, tired—still standing and trading blow for blow with a merciless enemy who is better equipped and who is fired with a fanatical zeal based upon the religion of destruction by murderous force. For 15 months the British Empire has been fighting and we know that it will never throw in the sponge. But we can see from here that she is groggy, that her endurance and courage may not be enough to pull her through, that we must face the possibility that she may go down.

You can trace the origin of the fate that has befallen this long list of countries, and now threatens the British Empire, back to the advent of nazi-ism in 1933, or back to the peace treaty that followed the last great war, or still further back if you choose to. You can call it a world war or a world revolution or a battle of ideologies or anything you like. But the simple fact remains that the most annihilating wave of destruction the world has ever seen has been gathering force and momentum for at least 5 years. And the peak of its fury has not yet been reached—the scope of its danger not yet fully understood by all people.

Small wonder, then, that 6 months ago the United States decided to build the greatest all-round defense force in the history of the world. Some have complained that this decision should have been reached much sooner. But let me remind you that until the Nazi tidal wave rolled over the Low Countries last spring the public was not ready to support any such effort. We needed a shock of that intensity to rouse ourselves from an attitude that was dangerously close to apathy.

Finally, we were thoroughly aroused and being aroused we demanded action. That was typically American. We have a way in this country of waiting until the last minute and then expecting miracles. However, the important thing is that the War and Navy Departments laid down a program of gigantic proportions, Congress voted the funds with the almost unanimous support of the Nation, and the President established the National Defense Advisory Commission to assist the Army and Navy.

Nobody with two eyes in his head expected this thing could be accomplished overnight.

Those of us who were called down to Washington to help out on the Advisory Commission soon realized that it would be a long, hard pull; that there would be headaches and delays, mistakes, and a certain amount of confusion. That was inevitable. William S. Knudsen, Chief of the Production Division, immediately warned the Nation that it must not expect magic. Because of his training and genius, he well knew the tremendous production problems that would bedevil the program. He told us over and again that before we could get mass production we would have to design and build the tools; and the "tooling up" phase, as he called it, would be long and tedious. There would be many months in which it would be difficult to see progress, mainly because the progress would be unspectacular, unsusceptible to headlines—taking place in the machine shops and on the drawing boards, in the labor-training schools, the preparation of production schedules, the gathering of raw materials, the expansion of plant.

What has happened during the intervening 6 months? Has the world crisis abated? Has anything happened to remove any of the justification for this program? Has anything occurred that tends to lessen the urgency of its prompt completion? Obviously, the answer to these questions is "No." The threat to our safety and free institutions is graver than ever. The demand that we arm with the utmost conceivable speed is more urgently pressing than 6 months ago. The fact that this is an emergency—an emergency in which everything we have and believe in and live for is at stake—is more clear today than ever before. We have passed the stage where there is any room for debate on that point.

As for the defense program, it has in the past 6 months moved from the initial phase of letting contracts to the "tooling up" stage. Next comes the real production period—the delivery of defense equipment into the hands of the armed forces. That is, by and large, still many months away.

But the defense program also has reached the stage where important decisions must be made—decisions bearing on the extent to which the prompt achievement of this program shall become our dominant national goal, which means the extent to which we are really serious about national defense, the extent to which we as a nation understand the urgency of completing the program at the earliest possible moment, the extent to which we are determined to make our country and our way of life safe from aggression and ultimate extinction, the extent to which we are willing to sacrifice the luxury of normal procedure and accustomed practices so that we may remain free to regain normalcy once more.

When the Defense Commission went to work early it June it decided upon a policy of attempting to superimpose the armament program on top of the normal economy of the Nation, to make full use of all existing facilities, to avoid the inevitably harmful effects of indiscriminate plant expansion. Most thoughtful men concurred in that policy, and we still intend to follow it to the greatest possible extent consistent with our one all-powerful objective, which is to arm this Nation to the teeth, and do it as fast as is humanly and mechanically possible.

But perhaps it was a mistake ever to talk of normal procedures and the normal economy. Because this is not a normal program in any sense. It was forced upon us by abnoral conditions throughout the world. Its fulfillment demands of us abnormal attention, abnormal effort and sacrifice, perhaps abnormal methods and techniques.

I want to state quite plainly that if this program could have been taken in our stride, with no disturbance to normalcy, then it was too small, because conditions demand maximum results, and they can be obtained only by extraordinary effort.

As I said a few moments ago we have passed through the greatest part of the work of letting contracts. My personal belief is that that phase was handled well and expeditiously. I see no reason for complaint on the basis of what has been done so far.

But this new phase—this "tooling up" phase—is susceptible to speed-up methods. There is no time here for going into exact techniques. The important thing is that "tooling up" and production can be accelerated by extraordinary effort and methods.

I am convinced that this must be done. It is impossible to know how much time we shall be permitted. We cannot know the exact dimensions of next year's burden, except that it will be heavier than it is now. We cannot know to what exact extent Britain will be forced to rely upon us to supply her with the weapons she so desperately needs and can use so well, except that she inevitably must lean more and more upon our shops and production lines.

We do know the burden is already staggering and that it is going to increase every week that goes by. We know also by now that it is the will of the country and the determination of the Government that Britain must not go down because we could not supply her with what she needs. Some of you out here in the Midwest had your doubts about that point for a while but I believe they are melting away rapidly as the reality of the world situation and its relation to this country becomes more and more clear in its broadest ramifications.

So the realities of today cry out for speed, speed, and more speed on national defense.

This means more work, more disturbance to normal processes, more sacrifice on the part of everybody.

The country is too big, the stakes are too high, to permit the development of bottlenecks in national unity, in national determination, in national effort to weld the entire strength of a free country into a cohesive force with a single dominant goal—national defense.

I think it was the late Will Rogers who said something to the effect that when enemy bombers roar in over our borders they will catch the American people dressed in knickerbockers trying to sink a 40-foot on the eighteenth green. Now, Will Rogers was a keen student of the American people and an able philosopher, but some of the totalitarian leaders seem to have overlooked the fact that he also was a humorist. I suspect they are counting heavily on catching the American people in knickerbockers on the eighteenth green.

I think they are wrong in that assumption. I believe they will find America ready—so ready, in fact, that they will be forced to abandon their cherished notions about the congenital weakness of democracy. But I also see rather disturbing signs that the American public is not yet fully aware of the peril. Something has happened to us since the tense excitement of last May and June. Perhaps our nerves were too ragged from the strain of those weeks to maintain interest. Perhaps the failure of Nazi plans for invading England this fall had the effect of lulling us into a sense of false security, a too-easy faith in the ability of Britain to withstand forever the hammer blows of the totalitarian war machines.

Whatever the reason, I have a sense of a let-down on the part of the general public. Let me make it perfectly plain that I do not for one moment suggest that the public is not ready to do everything asked of it. On the contrary, I am thoroughly convinced that a vast majority of the people of this country are more anxious than ever to do something that will permit them to feel they have contributed, that they have made some personal sacrifice in the interest of making their Nation strong.

But we are menaced with a form of drowsiness induced by familiarity with the struggle. It is the sort of dullness and boredom that sometimes makes men go to sleep at the wheel of an automobile when they are driving at night and become too accustomed to the drone of the motor. Something of the same sort is happening now. Bombs keep falling and nothing much seems to happen. London still stands and still fights back.

We must shake off this drowsiness. We must take a cold shower and step out for a fresh look around us, for a new realization of danger, for a new alertness to reality. Also we must beware the numbing effect of clever slogans—slogans that tell us we can build up the mightiest defense machine in history and at the same time continue "business as usual"; that tell us we can do more work in fewer hours; that we can have our cake and eat it, too. Such slogans are dangerous sedatives. They are broadcast either by men who do not know what they are talking about or who know too well what they are talking about, and by the latter I mean those who are consciously working to undo us.

No; we must slough off this sense of complacency, reject these slogans, and go to work to prove to a doubting world that a democracy knows just as well as a dictatorship what it takes to be tough—and can do it in a democratic way.

The democratic way to get tough is for individual units of industry to voluntarily weld their cumulative capacities into an effective whole; for labor to voluntarily work harder and longer whenever necessary; for capital to throw its resources into the fight wherever possible to relieve the load on the Government; for taxpayers to willingly contribute their dollars to pay for the equipment we are determined to have. Yes; the democratic way is for groups that sometimes feel that their interests conflict—labor and management groups, farm and city groups, consumer and producer groups—to join their collective assets and capacities into the one supreme effort of a free people in support of a free government determined to preserve a free way of life.

I changed my mind about talking to you on a particular subject in which you are particularly interested, so I could come out here and talk to you about the absolute necessity for doing these things. I wanted to tell you that we as a Nation must forget our prejudices and join hands to build for national defense—build with all our heart and hands and minds and skill—build faster and faster and faster.

War Breaks Deadlock on St. Lawrence Seaway Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, when a defense council composed of representatives of the United States and Canada was appointed in the interest of national defense, as the world war developments affected these two great countries, we suggested to President Roosevelt that the time was opportune for making the St. Lawrence seaway plan a reality. The President concurred. Since then he has given me assurance that efforts to have power and navigation features of the problem worked out would have his personal attention.

I do not here discuss the feasibility of the project. Government officials of both countries have many times submitted reports, and every one of them has shown objections to be unfounded and have given approval. In 1934 the Senate of the United States failed to ratify a treaty with Canada calling for a 27-foot channel from Great Lakes cities to the Atlantic Ocean. This treaty also provided that New York State was to receive that portion of the electricity awarded to the United States generated through an international dam. This would amount to 1,100,000 horsepower. New York State was to pay $89,000,000 in connection with the cost of construction. With the need for electric power in connection with our national-defense program, and the advantages of having ocean-going boats travel from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean, friends of the seaway can more than justify their support of the treaty. Had the development taken place, we could now build ships in Great Lakes ports for ocean traffic, and new shipyards would be built at various points.

Since the announcement by the President at the Detroit conference on December 5 that he was "preparing to press for the immediate construction of this project" the enemies of the seaway have been active. They are well known, and so are their motives. Their arguments have many times been refuted. They place their own selfish interests above the public welfare. As an example of the silly propaganda that has been and is now being actively carried on by selfish interests, I call attention of the friends of the seaway to a press dispatch in the Washington Post for December 14 quoting resolutions of the National Association of Manufacturers at its meeting in New York City. These resolutions opposed the construction of the St. Lawrence project. The manufacturers are always seeking cheaper freight rates, and an effort to reconcile this attitude with their opposition to the St. Lawrence project is impossible.

ENCOURAGING NEWS

The proponents of the seaway have reason for gratification in the announcement made December 13 that the administration will take steps to build the seaway without asking for Senate ratification of a treaty. A news dispatch by A. D. Stedman to the Duluth Herald, which appears December 13, tells the story. It reads:

WASHINGTON, December 13.—The Roosevelt administration has definitely found a legal way to speed the St. Lawrence waterway through Congress, if Canada is willing, officials said Thursday.

The administration has completed the explorations, exclusively revealed in the Duluth Herald and News-Tribune earlier this month, of legal means to get United States approval of the project without requiring a two-thirds majority of the Senate. Officials have verified that the Great Lakes project can be authorized by straight legislation, requiring only a simple majority of both Houses of Congress.

Knocking out the veto power of the one-third minority of the Senate that defeated the seaway project in 1934, the administration strategy provides a means that except for some totally unforeseen upset would assure a congressional victory for the seaway and actual construction of the great project.

Officials said the final decision as to whether to use the legislative method they have discovered will rest with President Roosevelt. But the President himself in his statement at Detroit last Thursday gave color to the reports that he will avoid the treaty method this time. He declared he will seek congressional approval but contrary to the wide interpretation placed on his statement, did not say he would submit a treaty, and, in fact, significantly avoided entirely the use of the word "treaty" in respect to his seaway plans.

As stated in the Herald, authority to use the legislative method is found in the prior treaty of January 11, 1909, which set up the international joint commission. The specific paragraph on the 1909 treaty which is interpreted to empower Congress to act is in article XIII, and reads:

"In all cases where special agreements between the high contracting parties hereto are referred to in the foregoing articles, such agreements are understood and intended to include not only direct arrangements between the high contracting parties but also any mutual arrangements between the United States and Dominion of Canada expressed by concurrent or reciprocal legislation on the part of Congress and the Parliament of the Dominion."

There is no doubt, the administration advisers say, that the phrase "concurrent and reciprocal legislation" authorizes Congress to proceed without a new treaty to pass legislation authorizing the United States' share of the construction and appropriating the funds to start the works.

This news item is the most important that has ever been carried in the public press in connection with the battle for development of the St. Lawrence project.

ACTION OF SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS IS VITAL

If legislation rather than the treaty method is to be followed, then the action of the Seventy-seventh Congress is all important. Votes will count both in the House of Representatives as well as in the Senate, and a majority vote is all that is needed. In view of the activities of interests adverse to the seaway, now is the time for its friends to get busy. The American people must also take a hand in the fight. Public opinion should be aroused to the disaster that will result if a project that means so much to millions of our citizens is to be permitted to fail at this time. Truth will prevail and success be ours if a campaign of education is carried on, and the true facts presented to the American people.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S SIGNIFICANT REMARK

Four years ago President Roosevelt said, speaking of the St. Lawrence waterway project, "An opportunity is presented to complete a seaway comparable in economic value to the Panama Canal."

Those remarks are just as true today, and we will render a great patriotic service if we help bring success to this greatest engineering project of modern times.

The Americas Must Awake to Their Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSHUA L. JOHNS
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 16, 1940

STATEMENT BY COL. J. E. MYERS, UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED

Mr. JOHNS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Col. J. E. Myers, United States Army, retired:

Every passing moment more clearly indicates that the nations in the Western Hemisphere must awake to the danger of actual aggression that now confronts them. Many years of peace have brought about a smug sense of false security, an idleness of purpose, and an appalling indifference to chaotic and turbulent world affairs.

It is apparent that a strong coalition of all the American nations must take place in the least possible time and that this must be effected through a single department of pan-American defense in which all nations concerned are represented.

Substantially this mutual-defense union calls for the immediate expansion of all war preparation on land, sea, and in the air. By land, through the construction of great American and pan-American superdefense highways connecting all strategic points, and the establishment of protected air bases 500 miles apart along our coast line. By sea, the building of thousands of war and armed merchant ships of greatest speed and maneuverability, including airplane carriers and submarines. By air, the creating of powerful air fleets manned by properly trained pilots, with such equipment as would make the union capable of maintaining superiority of the air against any combined aggression by European or Asiatic powers.

To effect this state of preparedness we require more speedy mechanized land units which with our fleets of ships and airplanes must be coordinated to a vast system of communication and supply under this new department of pan-American defense.

Science and invention move with far greater rapidity than the minds of most men can assimilate. We must remember that now a small group of men can do the work that thousands heretofore performed. Hence the world upheaval in economics, and the war.

We in the Americas must realize that warfare today requires the coordination of highly trained technical units of great mobility and striking power rather than the slow-moving, large, clumsy, forces formerly used. Such mobile units must be composed of men and officers who have a sort of tense awareness to their mission and a determination of purpose amounting almost to a superhuman ability.

In addition to these requirements, a bureau of propaganda must be established. This bureau should be empowered to conduct a campaign of preparedness for peace or war, for cultural, economic, and commercial relations, and be in a position to act as a powerful restraint on all subversive activities. Unless these steps are taken we will be in a position inviting defeat.

This bureau should by every possible means effect a strong pan-American coalition by means of the press, moving pictures, the radio, travel, by trained missions and envoys, and by communication on land and sea. Many efforts in this direction are being accomplished, such as the sending of good-will ambassadors, loans to perfect our friendship, and the proclamation of Pan American Day.

We hold that youth education in aviation is the vital issue in all measures for national and international air defense. There is no doubt but that now more efficient, faster planes will require skill and technique of the highest order, which can only be secured through rigid training of the youth of the nations. To bring about this desired result a far more reaching campaign for air preparedness must be started, and this must be greater than any drive ever before conducted.

In connection with such propaganda it is imperative to first establish in the minds of the people that their governments are exercising every possible means to insure safe air travel for civil as well as military, by directing their attention to the air markers on buildings, the establishment of meteorological facilities, airports, emergency fields, and air bases.

Mr. Chester G. Myers, of Hellam, Pa., is chairman of our committee for safe air travel, and through his untiring effort we have been able to mail out hundreds of thousands of extensions of remarks for the benefit of the American public. These were taken from the remarks of Senators CLAUDE PEPPER and GUY M. GILLETTE and Representatives J. H. PETERSON, J. M. COSTELLO, and J. L. JOHNS concerning this work and the work of our other committees, especially that of the committee for airports and airways, of which A. Reed Towner, famous World War aviator, is the chairman. As far back as 1925 he envisioned the National Airport at Gravelly Point, and in that year he helped introduce a bill for the purpose of establishing such an airport.

However important the construction of airplanes and their accessories may be at the moment, we must not subordinate or lose sight of the measures that can be advanced toward the creation of a state of national air-mindedness so necessary to our future peace and safety.

YOUTH EDUCATION IN AVIATION

The Aviation Defense Association of Washington, D. C., is a patriotic, nonprofit organization formed for the express purpose to sustain all measures which will promote unity between the nations in the Western Hemisphere so they collectively may have a defense system in aviation that cannot be beaten. Some corollary objectives are the aims of the association to have returned to this country from England the original Wright airplane and to perpetuate the history of aviation by a proper mural in some public place. For the purposes of youth education in aviation, we are the sponsors of two celebrations a year for aviation, both of the 2 days being days of celebration provided by law. The first is National Aviation Day, August 19, the date of Dr. Orville Wright's birth and celebrated in his honor, and was made possible through congressional legislation in accordance with the resolutions introduced at the instance of Senator CLAUDE PEPPER and Representative J. HARDIN PETERSON, of Florida. These resolutions were introduced at the request of the Aviation Defense Association with 14 similar resolutions in the House of Representatives.

Dr. Orville Wright was the first man to fly a heavier-than-air machine and the date of his birth has been set aside to commemorate this achievement, and to set aside a day for serious thought of what aviation means to us today, especially to the youth of the Americas. Permission was obtained from Dr. Wright to use this day and its selection met with the approval of the late Maj. Gen. Oscar Westover, former Chief of the Air Corps.

Coming as it does in the middle of August, the birthday of Dr. Wright makes an ideal time to have celebrations for school children throughout the country and to have outdoor exercises and exhibitions to educate them in the needs we have for this great science of flying.

For the celebration of National Aviation Day next year the association will introduce its theme song, Wings Over America, the title of which was inspired by the Army poster by that name that was designed by Lt. Col. Thomas B. Woodburn, one of our honorary national directors. This picture will also be used on the proposed history of aviation to be compiled by Mr. Paul Garber, the assistant curator of the Aeronautical Department, Smithsonian Institution, who is also an honorary director. The contents of the book will be by men who are known as experts in the aeronautical field. They will be arranged in proper sequence and Mr. Garber will lend his able assistance to the matter.

SECOND ANNUAL EVENT—PAN AMERICAN DAY ON DECEMBER 17

For the purpose of celebrating Pan American Day, Representative J. HARDIN PETERSON, of Florida, introduced a resolution at our suggestion which provides for the annual issue of Pan American Day stamps. This is sponsored by the association to aid in their youth-education program and to further celebrate the greatest aviation achievement, the first flight of the Wright brothers.

Together with the song, the proposed book, and periodical, there will appear on the back of each official Wings Over America the words to the poem Pan Americanism, written by Hon. Maurice H. Thatcher, former Governor of the Canal Zone and a Representative in Congress for many years. He is chairman of the committeee for the annual celebration of Pan American Aviation Day, and is assisted on the committee by Capt. A. R. Towner, Mr. Roy Knabenshue, Mr. Paul E. Garber, and R. E. Grabel, of St. Petersburg, Fla.

Not to be forgotten as one of the principal aims of the association is the matter of highways, which will be needed to strengthen our national defense and are an important link in the whole chain. We are in favor of any legislation that will afford us these necessary safety superhighways in peacetime and vital supply routes for pan-American and air defense.

One can easily visualize great nonstop lighted supersafety defense highways such as may be constructed soon throughout the United States, extending north to Alaska, and sweeping in a broad, majestic arc south through the Isthmus of Panama down to Terra del Fuego—highways of peace and prosperity that will cement the ties of friendship, good will, and understanding throughout the nations in the Western Hemisphere.

Virginia's Poll Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEE E. GEYER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 16, 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. LEE E. GEYER, OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article written by me which appeared in the

Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch on December 1, 1940. The article follows:

CONGRESSMAN GEYER POINTS OUT FALLACIES IN VIRGINIA'S POLL TAX REQUIREMENT

(By LEE E. GEYER, Congressman from California)

For about four-fifths of the people who live in Virginia, November 5 was just another legal holiday. The banks, the post offices, and, for the 80 percent, the polls too were closed. There was no election, no democracy for them because they had no choice in choosing the President of the United States or the men who should represent them in Congress.

They didn't stay at home because the weather was bad or because they were disinterested in the issues of the election. Virginians, whose forefathers struggled to establish democracy in America, cherish the right of self-government no less than do their neighbors in West Virginia, where 94 percent of the adults are eligible to vote, and the average Virginian is certainly not unlike his southern brother in North Carolina where 57 percent of the adults may vote. But in Virginia, out of an adult population of 1,683,000, only 350,000 people were able to go to the polls on November 5, less than one-fifth of Virginia's citizens.

Most of the 1,300,000 stayed away from the polls, and the evidence is conclusive, because there was an admission fee. The price for a vote was a dollar and a half and you had to reserve your ballot 6 months before the election. In addition, if you had not paid a dollar and a half for each of 3 years previous, your vote would cost you $5.01, unless you live in one of Virginia's bargain counties where you could buy your right to elect candidates to public office for an even $5.

EVIDENCE CALLED CONCLUSIVE

I say that the evidence is conclusive that the poll tax keeps people from voting, and my statement is based on three factors—the election totals of the poll-tax States contrasted with those of the nonpoll-tax States, the results of study by many southerners, and, most significantly, the announced purposes of the poll tax by the men who wrote it into law.

The history of Virginia is the history of struggle for suffrage. Years before the Colonies had declared their independence from England, the colonists fought for a broadening of the controls of government. One of the preludes to the American Revolution was the struggle led by Nathaniel Bacon against Lord Berkeley, who denied suffrage to anyone who was not a property owner. Every one of Virginia's revolutionary leaders in subsequent years campaigned to widen the participation of the mass of people in government. In 1776, George Mason's memorable Bill of Rights stated for the first time that "all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people," and that "a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish" any government which does not promote happiness or safety.

In the years following the Revolution, Virginia's foremost statesmen strove to extend suffrage among all the people. Jefferson, especially, opposed the electoral provisions which restricted voting to the owners of real estate, and in very strong terms he condemned limitations on the right to vote. In his Notes on Virginia, Jefferson wrote that, "The influence over government must be shared by all the people. If every individual which composes their mass participates of the ultimate authority, the Government will be safe. * * * The Government of Great Britain has been corrupted because but 1 man in 10 has a right to vote for members of Parliament. * * * It has been thought that corruption is restrained by confining the right of suffrage to a few of the wealthier of the people; but it would be more effectually restrained by an extension of that right to such numbers as would bid defiance to the means of corruption."

AIMED AT NEGRO VOTE

It was not until 1851, however, that Virginia finally extended the right of suffrage to all of its white male adults. Twenty-five years later, during the period of the reconstruction, Virginia imposed the poll tax as a requisite for voting. Its purpose, it was said, was to take the franchise away from the Negro. "The scheme," one historian notes, "did not work well. It gave an opportunity for fraud. Candidates would frequently buy votes by paying the taxes." In 1882 the tax was repealed by the votes of both Democrats and Readjusters who agreed with Governor Cameron that the poll tax had "opened the floodgates of corruption."

During the next 20 years Democrats from eastern Virginia waged a continuous campaign to restrict suffrage. But until 1901 each effort met with failure. Three times a resolution was introduced in the General Assembly to amend the suffrage clause of the constitution, but each time it failed to pass. In 1896 the General Assembly passed a resolution to call a constitutional convention whose main order of business was to be changing the suffrage requirements. But a year later a vote of the people defeated the call by more than a 2-to-1 majority, 83,000 to 38,000.

The opposition to a change in suffrage laws was not based on a desire to keep the Negroes in power, for after 1891 there were no Negroes in public office in Virginia, but it was because the Populist-Democrats in the western part of the State and the Republicans feared that the movement to restrict suffrage would disfranchise the mass of poverty-stricken white farmers. Recall that this was the period of the debates over silver and gold, when the price of tobacco for Virginia southside farmers had collapsed and the Populist movement in Virginia had attained tremendous influence as an independent force and within a certain wing of the Democratic Party.

BARE MAJORITY RECORDED

Not until the Democratic Party, meeting at the Norfolk convention in 1900, had pledged that no white person would be disfranchised and that the new constitution would be submitted to a "vote of the people for ratification or rejection" did a majority of the voters favor calling a constitutional convention, using ballots, in the words of Hal Flood, its proponent, which were not unfair, "but simply gave the advantage to those who favored calling the constitutional convention." Even then, as Robert W. Blair, a delegate to the convention, declared, there was no "great popular demand on the part of the white people for a constitutional convention." Out of 447,000 potential voters, more than 300,000 people did not vote, and for those who did the vote was 77,000 to 60,000, a majority of barely 17,000 people.

Mr. Blair, in a speech during the convention, analyzed the votes in detail, and he showed that "a majority of the white counties were not in favor of the convention at all. * * * (The 77,000 votes for the convention) came by manipulating the Negro vote in eastern Virginia, * * * thereby making the Negro vote to call a constitutional convention the avowed purpose of which was to deprive him of his right of suffrage."

The convention, with its mandate thus established, met in Richmond in 1901, its primary purpose, repeated throughout its sessions, to bar the Negro from voting. The debate hinged entirely on the methods of accomplishing the objective. A. P. Thom stated the purpose quite succinctly:

"Inasmuch as we stand here face to face with the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, when what we want to do is to write the one word 'white' in the [Virginia] constitution, and when we are prevented from doing that by the Constitution of the United States, it must be realized by everyone that what we do in this direction must * * * be simply the best thing that we can do under adverse conditions."

Despite the pledge which had been made by the Democratic Party, most of the delegates to the convention realized that any scheme to disfranchise Negroes would affect large numbers of white voters, and many of the delegates were strongly in favor of taking the right to vote away from the poorer whites. Richard McIlwaine spoke for that group. He proposed both a poll tax and a property requirement as requisites for suffrage. "There is a mass of vicious and incapable whites," he said in one address, "which must be debarred from suffrage before it will be possible for a better state of things to exist." If necessary, he thought that even larger numbers of whites should be disfranchised. "The chief objection that I've heard to this scheme of suffrage is that, along with many stupid and vicious whites, some worthy and good citizens will be disfranchised. And this is doubtless true, but it must be remembered that this is one of the incidents of organized society, and that no citizen has the right to complain of such abridgement or to regard it as a hardship when it is essential to the welfare of the body politic."

POLL TAX A REQUIREMENT

The convention did not accept all of Mr. McIlwaine's recommendations. In the Daniels plan, which was adopted, the property qualification was to be imposed only for local elections if the locality, through its members in the general assembly, requested it. But the poll tax was made a requirement for voting despite the fact, pointed out by Mr. Thom, "that the requirement of a poll-tax prerequisite will be at best * * * a hardship upon the white race."

Then, after the convention had adopted a scheme which it knew would disfranchise whites as well as Negroes, the convention proclaimed the Constitution, in direct violation of the act under which it was assembled, by a vote of 47 to 38, without submitting it to a vote of the people. Moreover, the convention required every official and judge in the State to take oath to uphold the Constitution which it had proclaimed. Otherwise their offices were declared vacant. Thus, Virginia today has a constitution which by law and by the pledges of the party of the majority of delegates to the convention should have been adopted by a referendum of all the voters under the old constitution but was adopted instead by a vote of 47 men, less than a majority of the delegates.

That the poll tax, together with the registration requirements imposed under the new constitution, did reduce the suffrage is shown very clearly in the number of people who voted before and after the convention. In 1900, 1 out of 7 people in Virginia voted. In 1904, the number was 1 out of 14. The electorate was reduced by 50 percent, while Negroes made up barely one-third of the population. If we grant that every one of the Negroes voted, which is by no means the case, it is apparent that the action of the convention effectively reduced the number of white voters.

Prof. Julius Prufer, of Roanoke College, has analyzed the causes of nonvoting in Virginia between 1925 and 1937, and his study shows that out of nearly 5,000 Virginians, roughly, 65 percent, did not vote, directly and indirectly, because of the poll tax requirement. And it is the reduced electorate which is responsible for the fact that not one Member of the Virginia delegation in Congress, the nine Congressmen and the one Senator, had any opposition in the 1940 primaries. Thus the Members in Congress from the nonpoll-tax States can, by and large, escape responsibility to the people of their States for their acts in Congress.

MAN OR THE JACKASS?

The election figures are just as telling when the number of voters in the non-poll-tax States is contrasted with the number in the

poll-tax States. The percentage of eligible voters for the States with the tax requirement ranges from 21 percent in Alabama to 39 percent in Texas, while for the States lacking the tax as a requirement, it ranges from 57 percent in North Carolina, which has other restrictions, to 99.5 percent in California. Clearly the difference in the number of voters is due primarily to the poll-tax requirement.

Maury Maverick tells of an argument Tom Paine used against the property qualification, which might very well be applied to the poll-tax requirement. "You require that a man shall have $60 worth of property or he shall not vote," Paine is said to have told a registrar. "Very well. Here is a man today who owns a jackass and the jackass is worth $60. Today this man is a voter and he goes to the polls with his jackass and deposits his vote. Tomorrow the jackass dies. The next day the man comes to vote without his jackass and he cannot vote at all. Now tell me, which was the voter, the man or the jackass?" Today Maury Maverick asks, along with large numbers of southerners, Which is the voter in the poll-tax States, the man or the dollar and a half?

It is to make the man the voter that I have introduced a bill in Congress to prohibit the requirement of a poll tax in Federal elections. The problem of maintaining the integrity of elections of the Members of the Congress of the United States and of the President and Vice President of the United States is a national problem. My bill will close one of the avenues of corrupting Federal elections and will destroy the dollar as the criterion for man's ability to govern himself.

President Roosevelt Says St. Lawrence Seaway Is Vital to National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD J. GEHRMANN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, during the 6 years that I have been a Member of Congress I have made a number of speeches in an attempt to show that the St. Lawrence seaway would be of tremendous benefit to the whole country, and that those who have opposed it because they believed it would harm their particular section are mistaken. While it may bring more immediate or direct benefits to some sections in the beginning, it is bound to be of benefit, directly or indirectly, to every section of the United States. I was therefore very happy when President Roosevelt sent a message to the Great Lakes Seaway Power Conference held recently at Detroit, advocating approval of this altogether too long delayed project immediately. The President declared that the opposition that defeated this project in 1934 "was a mistaken opposition based on failure to appraise the full needs of their country in the world situation which was even then developing." No one would doubt the wisdom of building the Panama Canal now, but at the time it was being considered a great deal of opposition similar to this was encountered. Certain sections of the country have always claimed—and no doubt rightly so—that it was harmful to them. I doubt if that is the correct way to express it; I believe we should say that it benefited certain sections more than it did others, but really harmed nobody, and from a national-defense standpoint it is now considered the most important waterway in this country.

I believe that is exactly the way we should look at this St. Lawrence project. It seems ridiculous that these great inland lakes and canals, with 2,500 miles of waterway, should forever remain landlocked simply because some 60 miles need improving. Again I must quote from the President's message, who I am sure possesses information and data based on facts that have been gathered over a period of years, and which I as a layman presume to be reliable. He was talking about the 1934 defeat when he stated:

> I said then that an opportunity is presented to complete a seaway comparable in economic value to the Panama Canal, a seaway to which the public development of St. Lawrence power is inseparably linked. It was then an opportunity, but it is now a vital necessity.

It is not surprising to me that the National Manufacturers Association should oppose this great undertaking. They have always opposed anything that would produce more and cheaper power, as well as any great undertaking sponsored by the Government. But this is the people's undertaking. It is the small manufacturer, the small shipper, the farmer, the home owner, and the independent businessman that would benefit by this. We need much more low-cost energy everywhere. Big business, as represented by the National Manufacturers Association, have always been able to take advantage of cut-rate transportation, as well as special low electrical rates, that are not possible to the small independent manufacturer or businessman, or the farmer-owned dairy plants. These smaller independent groups that use power and transportation, or, at least, "pay for all of it," make up more than 80 percent of our population. Those are the ones Congress should be mainly concerned with. I have always contended that the claim or fear that this would harm any section of our country is groundless and is only inspired by lack of facts or purely selfishness by a few individuals. Again I must quote the President, because certainly nobody can claim that he is interested in this for a selfish reason. His main interest as an individual are in the East, therefore if he agreed with some eastern people and thought only of certain interests or himself, he would not have made this statement:

> What this project means to the ordinary man and woman cannot be too highly stressed. It means a more secure nation. It means a continent protected and served by the additional shipping built in inland shipyards. It means more industries, both defense and domestic, thriving on the cheapest power in history. It means more comforts in the homes of many cities and rural areas. It means more work for the ordinary citizen in shipyards, factories, and other transportation services connecting the center of this continent with this great highway to and from our national and international markets.

It seems to me that the United States and Canada are almost inseparable, and no matter what may ever happen in the rest of the world, these two nations have everything in common, and this seaway would only make our mutual understanding and friendship even more secure. I am very glad that the Superior Association of Commerce passed a resolution, commending the President for his fearless stand on this seaway. Most Members, I am sure, do not know that up there we have the second largest port in the United States. The Duluth-Superior port is second only to New York in tonnage shipped, and nearly the entire Nation's iron ore supplies are shipped from the head of Lake Superior. In conclusion, please let me urge those that still feel their section of this country will be hurt to contact the State Department, the Army Engineers, the Department of Commerce, or any other Government agency, and obtain data from them. These agencies certainly have no ax to grind, and I am certain that after studying all phases carefully you will wonder how it was possible to raise so much opposition without foundation of facts to back it up.

With the permission of the Members I would like to insert the resolution passed by the Superior Association of Commerce on this seaway, which is as follows:

> Whereas President Roosevelt has in unequivocal manner announced his intention to press for the completion of the Great Lakes navigation and power project at the outset of his new term as the Nation's Chief Executive; and
>
> Whereas we who reside in the Middle West have long cherished the hope for this great achievement in the belief that it will be a boon not only to the millions in this agricultural and industrial empire but to other millions that will thus be brought into closer contact, and as we appreciate the statesmanlike understanding of the Nation's needs which prompts this action on the part of the President: Be it
>
> *Resolved*, That the Superior Association of Commerce gratefully commends President Roosevelt for his interest thus shown in the development of the latent wealth and power of this together with every other section of our country, and for his courage in advocating the cause in the face of powerful and determined opposition. We believe with him that two outstanding aims will be accomplished through the releasing of the undeveloped power of the St. Lawrence and the opening of the Great Lakes to navigation, that the defense resources of America will be immeasurably increased and the people of a vast region economically benefited. We contend that even those that for their own fancied reasons are standing in opposition will in good time be shown in error and we pledge to the President our earnest cooperation to the end that eventually

all people of America may be won to his support in exerting every effort toward the completion of this project while its results promise the maximum of benefits.

The foregoing resolution was adopted at a special meeting of the Superior (Wisconsin) Association of Commerce December 10, 1940.

R. J. OYAAS, *President.*
JANET M. RABE, *Office Secretary.*

The Mayflower Compact

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FOSTER STEARNS
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 16, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. MAURICE H. THATCHER

Mr. STEARNS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by former Congressman Maurice H. Thatcher, of Kentucky, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the District of Columbia, over WMAL, Washington, D. C., on the evening of November 21, 1940:

Friends of the air, 320 years ago, today, on board the little ship *Mayflower*, in the waters adjacent to historic Cape Cod, there was drafted and signed by the adult males who had come as passengers across the seas on that fateful voyage from the Old World to the New the document which constitutes my subject for the evening.

Judged by results, no more precious cargo than that made up of the Pilgrim Fathers and their families was ever transported from one part of the earth to another. All these had quit their native England, or their adopted Holland, and in the wilds of North America were seeking a new and lasting home where they might enjoy—at whatever cost or peril—freedom of religious faith and practice. The story of this little exodus is known in every civilized land, and for more than 3 centuries it has furnished hope and inspiration for all those who sought or love civil and religious freedom.

When, after a stormy voyage, the Pilgrims touched the shores of America, they found themselves north of the confines of the Virginia Company of London, under whose auspices and authority they had sought to effect desired colonization. They were therefore confronted with a very grave situation, one fraught with serious threat of disorder. The leaders recognized the danger thus presented and resolved to take steps to guard against it. Among the passengers were some not of the Pilgrim faith or purpose—the hired laborers, it would appear—who threatened to make trouble upon landing; this on the plea that they would not be under any authorized jurisdiction, and at liberty, therefore, to do as they pleased. The Pilgrims in charge resolved that if there was, in fact, no governing authority over them, they would frame and establish their own government. To this end they called into the cabin of the *Mayflower* on November 21 (November 11 old style), 1620, the adult males of their party, and then and there executed the memorable document since known as the Mayflower Compact. Forty-one signatures were appended, 34 of which were those of these Pilgrims, and 7 were those of the indentured laborers attached to and accompanying the Pilgrim party. I will now read the compact:

"In ye name of God, Amen.—We whose names are underwritten, the loyale subjects of our dread Soveraigne Lord King James, by ye grace of God of Great Britaine, Franc & Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

"Haveing undertaken for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our King & Countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God and one another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of ye ends aforesaid: and by vertue hearof to enact constitute and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions & offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

"In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod ye 11 day of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our Soveraigne Lord King James of England, Franc & Ireland ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fifty-fourth, Ano. Dom. 1620."

Under the provisions of this grass-roots instrument, the little band of intrepid colonists, shortly after they landed at Plymouth Rock, undertook to found their colony and to govern it. The Compact, in the briefest and simplest possible form, set forth the substantial bases of free and enlightened self-government, that is to say, of democracy itself. This was the first effort of the kind attempted in the New World, and the Compact may be fairly said to have been the most fruitful of the germs from which free institutions of our great Republic sprang. Many students of history regard and acclaim it—though of such brief compass—as deserving a rank with the great documents that constituted stepping stones to free and representative government, beginning with Magna Carta and ending with our Declaration of Independence and Federal Constitution. In the limited time accorded only a brief analysis of the Compact may be submitted, but here are some of its features worthy to be recounted:

First. The reverent faith of the Pilgrims is indicated. The initial language is—I quote: "In the name of God. Amen." Again I quote: "Haveing undertaken for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith," and so forth, the covenants of the Compact are solemnly and mutually entered into—I quote—"* * * in ye presence of God and one another * * *." The favor of Divine Providence is thus acknowledged and invoked. Good men in the hour of extremity instinctively turn to the Unseen Force for guidance and aid. The profound sentiments of religious faith and trust—on the part of the Pilgrim fathers—are thus revealed. Surely a safe and wise foundation for any government. Moreover, a Christian community was projected, and realized, and it became a powerful cornerstone of the Christian nation which finally followed.

Second. Loyalty to the ultimate authority of the parent country is set forth in the references to the British King and Nation. I quote: "Haveing undertaken for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our King & Countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye northerne parts of Virginia * * *." They were thus "rendering unto Caesar" that which was his due. They were practical idealists. They hoped to find—and did find—here an enduring shelter of religious freedom, and they acknowledged—and unfalteringly observed—civil allegiance to their motherland.

Third. The essentials of Democratic-Republican government, of free institutions, are indicated in the language that constitutes the heart of the instrument. I quote: "Doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God and one another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of ye ends aforesaid: and by vertue hearof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions & offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

Here was the mutual, common pledge of the colonists to make all needed laws, and to create all needed offices, for the government of all upon equal terms as to all. There were to be no distinctions of class or privilege. Equality and justice were the common denominators under which each and all should live; and each gave his solemn pledge to yield due submission to the government thus to be created and administered. The two features embraced in this third classification constitute the sure props and pillars of free government; and all written laws and constitutions enacted in aid of free government are but elaborations and expansions of these basic principles and pledges.

Thus it is that the various societies of Mayflower descendants each year, upon the anniversary date of the signing of the Mayflower Compact, celebrate, in fitting manner, the event; and seek to call the attention of the Nation anew to the simple, but vital, provisions of the document; and in line with this practice, as Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the District of Columbia, and in behalf of that organization, I am privileged, through the courtesy of WMAL of Washington and the National Broadcasting Co., to speak to you, in this brief way, of this historic instrument which has contributed, directly and indirectly, so much to the cause of free institutions and democratic government in our Nation. Under the wise and simple terms of the Mayflower Compact, the Plymouth colony was founded and administered; under those terms the colony began its eventful career, established a just and tolerant rule, and became and endured as a model of the noblest excellence.

The Pilgrim torch—though accounted by those who bore it aloft as being but a feeble light—has proven itself to be a beacon of priceless and abiding value. The Pilgrims braved all to achieve that which was most dear: freedom of conscience and the establishment of a community whose members might stand altogether upon the basis of individual worth and character. These colonists came not for gold, or power, or distinction. They came to found homes, to maintain families, and to worship as their lights commanded. Far, far better than they ever knew, they strove and wrought. Now, when totalitarianism and tyranny are crushing the freedoms of the earth, the example of these dauntless men and women who founded a new order of worth and dignity at Plymouth Rock, should be kept in mind, and their patient and courageous lives remembered. If they were content to suffer so much, to sacrifice so much, for that which they considered most precious, surely we, holders and partakers of the heritage, should not consider any effort, any toil, any sacrifice, too great to preserve that which these, and the others in that age, in America, did so much to establish and bequeath. They keep who can. The law of life, indeed, is struggle. Weakness always invites disaster. No era in our national life has presented graver problems than that which is upon us. These will overwhelm us unless we meet and master them. There is no other way. Let us read American history, and be brave; consider it, and be wise; interpret it, and be inspired.

St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD J. GEHRMANN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

RESOLUTION BY THE GREAT LAKES-ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY, NATIONAL DEFENSE, AND SHIPBUILDING CONFERENCE AND ADDRESS BY HON. LELAND OLDS

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD I include the following resolution adopted by the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway, National Defense, and Shipbuilding Conference held at Detroit on December 5, 1940. This meeting was organized by the Great Lakes Harbors Association with headquarters in Milwaukee, Wis. I also include an address made at that meeting by Hon. Leland Olds, chairman of the Federal Power Commission, which should be read by every Member of Congress, because it contains a great deal of very valuable and reliable information.

The resolution and address are as follows:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GREAT LAKES-ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY, NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SHIPBUILDING CONFERENCE, DETROIT, MICH., DECEMBER 5, 1940

PREAMBLE

In his inspiring message to the delegates of this conference the President of the United States calls attention to America's paramount need for the early completion of the St. Lawrence seaway and power project. Referring to an earlier effort made 4 years ago to promote this development, the President says: "It was then an opportunity. It is now a vital necessity."

The President's statement expresses the unanimous conviction of the accredited delegates to this conference representing 38 cities in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin.

World events have made it necessary for this Nation to turn from its customary peacetime pursuits and adopt a program of national defense. In developing this program it becomes daily more apparent that completion of the St. Lawrence seaway project in cooperation with Canada will not only contribute greatly to the defense needs of both nations but is a paramount necessity in both its navigation and power phases.

Shipyards on our several seacoasts are already overburdened. Prudence dictates, therefore, creation and establishment of a substantial shipbuilding industry within the landlocked security of the Great Lakes. Such an industry in this location would not only be reasonably safe from attack but its very proximity to our principal steel-producing centers ensures the economical production of ships.

To make such a program practical requires the modernization of the present canals and channels of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence system. Surveys demonstrate that only 68 miles of canals need be improved to make approximately 2,500 miles of waterway useful in these capacities.

Prudence further demands that the water-power resources of the St. Lawrence be harnessed forthwith to supply greatly needed electric current for the metal-working, chemical, and other national-defense industries of the State of New York and the Province of Ontario.

The peacetime uses of this great project are fully as important to the national welfare as its purely military and defense uses. The economies in transportation to be achieved through the medium of continuous water haul to both domestic and foreign ports, together with the savings in the cost of electric current made possible by the hydro project, more than justify the proposal and will be productive of lower living costs and increased comfort and convenience to 50,000,000 people in the State of New York, the Great Lakes Basin, and the upper Mississippi Valley. Moreover, the development of a Great Lakes shipyard industry will supply not only this Nation but the entire world with badly needed merchant tonnage to replace the ships now being destroyed through warfare, thereby facilitating the resumption of normal trade relations between various sections of the globe, once peace is declared.

It is our firm and unalterable conviction that the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence project in both its power and navigation phases is one and inseparable. Each of these two developments is complementary to the other; both should be undertaken simultaneously and both must be predicated on a proper agreement with Canada covering the project as a whole.

Resolved therefore, That we, the assembled delegates of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway Conference, meeting in Detroit this 5th and 6th day of December 1940, express to the President of the United States our deep and sincere gratitude for his inspiring message on the national importance of the St. Lawrence Seaway and navigation and power project, both for national defense and for the normal uses of trade and industry;

Further resolved, That we expresss our sincere hope that negotiations now being conducted with Canada by the State Department for an agreement in relation to this project be successfully concluded at an early date;

Further resolved, That we petition and urge upon the Congress of the United States that prompt and favorable action be taken on the approval of such an agreement with Canada, adequately providing for the development of the St. Lawrence River and Great Lakes channels for navigation and power purposes, whenever same is submitted by the President;

Further resolved, That we pledge to the President and Congress our continued and loyal support toward the completion of this great undertaking as well as such other measures relating thereto as may be essential to national defense.

ADDRESS BY HON. LELAND OLDS, CHAIRMAN, FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION, AT GREAT LAKES-ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY, NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SHIPBUILDING CONFERENCE, DETROIT, MICH., DECEMBER 5, 1940

The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway and power project offers a great opportunity for total defense of democracy in America—immediate defense by facilitating the building of ships and aircraft and tanks and other munitions, long-range defense by proving democracy constructive and dynamic in a world given over largely to destruction. The preservation of our institutions depends on our being equipped to fight a modern war. But it depends quite as much on our ability to keep democracy moving forward to meet the needs of the people as a whole.

The pressing need for the St. Lawrence project in the defense program is obvious to all who are working overtime in Washington to assure needed implements of war. I shall speak particularly of power because that is my field. Others can emphasize the equal need for the seaway.

Constant contact with our neighbor to the north reveals the tremendous growth in power demand for an adequate defense program. The great Ontario power system is watching its load press the capacity available to carry that load. Defense industries are asking for power which is not available.

Stimulated by the defense program the up-State New York load will reach 1,858,000 kilowatts this year. The assured capacity to carry the load is only 1,846,000 kilowatts. This means that the power systems are cutting into necessary reserves or drawing on other areas. Our estimates indicate that by 1945, when the St. Lawrence power plants if started now can begin to deliver, the up-State New York shortage of capacity, assuming present plans for added generators, will approximate 500,000 kilowatts—half a million kilowatts.

This makes no allowance for the expansion of the aluminum industry at Massena, N. Y. The National Defense Commission is pressing for the expansion of that great aluminum plant because aluminum and more aluminum is vitally needed for our airplane program.

Today the St. Lawrence power-market area is dependent on imports of power from Canada to the extent of nearly 230,000 kilowatts of capacity. This power comes across the border to supply the Massena aluminum plant, which is asking for more. It comes across the border at Niagara to supply the needs of an expanded Union Carbon & Carbide plant and other great industrials in the Buffalo-Niagara area. All are producing to meet the defense needs of the United States and England. These imports are in considerable measure on a temporary basis—they may be withdrawn to meet the growing need in Canada. We must prepare to replace them.

Expansion of defense industries on both sides of the United States-Canadian border is being thwarted today by lack of adequate supplies of low-cost electric power.

This gives you some idea of the immediate defense need of the St. Lawrence project. But what of the equal need of the project for the long-range perpetuation of a vital democracy?

To appreciate that long-range need we must recognize that great projects of this nature are dynamic and not static in their influence. The country grew to its present greatness because men built great projects in the faith that they would create the market for their services. In creating a new demand for transportation or power, such projects became the builders of America. New needs supplied are the essence of progress.

The Panama Canal is an example. Between 1916 and 1930 its traffic expanded to 30,000,000 tons a year. In the 10 years 1920–29, inclusive, traffic between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts was transported at a saving of $874,000,000, as compared with what it would have cost if transported via paralleling railroads. Yet these railroads were among the most prosperous in the country. Why?

Analysis shows that much of the traffic that shipped through the Canal would not have moved at all if it had been forced to pay railroad charges. It was new traffic, creating new industrial activity and greater prosperity in the areas tributary to our Atlantic and Pacific ports. The resulting business expansion meant more rather than less traffic for the railroads. That is the answer.

You will all recall that not so many years ago T. V. A. and Bonneville power was described as surplus power for which there was no market. It was charged that the Government was merely duplicating existing facilities.

But today the T. V. A. power load is running far ahead of its net assured capacity. Plans to add more and more capacity to the

T. V. A. system cannot go forward quickly enough. Similarly, the Bonneville demand is growing so fast that the date for installation of new units must be advanced over the original program.

In terms of the national-defense program, what would we have done for the aluminum which will be produced by the 162,500 kilowatts of capacity and 170,000 kilowatts of T. V. A. power earmarked for that purpose if the claims of the opposition that this power would not be needed had prevailed?

Yes; there is not the slightest doubt about the need for the deep waterway and the St. Lawrence power project when they are completed as parts of one great project—a need which will not deprive any other agency of business but will, in fact, increase the business of other agencies. And in creating new needs, the project will play its part in building the future America.

But it will be doing more. It will be playing its part in building a democratic future America, because the great project will essentially meet the needs of the common man, of the small-business man, the small manufacturer, the farmer, the wage earner, and their families, who, taken together, compose the millions that are America.

The foundation of democracy is the unrestricted opportunity of all men and women to make the fullest use of the country's resources. Full use of resources requires not only the protection and best utilization of the soil, the conservation and wise utilization of minerals, the harnessing of the streams, but also the elimination of the artificial cost barriers which would force restricted use of the products and services derived from these resources. The effect of monopoly price, whether for transportation or power or goods, is to put a brake on consumption and hence on business activity.

The Government's great river-basin programs are designed not only to unlock the water resources for the use of the people, but also to serve as a potent check on the artificial costs and prices which today curtail the use of transportation and power. These programs are going forward effectively in other river basins in the country. To you of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin I say it is now your turn.

For, I say to you, the project is already under way. Already by the 4th of November the engineers and exploration crews were assembling at the new St. Lawrence district office of the United States Corps of Engineers at Massena, N. Y. Barges are already in the river using their apparatus to test the dam foundations. Engineers are working in Massena on the designs for the dam and other structures, while a great engineering firm is at work on the designs for the powerhouses.

So there will be no delay in starting construction when full authorization is given. The project is moving. It is up to you to help keep it on the move.

I have labored for this project for 10 years. I started on the road when asked to assist a certain great Governor of the State of New York in his effort to realize a generation-old dream of harnessing the St. Lawrence for the people. Since I started I have never seen that Governor—now President of the United States—waver in his determination to give this great good to the people of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin.

President Roosevelt knew the value of this project to every essential activity of the American people—in defense as well as in promoting higher living standards. Now events have proved him right, 100 percent right.

Now, because of the pressing need for the project in terms of the preservation of democracy, there should be no difficulty in keeping it moving. It should be a great national undertaking, commanding national unity in its support. There is no longer room for the opposition of sectionalism and special interest such as blocked the undertaking in 1934. This is no time to argue for the preservation of the right to maintain toll gates across the roads of the country's progress. As the whole people is safe and prosperous, so are the component parts. Each section of the country, each separate economic interest, must today act in terms of the whole, in a great cooperative effort to keep the country moving forward in democracy.

Opposition to democracy on the march is opposition to democracy itself. And the St. Lawrence seaway and power project is an essential step in the march of democracy by two great neighboring peoples—the United States and Canada. That is why I am sure we are going forward.

Highways and Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege on Wednesday evening, December 11, to address the annual banquest of the Illinois Road Builders' Association, in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago.

During the day sessions had been held, with several hundred persons in attendance. Worth-while discussions were conducted. Among the speakers were Henry Fowler, association treasurer; Phillip Harrington, Commissioner for Chicago of Subways and Superhighways; Charles M. Upham, of Washington, engineer-director, American Road Builders' Association; C. M. Hathaway, engineer of construction, Division of Highways, State of Illinois; Herbert R. Anderson, association president; and Hal G. Sours, president, American Road Builders' Association and director and chief engineer of the Ohio Department of Highways.

At the banquet, attended by approximately 900 gentlemen, I found a splendid spirit of inquiry and study into problems connected with highway building, not only in Illinois but throughout the Nation. I found, however, a factor present which really sets aside any group of men as worth while—that is, a sense of citizenship responsibility.

My address on this occasion was as follows:

HIGHWAYS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

An outstanding lesson in Germany's amazingly successful "blitzkrieg" is the importance of an adequate and integrated system of highways. From the day he attained power until he struck his first devastating blow Hitler had some of the best engineering brains of Germany constructing a network of superhighways on a scale the nation had never seen, coordinating it with the development of rail, water, and air transportation systems. It was this system that made possible the gigantic expansion of German armaments in the few short years that followed Hitler's march into the Rhineland. And when Poland's hour struck it was the broad, perfectly constructed roads right to the border which enabled his swiftly moving mechanized hordes to accomplish what military men considered an utter impossibility.

NARROW ROADS HAMPER ALLIES

In Hitler's headlong rush to the French coast it was again the superhighway system that transported his unending stream of tanks and motorized troops, in contrast was the relatively inadequate system of narrow roads used by the French and British. The Allies were slow in their initial advance through Belgium to meet the Germans, and then were bottlenecked without supplies or reinforcements when the narrow roads were choked with fleeing humanity and blasted by Stuka bombers. It was the story of one- and two-lane roads, vulnerable to attack, against a vast system of six- and eight-lane superhighways.

In relation to our industralization, size, and strength, our highway system today is little better than were those of the conquered countries. Nearly one-third of our 75,000 miles of strategically important highways do not at the present time meet even the minimum requirements of the War Department. Some of it is too crooked, some too steep, some too light in construction to stand military transport. During the October maneuvers of the District of Columbia National Guard, centering in the West Virginia mountains at my home town of Elkins, heavy trucks carrying antiaircraft guns had to be rerouted from the main highway between Washington and Elkins because in that 230-mile strip of excellent road there were two bridges over which the trucks could not pass. This condition is duplicated in all parts of the country; maneuvers in Texas this year showed that only 25 percent of the roads used were adequate to handle even the comparatively light 10-ton tanks and 155-millimeter howitzers, which were the heaviest equipment used. What would we do if the coming heavy tanks were rushed into this possible invasion site under conditions of actual warfare?

NEW HIGHWAY BILL NEEDED

With the convening of the new Congress in January we must meet the responsibility of preparing and passing supplemental legislation to provide for an immediate program of constructing highways adequate for our national-defense requirements. This should be in addition to the regular biennial Federal-aid highway measures, the last one of which was passed a few months ago. Moreover, I believe that the Federal Government should bear the brunt of this cost, perhaps as much as 80 percent, instead of the 50 percent borne under our regular Federal-aid legislation.

I believe the Federal Government should bear this high ratio of the expense because such a program is as essential to our rapidly expanding defense effort as are new manufacturing facilities. We need transport and more transport, particularly since the Federal Government has at long last recognized the need for decentralizing defense industries. Four years ago I advocated such a plan; today, factories by the score for production of aircraft, munitions, engines, nitrates, and other sinews of war preparedness are being located in Illinois, Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia, and other interior States.

Industrial mobilization, plus an increasing peacetime traffic, already threatens to overtax our present transportation system. Railroads, with equipment depleted by depression years, may soon feel the pressure of transporting defense materials. Waterways have been steadily improved in recent years, but still fall far short of carrying their share of the load. Commercial aviation, with emphasis on passengers and speed, grows in importance daily, but cannot be

expected to help materially in the transport of bulky materials. The automotive industry, which grew to its present giant stature with the growth of highways, can lend its facilities to speeding defense transport, provided we build the roads to carry the trucks. Our transportation network must be strengthened at every point. To you who are road builders there appears the challenge of uniting your forces in the planning, improvement, and extension of our highway development. I am sure you will not fail in this obligation.

STUDIES BEGAN 20 YEARS AGO

Some 20 years ago the War Department began studies of our highway needs, which are being modified today to meet the new tempo of modern war. We realize that we must revamp our conception of minimum requirements. Testimony before the House Roads Committee, of which I am a member, revealed that there are some 6,390 miles of highway in the New England States alone that should be rebuilt, widened, or relocated. There are also 506 bridges that should be widened or rebuilt. And these recommendations, which will cost an estimated $388,223,000 are based only on our immediate peacetime needs to better traffic conditions and promote highway safety. The cost of building New England's highways to serve the dual purpose of civil and military use would probably reach the staggering total of $600,000,000. At this time it is impossible to estimate accurately how many billions will be needed for necessary highway expansion and improvement through the entire Nation.

How can we pay this gigantic bill?

In the first place we can abolish the present pernicious practice of diverting funds from Federal gasoline and other automotive taxes to uses other than highway construction and maintenance, and under the same terms levy such additional taxes as are found necessary for this building program. There is a place for high speed toll roads, such as the Pennsylvania turnpike, where revenues are far in excess of advance estimates. Roads of this character have tremendous military value. If properly located, they are sound financial risks and can be financed through loans and the issuance of bonds.

We will need close cooperation from the various States. Many of these political subdivisions, knowing that the Federal Government condones it, have continued to use their gas revenues for almost every purpose but that originally intended. Were these funds returned to their proper uses, these States would have little difficulty in sustaining their present schedules of construction and maintenance and joining hands with the Federal Government in this greatly needed military program. These and other important problems will be considered in formulating the legislation.

AMERICA MUST ACT NOW

There are those who contend that these improvements should be treated from a long-range standpoint, that we should approach them with the ease of a peacetime stride. I cannot agree with their sentiments in this respect.

I do believe we should eliminate the elements of rush and reckless emotional haste, but I emphasize the need for immediate and thorough action. It is quite obvious that our military experts believe that America is closer now to warfare on her own soil than at any other time in its recent history. May God spare us this reality. But in the meantime, gentlemen, our wisdom dictates that we take stock of our highway deficiencies and begin a program that will modernize our national road system and make it the finest for peacetime service and at the same time a highly developed and definitely efficient adjunct for our national defense.

I am addressing you tonight not only as road builders but as fellow Americans who are vitally interested in all phases touching on the well-being of our people and the continuance of democratic institutions and principles of government.

I am not a witch hunter. I don't look under my bed for goblins. I don't put a "fifth column" label on every person who disagrees with me or who is unusual in appearance. Nevertheless, the time is here for plain speaking in relation to an uninterrupted national defense and an Americanism which will stand the test of defeating those enemies from within who would attempt to rip it apart. Let us have no repetition of what took place in France.

In recent days the country has been properly incensed by the wave or strikes in defense industries, strikes which have temporarily crippled key points in production. Two weeks ago today I stood before my colleagues of the Congress and denounced the all but treasonable strike of workers in the Vultee aircraft factory at Downey, Calif. I say now, as I said then, that there should be no stoppage in our defense production, but that differences between employers and employees should be settled by arbitration. That is the American way. Surely no responsible labor leader can fear such a program or say that labor has been discriminated against by the administration of which I am a part.

The Vultee strike cost us the production of 50 badly needed training planes during that 12-day period, 50 planes that can never be replaced. The pilot-training program for our Air Corps was delayed much more than it would seem, for each basic trainer is used in the schooling of many potential flyers. Moreover, the strike was senseless for the employees, even from a financial point of view. In this tie-up they actually lost more in wages than they gained in salary increase. At a time when we are drafting boys to serve long hours in the Army for small wages it ill behooves highly paid workers to hold up production of the tools so vital to our national welfare.

BULK OF LABOR IS RELIABLE

For 8 years I have advocated and supported the labor gains which have been made, and I have high confidence in both the rank and file of labor and in its responsible leadership. It must, however, be on guard against being led into blind alleys by those who would use the defense program for their selfish gains and against the racketeers and traitors who will use their pretended love for labor to hamper our defense program and bring honest toilers into disrepute.

In recent weeks there have been serious stoppages of defense production by strikes in steel, lumber, and other industries. If these continue or spread, it may be necessary to pass corrective legislation. Be not deceived; Congress will do just that if the occasion requires such drastic methods, for in so doing elected Representatives will be carrying out the mandate of the great mass of American people. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Phil Murray, head of the C. I. O., have on their shoulders real tasks of guiding organized labor aright. I hope and believe they will not fail in these critical times.

I sometimes feel that the greatest threat to our American way of life is not the attack from without but the evil influences at work within who would scuttle the solidarity of our Nation. The alien registration now in progress discloses that we have more than 4,000,000 persons of foreign birth within our doors who have not become American citizens. This in itself would not be alarming were it not for the fact that only 21 percent have declared their intent of becoming citizens, although the vast majority have resided in this country for more than 15 years.

Do not misunderstand me. Naturalized citizens are just as important and valuable as our native born. Even a Son of the American Revolution can be a traitor. I have personally helped hundreds of foreigners prepare and receive their naturalization papers. This group is just as vitally interested in America's welfare as are native-born citizens, and, in addition, has an added stake in the protection of its good name and loyal patriotism.

LET ALIENS DECLARE DESIRES

I do not believe that any large percentage of our unnaturalized population is the agency for foreign "isms," but within this reservoir are concealed the elements of communism, nazi-ism, fascism, and other groups whose loyalties lie beyond the sea. To the end that all people of foreign birth may demonstrate their loyalty, let us pass a bill similar to the measure I have sponsored and am pressing for enactment by Congress. It provides that an alien be given 6 months in which to declare his intention of becoming an American citizen. If he fails to do so in that period, this country will take him into custody and promptly deport him to the land from which he came. A person who comes to this country and accepts its privileges, its profits, and its protection should also accept the responsibility of citizenship.

In the last analysis, we are not members of political parties but members of the citizenship of America. It is said that two friends, long parted, encountered one another in a country across the sea. One said to the other: "We meet in an evil land, close to the gates of hell." How happy we should be that tonight we are fortunate enough to meet in a good land, close to the gates of heaven.

The Low-Cost Housing Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. JACOBSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS OF HON. ABNER H. FERGUSON

Mr. JACOBSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following radio address delivered by the Honorable Abner H. Ferguson, Administrator of the Federal Housing Administration, over the Columbia Broadcasting System on December 15, 1940:

This is the time of year when most of us pause for a moment, look back critically over the months that have passed, and then look forward to the new year with renewed purpose.

This is the time for self-questioning. Did we reach the goals we set for ourselves in 1940? Did we make the most of our opportunities—and achieve our high hopes? This is the time for checking up.

A year ago the Federal Housing Administration made a forecast for the year now coming to a close. We made this forecast, not by gazing into a crystal ball but by studying our own records.

Our records contain many important facts, but the obvious truth not written in our ledgers is this: Almost every human being has an inborn desire for a better place in which to live.

As a rule, the thing that keeps people from living in better homes is not a lack of desire but a lack of cash. And that, of course, is the chief reason for the creation of the Federal Housing Administration—to insure private capital and thereby make easier credit possible for people who desire better housing.

The most important thing we learned from our records—and the thing on which we based our predictions for 1940—is this: Each year more and more American families who lack the cash to buy a new home or to modernize the old one are finding in the F. H. A. plan a solution to their problem. Each year the number of those who discover this practical, sound, pay-by-the-month plan grows steadily larger.

By applying certain simple facts and by studying the steadily mounting volume of loans being insured by the Federal Housing Administration, we were able to make certain forecasts for 1940.

We believed, first of all, that 1940 would see a new and growing demand for small homes. And this belief has become a reality—to an extent even beyond our most optimistic expectations. The record shows that a large majority of home buyers this year have demanded small homes—and industry has turned its resources to the production of well-built, modern, small homes that can be paid for by the average family with a moderate income.

We estimated that more than $200,000,000 in repair loans would be made on the F. H. A. plan for modernizing and fixing up old property. And results so far show that we were not too hopeful in this estimate.

Incidentally, I have just received word of an impressive milestone passed in our modernization program. Yesterday, the three millionth loan for home improvements was reported to F. H. A. for insurance. This means nearly 3,000,000 old homes made more comfortable and more convenient. Three million families have invested in better living on a practical, monthly payment basis.

The year is not quite over yet, and the last cent cannot be accounted for. But enough of the record is in hand for a fairly accurate estimate of the year's activity in housing. It is certainly safe to say that during 1940 more than 625,000 families who already had homes but wished to improve them benefited from the F. H. A. plan. More than $250,000,000 in loans to repair and fix up old property were reported to the Federal Housing Administration for insurance during the year. This may sound like a great deal of money for modernizing, and so it is. But it represents, remember, some 625,000 separate loans. Loans to repair roofs and to install modern heating and plumbing. To paint and paper and build in kitchen cupboards. To give new life, new comfort, and economy of operation to homes which had become run down and uncomfortable. And the cost of this modernizing in each case was budgeted by the month to suit the individual income of each family.

As you may know, F. H. A.'s program of mortgage insurance for home financing is now on a self-supporting basis because of the insurance premium which is paid on each mortgage. The insurance premium now being paid on modernization loans will, I believe, also allow this part of our program to pay its own way on future business.

Last year we estimated that at least 170,000 families throughout the country would build or buy new homes on the F. H. A. plan in 1940. And this prediction, too, was justified.

It's still too early for absolute accuracy, but it appears now that our forecast will be exceeded and that approximately 180,000 new small homes are being built on the F. H. A. plan in 1940. Stated another way, this means almost $900,000,000 in new homes during this 1 year.

I don't want to burden you with statistics, but these rather large figures may be confusing. I think you'll be interested to know that this year's home owners aren't necessarily families of more than average income.

For example, during 1940 the average new home loan which F. H. A. insured was less than $4,500, and the average payment for home ownership was less than a dollar a day.

Most home owners—and most families who want to be home owners—have only moderate incomes. But they want real homes. They want modern homes with modern conveniences—homes that are attractive to look at and comfortable to live in. And the F. H. A. pay-by-the-month plan permits families with moderate incomes to pay, conveniently, for just such homes.

The required down payment is reasonable and the monthly payments are figured to suit the individual family's income. These monthly all-inclusive payments are usually about the same as rent, and are often less.

But these convenient financing terms are only one phase of the F. H. A. plan of home ownership.

For the home buyer's protection, as well as our own, we insist on certain basic standards of good design and construction and location. Plans are examined in the blueprint stage by F. H. A. architects to assure a sound home investment. The neighborhood is carefully looked into before the loan is approved to make sure that it is a suitable location and will continue to be during the years to come. Finally, the house is inspected several times during construction to ascertain, as nearly as may be, that specifications are followed.

I have mentioned briefly what F. H. A. has been doing to help those who buy new homes and those who fix up old homes. But the renting public is also an important factor in our program. During 1940 more than 3,200 rental units in 48 new developments were built by private capital under the F. H. A. rental housing program. These are planned rental communities which provide modern apartments in well laid-out developments, at reasonable rents.

And so, as the year 1940 draws to a close, we look back with justifiable satisfaction on the progress made. As a direct result of the Federal Housing Administration's activities during the year, more than 800,000 families—representing three and one-quarter million American people—are enjoying better living conditions.

Under F. H. A. operations, begun only a few years ago, a grand total of more than $4,000,000,000 in private capital has been invested on a sound basis in better living. Translated into everyday terms, these figures mean that thousands of carloads of building materials have been sold, and hundreds of thousands of men have been put to work.

But we of the Federal Housing Administration are already looking forward to 1941 and the promise of even greater opportunities.

The coming year, of course, holds unpredictable influences which must be taken into consideration. The program for national defense has created a need for new housing in many sections of the country.

We refer to this subject in a simple phrase—defense housing. But it's a much more complicated subject than these two words imply.

Some sections of the country need a great deal of new housing very quickly; some need less; and others need only a small amount. Some of this new housing will be of a temporary nature; some of it will be of a permanent kind. We take in many different kinds of housing when we talk about defense housing.

In some places there will be new training stations and new air fields and new troop stations. Perhaps the need for new housing in these places is brought about only by a local temporary emergency. In such cases it seems reasonable and entirely likely that the Government must assume the major part of the job of building.

But in other places there has been for some time a real need for good housing that is soundly built and soundly financed. Perhaps the expansion of certain industries—an expansion which will be permanent—is merely bringing a basic housing need to light. Here, then, are the places where private investment with F. H. A. insurance will find its responsibility and its opportunity.

Reports from industrial areas throughout the country where employment is on the upgrade indicate that a permanent type of housing, privately financed, has a definite and important place in this wide field called defense housing. In several key industrial areas during the past few months, there was a 50- to 100-percent increase over the same 1939 period in new single-family dwellings financed on the F. H. A. plan. The implications for private investors are obvious and encouraging.

It is probably too early to make an all-inclusive prediction on home building throughout the country for the coming year. Therefore, I shall confine my forecast to F. H. A.'s operations, and there, I believe, the outlook is bright, bright for those who build, or buy, or modernize, or rent, or invest in better housing. Basing my predictions on our 1940 record, I would like to hazard the opinion—all things being equal—that in the coming year another 200,000 families will be living in new homes built by private capital on F. H. A. terms, and that 600,000 more families will improve their present homes on the F. H. A. monthly payment plan.

But figures, as usual, are misleading. So many millions of loans and so many billions of dollars, it seems to me, give a false impression of F. H. A.'s operation. We have reached the point of being self-supporting, but we are not interested simply in running up an impressive dollars and cents record. The aim of the Federal Housing Administration is better living for American families. Our objective has been, is, and will continue to be, to encourage the investment of private capital in soundly designed, soundly built, and soundly financed homes.

Our ambition is that more and more of our people shall live in homes they own. This will lead to greater national safety because a nation of home owners will always remain a nation of free and democratic people.

Administration of the Guffey Coal Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. JONES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

STATEMENT BY OHIO EQUITY EXCHANGE CO.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of a large farm cooperative organization in my district showing the disastrous effects of the Guffey Coal Act and the rulings of the Bituminous Coal Commission with reference to their type of business.

I invite the consideration of the House to the plight of this farmer's organization in my district.

LIMA, OHIO, *December 13, 1940.*

Hon. ROBERT F. JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

We object to the extension of the Guffey coal bill now or any time in the future because of the discrimination against us as a wholesale cooperative organization. If the Coal Commission will protect us on coal shipments and give us the same wholesale commission as they are giving independent wholesalers without further expense to us, and make it retroactive back to October 1, 1940, and not in any way discriminate against us in the future, we would not object, but the Coal Commission is making it too difficult and too expensive for us to compete with independent wholesalers. We have filed our complaint with the Commission, and this matter should be corrected at once, as it is working an extreme hardship on our organization. We cannot stand up under such discriminations. Our expenses have been increased, while our wholesalers' discount has been cut 50 percent and are from 5 to 10 cents per ton less than independent wholesalers. We cannot long endure this.

OHIO EQUITY EXCHANGE CO.

Freedom and Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE H. BENDER
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, at this season of the year when the western world is thinking in terms of peace on earth, good will toward men, the phrase must seem like a bitter mockery to millions now engaged in desperate conflict. Throughout Asia, parts of Africa, and virtually all of Europe men and women of every faith and creed are living in imminent danger of death. Their prayers for peace and the opportunity to live normal lives have gone virtually unanswered. To them faith in man's ability to adjust himself to the needs of his environment is rapidly disappearing. Ideals already deeply shattered by the impact of the last World War are today being demolished in the minds and hearts of an entire generation. Whether they relish the prospect or not, the boys and girls who survive the catastrophe now facing half of the world will become the most cynical, unhappy generation in the history of the modern world.

Yet so strong is human faith that every great calamity somehow re-creates in the spirit of men a new determination to rebuild along a better line. Increasingly, thinking men and women are probing their minds for methods by which the repetition of these wars, which solve nothing and plant only unhappiness, can be ended. The preachings of our prophets who demanded fairness and decency in the days of Versailles are still remembered by some who were there. The idealism which has on a dozen occasions attempted to burst through the bonds of narrow intolerance still lives though men's hearts fail. Today the cry is for realism. We must face the facts. Rearmament is necessary. A vast military machine must be built, and idealists as well as realists recognize these needs. But the idealists tell us that these must be regarded as temporary objectives; that men must train themselves for days when armies and cannons can be discarded; that we must look forward always to a time when we shall sit down like rational human beings above the level of the animal kingdom to discuss the ways and means by which all men may live in happiness and brotherhood.

In this kind of world democracy is more than a simple word. It becomes a living force with overtones and challenges sometimes unspoken, sometimes unthought, following in its wake. The people of the United States have come to look upon democracy as one of the normal facts of daily living. We accept it as we accept our automobiles, our radios, and plentiful supply of food and clothing. It is like so many of these material comforts, which would be appreciated only if they were lost.

At this Christmas season it must be our task to alter this condition of things. Democracy today cannot be regarded as a simple device by which men agree to govern themselves in accordance with the will of a majority. Today, in a world in which factories and homes are being destroyed, democracy takes on new meaning. It becomes a symbol of the kind of world which is almost forgotten. It stands for all the freshness and vitality which we associate with a young and eager civilization, a civilization which still holds that all men are privileged to win happiness and contentment. By contrast the demand of the totalitarians for the absolute supremacy of a mythical and nonexistent state-above-mankind becomes an invitation to slavery and a destruction of human aspirations. The issue becomes one of individual worth as against individual degradation, the man against the mass.

We in the United States cannot believe that mankind, no matter how deluded it may be temporarily, will permanently accept a condition in which each individual submits to suppression for the sake of an abstract idea. We know too well that all states are governed by men who are themselves individuals, whose feet give forth the same sounds as they walk the stage of totalitarian states which we hear in the democracies. We know that the clanking sword of a modern dictator sounds precisely the same as the clanking sword of a medieval czar. The struggle today is still the same. By whatever name we choose to call the modern disciples of force, their effort to enslave humanity is still the battle between absolutism and freedom.

To us it is unthinkable that men will surrender their freedom for any kind of absolute regimentation. To us it is incredible that any group will yield its freedom of thought and action for the promise of an economic freedom achieved through slavery. No nation can achieve freedom through the death of freedom.

These views of the historic position of America come home to us more forcefully this year than ever before. Our traditions have grown in stature as we see them ruthlessly denounced abroad. Our belief that history was moving in a clearly defined straight line from absolute despotisms to monarchies to constitutional governments has been shaken. But this shattering of our belief does not destroy our confidence in the ultimate triumph of the democratic ideal. We believe still that all men must come at length to see that their future rests upon their ability to establish a state in which all men regard all others as equal in the eyes of the law, subject to no discriminations based upon the accidents of birth.

Perhaps these considerations are merely academic in our own great country. Perhaps all of us have suddenly gained an acute awareness of the needs of our day which makes any restatement of American fundamentals unnecessary. But the pathway leading from democracy into other less tolerant forms of government is sometimes imperceptible to the unwary eye. The ease with which a state may slip from free institutions into the robes of slavery is no new discovery. Aristotle foresaw it clearly, and in his famous treatise on politics he told his generation that the democratic form of government contained within itself the germs of its own destruction. Give the people their wants, he warned, and they will clamor for more until they drive the nation to the brink of collapse. And then, behold, the strong man will rise to seize control, and democracy is gone.

This is no longer academic. We today recognize the process by which precisely this has taken place. In the name of "national redemption," Adolf Hitler assumed dictatorial powers in Germany which have dashed human freedom to the earth in the Third Reich. To save his country from communism, Mussolini's Black Shirts marched on Rome, and today find themselves, ironically enough, in the company of the very Communists they so bitterly opposed. In the name of human freedom, Lenin's band enslaved the minds of 175,000,000 Russians. Economic security was their watchword. They were going to provide enough food, drink, shelter, and the comforts of a modern civilization to their people. In our own country the same goals are constantly paraded before the

Nation. Economic security, in our own country as in Europe, is a magic phrase. In its name, what crimes may be committed!

Whatever their groups may call themselves, Socialists, Nationalists, Progressives, Liberals, Communists, all of them are united in their belief that government must direct the manifold activities of those it governs. The New Deal believes this, too. More power, more officials to enforce these powers, more money to spend—in England and in our own country, as well as in those nations which are admittedly dictatorships, the demand is ever increasing for a concentration of authority in the hands of government. We must remember that every power assumed by Washington represents a removal of a privilege, personal, family, or group, from those who lose it to those who gain it.

Let us recall, too, that the triumph of the doctrine of governmental control represents everywhere a reversal of mankind's struggle to end its servitude. Since the fall of the Roman Empire, in every age of enlightenment, thinking men have battered their minds and bodies against the walls of arrogance, rigid authority, private privilege. Wherever men have been ruled by arbitrary masters—it matters not whether those masters called themselves barons or kings or benevolent despots or states—they have clamored for release from tyranny. Are we turning back the pages of history today? Are we forgetting the traditional boast of our ancestors that those governments are best which govern least? Is the ceaseless effort to subject kings to the will of the people, instead of the will of Divinity, to be lightly forgotten? Are the 16 centuries of human effort which went into the writing of the Constitution of the United States as a check upon unrestricted governmental authority to be lightly ignored?

Here is a fundamental conflict in our democracy which must be solved. Each of us in our minds, in our acts, must determine whether or not we shall permit our state to control its people or whether or not we shall insist that our people control our state. Any decision which favors the former alternative makes the history of democracy meaningless. Overnight, by coup d'etat, by governmental decree, by monetary emergency, the government which serves us may seize complete control of every resource within its power. It may move from servant to master. In America, as in Europe, unless we determine within ourselves that democracy and freedom are synonyms, government may abolish our Congress, abrogate our Constitution, ignore our civil liberties, and institute a reign of terror throughout the land. And it matters little that we do not regard these changes as probable today if we pave the way for their occurrence tomorrow.

We cannot believe that the people of the United States will knowingly or voluntarily surrender their authority to conduct their government in accordance with their will, but we see already a danger ahead—the danger of being lured into a snare so delightfully arranged that we are unaware of its presence until we have become its prisoner. This must not happen in America. For if it does, it will not avail us that we have more bathtubs, more automobiles, more electric lights than any other land. We shall live in the black-out of slavery.

These things will not happen if we are alert, if we recognize that the objectives of a good society in our own country and throughout the world are everywhere the same. We who revere the American tradition of freedom and democracy know that for all mankind there is but one common goal, a better life for the people who inhabit this earth.

We who champion the cause of democracy today regard it as the unending opponent of poverty and all the ills which flow from poverty. We look upon crime, sickness, the misery of inadequate housing, the problems of human personality as the common enemies of mankind. To rout them, democracy must utilize every resource at its disposal.

No government has ever succeeded in accomplishing these objectives by decrees. Those which have tried have succeeded only in perpetuating poverty. Far from sharing wealth, they have distributed pauperism. Far from stimulating happiness by systems which crush obstacles, they have succeeded only in crushing the human spirit from which happiness can alone stem.

In our country today we are still confronted with problems that tax men's abilities. Always before we have solved them through the opening of rich new avenues of opportunity. Today, in the name of liberalism, these opportunities are almost denied. In the name of the forgotten man, our Government has virtually forgotten that no government can compel without destroying the intangible human spirit which can never survive compulsion.

America, in the years directly before us, faces the challenges which the European system has failed to meet.

The extension of freedom, the development of a living, throbbing democracy, that looks upon our difficulties as steps in a process, can overcome these problems. We in America who conquered the wilderness, who brought to fruition a glorious era of material prosperity, are faced with challenges in the realm of the spirit. Our ancestors succeeded in their goals. We must not fail in ours.

Introducing Mr. Speaker Rayburn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUTHER A. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. LUTHER A. JOHNSON, OF TEXAS

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, in the city of Dallas, Tex., on the evening of December 10 at the Adolphus Hotel, a banquet was given in honor of our beloved and able Speaker, Hon. SAM RAYBURN, by his friends of that city.

Over 1,500 were in attendance, including representative and distinguished citizens from all sections of Texas, and several from Oklahoma and Missouri. The honor of making the introductory speech of the Speaker, Mr. RAYBURN, was accorded me, and under leave granted, I submit herewith the brief address made by me on that occasion:

This occasion tonight is a just and richly deserved tribute to a great Texan, a great American. No higher enconium could be paid any man than to be called and deserve that title. I measure my words when I call Speaker RAYBURN a great American; and that opinion is based not on hearsay or reputation, but from an intimate association with him for nearly 18 years as his colleague in the House.

While I was active in the practice of the legal profession I have said many times: "If you want to really know a man, practice law with him, try cases with him and against him, and you will soon find out his capabilities, his character, his weaknesses, and his strength."

Since my service in Congress I have also come to know there is another forum, other than the courtroom, where the measurement of men may be accurately taken, and that is in the Congress of the United States and among the colleagues with whom you serve.

As a general rule, Members of Congress know one another better than their constituents know them—perhaps I should qualify this by saying better than a majority of their constituents know them.

This statement is especially true in recent years when the almost continuous sessions of Congress have required the Members to remain almost constantly in Washington. The Members see their colleagues daily while their constituents see them only at intervals. The Members see their colleagues while they are on duty and while they are under fire and in meeting crises, and these are the times and these are the tests which determine the character, the caliber, and the fiber of which men are made.

And let me say this: The membership of the House knows how to appraise the real value and ability of its individual Members. The House seldom makes a mistake in its appraisal of a Member. Its judgment is critical and exacting, but it is usually accurate and just.

I have mentioned these things so that you may know that SAM RAYBURN'S election as majority leader by his party and his subsequent election to the Speakership of the House at the present session of Congress, without opposition, was neither accidental nor automatic but came to him as the highest tribute that could be paid any man—to be chosen out of a membership of 435 by his

colleagues, who know him and who are discerning, critical, and exacting in choosing their leaders.

His 28 years of continuous service as a Member of the House contributed to, but was not controlling in, his selection. Seniority alone controls committee assignments and one's rank upon the committee, but when it comes to fill the exalted office of Speaker of the House, the highest honor that that historic body can confer, there must be something plus seniority—real ability, true qualities of leadership, seasoned experience, poise, good judgment, and one whose character and personality inspire the faith of his colleagues that he can and will do the right thing. SAM RAYBURN'S 28 years of faithful and able service in the House demonstrated to its membership beyond all doubt that he was not only preeminently fitted for the place but was the type of man who would reflect credit upon the great office to which he was chosen.

His selection as Speaker has been vindicated and he has confirmed the faith of his fellow Members in him by measuring up to the highest standards of that exalted office.

The Seventy-sixth Congress, of which he is now Speaker of the House, after one of the longest continuous sessions on record, will soon automatically expire, and on January 3 there will convene in Washington a new Congress—the Seventy-seventh—and he will be chosen Speaker of the House in that Congress by the vote of every Member save the Republicans, who, following the time-honored custom and for the sake of party regularity, will cast their votes for whatever losing candidate they chance to designate.

As the chairman of the Texas delegation in the House, recently I addressed a letter to the Democratic Members of the House, advising that the Texas delegation would present the name of the present Speaker, Hon. SAM RAYBURN, for reelection as Speaker in the Seventy-seventh Congress, and I wish you could read the letters which came to me in reply. The response was immediate, spontaneous, and enthusiastic, all pledging not only their support but stating that none could or would even think of opposing SAM RAYBURN, in view of the fine record he has made, and the tributes they paid him in these letters were complimentary in the highest degree, and many of them used the designation I did in opening these remarks by calling him a great American, which he is in every sense of the word—great in character, great in service, great in ability.

While Texas and the Nation is indebted to the Fourth Congressional District of Texas for sending a man like SAM RAYBURN to Congress and continuing to send him for 28 years, the people of that district, the citizens of Texas, and the Nation are indebted to SAM RAYBURN for being what he is. Possessing not only a great intellect, a heart that beats in sympathy and love for his fellow man, a most pleasing personality, but better still and more enduring than these, his life is buttressed by a rugged character of old-fashioned honesty and integrity which he inherited from his Tennessee forebears.

He has another requisite qualification for Speaker—rugged health and a capacity to endure worry and hard work. He will have to draw heavily on this reserve of physical strength, for the Speakership is a man-killing job. During my service in Congress four Speakers of the House have died while serving as Speaker. The public little realizes the toll exacted of a man who conscientiously performs the exacting duties of this office, whose importance and responsibility in our Government is next to the Presidency of the United States.

But SAM RAYBURN will use the same formula in his service as Speaker that he has throughout his service in Congress. When he came to Congress he wisely decided to build his congressional career not upon the shifting sands of meteoric flight and eschewed all showy, spectacular appeals for notoriety, building his career rather upon the solid rock of hard, conscientious work and the use of old-fashioned common sense, and by these means he advanced slowly but steadily, step by step, until he has attained the highest legislative honor that can come to mortal man.

I present him, your friend and my friend, the man who has brought glory and honor to his district, to his State, and to his Nation, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States.

Crusading for Civilization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. ALEXANDER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, what this country needs is some minds into which can be forced a new idea. We need people who are willing to crowd back into a corner some of their good ideas and make room up front for a live idea, a dynamic idea. Dynamic means action—force in action—moving.

We have vast armies of ideas marching so close that they step on each other's heels. We go about scattering ideas like sowing seed. Most of them fall by the wayside. A few fall on good ground, spring up, and burst into bloom. No sooner does the green fruit appear than the tree is surrounded, the young fruit plucked, the branches broken, and the tree uprooted and wrecked, while the "pluckers" start in search of another tree. Too many are looking for trees for the sake of the fruit that has been grafted on by the many who expect to "get" instead of "give" all the time. We want trees that yield fruit, not on which we must be always sticking our own nickels and dimes—for others to pick off.

Take the question of money in circulation—and that is what it is all about—more money in circulation. All agree that that is the paramount question. Millions of us agree to that. But no sooner do we agree than we start disagreeing on how the money is to be raised. We agree on the one essential—more money in circulation down at the bottom. We disagree on how such circulation is to be implemented—on where the money is to come from. We are one on what we want. On how to get it we are a million, pulling and hauling in a hundred different directions.

My postman is getting stoop-shouldered bringing me circulars, pamphlets, and books on how to solve the money problem. Each plan differs from all others. Each writer feels certain—and maybe he is right—that he has found the key that will unlock the Pandora box and let out Hope and keep ills in. Each plan differs only as to the in-between details. Each crusader travels a different path, and they all expect to come out at the same place. The tragedy is they do not come out.

If someone timidly remarks that the "how" to do it is not our job; if he says we should consolidate our forces, concentrate our efforts, and gang up on Congress; that we should get together and stick together and keep our eyes glued on the same spot; should lift our voices in unison and all sound the same note, he is given the cold shoulder and the icy stare. If he says it is not our job to furnish Congress a plan, but to force them to find a plan, he is drowned in a babel of voices that make the confusion of tongues at the famous tower sound like sweet harmony in comparison.

What children people are to wrangle over a dozen, or even over one detail. Why give a second thought as to whether the money is to be raised by this tax or that tax—whether it should be Lincoln greenbacks or, like Topsy, just grow? The one thing we do know and should keep in mind is that when money—any kind of money—is plentiful, is expanding, we have prosperity. When it diminishes in quantity—because bankers demand the liquidation of debts—or remains fixed at a certain amount, we have hard times. Our job is to insist that Congress keep money increasing as commerce normally increases and expands.

Yes; Congress may do the wrong thing, or do the right thing the wrong way, but what of it? Let them experiment. Let them engage in trial and error. Let them stick their necks out. If they want to try a crackpot scheme, let them do it. We should wash our hands of all responsibility on how to do it. What we should do and must do is roll up our sleeves, grab a mass-pressure shillelagh, and start cracking political heads.

No more should politicians be permitted to dodge behind the alibi that we do not agree among ourselves. Our answer must be that we do agree. We agree on what we want. We want production to function at full capacity, and we want distribution made effective at full need. Not just need for a subsistence existence but sufficient to keep all employables working and all unemployables buying what they want. If that means $50 a month for the aged, well and good. If next month or next year it means $60 or $90 a month, well and good. But keep increasing distributed purchasing power as production increases.

We all know that if money is circulated, thus creating effective demand, that such demand will call upon industry, and that industry will respond. It is foolish, as do many of our wise economists, to call upon industry to take the lead. Money must be in sight before industry will move. But just as soon as it is known that a billion additional dollars will

soon appear in empty pockets industry will start calling for more men and stepping up production.

We all agree on this. Let us act on the agreement. Let us act en mass, act unitedly, unanimously, concertedly, and with resolution and determination, the only force Congress can understand. They know and fear only one force, public sentiment, organized sentiment in action. Let us force them to remove the key log from the economic jam. That key log is holding back the flood of Christmas toys, the surging tide of winter clothes, the tons of fruits and vegetables, and fish and steak and chops now banked in store windows, at which we stand and gaze with longing eyes and watering mouths. That key log locks a million pounds of turkey in cold storage while we eat potato stew for Thanksgiving and Christmas. That key log has stalled factory wheels and forced farmers to curtail crops; has made us a nation of beggars and filled our souls with bitterness. That key log is empty pockets.

We do not need to know all the fine points about the "mysteries" of money, of how bankers create money out of nothing, then destroy it by the stroke of a pen. We do not need to know that as now managed—or mismanaged—money is a kind of magical illusion, a sort of "now you see it, and now you don't see it" sleight of hand. We do not even need to know that money is only symbolic of real wealth. It is enough to know, that even as the money changers handle it, money is like the oil in the widow's cruse, which she emptied one day and found full the next. When the Seventy-sixth Congress met it found the Treasury empty as Mother Hubbard's cupboard. Every day since then we have been told that it is empty, and yet out of that empty Treasury Congress has taken $26,000,000,000, and will keep taking more when it has to. If it can take it for battleships and airplanes, it can take it for old-age pensions, health programs, neighborhood houses, and education. And do not argue whether it should be called pensions or something else. All you want is the money. Call it "jack," or "dough", or "spondulix", if you want to.

Yes; I know all this is "debt money," but that should not worry you. Ours is a debt economy. Every dollar of our money—except a few Lincoln greenbacks and silver coins—is borrowed into existence as well as into circulation. If banks paid all their currency to depositors they would still owe them $40,000,000,000. If all our debts were paid there would not be a dime left in circulation. True, that is not the right kind of money. We ought to have credit money, not debt money. But debt money is the kind we have at present and likely will have when we are dead. We want something while we are alive—at least, most people do. If Congress wants to keep that kind of money, let them; but let us insist that they work it to the limit. And let us quit wailing about taxes. Men have grouched against taxes since the beginning of time. But taxes is one way by which to make money circulate, to bring it out of private safety boxes and get paid to somebody who will spend it into circulation, and circulation, or turn-over, is the thing. People will see that it circulates—if they get a chance.

Public opinion, aroused public sentiment openly and vigorously expressed, is the power that will force action. Mass sentiment is necessary to political response. Mass action springs from mass need. The need is here. All we have to do is harness that sentiment and make it pull together. All must think, talk, and shout the same thing—more money! We must put aside our card decks and our beans and our sandwiches, we must silence the fiddlers and halt our dancing on old, creaking legs long enough to rise to our hind feet and scream to high heaven—scream a demand that will be heard to Washington and back.

To get our claws sharpened and our voices keyed we must start in on our State legislatures. We must march to the capitols and tell lawmakers and the "boy" governors and king makers and so-called master minds behind them that we want a decent old-age pension law. We want a law that will give the right to move into another county without having to go on private charity. We want the obnoxious lien clause wiped out. We want the States to match the Federal Government, and we want the age minimum reduced to 60 years. Do not tell them where to get the money. That is their job. Our job is to make them get it.

In a little while the idea will spread over the States. When the weather gets warm we can set our faces toward Washington, and start marching. Millions of privation-stricken youngsters and oldsters, marching to the Nation's Capital—marching along transcontinental highways, straggling in from dusty byways, hitchhiking, thumbing their ways, calling for recruits. All set on the same thing—plenty instead of poverty. What if some do fall by the wayside? Some of us haven't much time left and we might as well be dead and done with it than to starve by degrees.

Here they come, marching to Washington, tens of thousands, asking Congressmen to their white and frightened faces what they are going to do about it, and when they are going to begin? And do not try to tell them how nor where to get the money. They know all the wheres and hows that we do. They have heard all the wheres and hows over and over. Just tell them to get it, as they got the soldiers' bonus, as they got the battleship money. Tell them to get it where they get their own salary money. They will get it. Do not worry about that. Your job is to make them want to get it, to get them in the notion. They will do their job if you will do yours. You are the statesmen, what are you waiting for?

In connection with the above statement I have an article from O. M. Thomason, of Minnesota, who supports the viewpoint, as follows:

A CRUSADE FOR PLENTY

(By O. M. Thomascn)

The most significant and encouraging thing that has happened in connection with the widespread demand for a better old-age pension system is President Roosevelt's announcement that he will ask the new (1941) Congress for a complete redrafting of the present social-security law.

He criticized the "moguls" of the Social Security Board and charged that they have obstructed old-age pension reform and that the time has come to overrule them. He favors a strictly Federal pension system, a lower minimum-age limit, and said he hoped to see 5,000,000 oldsters on Federal pensions within the year. He further stated that he is willing to go as far as Congress will go, and hoped they would not be niggardly as to the amount of pensions. It may be noted that only 190,000 were admitted to the rolls in 1940.

This puts Congress on the spot. It also gives oldsters their cue. We don't have to get the President on our side. He's already there. We need not fear for his frown of disapproval or that he will veto a decent pension law. The end we've been seeking is in sight. To reach that end a drive must be set in motion—a drive against Congress. Congress is the only obstacle in our path. If Congress will pass a decent law, the President will sign it. Congress will pass such law only if we make them see that their political future is at stake.

To achieve this we do not need just another organization. There must be a single-eyed mass movement, seeing only one thing—Federal old-age pensions. We must toss petty details out the window and into the ashcan. We must quit splitting, dividing, and arguing over little differences—over how the money's to be raised. We must quit following leaders who never go places—who seem to want to wander in the wilderness as long as our dimes hold out. It is not for us to say whether the money shall be raised by this tax or that tax or is to be appropriated out of an empty Treasury.

Don't worry about that empty Treasury the politicians wail about. Remember the Treasury is always empty, but, like the widow's cruse, it fills again. She emptied the cruse one day and found it full the next. The Seventy-sixth Congress found the Treasury empty—as empty as Mother Hubbard's cupboard—yet they have taken out of it $26,000,000,000. If they can take it out for battleships and airplanes, they can take it out for old-age pensions. And let us not act like babbling babes and be fussy about calling it pensions. What we want is the money. Call it "jack," or "dough," or "spondulix," if you like. Your grocer will not care if you call it "iron boys" or "cartwheels." Let's not be infantile. Let's be grown up. Let's agree—agree on the one thing we want—more money.

Now that the President has agreed with us, our job is to work on Congress. A tidal wave of public sentiment is the only force that will make Congress listen and act. Three hundred people doing the square dance is not a tidal wave. It takes 3,000,000 marchers. We can get 3,000,000, but not by being nice and quiet. Petitions and resolutions mean little to lawmakers. The ex-service men did not get the bonus until they threw their resolutions in the wastebasket and marched to Washington. It was only after farmers ganged up at mortgage-foreclosure sales with pitchforks and grim faces that Congress took notice and passed the moratorium.

Holding meetings and trying to agree on how much we'll ask for and how little we'll take won't get results. We may disagree on the kind of sandwiches or entertainment we'll have at the club meeting, but we do not disagree that we want more money. Only an aroused public sentiment will get it. That sentiment is present. All that remains is that it be united—that it push and pull in the same direction. We must halt the old-time dances long enough to rise to our hind feet and in a combined voice tell Congress what we want—that we must get it or we'll talk to them by ballot at the next election.

What we've been wanting is a Federal pension. Now the only thing that stands in the way is Congress. It is on them that we must put the pressure. As a means of practice we can do some valuable work on our State legislatures, while a new bill is getting before Congress. We can demand the repeal of the lien clause, the lowering of the minimum age limit, that the State match the Federal offer, and can protest to high heaven against being sentenced to remain the rest of our days, like sentenced criminals, in one county. But this is only exercise. The real job is turning the heat on Congress.

But any local demonstration must be more than a mere committee of three calling on the legislature with a petition. Petitions mean little to lawmakers. We must not send a boy to do a man's job. This is a man's job. There should be thousands of us marching to the State capitol—marching up the steps with banners, black headlines in the newspapers, pictures on the front page, our demands boxed in column one. This will arouse city, State, and national interest. Three people cannot stand a Nation on its ear. It takes thousands. And thousands will respond—will exercise their constitutional right to "petition" and to "peaceably assemble." Three thousand can "assemble" on the capitol steps as legally as thirty can assemble in a hall. As soon as they are awakened they will begin to "assemble" out in the country, back in the hinterland—in the Grapes of Wrath land of the West, in the Dust Bowl of the plains, in the tenements, and the slums.

We want the aged and the youth, the little businessman and the ditch digger, the poor preacher and the starved sinner, the Christian and the atheist—we want all, regardless of race, creed, or color to join in on the one thing upon which all agree—plenty instead of poverty.

And we must threaten, indeed must plan, to march to Washington, if necessary. It is on Congress we must put the heat. We must tell them to their frightened faces to follow the President's lead or take the consequences at the next election. We must not tell them of a plan. Their desks are piled high with plans now. They know all the plans. As to the money, they can get that where they get the battleship and the airplane money, where they get the profit money for munitions makers. That's their job, not ours. Our job is to make them want to do theirs. And this is not a job for timid souls and the faint-hearted. This is a crusade, not a game of ping-pong.

The President has moved. His pen is ready, but before he can sign the bill Congress must move. It's our move to make Congress move. Will we do it or will we pass resolutions?

The Poll Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE E. GEYER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. LEE E. GEYER, OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I wish to insert an article written by me from the Washington Post of November 3, 1940, as follows:

POLL TAX LAWS BAR 10,000,000 VOTERS

(By Representative LEE E. GEYER)

After the crack-up in Flanders last June it looks as if 50,000,000 Frenchmen might, for once, have been wrong, at least in their choice of leaders. This November 5 in the United States we hope that 50,000,000 Americans will be right. For 50,000,000 is the number of votes that the Associated Press predicts will be cast in the coming election. But while this may seem like a lot, it is just a little over half of the potential voters that the Census Bureau tells us there are in this country. Estimates based on official sources indicate there are 80,528,000 citizens over 21 years of age in the country. Through various restrictive qualifications, however, only 60,576,979 are "eligible" to vote in this election, and of this number, it is estimated that a little less than 50,000,000 votes will actually be cast.

Restrictions of voting in various States include such things as illiteracy, residential and registration requirements, bigamy, betting on elections, and a number of other minor and some major barriers. But the chief among all obstacles to voting is the poll tax which deprives 10,000,000 citizens of the ballot in the 8 States of Texas, Tennessee, Virginia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama.

This poll tax, or head tax, had its origin as a badge of servitude that the conquerors of ancient times imposed upon their subject peoples. It is the sort of tax that Caesar Augustus levied and that Joseph and Mary went up to Jerusalem to pay at the time of the birth of our Lord. In its present form the poll tax is a fee of $1 to $2, often cumulative over many years, which must be paid before the citizen is allowed to vote. Due to this financial hurdle, the vast majority of citizens in many Southern States are deprived of the right to participate in public affairs. Roughly, 6,000,000 whites and 4,000,000 Negroes are thus debarred from playing their rightful role in civic life. Far more than half of this number are women, for where there is only money for one poll tax, it is the man who usually goes to the polls.

Today, when the whole western world is talking of the need for preserving democracy, we find in our own country this shocking example of lack of democracy.

Look at the table and see how the States measure upon the thermometer of relative democracy. My State, I am proud to say, stands at the top of the list. Perhaps that is why I am so eager to have all the other States benefit from our example, and why I have introduced a bill into Congress to make a poll tax in Federal elections illegal.

Last week the Associated Press published figures based on official reports and estimates showing the numbers of potential, eligible, and estimated voters in the coming election, together with the official vote of 1936. I have turned these figures into percentages and set them down on the table. This shows very clearly the relative standing for each State. I want you to notice particularly the eight States at the bottom of the list. Notice how the top line drops sharply when it comes to Maryland. Notice how far down it sinks when it comes to Texas and Tennessee. Notice how few people (shown by the black coloring) will vote this year in those States shown on the left. Just compare California with 99.5 percent of its potential voters rated as eligible voters with the 21.9 percent of Alabama. California, proportionately, has almost five times as many eligibles as has this cotton State. Compare California with South Carolina. Next to South Dakota, California expects more of her potential voters to cast a ballot this November than will the potential voters in any other State. Of her adult citizens, 83.6 percent will vote. In South Carolina only 11 percent will cast a ballot. For every hundred potential voters in these two States, more than eight times as many will vote in California as will in South Carolina.

Notice how the heavily populated industrial States all stand high on the chart. New Jersey, New York, Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania all have over 38 percent of their potential voters listed as eligible voters. In all of these States from 64 to 74 percent of their potential voters will actually go to the polls this November. Now, take the 5 States at the bottom of the list, largely agricultural, and all in that southern portion of the country often described as our economic problem No. 1. In no one of these States will more than 27 percent of the potential voters actually go to the polls. Thus we find that in the poorest States of the Union only one-third as many adult citizens are eligible to vote as in the richer industrial States, and only one-fourth as many proportionately will vote. No wonder the poll-tax States have a hard time improving their economic position. They are trying the impossible of attempting to lift themselves by their shoestrings when their people who are most in need of bettering their condition are denied the privilege of helping to participate in the Government.

Furthermore, the small percentage of voters in the poll-tax States has deprived the public there of the interest in the elections that exists elsewhere. The conclusion is too often foregone, and eligible voters feel it is a waste of time to perform their civic duty of casting a ballot. Thus in the eight States at the top of the list in our chart we find in all of them that three-fourths of the eligible voters are expected to vote in the election. In most of the eight States at the bottom of the list, however, less than 65 percent of the eligible voters will vote, a figure which sinks to 47 percent in South Carolina.

If you are an adult citizen of Kentucky, your chances of voting this year are more than twice as good as if you came from the neighboring poll-tax State of Tennessee. If you come from Oklahoma, the likelihood of your being eligible to vote is twice what it would be if you came from across the Red River in Texas. If you are a native of West Virginia, your chances of being eligible to vote are almost four times as great as if you came from Old Virginia. If you come from North Carolina (which abolished the poll tax 20 years ago), you are more than four times as likely to be planning to cast a ballot than if you come from the neighboring State of South Carolina.

Democracy, like the proverbial chain, is only as strong as its weakest link. We can scarcely be said to be a truly democratic country as long as poll-tax requirements keep 10,000,000 citizens from playing their proper part at the polls.

The thermometer of democracy

Number of potential voters (citizens over 21) 1940=100 percent)	By States	Showing in its degrees the percentage of its citizens over 21—		
			Eligible to vote 1940	Expected to vote 1940
			Percent	*Percent*
4,070,000	California	1	99.5	84
335,000	North Dakota	2	99.0	82
283,000	Utah	3	97.0	80
190,000	Arizona	4	96.0	74
684,000	Colorado	5	95.0	72
1,167,000	West Virginia	6	94.0	75
1,722,000	Iowa	7	93.0	73
330,000	South Dakota	8	93.0	84
2,408,000	Indiana	9	92.0	72
401,000	Rhode Island	10	92.0	82
147,000	Wyoming	11	92.0	71
1,204,000	Kansas	12	91.0	75
2,593,000	Massachusetts	13	91.0	81
69,000	Nevada	14	90.0	68
327,000	Montana	15	89.0	73
2,707,000	New Jersey	16	89.0	75
1,002,000	Connecticut	17	89.0	77
1,817,000	Wisconsin	18	88.0	74
7,860,000	New York	19	88.0	79
5,312,000	Illinois	20	87.0	80
303,000	Idaho	21	87.0	73
270,000	New Mexico	22	87.0	72
4,401,000	Ohio	23	86.0	74
1,704,000	Minnesota	24	85.0	72
863,000	Nebraska	25	84.0	71
6,459,000	Pennsylvania	26	84.0	71
544,000	Maine	27	83.0	57
2,830,000	Missouri	28	82.0	69
1,842,000	Kentucky	29	81.0	52
247,000	Vermont	30	81.0	62
329,000	New Hampshire	31	81.0	70
170,000	Delaware	32	81.0	73
1,550,000	Oklahoma	33	81.0	50
2,917,000	Michigan	34	77.0	67
714,000	Oregon	35	77.0	59
1,108,000	Washington	36	76.0	64
1,114,000	Maryland	37	75.0	61
1,102,000	Florida	38	66.0	33
1,967,000	North Carolina	39	57.0	44
1,267,000	Louisiana	40	51.0	30
3,622,000	Texas	41	39.0	23
1,871,000	Tennessee	42	32.0	24
1,915,000	Georgia	43	28.0	16
1,160,000	Mississippi	44	27.0	15
1,134,000	Arkansas	45	25.0	15
1,683,000	Virginia	46	24.0	20
1,131,000	South Carolina	47	22.0	11
1,676,000	Alabama	48	21.0	17
80,852,000	Average		75.0	62
	BY REGIONS			
5,892,000	Pacific	1	94.0	78
2,273,000	Mountain	2	92.0	73
5,116,000	New England	3	89.0	76
8,988,000	West North Central	4	87.0	73
17,126,000	Middle Atlantic	5	86.0	75
16,855,000	East North Central	6	86.0	74
10,156,000	South Atlantic	7	50.0	36
7,573,000	West South Central	8	47.0	29
6,549,000	East South Central	9	42.0	29
80,852,000	Average		75.0	62

Source: Official reports and estimates as compiled by the Associated Press, Oct. 24, 1940.

Problems of the Southern Farmer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

ADDRESS BY I. W. DUGGAN

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, the American Farm Bureau Federation last week held its annual meeting in Baltimore. I had the privilege of attending part of its meetings. Many good addresses were delivered, but none better and containing more food for thought than that by Mr. I. W. Duggan, Director, Southern Division, Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Mr. Duggan has given much thought to the problems confronting the southern farmer. I commend to all Members a careful reading of his address, which I include, as follows:

I welcome this opportunity of appearing before you and discussing informally some of the aspects of the farm problem as it touches the lives and fortunes of southern people.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has been intimately associated with the cotton problem just as it has been intimately associated with other farm problems. You will have a hand in whatever is done about the cotton situation, as you have had a hand in almost everything that has been done for years on the entire agricultural front. The American Farm Bureau Federation has helped build national programs for agriculture. It is my personal opinion that we would not have had these programs had it not been for the leadership and assistance given by the Federation. That your leadership and assistance is just as badly needed now as it ever was is plain to anyone who knows anything about the farm situation.

I am, as most of you know, helping in carrying out the provisions of the Triple A program in nine Southern States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Texas.

The farm problem in these States today, as for the past 100 years, centers primarily around the production and disposition of cotton. This crop still remains the principal source of cash for 10,000,000 people living on farms where cotton is grown. One of the principal difficulties of cotton producers now and for years back is that the cash return from cotton is too low.

It is estimated that the 1940 crop will bring a cash income of about $876,000,000. Divide that figure by 10,000,000, and you get $87 per capita. It is true there could be a more equitable division of the income from cotton, just as there could be a more equitable division of other income; but if we divide cotton income up evenly, we get about $87 per person per year. Before any of the $87 can be spent for the ordinary necessities of life, the cash cost of producing the crop must be deducted from it. And the cash cost of raising cotton is pretty high.

What remains of the $87 is not enough for any decent standard of living in any part of the country, and it is not a fair return to the cotton producer for the service he renders the Nation.

In my opinion, any constructive program for the benefit of the cotton producer must be built around plans for the maintenance and increase of the farm income from cotton.

The income from cotton and cottonseed this year is estimated at $876,000,000. This is much more than the low point in 1932, but much less than parity income. The cost of living is likely to go up in the next year or two, and the cotton farmer will lose ground even if we succeed in keeping the $876,000,000 income, for the cotton producer's dollar will buy less as other prices go up.

So accustomed are we to a low income for farmers, and cotton farmers in particular, that we forget sometimes how far they lag behind other groups. No one will argue that cotton textile workers get too much money, and yet if the income from cotton had risen since 1909 in the same proportion as the wages of textile workers cotton producers would receive about $2,000,000,000 for their 1940 crop.

In our efforts to help the South, and cotton producers generally, we cannot afford to lose sight of the fact that ours is a commercial agriculture and that the yardstick most farmers will measure our cotton programs by is what they do for cotton prices and cotton income.

I take it for granted that most of you are familiar with the broad outlines of the cotton situation today. However, the situation can be summarized very briefly.

Last year we witnessed a net reduction in the end-season carryover of cotton. This was the first such reduction we have had since the end of the 1936 season.

Another encouraging factor was the high domestic consumption of cotton, which reached a near-record level last year. In addition, exports of American cotton amounted to more than 6,000,000 bales.

These conditions enabled us to reduce by more than 2,000,000 bales the stocks of cotton in the United States. Even so, we entered the 1940 season last August with 10,500,000 bales in the United States and more than 2,000,000 bales in foreign countries. This made a total of more than 12,500,000 bales of American cotton on hand when the present season started. The present crop will furnish another 12,500,000 bales. Consequently our available supply for the season is 25,000,000 bales, and the European war has turned some of the favorable factors in the cotton picture into unfavorable factors.

I mentioned our exports of 6,000,000 bales last year. We now face a drastic curtailment of these exports during the current season. The most optimistic estimate is that we may export perhaps 2,000,000 bales. The most pessimistic figure is placed as low as 1,000,000 bales.

While the export situation is critical in the extreme, the domestic picture is much brighter. Industrial activity throughout the country is climbing rapidly. Because of the defense program we have every reason to believe that this activity will increase during the coming year. The prospects are that domestic consumption will establish a new record in 1940–41. It is estimated that the figure will be somewhere between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000 bales.

The loss in exports, however, outweighs gains in domestic consumption. Unless all signs fail, this season will witness another

sizeable increase in our surplus. At the beginning of the next season the carry-over of American cotton may exceed the 1939 peak of more than 14,000,000 bales. Of this amount perhaps 12,000,000 bales will be under Federal loan or else owned outright by the Government.

We hear also in some quarters that our foreign markets are lost for good, and that it is wishful thinking to expect any substantial recovery of those markets. I do not see how anyone can be dogmatic about this matter. The developments growing out of the world struggle can, so far as cotton is concerned, result in anything from an expansion of our export market for cotton to its almost complete loss. But if we must give up most of the export market, let's face squarely what this means to the cotton growers and the South.

Let us say, for example, that we cut our cotton production to 10,000,000 bales. This would mean taking some 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 more acres of cotton land out of the crop. And it means a reduction of close to $100,000,000 in an already inadequate income.

What would be done to compensate farmers for this loss? Obviously, any further reduction in the income of cotton producers would only make bad matters worse. If the South must cut its cotton acreage still further—and if there is no compensation for the cut—southerners must grow other cash crops on the land taken out of cotton. I am not referring to increases in food and feed production for home and local use. I am referring to cash crops that will compete with cash crops in other areas. This competition, if entered into hastily and under compulsion, is likely to be wasteful and injurious to all agriculture.

If cotton acreage is slashed still further, more persons are going to be forced off the land. What will become of these people? Already too many people are on the land, and already too many are on the road.

Of course, if our cotton markets are gone, adjustments will have to be made. These adjustments will have to be planned carefully and carried out thoroughly. But we should be certain that we know what we are doing before we begin the change.

Some persons are talking about a live-at-home program as a substitute for the overseas cotton market. The South needs more food and feed for home use. There is no argument about that. This type of production should be encouraged in every possible way. But a live-at-home program is not a substitute for the production of cash crops. It is a complement to this production. Some southern farmers may have to adopt a subsistence type of farming. Some have adopted such a type already. Wherever we do so, it is a stop gap, a confession of defeat. These farmers have been forced outside our commercial economy and contribute little to the purchasing power necessary to keep that economy going.

If the view that we must try to keep our share of foreign trade is the right one, the question immediately arises as to the methods to use to keep that trade. Under present circumstances, nothing we can do would keep our exports up to the average of past years. The market simply isn't there. This does not mean, however, that we cannot increase exports to a certain extent through the use of subsidies.

In the 1939–40 cotton year we had an export subsidy which undoubtedly helped increase exports. It helped increase them because it made American cotton a better buy than it had been before. It made American cotton cheaper, comparatively speaking, than foreign growths and, naturally, American cottons were preferred by buyers.

We have a subsidy on cotton goods for the current cotton season but no subsidy on raw cotton and the price of American cotton is high by comparison to the price of foreign growths. The situation is summarized in the October issue of the Cotton Situation, published by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture. I am going to quote you a paragraph from the issue in question:

"Recent reports from Great Britain, Canada, Japan, and Spain, the principal accessible import markets, indicate that prices of American cotton are unusually high relative to prices of most important foreign growths. In the last three named countries, prices of American cotton are so high relatively that sales of American cotton are said to have practically ceased. Within the last few weeks Brazilian cotton is reported as having been sold in these markets from 10 to 25 percent less than American cotton of about the same quality. In Liverpool prices of American and some of the other growths are now being materially affected by Government regulations with respect to prices, foreign exchange, freight allotments, and the disposition of barter cotton. Nevertheless, prices of Indian cottons in Liverpool are now considerably lower than usual in relation to American. Ordinarily the switch on the part of manufacturers from the overpriced to the underpriced growths soon so increases the stocks or available supply of one and decreases the other that their prices do not long stay out of line. This year the limited market outlets and the United States Government loan program may combine to cause the price differences between American, Indian, and Brazilian growths to continue considerably larger than usual."

Perhaps a subsidy on cotton is not advisable because of the international situation generally. This may well be the case, and if it is, the southern cotton grower will cheerfully go along with whatever decision that circumstances require. In such a situation, however, I am certain that the national policy will include protection for the cotton grower as well as protection for our interests in other spheres.

Let me repeat that I do not believe anyone now knows what our position with regard to foreign trade will be after the present war is over. We are in the midst of an emergency. All proposals for adjustment must begin and end with this emergency in mind. And a time of emergency is no time to map out programs of permanent readjustment. When the new order begins to emerge from the prevailing chaos, this question of exports and foreign trade can be examined realistically. We cannot cross the bridge until we come to it.

After the war this country may insist upon following policies of the past under which we tried to sell and refused to buy. Regardless of the outcome of the war, I do not see how we can hold our foreign market for cotton if we cling to our traditional attitude toward tariffs. If we do refuse to take a more rational attitude toward international trade, I do not believe it will be the South's fault. Certainly it has not been the South's fault in the past and just as certainly the cotton growers will not take kindly to the idea of paying all the penalty for the shortsightedness and selfishness of other interests.

Just one more word about export subsidies. No one will argue that an export subsidy on cotton is a good thing from the standpoint of theory. It is an expedient. Our efforts to adjust cotton production testify that we are trying to increase the income from cotton through the traditional method of adjusting supply to demand. If, however, the export channel suddenly closes up, these adjustment attempts are badly defeated for the time being. Under certain circumstances, keeping export channels open to the greatest possible extent by cheapening the price of cotton for sale abroad might prevent much more serious calamities.

Our ideas about subsidies are not always consistent. For example, some people seem to feel that it is entirely satisfactory to sell the entire cotton crop at a very cheap price. This is a subsidy both to consumers at home and abroad, and it is one of the most costly subsidies of all. We can see the results in the South—poverty of land and of people. So far as the cotton grower is concerned, I suspect that he would rather see the cost of whatever subsidy is required to put his cotton into consumption borne by the whole people rather than by the producers alone. And I suspect that spreading the cost is not only fairer but the best thing for all concerned.

I am sure this question of subsidies will be examined from every standpoint during the next few months. I hope that it will be examined without emotion and without preconceived ideas of what the world will be after the war. Everybody agrees that we cannot go on piling up surpluses indefinitely, although no one knows just when the breaking point will be reached. At the same time, an increase for several years in cotton surpluses seems infinitely preferable to the break-down of the cotton program and a return to 4- or 5-cent cotton. In our situation there is no easy way out. We must weigh comparative costs and keep in mind what is practical and what is impractical. Our situation is such that we cannot be guided entirely by theoretical considerations.

With the export market dwindling, the domestic market becomes more and more important. The principal stimulus to domestic consumption is a high level of business activity. It is a much greater factor than the price of cotton. While the high level of business activity is causing a high level of domestic cotton consumption just now every means and every practical plan for increasing domestic consumption should be pushed.

The Department of Agriculture and other agencies have launched a number of programs to increase the use of American cotton at home. Every one of them is helping the cotton situation to some extent. Most of you are familiar with the mattress program, the cotton stamp plan, the cotton-insulating program, and the program for the increased use of cotton bagging. For the cotton-mattress program alone 400,000 bales have been set aside. There probably would be no cotton surplus if the people of the United States had all the cotton goods and cotton products they need. Like so many other problems, the problem of cotton is a problem of underconsumption, but, under existing conditions, stating it in those terms doesn't make it any easier to solve.

The cotton programs require money in order to function. Money is needed to pay farmers for their sacrifice in shifting from cotton and to assist them in conserving their soil and for any number of other reasons connected with the program. Money is the gas in the tank of the farm programs. Without it the programs do not run.

Since 1936 most of this money has come out of the Treasury in the form of annual appropriations. Until 1936 the farmers had processing taxes which paid most of the expense of the farm programs, but the Supreme Court knocked the taxes out and they have remained knocked out.

The Congress, as most of you will agree, has been farmer-minded during the past 7 years. As time has gone by, however, the demands upon the Treasury have increased. With the defense program necessitating the expenditure of billions of dollars, it is a question whether the farm programs will get the money they should have. Perhaps they will. Every year the farm organizations and farmers have been successful in persuading Congress to appropriate enough money to make the farm programs effective. As farmers see it, appropriating for constructive farm programs is like planting seed. At harvest time the seed are returned manyfold. Nevertheless, the task of getting enough money for the farm programs is difficult each year. The American Farm Bureau Federation is well aware of that fact.

Confronted as we are with the specter of a mounting cotton surplus on the one hand and limited funds on the other, the cotton program must be economical. It must dispose of the most cotton for the least money. From a good many viewpoints, utilization of our cotton by our own people is more desirable than subsidies to

get it out of the country. But domestic subsidies are, from a short-time standpoint, at least, costly. The cotton stamp plan, for example, is an interesting and significant experiment, but it costs a good deal of money. The best estimates that I have seen are that it would cost about $600,000,000 to dispose of 2,000,000 bales of cotton through the stamp plan. This is several times the cost of the current cotton program, and is equal to the return on a 12,000,000-bale crop at $50 a bale.

The extension of the stamp plan would mean additional cotton mills and additional employment in the South, to say nothing of the benefits to cotton farmers and to people generally through the increased consumption of cotton. Obviously, however, we cannot look to the stamp plan as a solution of the cotton problem unless farmers discover more effective ways of raising funds for their programs than they have thus far.

Cotton farmers know the situation isn't bright and they are worried about the prospective increase in the carry-over. They would be only too glad to reduce acreage still further—if they are paid for the sacrifice—for they are uneasy about the future.

Speaking for myself alone, the sensible thing would be to reduce acreage still further for the next year or two—provided farmers are compensated for so doing and provided the adjustment can be made without too much displacement of people on the land. Whatever is done, I don't believe it should result in a loss of income from cotton. That would cost far more in the long run than any apparent temporary saving that might result.

Everybody, or almost everyone, agrees that the income from cotton must be maintained and increased. There are several alternative proposals to accomplish the objective. So far as I know, the field is wide open. Every plan has certain attractions. There are reasons for opposing each plan.

You will help make the final decision and it should be made on the basis of a most careful, unbiased consideration of the facts.

Nevertheless it is time to explore thoroughly the possibilities that lie before the cotton producers. In fact, the air is already full of proposed remedies—some practical, perhaps, some impractical—but all of them sincerely put forth to prevent disaster overtaking the southern farmer in the months immediately ahead.

Some people propose that the Government embark on an out-and-out price-fixing program. This, no doubt, would be the simplest way of handling the problem and providing parity income, if the plan could be made to work. But the plan is not as simple as it sounds, and whether it would work at all is a question. In the first place, price fixing would mean regimentation. Farmers, processors, and handlers of cotton all along the line would have to take orders from Washington and carry out these orders. This kind of a program would be out of line with the farm programs we have now.

The essence of the current farm programs is the voluntary cooperation of producers who work together for their mutual advantage. Before they accept price fixing, farmers should know what it means, and should be ready to accept the discipline necessary to make it work.

Some persons have suggested that we raise the present loan rates on cotton. The cotton loan, we all recognize, has been a great bulwark of security for the southern farmer in recent years. Without this loan prices would have declined disastrously, and today it is conceivable that the price of cotton, unsupported by the loan, would be where it was in 1932.

However, if we adopt a high-loan policy, we must also provide a high-rate export subsidy to get our cotton out of this country. The higher the loan the higher the subsidy. Under a high loan, it is by no means certain that year in and year out we could get the necessary funds to maintain our share of the cotton exports. If the appropriations were not forthcoming, we would not export the cotton. This would be serious if we have any prospect of regaining our export market and not so serious if we have lost our markets for good.

I have talked about the difficulty of obtaining sufficient funds to assure an effective farm program. Let us not dismiss this method too quickly. If other plans for assuring income fail, we must attempt to get the money we need out of the Treasury. Congress has been good to us in the past and there is no reason to assume hastily that it will not be good to us in the future also.

Finally, I mention the income-certificate plan which has been discussed in the press and in Congress for the past 4 or 5 years. This plan might be called the processing tax under a new name. Under this plan manufacturers would pay a certain number of cents per pound on the cotton they process for consumption in this country. They would pay it, however, directly to the farmers through the purchase of certificates which would be given to producers much as acreage allotments are now issued.

One disadvantage of this plan from the farmer's viewpoint is that it would not provide for parity income on all the crop and its application would result in some inequity between commodities. Those commodities which are largely consumed in domestic markets would receive theoretically, at least, greater benefits by comparison than commodities dependent on export markets. The most vocal opposition to this plan has come from manufacturers who have opposed adding any tax on cotton. However, processors would not pay the levy themselves, they would merely pass it on to the consumer.

As I have said, every proposal for relief has something to recommend it and likewise something to give us pause. Several other arguments for each plan could be advanced as well as several other arguments against it. Perhaps we will end up with a combination of the proposals put forward thus far. Let me again emphasize that I believe I speak for the majority of farmers when I say that any plan adopted should maintain and increase the income from cotton. No proposal that means dollars out of the southern farmer's pocketbook will be kindly received by farmers. Even today with the farm programs in successful operation the income of the cotton farmer is still far below parity and owing to social and economic conditions and national policies that have discriminated against the South, the section still lags behind other regions of the country in general prosperity.

The southern cotton farmer is cooperating as fully, if not more fully, than any other group in the national programs for agriculture. It is no fault of his that foreign markets are disappearing. The world needs every bale of cotton that is being produced, and more.

The cotton situation is serious but the picture in many ways is bright. In 1933 we had no national farm program. There was nothing to cushion the shock of adverse national and international developments to cotton. Now we have programs that are standing between the producers and 4- or 5-cent cotton. Farmers have demonstrated that they can plan and work together for the solution of their problems. Just as they found their way out of the 1932 crisis, they will find their way out of this one.

When these programs began one of the things we set out to accomplish was to reduce the carry-over of cotton, then near 13,000,000 bales. With the exception of 1937 and 1940, the world consumption of American cotton for every year since 1932 has about equaled or exceeded production. The 1937 crop followed the invalidation by the Supreme Court of the control provisions of the first Agricultural Adjustment Act. The increase this year in carry-over grows out of the effect of war upon exports. The failure to adjust supplies to average levels certainly is not the fault of the cotton producers.

In simple fairness this should be kept in mind in adapting the cotton program to meet changing conditions.

We are fortunate in having able and vigorous leadership in agriculture and fortunate in having many people concerned with the farm problem. It should not be forgotten, however, that able and vigorous leaders sometimes have a way of insisting upon their own way. In the next few months I hope none of us, whether in or out of government, will refuse to listen to the other fellow, or will get into any really serious factional fights. Differences we will have, of course, but these will not be serious if we mix the right amount of patience and tolerance in with our discussions.

An outsider looking at farm groups in and out of government must occasionally be reminded of the blind man and the elephant. With an occasional exception here and there, I am convinced the overwhelming majority of the men working for the benefit of agriculture have the same ends in view. The farm problem is exceedingly complex, and no single remedy will do the job we all want done. Consequently, I hope all of us in the weeks ahead will keep in mind that the unity of agriculture is absolutely necessary for the success of agriculture.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has been one of the big reasons thus far for the unity and success of national farm programs. It is my opinion you will continue to be one of the chief reasons for their success and unity in the future.

Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 12, 1940

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I consider it an honor to be able to include with my remarks as a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the address of Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, delivered at the opening of the annual American Federation of Labor convention in New Orleans on November 18, 1940:

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Cave, representing His Honor the mayor of this city, Monsignor Carra, Mr. Williams, and the other representatives of the organized-labor movement of New Orleans and Louisiana, Your Excellency Governor Jones, and all who have extended to us a hearty welcome this morning, I express to you the deep appreciation of my colleagues and associate members of the executive council, the officers, and delegates in attendance at this convention for the warm, cordial welcome extended to us.

We detect in the addresses delivered the note of sincerity which always characterizes those who reside in Louisiana and in the city of New Orleans. When the delegates, their wives, and those who

accompanied them to New Orleans left their homes to travel here, they did so with a firm conviction that a cordial and hearty welcome awaited them. This belief was based upon the Nation-wide reputation of New Orleans for its hospitality, for the generosity of its people, and for the delightful climate which exists here. We have not been disappointed, because when we entered the gates of this city we were welcomed by the very atmosphere we breathe, by the people we met, by the decorations of the city, and now, as a climax to it all, you come this morning to extend to us the warm, cordial, and hearty welcome you have. We thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

We will work here and visit here with you for the next 2 weeks, and we ask you not to regard us as strangers in the place but as neighbors residing nearby or far away who have traveled to this city so that in this beautiful environment we could transact the business for 5,000,000 loyal American citizens. We shall endeavor while we are here to measure up to the high standards of excellence you have set for us, and when we return home we shall carry with us the fondest memories of a delightful visit with you.

This is the sixtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is a good American organization. I can, I think, without successful contradiction, classify it as an American institution. We have functioned for almost three-quarters of a century, and we come to you, proud of our record and of our accomplishments, with a philosophy which we have developed and determined that we will never share with any labor group the right to speak for any American working man and woman. During all the period of our existence we have developed a philosophy, an economic, social, political, and industrial philosophy, that we have found from experience suits every changing need of our national life, a philosophy we could apply equally as well during the period of war and adversity as we can during the days of peace and normal activities. We refuse to be led by foreign voices into the by-paths of experimentation. We are not seeking a new philosophy; we are endeavoring to guard faithfully the philosophy which we have developed out of our human experience and to apply it in the solution of our problems.

We have in some sections those who are inclined to experiment and search for new formulas, believing that they can disregard the realities of life and seek some short cut in the solution of our economic problems. Seventy-five years of experience have taught us many a lesson; we have learned much, and we have appropriated to our use and to our benefit, through the administrative policies of our organization, the lessons we have learned. We cling steadfastly to our ideals and the fundamental principles upon which our movement rests. This convention will strengthen it all, will provide for the protection of all our principles and our policies, and will shape the future in accordance with these fundamental principles which we have so ably espoused and protected.

We have given to the American Federation of Labor honest leadership. We come to New Orleans with a record of achievement. It is an open book. We raise no technical reasons as to why we could not or would not present to the delegates in attendance at this convention a detailed financial report of the American Federation of Labor. We know of no legal or technical reasons why the delegates in attendance at a convention should not be acquainted with the financial affairs of the American Federation of Labor. Here it is, an open book. It will be read by all of you. Every dollar we have received is recorded and the source from which we received it. We come with the highest paid-up membership in the history of the American Federation of Labor. We are proud of our record. We are not ashamed to present it to you and to the public.

And then we meet united. There is harmony here. There is tranquillity here; we are thinking as one. We understand what the words "brotherhood" and "fraternity" mean. If there is one objective we have reached, it is this, that we have preserved unity, solidarity, harmony, and tranquillity within the American Federation of Labor.

Behold the contrast as we look this morning to a city besides the sea, where a rebel group is meeting. We behold the confusion of the Tower of Babel. The noise of the murmuring of the ocean waves is submerged by the confusion of tongues, the right wing and the left wing in battle array against each other—hate, enmity, division, and discord. It all grows out of rebellion, because those who promote rebellion must suffer the consequences of rebellion. There are no left-wing groups and right-wing groups in the American Federation of Labor. There is a united labor movement here made up of strong, loyal, devoted American workingmen committed to American principles. Consequently there is no reason why there should be any left-wing or right-wing groups in the American Federation of Labor. I am happy over the situation which we have developed in the administrative policies of the American Federation of Labor. My colleagues who have worked with me so faithfully on the executive council deserve great credit for the way in which we have maintained unity within our own ranks. We have dealt and struggled with difficult problems. We have had many differences that we were compelled to compose, but wisdom and good judgment and patience and courage have served to enable the members of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to seek and find a basis of accommodation and settlement of our disputes. That is the manly way; that is the American way; and that is the way we propose to go. That is the path we will follow, the development and the mobilization of unity, tranquility, solidarity, and the economic strength of the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

We could not meet on this occasion without turning our eyes across the sea to the tragic international situation. That situation is before us continuously. We live with it, we think about it, we read about it. We are disturbed, we are concerned, we wonder when we retire at night what will happen before morning. Eagerly we seek the pages of the morning newspapers for information as to what has taken place. It all seems so contradictory to all the processes of a cultured civilization. It all seems that in this tragic situation, the destruction of human life and property which goes on in continental Europe, we are being carried back beyond the darkest point of the darkest ages. For tell me, as you search the pages of history where you will find the most uncivilized savage who destroyed the children and the women and who attacked those institutions created for the purpose of conserving and protecting human life. And yet we find in the darkness of the night that men and women are compelled to live in a state of terror, bombs raining upon their homes. Hospitals are destroyed. Those who are ill and who are endeavoring to fight their way back to health and life again are terrorized and their lives wiped out.

I cannot this morning find language that would adequately describe the horrors of the situation. But we have analyzed the causes, and we have arrived at the definite conclusion that this conflict arose out of a clash between political philosophies. It is the totalitarian form of government in conflict with democracy, the one advocating the control of the people by a dictatorship, an autocratic government, clashing with a government and with a philosophy that advocates freedom and liberty.

Well, we in America and the working people in particular stand immovably in opposition to totalitarianism and in defense of democracy. We do that for national reasons as well as for economic reasons. We have learned from a study of the situation that trade unionism can only flourish and live where men are free. Freedom is the basis upon which our movement rests. Our democratic trade unions cannot live, they cannot exist, under the totalitarian form of government; for the record shows that the dictator attacked, first of all, the trade unions when he seized power.

And so it is everywhere, the free democratic trade unions of Germany were wiped out. The same is true in Italy, in Holland, after it was invaded, in Poland, in Finland, in Belgium, in Luxemburg. And now yesterday we read the solemn news in the press that by an autocratic and dictatorial edict, the free trade unions of France have been destroyed.

Very well, when we aline ourselves on the side of democracy, we are associating ourselves with those who are fighting for free men, for the right of trade unions to function and to live. We have to make our choice between free democratic trade unions and regimented working men.

And so we are praying this morning, as we pray every day and every night, that in this heroic struggle that is taking place between the forces of democracy and totalitarianism, Great Britain will win that heroic struggle in which she is engaged.

We place ourselves squarely there. That is where we stand. We do so because we know if Britain wins democracy lives; free trade unions will survive. Labor will not be regimented in democratic nations and ultimately an aroused public opinion will carry on the conflict so that those who are smarting under the domination of a dictator and an autocrat will rise in their might and make themselves free.

It is because we pray for the success of Great Britain that we stand with those that express themselves through an overwhelming public opinion in favor of extending to Great Britain in her hour of need all the help America can give her short of war. We stand with the Government in the execution of that policy. We stand with the Congress of the United States, we stand with those who are administering the affairs of the Nation in the extension of all material and moral aid to Great Britain, because we pray that Great Britain shall win this conflict, this uneven conflict, with the totalitarian countries.

What we seek is more freedom, the enjoyment of liberty, the right of working men and women to belong to a union of their own choosing; that union to which they belong, administered in democratic fashion by their chosen representatives and by themselves. We want more freedom and less of government in the administration of the affairs of our free trade-unions. There is the position of our great American Federation of Labor.

And so in connection with that matter it is our determination and purpose to carry on and to give to our Government all assistance possible in the execution of its defense plans and policies. American labor is responsive. We find that many of the projects launched during this national-defense program are ahead of schedule. Why? Because labor is giving of its service, of its skill, and of its training in a most wonderful and a most unusual way.

And so we find the representatives of the Government commending labor now for the wonderful way in which labor is responding to the needs of our country. We are in accord with the defense program, we believe in it, because we want America to be made free and kept free. We will fight in the defense of our own homeland. I know the American Federation of Labor, its sentiment, and its mind, and I know we will stand unalterably opposed to the involvement of our beloved country in the European conflict. We will not consent to the transportation of our young men abroad to engage in the European conflict, and that decision was arrived at as a result of the experiences through which we have passed during the last World War.

But we do not believe that our Nation will become involved in the European conflict. We have faith in Congress, we have faith in the

President of the United States. He solemnly assured us that American boys, American men would not be sent abroad to engage in a European conflict. We believe him. We know he will keep his word and we know Congress can be relied upon to guard and protect us, because we do not believe that the President of the United States is "an erratic, warmongering politician." We respect him, we honor him, we rely upon him to-guide our Nation safely during these days of international emergency, and we feel that the sentiments we have expressed are the sentiments of the Chief Executive of the United States. We are for defense, for the protection of our homeland, for the building of guns and battleships and a navy second to none, for the defense of America, because we believe in America, in democracy, in American institutions.

We will give of our service, our skill, our training, and our men in defense of America, but what we ask in return is this: That none of the social and economic gains we have made, none of our achievements shall be set aside and none of these standards lowered during these days of emergency. I am sure this convention will express itself in a stronger and more forcible way than I have done this morning upon this subject of preparedness and upon our opposition to our involvement in the European conflict.

But we believe in America, we believe in the freedom we enjoy here, freedom of speech, freedom of press, the right to worship in accordance with the dictates of conscience, and free assemblage. These are cardinal principles of freedom that belong only to a democracy. We will guard them with our organization and we will guard with our lives if necessary. That is the reason why, and one of the reasons why we favor the development of an adequate national defense.

Now I want to discuss for a moment another question in which we are deeply interested. I refer to the necessity for unity and solidarity within the ranks of labor. All of us deeply appreciate its value and its importance. We know that if we have one asset that is more valuable than another, it is unity and solidarity within the ranks of labor. We are not responsible for the division that was created. We disavow responsibility for it, because we maintain that any differences over policy or administration arising within the ranks of labor can be settled in a convention of the American Federation of Labor by a majority vote, and we maintain that when the majority registers its will after mature deliberations upon any question presented, it becomes the duty and the obligation of every member who participates in the convention to abide by the will of the majority. That is the democratic principle upon which we stand.

We have tried, my friends, to heal the breach within the ranks of labor ever since the rebel, rival movement was formulated in 1935. We responded to every request made by the President of the United States to meet with the representatives of the rebel group for the purpose of trying to work out an agreement. Our committee, made up of distinguished members of the American Federation of Labor, has waited patiently for an opportunity to sit around the conference table with the representatives of the C. I. O. for the purpose of working out an agreement. For more than one solid year they have been waiting, waiting patiently, and the reason they have not met with the committee representing the other side is because the leader of the rebel movement refused to allow a committee representing the rebel movement to sit down with the American Federation of Labor committee. There is the story.

The President of the United States has served in every possible way. He has endeavored to bring the groups together, and he believes that the only way to settle our differences is by representatives of the two groups sitting around the conference table, dealing with the differences in a definite, concrete way, men of good faith willing to sit around the conference table and in the American way, and in accordance with American fashion find a solution of our differences.

These fantastic proposals which have been made that we meet in a big mass meeting somewhere, with all the representatives of the American Federation of Labor on one side and the representatives of the other group on the other side—that plan is impossible and impractical, as you know. The suggestion that we take into the American Federation of Labor without an agreement all these rebel, rival, conflicting groups is impractical and impossible, because we are not going to consent to a plan that brings in a rebel shoemakers' organization fighting with an American Federation of Labor shoemakers' union in our ranks, or with an electrical workers' organization rebel in character coming in and competing in one field with an organization chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

You men who have lived with this question all your life know our difficulties even now because of jurisdictional disputes within our own ranks. Is there anyone who thinks that we are so foolish as to bring in additional competing groups, so that we can war with each other? Those who propose that are not sincere. They are determined to break us up further, and we are not going to disturb the tranquillity within our own unions by responding to such a fantastic proposal.

But we will meet and we will endeavor to settle our differences in an honorable way. And may I outline to you a constructive plan which I believe can be applied. First of all, let the committees meet—honorable men meeting in good faith and in all sincerity. Let them agree that the original unions that left us shall be admitted and occupy the positions they held with us when they left, adjusting such difficulties as may have arisen since they left us in 1935. Then let them stand by while the committees representing conflicting groups, those representing clashing unions in the American Federation of Labor covering jurisdiction in a field that is now claimed by unions chartered by the C. I. O., agree upon a plan of amalgamation, a plan of merger, the blending of these groups into one union, so that we will have in the house of labor a fair degree of peace and tranquillity. Let these committees work diligently until they have accomplished their purpose, and then if there is some collateral question that cannot be settled, let some tribunal be set up by mutual agreement to which these collateral questions might be submitted for final decision, the basis of it all to be a complete understanding that the jurisdictional rights of the American Federation of Labor unions shall be protected and preserved.

The President of the United States is willing to help us and assist us, and he has asked if these committees can be assembled and put to work that they meet with him first of all and explore the situation with him at the White House in Washington, there to receive his assurances and good will and cooperation. And it appears to me the moral strength of such a beginning would naturally reflect itself all through the honest and sincere negotiations.

There, in a simple way, I have outlined the plan that the committee representing the American Federation of Labor presented before. It is not new. An agreement was worked out on the basis of that plan by committees representing both sides, and the chairman of the C. I. O. repudiated the agreement after it had been reached. I cannot say more, because the convention itself will have the report of the executive council on this dispute that arose within the ranks of organized labor. There is one great reason why we should have unity in the ranks of organized labor, particularly because through unity and solidarity we can advance a constructive legislative program best of all. Do you recall how the American Federation of Labor secured the enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Walsh-Healey Act, and the Davis-Bacon Act? Labor was united then and it was the unity of labor brought to bear upon the Members of Congress that enabled us to secure the enactment of these progressive measures. It was the American Federation of Labor that sponsored these measures and included in it the National Labor Relations Act as well. There was no C. I. O. in existence when these measures were introduced and enacted by the Congress of the United States. We proudly claim full credit for the enactment of these measures to which I have referred, and every man connected with the American Federation of Labor knows the importance and value of this legislation. Now when we go before Congress we find the efforts of the American Federation of Labor counteracted by the dual group. If we are for it, they are against it; and a Congressman seeking a way out of the difficulty follows the way of least resistance and declines to do anything. As a result our legislative program is hampered very badly because of this disunity within the ranks of labor.

Now I am through. I have covered these subjects this morning, I think, which are of tremendous interest. I repeat that we present to you a record of achievement. We have reached the peak point in membership. The American Federation of Labor stands more firmly entrenched in our political and economic life than ever before. We came through a heated campaign that ended about the 5th of November with credit to ourselves and credit to the American Federation of Labor. We discovered in that campaign that the nonpartisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor rested upon a solid and enduring basis. We found that the workers in America were intelligent; that they knew how to vote. We submitted the facts, and they decided for themselves. And we discovered one other thing that some may have doubted, and that was this: That no man in America can deliver the labor vote to any candidate or any political party. Labor made answer. They displayed intelligence and understanding, and, in my opinion, their action can be interpreted as a complete endorsement of the nonpartisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Now we look to the future with confidence and hope. We shall stand here for a more aggressive organizing campaign. Workingmen who were misled and followed the leaders of the rebel movement are becoming disillusioned and are now turning toward the real house and home of labor, the great American federation, a great American institution, and I come to you expressing that pride this morning and thanking you from the bottom of my heart for all the support and assistance you have given me.

I thank you.

Present Administration Benefits Southern Indiana Hill Counties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE B. CROWE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. CROWE. Mr. Speaker, for centuries to come all southern Indiana counties, and especially those in the Ninth

Indiana Congressional District, will receive rich benefits from the programs instituted under the present administration, of which I am a part and have supported.

Passing over the temporary programs, such as W. P. A. and many others, I want to set out briefly some of the long-range benefits to be derived from a few of these programs. In the early days of this administration, when Indiana had only 27 C. C. C. camps, the Ninth Indiana District had 13 of the 27. Aside from the many personal advantages to the enrollees in these camps, the millions of trees they have planted will replenish our dwindling forest supplies and check the eroding of barren hillsides for centuries to come. Their demonstrations of drainings, terracing on hillside farms, check dams for gullies will prove of everlasting benefits.

The farm program with its soil erosion and conservation teachings will prove to be of untold future help and value. Many fields which were given up as almost worthless for farming 8 years ago are now producing fine crops of alfalfa and other soil-building crops. The practice of farming unproductive land is rapidly being abandoned.

With the cutting away of our forests, leaving the hillsides to erode and wash away, has come the problem of our devastating floods. The material damage to the Ninth Indiana District alone, during the record 1937 flood, was over $50,000,000. Since that time the Federal Government has financed levees at Lawrenceburg and Jeffersonville and expended vast sums in other flood-control work, which will protect residents of the district for ages to come.

Another program of vital and everlasting value to the rural people of the district is rural electrification. At the present this program, in its beginning stage, is established in every county in the district. Electricity has become so necessary in the lifting of our homes from drudgery that it must be placed within the reach of all and at a price that everyone can afford. Rural electrification, as established by the present administration, has done this and will continue for centuries to give this service.

Especially has the Ninth Indiana District been favored through the national-defense program. The gigantic powder plant, costing $51,000,000, now being constructed at Charlestown is employing 10,000 people, and even though it should slow down at the end of the present emergency it will continue to employ hundreds and probably thousands of people. There is to be constructed in connection with this a bag-loading plant which will cost several millions and will employ more people. The large naval storage plant at Burns City will furnish employment for several thousand men, most of whom will come from Bedford and Lawrence County. The 50,000-acre proving grounds now being established in Jefferson, Jennings, and Ripley Counties, at an estimated cost of $25,000,000, will bring to the district extensive testing and proving laboratories and an army of highly trained experts to man the equipment. It will include warehouses where will be stored new and old equipment for study, comparison, and testing.

In the future, for ages and ages, as long as our Nation shall exist, future generations will find that in southern Indiana, and especially in the Ninth Indiana District, jobs and opportunities and ways of earning a livelihood have been greatly increased through these programs of the present administration.

I am happy in knowing that through my cooperation with the present administration much of these benefits have been brought to my district. I can also point to many of these benefits which my own personal efforts brought about.

It is to be hoped that the incoming leadership of the Ninth Indiana District will cooperate in every way, so that these programs may continue to be developed to the fullest extent.

St. Lawrence, Tennessee-Tombigbee, and Columbia River Inland Waterways—Effect of St. Lawrence Development on Electric Light and Power Consumers

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REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RANKIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, it was very surprising to me to hear the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] say a moment ago that in Tupelo, Miss., my home town, people were denied the right of free speech during a strike down there some years ago. Nothing could be further from the facts. The truth is that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] went down there himself and spoke during that time; and if that was not the ne plus ultra of free speech, I do not know where you would go to find it. [Laughter and applause.]

But I secured this time to address the House on the subject of the St. Lawrence inland waterway from the standpoint of its effect upon the electric power consumers of America, and especially of that great northern stretch of the United States extending along the Canadian boundary from Maine to Michigan.

We have now before the Congress three great inland waterways in three different sections of the country—this St. Lawrence waterway on our northeastern border, the Columbia River in the Northwest, and the Tennessee-Tombigbee inland waterway in the South. These three great developments are all necessary if we are going to prepare America to defend herself in the future.

The Tennessee-Tombigbee inland waterway would connect the Tennessee River with the Gulf of Mexico at Mobile, Ala., thereby shortening the water distance from Muscle Shoals, the site of the future production of our nitrate supplies, to the Gulf of Mexico by more than 650 miles. It would furnish a slack-water route for ascending traffic and give us a new and well-protected outlet to the sea for all the war materials as well as the domestic traffic for that entire area, including the entire Tennessee and Ohio River Valleys, as well as that of the upper Mississippi.

The development of the Columbia River, which would include the construction of the proposed Umatilla Dam, would open up that great stream for navigation all the way up to Grand Coulee Dam, where we have a superabundance of hydroelectric power that may be used in the production of defense materials and machinery of all kinds.

The St. Lawrence inland waterway would give us an outlet from the Great Lakes to the sea sufficiently large to carry ocean-going vessels. From the standpoint of navigation alone these developments are highly desirable. In fact, in my opinion, they are absolutely essential to the future protection of this Nation.

But the first line of defense in this country is the American home; and the second line of defense is the American business establishment. What happens to these two means the strength of the Nation in times of war as well as in times of peace.

With that thought in mind, I wish to speak to you for a few moments on the development of hydroelectric power in the St. Lawrence River and its coordination with that produced on the American side at Niagara Falls.

If these two projects were combined under one great authority similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the power developed transmitted and sold throughout the dis-

tribution radius at rates based upon the cost of generation, transmission, and distribution, it would be the most valuable contribution ever made to that section of the country.

If you will consult the tables which I am inserting at the close of these remarks, you will find that during the year 1938 the overcharges for electric energy throughout the United States, compared with the Ontario rates, amounted to $1,007,156,359. Remember, now, that Ontario is just across the river from the State of New York.

I know it will be said that the Ontario power system pays no taxes. The records of the Federal Power Commission show that in 1936 the private power companies throughout the country paid in taxes, cash contributions, and free services only 13.2 percent of their gross revenues, or $275,286,073. Take that amount from the gross revenues for 1938 as shown by these tables under the Ontario rates, and it would still leave a net annual overcharge of $731,870,286, for which the people who pay it in electric light and power bills get absolutely nothing in return.

I hope the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] will remain in the Chamber, because I want to show the amount of these overcharges paid by the people of his home State of Michigan, as well as the amount paid by the people in the States of New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire, and all the other States that lie along the Canadian border and whose people look across into Ontario, the promised land of cheap electric energy.

Now let us break these net overcharges down by States and see just what they mean to the people in each State, after deducting from the overcharges according to the Ontario rates, the amounts paid by the private power companies in taxes, cash contributions, and free services, taking it for granted that they paid the same amount in 1938 that the record shows they paid in 1936.

As we come to the States that border on Ontario, I want to pause to discuss them briefly. But in order to show the overcharges in every State in such a way that they may be easily located, I will take them alphabetically, beginning with the State of Alabama, after I have discussed the situation relative to the principal States lying within the distribution radius of the St. Lawrence project or Niagara Falls.

NEW YORK

The entire State of New York is within the distribution radius of both the St. Lawrence and Niagara Falls. The record shows that during the year 1938 the people of New York used 12,533,482,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity, for which they paid $315,363,963. Remember that New York is just across the line from Ontario, Canada, separated only by the Niagara and the St. Lawrence Rivers. Under the rates prevailing in Ontario, the cost would have been $138,680,881; which shows that the people of the State of New York during the year 1938 were overcharged for their electricity $176,683,082; while all the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies in that State amounted to only $47,638,465. This left a net overcharge of $129,044,617. By developing the water power on the St. Lawrence and the Niagara Rivers, and distributing it throughout that area at rates based upon the cost of generation, transmission, and distribution, these overcharges now paid by the people of New York and adjoining States would be wiped out and the entire investment amortized in less than 50 years, relieving the Federal Government of this expense, about which we hear so much.

It might not be amiss to point out that more than $66,000,000 of these overcharges for electricity in the State of New York in 1938 was borne by the residential consumers and more than $81,000,000 of it was borne by the commercial consumers, such as merchants, hotel, restaurant, garage, and filling-station operators, and others who pay commercial rates. These high rates now imposed throughout that area hold down the consumption of electricity and deny to the people who pay the bills the use of many of those electrical appliances necessary for the comforts and conveniences of their homes or for the successful operation of their business enterprises.

I venture to say that if every human being who turns an electric switch in the State of New York fully understood the situation there would be such a wave of protest as would virtually amount to a State-wide uprising.

I call attention to the fact that the tables which I am inserting at the close of these remarks show that even according to the T. V. A. rates these overcharges in the State of New York in 1938 amounted to more than $157,000,000. In other words, if the people of the entire State of New York received their electricity at the rates now paid by the people in the district I have the honor to represent they would save $157,000,000 a year even on the present consumption. If their rates were reduced to the T. V. A. rates or to the Ontario rates that consumption would rapidly increase and the use of electrical appliances would probably double.

PENNSYLVANIA

The entire State of Pennsylvania also lies within this St. Lawrence-Niagara distribution radius.

Mr. WALTER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. What effect would this program have on the consumption of anthracite coal in this part of the Nation?

Mr. RANKIN. I will say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that since the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority the use of coal in that area has increased. It would probably do the same thing in the States of New York and Pennsylvania. But since the gentleman from Pennsylvania is interested in this issue, let me say to him that, according to the Army engineers, the maximum distance for the transmission of this power would be 350 miles. That would reach every State in New England and also Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and a part of Maryland, as well as the States of Ohio and Michigan.

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield.

Mr. FENTON. The gentleman answered the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALTER] a few moments ago and said that the development of the St. Lawrence waterway would increase the production of anthracite.

Mr. RANKIN. No; I said that the use of coal had increased in the Tennessee Valley area and that I could not see how it would particularly injure coal production in the Pennsylvania area. That was bituminous coal. They do not use anthracite coal to generate power.

Mr. FENTON. Will the gentleman explain just how it increased the production down in Tennessee?

Mr. RANKIN. They used more of it.

Mr. FENTON. I do not see how that would come about when water supplants coal power.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman is going to have to get away from that old philosophy of scarcity. I have even had miners from Pennsylvania come to me and tell me that they could not use even a reasonable amount of electricity because the rates were so high they could not afford it.

Mr. FENTON. I say to the gentleman also that there are many miners idle in Pennsylvania, and that we have been very, very much neglected. The gentleman must know that the production of anthracite has been reduced rather than increased.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania ought to take a lesson from the Pennsylvania Railroad which hauls coal from that area, but it now runs its trains with hydroelectric power produced at the Conowingo Dam on the Susquehanna River. We want cheap electricity for all the people as well as for a few large industries.

MICHIGAN

Mr. HOOK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOOK. A short while ago I had a conference with the industrialists and mine operators in northern Michigan. They

informed me that we could not develop that area, we could not bring industry in there, and we could not develop the mines up there unless we had cheap power. We do not have cheap power, and that is why the northern part of Michigan has the largest relief load in the United States today.

Mr. RANKIN. I thank the gentleman from Michigan. If the people of Michigan paid the same power rates that obtain just across the line in Ontario, they would save more than $38,000,000 a year on their light and power bills, after allowing for all taxes, cash contributions, and free services.

The overcharges for electricity in Michigan during the year 1938 amounted to $47,596,533, according to the Ontario rates; while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $9,474,464, leaving a net overcharge of $38,122,069.

This equaled the value of 63,536,781 bushels of wheat, or more than 760,000 bushels on an average for every one of the 83 counties in Michigan.

It would have taken the price of 50,000 Ford cars to pay these overcharges for electricity in Michigan for 1 year, after allowing for all taxes paid and all cash contributions and free services rendered by the private power companies in that State.

OTHER STATES

In addition to New York, Pennsylvania, and Michigan, all the New England States, as well as the States of Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland, Ohio, and West Virginia, lie wholly or partially within the distribution radius of these two projects. These States will be discussed in their regular order.

Now, let us break these net overcharges down and see what they mean to the people of each State, after giving the private power companies credit for the amounts the records of the Federal Power Commission show they paid in taxes, cash contributions, and free services in 1936—taking it for granted that they paid the same amounts in 1938.

ALABAMA

In Alabama these overcharges in 1938, according to the Ontario rates, amounted to $8,255,216. The taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies—conceding that they paid the same amounts claimed by them in 1936—amounted to $3,456,604, which, taken from the above amount, leaves a net overcharge of $4,798,612—the value of 100,000 bales of cotton, or an average of approximately 1,500 bales for each and every county in the State of Alabama.

Remember that a portion of the northern section of Alabama is served with T. V. A. power at the T. V. A. yardstick rates, and that the influence of these rates has resulted in the reduction of light and power rates throughout the adjacent territory.

For instance, the city of Birmingham lies between Tarrant City and Bessemer. When Tarrant City and Bessemer connected up with the T. V. A., and the T. V. A. yardstick rates were put into effect in those two cities, it broke the rates in Birmingham a million dollars a year. [Applause.]

In other words, the influence of the yardstick extends beyond the area of its actual operation. With a similar yardstick on the St. Lawrence and the Niagara Rivers we would reduce light and power rates in the States lying within the possible distribution radius by something like $500,000,000 a year.

ARIZONA

In Arizona these overcharges in 1938 amounted to $4,505,115, according to the Ontario rates. The taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies, according to the 1936 record, amounted to $984,307, leaving a net overcharge of $3,520,808.

That equaled the value of 5,868,000 bushels of wheat, or an average of more than 400,000 bushels to each and every one of the 14 counties in Arizona.

If the power generated at the various irrigation dams in that section of the country were distributed at the T. V. A. yardstick rates, or at rates based upon the cost of generation, transmission, and distribution, these overcharges in Arizona would be wiped out.

ARKANSAS

During the year 1938 these overcharges in Arkansas amounted to $7,268,597, according to the Ontario rates, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies, according to the 1936 record, amounted to $1,113,298, leaving a net overcharge of $6,158,299.

That equaled the value of 136,000 bales of cotton, or on an average of more than 1,800 bales to the county.

Remember that the State of Arkansas has a superabundance of water power, as well as coal, oil, and natural gas. If these waters were harnessed, or if the power generated with her own coal, gas, and oil were supplied to the people of Arkansas at rates based upon the cost of generation, transmission, and distribution, these enormous overcharges would disappear and the use of electricity, as well as the use of electrical appliances, would grow by leaps and bounds.

CALIFORNIA

In California these overcharges in 1938 amounted to $40,337,994, according to the Ontario rates, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies amounted to $16,821,488—conceding they paid the same as in 1936—leaving a net balance of $23,516,506. That equaled the value of 39,192,000 bushels of wheat, or an average of more than 600,000 bushels for every one of the 58 counties in California.

Los Angeles, Calif., has one of the finest public power systems in America. It distributes Boulder Dam power throughout that great metropolitan area at rates far below the national average. If it were not for that fact, the overcharges in California would undoubtedly run above $100,000,000 a year, judging from what is taking place in other States where no public yardstick is in operation.

COLORADO

These overcharges in Colorado during the year 1938 amounted to $9,598,882, according to the Ontario rates, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies—on 1936 basis—amounted to $2,019,683, leaving a net overcharge of $7,578,199.

That equaled the value of 12,630,000 bushels of wheat, or more than 200,000 bushels for every county in Colorado.

CONNECTICUT

The overcharges for electricity in Connecticut in 1938 amounted to $20,260,584 according to the Ontario rates, giving credit for the same payments as in 1936, the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $4,821,124, leaving a net overcharge of $15,439,734.

Connecticut's chief crop is tobacco. Tobacco sold in Connecticut that year at 30.5 cents a pound, and the State produced 16,223,000 pounds. It would have taken more than 50,000,000 pounds to have paid these overcharges, or an average of 6,300,000 pounds for every one of the 8 counties in the State.

No wonder the private power interests oppose public power developments on the Connecticut River.

DELAWARE

These overcharges in Delaware during the year 1938 amounted to $2,253,569 and, taking it for granted they made the same payments as in 1936, the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $378,352, leaving a net overcharge of $1,875,217.

Delaware is a great apple-producing State. In 1938 the production amounted to 1,771,000 bushels, which sold for an average of 70 cents a bushel. It would have taken 2,678,883 bushels, or an average of 890,000 bushels to each one of the three counties in Delaware to have paid these overcharges.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Although the District of Columbia has the lowest residential rates in this section of the country, during the year 1938, the overcharges for electricity for all purposes in the District amounted to $4,096,264, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $1,680,568, leaving a net overcharge of $2,415,696.

FLORIDA

During the year 1938 these overcharges for electricity in Florida amounted to $17,258,848, according to the Ontario rates, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies amounted to $1,823,922, according to the 1936 record, leaving a net overcharge of $15,434,926, which was equal to the value of 340,000 bales of cotton, or an average of 5,000 bales for every one of the 67 counties in Florida.

Measured in terms of oranges, another one of that State's chief crops, it would have amounted to the value of more than 18,000,000 boxes of oranges, or an average of more than 260,000 boxes of oranges for every county in Florida.

GEORGIA

In Georgia during the year 1938 these overcharges amounted to $12,574,914, according to the Ontario rates, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies, according to the 1936 record, amounted to $2,622,913, leaving a net overcharge of $9,952,001. It would have taken 221,000 bales of cotton, or an average of more than 1,300 bales for each and every one of the 159 counties in the State to have paid these overcharges in Georgia for that 1 year.

No wonder the Power Trust opposes the development of public power projects on the Savannah River.

IDAHO

These overcharges in the State of Idaho for the year 1938 amounted to $3,902,346, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies amounted to $1,506,265, on the 1936 basis, leaving a net overcharge of $2,396,081.

Idaho's leading crop is potatoes. It would have taken 7,188,243 bushels of potatoes at the price at which they sold in Idaho in 1938, or an average of more than 160,000 bushels for every one of the 44 counties in Idaho, to have paid these overcharges for that 1 year.

Probably this condition will improve when we distribute Grand Coulee power throughout that section of the country.

ILLINOIS

During the year 1938 the overcharges for electricity in the State of Illinois amounted to $79,735,032, according to the Ontario rates, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $24,600,996—presuming they paid the same as in 1936—leaving a net overcharge of $55,130,036.

That equaled the value of 110,000,000 bushels of corn or 91,000,000 bushels of wheat—an average of 1,080,000 bushels of corn or 890,000 bushels of wheat for every one of the 102 counties in the State of Illinois.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield.

Mr. CHURCH. Will the gentleman put in the figures touching the coal industry and the wages they pay?

Mr. RANKIN. I do not know the amount of coal produced in Illinois, but I do know that power can be generated by coal produced in Illinois and distributed at T. V. A. rates or at the Ontario rates and save the people of Illinois at least $55,000,000 a year on their light and power bills.

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield on the Illinois subject?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield for a question.

Mr. KELLER. I suggest that Mr. Gano Dunn, who is a great engineer, as we all know, is authority for the statement that we can make power cheaper with soft coal in Illinois than we can any other place in the world, especially in southern Illinois, where the coal field is.

Mr. RANKIN. Yes; I have pointed that out, and I have also pointed out the fact that electric energy can be generated with coal, gas, or water power practically anywhere in the United States and distributed at the T. V. A. rates, or the Ontario rates, or the Tacoma rates without loss on legitimate investments.

INDIANA

During the year 1938 the overcharges for electricity in Indiana amounted to $27,308,694, according to the Ontario rates, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $7,218,748, leaving a net overcharge of $20,089,946.

That equaled the value of 33,933,283 bushels of wheat, or an average of more than 360,000 bushels for every one of the 92 counties in Indiana.

IOWA

During the year 1938 these overcharges for electricity in Iowa amounted to $16,455,184, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $3,182,661, leaving a net overcharge of $13,272,523, which equaled the value of 26,544,046 bushels of corn, or an average of more than 260,000 bushels for every one of the 99 counties in the State.

KANSAS

These overcharges for electricity in the State of Kansas during the year 1938 amounted to $12,244,537, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $2,256,626, leaving a net overcharge of $9,987,911.

That was equal to the value of 16,646,500 bushels of wheat, or an average of 160,000 bushels for every one of the 102 counties in Kansas.

KENTUCKY

During the year 1938 the overcharges for electricity in Kentucky amounted to $10,036,000, according to the Ontario rates, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $2,313,474, leaving a net overcharge of $7,722,526.

That equaled the value of 12,870,000 bushels of wheat, or an average of more than 200,000 bushels for every one of the 64 counties in Kentucky.

Yet certain elements in Kentucky have opposed the T. V. A. development and even fought the building of the Gilbertsville Dam in that State.

LOUISIANA

These overcharges in the State of Louisiana for 1938 amounted to $10,411,288, according to the Ontario rates, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $3,510,074, leaving a net overcharge of $6,901,214.

This equaled the value of more than 130,000 bales of cotton, or an average of 2,000 bales for every one of the 64 counties in Louisiana.

MAINE

During the year 1938 these overcharges for electricity in the State of Maine amounted to $6,934,459, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $1,601,337, leaving a net overcharge of $5,333,112.

Potatoes sold in Maine that year for 55 cents a bushel; therefore these overcharges would have equaled the value of 9,700,000 bushels of potatoes, or an average of more than 600,000 bushels for every one of the 16 counties in Maine.

MARYLAND

These overcharges in Maryland during the year 1938 amounted to $14,949,588, according to the Ontario rates; while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $4,070,570, which left a net overcharge of $10,879,018.

This amount equaled the value of 18,131,696 bushels of wheat, or more than 750,000 bushels on an average for every one of the 24 counties in Maryland.

MASSACHUSETTS

During the year 1938 the overcharges for electricity in Massachusetts amounted to $50,107,223, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $15,669,719, which left a net overcharge

of $34,437,504, or an average overcharge of $2,459,000 for every one of the 14 counties in Massachusetts.

MINNESOTA

During the year 1938 the overcharges for electricity in Minnesota amounted to $19,063,383, according to the Ontario rates; while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $4,509,410, leaving a net overcharge of $15,553,973.

This equaled the value of $26,923,288 bushels of wheat, or an average of 300,000 bushels for every one of the 87 counties in Minnesota.

MISSISSIPPI

Overcharges for electricity in Mississippi during the year 1938 amounted to $5,081,151, according to the Ontario rates; while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $860,090, leaving a net overcharge of $4,221,061.

This overcharge equaled the value of 93,800 bales of cotton, or an average of 1,500 bales to every county in the State, outside of the T. V. A. area.

MISSOURI

During the year 1938 the overcharges in Missouri amounted to $24,564,886, according to the Ontario rates, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $4,952,715, leaving a net overcharge of $19,612,171.

This equaled the value of 32,686,951 bushels of wheat, or an average of 284,000 bushels for every one of the 115 counties in Missouri.

MONTANA

The overcharges in Montana during the year 1938 amounted to $4,419,962, according to the Ontario rates, and the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $1,731,296, which left a net overcharge of $2,688,666.

Montana is a wool-producing State. It would have taken more than 13,400,000 pounds, or an average of more than 240,000 pounds, for every one of the 56 counties in Montana to pay these overcharges in that State for 1 year.

NEBRASKA

The overcharges for electricity during the year 1938 in Nebraska amounted to $8,144,825, according to the Ontario rates, while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $1,680,085, leaving a net overcharge of $6,464,740.

This overcharge equaled the value of 10,774,661 bushels of wheat, or an average of 115,000 bushels for every county in Nebraska.

NEVADA

Owing to Nevada's proximity to Boulder Dam, her overcharges are comparatively small.

During the year 1938 these overcharges amounted to $1,020,794, according to the Ontario rates; while taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $276,051, leaving a net overcharge of $744,743.

NEW JERSEY

During the year 1938 the overcharges for New Jersey amounted to $53,736,376, according to the Ontario rates. The taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $15,171,613, leaving a net overcharge of $38,564,763, or an average of $1,836,000 for every one of the 21 counties in New Jersey.

NEW MEXICO

During the year 1938 the overcharges for electricity in New Mexico amounted to $2,370,704, according to the Ontario rates; while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $320,968, leaving a net overcharge of $2,049,736, which equaled more than the value of the entire wheat crop of New Mexico for that year.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

During the year 1938 the overcharges in New Hampshire amounted to $5,033,449, according to the Ontario rates; while taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $1,766,294, leaving a net overcharge of $3,267,146.

This overcharge equals the value of 6,534,292 bushels of corn, or an average of more than 653,000 bushels for every one of the 10 counties in the State.

The whole State produced only 656,000 bushels of corn in 1938; so it would have taken practically all the corn crop of the entire State to have paid the average overcharge for one county, after allowing for all taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies.

NORTH CAROLINA

The overcharges for electricity in North Carolina in 1938 amounted to $12,498,154, according to the Ontario rates; while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $4,672,228, leaving a net overcharge of $7,825,926.

This equaled the value of 173,000 bales of cotton, or an average of 1,730 bales to every county in the State.

OHIO

The overcharges in Ohio during the year 1938 amounted to $56,033,269, according to the Ontario rates; and the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $15,992,845, which left a net overcharge of $49,040,424—or the value of 66,734,040 bushels of wheat, which is an average of more than 750,000 bushels for every one of the 88 counties in Ohio.

OKLAHOMA

During 1938 the overcharges in Oklahoma amounted to $12,675,015, according to the Ontario rates; while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $2,521,809, leaving a net overcharge of $10,153,206.

This overcharge amounted to the value of 16,922,010 bushels of wheat, or an average of more than 219,000 bushels to every one of the 77 counties in the State. It would have taken more than 225,000 bales of cotton at the price it sold for in 1938 to pay this overcharge, or an average of more than 2,900 bales to the county.

OREGON

The overcharges for electricity in Oregon during 1938 amounted to $7,616,012, according to the Ontario rates; while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services of the private power companies amounted to $2,991,443, which left a net overcharge of $4,614,569.

This overcharge equaled the value of more than 7,690,000 bushels of wheat, or more than 200,000 bushels for every one of the 36 counties in Oregon.

SOUTH DAKOTA

During the year 1938 the overcharges for electricity in South Dakota amounted to $3,716,497, according to the Ontario rates; while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $532,229, which left a net overcharge of $3,184,268.

TENNESSEE

In the year 1938 the overcharges for electricity in Tennessee amounted to $8,907,579, according to the Ontario rates; while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by private power companies amounted to $3,456,604, leaving a net overcharge of $5,450,975.

Now, since practically the entire State of Tennessee has gone on T. V. A. rates, these overcharges will be wiped out.

TEXAS

Overcharges for electricity in Texas during the year 1938 amounted to $34,981,726, according to the Ontario rates; the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies in Texas that year amounted to $6,357,439, leaving a net overcharge of $28,624,287.

This overcharge equaled the value of 636,000 bales of cotton, or an average of more than 2,500 bales for every one of the 245 counties in Texas.

UTAH

The overcharges for electricity in Utah during the year 1938 amounted to $4,893,076, according to the Ontario rates; while the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by

the private power companies amounted to $1,442,868, which left a net overcharge of $3,350,208.

This overcharge equals the value of 2,583,000 bushels of wheat, or an average of more than 190,000 bushels for every one of the 29 counties in Utah.

VERMONT

Overcharges for electricity in the State of Vermont during the year 1938 amounted to $2,986,297; taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies amounted to $1,060,278, leaving a net overcharge of $1,926,019.

This overcharge equaled the value of 3,852,038 bushels of corn, or an average of more than 270,000 bushels to the county.

VIRGINIA

During the year 1938 the overcharges in the State of Virginia amounted to $12,710,894, according to the Ontario rates; the taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies amounted to $2,860,814, which left a net overcharge of $9,850,080.

This overcharge equaled the value of 16,416,800 bushels of wheat, or an average of 164,000 bushels to the county. Virginia produced only 8,526,000 bushels of wheat in 1938, only about half enough to pay their overcharges for electricity for that 1 year—after allowing for all taxes, cash contributions, and free services.

WASHINGTON

Overcharges during the year 1938 in the State of Washington amounted to $12,623,347, according to the Ontario rates; taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies amounted to $3,301,133, leaving a net overcharge of $9,322,214, which equaled the value of 15,537,023 bushels of wheat, or an average of more than 400,000 bushels to every one of the 38 counties in Washington.

WEST VIRGINIA

The overcharges for electricity in the State of West Virginia during the year 1938 amounted to $11,008,932, according to the Ontario rates; taxes, cash contributions, and free services amounted to $3,893,681, leaving a net overcharge of $7,115,251.

That means a net overcharge for electric lights and power amounting to an average of $129,000 a year for every county in West Virginia, a State in which electricity can be generated with coal locally mined as cheaply as it can be generated with water power in Ontario or on the Tennessee River.

WISCONSIN

In the State of Wisconsin, which is just across the line from Ontario, the overcharges for electricity in 1938 amounted to $23,742,896, according to the Ontario rates. All taxes, cash contributions and free services paid by the private power companies in Wisconsin that year, according to their own reports to the Federal Power Commission, amounted to $7,712,058, which, taken from the above amount, left a net overcharge of $16,030,838.

Wisconsin is one of the leading dairy States of the Union. During 1938 butter sold in Wisconsin for less than 30 cents a pound. These net overcharges for electricity in Wisconsin during that year, after giving credit for all taxes, cash contributions, and free services, equaled the value of more than 54,000,000 pounds of butter, or an average of more than 760,000 pounds for every one of the 71 counties in Wisconsin.

During that year cheese sold in Wisconsin for less than 15 cents a pound. These overcharges for electricity equaled more than an average of 1,520,000 pounds of cheese for every county in Wisconsin after allowing for all taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies in Wisconsin that year.

WYOMING

During the year 1938 the overcharges for electricity in the State of Wyoming amounted to $2,240,071, according to the Ontario rates. Taxes, cash contributions, and free services paid by the private power companies in Wyoming that year amounted to $279,413, which, taken from the above amount, leaves a net overcharge of $1,960,658.

Wyoming is one of the great wool-producing States of the Nation. In 1938 wool sold for 18 cents a pound in Wyoming; therefore these net overcharges for electricity in that State equaled the value of more than 10,800,000 pounds of wool, or an average of 450,000 pounds for every one of the 24 counties in the State.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Speaker, the foregoing break-down by States not only explodes the contention that these overcharges are offset by the taxes paid by private power companies but it also emphasizes the tremendous burdens these overcharges impose upon the electric light and power users in the various States when translated into terms of commodities each State produces.

I know it will be said that I ought to be satisfied with the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the distribution of cheap electricity throughout the district I have the honor to represent. Every human being who turns an electric switch this Christmas in the 10 counties composing that district will be using T. V. A. power at the T. V. A. yardstick rates, saving on an average of more than $2,000,000 a year on their light and power bills alone. We have more than 2,000 miles of rural power lines already built in the district. They are owned by cooperative power associations and supply electricity to thousands of farm homes where people did not dream a few years ago of ever having the benefits of any electricty at all in their homes.

But this is a matter of principle with me. I am striving for a national policy that will provide cheap electricity, or electricity at rates based upon the cost of generation, transmission, and distribution, to every home and every business establishment in America, and one that will result in the ultimate electrification of every farm home in every nook and corner of this great Republic at those rates. [Applause.]

In order that everyone may make his own comparisons, I am inserting here four tables, the first three showing the amount of electricity used by the various classes of consumers—residential, commercial, and industrial—the cost thereof, and the overcharges, according to the T. V. A. rates, the Tacoma rates, and the Ontario rates; and the fourth table gives the totals. All tables are for the year 1938.

TABLE 1.—*Residential electric sales, 1938*

State	Estimated sales data for 1938			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
				Tennessee Valley Authority		Tacoma, Wash.		Province of Ontario, Canada	
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges
Alabama	165,236	189,972,000	$5,788,628	$4,063,617	$1,725,011	$3,351,616	$2,437,012	$2,894,314	$2,894,314
Arizona	41,973	38,192,000	1,857,716	800,676	1,057,040	659,489	1,198,227	570,319	1,287,397
Arkansas	92,587	65,458,000	3,475,153	1,633,322	1,841,831	1,344,884	2,130,269	1,160,701	2,314,452
California	1,403,075	1,189,108,000	41,152,607	28,683,367	12,469,240	23,621,596	17,531,011	20,411,693	20,740,914
Colorado	172,159	120,337,000	6,115,416	3,100,516	3,014,900	2,556,244	3,559,172	2,207,665	3,907,751
Connecticut	419,438	382,151,000	16,457,291	9,331,284	7,126,007	7,685,555	8,771,736	6,632,288	9,825,003
Delaware	44,102	36,826,000	1,792,819	891,031	901,788	733,263	1,059,556	634,658	1,158,161
District of Columbia	134,726	142,891,000	3,990,953	3,480,111	510,842	2,865,504	1,125,449	2,478,382	1,512,571
Florida	235,867	247,973,000	12,034,778	5,632,276	6,402,502	4,645,424	7,389,354	4,007,581	8,027,197
Georgia	219,654	289,675,000	8,882,341	5,551,463	3,330,878	4,574,406	4,307,935	3,952,642	4,929,699
Idaho	62,985	95,090,000	2,685,657	1,579,166	1,106,491	1,299,858	1,385,799	1,125,290	1,560,367
Illinois	1,737,790	1,298,790,000	56,123,586	34,179,264	21,944,322	28,174,040	27,949,546	24,357,636	31,765,950

TABLE 1.—*Residential electric sales, 1938*—Continued

State	Estimated sales data for 1938			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
				Tennessee Valley Authority		Tacoma, Wash.		Province of Ontario, Canada	
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges
Indiana	576,192	442,201,000	$19,368,027	$11,310,928	$8,057,099	$9,316,021	$10,052,006	$8,057,099	$11,310,928
Iowa	372,128	263,017,000	12,217,167	6,609,487	5,607,680	5,448,856	6,768,311	4,703,609	7,513,558
Kansas	266,194	204,048,000	9,107,086	5,008,897	4,098,189	4,125,510	4,981,576	3,569,978	5,537,108
Kentucky	224,401	169,457,000	6,881,952	4,177,345	2,704,607	3,440,976	3,440,976	2,973,003	3,908,949
Louisiana	209,574	126,737,000	7,027,338	3,513,669	3,513,669	2,895,263	4,132,075	2,501,732	4,525,606
Maine	140,584	98,142,000	4,826,611	2,413,306	2,413,305	1,988,564	2,838,047	1,718,274	3,108,337
Maryland	304,582	245,677,000	10,288,792	6,245,297	4,043,495	5,144,396	5,144,396	4,444,758	5,844,034
Massachusetts	1,064,743	686,200,000	35,124,729	18,159,485	16,965,244	14,963,135	20,161,594	12,890,776	22,233,953
Michigan	1,090,584	1,093,070,000	36,801,377	25,135,340	11,666,037	20,682,374	16,119,003	17,885,469	18,915,908
Minnesota	425,161	397,751,000	14,427,547	8,945,079	5,482,468	7,372,477	7,055,070	6,376,976	8,050,571
Mississippi	75,376	64,640,000	2,924,631	1,579,301	1,345,330	1,298,536	1,626,095	1,123,058	1,801,573
Missouri	588,107	516,812,000	19,475,676	12,035,968	7,439,708	9,913,119	9,562,557	8,569,297	10,906,379
Montana	87,043	82,370,000	3,166,860	1,649,934	1,516,926	1,358,583	1,808,277	1,174,905	1,991,955
Nebraska	176,361	144,288,000	6,317,862	3,474,824	2,843,038	2,861,991	3,455,871	2,476,602	3,841,260
Nevada	14,940	16,403,000	661,961	301,192	360,769	247,573	414,388	214,475	447,486
New Hampshire	102,877	69,805,000	3,686,075	1,736,141	1,949,934	1,430,197	2,255,878	1,234,835	2,451,240
New Jersey	1,019,214	708,495,000	37,455,844	18,877,745	18,578,099	15,544,175	21,911,669	13,446,648	24,009,196
New Mexico	32,846	23,601,000	1,348,452	556,911	791,541	458,474	889,978	396,445	952,007
New York	3,214,644	2,216,954,000	108,405,661	58,864,274	49,541,387	48,457,330	59,948,331	41,952,991	66,452,670
North Carolina	208,478	208,760,000	7,652,671	4,530,381	3,122,290	3,734,503	3,918,168	3,229,427	4,423,244
North Dakota	57,063	50,018,000	2,183,358	1,115,696	1,067,662	917,010	1,266,348	792,559	1,390,799
Ohio	1,404,129	1,230,441,000	45,748,718	30,239,903	15,508,815	24,933,051	20,815,667	21,547,646	24,201,072
Oklahoma	214,260	157,927,000	8,192,205	3,948,643	4,243,562	1,267,305	6,924,900	2,809,926	5,382,279
Oregon	182,009	249,265,000	6,667,043	4,306,910	2,360,133	3,546,867	3,120,176	3,066,840	3,600,203
Pennsylvania	1,925,887	1,585,247,000	48,462,484	27,817,466	20,645,018	22,922,755	25,539,729	19,821,156	28,641,328
Rhode Island	169,249	101,176,000	5,971,517	2,758,841	3,212,676	2,269,176	3,702,341	1,964,629	4,006,888
South Carolina	89,057	100,288,000	3,489,551	2,173,990	1,315,561	1,790,140	1,699,411	1,545,871	1,943,680
South Dakota	63,719	52,537,000	2,412,417	1,157,960	1,254,457	952,905	1,459,512	825,047	1,587,370
Tennessee	199,279	257,165,000	7,943,631	6,029,216	1,914,415	4,964,769	2,978,862	4,289,561	3,654,070
Texas	652,799	513,813,000	24,017,173	12,801,153	11,216,020	5,619,706	18,397,467	9,102,509	14,914,664
Utah	92,560	95,385,000	3,518,470	2,075,897	1,442,573	1,709,976	1,808,494	1,477,757	2,040,713
Vermont	61,168	47,491,000	2,346,513	1,142,752	1,203,761	940,952	1,405,561	884,635	1,461,878
Virginia	268,692	269,547,000	10,756,171	6,055,724	4,700,447	4,990,863	5,765,308	4,353,325	6,402,846
Washington	366,641	532,473,000	12,993,159	9,017,252	3,975,907	7,419,094	5,574,065	6,418,621	6,574,538
West Virginia	201,572	159,949,000	6,834,414	3,950,291	2,884,123	3,266,850	3,567,564	2,822,613	4,011,801
Wisconsin	531,011	491,884,000	17,190,413	10,365,819	6,824,594	8,526,445	8,663,968	7,374,687	9,815,726
Wyoming	29,554	20,804,000	1,198,997	507,176	691,821	417,251	781,746	360,898	838,099
Total	21,432,270	17,790,301,000	717,449,498	419,516,286	297,933,212	338,649,047	378,800,451	298,831,806	418,617,692

TABLE 2.—*Commercial electric sales, 1938*

State	Estimated sales data for 1938			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
				Tennessee Valley Authority		Tacoma, Wash.		Province of Ontario, Canada	
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges
Alabama	33,424	176,259,000	$5,175,315	$2,572,132	$2,603,183	$2,717,040	$2,458,275	$2,365,119	$2,810,196
Arizona	8,314	58,638,000	1,982,005	858,208	1,123,797	897,848	1,084,157	790,820	1,191,185
Arkansas	27,816	82,649,000	3,629,179	1,571,435	2,057,744	1,625,872	2,003,307	1,448,042	2,181,137
California	323,013	1,950,900,000	47,140,578	31,018,500	16,122,078	31,914,171	15,226,407	28,567,190	18,573,388
Colorado	36,522	132,244,000	5,701,661	2,565,747	3,135,914	2,588,554	3,113,107	2,195,139	3,506,522
Connecticut	61,635	257,315,000	10,784,892	4,626,719	6,158,173	3,850,206	6,934,686	4,260,032	6,524,860
Delaware	7,248	40,637,000	1,185,932	578,735	607,197	602,453	583,479	532,483	653,449
District of Columbia	21,809	171,029,000	4,182,607	3,166,233	1,016,374	3,350,268	832,339	2,915,277	1,267,330
Florida	53,976	219,220,000	10,268,617	3,943,149	6,325,468	4,045,835	6,222,782	3,264,822	6,643,795
Georgia	50,826	299,373,000	9,259,805	4,500,265	4,759,540	4,657,682	4,602,123	4,148,393	5,111,412
Idaho	13,873	103,456,000	2,054,555	1,027,278	1,027,277	1,047,823	1,006,722	945,095	1,109,460
Illinois	339,421	1,322,079,000	47,322,210	23,945,038	23,377,172	25,412,027	21,910,183	22,099,472	25,222,738
Indiana	101,160	572,313,000	17,128,893	9,266,731	7,862,162	9,694,953	7,433,940	8,547,318	8,581,575
Iowa	83,098	276,014,000	10,574,983	5,467,266	5,107,717	5,689,341	4,885,642	5,033,092	5,541,291
Kansas	55,762	208,819,000	7,584,567	3,860,545	3,724,022	3,989,482	3,595,085	3,549,577	4,034,990
Kentucky	44,369	182,387,000	6,297,244	3,362,728	2,934,516	3,520,159	2,777,085	3,098,244	3,199,000
Louisiana	42,191	146,051,000	5,491,083	2,361,166	3,129,917	2,383,130	3,107,953	2,130,540	3,360,543
Maine	33,850	114,550,000	3,944,001	1,912,840	2,031,161	1,948,336	1,995,665	1,762,968	2,181,033
Maryland	53,002	270,207,000	8,875,260	4,828,141	4,047,119	5,094,399	3,780,861	4,446,505	4,428,755
Massachusetts	200,548	929,013,000	32,221,239	13,081,823	19,139,416	13,565,142	18,656,097	12,050,743	20,170,496
Michigan	170,451	980,869,000	30,495,349	16,101,544	14,393,805	16,863,928	13,631,421	14,820,740	15,674,609
Minnesota	93,135	334,921,000	12,596,273	6,235,155	6,361,118	6,449,292	6,146,981	5,743,900	6,852,373
Mississippi	20,274	75,039,000	3,119,326	1,372,503	1,746,823	1,422,413	1,696,913	1,263,327	1,855,999
Missouri	107,193	531,581,000	17,472,698	9,417,784	8,054,914	9,889,547	7,583,151	8,666,458	8,806,240
Montana	23,419	76,086,000	3,053,869	1,447,534	1,606,335	1,456,696	1,597,173	1,334,541	1,719,328
Nebraska	41,594	141,636,000	5,633,208	2,979,967	2,653,241	3,120,797	2,512,411	2,743,372	2,889,836
Nevada	3,770	26,478,000	829,411	408,900	420,511	424,658	404,753	376,553	452,858
New Hampshire	19,697	67,790,000	2,750,135	1,105,554	1,644,581	1,127,555	1,622,580	1,017,550	1,732,585
New Jersey	194,601	715,735,000	32,572,004	12,833,370	19,738,634	13,289,378	19,282,626	11,823,637	20,748,367
New Mexico	9,615	35,683,000	1,683,663	643,159	1,040,504	663,363	1,020,300	587,598	1,096,065
New York	622,842	3,640,615,000	132,257,427	55,151,347	77,106,080	58,061,010	74,196,417	50,786,852	81,470,575
North Carolina	47,826	255,618,000	7,494,539	4,077,029	3,417,510	4,181,953	3,312,586	3,754,764	3,739,775
North Dakota	19,389	51,000,000	2,325,888	1,030,368	1,295,520	1,072,234	1,253,654	951,288	1,374,600
Ohio	206,491	983,258,000	31,763,967	17,883,113	13,880,854	18,772,504	12,991,463	16,485,499	15,278,468
Oklahoma	58,076	284,248,000	9,137,254	4,175,725	4,961,529	4,303,647	4,833,607	3,846,784	5,290,470
Oregon	39,912	257,588,000	6,579,577	3,599,029	2,980,548	3,671,404	2,908,173	3,316,107	3,263,470
Pennsylvania	305,411	1,117,013,000	25,815,479	13,088,448	12,727,031	13,733,835	12,081,644	12,055,829	13,759,650
Rhode Island	24,819	73,205,000	3,525,327	1,424,232	2,101,095	1,020,232	2,505,095	1,307,896	2,217,431
South Carolina	25,366	103,424,000	3,408,602	1,775,882	1,632,720	1,833,828	1,574,774	1,636,129	1,772,473
South Dakota	18,006	57,282,000	2,588,436	1,149,266	1,439,170	1,182,915	1,405,521	1,058,670	1,529,766
Tennessee	41,382	213,166,000	7,241,728	4,352,279	2,889,449	4,540,563	2,701,165	4,004,676	3,237,052
Texas	143,674	761,772,000	23,905,982	11,785,649	12,120,333	12,263,769	11,642,213	10,853,316	13,052,666
Utah	10,799	68,070,000	2,428,641	1,126,889	1,301,752	1,160,890	1,267,751	1,037,030	1,391,611
Vermont	12,516	29,543,000	1,253,901	564,255	689,646	576,794	677,107	520,369	733,532
Virginia	48,298	243,575,000	7,963,585	3,902,157	4,061,428	4,069,392	3,894,193	3,623,431	4,340,154
Washington	55,196	479,841,000	9,993,570	5,826,251	4,167,319	6,545,788	3,447,782	5,806,264	4,187,306
West Virginia	33,858	178,710,000	5,821,205	3,096,881	2,724,324	3,236,590	2,584,615	2,858,212	2,962,993
Wisconsin	97,682	370,992,000	13,398,701	6,752,945	6,645,756	7,141,508	6,257,193	6,216,997	7,181,704
Wyoming	7,977	25,930,000	1,294,687	477,740	816,947	488,097	806,590	440,194	854,493
Total	4,095,136	19,694,001,000	649,209,058	318,299,634	330,909,424	331,159,301	318,049,757	293,449,454	355,759,604

TABLE 3.—*Industrial and other electric sales for ultimate consumption, 1938*

State	Estimated sales data for 1938			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
				Tennessee Valley Authority		Tacoma, Wash.		Province of Ontario, Canada	
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges
Alabama	28,857	987,184,000	$10,540,109	$7,567,798	$2,972,311	$5,048,712	$5,491,397	$7,989,403	$2,550,706
Arizona	14,073	320,346,000	4,144,239	2,005,812	2,138,427	1,338,589	2,805,650	2,117,706	2,026,533
Arkansas	16,149	324,021,000	4,764,619	2,982,651	1,781,963	1,991,611	2,773,008	1,991,611	2,773,008
California	314,378	5,037,846,000	63,980,725	59,630,036	4,350,689	39,796,011	24,184,714	62,957,033	1,023,692
Colorado	17,864	329,310,000	5,985,229	3,603,108	2,382,121	2,400,077	3,585,152	3,800,620	2,184,609
Connecticut	10,681	644,906,000	11,743,908	7,422,150	4,321,758	4,955,929	6,787,979	7,833,187	3,910,721
Delaware	872	112,030,000	1,473,197	976,730	496,467	651,153	822,044	1,031,238	441,959
District of Columbia	790	396,957,000	4,786,775	3,288,514	1,498,261	2,192,343	2,594,432	3,470,412	1,316,363
Florida	14,677	355,045,000	6,044,056	3,275,878	2,768,178	2,181,904	3,862,152	3,457,200	2,586,856
Georgia	3,435	928,683,000	10,054,772	7,118,779	2,935,993	4,745,852	5,308,920	7,520,969	2,533,803
Idaho	23,798	386,784,000	3,734,907	2,371,666	1,363,241	1,579,866	2,155,041	2,502,388	1,232,519
Illinois	118,379	4,315,917,000	57,731,838	33,138,075	24,593,763	22,111,294	35,620,544	34,985,494	22,746,344
Indiana	80,691	1,461,835,000	22,137,883	13,946,866	8,191,017	9,297,911	12,839,972	14,721,692	7,416,191
Iowa	32,497	673,561,000	9,884,696	6,138,396	3,746,300	4,092,264	5,792,432	6,484,361	3,400,335
Kansas	20,338	539,133,000	8,001,313	5,048,829	2,952,484	3,368,553	4,632,760	5,328,874	2,672,439
Kentucky	28,746	582,314,000	9,384,778	6,109,490	3,275,288	4,082,378	5,302,400	6,456,727	2,928,051
Louisiana	6,935	666,789,000	8,198,504	5,378,219	2,820,285	3,582,746	4,615,758	5,673,365	2,525,139
Maine	28,273	605,911,000	5,255,876	3,421,575	1,834,301	2,281,050	2,974,826	3,610,787	1,645,089
Maryland	19,449	1,044,309,000	12,848,348	7,747,554	5,100,794	5,165,036	7,683,312	8,171,549	4,676,799
Massachusetts	3,633	1,129,238,000	20,595,653	12,213,222	8,382,431	8,135,283	12,460,370	12,892,879	7,702,774
Michigan	48,466	2,260,304,000	31,114,872	17,144,294	13,970,578	11,450,273	19,664,599	18,108,856	13,006,016
Minnesota	26,134	742,586,000	12,236,586	7,647,866	4,588,720	5,102,656	7,133,930	8,076,147	4,160,439
Mississippi	13,178	226,453,000	3,932,540	2,375,254	1,557,286	1,573,016	2,359,524	2,508,961	1,423,579
Missouri	29,834	1,401,824,000	17,329,524	11,818,735	5,510,789	7,884,933	9,444,591	12,477,257	4,852,267
Montana	10,723	1,125,225,000	6,162,425	5,170,275	992,150	3,444,796	2,717,629	5,453,746	708,679
Nebraska	11,174	318,169,000	4,977,919	3,375,029	1,602,890	2,250,019	2,727,900	3,564,190	1,413,729
Nevada	2,451	57,413,000	885,661	725,356	160,305	483,571	402,090	765,211	120,450
New Hampshire	17,781	146,680,000	2,991,633	2,028,327	963,306	1,352,218	1,639,415	2,142,009	849,624
New Jersey	3,548	1,470,169,000	23,690,799	13,930,190	9,760,609	9,310,484	14,380,315	14,711,986	8,978,813
New Mexico	2,565	26,763,000	676,378	335,483	340,895	223,881	452,497	353,746	322,632
New York	111,507	6,675,913,000	74,700,875	43,475,909	31,224,966	28,983,940	45,716,935	45,941,038	28,759,837
North Carolina	73,538	1,465,749,000	17,694,429	12,651,517	5,042,912	8,440,243	9,254,186	13,359,294	4,335,135
North Dakota	2,410	32,023,000	825,663	451,638	374,025	301,367	524,296	476,408	349,255
Ohio	119,777	3,813,401,000	53,571,937	35,089,619	18,482,318	23,410,936	30,161,001	37,018,208	16,553,729
Oklahoma	17,422	492,470,000	6,630,021	4,382,444	2,247,577	2,923,839	3,706,182	4,627,755	2,002,266
Oregon	57,044	523,264,000	6,839,446	5,765,653	1,073,793	3,850,608	2,988,838	6,087,107	752,339
Pennsylvania	134,470	6,985,114,000	123,865,572	84,724,051	39,141,521	56,482,701	67,382,871	89,430,943	34,434,629
Rhode Island	5,398	354,154,000	6,071,464	3,849,308	2,222,156	2,568,229	3,503,235	4,061,809	2,009,655
South Carolina	21,913	833,698,000	9,177,668	6,406,012	2,771,656	4,276,793	4,900,875	6,763,941	2,413,727
South Dakota	5,626	47,679,000	1,317,277	679,715	637,562	453,143	864,134	717,916	599,361
Tennessee	47,639	824,027,000	10,557,365	8,086,942	2,470,423	5,394,814	5,162,551	8,540,908	2,016,457
Texas	44,154	1,613,587,000	21,320,354	13,559,745	7,760,609	9,039,830	12,280,524	14,305,958	7,014,396
Utah	15,278	516,816,000	5,706,063	4,022,774	1,683,289	2,681,850	3,024,213	4,245,311	1,460,752
Vermont	15,038	115,331,000	2,824,598	1,926,376	898,222	1,285,192	1,539,406	2,033,711	790,887
Virginia	15,459	681,971,000	9,068,635	6,728,927	2,339,708	4,488,974	4,579,661	7,100,741	1,967,894
Washington	52,634	1,330,385,000	11,080,375	8,731,336	2,349,039	5,828,277	5,252,098	9,218,872	1,861,503
West Virginia	10,180	1,100,344,000	13,183,459	8,674,716	4,508,743	5,787,539	7,395,920	9,149,321	4,034,138
Wisconsin	61,701	1,264,672,000	18,894,864	11,506,972	7,387,802	7,671,315	11,223,549	12,149,398	6,745,466
Wyoming	1,469	60,262,000	1,164,850	584,755	580,095	390,225	774,625	617,371	547,479
Total	1,763,026	57,348,565,000	779,784,677	519,234,566	260,550,111	346,334,224	433,450,453	547,005,614	232,779,063

TABLE 4.—*Total electric sales for ultimate consumption, 1938*

State	Estimated sales data for 1938			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
				Tennessee Valley Authority		Tacoma, Wash.		Province of Ontario, Canada	
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges
Alabama	227,517	1,353,415,000	$21,504,052	$14,203,547	$7,300,505	$11,117,368	$10,386,684	$13,248,836	$8,255,216
Arizona	64,360	417,176,000	7,983,960	3,664,696	4,319,264	2,895,926	5,088,034	3,478,845	4,505,115
Arkansas	136,552	472,128,000	11,868,951	6,187,408	5,681,543	4,962,367	6,906,584	4,600,354	7,268,597
California	2,040,466	8,177,854,000	152,273,910	119,331,903	32,942,007	95,331,778	56,942,132	111,935,916	40,337,994
Colorado	226,545	581,891,000	17,802,306	9,269,371	8,532,935	7,544,875	10,257,431	8,203,424	9,598,882
Connecticut	491,754	1,284,372,000	38,986,091	21,380,153	17,605,938	16,491,690	22,494,401	18,725,507	20,260,584
Delaware	52,222	189,493,000	4,451,948	2,446,496	2,005,452	1,986,869	2,465,079	2,198,379	2,253,569
District of Columbia	157,325	710,877,000	12,960,335	9,934,858	3,025,477	8,408,115	4,552,220	8,864,071	4,096,264
Florida	304,520	822,238,000	28,347,451	12,851,303	15,496,148	10,873,163	17,474,288	11,089,603	17,257,848
Georgia	273,925	1,517,731,000	28,196,918	17,170,507	11,026,411	13,977,940	14,218,978	15,622,004	12,574,914
Idaho	100,656	585,330,000	8,475,119	4,978,110	3,497,009	3,927,547	4,547,572	4,572,773	3,902,346
Illinois	2,195,590	6,936,786,000	161,177,634	91,262,377	69,915,257	75,697,361	85,480,273	81,442,602	79,735,032
Indiana	758,043	2,476,349,000	58,634,803	34,524,525	24,110,278	28,308,885	30,325,918	31,326,109	27,308,694
Iowa	487,723	1,212,592,000	32,676,846	18,215,149	14,461,697	15,230,461	17,446,385	16,221,662	16,455,184
Kansas	342,294	952,000,000	24,692,966	13,918,271	10,774,695	11,483,545	13,209,421	12,448,429	12,244,537
Kentucky	297,516	934,158,000	22,563,974	13,649,563	8,914,411	11,043,513	11,520,461	12,527,974	10,036,000
Louisiana	258,700	939,577,000	20,716,925	11,253,054	9,463,871	8,861,139	11,855,786	10,305,637	10,411,288
Maine	202,707	818,603,000	14,026,488	7,747,721	6,278,767	6,217,950	7,808,538	7,092,029	6,934,459
Maryland	377,033	1,560,193,000	32,012,400	18,820,992	13,191,408	15,403,831	16,608,569	17,062,812	14,949,588
Massachusetts	1,268,924	2,744,451,000	87,941,621	43,454,530	44,487,091	36,663,560	51,278,061	37,834,398	50,107,223
Michigan	1,309,501	4,334,243,000	98,411,598	58,381,178	40,030,420	48,996,575	49,415,023	50,815,065	47,596,533
Minnesota	544,430	1,475,258,000	39,260,406	22,828,100	16,432,306	18,924,425	20,335,981	20,197,023	19,063,383
Mississippi	108,828	366,132,000	9,976,497	5,327,058	4,649,439	4,293,965	5,682,532	4,895,346	5,081,151
Missouri	725,134	2,450,217,000	54,277,898	33,272,487	21,005,411	27,687,599	26,590,299	29,713,012	24,564,886
Montana	121,185	1,283,681,000	12,383,154	8,267,743	4,115,411	6,260,075	6,123,079	7,963,192	4,419,962
Nebraska	229,129	604,093,000	16,928,989	9,829,820	7,099,169	8,232,807	8,696,182	8,784,164	8,144,825
Nevada	21,161	100,294,000	2,377,033	1,435,448	941,585	1,155,802	1,221,231	1,356,239	1,020,794
New Hampshire	140,355	284,275,000	9,427,843	4,870,022	4,557,821	3,909,970	5,517,873	4,394,394	5,033,449
New Jersey	1,217,363	2,894,399,000	93,718,647	45,641,305	48,077,342	38,144,037	55,574,610	39,982,271	53,736,376
New Mexico	45,026	86,227,000	3,708,493	1,535,553	2,172,940	1,345,718	2,362,775	1,337,789	2,370,704
New York	3,948,993	12,533,482,000	315,363,963	157,491,530	157,872,433	135,502,280	179,861,683	138,680,881	176,683,082
North Carolina	329,842	1,930,127,000	32,841,639	21,258,927	11,582,712	16,356,699	16,484,940	20,343,485	12,498,154
North Dakota	78,862	133,041,000	5,334,909	2,597,702	2,737,207	2,290,611	3,044,298	2,220,255	3,114,654
Ohio	1,730,397	6,027,100,000	131,084,622	83,212,635	47,871,987	67,116,491	63,968,131	75,051,353	56,033,269
Oklahoma	289,758	934,645,000	23,959,480	12,506,812	11,452,668	8,494,791	15,464,689	11,284,465	12,675,015
Oregon	278,965	1,030,117,000	20,086,066	13,671,592	6,414,474	11,068,879	9,017,187	12,470,054	7,616,012

State	Estimated sales data for 1940			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Tupelo, Miss. (Tennessee Valley Authority)		Tacoma, Wash.		Ontario, Canada	
				Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges	Revenues	Overcharges
Pennsylvania	2,365,768	9,687,374,000	$198,143,535	$125,629,965	$72,513,570	$93,139,291	$105,004,244	$121,307,928	$76,835,607
Rhode Island	199,466	528,535,000	15,568,308	8,032,381	7,535,927	5,857,637	9,710,671	7,334,334	8,233,974
South Carolina	136,336	1,037,410,000	16,075,821	10,355,884	5,719,937	7,900,761	8,175,060	9,945,941	6,129,880
South Dakota	87,351	157,498,000	6,318,130	2,986,941	3,331,189	2,588,963	3,729,167	2,601,633	3,716,497
Tennessee	288,300	1,294,358,000	25,742,724	18,468,437	7,274,287	14,900,146	10,842,578	16,835,145	8,907,579
Texas	840,627	2,889,172,000	69,243,509	38,146,547	31,096,962	26,923,305	42,320,204	34,261,783	34,981,726
Utah	118,637	680,271,000	11,653,174	7,225,560	4,427,614	5,552,716	6,100,458	6,760,098	4,893,076
Vermont	88,722	192,365,000	6,425,012	3,633,383	2,791,629	2,802,938	3,622,074	3,438,715	2,986,297
Virginia	332,449	1,195,093,000	27,788,391	16,686,808	11,101,583	13,549,229	14,239,162	15,077,497	12,710,894
Washington	474,471	2,342,699,000	34,067,104	23,574,839	10,492,265	19,793,159	14,273,945	21,443,757	12,612,347
West Virginia	245,610	1,439,003,000	25,839,078	15,721,888	10,117,190	12,290,979	13,548,099	14,830,146	11,008,932
Wisconsin	690,394	2,127,548,000	49,483,978	28,625,736	20,858,242	23,339,268	26,144,710	25,741,082	23,742,896
Wyoming	39,000	106,996,000	3,658,534	1,569,671	2,088,863	1,295,573	2,362,961	1,418,463	2,240,071
Total	27,290,432	94,832,867,000	,146,4243,233	1,257,050,486	889,392,747	1,016,142,572	1,130,300,661	1,139,286,874	1,007,156,359

The American Legion and National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERTRAND W. GEARHART

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS BY JUDGE WARREN H. ATHERTON, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, during the days just preceding the convening of the national convention of the American Legion at Boston on September 23 last, a tremendously important gathering occurred in Washington, D. C. Distinguished leaders of this great patriotic organization of ex-service men from all corners of the country assembled at the Army and Navy Club for the purpose of ascertaining and assisting in the development of the national-defense needs of our country. In order that its work might be rendered the more effective, innumerable high-ranking officials of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps of the United States were in attendance to offer guidance and advice to those whose responsibility it was soon to be to work out and define at the impending national convention the legion's attitude toward the great questions of the day.

Many papers of most unusual value were read by citizens in various walks of life whose patriotic devotion to their country and the soundness of their views is beyond questioning. There was one address, however, which stood out among all of the rest. I refer to the very able address which was delivered by Judge Warren H. Atherton, of Stockton, Calif., the national chairman of the national defense committee of the American Legion, an address which will be regarded, I am quite certain, as one of the outstanding pronouncements of the year.

Because of the deep impression that Mr. Atherton's address had upon all of those who assembled at the Army and Navy Club on the important occasion to which I have referred, and the lasting influence which it is bound to have in the shaping of our rearmament program, I ask the unanimous consent of the membership of the House of Representatives to the inclusion of that which Mr. Atherton then said in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in which are to be recorded this day's proceedings of the Congress.

The unanimous consent of the membership of the House of Representatives being indicated, it was ordered that the remarks of Warren H. Atherton be spread upon the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

THE AMERICAN LEGION AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

(By Warren H. Atherton)

The national defense program of the American Legion is built on the foundation of peace through preparedness.

Permanent peace is the objective, preparedness but a means to that end.

The first World War didn't end war.

The first World War didn't make the world safe for democracy.

In 1917–18 the United States of America mobilized 4,400,000 men. It sent over 2,000,000 soldiers to France, Russia, and Italy. It spent $30,000,000,000. It loaned $10,000,000,000 to its Allies. For 20 years it has paid the dependents of the dead. For two decades it has hospitalized and helped the disabled.

These great sacrifices have not brought peace to others nor security to us.

War begets war!

Peace begets peace!

We veterans of the first World War knew that we had won nothing by bloodshed.

In 1919 we sought to prevent a repetition of the "end war," "save democracy" folly by opposing entangling alliances.

From 1920 until now we have urged universal military training and a strong defense as the best safeguards against attack.

Our policy has been to keep our nose out of other's business and be so strong that none will want to put his nose in ours.

The American Legion thinks that if we attack no one and make ourselves so strong that no one will attack us, then we will have peace.

We are against the use of a single soldier, sailor, or ship in a way likely to get us into war.

The American Legion is for peace, with honor first, last, and always.

The Legion approves the present measures for preparedness as far as they go, but they do not go far enough.

Today's national-defense program is only a shot in the arm. It is not a preventive. It provides for hasty, helter-skelter expansion of our armed forces to meet an emergency. It plans nothing for the future.

So far as planned, we will arm until we are the strongest nation on earth, then go into a period of decadence and deterioration as we did from 1920 to 1939.

The present Draft Act is not a universal-training plan. It is just a shanghai measure to grab men for the Army to meet an emergency.

Its title is "An act to provide for the common defense by increasing the personnel of the armed forces of the United States * * *." The bill by its own terms expires in 5 years. It does not provide for regularly recurring classes. Admittedly, only one in four or five of class A–1 in the present generation of young men will receive training. The potential defense strength of those not trained will be lost.

The American Legion advocated training in 1920 and in every year since; we say now that the best peace insurance for the United States will be a permanent plan to maintain a high standard of defense. That plan should embody universal military training and the provision of ample weapons, planes, and ships.

The best proof of the futility of on-again-off-again defense methods is the record.

In the 2 years immediately preceding May 1, 1940, our Nation appropriated two and three-quarter billions of dollars for defense

purposes. About May 1, 1940, a "blitzkrieg" was begun against Holland, Belgium, and France, which blasted them into subjection. If that "blitzkrieg" had been launched against us it would have found us defending with the following critical items of matériel:

3-inch antiaircraft guns	409
37 mm. antiaircraft guns	15
Caliber .50 machine guns (antiaircraft)	871
37 mm. antitank guns	228
Semiautomatic rifles	38,000
60 mm. mortars	3
81 mm. mortars	183
75 mm. field artillery split trail	141
105 mm. howitzers	0
155 mm. guns	88
Tanks, light	10
Tanks, medium	18
Tanks, heavy	0
8-inch railway guns	0
Tractors, light	93
Tractors, medium	93
Tractors, heavy	65

With only the above equipment and a similar lack of other equipment the United States would have suffered severely if attacked by a modern mechanized army of any size.

Spurred by the fall of our former Allies, we have since declared for total defense and appropriated or made commitments for $17,692,227,930.58.

With the foregoing fabulous sum of money and exercise of the full resources of the United States Government by September 1, 1940, we had made the following additions to the items of equipment above listed:

3-inch antiaircraft guns	22
37 mm. antiaircraft guns	59
Caliber .50 machine guns (antiaircraft)	0
37 mm. antitank guns	16
Semiautomatic rifles	18,718
60 mm. mortars	15
81 mm. mortars	25
75 mm. field artillery split trail	88
105 mm. howitzers	0
155 mm. guns	56
Tanks, light	187
Tanks, medium	1
Tanks, heavy	0
8-inch railway guns	0
Tractors, light	108
Tractors, medium	105
Tractors, heavy	104

General Marshall, Secretary of War Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War Johnson, and Mr. Knudsen, advise us that an army of a million men will not be trained and equipped until the end of 1941.

A two-ocean navy will not be completed until 1945.

Pilots and planes adequate to defend the United States will not be ready until 1942.

It is apparent, that under our present and past lack of preparedness planning, Democracy has not been and is not now safe even in the United States.

The American Legion believes that democracy will be safer when the United States adopts a defense program which will keep our Army and Navy continually strong enough to repel enemies on any side or all sides and at all times.

Our permanent program should embody the military training of every able-bodied young American:

1. Universal training will, within a few years, create so great a body of effective reserves that this Nation will be forever safe against attack.

2. When every young American who reaches the age to enjoy the right to vote, to contract, to inherit property, to own property, to engage in business, to be entitled to protection of his person through law, to free speech, to freedom of religion, to choice of occupation, to unemployment insurance, to social security, to workmen's compensation and the thousands of other benefits and privileges conferred by American citizenship, has earned those rights and privileges by training to defend them, he will have a greater appreciation of their worth.

3. National discipline will reduce the commission of crime.

4. National health will be benefited.

5. Unemployment will be reduced.

Our program must also include provision for producing weapons, planes, ships, and ammunition upon a continuing adequate basis:

1. Provision for continuous production of ordnance, planes, and ships will keep our defenses strong at all times.

2. Continuous production of the means for defense at a sufficient rate will obviate costly production under the pressure of emergency.

3. Matériel will be improved by betterment of the means of production. Continuous manufacture will keep war industry prepared to meet any emergency.

The great losses in the first World War which resulted from our unpreparedness are still vivid in our minds. The great price being paid by France for failure to prepare industry and the huge cost to England through failure to train either men or machines are today's lesson.

Today is the time to repair yesterday's mistakes. We should not be content with another shingle to stop the leak while it is raining. We should build a whole new fireproof, bombproof roof to give us protection at all times.

The American Legion believes that the United States should start now to preserve democracy here. That can best be done through universal military training and provision for a continuing adequate supply of modern weapons for defense.

WARREN H. ATHERTON,
National Chairman of the National Defense Committee of the American Legion.

Let's Arm for America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BERTRAND W. GEARHART
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, December 18, 1940

STATEMENT OF POSITION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION BY MILO J. WARNER, ITS NATIONAL COMMANDER

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the December 1940 issue of the National Legionnaire an editorial of great importance, one which will have in the days to come great influence upon the patriotic thinking of not only the membership of this great veterans' society but upon that of all patriotically minded Americans as well.

In the body of this editorial are to be found quotations from certain of the resolutions which were adopted at the recent national convention of the American Legion, together with some interpretive comments thereon by Milo J. Warner, its national commander.

It would seem superfluous for me to add at this time that there is no one on the membership rolls of this great organization who is held in higher respect or warmer affection than is Mr. Warner himself. Because of the high regard in which he is personally held, any expressions from him at this particular time are of the greatest importance.

Since I believe that that which is contained in this editorial might well be regarded as an important contribution to the contemporaneous history of our times, I ask the unanimous consent of the membership of the House of Representatives that the editorial to which I have referred be spread upon the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The unanimous consent requested by the gentleman from California having been indicated, it was ordered that the editorial from the National Legionnaire be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as requested.

The editorial follows:

[From the National Legionnaire for December 1940]

LET'S ARM FOR AMERICA

America must "be prepared to do its fighting outside the United States," National Commander Milo J. Warner has asserted, "rather than to see any part of the United States destroyed."

Commander Warner's statement is based on the identical language used by the past three national conventions of the American Legion in formulating the national-defense policies of the organization. The commander further pointed out that the purpose of the United States in maintaining a Navy and an air arm to both the Army and the Naval Establishments is exactly for this purpose.

Dealing with aid to Great Britain, Commander Warner declared that "our governmental concepts and interests are similar to Great Britain's. However, we must think always of our own country and its interests. This means that in any dealings we must always have that paramount. Putting it rather crudely, but plainly, we must face facts, be practical, and hard-boiled."

Reviewing the national-defense resolutions of the past four conventions, Commander Warner declared:

Since the 1938 Los Angeles convention, the American Legion has been on record as demanding a national-defense system capable of beating back any group of aggressors before they reach our shores.

In the Los Angeles convention, as in previous conventions, the Legion was aware of the vast commitments this Nation had undertaken in the name of national defense. Our continental holdings,

our territorial holdings, and the Monroe Doctrine, established early in the nineteenth century, have made the Legion national-defense-minded in the broadest sense of the term.

It was at Los Angeles that we said:

"If an emergency threatening the territory of the United States arises we want to be so prepared on sea and land that battles for defense be fought as far from American shores as possible so that our civilians be not subjected to bombardments from foreigners."

In the same convention we were mindful of our territorial holdings when we asked for and approved "the establishment and improvement of the Alaska-Hawaii line of defense."

These references to the action of Legion national conventions are made here to straighten the thinking of those who say any leaders of the American Legion, or supposed leaders, are moving away from the programs of the Legion as promulgated by the national conventions, the supreme authority in the government of the Legion.

The No. 1 national-defense resolution adopted by the 1939 Chicago Legion convention reiterated the sense of the Los Angeles convention quoted above by saying:

"We want America strong enough to meet any intended invasion before it arrives and to turn the invader back, so that our homes remain intact and our families secure. We would prefer to fight outside of the United States rather than see any part of the United States become destroyed."

Now, these resolutions are familiar to members of the American Legion. They have been given the press of the Nation. The story of these resolutions has been carried in the press, on the wires, and over the air by radio.

They are in general agreement with the further resolution of the 1939 Chicago convention in which the Legion recommended to Congress "that authorizations and appropriations be made which will insure us a navy second to none, a navy so organized that it can defend our interests in both the Atlantic and the Pacific against any possible grouping of aggressors."

What, then, is the purpose in repeating these declarations of the Legion? I feel it is necessary to make this statement of the Legion's position to correct erroneous and misleading interpretations of our policy with regard to national defense.

Let us consider now the policy statements adopted by the 1940 Boston national convention of the American Legion. These form the basic program which it is my duty, as national commander, to interpret to our members and to the public at large.

These are not my statements. They are not born of a figment of my imagination. They are the reasoned, realistic product of the thought of the delegates to the Boston convention, who, realizing the emergency condition of world affairs, laid down the policy for the Legion to follow this year.

What do they say?

"1. No more costly mistake in statecraft can be made than a program which envisages initial fighting upon our continental frontiers, thus bringing a war to our own homes. What happens in such a case is all too patent in the situation of the British Isles today."

"2. The two great natural bulwarks of our country are the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, but their value depends upon our physical influence therein."

"3. If fighting is necessary to defend the United States, we insist upon being prepared to do the fighting outside of the United States."

"4. We believe that a sound national-defense policy for this country requires that we should at this time give all practicable aid to Great Britain and those alined with her in their fight for freedom.

"5. Our present program to build a navy with its own air arm capable of defending our interest in both the Atlantic and Pacific against any possible grouping of aggressors should be carried through to completion as speedily as possible.

"6. We urge that the Government of the United States exercise all lawful means to prevent the shipment of war materials to the aggressor nations and that it continue to extend to all peoples who are resisting aggression the fullest cooperation consistent with our obligations, our security, our liberties, and our peace."

Since the day the reports containing these resolutions were given the press during the Boston national convention it has been my privilege to reiterate the stand of the Legion as reflected by these actions on the question of national defense. I subscribe to them wholeheartedly. They are a part of the blueprint for the program for this year that came from the minds of the delegates who were the draftsmen for these policies.

In addition to the resolutions I have quoted the Boston convention also approved the action of the Government in expanding our system of naval bases by a transfer of over-age destroyers.

There is nothing in any action of the Boston convention, there is nothing in any statement I have made since the convention, to indicate that the Legion has veered away from its basic position of seeking the peace of this Nation through an adequate national-defense system.

The change, if there is one, has come in world affairs to give new meaning to our defense problems. Everything we have done is based on the idea that our defense system must not only be strong militarily but also spiritually and with respect to its economic repercussions. Military preparedness tends to defer acts of the most desperate belligerent. Economic preparedness reduces, although it cannot wholly eliminate, economic pressure for involvement in wars.

Our actual defense system as it exists at the present time in the Pacific runs from Alaska, through the Hawaiian Islands, to the Canal Zone. At Boston the American Legion adopted a resolution approving the recommendation made in 1919 by the joint Army and Navy board and repeated in 1938 by the naval (Hepburn) board "that Guam be fortified and garrisoned adequate to its defense against any force that could be brought against it." The resolution further went on to recommend that a satisfactory arrangement be sought for a continuance and necessary strengthening of the military and naval defenses of the United States in the Philippines "as a measure essential to the welfare of both peoples and to the preservation of stability in the Pacific."

In the Atlantic, so long as the European balance of power remained, our defense program appeared reasonably adequate. It appears inadequate today only because a situation which formerly seemed theoretic and remote has become real and imminent almost overnight. The possible missions of our armed forces have been expanded almost beyond recognition because of events in Europe. The fact that our Navy would never have been capable of operating simultaneously in the Pacific and Atlantic against a possible coalition of hostile powers occasioned no serious alarm until Germany threatened the destruction of British sea power in the Atlantic. The moment such a threat appeared the tacit assumptions on which our whole defense system was built were swept away.

The American Legion has expressed its sympathy for Great Britain and for China. It has approved of aid given them in defeating the aims of the aggressor, dictator-controlled nations. Let me say that our sympathy for these countries and our aid to them does not control our thinking about national defense for the United States. We want peace for this country. We want its shores inviolate. We are concerned with the fate of Great Britain primarily because of our anxiety for the fate of the United States and secondarily because of our sympathy for the principles for which she fights.

It is our duty to ourselves and our country to look first, last, and always to our own interests. It is our duty, in other words, to be nationally selfish. We should not be swayed by sentiment in times such as these. We must face facts as they are. Our governmental concepts and interests are similar to Great Britain's. We have many mutual interests. However, we must think always of our own country and its interests. This means that in any dealings with Great Britain we must have that always paramount. Putting it plainly, we must face facts, be practical and hard-boiled. We must always make sure that we get full value received for what we give.

Nutrition and National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL HINSHAW

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

ADDRESS BY DR. H. BORSOOK, OF THE CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an important address, doubly important at this time, as we are attempting to gear up our country for national defense. The address by Dr. Borsook, of the California Institute of Technology, read at the annual meeting of the League of California Cities, Health Officers' Section, at San Diego, Calif., on September 16, 1940, follows:

NUTRITION AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

(By Dr. H. Borsook, California Institute of Technology)

Nutrition and National Defense would have seemed an odd title a few years ago. That is no longer true. Today a menace threatens to engulf the last great democracy in Europe. The shadow of this menace is over this country.

The value of our lives and all that we have is now measured against the new standard of national defense. We are sparing neither men nor money to provide the best engines of war that we can contrive. In mechanized warfare, 6 to 18 men must work at home for every man stationed in the first line of defense. The whole fabric of our industrial organization, the backbone of our national defense, depends on the productive effort of these men and women of America. To make this effort as effective as possible, the modern knowledge of nutrition can make a major contribution, whose benefits will remain long after the present crisis has passed.

Nutrition is the next great problem and the next new task which public-health authorities must tackle. Toward the end of the nineteenth and in the beginning of this century the application of the discoveries of Pasteur and Koch to the control and prevention of infectious diseases changed the health of the world. The application of discoveries in nutrition could eradicate beriberi, pellagra, and scurvy, scourges as severe and as widespread as the bacterial diseases. It can do more; it can raise the health of nations to a new high level if applied on a national scale as bacteriology is now applied in public health and sanitation.

If the new knowledge of nutrition were used, it could make us taller, stronger, healthier, and longer-lived. In the United States we have the knowledge to do this and an ambulance of the necessary materials, the factories, and transportation system, but so far the adult man on the street has benefited very little.

The people of the United States are not well nourished and accordingly suffer from many avoidable illnesses. A great mass of data supporting this statement is available. Stiebeling and Phipard of the United States Department of Agriculture, analyzed diets of employed workers in the years 1935–37.

In four great geographical divisions from coast to coast the distribution of good, fair, and poor diets was approximately as follows: Poor, 50 percent; fair, 35 percent; only 15 percent were classed as good. The chief difference between the good diets and the fair diets is in the amounts of vitamins and minerals they contain.

The extent of malnutrition in this country is worse than these figures indicate because the standards in the diets classified as "fair" are in reality unsafe diets. The amount of vitamin B_1 (250 international units daily) is barely sufficient to prevent beriberi with no margin of safety; the amount of vitamin A (3,000 international units daily) is barely adequate for normal vision in dim light. There is only barely enough protein (45 grams daily) to prevent loss of body protein; the iron (10 milligrams daily) is so low that it may be insufficient to prevent anemia. Only 15 percent of the employed workers had diets better than this.

A nutrition survey was carried out in Pasadena between May and August 1938 under the direction of Dr. W. L. Halverson, the health officer of Pasadena, and the speaker. Our findings concentrated in this region confirmed those of Stiebeling and Phipard.

No wonder there are so many reports all over the country of defective vision in dim light which is subclinical vitamin A deficiency; reports of subclinical vitamin B deficiency which manifests itself in constipation, dyspepsia, neuritis, and arthritis; of latent scurvy which is subclinical vitamin C deficiency; of thinning of the bones of people past middle age and of widespread subclinical rickets in our children, which are due to subclinical vitamin D and calcium deficiency.

It would be a mistake if the economic factor were considered as the only one affecting the nutrition of the Nation. Stiebeling and Phipard found that of those who spent for food as much as $40–$50 a month for a family of four (and these constitute the upper minority of people in this country) one-half had diets that were poor.

The economic factor would be the most important one if our objective were limited to the prevention of severe nutritional diseases such as xerophthalmia, beriberi, pellagra, and scurvy. What should be our objective? Dr. McLester, in his presidential address to the American Medical Association in 1935, said:

"In the future it (science) promises to those races who will take advantage of the newer knowledge of nutrition a larger stature, greater vigor, increased longevity, and a higher cultural attainment."

This should be our objective. We should strive to attain optimum or, as Sherman has called it, buoyant health. This is more than prophylaxis, more than preventive medicine. It is positive action to raise our normal of health to a new level.

Certainly our military forces should be given a diet that will afford optimum health. There are reports that aviators of the Royal Air Force are given large amounts of vitamins A and D in the form of concentrates, presumably to make certain that their vision will be as good as it can be made. These young men report that they enjoy as a result a general tonic effect, their appetites are better, they feel better. I have good reason to believe from a personal communication that the diet of the German Army has been designed by nutrition experts, that modern scientific knowledge of nutrition has been used and that it is fortified with vitamins.

When optimum health is our objective then the economic factor becomes of secondary importance. Even the well to do who can eat what they want to, and as much as they want to, and are reasonably intelligent about it do not and cannot, unless they possess the necessary technical knowledge, obtain a diet which will afford optimum health. This is responsible for many of the common ailments of middle and old age. This conclusion is based on personal observation of hundreds of cases in the last 8 years. What, then, is the situation among those whose incomes are in the middle and lower brackets? How much could we save in hospitals and dispensaries if they had a first-class diet from childhood?

Modern processes remove the vitamins and minerals from wheat, corn, and sugar in the milling and refining. Today less than 10 percent of the vitamin B complex in the wheat grown in this country is actually eaten by human beings, although subclinical vitamin B deficiency is widespread in all economic classes. The public does not know that the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act states that "A food shall be deemed to be adulterated * * * if any valuable constituent has been in whole or in part omitted or abstracted therefrom."

We lost a great opportunity, although we can blame nobody, when governments permitted our staple foods to be devitaminized and demineralized. Before the days of modern milling processes an English laborer obtained 1,000 units of vitamin B_1 daily from his bread alone; today only the upper classes get as much as 500 units from all their food together.

There is no use crying over spilled milk. The Nation will not eat whole wheat flour and bread. Furthermore, it would require a profound change in the milling industry. We must use such methods in the solution of this problem as do not call for a revolution in our processing methods, nor for great change in eating habits, or we shall fail. Yet an optimum diet is within the reach of everyone if certain simple measures are taken. I shall describe what these measures are presently.

Before doing so I wish to discuss briefly one useful if not absolutely necessary prerequisite. That is that public-health and other officers concerned with protecting our food have at least some appreciation of the new knowledge of nutrition. I heard not long ago of one of our State officers concerned with food and drug inspection who stated that he did not need vitamins; that very few people do. When informed of a recent Federal ruling that vitamins be classed as foods, he stated that he, for one, would do all he could to prevent such a permanent ruling.

I wish that this outspoken officer would submit to the simple experiment of living on a diet which contained no vitamins for as short a period as 2 months—washed casein, cane sugar, lard, cow lick for minerals, and water, ad lib. If he survives the 2 months' experiment I am sure he will become a zealous evangelist for vitamins. New converts are the most devout.

The nutrition group at the California Institute of Technology has been devoting itself to the problem of practical ways and means of improving the nutrition of the Nation. We are of the opinion that there is only one really effective and certain way of doing this. It is also the cheapest and the easiest way. This is to add vitamins and minerals to such staple foods as flour, corn meal, and sugar, and to some canned and bottled foods, at the source where these foods are processed. These must be added in measured amounts, under Government regulation and subject to Government inspection. Specifically, what is needed is:

1. Authorization of a Government body to be concerned solely with nutrition. This body should consist of: (a) A commission of competent nutrition experts and scientific representatives of the military branches and of the different Government departments concerned. This commission will set up standards, determine the extent to which vitamins should be added to foods, and deal with related matters, and (b) an administrative division headed by a qualified executive director with the power to carry out the policy of the commission.

An outline of a national nutrition program based on the policy of fortification was forwarded by our group to Washington on June 15 of this year, followed by certain addenda. The plan is practical, simple, and inexpensive. It is a plan which aims at providing an optimum diet for the whole Nation, at providing the nutritional basis of the highest attainable physiological state in our people. Our policy may be stated in these sentences. Tap water has been made safe by the efforts of public health authorities and everyone knows it is safe. The food products supervised by a competent national nutrition authority would merit the same public confidence, because of the assurance in the public mind that the requirement of nutritional essentials was being satisfied automatically and inescapably.

Some have suggested that education in eating habits is the answer to the problem. The United States Department of Agriculture has for years been carrying on excellent work along these lines. It has had some measure of success. The per capita consumption of milk today is two to three times what it was 50 years ago, yet even today calcium deficiency is widespread. In the last 15 years the increase in milk consumption has been only 4 percent. Have we time now with a national emergency, with the country mobilizing all its resources to meet this emergency, for a policy which can at best bring results only after many years of effort? Public education is a very slow process.

We must act first, with an effective national nutrition policy. This is in the best tradition of public-health work. Would drinking water be as safe as it is today if the application of the new knowledge of bacteriology had consisted mainly in an educational campaign to boil all drinking water? I imagine it would have sounded fantastic if it had been suggested in 1881 that the best way to make water safe to drink is to install great filtration plants and sedimentation beds, when the simple measure of boiling water would make it as safe.

No discussion of the national nutrition problem in the United States may pass over without comment the food-stamps plan of the United States Department of Agriculture. I have no doubt that this plan will prove to be an important step in the solution of the grave problem of agricultural surpluses. If extended as it should be it can go far toward preventing serious nutritional diseases such as pellagra and scurvy among the poor by providing enough to eat and improving the quality somewhat.

The food-stamp plan has its limits. It alone will not insure an optimum diet for the whole Nation. The policy of fortification of foods which our group has recommended to Washington would not interfere with the food-stamp plan, but make it an even more effective measure in improving the diet of those who use it.

We are confident that an effective national nutrition program based on fortification of foods with vitamins and minerals, supplemented by such measures as the food-stamp plan, could, for example, bring about the eradication of pellagra in the South within a year of its full operation. There may be reasons why this cannot or will not be done, but none of these can be scientific nutritional reasons.

The policy of fortifying foods with dietary essentials is not a new, revolutionary policy. We have grown accustomed now to

the fortification of salt with iodides in order to reduce the incidence of goiter. More recently vitamin A has been added to margarine in order to raise its nutritional value toward that of butter. The same arguments that today are and will be raised against fortifying flour with the vitamin B complex were raised against the addition of iodine to salt and of vitamin A to margarine. I have not time to discuss these today, but I will say that none of them can be sustained on scientific or economic grounds.

You will want to know how much this policy of fortification of foods with adequate amounts of dietary essentials is going to cost. Let me give you an actual illustration of how little it need cost. A friend of mine with relatives in England asked our nutrition group for advice on what he could send to tide his relatives over the serious food situation which is expected in England this winter.

We were able to draw up a small list of food materials which supplied abundant amounts of the dietary essentials—first-class protein, calcium, phosphate, iron, vitamins A, the B complex, C, and D. These dietary essentials, with some fat, any available protein, and any carbohydrate for calories will supply his relatives with a first-class diet from a nutritional point of view. The essentials will cost him (without transport) 7½ cents a day per person.

If the policy of fortification of foods which we have proposed is adopted and put into effect on a national scale, optimum amounts of dietary essentials would cost much less than 7½ cents a day per person. Our nutrition group has been able to make some study of the cost, and it appears that if the program were carried through on a national basis the vitamins will cost approximately $1 per person per year. This figure is so low that I have reason to believe that the food industries could absorb the cost themselves without passing it on to the consumer.

A short time ago the British Government appointed a Scientific Food Committee. Within 5 weeks the committee had formulated a national nutrition policy, and this policy was translated by the Government of Great Britain into national action.

The British national nutritional policy is based on the principle of fortification. Vitamin B_1 and calcium are added to flour. The decision to add calcium is especially important because it is a dietary essential which is not present in appreciable amounts in flour, white or whole wheat. Flour happens to be the most convenient vehicle for this particular supplement.

The result is that the whole Nation obtains an increased intake of these two dietary essentials, automatically and inescapably, without change in color, taste, or processing of the food. No mention is made of increased cost to the consumer. The public is not asked to change its eating habits; millers and bakers are not asked to change their processes.

It is a well-established practice to exchange military observers with other countries, especially when there is a war. This practice is now extended to civilian experts in industry and commerce. The policy of the fortification of a staple food for the whole nation recently adopted by the British Government is an historic event in public health. It concerns us vitally. It is highly desirable that we send competent nutrition observers abroad so that we may have the benefit of a close, continuous, and objective study from the very beginning of the operation of this undertaking, which is the first of its kind in which the government of a great country, by deliberate plan and measure, seeks to improve the nutrition of the whole nation, without calling on the individuals of that nation to do anything. The improvement in their diet will be automatic and, so long as they eat bread, inescapable. This is sound applied science; it is also biological engineering on a grand scale.

Today the public health officers of the city of London are working to prevent epidemics and starvation. Their problems are the primitive ones of a struggle for survival. Their work is among ruins and in cellars.

That this horror shall not befall us we are going to make an unprecedented expenditure, not only of our money but of ourselves, in public service. We are just beginning. The stress of the demand for increased production will grow on workers, executives, and government officials. We can put to good use, in the building of our national defenses, all our reserves of health and strength.

Is it not time, then, for a national nutrition policy for the United States, for a competent Government body to be concerned solely with nutrition? So, just as we are now organized to use all our knowledge of science and technology in the construction of engines of warfare, we shall also use modern science and technology for the lasting improvement of the health of the men and women of America.

Headed for Complete Dictatorship

REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in spite of constant criticism and warnings on the part of several Members of the Congress, the national-defense program was allowed to lag until now the country is told by William Knudsen, of the National Defense Commission, that our defense is at least 30 percent behind the program.

Refusing to appoint any responsible head, and insisting upon passing on all matters himself, President Roosevelt, part of the time away from Washington, his whereabouts unknown to the Members of Congress, has, in part at least, been the bottleneck behind which the defense program has dammed up.

Whether or not it was so intended, nothing could have been more perfectly designed to produce a demand for mobilization and regimentation of business and industry than the bogging down of the defense program. There are those in Washington who believe, and not without reason, that the administration was waiting for what at least appeared to be a public demand for the enactment by the Congress of the industrial mobilization plan, which means the setting up in peacetime in this country of a complete military dictatorship. That demand for the adoption of the mobilization plan has come. It arose from so many different sources so suddenly as to bear a close resemblance to a preconceived propaganda program.

It is imperative that the American people know some of the things that are proposed in this mobilization plan as revised by the Roosevelt administration in 1936 and 1939.

Title II of the 1936 mobilization plan, which would become effective with the adoption of the plan, is known as the Industrial Management Act. It in part reads as follows:

TITLE II

The President is hereby authorized, when in his opinion the successful prosecution of war so requires or renders advisable, the successful prosecution of war so requires or renders advisable, to require, under such rules and regulations as he may establish, the registration of all or any class of persons engaged in the management or control of any technical, industrial, or manufacturing plant or establishment of any kind whatsoever, whatever the form of ownership thereof, corporate or otherwise, or who have been engaged in such capacity within 6 months prior to any declaration of war.

STATUS OF REGISTRANTS

Whenever the President shall, in his discretion, deem any technical, industrial, or manufacturing plant or establishment or any group thereof comprising an industry to be essential to the maintenance of the Military Establishment, or the effective operation of the military forces, or the maintenance of the national interest during the emergency, he may proclaim such plant, establishment, or industry so to be. Thereupon any person registered pursuant to the provisions of this title shall, if within a classification promulgated by the President in his said proclamation, be brought into service of the Government for the duration of the war and shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the War Department. The Secretary of War is authorized and directed to provide such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the government of such persons so brought into the service of the Government. * * * The Secretary may at any time, if he deem the public interest in successful prosecution of war so to require, remove such person from such industrial position and assign him to any service within the jurisdiction of the said War Department. Upon such removal the vacancy so created shall be filled in the normal manner by the officers or managers of the plant or establishment affected, but the person chosen as such replacement shall immediately be subject to the provisions of this title.

LIMITATION OF INCOME; PENALTIES

No person brought into the service of the Government pursuant to the provisions of this title shall at any time receive any salary, gift, compensation, or other emolument whatsoever, either directly or indirectly, for services rendered during wartime from any plant or establishment for or in which such person shall render services during time of war. Such person shall receive for services rendered during time of war only such compensation and allowances as shall be fixed and paid by the President. If any such person does receive any salary or compensation from any other source for services rendered during wartime he shall be dishonorably discharged from the service of the War Department and shall in addition thereto be guilty of a felony and shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

This means that the President would have power to impress into the military service any head of an industry, a business, a farm, a dairy, a machine shop—his power of impressment would be practically unlimited.

Title III of the proposed mobilization plan, entitled, "War Resources Control," is another provision that will show the

unlimited power which will be vested in this proposed military dictatorship.

This title gives the President very broad powers to control all of the resources of the Nation by price fixing, licensing, rationing, requisitioning, priorities, and other measures for directing and unifying the industrial war effort. It reads as follows:

The President by this title is granted discretionary wartime power and authority as follows: To fix prices; to regulate commodity exchanges; to establish a system of priorities or rationing in favor of users most vitally linked with the prosecution of the war; to provide a system of licenses for organizations or persons engaged in manufacturing, mercantile, or public-service industries; to regulate the sale, use, transportation, manufacture, or distribution of any product; to requisition any product and to sell or otherwise dispose of such products; to enforce regulations against waste, hoarding, speculation, and profiteering; to commandeer any manufacturing plant or other establishment.

The President is also authorized in this title to establish as many agencies as he deems necessary to execute the functions of control over war resources. The appointment of administrators to exercise the powers granted is also authorized. The President could regroup, redistribute, or reassign the duties and functions of the procurement of war supplies for the Military and Naval Establishments.

Any mobilization plan which may be enacted by the Congress will undoubtedly include the provision of the 1939 plan which provides that the act shall remain in force until in the judgment of the President the period of readjustment shall have passed. This means, of course, that we will have a dictatorship saddled upon us until such time as the dictator himself willingly surrenders this power. When, in modern history, has any dictator done this?

Do the American people want such a military dictatorship set up over them in peacetime?

Closer Relationships Stressed in Addresses on the Occasion of Pan American Aviation Day

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

ADDRESSES BY DR. L. S. ROWE, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION, AND THOMAS BURKE, CHIEF, DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to be present yesterday evening at a dinner in commemoration of Pan American Aviation Day, and later to see Flight Command in its world premier at the Capitol Theater.

The dinner, sponsored by the National Aeronautic Association, was an occasion long to be remembered. Among the speakers were: Gill Robb Wilson, alert and farsighted president of the organization; Gen. George C. Marshall, of the United States Army; Admiral Harold R. Stark, of the United States Navy; and Walter Pidgeon, whom we later saw in a leading role in the splendid motion picture, which had full cooperation of the Navy in its filming.

Present at the gathering in the Carlton Hotel were diplomatic representatives from practically all of the Latin American countries. Believing the following addresses at the dinner in commemoration of Pan American Aviation Day, Tuesday, December 17, 1940, to be especially timely, I include them at this point:

THE LARGER SIGNIFICANCE OF PAN-AMERICAN AVIATION DAY

(Address by Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union)

The celebration of Pan-American Aviation Day at this time assumes a special significance not only because of its intrinsic importance but also by reason of the fact that it is the outward expression of that growing unity of the Americas which means so much to the present and to the future of civilization. Upon that unity depends the security of the Western Hemisphere and it is becoming increasingly evident that upon the security of the Western Hemisphere depends the future of democratic institutions. No greater calamity could befall the American republics than to live in an atmosphere of international insecurity. If there is any one lesson which history has taught it is that democratic institutions cannot survive in an atmosphere of international insecurity. The fear of aggression carries with it inevitably regimentation, and regimentation brings with it the undermining of the basic principles of individual liberty beginning with freedom of thought, and gradually extending to freedom of the press, freedom of association, and finally to religious freedom.

The close and cooperative relations which have been established between the American republics, and particularly the unity of policy which they are developing, point the way to national and continental security and are at the same time the best guaranties of the maintenance of those democratic institutions which we have inherited from the founders of the American republics.

There is another aspect of this celebration which also deserves attention. We have hardly begun to appreciate the far-reaching social, economic, and political consequences which the development of aviation has brought with it throughout the American Continent.

While its economic and social effects have been far reaching, its most important influence has been political. Aviation has been one of the great unifying influences in the national life of the countries of this continent. It has served to strengthen national sovereignty by increasing the control of the respective national governments over every section of their territory. While strengthening international ties it has also served to unify national opinion and to strengthen the control of public opinion over governmental action.

In the great movement for pan-American unity aviation has become one of the mightiest forces.

To the memory of the pioneers in this great movement in all sections of our western world we bring the fullest measure of gratitude for the great service which they have rendered.

UNITED STATES PAYS TRIBUTE TO GALLANT AERONAUTS OF 21 AMERICAN REPUBLICS FOR WESTERN HEMISPHERE AVIATION DEVELOPMENT

(Address by Mr. Thomas Burke, Chief of the Division of International Communications, Department of State)

Today throughout the length and breadth of the United States our citizens are paying tribute to those gallant aeronauts of the 21 American republics who blazed the perilous trail of aviation development in the Western Hemisphere.

It is my understanding that the private sponsors who procured the passage of the joint resolution of Congress authorizing the President to designate December 17 as Pan American Aviation Day in the United States were prompted by the belief that the people of this country should be more adequately informed about the importance, significance, and character of aviation in the other American republics. With that thought in mind, it is said that the sponsors chose the thirty-seventh anniversary of the Wright brothers Kitty Hawk flight as an appropriate occasion on which to concentrate the attention of this Nation on the fascinating and romantic story of aviation's birth and its development by the nationals of our sister republics.

Surrounded by grim reminders of the tragedy which stalks the world today, we who comprise the American republics are taking appropriate measures to protect our chosen way of life and the peace which it has brought to us. To that end we are perfecting our respective air-defense systems, and for the furtherance of our economic, commercial, and cultural well-being we are materially augmenting our air-transportation facilities. Among no other group of nations on earth could such an undertaking be carried on with the singleness of purpose and spirit that has characterized this truly Pan American activity. In that regard it may be pointed out that the peoples of no other quarter of the globe have developed the degree of airmindedness that characterizes the entire Western Hemisphere. In this regard it should be borne in mind that topography plays a vital role.

In the area occupied by our sister republics lie the Andes Mountains—considered by scientists and travelers alike to be the most formidable barrier to transportation in the civilized world. Flanked with frequently impassable, tropical jungles whose rivers are, in the main, unnavigable, Los Andes have sullenly defied practically every modern form of transportation except aviation. The wealth of Croesus would not suffice to undertake even the primary stages of highway or railroad construction through their forbidding heights, and since the days of the Conquistadores many fertile and productive regions in the lower continent have remained tightly locked between towering walls of rock and dense jungles, thereby reducing their agricultural and mineral potentialities to a negligible degree of productivity. From the angle of time, practicality, and cost, air transportation can, with reasonable satisfaction, offset this caprice of nature, and it is mainly for that reason that the peoples of the other American Republics look upon the development of commercial aviation with such vital interest and enthusiasm.

In the light of the unselfish cooperation which so vividly marks the relationship of the American Republics, there is every reason to believe that the same dauntless spirit which guided Santos-

Dumont, Chavez, Bielovucic, Guzmão, Newberry, Godoy, Cardenas, Carranza, and the Wright brothers, will triumph over these obstacles, and in so doing, justify the supreme contribution which the pioneer airmen of the Western Hemisphere made to the science of aerodynamics.

Therefore, on this significant occasion, it is my fervent hope that the revered memory of our distinguished air pioneers will serve to encourage us to maintain with justice, fairness, and equality the spirit of interdependence and mutual respect by which they were so clearly guided. To that great task we now dedicate ourselves.

National Pension System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JERRY VOORHIS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 16, 1940

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, seldom in the history of this Republic has there been a movement of the people which has enlisted the support of larger numbers or demonstrated a greater tenacity of purpose than has the movement to establish a national pension system for the older citizens of America.

There are sound and basic reasons why this is so. It is so because the central problem of every democratic industrial society is the problem of enabling its people to consume in proportion to their power to produce. It is so because we are beginning to realize that a sustained core of consumer buying power is the only dependable basis for prosperity. It is so because, at first vaguely but now more and more clearly, we are beginning to realize that America's chance for avoiding, in the long run, any possible dependence upon a totalitarian market across the seas is to develop here at home a full market for our home production. Finally it is so because as the years go by it becomes more and more evident that, even under the extreme stimulus of a great defense program, our machine and power system of production will not offer opportunity to the older worker for employment.

There will be those who will contend that since America's foremost purpose is the construction of an impregnable system of defense it is no time to be talking about the gaining of great social ideals such as the one to which this speech is addressed. Such people will be wrong for two great reasons. The first of these is that unless we build now a system which can be relied upon to maintain employment and production when the defense spending comes to an end—as some day it must—we shall at that time face even greater perils than we do at present. The second reason is that the cause for which America stands today must be the cause of the great rank and file of human beings and a very great deal depends upon this fact being made unmistakably clear by the policies and practices that we pursue. Indeed the one challenge to the dictators which not one of them—black, brown, or red—can possibly meet is the challenge of a free people who, without the sacrifice of freedom, have conquered the type problem of the twentieth century—unemployment.

It was partly with this idea in mind that the House conference on unemployment was organized almost a year ago and carried forward an outstanding work of studying the causes of unemployment and developing a program for its solution. And the second point in the 16-point program adopted by the conference reads as follows:

> Passage of legislation to establish a national old-age retirement system for all groups, operated on the pay-as-you-go basis, and financed, in part at least, by inheritance and income taxes.

But it is not Members of the House alone who have spoken out on this matter. On September 11, 1940, President Roosevelt made this significant statement:

> Our old-age pension system must be improved and extended; the amount of the pension should be increased; and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner which will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the Nation.

It is my hope that soon the United States will have a national system under which no needy man or woman within our borders will lack a minimum old-age pension which will provide adequate food, clothing, and lodging to the end of the road—without having to go to the poorhouse to get it.

Surely, then, the time has come when we can look forward to some definite action in this great field of human justice. Surely there has been talk enough. Surely those of us who have believed in this cause can expect that before the passage of another year we will be able to look back upon actual progress in the form of enacted legislation.

And that legislation must be of such a character that it will include in the system our whole population above the retirement age. It must be of such a character as to begin the job of achieving a better distribution of our national buying power as between the geographical regions of the Nation. It must be of such a character as to provide a national insurance system to which all will contribute and from which all will eventually benefit. No farmer, no sharecropper, no home worker, no self-employed person must be left out of it, for America is learning—partly because she must—what national unity really means. It has been proposed already by many eminent people that a special tax be levied to finance the defense program. Then why not a special tax to finance a pension system? It will cost money—there is no question about that. The cost will be exactly commensurate with the amount of the pension that the American people want to provide. The thing that has to be decided, after all, is whether and how much we really want this great step forward toward true democratic security.

In the closing days of this Seventy-sixth Congress some of us here in Washington and millions of people throughout the Nation have been hoping most earnestly that a measure of the sort I have described in outline might be brought before the House of Representatives, at least, for a vote. One of the petitions which would accomplish this lacks today but 10 names to make it effective.

I have my own rather definite ideas—some of which I have expressed in this speech—as to the particular provisions which an ideal national pension bill should contain. I do not press those ideas here. For the essential and all-important thing today is unity of purpose. Here is a great ideal. We know it can be achieved. Many of us have promised we would do all in our power to achieve it.

Now is the accepted time.

For we are concerned with the strength of America—with the staying and the dynamic power of our country's way of life and institutions of government.

Enemies of democracy have charged it could not provide security. We know they have spoken falsely. Let us prove by our action that this is so. Let us write a record that all the world may read.

The Six Proud Men

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBERT L. VREELAND
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, December 18, 1940

RADIO BROADCAST BY CITIZENS OF THE ORANGES AND MAPLEWOOD, N. J.

Mr. VREELAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio broadcast on December 11, 1940, by prominent citizens of the Oranges and Maplewood, N. J.:

ANNOUNCER. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, Station WMCA welcomes you to an unusual program—a program which brings you what might be called The Six Proud Men. These are six men who are proud of the place they and their children live and who are going to tell you tonight why they are proud to live

there—and why you, too, might perhaps like to live there. We have with us this evening George E. Stringfellow, president of the Chamber of Commerce and Civics of the Oranges and Maplewood, N. J., and five distinguished friends and neighbors of his. These six proud men are representative of the 160,000 fathers, mothers, boys and girls, and uncles and aunts who live in one of America's most famous communities—which is, in fact, five communities in one. The Oranges and Maplewood are showing America a new frontier in wholesome living, community cooperation, and mutual development which I'm sure you'll like hearing about. I'm going to ask Mr. Stringfellow to make the introductions; but just one word, first, about Mr. Stringfellow himself. His presidency of the chamber of commerce and civics is his contribution to the community life he shares—a contribution which is so typical of public feeling in the Oranges and Maplewood.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Thank you, Mr. Hudson, and good evening, well, I guess we are six proud men. But we're proud of our communities and not necessarily of ourselves. Frankly, we're here tonight to do a little community bragging. My five friends and neighbors are the executive heads of the five municipalities known as the Oranges and Maplewood. These gentlemen were my guests at dinner one night last week, when we were discussing our visit with WMCA's radio audience tonight; and I think much the best way is to have them tell you what they told me about some of the advantages of living, doing business, and enjoying life in one of the longest-established suburban sections in the country. Sitting next to me is Mayor Charles Martens of the city of East Orange, the largest in population of these municipalities. Mr. Martens might well be called the indispensable man of East Orange. He has been elected mayor of his city not once, not twice, not three times—but, mind you, 12 consecutive times. He has been mayor for 22 years and just reelected. Well, what have you to say for yourself, Mayor Martens?

Mr. MARTENS. Frankly, Mr. Stringfellow, I have nothing to say for myself but so much to say for East Orange and our sister communities that I could use the entire time allotted to our program just starting it.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Suppose you briefly tell our audience a few of the chief characteristics of your own particular city.

Mr. MARTENS. Well, I'd rather talk about the people of our city. They're fine people. You see, our city government charter, adopted in 1899, provides for many boards and commissions. Nearly all of our commissioners—and there are almost 75 of them in the various branches of our municipal government—serve without pay. They give freely of their time and talents to make East Orange a better place for everybody to live. I think you find in our organization the truth of the statement that it is not the form of government but the character of the people in office that really counts. During the 22 years I've been mayor, not one person has ever been guilty of dishonesty or negligence in representing the city or handling public funds. You can't have government like that without having the right sort of people to back it up. I think we get that right sort of people because East Orange has always been known as the city of homes. There are nearly 70,000 people living in East Orange—and they are all home people—interested in schools, in healthful sports, in their churches.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. I've often wondered just how many churches you have in East Orange, Mr. Martens. How many would you say?

Mr. MARTENS. There are 43 churches, covering all denominations. Their members have invested more than five and one-half million dollars in church buildings alone—so it's not surprising that we have some of the most beautiful churches in the country. But East Orange people always invest in worth-while things. For instance, we have one of the finest playground systems in the entire United States. We believe in giving our children wholesome surroundings in which to play.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Thank you, Mayor Martens. And before we go further into the advantages of the Oranges and Maplewood, I'd like Mayor Bianchi to express for all of us the spirit of these communities. You see, Mayor Bianchi's town is Orange—the mother of all these communities, so to speak. Mr. Bianchi, what are your sentiments?

Mr. BIANCHI. That I can't find a finer community in which to live and work—or a finer community spirit to share—than we enjoy here in the five municipalities of the Oranges and Maplewood. We're as happy a family of towns as there could possibly be, and our spirit of cooperation has made, and will continue to make, great things possible for all five of us. This is a place that not only makes for good living—but which has good and old roots to feed our growth.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. What is the outstanding characteristic of the city of Orange, Mr. Bianchi?

Mr. BIANCHI. It is the spirit of good will that predominates amongst our citizens. This has made possible the founding and maintenance of three of the largest hospitals in the State and an endless number of other agencies for the benefit of mankind. Our outstanding development of residential and business life can be attributed to the same cause.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. So from the very beginning, Mr. Bianchi, Orange combined a high-type residential life with a sound business background. Today, Orange has a population of about 37,000 people. But we've talked about Orange and East Orange—let's go west now. The third of our government heads here tonight is Mayor Bernard M. Degnan, of West Orange. Mayor Degnan, suppose you briefly describe the physical characteristics of West Orange.

Mr. DEGNAN. Well, geographically speaking, West Orange is the largest of the five municipalities. It covers an area of about 12 square miles—it is semimountainous in terrain and has only recently been conquered by the building of new, modern highways that now run right through the heart of this hilly section. West Orange is attracting a lot of people who love hills—and who are surprised to find that the Oranges and Maplewood have the highest elevation on the Atlantic coast.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Yes; Thomas A. Edison once told me how he happened to settle here. But you're the mayor of West Orange; suppose you tell the story.

Mr. DEGNAN. As you know, Mr. Stringfellow, it's really a story about Mrs. Thomas A. Edison—who still lives right here in West Orange in Llewellyn Park, one of the most beautiful communities of estates in the entire country. It seems that Mr. Edison was anxious to pick a place to become the permanent location for his laboratories. He told Mrs. Edison that he was willing to do his work—important as it was—anywhere she would like to live. And Mrs. Edison chose West Orange. That was more than 50 years ago. Apparently neither Mr. Edison nor Mrs. Edison ever regretted their choice. A few miles from the family home the simple laboratories which Edison founded became the great Edison Industries—and from this spot Edison gave the world some of his greatest inventions.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. That seems to be a pretty fair testimonial for West Orange, Mayor Degnan, and I'm afraid I'll have to cut you off, because there are good things to say about all these municipalities. I'd now like to introduce E. Morgan Barradale, who is village president of South Orange—the fourth of our five communities. And we have still to hear from Milo S. Borden, chairman of Maplewood's township committee. First, Mr. Barradale of South Orange.

Mr. BARRADALE. Thank you, Mr. Stringfellow, and good evening. I think it's time somebody said something about the trees.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. About the trees, Mr. Barradale?

Mr. BARRADALE. Yes, the trees. The village of South Orange has more trees lining its streets, per mile, than any community of its size in the United States. It's true those trees just grew there. But so did trees grow everywhere else in the country. I say it is typical of the spirit of South Orange that the trees continued to grow there. The founders not only wanted a nice place to live—they wanted to keep it nice. And they protected their trees as one of the steps. There's another way in which South Orange is unique. It has the only village charter and village form of government in the State of New Jersey. It is one of the most 100 percent residential communities in the United States. This community grew almost directly from a summer resort into a high-type suburban community. For instance, we have a station on the Lackawanna called Mountain Station. Do you know how it got its name?

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. How, Mr. Barradale?

Mr. BARRADALE. Because 100 years ago there was a summer hotel nearby called Mountain House. People would come out here from New York and Newark to enjoy the good mountain air. Now, thanks to modern transportation, these people's children enjoy this good air all the time. And the residential character of the community has not changed. I sincerely believe that we have everything in the way of beautiful surroundings, convenience, excellent educational and recreational facilities that a man or woman could possibly ask for. Our health, police, and fire departments, make South Orange a secure, healthy and happy place in which to live.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. And the enthusiasm is pretty much the same throughout all the Oranges. And certainly Maplewood, isn't it Mr. Borden? Mr. Borden is, as I have told you, chairman of the township committee of Maplewood.

Mr. BORDEN. Yes, it is, Mr. Stringfellow. Maplewood, the youngest part of our five-in-one community, is alive with a wholesome civic enthusiasm and a genuine atmosphere of neighborliness and cooperation. These desirable conditions have been largely responsible for the transmission of Maplewood from a rural community of less than 3,000 inhabitants in 1920, to the comfortably populated township of nearly 23,000 people, which is the Maplewood of today. Maplewood lies immediately south of South Orange and some 4 miles west of Newark's business center. Some folks call it "North Orange." But that couldn't be right when it's south of South Orange, could it? Well, we feel that Maplewood is pretty "north" on statistics in the United States. Eighy-three percent of the families living in our town own their own homes. And out of that kind of regard for home grows a substantial community life. We're proud of our planning and we managed to escape the boom type of jerry building that has turned so many good communities into undesirable ones. In spite of the fact that our population has increased 400 percent since 1920, homes have been built of a character to preserve the beauty of the community.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Tell us about the Timothy Ball House, Mr. Borden. Isn't that one of the oldest buildings in the country?

Mr. BORDEN. Yes; Timothy Ball House was built in 1743 and is still excellently preserved. At this two-and-one-half-story colonial farm house George Washington was a frequent visitor during the Revolution. He was related on his mother's side to Timothy. Outside the old house still stands the historic walnut tree to which George Washington used to tie his horse.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Well, now that the five communities have all been heard from individually, it might be a good idea to support some of the statements these gentlemen have made. After all, there are thousands of modern communities throughout the United States. Why should any one of the Oranges or Maplewoods be singled out in particular? Mayor Martens, of East Orange, what do you say?

Mr. MARTENS. That's a good question. As a matter of fact, it brings forth the very point we wish to stress. You see, the Oranges and Maplewood, individually, are just prosperous, better-than-

average American communities. However, our story tonight, our reason for this joint broadcast and the message we bring our listeners is the story of what has been called an approach to a new American frontier. Due to our common interests, the fact that all five of our communities have, one by one, grown out of the original settlement of Orange, N. J., we have always shared a mutual civic interest, have cooperated with one another from the very outset, and in many ways have established the Oranges and Maplewood as five homogeneous communities in one. The things we've accomplished, the progress we've made, and the civic prosperity we now enjoy are a source of great pride not only to the men here tonight but to more than 165,000 people in a community of communities.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. I think your remarks very apt, Mr. Martens. It is true that the Oranges and Maplewood represent practically every type of good living, from simple little apartments for newly married young folks to estates and dignified houses for some of the 100 Who's Who people who live in our midst. Incidentally, I don't believe there is any other community of 165,000 population which can boast a hundred names listed in Who's Who. But then these regions were built by men with broad vision and a real sense of doing things. Mayor Bianchi, will you tell us something about the early days?

Mr. BIANCHI. I'll be glad to. The first settlers of what is now the Oranges and Maplewood migrated from Pesayak Towne, spelled P-e-s-a-y-a-k, an old Indian name, by which Newark was then known. These men formed what they called the Mountain Society in 1688. To quote from a book which has been written on the subject, "They loved the hills and fruitful valleys. They cherished spiritual values. They believed in fair play and lived in peace with their neighbors. Their solid virtues and sound principles have been like a legacy for those who followed." Well, eventful years changed the Mountain Society into the five separate yet closely related communities we have today. One of the oldest settled areas in the United States, a stormy battlefield during the Revolutionary War, its 25 square miles contain many historic landmarks. One of these is the famous Eagle Rock, a mountain crest from which one can today look down upon the panorama and see New York City, credited as having the world's most famous skyline. His eyes will behold more homes than he can see anywhere else in the world from one vantage point. Here at Eagle Rock there is an annual Easter service which is regarded as one of the most inspiring events of its kind in the East. Thousands of people who live in the Oranges and Maplewood arise before the sun is up and go to the top of the mountain for the service. There's a lot more history, Mr. Stringfellow, that I should like to tell, but I know our time is limited.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Yes; I want Mayor Borden to tell something more of what we mean by this new frontier, this modern frontier whereby the families of the Oranges and Maplewood are following their ancestors in the earnest advancement of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Mr. Borden, will you carry on, please?

Mr. BORDEN. Yes, Mr. Stringfellow; I want to tell you how these communities have pooled their interest where it was desirable to do so and yet each maintains its own charm and individuality, how we manage to have many of the advantages of cities yet most of the advantages of small towns. Despite their different characteristics and their individual forms of government, the five municipalities derive their greatest mutual benefits from the unification of their purposes and ideals. They have one chamber of commerce and civics, which is presided over by yourself, Mr. Stringfellow. The five communities have one finely equipped Y. M. C. A., an equally fine Y. W. C. A., one Red Cross, a Welfare Federation of which we are all very proud, a common council of social agencies, and a general board of realtors. In all these phases the benefits of one important organization instead of five separate organizations prevail.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. And as a common taxpaying citizen I want to say it works out well, too. I know that there are hundreds of other joint accomplishments too numerous to mention and that the five communities have realized things in this way which could never have been accomplished independently. This intertown cooperation is, then, the keystone of the arch of better living. And now I am going to ask Mr. Borden to tell you something about our churches, educational facilities, recreational, health, and hobby opportunities. Mr. Borden.

Mr. BORDEN. Well, as you know, Mr. Stringfellow, there are in the 5 towns more than 100 churches, representing no less than 18 separate denominations. This is an excellent background in which to bring up children. Yes, I think we do well by our children in the Oranges and Maplewood. We have more than 70 educational institutions in the 5 towns. All public, parochial, and private schools are on the approved list of accredited schools for college entrance and are widely recognized for their uniformly high standards. Parent interest and cooperation are encouraged through 30 parent-teacher organizations.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. That is very interesting, Mr. Borden—and I believe that I am right in saying that the Senior Columbia High School in Maplewood is one of the finest in the State of New Jersey. It cost more than $2,000,000 to build and is one of the very few schools to boast a pipe organ. Orange was a leader in establishing vocational-training schools. There are, I believe, 10 parochial schools in the 5 communities with facilities from kindergarten through the 4 years of high school. Mr. Barradale, will you tell us about the adult-education programs?

Mr. BARRADALE. Adult education had one of its earliest starts in our communities and has progressed to one of the highest forms in the country. More than 3,500 men and women are taking advanced courses in South Orange this year—and 9 members of the faculty of Princeton University are now on our regular adult-education staffs. Courses range from art appreciation to home-cooking, jiu jitsu, fencing, languages, literature, and dramatic arts. The programs are broad and they are good. They lend a great deal to the cultural life of the community.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. There are broad opportunities for cultural activities in all phases here in the Oranges and Maplewood. Mayor Degnan will tell you about a few of them.

Mr. DEGNAN. Well, just naming over some of the activities does it, Mr. Stringfellow. In the Oranges and Maplewood you find one of the finest community symphony orchestras in the East, an art center, just scores of photographic classes, little theater groups, literary clubs, and so on. In fact, if I may, I'd like also to say a word about our libraries right here. More than 50 years ago the Orange Free Library was started with 169 books and a few magazines. Later, the East Orange Free Library and 2 of its 3 branches were presented to the city by Andrew Carnegie. Both South Orange and Maplewood have their own libraries—and a very complete branch of the Orange Free Library serves West Orange.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. That should tell all of us, Mayor Degnan, that there's food for the mind in the Oranges and Maplewood. But let's consider the physical for just a minute. What would you say the facilities for sports are in these communities, Mr. Martens? Golf, for instance.

Mr. MARTENS. Why, Mr. Stringfellow, if a man living anywhere in the Oranges or Maplewood wants to play golf he can drive from his home to his choice of no less than 16 golf clubs in 15 minutes or less. And included among the 16 are some of the finest private and public golf clubs in the country. A half-hour's drive provides a choice of 37 clubs. Or, say, mother wants to take the youngsters to the seashore. One can drive to the ocean from any point in the Oranges or Maplewood in between an hour and one hour and a half and have the best surf bathing along the Atlantic coast. I think one of my associates told you previously about playgrounds—that we have one of the best playground systems available. Oftentimes at dusk in the summertime there are no less than 30 softball games going on at one time. Don't you think that's a pretty good sign of a happy community in itself?

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. It is, indeed. And there's more of the business of living I'd like to have told, too. Mayor Bianchi, will you tell us something about the park systems?

Mr. BIANCHI. I will, indeed, Mr. Stringfellow, with a great deal of pleasure. There's room nearby, without long-distance traveling, to enjoy nature in its natural state when one lives in the Oranges or Maplewood. Equipped parks are maintained by the Essex County Park Commission, including the well-known South Mountain Park and the Eagle Rock Reservations, where large areas have been kept in their natural wild state. These parks were laid out while the Oranges and Maplewood were still countryside towns and villages. Consequently there are hills, dales, waterfalls, and wildlife galore for the lover of the great out-of-doors. Special sections for children are equipped with many recreational facilities. During the summer months, when schools are closed, trained supervisors watch the children's games and play apparatus. Perhaps the most popular of all these haunts for the children is the deer paddock, where approximately 100 Austrian fallow deer are kept.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. And I hoped you would say right here, Mayor Bianchi, that all of this is enjoyed by families who live within easy commuting distances of New York City. All these facilities exist just a few minutes' drive from where they live. Although New Jersey has the most highly developed highway system in the country, one doesn't have to drive very far to enjoy the best things in life. Tell us something about the camping programs, Mayor Bianchi.

Mr. BIANCHI. I also was just about to say that the groups I just mentioned also sponsor regular camping programs for those who wish to take part in them. In this way camping programs are provided at modest cost or at no cost at all. Yes, and the opportunities for adult recreation in other lines are just about ideal, too.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Seems to me that such opportunities ought to make quite a contribution to the health record of the communities. What have you to say about that, Mayor Martens?

Mr. MARTENS. Mr. Stringfellow, health is synonymous with the name of each and every one of our five municipalities. And that's not just an idle statement. Here's our proof. As a result of the health conservation contests held in recent years by the United States Chamber of Commerce, each of our five communities has received either a first prize or an honorable mention for its activities to safeguard health. And these are not just prizes, either. It works out in practice. One town in our community has for many years been known as the healthiest place in the United States in which to live.

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. I think that we ought now to say a word about what women find in these communities. Mayor Martens what would your answer be?

Mr. MARTENS. Well, women are always interested in shopping, aren't they, Mr. Stringfellow? I think I'll be the one to say right now that though all this talk about outdoors has made the Oranges and Maplewood seem like something out of the wild West, our people enjoy all the advantages of city living, too. We have particularly fine stores—not only for providing food and day-to-day household supplies—but men's and women's clothing. We have a number of excellent department stores, including suburban branches of some of the better known New York City department stores. In fact, some women tell me that they'd rather shop here than in New York because there is a greater

assortment of exactly the kind of merchandise this particular community likes—whereas naturally big-city stores have to stock to meet the needs of people who live in the whole metropolitan area. But, Mr. Stringfellow, I think I'm encroaching upon some of your interests. Don't you think it's your place to say something about the chamber of commerce and civics under whose auspices this broadcast is being made?

Mr. STRINGFELLOW. Thanks, Mayor Martens. I was hoping you'd lead around to that. The fact is that most of what the Chamber of Commerce and Civics of the Oranges and Maplewood represents is being demonstrated right now. It is the purpose of this organization to coordinate the civic welfare and industrial activities and to tell the world about them. I hope you have enjoyed hearing why my associates and I like living where we are living—and that, sometime soon, each and every one of you may find the time and the opportunity to visit the Oranges and Maplewood. When you do, I am sure it will be a pleasant experience. Finally, on behalf of my townspeople, I want to welcome the coming of WMCA's new radio transmitter station to the State of New Jersey. Over in New Jersey, we like WMCA and we're glad that we're going to be able to list it among our assets. Thank you, Mr. Hudson.

ANNOUNCER. You have just heard the story. Six proud men tell about the community in which they live—the Oranges and Maplewood, N. J. The chairman of the program was George E. Stringfellow, president of the Chamber of Commerce and Civics of the Oranges and Maplewood. The other five guests were the executive heads of the municipal governments of these communities. They were Mayor Ovid C. Bianchi, of Orange; Mayor Charles H. Martens of East Orange; Mayor Bernard M. Degnan, of West Orange; Milo S. Borden, township committee chairman of Maplewood; and E. Morgan Barradale, village president of South Orange.

Democracy, Like Charity, Should Begin at Home; a Lack of It Should Not Be Permitted To Interfere With Our Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, at the cost of billions of dollars, untold suffering, and the death of more than a hundred thousand men, this Nation fought a war to make the world safe for democracy.

The warmongers, who never fight and seldom pay, tell us we must again send an army to fight on foreign soil. The money changers, who squeeze their fool's gold out of the blood and the suffering of the common people in time of war, would drive us into war.

Both tell us that, for the preservation of civilization and our own freedom, we must again join the war-mad nations of Europe. They insist that we take part in the bloody, senseless, wholesale slaughter of enslaved men, innocent women, and helpless children, now being carried on in Europe.

It is well, it is good, to be generous, to be helpful to others. It may even be expedient for us in our own interest to aid those others, upon whose success, so many would have us believe, our own freedom depends.

One thing is sure. One thing is certain. It is futile to talk, to expend treasure, to waste lives, if, at the end of the road, we find this Nation either unable or unwilling to protect the liberty of its citizens.

True as when written is the statement "For what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

What will we gain by fighting to protect the democracies of the world, the freedom of the common man of Europe, if, when the day of battle has ended, when the sun has gone down into a sea of blood, when its light no longer makes visible the graves of the millions of men who have died in vain, our own citizens are deprived of the freedom which for so long has been theirs?

When, because of his sins, God drove Adam from the Garden of Eden, He said, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." From that day to this, man, if he would live, has been forced to work.

The right to work is a God-given right. The right to work is a right guaranteed by our Constitution.

If men are to live, men must eat. If our Government is to function, taxes must be paid. If men are to eat and taxes are to be paid, men must have the right to work. They must not only have the right to work, they must work.

Yet here in so-called free America, men—thousands of them—are denied the right to earn a livelihood for themselves, for their families; to provide for their old age; because they cannot pay the tribute demanded by the union. Is that democracy?

Until union men furnish all the food, pay all the taxes, they have no right to a monopoly of all the good jobs or to a monopoly of the better or the best jobs.

This Government of ours exists only because it can collect taxes from its citizens. It can collect taxes only when its citizens are profitably employed. Denied the right to work, men cannot pay taxes for the support of their Government.

How foolish the government which denies protection to the man who earns the wage out of which comes the tax which enables that government to exist. How stupid the government which permits another to share its power to tax. How utterly devoid of political morality is the government which joins hands in partnership with those who by might, without semblance of right, prey upon the man who must earn his daily bread by his toil. The government which permits that is not the representative, republican form of government which the signers of the Declaration of Independence gave us.

Never, no, never in all history, has a greater shame come to any nation than that which is with us today because of our cowardice, our failure to deal with these tribute collectors.

The fate of a nation whose boast it is that it is the richest, the greatest, the most powerful nation in all the world, which loudly proclaims that it is the last outpost of civilization; from whose Statue of Liberty there flames the torch which is the symbol of freedom and of opportunity, rests in the hands of those who are either so thoughtless, so ignorant, or so cowardly that they will not protect the right of the man who but desires to earn the food which sustains life, the clothing which keeps him from freezing, the shelter which protects him from the elements.

If the farmer and his son, the small merchant and his clerk, the common laborer and the professional worker, are to be drafted, leave their homes, and serve the Government for $31 a month, while union workers are exempt from conscription, why should these union men monopolize the jobs on Government-defense projects which pay high wages? Why is it that only union men are permitted to work at the $150-a-week jobs at Camp Peay in Tennessee? Is that democracy?

Where is the justice in the practice of giving the fat, high-wage jobs, available because of the national-defense program, to union men only, then conscripting nonunion men and paying them but little more for a month's service than some union men are demanding for a day's work?

Men have the right to strike. Likewise, men have the right to work. The right to work is an absolute right. It is not a qualified right. No man, no organization, no government, has the right to deny to man the means of sustaining himself—the right, through work, to exist.

That this Government of ours is doing that very thing—that is, permitting the levying of tribute, the qualifying of a man's right to work—has been shown by facts which time and again have been brought to the attention of the Congress; by statements which have been published in the press.

Not only men who do not belong to the union, but union men with families, destitute, out of work, willing but financially unable to meet the union demands, have protested against this levying of tribute, this denial of the right to work to support their families.

Many men have written me, not a few have called at the office, to register their complaints. The following cases are typical of many:

A plumber and steamfitter, 28 years a union man, who had held every office in his union from business agent to president, with his union clearance card and dues book showing that he was in good standing, sought membership in the Washington local of the same international union to which he belonged in Pittsburgh. He was denied membership because the local officials at that time claimed there were not jobs enough for their own members here in Washington.

Denied a union card, he was forced to work on nonunion jobs. When, recently, he sought work on a defense project, where the Government needed his services, he was told by the union that he must pay a fine of $250, back dues of $24, and a new initiation fee of $150—a total of $424—before he would be permitted to work for his Government; before he would be permitted to work to support his family. Is that justice? Is that the American way?

He did not have the money. He was not permitted to work, and the Government has been deprived of the services of a man it needs.

A nonunion man, married, with a family, in need, without a job, was denied work at Fort Belvoir, within 25 miles of the city of Washington, because he did not have the down payment of $25 which the union demanded be laid on the dotted line before he could go to work.

This country is attempting to prepare, through the expenditure of billions of dollars and peacetime conscription of men, to participate in a foreign war, on the theory either of making the world safe for democracy or of protecting our own freedom and civil rights.

The President sails the southern seas while seeking methods of preserving democracy in Europe. Congress, idle in Washington, shuts its eyes and holds its nose, while throughout the land this Christmas season, men walk the streets, jobless, their families with hunger or applications to go on relief staring them in the face because they cannot pay the fee demanded by the union.

More than a year ago, to be exact, on October 20, 1939, the then Acting Secretary of the Navy, in an official communication to Congress, said that a U. A. W. A. union in Detroit had, for 41 days, delayed the national-defense program by holding up delivery to the Navy Department of its own material.

Conscripted men, taken from their homes, are living in tents, suffering from an epidemic of influenza, which, during the last war killed thousands of our men, while unions in the lumber industry in the great Northwest made it impossible for the Government to obtain the lumber to build shelters to protect them.

No man, no group of men, even though it calls itself a labor union, has the right, or should be permitted on any pretext, to endanger the lives of our soldiers.

If this country be at war—and many say it is—then such conduct is giving aid and comfort to the enemy and is treason.

At the present moment our national-defense program, according to the Secretary of War, is being hindered, hampered, and delayed by unions and by union officials who unlawfully insist that men cannot work until the union has granted a permit to work.

GIVE US EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

God gave man the right to work. Our Constitution guarantees that right. No union has the power to take that right from us. The union's exercise of that power is a denial of our civil rights, of the right to eat, to wear clothing, to live in a home.

Great must be the satisfaction of Hitler as he views the procedure which delays our national defense.

The Government needs the services of these men. But between them and the jobs, as effectively as though he were armed with gun and bayonet, stands the union man, who says that these unfortunates shall not work until they have paid tribute to him. Justify it if you will. I cannot.

No greater hypocrisy was ever exhibited in any nation than that now shown by this administration and its agencies, which loudly and persistently boasts of social legislation and yet refuses to act when hundreds—yes, thousands—of its citizens are denied the right to work for the defense of the Government until they have complied with the demands of those who by their demands are lessening the ability of the Government to prepare to meet the threatened invasion.

No man, no group of men, has the legal or the moral right to charge a price for a permit to work on a Government job.

In the past, some employers required employees to sign an agreement that they would not become members of a union. Those agreements came to be known as "yellow dog" contracts and they were outlawed, and justifiably so, by the Federal Government.

Today, the situation has been reversed and organized labor now demands that no man shall work until he becomes a member of a labor organization. A "yellow dog" contract is a "yellow dog" contract, whether demanded by employer or a union.

In modern industrial life, unions are a necessity. No one can logically question the right of employees to form a union, to bargain collectively with an employer through representatives of their own choosing.

But organized labor should not resort to the same methods, the same practices, which it so vigorously denounced and successfully fought.

Organized labor should not insist that only union men may work on Government-defense jobs, or, for that matter, on any other job.

As the corollary of the act which outlawed the "yellow dog" contract, a bill has been introduced in Congress which prohibits the demanding or the payment of a fee as a condition precedent to going to work on a Government job.

Preserve the democracies of the Old World is the cry. My plea to you is preserve democracy here in America by restoring to the individual the opportunity to work, to labor for the defense of his country, which has so long been denied him.

Aid to preserve the democracies of Europe? Yes. But first the restoration of democracy here at home.

To those who insist that we fight the dictators abroad, restore democracy to the people of the Old World, let me quote the words of the Scripture, where it is written:

> And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?
> Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

As a preliminary to casting out the dictators of Europe, restoring democracy to the people of Europe, let us here cast out the dictators, the collectors of tribute, and restore to the American workingman his right to work; to our Nation, the right to prepare for its defense.

Up and At the Axis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUTHER PATRICK

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 16, 1940

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, well, the President, has come forward with a plan that is making them all sit up and take notice—and they are taking notice of this in Europe with much comment. Perhaps the weak-kneed brethren are beginning to feel some better now. I have felt all along that the Axis will in the end lose this war. It is too much for a group of people to say to a greater group—in nation form, too, mind you—say to them: "We are a superior people and are going to head a new order. We shall expect you to come in and play second fiddle." This can only last while the pressure can be held on, and this kind of pressure cannot be continually held forth. While Hitler's men are riding through the streets and quiet countrysides, feeling so secure about the German influence, as to how peacefully it is being accepted in Belgium, France, Holland, and so forth, they little know how many men are lying awake in patriotic thought and love of country; lying awake in unlit rooms.

It is beginning to tell. Badoglio has resigned as head of the Italian armed forces, after 15 years. They were getting along a pretty good pace when he resigned—about 15 miles per hour—toward Italy, so I suppose he felt they could make it without him. I guess he feels that it is a relief to step out before he gets too near to much influence from the dismal-faced man with the mackerel eye and the Charlie Chaplin moustache.

And Laval is out of the France organization all of a sudden. And why is Laval out? It is kind of like the fellow who divorced his wife because he loved her so much.

And take it from me it is my belief that this is only the beginning. Germany failed to blast England off the map from the air. The British boys seem to be getting along fairly well down Egypt way. Of course, we cannot prophesy how long the news will be good, but our duty is very, very plain. When Germany struck out this time she did so without disguise. She said, "Democracy is outmoded and unworkable. We are too big to put up with it. We shall no longer be encircled. We shall break through. The time is now." It means that every time the Axis wins a point in Europe, that is a point against our American way of government. Germany has even opened up her offices of propaganda in the United States and has put her agents to work here—already. So it is our duty to act in self-defense, and if it can be handled so nobody from the United States has to personally engage in the conflict as a soldier—that is very good; but we must do all we can to see that England gets what she needs, when we have it and she has not. Do not worry about Germany taking it too seriously. Now, if we were a small and helpless Nation lying near her it would be different. Her anger would wax hot—perhaps to the point of our subjugation.

But there is much we can do. The President has come forth with a wonderful plan. Let them have food, armaments, supplies, and whatever we ourselves have or can manufacture and repay us in kind some future day. Perhaps they will repay us in goods some day. At any rate we know that if Hitler should win in Europe he would be able to control the high seas. This would give him command of world commerce. Hitler getting command of world commerce would be a mighty severe blow to our dear Uncle Samuel. So a victory for Britain and her allies is a victory for us. Let us work this so the whole business can be fought out over there. It depends on whether we are able to send over the right stuff, and how soon. It can be done. Let us do it.

I thank you.

Our National Parks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. W. ROBINSON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

SPEECH BY EDWIN C. HILL

Mr. ROBINSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am very pleased to have published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a speech delivered by Edwin C. Hill over the Columbia Broadcasting System Friday, November 15, 1940.

This speech eloquently contrasts the American way of life with that under dictatorships and pictures the charm and attraction of the national parks, which Americans so freely travel. Mr. Hill is so well known by the radio audience of America that I am sure this speech has done an immense amount of good.

The speech follows:

Good evening everyone, these are stern times in which we live, times that try men's souls indeed. For we look across the Atlantic and behold a broken and terrified Europe, prone at the feet of a conqueror who, for all his modern machines, resembles a creature from another world—a world not human. We behold the inevitable effects of war and conquest in the suffering and hunger that lie in the wreckage left by the rolling wheels of the conqueror's chariot. We see a way of life which had been developing, broadening, humanizing, and sweetening for a thousand years suddenly and violently frozen into the stern and rigid mold of totalitarian existence. We see the rights of the human being restricted or chained. He is no longer free even to change his humble residence, much less to travel about as he pleases. That, it seems to me, is one of the miserable effects of a form of government which dares not let the people travel from place to place and mingle as they will. And conversely, that is one of the very most precious rights we Americans enjoy—that we can move about as we will, on our proper occasions, for business or pleasure, without kowtowing to an officer of the secret police and be pestered by a cloud of spies. It seems to me, looking over the whole world today, that the right to travel has become uniquely American. My good friend, Bruce Macnamee, Chief of the United States Travel Bureau, writes to me in a vein quite poetic of the increasing tendency of Americans generally, in this motor age, to get about. Americans who can find the time and means to travel in their own wonderful land have access to nearly 21,000,000 acres of park lands which have been set aside, for the benefit and enjoyment of the people for all time. Over there in Europe, the lovely parks that once existed have been plowed up and sowed in grain to meet the sharp demands of hunger; or else they have been ribbed with rifle pits to hold an invader at bay. Over here our national parks, great and small, though constituting only a little more than 1 percent of the area of the country, have paid rich dividends to the individual in the shape of improved health, a broadening horizon, increased education, and good will. The more one travels in America, the better an American he becomes, for, as he gets about, he gets acquainted with his fellowmen—he gets to know them as they really are, in all their humanness.

Perhaps you will be astonished to hear that our huge domain of national parks, devoted solely to recreation, aid in producing an income which far exceeds the greatest returns possible if the land had been surrendered to agriculture, timber, or grazing. In other words, our parks are a great economic asset. The tax returns to the Federal and State Governments from corporations catering to travelers total millions of dollars, and this at a time when huge expenditures are required for national defenses. It is so simple, so easy, so delightful nowadays for those who own a car—even the humblest flivver—to roll along toward a real vacation in one or another of the great national parks of the United States. And a delightful vacation it will surely be, for our national parks are not only scenically magnificent, but are a perfect paradise for lovers of animals, birds, and flowers, and, too, the happy hunting ground for those sportsmen who prefer to shoot with a camera rather than with a gun. There are so many of these national parks that Congress, in its wisdom, has set aside for a free people that time is lacking to name them all. But I will mention those where I am sure that any traveler will have a joyful time and be well accommodated. Here in the East, in the coastal region, there are five national parks, including Fort McHenry at Baltimore, whose dauntless defense inspired our national anthem. It is now a patriot's shrine. Otherwise in the East is Acadia National Park, Maine, 26 square miles in all; a group of granite mountains on Mount Desert Island, and also Schoodic Peninsula on the mainland across Frenchmans Bay. There is the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, straddling the boundary line between North Carolina and Tennessee, a region which produced so many of the sturdy men and women who settled the Northwest Territory.

Then we come to lovely Shenandoah National Park, in northwestern Virginia, and in the heart of the Blue Ridge Mountains. From the Skyline Drive, which runs all along the crest of that range, the traveler is thrilled with the panorama of some of Virginia's finest scenery. And, too, is the Colonial National Park, on the historic Virginia peninsula, small in area, but it includes Jamestown, the site of the first white settlement in North America, Yorktown where Lord Cornwallis surrendered and the freedom of the new Republic was insured. And Williamsburg, the colonial capital, today a gem of restoration. Elsewhere in America the traveler will find immense satisfaction in Crater Lake Park in southwestern Oregon. For there in the crater of a long-dead volcano, gleams a lake of extraordinary blue, with walls from 500 to 2,000 feet high. In north central Arizona is the world-famous Grand Canyon of the Colorado, through which the wildest and most tumultuous river in America dashes with savage violence. In the west central part of the State of Washington, Mount Rainier towers so majestically, so aloof to the world of living things, that you would never suspect that its grim and forbidden slopes are wild-flower gardens of incomparable beauty, glowing with color. Sequoia National Park, in middle-eastern California, is famous for its giant sequoia trees, some of which were tall when the Savior of mankind lay cradled in a manger.

Most famous of all our national parks, perhaps, is the great Yellowstone, nearly 3,500 square miles of breathless beauty; geysers spurting with clocklike regularity from some mysterious boiler room; springs of ice-cold water and boiling-hot water welling up side by side; a vast unspoiled wilderness; one of the greatest wild-animal and bird preserves in all the world. And there is the Yosemite, in central California, with nearly 1,200 square miles contained in a beautiful valley and lofty cliffs, above which the eagle wheels in solitary majesty, and with it three groves of those awe-inspiring big trees. When the National Park and Monument System is completed, as it will be during the next few years, the United States of America will own a rich, landed estate in which may be preserved those tangible and intangible values that can never be completely enjoyed when combined with the economic

exploitation of our land and water resources. Travel promotes the Nation's health, wealth, and unity.

Perhaps in the soul-satisfying beauties of our national parks, we shall find that poise of outlook and courage in action which unspoiled nature confers on human creatures. Let us cherish the domain we have received from nature's own hands, manage it wisely, and care for it as a most precious possession. Let its romance pervade our souls. Let its silent benediction strengthen our faith in all things great and good, and in Him who created them.

I thank you.

War Debts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN G. ALEXANDER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN G. ALEXANDER, OF MINNESOTA

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address delivered by me over station WOL of the Mutual Broadcasting System, on Monday, December 16, 1940:

I am speaking to you on War Debt Day, a day devoted to the preservation of the Johnson Act prohibiting loans to debt defaulters, and of the Neutrality Act. I will say at the outset that I would be more than glad to waive any claim to the money Great Britain owes us; I would be glad to see us repeal the Johnson Act; I would even support the suggestion that we give money to Great Britain—provided I could convince myself that such action would help establish a just and lasting peace in the world.

But I am deeply convinced, for reasons which I will take up later, that repeal of the Johnson and Neutrality Acts and our subsequent entry into war would not only make our democracy into a dictatorship but also would make conditions for the people of England and other European countries worse instead of better.

Those of you who used to read the international news in the years before everyone was forced to read it in apprehension over some new war danger may remember how the observance of War Debt Day has changed down through the years. At first there were full payments of the installments due. Then the idea of token payments came into vogue, and that was to prove that we still had the money coming. But finally the time came several years ago when nothing at all was paid on these debts of billions of dollars, and this burden has apparently now been passed on permanently to the American taxpayer. And now the drive from high places has even started to repeal the Johnson Act and the Neutrality Act, which stand in the way of a repetition of the whole dismal experience.

In studying the pleas which are now being made to Congress and to you for the repeal of the laws of the land, it is well to consider whether this campaign is aimed merely to give financial aid to Britain or actually to involve us in war. For it must be remembered that the British Empire has long been the wealthiest group in the world, with the value of money carried in the pockets of countless millions of people in Asia, Africa, and Europe regulated by the market for sterling in London. Let us have a look at figures compiled from reports of such accurate sources as the Federal Reserve Bulletin, the Department of Commerce, and the New York Times.

Direct British investments in the United States of America were more than $5,000,000,000 on September 1, 1939, and when direct Canadian investments are included the total rises to more than six and one-half billions. When we consider that British orders for goods up to the present are given as between two and one-half and three billion dollars, we can see that there is no cause to say that they have no cash left. Gold reserves alone in the other British dominions and colonies account for an additional $656,000,000 of assets.

If credit therefore is not urgently needed, why are those leaders who are so sensitive to every desire of the British Empire now urging repeal of our Neutrality Act and the Johnson Act? Do they recognize that this means drifting into war, and are they advocating these steps in order to be sure that we get in? I hope this is not true, but I fear it may be. You can all remember the national debate over repeal of the arms embargo more than a year ago. At that time we were told that the embargo was not really neutral, but that the revised neutrality law, which was passed and which we now have, was the only true neutrality. But the same men are now telling us that the present act is "unfair" to Britain, and not really neutral. Apparently nothing will satisfy this group short of our actually entering the war.

I am in favor of aiding democracy and, if necessary in order to do so, of aiding the British, but I am convinced we must use our brains and avoid using the same methods that we employed in the last war. The very existence of Hitler after a war to save democracy carries the obvious lesson that we took the wrong method, in my opinion.

Too many of the men who rallied to the previous war to save democracy are now unable to advise us whether they think we should adopt the same method this time. Many still lie in European fields, and others are mere wrecks of human beings in our veterans' hospitals. Unfortunately we are not asking their advice, but I wonder if it might not be worth while for America at least to ask those wounded veterans in the hospitals who are still able to express themselves what they think of intervening in this war, and whether they don't think we should try another way of defending democracy this time? I would like to know their answer, but lacking it now I will give my own thoughts on the subject for what they are worth.

It is my opinion that this time we should help the people of Europe to come to a just and lasting peace now, rather than trying to build the future on additional years of warfare and starvation. There is a great campaign in the newspapers trying to make the American people feel like a flock of sheep cowering in a corner and waiting to be driven to the slaughterhouse. We cannot stay out and we cannot succeed in any constructive move we are told. This propaganda constitutes one of the most vicious campaigns in history to give the American people a case of inferiority complex and to subject them to the will of a small group of foreign leaders anxious to get us into war. We all must realize, when we think about it, that with Europe destroying itself, we are now more powerful in relation to the rest of the world than we have ever been before.

What I have proposed in my House Joint Resolution 610, introduced on October 4 and now before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, is that the United States lead all the other countries not yet involved in war to undertake joint action to stop the war. In doing this, they would represent the common sense, as well as the conscience of humanity. Such a cessation of hostilities would give no permanent recognition to military conquest, and territorial questions would be referred to a world convention which would also draw up the constitution for a United States of the World on the lines of the United States Constitution. This may sound like a large program, but so is war, as anyone knows who has served his country on the battlefield as I have.

At the least this constructive program offers a means of nonmilitary defense, for we will never be safe until the war is ended. The resolution would appropriate $50,000,000 to carry it out. Appropriations and authorizations for military defense in the past Congress will cost each man, woman, and child in America $126, whereas the appropriation which I have urged for nonmilitary defense will mean an expenditure of only 37 cents per capita. Doesn't it seem worth trying? And wouldn't you be willing to give your 37 cents?

Such a program would rally the devotion of the common people throughout not alone North America but also South America and in the other officially neutral countries. It would give the very advanced democratic peoples in the occupied areas something to be for, rather than a choice merely between one kind of military occupation, and another. Our voice would be listened to over the short waves, and over the grapevine, in spite of censorship and anti-radio laws probably harder to enforce than our prohibition laws were. America's influence can remain great if guided in proper channels. The United States is powerful enough and intelligent enough to chart her own course.

As I have said before, far-reaching changes will move forward, even if we sit still and do nothing about it. It seems to me that every day is saying to us louder and louder, "It is not enough to say we are fighting for freedom, democracy, civilization, or even the defense of our territory from invasion." It is not enough, because it only suggests a defense of what we have, which is sometimes not too good when we look at our concentration of wealth and the poverty which we have side by side.

The democratic idea is the most revolutionary and dynamic idea in all history, but it has fallen short at two points: First, it did not embrace all humankind. It was limited to the national state. Even those national states where it developed furthest built prisons for the democratic leaders of their subject people and great armies and navies to defend their national interests. The world will not be made safe for democracy until believers in democracy establish, however long it may take, a world commonwealth based on the idea of the brotherhood of man. Secondly, the democratic idea was corrupted by the specious view of individual pursuit of wealth without social direction and control.

We have written the worth and dignity of the individual human being into our basic law, yet we have left millions to go hungry; we have condemned countless children to the blighted lives of poverty; we have looked the other way and denied that we were our brother's keeper, all in the name of individualism and all under the banner of democracy. Gigantic dislocations of economic processes went unremedied. When governments have sought to deal with them, those who have profited in the grim struggle for wealth use their vast power to obstruct reform and to confuse the people as to the nature of democracy. The planning and organizing of economic activity is left to those whose prime interest is armed power. Even our public schools are used to promote the idea.

The unemployed, the underpaid, the sharecropper, the migrant, represent the failure of democracy and are prospects for our "fifth column." These provide the raw material for revolution. Insofar as millions of our citizens are denied the right to the pursuit of happiness, to that extent our democracy is a sham.

When a Hitler marches into a peaceful country, ignoring the cost in shattered lives, does he not differ from us only in degree, not in kind, for our sense of brotherhood has likewise stopped at our own frontiers and at our own slums?

Hitler and Stalin are the spear heads of a world revolution not against freedom and democracy but against the limitations of

freedom and the failure of democracy. They denounce pluto-democracy, knowing that we are most vulnerable in our contrast of wealth and poverty.

Only as democracy regains the revolutionary drive it once had can we meet the assault of totalitarianism. No Hitler could rise in the midst of a happy, prosperous people. No Hitler could bore from within or defeat from without a great nation at the peak of its strength with a bold and generous international policy. No revolution can succeed where all the people have a stake in their own well-being. If we had forgotten about gold and about profits and interest and bonds, and had concentrated on being our brother's keeper, not with charity and hand-outs but with a real program to end unemployment, with provision for old age, sickness, and the building of health, then we would have no cause to fear "fifth column" movements, nor conquests from without. These are actually the things that we are fighting over, and the sooner we catch up, the sooner we bring democratic ideals right up to date, both on the social-reform front and internationally, the sooner can the world be made peaceful and happy and safe for democracy.

In conclusion, I would emphasize that if we are to be worthy of the wisdom and far-sightedness of the founders of our Republic, if we are to be worthy of the men who died in a war to end war, we must refuse to follow along the tragic old pathway of American intervention.

We have it in our power to choose a different route—a program of joint peace action by parties not involved in the dispute, to be followed by world union patterned after our Constitution. This element of third-party judgment is an absolute essential in the administration of justice in every civilized country of the globe, and it is time we tried it on the international field. We are told by the real defeatists—those who meekly accept, to all intents and purposes, the idea that war is inevitable—that such a program of waging peace would not work. The obvious reply is that the only way of finding out whether it will work is to try it—openly, impartially and continuously. Anyone who studies the history of scientific experiments and inventions knows that our whole modern civilization is built upon ideas that everybody said "wouldn't work."

Plans are being drawn up for a Nation-wide conference to advance this constructive program in the very near future, and if you are interested in helping, I wish you would write me at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

America faces a choice between the path of intervention, war, and dictatorship, and the path of peace and democracy. The first offers starvation and bombardment of millions of innocent women and children in Europe during this and succeeding winters; the second offers an opportunity for a better life for the American and other peoples; the first choice offers chaos, revolution, and anarchy as its results, whereas the second offers orderly progress toward the organization of permanent world peace.

The decision rests with you, my friends; you are the real statesmen in this Nation, you and millions of other patriotic, freedom-loving citizens of our country.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to the above address I also ask permission to insert some statistics on British resources and credit compiled from reliable sources. These figures will be valuable for future references.

Up to the present the British orders amounted to two and one-tenth billion dollars. Of this amount, $780,000,000 were paid up to October 31, 1940. This amount is approximately the equivalent to the production of gold in the Empire during the first year of the war; in other words, the payment in question has not strained British credits so far.

Comparison table: Allies' most important sources for gold and United States of America values for the purchase of armament in the United States of America against foreign exchange in cash as of Sept. 1, 1939

A

[In millions of dollars]

	Sept. 1, 1939	Aug. 2, 1914
England:		
Gold in bank in England	[1] 1,162	
British reserve fund (gold)	[1] 1,732	[3] 795
British dollar credits	[2] 595	[2] 270
United States of America securities, British-owned (market value):		
Common shares	[2] 535	
Preferred shares	[2] 120	
Bonds	[2] 80	[2] 4,250
Direct British investments in United States of America	[2] 900	
	5,124	5,315

[1] Federal Reserve Bulletin, January 1940, figures as of due date Aug. 30, 1939, or next day of grace.
[2] Statements made by National City Bank of New York, taken from Steel of Oct. 9, 1939.
[3] Taken from the report by the Federal Reserve Board, reprinted in Commercial and Financial Chronicle of Dec. 23, 1939.

Comparison table etc.—Continued

[In millions of dollars]

	Sept. 1, 1939	Aug. 2, 1914
France:		
Gold in bank in France	[1] 2,714	
French reserve fund (gold)	[1] 477	[3] 1,750
French dollar credits	[1] 315	[2] 30
United States of America securities, French owned (market value):		
Common shares	[2] 130	
Preferred shares	[2] 15	
Bonds	[2] 40	[2] 410
Direct French investments in United States of America	[2] 80	
	3,771	2,190
Canada:		
Gold in bank in Canada	[1] 218	
Canadian dollar credits	[1] 256	
United States of America securities, Canadian owned (market value):		
Common shares	[2] 400	
Preferred shares	[2] 60	
Bonds	[2] 40	
Direct Canadian investments in United States of America	[2] 560	
	1,534	
Total	10,429	7,505

RÉSUMÉ AS OF SEPT. 1, 1939

[In millions of dollars]

	Total assets in gold and United States of America values	Gold	United States of America values	Ready market	No ready market
Great Britain	5,124	2,894	2,230	1,330	900
France	3,771	3,191	580	500	80
Canada	1,534	218	1,316	756	560
Total	10,429	6,303	4,126	2,586	1,540

During the period 1914–18 United States of America extended credits to—

Great Britain and France in the amount of	$8,800,000,000
United States of America goods purchased having a total value of	11,800,000,000

B

[In millions of dollars]

Gold reserves of the British Dominions and possessions with the exception of Canada:	
British East India	[1] 274
New Zealand	[1] 23
South Africa	[1] 234
Miscellaneous (estimated)	125
	656
Gold in private British possession valued at 250 to 1,000 million dollars assumed mean value	[4] 500
	1,156
Yearly production of gold in possession of Allies:	
South Africa, 1938	[1] 426
Canada, 1938	[1] 165
Australia, 1938	[1] 54
Rhodesia, 1938	[1] 29
West Africa, 1938	[1] 25
British East India, 1938	[1] 11
Miscellaneous (estimated)	40
	750

C

[In millions of dollars]

Canadian securities British owned	[5] 2,684
British capital investment in South Africa	[3] 1,250
British capital investment in Argentina	[2] 2,200
	6,134

[1] Federal Reserve Bulletin, January 1940, figures as of due date Aug. 30, 1939, or next day of grace.
[2] Statements made by National City Bank of New York, taken from Steel of Oct. 9, 1939.
[3] Taken from the report by the Federal Reserve Board, reprinted in Commercial and Financial Chronicle of Dec. 23, 1939.
[4] Taken from New York Times of Sept. 12, 1939.
[5] Taken from Financial Post, Toronto, of September 1939.
[6] Estimate by Department of Commerce, taken from Wall Street Journal of Sept. 11, 1939.

NOTE.—The dollar value of the gold assets was computed on the basis of 1 fine ounce gold at about $35.

Importation to the United States during 1937 from the British and French Empires of raw materials representing a gold value

Raw material and country of production	Total export	Export to the United States of America
Wool:		
Australia	$235,908,000	$27,698,000
Great Britain	18,240,000	7,357,000
New Zealand	75,783,000	9,053,000
British South Africa	61,914,000	1,086,000
British East Indies	12,298,000	(?)
Egypt	806,000	724,000
Tin:		
Burma	2,028,000	(?)
French Indochina	2,423,000	381,000
British Malaya	110,015,000	76,385,000
Great Britain	56,969,000	7,539,000
Rubber:		
Ceylon	28,748,000	13,542,000
Burma	2,596,000	(?)
British East Indies	3,741,000	597,000
French Indochina	18,290,000	6,546,000
British Malaya	283,302,000	150,077,000
Nickel: Canada	57,432,000	22,328,000
Jute: British East Indies	169,247,000	42,647,000
Mica: British East Indies	5,361,000	1,630,000
Manganese: British East Indies	7,779,000	1,086,000
Total	1,152,880,000	368,676,000

Source of information: Foreign Commerce Yearbook 1938.

Changes in capital known to date since outbreak of war

PURCHASES AND SALES OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA SECURITIES (AT THE PRESENT RATE)

	England	France
September	−$25,072,000	+$5,493,000
October	−47,971,000	−461,000
November	(1)	(1)
December	(1)	(1)

(−) Amount of sales exceeding any purchases.
(+) Amount of purchases exceeding any sales.

DECREASE IN SHORT-TERM BANK DEPOSITS IN DOLLAR CURRENCY

	England	France
September	(1)	(1)
October	$39,983,000	$38,417,000
November	(1)	(1)
December	(1)	(1)

[1] Figures not yet available.

Measures Short of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROY O. WOODRUFF

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 5, 1940

Mr. WOODRUFF of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, now that the Presidential election is over for 4 more years, a definite pattern is beginning to emerge at Washington. Before the election we were told we needed an Army of 750,000 well-equipped men. We were told our Navy was the equal of any in the world. Then the figures for the Army were stepped up to 1,200,000. Then they were stepped up a little further to 2,000,000. Now that the election is over the country is given the sad news that we must support an Army of 4,000,000. This leads to the speculation as to how soon the size of the Army will be stepped up to 8,000,000.

Before the election we were told that we were going to give the Allies, at that time Britain, France, and Belgium, aid "short of war." Then suddenly without notice to the Congress 50 destroyers were traded off to Britain within a couple of weeks after the President had assured the Nation no such deal was pending. Now we are discovering that hundreds of thousands of rifles, tremendous quantities of ammunition, hundreds of tanks and other equipment had—reputedly by Presidential order declared obsolete—been turned over to the Allies. All of this was done without the consent or even the notification of the Congress, although it was in session.

Then there broke out, after the election, all in the name of national defense, and all being measures short of war, a wave of brazen propaganda that, in spite of several billions of dollars of holdings in this country by Great Britain and her colonies, she was running out of money and must have credits. So with the propaganda committee headed by William Allen White, the sage of Emporia, there came a loud raucous cry that we repeal the Johnson act. The administration spokesmen, notably the Secretary of Commerce, Jesse Jones, and the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, shut their eyes to the defaults of 1933 and declared Britain a good risk; meaning the kind of credit risk that Secretary Jones' Commercial National Bank in Houston, Tex., would not lend money to.

Then there came next the agitation by the William Allen White crowd for the repeal of the Neutrality Act, the repeal of the Johnson Act, and the participation of the United States in the conflict immediately—including, presumably, sending men overseas to fight with the British Army—all these apparently being "necessary to the national defense" and "measures short of war."

In the meantime, very cleverly, the William Allen White committee and various New Deal spokesmen and writers began to call for war powers for the President and industrial mobilization, all this still in the interests of national defense and constituting measures short of war.

The latest development was the news from the President of the United States, who before the election dared not get 12 hours out of Washington, but whose whereabouts at this writing are unknown, that he had entered into a deal from his secret base of operations with King George II of Greece to turn over airplanes and other instruments of war to the Greeks. Congress is still in session at Washington, but it knew nothing about this new deal for the further depletion of our national defense until apprised by the press of the fact. Despite the fact that the experts recognize and say that we may be in a desperate condition as to our own defenses, Congress reads in its morning paper that it is now confronted with another fait accompli.

Meantime the drive, step by step, toward the so-called industrial-mobilization plan proceeds, while the President, from his secret base of operations, continues to get deeper and deeper into world power politics.

The 1936 revision of the industrial-mobilization plan is a complete—a shockingly complete—pattern for an absolute military dictatorship for the United States of America. The 1939 revision of the so-called industrial-mobilization plan proposes a continuation of this military dictatorship after the war is ended and until such time as the dictator—the Commander in Chief of the armed forces of the United States, the President himself—shall decide that the period of readjustment has passed and he desires to relinquish his absolute powers. Recent world history has not disclosed that any modern dictator, having once tasted of the powers, ever chose to give them up.

The mobilization plan is being enacted piecemeal. The United States is being edged into war inch by inch. The American people, if they do not want to send their sons to bloody conflict in foreign fields, had better begin to write their Representatives in Congress and let them know how they feel about the matter. The situation now is critical.

Attacks on the Dies Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable comment of late in reference to the work of the Dies committee. We should not lose sight of the fact that this

is a committee that was created by the House of Representatives. To this agency, more than any other factor, the American people are indebted for information regarding communism and also other un-American activities in the United States. Let no one be deceived.

It is my opinion that the committee should be continued and authorized to carry on its investigation work. There are still people guilty of un-American activities who occupy high official positions in the Government of the United States. One thing that will contribute to the crippling of a national-defense program is permission for un-American groups to continue their efforts to undermine America and our American form of government.

The situation is well stated in an editorial in the Hibbing Daily Tribune, which has this to say in a recent issue:

THE DIES COMMITTEE

The people of the United States, we believe, are strongly in favor of continuing the Dies committee.

Not that the country is happy over all the antics of the committee. Despite its aberrations, however, which are for the most part harmless, although occasionally somewhat annoying, the committee has been rendering a valuable, a necessary service to the country. That service, we believe, is still necessary, perhaps more necessary now than it has ever been.

The executive department of the Government for the last 8 years has given aid and comfort to radicals and radical trends to the extent that it has encouraged subversive activities. Communism is outlawed in public opinion throughout the country, but it is not outlawed in Washington. On the contrary, it has been actually encouraged in the executive department of the State government. There are many notorious instances.

It is therefore especially important that the legislative branch of the Federal Government should be vigorously alert toward "fifth column" activities. The Dies committee, even though it may sometimes have overshot the mark, has focused public attention upon the activities of forces which are antagonistic to the American form of government. The people are entitled to be informed; unless they are informed, they may suffer seriously; they might even, it is conceivable, find themselves eventually in the situation which overtook France and caused its collapse.

Tolerance—Our Democracy's Basic Principle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH R. BRYSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

ARTICLES BY MISS MARY TOMBS WADDILL, OF GREENVILLE, S. C.

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Speaker, today when the youth of so many other nations are being regimented in thought and action it is indeed reassuring to realize that here in America youth is still free to think and act for itself, that young men and women are still afforded the opportunity to develop according to their own initiative and ambition. In this connection, I should like to read to the House two articles by a young lady 16 years of age, Miss Mary Tombs Waddill, a senior at Greenville High School, Greenville, S. C., which appeared as editorials in the Greenville High News. What this young lady has to say very clearly demonstrates that American youth has a profound grasp of the problems at hand and a genuine appreciation of the blessings of their American birthright.

The articles follow:

TOLERANCE: OUR DEMOCRACY'S BASIC PRINCIPLE

"Tolerance" might be considered the key word of democracy.

The basic principle upon which our Government is founded is that of the understanding of one person for another, one government for another, the ideas of others, the customs of others. Isn't that what tolerance is?

Condemnation because of misunderstanding is definitely wrong in every sense of the word. Have your own ideas, yes, have your own opinions, and they may be correct, but don't deny your neighbor the right to his, too.

This country is free! The presses, the air waves, the pulpits are open for everyone to utilize.

The privilege is every American's to express in what way he chooses the things that he believes.

You're an American—you love your freedom, so does your fellow man.

THANKS!

Today I am in school, not on a battlefield.

Tonight I will be asleep in my bed, not hovering in an air-raid shelter.

My mind is concerned with learning, not clouded with but one thought—"run for your life."

My heart is filled with love and appreciation for my friends and my blessings, not muddled with hate, distrust, and perplexity as to my plight.

I live in the United States, not in Europe.

I am an American.

Thanks!

The Walsh-Healey Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE E. GEYER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include two insertions relative to the Walsh-Healey Act.

We know that there are forces determined to destroy all social and labor gains. This they hope to do under the claim that they are hindering the national-defense program. Some of these forces honestly believe what they say, but others are the same ones that are always to be found attacking progressive legislation.

The first article I wish to submit is a letter from L. Metcalf Walling, Administrator of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, to Rear Admiral Spear, Chief, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, Navy Department. The letter follows:

DECEMBER 10, 1940.

Rear Admiral RAY SPEAR,
Chief, Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL SPEAR: My attention has been drawn to an article in the press quoting from your annual report in which you state, among other things, that the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act continues to be "a disturbing factor in the procurement of some lines of Government supplies."

The article quotes you as saying that a 4 months' delay in the procurement of aircraft clocks was caused by the Walsh-Healey Act. I am sure that it was not your intention to imply this and perhaps you have been misquoted.

You will recall, I think, that the matter was first brought to the attention of the Department of Labor on January 25, 1940, when the Secretary of the Navy requested an exemption for the aircraft clocks on the ground that only one of the two qualified companies in the country had submitted a bid and that bidder had taken exception to the requirement that time and one-half overtime be paid beyond 40 hours. The reply of the Department was made 5 days later when I advised you that the other company was ready and anxious to supply the clocks under Walsh-Healey labor standards.

Hearing nothing further from the Navy until 6 weeks later, I assumed that the matter had been settled. As you will recall, however, on March 18 you renewed your request on the ground that the second bidder might have to obtain some of its parts from abroad and was therefore a less satisfactory source of supply. You further indicated to me that the foreign company was not eligible to be awarded the contract under the Buy American Act since its bid was only 1½ percent lower than that of the other company.

I immediately advised you that under the law as it then read you would be legally justified under Section 9 in awarding the contract without the Walsh-Healey stipulations if the company was in fact the sole source of supply. This was 2 days after you brought the matter to our attention so that out of the 4 months which were involved in making this contract the matter was pending with the Department of Labor only 7 days.

I am somewhat surprised that the Navy Department still feels that the Public Contracts Act is hampering its procurement, as the machinery specifically set up under the Walsh-Healey Act to exempt contracts in the public interest has scarcely been utilized since July 1937, although its provisions are familiar to all contracting officers of the Government. Since that time there have been only two exemptions, that granted in December 1938 for movie films supplied without profit to the Veterans' Administration, and another granted at the Navy's request but not actually utilized by any of the bidders, all of whom were willing to comply despite

the Navy's fear that they would not. Two other requests for exemption were filed within the 3½-year period. One was a request to qualify certain types of manufacturers under the educational-order program of the War Department where, in fact, there was not even a technical disqualification and therefore no exemption was necessary; the other was a request for exemption on a recent contract for approximately 37 tons of forged armor plate.

It is perfectly true, as you point out, that no large contracts for steel (only $165,283.58) had been awarded subject to the iron and steel minimum wage determination up to July 1, the period covered by your report, but, of course, the wage determination had been in effect only during the month of June. Since that time iron and steel contracts totaling $16,008,718.48 subject to the wage determination have been awarded without any difficulties, except the 37-ton forged armor-plate order, so far as I am aware. In addition, other contracts for iron and steel commodities supplied by all the principal steel companies, including large, small, and medium-sized companies, during these 6 months totaled $215,776,135.75, or 29.4 percent of the total value of such contracts awarded to date during more than 4 years, $734,505,249.02. It would appear that there cannot be serious obstacles to procurement in the steel industry if nearly one-third of the total value of contracts awarded since the enactment of the statute have been made in the 6 months' period since the wage determination became effective.

In view of the fact that only four requests for exemption because of the reluctance of bidders to comply with the act have been filed in a period of 3½ years, and in only one of these cases was there any actual bar to bidding, I am wondering whether there are some difficulties as far as the Navy Department is concerned with which I am not familiar. I assure you that in this serious moment of world crisis, when the Nation is bending every effort to speed the defense program, I am more than anxious to have you take up promptly with me any difficulties you may have because of the Public Contracts Act so that they can be quickly removed.

I realize that your statement also quoted that "no need exists for the provisions of the act" refers to the profit-limitation act and not to the Walsh-Healey Act. In view of the fact, however, that the public might be misled into thinking that you were advocating repeal of the Walsh-Healey Act, which I am sure you would not want to do in view of the reaffirmation of its provisions by the Congress in making it applicable to the defense program—including negotiated contracts which have hitherto been exempt—I am taking the liberty of calling this to your attention.

Very truly yours,

L. METCALFE WALLING,
Administrator.

The second is a speech delivered by Mr. Walling before the Seventh Annual Labor Conference in the Department of Labor, December 11, 1940. The speech follows:

Madam Secretary and old friends, I think I can safely use that term because I look around the hall and see a good many faces that I recognize as having been here other years, particularly when I used to stand on the other side of the table as a State labor commissioner. I regret that I was not here yesterday when the discussion came up about the Walsh-Healey Act, which I understand was provoked by the recent suggestion that it was hampering the national-defense program. I want to assure you, however, that this attack is nothing new. We have had a kind of running fight on this matter for 3 or 4 years, and let me also assure you that we haven't been doing the running.

I notice that the New York Times, among others, whose genial and able correspondent was here up until a minute ago, exercized its constitutional right—and, thank heaven, it still has the right—to urge repeal of the act. It renewed the suggestion yesterday morning in an editorial, short and snappy, which it has been making now for about 2 years, the refrain that "Carthage must be destroyed"—Carthage being the Walsh-Healey Act. In order for us to understand exactly the nature of this current attack, based partly on misunderstanding, some of it willful and some unintentional on the part of a good many people, I think it would be well for us to review the background which led to the enactment of the Walsh-Healey Act in the first place, because it was over 4 years ago, and I think many of us have forgotten about it. We have taken it more or less for granted and don't realize the mood that the country was in at the time, and the legislative situation with regard to labor standards, which the country faced at that time.

When the N. R. A. was declared unconstitutional, the Federal Government was faced with the legal situation of having no means of control through interstate commerce or otherwise by Federal labor standards of the hours or wages or child-labor conditions in factories operating on a Nation-wide basis from the competitive standpoint. The only legislation in effect along those lines was State legislation, and I need not remind you how inadequate that was at that time from the standpoint of controlling competitive industries. So that there was a general recognition on the part of most people who gave any thought to the problem that something ought to be done by the Federal Government, not only to buttress existing State standards, but to make it possible for industry operating on a Nation-wide competitive basis to operate under decent labor standards and to protect those members of industry who were trying to maintain the gains which had been made under the N. R. A.

So the movement was started in Congress, right after the demise of the N. R. A., to salvage some of the social gains which had been made. There was, however, considerable controversy over how this should be done and considerable doubt as to what means might legally be adopted by the Federal Government to do this. And the discussion went on in Congress and in the Nation for more than a year so that the statute was thoroughly considered—and may I say thoroughly fought over—from every point of view.

The suggestion which was originally presented to the Congress was a straight minimum-wage law and a maximum-hour law with child-labor protection, but the argument was made that we must not allow the administrators of such legislation to fix labor standards, but that there ought to be more general control by the Congress itself, and some definite predetermination of what wage standards would be. It was generally agreed that it was legitimate, proper, and legal for the Federal Government to utilize its vast purchasing power to give a lift to good labor standards, so the suggestion was made to revise the minimum-wage law, of the kind which the States were familiar with, by adding the approach which the Government had used in the Bacon-Davis law applying to public works construction projects, namely that there should be a predetermination of wages on the basis of existing wage patterns in different parts of the country in different industries contracting with the Federal Government.

It was pointed out that it had been a relatively simple process for the Federal Government through the Department of Labor to go into different communities and predetermine what wages were being paid in the building trades, but I am afraid that not as much consideration was given as might have been desirable to the quite different problem of trying to do that on a Nation-wide basis for competitive-manufacturing industries which were going to bid on contracts, the exact site of performance of which could never be determined, as you can predetermine the site of a construction project. So there crept into the law this entirely new standard of determining or setting minimum wages, the requirement that the wage should be determined on the basis of the prevailing minimum wage paid in the locality where the work was to be performed. So that we have had the rather difficult administrative job of trying to make economic common sense out of a very difficult standard in the law which had not hitherto been used and which was somewhat inconsistent with itself, because a prevalent wage may not necessarily be a minimum wage.

The act also provided, as you know, for an 8-hour day and a 40-hour week with the requirement that overtime beyond those hours must be paid for on the basis of time and a half. It prohibited child labor on Government contracts over $10,000 in value, which was the jurisdiction established in the act, and it prohibited the use of convict labor. May I say parenthetically that we have never had any convicts reported as working on Government contracts in over 4 years. And then by a provision of the act defining a manufacturer which was supplemented by an administrative regulation, industrial home work is also prohibited on Government contracts through the requirement that a manufacturer to be qualified to have a contract must perform the contract on the premises, which means that he cannot ship out a part of the work to be worked on in homes.

Then there is the final requirement which many of you are interested in, the requirement that the work shall be performed under safe and sanitary working conditions, the standard of what constitutes safe and sanitary working conditions to be determined in the first instance by the State where the establishment is operated, the State standard being prima facie evidence of compliance. Under this provision we have been able to have the cooperation of about a third of the States which regularly send us reports from their office records of inspections made on the safety and health records of the establishments within their jurisdiction. The other States do not give us this information, not because they do not want to cooperate, but because they do not have the facilities for gathering it or do not have standards under which such information could be supplied. We are very grateful to those States which have been regularly supplying us with information and it has been very helpful to us in carrying out the safety and health standard of the Act.

We are supplying regularly to most of the States, I think, copies of our weekly bulletin of awards of contracts made; and for many of the States which have been particularly interested and have requested us to make a breakdown we send a special weekly report giving the awards for that State specially listed so that the Department of Labor in the State can make whatever use of that information it wants. And we have recently, in an attempt to cooperate with the National Committee on Safety which the Secretary has just appointed, adopted the policy of advising each contractor who obtains a contract subject to the Walsh-Healey Act of the fact that through the services of this National Committee the contractor can have free expert advice from industrial safety experts in his State and community as to what standards he can adopt and what moves he can readily and inexpensively make to promote safety conditions in his establishment.

Reference was made here yesterday to the fact that we had 16,000 industrial deaths due to industrial causes in 1939 and that we had a million and a half disabling industrial accidents. We are keenly aware, I think, all of us, of the vital importance, not only from the humanitarian standpoint but from the standpoint of the successful and speedy prosecution of the National Defense Program, that this figure of 16,000 deaths and a million and a half accidents be

materially cut. We realize that that is not an easy job because the rapid expansion of the defense industries inevitably means that a great many new and inexperienced workers, in many cases young people having their first job, are being brought into industry without the necessary knowledge of the hazards and without the necessary maturity to take steps to protect themselves against accidents; and that there will inevitably be, unless serious effort is made, an increase in the accident and death rates which might materially retard the prosecution of the defense program.

Now I think, in view of the statement which was made recently that the Act has been and is still a hindrance to the prosecution of the defense program, I ought frankly to tell you the whole story.

I have made a statement to the press which I shall be glad to supply any of you if you want to have it, of the factual details, but I want to tell you in substance what the situation is now with regard to this charge that the act is hindering the defense program, and the same charge, of course, is made against the wage and hour law. Some of the charges which have been made come from sources which we know have always opposed labor legislation, and we, therefore, can properly evaluate them. The rest, however, come from sources which are genuinely interested in the welfare of labor but which have been misled into thinking that there is a serious obstacle to the prosecution of the defense program. There has been a systematic and rather effective use of the false analogy that the French labor legislation, for instance, led to the collapse of the French Republic.

I think the Secretary referred to that yesterday, and I won't go into detail except to remind you again that the French legislation was entirely different. French industry was basically tied down as a practical matter to a rigid 40-hour week, not merely for the individual shift but for the entire establishment, whereas both the Walsh-Healey Act and the Wage and Hour Act were very carefully framed to avoid that rigidity and to permit unlimited overtime if necessary, so long as time and a half, the customary, usual rate in American industry, was paid by the contractor. There is absolutely no justification for the charge that hours are being unnecessarily restricted and thus interfering with the prosecution of the defense program.

Now we have under section 6 of the act ample authority to exempt an entire contract or class of contracts, if necessary, to permit the rapid supply of commodities to the Federal Government, and it seems to me that if there were a serious obstacle on the part of bidders to submitting bids subject to the restrictions of the act this machinery would have been utilized to a greater extent than it has been. I want to tell you briefly the record of requests for exemption which we have received since July 1937, because it speaks for itself as to whether the act is a hindrance or not. These are the facts: Since July 1937 the Department has received five requests for exemption.

One was a request by the Veterans' Administration to buy movie film to be supplied without profit for use in the veterans' hospitals. The movie film had been shot long since, and no labor would have been involved in the performance of the contract, anyway. The exemption was readily granted.

Another was a request by the Army that the Department of Labor qualify certain manufacturers whom the Army was trying to interest in making different commodities from their usual line of products and whom the Army feared might not be technically qualified as manufacturers under the Walsh-Healey Act. As a matter of fact, the manufacturers in question were completely qualified, and the Army was immediately so advised so that no exemption was necessary.

Two of the other requests were for clocks, one the 2,000 aircraft clocks referred to by Admiral Spear yesterday in his statement charging that the Walsh-Healey Act is a hindrance to the defense program and that there was a 4-month delay in the procurement of these clocks, for which he blamed the Department of Labor. The facts are that the matter was pending in the Department of Labor for a total of 7 days only out of this period, and the rest of the delay cannot fairly be attributed to the Department of Labor.

On January 25, 1940, the Secretary of the Navy asked for an exemption on the ground that there were only two qualified bidders in the United States who could make the aircraft clocks in question, one of which had not submitted a bid and the other of which was not willing to pay overtime beyond 40 hours a week in accordance with the requirements of the act and therefore requested an exemption. Shortly after receiving this request from the Navy I was approached by the company which had not submitted a bid and asked to intercede with the Navy so that a bid might be filed as the company was ready and willing to comply with all provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act, but its bid was refused by the Navy on the ground that it was not filed within the time limit. The company advised me that due to an unfortunate absence from his office of the official responsible for making such bids the company had unintentionally neglected to file its bid on time, but was eager to take the contract at the same price as that offered by the company seeking the exemption, and in addition would comply with the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act. I advised the Navy Department of this fact on January 30, 5 days after the request for exemption was made, and offered to help the Navy in any way I could if further assistance was needed, which I assumed would not be the case in view of the second bidder's willingness to take the contract.

As I heard nothing further from the Navy, I assumed the matter was settled satisfactorily, but 6 weeks later, on the 18th of March, the Navy urgently renewed its request for an exemption on the ground that the second company which had expressed its willingness to bid might have to obtain some of its parts for replacement and repair from abroad and, therefore, it was a less satisfactory source of supply. Under these circumstances, 2 days later, on March 20, I advised the Navy Department that under the terms of section 9 of the Walsh-Healey Act itself the Navy was legally justified in making the award to the company which had refused to comply with the act because it came within the open-market exemption.

The second request for exemption for clocks arose when the Navy feared that the successful bidder would be reluctant to comply with the Walsh-Healey requirements and requested an exemption immediately, in view of the urgency of the matter. The Department of Labor raised no question about this, but accepted the Navy's statement that the slightest delay was very serious and granted an exemption, but suggested that the Navy give the exemption to other companies who might be interested in bidding if they did not have to comply with the act so that everyone would be on the same basis. The outcome of this was that the exemption was not utilized, as all bidders agreed to comply with the act.

The fifth and last case was a request for an exemption by the Navy to purchase about 37 tons of highly specialized forged armor plate. This exemption also was unnecessary as the Department advised the Navy that the forged armor plate was not subject to the iron and steel wage determination.

I submit to you that if in 3½ years the Government has been able to purchase nearly three and one-half billion dollars' worth of goods manufactured under the Walsh-Healey Act and during this period of time there have been only five requests for exemption from its provisions, although the possibility of exemption is well known to all contracting officers of the Government, I submit to you that the Walsh-Healey Act cannot be a serious hindrance to the defense program or the procurement of supplies by the Government.

And now may I say a word about some of the accomplishments of the act on the positive side. There is no question in my mind that our refusal in the early days of the act to emasculate its provisions, either by giving a general exemption for all purchases by the Navy, as was requested, or by giving a general exemption to the steel industry, which at that time did not want to comply with the 40-hour-week requirements of the act, was partly if not largely responsible for the decision of the steel industry to adopt the 40-hour week which just preceded the general policy of bargaining collectively with its employees, the adoption of which was such a landmark in American industrial relations.

Thirty-five industries, employing over 2,000,000 workers, or nearly a quarter of the manufacturing employment of the country, are covered by minimum-wage requirements in supplying the Federal Government.

The facility with which the 40-hour-week requirement of the Fair Labor Standards Act this year was adopted by American industry is partly due, I think, to the fact that American industry by and large had been operating to a large extent on the 40-hour week anyway because of the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act.

Over half a million dollars have found their way into the pockets of workers on Government contracts who have been underpaid in accordance with the labor standards of the act, as a result of the activities of the Department of Labor, despite the fact that their employers had agreed to pay overtime and minimum wages. In no case has it been necessary for the Government to go into court to recover any of this money due employees, for their employers have paid it voluntarily when the debt has been called to their attention and the employees have received their due without the delay and expense of litigation.

I have not time here to comment any further on the accomplishments of the act, but you should bear these things in mind when you are appraising criticism of the act. I have no desire to shut off legitimate criticism, and I am the first to recognize its value, but facts are facts and the public is entitled to know them.

I want to say to you that many of the people who argue that the Walsh-Healey Act is no longer necessary do so not, as they say, because its provisions now have no meaning since the wage and hour law has come along and taken its place, but they do so because they recognize that so many industries which are effectively outside the reach of the relatively low standard of the wage and hour law, the 40-cent minimum, will be immune from any regulation by any outside force, including the Government, if the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act with its requirements for a determination of the prevailing minimum wage in industry are not retained. I want to assure you that we are aware of the nature of the attack, of the danger to which labor standards in general are exposed, and I want to pledge to you that wherever there is a genuine situation which needs correction I would be the first one to recommend that it should be handled under the flexibility which the act wisely provides; but I do want to say that we are not going lightly to participate in the breaking down of standards on Government work itself, which can have very far-reaching consequences leading perhaps to the eventual break-down of labor standards generally throughout the country. The way to fight to preserve democracy is not to destroy it at home.

Medical Treatment for World War Veterans of the Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS A. FLAHERTY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

LETTERS FROM THE WORLD WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE

Mr. FLAHERTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letters:

WORLD WAR VETERANS
OF THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE,
December 18, 1940.

Hon. THOMAS A. FLAHERTY,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Enclosed is a letter taken from the correspondence file of the Middlesex Post No. 2 of the World War Veterans of the United States Merchant Marine.

It is a letter from a heartbroken mother whose boy served in the wartime merchant marine, and who is in most need of hospital care and medical treatment. H. R. 9485, introduced by the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, of Massachusetts, when enacted, will authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to furnish domiciliary and hospital care and medical treatment to all World War veterans of the United States Merchant Marine. There are many cases as the one which is told in the enclosed letter by the heartbroken mother.

Sincerely,

WORLD WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE,
NICHOLAS CEFALO, *Legislative Committee.*

MARCH 22, 1938.

Middlesex Post No. 2, World War Veterans of the United States Merchant Marine.

DEAR SIR: I did not know that there was a Merchant Marine Veterans Post of merchant sailors, until a few days ago. I always thought the merchant-marine sailors were treated very mean in not being recognized as veterans. I am the mother of the youngest merchant-marine sailor who went to sea from the city of Everett, Mass., during the World War and went on his fifteenth birthday, November 19, 1917. My boy received a telegram from a Mr. George Kemble, Customhouse in Boston, to report to Captain Daly at the barge office in New York, which he did, leaving Boston on November 11, 1917, to report at barge office. My boy was sent to the barge *Montauk*, and when he found out she was going to Manila, he left and shipped as a deck hand on a merchant ship, the S. S. *Rhode Island*. The name of this ship a few days after was changed to the *Woonsocket*. My boy left Boston December 23 for France and on that hard-luck ship it took them until April 19 to make the trip and return to New York. My boy's first officer, a man named Frank C. Martin of Norfolk, Va., wrote me an account of the trip and of the bravery of my 15-year-old boy in storms and hurricanes and submarine attacks. When he came home on April 19 his feet were in an awful condition from wearing rubber boots for such a long time. After all their hard luck turning back three times to port after sailing from New York, when they reached France they were rammed by a ship going in the harbor loaded with explosives but God was good; there was no explosion. My boy and all the crew were cited by Gen. John J. Pershing, for their cooperation in helping to unload the cargo after being rammed. I have the letter now. After the armistice was signed my boy continued going to sea and in November 1921, he was sent to the Marine Hospital, Chelsea, Mass., and had an operation for varicose veins. He never felt right after that operation, and in 1923, a whistle blew one night when he was in bed and he thought he was on the ship going through a submarine attack. Nothing could convince him he was not at sea. He had to go to the hospital with a nervous breakdown and was O. K. in a few months. Five years ago the same thing came over him again. He imagined himself at sea and has been at the Danvers State Hospital for 4 years. He is now in the Waltham State Hospital and my heart is broken. I don't think he will ever be right again, that is why I am writing to your veterans post to let you know about him to see if your members will visit him at the hospital, maybe if he sees someone who can talk about the war and going to sea, visits him and takes interest in him he may feel better. He felt blue because there was no veteran organization for the merchant-marine sailors. I have newspaper clippings of his when he left home. Newspaper pictures of him when they landed in New York. His officer's letter and also the letter from Gen. John J. Pershing to all the men on the S. S. *Woonsocket*. I wish you could have your visiting committee visit my poor boy in the Waltham State Hospital. He can tell you all himself about his life at sea and maybe it will help him. He married in 1925 and has four children. I am bringing them up. My husband is getting up in years and we both get our happiness through the four children we have taken for our own. Answer if you receive this letter and tell me if my son will ever be able to get in a veteran hospital through your organization. I am glad you merchant-marine sailors are organized, and I remain,

Respectfully yours,

MRS. WILLIAM STRACHAN,
184 Bow Street, Everett, Mass.

My boy's name is William Philip Strachan, and his address is: Metropolitan State Hospital, Waltham, Mass.

The Ramspeck Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks to include therein United States Civil Service Commission Circulars Nos. 244 and 245, dated December 3 and 9, 1940, pertaining to the operation of the Ramspeck Act. As the House knows, several times I brought to the attention of the Members the fact that the Civil Service Commission has never taken the trouble to ask for the information that is requested in the Department Circular No. 244. This circular requests the departments to give the number of persons that would be subject to inclusion in the classified service under section 1 of the Ramspeck Act. It is unfortunate that the House did not know before the act was passed how many persons would be affected.

The circulars follow:

DEPARTMENTAL CIRCULAR NO. 244

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., December 3, 1940.

Subject: Survey of positions subject to Ramspeck Act of November 26, 1940.

To Heads of Departments and Independent Establishments:

Attention is invited to section 1 of the act of November 26, 1940, the Ramspeck Act, which reads as follows:

"That notwithstanding any provisions of law to the contrary, the President is authorized by Executive order to cover into the classified civil service any offices or positions in or under an executive department, independent establishment, or other agency of the Government: *Provided*, That in the case of any federally owned and controlled corporation organized under the laws of any State, Territory, or possession of the United States (including the Philippine Islands), or the District of Columbia, the President is authorized to direct that such action be taken as will permit appointments to offices or positions in any such corporation to be made in accordance with the civil-service laws, consistently with the laws of any such State, Territory, or possession, or the District of Columbia, or with the charter or articles of incorporation of any such corporation: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this section shall not apply to offices or positions in the Tennessee Valley Authority or to any positions in the Work Projects Administration or to any position to which appointments are made by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, or to positions of assistant United States district attorney."

In order to secure information to be furnished to the President preparatory to effectuating the purposes of this section, the Commission requests to be furnished with the data indicated on the attached report form regarding positions affected by section 1. The following information will be of assistance in preparing the desired report form:

SCOPE AND CONTENT OF REPORTS

It will be noted that for each bureau, office, or independent establishment two report forms are desired. Part I is to include all positions which are subject to section 1 of the act of November 26, 1940, the Ramspeck Act; that is, all positions which may, by virtue of a specific statute, be filled without regard to the Civil Service Act and rules except the following: Positions in the Tennessee Valley Authority, positions in the Work Projects Administration, positions to which appointments are made by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and positions of assistant United States district attorney. Part II of the report is to include those of the positions shown in part I which the department or agency concerned desires to have listed under schedules A or B of the civil-service rules which except positions from the classified civil service. In part I positions may be grouped according to the specific statute cited which permits appointment to be made without regard to the Civil Service Act and rules. The positions shown in part II should

be broken down into descriptive occupational groups and listed also under the specific statute which authorizes appointment to be made without regard to the Civil Service Act and rules; such as "attorneys," "engineers," "clerical positions paying less than $2,000 per annum," etc. Two sheets are to be submitted under each part—one for positions in Washington and one for positions in the field service.

These reports are to be concerned only with the status of positions, irrespective of the status of incumbents. They are to include all positions which a specific statute permits to be filled without regard to the Civil Service Act and rules, even if the present incumbent has a civil-service status. They are not to include positions which are already in the competitive classified service, even if the incumbent does not have a civil-service status (such as incumbents appointed from the emergency replacement list, incumbents ineligible for classification who have been permitted to remain in "status quo," etc.).

UNCLASSIFIED LABORERS

All unclassified laborer positions should be included in the report. Positions of unclassified laborer are exempted from the classified service by virtue of the Civil Service Act of January 16, 1883 (22 Stat. 403). Wherever unclassified laborers are included in either report form they should be listed under a separate heading.

TEMPORARY POSITIONS

For the purpose of these reports temporary positions are defined as positions the incumbents of which have been appointed for definite periods of time not exceeding 6 months.

SEASONAL AND PART-TIME POSITIONS

Seasonal and part-time positions are to be included under the heading "Temporary Positions." The salary of seasonal and part-time employees should be converted to a full-time per annum basis and reported under the appropriate column. For example, an employee working half time and receiving an aggregate annual salary of $720 per annum should be reported in the temporary-employees column under the heading "$1,260 to $1,619."

PER DIEM AND PER HOUR EMPLOYEES

The salaries of per diem and per hour employees should be converted to a full time per annum basis and reported under the appropriate column.

FIELD POSITIONS

Field positions reported in both parts I and II are to be listed on a separate sheet.

The following representative entries will indicate the manner in which the reports should be executed:

PART I.—*Positions subject to inclusion in the classified service under sec. 1 of the act of Nov. 26, 1940, the Ramspeck Act*

Date and citation of statute under which positions are excepted	Below $1,260		$1,260 to $1,619		$1,620 to $1,999		$2,000 to $2,599		$2,600 to $3,199	
	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary
Act of Oct. 22, 1913 (38 Stat. 208; 5 U. S. C. 639)					50		62			
Act of Aug. 20, 1937 (50 Stat. 736; 16 U. S. C. 832i)							105		63	
Act of Sept. 1, 1937 (50 Stat. 889; 42 U. S. C. 1404)							432		165	
Act of Jan. 16, 1883 (22 Stat. 403) (unclassified laborers)	81				122					

PART II.—*Positions recommended for listing under schedules A and B of the civil-service rules*

Designation or description of positions and date and citation of statute under which positions are excepted from classified service	Below $1,260		$1,260 to $1,619		$1,620 to $1,999		$2,000 to $2,599		$2,600 to $3,199	
	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary
1. Consultants on ballistics, act of Oct. 20, 1918 (25 Stat. 208, 6 U. S. C. 1639)					50		62			
2. Archeologists, act of Sept. 11, 1935 (30 Stat. 889; 45 U. S. C. 140)							14		16	
3. Experts, act of Sept. 11, 1935 (30 Stat. 889, 45 U. S. C. 1401)									14	
4. Unclassified laborers, act of Jan. 16, 1883 (22 Stat. 403)	81				122					

DATE OF REPORT

The report should show the number of positions as of December 1, 1940.

The cooperation of departments and establishments in the prompt submission of these reports will be appreciated.

By direction of the Commission.

Very respectfully,

L. A. MOYER,
Executive Director and Chief Examiner.

DEPARTMENTAL CIRCULAR NO. 245

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., December 9, 1940.

Subject: Section 8, civil-service rule II, regulations governing the acquisition of a competitive classified status.

To Heads of Departments and Independent Establishments:

Section 8 of civil-service rule II, as amended by Executive Order No. 8587 of November 7, 1940, reads as follows:

"8. Appointment without competitive examination in rare cases: Whenever the Commission shall find that the duties or compensation of a vacant position are such, or that qualified persons are so rare, that in its judgment such position cannot, in the interest of good civil-service administration, be filled at that time through open competitive examination, it may authorize such vacancy to be filled without competitive examination; and in any case in which such authority is given, evidence satisfactory to the Commission of the qualifications of the person to be appointed without competitive examination shall be required. A detailed statement of the reasons for its action in any case arising hereunder shall be made in the records of the Commission and shall be published in its annual report. Any person heretofore or hereafter appointed under this rule shall acquire a competitive classified status under such regulations as the Commission may prescribe, but may not be transferred or assigned to any other position without the express prior approval of the Commission. Any subsequent vacancy in such position shall not be filled without competitive examination except upon express authority of the Commission in accordance with this section."

The Commission has adopted the following regulations governing the acquisition of a competitive classified civil-service status under this rule:

"The incumbent of any position heretofore or hereafter appointed under section 8 of civil-service rule II (or prior to February 1, 1939, under sec. 10 of civil-service rule II) shall, upon recommendation to the Commission by the head of the department or agency in which he is employed, have all the rights in such department or agency which he would have acquired if appointed thereto by competitive examination: *Provided*, (a) That he has rendered at least 1 year of satisfactory active service in such position under authority of that rule; (b) that he is not disqualified by any provision of section 3 of civil-service rule V or of any other civil-service rule, or by any provisions of the Civil Service Act, or any other statute or Executive order.

"No person appointed under this rule may be transferred or assigned to any other position without the express prior approval of the Commission."

Any person heretofore or hereafter appointed under section 8 of civil-service rule II (or prior to February 1, 1939, under sec. 10 of civil-service rule II) may, upon the completion of 1 year of satisfactory active service, be recommended for the acquisition of a competitive classified civil-service status in accordance with the foregoing regulation.

By direction of the Commission.

Very respectfully,

L. A. MOYER,
Executive Director and Chief Examiner.

National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN C. KUNKEL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, the question of production of the equipment necessary for our national defense is one in which every American citizen, as well as every Member of Congress, has a strong and urgent interest. The American

Legion, the V. F. W.'s, and the various veterans' organizations are particularly interested in this subject. This is peculiarly true today when it is becoming quite certain that the success of our present policy of aid to Great Britain depends upon having our productive capacity in high gear before spring.

I strongly favor taking every step possible to speed our full defense program.

I incorporate as a part of my remarks a telegram received from Charles S. Cook, department commander of the American Legion of Pennsylvania:

In view of recent official statements American Legion of Pennsylvania demands congressional inquiry into national-defense situation such as cantonment-construction lag, armament-production slow-down, necessity of industrial conflict in defense plants. Request you state your position answer by Western Union.

Conditions in Finland as Reported by Minister Procope

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

RADIO INTERVIEW WITH THE FINNISH MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, heretofore I have called to the attention of the Members of the House the plight of Finland. There is no justification for the present blockade which refuses to permit foodstuffs to be sent to the people of the little Republic. Those of us who recall the heroic struggle of these people against tremendous odds, and who applauded the courage and heroism of the Finnish people in the wanton attack on them by communistic Russia, owe a duty to these people at this time. They are in need of food and clothing and other necessities, and it is contrary to every humanitarian impulse to deny them these supplies. Any country which adopts a different attitude is guilty of barbaric and inhuman tactics.

The present situation in Finland which celebrated Independence Day on December 6, 1940, is set forth in a colloquy between Fulton Lewis, Jr., and the Finnish Minister to the United States, Mr. Hjalmar J. Procope. This was broadcast on December 6, and is as follows:

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, this is Fulton Lewis, Jr., back home again at the studios of WOL in Washington, D. C., and very glad to be home, too, after 4 weeks of barnstorming from coast to coast. * * *

Before we get down to spot-news developments, I might mention that this is a birthday in the family of nations * * * the birthday of a very valiant and fine nation * * * the Republic of Finland. * * * one of the few free peoples left on the face of the earth. * * * by way of a little celebration, my good friend the Minister from Finland—Mr. Procope—dropped in at the studio a few minutes ago * * * so here is a birthday salute to his very fine nation. * * *

I don't know * * * perhaps he would even be willing to say a few words * * * would you?

Mr. PROCOPE. Yes, Fulton Lewis; and I thank the Mutual Broadcasting System for giving me this opportunity to speak to American friends of Finland on this day, the twenty-third anniversary of Finland's independence. Finland can look back upon a history of 1,000 years as a country and a nation. Twenty-three years ago she won her independence. This year, in spite of our firm desire to live in peace, the heaviest ordeals befell our country. Finland had to fight, and to fight alone, and finally to make a hard peace. But we accepted it without reservation. Finland has lost lives, territory, and wealth, and she is still suffering from all the unrest in the world and from the greatest difficulties. But Finland is free, not invaded or occupied, pursuing the same policy of peace, neutrality, and independence which always was hers.

Mr. LEWIS. What of the future?

Mr. PROCOPE. We, the present generation of Finns, have lived and suffered under foreign yoke. We have won the liberty, and we have fought for it. For us, and our sons and daughters, this December 6 is a most significant day. For us this anniversary is proof that men and women can be free and live. It is proof beyond argument that even in this maelstrom of bullets and death the will to independence cannot now or ever be conquered. But, for all our pride in this day, we people of Finland do not for one minute believe that our efforts are over. We know that we must work, and work hard, for everything we cherish. And we are prepared to work.

One-eighth of our people are homeless, destitute, hungry. It is as if all the people of Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Florida, Wyoming, Vermont, North and South Dakota, Nevada, Nebraska, and Montana were suddenly loosed in America hungry and with no place to go. Loosed in a country with 4 to 6 months of temperatures ranging from zero to 40 below. But we are free, and a free heart is warm, even though the body may be cold.

There is not fodder enough for our cattle, Fulton, and once beautiful and blooded herds are being slaughtered. There is no cotton for our mills so we cannot make clothes, no gasoline for our trucks. Shortly after this, our Independence Day, our pitiful ration of less than 2 pounds a month of life-giving edible fats will be further reduced or stopped entirely, unless more can be gotten. In the cities the milk supply is dwindling and there is no pork. My countrymen are known for their cleanliness, but today they suffer because they lack a little thing like soap. We do not have clothing—families of five and six have but one blanket and pass it around—we must have 3,000,000 bushels of wheat before next harvest or we will suffer from want of bread, but we are free. This is the important thing—our liberty. How will we meet the rest? A way must be found.

We have one port on the Arctic Sea open all the year through which we can maintain our communications with the western world. We work and we trust in God Almighty, in the future, and in the help of our friends, to whom on this day I bring our thanks for what you have done for Finland and for not forgetting us now.

There is an old hymn that in dark days and in good, in peace as in war, has given us consolation and strength. It reads, "A mighty fortress is our God." In that sign we look toward the future.

Thank you.

Mr. LEWIS. Thank you, Mr. Minister from Finland, and I can assure you that you and your countrymen have the undying respect and admiration and affection of the American people.

Another Victory for Power Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN E. RANKIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

DECISION OF SUPREME COURT

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, at long last the Supreme Court of the United States has upheld the contention that the hydroelectric power in our navigable streams and their tributaries that are capable of improvement for navigation purposes, is public property—that it belongs to all the American people and is subject to Federal control. That has been the contention of our public power bloc from the beginning.

This is the greatest victory for the advocates of public power—for the advocates of cheap electric energy for all the American people—that has been won since the Ashwander decision which settled a similar controversy relative to the power generated by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Under permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting the opinion delivered by Justice Reed of the Supreme Court.

[Supreme Court of the United States. No. 12.—October Term, 1940. *The United States of America, petitioner,* v. *Appalachian Electric Power Co.* On writ of certiorari to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. December 16, 1940.]

Mr. Justice Reed delivered the opinion of the Court.

This case involves the scope of the Federal commerce power in relation to conditions in licenses, required by the Federal Power Commission, for the construction of hydroelectric dams in navigable rivers of the United States. To reach this issue requires, preliminarily, a decision as to the navigability of the New River, a watercourse flowing through Virginia and West Virginia. The district court and the circuit court of appeals have both held that the New River is not navigable, and that the United States cannot enjoin the respondent from constructing and putting into operation a hydroelectric dam situated in the river just above Radford, Va.

Sections 9 and 10 of the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1899 make it unlawful to construct a dam in any navigable water of the United States without the consent of Congress.[1] By the Federal Water Power Act of 1920,[2] however, Congress created a Federal Power

[1] 30 Stat. 1151, 33 U. S. C., secs. 401, 403.

Commission with authority to license the construction of such dams upon specified conditions. Section 23 of that act provided that persons intending to construct a dam in a nonnavigable stream may file a declaration of intention with the Commission. If, after investigation, the Commission finds that the interests of interstate or foreign commerce will not be affected, permission shall be granted for the construction. Otherwise construction cannot go forward without a license.

The Radford Dam project was initiated by respondent's predecessor, the New River Development Co., which filed its declaration of intention with the Federal Power Commission on June 25, 1925. The Commission requested a report from Gen. Harry Taylor, then Chief of Engineers of the War Department. He first reported that the river was navigable, and also that while the water flow from the dam, if not properly regulated, could have an adverse effect on navigation during low-water stages in the Kanawha River (of which the New was one of the principal tributaries), such possible adverse effect would not warrant refusing a license to construct the dam if control was maintained by the United States. On review at the Commission's request, however, General Taylor rendered a second report, concluding that the New River in its present condition was not navigable and that navigation on the Kanawha would not be adversely affected by the proposed power development. On March 2, 1926, the Commission held a hearing on the declaration; the only evidence then submitted was General Taylor's second report.

Respondent, the Appalachian Electric Power Co., took an assignment of the declaration of intention on August 30, 1926, and several days later filed an application for a license on the Commission's suggestion that this would expedite matters and could be withdrawn if it later developed that no Federal license was required. In October, the district engineer of the War Department held a public hearing at Radford. On June 1, 1927, the Commission made a finding that the New River was not "navigable waters" within the definition in section 3 (8) of the Federal Water Power Act of 1920 but that (under section 23 of the act) the project would affect the interests of interstate and foreign commerce. On July 1, 1927, the Commission tendered to respondent a standard form license which the respondent refused in April 1928, principally on the ground that the conditions—especially those concerning rates, accounts, and eventual acquisition—were unrelated to navigation. In February 1930 respondent reiterated that its project was not within the Commission's jurisdiction, but nevertheless offered to accept a "minor part" license [3] containing only such conditions as would protect the interests of the United States in navigation. In September 1930 Attorney General Mitchell advised the Commission that it could properly issue such a minor-part license; [4] the question submitted by the Commission had stated that the New River was neither navigated nor navigable in fact. On November 25, the Commission "declined to take action on the application, favorable or adverse," on the ground that a court adjudication was desirable. After the establishment of the Commission as an independent agency,[5] it held another hearing in February 1931; in April it denied the application for a minor-part license, directed that the respondent be tendered a standard form license under the act, and ordered it not to proceed without such a license. A minority of the Commission then favored a finding that the New River was navigable; the majority, however, thought that question was for the courts and that the Commission's jurisdiction was properly based upon section 23 of the Federal Water Power Act.

On June 8, 1931, the respondent brought an action against the Commission to remove a cloud on its title and to restrain interference with the use of its property. This case was dismissed for jurisdictional reasons.[6] While it was pending, on October 12, 1932, the Commission without notice adopted a resolution that the New River, from the mouth of Wilson Creek, Va., north, was navigable.

The respondent began construction work on the dam about June 1, 1934. On May 6, 1935, the United States filed this bill for an injunction against the construction or maintenance of the proposed dam otherwise than under a license from the Federal Power Commission, and in the alternative a mandatory order of removal. It alleged that the New River is navigable; that the dam would constitute an obstruction to navigation and would impair the navigable capacity of the navigable waters of the United States on the New, Kanawha, and Ohio Rivers; that the Commission had found the dam would affect the interests of interstate or foreign commerce; and that its construction, therefore, violated both the Rivers and Harbors Act and the Federal Water Power Act. Respondent denied these allegations, and also set forth a number of separate defenses based on the assumption that the New River was nonnavigable. The fortieth and forty-first paragraphs of the answer, however, set forth defenses relied on by the respondent even if the river were held navigable. The substance of these was (1) that the conditions of any Federal license must be strictly limited to the protection of the navigable capacity of the waters of the United States; and (2) that the Commission's refusal to grant the minor-part license containing only such conditions was unlawful, and that any relief should be conditioned upon the Commission's granting respondent such a license. By these defenses respondent put in question—in the event of an adverse holding on navigability—the validity of the conditions of the act carried over into the standard-form license which relate to accounts, control of operation, and eventual acquisition of the project at the expiration of the license.

After trial, in an opinion reinforced by formal findings of fact and law, the district court decided that the New River is not a navigable water of the United States; that respondent's dam would not obstruct the navigable capacity of the Kanawha or any other navigable river and would not affect the interests of interstate commerce; that the Power Commission's findings on these matters were not final, but subject to the determination of the courts; [7] that the Federal Water Power Act did not vest in the Commission authority to require a license in a nonnavigable river; that even if the Commission had authority to require some license for a dam in nonnavigable waters, it could not impose conditions having no relation to the protection of the navigable capacity of waters of the United States; and that its effort to impose upon respondent a license containing unlawful conditions barred the United States from relief. The district judge therefore dismissed the bill, but left it open to the Government to assert its rights if future operation of the project interfered with the navigable capacity of the waters of the United States. The circuit court of appeals, with one judge dissenting, affirmed. We granted certiorari.[8]

Concurrent findings: The district court's finding that the New River was not navigable was concurred in by the circuit court of appeals after a careful appraisal of the evidence in the record.[9] Both courts stated in detail the circumstantial facts relating to the use of the river and its physical characteristics, such as volume of water, swiftness, and obstructions. There is no real disagreement between the parties here concerning these physical and historical evidentiary facts. But there are sharp divergencies of view as to their reliability as indicia of navigability and the weight which should be attributed to them. The disagreement is over the ultimate conclusion upon navigability to be drawn from this uncontroverted evidence.

The respondent relies upon this Court's statement that "each determination as to navigability must stand on its own facts," [10] and upon the conventional rule that factual findings concurred in by two courts will be accepted by this Court unless clear error is shown.[11]

In cases involving the navigability of watercourses, this Court, without expressly passing on the finality of the findings, on some occasions has entered into consideration of the facts found by two courts to determine for itself whether the courts have correctly applied to the facts found the proper legal test.[12] When we deal with issues such as these before us, facts and their constitutional significance are too closely connected to make the two-court rule a serviceable guide. The legal concept of navigability embraces both public and private interests. It is not to be determined by a formula which fits every type of stream under all circumstances and at all times. Our past decisions have taken due account of the changes and complexities in the circumstances of a river. We do not purport now to lay down any single definitive test. We draw from the prior decisions in this field and apply them, with due regard to the dynamic nature of the problem, to the particular circumstances presented by the New River. To these circumstances within judicial standards are to be applied for determining whether the complex of the conditions in respect to its capacity for use in interstate commerce render it a navigable stream within the constitutional requirements. Both the standards and the ultimate conclusion involve questions of law inseparable from the particular facts to which they are applied.

Navigability: The power of the United States over its waters which are capable of use as interstate highways arises from the commerce clause of the Constitution. "The Congress shall have power * * * to regulate commerce * * * among the several States." It was held early in our history that the power to regulate commerce necessarily included power over navigation.[13] To make its control effective the Congress may keep the "navigable waters of the United States" open and free and provide by sanctions against any interference with the country's water assets.[14]

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[2] 41 Stat. 1063. The act was amended by 49 Stat. 838 (1935) (U. S. C., Supp. V, title 16, sec. 791 et seq., by which it became known as the Federal Power Act).

[3] Sec. 10 (1).

[4] 36 Op. A. G. 355.

[5] Originally it consisted of 3 Cabinet officers, ex officio: The Secretaries of War, Interior, and Agriculture. By 46 Stat. 797, it was reorganized into an independent commission with 5 members. The new Commission began to function on December 22, 1930.

[6] *Appalachian Electric Power Co.* v. *Smith* (67 F. (2d) 451; cert. denied, 291 U. S. 674).

[7] In both courts below the Government unsuccessfully urged that the findings of the Commission, if supported by substantial evidence, were conclusive. Although it still regards this contention as correct, the Government does not seek to have this Court pass on it in this case.

[8] 309 U. S. 646.

[9] 107 F. (2d) 769, 780, 787.

[10] *United States* v. *Utah* (283 U. S. 64, 87).

[11] *Brewer Oil Co.* v. *United States* (260 U. S. 77, 86); e. g., *Alabama Power Co.* v. *Ickes* (302 U. S. 464, 477); *Pick Mfg. Co.* v. *General Motors Corporation* (299 U. S. 3); *Texas & N. O. R. Co.* v. *Ry. Clerks* (281 U. S. 548, 558); *United States* v. *O'Donnell* (303 U. S. 501, 508).

[12] *United States* v. *Rio Grande Irrigation Co.* (174 U. S. 690, 699); *Leovy* v. *United States* (177 U. S. 621); *Economy Light Co.* v. *United States* (256 U. S. 113, 117); *United States* v. *Holt Bank* (270 U. S. 49, 55).

[13] *Gibbons* v. *Ogden* (9 Wheat. 1, 189); *Leovy* v. *United States* (177 U. S. 621, 632).

[14] *Gilman* v. *Philadelphia* (3 Wall. 713, 724–725); *United States* v. *Coombs* (12 Pet. 72, 78).

It may legislate to forbid or license dams in the waters; [15] its power over improvements for navigation in rivers is "absolute." [16]

The States possess control of the waters within their borders, "subject to the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States under the Constitution in regard to commerce and the navigation of the waters of rivers." [17] It is this subordinate local control that, even as to navigable rivers, creates between the respective governments a contrariety of interests relating to the regulation and protection of waters through licenses, the operation of structures and the acquisition of projects at the end of the license term. But there is no doubt that the United States possesses the power to control the erection of structures in navigable waters.

The navigability of the New River is, of course, a factual question [18] but to call it a fact cannot obscure the diverse elements that enter into the application of the legal tests as to navigability. We are dealing here with the sovereign powers of the Union, the Nation's right that its waterways be utilized for the interests of the commerce of the whole country. It is obvious that the uses to which the streams may be put vary from the carriage of ocean liners to the floating out of logs; [19] that the density of traffic varies equally widely from the busy harbors of the seacoast to the sparsely settled regions of the western mountains.[20] The tests as to navigability must take these variations into consideration.

Both lower courts based their investigation primarily upon the generally accepted definition of *The Daniel Ball*.[21] In so doing they were in accord with the rulings of this Court on the basic concept of navigability.[22] Each application of this test, however, is apt to uncover variations and refinements which require further elaboration.

In the lower courts and here, the Government urges that the phrase "susceptible of being used, in their ordinary condition," in the *Daniel Ball* definition, should not be construed as eliminating the possibility of determining navigability in the light of the effect of reasonable improvements. The district court thought the argument inapplicable.[23]

The circuit court of appeals said:

"If this stretch of the river was not navigable in fact in its unimproved condition, it is not to be considered navigable merely because it might have been made navigable by improvements which were not in fact made. Of course if the improvements had been made the question of fact might have been different." [24]

To appraise the evidence of navigability on the natural condition only of the waterway is erroneous. Its availability for navigation must also be considered. "Natural and ordinary condition" [25] refers to volume of water, the gradients, and the regularity of the flow. A waterway, otherwise suitable for navigation, is not barred from that classification merely because artificial aids must make the highway suitable for use before commercial navigation may be undertaken. Congress has recognized this in section 3 (8) of the Water Power Act by defining "navigable waters" as those "which either in their natural or improved condition" are used or suitable for use. The district court is quite right in saying there are obvious limits to such improvements as affecting navigability. These limits are necessarily a matter of degree.[26] There must be a balance between cost and need at a time when the improvement would be useful. When once found to be navigable, a waterway remains so.[27] This is no more indefinite than a rule of navigability in fact as adopted below based upon "useful interstate commerce" or "general and common usefulness for purposes of trade and commerce" if these are interpreted as barring improvements.[28] Nor is it necessary that the improvements should be actually completed or even authorized. The power of Congress over commerce is not to be hampered because of the necessity for reasonable improvements to make an interstate waterway available for traffic.

Of course, there are difficulties in applying these views. Improvements that may be entirely reasonable in a thickly populated, highly developed industrial region may have been entirely too costly for the same region in the days of the pioneers. The changes in engineering practices or the coming of new industries with varying classes of freight may affect the type of the improvement. Although navigability to fix ownership of the river bed [29] or riparian rights [30] is determined as the cases just cited in the notes show, as of the formation of the Union in the original States or the admission to statehood of those formed later, navigability, for the purpose of the regulation of commerce, may later arise.[31] An analogy is found in admiralty jurisdiction,[32] which may be extended over places formerly nonnavigable.[33] There has never been doubt that the navigability referred to in the cases was navigability despite the obstruction of falls, rapids, sand bars, carries, or shifting currents.[34] The plenary Federal power over commerce must be able to develop with the needs of that commerce which is the reason for its existence. It cannot properly be said that the Federal power over navigation is enlarged by the improvements to the waterways. It is merely that improvements make applicable to certain waterways the existing power over commerce.[35] In determining the navigable character of the New River it is proper to consider the feasibility of interstate use after reasonable improvements which might be made.[36]

Nor is it necessary for navigability that the use should be continuous. The character of the region, its products, and the difficulties or dangers of the navigation influence the regularity and extent of the use.[37] Small traffic compared to the available commerce of the region is sufficient.[38] Even absence of use over long periods of years, because of changed conditions, the coming of the railroad or improved highways does not affect the navigability of rivers in the constitutional sense.[39] It is well recognized, too, that the navigability may be of a substantial part only of the waterway in question.[40] Of course, these evidences of nonnavigability in whole or in part are to be appraised in totality to determine the effect of all. With these legal tests in mind we proceed to examine the facts to see whether the 111-mile reach of this river from Allisonia to Hinton, across the Virginia-West Virginia State line, has "capability of use by the public for the purposes of transportation and commerce." [41]

Physical characteristics: New River may be said to assume its character as such at the mouth of Wilson Creek near the North Carolina-Virginia line. From that point it flows first in a northeast and then in a northwest direction something over 250 miles to Kanawha Falls, W. Va. It passes through Allisonia and Radford, Va., and then Hinton, W. Va. It is joined by many tributaries, the largest of which is the Gauley. At Kanawha Falls it changes its name to the Kanawha, a navigable river of commercial importance which joins the Ohio 97 miles below. The whole territory traversed by the New is broken and mountainous. Between Hinton and Kanawha Falls, the river is swift and the gorge precipitous. Above Hinton the river flows more slowly, through a broader valley and between less rugged mountains. The same may be said of the area above Radford. Throughout the river there is an abundance of water, and the respondent hardly denies that the flowage suffices if other conditions make the New navigable for navigation.[42]

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[15] *Willson* v. *The Black Bird Creek Marsh Co.* (174 U. S. 690, 703). *United States* v. *Rio Grande Irrigation Co.* (174 U. S. 690, 703).

[16] *United States* v. *River Rouge Co.* (269 U. S. 411, 419).

[17] *Water Power Co.* v. *Water Commissioners* (168 U. S. 349, 366); *United States* v. *Rio Grande Irrigation Co.* (174 U. S. 690, 702).

[18] *Arizona* v. *California* (283 U. S. 423, 452).

[19] *The Montello* (20 Wall. 430, 441).

[20] *United States* v. *Utah* (283 U. S. 64, 83).

[21] 10 Wall. 557, 563:

"* * * Those rivers must be regarded as public navigable rivers in law which are navigable in fact. And they are navigable in fact when they are used, or are susceptible of being used, in their ordinary condition, as highways for commerce, over which trade and travel are or may be conducted in the customary modes of trade and travel on water. And they constitute navigable waters of the United States within the meaning of the acts of Congress, in contradistinction from the navigable waters of the States, when they form in their ordinary condition by themselves, or by uniting with other waters, a continued highway over which commerce is or may be carried on with other States or foreign countries in the customary modes in which such commerce is conducted by water."

United States v. *Appalachian Electric Power Co.* (23 F. Supp. 83, 98); same, 107 F. (2d) 769, 780.

[22] *United States* v. *Rio Grande Irrigation Co.* (174 U. S. 690, 698); *Brewer Oil Co.* v. *United States* (260 U. S. 77, 86); *United States* v. *Holt Bank* (270 U. S. 49, 56); *United States* v. *Utah* (283 U. S. 64, 76); *United States* v. *Oregon* (295 U. S. 1, 15).

[23] 23 F. Supp. at 99–100.

[24] 107 F. (2d) at 786.

[25] *United States* v. *Oregon* (295 U. S. 1, 15).

[26] Thus in the Rio Grande case the record contained reports of Army engineers that improvements necessary to make the river navigable would be financially, if not physically, impracticable because of the many millions of dollars that would be required. The Supreme Court of the Territory of New Mexico observed that "the navigability of a river does not depend upon its susceptibility of being so improved by high engineering skill and the expenditure of vast sums of money but upon its natural present conditions" (9 N. M. 292, 299). This court agreed that too much improvement was necessary for the New Mexico stretch of the river to be considered navigable. (*United States* v. *Rio Grande Irrigation Co.*, 174 U. S. 690, 699.)

[27] *Economy Light Co.* v. *United States* (256 U. S. 113).

[28] See 107 F. (2d) at 780.

[29] *Shively* v. *Bowlby* (152 U. S. 1, 18, 26); *United States* v. *Utah* (283 U. S. 64, 75).

[30] *Oklahoma* v. *Texas* (258 U. S. 574, 591, 594); *United States* v. *Oregon* (295 U. S. 1, 14).

[31] Cf. *United States* v. *Rio Grande Irrigation Co.* (174 U. S. 690, 699).

[32] Art. III, sec. 2, clause 1. Cf. *Genessee Chief* v. *Fitzhugh* (12 How. 443).

[33] *The Robert W. Parsons* (191 U. S. 17, 28); *Ex parte Boyer* (109 U. S. 629); *Marine Transit Co.* v. *Dreyfus* (284 U. S. 263, 271–272).

[34] *The Montello* (20 Wall. 430, 442–443); *Economy Light Co.* v. *United States* (256 U. S. 113, 122); *United States* v. *Utah* (283 U. S. 64, 86). See also Mr. Justice McLean in *Spooner* v. *McConnell* (22 Fed. Cas. No. 13245, at p. 944 (C. C. D. Ohio, 1838)).

[35] Illustrative of this natural growth is *United States* v. *Cress* (243 U. S. 316), involving riparian proprietors' rights where improvements raise the river level so that uplands are newly and permanently subjected to the servitude of public use for navigation. Compensation was decreed for the taking with a declaration that the waterways in question, as artificially improved, remained navigable waters of the United States (pp. 325 and 326). Cf. *Arizona* v. *California* (283 U. S. 423, 454).

[36] Cf. *Barnes* v. *United States* (46 Ct. Cls. 7, 28).

[37] *United States* v. *Utah* (283 U. S. 64); *Arizona* v. *California* (283 U. S. 423, 452–454).

[38] *United States* v. *Utah* (283 U. S. 64, 82).

[39] *Ashwander* v. *Tennessee Valley Authority* (297 U. S. 288, 329).

[40] *Economy Light Co.* v. *United States* (256 U. S. 113, 124); *Arizona* v. *California* (283 U. S. 423), 453.

[41] Cf. *The Montello*, 20 Wall. 430, 441.

[42] See 23 F. Supp. at 91.

It will conserve discussion to appraise the navigability of the 111-mile stretch between Allisonia and Hinton in three sections which together form the whole reach between these points: The 28 miles from Allisonia to Radford, which the United States improved between 1876 and 1883; the 59-mile stretch from Radford to Wiley's Falls, Va., never improved except at Wiley's Falls itself; and the 24 miles from Wiley's Falls across the State line to Hinton, W. Va., which, like the upper section, the Government improved during 1876–83. We shall examine chiefly the disputed middle section, for as to the others the evidence of navigability is much stronger and that of obstructions much weaker. For instance, the report of the Chief of Engineers for 1873 refers to certain keelboats operating on the river, and his report for 1883 shows that 17 keelboats operated above Hinton. Keelboats were flat-bottomed bateaux, 50 to 70 feet long, with a draft of 2 feet and a carrying capacity varying up to 10 or 12 tons. They were used commercially to transport lumber, tobacco, and other products of the region. The evidence is clear that these bateaux plied from Hinton up to near Glen Lyn with fair regularity through the first decade of this century and well into the second; timber and lumber in large quantities apparently were boated and rafted down to Hinton from various up-river points below Glen Lyn until about the beginning of the World War.[43] Around and above Radford the Chief of Engineers reported 2 keelboats operating in 1881, 8 in 1882, and 8 together with a small steamboat in 1883. The corroborating testimony of many witnesses shows that in the eighties these boats carried iron ore and pig iron, as well as produce and merchandise, between Allisonia and New River Bridge, which is a little above Radford.[44] At the Hinton and New River Bridge railroad stations, freight brought in by the keelboats or other river craft was transshipped, and freight arriving by rail was forwarded by river.

We come then to a consideration of the crucial stretch from Radford to below Wileys Falls where junction is made with the interstate reach from Wileys Falls to Hinton. In the report of the Secretary of War for 1872 appears Hutton's useful mile-by-mile survey of the river from above Allisonia to the mouth of the Greenbrier, which is nearly down to Hinton. It was made as a basis for plans to improve the New by Federal appropriation.[45] This survey designates the Radford-Wileys Falls stretch as mile 46 to mile 104, inclusive. Eighteen of these miles have grades falling, gradually or abruptly, more than 4 feet in the mile. Several of these where there are rapids or falls show drops of 8, 9, and in one instance 11½ feet. The higher footage represents, of course, miles in which small falls are found. Between these more precipitous sections are many miles of what is called good water, with a gradual fall of 4 feet or less. Even in miles where the declivity is rapid, the fall is apparently largely in sections containing obstructions. For instance, the 51st mile reads "Rapid, over bowlders and gravel, 1,500 feet long; fall, 8½ feet," and the 100th mile "Neilley's Falls and rapids; whole fall, 11 feet, 6 of it nearly vertical. A sluice 500 feet long, along left bank, will pass them, with 50 feet of rock excavaton and 450 feet of bowlders and gravel." Quite frequently where the fall is moderate, other obstructions appear, as the 78th mile "Rapids, 500 feet long, over bowlders and gravel; fall, 2 feet." Large isolated rocks are scattered abundantly throughout the stretch. A geologist testifying for the respondent tells strikingly how the faulting and folding of the surface at this stretch has resulted in the tilting of the rock strata to a steep degree. "In its flow, the water of New River moves along and up the slopes of successive rock strata or ledges * * * this results in a river with numerous ledges of rock strata, some partly submerged, some exposed, which are substantially vertical or standing on end, and which extend across the stream at right angles to the line of flow. * * * The slope of the strata is downward in an upstream direction rather than in a downstream direction," contrary to the usual condition. No other data point to material variations from these descriptions.

Use of the river from Radford to Wiley's Falls. Navigation on the Radford-Wiley's Falls stretch was not large. Undoubtedly the difficulties restricted it and with the coming of the Norfolk & Western and the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroads in the 80's such use as there had been practically ceased, except for small public ferries going from one bank to the other.[46] Well-authenticated instances of boating along this stretch, however, exist. In 1819 a survey was made by Moore and Briggs, whom the General Assembly of Virginia had sent to report on the availability of the New for improvement. Beginning at the mouth of the Greenbrier, they boated up to the mouth of Sinking Creek, some 55 miles, noting the characteristics of the river as they went. They reported that they ascended all falls with their boat "though in two or three instances with considerable difficulty, after taking out our baggage, stores, etc." [47] Sinking Creek is about halfway up this stretch of river we are considering.

In 1861 the Virginia General Assembly appropriated $30,000 to improve the New River to accommodate transportation of military stores by bateaux from Central Depot (Radford) to the mouth of the Greenbrier.[48] While there is no direct proof that this particular appropriation was spent, reports of the War Department engineers make it clear that the Confederate government effected some improvements on the river.[49] These facts buttress the testimony of several witnesses, one a Confederate veteran, that during the Civil War keel-bottom boats brought supplies from Radford to a commissary at the Narrows (about 7 miles above Glen Lyn) and then continued farther downstream.[50] This testimony the circuit court of appeals accepted as true.[51]

From the end of the Civil War to the coming of the railroads the evidence of elderly residents familiar with events along the banks of the river between Radford and Wileys Falls leaves no doubt that at least sporadic transportation took place in and throughout this stretch. By this it is not meant that the keel boats above Radford and above Hinton, which operated frequently in the improved sections, made regular through trips from Allisonia past Radford to Hinton. Through navigation, however, did occur, as is shown by the testimony of a number of witnesses and recognized by the lower courts.[52] There are also numerous references to isolated bits of boating along parts of the Radford-Wileys Falls reach.[53] And when the Government stopped improvement in 1883 it ordered the boats it was using in the lead mines division above Allisonia, and at various places downstream, to be brought down the full stretch of the river to Hinton for sale. Under the supervision of the assistant engineer a derrick boat, four bateaux, and numerous flatboats, skiffs, and canoes—more than 20 vessels in all—were taken down to Hinton, a number of them from points above Radford. This was accomplished, as the Chief of Engineers' report shows, despite difficulties occasioned by "weather, low water, and scarcity of labor." [54]

In addition to the testimony of use in the days before railways and good roads, there was a demonstration of the possibility of navigation by a Government survey boat with an outboard motor, 16 feet long, 5 feet wide, drawing 2½ to 3 feet, loaded with a crew of 5 and its survey equipment. This boat made a round trip from the Narrows, just above Wileys Falls, to Allisonia, a distance of 72 miles one way, in July 1936, when the river stage was normal summer low water. While the crew was out of the boat and used poles a number of times, there were no carries or portages. Going upstream it was not necessary to pull or push the boat more than a mile and a quarter and not more than a few hundred feet on the return trip.

Use of a stream long abandoned by water commerce is difficult to prove by abundant evidence. Fourteen authenticated instances of use in a century and a half by explorers and trappers, coupled with general historical references to the river as a water route for the early fur traders and their supplies in pirogues and Durham or flat-bottomed craft similar to the keelboats of the New, sufficed upon that phase in the case of the Des Plaines.[55] Nor is lack of commercial traffic a bar to a conclusion of navigability where personal or private use by boats demonstrates the availability of the stream for the simpler types of commercial navigation.[56]

The evidence of actual use of the Radford-Wileys Falls section for commerce and for private convenience, when taken in connection with its physical condition make it quite plain that by reason-

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[43] This is shown by the testimony of Weiss, Peters, Starbuck, Lane, E. M. Smith, Farley, Kenley, Lucas, E. W. Lilly, W. L. Burks, Z. V. Burks, Johnson, Wauhop, Stover, R. Calloway, J. C. Martin, Tomkies, and B. C. Lilly.

[44] E. g., the testimony of R. L. Howard, Graham, J. Breeding, Owen, Z. Farmer, H. B. Allison, J. H. Howard, Peterson, Moore, Likens, Roop, and Ingles.

In 1885 the assistant engineer reported that "from inquiries it is thought that the channel way made in former years [on the improved sections] still keeps open, and bateaux are in constant use on them, iron having been shipped to New River bridge up to the time of the suspension of the furnaces by the prevailing hard times" (Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1886).

[45] 17 Stat. 376.

[46] At different times before 1935 ferries crossed the river at no less than 10 cents along the Radford-Wileys Falls stretch. In 1935 there were 5 such public ferries.

[47] Report of Moore and Briggs. Fourth and Fifth Annual Reports of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia (1819). Report of the Principal Engineer of the Board of Public Works.

While Marshall was Chief Justice he was head of a Virginia commission which had surveyed part of the New River by boat in 1812, but only going downstream from the mouth of the Greenbrier. Report of the Commissioners, printed 1816.

[48] Virginia acts of 1861–62, ch. 50.

[49] "But little has been done in the way of improving the river since the time of Moore and Briggs, though an effort is said to have been made in that direction by the Confederate Government in the late war" (Report of Chief of Engineers for 1873). "Experience as developed by the universal fate of the work of the late Confederate States on this river (though this seems to have been injudiciously located and poorly built), is adverse to anything like rigid structures * * *" (Report of Chief of Engineers for 1879).

[50] Testimony of Snyder, Snidow, Skeen.

[51] 107 F. (2d) at 783.

[52] See 23 F. Supp. at 93; 107 F. (2d) at 786.

Testimony of bateaux going from Radford, or above, to Hinton, is given by Flannagan, Linkous, Collins, Webb, and Snyder.

A boat, 50 feet by 8, with a gasoline motor, went from Radford to Hinton in 1901, though after the river had been materially raised by a rain.

[53] E. g., testimony of Coleman, Howard, Webb, Snyder, Price, Martin, Anderson.

[54] Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1883. See also testimony of Owen, Crowell, Dickinson.

[55] *Economy Light Co.* v. *United States* (256 Fed. 792, 797–798); affirmed 256 U. S. 113.

[56] *United States* v. *Utah* (283 U. S. 64, 82).

able improvement the reach would be navigable for the type of boats employed on the less obstructed sections. Indeed the evidence detailed above is strikingly similar to that relied upon by this Court in *United States* v. *Utah*,[57] to establish the navigability of the Colorado from Cataract Canyon to the Utah-Arizona boundary line. There had been 17 through trips over a period of 60 years from the original exploration, and these together with sporadic trips on parts of the stretch, and considerable use—in connection with gold placer mining—of other parts from 1888 to 1915, sufficed to sustain navigability.[58]

Effect of improvability: Respondent denied the practicability of artificial means to bring about the navigability of the New River and the effectiveness of any improvement to make the river a navigable water of the United States. The Government supported its allegation of improvability by pointing out that the use of the section for through navigation and local boating on favorable stretches of the Radford-Wileys Falls reach showed the feasibility of such use and that little was needed in the way of improvements to make the section a thoroughfare for the typical, light commercial traffic of the area. Keelboats, 8 feet wide, drawing 2 feet, were the usual equipment. In the 1872 report of the Chief of Engineers, Major Craighill in charge of New River reports that to get "good sluice navigation of 2 feet at all times" for 54 miles up from the mouth of the Greenbrier River, near Hinton, would cost $30,000, and for 128 miles, Greenbrier to the lead mines (above Allisonia), would cost $100,000. The depth over the shoals could be increased to 2 feet without "too much increase of velocity of the current." This recommendation was based on Hutton's mile-by-mile survey and includes all of the Radford-Wileys Falls section.

The improvements were undertaken beginning in 1877. As the region was becoming better developed, a higher type of improvement became desirable—wider sluiceways and a deeper channel, usable by small steamboats. Work went forward above Hinton and above Radford to meet the pressing demands of the communities. Annual reports of the Chief of Engineers assumed or reaffirmed the navigability of the entire river above Hinton and the practicality of the improvements.[59] By 1891, $109,733.21 had been spent. It was in that year estimated $159,000 more would be required to complete the project the full length from Wilson Creek to Hinton.[60] Useful navigation moved regularly between Hinton and near Glen Llyn and between Radford and Allisonia. About half the reach between Hinton and Allisonia was improved. The Radford-Wileys Falls section was never improved. It was reported that conditions had changed and the project should not be completed.[61] The provisions for improvements were repealed in 1902.[62] By 1912 the region's need for use of the river had so diminished that the Army engineers advised against undertaking improvements again, and even referred to the cost as prohibitive.[63] From the use of the Radford-Wileys Falls stretch and the evidence as to its ready improvability at a low cost for easier keelboat use, we conclude that this section of the New River is navigable. It follows from this, together with the undisputed commercial use of the two stretches above Radford and Hinton, that the New River from Allisonia, Va., to Hinton, W. Va., is a navigable water of the United States.

License provisions: The determination that the New River is navigable eliminates from this case issues which may arise only where the river involved is nonnavigable.[64] But even accepting the navigability of the New River, the respondent urges that certain provisions of the license which seek to control affairs of the licensee are unconnected with navigation and are beyond the power of the Commission, indeed beyond the constitutional power of Congress to authorize.

The issue arises because of the prayer of the bill that the respondent be compelled to accept the license as required by law or remove the dam as an obstruction and the answer of the respondent that the license required by law and tendered to it by the Commission contains provisions, unrelated to navigation or the protection of navigable capacity, which are beyond the constitutional authority of Congress to require on account of the fifth and tenth amendments. There is no contention that the provisions of the license are not authorized by the statute. In the note below[65] the chief statutory conditions for a license are epitomized. The license offered the respondent on May 5, 1931, embodied these statutory requirements and we assume it to be in conformity with the existing administration of the power act. We shall pass upon the validity of only those provisions of the license called to our attention by the respondent as being unrelated to the purposes of navigation. These are the conditions derived from sections 10a, 10c, 10d, 10e, and 14. We do not consider that the validity of other clauses has been raised by the respondent's general challenge to the constitutionality of any provision "other than those relating solely to the protection" of navigable waters.[66] It should also be noted that no complaint is made of any conditions of the license dependent upon the authorization of section 10g, the omnibus clause requiring compliance with such other conditions as the Commission may require.

The petitioner suggests that consideration of the validity of section 14, the acquisition clause, and the license conditions based upon its language are properly to be deferred until the United States undertakes to claim the right to purchase the project on the license terms 50 years after its issuance.[67] Assuming that the mere acceptance of a license would not later bar the objection of unconstitutional conditions, even when accompanied by a specific agreement to abide by the statute and license,[68] we conclude that here the requirements of section 14 so vitally affect the establishment and financing of respondent's project as to require a determination of their validity before finally adjudging the issue of injunction.

The respondent's objections to the statutory and license provisions, as applied to navigable streams, are based on the contentions (1) that the United States' control of the waters is limited to control for purposes of navigation, (2) that certain license provisions take its property without due process, and (3) that the claimed right to acquire this project and to regulate its financing, records, and affairs is an invasion of the rights of the States, contrary to the tenth amendment.

Forty-one States join as amici in support of the respondent's arguments. While conceding, as of course, that Congress may prohibit the erection in navigable waters of the United States of any structure deemed to impair navigation, the attorneys general speaking for the States insist that this power of prohibition does not comprehend a power to exact conditions, which are unrelated to navigation, for the permission to erect such structures. To permit, the argument continues, the imposition of licenses involving conditions such as this acquisition clause, enabling the Federal Government to take over a natural resource such as water-power, allows logically similar acquisition of mines, oil, or farm lands as consideration for the privilege of doing an interstate business. The States thus lose control of their resources and property is withdrawn from taxation in violation of the tenth amendment.

Further, the point is made that a clash of sovereignty arises between the license provisions of the Power Act and State licensing provisions. The Commonwealth of Virginia advances forcibly its contention that the affirmative regulation of water-power projects on its navigable streams within its boundaries rests with the State, beyond that needed for navigation. "While the supremacy of the Federal Government in its own proper sphere, as delineated in the Constitution, is cheerfully conceded, yet just as earnestly does Virginia insist upon the supremacy of her own government in its proper field as established by that instrument." Virginia has a Water Power Act.[69] It, too, offers a 50-year license, with the right to use the natural resources of the State, the stream flow, and the beds of the water courses for the period of the license or its extensions subject to State condemnation at any time on Virginia's terms for ascertainment of value. Operation is likewise regulated by State law.[70] The Commonwealth objects that the development of its water power resources is subjected to Federal Power Act requirements such

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[57] 283 U. S. 64, 81.

[58] See the report of the master, p. 127 et seq.

[59] Report for 1878, pp. 69, 495–499; 1879, pp. 79, 530–545; 1880, pp. 107–108, 676–681; 1881, pp. 144–145, 904–911; 1882, pp. 140–142, 913–919; 1883, pp. 144–145, 699–705; 1886, pp. 281–282, 1599–1602.

[60] Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1891, p. 303.

[61] Id., at 302–303.

[62] 32 Stat. 374.

[63] House Doc. No. 1410, 62d Cong., 3d sess., p. 3.

[64] Cf. *United States* v. *Appalachian Electric Power Co.* (107 F. (2d) 769, 793 et seq.).

[65] Sec. 4 (a) of the act allows the Commission to regulate the licensee's account.

Sec. 6 limits licenses to 50 years.

Sec. 8 requires Commission approval for voluntary transfers of licenses or rights granted thereunder.

Sec. 10 (a), as amended in 1935, requires that the project be best adapted to a comprehensive plan for improving or developing the waterway for the use or benefit of interstate or foreign commerce, for the improvement and utilization of water-power development, and for other beneficial public uses, including recreational purposes. Under sec. 10 (c) the licensee must maintain the project adequately for navigation and for efficient power operation, must maintain depreciation reserves adequate for renewals and replacements, and must conform to the Commission's regulations for the protection of life, health, and property; (d) out of surplus earned after the first 20 years above a specified reasonable rate of return, the licensee must maintain amortization reserves to be applied in reduction of net investment; (e) the licensee must pay the United States reasonable annual charges for administering the act, and during the first 20 years the United States is to expropriate excessive profits until the State prevents such profits; (f) the licensee may be ordered to reimburse those by whose construction work it is benefited.

By sec. 11, for projects in navigable waters of the United States the Commission may require the licensee to construct locks, etc., and to furnish the United States free of cost (a) lands and rights-of-way to improve navigation facilities, and (b) power for operating such facilities.

Sec. 14 gives the United States the right, upon expiration of a license, to take over and operate the project by paying the licensee's net investment as defined, not to exceed fair value of the property taken. However, the right of the United States or any State or municipality to condemn the project at any time is expressly reserved.

Sec. 19 allows State regulation of service and rates; if none exists, the Commission may exercise such jurisdiction.

[66] *Denver Stock Yard Co.* v. *United States* (304 U. S. 470, 484); *Pacific States Co.* v. *White* (296 U. S. 176, 184).

[67] Cf. *Electric Bond & Share Co.* v. *Securities and Exchange Comm.* (303 U. S. 419, 435); *W. W. Cargill Co.* v. *Minnesota* (180 U. S. 452, 468); *New Jersey* v. *Sargent* (269 U. S. 328, 339).

[68] Sec. 6.

[69] Michie's 1936 Code, sec. 3581 (1)–(16).

[70] Michie's 1936 Code, secs. 4065a, 4066.

as are detailed above in stating the respondent's objection, even to the point that Virginia itself may not build and operate a dam in navigable water without authorization and regulation by the Federal Government.

The briefs and arguments at the bar have marshaled reasons and precedents to cover the wide range of possible disagreement between Nation and State in the functioning of the Federal Power Act. To predetermine, even in the limited field of water power, the rights of different sovereignties, pregnant with future controversies, is beyond the judicial function. The courts deal with concrete legal issues, presented in actual cases, not abstractions.[71] The possibility of other uses of the coercive power of license, if it is here upheld, is not before us. We deem the pictured extremes irrelevant save as possibilities for consideration in determining the present question of the validity of the challenged license provisions. To this we limit this portion of our decision.[72]

The respondent is a riparian owner with a valid State license to use the natural resources of the State for its enterprise. Consequently it has as complete a right to the use of the riparian lands, the water, and the river bed as can be obtained under State law. The State and respondent, alike, however, hold the waters and the lands under them subject to the power of Congress to control the waters for the purpose of commerce.[73] The power flows from the grant to regulate, i. e., to "prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed."[74] This includes the protection of navigable waters in capacity as well as use.[75] This power of Congress to regulate commerce is so unfettered that its judgment as to whether a structure is or is not a hindrance is conclusive. Its determination is legislative in character.[76] The Federal Government has domination over the water power inherent in the flowing stream. It is liable to no one for its use or nonuse. The flow of a navigable stream is in no sense private property; "that the running water in a great navigable stream is capable of private ownership is inconceivable." Exclusion of riparian owners from its benefits without compensation is entirely within the Government's discretion.[77]

Possessing this plenary power to exclude structures from navigable waters and dominion over flowage and its product, energy, the United States may make the erection or maintenance of a structure in a navigable water dependent upon a license.[78] This power is exercised through section 9 of the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1899 prohibiting construction without congressional consent and through section 4 (e) of the present Power Act.

It is quite true that the criticized provisions summarized above are not essential to or even concerned with navigation as such. Respondent asserts that the rights of the United States to the use of the waters is limited to navigation. It is pointed out that the Federal sovereignty over waters was so described in *Port of Seattle* v. *Oregon & Washington Railroad Company*,[79] *United States* v. *Oregon*,[80] *Kansas* v. *Colorado*,[81] *United States* v. *River Rouge Company*,[82] and *Wisconsin* v. *Illinois*.[83] The first two of these cases centered around the issue of title to land under navigable water. Nothing further was involved as to the use of the water than its navigability. In *Kansas* v. *Colorado* the point was the Government's advocacy of the doctrine of sovereign and inherent power to justify the United States taking charge of the waters of the Arkansas to control the reclamation of arid lands (pp. 85–89). There was found no constitutional authority for irrigation in the commerce clause or the clause relating to property of the United States.[84] It cannot be said, however, that the case is authority for limiting Federal power over navigable waters to navigation,[85] especially since the stretch of the Arkansas River involved in the dispute was asserted by the Government to be nonnavigable (p. 86). In the *River Rouge* controversy, this Court spoke of the limitation "to the control thereof for the purposes of navigation." But there, too, it was a question of the riparian owner's use of his property for access to the channel, a use fixed by State law. The conclusion that the United States could not interfere, except for navigation, with its right of access to navigable water, required no appraisal of other rights. *Wisconsin* v. *Illinois* is a part of the Chicago Drainage Canal litigation. Insofar as pertinent here, it merely decided that under a certain Federal statute[86] there was no authority for diversion of the waters of Lake Michigan for sanitary purposes (p. 418). There is no consideration of the constitutional power to use water for other than navigable purposes, though it is plain that other advantages occur (pp. 415, 419).

In our view, it cannot properly be said that the constitutional power of the United States over its waters is limited to control for navigation. By navigation, respondent means no more than operation of boats and improvement of the waterway itself. In truth the authority of the United States is the regulation of commerce on its waters. Navigability, in the sense just stated, is but a part of this whole. Flood protection, watershed development, recovery of the cost of improvements through utilization of power are likewise parts of commerce control.[87] As respondent soundly argues, the United States cannot by calling a project of its own "a multiple-purpose dam" give to itself additional powers, but equally truly the respondent cannot, by seeking to use a navigable waterway for power generation alone, avoid the authority of the Government over the stream. That authority is as broad as the needs of commerce. Water-power development from dams in navigable streams is from the public's standpoint a byproduct of the general use of the rivers for commerce. To this general power, the respondent must submit its single purpose of electrical production. The fact that the Commission is willing to give a license for a power dam only is of no significance in appraising the type of conditions allowable. It may well be that this portion of the river is not needed for navigation at this time. Or that the dam proposed may function satisfactorily with others, contemplated or intended. It may fit in as a part of the river development. The point is that navigable waters are subject to national planning and control in the broad regulation of commerce granted the Federal Government. The license conditions to which objection is made have an obvious relationship to the exercise of the commerce power. Even if there were no such relationship the plenary power of Congress over navigable waters would empower it to deny the privilege of constructing an obstruction in those waters. It may likewise grant the privilege on terms. It is no objection to the terms and to the exertion of the power that "its exercise is attended by the same incidents which attend the exercise of the police power of the States."[88] The congressional authority under the commerce clause is complete unless limited by the fifth amendment.

The respondent urges that as riparian owner with State approval of its plans, it is entitled to freedom in the development of its property and particularly cannot be compelled to submit to the acquisition clause with a price fixed at less than a fair value, in the eminent domain sense, at the time of taking. Such a taking, it is contended, would violate the fifth amendment. It is now a question whether the Government in taking over the property may do so at less than a fair value. It has been shown, note 77, supra, that there is no private property in the flow of the stream. This has no assessable value to the riparian owner. If the Government were now to build the dam, it would have to pay the fair value, judicially determined,[89] for the fast land; nothing for the water power.[90] We assume without deciding that by compulsion of the method of acquisition provided in section 14 of the Power Act and the tendered license, these riparian rights may pass to the United States for less than their value. In our view this "is the price which [respondents] must pay to secure the right to maintain their dam." The quoted words are the conclusion of the opinion in *Fox River Co.* v. *Railroad Commission*.[91] The case is decisive on the issue of confiscation. It relates to an acquisition clause in a Wisconsin license by which a dam in navigable water of the State might be taken over at such a price as would, this Court assumed, amount to violation of the due-process clause of the fourteenth amendment if it were not for the license provision. Title to the bank and bed were in the objector, just as, by virtue of the State's license and the riparian ownership, all rights here belong to respondent. There, as here, the rights were subject to governmental "control of navigable waters."[92] The fact that the Fox River case involved a State and that this case involves the United States is immaterial from the due process standpoint. Since the United States might erect a structure in these waters itself, even one equipped for electrical generation,[93] it may constitutionally acquire one already built.

Such an acquisition or such an option to acquire is not an invasion of the sovereignty of a State. At the formation of the Union, the States delegated to the Federal Government authority to regulate commerce among the States. So long as the things done within the States by the United States are valid under that power, there can be no interference with the sovereignty of the State. It is the nondelegated power which under the Tenth Amendment remains in the State or the people. The water power statutes of the United States and of Virginia recognize the difficulties of our dual system of government by providing, each in its own enactments, for the exercise of rights of the other.[94]

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[71] *Cherokee Nation* v. *Georgia* (5 Pet. 1, 75); *United States* v. *West Virginia* (295 U. S. 463, 474); *New Jersey* v. *Sargent* (269 U. S. 328); cf. *McGuinn* v. *High Point* (217 N. C. 449, 458).

[72] *Ashwander* v. *Tennessee Valley Authority* (297 U. S. 288, 339).

[73] *New Jersey* v. *Sargent* (269 U. S. 328, 337); *United States* v. *River Rouge Co.* (269 U. S. 411, 419); *United States* v. *Cress* (243 U. S. 316, 320); *Willink* v. *United States* (240 U. S. 572, 580); *United States* v. *Chandler-Dunbar Co.* (229 U. S. 53, 62); *Gibson* v. *United States* (166 U. S. 269, 271).

[74] *Gibbons* v. *Ogden* (9 Wheat. 1, 196).

[75] *Gilman* v. *Philadelphia* (3 Wall. 713, 725).

[76] *United States* v. *Chandler-Dunbar Co.* (229 U. S. 53, 64, 65); *Union Bridge Co.* v. *United States* (204 U. S. 364, 400); cf. *Pennsylvania* v. *Wheeling Bridge Co.* (13 How. 518, 18 How. 421).

[77] *United States* v. *Chandler-Dunbar Co.* (229 U. S. 53, 66, 69, 76); cf. *Ashwander* v. *Tennessee Valley Authority* (297 U. S. 288, 330).

[78] *Greenleaf Lumber Co.* v. *Garrison* (237 U. S. 251, 268); *United States* v. *Rio Grande Irrigation Co.* (174 U. S. 690, 707).

[79] 255 U. S. 56, 63.

[80] 295 U. S. 1, 14.

[81] 206 U. S. 46, 85–86.

[82] 269 U. S. 411, 419.

[83] 278 U. S. 367, 415.

[84] Art. IV, sec. 3, clause 2.

[85] Cf. *United States* v. *Hanson* (167 Fed. 881, 884); *Cincinnati Soap Co.* v. *United States* (301 U. S. 308, 322).

[86] Cf. *Sanitary District* v. *United States* (266 U. S. 405, 428).

[87] Cf. *Ashwander* v. *Tennessee Valley Authority* (297 U. S. 288).

[88] *United States* v. *Carolene Products Co.* (304 U. S. 144, 147). Cf. *Mulford* v. *Smith* (307 U. S. 38, 48).

[89] *Monongahela Navigation Co.* v. *United States* (148 U. S. 312, 327).

[90] *United States* v. *Chandler-Dunbar Co.* (229 U. S. 53, 66, 76).

[91] 274 U. S. 651.

[92] Id., 656.

[93] *Ashwander* v. *Tennessee Valley Authority* (297 U. S. 288); *Arizona* v. *California* (283 U. S. 423).

[94] Secs. 10e, 14, and 19 of the Federal Power Act; Michie's 1936 Virginia Code, sec. 3581 (10).

Reversed and remanded to the district court with instructions to enter an order enjoining the construction, maintenance or operation of the Radford project otherwise than under a license, accepted by the respondent within a reasonable time, substantially in the form tendered respondent by the Federal Power Commission on or about May 5, 1931, or in the alternative, as prayed in the bill.

The Chief Justice took no part in the consideration or decision of this case.

Who Is James Weschler and What Is PM?

REMARKS

OF

HON. E. E. COX

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, the newspaper PM published in New York, has seemingly engaged the services of one Mr. James Weschler to flyspeck Members of Congress. It has occurred to me that Members might like to know who Mr. Weschler is and what the paper PM happens to be.

Mr. Weschler is a contributor to the Young Communist Review. He is the author of the Workers Library Publishers, the official publishing house of the Communist Party in America. He has been a contributor to Champion, official publication of the Young Communist League, and at one time was a member of its editorial board. In April of 1940 he signed the New Masses letter to the President. He acted as chairman of the panel discussion conducted by the Joint Peace Conference in Philadelphia, American Youth Congress, local board. He has been editor of the American Student Union, a Communist front organization. In March of present year he signed letter protesting ban on Communists in American Civil Liberties Union. He has been a contributor to the New Masses. He has spoken to the Communist American Student Union. He is the author of International Publishers, an official Communist publishing house, and his book has been advertised by this house. In 1936 he was a member of the Communist Party campaign committee and editor of the Student Advocate. So that is the man that has been engaged to talk about Members of Congress.

The newspaper PM is referred to by newspaper men as the uptown edition of the Communist Daily Worker.

There are many other Communists working for PM whose record I hold in my hand and I may sometime make public. Many other Communists have left PM, all of whom are now here in Washington in the employ of the Government. The Government seems to be a kind of catch-all for the "reds"—the Congressional Library got many of those that the Woodrum committee chased out of W. P. A.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert as a part of my remarks an article entitled "The State of the Union," which appeared in the August issue of the magazine Mercury, which is the product of the very brilliant correspondent, Eugene Lyons.

THE STATE OF THE UNION—THE STRANGE CASE OF PM

(By Eugene Lyons)

New York's new daily newspaper, PM, arrived in town with all the modesty of a Barnum & Bailey show. It hit the stands on June 18 with the wallop of nearly 2 years of ballyhoo, mystery, column-thumping, and advance advertising behind it. But we must report that at this writing, 10 days after the blessed event, the prospectus and advance publicity are still the best things PM has published. Newspaper circles don't expect the infant to survive, unless it gets some extensive plastic surgery, artificial respiration, and a basic change of staff diet quickly. But said circles have been wrong before, and this commentary is offered either as a birth notice or an obit., as fate decrees.

PM is a verbose tabloid in two colors, every story staff-written and signed, news highly departmentalized, pictures modeled on Life and supplemented with arty drawings, style more or less modeled on Time with hangovers of New Masses, accent on radio, labor, youth, cosmopolis, and stunt features. It carries no advertising (by choice, we mean), but digests the ads in other papers. Disdaining objectivity, PM headlines and text are editorially slanted, except the page of editorial Opinion which to date has been an achievement in evasion. Individually and theoretically every PM innovation sounds boldly exciting, yet all together in cold print they emerge somehow banal, amateurish, and confusing.

The confusion is not limited to the visible paper. It extends to the whole background. The ballyhoo around the birth of PM has not canceled out the mystery of its conception and gestation. On the contrary, now that the financial backers and the staff members have been thoroughly announced, the mystery is even deeper, and may be summed up in one phrase: the contrast between those behind the paper and those on it. We have no solution. We can merely state the facts.

An article in the Nation, friendly to PM, alludes to the mystery but shies away in a hurry. "It is no deep secret," it states, "that a number of Communists and fellow travelers have been given places on the staff." It's "more than an average number" and "can't be explained away as a coincidence." Then, alluding to the wealthy financial backers, the article adds: "The liberal sprinkling of [Communist] Party members and sympathizers on the staff is difficult to explain, but for the most part is probably to be attributed to the influence of a few well-placed comrades."

Whether this came as startling news to the financial backers we do not know. But there isn't anything they could do about it, because in putting up the dough they also signed away for a 5-year period to publisher Ralph McAllister Ingersoll and his associates "complete, absolute, and exclusive power to formulate editorial, advertising, circulation, production, and promotion policies." Neither can we guarantee that Mr. Ingersoll himself is fully cognizant of the extent to which his staff is "colonized"—to use a good Stalinist phrase—by Communists, conscious fellow travelers, and innocent Communist stooges. We can merely guarantee that such is the case. A newspaper backed by money drawn from Sears-Roebuck, A. & P., Chrysler Motors, Standard Oil, Wrigley Chewing Gum, Westinghouse Electric, Marshall Field, etc.—loaded with Stalin's past and present buddies—and in its initial weeks of publication following substantially the current "party line." Such is the Strange Case of PM.

The mystery begins, appropriately, with a writer of detective yarns, Dashiell Hammett. After the Thin Man came PM. In November 1938, in a suite at the Hotel Plaza, under the firm name of Publications Research, Inc., Mr. Hammett started to interview applicants for jobs on a nebulous newspaper that later jelled as PM. Gossip in newspaperdom (published and otherwise) mentioned such names as Dorothy Parker, Donald Ogden Stewart, Heywood Broun, Ruth McKenney, Lillian Hellman, Kenneth Durant, George Seldes, etc., as interested in the project or as possible participants. The common denominator of these names, from Mr. Hammett down, is that they were at the time prominently connected with endless Communist organizations and enterprises.

Then came the news that the brilliant Mr. Ingersoll, editor of Time magazine and before that of Fortune and the New Yorker, was heading up the undertaking. Hammett receded in the word-of-mouth publicity, but the general Stalinist character of the entourage remained. Right or wrong, the public impression grew that a mouthpiece was being fashioned for the influential Stalinist-liberal elements centered in New York and Hollywood, the so-called anti-Fascist People's Front. Indeed, on that lamentable August day last year when Stalin and Hitler made their peace and Europe's war, conjecture was spirited as to what Mr. Ingersoll would do with the fellow-traveler transmission-belt crowd around him. The People's Front had been kicked so brutally by the Moscow boss that all united-front undertakings were doubled up in pain.

The better-known Stalinists fell away from PM. But as the pain of the Nazi-Soviet alliance dulled, it became obvious to job seekers that for some reason members of Stalin's party, or persons in their good graces, still had the inside track. Unavoidably, therefore, naïve folk hinted darkly at "Moscow gold." But these hints were confounded, about March of this year, by the revelation that PM's backing was respectably and almost belligerently plutocratic. Mr. Ingersoll had raised $1,500,000 for PM on a carte blanche basis from sources in part reflected in the board of directors, including: O. B. Winters, Chester Bowles, Marshall Field, Mrs. Louis Gimbel, Daniel McCarthy, Deering Howe, John L. Loeb, Harry Scherman, M. Lincoln Schuster, Mrs. Marion Rosenwald Stern, Nathan W. Levin, John Hay Whitney, Garrard Winston, William Benton, Harry Cushing, Louis S. Weiss, John F. Wharton, and Mr. Ingersoll. On this set-up, Mr. McCarthy, an executive of A. & P., represents the Hartfold holdings (young Hartford II is a cub reporter on PM). Messrs. Howe and Winston are of the law firm of Sherman & Sterling, attorneys for the National City Bank. Mr. Loeb is a prominent broker. Mr. Cushing is vice president of E. H. Rollins & Co., bankers. Mr. Schuster is from Simon & Schuster, publishers. Mr. Scherman heads the Book-of-the-Month Club.

In short, a group further removed from communism could scarcely have been assembled. Reference to Bradstreet's or the Directory of Directors will show that the backing of the daily is almost a cross-section of the American economic hierarchy to the extermination or displacement of which so many members of the PM staff are dedicated. Let's look at that staff. PM has dropped orthodox newspaper anonymity. Not only is everything in the paper signed, but the names and pedigrees of the entire personnel have been blazoned forth in full-page spreads in all New York papers. We are therefore violating no professional confidences. It may have been mere coincidence, but it's a fact that outspoken critics of the Soviet regime rarely got to first base when that personnel was mobilized, while alumni of the Communist New Masses found the running easy. Reporters around town soon began to refer to the paper aborning as the "uptown edition of the Daily Worker," which was clearly an exaggeration. But unkind suspicions were scarcely allayed by the strange way in which the aforementioned full-page

spreads, in advertising the records of the staff, concealed certain portions.

For instance, Tom Davin, head researcher, is described as "formerly of Sheridan House," but nothing is said about his long association with the New Masses. Similarly, one David Ramsey, PM's assistant financial editor, is listed without any reference to past activities, as though this were his first editorial job. Presumably Mr. Ingersoll is the only person unaware that Mr. Ramsey was editor and assistant editor, 1936–38, of The Communist, official organ of the Communist Party of America, a responsibility hardly entrusted to anyone not high in the councils of the American branch of Stalin's export business.

Within the American Newspaper Guild, the most notoriously Communist-ridden chapters are New York and Los Angeles. One of the New York leaders most responsible for this notoriety is Carl Randau. His equivalent in Los Angeles was Tom O'Connor. Again by fantastic coincidence, Carl Randau transferred to PM and Mr. O'Connor was yanked straight across the continent for PM. With Mr. Randau on the staff is his talented wife, Leane Zugsmith, a name familiar to New Masses readers and among signers of Stalinist documents of various types.

Several nationally known applicants for labor editor were turned down—because they were not fully in accord with the C. I. O., they charge. In any event, the job went to Leo Huberman, at one time close to the fellow-traveling fraternity. In his department are also Leon Goodelman and James A. Wechsler. Mr. Goodelman used to be regarded in left-wing circles as the "brains" of the communist youth efforts. Mr. Wechsler was on the staff of the Nation in its most rabidly pro-Stalin period and before that editor of the Student Advocate, organ of the communist-dominated American Student Union. The Opinion division of PM is captained by Louis Kronenberger, a literary critic whose Muscovite predilections are common knowledge. PM housing expert is Jules Korchein, formerly with a Soviet outfit in Moscow, where his wife worked on the Moscow Daily News; until recently he was leader of a pro-communist technicians' union in the C. I. O. Margaret Bourke-White, the gifted head photographer of PM, was long prominent in fellow-traveling groups and is still in the Communist-dominated American Artists Congress. The "news for living" editor, Elizabeth Hawes, has been active in the League of Women Shoppers which, despite its denials, is a standard Stalinist "front."

We could go on, but space is limited. Of course, there is also an array of non-Communists and low-down reporters who never heard of Browder's transmission apparatus. And there are a good many known to be close to the Communist machine, but who would deny it in the way familiar to their kind.

Aware of the nature of the staff and the nature of the financial backing, we expected the initial weeks' issues to be subtle in their political bias. But evidently the comrades have no talent for subtlety. Their slant makes some pages dizzying. Once more, perhaps, coincidence, but the first issues ran amazingly parallel to the general political line of the Communist Party. Aid to the Allies becomes, in PM headlines, "steps leading toward war." Roosevelt's plan for training of youth becomes a plan for "regimentation" in a page one headline, and later the President is charged casually in a news story with "having designs on the minds of the youth as well as on their lives and bodies." A column is devoted to ridiculing the attempts to uncover "fifth column" activities. The choice of feature materials and their treatment betrays the authentic New Masses-Daily Worker touch. The Stalinist slant may not be obvious to the uninitiated. To those who know the code, it's plain enough. No wonder that Harry Bridges, on arriving in New York, recently refused to be interviewed by capitalist labor reporters, receiving only the gentlemen from PM and the Daily Worker.

That's the strange case of PM, which only a Dashiell Hammett can solve. In its tabloid format the sheet has only four columns. Is there a fifth?

Plans for the Inauguration of the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 19 (legislative day of Tuesday November 19), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY JOSEPH E. DAVIES, CHAIRMAN OF THE INAUGURAL COMMITTEE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered over the National Broadcasting Co.'s network on December 17 by Hon. Joseph E. Davies, chairman of the Inaugural Committee for the forthcoming inauguration.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Fellow Americans, as chairman of the Inaugural Committee appointed by the President of the United States, I am glad to accept the invitation of the National Broadcasting Co. to discuss the significance of and program for the inauguration of the President and Vice President which, according to the Constitution of the United States, will occur on the 20th of January next.

It has been the long-established custom for the President-elect to appoint an Inaugural Committee chairman for the ceremonies which are not actually provided for and conducted by the Congress of the United States. First, then, let me report that some 400 public-spirited and prominent citizens of the city of Washington have been appointed members of the Inaugural Committee which is working out details of the program and making provision for the comfort and entertainment of those of our fellow citizens who will come to Washington for this memorable occasion.

Further, it will interest you to know that in discussing generally the plans of the inauguration with the President I found his point of view very definite and clearcut. He emphasized that it was his desire that the ceremonies should be conducted with all of the simplicity, economy, and brevity possible consistent with the dignity and importance of the event. It was his point of view that the day was not to be one of triumph but one, rather, of reconsecration to the principles of democratic government and rededication to the serious tasks which lie ahead of our country during these perilous times.

There will, therefore, be no inaugural ball at this inauguration. There will, however, be a reception for the Governors of the various States, who will be invited to attend. There will also be the usual inaugural parade. Present indications are that there will be an unprecedently large influx of visitors to witness the inauguration. From letters and reports which I have received, there seems to be an appreciation of the historical significance of this inauguration in the history of our country and that of the world, and, of course, it is in fact unique and extraordinary.

President Roosevelt is the last President to have been inaugurated on March 4 and the first President to have been inducted into office under the constitutional change on the 20th of January. Moreover, he is the first President ever to have been reelected to a third term.

Apart from these facts, with which we are all familiar, there are underlying factors which make this inauguration historically significant. Consider for a moment the simple fact that such an event is to be held; that in a world torn by the madness of war and revolutionary assaults upon religious, ethical, and governmental concepts a nation of 130,000,000 people—the oldest nation with republican institutions in the world—will celebrate next month the induction into office of a President who was elected by the traditional democratic processes of a peaceful and liberty-loving people. In this war-torn world it is deeply significant that these democratic processes are being carried on, because our people, adhering to the faith of their fathers, maintain that the best government for the human race is created by and with the consent of the governed and that it must be a government which is the servant rather than the master of mankind.

While outside of this hemisphere large portions of the world had been overwhelmed by terror and war, with 30,000,000 men engaged in killing each other, here in the United States 48,000,000 men and women settled their differences of conviction not by bullets but by ballots. They thereby demonstrated that they were still one of the greatest nations of the earth, a nation which could and would make democratic government effective. This inauguration day is, in fact, a culmination of a democratic system which is based on tolerance, good will, and a universal wish for peace based on justice and a rule of law, not a rule of force. Through such processes does the President of the United States become the President of all of the people, not only of the 55 percent majority which reelected him, but of the 45 percent of his fellow citizens who voted for his opponent. Thus do the Presidency and the President himself become also the symbol of national unity.

Nor will the significance of this inauguration be lost upon the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere. The great, free, American republics of this continent will see on this day a man inducted into the office of President of the United States who is not only the originator of the good-neighbor policy but who never has failed to sustain the doctrine of peace as between nations and men.

Speaking from my own personal experience of 3 years in Europe in the diplomatic service of my country, I can assure you that there are many there now who, praying that their liberty may be restored to them, find renewed courage and hope in the fact that the great American democracy shall have again inaugurated as President the man who, in the midst of their trouble, has never failed to voice the aspirations of mankind for liberty, tolerance, peace, progress, and good will on earth.

Inauguration day is unique, too, in another respect. It is peculiarly the American people's day. It is their President who is being inducted into office. The day belongs to them, not to the President, not to Government officials, not to politicians. The inauguration of the President of the United States is the symbol of the belief of the American people in our form of government, where "we the people" delegate our sovereignty to our representative, the President of the United States, as the head of a democratic government under republican institutions. It is a symbol of the strength of the American people and of their knowledge that our institutions shall endure and that there will be many more Presidents, many more elections, and many more national decisions which will be made by the people of this Nation.

This day, therefore, is not an occasion of partisan celebration. It is not a day of triumph. It is, as the President of the United States has suggested, a day for rededication and reconsecration.

It is in this sense that I have named a committee for national participation as a part of our inaugural plan. It is our hope that the day and the occasion will be availed of by all America, by all individuals, and by all communities, as an occasion for renewed devotion and consecration to the principles of our form of government and to our faith in democracy. We hope that the whole country will set aside some period in the course of the day to participate in inaugural ceremonies as a manifestation of the solidarity, unity, power, and glory of our institutions and the greatness of our people. We hope that it will be possible for children and their parents in every schoolhouse throughout the Union to listen to the inaugural ceremonies on the radio, and steps are being taken by all of the radio broadcasting organizations in conjunction with ourselves to make this effective and possible. We go beyond that and hope that in every schoolhouse, in every auditorium, in every clubhouse, union, grange hall, and other gathering places of our citizens, our people will meet and make this day one of rededication to the struggle against modern tyranny.

Thus will inauguration day afford a great opportunity for the people of the United States to tell the world and its aggressors—the dictators and all their adherents everywhere—that we believe in freedom and democracy; that we know that the elementary principles of the Christian religion and of the great ethical systems of past civilizations cannot be destroyed by men mad for power; and that our consecration is so deep that we not only live for our faith but are ready and willing to die for it, too, if we must.

So, in conclusion, let me appeal to all our citizenry to cooperate fully in making this forthcoming inauguration not only great in its simplicity but one which in its spirit will give hope, courage, and strength to the millions of liberty-loving men and women who now suffer in the tragic darkness of war.

Relief for China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR CAPPER

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 19 (legislative day of Tuesday November 19), 1940

STATEMENTS OF OBJECTIVES OF THE CHINA EMERGENCY RELIEF COMMITTEE

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, perhaps no people on the face of the earth are today in a more serious plight than those in China. Starvation, disease, and suffering are rampant. One of the most serious phases of the whole problem is the dearth of medical supplies for the treatment of the ill and wounded. Operations are often performed without anesthetics. Recently there has been organized the China Emergency Relief Committee, with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as honorary chairman. I have been named as a member of the national committee and am intensely interested in a successful climax to the campaign to raise a million dollars to purchase medical supplies for the people in war-torn China. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD statements regarding the objectives of the China Emergency Relief Committee, including those who head this relief drive; the text of a broadcast from China by Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, as well as a statement by Mrs. Roosevelt upon becoming the first member of the China Relief Legion; and a statement by Pearl S. Buck, noted author and national chairman of the relief drive.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHINA EMERGENCY RELIEF COMMITTEE

The people of America should know of the China Emergency Relief Committee, now beginning a drive for $1,000,000 to meet the urgent need for medical relief in China.

The committee, with headquarters at the Graybar Building, New York City, was organized 1 month ago by prominent Americans aware of China's great and terrible need and of the appalling suffering among her wounded and sick. It is affiliated with the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China. All funds it raises will go to the purchase of medical supplies in this country, to be distributed in China by the bureau.

China had just begun the development of modern medicine when this war, with all its cruelty, started. The Chinese do not complain. We hear little of their suffering. Their resistance goes on, unshakable. But eyewitnesses tell us of suffering on a scale unknown even in England and Europe.

Yet, miraculously, in the midst of the destruction and ruin wrought in 3½ years of invasion, the Chinese have begun the creation of a public-health system unknown before the war; they have laid the foundations for an efficient and modern medical establishment.

The medical equipment and supplies sent by Americans to China go thus to establishing a great service for the future; they are not completely absorbed by day-to-day needs.

The war has brought to China not only unexampled suffering among her civilians—women and children, the aged, the infirm—but it has brought, too, the inevitable threat of epidemic and disease.

The 50,000,000 refugees from occupied China who crowd the towns and villages of free China aggravate the epidemic menace to horrifying proportions.

The Chinese Red Cross has fought ably and tirelessly to control this menace. But they cannot succeed without our help. They need the supplies and equipment America alone can give them.

They need the very essentials of modern medicine—standard hospital equipment for 550 base hospitals behind China's 1,500-mile war front; vitamin tablets for the millions of hungry, undernourished refugees and for 60,000 war orphans; sulfothiazole, the "magic bullet"; 10 tons of quinine tablets to combat malaria epidemics during the coming months; tons of anesthetics, antiseptics, and bandages to meet the critical, day-to-day medical needs of the Chinese people.

The funds raised for China relief in this country so far have been pitifully small in relation to the great need. War relief needs in Europe have perhaps overshadowed China's suffering, although her need is greatest of all.

The China Emergency Committee has set a goal of $1,000,000 because this is the figure needed to take care of the most critical medical-aid requirements. It is hoped to complete this goal by July 1941.

The committee is headed by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as honorary chairman; Pearl S. Buck, national chairman; an administrative committee made up of Dr. Albert H. Aldridge, Dr. Co Tui, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Dr. Julius Klein, Henry R. Luce, Clark H. Minor, Charles S. Pharis, Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Myron C. Taylor, Dr. Donald D. Van Slyke, Richard J. Walsh, Thomas J. Watson, Dr. Maurice William; and a national committee including Senator Arthur Capper, Gen. William Crozier, Hon. James W. Gerard, Mrs. John Henry Hammond, Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont, Mrs. Herbert Lehman, Mrs. William H. Moore, Mrs. Henry Morgenthau, and Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow.

THE CHINA RELIEF LEGION

The committee is, of course, eager for all contributions, no matter how small. But for those Americans who can afford to give larger sums, they have formed the China Relief Legion, membership in which is open to all donors of $100 or more. Each member of the legion will receive a token of gratitude from China personally signed by Mme. Chiang Kai-shek.

It is the committee's hope that every American who admires the enduring courage and spirit of China's people, who sympathizes with her struggle for freedom and democracy, who is moved to compassion by the dreadful suffering her people have endured for 3½ bitter years, will give as generously as the need is great.

The appeal broadcast from China at the opening of the campaign, by Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, the courageous wife of China's leader, and the statements made by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Pearl S. Buck in launching the membership drive for the China Relief Legion, will be of interest to every American.

The broadcast and statements follow:

Broadcast by Mme. Chiang Kai-shek from Hong Kong, China, over station WJZ and the entire blue network of the National Broadcasting Co., November 14, 1940

"Friends in America, in speaking to you today, my first words must be words of gratitude for all the unselfish efforts that have made possible the organization of what Pearl Buck has so graciously called a committee of tribute to China; and of appreciation of the fine conception of this effort. You are giving us both help and encouragement, but what is more important, you have faith in our cause and understanding of the world-wide significance of the issues involved in our struggle. China needs the assistance of all her well wishers. When it comes, however, as an act of constructive hope, rather than negative charity, it is doubly welcome.

"I have been asked to speak of the relief needs of China. I prefer to dwell rather on the attempt being made by our people to meet those needs more than the needs themselves. I might spend all my time talking about the refugee children in whom the women of China have taken so much personal interest. Our war orphanages have achieved something which may be called unique in child education. But with the rise in the cost of living, these happy little communities need ever more than before assistance additional to government support.

"These children represent the hope of future China. They are learning seriously unity as the whole of China is learning. Then more, the refugees in general, the National Relief Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. H. H. Kung, has urged to find a livelihood and occupation for the dispossessed. It has settled some 630,000 people on newly reclaimed land. It has established factories for refugees and has also subsidized a large number of industries for the same purpose.

"My frequent visits to military hospitals and those for victims of bombing raids made me acutely aware of the vital problem of medical relief. The temporary closing of the Burma Road has so depleted our medical supplies that major operations are still being performed without anesthetics. The sight of men and women and little children being tortured in agony and our utter helplessness to alleviate their pain are experiences which I am sure even the

people in war-torn Europe do not know, and which I hope will never be known.

"Happily, the Burma Road is now reopened. I hope therefore that henceforth through the help of friends we may obtain the essentials of medical supplies.

"With reduced income, due to 3 years and 4 months of war, my countrymen, both at home and abroad, are continuing to contribute generously for relief purposes. For example, the Chinese National Women's Relief Association has subscribed over $50,000,000 in supplies and money since the beginning of hostilities. But so immense are the needs, this sum is but a drop in the proverbial bucket.

"We are now facing the fourth winter of war against Japanese aggression, and it is going to be the hardest, for each day of the resistance entails greater suffering, more loss of lives, and a bitter drain on our national resources.

"The Chinese people are resolute in their determination to continue to fight for those fundamental principles of human freedom, justice, and equality which you in America hold so dear. The realization of these principles, however, can only come if we all are willing to work for them unceasingly, suffer for them uncomplainingly, and fight for them courageously. For what you, our friends in America, are doing to help the sick and wounded, China sends her heartfelt thanks.

"Good-bye."

Statement by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt on occasion of joining China Relief Legion at the White House, Washington, D. C., Monday, December 16, 1940

"I am proud to be the first member of the China Relief Legion. I hope that there will be at least 10,000 members—for that would be something of which every American might be proud.

"It means so much that we in America have it in our power to do something tangible for the courageous men, women, and children of war-torn China.

"They have endured every horror of war for more than 3 years. Millions have been forced to flee from their homes. We cannot prevent their suffering—but we can do much to alleviate it, to ease the almost unbearable misery borne by brave people in almost every town and village.

"I can think of no worthier gift to humanity at this Christmas season."

Statement by Pearl S. Buck, Monday, December 16, 1940, at enrollment of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt in the China Relief Legion

"One million dollars is needed urgently and immediately to buy medical supplies for the relief of China's war victims.

"China now has a war front which extends for 1,500 miles. She has suffered the horrors of totalitarian warfare for more than 3 bitter years. She has a refugee problem unparalleled in history—50,000,000 refugees from the occupied areas have crowded into the towns and villages of free China, bringing with them the dreadful, ever-present menace of epidemic and disease.

"Her medical supplies, rudimentary at the outset of the war, are now so seriously depleted that major operations are being performed without anesthesia. Uncounted numbers of men, women, and children have died, or needlessly suffered agonies of pain, for the lack of simple medical essentials.

"The China Relief Legion has been formed for Americans who would like to give China compassion to match the superb courage of her people, who would like to help in a gift of mercy generous enough to match her great and terrible need.

"Membership is open to all donors of $100 or more. Each member will receive a personal token of gratitude from Mme. Chiang Kai-shek. The money raised will be spent in the United States and the goods distributed in China by the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China.

"We ask America to remember that there is a most pressing need of equipment for 550 base hospitals, of antiepidemic serums, vaccines, and medicines, vitamin tablets for the nourishment of underfed bodies, bandages, blankets, and medical transport. And we ask you to remember that a gift of $100 now will mean more than one of $500 next summer.

"The China Emergency Relief Committee is eager, of course, for all gifts, no matter how small. But we are hoping that every American who can will give $100 or more to join our China Relief Legion."

Attempt To Involve United States in European War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 19 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

OPEN LETTER BY WILLIAM E. BARRETT TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, Mr. William E. Barrett, a distinguished newspaperman and author, of Denver, Colo., recently addressed an open letter to William Allen White which should be read and studied by every pro-American in the United States.

One need not agree fully with Barrett's inferences and deductions to be challenged by his demand that we think this European war through to the peace table before we move further into the vortex of its hell. After all, what goes on at the peace table when the war is finished is what counts. At the end of the last war we listed 14 points as the objectives of the Allies, only to find in the end that the Allies were only "kidding" us. Shall America forget her bitter disillusionment at Versailles?

This time let Britain name the objectives now and give us some assurance of her sincerity to stick to them come what may before we serenely follow her up the "blind alley" of British imperialism to our own destruction. William Allen White owes it to America to frankly answer Mr. Barrett, and if he himself does not know the answer, let him get it from Britain before he leads us farther down that one-way road.

I ask unanimous consent of the Senate to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD Mr. Barrett's open letter to Mr. White.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

(By William E. Barrett, author of Woman on Horseback, etc.)

MY DEAR MR. WHITE: You are the spearhead of the drive for all possible United States aid to Great Britain in the present war. By your own definition, you are an "engine of publicity and propaganda." Laying aside the unpleasant thought that any worthy cause needs propaganda in order to win the support of the American people, you are doubtless interested, as a publicist, in any suggestion which will win millions of converts to the cause you serve.

There are many millions of people in the United States who do not believe with you that the safety and security of this Nation rests, or ever has rested, in the hands of Great Britain. Many millions of us refuse to believe that we owe our existence as a nation to the protection of the British Fleet, which you would have us bolster at the expense of our own fleet. Many millions of us are opposed to the future moves on your agenda: To repeal the Johnson Act; to further stripping of our own defenses in Britain's behalf; to the use of the United States Fleet for convoy duty in the Atlantic; to the use of our fleet for the defense of Singapore; and to the use of American troops as an expeditionary force to any part of the British Empire, leased or otherwise.

You acknowledge the weight of opposition to your "Britain first" program by the very intensity of your propaganda drive. High-pressure selling and advertising invariably indicate an inferior product or strong sales resistance to be overcome. You can overcome sales resistance to your drive by a few honest answers to the questions which every American has the right to ask. Americans must pay in money, in the sacrifice of personal liberty, and ultimately in blood for the British victory which is your avowed objective. They should not be asked to purchase blindly at so great a price.

Imagine for the moment that your objective has been attained. Nazi Germany has been smashed, Italy crushed, and the victors are seated at the treaty table. Obviously, this time there are but two victors—Great Britain and the United States. It is not necessary to imagine the steps that place those victors at the treaty table. You should be able to tell us what will happen when your objective is attained, because surely you are not leading your followers on a blind gamble without knowing your goal. Or are you?

All right; the war is over. Great Britain, with the United States aid which you did so much to win for her, is victorious. What follows that victory? Europe is impoverished; Great Britain and the United States have accumulated monstrous debts. The economic system of the conquered nations has been destroyed—and English-speaking nations hold the destiny of the world upon a table.

You have won a reputation as a homely philosopher of the plains, and you carry the role well into the field of foreign affairs. You are quoted as advocating the outright gift of fabulous sums to Great Britain rather than the making of loans because "nations are like human beings. Loans destroy friendship." Probably, in thinking about that future treaty table, another homespun saying might be as pat: "Nations are like human beings. You can only judge them by their past performances."

We sat at a treaty table before with Great Britain after a war that we helped her win. Our objective in pouring out money, sacrifice, and blood was vague then, as now. We merely wanted to rid the world of the Kaiser and of German imperialism, which was trampling human rights. We wanted to make the world safe for democracy. We were assured by other stanch American spokesmen for Britain of that day that such, too, was Britain's objective. There was the war aim. At the treaty table we found out that Great Britain, strangely enough, wanted enormous additions to her vast Empire, colonies, and mandates; furthermore, that Great Britain's demands fitted a carefully planned pattern. In previous wars she had encircled the coal-producing regions, but the age of oil had crept upon her. Versailles fixed that, and the new map brought the oil regions into the British orbit as well as additional territories which converted her controls over vital raw materials into virtual world monopolies. We went into the war with an ideal and into the treaty

room with 14 points. Both went out the window—and, since Great Britain took vast loot from the victory that we helped her to win, that loot, in the cold light of history, was the British war aim in the first World War—that and nothing else.

Now, imagining this war as over, Great Britain and the United States are partners again. Having won, is it your idea that we will retire once more with Great Britain's debts and our own debts to pay, with nothing to show for it save some kind of a League of Nations' diploma attesting that again we have saved democracy and the right of Britain to divide up the lands and the waters of the earth?

Or, having shared the cost of the war, is it your idea that we should split the proceeds, share and share alike on the loot, with Great Britain? That would mean imperialism, you know; the maintenance of colonies and the exploitation of subject races. We have never done that because our forefathers, who were all isolationists like those who oppose you and your committee, had an idea that such practices are incompatible with the idea of democracy. You have changed much of that line of thought, however, and the American people have come to believe that Great Britain is a democracy like our own, so probably you will not have serious trouble. The people of Kansas, for example, may even like the idea eventually of black men toiling under a distant sun for gentlemen farmer absentees.

Or do you believe that the treaty table of the two victors will merely restore the pre-1939 status quo? Will they put all the little nations back in their places, restore the world monopolies to Great Britain—plus the advantages of no more competing synthetics—and allow us the glow of a good deed well done? If that is the idea, and most of your followers seem to think so, there are some real questions for you to answer.

What are the two victors going to do about Russia, who certainly will not have lost anything, since Russia has played the role which you and your friends have not permitted us to play; the role of powerful neutrality, without expense, without casualties, and without domestic upheaval? In restoring the map of Europe to its pre-war status, will the two victors insist on Russia's withdrawal from Poland or will they be satisfied with a half Poland on the map? This is an important question, since Poland is the excuse which Great Britain used for starting the holocaust in Europe with her declaration of war. Will the two victors insist upon Russia's withdrawal from Finland? What about Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia?

If nothing is done about these nations, isn't it possible that even propaganda-drugged minds will suspect that perhaps the war was not fought for freedom, democracy, and the rights of small nations; that perhaps it was just another trade war to eliminate a strong competitor with the rights of small nations no more important to one side than the other?

Suppose that Russia refuses to surrender any territory—or even insists upon being handed more territory as the price of acquiescence in the transactions of the British-American treaty table? Will the United States and Britain immediately launch into another war against Russia—or will they pay Russia's price? Will this be appeasement and are you in favor of it? Consistently, it does not seem to us that you could be in favor of that, and so we are afraid that by following your lead now we shall be at war for a long, long time: First, the European continent to be rewon and then Russia to be conquered—to say nothing about the Orient.

Of course, many of the people who follow your doctrines are ready now to accept Communist Russia as a democracy, provided Russia makes favorable trade agreements with Great Britain, so perhaps Russia will not be such a problem at that peace table. If the Soviet is then accepted as a democracy there may not be any mass protest over assigning to Stalin any nation or people he may demand. What do you think?

Leaving Russia out of it, there are a few small nations left that may prove troublesome when it comes to restoring the map as it was. The people of Belgium, for instance, may want to retain their king. Great Britain will hardly stand for that. Perhaps you have some plan for Belgium. Would you favor removing the Belgian king in defiance of the wishes of the people he refused to sacrifice to protect a British retreat? Would it help you if a nice term were coined for the deed; such as the redemocratizing of Belgium?

What about Holland? Queen Wilhelmina ruled over 8,000,000 Dutch and 63,000,000 subject people in the Dutch colonies. The labor of the 63,000,000 made Wilhelmina the richest monarch in the world, and made her English partners millionaires, but over one-quarter of her 8,000,000 subjects at home were on relief. When trouble came to Holland, as a consequence of the noble queen's under-the-table dealing with her financial partners in England, the Queen fled to where her money already reposed. Suppose the people of Holland prefer to leave the wily Wilhelmina in England? Do you favor restoring her to the post which enriched her and impoverished Holland? Do you favor the use of United States pressure to so restore her to the historic Dutch Empire capital in Holland or the new seat of power in Batavia?

And Denmark? We know, of course, from your voluminous writings that the taking of vengeance upon noncooperating people is a purely Nazi trait and a piece of wickedness in which noble nations like Britain never indulge; but just suppose that at the treaty table Great Britain suggests measures of punishment for the Danes who cooperated with Germany in order to prevent their country from becoming a battlefield. Should the United States protest—or can the United States protest?

Just what is the position of the United States at that future treaty table of the victors, at which Great Britain will never sit unless we put her there? What do we stand for in Europe, now that you have brought us into it? Do we stand for a federation of European states, operating on a free-trade principle like ours upon their own continent? If we do, what are we doing in an alliance with Great Britain? Great Britain will never stand for that and will fight wars in the future, as she has fought them in the past, to prevent any such federation, with its threat of competition to the Empire. Do we stand for the doctrine that Europe should be broken into a series of small and individually helpless nations, forced to arm perpetually against one another and to surrender the rights of their citizens in exchange for the right to trade with the Empire monopolies? If we do not stand for that, why the British alliance? Britain stands for just that and never for any other orientation of Europe.

At the treaty table will we repeat Versailles? If not, can you quote a single British or American statesman on how Britain's war aims differ in the second world war from what they were in the 1914–18 struggle?

Are we going to take colonies for ourselves, or will we consent to Britain's taking control of the French colonies as she seized Germany's colonies after the first World War? Can you suggest how the United States can prevent such action, once we have conveyed all of our strength to Britain, won her war for her, and, by Herculean effort, maintained her as mistress of the seas? Have we any guaranties that Britain, her list of world monopolies increased, will not double and triple the cost to us of vital raw materials, as she did when Versailles gave her the German colonies?

We are not only being committed to a course of action beneficial to Great Britain, but we are implementing that commitment at great sacrifice and cost to ourselves. To what is Great Britain committed so far as the United States is concerned? Please name one thing.

Do you believe that the British Government would permit a pro-American committee to operate in England as your pro-British committee works in the United States? If not, do you think it is fair to whip American feeling to such a pro-British pitch to the positive detriment of America's future when there is no corresponding effort being made to impress upon the British people their indebtedness to us? As a matter of fact, isn't it true that your committee's releases are being quoted in England as evidence that even Americans believe that our aid to Britain is inadequate?

At that treaty table, is there any reason to believe that Winston Churchill will feel any differently than he felt about us before—after we had already delivered everything Britain wanted and when they no longer needed us? Remember what he said then: "President Wilson sought to play a part out of all proportion to any stake which his country had contributed or intended to contribute to European affairs."

In other words, having fought for an ideal, we sought to have the ideal recognized at a time when Britain was concentrated upon loot. Our Navy's great convoy job, the blood we shed in France, and our billions which Britain never paid, or intended to pay, did not add up to much of a stake then so far as Mr. Churchill was concerned. The war was over. The income alone on the rich loot which Britain took from Versailles, where the United States—guarantor of her victory—took nothing, would have paid her debt to us several times over in the past 20 years—but Britain welshed; and you, in simple homespun words, say that we should not lend again, but we should give!

Have you the slightest idea as to what the economic issue is in this war—or do vulgar economics bore the high-minded idealists of your committee? You wave at us the danger of Nazi penetration in Latin America and you use Latin America as the big fear spot to urge aid to Britain. Do you know that a long line of Englishmen, back over a great many years, are on record to the effect that any close rapprochement between North and South America is fraught with danger to Great Britain and must be prevented lest Great Britain find it necessary to fight some day in order to dissolve the threat to Empire which a solid pan-America would represent? Do you know that the nations of South America must trade with Europe because they have no other market for their principal products—and that an impoverished Europe must barter with Latin America after the war, whether Germany wins or England does? England, with the European control we win for her, as a vital customer will dictate the foreign policies of Latin American nations—and Great Britain dares not permit North and South America to work in harmony? Figure that out.

Imagine the United States at the treaty table as one of the two victors in a war over the destiny of Europe, Mr. White, and tell us your idea of what should come of it. That is all that you have to do in order to win millions of converts. Generalities will not do, of course. Tell us what our war aims are as they will be expressed at that treaty table. Tell us what you believe England will want, and Russia. Tell us what ace in the hole the United States will retain in order to command respect for American demands at that treaty table—and tell us how we are going to protect ourselves against Great Britain if hostility grows out of the post-war settlement, considering the fact that we are accepting an inferior role and restoring another nation to greatness and to possessions beyond our own.

In other words, if you have given any thought at all to the future of the United States during these many months when you have

been preoccupied with the affairs of Britain, let us have your ideas. We are weary of taking one blind step after another. We want to view the distant scene which so appeals to you.

Quite frankly, there are millions of us who believe that you are beating the drums for the greatest blind gamble in history. We are opposing you because we believe you represent the greatest danger which this country has faced in all its history. We do not believe that you have the slightest idea of where you are going, and it is time to say that a vast majority of our people hope that you are not taking us with you.

National Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST W. GIBSON

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 16 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. ERNEST W. GIBSON, JR., OF VERMONT

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. President, on Wednesday, December 11, the Chamber of Commerce and Civics of the Oranges and Maplewood, N. J., held its monthly meeting at the Hotel Suburban in East Orange, N. J. The theme of the meeting was national unity. It was presided over by the Honorable George E. Stringfellow, president of the chamber. Democratic Party leaders of New Jersey sat side by side with Republican Party leaders. There was prevalent at that meeting a real feeling of determination to have a national unity in this country. I had the honor to make the so-called keynote address to the gathering; and, at the request of some of the members of the chamber of commerce, I now ask unanimous consent that the address as given by me be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. I may add that the address was broadcast over station WNEW.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I stand before you today as a Republican. There are here at this gathering many other Republicans and many very prominent Democrats.

When my friend, George Stringfellow, invited me to address this fine gathering I was anxious to accommodate because he has been a very good friend of mine. When I found out that this was a meeting devoted to national unity and to the part that our two big political parties have in it I was doubly grateful for the opportunity to be here.

Our country, America, your home and my home, today is facing one of the gravest, saddest, nerve-racking periods in the history of this earth. America was conceived in liberty. It is a democracy. It is a home where every man, woman, and child has a liberty of mind and a freedom of spirit. Our freedom, our blessings were given us by the blood of our forefathers, and if we have the spirit and pride and reverence of our forebears, then, of course, we are not going to let the slave drivers of Europe and Asia make slaves of us.

In America when we rise in the morning we can go fishing if we want to; we can stay home if we want to; or we can go to work if we want to; we can read newspapers whose news and editorial is not dictated by a central government; we can call our friends if and when we please; we can express ourselves freely about public affairs without fear we are going to be clamped into jail; we can listen to radio broadcasts that are not censored by an all-powerful man; we can meet, we can play, we can worship as our conscience dictates; we can know our children are to live and grow in a free country. These are some of the blessings of democracy.

Sitting in our homes looking out over the seas we discover in Europe today that when one rises in the morning he knows he must go to do a certain piece of work regardless of how he feels. He is not free to go fishing if he desires. He is not free to stay home if he desires. He must obey his master's voice and do the job ordered by the master. He receives such pay as the master orders he shall be paid. He must read a newspaper telling him only what the master wants him to know. He can listen to radio broadcasts only such as the master desires him to hear. He cannot speak his innermost thoughts. He must work long and arduous hours. He may eat what he is told he may eat. He cannot even worship the God of his own choice. He must worship a cross that is not the cross of Christ. In short, he is the slave, driven by a certain few men who believe they were born booted and spurred and ready to ride and that the rest of us were born ready to be ridden.

Yesterday Hitler boasted that he was going to conquer the world; that he was going to do it through the use of labor as gold. Hitler posed as the champion of the have-nots as against those that have. But he didn't say that the labor by which he proposed military and economic domination of the world is slave labor—slave labor driven at the point of the sword or under the whiplash; slave labor worked to the point of exhaustion. He doesn't realize that in our democracy labor is among those who have; that our labor would never surrender its hard-earned gains to revert to slavery for the chosen few. Hitler cannot offer to his greatest chief gifts nobler than those we offer our lowliest free man—liberty and right and law in the soil of his father.

So we are in a democracy blest with the greatest freedom on earth, blest with that which we may now have to pay for if we want to keep. Let me stress again. As some one said, democracy is not merely a world of innumerable automobiles; of the best telephone system on earth; of a new gadget; of radios running on in hotel lobbies; of shimmering legs in magazine advertisements; of simpering voices on the movie screen; of 10,000,000 unemployed. It is not just a world of goods and things of comforts and amusements, with nothing to believe in but more goods and more things. If it were, we would be in for sure disaster.

Democracy is an abiding faith in the right of our own mind to be free, in our own spiritual greatness, in the happy liberty of our own self.

This day we are arming ourselves as fast as we can to protect ourselves from invasion by those who would take our freedom from us and who would make us slaves. This day our country is uniting as one against these tyrants we see ruling in Europe by iron and blood. We can lose our democracy, our freedom, in just two ways. One is by being conquered by an invader from without. Against that our preparations, going forward at ever-increasing speed, are intended as a stirring challenge to any tyrant who seeks to invade us from without and take from us man's right to rule himself. The other way that we can lose this glorious democracy that has been handed down to us from our forebears is by having the reigns of government in this country seized by one who is ambitious to be our dictator, to make us his slaves, to take our freedom, our right to rule ourselves from us. The greatest protection this country has today against the seizure of the reins of government by a man with the secret ambition for dictatorship over this country is the two-party system now prevalent here.

In this country today we have two strong political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. Of course, the Democratic Party when it first started in the days of Jefferson was then called the Republican Party. About 20 years later it was called the Republican-Democratic Party and then still later the word "Republican" was dropped. The present Republican Party came as an outgrowth of the great issue of slavery when it faced this country. One of the leaders in the founding of this Republican Party, of course, was Abraham Lincoln.

Today a large percentage of the people of this country belong to one of these two great parties. Today the leaders of each of these two great parties are united as one in their hostility to the tyrannical practices prevalent today throughout Europe. Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie both despise dictatorships. Today they look as one with deep-seated antipathy toward the practices of the blood-spattered slave drivers of Europe.

So, as against an invader from without our country is today, through its two large political parties, as united as it is possible for a country to be.

But, the big field where a two-party system is necessary to a democracy is to prevent the seizing from within of the reins of government by some aspiring dictator. If this country had but one strong political party, how easily it would be should some scheming man secure the control of that big political party to wipe out of existence small political parties; to take the steps that we have seen so easily taken in Europe to create that one political party into the machine of dictatorship.

But just as long as there are two powerful, strong, vigorous political parties existing in a democracy, we need have no fear of the seizure of the reins of our Government from within.

It seems humanly true that power begets more power; that one who is vested with large powers grasps for more. History shows that to be true. We see evidence of it in our own country. Various bureaucrats are now grasping for more power for themselves. Our country is fast becoming a great bureaucracy. In the last 140 years our national population has multiplied by 25, but the machinery of Federal Government, as measured by administrative personnel, has multiplied by the astounding figure of 17,950. In other words, our bureaucratic population has increased 700 times faster than our total population. The signs of arbitrariness are self-evident. I have not time here to give them in detail, but American bureaucracy has developed its own technique of tyranny; crossed, it can move against you or me like an angry tyrant.

The greatest service my party, the minority party, can give is to keep a careful watch on the activities of these bureaucrats; to make sure that each and every official of a Government bureau remembers down inside himself that he is a servant of you and me, and not our master. Every dictatorial or arbitrary practice that these men who run these Government bureaus try to practice, every act of theirs that connotes a feeling of mastery rather than of service, must be exposed, must be brought up to the hot light of truth. Every policy proposed by the party in power must be weighed carefully and conscientiously by the minority party to determine if it be for the good of you and of me. If, in the considered judgment of that party, it be not for our welfare, then those policies, through the great instrumentality of a great political

party, must be fought. You and I must be given our chance to pass on that policy.

The recent hard-fought, bitter election is finished. The fight is over, the battle done. The Democratic Party is to continue in power. Upon it falls the mantle of the leadership of our people in these trying times. Upon it falls the charting of the policies of our country. Upon it devolves the efficient, courteous administration of our laws. But it cannot go ahead unchecked. It must go ahead always conscious that it has an alert and vigorous opposition; that the minority party, the Republican Party, will be weighing carefully the policies it chooses to recommend. It knows that the Republican Party will be carefully scrutinizing the acts of those bureau chiefs who have been in office so long. It will be eternally aware that if its party members do not remember they are the servants of the people of America, and not our masters, the people of America will take their power from them.

So, we have here in America today the picture of two great parties combining as the bulwark of the American people. Together they stand against a hostile invader. They are determined that no foreign man shall set foot upon our soil for the purpose of taking our democracy, our freedom, our liberty from us. They are united in this great cause. By the same token these two parties are the greatest safeguard that we have against any man boring from within and seizing the reigns of dictatorship in this country.

It requires no clairvoyance to see that the next 4 years will in all likelihood be the most vitally important ones in the history of our Nation. The things to be done during that period, the legislation to be adopted, the leadership to be developed, the reaction and the response of the American people to the events which lie ahead in the struggle between dictatorship and democracy will irrevocably fashion the pattern of life to which we, our children, and our children's children will, of necessity, conform.

Two strong, clean political parties between them will provide this leadership under a government of freemen. The legislation adopted will be as the result of the accumulated wisdom and experience of these two parties. Guided outwardly by the two-party tradition of our own country, led inwardly by new and burning faith in our Heavenly Father this country will never fail to be the happy home of free men, free women, and little children.

American Farm Bureau Federation on National Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR CAPPER

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 19 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the resolutions adopted at the Twenty-second Annual Convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation, at Baltimore, Md., December 12, 1940.

In this connection I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the fact, as I see it, that the American Farm Bureau Federation, one of the major farm organizations of the United States, probably has been more in line with the objectives and methods embodied in the present national farm program than any of the other major farm organizations.

In the 1940 resolutions I find a number of suggested modifications of the present farm program, especially dealing with larger commodity loans and increased marketing and production-control features. I think the Senate should go very carefully into the matters recommended by the American Farm Bureau Federation, and I urge careful reading and consideration of these resolutions.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL SECURITY

The American Farm Bureau has always believed in and has supported every effort and every program on behalf of national and world peace. In common with all groups of American society, we have watched with horror the ruthless disregard of the rights of small nations during the past year. We have witnessed the unscrupulous violation of even the first elements of human decency. We recognize the brave fight which is being waged by Great Britain and her Allies to preserve humanitarian principles and the rights of the individual. While this is no time for unreasonable national fear, we insist that the experience of many nations furnishes conclusive proof that the interests of America demand that the full energies and resources of our Nation be devoted to the perfection of all our national defenses with the utmost speed and efficiency until this country is made absolutely impregnable to foreign attack.

A first essential to national defense is the immediate and complete dissolution of all organizations which owe allegiance to a foreign power and the elimination of all influences which seek to overthrow or undermine constitutional democratic government. The task of ridding the country of all such influences is a proper function of government, and hysterical persecution of loyal citizens whose ancestors have come from countries which have fallen under dictatorship must be avoided. The American flag must regain and forever receive the honor and respect of every individual who lives under and enjoys its protection.

Consistent with these first important elements of national defense, we favor extending to Great Britain and her Allies with the utmost speed every practical aid in materials and equipment so badly needed in their gallant efforts to protect the rights of the individual and nations of freemen.

We favor doing everything within our national power and honor to remain free from the present conflict abroad and can see no good purpose in entering the conflict now being pursued within other nations. America's greatest responsibility and greatest contribution to future peace of the world, to world reconstruction and preservation of true democracy, will be found in the field of strict and ample national preparedness and directing every effort and the use of every resource at our command in establishing economic justice within our borders and thereby making democracy so attractive that the majorities within other nations will have practical encouragement to follow our national example.

DOMESTIC UNITY

Agriculture will do its part in promoting domestic unity and domestic harmony. Such unity and harmony between groups has always been important, and now it is vital. For the past decade and more the farmer has not enjoyed parity with industry or with labor in the prices of his products. The American Farm Bureau Federation has always favored a common understanding and a common approach to this problem by the three large groups which comprise our economic life.

It is now of especial importance that we solve our problems in conference rather than in conflict. We again invite and challenge the leaders of industry and the leaders of labor to join with agricultural leadership in a conference or conferences to solve our common problems and establish economic balance.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND HEMISPHERE SECURITY

While international trade has been sorely disrupted by the war, the United States must stand ready in the future to assume leadership in reopening the channels of world trade. We draw attention to the large resources of money and credit which the United States has available for use in this phase of world reconstruction.

We recognize the acute distress which is confronting the producers of agricultural commodities in most of the nations of the Western Hemisphere through the loss of a large part of the world market. We believe that this situation should be met in the spirit of true cooperation as good neighbors by the adoption of a policy wherein each would refrain from wrecking the markets of others by dumping more than a proportionate share in their markets.

We are conscious of the responsibilities which the United States has assumed in the Western Hemisphere and the importance of this to our mutual security. It is not necessary that a sympathetic Latin American policy be any threat to the welfare of American agriculture. We favor financial assistance to Latin American countries for storing and controlling surplus crops, as well as for other purposes, and it should not be the policy of the United States to crowd these countries out of their customary markets. No useful purpose would be served by bringing commodities to the United States which are already in surplus in this country. Imports of competitive farm products must not be permitted to hold or reduce domestic prices below parity.

NATIONAL FARM PROGRAM

The American Farm Bureau Federation, fully mindful of the public interest, has since the post-war collapse of 1920 consistently and aggressively championed the cause of American agriculture. Ever-increasing restrictive trade barriers from without and ever-extending price controls by other groups have intensified the numerous and complex problems of agriculture. Through trial and error we have sought, and in large part found, solutions.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 and related Federal legislative enactments constitute our national farm program, the heart of which is the principle of parity. The broad basic principles of this program we herein unequivocally reaffirm and reendorse. Through this program the declared goals of parity can and must be attained. With every organization force at our command we will continue to insist upon every improvement of the program, its effective administration, and its readjustment and reaccommodation to every kind of changing condition.

The national farm program offers the instrumentality for each class of cooperating farmers to attain its equitable income position through (a) soil conservation for every American farm, (b) commodity loans, acreage allotments, and marketing quotas for producers of basic crops, (c) parity payments to producers of basic crops, (d) marketing agreements for certain nonbasic crops and farm products, (e) commodity loans and surplus disposal for basic and nonbasic farm commodities.

Through this program the maximum advantage comes directly to each farmer who will cooperate. The lesser and indirect advantage comes to the other farmers who even refuse to stand by the side of their fellow producers.

There are important improvements which must be made in this program. Certain improvements must be authorized by Congress. Other improvements must be made through administration, and certain objectives of the program can be attained only through the appropriation of Federal funds under existing authorizations.

1. National administrative reorganization: The new programs which have been provided in the agricultural legislation enacted during recent years in the normal process of growth have resulted in too much overlapping and duplication of activity. The many agencies needed to carry on this program have been the natural result of the process of considering each subject separately. A woeful lack of coordination and planning in carrying out these programs is evident to every farmer. On too many occasions one agency recommends an activity in conflict with that of another agency. Too many instances prevail where personnel is employed to accomplish an activity already embraced within the functions of another and existing agency. Farmers do not want numerous agents consulting them on farm programs. They want coordination of these efforts, consistency in administration without duplication and overlapping, and, above all, administration with the least expenditure of Government funds.

We believe that the remedy for this situation lies in the unification of administration in the hands of a five-man nonpartisan board within the Department of Agriculture. This board should be representative of the Nation's agriculture. It should be independent in its position with respect to other bureaus and agencies of government. It should cover the administration of the A. A. A. and crop insurance, the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, surplus marketing and disposal, including the stamp plan, Commodity Credit Corporation, the Soil Conservation Service, and the planning activities now in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

2. State administration: In the field of administration within the States we know of no existing agency so well qualified as the extension service of the land-grant colleges to have general supervision of all of these programs. Its knowledge of rural people and rural problems and its broad and successful experience in working with farmers makes the extension service ideal for this function. It will be necessary, however, that it function in a different manner with respect to different types of programs.

We recommend that the director of extension, after consultation with State-wide membership farm organizations, submit annually to the proposed Federal Board nominations of persons to compose the State committee. The State committee will be responsible for administration of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, including conservation practices and crop insurance. Insofar as State administration is practical, it will be responsible for administering the surplus marketing and disposal program and the commodity credit loan program.

The functions and activities of the present county committees as they are now constituted and their relation to the county agent should be continued, with such county committees responsible to the State committee.

The Extension Service should be responsible for the administration of the Soil Conservation Service and the home and farm management phases of the farm-security programs, and for the State-wide planning program of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

In accordance with the foregoing administrative changes funds should be transferred from appropriations provided by Congress to the Extension Service and to the State A. A. A. committee for State and local administration of the laws making up the farm program.

3. Marketing agreements: We urge that the Marketing Agreements Act be extended so as to permit the application of the act to any and all farm commodities. In the development and operation of marketing agreements, it is essential that control be retained by producers and that the rights of cooperative organizations be recognized and maintained.

4. Commodity loans: Unparalleled factors in world trade have caused America's granaries to overflow. American consumers need fear no rationing of food or fiber. The supplies of farm products are here to meet the impact of drought or war emergencies. The ever-normal granary at this time needs no expansion. The producers of the export crops have, with the help of a kindly Providence, filled to overflowing their bins and storehouses. They must not at this time be charged with any burden of overabundant stores. The commodity-loan sections of the Farm Act must be amended to provide, during the present emergency, for a different application of the provisions of law affecting commodity loans to producers of basic crops.

We propose that all cooperating producers of basic crops shall have the definite right of mandatory commodity loans, with the amount of loans keyed and graduated to determinable current supply and demand levels, with the amount of loans fixed at 85 percent of parity price when such demand shall be equal to or in excess of such supply. To justify loans at 85 percent of parity price, we recognize the need for amending the act to provide for an allotment of acreage which will produce a supply not in excess of the current annual requirements, for domestic consumption and exports, and increase the penalties in the marketing quota provisions of the act as applied to noncooperators.

We further propose that because of the loss of an unusually high percentage of foreign exports, the loans on cotton shall not be less than 85 percent of parity price for any marketing year when the estimated production is not in excess of 11,000,000 bales, and that the cotton producer should have additional consideration for efforts directed toward balancing his current production to the probable current demand.

For reduction in the current supply of cotton to 11,000,000 bales or less, cotton shall be withdrawn from Government-owned stocks and in compensation for such reduction, payments in kind or their equivalent should be made. To farmers who reduce their production below their pro rata share of 12,000,000 bales, such payments in kind or their equivalent should be made at the rate of one-half bale of cotton for each bale of reduction. No farm or allotment area shall have its proportionate share of the national acreage allotment reduced because of cooperation under this paragraph.

5. We favor such change in the act as is necessary to assure to all producers of basic crops equitable acreage allotments.

6. Stamp plan: We endorse the broad, humanitarian objectives of the stamp plan for disposing of agricultural surpluses. We urge the continuation and extension of this program. We draw attention to the fact that in this program benefits are shared between the underprivileged and the undernourished, businessmen, and the producer of agricultural surpluses. It should not be considered exclusively an agricultural measure. In making agricultural appropriations, we ask the Congress to recognize that it is not a substitute for direct purchase in especially distressed markets, or for the other agricultural programs.

7. Sugar program: We believe that the situation of sugar producers requires revision and reenactment of legislation for the sound adjustment of their industry and which will give proper consideration to producers and consumers. We will support legislation along these lines and providing for a moderate expansion in domestic areas, and which takes account of varying relations, conditions, and needs in the several areas, and which will provide for the maintenance of all parts of the industry upon a properly remunerative level.

8. Appropriations: Adequate appropriations to maintain and support all phases of the farm program must be provided.

a. Soil-conservation funds: The full authorized amount of funds should be appropriated for the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act.

b. Parity-payment funds: We call to the attention of the Congress its declaration in favor of parity payments in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, and urge adequate appropriations be made to conform fully to this provision of the act.

c. Surplus-disposal funds: We ask that adequate funds be provided for the purchase of surplus agricultural commodities and the surplus disposal and export-subsidy programs. The importance of these funds is more urgent today because of the loss of many export outlets.

d. Crop-insurance funds: We ask that reasonable appropriations be provided for crop insurance.

FARM CREDIT

The farm-credit system, built up through a quarter century of effort of farm leaders, belongs to agriculture and its farmer borrowers. We will oppose any and all efforts to take this system away from farmers. Despite adverse economic conditions and great fluctuations in land values, this system has rendered a great service and as a whole is in sound financial condition.

Experience has demonstrated the need for improvements in this cooperative credit system. To that end we recommend:

a. Provision for changing the method for determining the contract rate of interest payable on farm mortgages to insure the lowest possible interest rates to farmers consistent with the cost of money.

b. Rehabilitation of national farm-loan associations by providing for the sharing of all losses and profits between the associations and their respective Federal land banks and by refinancing the Federal land-bank bonds now held by the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation.

c. Insure the lowest possible cost of money by making the discount privileges of the Federal Reserve System available to the Federal land banks and by using the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation to maintain a minimum spread between the Federal land-bank bonds and Government-guaranteed bonds of the Corporation.

d. Establish within each bank a reserve to be used if needed to discharge its joint responsibility for the bonds of the system and permit any individual bank which has met this reserve requirement to pay dividends if justified by its earnings.

e. The full responsibility for all lines of cooperative farm credit should be placed under an independent nonpartisan board within or properly correlated with the Department of Agriculture. We favor placing the loaning activities of the Farm Security Administration as a separate department under this Board.

In the interest of unity within agriculture and constructive, effective action to bring about these needed improvements, we urge that the Secretary of Agriculture be requested to call a representative national conference of the duly elected leaders of national farm organizations to formulate definite recommendations to Congress and to the Farm Credit Administration.

FEDERAL TAXATION

The national-defense program is placing new and greatly increased burdens upon the Federal Budget. In affirmation of the policies set forward by the board of directors, we support higher taxes to meet a proper share of this added expenditure. We will oppose efforts to raise this revenue from excise or consumption taxes. The corporate and personal income tax must be the main source of revenue and the excess-profits tax should be tightened and maximum rates of profit established above which all revenues

will be considered as excess profits and be taxable as such. Only by such tax policies can profiteering be forestalled and the defense program financed on the basis of ability to pay.

MONETARY AND CREDIT POLICY

We urge the early completion of the study of monetary and credit policy now under way by the Banking and Currency Committee of the United States Senate, which was requested by this Federation 2 years ago. This is necessary to the end that monetary and credit policy may be made to serve to the fullest degree possible the objective of stable commodity prices, with a dollar of constant purchasing and debt-paying power.

DEFENSE PLANNING AND AGRICULTURE

In the industrial expansion required under the defense program, representatives of all areas join in asking that this new industry be decentralized as widely as possible to the end that further concentration of industry may be avoided and a better balance of industry and agriculture achieved in our rural areas.

We commend the National Defense Advisory Commission for the consideration given to agriculture in establishing a part of its new nitrogen capacity under the auspices of the Tennessee Valley Authority. In the further expansion of the nitrate program we insist that all possible consideration be given to the ultimate provision of agricultural nitrogen at lowest cost.

In order to meet any emergency that may arise, we recommend the storage of reserve stocks of grain in the heavy consuming areas of the northeast as a defense measure.

RURAL-DEFENSE PROGRAMS

To the extent that national preparedness requires the training of rural youth for defense, industry, and citizenship, the conserving of human and material resources of the farm and farm family, the fostering of health and physical well-being of farm people, through proper nutrition, better farm homes and facilities, the American Farm Bureau Federation directs its officers to consult with the President and the Congress, the Advisory Commission on National Defense, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the United States Commissioner of Education for the purpose of providing necessary funds and allotments to established educational agencies, the land-grant colleges, the vocational schools, and other permanent agencies for these purposes.

ANTITRUST ENFORCEMENT

We strongly endorse the attitude of enforcement officials in the administration of the antitrust laws. We especially appreciate the attention which is being given to monopolistic restraints upon materials used in agricultural production and in the channels of distribution for farm products. We insist upon the expansion of this program and upon the provision of adequate funds for the full enforcement of the antitrust laws.

ADMINISTRATIVE HEARINGS AND REVIEW

We favor and will support legislation which will require public hearings and permit court review on all important phases of the farm program as well as regulations, decisions, findings, and orders under agricultural and other laws, when substantial legal rights are affected.

We recognize, however, that such legislation must properly safeguard reasonably expeditious administration of law.

SOCIAL SECURITY

During the past year, proposals have been made for the extension of old-age assistance to farm workers. We believe that until such time as agricultural prices are restored to parity levels, additional burdens from social legislation cannot be carried by farmers. It is recommended that these measures be referred to the board of directors for study and for discussion with sponsoring groups in government, labor, and industry, and that the board of directors be empowered to act thereon.

FORESTRY

We reaffirm our forestry resolutions adopted in December 1939 and presented to the Joint Congressional Committee on Forestry last January. We recommend a Nation-wide forestry program with vigorous Federal leadership but with local participation in its formulation and conduct and with farm forestry administered through the Agricultural Extension Service in the States. It should provide public assistance and encouragement to private landowners, especially the small owners, in the protection, management, and harvesting of timber crops; in marketing, developing new uses, and in obtaining fair prices for timber products. Along with these public aids there should be sufficient controls to safeguard the public investment, to stop destruction and deterioration of the resource, and to place and keep the lands in a reasonably productive condition. We further recommend the multiple use of the forests to protect the economic existence and established rights of farmers and livestock men dependent upon seasonal grazing within the forests.

In line with long-standing policy, we are unqualifiedly opposed to the transfer of the Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING

Among the most complex problems confronting farmers there are many which concern the marketing and distribution of farm products. Many requests and suggestions are currently being brought to the attention of the American Farm Bureau Federation covering the field of marketing practices, market news services, regulation, and other kindred matters.

We believe at this time that the more intelligent and proper approach to these problems will be found through committee studies and conferences of outstanding farmers within their respective commodity fields and through research by the land-grant colleges.

We commend the board of directors acting under the direction of our last annual convention for its leadership in arranging for national committees for study and formulation of programs for the livestock, dairy, fruit and vegetable, and poultry industries, including its appropriation of organization funds for the support of these committees. We ask that this program be pressed with vigor during the coming year and that it receive the financial and other support of the State farm bureau federations in accordance with the allotments which have been established by the respective national commodity committees.

We acknowledge with gratitude the financial support and cooperation that has been received from many cooperative commodity organizations in getting these programs under way and in their assurances of continued support.

TERMINAL MARKETS

We believe that improvement of terminal markets offers one of the most effective methods of reducing distribution costs. We commend the progress which has been made toward the establishment of a new live poultry market in New York City and the progress which has been made toward the development of a workable plan for modernizing the wholesale fruit and vegetable market in the same city. We urge that the mayor of New York and other civic officials take immediate steps to make one of the suggested plans operative. We recommend that the Department of Agriculture and other public agencies continue with studies of terminal markets and that producer interests be represented in the formulation of plans for the modernization and improvement of such markets.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

The American Farm Bureau Federation has always supported strong and independent cooperatives of agricultural producers. We again affirm our faith in agricultural cooperation. We believe it should have the continuing support of all farmers to the end that farm people may become completely organized for self-help and mutual aid. We particularly commend the efforts of our member organizations to coordinate and make more effective the various cooperative services operating within the States under the control and direction of farmers.

FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION TO REPLACE LOCAL TAXES

Where Federal acquisition of privately owned land reduces the base of the general property tax sufficiently to create a serious fiscal problem, we recommend that equitable contribution be made to the local taxing units by the Federal Government for at least the period of readjustment.

STATE, INSULAR, AND COMMODITY RESOLUTIONS

The resolutions committee has reviewed the resolutions which have been passed by State organizations and the Puerto Rico Farmers Association during the past year. Many of these have become part of other resolutions herein set forth. Where these resolutions seek national action on specific local problems we ask that they have the careful consideration of the board of directors with authority to act.

The resolutions committee has received reports from the several commodity conferences. Where the subject matter has not been incorporated in the foregoing resolutions the recommendations of the conferences are hereby transmitted to the board of directors with recommendation and power to act.

REAFFIRMATION

We reaffirm the following resolutions adopted at the annual meeting of the federation in 1939; Transportation, labor, feed legislation, fertilizer program of the T. V. A., and Farm Bureau, extension relations; the resolution adopted in 1936 relative to the Argentine Sanitary Convention; the resolution on R. E. A. adopted in 1937; and all other annual-meeting resolutions of the federation that are now in force, except insofar as they are modified or supplemented by the resolutions adopted at this annual meeting.

ORGANIZATION

American farmers must be fully conscious of the importance of organization. They realize that only through complete organization can agriculture survive. During the past year the American Farm Bureau Federation has grown in numbers and in strength. The time is now ripe for greater growth than we have ever known before. We say to our county, State, and national leaders, "Now is the time to redouble your efforts to the end that every State, every agricultural county in the United States have an active, militant Farm Bureau organization." The situation requires that this coming year we number our increased membership not in hundreds or in thousands but in hundreds of thousands. To discharge its great and many responsibilities, agriculture, in the months ahead, must speak with a strong and authoritative voice.

TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION LEADERSHIP

We most sincerely and heartily express our deep appreciation of the unstinted services of our able and devoted president, Edward A. O'Neal, who through the year has spent and is spending every vital force he possesses for the advancement and betterment of American farmers; and we further desire to reiterate our faith in our other able and efficient officers and board of directors, and we pledge to reconsecrate ourselves to the task of upholding their hands.

RESOLUTIONS OF ASSOCIATED WOMEN

We recommend that the following resolutions of the Associated Women of the American Farm Bureau Federation at their sixth

annual convention be approved and incorporated in the records of the American Farm Bureau Federation:

"Resolutions of the Associated Women of the American Farm Bureau Federation adopted at the sixth annual convention held in Baltimore, Md., December 9, 1940

"I

"In these critical times, when our Nation is striving valiantly to achieve military preparedness, the farm women of the country stand ready to do their part, to make any sacrifices which may be necessary to preserve liberty and freedom for our people and to uphold our cherished traditions and institutions of democracy. We offer the full strength of our organization to our country, to be used in any way that may appear necessary.

"II

"Because of present trends, we recognize the importance of farm people accepting the responsibility for doing something about their own problems. In a democratic government a free, independent organization of farm people, with no obligation except to agriculture and the welfare of the Nation, has a peculiar and important function to perform, which is worthy of the time, talents, and money of every farm family.

"Realizing that the Farm Bureau is such an organization, we pledge ourselves to continual effort to convince a greater number of people of this need and their obligations to it.

"III

"Since many of our boys called for military service are being rejected because of physical unfitness, we say, as we said in resolution last year, that the health of the individual is of paramount importance to the Nation. Every prospective mother in this country is entitled to proper prenatal care. Every child is entitled to proper food in adequate quantity, protection against communicable disease, periodic health examinations, and dental care. Every means must be utilized to alleviate suffering and to improve the physical and mental status of our citizenry. We gladly give our support to health programs designed to achieve these objectives.

"IV

"We feel that there is a definite need for training rural youth for leadership to which the Farm Bureau is prepared to make a contribution: (1) In helping them to understand vital problems affecting agriculture; and (2) by giving them actual responsibility in developing leadership.

"We pledge the Associated Women's earnest cooperation with the rural youth groups of the Farm Bureau, and we further recommend that the American Farm Bureau Federation continue its efforts toward the development of a program that will render this contribution adequately available to youth.

"V

"We are in hearty accord with the American Farm Bureau Federation in its efforts to bring about better coordination of all agricultural programs, so that they may be carried out more efficiently and more effectively. We offer our cooperation in helping to bring about this result.

"VI

"One of the most serious problems confronting our Nation today is that of human welfare. Society must recognize the existence of certain obligations toward the welfare of all people, but in turn must seek a method of discharging those obligations on a basis which will not destroy the taxpayers and in turn jeopardize fair government.

"We must have legislation of such a nature as will tend to decrease dependency rather than promote its growth. We urge the enactment of a comprehensive work-relief law requiring every able-bodied person to perform some constructive service in return for relief assistance. Whenever an individual on relief is afforded work in private enterprise, though that work may be temporary, he should be permitted to accept that work without hazarding his relations with the relief program.

"VII

"The importance of rural education and the need for expanded library facilities cannot be overestimated. Because of the mobility of our population, the local taxing unit is no longer solely responsible for the education of the children born in that unit. Therefore further Federal aid to education on the basis of need should be given. We urge that rural library facilities be expanded as rapidly as may be economically feasible.

"VIII

"Since rapidly expanding programs of nutrition in defense and conservation and other activities of the Federal Government are of concern to rural women, and since rural women look to county home-demonstration agents of the Extension Service for educational guidance and service, we recommend that any money appropriated by the United States Government for nutrition in defense be handled through the Extension Service of the various States, using the present set-up with additional personnel as needed.

"IX

"We recommend that greater attention be given to the teaching of citizenship in the schools of our Nation.

"Appreciation

"In behalf of the officers, directors, delegates, and guests of the Associated Women of the American Farm Bureau Federation, we wish to thank Mrs. Edwin D. Fry, Mrs. Roy C. F. Weagly, Miss Venia Kellar, and all the Maryland people for the many courtesies and comforts provided to help make this convention and our stay in Baltimore a most pleasant occasion.

"Respectfully submitted.

"Mrs. ELSIE W. MIES, *Chairman.*
"Mrs. ABBIE C. SARGENT.
"Mrs. LILLIE D. SCOTT.
"Mrs. C. E. POWELL."

Respectfully submitted.

Earl C. Smith, chairman; Francis Johnson; O. O. Wolf; Hassil E. Schenck; Frank W. White; R. W. Brown; Perry L. Green; R. E. Short; Ransom Aldrich; Ben Kilgore; J. F. Porter; Walter Randolph; H. P. King; George M. Putnam; A. H. Packard; H. J. King; Ray B. Wiser; W. R. Ogg, secretary.

Limiting Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE M. REED

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 19 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE WINFIELD (KANS.) DAILY COURIER

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Limiting Services," which appeared in the Winfield (Kans.) Daily Courier of December 12, 1940.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Winfield (Kans.) Daily Courier of December 12, 1940]

LIMITING SERVICES

In order to comply with the Federal wage and hour law, the Burlington Daily Republican, edited for nearly 50 years by John Redmond, has been compelled to drop its Saturday issue. This is in line with the policy of the Clay Center Daily Dispatch, another good small-town daily which has been compelled to reduce its services by dropping the Saturday issue.

Commenting on the law and its results, Mr. Redmond has the following to say:

"The Federal wage and hour law was intended for the immense industrial plants where men are hired by the hour, and certainly does not fit an office like this where the employees are hired practically for life.

"The subscribers will receive five papers a week instead of six, but it is expected that there will be just as much news in the five issues as there has been in the six, and, if the 5-day plan works as well here as it has in a number of places, the paper may be a little better.

"Some small-town dailies are changing to weeklies, which undoubtedly is the sensible thing, especially in towns of less than 5,000 population; and such a change was very seriously considered here, but because of the fact that Burlington, with a population of less than 2,500, has had this daily for just a few months less than half a century, it was decided to continue the daily but to try out the 5-day week, as a number of dailies in towns under 10,000 have done.

"Newspapermen contend that the law was not intended for and does not apply to newspapers but have never been able to get a ruling that would settle the question and therefore are afraid not to comply.

"The law specifically exempts from its provisions weekly newspapers with less than 3,000 circulation which places an unfair burden on the small-town daily which must compete with them."

No two towns are alike. The Republican at Burlington does not buy the Associated Press reports to supply its readers with outside news. Neither does it have two colleges in addition to its high school, which develop an interest in sports and make the outcome of inter-high-school and collegiate games a matter of very lively interest. The Courier provides these services for its readers. Needless to say, they all cost money.

The Courier is trying the experiment of going to press at noon on Saturday. In so doing it is conscious that a small part of its services are curtailed. This situation was not brought about by the employees in the office. It was forced upon them as upon the management. Generally speaking, newspaper workers are content to work 6 days of 8 hours each.

This wage and hour law should never have been written to apply to the smaller towns. For while it may have been expected to increase employment in the great centers of industry, it has just the

opposite effect in the smaller towns. Trained workers drift to the big centers. They do not live in the smaller towns. For that reason workers in commerce and in industry must be trained in the smaller towns and must be held there by continuous employment. Applying the wage and hour law in smaller towns simply cuts down employment, cuts down the services rendered by institutions which give employment, which in turn hamstrings the communities themselves.

The outcome is obvious to all except the "brain trusters" who promulgated this law. The services of the institutions of the smaller towns will be curtailed, whether the institutions be banks, retail stores, wholesale houses, or industrial plants. Curtailing services means less income; less income means less wages and salaries to employees. This summarizes the outlook in all the smaller communities. This situation applies no matter what the location, the resources, natural and acquired, the advantages of environment cultivated through the years, or what have you.

The authors and supporters of this law and kindred laws are out of touch with and have no sympathy for the smaller community life of the Nation. Born in the great centers of population in this country or in Europe, they attended the great universities where thousands were enrolled. They saw industry only where thousands were employed and lived in an environment of crowded population. They are utterly ignorant of the living conditions, the commerce and industry of the smaller communities of our great Nation. These laws may have been written to distribute jobs and help unemployment, but the effect of the laws when put in operation works in just the opposite way. Instead of increasing jobs they limit the number of jobs, because they limit the earnings of individual workers. They curtail income of employers, thereby actually reducing the number hired.

If the smaller communities of America are to continue to enjoy the life and privileges of former years they must compel a change in the application of the wage and hour laws. The time to appeal to Members of Congress for this change is at hand.

The Aftermath of the War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 19 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL BY MONSIGNOR SMITH, OF THE DENVER CATHOLIC REGISTER

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a realistically frank editorial by Monsignor Smith, editor of the widely read Catholic Register, which is published in Denver, Colo.

I hope that every taxpayer and every person in America who is opposed to paganism and who is thinking about the aftermath of the present war, will grasp the warning of caution painted by Monsignor Smith.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Denver Catholic Register of December 12, 1940]

PROPAGANDA FOR WAR IS RUNNING WILD

The propaganda for drawing the United States into the war is constantly becoming stronger. Unless it is checked, we will be involved within less than 6 months. The pressure is terrific. The British Embassy keeps asking for financial aid from this country. If we give it, the soldiers will follow; that was the case in the first World War. A campaign to link all the English-speaking nations in one great world empire has long been under way. Its purpose, of course, is to recruit American men and taxes. The leftists of the United States, whose intellectuals no longer follow Stalin and cannot stomach Hitler, are all for war, as their literature reveals. Even our Catholic brethren in England and Canada, if we can judge by the articles in their papers, think it is our duty to come to the rescue of the Union Jack. With complete sincerity, no doubt, they look upon the battle as one between paganism and Christianity.

But let us be brutally frank. If we enter the war, we, and we alone, will pay for it. Immense loans will be asked of us and granted. They will not be paid back. Anybody who thinks our democracy can stand the shock is not well up on arithmetic. We are still staggering financially as a result of the last war; we are taking chances on our ability to pay for the rearmament program necessary today; but, if we add the burdens of other nations, where will we be?

The Nazi cause, it is true, has a great deal of paganism in it. Hitler has shown himself a bitter foe of religion. Because he is opposed to the rule of the people, and is an outright fanatic, there is precious little sympathy for him in the United States. But what is the British aim in this war? Outside of statements that promise the eradication of Hitler, it is being deliberately kept quiet. Is there to be another Versailles Treaty, laying the seeds for future conflict? Is there to be the same attempt to throttle Catholicity that existed before, when Prussia, the least Christian and least trustworthy part of Europe, was put at the head of the new German Government and Austria, a Catholic land, was scuttled? Despite the fact that Hitler is an Austrian by birth, he is a Prussian in spirit and the Nazi movement is Prussian. The warmongers are not the people of Bavaria, of Austria, and of other Catholic parts of the great old German Nation. From scholars of England and Germany we know positively that British politicians, both in our own and in previous days, preferred to take a chance on the Prussian spirit rather than to allow a Catholic power to rise. For the same reason they paid scant attention to the claims of Italy, which fought with England in the last war and is against her today. Whether we like or dislike Hitler, it cannot be claimed that the Germans had no cause for complaint. While we like British democracy, it is pretty hard to see why its preservation has to hinder the normal development of Mediterranean nations. England has no more right to iron control of that sea than Italy has to Greece (a control Italy is certainly not going to get).

So do not let anybody fool us into the belief that this war does not have two sides. The writer openly sympathizes with the British as the safer friends of democracy and religion, but he is not willing to scuttle the United States or to endanger our financial set-up to save the commercial interests of the Empire. The vast wealth of the Empire, and its enormous investments in this country, must be sacrificed before our working classes have their taxes raised or their boys sent to the slaughter. We are doing enough by giving Britain the right to buy supplies here.

The legislation to keep our ships out of danger zones should be kept. The movement to repeal it is part of the propaganda campaign. If it is repealed, we shall soon have cause for war.

Joseph Kennedy, our resigned Ambassador to Great Britain, is being pilloried today in the propaganda press because he is warning Americans about the truth. So far, he has only hinted at his stand. The real firing will start when he begins to give details. His Irish ancestry will be dragged out, his ability will be doubted, and all sorts of mud will be smeared on him. But down at rock bottom, it is an American question whether or not the United States is to become involved in the war. It is not for the propagandists, the British Embassy, the pinkos, or even some Catholic writers of England and Canada to show us our moral duty. We are fully capable of reaching this judgment ourselves.

Because Herbert Hoover wants to help feed the people of the conquered nations, threatened with starvation, hints are now being printed that he is pro-Nazi. This is an indication of how strong the war propaganda has become.—Monsignor Smith.

Suffrage for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ARTHUR CAPPER

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 19 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

REPORT BY WILBUR S. FINCH

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a report recently made to the District of Columbia Suffrage Association by its president, Wilbur S. Finch, at the annual meeting of the association on December 9, 1940, with respect to the bills covering the subject of suffrage for the citizens of the District of Columbia, and the bill providing for a District primary law, now pending before the various committees of the Congress.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Since the last annual meeting of the association your officers and directors have been unusually busy in attempting to attain the object for which the association was organized. Although the people of the District are still as politically helpless as ever, it is believed that some progress has been made toward securing for them the political privileges to which they as American citizens are entitled.

It will be recalled that last fall, when the District Commissioners held lengthy hearings on the so-called Seal bill to reorganize the District government, representatives of this association, in common with scores of other representatives of organized District citizens, kept up a constant drumfire of demand during the 3 days of those hearings for the inclusion in that bill of some form of local self-

government for the people of the District. If there was any doubt in the minds of the District Commissioners or anyone else up until that time about the wishes of District people on this subject, certainly there could have been no doubt at the conclusion of those hearings that the people of this city wanted local self-government.

A subcommittee of the House District Committee later held lengthy hearings on this so-called Seal reorganization bill. Again representatives of this association and scores of other representative District citizens appeared at those hearings and made the same demand upon this congressional subcommittee as they had previously made upon the District Commissioners for the inclusion of some measure of local self-government in the bill before its enactment. The only open opposition to this proposal worth mentioning from witnesses before this congressional subcommittee came from the board of directors of the Washington Board of Trade, supported by the director of the District of Columbia Community Chest and the commander of the District of Columbia National Guard. Notwithstanding the fact that the chairman of the subcommittee had previously stated that he would see that some provisions for local self-government would be inserted in the reorganization bill, it was, nevertheless, reported to the full District Committee of the House without any suffrage provisions. There it remained pigeonholed until just recently, when this so-called Seal reorganization bill was presented to and passed by the House of Representatives as a mark of respect for its congressional sponsor, who was not to return to the House because of his defeat in the primaries.

In due course the bill was sent to the Senate. The chairman of the Senate District Committee thereupon appointed a subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Senator PAT MCCARRAN, of Nevada, to consider it. Due to the illness of the distinguished Nevada Senator, nothing has as yet been done about the bill in the Senate. Nor is it expected that anything will be done about it, for this distinguished gentleman is reported not to have been impressed with it, and he has been quoted as saying that while he believes that the District government should be reorganized from the top down, the bill now before his subcommittee begins with the wrong premise, and that the people of the District should first be given an opportunity to elect their own local officials and then reorganize the government to suit themselves. This is the exact procedure suggested by the District of Columbia Suffrage Association.

The people of the District ought to be grateful to the Senate District Committee for not imposing this Seal bill on them. It is not a real reorganization bill. It has one or two desirable features, but its primary purposes seem to be nothing more than the deification of the office of District Commissioner, the permanent preservation of present jobs, and the creation of new ones, all without the control of the District's citizens and taxpayers.

The board of directors has given its approval in principle to the proposed primary law for the District of Columbia, bills concerning which are pending in the Senate and House of Representatives. Representatives of the association testified in favor of such a law at hearings held the early part of this year before a subcommittee of the Senate District Committee, but so far no report has been made on it.

During the past year approval has likewise been given by the association to the Gwynne bill granting District residents the right to sue and be sued in the Federal courts. This bill has since been enacted into law.

For the first time in the history of political parties in the United States, a District suffrage plank has been included in a national political platform. Among the many objectives of the Democratic Party adopted by that party at its 1940 convention was one stating that "We favor the extension of the right of suffrage to the people of the District of Columbia." And the District of Columbia Suffrage Association has a right to be proud of the fact that the two citizens primarily responsible for the adoption of this plank by the Democratic National Convention were one of its own directors, Mrs. Arthur D. Condon, and Mr. Melvin D. Hildreth, whose nomination for membership on the association's board of directors will be acted upon this evening. This is perhaps the outstanding contribution during recent years to the cause of District suffrage.

Immediately upon the convening of Congress after the Democratic convention, practically all of the outstanding leaders of both the Democratic and Republican Parties pledged their support to an immediate compliance by Congress with this District-suffrage plank. The District Suffrage Association, at a special meeting, adopted a resolution which was sent to all members of the Judiciary and District Committees of the Senate and House, urging immediate action upon two suffrage proposals then pending in Congress, as follows: (1) The so-called Kennedy bill pending before the House District Committee, which would have created in and for the District an elected municipal assembly; and (2) the so-called Sumners resolution, which would have authorized Congress to grant national representation to the people of the District. In compliance with the tenor of this resolution, a picked delegation of this association, with representatives of other District organizations, called upon the chairman of the House District Committee to seek action by Congress on the Democratic District-suffrage plank in the manner suggested. It should be noted that, among those urging this action at the meeting with the chairman of the House District Committee were the two citizens chiefly responsible for the adoption of the plank and the chairman of the Democratic Central Committee for the District. As a result of all of these efforts the House Judiciary Committee favorably reported, in modified form, the Sumners constitutional amendment to allow national representation for the District, but this resolution was refused a rule by the House Rules Committee to allow its consideration by the House. Nothing was done by the House District Committee in the matter of local self-government.

There the suffrage question rests for the present. Efforts, however, are now under way for the formulation of a new program of District suffrage for consideration at the forthcoming Congress. Consideration of such a program is expected to be given at a meeting which the chairman of the House District Committee is to arrange soon with District suffrage leaders.

In considering any program of District suffrage, we must not lose sight of the relative importance in the general scheme of the specific proposals which have heretofore been made. Sound advice in the selection of such a program in this manner was given by the president of George Washington University the other day, who said:

"The local government of this and every other community represents the inventive genius of our people for the founding of free government. Through an understanding of local government, our people must be trained to the knowledge of democracy. In the exercise of the responsibilities of self-government through concrete and immediate issues, each of us sees and understands his foundation in government. Through the understanding of the local issues and an acceptance of responsibility therefor, our people interpret safely and sanely the larger and more distant questions of the Nation and of nations.

"One of the dangers of our day is that our sources of information are distracting the attention of our people from their local government. Because of the dramatic elements of the international affairs, because of the weight of national grandiose schemes throughout the world, it is easy to overplay the significance of the larger movements and underemphasize the import of that which is immediately at hand in local self-government. * * *

"The reason why we as a people have thus far made so many mistakes in municipal government may be found in our very real inclination to leave the practical administration of local government in the hands of others, while we go abroad theorizing. * * *

"The real imperialism, the real oppression, the real political slavery is the intrusion of a power from without into a local condition. If we are to have self-government in the large, we must first have it in the small. * * * In our day if we would save the form of our government, the conditions that reign at a distance, the desires of men who live at a distance, must not determine the life of any given community. * * *

Again, if we are to keep our local institutions true, every individual citizen must not only be permitted to do his part but that community must insist that he take unto himself the responsibilities which are his. Voting and other civic responsibilities must be conceived as a duty and not as a mere privilege. In a democracy no community should be in a position of leaving the management of its affairs to men who are not responsible to it."

And in closing, the distinguished educator is reported to have declared that a working relationship, regarding voting and regarding fiscal matters, can be arrived at between the Federal and District Governments, and that such a working relationship need not interfere with, but rather would facilitate the work of the Federal Government. Acceptance of such a relationship, which would release the local government, to whatever extent possible, to the citizens of the District, not only would be in accord with, but would be a fulfillment of the "democratic governmental ideas upon which these United States are founded."

No finer justification than those words of the president of one of the country's important educational institutions could be found to explain the underlying motive of what has been and shall continue to be the primary objective of this association, namely, the securing for the people of the District of a municipal legislature for local purposes, derived from their own suffrages, a local governing body which James Madison, a century and a half ago, said the inhabitants at the seat of government were to be allowed.

Closely related to this problem of local self-government is the necessity of ridding the city of the farcical elections held each 4 years by the two local major political parties for District delegates to the national political conventions. Active workers in the local branches of both major political parties are opposed to them and early in this year gave to the Senate committee which held hearings on a proposed primary law for the District the sound reasons why such elections should be regulated by law. The Suffrage Association should therefore continue to work for such a law as its secondary objective.

Therefore, these two objectives—(1) a locally elected municipal legislature and (2) a District primary law—should be the principal items in that order on the agenda of both the Senate and House District Committees for the coming session of Congress.

This association has consistently lent its full support to the Citizens' Joint Committee on National Representation in efforts to secure national suffrage for the citizens of the District, proposals for which must take the longer route of constitutional amendment before they can be made effective and must, therefore, come before the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and House. That committee has made progress during the past several years with the full cooperation and assistance of the District of Columbia Suffrage Association. It is expected that that cooperation will be continued.

Respectfully submitted.

WILBUR S. FINCH, *President.*

Activities To Prevent Involvement of the United States in War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 19 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the New York Herald Tribune of Wednesday, December 18, entitled "No-Foreign-War Drive Opens to Combat White." It is a discussion of the formation of the new committee to keep America out of war.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of December 18, 1940]

NO-FOREIGN-WAR DRIVE OPENS TO COMBAT WHITE—VERNE MARSHALL, IOWA EDITOR, HEADS CAMPAIGN TO KEEP UNITED STATES OUT OF CONFLICT

Verne Marshall, a hard-bitten, blunt-talking newspaper editor from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, announced here yesterday that he had assumed national leadership of the No Foreign War Committee and that in the interest of keeping the United States out of the European war he was going to fight to the last ditch against the influence of William Allen White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

Mr. Marshall, editor of the Cedar Rapids Gazette, asserted that Mr. White's committee was pushing the United States closer to war every day, and to fight that trend, he said, the No Foreign War Committee was getting ready to use radio, newspaper advertising, mass meetings, posters, billboards, and all other publicity mediums on a coast-to-coast basis.

"The people of this country do not want war, yet that's what they're going to get the way we're going now," Mr. Marshall said, in temporary committee headquarters on the twenty-first floor of the Hotel Lexington, Lexington Avenue and Forty-eighth Street.

"Mr. White with his talk about all aid to Britain short of war has had the field all to himself so far. Now he's going to get some competition. The polls show that 63 percent of our people are dead against war. The No Foreign War Committee is going to provide a voice to make their hopes and prayers articulate."

Regarding aid to Britain, Mr. Marshall said the No Foreign War Committee would stand on the terms of the Neutrality Act, prohibiting arms shipments except on a cash-and-carry basis, and on the Johnson Act, forbidding new loans to nations which defaulted on World War loans.

The White committee has advocated amending the Neutrality Act, and proposed that the United States Navy collaborate with the British Navy, steps which Mr. Marshall asserted would take the Nation straight into the war.

To support his charge that the Nation was shifting toward war, he cited statements by Representatives SOL BLOOM and ANDREW J. MAY, chairmen, respectively, of the House Committees on Foreign Affairs and Military Affairs, advocating repeal of the Neutrality Act and the Johnson Act.

Mr. Marshall, who turned reporter to campaign against organized graft in Iowa and won for his paper the Pulitzer prize in 1935, said he had been corresponding with Mr. White on the war subject.

"Throughout," he said, "Mr. White has insisted to me that he opposes our entrance into this war. But a few weeks ago I heard him say at a luncheon attended by hundreds of New Yorkers that it is time for our country to take sides in this war, and he proposed a resolution should be introduced in Congress for the purpose of giving the administration a free hand in dealing with aggressors, tyrants, and dictators anywhere in the world. I am not trying to quote him verbatim.

"Mr. White either did not mean what he said in his letters to me or what he said at that luncheon. Perhaps, though, he only changed his mind. He has undoubtedly experienced tremendous pressure to do so."

WILL ASK PUBLIC FOR FUNDS

Money to finance the work of the No Foreign War Committee would be raised by public subscription, Mr. Marshall said.

"Knowing how the people feel about this," he added, "I think we'll get more money than our treasurer can take care of, but if we don't, I'll put up my own money."

He disclosed that his committee would work closely with the America First Committee, with national headquarters in Chicago, headed by Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck & Co. America First is now organizing on a national basis to fight Mr. White's committee and to oppose the United States entering the war.

Mr. Marshall's title with the No Foreign War Committee is national chairman. The treasurer is Robert A. Lancaster, of New York, member of the investment banking firm of Winthrop, Mitchell & Co., of 26 Broadway, and the national director is Oliver K. Armstrong, of Springfield, Mo., who retired 2 weeks ago as a member of the foreign relations committee of the American Legion.

Mr. Armstrong organized the committee on October 21 in Washington at a conference of 50 representatives of various national church, civic, peace, and other groups. Col. Charles A. Lindbergh was the principal speaker at the organization conference.

OPPOSES WAR PSYCHOLOGY

The committee opened temporary national headquarters here yesterday and hoped within a few days to have complete organization finished so the task of beating down an alleged American war psychology could be started.

Mr. Armstrong said yesterday that the job of reaching the public would be accomplished through 12 divisions, each devoted to one group of organizations: Patriotic, business, professional, farm, labor, education, students, churches, women's, peace, civic, and miscellaneous

Mr. Marshall, who drove an ambulance at Verdun during the last World War, said he would give all his time to the new work until there was no doubt that the United States was not going to enter the war.

Walter-Logan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 19, 1940

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, the President's veto of the Walter-Logan bill has been sustained by the House of Representatives. In my judgment, this was a wise action for the House to take, and I voted accordingly. On the other hand, I readily recognize the importance of some of the arguments presented by proponents of the bill. With the basic principle behind it, namely, the principle of requiring orderly processes to be followed by administrative agencies and setting up orderly methods of appeal for the citizen, I am in accord.

Since this legislation first came before the House, however, I have devoted a good deal of time to a study of it and its implications, and I was driven to the conclusion that far too much was being attempted in this one bill and that, if passed in its present form, the machinery might break down of its own weight. I do not think this kind of a bill can be drafted satisfactorily so as to cover in one measure the vastly different types of work, problems, and decisions which are handled by the very different types of Government agencies. I do not believe that this effort should be dropped, but I think it has to be taken up the hard way, and that the particular problems connected with the work of particular agencies will have to be dealt with each on its own merits and in legislation specifically designed to cover the work of individual agencies.

I would point out that over a period of time this very thing has happened with regard to many of the old-established administrative agencies, such as, for example, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that for this reason the Walter-Logan bill exempted such agencies from its provision.

National-Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 19, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, at the very beginning of our national-defense program it became evident that sectional interests would endeavor to secure, as far as possible, all of the orders for the manufacture of war materials and all other articles needed in carrying out the various laws

dealing with a preparedness program for the United States. It became evident very quickly that the eastern interests would endeavor to double and triple their productive ability; that they would build more plants and buildings and have need for more equipment and for more men if their efforts to centralize the production of materials for our defense were to be permitted to continue.

It was pointed out by many of us that such a policy would leave the factories and industries of the Midwest idle and unproductive and would contribute to the unemployment problems faced by many States, and especially the industrial cities. The tragic effect of a centralized program would be to take from the Midwest all available tools and machinery and skilled workmen and transplant them to the seaboard. Results of such procedure would be felt for many years.

After a lot of effort the administration leaders were forced to acknowledge all of the foregoing facts, and announcement was made that industry would be decentralized and that the manufacture of war materials and other products needed for national defense would be spread out over the country and that the Midwest would be given fair recognition. Up to date, in my opinion, developments have been unsatisfactory, and this decentralization policy has not been put into effect. Existing industrial plants in the East are continuing their program of expansion, and all of this is being done to the detriment of the midwestern United States.

There is one certain way to correct this error. A committee of Congress, and especially of the House of Representatives, should be selected to confer with the different Government bureaus which have the responsibility of spending the taxpayers' money. After all, the Congress of the United States appropriated the billions of dollars for national defense, and, as I see it, still has the responsibility of checking up and finding out why, when, how, and where these funds are being used. We concede the honesty and ability of many bureau heads, but, after all, they are only human and need the help of Congress in doing the right thing by the people of the United States.

If a committee of Congress should be created to work with the agencies and report to Congress, we would then make certain that public funds are not wasted, either through mistake or otherwise, and the mistakes in World War No. 1, as well as the graft and corruption which developed during that period, would not be permitted to again occur.

In my opinion, this is one of the most serious matters that will face the Seventy-seventh Congress when it convenes January 3, 1941. Additional funds will be sought and the problem of financing the emergency is one that should be considered both by executive departments and by Congress so that there may be complete cooperation between these two branches of government.

I do not submit these remarks in a spirit of criticism and I do not here discuss the newspaper headlines which indicate that the national-defense program is moving slowly, and that there are many conditions which must be remedied. Distinguished Members on the floor of this House have pointed out some of these problems, but they have not emphasized the need for a 1941 control which will eliminate many errors of judgment that have taken place recently.

The one big job in this country, mentioned several times on the floor, is a preparedness program which means the development of every agency that will make it possible for America to defend itself should such a contingency arise. There must be no delay, and all other interests must be secondary to this paramount problem of the building of the Army and the Navy and other units of national defense into a machine that will make America respected by all.

After proper consideration for national-defense measures, we still have domestic problems which will challenge our leadership to the utmost. Some of those problems deal with local communities where Federal policies have worked hardships. There are numerous subjects which will suggest themselves to you. We want no false-economy program for worthwhile Federal agencies. For example, we have our national parks, and I for one will not vote to eliminate the small sum which is needed for their upkeep and development, with the idea that this country is to find betterment in permitting these parks to go to ruin and waste. We have the problem of our national forests. We have the problems of river and harbor upkeep. There are many more I could mention. In carrying out a national-defense program, none of these projects need to be crippled and handicapped by taking away funds which would make necessary the abandonment of their operation.

A wise leadership in 1941 will seek three objectives—everything possible to speed up national defense, and every proper safeguard to help solve our domestic problems, and to make possible the continuation of Federal functions which are for the benefit of the American people.

Alien Registration and the German

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD J. GEHRMANN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 19, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY FRANK W. KUEHL

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address by Mr. Frank W. Kuehl, an attorney in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation:

The history of the settlers of Germantown in 1683 and that of the German refugees of 1848 have given me the inspiration for this message to you latter-day German immigrants who have not yet become citizens of our country.

I would like to feel, in speaking to you today, that I am but following in the footsteps of the tens of thousands of Americans of German descent who have given so much to democracy.

Von Steuben, outstanding Revolutionary soldier, drillmaster of the Continental Army, friend of Washington, builder of West Point.

Carl Schurz, immigrant, soldier, Senator, Secretary of the Interior, father of the civil-service system, of forest conservation, friend of Lincoln and the American way.

Tom Nast, immigrant boy, artist for a New York newspaper whose courage and talent crushed Boss Tweed's notorious reign of graft and corruption.

ROBERT F. WAGNER, immigrant boy, judge and United States Senator, father of labor relations and housing legislation.

My role today is somewhat different; I have been asked by the Alien Registration Division of the Department of Justice to discuss with you the necessity for enforcing legislation which Congress has deemed essential for the common good.

In this small way I, too, serve democracy.

Americans of German descent and Germans who are not yet citizens, constitute one of the largest groups in the country.

What brought them here?

What is the magnet that attracted peoples from the four corners of the earth to the shores of the United States?

Economic betterment?

Yes, that was undeniably one of the motivating factors; however, there is another reason, one which goes much deeper.

It was the search for liberty, for equality, and freedom. It was the hope of something denied them in their homelands.

We all speak glibly and lightly today of the immigrants who came here to make their fortunes and return in splendor to their native villages. There were some who came just for that reason but the vast majority came because of a deeper, heartfelt belief in the democratic way of life.

While a few Germans arrived in 1626, the first real groups of settlers did not come until 1683. Led by Franz Daniel Pastorius, they founded Germantown on the outskirts of Philadelphia.

For more than a century German immigrants landed there before moving on into Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and the Carolinas.

One of the immigrants fought for and caused to be established one of the great concepts of our democratic traditions.

He was Peter Zenger who founded the New York Weekly Journal in 1773 so that he could oppose some of the policies of the Governor of the State.

He was imprisoned and charged with libel but was acquitted after a trial that struck the first important blow for freedom of the press.

Germans settled farms in Pennsylvania, farms with great red barns and stout houses. They established iron forges and glass works.

They went to Louisiana.

After royalty crushed the upsurge of democracy in Germany in 1848 they came in thousands to Missouri where they built St. Louis. They came to Wisconsin to build a great dairy industry and make Milwaukee famous.

You Germans who are not yet citizens, listen to the roll of names, of German names that are part of democratic America's history:

Von Steuben, Baron de Kalb, Peter Muhlenberg, and General Herkimer;

Carl Schurz, Rockefeller, Steinmetz, Tom Nast, and John Wanamaker;

Charles Schwab, the Studebaker Brothers, Molly Pitcher, Walter Damrosch, John Ringling, Henry Miller, and Carl Hoffer.

This is but a portion of the roll; it does not include the little people, the sturdy, industrious, intelligent, hard-working Germans who came to escape the persecutions of the Old World, who came here to find peace, liberty and comfort, who came in search of freedom and having found it, became part of the land that provided it.

It will some day include the names of present-day Germans who have but lately come here: Thomas Mann, Albert Einstein, Heinrich Bruening, Lotte Lehmann, and many others.

Their contributions to the world at large have been great; they will contribute much more to our country.

You who speak the German tongue and who love liberty as we do but who have not yet become part of us here in America, need have no fear of the Alien Registration Act, it is not directed against any group or against any class.

This is a country of Americans; it is peopled by immigrants from every land, by those who dreamed the same dreams that we or our fathers dreamed.

It was to preserve this ideal and to protect it from the few who would destroy, that Congress enacted registration laws.

Although this is the first time the United States has ever attempted a complete check on noncitizens within its borders, alien registration is a common practice in most foreign countries.

In foreign lands registration is required at police stations. Here Uncle Sam merely requests you to go to a post office and fill out a questionnaire which will ask a little of your personal history. Of the 15 questions on the form most of them you have answered many times before in normal applications for jobs, for driver's permits, and for marriage licenses. One or two of the questions are a bit different, having to do with the time of your arrival in this country, the boat you traveled on, your port of entry, the activities you are engaged in.

To make the registration process as simple as it can be, the Alien Registration Division has prepared a sample form, which is a duplication of the official form. You can obtain the sample form at your post office, take it home, study it, examine your personal records or papers, and fill out the questionnaire in your leisure time. Then take it to the post office and register. Every record will be strictly confidential. No one will be able to examine your records since they will be on file at the Department of Justice in Washington. Only the Attorney General of the United States can order their release.

You may ask anyone for assistance. Do not, however, pay anyone a fee for helping you register. There is absolutely no charge.

If you need help in answering the questions, any social agency will gladly assist you or direct you to the proper information service. The postmaster at your post office will also help you. If you cannot speak English well enough, when you go to the post office, take along an interpreter—a member of your family or a friend who can speak English.

The postmaster will take the form you have filled out at home and ask you to affirm the truth of the answers, then he will fingerprint you and you will have fully complied with the law.

Congress prescribed a penalty of $1,000 or 6 months in jail for any alien who willfully fails to register before or on December 26. If you do register and answer the questions falsely, you are subject to the same fines. You will also, in all probability, be deported. This Government is willing to make matters as easy and simple as it can for the alien. However, the law is compulsory and has "teeth" in it for its proper enforcement. The law requires that all aliens 14 years of age and over must register and be fingerprinted. Children under 14 years of age must be registered by their parents or guardians, but they will not, however, be fingerprinted.

If any of you are in doubt as to your actual citizenship status—that is, if you are not sure whether or not you are a citizen—my advice to you as recommended to me by alien registration officials is to register and be sure of obeying the law.

Bear this in mind, registration in no way affects citizenship. If you are later judged to be a citizen, the fact that you have registered as an alien will have no effect on your status.

Those of you who are in the process of becoming citizens must also register. In the eyes of the law you are an alien until you have fully completed naturalization and have taken the oath in a Federal or naturalization court.

Remember, even if you have secured your second papers, you are not a citizen until you have taken your oath, and so you must register under this act.

After you have registered your record will be sent to Washington and you will receive a receipt card.

Keep this card in a safe place since it is evidence of your registration. You do not have to carry it with you.

After you have registered, if you change your address, you must notify the Alien Registration Division of the Department of Justice within 5 days after moving. If you are here on a temporary visa, you must notify the Department every 3 months whether or not you change your address. You can secure regular change of address cards at any post office, already addressed to the Washington office. They are practically the same as the ordinary change of address card you use when notifying your post office of a new mail address.

Registration is no disgrace, as Solicitor General Francis Biddle said: "We should remember that all Americans were at one time or another immigrants from other lands. The genius of many countries, the ancient aspirations of many races, have built into what is America. Unfortunately there are some foreigners who are disloyal to America, who do not wish to accept our ways, and who use our freedom of speech and of the press to foment disunity and sedition.

"These persons we will apprehend, but we will also see to it that loyal American aliens are not unjustly condemned for the disloyal behavior of a few. Our registration will be their protection from persecution."

Attorney General Robert Jackson said:

"Congress has authorized and I have at all times favored a registration and identification of aliens. This is not an antialien move. The alien who promptly registers and obtains a certificate of registration will undoubtedly be relieved of much local embarrassment and suspicion. I am convinced that, if it is properly presented to the aliens and carried out with a decent regard to their feelings and rights, registration will be a welcome protection to those who comply. It will be carried out in that spirit."

From reports issued by the Alien Registration Division, I am gratified to learn that the registration program has met with cooperation from all quarters. I know all of you will continue to cooperate.

Remember, if you are not a citizen and if you have not yet registered, you must register on or before December 26 or face the penalties for violation of this Federal law.

Thank you.

Preparedness

REMARKS

OF

HON. KENT E. KELLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, I regret that the Members of this House did not listen to the forum of the Chicago University on last Sunday. If you had you would have received more information than has been given out or appears likely to be given out in any other hour that I know about. If you had heard that forum and the discussion on this very subject of preparedness many of you who appear to be jittery would not be so, because you would know that more is being done than we have any information about in this body, and that it is of a most reassuring character. We ought not take it for granted that 30 percent lag in one place means in all places. The truth of the matter is that labor in this country is providing for the very thing that ought to have been provided for first, and doing a good job of it. [Applause.]

Violation of Irish Neutrality

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES F. O'CONNOR

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 19, 1940

RESOLUTIONS OF ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS AND OF PHIL SHERIDAN CLUB, OF ANACONDA, MONT.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolutions:

ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS IN AMERICA,
Anaconda, Mont., November 27, 1940.

Hon. J. F. O'CONNOR,
United States Congressman, House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

At a joint meeting of Division No. 1, Ancient Order of Hibernians of Deer Lodge County, and Division No. 1, Ancient Order of Hibernians of Silver Bow County, and Division No. 1, Ladies' Auxiliary of

Deer Lodge County, and Division No. 1, Ladies' Auxiliary of Silver Bow County, held at Anaconda, Mont., November 27, 1940, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the Government of the United States has deemed it prudent, in view of the dangerous international situation, to engage in arming the country on a large scale for purposes of defense and not for purposes of aggression;

"Whereas Great Britain, in the imperialistic war now going on between herself and Germany, is threatening to violate the neutrality of Eire (Ireland) by forcibly seizing certain of Eire's seaports;

"Whereas any such violation of the neutrality of Eire would almost certainly result in bringing the war to her shores and turning her into a shambles, as witness what befell unfortunate Norway some months ago and her present pitiable plight;

"Whereas the Government of Eire has made it known that her people will resist to the death with all their resources any attempt on the part of Great Britain or any other country to violate her neutrality, so far strictly and honestly observed;

"Whereas Eire is an ancient nation with a civilization and a culture second to none, and was as Professor Wigmore states in his great work entitled 'A Panorama of the World's Legal Systems,' the intellectual center of the west from A. D. 500 to 800, and under all the rules of decency and fair play is entitled to remain unmolested from any quarter; and

"Whereas Great Britain, while persistently proclaiming her adherence to the principles of democracy, largely for American consumption however, has denied the application of those principles to an important section of the population of northeast Ulster and to all of the people of India: Therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we, loyal citizens of the United States of Irish ancestry and vitally interested in the perpetuation of its free institutions in joint meeting assembled at Anaconda, Mont., do cordially approve the steps taken by our Government to put the country in a condition of complete defense;

"*Resolved*, That we unqualifiedly condemn and view with the utmost abhorrence any attempt on the part of Great Britain to extend the present war to Eire with her decimated population, a condition caused solely by British misrule and British-made famines in the past;

"*Resolved*, That we heartily approve the stand taken by the government of Eire regarding the maintenance of her neutrality in the present crisis and pledge her our moral and material support so far as the same may be given under the laws of the United States;

"*Resolved*, That we deeply appreciate the work done for freedom and democracy and the protection of American interests by Senators BURTON K. WHEELER and JAMES E. MURRAY and Representatives JACOB THORKELSON and JAMES F. O'CONNOR in the Congress of the United States;

"*Resolved*, That we are unalterably opposed to this, our country, giving any assistance to Great Britain in violation of the Neutrality Act and other laws passed by the Congress of the United States, and now in force, and believe that such assistance is calculated to involve us in the war on her side;

"*Resolved*, That we sympathize with enslaved nations and peoples everywhere and hope for their ultimate deliverance from the conditions under which they suffer at this time; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be mailed to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, Senators WHEELER and MURRAY, and Representatives THORKELSON and O'CONNOR, and Robert E. Brennan, Irish Minister to Washington, and a copy given to the daily press of Butte for publication.

"WALTER N. RILEY,
"State President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.
"KATHERINE HARRINGTON,
"State President of the Ladies Auxiliary of the A. O. H."

PHIL SHERIDAN CLUB OF ANACONDA, MONT.,
Anaconda, Mont., December 4, 1940.

Hon. JAMES F. O'CONNOR,
United States Congressman,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

At a regular meeting of the Phil Sheridan Club held at the A. O. H. hall on December 4, 1940, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the Prime Minister of England, Winston Churchill, with the apparent backing of the English Parliament, has threatened forcibly to seize Irish territory for use as naval and air bases, in violation of solemn treaty agreements between England and Ireland: Be it

"*Resolved*, That we members of the Phil Sheridan Club of Anaconda, Mont., denounce this threat of the Government of England to add another violated treaty to the long list of solemn pacts which that Government has broken in the course of its dealings with Ireland and the Irish people;

"*Resolved*, That we urge the people of Ireland, who have no enemy in the world, except their ancient enemy, England, to persist in their determination to maintain their neutrality; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States; Hon. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State; Robert E. Brennan, Irish Minister to Washington, D. C.; Hon. B. K. Wheeler and Hon. James E. Murray, Senators from Montana; Hon. Jacob Thorkelson and Hon. James F. O'Connor, Congressmen from Montana; a copy given to the local press, and a copy spread on the minutes of our meeting.

"JAMES HAMILL, *President.*"

The National Income and Monetary Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JERRY VOORHIS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, December 18, 1940

PAPER BY C. G. HOAG

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include herewith a carefully prepared and stimulating paper on the national income and its relation to the monetary system of the Nation. This paper was written by Mr. C. G. Hoag, of Haverford, Pa., an earnest student of these questions.

The paper follows:

AN EQUATION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME WITH PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

(By C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Pa.)

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—This paper, in which an equation of the national income is presented for the first time, I think, is intended to explain convincingly the general principles that must govern the relations under free enterprise between the medium of exchange and prosperity. If it had been expanded into a book it could have been made more readable; but as it is, it can be read, reread, and thoughtfully considered in half the time a book would require. I hope it will not be left unmastered merely because it calls for 3 or 4 hours of real thought, for its teaching, if sound, can show us the way to get rid of the principal cause of our unemployment, which may also become the principal destroyer of our freedom and democracy.

The measures recommended in the paper are not regarded as panaceas; they must be supported, of course, by wise measures of many kinds.—C. G. H.)

1. My purpose in this paper is to derive from the dominant facts of money and exchange under our system of free enterprise an equation of the national real income, and then to consider how its principles should be applied to our economic problem. Though such an equation will not reveal any altogether new principles in regard to the relations between the medium of exchange and prosperity it will, I think, express those relations in a new and helpful form. It is extremely simple, and the principles that stand out clearly from it are as important as the difference between our greatest prosperity and our deepest depression.

2. Let us start with an "equation of exchange" similar to the one used by Simon Newcomb in his Principles of Political Economy and by Prof. Irving Fisher in his Purchasing Power of Money.

3. Let M stand for the number of dollars, including bank credit used as money, in circulation during the time in question.

4. Let V stand for the number of times each dollar of M, on the average, is used during the time in making exchanges (of the goods and services G) that contribute to the Nation's real income.

5. Let G stand for the number of units of goods and services that pass from one ownership to another during the time in exchanges that contribute to the national real income.[1]

6. Let V′ stand for the number of times each unit of G, on the average, is passed from one ownership to another during the time in exchanges that contribute to the national real income. (Note that with these definitions of G, V, and V′ all exchanges that do not contribute to the national real income, such as many of those for speculative purposes, are entirely disregarded. Those excluded exchanges must be taken into account, of course, for some purposes, but not for those of this paper.)

7. Then $\frac{MV}{GV'}$ is the average price in dollars, P, paid out of MV, the total money turn-over, in those exchanges of the goods and services G that contribute to the Nation's real income, for each unit of GV′, the total turn-over of those goods and services in those exchanges. So $PGV'=MV$. And that, of course, is essentially the same as Fisher's equation $PT=MV$, for GV′ is only Fisher's T separated into its two factors to reveal its partial correspondence with MV.

8. It may be objected that one cannot visualize G, as there are no such things as units of goods and services, corresponding to the dollars that make up M, which retain their identity as they pass through the hands of manufacturers, railroads, jobbers, trucking companies, etc., on the way from the farmer, miner, or other producer of raw materials to the consumer. That is true, and therefore the GV′ of my equation is unsatisfying to the imagination and inferior for some purposes to the T of Fisher's equation. But, on the other hand, for an understanding of our economic system, the separation of the total turn-over of the goods and services G into

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[1] By "real income" I mean the food and clothing and other goods and services that money income buys.

[2] Note that this definition excludes all real income, such as the foods received by a farmer from his own fields and garden, that is not received by exchange.

two factors G and V', corresponding to the two factors on the money side M and V, will perhaps prove helpful. Readers who want to give G further consideration are referred to paragraph 51 in the Appendix.

9. I wish now to do something new with the equation of exchange $PGV'=MV$. Let g stand for the number of units of goods and services received by our people as real income resulting from the production and exchanging[2] of the goods and services G. And let the number of times that GV' exceeds g be called F. My purpose in introducing this factor F is, of course, merely to change the equation $PGV'=MV$, which is an equation of total transactions (as defined in paragraphs 3, 4, 5, and 6) into an equation of the national real income; for with F defined as it is we can substitute gF for GV' in the equation. But this factor F, which performs so useful a service in the equation, is of interest also for what it represents physically, so to speak: It represents the division of labor among the persons or companies that buy from and sell to each other, the number of times a unit of the goods and services that constitute the real income of our people is sold, on the average, as it moves from producer to consumer.

10. Then we can substitute for GV' in the equation above its equivalent gF.

11. Making that substitution, we have $PgF=MV$, or $g=\frac{MV}{PF}$. And that is an equation of the national real income. What does it mean, and what practical applications can be drawn from it?

12. Translated into words, the equation means this: The[3] total units of goods and services that constitute that chief part of the real income of our people which comes to them by exchange (g) equals the total dollar transactions in the exchange of goods and services (MV) divided by the average price of each unit of the goods and services exchanged (P) multiplied by the factor F. Now, the factor F expresses simply the number of times a dollar's worth of goods and services passes from one owner to another on the average as the division of labor in the country now operates for every dollar's worth of real income that results. It is not a factor that we can think of changing by official action, for it is the result of experience under the exacting conditions of competition. Assuming, therefore, that F is to be left undisturbed, we can express the practical meaning of the equation thus: If the price level does not fall, the real income of our people is limited by the magnitude of the combination MV, the volume of dollar transactions required to produce that real income.

13. But what if the price level does fall? Since P is in the denominator of $\frac{MV}{PF}$, and that ratio equals the national real income g in which we are interested, the question at once arises whether we cannot increase g by making P smaller; that is, lowering the price level. But that would be worse than futile, for we know from evidence quite outside of these equations that under our economic system, which depends for production and exchange on free enterprise, any considerable fall in the price level results in reducing first the prospects of profits for the enterprisers,[4] next employment, production, and the exchanges V' of the goods and services G, and finally the national real income g. But, you may ask, is this view—that practically, under our system, g cannot be increased by decreasing P—consistent with the equation $g=\frac{MV}{PF}$? It is. The explanation is simply that with our reliance on bank credit for money any considerable fall of the price level, that is, decrease of P, results not only in the reduction of g but also in the reduction of MV. That happened, indeed, in 1929–33: P decreased, MV decreased (largely by the shrinking of bank credit used as money), and g decreased.

14. But is there not another possibility? Is it not possible that the effect of increasing MV will be not to increase GV' and therefore g (with P not increasing) but to increase P (with GV' and g not increasing much, if at all)? If the country already has practically full employment, such a result is not only possible but inevitable. Its name is inflation. It is not advocated or approved in this paper. If, on the other hand, the country does not already have practically full employment, the principal effect of increasing MV will be to increase GV' and therefore g.[5]

15. To sum up the last two paragraphs, the equation $g=\frac{MV}{PF}$ tells us nothing about the incentives of enterprisers, on which our economic system relies for the maintenance of production and exchange. But, knowing as we do from other evidence that a falling price level (a decrease of P) does, in fact, reduce the incentive to enterprisers and therefore production, exchange, and the national real income, we can see from the equation that the only way we can expect to make and keep the national real income as large as enterprisers and workers would make it is to see that MV—the amount of money available for exchanges combined with the number of times it is used—is maintained in such balance with the GV' produced and turned over by the enterprisers and workers that the price level does not harmfully fall.[6] (That the balance should also be such that the price level does not harmfully rise is, of course, also true; but in this paper that principle is not demonstrated but taken for granted.)

16. This suggests that we define the primary object of the Nation's monetary policy thus: The primary object of the monetary policy of the United States shall be to maintain among the people all the exchanges needed to give them as real incomes all the goods and services wanted by them which they want to produce.

17. This definition directs the attention to the crux of our practical economic problem, the maintenance of the needed exchanges. We have the resources, the technical knowledge, and the willingness to work required for great and sustained prosperity. But we have never had maximum prosperity, and what prosperity we have had has broken down every few years from one general cause, the disruption of many of the needed chains of exchanges. Indeed, depression is nothing but the lack of many of those exchanges. In 1932, for example, several millions of persons, able and willing to work, could not exchange their services for the goods and services which they and their dependents wanted and which they themselves, if employed and directed, could have produced. In unemployment, then, the outstanding trouble is with the exchanges: They are not continuously maintained by the mechanism, MV, intended for the purpose. A leading object of our monetary policy should be to see that that mechanism does its work right in the future.

18. Consider again, in connection with the equation $g=\frac{MV}{PF}$, what happened to its several terms in 1929–33. One thing that happened, as was said in paragraph 13, was that MV decreased as a result of the decrease of P (the fall of the price level). Another was that P decreased as a result of the decrease of MV. (With any given volume of goods and services offering themselves for money on the market, prices must fall if the volume of money offered in exchange, which is MV, falls.) In other words, the reactions between P and MV took place in a vicious circle. And the effect on our lives, as we all know, was the disastrous decrease in the national real income, g.

19. Consider the decrease of M in 1929–33. About nine-tenths of M in 1929, as is well known, consisted of bank credit used as a medium of exchange, only about one-tenth of currency. And bank credit used as a medium of exchange decreased during those years billions of dollars.

20. As for the change of V from 1929 till 1933, we cannot say just what it was for the reason mentioned in the fifth sentence of paragraph 26. If the general supposition is correct—that V decreased during that period—the decrease must have contributed to the fall of the price level, and to the decrease of the national real income.

21. What should be done, if anything, to prevent the shrinking of the money supply, M, in future when "confidence" wanes? Good economists of a generation ago—and some fossilized economists, I fear, of the present time—might answer, "Nothing: the volume of bank credits shrank in 1929–33 because the business they financed shrank; that is one of the beautiful adjustments that our banking system makes." But the truth is that if the combination MV did not shrink, there would be the same monetary demand for goods and services, at the same level of prices, as before (for MV is that monetary demand); enterprisers would go on producing and exchanging as before; and the Nation's real income, g, would not necessarily decline. It seems clear, therefore, that the shrinking of the money supply merely because confidence has waned, without regard to the supply needed to effect the needed exchanges, should be prevented somehow.

22. And it cannot be left to the banks. Though the shrinking of bank credit when confidence wanes is contrary, of course, to the interest of the banks as a group as well as to that of the rest of the Nation, yet the very steps that cause it are forced upon each particular bank separately by its duty to its depositors and to its shareholders. When confidence wanes the sooner a bank requires its weaker borrowers to repay their existing loans and cuts down its new loans the better for the immediate interests of its other depositors and its shareholders. But the sooner each bank takes those steps the sooner the sharp shrinkage of the bank credit of the Nation (though it is needed to provide the same monetary demand for goods and services as before) and the sooner the ruin of the Nation's prosperity, including that of the banks.

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[2] To make this sentence easier to grasp in relation to the equation, I underline separately each group of words that corresponds to a letter in the equation.

[4] I am assuming that some prices which the enterpriser has to pay, notably those of the services of his employees (wages), do not go down promptly in correspondence with the prices of his products. Of course, if they did, a fall of the price level would not have the same effect.

[5] In this sentence, as in many others in this paper, I omit qualifying clauses for the sake of simplicity and brevity. The object of the paper is not to try to dispose of the subject definitively but to make clear in the briefest space certain fundamental principles of economics, under our system of free enterprise, on which the welfare of millions certainly and the continuation of freedom probably depend. The elaboration of the fine points involved may be left for a later day and for writers having a different object.

[6] I am aware, of course, that there are alternatives to a stabilized price level for which much can be said. One of them, indeed, is considered by some monetary economists to be preferable. But none of these alternatives is well enough known to the Congress to be considered for legislation in the near future. For my purpose, therefore, which is a very practical one, I leave them out of the account. The stabilized price level to which I refer in this paper is stabilized not rigidly but with due allowance for abnormal conditions.

23. The remedy is obvious, and it has been before the minds of economists for years. Bank credit that serves as a medium of exchange should be supplanted by its equivalent in currency created by the Government, and hereafter every bank in the country, including the State banks, should be required to have a dollar of national currency or national obligations back of every dollar of demand deposits.

24. That puts the creation of money and the regulation of its volume back into the hands of the Government, where they were until modern times, and where, of course, they ought to be. It leaves to the banks their proper function of lending money created by the Government, depriving them only of their improper functions of creating money—in the form of bank credit—to lend when the lending looks good, and of extinguishing a great part of it when—largely because the other banks are doing the same thing—the lending looks bad.

25. This policy is, of course, the one usually referred to as "hundred percent reserves." It is urged for adoption by many notable economists, including Henry C. Simons, Laughlin Currie, James W. Angell, Irving Fisher, Paul H. Douglas, Frank D. Graham, Willford I. King, John R. Commons, Charles R. Whittlesey, and Earl J. Hamilton. The policy is opposed, it is true, by many economists and bankers; but common sense and the history of all our recent depressions seem to be against them. Surely it is not best for the Nation to be dependent for an enlargement of its money supply when needed, as in 1931–33, on an increase of private borrowings at interest from private institutions. It is not best for private institutions to be able to create money for the production of capital goods, which will be in competition with similar capital goods produced with savings: How much of the Nation's money goes into capital goods should be determined only by the extent to which the people generally (who cannot create money) are willing to forego present consumption for their production. It is not best for the Government to forego all the profits involved in creating money. And, most important of all, it is not best, whenever bankers and businessmen lose confidence, for the bankers to be forced by the interests of their stockholders and depositors, which they are bound to protect, to reduce the Nation's money supply,[7] lower the price level, force businessmen into bankruptcy by reducing and calling loans, and bring on depression. Of course, the banks will be deprived by hundred-percent reserves of one of the principal sources of their incomes in the past; but they can be paid for their services adequately in other ways.

26. It is obvious that if V remained constant, the regulation of M would be sufficient to maintain MV at the required magnitude. But can V be trusted to remain constant? According to the general opinion among economists, it cannot. That is the natural inference from the published statistics. And even if those statistics have been so misinterpreted as to make the variations of V seem larger than they really were, as seems clear from the unpublished researches of a leading economist, it is impossible for me to believe that V will not sometimes drop unseasonably and seriously. Suppose the system of hundred-percent reserves has been adopted. Even then, if conditions arise that lead to a loss of confidence—and certainly they may—what is to prevent a contraction of bank credit? Since bank credit will not longer be serving as a medium of exchange, its contraction, of course, will no longer be a reduction of the quantity of money; but it will certainly be a reduction of its velocity.

27. We should therefore give our monetary authority the power and the means to stimulate velocity if it declines unseasonably, as it surely will.[8] For any unseasonable decline in velocity, any unseasonable increase in the delays between the receipt of money and its expenditure, whether for consumption or for investment, must tend to lower the price level or reduce production or both, and to add to the delays still further. So, though the shrinking of M will have been prevented by the requirement of hundred-percent reserves, a vicious circle of reactions between V and P will sometimes call for a stimulant to V. The monetary authority should have the means of stimulating velocity at once whenever it finds such action necessary to maintain MV at the magnitude required to sustain the exchanges needed for prosperity.

28. One great advantage of giving the monetary authority such complete powers for the regulation of MV is that doing so will reduce the need of using them. When enterprisers feel sure that the magnitude of MV, which is the monetary demand for goods and services in all the markets, can and will be maintained at the point needed for all the needed exchanges, the tendency will be for them to continue what we may call full production and exchange, thus usually maintaining V at the point required without any stimulation of it by the authority.

29. The choice of a method of stimulating V when necessary presents a novel problem. But fortunately it can be solved without changing the Constitution or going to any great expense.

THE PART PLAYED BY VELOCITY

30. The part played by the velocity of money in our economy, though very real and important, seems to be thought unimportant, not to say imaginary, by some persons who express themselves with confidence about it. I will therefore try to explain it.

31. Suppose that Brown has been receiving a salary of $200 a month, that he has been regularly spending $180 of it every month for consumption, and that he has been regularly investing the remaining $20 every month as he has received it.

32. Let us now concentrate our attention on the $20 a month that Brown is investing,[9] say in an apartment house that is now building. About half of that $20, perhaps, is going monthly to the masons, carpenters, plumbers, etc., who are doing the work, the rest to those who supply the lumber etc., to the contractor as profit, etc. These persons also, let us suppose, are spending[10] the money each month; so also are those who receive it from them; and so on with all who receive it, the average time that the money is held by each receiver being, let us suppose, 1 month.

33. Under these circumstances Brown's $240, paid out by him during the year at the rate of $20 at the beginning of each month, effects in 12 months exchanges of goods and services in the economic system about as follows:

In the case of the $20 invested in January	$240
In the case of the $20 invested in February	220
In the case of the $20 invested in March	200
In the case of the $20 invested in April	180
In the case of the $20 invested in May	160
In the case of the $20 invested in June	140
In the case of the $20 invested in July	120
In the case of the $20 invested in August	100
In the case of the $20 invested in September	80
In the case of the $20 invested in October	60
In the case of the $20 invested in November	40
In the case of the $20 invested in December	20
Total	1,560

34. How much of the $1,560 is clear income to those who receive it and pass it on during the year we do not know. (Only 3 cents, perhaps, of the 10 received from a carpenter by the grocer who sells him a loaf of bread is gross profit, and only a part of the gross profit is net profit or clear income.) We could get some idea of the percentage of the $1,560 that is clear income to those who receive it by consulting the statisticians; but for our purpose, which is only to explain a principle, any fraction that has sometimes prevailed may be assumed. One such fraction is one-tenth;[11] let us assume that. On that basis, the clear income to the persons involved that is dependent on Brown's spending the $240 at the rate of $20 a month for 12 months is $156.

35. Now, suppose Brown changes his habits; suppose he no longer invests the $20 every month but puts it into a tin box or into his deposit account at the bank and invests the whole $240 at the beginning of the twelfth month. The change is in the velocity, so-called, of that part of his money, that is, in the extent of the delays in his use of the money, for that is all monetary velocity is.

36. What is the effect of that change on the carpenters, plumbers, contractor, etc., to whom this $240 formerly went in payments of $20 monthly? It is to leave them to that extent unemployed for the 11 months. And that is not all. It has the same effect also on the persons to whom these builders formerly passed the money on each month, and on those to whom these latter persons in turn passed it on, and so through the whole list. Therefore, the total economic effect on these persons of Brown's greater delay in the use of this small part of his income is loss of business on their part to the extent of the difference between $1,560 and $240, that is, to the extent of $1,320; and its effect on the total of their clear incomes is perhaps about one-tenth of $1,320, or $132.

37. Would it make any difference whether the $20 a month in question, received by Brown monthly and paid out to others by him either monthly or all together at the beginning of the last month, was clear income to him, as we have supposed, or part of the working capital in a business owned by him? None at all.

38. Does Brown's change to greater delay in spending $20 a month have any effect not only on other people's money transactions and

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[7] Though the Federal Reserve Board by the exercise of its powers can control the volume of bank credit used as money to a certain extent, it found itself unable to prevent the extinction of that principal medium of exchange in great quantities after 1929, and it has found itself unable to build up the needed quantity since except with the help of enormous Government borrowings. Marriner S. Eccles, Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, in A. D. Gayer's Lessons of Monetary Experience, p. 19, says that after 1929 deposits subject to check (of which bank credit used as money is the chief part) shrank by $7,500,000,000.

[8] At first thought it might seem that V can change only slowly as changes take place in the number of hands which goods pass through in going from producer to consumer, as when the rise of chain stores cuts out middlemen or when the rise of firms specializing in linotyping adds middlemen to the printing business. But that would leave out of account the length of the delays before money is used, notably those between the receipt of money that is to be invested and its investment; and it is the lengthening of those delays that constitutes the chief element in the decline of velocity when it declines. The practical problem in respect to the velocity of money is not concerned with the number of transactions required but with the delays between them. In respect to the velocity of money see especially Dr. Arthur Dahlberg's When Capital Goes on Strike, Harper, N. Y.

[9] In this example I am assuming that the passing of goods and services from one to another is simultaneous with the passing of the money in the other direction.

[10] This word "spending" I am using always to refer to paying out money for either consumption or investment.

[11] This would make the F of our equation of the national income 10.

money income but also on the production of the goods and services that are the real income of our people? Well, to answer that question we have only to bear in mind the fact that in this country production (except, of course, in certain lines in which it is occasionally reduced by drought or other natural forces) normally keeps up with the monetary demand of the market. Probably, therefore, the greater delay in Brown's use of the $20 a month results in a decrease in the production of the goods and services that constitute the real income of our people to the extent of goods and services valued at about $132. To put into a nutshell the practical truth about money velocity, to the extent that money halts in effecting exchanges of goods and services, the goods and services must likewise halt in their progress from hand to hand in the processes of production, transportation, and storage; for exchanges of goods and services are (roughly) simultaneous with exchanges of money, and the word "velocity" is as applicable to the former as to the latter. So the halting of money spending is the halting of production and may be the reduction of the Nation's real income for the time in question.

39. This illustration shows that delay in the use of money may reduce the prosperity of the Nation. But before passing from the point it is worth while to consider another way in which the delay may do its harm. In the case we have just examined the delay resulted immediately in reducing production and the employment available to certain workmen, as well as in similar losses to others to whom the money would have been passed on. In other cases the delay causes its loss by its effect on production and employment not immediately but later. These are the cases in which enterprisers and workers continue production for a time, in ignorance of the impending delays in other people's spending, and the loss comes later as a result of the disruption of the chains of exchanges relied upon to take the goods off the market.

40. Conspicuous among delays in spending are those in the investment of income. Such delays, indeed, are sometimes referred to as if they were the only ones of practical importance. But they are not, as the nine preceding paragraphs explained: unusual delays in the spending of any money, including money that is part of the capital of a business firm or corporation, cause corresponding unusual delays in the exchanging of goods and services and may cause a reduction of employment and prosperity.

41. When these principles in regard to M and V, especially those in regard to V, are heard for the first time, they seem puzzling and hard to believe. In fact, however, they are true. We are dependent for our incomes on making exchanges with each other. We make these exchanges by means of a medium. The medium, of course, whether currency or bank credit passed by check, is not used up in making exchanges; it can be used over and over again. And with any given volume of the medium in circulation the volume of goods and services that can be exchanged with a given price level in a given time, say a year, and therefore (since a falling price level would check business) the real income of the Nation in that year is dependent partly on the number of exchanges within the year in which each dollar takes part as well as partly on the number of dollars. Furthermore, the exchanges on which our prosperity depends are dependent on each other, and unexpected delays in the making of certain exchanges may disrupt long chains of others.

SHOULD THE REGULATION OF MV BE ENTRUSTED TO A GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY?

42. If it were necessary or best to govern the quantity of our money supply by the quantity of loans that can safely be made under the present money system at a particular time, the people to entrust it to would be the bankers. Of course, they are better qualified than a Government authority to decide whom to lend to and how much. But the quantity of our money supply should not be governed by anything of the kind. It should be governed, as the equation of the national income makes clear, by the money value—normally without any avoidable fall or rise of the price level—of the transactions (MV) required to effect all the turnover of goods and services (GV') needed to bring to the people as income (g) all the goods and services they want for consumption enough to produce and exchange them.[12] And if that is the principle by which the quantity of money is to be governed, the quantity that can safely be lent, whether bank credit is used as money or not, has nothing to do with it. If we want sustained and practically full employment, otherwise called prosperity, we have no alternative, apparently, to providing for the regulation of the quantity and the velocity of money by an agency of the Nation. And, fortunately, such an agency will have very strong incentives, under normal conditions, for doing its work well. Of course, if a ruthless dictator comes into power, he may require the authority to inflate, and he may compel it to obey. But the way to avoid that is to stop relying for our principal money on a medium which has given us from 6,000,000 to 13,000,000 unemployed all the time since 1929 and in time may make a dictator inevitable.

43. How great is the difference between the real income of our people under the present money system and that under the proposed system? In this connection bear in mind that under the proposed system MV would be maintained by the authority year after year at the volume (I must repeat it) required to balance, normally without any avoidable change in the price level, all the production and economic exchanges of goods and services that the people want enough to be willing to produce and exchange them. So the goods and services produced and exchanged (the GV' of the Fisher equation as defined in this paper) under the proposed system would be those of practically full production; and the real income of the Nation (the g of my equation) would be at the practical maximum. According to the estimates of the Brookings Institution in their America's Capacity to Produce (Washington, 1936), that practical maximum for 1929 would have been about 19 percent more than the actual national real income of that year; that is, a real income worth about $95,000,000,000 in the prices of 1929. Such an income, according to the same authority, page 429, could have added goods and services worth $765 at the prices of that time "to the consumer gratification of every family having an income of $2,500 or less in that year." And the year 1929 was considered a very prosperous one. In 1933, after 4 years of the spreading disruption of exchanges partly explained by our equation, the national real income was worth about $44,642,000,000[13] at the prices of that year. Even allowing for the much lower prices of 1933, it is clear from these figures—$95,000,000,000 and $44,642,000,000—that the Nation could well afford to pay the banks generous service fees for their work if, in order to maintain prosperity at its practical maximum,[14] it deprived them of the profits they now receive as interest on loans of their credit.

44. When the 100-percent reserve system is adopted and the monetary authority has all the powers required to control M and V, it must be given explicit instructions in regard to the measurement of the price level and its use in the balancing of MV—normally without any avoidable change of the price level—against the production and exchanges required for the real income (g) that the people want to work for. But it is not wise, in my opinion, to instruct the authority to stabilize the price level rigidly under all conditions. When, for example, a great war causes the prices of many commodities to shoot up, it is not always wise to force the prices of other commodities down, checking enterprise in those fields, merely to stabilize the general level. Allowance should sometimes be permitted, in other words, for abnormal conditions. When the monetary authority is explicitly instructed thus, inflation—the issue of money in excess of that required to balance production and exchange at the existing price level—is not to be feared unless it is ordered by the Congress or by some other power in control of the country.

45. In connection with the argument above for supplanting the banks in the creation and extinction[15] of money by an authority of the Government it is enlightening to consider for a moment how the creation of money by the banks arose. It arose, apparently, as the result of a chance combination of historical circumstances. As the invention of labor-saving inventions was gradually resulting in the production of more and more goods and services, and also in more and more division of labor, the volume of the former metallic currencies no longer sufficed to sustain the price level. (Since $GV' = \frac{MV}{P}$, any increase of GV' without a corresponding increase of MV was bound to lower P.) There was, therefore, need of more money. At the same time the bankers, who made a business of holding other people's money in trust, began to supply the needed additional money by lending more money than they themselves owned; and eventually they lent, openly and frankly, merely their own credit balanced by the notes of their borrowers and by what currency they owned. Thus, by coming to the rescue with bank credit that could be used as a medium of exchange to supplement legal money just when machines were multiplying the products of the former hand labor, the bankers saved the price level from disaster. The system developed not because it was devised as the best for sustaining maximum prosperity, but because it was profitable and met a need. If a rational system of governing the increase of money to balance the increase of production and exchange had been adopted instead, the history of industrial nations would have been different and happier.

46. At this time, when the spending of billions of new bank money backed by new Government bonds is expected to build up our employment rapidly, critics may say that the program suggested by this paper can wait at least till after the present war. But what will happen to our economic structure when the defense boom collapses? Another great depression, brought on in the old familiar way, is likely to follow the boom unless a sound money system is established long beforehand. No doubt control of the quantity of money only would tend to maintain its velocity, as some able economists contend; and no doubt control of its velocity only—with changes in the quantity left to the banks under the present fractional reserve system—would tend to maintain its quantity, as other equally able economists contend; but since nobody can know that the control of either would do all that could be done by the control of both, the wise course seems to be to provide for the control of both. And why endure the losses and run the risks of delay?

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[12] This does not assume the salability of goods or services that the people do not want enough to pay their price in other goods and services, and it does not permit inflation.

[13] National Income and Its Elements, published by the National Industrial Conference Board, 1936, p. 9.

[14] The maximum prosperity referred to in this paper is always the practical maximum; it would be foolish indeed to suppose that control of MV would eliminate all the obstacles in the way of some theoretical maximum.

[15] Of course, the banks now extinguish money when they reduce their loans used as money.

Shall We Discontinue Diplomatic Relations With the Axis Powers?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH B. SHANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 19, 1940

SPEECH OF FREDERICK J. LIBBY

Mr. SHANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the speech of Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C., in the American Forum of the Air, broadcast from the Willard Hotel in Washington, December 15, 1940.

The speech follows:

Mr. Chairman, members of the panel, ladies and gentlemen, my answer is absolutely no. For one reason, because the time when Ambassadors are needed is when relations are strained. And my second reason is that breaking off our diplomatic relations with Germany, Italy, and Japan would mislead the British people into thinking that we were coming into their war, when 83 percent of the American people are shown by every Gallup poll to be absolutely determined to do nothing of the sort. I have no sympathy with the position taken by some that we must keep the British fighting while we arm, even if it takes the last Englishman.

General Wood, chairman of the rapidly growing America First Committee, said last week that the war will end by spring if we keep out of it. Peace should be negotiated now, while Britain is not only unbeaten but victorious in the Mediterranean. The war has become an intolerable burden on humanity, as bad as the disease it was intended to cure. Hate and intolerance are spreading through the world. Even Britain's former little allies are to be starved this winter in the vain hope that this will defeat Hitler. The United States is the only great free democratic Nation left. We must not fritter away our resources in war either in Europe or in Asia but must prepare to use our strength when the war is over in the building of a happier and better world.

We have been listening to vague hints about Britain's plight. Suppose we face the facts boldly. It is true, of course, as Britain's noble Ambassador, Lord Lothian, said in what proved to be his final speech that Britain cannot win this war alone. She is a little nation of 43,000,000, pitted against a Germany of over 80,000,000. Her Army, in what seemed like an almost miraculous retreat from Dunkirk, was obliged to leave behind most of the military equipment that Britain had completed up to that time. Hitler has it now, plus the cannon and tanks of France, Belgium, Holland, Poland, and his own. Germany's airplane production, according to the best information obtainable, is at least double that of Britain. Our contribution as yet is not large. To win the war, Britain's little Army will have to land on the Continent, defeat the German Army, drive it back to Berlin, take Berlin, and overthrow Hitler. This is plainly impossible.

Would the conquered peoples rise and join an army of liberation? How can they without weapons? Hitler defeated them while they were armed and they can't overthrow him now with their bare fists. Hundreds of thousands of people in the conquered countries are working for Germany today because they are hungry and they will go on working for Germany and get used to it if the hunger continues.

But can't Britain win if we come into the war? That is the goal toward which the proposal tonight would lead us. Not without millions of conscripts to drive the Germans back. Isn't this plain enough from the situation? And everybody from the President down, except our little war party, says flatly that we are not going to send our manpower again to Europe's trenches.

It is lucky for us that we are not ready to go into this war. If we were, we might do it again, though it would destroy our democracy, saddle us with pretty nearly the whole cost of the war, and reduce us, with the rest of the world, to the spiritual and material poverty of the Dark Ages. But there is a gap of 2 years or more between the time when Britain needs our entire resources, which is now, and the time when we could render the aid Britain requires.

But could Britain win even then? No; not even then. If we succeeded in landing an army of 3,000,000 men on the continent of Europe in the teeth of Hitler's submarines and airplanes—a feat which no military man believes possible—and if we then drove the German Army to Berlin, still the victory would not be ours. Stalin would be the victor, because Europe would be so devastated by that time that chaos and revolution would be its fate. Our soldiers would have given their lives for Stalin.

Instead of breaking off diplomatic relations with the Axis Powers or any other steps toward war, our Government should not lose another day before it begins its planning for the inevitable peace that will follow this war. Britain and Germany are going to have to work out a method of living together in the same world. I hope they will do it soon. Then the United States must be ready to share greatly in the building on the ruins of yesterday and today a happier and better world than has ever been. This cannot be done on the battlefield. It can be done at the conference table.

The President's Mother

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERTRAND W. GEARHART

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 19, 1940

LETTER WRITTEN BY W. H. McCONNELL TO THE EDITOR OF THE SACRAMENTO (CALIF.) BEE

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, in compliance with the request of a number of friends and admirers of Sara Delano Roosevelt who reside in central California, and because I believe that the suggestion which is contained therein is one which will have its appeal to the American people, I ask the unanimous consent of the membership of the House of Representatives that a copy of a letter which was written by Mr. W. H. McConnell, of Parlier, Calif., to the editor of the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee be spread upon the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The unanimous consent of the membership being indicated, the W. H. McConnell letter was ordered printed, as follows:

A SUGGESTION

EDITOR OF THE SACRAMENTO BEE,

Sacramento, Calif.

SIR: Both tragedy and romance are connected with nearly every great advance in civilization. Many of the pioneers died in obscurity, their graves unmarked. Today they are unheralded and unsung. But those that follow after, inspired by their example, carry on. Thus has it always been. Thus will it always be.

The graves of the mothers of at least two great Presidents of the United States are today unknown—those of Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln. But they were great mothers.

This inspires me to think of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's mother, who is 86 years of age. She has lived to see her son thrice elected the President of the United States, thereby terminating a precedent as old as the Nation itself.

On January 20 Sara Delano Roosevelt, of Hyde Park, N. Y., will witness Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes for the third time administer the oath of office to her son.

So I suggest each reader of this article mail Mrs. Sara Delano Roosevelt, the President's mother, at Hyde Park, N. Y., a Christmas card of greeting. Since she is the only mother who ever lived to see her son thrice elected to the high office of President, these greeting cards, telegrams, and air-mail letters would no doubt find a place among the President's private papers which are to be lodged in the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, N. Y.

Personal credit for this thought is not sought. To contribute a little to the greater happiness of one so worthy will be compensation enough to me. After all, there is glory enough for all.

It is because Sara Delano Roosevelt, the President's mother, is the outstanding mother of 1940 in the Nation and the world that I am prompted to make this suggestion.

May God bless her and the President is my prayer.

W. H. McCONNELL,
Parlier, Calif.

The Nazi Sabotage Brigade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN Z. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 19, 1940

EDITORIAL BY IRVING BRANT

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on Monday the House listened to a splendid address by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from Texas [Mr.

SUMNERS]. During the course of his remarks the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SUMNERS] made the rather pertinent observation that the American people should be told the truth about our relationship to the critical period through which the world is now passing.

Mr. Speaker, I heartily concur in that statement. It is our duty, as representatives of a free people, to see to it that the Nation is kept informed of every phase of the international situation. Last Thursday I had occasion to call the attention of the House to a serious situation that exists in the United States because of the freedom of action that is granted to the agents of foreign countries within our borders.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following timely and thought-provoking editorial by Irving Brant, of the St. Louis Star-Times. I commend it to my colleagues with the hope that speedy action will soon be taken to put an end to the activities of foreign spies and saboteurs who would cripple our national-defense program.

[From the St. Louis Star-Times of November 28, 1940]

THE NAZI SABOTAGE BRIGADE

Suppose that a group of 116 men should get off a steamer in New York City, and 28 should land in San Francisco, and they should send telegrams to President Roosevelt reading as follows:

"We are secret agents of a European dictator. We have been sent here to sabotage American munition plants, spy out military secrets of the American Army and Navy, interfere with the foreign policies of the Government, inflame racial passions, and set up a secret revolutionary organization in the United States.

"To aid us in carrying on this work effectively we ask that we be made immune from arrest on any charge (from illegal parking to murder), that our letters and other papers be immune from search by any officer of the law, and that if any one of us gets found out in sabotage, espionage, and revolutionary plotting he be allowed to leave the country and another spy be admitted to his place."

Any Government official who admitted such a group on such terms would be looked upon as bereft of reason, yet that is just about what our Government is doing in granting diplomatic immunity to the hordes of secret agents with which Hitler and Mussolini have flooded the United States in the last 3 years.

The German consulate in New York has 116 employees, all of whom have immunity from the law. In 1937 this consulate had 38 employees. Its official duty is to look after German trade and aid German travelers in New York City and nearby territory.

How much trade does Germany have now with the United States? None whatever. If the personnel of the German consulate in New York City varied according to the volume of legitimate duties, it would have dropped since 1937 from 38 down almost to zero. Instead it has risen to 116.

Is there a man in his senses who doubts that in this country are persons directing plans to sabotage our war industries and who are trying to build the German-American Bund into an organ of Nazi revolution?

Why does Nazi Consul Fritz Wiedemann have 28 men on his staff in San Francisco, where half a dozen would normally be too many? There is no secret about that. Wiedemann is known to be generalissimo of the Nazi revolutionary activities throughout Latin America, using the United States as his base of operations.

Albert Grzesinski, police chief in Prussia and Prussian home minister before Hitler, has written an article in Current History and Forum describing in detail the espionage records of many Nazi agents who now enjoy diplomatic immunity in the United States. He sets forth, among other things, that following the attempt (temporarily successful) of a dictator named Busch to seize control of Bolivia last year, the Government-controlled German press praised Consul Wiedemann for "this first glorious result of his work in America."

The Department of State, the Department of Justice, and the Dies committee, all of which have been investigating the work of the Nazi and Fascist diplomatic and consular corps, are completely agreed as to the work these protected agents are doing—sabotage, espionage, sowing discord and planting revolution.

The Dies committee, apparently over the opposition of the State Department and the F. B. I., has published enough of the information it has obtained from nondiplomatic sources to indicate that the German Embassy and German consuls are head over heels in questionable activities.

The State Department, according to report, doesn't want all of the information published because the truth is so bad that it might force a break in diplomatic relations with Germany.

The F. B. I. doesn't want it published because the driving out of known foreign agents would make it necessary to identify their successors, adding to the difficulties of counterespionage.

If the State Department policy is right, the F. B. I. is right, because there is no use chasing out one agent when a protected diplomatic staff can bring in and plan the work of his successor.

But why should we tolerate the basic evil?

Why should we grant diplomatic immunity to gangster representatives of gangster governments?

The exchange of ambassadors and consuls presupposes a certain degree of honor on both sides. There is no honor in the Nazi Government of Germany, no honor in the Fascist Government of Italy. The only effect of allowing them the courtesy of diplomatic immunity is to put them in a position for wholesale sabotage, espionage, and revolutionary plotting.

It is said that if we drive these diplomatic spy rings out of the United States, we shall lose our own consular observers in Germany and Italy.

These American observers, unless they are engaged in nefarious business themselves (which we do not believe), are learning little that Hitler and Mussolini do not want them to learn. It has been said, and there is no reason to doubt it, that what the hemmed-in American consuls manage to pick up, in the way of off-the-record information, they get from American newspaper correspondents—and the latter complain that they learn almost nothing.

Our diplomatic agents in Germany, compared with Hitler's high-powered sabotage agency in this country, are like a plugged dime against a hundred-dollar bill. The State Department policy in hanging on to the dime doesn't make sense.

If diplomatic immunity extended only to the German Ambassador and his legitimate assistants in Washington, and to consular staffs genuinely needed for necessary work, there would be some reason for handling things gently to avoid a diplomatic break.

But what we are dealing with is a gigantic perversion of diplomatic machinery. We are protecting the generals and colonels and captains of a hidden army of saboteurs, and we had better wake up before more and bigger explosions occur.

If the facts are so bad that full disclosures of them would force a diplomatic break, the sooner that break comes the better.

St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT J. ENGEL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 19, 1940

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by John C. Beukema, chairman, executive committee, National Seaway Council, at the St. Lawrence seaway, national defense, shipbuilding conference, held at Detroit, December 5 and 6, 1940:

Ladies and gentlemen and delegates, my pleasant task at this conference is to outline to you the present status of the St. Lawrence seaway movement and the series of events that made this meeting appear desirable.

Each winter my family and I take a brief vacation trip to Florida. We usually drive. During the days en route we look forward to the hour when we leave the mists and fogs of the Piedmont region of Alabama behind and reach the warming influence of the Gulf of Mexico and the clear, unclouded skies of Florida.

I have much the same feeling today. I feel that we are reaching the end of the road. It has been a long road and a hard road with many boulders and obstructions, like some of the mountain trails I have traveled in the springtime in Wyoming. But the end, I believe, is in sight. I can almost feel the warm sunshine of the confirmation of our dreams.

I firmly believe that our President will secure Canada's acceptance to some form of an agreement covering the development of the St Lawrence for both navigation and power. I believe that this agreement will meet with the approval of both the Congress of the United States and the Canadian Parliament. Never before in history have these two countries so badly needed each other. Never before in history has the logic of a North American alliance been so clear and irrefutable.

It is fitting that this meeting should be held in the city of Detroit. It was a Detroit newspaper man, the late George E. Miller, of the Detroit News staff, who in 1912 conceived the vision of a mighty, unobstructed St. Lawrence sweeping to the sea and carrying on its broad waters the commerce of the world. Said he, in conveying his idea to the late Senator Townsend, of this State:

"We have cut away the barrier at Sault Ste. Marie. The Canadians have cut away the barrier between Lakes Erie and Ontario. They have also built a series of canals reaching to Montreal. Why not modernize these three series of canals and open up the Great Lakes to world shipping?"

Senator TOWNSEND caught the vision and introduced a resolution for an investigation of the project.

Eight years later the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Tidewater Association was born at a meeting held in Detroit. That organization carried on the fight until the 1933 treaty failed by a narrow margin to secure Senate approval. Again the supporters of the project met in Detroit in 1936 and made plans for organization of National Seaway Council to amalgamate the interests representative of agriculture, navigation, and power to carry on the battle.

Now we meet, as we fondly hope, to lay our plans for the final effort to procure an international agreement and legislative approval of this great undertaking.

The story of our State of Michigan is a story of three great eras. First is the era of the fur trader. Then came the reign of the lumber barons. Third came the automotive age, when Michigan put the world on wheels and brought individual transportation within the means of the humblest.

Now we have before us another great era. That is the era when these inland oceans of ours become America's Baltic Sea; when the ships of the world dock at our ports, and Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, and many another lake port, become modern Venices and Genoas—great entreports as well as great manufacturing centers.

These things are our birthright. Providence placed these Great Lakes here to be at our service. There is no Chinese tradition in this country that such obstacles to navigation as formerly existed in the St. Marys River, in the Detroit River, and in the Niagara River are the interpositions of a Divine Providence constricting the people of each region to confine their commerce within prescribed navigation limits. The only orthodoxy of that character which we find in America is confined to a few pious ship merchants in some of our eastern seaports, who may be suspected of cutting the cloth of their religion to suit their own peculiar tastes.

Two hundred years ago British traders in London likewise piously petitioned Parliament not to permit the rise of manufactures in our New England States, in New York, and Pennsylvania. But the vigorous American of that period, by many an art and device, did succeed in building weaving and spinning shops, blast furnaces, small potteries, and other enterprises, to the great consternation of the Crown.

The freedom to trade with the world that we ask for, therefore, is no different in quality than the freedom to manufacture, which our forbears demanded two centuries ago. It is a freedom that cannot be denied us.

But it is not only as a trade route that the St. Lawrence is potentially useful. This is an even greater undertaking than the building of the Panama Canal, because in addition to navigation there is a by-product of millions of horsepower—the cheapest electric current ever generated on the American continent. A source of power desperately needed by both Canada and the United States in this emergency, and a source of power that must tremendously raise the standards of living throughout a large area in the United States once peace is restored over the world.

People often ask me: "Why do you maintain that St. Lawrence power is cheaper? Is it because the plant to be developed will be more modern than any other plant? If this be true, won't whatever plant is erected be outmoded within a few years?"

The answer is briefly this:

Most hydroelectric plants lose a measure of efficiency by reason of the fact that the water in the rivers which they harness is relatively lower in summer than in winter, in periods of drought than in periods of heavy rainfall. This variation in some instances is extremely high, requiring the addition of steam plants. That, for illustration, has been the experience in the Tennessee Valley.

But the St. Lawrence has the most equal flow of any river in the world. The variation from season to season is almost negligible. That is because we have back of the St. Lawrence the immense basin of the Great Lakes to regulate the flow. Nowhere else in the world will you find a similar condition, at least in the magnitude of reserve waters that we have in the Great Lakes.

It is for these reasons, therefore, the tremendous navigation benefits and savings in transportation costs that will be accorded 45,000,000 people living in the Great Lakes and in the Upper Mississippi Valley, as well as the power benefits to the State of New York and the Province of Ontario, that the project looms as one of the greatest forward steps in American, or rather North American, history.

May I recount to you briefly some of the developments that have taken place in recent years.

On the 14th of March, 1934, the United States Senate failed to ratify the previous treaty with Canada. The vote was 46 Senators in favor of the treaty and 42 opposed, with several not voting. As most of you know, our Constitution provides that a treaty can only be approved by a two-thirds majority. The vote was a distinct and terrific disappointment to the people of the Midwest, as well as to many of our friends along the Atlantic seaboard and in other sections of the country.

After the shock of the defeat was over, leaders of the movement, particularly many of us active in Great Lakes Harbors Association, took stock of our position and began laying plans to revive the project. The net result of this planning was a seaway conference held in Detroit on March 11 and 12, 1936, under the joint auspices of Great Lakes Harbors Association, Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Tidewater Association, Michigan Great Lakes Tidewater Commission, Detroit City Administration, and Detroit Board of Commerce.

The late Senator Pittman, as many of you will recall, addressed the conference. He informed us that under no circumstances must we appear before the United States Senate with a new treaty until certain things had been achieved. These things briefly are:

First. There must be unity of effort between those who are primarily interested in the navigation phase of the treaty and those who are primarily interested in the power phase. These forces must be coalesced in one organization and under one leadership.

Second. A Gideon band of not less than 10 Senators pledged to work for, speak for, and fight for the treaty must be organized, together with a House bloc of Congressmen equally devoted to the cause.

Third. The treaty must be suitably documented with the necessary studies to demonstrate economic justification.

These, I believe, are the cardinal points enunciated by Senator Pittman in his memorable address, in which he challenged advocates of the project to establish a new front and to work cooperatively for the accomplishment of this great undertaking.

As a net result of the Senator's challenge, National Seaway Council was organized 2 months later, on May 28, at Washington, D. C. Constituent members of the council are: Great Lakes Harbors Association, National Grange, Ohio Lake Ports Association, West Michigan Legislative Council, Northern Federation of Chambers of Commerce, Minnesota Arrowhead Association, Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Tidewater Association, Power Authority of the State of New York, Champlain Valley Council, East Michigan Ports Association.

The council has had the active and aggressive financial support of the Michigan Great Lakes Tidewater Commission and the Wisconsin Deep Waterways Commission.

Our president is Mr. Fred J. Freestone, who is also chairman of the executive committee of the National Grange, whose wise counsel has been of tremendous value. Then there is the beloved sage of our neighboring State of Wisconsin, the Honorable William George Bruce, chairman of the Wisconsin State Commission, who has been identified with this movement from its very inception. There is our own State chairman, Mr. A. C. Carton, or "Gus" Carton, as he is familiarly known to hundreds of thousands of Michiganders.

Then there are George Sowers, of Cleveland; George Hardy, of Toledo; that fighting Irishman, Dick Malia; E. B. Crosby, of Massena; Joseph Winterbotham, of Burlington; George S. Reed, of New York Power Authority; and Daniel W. Hoan, former mayor of Milwaukee, and many others too numerous to mention.

To complete the chronological record, let me state briefly that on May 28, 1938, the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, submitted a new and revised treaty to Canada. Numerous conferences had been held in respect to this document. In Canada, as you know, we have also had intense opposition, particularly from the Premier of Ontario, who publicly declared on many an occasion that until Canada solved her railroad problem she must not assume any financial obligations in respect to the St. Lawrence. Because of Canada's national-defense needs, we understand that Mr. Hepburn has withdrawn his opposition.

In January of this year a conference was held at Washington in which the Hull proposal was thoroughly considered and the necessary studies in respect to allocation of costs made. We assumed at the time that it was a matter of days, certainly not more than weeks, before the treaty would be agreed upon and signed, subject to legislative approval. Again fresh obstacles intervened.

As I stated at the outset of these remarks, our hopes are tempered by the reflection of many disappointments. We who are close to the picture believe that an agreement with Canada will be reached and legislative approval asked for by President Roosevelt of Congress and by Premier Mackenzie King of the Canadian Parliament. May I add that this hope is not a matter of mere wishing, but is a reasonable faith rising to the point of conviction and based on events that have been and are transpiring.

Within recent months it has become increasingly apparent that the United States Senate made a grave mistake in not ratifying the treaty that was presented to it by the President in 1933. If the seaway were completed, as it probably would have been had the treaty been approved, we could build within the security of these Great Lakes not only the merchant marine so critically needed by both the United States and Britain, but also virtually every type of naval vessel except battleships, battle cruisers, and other capital ships. As everyone well knows, the strength of a navy largely depends on the number of auxiliary vessels it possesses. Eastern shipyards are now crowded to capacity and cannot take on new tonnage before 1942.

Here on the Great Lakes, with our big steel industry and other large manufacturing plants, a great shipbuilding industry could quickly be established to meet the Nation's needs.

It is curious that the United States Army insists that no Government plant for national-defense purposes be located within 200 miles of any border, yet virtually our entire navy plant is located on our two seacoasts. If Hitler should succeed in defeating Britain, his shipyard capacity will be five times ours. Hence our vital need for opening up the Great Lakes to this type of construction.

There are other military considerations why the seaway is important from a national-defense standpoint. Take the matter of petroleum from Texas, both as a matter of supply to the Navy and for domestic and industrial use along our North Atlantic seaboard.

Tankers from Houston must pass through the constricted waters of the Gulf of Mexico, the Florida Straits, and North Atlantic waters between Bermuda and these shores, a veritable paradise for submarines.

However, pipe lines from the midcontinent reach the Great Lakes at Chicago, Toledo, and other points, and this same petroleum could be carried within the protected security of the interior of the continent by these pipe lines and tanker on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence system, including transfer by barge canal, Hudson River to New York.

Similarly, grain and other products from the Midwest could be carried over a completed seaway to British ports, with the convoy distance reduced by more than one-third.

Numerous other illustrations might be given if time sufficed. The point is the seaway is desperately needed now in both its navigation and power phases as an instrument of national defense.

The criticism has been advanced that the proposed works for navigation and power cannot be completed until the emergency is over. This presupposes that hostilities must cease within a year

or two at the outside and will be followed by a lasting peace. Surely this is a short-sighted viewpoint. If the lessons of history are any criterion, any peace at this time must be a Punic peace, an armistice, an interlude between two periods of armed conflict. It is on this theory that we are building new locks at Panama which will not be completed in 5 years, that we are building capital ships for our Navy which will not be completed within 4 years, and that we are drilling a conscript army which will not be fully equipped and trained for 3 or 4 years.

Obviously, it will take Hitler several years to reorganize the industries of Europe under his proposed new order in the event he should be successful in the battle for Britain—an eventuality which we devoutly hope may not come true but for which we must prepare. We must utilize those same years for a maximum of preparation, including the much-needed St. Lawrence project.

It ranks first on any long-time program of national defense.

Our task at this assembly, therefore, as I see it, is twofold:

First, we must make known to those who represent us in government, in both the executive and legislative branches, that we in the upper Great Lakes want to see the St. Lawrence developed for both navigation and power at the earliest possible opportunity; that failure to improve it heretofore has reduced our opportunities to make our proper and adequate contribution to national defense in the matter of shipbuilding and other vital needs of the Government, as well as the transportation of Midwest products to the seaboard; and that, consequently, the project should be pushed forward at as early a date as possible as a defense measure.

Second, that each and everyone of us gird himself for the final battle to secure legislative approval of the agreement that we expect will be consummated with Canada. This means that each and every delegate will have to do some work in his home pastures with his Senator, his Congressmen, with State and local officials to build an overwhelming sentiment for approval of the treaty or agreement.

Veto of the Walter-Logan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. E. E. COX

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 19, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. E. E. COX, OF GEORGIA

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address which I made yesterday:

It is my deep concern in the preservation of government by law that prompts this appearance. The veto of the Logan-Walter bill is tragic. There is, of course, no intention to question the purity of motive in this veto or the high purpose in making it. The right of veto is conferred upon the President by the Constitution.

The President's message consists of two parts: One the veto proper; second, an analytic argument of the bill prepared by the Attorney General at the request of the President.

A careful reading of the veto message and the analysis by the Attorney General, which assumes the form of argument rather than of analysis, shows clearly that in drafting his message the President followed the information and advice of his Attorney General, a perfectly proper course of procedure and one not open to challenge upon the principle of propriety.

The Attorney General is himself an administrative officer of the Government, whose opinions may be commanded by the President, and it probably would be more than human to expect the Attorney General to rule against himself and the great mass of other administrative officials against whose procedural activities the Logan-Walter bill is directed.

I am constrained to believe, therefore, that I may direct my remarks appropriately to the findings and conclusions of the Attorney General as communicated by him to the President, in doing which I proceed as one who believes himself to be sincere against the convictions and conclusions of another whose sincerity is not questioned.

To assert, therefore, as the message does, that the bill was "without substantial congressional hearings to consider the problems of the executive departments affected" is hardly accurate, unless the Attorney General would avail himself of a technical interpretation of the term "substantial." The fact is that the bill was given extensive and thoroughgoing consideration by the appropriate committees of the Congress; that prominent and capable constitutional lawyers and students appeared in its support; that the American Bar Association, and all other bar associations except three, approved it; and that those chiefly affected—the administrative officers of the Government—were especially invited to appear; and that they did appear and filed briefs, although refusing to subject themselves to examination by the Committee on the Judiciary of the House.

I am compelled to assume from a reading of the Attorney General's argument that he has misconceived the entire purpose of the measure and that, therefore, he has advised the President accordingly. The Attorney General proceeds primarily upon the assumption that the bill provides for consideration by the courts in the first instance; or, at least, that is the impression he creates. He ignores or evades the basic principle of the bill, to wit, that of judicial review; and in his long special pleading of seven full-length pages he devotes but two small paragraphs to the outstanding principle involved in this measure—that of the judicial review of administrative rulings by courts of competent jurisdiction.

The Attorney General (and apparently the President also) entirely ignores the fact that the acts of Congress are subject to review by both the judiciary and the Executive, as is evidenced in this latter respect by this Executive veto. Apparently he ignores the fact that many of the actions of the President are subject to review both by the judiciary and by the Congress, which latter body has the power to review this veto. The Attorney General apparently ignores the fact that the decisions of most of our courts are subject to review in higher tribunals, and that all the public acts of every citizen in the land are constantly subject to regulation and control. Does the Attorney General believe that there should exist in America a body of bureaucrats clad in the cloak of infallibility, above and beyond the law, answerable, apparently, to no one, and without any review of their official, quasi-judicial public determinations? The Attorney General suggests that "the administrative tribunal is not a recent innovation," and as an example he cites the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, "one of the first of the kind," and points out that it was created as long ago as 1886.

I assert that the principle of judicial review, the basic principle of the Logan-Walter bill, is not a recent innovation. That principle had its origin as long ago as 1803 in the now famous decision of the great Chief Justice, John Marshall. It is a principle as old as the Republic, and it never has been successfully challenged even by those who would change the form of our government or destroy our Federal judicial system itself.

It should be no new theory in American constitutional procedure to require judicial review of administrative regulations, although bureaucrats fear its application to the thousands of rules, regulations, orders, prohibitions, and inhibitions they impose daily upon America's citizens, America's industry, America's enterprise, America's agriculture, America's commerce—in short, upon all that is America.

The Attorney General argues that the judicial process requires to be supplemented by the administrative tribunal "wherever there is a necessity for deciding issues on a quantity production basis."

Quite the contrary. It is my unshakable conviction that the administrative tribunal, especially where it is "engaged in deciding issues on a quantity production basis," should be made amenable to the courts in order that the people may have an appeal from potential injustice and unfairness at the hands of the administrative tribunal, which at present is subject to no review.

It is my firm conviction that the Logan-Walter bill constitutes the first constructive effort to curb the power of bureaucrats by law; to curb the arbitrary, capricious, and abusive power they have arrogated to themselves and now hold over the citizens of the Republic.

The bill constitutes the first constructive effort made by the people themselves, through their elected representatives, to deprive bureaucrats of the power they now hold over the daily lives, the welfare, and the destiny of free men and women and to bring that power within the purview of judicial review.

Of course, bureaucrats object to any system of review. That is why bureaucrats have objected to this measure. Bureaucrats fear for their very existence when their capricious regulations are to be subjected to judicial review. Bureaucrats fear the loss of that absolutism which they have themselves created and by which they perpetuate themselves in office and defy the people and the people's elected representatives. Bureaucrats cannot exist in the light of judicial review; they thrive upon despotic power and perpetuate themselves through political manipulation.

Much has been said and written about the intricacy and the technicalities of administrative law. What is administrative law? Bureaucrats would have you believe that it is a highly intricate, difficult, and a much-involved branch of public law. If it is, it is because bureaucrats want it to be so and because they have made it so. Abstractly it is no more technical, no more difficult, no more involved than any branch of the law. But administrative rules, regulations, orders, and prohibitions never were intended to be beyond the intelligence of our citizens until a vast horde of constantly growing bureaucrats decided to make them so for their own perpetuation in power.

Bureaucrats have succeeded in confusing the people by threatening them with costly litigation should they seek relief from bureaucratic injustice imposed upon them and by threatening them with pains and penalties should the people refuse or be unable to comply with their exactions.

The provisions of the Logan-Walter bill are simple in theory, clear in principle, and practical in execution. They are reasonable, and they are constitutional. They are timely, and they do not violate the spirit of American government.

I want all you who hear me and approve of this measure to write to me. I want you farmers of the Nation to write to me about the bedevilment to which bureaucrats have subjected you as they have peered into your corncribs and counted your bales of cotton, lest nature may have rewarded you too bountifully. I want you to write

to me about the manner in which they have threatened to cancel your grant-in-aid contracts because you may have been unable to comply with their requirements and their exactions. I want you little-business men to write to me—you who comprise the backbone of the Nation's commercial enterprise; for certainly you, too, have felt the hand of the bureaucrat heavy upon you as it has stretched out to throttle your enterprise by impositions, exactions, and requirements almost beyond human endurance or compliance. All about you are beset by bureaucratic agents and snoopers and investigators and bureaucratic rules and regulations. I want you little manufacturers to write to me and tell me how bureaucrats have taken from you the control of your own plants, the management of your own industry, the control of your own employees, the number of hours you work, and the wages you pay—you who no longer may produce freely in a free land except as bureaucrats prescribe.

I want all you little common carriers, truckers, and freighters, on water and on land, to write to me, besieged as you are by a vast horde of bureaucrats more recently turned loose on you in increasing numbers to regulate your hours of work, the rates you may charge, and the routes you may traverse.

I want all you little-business men and little-business women to write to me if your existence has been made intolerable by bureaucrats and if you would curb the power of these bureaucrats, and I promise you that I will exhibit your communications to the House of Representatives so that Members of Congress may know your opinions and enact into legislation the power necessary to curb these bureaucrats and bring them under the law.

I want all you who labor either with your hands or your minds, who fear for the safety of our institutions in the hands of bureaucrats, to write to me so that a united front may be presented to this common enemy of the Republic.

The argument of the Attorney General displays its weakness in his effort to encourage prejudice against the lawyers of the Nation, but especially in his attempt to hide behind the issue of national defense. This is not a lawyer's bill and it does not interfere with the Nation's program of defense. This is a people's measure, an effort to recapture powers seized from the people by administrative agents who if not curbed will leave no Nation to defend.

I think the greatest argument in favor of this measure is that given by the Attorney General himself. He says:

"There is no reason to doubt that the administrative procedures, as well as court procedures, can be substantially improved. There is no doubt that instances of arbitrary action, of excessive zeal, and of incompetence can be cited in administrative agencies, as they can in all branches of government."

And that is fortified by the President in his statement that:

"The objective of the bill is professedly the assurance of fairness in administrative proceedings. With that objective there will be universal agreement. The promotion of expeditious, orderly, and sensible procedure in the conduct of public affairs is a purpose which commends itself not only to the Congress and the courts but to the executive departments and administrative agencies themselves.

"Despite the tremendous growth in the business of administration in recent years I have observed that there has been a substantial improvement in the standards of administrative action. That does not mean that further improvement is not needed."

It is my firm conviction that when the new Congress assembles in January of next year a measure identical with the Logan-Walter bill again will be presented to the President. And again I say that the veto of this measure is tragic.

Inter-American Bar Association

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HATTON W. SUMNERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 19, 1940

ADDRESS BY DR. MANUEL FERNANDEZ SUPERVIELLE

Mr. SUMNERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Dr. Manuel Fernandez Supervielle, a very distinguished lawyer, president of the Inter-American Bar Association—Federación interamericana de Abogados—and also president of the Habana Bar Association, at a dinner given in his honor at the Army and Navy Club, Washington, D. C., Monday evening, October 28, 1940:

Mr. Toastmaster, ladies and gentlemen, in my first words I want to express my deep gratitude for this honor which through my modest person is being paid to the Cuban lawyers by our North American colleagues of the Inter-American Bar Association in cooperation with the Sections of International and Comparative Law of the American Bar Association, the Federal Bar Association of the United States, the District of Columbia Bar Association, and the Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia, and also the gratitude I feel when I see here likewise representatives of the Bar Association of Missouri, of the New York County Lawyers' Association, and of the Bar Association of Puerto Rico, and also from among the other countries on behalf of whose bar associations the constitution of the Inter-American Bar Association was signed, the representatives of two of them here present besides those of the United States and Cuba, namely, Ambassador Boyd, of Panama, and First Secretary Vega, of the Legation of the Dominican Republic, on behalf of the national bar associations of their respective countries.

And I am glad also to take this opportunity of extending to our colleagues of all the Americas the cordial and affectionate greetings of my people and of the lawyers of Cuba.

I desire likewise to take advantage of this happy occasion to invite our colleagues of the entire hemisphere, and the bar associations, national and local, to join the Inter-American Bar Association and to take part in its first conference which is to meet in Habana the last fortnight of March this coming year, 1941.

The Inter-American Bar Association, organized pursuant to a resolution of the Eighth American Scientific Congress gathered in Washington last May, is called upon to exert a powerful influence in the destinies of America in these critical times in which humanity is now living, and in accordance with the essential purposes of its organization and the character and standing of the professional associations which now form and which will hereafter become members of it, and likewise the standing and character of the individuals who constitute those associations.

According to the constitution of the Inter-American Bar Association (Federación Interamericana de Abogados), it has as its purposes:

"To establish and maintain relations between associations and organizations of lawyers, national and local, in the various countries of the Americas, to provide a forum for exchanges of views.

"To advance the science of jurisprudence in all its phases and particularly the study of comparative law; to promote uniformity of commercial legislation; to further the diffusion of knowledge of the laws of the various countries throughout the Americas.

"To uphold the honor of the profession of the law; and to encourage cordial intercourse among the lawyers of the Western Hemisphere."

No one can fail to appreciate the transcendental importance of this new international association of the men of the profession of the law.

In a normal world situation this Inter-American Bar Association would serve toward bringing together in a practical and an effective manner the different nations of the Americas, strengthening the ties between them not only of an intellectual and moral character but also those of a commercial nature; and for this purpose there would be nothing more valuable than the cultivation of closer relations between their juridical associations to the end of providing a forum for exchanges of views, and for furthering uniformity of legislation in the Americas, as is contemplated in the constitution of the Inter-American Bar Association.

But in these times in which the whole world is living today, confronted with a formidable attempt by the believers in the philosophy of force to sweep the reign of law from the face of the earth and to subject to its yoke the peoples who now practice democracy and enjoy liberty—in these times the Inter-American Bar Association—this new federation of the bar associations of the continents of this hemisphere—is called to even higher and more exalted aims.

We, the men who practice law and who uphold justice as the essential work of our lives, cannot remain indifferent to the danger that threatens the democratic institutions of our nations and the liberties of our peoples. In the meantime, pending the moment which may perhaps not be so far away, when it may be necessary for us to defend these ideas with arms in our hands, we must fulfill a mission no less noble. United in single purpose, and acting together, it is our duty to apply our efforts to the realization and the reaffirmation in the public consciousness of our peoples of the idea of law and of the concept of justice, as opposed to the abuses of force and of violence.

Within the frontiers of our respective countries, it is for us to strengthen our democratic institutions, by purging them of faults and of objectionable practices. The fundamental principles of democracy are eternal, just as the principles of Christian morality are eternal. And, as the sins of men, however grave, can never justify denial of the Christian system of morality, neither can coercion and violence justify denial of the principles of democracy.

We, the jurists of this hemisphere, want then, in cultivating closer relations with each other and in becoming personally acquainted, to imbue ourselves with the idea that justice—which, according to the definition of the Romans, consists in the firm and perpetual will to give to each that which belongs to him—ought to govern the relations not only of individuals with each other, but also those of the nations, so that among the nations also, just as between individual men, it shall come to be understood that the right of each one ends where the right of another begins.

If the Inter-American Bar Association can succeed in bringing about a feeling of professional solidarity among the jurists of the Americas based upon these ideas, and if by the joint action of its members it may be able to succeed in instilling these ideas in all the countries of this hemisphere, then it will prove itself to be, not just one more new organization of a theoretical or doctrinal character, but to constitute an organization for positive and practical action of indisputable value in the realization of the highest and most sacred aspirations of our peoples.

For the realization of these ends, lawyers hold a privileged position, both because of the special training of our minds and consciences in the understanding of the concepts of right and justice, and also because the position which we usually occupy in the scheme of the societies in which we live, related as we are on the one side to the official elements of the Government and on the other side to the living forces of the country, the producing and the working classes.

We stand, then, in position to offer to the peoples of this hemisphere, and even the peoples of the whole world, a service of inestimable value, which we ought not to shirk. The Inter-American Bar Association, in bringing us together in this sentiment, and in uniting us in thought and in action provides us with the necessary instrument for carrying out this purpose.

Let us then highly resolve tonight to dedicate our strength and our efforts to this great purpose in a manner befitting the magnitude of this noble enterprise, our dignity as free men, and the honor of the robes of our profession.

The Walter-Logan Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WESLEY E. DISNEY
OF OKLAHOMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 19, 1940

Mr. DISNEY. Mr. Speaker, I voted to override the veto of the Walter-Logan bill. While it was subject to objections, those objections could be cured by subsequent amendments.

Mr. Speaker, the issue presented here is a direct approach to a discussion of two philosophies of government—the legalistic or democratic, and the administrative or autarchic.

When our forefathers established this Government, by a written Constitution, they were the liberals of those days. They remain as the great liberals of all history. Trying to profit by the example of earlier republics, all of which were wrecked by the centralization of power, and having a firm determination to shake the shackles of bureaucracy forever, they established a Federal Government of limited powers, which Government is rapidly reverting now to one of plenary powers. They conferred upon the Federal Government only such powers as the States agreed to yield. Evidently they were convinced that the administrative form of government was not for the benefit of the individual, or for mankind en masse. They were determined to safeguard the legalistic form of government which had made the Anglo-Saxon race strong. They were opposed to autarchy of any type, and every syllable that was said about the Constitution expressed antipathy to the administrative form of government which, by its very terms, connotes autarchy. Their ideas were then liberal; those ideas are yet liberal.

They had their choice of either system. They chose the legalistic.

No reproach against lawyers can obscure the fact that the legalistic system of government has made the Anglo-Saxon race great. The legalistic system is based upon the rights of the individual—with the right to enforce those rights as against the whole world in an untrammeled form. Under this system the majority cannot override the constitutional rights of the minority, or even of an individual, because it gives a forum in which to assert those rights as against the tyranny of society in general.

Armed with the American addition to the British constitutional system, under our Bill of Rights, the individual has been free—free to assert, as against society in general, his constitutional rights of free speech, freedom of religion, habeas corpus, trial by jury, and those other rights guaranteed him by the constitution in a forum prepared by law and guaranteed him by law. As a result, the individual in America has been a "king in his own right."

In the form of the courts of America, the humblest citizen, even the beggar in the street, has the rights guaranteed him under the American system, the legalistic. He could not have and maintain these rights under an administrative system.

To this mental freedom of the individual can be ascribed the basic reason why the last 50 years have produced in America an age of the greatest inventive genius recorded history has known. This did not arise in any other nation; no other civilization was so based upon the freedom of the individual.

All down the history of the ages, absolutism has favored the administrative system. When the arguments in favor of the administrative system have been dissected, they can usually be summarized in one phrase—the desirability of expediency. Expediency becomes king in the arguments of the exponents of the administrative system.

Democracy is primarily founded upon a broad patience, which cannot be the counterpart of extreme expediency. The mass movements that are essentially a part of democratic functions are necessarily slower than the utmost expediency would require. The advocates of expediency are too impatient to believe most thoroughly in democratic processes. So they prefer the administrative processes of government which, all down through history, have excluded the forum for the assertion of individual rights.

Our forefathers revolted against this idea, against British bureaucracy. They said in the immortal Declaration of Independence: "He (the king) has erected a multitude of new offices, and send thither swarms of officers to harass our people, and to eat out their substance." "Taxation without representation" was no mere fetish. It was the gist of the contest between the administrative form of government and the democratic form, between a system which denied the individual the right to a forum for the assertion of his rights, as against a system which provided that forum.

The Walter-Logan bill is an expression of this age-old contest between autarchy and democracy. Unless the germ of democracy is dying out in America, this fight will go on. Unless individual, independent thinking in America is becoming obsolescent, this contest will continue to be waged, and the reactionary forces which would supplant democracy with absolutism will be routed. Unless individual freedom shall become discouraged and fade, this contest will continue in some form, for a return to the liberal government provided by our forefathers in the Constitution, the greatest document known to the history of mankind.

The ancient civilizations of the world in turn flourished, gradually declined, and disintegrated. If there is one thing that history teaches in an unmistakable manner, it is that nations, like individuals, prosper according to their right thinking, and that the idolatrous exaltation of a material sense of power and intelligence inevitably leads to decadence and downfall.

The Right of Free Speech

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 19, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE OHIO REPUBLICAN NEWS

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Ohio Republican News for December 12, 1940:

[From the Ohio Republican News of December 12, 1940]

RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH

"Unless the right of free speech is enjoyed by employers as well as employees, the guaranty of the first amendment is futile, for it is fundamental that the basic right guaranteed by the Constitution belongs equally to every person."

The above is quoted from a decision handed down recently in Cincinnati by the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in a case in which Henry Ford is battling the National Labor Relations Board. Ford won on this point, lost on others.

The court's statement is timely and important in several ways, although it is difficult to understand why a court, in this land

of the free, should be called upon to refer to the free speech guaranty of the Constitution.

When complaints from both labor and capital against the autocratic N. L. R. B. became so loud and frequent they could not be ignored, new dealers appointed an investigating committee, headed by Congressman SMITH of Virginia, a Democrat. The committee held dirty linen of the Board up to the light and, surprising the new dealers, recommended changes in the Wagner Act, under which the N. L. R. B. was created.

The proposed amendments, none of which affects basic principles of the act, were designed to rid industry of strife. One of them would give the employer the right to discuss labor matters with his employees when a controversy is in progress in his plant, thereby restoring to the employer the right of free speech which was taken away by the N. L. R. B.

The proposals are included in a bill, which has been passed by the House, and which are among the important measures ignored by President Roosevelt when he declared Congress could go home since he had in mind no legislative matters needing congressional consideration.

The court's statement is important also when considered in connection with the general attack by the New Deal on the newspapers of the country and the advancement of the threat of dictatorial censorship.

It is important in the light of the recent attempt of one of the most violent partisans of all new dealers—Attorney General Robert H. Jackson—to attach a provision to the Wagner Act that would deny Government contracts to firms charged by the N. L. R. B., not a court, with having violated the bureaucratic rulings of the Board.

New Deal leaders dislike free speech. So do dictators.

Contributions of the Negro to American Culture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KENT E. KELLER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

PRESS RELEASES OF LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include some press releases issued recently by the Library of Congress. I take great pleasure in calling the attention of the House to the growth of the Negro race that has been made during its 75 years of legal freedom from slavery. I am especially pleased to present this matter as the work of the Library of Congress. I have had the honor of being the chairman of the Committee on the Library for the past 8 years and a member of the committee for the entire 10 years I have been here. This development will be a revelation to many people, and it ought to act as a great incentive to the young colored people of America; an incentive to full exercise of the highest class citizenship worthy of the American Republic.

The press releases are as follows:

[The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. For immediate release December 11, 1940]

The 18th of December is the seventy-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the thirteenth amendment, which ended slavery in the United States. (Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was dated 1863, but the thirteenth amendment was not introduced in the Congress until January 1865. The last State necessary to ratification, Georgia, ratified the amendment on December 6, 1865, and the amendment was proclaimed by Secretary Seward on December 18, 1865. In celebration of this anniversary the Library of Congress is opening an exhibit of Negro books and manuscripts, an exhibit of Negro painting, and a festival of four concerts of Negro music and music presented by Negro artists. The festival is made possible by the generosity of the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Foundation. The first concert, to be given on the evening of December 18, will present to Washington Miss Dorothy Maynor, the celebrated Negro soprano; the second concert will present the Budapest Quartet; the third will be an evening of folk music; and the last will present Mr. Roland Hays, internationally famous musician and first of the great Negro singers.

The exhibit and the festival have been arranged with the advice and assistance of a number of the most distinguished Negro scholars, writers, musicians, and artists in the United States. The advisory committee on the music festival is made up of Mr. Harry T. Burleigh, Miss Lulu B. Childers, Dr. Alain Locke, Dr. R. Nathaniel Dett, and Mr. W. Grant Still. The advisory committee on the exhibit of books and manuscripts include Prof. Sterling Brown, Mrs. Dorothy Porter, Mr. Henry P. Slaughter, Dr. L. D. Reddick, Mr. John P. Dairs, and Dr. Carter Woodson. Mr. Holgar Cahill, National Director of the W. P. A. Art Program, and Dr. Alain Locke are in charge of the arrangements for the exhibit of painting.

The Negro paintings to be exhibited have been selected from the work of contemporary Negro painters in Washington, Chicago, New York, and other cities. The bcoks and manuscripts are principally from the collections of the Library of Congress, but they contain numerous important items loaned to the Library of Congress by the New York Public Library from its Schomburg collection. The Schomburg collection in the New York Public Library is one of the largest and most important libraries on the Negro. The action of the New York Public Library in loaning material from this collection is a noteworthy example of interlibrary cooperation, since the New York Public Library has never before loaned materials of such value for exhibit outside the city of New York.

Items from the Library of Congress collections include Briton Hammond's Narrative of a Negro, published in 1760; the 1792 Almanac by Benjamin Banneker; Phillis Wheatley's poems on various subjects, London, 1773; first edition of Uncle Tom's Cabin, by Harriet Beecher Stowe; a copy of the Emancipation Proclamation bearing signatures of Lincoln and Seward; manuscript autobiography of Hiram R. Revels, the first Negro serving in the United States Senate; volume I, William Lloyd Garrison's The Liberator.

The festival of Negro music presents not only two of the greatest living Negro singers, but also, in the evening of folk music, examples of the magnificent anonymous music produced by the Negro people, and in the evening of chamber music examples of music by Negroes and the use of Negro themes in the music of other composers.

[The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. For immediate release December 14, 1940]

The contributions of the Negro to American culture are illustrated in the Library of Congress by exhibits and concerts, which open December 18, the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the thirteenth amendment abolishing slavery in the United States. The concerts have been made possible by the generosity of the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Foundation.

The general purpose of the exhibits is to throw light upon the following general topics: The Negro in Colonial America; the Negro in the Revolutionary War; the Antislavery Movement; the Free Negro; Frederick Douglass and His Associates; Abraham Lincoln and the Negro; the Emancipation Proclamation; the Negro in the Post Civil War Period; the Negro's Contributions to Music; the Negro's Contribution to Literature; the Negro's Contributions to Science and Invention; the Negro's Contributions to Art; the Negro's Contributions to the Lively Arts; and the Negro's Contributions to Political Thought.

This will be accomplished by four concerts by Negro artists using white and Negro music, by displays of appropriate materials by Negro writers and of paintings by Negro artists.

The exihibit and the festival have been arranged with the advice and assistance of a number of the most distinguished Negro scholars, writers, musicians, and artists in the United States. The advisory committee on the music festival is made up of: Mr. Harry T. Burleigh, Miss Lulu B. Childers, Dr. Alain Locke, Dr. R. Nathaniel Dett, and Mr. W. Grant Still. The advisory committee on the exhibit of books and manuscripts include Prof. Sterling Brown, Mrs. Dorothy Porter, Mr. Henry P. Slaughter, Dr. L. D. Reddick, Mr. John P. Davis, and Dr. Carter Woodson. Mr. Holger Cahill, national director of the W. P. A. art program, and Dr. Alain Locke are in charge of the arrangements for the exhibit of painting.

The Negro paintings to be exhibited have been selected from the work of contemporary Negro painters in Washington, Chicago, New York, and other cities. The books and manuscripts are principally from the collections of the Library of Congress but they contain numerous important items loaned to the Library of Congress by the New York Public Library from its Schomburg collection. The Schomburg collection in the New York Public Library is one of the largest and most important libraries of materials about the Negro. The action of the New York Public Library in loaning material from this collection is a noteworthy example of interlibrary cooperation, since the New York Public Library has never before loaned materials of such value for exhibit outside the city of New York.

The 16 cases will be filled for the most part with materials taken from the very large collections of the Library of Congress. Among these will be a copy of the Emancipation Proclamation in the handwriting of Vinnie Ream, a sculptress, signed at her request by Lincoln and Seward. The Emancipation Proclamation itself was dated January 1, 1863, but the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution was not introduced in the Congress until January 1865, after Georgia, the last State needed for ratification had ratified it. The amendment was proclaimed by Secretary Seward on December 18, 1865.

President Andrew Jackson's letters and orders for the period July to September 1814 will be on show. Most important of these, perhaps, is his proclamation, "To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana," issued September 1, 1814, from the headquarters of the seventh military district. Jackson here calls for volunteers and describes plans to organize the Negro soldiers and pay them bounties.

Pages from the Journal of the Continental Congress from March 14 to May 24, 1776, show the resolution "that no slaves be imported into any one of the Thirteen United Colonies."

Other documents and materials from the period of the Continental Congress are the Articles of Association of October 20, 1774. The first article is an agreement by 12 colonies to cease trading with England. The second states, "We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the 1st day of December next." Another item is Paul Revere's engraving of The Bloody Massacre of March 5, 1770, which shows Crispus Attucks, a Negro, the first man to be killed by the fire of British soldiers.

The collection is rich in materials dealing with the long struggle for freedom. Among the exhibits is James W. C. Pennington's The Fugitive Blacksmith. Pennington (1809–70) was a runaway slave who, throughout his life, was active in abolitionist circles and a member of many committees. Until 1850, when the fugitive-slave law was passed, he kept the fact that he was an escaped slave a secret even from his wife. It is said that he was the first African who received a degree of doctor of divinity from a European university when this honor was conferred upon him by the University of Heidelberg.

Sarah Bradford's scenes from the Life of Harriet Tubman is on display. Harriet Tubman was brought up as a slave in the cotton-fields. After her escape she served as an agent of the underground railroad and was instrumental in leading more than 300 slaves, including her own parents, from the South to freedom. After the war, when she had served as a spy and guide for the Union Army, she established a home for children and the aged.

William C. Nell's, The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, is important, not only because Nell was one of the first historians of the Negro in America, but also because Nell is said to have been the first Negro to hold a Federal position. This was in the post office at Boston.

The first edition of Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin is on display, together with The Life of Josiah Henson, who was reputed to be the prototype of Uncle Tom.

The purpose of the exhibit is to show not only the troubles and revolutions the Negro race has endured, but also to show the Negro triumphs and the contributions of the race to American culture. For this there is a great amount of material. Among the more interesting items is an elegiac poem on the death of George Whitefield, written by Phillis Wheatley in 1770. Phillis Wheatley was born in Africa and sold in Boston to John Wheatley when she was a child. Her only memory of Africa was of her mother worshipping the sun. Mrs. Wheatley bought her because she wished to have a younger woman to look after her in her old age. Phillis' education was effectively undertaken by the Wheatley sisters, for in 16 months she had learned how to read English fluently. The elegy was addressed to the Countess of Huntington, whom she later visited in England. Another Wheatley item is her Poems on Various Subjects and George Washington's letter to her acknowledging her poem His Excellency, General Washington.

Perhaps a number of the sermons, addresses, and appeals on exhibit—those of Peter Williams, Jr., for example, and Henry Sipkind, and others—are now of greater importance as evidence of the skill which Negroes have shown as orators and writers than they are as historical documents.

In addition to books and manuscripts, paintings by Negro artists and photographs of noted Negroes will be on display.

The first of the four concerts will be given on the evening of December 18 and will present to Washington Miss Dorothy Maynor, the celebrated Negro soprano. The second concert will present the Budapest Quartet, the third will be an evening of folk music, and the last will present Mr. Roland Hayes, internationally famous musician and the first of the great Negro singers.

[The Library of Congress, Washington. For immediate release December 18, 1940]

The Library of Congress acts as host to the creative art of the American Negro. The occasion is the opening, December 18, of one of the most exciting collections of Negro paintings, drawings, and prints ever assembled. The announcement is most significant—"An exhibition illustrative of the contribution of the American Negro to American culture." Its purpose is the commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the thirteenth amendment, December 18, 1865, by which slavery was abolished.

The exhibition has been assembled by Alain Locke, professor of philosophy of Howard University; Archibald MacLeisch, Librarian of Congress; Mrs. Mildred Holzauer, director of the W. P. A. art program exhibition section; and Holger Cahill, national director, W. P. A. art program. Institutions and agencies which have contributed are Howard University Gallery of Art, the Harmon Foundation of New York, the W. P. A. art program, especially the Illinois and New York art projects, also those of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Massachusetts, and Florida. A number of paintings have been loaned by private collectors.

The exhibition is displayed in a series of galleries, modern in appearance, and handsome in their arrangement on the basement floor of the Library, directly opposite the entrance on First Street where they are easily available, daily from 9 a. m. to 10 p. m.

Paintings and prints bear enthusiastic record of the emergence of the Negro into the stellar role of professional artist, winner of national awards. Factors in this progress are the Harmon Foundation which for over a decade has been fostering Negro art, the work of Howard and Fisk Universities, and other centers of Negro culture. Government patronage has been a dynamic stimulus in the past 5 years, through employment of Negroes on the W. P. A. art program and the section of fine arts of the Public Buildings Administration, and through the formation of W. P. A. community art centers in fertile fields. These Government developments have given opportunities and incentive to eager minds. The rapid maturing of the Negro into more original expression during the past 5 years is evident in the present exhibition.

It is an exhibition with an identity of its own and is in character very different from the usual collection of contemporary painting. It is vibrant and alive, with few dull passages. Frequently throughout the show, both in subject matter and in the rhythmic interplay of passages of light and dark, the analogy to music is strongly suggested. Expression follows spontaneously a desire to paint and draw a subject matter lovingly observed and deeply felt. It is an emotional reaction, joy, hope, sadness, recorded. These Negro artists show a mastery of craftsmanship and technique, but these are used not as ends but as means necessary to forceful statement.

In this new-found freedom there are tragic echoes, as in the series of panels by Jacob Lawrence, of New York, showing figures chained, toiling, reaching for the stars. They were inspired by the story of Harriet Tubman, one of the heroic Negro figures of slavery days.

Dox Thrash, of Pennsylvania, makes a remarkable contribution to the exhibition and a contribution to the whole field of art as well. For he is one of the discoverers of a new method of preparing the copper plate with carborundum for print reproduction, thereby securing effects never before obtained. His set of carborundum prints made for the Pennsylvania art project is touched with highlights that gleam among mysterious shadows and rich blacks.

Water colors line the entrance to this exhibition most attractively, those by adult artists on one side and on the other the work of children from the Jacksonville W. P. A. community art center. The adult artists show mastery and freedom in their handling of the medium. The work of the children of the Jacksonville center is a new and brilliant note in America's child art. A boy of 16 is able to organize a comprehensive theme of cottonfields and pickers and create an organic and moving pattern, and a girl of 12 to delineate jitterbugs with a rhythm that translates musical accents into visual experience.

In studying the labels which accompany each exhibit a picture may be had of the artist and his struggles. Eldzier Cortor, 25, of Illinois, derived some knowledge of art attending evening classes in high school and at the Chicago Art Institute. Apparently he had to work his way, studying as he could in odd hours until he was able to return to the institute 2 years later a full-fledged student. His course as a professional is that of the early American artist, painting signs for a few dollars, getting an occasional commission. He tried abstraction, turning from that to cartooning. When the largest exhibition of Negro art ever assembled unfolded in Chicago this summer, Eldzier won second award in painting. The title of his picture was "Sense of Loneliness."

The exhibition is rich in human interest and indication of striving against odds. John C. Lutz had very little formal education but was impelled to frequent such art classes as were available to him, mostly at night and at irregular intervals. While working on a W. P. A. labor project, he brought to the district office a portrait study of a Negro fellow worker which called forth such favorable comment that he was transferred to the art project, where his work progressed amazingly. His most discussed work is the mural at the Harriet Beecher Stowe School in Cincinnati, depicting the progress of the Negro race.

Archibald John Motley, Jr., who makes moving delineations of Negro life, was in the vanguard of present-day artists of his race, holding the first one-man show by a Negro artist in a New York gallery in 1928. Recognition has crowned his efforts. In 1925 he won the much coveted Logan Medal and award, and also the Eisendrath Prize, at the Chicago Art Institute. His contribution to an exhibition of American art at the Newark Museum in 1927 received the popular vote. He received the first Harmon Foundation award and gold medal in 1928 and the following year received a Guggenheim Fellowship with a stipend of $2,500.

One of the high lights of the exhibition is the mural, called Five Great Americans, oil on canvas, 15 feet by 5. It is the work of Charles White, of Illinois, who received first award in black and white and honorable mention in water color at the art of the American Negro exhibition in Chicago the past summer. On one side of the mural is the Negro leader, Sojourner Truth, walking at the head of a group of her people. In the foreground is Booker T. Washington and behind him appears the massive head of Frederick Douglass. On the upper right there is Marian Anderson singing into the microphone, while at the lower right the Negro scientist, Dr. George Washington Carver, may be seen.

Sam Brown, of Pennsylvania, has attracted wide attention among Negro easel painters. Brown's water colors show harmonious organization, sensitive observation, and deep racial feeling. His work has been shown at the Museum of Modern Art, the Phillips Memorial Gallery, the National Museum, the Pennsylvania Museum, and others throughout the country.

Four years ago Edward Leroy Loper, young Wilmington, Del., artist, was unknown. Today his talents are pushing him to national fame.

Another contributor to the present exhibition, who won honors at the Chicago show, is Lois Jones who won honorable mention in painting. A still more recent award is that of first in painting in the Sixth Metropolitan State Art Contest, National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D. C., in November. She is instructor in design at Howard University.

William A. Ashbrook

MEMORIAL ADDRESS
OF
HON. JAMES G. POLK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, April 24, 1940

On the life, character, and public service of Hon. WILLIAM A. ASHBROOK, late a Representative from the State of Ohio

Mr. POLK. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish this session of the Seventy-sixth Congress to close without paying my respects to the memory of WILLIAM A. ASHBROOK.

It is seldom that an individual is privileged to serve as a representative of the people in this body during two widely separated periods of time. From 1906 to 1920, for a period of seven terms, Mr. ASHBROOK represented his district here. Then after another period of 14 years, he reentered the political contests and was reelected for three additional terms and at the time of his death he was entering upon the twentieth year of service in this body.

A descendent of early pioneer stock from Virginia, the life of WILLIAM A. ASHBROOK is a sterling example of how a boy reared on a farm and in a small town can, through diligence, hard work, and perseverance, rise to a position of trust and responsibility.

He started early in life the business career which led him through successive steps upward as editor and publisher, township official, postmaster, bank president, member of Ohio Legislature, and Member of Congress.

It was my privilege to know Mr. ASHBROOK only in his later years and, like all those who came in contact with him, I was impressed with his honesty and integrity, his unwillingness to put political expediency before principle, and his statesmanlike approach to all questions of legislation.

He was truly an outstanding example of the best type of American businessman, one who was always willing to give unselfishly of his time and energy in the furtherance of the public's business.

His passing is a great loss to Ohio and to the Nation. Truly it can be said of him that one of the Tall Cedars of Lebanon has fallen and it will be long before one of his stature will take his place.

Where the United Rubber Workers of America Stand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JERRY VOORHIS
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, December 18, 1940

EXCERPTS FROM CONSTITUTION OF UNITED RUBBER WORKERS

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, in connection with all that has been said about labor in recent weeks I submit for the information of Members of Congress the two following paragraphs from the constitution of the United Rubber Workers of America. I am proud of the fact that one of the large locals of this fine organization is located in the district which I have the honor to represent.

[Excerpt from constitution of United Rubber Workers of America]

Effective November 1: "Membership shall be denied to any individual who is proven to be a member of or is in any way affiliated with the Communist, Fascist, or Nazi Parties or any other organization that has for its purpose the overthrow of our democratic form of government.

"Working in the interest of or becoming a member of the Communist, Fascist, or Nazi Parties or any affiliate thereof or any other organization that is opposed to the principles, aims, and objectives of the U. R. W. of A." (From art. IX, sec. 1.)

War Veterans Approve Dies Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 19, 1940

LETTERS FROM AMERICAN LEGION POST

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, during these trying days when democracy is faced with its greatest challenge, America has no room for a hyphenated American.

Organized veterandom has long espoused the doctrine that America is for Americans and has been loud in protest against the shameful harboring of undesirable aliens or "lukewarm" Americans.

Fort Fetter Post, No. 516, the American Legion, Hollidaysburg, Pa., composed of veterans of the World War, is one of the thousands of veteran organization units who are strong supporters of the Dies committee as evidenced by the following communications:

FORT FETTER POST, NO. 516,
THE AMERICAN LEGION,
Hollidaysburg, Pa., December 16, 1940.

Hon. James E. VAN ZANDT,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. VAN ZANDT: I am attaching copy of a letter written to Congressman DIES indicating the action taken by the American Legion, Fort Fetter Post, No. 516, of Hollidaysburg, Pa., in connection with the investigation being made by his committee.

Your cooperation in working for an adequate appropriation to permit the continuation of the investigation of subversive activities will be appreciated.

Yours very truly,

DANIEL H. ERB, *Adjutant.*

DECEMBER 16, 1940.

Hon. MARTIN DIES,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DIES: I am pleased to advise you that at the last regular meeting of the American Legion, Fort Fetter Post, No. 516, Hollidaysburg, Pa., the post unanimously approved the continuation of the work being done by your committee investigating un-American activities.

The post also went on record as favoring an adequate appropriation to carry on this work.

Very truly yours,

DANIEL H. ERB, *Adjutant.*

The United States and World Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, December 23 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE BY DR. ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an interesting and informative article entitled "The Ninety Percent of Us," written by Dr. Arthur Deerin Call, executive secretary of the Interparliamentary Union, dealing with international questions. The article appeared in the December issue of the magazine

World Affairs, published by the American Peace Society, Washington, D. C.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE 90 PERCENT OF US

(By Arthur Deerin Call)

In 1863 there were literary societies in Dartmouth College. They must have been diligent and intelligent groups, for it was upon their invitation that they were addressed on the 22d of July in that year by Ralph Waldo Emerson. In the course of Mr. Emerson's remarks—known now as his essay on the Man of Letters—we find sentences as follows: "Our profoundest philosophy is skepticism. * * * There is an oracle current in the world, that nations die by suicide. The sign of it is the decay of thought. * * * Gentlemen, I am here to commend to you your art and profession as thinkers. * * * Men are as they believe."

It is probable that 90 percent of us today will agree with those views as expressed by Mr. Emerson in the midyears of our Civil War. As far as we can see, the future life, liberty, and happiness of our America will be bent for weal or for woe by the beliefs men hold and cherish in these our own times. Only a few ever really enjoy a philosophy of skepticism; some, not many. None wishes our Nation to "die by suicide." Thus, it is a concern of us all, perhaps our prime concern, since "men are as they believe," that from time to time we join the "art and profession" of thinkers and poll as best we may our common beliefs.

I

So for the purposes of this statement we start with the assumption that 90 percent of us in America—we might justly include other peoples—hold to one fixed, general belief, and, also, to at least three specific beliefs; all of the same blood, and all relating to the poisonous pest of war.

One starting to poll these beliefs faces at the outset the fact that human behaviors arise from a highly complicated congeries of thoughts and emotions. We are compounds of infinitely differing ideas about needs and oppositions, about strengths and weaknesses, about rights and duties, about pain and pleasure, about truth and error, even about good and evil. We must admit the ease with which we tend to miss realities and to slip into the sloughs of mere flummery and flapdoodle. Between our timidities and the clamor of crusaders we often find ourselves wandering in a no-man's land of potshots and befuddlement. In our school of social behavior we are just beginning to learn to read. We are in the same grade with the illiterate colored man who has just found that he can read the road signs now well enough to tell "how fur," but not as yet well enough to tell "whur to." The only difference between him and us is that we are not yet far enough advanced to read "how fur." For example, we are now parties to wars in Europe and the Far East. Are we going in further? Some well-informed "experts" say we are not, others that we surely are; but no one can say with any assurance how far we are destined to go. Ninety percent of us are wholly convinced that Messrs. Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini, and company are quite mistaken when they insist that democracy is dead. We are also sure that George Washington was not mistaken when he advised: "Separated as we are by a world of water from other nations, if we are wise we shall surely avoid being drawn into their politics and involved in their destructive wars." But we have to grant that the job of keeping out is not easy; indeed, at times we have found it impossible.

Yet, difficult as it is, impossible though it may be, there is a central belief throughout this 90 percent of us, a belief amounting to an abiding conviction. It is this. War is a throw-back to the ways of savagery. It is a mess of unintelligence, extreme boredom, misery, futility, tawdry panache, and injustice. War, shared now by civilians as well as combatants, offers little of the glory of battles long ago. Looking through the world for behaviors friendly and well-bred, we find vulgarities aplenty. The worst of all vulgarities is war. Adapting a fumigating phrase from the classic rhetoric of Irving Cobb, war turns our minds to limburger cheese and pickles them in asafetida. War is the gasp of a dying era in human affairs, an era that ought to be dead. In spite of our present, natural, growing anxiety, 90 percent of us agree to that. We believe it so much that we mortgage future generations, conscript the finest of our youth, organize all the might we can—physical, mental, spiritual—to keep the loathsome stuff from our doors.

II

Since 90 percent of us hold to this one general, fixed belief that war is a ghastly evil, it is of interest to poll from time to time our more specific beliefs about the matter. In particular, we appear to believe: First, that there are many things upon which we cannot rely; secondly, that there are projects with which we are willing to experiment; thirdly, that there are a few musts—categorical imperatives—which we believe to be permanent and of universal concern and application.

First. To the things—idiom permits us to call them things—things upon which we cannot rely. We cannot rely, for instance, upon all that we hear and read, for the mysteries of propaganda are too subtle for the most of us. We have constantly to qualify our views with the fact that, in spite of the miracles of press and radio, exact information about any war remains essentially unknown until at least 10 years after the war is over.

Due to the refinements of transportation under, on, and over the seas, we of the United States can no longer trust our ocean boundaries as sure protection against the ravages of war.

Since most of us seem to agree with Edmund Burke that "They will never love where they ought to love who do not hate where they ought to hate," we can never quite depend on our own desires to remain individually neutral in any given war. When a fight is on our personal Kilkenny, Donnybrook Fair instinct is to take sides, if not to jump in.

At this moment in history our country is relying on its military might, openly taking sides against "an unjust aggressor" by "coercive measures short of war." In that reliance there is no certainty that we can keep out of the wars abroad.

Events have demonstrated that peace-loving peoples cannot rely upon any organization of the nations backed by military force, because any enduring peace between nations can depend only upon an international order based upon mutual acceptance, confidence, and good will. Peace, outside the peace of a graveyard, is only the tranquillity of order. The coercion of a nation by arms, even in the interest of peace, is war and nothing else. President Franklin Roosevelt, in his Armistice Day address on November 11, 1940, expressed his view that mere force can never successfully overthrow democracy. Similarly, mere force can never establish world peace.

Ninety percent of us have lost faith in all get-peace-quick programs, for we have learned how readily the effects of sterility flow from our dreams of perfection. In all kindness, if not in all delicacy, it must be confessed that programs for international peace are usually the impotent bellwethers of system mongers and piffle peddlers.

Ninety percent of us know enough history to be suspicious every time our country develops a frenzy for foreign adventure. We have constantly to curb the lofty desire that our America shall assume the role of a preponderant power and fare forth to direct the affairs of the world. Deep down we know the quixotic folly of pointing spears with shibboleths and tilting at windmills. From experience, often bitter, we have come to mistrust all peace efforts associated with so-called collective security, with any collaboration in the nature of a military alliance, with embargoes, boycotts, blockades, with any sort of union now, with all the beclouded blueprints of some fancy new world order. We admit that too many of us, with a bent for edifying our fellows, pose as specialists in other peoples' business. It is easier to chase a cosmic cause than to stick to a real job.

We have come to be skeptical of "isms." Experience has vaccinated us successfully, at least for a time, against the ravaging disease of ism-itis. We are immune, for example, to nazi-ism, fascism, communism, imperialism, balance of power ism.

Indeed, we have lost faith in pacifism, as it is usually conceived. We recall those Oxford students who in 1933 pledged that they would never fight for king or country. We remember the British Labor Party's promise the same year never to go to war. There was the people's ballot of 1935 which advertised the pacifism of 12,000,000 English people. Such pacifism, however plausible idealistically, failed England practically and dismally. To limit reason and moderation to one side alone, we have come to see, may end in an unreasonable settlement, a victory for injustice, and a mere challenge to the thugs of the world.

So apparently 90 percent of us will agree that there are views, plans, isms, and the like upon which we cannot rely.

Secondly, as a people, however, we are quite willing to experiment. We take pride in the belief that we are a practical and progressive people. We are rather keen to try anything once, even to gamble. We accept in principle, for example, that we should think and act judiciously, control our emotions as much as possible, and collaborate with the inevitable. We grant even that we should cooperate with those in positions of responsibility for the maintenance of rights, for the clarification of duties, and for the promotion of friendly relations with all peoples. Specifically, just now, we would strengthen the ties that bind the republics of the Western Hemisphere. We believe not only in the freedom of this continent but also of its surrounding islands from the dictates of any European power. We are willing to go far to maintain that freedom.

Notwithstanding our friendly interest in Great Britain and China, we retain in the back of our minds the principle old as our Government that we would better go on trying to keep this Government, as a government, as far as possible in a position of legal neutrality in conformity with the law of nations; meaning that our Government should take no part in other peoples' wars unless we purpose to go the limit; that we deny to all belligerents the right to treat us as a party to their disputes; that we officially neither love nor hate any foreign power. In this way, we believe, our country has best preserved its vital interests in the past.

We as a people, however, are not adverse to our Government playing the role of a friendly mediator, calm, serene, confident in its own neutral position; but the first duty of this Government is to discover and to mind its own business. True, in minding its own business, especially if it mind it successfully, it is almost inevitably sure to arouse the envy of other powers. To participate in the brawls of other peoples, however, even when our sympathies are clearly defined, leads not only to envy from abroad but often to hatred, malice, and other venoms; all of which have a curious, congenital way of never remaining unilateral. Yet we are ever moved to experiment with new legislative forays in the fields of international trade, finance, and even so-called neutrality.

Thus while there are things upon which we know we cannot rely, we are a pragmatic people, given to trying out what appears at any moment to be promising.

IV

Thirdly. There are certain principles, foundation beliefs, which 90 percent of us accept as we accept the law of gravitation. In our outlook upon the world they rank as musts, categorical imperatives. Like the axioms of mathematics, they are maxims born of what we conceive to be the innocent processes of nature—universal law. We here mention five of these basic beliefs.

1. We have come to believe that any enlightened self-interests of human beings living in groups must be safeguarded by justice, defined some 1,400 years ago as "the set and constant purpose which gives to every man his due." True, it is written that: "justice, at least as between the infinite and the finite, has been so utterly dehumanized, disintegrated, decomposed, and diabolized in passing through the minds of the half-civilized banditti who have peopled and unpeopled the world for some scores of generations, that it has become a mere algebraic x, and has no fixed value whatever as a human conception."

But those were the words of an analytical, hypothetical "poet" speaking at an imaginary "breakfast table" some 80 years ago. As Dr. Shotwell has just remarked over the radio, "Peace is a function of justice. There can be no permanent peace which fails to recognize this fundamental fact."

We Americans have found the only assurance of the equal protection of all in the enjoyment of their rights to be justice. There is no greater concern within our Republic than the administration of justice. Furthermore, in Daniel Webster's words, justice "is the greatest interest of man on earth. It is the ligament which holds civilized nations together." In still loftier and more arresting language of the long ago: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, justice, and mercy, and faith." The supreme indictment of war is that wars may be won and justice defeated. It was inevitable that our founding fathers should set next to their purpose to form a more perfect union the establishment of justice.

2. We believe that justice must find expression in terms of law. It is our faith that nature is a system of reliable laws, that we live in a law-abiding universe. Hypothesis though this be, everything man claims to know, science itself, must start with it. There can be no game without rules. There can be no civilization without laws. Of course, man-made statutes, called laws, are sure sometimes to be foolish. Probably the specific law which Mr. Bumble had in mind in the time of Oliver Twist was what he thought it to be, namely, "a ass, a idiot"; but there is an all-prevailing "beneficence acting by rule" which we call law.

Since there is law in the universe it is reasonable to believe that human beings can learn what is true. In the language of the Nobel prize-winning physicist, Arthur H. Compton:

"Relying upon a faith that our universe is not a chaos but an ordered cosmos, I believe that through sincere and courageous effort man can learn what is true. * * * Science inflicts no penalty because of race or creed; neither can we if we would lay the foundations for an era of peace and well-being on earth. * * * Let us accelerate the search for the freeing truth."

Laws, aiming to speak for justice, open the way for that "freeing truth." They accomplish that for us in one way by clarifying our sound American traditions. Our legislative acts are children of our traditions. It has become a tradition with us to believe that Europe and Asia have primary interests in which we should not meddle. It is traditional with us that our Government should maintain correct and formal relations with all other governments. We have long held that European powers must not extend their systems to this hemisphere, and hold it still. Tradition runs against our underwriting in advance any power or combination of powers bent upon bolstering their ambitions, economic interests, and military dominance.

We, the people, hold that our central Government is our agent, and that our safety and progress lie along a path midway between too much and too little government. We believe traditionally in the sacredness of contract. We have always been glad to cooperate with other nations for the promotion of justice under law without the sanctions of military force. But as George Washington once said to the Congress:

"It is a maxim founded on the universal experience of mankind that no nation is to be trusted further than it is bound by its own interests, and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it."

For this reason it is the prime duty of our Government to protect our interests. It must resist to the utmost all attacks from within or from without against our established institutions and ideals, such as our system of checks and balances, our freedoms in the realms of conscience, speech, press, assembly, petitions, property, worship. It is for our Government to make no promises or threats which it cannot keep and carry out. We prefer the ways of law, compromise, and cooperation. Since, however, so much of the world is amuck in anarchy and motivated by murder, it is the immediate duty of the United States to establish for itself a thorough military defense fully adequate to its purpose.

We are not called upon to forget that human nature, being human, can change itself either upward or downward. Thus America will maintain its faith in the sanctions of law and order not only for individuals but for governments. We will go on believing in governments of laws rather than in any system where people are only the playthings of mere men.

Sensing the importance of law, it becomes clear that the promotion of any desirable world peace must wait upon the discovery of a community of interests under a common system of law mutually accepted and obeyed. Any active work for peace, following the present wars, therefore, must mean for us in America working with the Members of our Congress toward a well-conceived and organized effort on the part of all governments in which each nation concerned would normally seek in its own interest to play ball with the others. In such a business, peace workers may find a constant renewal of their youth and hope. As Winston Churchill said in the House of Commons in 1938, "The Angel of Peace is unsnubbable."

3. Justice must have the clarifying aid of a firmly established judiciary. Man's primary and continuous problem in government is to limit the necessity for force as a solvent of conflicting national or international desires and interests. The development of any balance between justiciable and nonjusticiable questions, between force and law, between large and small states, between disputes over the interpretation of the law, make courts necessary. Concern for our own interests, faith in the scientific search for facts upon which to base opinions and policies, all depend upon the processes of law. The processes of law are sure to bog down unless supported by the healing processes of judicial settlement.

George Washington in the beginning days of this Republic wrote to Edmund Randolph, our first United States Attorney General, these words:

"Impressed with the conviction that the true administration of justice is the firmest pillar of good government, I have considered the first arrangement of the judicial department as essential to the happiness of our country and the stability of its political system."

Without the judiciary there could be no protection of our Bill of Rights, no balance between the States or between the States and the Nation, no security for the citizen.

4. Justice, law, judicial settlement must, of course, be backed by the common will to make use of them.

Fanciful schemes for the formal political organization of the world have always failed because of their deviation from the processes of justice, law, and judicial settlement. Reformers frequently get chained in some Plato's cave where they converse interminably with each other, but only with the shadows of other human beings. Thus their conceptions, like German philosophies, become naturally remote from the realities of life. Cabined as they are, they loose their instincts for what is possible. Planning with their flawless logic, they miss what someone has called the stubborn illogicality of facts. They seem never to have heard of Browning's Ring and the Book. It is frightfully easy to get lost in the bogs of theories, of abstractions, even of adumbrations on the beauty of holiness.

Thus, healthy minds are skeptical of absolute creeds and suspicious of change for the sake of change. They prefer to preserve continuity with the past and to retain foundations which time has proved to be sound. They conceive their job to be to see facts clearly and to draw the proper conclusions from them.

Intelligence finds something sacrosanct in personality, and in that the basis of liberty. The hope for liberty lies in policies settled by free discussion, the minority yielding to the majority, the majority respecting the rights of the minority. Experience shows that democracy lies deeper, however, than any mere laissez-faire system, deeper even than any special parliamentary organization. The essential thing in democracy, as distinguished from this or that self-styled democratic government, is primarily an attitude of mind, a spiritual testament, and not an economic structure or a political machine. But no such attitude of mind or spiritual testament could endure without the aids of justice, of law, and of judicial settlement.

Supporters of world-peace plans now complain that their failures have been due to the lack of a "proper spirit." Lord Tweedsmuir in his alluring Pilgrim's Way, tells how at first he was a strong supporter of the League of Nations, then how he failed to find "the spirit abroad in the world" sufficient to encourage its organic growth, and how, finally, he came to have the "ugly fear that its foundations were on sand and that the first storm would overthrow it." To the end, however, he believed that someday and somehow "the peoples must discover a way to brigade themselves for peace." He found his encouragement in the only two large-scale organizations of social unity, the United States and the British Empire; especially in the United States, because it is "the conscious work of men's hands." This "conscious work of men's hands," he of course would have admitted, breaks down into justice, law, and judicial settlement, behind which must lie the essential "attitude of mind" and "spiritual testament." Thus, to repeat, our fourth categorical imperative is that justice, law, and judicial settlement must be backed by the will to make use of them. As the active "Commission to Study the Organization of Peace" puts it, "No system of law and organization can be of value without the living faith and spirit behind and in it."

5. Back of the will to make use of justice, law, and judicial settlement must be a constant rededication to the processes of education and to the ideals of religion, each of us interpreting education and religion as best he can.

Schools exist that the young may discover what talents they have, what they most want to do, how to use words with some regard to their nuances of color and meaning, and be stimulated to try. It is their business to reveal enough philosophy to boys and girls that they may be led to ask the right questions and to be properly skeptical of dogmas—all to the end that they may come to face their world with decency and with zest. Human beings, faintly sensing their heavenly and hellish qualities, are given to paying at least lip service to education. They count on it, usually a bit wistfully, to ennoble business somehow with idealism and to keep manpower in its honest place above horsepower.

But at that point they discover that the schools are not enough. Back of justice, law, judicial settlement, and the will to make use

of them, back of education itself, lie the foundation faiths of men. Ninety percent of us will admit a faith in some kind of a god—"an anvil which has worn out many hammers." Clouds make it difficult to see far down the way of life. All our thinking finds us questioning at the end. But again from those sunlit pages by John Buchan: "Dogmatism gives place to questioning, and questioning in the end to prayer."

V

So, with such detachment from the present disasters of war as we can muster, it is surely not unfitting to remind ourselves of the 90 percent of us with a will to end war. We have come to believe that wisdom in the peace movement starts with a suspicion of grandiose mechanical systems and a distrust of mere generalities. Wisdom is never content either with mere dalliance or with brilliant and futile erudition. On the international plane it demands enough familiarity with the world to judge it with detachment.

Not content with shibboleths, mid-Victorian or otherwise, we of the 90 percent, concerned to lessen the tragic ills of war, may safely rest our case, for however long, on the enduring processes and inspirations of justice, of law, and judicial settlement, all backed by the ever-fructifying, puissant powers of education and religion. There is no other way given among men whereby the cause of world peace must be saved.

There are molding, directing, controlling forces of life over and above the economic, military, commercial processes of men. These higher values express themselves in certain imperatives destined never to face any ultimate defeat. It is man's privilege to preserve and to advertise these incorruptible goods in the interest of life, of liberty, and of the common weal. "The great lesson of life is to believe in what the centuries say as against the hours." That is why Mr. Emerson felt moved to commend to those young men their "art and profession as thinkers." That is the backlog of man's unquenchable hope.

Contributions of the Late Lord Lothian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRIK SHIPSTEAD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 23 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I ask leave to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the Washington Times-Herald of Saturday, December 21, 1940, written by Mr. William Randolph Hearst, which deals with articles and addresses by the late Lord Lothian. It is stated that before he became Ambassador to the United States he dealt with world politics, power politics, and the ultimate war which inevitably would come as a result of policies which have been pursued by the various nations. This is a very interesting and informative article, and therefore I ask to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Times-Herald of December 21, 1940]

AMERICANS SHOULD TAKE HEED OF LORD LOTHIAN'S WORDS

Lord Lothian was one of England's most liberal and enlightened and far-visioned statesmen.

The liberality and essential democracy of his views gave him an influence with Americans that no other British Ambassador of recent years has had.

Lord Lothian's attitude toward the League of Nations was very similar to that of most Americans.

In fact his views of many matters of international politics corresponded so nearly to our American beliefs that he spoke and wrote almost as one of ourselves.

Had Lord Lothian's broadminded views and utterances received more general acceptance in England among the hardshell ruling classes peace might probably have prevailed in Europe—the frightful destruction of this war might have been avoided and the possibility of our involvement in another European cataclysm wholly eliminated.

In the London Times of September 10, 1937, under the title of "The League Contract—Dealing With the World Today," Lord Lothian wrote:

"I am not against collective action by the League against an international wrong. Quite the contrary. But such action must be subject to two conditions. The first is that we do not direct it to the maintenance of a status quo which is out of date, but recognize that changes are both just and necessary and that unless the League can bring about these changes by its own action they will inevitably and rightly be brought about in other ways. That may seem a hard saying, but I believe it is common sense because otherwise we shall find ourselves pledged to go to war, to prevent changes everywhere.

"If we consider the three great failures of the League, the reasons are clear. In the case of Europe it has been because the League was utterly unable to do justice to Germany while she was a republic.

"It is perfectly obvious that considerable adjustments will be necessary in the world if it is to enjoy stable peace. I believe that if we get away from legalism, are strong, are willing to be just and to face realities, and relate our policy to our strength and our willingness to make sacrifices for it, there is a good chance that these adjustments can be made without war and without international injustice, whereas to stand by the letter of the covenant will be as likely to drive us to that calamity of world war which every nation wishes to avoid, as the policy of the 'left' coalition."

Lord Lothian intelligently recognized the injustices of the Versailles Treaty and the arrogance and unyielding harshness of France toward her enemy.

He appreciated the plain fact that the result of this determination to maintain existing conditions (the status quo) as harshly against the democracy the Allies had fought to establish, as against the autocracy the Allies had fought to overthrow, would inevitably result either in war or in coalition with communism.

Both have occurred.

Lord Lothian's predictions have therefore been amply verified.

In the Observer (London), November 27, 1938, Lord Lothian wrote:

"But, though few yet realize it, the old anarchy of multitudinous national sovereignties is about to dissolve, and quickly at that. It is not going to disappear through a revived League of Nations, for the League, in basing itself on national sovereignty, consecrated anarchy as a principle. It is going to disappear either through federation, which is the democratic way or through an intergration consequent on the rise of the great totalitarian powers. We can see the process going on in Europe and Asia under our eyes, whereby the great military powers, either by compulsion or by the magnetic attraction of their own strength, consolidate a group of otherwise autonomous units to whom they promise peace, security, and prosperity in return for entering their orbit and for accepting mutually satisfactory arrangements for trade. World unity is, of course, at present entirely out of sight. But that the world is going to fall into four or five main political and economic groups, each in great measure self-supporting, each under the leadership of a great state equipped with modern military and air power, at any rate for a time, seems certain. Nothing that we can do can prevent it. The only issues are whether the process need involve world war, and whether when the consolidation is made the groups can live together in peace."

Here again Lord Lothian displayed keen and unclouded vision. He realized what many other English statesmen did not realize, and do not even now understand, that a new order was bound to arise in Europe as well as in Asia.

And that the new order in Europe was one that England would not be able to determine.

England would have her spheres of influence—her possessions, her dominions.

There need not be, and probably would not be, any interference with those possessions, with the integrity of her empire.

But the new order in Europe would be created and dominated by some European power—by France or by Germany or by Russia.

This present war, no matter what the issue, does not disturb that fact in the least.

It has so far only eliminated France as the reorganizer of Europe. If Germany should be defeated, that of course would eliminate Germany.

In which case, Russia without doubt or question, and without effective opposition, would become the ruling power in Europe.

The new order would then be entirely subject to her sway.

With all friendliness to England, but in cold analysis of the actual situation, it must be concluded that England can gain but little by this war no matter how complete her success.

She can only preserve the integrity of her Empire, and perhaps add some African territory and some Pacific islands.

She will not again dominate Europe.

The more she shall break up Europe into small states, the easier she will make it for Russia to absorb them.

The longer the war lasts, the weaker Europe will be, and the more helpless against Russian aggression.

And the longer the war lasts, the weaker England will be, and the more helpless to prevent the absorption of Europe utterly and absolutely by Russia.

Has Russia been weakened by the war to date?

No; she has been strengthened.

She has already shown what she can do in the way of absorbing small European states.

She has extended her spheres of dominion and influence not only in Europe but in Asia as well.

No matter which side in the European struggle wins, Russia will emerge from the conflict and confusion stronger than ever before.

But if England wins, a Europe of shattered and separate states will be the easiest possible prey for the Russian anaconda to gorge itself upon.

And the constrictive folds of that Communist serpent will extend to the very shores of the English Channel.

That these cold and cruel folds will not include England in any event is altogether probable.

We can believe Lord Lothian when he declares in the last address he ever made to the American citizenry:

"Some people are spreading the legend that democracy is disappearing from Britain and that she will come out at the end of the war either a Fascist or a Communist state. Nothing could be further from the truth. I have never known Britain more truly democratic."

"The British," Lord Lothian concluded, "are not going to change their essential character."

Truly enough, the British character will not change, but world conditions will and must change in the process of world development.

As Lord Lothian wrote in his Observer article:

"The old anarchy of multitudinous national sovereignties is about to dissolve.

"We can see the process going on in Europe and Asia under our eyes.

"The world is going to fall into four or five main political and economic groups.

"Nothing that we can do can prevent it."

We Americans should ponder Lord Lothian's words and ask ourselves:

What are those groups?

What can they be?

What must they be?

Japan will dominate eastern Asia.

The United States will dominate the Western Hemisphere.

The British Empire will retain its present possessions, and perhaps expand its dominion in Africa.

If Germany wins, it will dominate the European group in a new European federation.

If England wins, "the anarchy of multitudinous national sovereignties," as Lord Lothian phrases it, will be temporarily reestablished, to yield promptly—as Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Bessarabia recently yielded—to the power and policy of Russian bolshevism.

Russia, in rapid advancement and in unimpaired and unrestrained strength, will then dominate the European group; as indeed, even before the war it all but dominated France and Spain.

This system of grouping in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres is not merely probable. It is almost inevitable.

As Lord Lothian truly declared, "Nothing that we can do can prevent it."

The only question is—

Which grouping is best for America? Which is best for England?

Lord Lothian wrote in the London Times July 13, 1938:

"We have had experience of one vast war fought by a collection of democracies."

"Most people now feel that while the cause was just, the remedy was almost as fatal as the disease."

The present war is not being fought for democracy.

It is being fought to determine what power, what theory or government, shall dominate the European consolidation.

Whether that power shall be the axis group and fascism or the gigantic power of the Russian federation and communism.

That power will not be England and her democratic imperialism.

It surely will not be the United States and our free democracy.

It will be Germany or Russia—fascism or communism.

Which of these powers and systems is England fighting for?

And, if we are going to enter the European conflict, which of these are we going to fight for?

Logan-Walter Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. BURKE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 23 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. EDWARD R. BURKE, OF NEBRASKA

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address delivered by me over the National Broadcasting Co.'s blue network on December 13, 1940, on the Logan-Walter administrative-law bill.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LOGAN-WALTER ADMINISTRATIVE LAW BILL

Men and women of America, the representatives chosen by you to write legislation considered necessary for the welfare of the country have passed, and delivered to the President for his approval, the Logan-Walter administrative law bill. After extended discussion the House of Representatives voted 287 in favor, 97 against. A series of parliamentary maneuvers, and the plea of opponents that they would need many days to debate the measure delayed action in the Senate until a bare quorum was present. When at long last consideration was forced, the opposition crumbled. Not a single substantial argument against the bill was presented. The Senate joined the House in approval of what the law-making branch of your Government considers a proper and essential piece of legislation. There is now required only the signature of the President. Let those legislators who so confidently anticipate a veto remember that before acting the President will search the record. There he will find much to justify his approval. Nothing to warrant his overriding the will of Congress.

The bill derives its name from the fact that it was introduced and its passage urged in the Senate by the late Senator Logan of Kentucky, and in the House by Representative WALTER, of Pennsylvania. Senator Logan was a life-long Democrat and an ardent supporter of President Roosevelt's administration. Could there be a more fitting memorial to that distinguished and patriotic statesman than the President's signature upon the measure to which Senator Logan gave such earnest thought? The coauthor, Congressman WALTER, an outstanding Member of the House, is likewise a stanch Democrat.

What is this bill, about which there has been so much talk? Critics say it is so complicated they cannot understand it. Let us see how idle is such talk. The measure has four major purposes which I shall briefly outline.

Bear in mind that there are something like 130 administrative agencies of the Federal Government. The first objective of the bill is to throw certain safeguards about the issuance by these agencies of rules and regulations affecting the individual citizen. Such regulations must be issued. They then become for all practical purposes part of the statutes. Congress of necessity enacts general legislation. It authorizes the enforcing agency to adopt rules and regulations covering the application of the law in detail to the business and varied activities of the citizen. This is called implementing the statute.

Now what does the Logan-Walter bill do about this rule-making function of the agencies? It requires these bodies to publish notice of their intention to issue a proposed regulation. The proposal must be published so that all may read it who are interested. The notice must fix a date and place where any citizen who thinks he will be affected by the proposed regulation may be heard.

Only a power-crazed bureaucrat who wants to regulate the lives of the citizens without interference could object to the procedure the bill outlines. It is the same practice that is followed when the law itself is under consideration, the law of which the proposed regulation will become a part. First a bill is introduced and made public. It is then referred to a committee. If there are citizens who show a sufficient interest, a date and place are fixed where they may be heard. The proponents of the Logan-Walter bill firmly believe that the people have the same inherent right and should have equal opportunity to be heard by the Federal administrative agencies, before they exercise legislative power, as they do to appear before committees of Congress considering proposed legislation.

The second objective of the bill is to provide a simple and expeditious method of review available to the individual who believes that a rule or regulation is contrary to the Constitution or that it violates the terms of the statute under which it was issued. This is accomplished by authorizing the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia to entertain a petition to determine whether a rule or regulation to which objection is made is in accordance with the terms of the Constitution and the applicable statute.

There are those who fear that the giving of such a right to an aggrieved citizen would unduly hamper and delay the administrative agencies in carrying on their essential work. That such fears are unfounded may be demonstrated both on reason and by experience. The courts are authorized to impose adequate penalties in addition to costs upon any citizen who resorts to dilatory tactics. The exercise of that power will quickly discourage appeals being taken by any but a citizen with a real grievance. Moreover, this procedure has already been successfully applied in the case of two agencies. Written into the amended Pure Food and Drugs Act and into the law establishing the Civil Aeronautics Authority is just such a procedure as here outlined. Not a single case has been taken into court in the nature of an appeal from the orders establishing rules and regulations by either of these agencies. Furthermore, this procedure is quite similar to the declaratory judgment laws now on the Federal statute books and to the advisory opinion laws found generally satisfactory over a period of years by many States.

The third objective of the Logan-Walter bill is to require that each of these far-flung Federal agencies establish procedure for the holding of hearings upon the demand of an aggrieved citizen, and requires the making of a written record. If it is a single-headed agency there must be set up within the agency itself one or more three-member boards. Before one of these intra-departmental boards, or in the other case before the commissioners or board members themselves, the citizen will have the right to demand a hearing so that a written record may be made. At this hearing the citizen who is involved in controversy with his Government will have the same right to call witnesses, to cross-examine opposing witnesses, and to require the production of documents, as if it were a case in the United States District Court. The

testimony must be taken down and a written record prepared. There must be written findings of fact, and a written decision.

Under this procedure it will no longer be possible for the citizen to be denied his rights or privileges without being fully informed as to the facts and the applicability of the law upon which the deprivation of his claimed rights is predicated. No longer will the citizen have his rights denied by some unkown individual in an agency of his government—denied for reasons undisclosed, without the necessity of written findings, and without any obligation even to communicate the decision or the facts upon which it is based to the aggrieved citizen.

The fourth principal purpose of the Logan-Walter bill is to provide a uniform and expeditious procedure for review in the courts of these administrative decisions. There is no purpose here to substitute the discretion of the judge for that of the administrative officer. The latter remains supreme within his own field. His decisions must conform to the constitution and the statutes, and there must be a record showing that due notice was given and proper hearing had. That is all.

The appeal may be lodged in that 1 of the 11 United States courts of appeals in which the aggrieved individual resides or in which the controversy arose. The appeal is upon petition filed by the citizen and is based upon the written record made before the administrative agency concerned. A somewhat broader jurisdiction than now prevails is granted to the courts, at the same time that there is preserved to the administrative agencies full authority to administer the law. The trend toward a uniform procedure will be welcomed by the citizen who is now harassed and confused by the existing lack of uniformity.

Due to the nature of the duties performed by the State Department, the War and Navy Departments, the Council of National Defense, the Federal Reserve System, and a few other governmental agencies they have been specifically exempted by Congress from the provisions of this bill.

Such in brief outline, my fellow citizens, are the terms and purposes of the much discussed and maligned Logan-Walter administrative law bill. The measure itself is so simple, and its provisions so clearly fair and reasonable, that it is hard to understand why any person who believes in fair play should object to it in any way. There is only one explanation. Opposition stems from the devotees of administrative absolutism; from those in our midst who have little faith in the processes of courts and none in the doctrine of judicial review. The majority of these advanced thinkers do not consciously desire to do harm or injustice to the individual citizen. Their shibboleth is efficiency and speed. They overlook the fact that there are priceless liberties which must be safeguarded even if there be some apparent slowing down of the rush toward the goal set up by the social and economic reformers.

It is mistakenly contended by a few that this measure in some undisclosed manner would defeat the purposes of legislation enacted during the past few years. Nothing could be further from the purpose of the authors of the bill, of the Judiciary Committees of the House and Senate, who gave it thorough study and practically unanimous approval, and of the large majority of the Members of both Houses of Congress who desire its enactment. The Logan-Walter bill does not take away any basic rights or privileges or duties. It is concerned, as has been demonstrated, only with procedure. Its single purpose is in a reasonable manner to regulate the regulators. That is a consummation devoutly to be desired by all citizens who are brought into contact with their Government, and today that means practically the entire population.

It may be that in the light of experience changes will have to be made in some of the provisions of the bill. That is commonly the case. Some of the most worth-while statutes on the books today are amended and improved at almost every session of Congress. It is a new argument that no law should be passed until it can be made perfect in every detail. That doctrine, if applied, would mean the end of all legislation.

To be sure, every measure before passage should have careful study. I can truthfully say that in the 8 years of my experience in national lawmaking no other bill, to my knowledge, has had more painstaking study by committees of Congress and competent individuals both within and without the legislative department, than has the Logan-Walter bill. As one example only of the aid given by a host of disinterested and highly trained private citizens, may I mention Roscoe Pound, distinguished student, teacher, and practitioner of the law, and for nearly a quarter of a century dean of the Harvard Law School. He is one of many whose best thought for years has been given to the preparation of this legislation.

It is significant that opponents of the measure during all this time have not suggested a single change in phraseology or other constructive criticism. They have been actuated by one compelling motive—the desire for the outright defeat of the entire proposal. When they say that the bill is loosely drawn their words do not ring true. If sincere, they would admit that what they want is to keep the administrative agencies free from all manner of checks and balances. They would throw off the time-tested safeguards which preserve for us a government of laws and not of men. They are impatient with the courts and would remove as far as possible the check offered by judicial review.

It has been seriously urged by some that Congress should study each individual agency and then provide improved special procedure for that agency. That is a course neither practical nor necessary. It required but a phrase in the Constitution to confer jurisdiction upon the Federal courts in all cases in law, equity, and admiralty. Recently the Supreme Court under congressional authority issued uniform rules for civil cases applicable to all Federal courts and to controversies of the most diverse nature. This will be followed in time by uniform rules of procedure in criminal cases. The satisfactory experience with uniform rules of procedure in the courts offers conclusive evidence of a like result when applied to proceedings before the administrative boards and agencies.

The Logan-Walter bill has been studied and approved by many patriotic and civic organizations—by veterans' groups; by farm, labor, and business organizations. The overwhelming majority of the numbers of the legal profession recognize it as a necessary step forward in good government. Now is the time for citizens who believe in the Logan-Walter bill to make their position known. Action must be completed before the 3d of January. It can be done if the informed citizenry of the country so declares.

Activities of Civilian Conservation Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH F. GUFFEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 23 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY JAMES J. McENTEE

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, the activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps have been universally approved by the people of this country.

On December 11, 1940, Mr. James J. McEntee, Director of the Corps, made a radio address relative to these activities. I think this address would be very interesting to the readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; and I therefore request unanimous consent to have it printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am happy to have this opportunity of talking for a few moments to the men and women of America about the part which the Civilian Conservation Corps is playing in the national effort to rearm America and safeguard our national institutions.

In this connection I think that all of us will agree that the future of America, whether in a national emergency or in normal peacetimes is bound up in its natural resources and its youth. The conservation of these great natural and human resources represents an important phase of the national-defense program.

Basically, the wealth of America is its land. From this land comes our food, our clothing, our shelter, and all the conveniences and necessities of our life. The lumber for our houses comes from the vast reaches of our timber country. The food for our tables comes from our rich farming country and our grazing lands. The cotton and wool for our clothing come from the fertile fields of the South and the sheep ranges of the West. The steel for our skyscrapers, our automobiles, and ships comes from the ore in our ground. The gold on which our very economic system is based comes from our land.

In the earlier days of America we used these resources in prodigal fashion. They seemed to be of infinite quantity. When we cut down a tree, we didn't think to plant another one. When we plowed up a field for planting, we didn't know that rain and wind would wash and blow away the rich topsoil unless steps were taken to prevent it.

Over the last 20 years has come an increasing realization of the necessity for conservation. By that term I do not mean hoarding our natural resources. I mean the wise use of them. Our farm lands and our forests should be cultivated, and they can be without robbing them of their productiveness. This has been the lesson we have learned only in recent years.

When we think of national defense in relation to conservation we should think of what we are defending. If our land were a barren wasteland, it would be sheer folly even to defend it. But the cause of nearly every war in the history of mankind has been the desire of the warring countries to acquire or retain an area containing a necessary natural resource. Our struggle today is an internal one—to retain the natural resources we have at hand. Our enemies are the erosive processes of nature and man.

Since its establishment one of the primary aims of the Civilian Conservation Corps has been to combat this waste of our natural resources. By the planting of 2,000,000,000 forest trees it has helped to assure for future generations a supply of lumber and timber products. It has built nearly 5,500,000 small dams to check the erosion of soil. In the West it has begun the big job of restoring water and grass to the broad stretches of the public domain, from which come much of our beef and hides.

This is only one of the ways in which the C. C. C. is doing its bit to bulwark this Nation against the threats and ravages of war. Equally important has been the physical conditioning and job train-

ing given to nearly 2,500,000 young men. It is estimated that one out of every nine men who registered for selective service has received C. C. C. camp experience. These young men, while learning work skills, have improved their physical condition by healthy outdoor work, good food, regular hours of eating, sleeping, and recreation, and by regular medical and dental care. Their improved physical condition, their familiarity with barracks life and public hygiene, and their immunization to diseases common among large concentrations of people have prepared them for whatever military requirements may come. Their job training, acceptance of discipline, and their ability to turn out a full day's work have fitted them for private employment. And their general over-all training, coupled with a new appreciation for their flag and their land, has made them better citizens.

Most of the types of enrollee training available in the Corps have a specific usefulness in national defense. Truck and tractor drivers are not far removed from combat car and tank drivers. Automotive mechanics are needed wherever motorized war weapons are used. In a recent trip down South I found that C. C. C.-trained cooks and bakers were in demand in Army camps. I found also that radio operators trained in C. C. C. radio schools are being sought by private station owners as well as by the military services. Forest fire fighting, which has engaged C. C. C. enrollees for nearly 6,000,000 man-days since the Corps was organized, closely resembles infantry skirmishing. In fact, even the Reserve officers in charge of the camps have received experience which has caused the Army to summon a large number of them to active duty to train new recruits. Because they have already learned to handle large groups of men in the C. C. C., these officers should prove invaluable in the quick shaping of our larger Army into well-disciplined units. Many of our enrollee leaders and technical men in charge of the work projects likewise have had experience in leadership.

The training a C. C. C. enrollee receives springs from the necessary work he performs in carrying out the conservation program. He may be assigned to one of the central motor repair shops where he will get advanced training in automotive mechanics, or to the camp garage where much of the maintenance mechanics' work is performed. Or he may be a truck driver, a tractor driver, an explosive expert, a surveyor, a radioman, a cook, or a medical orderly. These are all phases of the C. C. C. training program which are necessary adjuncts to the entire work schedule.

In a single year the corps trains approximately 60,000 drivers for trucks, tractors, and other automotive units. Fifteen thousand others gain experience in automotive mechanics. Sixty thousand enrollees receive training in road construction and maintenance, 7,500 in bridge building, 8,000 in the use of dynamite, 5,000 as cooks and bakers. Other men are trained as surveyors, draftsmen, sawmill workers, saw filers, warehousemen, clerks, radio operators, welders, quarry workers, foresters, and as other skilled workmen.

When preparations for national defense were started the corps was ready to direct its operations toward defense training with little interruption of its conservation program. That is because the two aims have a peculiar affinity. The types of work that enrollees have been doing for the last 7½ years are similar to work performed by engineer troops and behind-the-lines workers in time of war. Complementing this training has been the physical conditioning which C. C. C. enrollees have received. This conditioning involves daily calisthenics, immunization against typhoid and smallpox, regular medical and dental care, wholesome food, regular hours of living, and hardening outdoor work.

This training will stand America in good stead for any emergency which may develop. The lesson of Europe has been that the civil population suffers equally with the front-line troops in modern warfare. We must have, both at the front and in behind-the-lines communities, trained crews who can repair wrecked roads, bridges, and buildings; who can keep sanitary and utility systems operating; and who can perform all types of emergency duty. C. C. C. enrollees have met virtually every kind of a peacetime emergency, such as floods, hurricanes, and fires with efficiency and dispatch. I am confident that the experience they have gained would be equally helpful to the Nation in war.

In any consideration of federally sponsored youth-training programs, however, we should study them from a long-range standpoint. The day will come when we can again turn our full attention to the problems of youth and employment in peacetime enterprise. It is important that we keep this in mind. No longer can we depend on the old practice of 20 years and more ago of letting every young man fend for himself in his search for employment. The specialization and mechanization of industry and agriculture requires that every potential job holder have work experience. Untrained manpower is a liability to a nation, not an asset.

The last few months have demonstrated as never before the importance of morale in national defense. We as a people are living in an era when momentous decisions must be made—and because this is a great democracy, they must be made by all of us. But a decision made out of weakness and fear is no decision at all—it is submission to the press of circumstances. To make a free decision presupposes that we have no fear of what might lie ahead as a result of that decision—and for that we must have strength, courage, and skill. For 7½ years the Corps, as a part of its program for the conservation of human and natural resources, has been pushing forward a great, unspoken conservation project—the conservation of the strength of the human spirit.

Two and a half million boys have come into and been graduated from the Corps. No man will ever know the exact extent of the psychological improvement life in the Corps has brought about within these boys. But we can tell pretty clearly without calling in any high-sounding specialists. The boys who have come out of the C. C. C. stand up straighter, they are sturdier, they speak up without hesitation, they know how to do a surprising number of things. They know how to do many of them exceedingly well. But above all, they are more confident, for they are stronger, physically and spiritually. They are better equipped for democracy. They can better make decisions, for they are not afraid of the future.

This Nation has seen the creation of a mighty asset in natural resources through the labors of the Civilian Conservation Corps. But probably more important has been its creation of a mighty asset of trained, disciplined, courageous youth upon which the Nation must ultimately stand or fall. I do not doubt the ability of young America to carry on in defending its country against any aggression, be it drought or foreign armies.

Relations With Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRIK SHIPSTEAD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 23 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD, from this morning's Times-Herald, an editorial written by Mr. Joseph Patterson, the publisher. It is entitled "Armageddon Indeed."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Times-Herald of December 23, 1940]

ARMAGEDDON, INDEED

There was a big send-off banquet in Tokyo the other day for Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, new Japanese Ambassador to the United States. Americans and Japanese attended in large numbers, and some significant speeches were made.

The most ominous of these was the speech by Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka, who said flatly that if the United States enters the European war Japan will fight the United States.

The end result of that, said Mr. Matsuoka, would be "Armageddon and total destruction of our culture and civilization."

We find on looking up the matter in the reference books that there never was an actual Battle of Armageddon in the sense in which the term is now used. Armageddon, or Megiddo, is a district in Palestine where the ancient Jews and their neighboring enemies used to do a great deal of their fighting. There grew up a legend, or prophecy, that the last great battle the human race would ever see would be fought in Armageddon, between the forces of good and the forces of evil; that the forces of good would eventually win; and that then would come the end of the world.

Hence "Armageddon" is now used to describe any great, decisive conflict.

The conflict Mr. Matsuoka pictures would be an Armageddon, indeed.

GENERAL SMASH-UP

Europe's civilization is being pounded to pieces by the bombers, the battleships, the crushing taxes, the regimentation, the food shortages.

If we should join the fight, and if Japan should then declare war on us as predicted by Mr. Matsuoka, the devastation area would spread over most of the world. The forces of good might win, and of course, we'd all freely admit that we were on the side of the angels, but then again they might not. Whoever won, world progress would be thrown for a loss of anywhere from a couple of generations to a couple of hundred years.

The worst of it is, from our point of view, that the United States would enter this war too lightly armed. It would be a two-ocean war. We have a one-ocean Navy. We're building a two-ocean Navy, but we can't complete it in less than 4 years from now.

NINE YEARS OF YAPPING

Our Government appears to be undismayed by this ghastly prospect of an Armageddon which might just conceivably turn out to be the actual Armageddon imagined by the prophets and legend makers of old.

Washington began to scold Japan and forbid it to expand another inch in 1931 when the Japanese first tore into Manchuria. Henry L. Stimson, then Secretary of State and now Secretary of War, was the man who began the scolding policy.

We've kept it up from that time to this, and apparently our Government has no notion of tapering it off, even if it finally gets us into a disastrous war in both oceans.

BETTER WARM UP TO RUSSIA

We believe the best single thing that could happen to us right now would be an easing of the tensions between Japan and the United States. But if our Government can't bring itself to attempt such a relaxation, there is a next best thing it could do.

That next best thing would be to warm up to Russia, diplomatically and commercially, we mean, not politically or ideologically. Russia and Japan are adjoining neighbors and old-time enemies. If we had Russia for a friend, that fact would have a restraining effect on Japan whenever Japan thought of attacking us.

To warm up to Russia would be plain, common-sense power politics on our part. Such things are done every day in Europe, and sometimes twice in a day, though the peoples of the two nations involved in a power-politics deal may hate one another's hearts, politics, economic, and social ideas and everything else.

Well, anyway, as the encircling gloom circles closer and closer, two ships for one—over, under, and on the sea.

Unsolved American Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WARREN R. AUSTIN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 23 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

VIEWS OF NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, recently a book was published entitled "Across the Busy Years," which I think is the second volume of recollections and reflections of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. It has a chapter devoted to American political problems which are still unsolved, and I think one of those problems is helpful from a legislator's point of view. It has to do with Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, the Virgin Islands, and the problem of planning in advance for a permanent or semipermanent government of those outlying possessions of the United States. I have no doubt at all that the problem will be very pressing upon the Congress of the United States before long, and I should like to have this material appear in the RECORD. I therefore ask unanimous consent that pages 345 to 355 of this work be published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GOVERNMENT OF DEPENDENCIES

Ever since the era of discovery began some 500 years ago, when Spain and Portugal, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands set out to discover and to claim new lands and to have permanent relations with their inhabitants, the question of how such dependencies should be governed has been a pressing one. It remains so today. On the whole, Great Britain has been more successful than any other European nation in dealing with this problem. In the British Commonwealth of Nations, brought into existence by the statute of Westminster in 1931, there was set up a quite ideal organization of what had once been dependencies, but which had reached the same high plane of civilization as the mother country. However, there still remains for Great Britain the question of how best to deal with India and with the many small and isolated colonies which obviously could not be incorporated in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

This problem first presented itself to the American people when Alaska was purchased in 1867. It was solved by giving Alaska the same Territorial form of government that already existed for those parts of the Nation on the main continent which had not yet been organized into States of the Federal Union. A like policy was followed when the Hawaiian Islands were acquired. I did my best to prevent this and to have the Hawaiian Islands differently treated. However, Senator Cullom, of Illinois, who was at that time chairman of the committee to draft a system of laws for the Hawaiian Islands and afterward chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, had visited Honolulu and promised the people Territorial status. That settled the matter. Action in regard to both Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands was taken without any very careful or prolonged study of the problems which might, or perhaps must, arise in the future.

Following the Spanish War, the American Government had to find answer to the question of how to deal with the Philippine Islands and with Puerto Rico. It was then that serious discussion of this subject began. It seemed to me to be of such large importance and as likely to have so great significance in future years that I addressed to President McKinley this letter:

SEPTEMBER 14, 1898.

To the PRESIDENT,

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Despite the kindly suggestions of yourself and of Mr. Porter that I should feel free at any time to address you on matters of public interest, I have up to this time refrained from doing so, knowing well that you were deluged with advice and opinions from every quarter. Inasmuch, however, as it is apparent that your policy as to the Philippines is on the point of definite and final formulation, I ask the privilege of submitting the following brief opinion, which represents not only my own views but those of many others, intelligent and representative men, with whom I have conversed during the past few weeks.

I am a convert to the opinion that we should retain, for the present at least, the whole of the Philippine Islands; retain them, that is, in the sense of becoming responsible for them. Like many others, I have come to this conclusion slowly and after an examination of the question from every possible point of view that is open to one who has not in his possession the confidential information of the administration.

I find that there is a widespread sentiment to the effect that whatever the technical fact may be, the real facts are that we have overthrown Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines, and have, thereby, become responsible for their control and orderly administration. I am confident, further, that the American people do not wish to count too closely the cost of bearing this responsibility. It is everywhere admitted that through your successful conduct of the war, we have entered upon a new plane of foreign policy, and that hereafter the expense of our Military and Naval Establishments will be greatly increased. This is everywhere accepted without demur, and so far as I can observe, without antagonism or serious criticism.

Further, it is in my view possible to use our control of the Philippines in the interest of the final solution of the eastern question, and for the promotion of the world's peace. I am confidently advised by a correspondent in Germany, of what is of course known to you long since through official channels, that the German foreign office would like a foothold in the Philippines, and in return therefor will make to us trade concessions that are most desirable. Just at present a large portion of the public is, rightly or wrongly, so exasperated at Germany that a negotiation of this kind would not be likely to find general support. In the course of time, however, perhaps after a few months only, something of this kind could be accomplished, with the result that our exports to Germany and to German colonies would be greatly increased and German pride would be assuaged in a manner that would be very inexpensive to us.

It is also worthy of consideration that in undertaking the control of the Philippines and Puerto Rico we raise our domestic politics to a new level, and carry forward the political education of our people by forcing them into a consideration of new and large problems in which the world is interested and of which other civilized nations have had much experience to contribute to us. The result can only be, as I see it, the enlargement of our national sympathy, the development of a broader human interest, and the elevation of our domestic politics. I have been saying for weeks—and I earnestly believe it—that the solution of the problems forced upon us by the war will contribute to the better municipal government of New York. Paradoxical as this may sound at first, it is profoundly true because of the influence of these new problems and policies upon men's standards and ideals. The country is today being educated to a new reliance upon the trained and efficient servants by the marvelous prowess of the Navy, and by the fact that you are sending to Cuba and Puerto Rico as subordinate administrative officers not political place seekers, but men trained in finance, in postal administration, and in sanitary care. The development of a colonial policy by the United States, if carried forward on the right lines, will provide a new career for many young men, patriotic and well educated, who are anxious and willing to serve the Government to the best of their capacity, in subordinate administrative posts. There is no reason why we should not do in Puerto Rico and the Philippines what England has done for Egypt during the last 15 years. It has been my good fortune to study that administration on the ground, and I can bear personal testimony to the fact that it is one of the great achievements of modern civilization.

By developing the resources of these new possessions of ours, we can make them pay the cost of their own redemption as well as furnish many of the individuals necessary to effect it—the executive control of all great places and departments being always in the hands of expert officials selected by the President of the United States.

I sincerely hope that in the lines now laid down, there may be no thought of the time when any of our outlying possessions—Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, or even Cuba itself—shall become States of the Union. That I should regard as the beginning of the end of our present constitutional form. We should, thereby, introduce into it a dangerous and alien element, that could only work for its embarrassment and its disintegration. On the other hand, if we begin the administration of these new possessions after the analogy of the English in Egypt, and look forward to developing them economically and politically to the point where they may be governed as Canada is governed, we shall, I am confident, be on the safest and surest path. We should then have educated these peoples—even if the process should take a century—to local self-government, and the bond with our Nation would be made fast through the general power of control vested in Congress,

and through the administrative bond provided by the executive officers appointed from Washington.

Only my profound interest in this question, and my sincere personal regard for yourself, as well as my desire to render every possible support to your administration, can serve as an excuse for this already unduly long letter.

I am, dear Mr. President, with the greatest respect,

Yours sincerely,

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

Upon receiving it the President asked me to come to Washington to discuss the matter more in detail. When our conversations were concluded, President McKinley told me that it was this letter which had definitely determined the attitude that his administration would take toward the Philippines. From time to time thereafter I brought to the attention of one President after another this problem not only of the Philippines but also as it related to Alaska, to the Hawaiian Islands, to Puerto Rico, and possibly to Cuba—but without any important result. Each President professed interest in the problem, but no one of them did anything.

When we were beginning to draft the Republican platform for the National Convention of 1916, I spoke to former President Taft and asked him whether he would not draft a plank dealing with this question to be incorporated in that platform. He replied to me in the following letter:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., *January 31, 1916.*

MY DEAR PRESIDENT BUTLER: I send you herewith my addresses on the Philippines, and I call your attention especially to the one I made in San Francisco before the Commonwealth Club. After reciting what the three Republican administrations did in the Philippines by organizing and maintaining a government which improved the material, intellectual, and political welfare of the Filipinos, by a universal educational system, by the making of much-needed public improvements, roads, and railroads, by the promotion of the health of the people through proper health regulation and bettering the water supply and drainage, and by the careful building of a civil service on the merit system of worthy, capable, and trained officials knowing the people and the language, the equal of any colonial service in the world, you should denounce the succeeding Democratic administration for seriously injuring the usefulness of the government by ruthless and unwise removals of Americans and the substitution of other untrained Americans and of Filipinos with a view to turning the government over to a faction of office-seeking Filipino politicians. In this way 15 years' careful, successful, and most creditable work on the part of the American Government has gone for naught. The Filipino people are not ready for self-government and are not likely to be for more than a generation. The proposal of the Democrats now to give the islands their independence, if carried out, will lead to factional disturbance and intertribal war and the seizure of theislands by some foreign power. If the United States guarantees the integrity of the islands, reserving power to enforce the guaranties of life, liberty, and property and the maintenance of order, it will assume a great and burdensome responsibility to be discharged 7,000 miles away from our shores. It is a policy of scuttle and running away from a duty, of training a people in self-government, which in the declarations of McKinley, Roosevelt, and myself, the country assumed to the Filipino people and to the world.

My dear Doctor, I have no time to formulate carefully the plank which you wish, and I have had but ltle experience in drafting a platform, but I think I have in this dictated letter indicated to you the points that ought to be covered.

Sincerely yours, WM. H. TAFT.

There the matter rested, despite suggestions from time to time that some action be taken concerning this question, until a remark which President Franklin Roosevelt made to me in casual conversation led me to write the letter which follows:

DECEMBER 6, 1938.

To the PRESIDENT,
White House, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: If I may tax your patience, there is a matter of very large public importance, both to our own country and to other parts of the world, to which I should like to ask you to give earnest consideration. It has to do with the permanent status of those possessions of the United States which lie outside of our continental area. I mean, of course, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. The relation of these outlying possessions to the United States and its Government has been on my mind for 40 years. I discussed it first with President McKinley and subsequently with Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, and Coolidge. It has, however, not been possible to get for this question the consideration which its importance demands.

To most people the alternative seems to lie between actual incorporation in the Government of the United States as a Territory and perhaps ultimately as a State, and complete independence. My idea has long been and still is that we should put these outlying possessions in substantially the same relation to the Federal Government that the British Dominions bear to the Government of Great Britain under the terms of the Statute of Westminster, enacted in 1931. I did my best to keep the Hawaiian Islands from being given Territorial status, in order that ultimately they might receive the treatment which I have just described. My hopes and plans were defeated, however, by reason of the fact that Senator Cullom, of Illinois, subsequently chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, had gone to Honolulu after the Spanish War and in a public address promised the Hawaiian people Territorial status. Since Alaska had already been given that status, the way was paved for development in what I believed then and believe now to be a wrong direction.

The case of Puerto Rico is still more significant. There is a very strong and rather vexatious movement there for complete separation from the United States. Of this I became cognizant when I visited the island 2 years ago and had the privilege and honor of addressing the legislature at San Juan.

In my judgment, it is certain that there will always be pressure, so long as present conditions exist, for, first, Territorial status and eventual statehood or for complete separation and independence. In my judgment, permanent Territorial status and the possibility of eventual statehood ought not to be considered for a moment. Imagine, if one can, such an election as we had in 1876 or in 1916 and the whole people waiting for the returns from Alaska, Hawaii, or Puerto Rico, which would finally settle the question of the Presidency. Plainly public opinion would not submit to a situation of that kind more than once. On the other hand, if these principalities are given complete independence, they become new and so-called sovereign units in the economic and political life of a world which is steadily endeavoring to become more completely unified rather than more multiform. Questions of monetary policy, of tariff, and of all sorts and kinds of local legislation would constantly arise and be difficult, if not impossible, of solution. Therefore it is my carefully considered judgment that we should, without further delay, set to work upon a plan to incorporate these outlying dependencies in a group which would have complete local self-control, subject to the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution, to final appeal to the United States Supreme Court and to the administrative authority of the President of the United States.

The result of such a plan would be that each of these outlying dependencies would have all the benefits of separation and independence and yet all the advantages of group membership and group action under the general kindly guidance and protection of the Government of the United States. I think it quite likely that before very long Cuba would itself seek a similar status, were that status provided for the Hawaiian Islands, for the Philippine Islands, for Puerto Rico, and for the Virgin Islands. Personally I should be glad if a way might be found to provide the same status for Alaska, but for geographic and topographic reasons that might prove to be extremely difficult.

I can assure you, Mr. President, that with me this is no new subject of thought and study. It is the outgrowth of a letter which I wrote to President McKinley under date of September 14, 1898, which he told me became the basis of his policy in the matter of the Philippine Islands and of Puerto Rico when the Spanish War was ended. In the present troubled state of the world it is important to remove all possible causes of friction, and, in view of what is going on in the form of economic penetration from Germany and from Japan, it seems to me that we should not delay in offering to these dependencies such a solution of the problem of their relationship to the Federal Government as I have just outlined.

May I not ask that you give very earnest thought to this problem?

I am, with highest regard,

Always faithfully yours,

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

The President's reply, which he has kindly given me permission to print, was as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, December 20, 1938.

MY DEAR DR. BUTLER: Your very interesting letter of December 6 on the subject of a permanent status for the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands has had my attention.

The fact that you have had this matter in your thoughts and have discussed it with my predecessors over a period of four decades is in itself suggestive and indicative of the difficulty of the problem—indeed, of the many problems—involved. The subject is, I quite agree, a matter of great importance, and I assure you that I have been giving and shall continue to give it my earnest consideration.

I note that your plan would include the Philippine Islands. This, I believe, should not be within the realm of consideration, for the Congress of the United States in the act of March 24, 1934, laid down the terms and conditions under which the Philippines are to become an independent state on July 4, 1946. Those terms and conditions are now in the process of fulfillment and it would not, therefore, seem appropriate to include the Philippines in a study of the problem.

Please be assured that I greatly appreciate your bringing the problem to my attention.

With cordial regards, always, I am,

Yours sincerely,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

My answer to his letter was this:

DECEMBER 22, 1938.

To the PRESIDENT,
White House, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Your letter of December 20 has been read with much interest.

It will be a great piece of constructive statesmanship to solve in some such way as I have proposed, the questions involved in fixing a permanent status for the outlying territories which are called our dependencies.

I knew, of course, of the act of Congress of March 24, 1934, in reference to the Philippine Islands, but long before July 4, 1946, comes the Philippine Islands are going to agitate for a very different

relationship to the Government of the United States from that which the act of Congress in question proposes.

With cordial greeting and all the compliments of the season, I am,

Faithfully yours,

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

It will be seen that what I have in mind is some such development as has taken place in the history of Great Britain. It seems to me that Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippine Islands, and Puerto Rico might be related to the Federal Government substantially as the Dominion of Canada is related to the Government of Great Britain. Such a relationship would give the citizens of those parts of the world self-government, and at the same time the stability and protection which their relationship to the Government of the United States would assure. The alternative would appear to be constant pressure to give to these dependencies first Territorial status and then admission to the Union. This policy would, in my judgment, be a gravely mistaken one both from the viewpoint of the inhabitants of these dependencies and from that of the American people. Imagine, if one can, as I pointed out to President Franklin Roosevelt in my letter of December 6, 1938, a Presidential election such as that of 1876 or of 1916 with the whole Nation waiting for the final returns from a remote island in the Philippines or from a small settlement in the Arctic region.

Legion Demands Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS H. CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

TELEGRAM FROM HON. I. M. MUMFORD

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, the people of the country demand that Congress and the administration take whatever steps are needed to expedite production of defense equipment. Under permission granted by the House, I offer for the RECORD the following telegram from the Honorable I. M. Mumford, department commander of the American Legion, Department of South Dakota:

HOWARD, S. DAK., *December 21, 1940.*

Congressman FRANCIS CASE,
Washington, D. C.:

Consider congressional investigation of cantonment-construction lag, armament-production slow-down, and industrial conflict in defense plants imperative. The situation requires immediate corrective action. Please advise.

I. M. MUMFORD,
Department Commander, the American Legion.

The Foolish Dollar Sign

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE E. GEYER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

Mr. GEYER of California. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States last week referred to the "foolish dollar sign" in relation to his program to aid Great Britain. In no place is the dollar sign more foolish, and more subversive of democracy, than at the ballot box. The accompanying table shows very graphically the effect of the dollar sign on popular rule in the United States. In the 1940 Presidential election, almost four-fifths of the potential voters in the eight poll-tax States were denied a ballot. In the States which did not obstruct the right to vote with a dollar sign, the proportion of potential voters who cast ballots averaged more than 70 percent, which in the States which required the payment of a poll tax the number of voters averaged 21.10 percent. Clearly, as long as the dollar sign is made a bar to voting in any part of the United States, American democracy will continue to be what has so aptly been termed "a fractional democracy."

The table follows:

1940 Presidential election

State	Percent of potential voters who voted	Number of potential voters [1]	Popular vote [2]
South Dakota	93.5	330,000	308,427
Utah	87.6	283,000	247,817
North Dakota	86.4	325,000	280,775
California	80.3	4,070,000	3,268,791
New York	80.2	7,860,000	6,301,596
Colorado	80.1	684,000	548,099
Rhode Island	79.7	401,000	319,649
Illinois	79.4	5,312,000	4,217,278
Arizona	79.0	190,000	150,039
Massachusetts	78.2	2,593,000	2,026,993
Connecticut	78.0	1,002,000	781,502
Idaho	77.6	303,000	235,156
Wisconsin	77.4	1,817,000	1,405,522
Nevada	77.1	69,000	53,174
Delaware	77.0	177,000	136,325
Wyoming	76.4	147,000	112,240
Montana	75.8	327,000	247,873
Ohio	75.4	4,401,000	3,319,912
West Virginia	74.4	1,167,000	868,808
Indiana	74.0	2,408,000	1,782,747
Minnesota	73.4	1,704,000	1,251,188
New Jersey	72.9	2,707,000	1,974,214
New Hampshire	71.6	329,000	235,419
Washington	71.6	1,108,000	793,833
Kansas	71.5	1,204,000	860,288
Michigan	71.5	2,917,000	2,085,925
Nebraska	71.4	863,000	615,878
Iowa	70.6	1,722,000	1,215,569
New Mexico	68.0	270,000	183,558
Oregon	67.4	714,000	481,200
Missouri	66.6	2,830,000	1,883,729
Pennsylvania	63.1	6,459,000	4,077,887
Maryland	59.3	1,114,000	660,908
Maine	58.9	544,000	320,313
Vermont	57.9	247,000	143,044
Oklahoma	53.3	1,550,000	826,212
Kentucky	52.7	1,842,000	970,063
Florida [3]	44.2	1,102,000	486,819
North Carolina [3]	41.8	1,967,000	822,648
Louisiana [3]	29.4	1,267,000	372,197
Texas [4]	28.7	3,622,000	1,041,168
Tennessee [4]	27.9	1,871,000	522,823
Virginia [4]	20.6	1,683,000	346,607
Arkansas [4]	17.8	1,134,000	201,841
Alabama [4]	17.6	1,676,000	294,219
Georgia [4]	16.3	1,915,000	312,539
Mississippi [4]	15.2	1,160,000	175,824
South Carolina [4]	8.8	1,131,000	99,832
United States	61.9	80,528,000	49,818,995
40 non-poll-tax States	70.59	66,336,000	46,824,142
8 poll-tax States	21.10	14,192,000	2,994,853

[1] Census Bureau estimates as published in the New York Times, Oct. 25, 1940. Potential voters are described as native persons and naturalized foreign born 21 years old and over. The District of Columbia and inmates of insane and penal institutions are excluded from the estimates.

[2] Official election returns, the Evening Star, Washington, D. C., Dec. 13, 1940, and the Washington Post, Dec. 17, 1940.

[3] States which have recently abolished the poll tax as a requisite for voting.

[4] States which require payment of a poll tax as a requisite for voting.

The Cloakroom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. LAMBERTSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, Barnum and Woodrow Wilson did not have any copyright on fooling the people.

Sometimes we wonder whether or not these Colonies won the Revolutionary War.

The next Congress is going to be more independent, but the people at home are getting less so.

In view of the recent election of a Kansas Governor, forward-looking politicians are planning on speaking hereafter in Washington, D. C., Chicago, Florida, and California.

The President's new schemes for financing England, avoiding the law of credit, make me think how John Dillinger thought he could fool the F. B. I. by lifting his face.

The twins—dictatorship and war—last week registered the seventieth and seventy-first steps, respectively, in a veto and the sending of our troops to Newfoundland.

Morgenthau says Congress will have to make the British loan. He becomes the disobedient Cabinet child. He and his people should be exiled. And, too, whoever heard of Congress?

It takes a little time to get stocker cattle on full feed. We have been fed war hysteria gradually until we are about ready to be turned into the full bunks—and we say bunks.

Wages and Hours and National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

ADDRESS BY COL. PHILIP B. FLEMING

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address made by Col. Philip B. Fleming, Administrator, Wage and Hour Division, United States Department of Labor, before the National Association of Manufacturers, New York City, December 12, 1940:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, my appearance at your convention is at my own request.

I felt that I had something to say to you—to management—about my administration of the wage and hour law for the benefit and protection of your workers.

Your response made me feel that I am a welcome addition to your program. It was suggested that I speak on wages and hours and national defense, in keeping with your convention theme.

And as I very definitely have something to say on wages and hours and national defense, I was very glad to accept the suggestion.

By this time it probably has occurred to you that this N. A. M. convention is different.

Has anyone heard anything said about the problem of overproduction? Has there been any talk of industrial surpluses? What has become of the bugaboo of overcapacity?

The situation has changed. The man who can produce now comes into his own.

We are entering into a new industrial epoch, the like of which has not been known before.

Nine thousand million dollars worth of goods have been ordered in the past few months by one customer.

Why such daily cast of brazen cannon? Because we have been challenged. We have an aggressive competitor who has challenged us on efficiency.

That challenge will be met. You know and I know that any competition on efficiency will not only be met but be licked by American manufacturers and American workingmen.

As you know I am a soldier, but recently assigned to the administration of a labor law. Last year I was on Army duty in the Midwest, and I am only on loan now to fill my present post.

To be very frank with you, I had some qualms about such an assignment. But a good soldier raises no questions concerning orders from his commanding officer. And in this case the assignment was from the Commander in Chief.

Today I have no qualms. For I realize that the enforcement of the 40-hour week, with its penalty for overtime, is one of the most important assignments a soldier could desire in the defense of his country.

For the 40-hour week is enforcing the employment of America.

More important, the 40-hour week is enforcing widespread training of Americans in productive skills.

The most valuable and powerful of our resources is getting into action—the manpower of our 130,000,000.

The 40-hour week is working. Reports coming to my office indicate that it is causing plant after plant to go on two- and three-shift operation; that it is hastening the employment of hundreds in good-sized plants down to the employment of one or two in the very smallest establishments.

This increased employment is being forced not only in factories and mines, but in wholesaling, transportation, and commercial establishments. Anaconda Copper Co. has added 5,000 men to its pay roll in the last year. They inform us that 1,300 of them have been put on because of the provisions of the wage-hour law. Why, right here in New York the personnel manager of the Manufacturers Trust Co. told us that they had to put on 300 more employees because of this law, and because of this law alone.

Right now America is producing more goods than ever before in her history, and doing it on a short workweek. Indices of employment are rising. In August the Bureau of Labor Statistics index of factory employment was 104. In September it was 108. In October it was 110. November and December will be higher. Social Security Board records of jobs in private industry show an increase of 3,000,000 over last year.

Some employers have asked our inspectors if we would rather have them hire more men than pay overtime. So let me answer that question right here. Yes; hire more men. That's the primary reason for the 40-hour week today.

Hire more men. Put on that extra shift even though it means hard work for you to organize it. I've had some recent experience in that. I had to get maximum production out of one machine—one machine, but it cost about a million dollars. It was a dredge operating on the upper Mississippi.

We had 12 months' work to do in 7 months. We used four 40-hour shifts. After all, there are 168 hours in a week. The alertness of the men working short shifts gave that dredge a hoggish appetite for river bottom. We not only succeeded—we did better than our most optimistic estimates.

And we reduced the overhead of that $1,000,000 machine per mile of dredging to an extent that more than offset the larger labor costs. Many of your batteries of producing machines cost far more than a million dollars. Productivity is at a premium. Put on more men and reduce that unit overhead cost.

The protest about the 40-hour week is literary rather than industrial. It comes from columnists and professors, not from manufacturers. Perhaps this is the reason: In 1909 average weekly hours worked in factories were 53; in 1929, 46 hours; in 1939, 38 hours. The 40-hour week had arrived in manufacturing industries long before the law made it mandatory.

Believe me, when the 40-hour week pinches, I hear about it. When the standard workweek in canneries and citrus-packing houses was under consideration, it seemed there was always a delegation from California, Florida, and Texas in my ante room. Wholesalers descended on me in droves to tell me that the 40-hour week made their operations difficult. But not manufacturers. I had no delegations from New England, or Pittsburgh, or Detroit.

So much was being written last spring and summer about the necessity of waiving the overtime penalty that I thought the President should know that the demand was not coming from industry. On my own initiative, I wrote him a letter and told him so. The letter invited protests. It promised they would be brought to the President's attention.

That letter was widely published on the front pages of newspapers across the country. Only one letter of protest resulted. The writer said I did not consider the situation of a small manufacturer like himself who was unable to operate on a two-shift basis. I recently rechecked on his situation. I find that now he is going on a two-shift basis. The 40-hour week seems to have succeeded in his case.

The Boston Transcript got the idea perfectly. It said in an editorial: "Demands that the ceiling for hours in the wage and hour law be raised in order to facilitate production in national-defense industries finds no second, curiously, from the industries affected."

Ted Granick, who conducts the National Forum of the Air on the radio Sunday nights, asked me if I would debate the issue. I said, "Sure." He began seeking my debating opponent.

Curiously, no one cared to debate the question.

To tell you the truth, I had been a little leery about debating. I had felt that I wasn't a good debater. But after more than a score of public figures declined invitations to meet me I felt like a champ.

The Board assigned to the task of mobilizing American industrial power considers the overtime penalty one of its most valuable implements in accomplishing its task. I am referring to the National Defense Commission. When the question of continuing present labor standards was brought before Stettinius, Knudsen, Budd, Hillman, Henderson, Davis, and Elliott, they were all of the same mind—that the present legal standards should be continued.

We have a way of thinking of the employed and the unemployed statistically—in terms of millions.

Let's give a thought to the individual. Let's give a thought to what happens a million times when employment totals increase by that figure. Let's give a thought to its effect on national morale.

It is all very simple. Sometimes it takes only a few words, a few minutes, and a man's name is added to a pay roll. His spirit bounds. Instead of feeling apologetic about being alive he becomes proud of it. What totalitarian state has human material as good as an American with a job?

American manufacturers have a very difficult task. I feel hesitant about making any suggestions. My entire life has been spent in the Army. I have never had to meet a pay roll.

I find myself using the word "morale." Perhaps I could make a few suggestions on that. If a soldier has any overpowering interest, it is in the morale of men in action.

Labor relations become of the utmost importance in periods of national emergency. Maintenance of morale becomes all-important.

I note from the resolutions of your employment-relations committee that you are as disturbed as labor by recently proposed legislation for compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes. I think both management and labor realize that the one way to avoid it is to succeed in maintaining good labor relations.

Labor relations remain with you. Responsibility for this important element of national morale is largely yours—yours and labor's.

Your Government has never attempted to conduct labor relations; it has laid down rules for their conduct in the National Labor Relations Act.

Follow these rules. It's good citizenship and good business. Don't make any mistake about it. You are risking business when you ignore them. Industry's largest customer wants them followed in letter and spirit.

The problems we have in the Army are simple compared to yours. But we probably encounter a few parallels. As a colonel during the war, I had to make a regiment of engineers out of 1,500 green men.

A private in the engineers not only has to know how to handle small arms, but must be skilled in such work as demolition and bridge building. I think many of you are in somewhat the same position as I was then. You have to take a lot of new men and show them how to do your work. You will have to train them yourselves.

Nobody likes to train men. Training costs money. It would help a lot to be able to hire them already trained. But you will not help your society by returning from Washington with a contract in your pocket and hiring 300 skilled workers away from other factories.

In the Army it is the noncommissioned officers who count. In manufacturing it must be your plant supervisory personnel. One of your most difficult tasks will be to increase this personnel. Nothing shakes the morale of men as much as incompetent supervision.

You will have to make foremen out of your best inspectors. Pick the men who seem to be born leaders. It must be as important in manufacturing as it is to a good military machine.

Pick them yourself right down the line. Make inspectors of your own toolmakers, toolmakers of your machinists, machinists of your machine operators. Promote them from within and you also promote morale and loyalty.

A good officer knows when he has a martinet along the line of command. Don't let zealous foremen spoil your labor relations. The responsibility and the liability are yours.

Morale prospers best in an environment of good faith. It is a violation of good faith to allow yourself to think you are more patriotic than the men under you.

Handle grievances promptly. Give them sincere consideration but decide promptly. One violation of good faith, of which all the men become immediately aware, is the stall.

That in general is what the National Defense Commission wants you to do. That is what your Government wants you to do.

My experience in the Labor Department leads me to believe that you are not going to have labor troubles unless you contribute to their making.

And now let me tell you something about the recent administration of the wage and hour law. I think you gentlemen will be surprised to hear that I have been criticized for exempting thousands of workers from the benefits and protection of this law.

Has your paymaster informed you that because of some recent change in regulations you no longer have to pay overtime penalties to many of your employees?

He has not, because the standard workweek still applies, not only to the workers in your factory but to the clerical workers in your office.

There is no basis for reports that I have excluded thousands from the benefits of the law. Anyone who honestly has that idea probably gets it from a misunderstanding as to two recent revisions I have made in our regulations.

The first was in regard to the packing and canning of fresh fruits and vegetables. They are perishable, and nature has a habit of delivering them all at once. As Congress wrote the law, these operations were free from the 40-hour rule for 14 weeks a year. I was able to make this 28 weeks, and I did so. But at the same time I extended the minimum to thousands of workers in these industries who did not have this guaranteed wage when I took over.

Not a single worker has been exempted from coverage by this action. Instead the minimum wage has been extended in one of America's lowest-wage industries.

The second revision was my definition of the administrative employee and other white-collar workers to whom the act is not to apply. We had a good definition for executive. He was the boss of an establishment or a department and there was no doubt about it.

But industry kept asking us about the important fellow in large organizations who didn't boss people—the assistant to the president, the personnel adviser, the purchasing agent. He is considered an executive. He eats in the executives' dining room. Anyway, his salary is so high that if he were paid time and a half for overtime, he would have serious doubts that he earned it.

We took care of that fellow in our new definitions. We termed him an administrative employee. We accepted the idea that his work is too important to measure in hours. But we asked that that importance be measured on the pay check. We required that the pay check be at least $200 a month.

This $200 a month is but one of the requirements to be met by an administrative employee. He must be the assistant to an executive, or his work must otherwise be directly connected with management policy. His work must be nonmanual and of a nature to require the exercise of discretion and independent judgment.

I advise you to read our definition very carefully before you list any of your people as administrative employees and stop keeping track of their hours.

How many employees under this definition of administrative will be exempt from the 40-hour week with its requirement of time and one-half for overtime I have no way of knowing. If these are the thousands I have "exempted from the protection of the act," I plead guilty without apologies. Their exemption makes compliance with the wage and hour law possible without falsification of records. For in the case of most of them, it is next to impossible for their superiors or themselves to keep a record of their hours worked.

And now let me tell you some of the things I did not do. There were petitioners at our hearings last summer who wanted me to take wage and hour protection from all salaried "white collar" workers.

Now, if there are employees in factories or offices who need the protection of an overtime penalty, the girl clerical worker is one of them.

We all know her. We all like her. We know the sound of her high heels clicking in at 9 o'clock. That is, if we get there before her. Your wife approves of the way she dresses and you know that is the highest compliment your wife can pay another woman. Her blouse is crisp and fresh. No wonder—she laundered and ironed it herself last night. She decorates the office and makes it a pleasanter place in which to work.

There isn't much in the game for her. Yet she's as loyal and as willing to work long hours as the most ambitious of your junior executives.

And our inspections reveal that she frequently does work long hours. Usually because of inefficient supervision, and sometimes because some ambitious executive wants to make a record. She is unorganized and she was unprotected until the wage and hour law went into effect.

Well, now when she works more than 40 hours a week, she is paid time and a half for overtime. The practice of compliance in this respect is spreading and time and a half for overtime means that she is not going to work long hours often. Management is going to regard such overtime charges in the same light as demurrage on freight cars that could just as well have been unloaded. And I think this will make for greater efficiency. Your executive who gets going around 3 o'clock in the afternoon will have to get started closer to 9 a. m.

And that's what I meant when I said I wanted to report on the way I have administered the wage and hour law for the protection of your employees. There isn't a man here who hasn't reflected at times that "We oughtn't work the girls so late." They have the protection of law now and I rejected all requests to change that.

As to the enforcement of this act, I can report with some pride that it is becoming very general, and that resistance on the part of the employer has greatly decreased. I note from our operating statistics that we are having fewer cases proportionately against manufacturing establishments, and more on the fringe of coverage, such as the distributive industries.

I am still surprised at the amount of restitution payments resulting from our compliance drives and at the number of employees getting them.

So far we have collected something over $5,000,000 for more than 150,000 employees. The payment of an additional million has been arranged.

That's a tremendous number of employees to be receiving checks, often the equivalent of several weeks' wages. But most of these payments have been made only in the last few months. We are just starting. We are now witnessing restitution payments at the rate of about $750,000 a month.

I have been talking mostly about overtime. Most of you gentlemen pay far above the minimum wage in our law. You might be curious as to where a 30-cent minimum wage applies to large numbers. In manufacturing industries about 460,000 workers were getting less than 30 cents an hour. Half of them were making cloth or clothes. The lumber industry was the only other manufacturing industry with a large mass of workers under 30 cents an hour. They numbered more than 100,000.

We have taken steps not only to enforce thoroughly the 30-cent minimum wage in these industries, but to increase that minimum toward 40 cents an hour, the goal of the act. We appointed industry committees who made investigations and we issued wage orders establishing higher minima up to 40 cents an hour in textiles and clothing manufacture.

We went through the lumber industry with a fine-tooth comb, getting all establishments into fair competition as far as minimum wages and pay for overtime were concerned. At present we are conducting a similar drive for compliance through the garment industry, with its 15,000 establishments. It is impossible statistically to estimate the economic effect of all this. I myself feel it would be no exaggeration to say that the 30-cents-an-hour statutory minimum and the wage orders are putting $100,000,000 more a year into workers' pay envelopes.

Instances have come to my attention of management in large corporations not knowing as much about the way employees are working as any good command should. In a large branch plant of one corporation we found a great deal of overtime worked. It was not being recorded. And this was in violation of instructions from the corporation's headquarters.

The top management was surprised by the situation. They asked if one of our inspectors would go to each branch plant and compute restitution for all such violations. Situations in the other branches were not as bad, but there were some violations in all of them. The resulting restitution came to almost $100,000.

The manager of the first plant inspected had been a "comer." His reports had shown the lowest labor cost of any branch in the corporation. He was out to make a record for himself, and his excess of zeal proved mighty expensive to his employers.

In some national corporations we find that this competition among local managers to make a record is almost as bad as cut-wage competition in certain industries.

It is not enough to direct that the wage and hour law be observed. It is necessary for management to follow up its instructions and see that they are strictly carried out.

The day I was sworn in as Administrator of this law early this year, I issued a statement which was widely published. It advised

employers to "put their houses in order" because this law was going to be enforced.

I warned employers to straighten themselves out under this law before amounts due their workers accumulated to financially embarrassing sums.

One corporation had to pay more than $250,000 in restitution.

If you are not sure that you are in compliance with this law—and compliance is very simple—my advice to you is to make sure.

Because our inspector will soon be around.

When you go home be sure to put your house in order. Enforcement of this act is as certain as death or taxes.

I commend this law to you. Its provision of a 40-hour week with an overtime penalty is enforcing the employment of America. And the minimum wage is filling many a Christmas stocking that otherwise would have hung empty.

Merry Christmas to you, and may you succeed in the task which lies before you in the busy New Year!

A "Temporary" Expedient

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

LETTER FROM FRANKLIN J. ANDERSON TO THE BROOKLYN EAGLE

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, the following letter dealing with the action of the Communist Party in its frantic attempt to avoid the necessity of registration under the Voorhis Act is self-explanatory. It means a great deal to me, however, that the writer of the letter is a young man whose school teacher I once was in a boys' school in northern Illinois:

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of December 2, 1940]

LETTERS TO THE EAGLE—SEES ATTEMPT TO EVADE VOORHIS ACT IN COMMUNIST CONVENTION ACTION

To the EDITOR OF THE BROOKLYN EAGLE:

On October 26 a letter of mine appeared in the Eagle concerning the Communist Party and the Voorhis Registration Act, which requires organizations subject to foreign control to register with the United States Attorney General. In this letter I posed a number of questions as to why they were calling a special convention dealing specifically with the Voorhis Act.

Was it being called, I asked, "to devise ways and means to avoid registration"? "Will the party disassociate itself from the Third Internationale on the surface and thus be left free to carry on its subversive activities under a cloak of respectability"?

These questions or predictions were borne out on November 16 when some 150 Communist delegates heard Earl Browder, party secretary, deliver an elaborate treatise on the Voorhis Act, which they considered a masterly interpretation.

The assembled delegates at the behest of Browder unanimously voted to sever their ties with Moscow, temporarily, in order to evade registration under the Voorhis Act and revised their party constitution to meet the change.

But in doing so they unanimously reaffirmed their pledge of "unshakable adherence of our party to the principles of proletarian internationalism in the spirit of its greatest leaders and teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin."

If the Communist Party is not foreign controlled, as they assert, then why don't they defy the law and attempt to tests its constitutionality in the higher courts? Our courts stand ready to aid any legal minority if its rights are in jeopardy.

In his speech Browder misconstrues the Voorhis Act as being applicable to such worthy organizations as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, the Catholic Church, the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., such organizations as the Young Hebrews, the Rotary Clubs, Masons, Kiwanis, and the A. F. of L., but not the C. I. O.

In stating that the law is not applicable to the C. I. O., Browder is correct, but in doing so is he giving the cue for his comrades to infiltrate into the C. I. O.?

Any organization that is on the level, open and above board, has nothing to fear of the Voorhis Act. And it well behooves the Department of Justice to lose no time in applying the Voorhis Act to the Communist Party when the act becomes effective January 1, despite their spurious legality.

In the meantime it will do well for representatives of the Government, industry, labor, and agriculture to assemble in conference in the near future to devise ways and means to alleviate and correct the social and economic evils and the unemployment problems that beset our country, for it is just such evils that organizations like the Communist Party seize upon to advance themselves.

FRANKLIN J. ANDERSON.

BROOKLYN, *November 24.*

Inaugural Address of the President of Mexico

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SOL BLOOM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 18, 1940

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF MEXICO, MANUEL AVILA CAMACHO, AT MEXICO CITY, DECEMBER 1, 1940

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the inaugural address of President Manuel Avila Camacho, of Mexico, which it was my privilege and pleasure to hear him deliver at Mexico City on December 1, as follows:

This solemn occasion in our institutions should be for every Mexican a day in which to give exclusive thought to the common interests of his country. We cannot remain indifferent to the destruction, violence, and anxiety affecting the world. These are grave times for all, ourselves included, and with this in mind I shall explain our position and our intentions to fulfill our duty accordingly.

Every man free from prejudice who realizes that a country cannot carry out great and noble deeds without elevating the masses to the dignity afforded them by their own legal rights, and without making them conscious of their own strength and responsibility, will reach the conclusion that the Mexican revolution was a social movement guided by historic justice which has been able to achieve for the people one of its essential aims.

Every new epoch calls for a renewal of ideals. The entire Republic now clamors for the material and spiritual unification of our social achievements to create a prosperous and powerful economy. If, in former days, all privileged classes were consolidated into a political bloc which controlled the economic structure of the nation and converted all efforts on the part of the people to attain prosperity into an illegal enrichment of minorities at the expense of general poverty, today when our legal statutes guarantee the just distribution of the wealth produced within the Nation, it would constitute an inexcusable crime not to convert the great resources at Mexico's disposal, and the many opportunities it has to offer, into a powerful and great economy.

We must elevate the spirit of the nation by doing away with poverty. A patriotic attitude on our part will eliminate every reason for misunderstanding and will make it possible for every Mexican to become a constructive factor and a symbol of mutual confidence.

All investors and businessmen know only too well that no enterprise which is founded on starvation wages or on the violence of the fundamental rights of its workers can be upheld in a public administration such as ours, which represents the cause of justice. On the other hand, they must also know that as long as they comply with the prescriptions of the law, all legitimate profits shall be respected. All businessmen must have the incentive that their undertakings of foresight, of constant effort, and of courage to face all risks, will have the full guaranties of our institutions. The working class, in turn, will be able to appreciate fully that production not only benefits the companies and homes of the workers but that it will bring prosperity to the entire Republic as well.

Let us bear in mind that our ideals of collective justice are far from being attained; unemployment and starvation wages which exist in our country today require the same opportunities for every man to lead a decent life. The man who has a job must have the guaranty that the profits derived from collective contracts will be permanent. Furthermore, we must strive toward one goal—and to this end I shall do my utmost—that in the very near future our laws on social security will offer protection to every Mexican in his hours of darkness, in orphanage, in women's widowhood, in sickness, in unemployment, in old age, to substitute in this way the longstanding regime imposed upon us by the poverty of our Nation.

All these humanitarian ideals can only be attained by exploiting the bountiful resources at our disposal. I am speaking, therefore, to the farmers, that they have faith in the land and cultivate it accordingly. We shall give every guaranty to the legitimate property rights of the farmer in order that he may cultivate his land with the love that comes from the certainty of harvesting what is sown. The agrarian problems will require the utmost attention on the part of the Government, if we are to fulfill the aims of the Revolution.

I shall devote all my efforts to making the farmer's parcel a productive one, granting him all the privileges which the country is in a position to offer him. We shall take special pains to protect small properties, not only to defend those already in existence but to establish new centers of agricultural production in our vast extensions of uncultivated land.

Under these conditions, I desire to make a direct appeal to that love which all farmers have for the land, in order that they do their

best to make it produce abundantly and that they conduct themselves with discipline, thus becoming a real asset to the Nation.

I also wish to speak to the youth of the Nation. They must have faith in life if they are to pursue creative initiatives. We fully realize that the young ones leaving the different universities, institutes, towns, and parts of the country look around with uncertainty and fear of life. Not being able yet to appreciate fully the struggles the Republic has had to undergo to do away with obstacles and privileges, they feel that our era has closed the door on them. Full of physical strength, and in the prime of life, their spirit is crushed, because they find no opportunities opened for them in farms or cities. In the meantime, our natural resources lie dormant awaiting their initiative.

The Government is today in a position to clear the way for them. We solemnly commit ourselves to use the power invested upon us to open new horizons and new opportunities, where the will to work, the fighting spirit, and the legitimate desire to conquer which characterizes our youth shall find fertile ground.

We place our hopes for economic expansion mainly on the vital energy of private initiative. One of the driving forces of this expansion shall be credit—an attainable and low-cost credit, the organization and development of which shall have our immediate and decided support. The Mexican people need the credit lever and we shall give it to them.

All these accepted standards shall increase the buying power of the agricultural population, stimulate the development of new industries, increase working opportunities, and create for us an era of abundance and prosperity. In this way we hope to consolidate our heritage of conquests, utilizing them to develop the tremendous wealth of our Nation and to increase our production. Thus we shall give our country the strength which is derived from a sound economy and our people the opportunity of a better living.

The entire nation wishes prosperity, but not prosperity alone. Our Government shall not constitute a pliable instrument in the hands of privileged interests, whichever these may be. We want a prosperity, based on justice, under which the spiritual values of Mexico shall thrive. We shall therefore have to strengthen public ethics. All state governments, as well as my direct collaborators, shall endeavor to make the nation cognizant of the fact that only with equity can the common interests of the Mexican people best be served. We shall try to preserve virtues, such as honor, filial devotion, and fraternity, which are characteristic of the Mexican people. We shall endeavor to keep alive in every home the noble sentiments of good will as an expression of the true democratic spirit of the Mexican people.

To achieve this goal, our Government has the greatest confidence in the teachers of the nation, whose duty it is to develop the educational and spiritual life of the communities, not only by useful and practical teachings, in line with Mexican interests and ideals, but also to set examples of laboriousness, morality, and work.

I wish to state very frankly, and at the same time persuade all those at the service of the state, that the benefits afforded them by the judiciary ordinance (estatuto judiciario) cannot go against the interests of the nation. Efficiency in their work and morality in the public services they render must answer at all times the demands of the people.

Our Government shall look after the health of the people; we shall see to it that the legal rights of the working classes in their struggle for existence, remain untouched. The state would not be fulfilling its obligation if it were not to protect with the power it enjoys, the working classes who lack a direct control over the economic structure and instruments of production. But these protections must be in accord with the thought that the exclusive welfare of a few at the expense of that of others, shatters the spirit of solidarity of a people. Social justice demands justice for all. Consequently, we must all be united in one aim, united for the good of the country, and united in the thought that we are all Mexicans.

We shall elevate our Labor Department to the category of ministry of labor and social security, demonstrating, in this manner the importance the nation attaches to the advancement of the working classes, their economic security, their physical well-being and their intellectual education. Also, to the advantages derived by the country from the favorable solution of labor conflicts in which not only the interests of the industries and the workers, but also the welfare of the entire nation and the destiny of the Republic is at stake, through the peaceful organization of productive forces.

We must make the organizations discipline their constituents and define their principles, and in this way they shall be worthy of the support and gratitude of the people. We have almost reached the point where our labor organizations, with their ideals of power and justice, will become an inexhaustible source of national and international confidence. Furthermore, we shall not deter from our purpose of attaining these objectives which the welfare and greatness of Mexico demand. We feel certain that in the task of cementing these principles of patriotism and public health, we count, in the first place, with the support of the working classes, and with the approval of the entire Republic and the power behind the institutions.

I must again point out to the local authorities, that whereas violation to a law may at some time bring an immediate benefit, the lack of confidence resulting from such an act in the spirit of the general public, exceeds it by far. The principles of loyalty and the fulfillment of the word pledged are not only necessary and useful moral instruments to men, but to nations as well.

The army represents the honor and manly virtues of the country. Compulsory-military service shall open new fields to the youth of the nation. On the other hand, the urgent need of making our merchant and naval marines responsible units, has made it necessary to elevate the respective department to the category of ministry of state. In this manner, we are in a better position to face the responsibility of defending our coasts and of establishing our own naval bases, maintaining the sovereignty of the nation intact. The merchant marine shall also experience a tangible increase, imperative at this time because of our coastal service and foreign trade.

The experience acquired during our political campaign has confirmed the necessity of including a clause in our party's platform to the effect that members of the armed forces shall not militate in politics, either directly or indirectly, while in active service, as politics within the barracks tend to give less guaranty to the Nation and to divide the military element. We must protect and make our armed forces great to constitute a bulwark to our institutions.

No brighter beacon to guide our steps through solid ground in this period of confusion than the democratic ideal in our internal life and our decided international support to the Pan American doctrine.

It is, indeed, a great fortune that the Americas are united in the common thought of defense against any aggression to our continental doctrine of equality, legal rights, honor, and mutual respect. This doctrine of peaceful and just relations constitutes the only hope for the preservation of civilized principles of international solidarity, so essential in this tormented and bleeding world. Nothing divides us in this, our America. The differences which may exist between our peoples are overshadowed by the strong desire of creating an everlasting friendly continental life based on mutual respect, on reason over brutal force, and on pacifist cooperation over mechanized destruction.

These sentiments, proven by time and made into a slogan in this decisive hour, shall day by day bring us closer together. The most important thing is that all our nations feel the need that the defense of America is a common cause, for it involves the destinies of our countries, the welfare of our children, and our historic duty before humanity. The whole continent, if united in a common cause and guarded against any vulnerable spot, shall be invincible. It is of no importance that many of our nations are weak and small. The fact remains that our cause is a common one. Our economies, great or small, when united will acquire strength and shall give the continent an impregnable economic power; our countries, being courageously prepared and ready to face all contingencies, will emerge from this crisis forever united in the power derived from a victorious ideal common to all.

With a true spirit of justice, which I am sure is shared by every one of you, I wish to address our retiring President:

General Cárdenas, we are fully cognizant of the fact that you have performed a hard and brave task in the service of your people. You have raised the dignity of the working classes. Your generous spirit, always willing to serve the cause of justice, has been felt in all fields strewn with obstacles which we have had to travel in the pursuit of our national conquests. After your administration Mexico is a more respectable nation and is nearer attaining its great political ideals. You have fulfilled your historic presidential mission and you deserve our deepest appreciation.

Mexicans, the hopes of the entire nation await us. The Government we are today inaugurating is the Government of the entire nation, a Government which shall be above all sectarianism, and the principles of which shall be dedicated to serve the democratic ideals by protecting all rights and affording each and every one the advantages of our laws without distinction of political or religious creeds. We must emphatically demonstrate that we have forgotten all differences arising from the political campaign, for the exercise of a right during an electoral period only deserves esteem and respect. Let us unite our efforts and open our hearts to cooperation and harmony, with the thought that we are forging our destiny under the same colors. I ask from the bottom of my heart of all Mexican patriots and of the country in general that we remain united, casting away all intolerance, all barren hatred, in this constructive crusade for fraternity and national greatness.

Secret of Dynamic Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

ADDRESS BY DR. RAYMOND R. WALKER

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith an address by Dr. Raymond R. Walker, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Port-

land, Oreg., and president of the Portland City Club. The address entitled "Secret of Dynamic Democracy" was reprinted in the Oregon Journal of December 16, 1940, and is as follows:

SECRET OF DYNAMIC DEMOCRACY

(Address by Raymond B. Walker, pastor of the First Congregational Church and president of the Portland City Club)

We, the people! Here is the secret of dynamic democracy. The words constitute the opening phrase of that charter of the American way of life which we proudly call the Constitution.

The Constitution and all the vast structure of governmental procedure resting upon it are but means to an end, and the end is the beginning of it all—we the people, struggling for "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Spiritual entities, children of the Eternal God, personalities possessing boundless capacities, undreamed-of powers and infinite destinies; such was the concept of humanity expressed in the colonists' declaration of inalienable rights, and implemented into the noblest political document ever formed.

When Jesus said, "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath," He expressed the law of means and ends. Means are intended for man's enlargement and enrichment. The principle applies to every institution, tradition, and technological appliance. The ultimate test of their worth lies in what they do for man. Social customs, political philosophies, economic systems, are to be judged by this standard alone: Are they the means to man's expansion and fulfillment, and thus the realization of his inalienable rights as a child of God? In one of his great imperatives, Immanuel Kant echoed the principle of Jesus when he said, "Treat humanity, whether in the person of yourself or another, always as an end and never as a means."

Out of such an evaluation of man has emerged the democratic way of life. For democracy is more than a form of government; it is an evaluation of personality; it is a philosophy of life growing out of the conviction that the people possess capacities of self-determination and the power to rise in dignity and strength and live creatively as the sons of God. It is this insistence of Jesus that every human being shall be regarded as a person that has in it the seeds of a universalism which has the power, when the race accepts it, to destroy walls of prejudice and provincialism and create a society of freemen, a true brotherhood. Most of the evils that have darkened and degraded human life are resultant from the reduction of personality to means instead of its exaltation as an end.

TO PROTECT FREEDOM

It was to escape the political and ecclesiastical use of men as means that our fathers left the Old World, created a new ideology of freedom and established their homes upon this continent. And when they formulated the Constitution that instrument was not to glorify the state at the expense of the individual. To them, the primary reason for a strong government was to safeguard the rights of freemen.

Two great ideologies, schools of thought, antagonistic philosophies of government, claim human loyalty. One centers in the doctrine that the state is supreme and the individual of significance only so far as he promotes and serves the strength and authority of the government. It makes no difference what his regimentation is called, by names ancient or modern, the principle is the same—the individual is the means and the state the end. And to that end, at the will of the dictator, all personality is subordinated. Thus, industry, science, education, the courts, the legislature, the press, and even the church, are made to conform to a rigid pattern; freedom simply does not exist. In totalitarianism the individual is the means and the state the end; but in democracy the state is the means and the individual the end. The totalitarian system exercises authority through force ruthlessly applied; representative government rests upon "the consent of the governed," the loyalty of an enlightened and patriotic citizenry. We, the people—there is the foundation of democracy, the source of its dynamic unity and strength!

Those inalienable rights for which the founders struggled were not, by their sacrifices, guaranteed for all time to the American people. They are ours only as we, too, "ordain and establish" them. The Constitution cannot give us liberty; we must earn it, and the price is organized, courageous, democratic action against those forces which would destroy. Sometimes they are incarnate in a menace without, but more perilous by far are they when within, as moods of intolerance, bigotry, ignorance, greed, and indifference. Nothing can destroy this American democracy but our own stupidity. The most threatening menace today lies in our own moods of cynicism, selfishness, defeatism.

THE PEOPLE'S RESPONSIBILITY

Whose responsibility is contemporary America? No one man, no group, can remedy its defects and abolish threatening evils. Security can come only through a rising of the masses to a higher level of individual and collective motivation. We, the people, alone can solve our problems. The supreme need today is a renaissance of citizenship.

The Panama Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRED BRADLEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, during the international crisis with which we have been faced for the past 15 months we have been told time and again that the Panama Canal is the life line of America. We have been told that the security and defense of America are dependent upon an adequate navy. Fearful that we might some day be faced with an enemy composed of a combination of nations, we have appropriated billions of dollars for a two-ocean navy which cannot be built in less than 6 or 7 years. Pending the acquisition of that two-ocean navy, we have been told that the Panama Canal must be protected and defended at all costs in order that our present Navy may be made more mobile and by the medium of the Panama Canal be able to readily transfer itself into a defensive force in either the Atlantic or Pacific.

We have been told, Mr. Speaker, that the Panama Canal defenses needed important improvements. We have been told, Mr. Speaker, that a third set of locks was necessary. Economically, this is not so, for by no stretch of imagination could anyone stand in the well of this House and defend the appropriation for a third set of locks based solely on economic reasoning, which, in turn, would be based upon the present and prospective tonnage passing through the Canal. However, if we are to build larger battleships which must traverse the Canal, then, of course, the present locks must either be enlarged or new and bigger locks must be constructed and hence this Congress has appropriated some $277,000,000 for a third set of locks. Quite naturally, these locks and the existing ones must be made as invulnerable as possible against air attack. The very capable engineers who built the Panama Canal but a few years ago could not at that time have been expected to foresee the presently demonstrated ravages of air attack. Some of our more capable and foresighted air officers have for years warned our country against the probable future devastation which might result from air assaults. Today, in Britain and all continental Europe, we see that their prophecies are coming true and we realize that for one reason or another we have been asleep at the switch. And so, therefore, Mr. Speaker, we have appropriated $65,000,000 to make the present Panama Canal as invulnerable as possible against air attack.

Mr. Speaker, in this session of Congress we have approved in peacetime the conscription of manpower to provide for the adequate defense of the Western Hemisphere. If the Panama Canal is indeed the life line of this Nation, quite naturally part of this manpower might reasonably be expected to go into the Canal Zone to insure its protection.

Now, I think every Member of Congress should be thoroughly familiar with the conditions as they actually exist at present in the Panama Canal Zone. About a year ago, shortly after the outbreak of the present turmoil in Europe, I made a trip to Panama to find out what the conditions were then. Last Saturday I returned from another trip to Panama, because I wanted to find out for myself just how we were spending these millions and also just how many and what improvements actually had been made, and just what the present conditions actually are in the Zone. Mr. Speaker, I think you and every Member of this House should be immediately informed about the actual conditions as I saw them, and may I say at this point that possibly I have a peculiar habit of not being led around by the nose and shown things that I should be shown but prefer instead to stick

my nose into places and see things that I should not see and learn things that I might not be expected to find out about. I think we would all be much better off and perhaps we would be better serving our country if a few more of us made a few more personal investigations.

Now, what are we doing to actually protect the life line of America? I was shown in great detail how our $65,000,000 is being spent to protect the vital parts of the operating mechanism of the existing locks against aerial attack. Just how this was being done, I am told, is a military secret and therefore I think I should not go into details at this time. I think the work is being well done; I think the money is being expended as effectively and as expeditiously as we might reasonably expect. I was told that ex-Governor Ridley and his engineers designed and adopted a rather novel type of protection. Discouraged by some other designers and engineers, nevertheless they persisted with the program after having actually conducted quite exhaustive tests against aerial assault. Against aerial assault results as now evidenced in Europe and looking toward the future with an eye toward reasonable expectation, I think they have done a very capable job of designing and I think the work is proceeding in a very satisfactory manner.

I have said to you, Mr. Speaker, that all of this work is supposed to be a military secret, and I know that quite elaborate precautions are taken by the authorities charged with responsibility of keeping this information from getting out to the world at large. I think they are doing a good job along that line, but on the other hand, these secrets are getting out as proven by the fact that we heard employees, returning from the Canal Zone, openly and without solicitation, volunteer information as to what was actually going on.

To go on with the fortification of the Zone. We have, of course, for many years known about the fortified islands and the large railway guns mounted in strategic positions and designed to protect the Canal from assault by formidable naval forces. I had an unusual opportunity to watch one of these gun crews in target practice, and I say to you without hesitation, Mr. Speaker, that I was glad I was not sitting on the target that was being towed out in the sea. Those boys were on their toes and doing a fine job with the equipment they had, but I say to you, Mr. Speaker, that those guns alone will never defend the Panama Canal and my opinion is that they will never be fired against an invading force, because if they are fired the Canal will not at that time still be the life line of America; it will be too late.

World War II has demonstrated without any question of doubt that destruction today is wrought by the invader from the skies or through sabotage. Sabotage, we all know, is a tremendously dangerous weapon. Recent bombing of defense factories within the continental United States surely must awaken us to the full realization of this fact. Serious damage from sabotage has not yet taken its toll in Panama, and for that reason I think we must give full credit to those who are charged with the antisabotage patrol in the Canal, and in Central America. I am alarmed, Mr. Speaker, as you must be, by the very knowledge that our potential enemies must be doing their utmost to infiltrate their agents into our merchant marine as they are into every vital part of our national-defense program. We in America are proud of our merchant marine. I am particularly proud of the splendid crew of the steamer *Panama*, on which I made this trip, but I hope that every member of the personnel of our merchant marine will be on the alert for subversive foreign agents regardless of their nationality, because I am terribly concerned by the fact that responsible officers charged with the antisabotage patrol in the zone told me that they were far more concerned with the danger of sabotage from American ships than they were from those of the belligerent nations.

I heard an interesting story in Panama about a conversation between an Air Corps officer and a Coast Artillery officer, in charge of antiaircraft defense. The Coast Artillery officer asked just what would be the function of the Air Corps in the event of war. The aircraft officer replied that their job was to keep the antiaircraft from working. In other words, if the Air Corps functioned as it was supposed to there would be nothing for the antiaircraft to worry about.

Now, that makes a good story, Mr. Speaker, but I dislike to tell you as a fact that I did not see a single modern airplane in the entire Canal Zone. One hundred and forty-mile-an-hour planes cannot last 2 minutes with the present 400-mile-an-hour aircraft being used in Europe. Combat crews, bombardment crews, accustomed to 140-mile-an-hour aircraft cannot step out of those planes into modern airplanes and fight them efficiently and therefore, I inquire, Mr. Speaker, why these splendid young men now in our air forces are not permitted to have at least some training in modern airplanes? I am not taking issue with the question of furnishing aircraft to Britain as fast as it may be made available, but I am asking you this question, Mr. Speaker, why do we not give these boys in Panama a break, and why do we not send these airplanes down there as fast as they come off the production line and give those boys at least a couple of weeks training in flying those aircraft and getting themselves a chance to become accustomed to them so that if the time should come when our aircraft production may of necessity return to our own American needs then, at least, our pilots will be able to step into those planes and fight them as efficiently as they should be able to do if given an opportunity.

Again, I ask you, if the Panama Canal is the life line of America why not at least have in the Zone at all times, even if only for a few weeks at a time, the latest and most efficient aircraft that comes off our production line and after they have been there for a few weeks then ship them abroad if the need exists for them, but let us give our boys at least a fighting chance to train themselves against any possible future difficulties.

But now, Mr. Speaker, here is the fly in the ointment in such a program. We have not in Panama today an airport or a single runway on which today's airplane can land and from which it can take off to do a job safely; and what are we going to do about that? Why are we building a big airport over there at Howard Field, just a comparatively few yards away from the Canal locks, and what are we doing at Howard Field? We are building the finest quarters for men that I have looked at in a long while. They are all reinforced concrete, with tile roofs and copper screens on the windows. That is fine. They make beautiful targets for an invading bombing force. Certainly they provide for the comforts of the men and their families which will occupy them; but what about the airport itself? Under our present program apparently the quarters are needed first for the men rather than an actual runway from which the planes which must defend these quarters must operate; and what about our hangars? All are now being built out under the blue skies and in the open—just perfect as targets for the invading force—despite the fact that the whole countryside is studded with hills where we could build underground hangars to store these planes which the experiences in Europe today prove are the only safe hangars for modern fighting aircraft; and what about the gasoline supply? Mr. Speaker, I ask you to get in one of the airplanes and ride over the Canal Zone and look at all these big beautifully shining tanks that are standing over the hilltops and can be seen 50 or 100 miles away. Why do not we bury these underground and cover them over so that the invading bombardiers will not have such a conspicuous target at which to aim their deadly missiles, and why do not we put our present stock of bombs under a bombproof shed underground instead of leaving them out of doors where a 10-cent firecracker could cause the destruction of all of Panama in 5 minutes?

Yes, Mr. Speaker, when we are talking about efficiency why do we go to the expense of leveling off hills on which to build our officers' quarters so that they will make a more pleasing picture rather than building the quarters on the hills where the men can get plenty of fresh air at night and enjoy a peaceful night's sleep?

Again we hear a lot about an antiaircraft defense. We have a lot of beautiful searchlights down there; they are fine, beautiful things. If the night is not too foggy and there is not too much of the typical Panama humidity these beautiful searchlights can pick out an airplane at 6,000 feet in the air, maybe if they are lucky they can pick one out at

10,000 feet, but Mr. Speaker, bombers do not fly at 10,000 feet; they work at 20,000 feet or so and did it ever occur to you what a fine beacon those searchlights would be to any invading force attempting to attack Panama from an aircraft carrier hundreds of miles at sea? Those men, you know, do not have a chain of radio beacons such as our airline pilots use. They have to fly by navigation and dead reckoning and they might be 50 or 100 miles off their course but these searchlights, making a wonderful ring sticking up in the air, give them a beacon because then they know that quite obviously their target must be somewhere near the center of that ring. And by the way, why do not we give the boys a little dark paint with which to cover the roofs of these encampments for the antiaircraft crews? The galvanized-iron roofs spotted on nearly every hilltop likewise are a beautiful target for the daylight bomber. I think they have done a fine job with these little encampments located up in the hills from a sanitary and comfort viewpoint, probably as good as can be done, but I was quite surprised to find that appropriations had not been made available for paint to cover the roofs and afford some little measure of camouflage.

And now to come down to the ground again, what are we doing about the trans-Isthmus highway? Some 6 months ago the Bureau of Public Roads undertook to guarantee the completion of the 22 miles necessary to cross the Isthmus by road and have it done by July of 1941. I hope they do it, but there was little sign of actual activity, and until that highway is built, Mr. Speaker, all supplies to be rapidly transported across the isthmus from one side to the other must of necessity go across a single railroad which a big part of the way is single track and of an odd gage upon which standard American rolling stock cannot travel. And why is it that we consider as a matter of national defense, and therefore eligible for funds, the construction or improvement of the highways actually within the various forts in Panama while on the contrary, the Gaillard Highway which connects these forts and these Army posts is denied funds for its improvement and its much-needed widening. And the Gaillard Highway is but a two-lane black-top road, at least most of the distance I traveled it, and traffic must of necessity travel at a snail's pace as compared with our normal highway traffic in the States, and yet, Governor Edgerton has difficulty in securing funds with which to widen and with which to improve or with which to even adequately maintain this important connecting link, or indeed, any of the other highways coming under his jurisdiction.

Again, I say to you, Mr. Speaker, let us use a little more judgment and provide some of the adequate funds requested by those who are in a position to know what funds are required and for what they are actually required.

And in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, may I say to you that I was very proud of the morale of the civilians in the Canal Zone and of our armed forces stationed there and with whom I came in contact. We have a fine force of men down there. We have a fine personnel of men and their families now leaving the States and going to the Canal Zone to participate in the expansion program which we are conducting, but, Mr. Speaker, let us be honest with those people we are asking to go down there. Let us not continue to send them down there faster than we can provide quarters in which the civilians can be expected to live with that reasonable degree of comfort to which they have been accustomed here in the States. Let us not ask young men to go down to the Canal Zone and expect to send for their families within a few weeks when quarters cannot possibly, by any stretch of the human imagination, be ready for them within 6 months to a year. Let us not ask the breadwinner of a newly wedded family to go into the Canal Zone full of enthusiasm for the job ahead and expect to send for his wife in another month or 6 weeks and then find that the only way he can actually get her there is to prove that he has quarters for her and perhaps he may find that those quarters consist of renting a room on a back porch, from some other employee, for $25 a month. That is not playing fair with the men working down there. Let us do first things first. If this work is to go on as rapidly as the program has been outlined, then why not let us come out openly and invite down into the Canal Zone some of the millions of young single unemployed men in this country and bring the married ones down only as fast as we can provide adequate and sanitary, and at least reasonably comfortable quarters for them.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that no other Member of this House will come back from Panama on any boat carrying 47 young breadwinners who went down to the Canal Zone from 1 to 6 months ago, full of pep and enthusiasm for the job ahead, and who have returned discouraged, disillusioned, and disgusted with the false promises made to them.

Mr. Speaker, I wish every Member of the House could go down to Panama and see for himself some of the things that I have seen within the past 2 weeks with my own eyes and heard with my own ears, and not perhaps be asked to vote on appropriations here on the floor based upon testimony given before committees and which testimony might perhaps have been manufactured or at least colored by orders from above.

And therefore, Mr. Speaker, if the Panama Canal is in reality the life line of America, then let us do first things first in the Canal Zone.

If the attitude of some people in the Republic of Panama is any criterion, then perhaps we should very carefully reconsider our good-neighbor policy, because, after all, let us not be put in the position of a man who tries to buy friendship by lending money. True friendship is not purchasable. False friendship may be, and usually is, for sale to the highest bidder, and therefore let us not get ourselves into a position of a man who, having loaned dollar after dollar, is then branded as unfriendly when, after looking at his own bank roll, he finds he can no longer grant the interminable loan.

Modern warfare demonstrates that aircraft and defense against aircraft is a paramount necessity. Modern warfare demonstrates that the only adequate defense against aircraft is aircraft. Every pilot knows that aircraft must be adequately fueled, adequately housed, adequately manned, and have adequate airports. Modern warfare demonstrates that those adequate airports should not be located immediatly adjacent to the defensive objectives, so that the intercepting aircraft might have at least a reasonable opportunity to gain altitude to meet the enemy in combat, while at the same time making it necessary for him to disperse his force sufficiently to attack and render powerless the defenders as well as to reach his bombing objective. Therefore let us provide modern aircraft operating from modern fields in the Panama Canal Zone.

So long as we need American labor in Panama let us see to it that adequate housing is provided for them and their families as fast as it is needed.

I sincerely believe that those now in authority in the Canal Zone know what they want and what they need, and I hope that you and the Director of the Budget and the Members of Congress will heed their pleas.

If the Panama Canal is indeed the life line of America, then let America strengthen and adequately support that life line.

Why Not Revive a Time-Honored American Institution to Build National Morale and Extend Our Democracy by Rooting It in Town Meetings Throughout the Nation?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, the following letter which I have recently mailed to the Secretary of

Agriculture, the Commissioner of Education, the Secretary of Labor, and the Director of the American Youth Commission will explain itself. I ask to print it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, because I am earnestly hoping that the proposal I have made may catch the imagination and enlist the interest not only of Members of Congress but of people of every sort throughout our country.

The letter is as follows:

DECEMBER 19, 1940.

Hon. CLAUDE R. WICKARD,
Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Recently, President Roosevelt expressed the desire that so many of us have had that the old town meetings of our early days could be re-created. I think that every Member of Congress has expressed a similar wish from time to time. But right now, it seems to me, nothing could be done for all of our people and by all of our people which would be of greater advantage to our Government than to re-create and reestablish an active agency of democracy such as was the old town meeting.

We need now, at this moment, an organized method of reviving and stimulating the belief on the part of our people that they can solve their problems under a democratic form of government. We know these problems can be solved and must be solved in that way. I say that it is imperative to encourage our people now because I am impressed almost every day with a fact which we should not hide—that the spirit of our people has lagged, that they are uncertain, that they are discouraged, that they have, in some instances, learned to depend too much on others and particularly on government rather than to depend on themselves.

But we have the old town meetings, or an organized movement which serves a similar purpose, and I just refer to them as an example. In many States the consumer cooperatives have organized study clubs, in each of which 10 or 15 persons meet each week to discuss their problems and decide on methods for solving them. In Ohio alone, I am told, there are more than 700 of such clubs meeting each week and in other States hundreds of similar clubs have been organized. They do not discuss consumer problems only, although it is apparent that the problem of our society in these days which is not a consumer problem is a rare one indeed. Our two great problems are unemployment in the cities and on the farms and their related problems of home and farm tenancy. These study clubs could be stimulated to attack these problems, locally, but relate their efforts to the entire national problem.

In studying the development of these study clubs, I am impressed with two important facts which should be kept in mind in any effort of this kind. The study-club idea really developed in Nova Scotia and then spread to this country. In Nova Scotia, where the people were oppressed by even greater economic problems than we have, leaders sought a way out. They organized small discussion groups, but interest in them lagged. In fact, I am told they agreed the effort had failed. Then they discovered the secret of success. They discovered the groups had to be organized to study to accomplish something definite and concrete, to agree where "the shoe pinched and why it pinched" and then move to relieve the difficulty. When organized around this principle the study clubs thrived, spread throughout Nova Scotia, and accomplished results which have attracted the attention of leaders throughout our country. That, it seems to me, is the secret of the success of the old town meeting—the town meetings agreed on an objective and worked for it. They were, in fact, study clubs.

The other development which should be stressed is that every emphasis should be placed in these study clubs on inducing the people to believe in themselves and to solve their own problem. By all means, no effort should be made by any agency of any government to attempt to tell these study clubs what their problems are or how to solve them. We can depend upon the people themselves to do that job and do it far better than an agency of government can do it regardless of how able and fine the Government agency is. If we do not insist on this principle, then the whole plan would be self-defeating. The Federal Government could encourage the idea, outline the general plan, inform the people, get the cooperation of the State governments, and through them the township, county, and city governments. Perhaps, for example, in the States a general State council should be set up with representatives of every college and university in the State and this council could stimulate the effort and assist in providing information on technical questions. Or some other form of coordinating agency could be developed entirely apart from government.

I am prompted to write this letter and to make it public because the need is so great and so immediate and because, if I can be of any help in arousing interest in it in this way, I desire to do so. I am writing to you, Mr. Secretary, because I noticed recently you suggested a somewhat similar idea and I know the Department of Agriculture is doing some work in this general field. And then I assumed you had information concerning the work of the consumer cooperative study clubs.

But, also, I am sending this letter to the Honorable Frances Perkins, the Honorable John W. Studebaker, and the Honorable Floyd M. Reeves, because we might overlook here the tremendous opportunity we have to expand these activities to all of our people, to develop these study clubs throughout all classes of society, to bring together people in all walks of life, the men and women on the farms and the men and women from the factories, the white-collar workers from offices, the teachers and professional people, and the businessmen, big and little. We must continue to make every effort to discourage group or class divisions. The consumer study clubs have been successful because their work was vitalized by common economic problems, and inspired by a great and worthy ideal. There, in the consumer-study clubs, the farmers and the men in the cities can be brought together and thus get an understanding of their mutual problems. There is the unifying force and the unifying agency we need.

Why would it not be possible to call into conference the representatives of the various Government departments and develop a broad program for the encouragement of these study clubs for all of our people. It is not an impossible program at all. It is a very practicable program. It can be done. Through our leaders in Government we can start the work and thus encourage our people throughout the country to believe and to know they can, with perfect confidence, depend upon themselves to attack and solve their problems.

If I can be of any help in an effort of this kind, I would be happy to have you call on me. I am convinced we can depend on the people to attack their problems and work out their destiny in a democratic way and under our democratic form of government.

Sincerely yours,

JERRY VOORHIS.

Progress in Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 23, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSHUA L. JOHNS, OF WISCONSIN

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an address of Hon. JOSHUA L. JOHNS, a Representative from Wisconsin, at the Department of Commerce auditorium at the premiere showing of Aviation Memories, a motion picture for youth education in aviation and pan-American solidarity, sponsored by the Aviation Defense Association of Washington, D. C., on Pan American Aviation Day, December 17, 1940.

The address is as follows:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank Colonel Myers for his invitation to address you today for a few minutes on the subject of aviation. I am very much interested in this matter and I have a son who is much more interested in it than his father.

We are living today in a great age. Material progress in science, as well as everything else during our lifetime, has been greater than perhaps any other equal period in the history of our Nation. The youngest of us today can remember the men who pioneered in the radio, and many of us know those who pioneered in air transport. There are those living today who saw the airplane make its first flight, and little did they realize, and much less did we, what a great instrument it would be both in peace and in war. Most of us can remember the automobile when it was in its crudest stage. We can remember how the bus and automobile have taken the place of the railroads as the means of transportation of both passengers and freight. The fact of the matter is that in the past 100 years we have seen the first of all of our now commonplace luxuries created. We are living in an age of great and rapid development.

We call this progress. This is so, even though some of these privileges seem to make for happiness while some of them bring to us sorrow. But in any event, it means progress either for good or for evil. We have seen the pony express replaced by the stage coach; the stage coach replaced by railroads; the railroads by superhighways, and the superhighways by airplanes. Down through the centuries man has dreamed of flying, but we have seen most of the development in flying during the last decade. During that period air travel has multiplied over 20 times, from a few enthusiasts to hundreds of thousands at the present time. We have gone through the experimental stage with aviation to a large extent, the same as we did with the automobile, and no one today can predict just what the future of aviation will be.

Like the automobile, the modern airplane in 2 years is obsolete and out of date. I think one would be safe in predicting that in 10 years from now 10 percent of all passengers traveling will be traveling by airplane. We will see 15 to 20 times as many airplanes in use as we have today. It is hard for us to vision the necessity of building airports and highways for this great increase that we are to have in air travel. Certainly our requirements at the present time are wholly inadequate for even the airplanes that we have at the present time. Perhaps LaGuardia Field in New York is one of the finest fields that has been completed so far in the United States, and that already is very crowded with air traffic. In less than 10 years from now the beautiful Washington airport that is just being completed will be wholly inadequate to accommodate the air traffic coming into the city of Washington. The city of

Washington is the best example of inadequate facilities for caring for even the automobile traffic of any city in the world. When the city was being built, people never dreamed of the number of cars that would be in use here, and, as a result, the parking space is wholly inadequate at the present time. This is going to be much more so with air transportation; even with the large air lanes that we have above the earth's surface, it is going to be necessary to travel in certain lanes to avoid accidents.

It was reported recently that in Germany, with all of their air facilities and the great preparations that they have made, if they take all of the airfields that they have of their own, including those of conquered countries, they cannot put more than about 4,000 of their airplanes in the air at one time because they have no facilities for handling them, although they have several times this number of airplanes. Great Britain, with its extensive airfields, with the great number of airplanes which it now has, has been reported to be unable to launch more than 2,000 airplanes for action at one time. We have wholly inadequate facilities for handling the airplanes that we have of our own today. With short fields, unpaved runways, lack of servicing facilities, and alternate landing fields, we find ourselves crowded for space for landing. Whether the statement is true or not, it is reported that the air liner which crashed in Chicago about 10 days ago circled the field several times before it received the signal to land because of the traffic on the landing field.

The speaker introduced a bill in this third session of the present Congress to appropriate approximately $900,000,000 to mark landing fields so that pilots will not get lost and will know their position if their compasses happen to go wrong or they get off their course. Naturally, airplanes are going to be larger, heavier, and faster than the present planes now in use. This is going to require a great deal of ground space with the wide wings required of the large planes. The greatest problem facing the country today, so far as transportation is concerned, is that of the facilities for adequately taking care of airplanes, just like the parking of automobiles is the greatest problem facing cities today with transportation on the ground. I am glad that this day has been set aside that this situation may be brought to the attention of the American people, and that they may not only become air-minded but determined to prepare facilities that will make air travel as safe on the ground as it is in the air.

America has not fallen down in matters of equality in aeronautics. Other nations preparing for war have forged ahead today to greater expenditures of men, materials, and money. There is only one way that we can keep pace and keep ahead in aeronautics, and that is by giving every encouragement to our scientists that they may improve upon what we now have and develop to the utmost these new things which we yet may need. But we cannot stop with giving free play to research. We must go further and provide the facilities for carrying out experimental work in order to give practical application to the contributions to research. This applies not only to the airplane itself but to the fields and runways upon which it must travel while it is on the earth.

Since the dawn of history man, in his travels and trade has struggled to break the bonds of time and space. Air transport at last promises to set him free.

Export Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EWING THOMASON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY COL. RUSSELL L. MAXWELL

Mr. THOMASON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by Col. Russell L. Maxwell, Administrator of Export Control, over the Mutual Broadcasting System on December 19:

I welcome this opportunity to present for your earnest consideration, the control of exports in today's all-important problem of national defense. Speaking as a member of the President's staff—and he, of course, supervises and directs our export-control administration—I am here tonight to give a progress report, a report to you on our work during the 6 months we have been operating.

As you know, defense preparations have been proceeding full blast for some time, and as we have rearmed, officials of the War and Navy Departments have explained to you the meaning of defense in terms of military and naval forces—that is, the demand side of military needs. Members of the National Defense Advisory Commission have kept you informed on the industrial aspects of our rearmament program, the supply side. You have been told of the men and munitions your leaders deem necessary for adequate defense and the magnitude of the effort required to obtain them.

It is only recently, however, that public mention has been made of the third leg of our defense tripod, economic defense. The phrase "economic defense" is correlated with such terms as "wartime economy" and "economic warfare"—terms I recommend to you as fit subjects for reflective study.

As you know, we are a rich nation—our oil and our timber and our iron ore and our cotton give us much in the way of raw materials unavailable to other nations. But there are some materials we lack. The Army and Navy Munitions Board, in studying this problem of economic defense, has listed 14 materials as strategic—that is, materials not produced domestically at all or not produced in sufficient quantities for our defensive needs. Some 20 additional materials are classed as critical—that is, materials in which we would have some difficulty obtaining adequate quantities.

In most cases the critical and strategic items, though small in quantity and but a minute part of percentage of the finished product, are absolutely essential, for of what avail is the finest constructed airplane fuselage and trained pilot if we lack the mica for spark plugs; of what use is a 60-mile-an-hour troop-transport truck if we have not the rubber for tires? The most powerful cannon conceived by man cannot be fired if silk—or adequate substitutes—are not available for powder bags. A tank whose sides are not constructed of armor plate—for which manganese and chrome are essential—is of little use when met by modern antitank weapons.

Unlike most other nations, we had not until recently restricted the export of these materials or attempted to build up large national stock piles. First of all, we have been at peace, and in peace foreign commerce is generally managed by the individual in pursuit of a successful business not with a view to obtaining large stock piles or conserving for defense. Moreover, authority to control exports or imports, even had we willed it, was lacking. Many of these materials which we vitally need now were brought into our country for processing, then were exported again in finished form.

In the last few years exports of these critical and strategic items—and other needed articles and materials—began to increase because of war requirements on the part of other nations. The trickle of these exported articles and materials became a flood, and they were drained from our country in ever-increasing amounts.

Finally, on July 2 of this year, your representatives in Congress passed a law permitting the President, when necessary in the interests of national defense, to "prohibit or curtail the exportation of any military equipment, machinery, tools, supplies, or materials." The President, being fully cognizant of the part this power was to play in our national-defense program, announced that it is a military function, and appointed an Administrator of Export Control, the capacity in which I speak to you tonight.

An initial proclamation and accompanying Executive order were immediately issued putting certain products and materials under a licensing system; that is, making it necessary to secure a license before the articles or materials could be exported from this country.

And so, taking its place alongside military and naval defense, the forces of economic defense began to mobilize and march, governed by the sole order, "prepare the defenses which are needed."

To the original list of articles and materials, which included such diverse items as machine tools, aluminum, rubber, tungsten, and plastics, have been added, by subsequent Presidential proclamations, many other items, including iron and steel. At present there is a total of 58 different items, finished articles and raw materials, all subject to the licensing system; 58 articles and materials whose export must be controlled if we are to have total defense.

Fullest cooperation with all other governmental agencies has been maintained from the start, for although no single agency had the responsibility for coordinating economic defense until the start of operations of our organization 6 months ago, many agencies had performed some work along these lines germane to their established functions.

We are consulting and collaborating continuously with the Army and the Navy, the National Defense Advisory Commission, the Departments of State, Commerce, and Agriculture, as well as many other governmental organizations. These various governmental agencies and organizations are giving us information on defense requirements, on domestic production, on normal imports and exports, and such other data as will enable us to competently and adequately prepare and manage the needed economic defense.

You will be interested in figures. For the first 4 months of the life of our export control administration—July, August, September, and October—approximately 25,000 licenses, each limited to 1 year and subject to revocation, have been issued, covering over $800,000,000 worth of products. Over $250,000,000 worth of licensed goods have been shipped, thus 20 percent of our total exports, for the 4-month period, were shipped under license—shipped with the full knowledge that national-defense needs had priority before the specific articles and materials were released for export.

The value and need of having these controls is best shown, however, by the total money value of rejected applications for export licenses. This figure, for the 4 months of July, August, September, and October, totaled $112,000,000. Thus $112,000,000 worth of articles and materials, vitally needed in our total-defense preparations, would have been exported if these controls had not been available. And $112,000,000, though small in comparison to the billions of which we have been hearing so much these days, is tremendous when viewed in the light of actual quantities and amounts of strategic items.

But even this figure of $112,000,000—representing rejected export applications—indicates but a part of the critically needed articles and materials that might have been exported if the controls had not been in effect.

The mere setting up of an export-control administration, the announcement to exporters and other interested parties that shipments of certain products and materials would be permitted only under license, and the emphasis upon the domestic need for these

products and materials has served in itself to vastly reduce the exports of the critical elements.

One example will illustrate this point: In July, August, and September of 1939 over $329,000 worth of asbestos was exported. This being a critically needed product, it was put under license, and in July, August, and September of this year applications to export only $60,000 worth were received—less than one-fifth of the shipments for a comparable period in the preceding year.

Thus, the mere existence of these controls, the notification to domestic exporters that products and materials, placed on the restricted list, are urgently needed for our own defense program, has, in many cases, proved sufficient. A question immediately arises: What disposition is made of articles and materials refused export licenses?

Products denied export license flow, almost invariably, into our own factories working on defense orders. In some cases the Army and Navy Munitions Board, or the National Defense Advisory Commission, have had requests for the specific article or material, and the exporters who have been refused licenses are put in contact, by the Army and Navy Munitions Board or the National Defense Advisory Commission, with plants or firms needing the item for defense orders.

Occasionally ownership of would-be exports has passed into foreign hands, and they will not sell the articles and materials to American factories needing them; occasionally contractual obligations prohibit sale. Prior to October 10, refusal of a license to export, simply produced a stalemate for the goods which were physically available in the country, could not be utilized for own defenses where they were needed, nor would we permit their shipment from the country.

On October 10 a law was passed permitting the President, in such cases, to requisition the items; that is, take physical possession of them. Representing the President in the exercise of this authority, I receive requests for requisition from the War and Navy Departments after negotiations for purchase have failed because the owner is unable to release the property to us. Following physical taking over of the item, hearings are held to determine the fair and just compensation to be paid the owner.

There is no problem to which we are giving closer attention than that of machine tools. Unfortunately, it is complicated by the fact that there are about as many kinds of machine tools as there are items produced. Our staff of machine-tool experts, working in close harmony with the Army and the Navy, knowing the needs of our armed forces; and the National Defense Advisory Commission, knowing available production, study closely every application made to export a machine tool to insure the fullest possible consideration of our defense needs before export is authorized.

I am often asked, in person or by mail, why we do not embargo all exports. Indeed, that might be the simplest way, but I am convinced it would not be the wisest.

We have constantly in mind the keeping of restrictions on normal export business to a minimum, because of certain exports not vitally needed in our current rearmament program can be shipped to foreign markets, much aid for the future development of American commerce will have been given.

Thus our objectives in this particular respect are twofold: First, to retain in this country the articles and materials needed to arm ourselves; and, secondly, to facilitate the exportation of those articles and materials, not needed, to foreign countries in the interest of maintenance of our foreign trade.

"Hemisphere defense" is generally accepted as one of our national policies, and effectuating this policy we are giving particular attention to the needs of the other great nations of this hemisphere.

Not only are they arming themselves, and all material aid of a military nature that can be spared is being sent them, but even more fundamental and basic is the aid being given them in establishing factories and plants and in giving them raw materials needed to operate their utilities and manufacture finished products.

As I close, a word for the future: Additional restrictions will undoubtedly become necessary—even now many additional articles and materials are under study, with a view to placing them on the export-control list. Many students of the situation, experts in their respective fields, have pointed out that the control of imports, as well as exports, is a major problem requiring early solution.

In conclusion, only full employment of our tremendous economic power, buttressed by the world's greatest concentration of raw materials, and reinforced by adequate conservation of needed products and materials, can combine with our military and naval power to produce the total defense required to meet the present emergency.

Claim of Hjalmar M. Seby—S. 3729

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PITTENGER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

Mr. PITTENGER. Mr. Speaker, it is with some hesitation that I comment upon the veto message of the President in connection with the above bill which passed the House and the Senate and which was vetoed on December 19, as appears on page 13967 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for that date.

Of course, I do not know who prepares these veto messages. It has been my observation during this Congress that a great many veto messages have come to the House in connection with bills which have been handled by the Committee on Claims. It is my opinion that the party who gives advice in connection with these matters has a wrong viewpoint. I do not say this with any vindictiveness because I concede the sincerity and the good intentions of the various advisers.

I do believe that some regard should be given as to the reason why Congress passes these bills. When these bills reach Congress and when they are favorably reported by the committees, the claimant has exhausted legal and equitable remedies. Otherwise, his Member of the Senate or House would not be introducing a bill. Congress gives regard to the various equities and exercises its best judgment in order to do justice to the ordinary citizens of the United States who are without a remedy to right the wrongs that have been done them.

I am sure that the President animated by humanitarian motives would never veto this bill if he knew the facts as Members of Congress know them. Hjalmar M. Seby came to this country as an immigrant. He is of sturdy and honest Norwegian stock, the type of immigrant who has helped in the upbuilding of America. He served under our flag in World War number one. His story has been told to Senators and to Members of the House, and knowing full well that he has no remedy in the courts, and that he has no legal or equitable rights which can be enforced in the courts, the House and the Senate passed this legislation. The mere fact that there is an adverse report by a Government department is not conclusive because a department sometimes has the wrong viewpoint, and superior officers hesitate very greatly to overrule the mistakes of their subordinates. A department report means a letter from someone who is prosecutor, or attorney for the defense, and judge and jury combined.

At some other time, I hope to comment on the veto message. My purpose now is to make these remarks in the hope that someone familiar with how claims are handled here may personally discuss with the President the policy of vetoing private claims bills after they have been considered by Members of Congress. I have no personal interest whatever in this claim. The claimant lives in Texas. I met him by accident, and as I have done in other cases, I gave him a hearing because I am a member of the Committee on Claims which, after all, is the only committee to which the ordinary citizen can come for relief in cases of this kind.

Civil-Service Examinations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

ARTICLE BY GEORGE D. RILEY

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the following article by Mr. George D. Riley, which appeared in this morning's edition of the Washington Times-Herald, bears out my contention, made before this House when the so-called Ramspeck bill was under consideration, that those they wanted to get out would get out and those they wanted to retain would be kept. The whole procedure, I maintain, is farcical and means nothing more than a further break-down of the merit system.

The article is as follows:

[From the Washington Times-Herald of December 23, 1940]

U. S. AND US—MANY EXAMINATIONS REDUCE CASUALTIES—ONE TEST MEANS 28.5 FAIL; MORE THAN ONE, 11.4 FAIL

(By George D. Riley)

Here is all the proof needed to support the statement that the Ramspeck examination will be the stumbling block for many thousands.

Bearing in mind only one examination is allowable and that Civil Service Commission was consulted at every turn of events during the months and years from the days when H. R. 2700 was the bill and later when it was transformed into an intricate bit of legislation known as H. R. 960, let's examine the figures:

The Commission has been entirely generous to assure passing marks for those who take noncompetitive examinations. This is so pronounced that within a few months the percentage of casualties in such examinations has been reduced from 28.5 to 11.4.

The Commission has continued to examine and reexamine until examinees finally get through, except the just-noted 11.4 percent. It may be assumed there is little hope for the 11.4 percent, except that further examinations may bring the percentage to the 7 percent level, which we expect will be the case shortly.

It is evident, therefore, that on the one hand the Commission has advised the President to issue an Executive order which will permit passing grades—eventually—for one group and has advised the Congress to order the Commission to clamp down with one examination on an even greater number.

It has been found that among those who have taken noncompetitive examinations between July 1, 1938, and December 11, 1940, that 31,630 cases were completed. The Executive order of June 24, 1938, provided a decidedly generous percentage of these cases. Of the 31,630 cases, only 3,614 were disallowed, or 11.4 percent, in the long run. The reasons were failure to pass the physical examination or the written examination (in some cases there was none), failure to report for examination, noncitizenship, insufficient service, unsuitability, moral and/or arrest records, etc.

For the fiscal year 1939 the casualty rate was 15 percent. For 1940 it was only 10.3 percent. But the Ramspeck examination has not been included, of course.

Despite the drastic reduction in "over-all" percentage failures, the medical examination continues to hold firm at 47.8 percent of all who fail.

All of which shows that the medical test apparently is being stiffened, while the other phases of the tests are being relaxed—for those who get more than one examination—through repeated tests.

The Need of Regenerative Spiritual Force a National Hazard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JERRY VOORHIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

ADDRESS OF F. L. THURSTON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, CALIFORNIA TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION, SOUTHERN SECTION

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of F. L. Thurston, executive secretary, California Teachers' Association, Southern Section, delivered at a conference of the representatives of the 30,000 public-school teachers of southern California, September 29, 1940.

The widespread lack of the driving force available to mankind through belief in spiritual guidance, I believe, constitutes at this time a national hazard. In my opinion, the address of Secretary Thurston makes a strong case of the need of religious training, and it should encourage church and school leaders throughout our Nation to cooperate in planning courses for the spiritual inspiration of our youth.

The address follows:

The life of a true teacher is ever a life of service, continually giving one's self that youth may develop into abundant citizenship. It seems now evident that society will expect of us an additional service—a service perhaps new to many members of our profession. The overturn of human society has inevitably brought to the top those elements of Christian life and thought which center about service. "The task to be accomplished on earth is so immense, the enemies against whom the Christian program must win its way are so formidable, and the need of unselfishness, public-mindedness, and sacrificial love is so urgent, that anyone who thinks at all about humanity's condition must think about service."

We are living today in a perilous time—perhaps in the most interesting time thus far revealed in history. It presents at the same time the greatest challenge Christianity has met in 2,000 years, and a challenge to our democratic civilization. For 2,000 years there has been developing the idea of the worth of the individual and that life is sacred. Today this beautiful conception of life is challenged as never before. We know there is no divine right of the despot. But do we truly appreciate our privileges under democracy?

True appreciation of democracy carries an obligation to defend our privileges. Democracy is the Christian way of living, and democracy cannot long endure if we give up Christian idealism. The strength of the Mayflower compact lay in its expression of right relationships as interpreted from Christian ideals.

Based on those ideals of right relationships and the sterling character of our forefathers, we developed the greatest nation known in the history of mankind. So glorious a heritage of individual privilege have we enjoyed that millions from the corners of the earth have sought our shores and prayed for the right of citizenship.

Conditions seemingly beyond our control have forced us to pause in our progress, and searching questions appall us. There are trends that alarm those who give a thought to national welfare. Great nations have decreed that their agreements were but scraps of paper. Our citizens have failed to honor their formal promises to such an extent that confidence in our fellow man is shaken. Business leaders realize with horror that individual character has crumpled.

The United States Chamber of Commerce, speaking the thought of the great business interests of our Nation a few months ago, urged that more attention be given in the schools of America to moral and religious training. This is perhaps the most hopeful message uttered by big business in decades. The National Chamber of Commerce, then, has analyzed our period and finds a Nation-wide heartache which can be healed only by a positive return on a large scale to living imbued by high moral and spiritual tone. We are, then, coming again to understand that the simple virtues of faith, hope, law, equality, and justice represent the highest wisdom of the ages, and that without confidence in our fellow man there can be no abundant life to enjoy.

Woodrow Wilson said, "Civilization cannot survive materially unless it is redeemed spiritually."

The President of our Nation in January of this year, in his address to the White House conference on Childhood in a Democracy, said: "In view of the estimate that perhaps one-half of the children of this counttry are having no regular religious instruction, it is important to consider how provision can best be made for religious training."

The International Council of Religious Education, which is composed of 41 Protestant denominations and 30 State interdenominational agencies, held a conference in February of this year in Chicago. Prominent laymen voiced the need of a drive for religious training, Mr. J. L. Kraft, cheese-products manufacturer, said, "The need of a crusade for Christian education is obvious and urgent." He asserted there are more than 15,000,000 boys and girls under 17 years of age without religious instruction.

We must recognize that with more than 50 percent of our youth having little or no contact with moral and religious training, we are confronted with a condition which is a hazard to our Nation. It is well that we inquire whether we are drifting toward a time when the Sabbath Day may become merely a continental gala day instead of a day for meditation and development of spiritual poise. It is proper that we remind ourselves again that democracy is the Christian way of living. In order for people to progress, they must believe. They must have faith in certain spiritual values, or at least have faith that spiritual values do exist. Do the young people of today have faith in spiritual values; are there not many—particularly children—who do not know that spiritual values even exist? It is with these young people that our tomorrow lies.

We have great cause for gratitude that our forefathers, for the first time in history, set up a government on an explicit and formal recognition of certain inalienable rights that no government can abrogate, and on the proposition that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We interpret that basic principle to mean man is not made for the state, but the state for man. We shall lose the vision of our initial high ideal if we forget that in our Republic the state is founded on the recognition of the truth that man's inalienable rights come not from the state but from the Creator. We can continue to enjoy the benefits derived from our basic principle of the rights of the Government and the rights of the citizen only if our citizens have a cultivated sense of right and wrong and a sincere disposition to be guided by that sense.

Do you know of any people mentioned in any history which has kept a clear hold on the principles of right and wrong except through the medium of revealed religion? Washington spoke great words of wisdom when he said, "Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." It is a broad statement, but certainly historically true, that "no nation with schools was ever blessed with the maintenance of religious principle in its citizens unless those schools made provision for the instruction of children in the religion of their parents."

It was in Washington's day in 1787 that Congress enacted the Northwest Ordinance, which until 1835 continued to be the basic law in that section of our country. That ordinance contained this significant provision: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." It is certainly evident that Washington and his contemporaries fully

intended that religion and morality as well as knowledge were to be taught in the schools which were thus to be forever encouraged.

We decreed early in our national life for separation of church and state. We have carried the idea to such an extreme that the Bible has been practically barred from our public schools, and millions of our citizens have never heard of the Golden Rule. We teach English and foreign languages, but the most beautiful literature produced through the ages—Holy Writ—is becoming the lost word.

We must remember in our emphasis on freedom the strong plea by President Grant: "Hold fast to the Bible, it is the sheet anchor of our liberties." President Theodore Roosevelt emphatically cautioned: "Every thinking man realizes what many forget, that the teachings of the Bible are so interwoven and entwined with our whole civic and social life that it would be literally—I do not mean figuratively, I mean literally—impossible for us to figure to ourselves what that life would be if those teachings were removed."

Dr. Paul Monroe, in his History of Education, discussing the problem of integrating the religious element with general education, commented as follows: "The complete secularization of schools has led to the complete exclusion of religious elements in public education, and the very general exclusion of the study or even the use of the Bible and all religious literature. Thus the material that a few generations ago furnished the sole content of elementary education is now entirely excluded and a problem of very great importance—that of religious education—is presented. Little or no attempt at solution is being made and little interest aroused. The problem for the teacher comes to be quite similar to that formulated by the Greek philosophers, to produce character through an education that is dominantly rational, and that excludes all recognition of the traditional religious element. It does not assist in solving the problem, to deny that as a people through our schools we have definitely rejected revealed religion as a basis for morality and seek to find a sufficient basis in the development of rationality in the child. One most important phase of education is left to the church and the home, neither of which is doing much to meet the demand."

Dr. Thomas S. Gates, president of the University of Pennsylvania, in its recent bicentennial celebration, gave full recognition to the essential place of religious ideals, when he said: "Many an educator is like a builder who orders work ahead at full speed while the fires are going out under his boilers. Learning without religion, which is the mainspring of growth and character, tends too often to produce a clever, hard, self-seeking kind of success which, if it becomes widespread enough, leads to the total eclipse of culture and humanity in the state and the undermining of civilization."

Our most thoughtful leaders realize this condition has produced a grave national danger. A conference of 40 of our Nation's leaders in religious, scientific, and philosophic life was held a few weeks ago in New York City. Following sincere deliberation they issued a manifesto urging all Americans to look to their spiritual ramparts. They described the dangers they discerned, and made recommendations in these words: "Decreasing respect for ethical and religious values among the democratic peoples has introduced intellectual confusion in their educational systems, in their literatures, and in organs of public opinion generally. * * * In consequence the morale of the democracies has deteriorated * * *.

"If America is to offer effective resistance to totalitarianism, our citizens must marshal to her defense their intellectual and spiritual, as well as military, forces. We dare not remain * * * in conflict with one another in a world where the opponents of our American ideals are closely united. Nor dare we rear our children as cynical recipients of the benefits of civilized society rather than as responsible participants in its burdens. * * *

"This way of life—the democratic or Christian way of life—must be based ultimately on the religious principle of the Fatherhood of God, and the worth and dignity of man when regarded as the child of God. It must uncompromisingly oppose any effort at deification of the state, or the suppression of individual liberty and sense of moral responsibility.

"This country today is endangered less by a shortage of trained soldiers and a poorly organized munitions industry than by a loss of faith in spiritual values."

Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California, addressing the student body on the U. C. L. A. campus at the opening of the present semester, said in part: "There is a great need for some directive force to rally the recuperative power of mankind and win the race with catastrophe.

"Education cannot provide such a force, important as it is, because it is not the minds but the souls of men that must be regenerated if catastrophe is not surely to come. Men and nations must have not so much a change of mind as a change of heart. They must listen to God and obey, lest they listen to Hitler or Stalin and grovel.

"I am convinced that our American heritage cannot for long exist without a firmly grounded religious faith, for the very same qualities which religion stresses—self-sacrifice, willingness to give of one's time and effort without hope of material reward, scrupulous regard for the rights of others—are every one essential for the maintenance of representative democracy."

Dr. Robert A. Millikan, of California Institute of Technology, in an article on the problem of defense, recently warned that science and education alone cannot afford the inspiration needed by men, and added there must be a renewal of appreciation of spiritual values if we are to be enabled to enjoy the privileges of democracy.

A more tolerant attitude in the matter of permitting the teaching of right and wrong in our public schools is developing in many sections of our Nation. Dr. Luther Allen Weigle, dean of Yale University Divinity School, in addressing the recent session of the International Council of Religious Education held in Chicago, said: "To exclude religion from the public schools would be to surrender these schools to sectarianism, atheism, and irreligion. There is nothing in the principle of religious freedom, or the separation of church and state, to hinder the schools' acknowledgment of the power and goodness of God."

It may be that the public school in time will include in its offering some degree of religious training. That depends upon the gradual development of a more tolerant spirit in our citizens. We are confronted with the condition that 50 percent of our youth are approaching adulthood without definite religious training. It would seem there is here a great and immediate challenge to the Christian church.

There is now a wave of opinion spreading over our Nation which favors weekday religious instruction for youth in their own denominational centers, under a plan known as released time. Credit toward graduation from the public schools is allowed for work satisfactorily done under the guidance of instructors appointed by the church. Eight hundred communities are now offering such courses. Kansas City, Kans., where there are 11,000 of their 22,000 school children enrolled for religious instruction, is a notable example. Minneapolis, Minn., has had such a program since 1933. The board of education of Pittsburgh, Pa., on December 11, 1939, approved the development of such courses.

The McLaughlin bill, an act to amend the education law in relation to authorizing religious instruction, was introduced in the New York Assembly in January 1940, enacted, and signed by Governor Lehman. The active provision of that law is: "Absence for religious observance and education shall be permitted under rules that the commissioner shall establish."

The National Council on Education, which met in Washington in 1940, gave an important challenge to the churches. Dr. George F. Zook, president of the council, made a strong claim for the place of religion in education, which he followed with this striking statement: "I cannot refrain from calling attention to the fact that in making available school and college time for the pursuit of religious education, the general public will not be content with the development merely of sectarianism. It will be necessary for certain of the denominations to take far more seriously than at present the preparation and provision for competent teachers who can compare favorably with those who are responsible for the regular classroom instruction."

The Atlantic Monthly, July 1940 issue, carries an article, God in the Public Schools, by Dean Henry W. Holmes, chairman of the Harvard University committee on educational relations and for 20 years dean of the Graduate School of Education. Dean Holmes finds the plan "whereby the public schools may help the churches by adjustment of the schedule to permit instruction in religion on school time but under church direction and at church expense" satisfactory. Dean Holmes adds, "In the face of what is happening in the world, there is in fact no refuge for the human spirit but religion."

If "released time" for instruction in religion or spiritual values is not feasible in California at this time, then church leaders might secure through the aid of our schools a census of children and youth enrolled, and make an urgent canvass for attendance at church schools. A revival of appreciation of spiritual values must come if democracy is to prevail.

There is, then, certain to be a great, pulsating, aggressive movement which will lead to sincere inquiry and understanding of the revealed ideals of religion. Members of the teaching profession are in position to render valuable aid to this great forward movement.

Democracy is the Christian way of living.

The Insidious Wiles of Foreign Influence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. U. S. GUYER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

Mr. GUYER of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under leave heretofore granted, I am including an extract from an address delivered on September 17, 1796, by George Washington, an extract from the writings of Thomas Jefferson, and also an extract from a recent letter written by Winston Churchill, at present Prime Minister of England:

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and

excessive dislike for another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odius; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.—George Washington in his Farewell Address.

I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt; and not for a multiplication of officers and salaries merely to make partisans, and for increasing, by every device, the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing. I am for relying, for internal defense, on our militia solely, till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as may protect our coasts and harbors from such depredations as we have experienced; and not for a standing army in time of peace, which may overawe the public sentiment; nor for a Navy, which, by its own expenses and the eternal wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burdens, and sink us under them. I am for free commerce with all nations; political connections with none; and little or no diplomatic establishment. And I am not for linking ourselves by new treaties with the quarrels of Europe; entering that field of slaughter to preserve their balance. * * * The first object of my heart is my own country.—Thomas Jefferson.

Legally we owe this debt to the United States, but logically we don't, and this because America should have minded her own business and stayed out of the World War. If she had done so, the Allies would have made peace with Germany in the spring of 1917, thus saving over a million British, French, American, and other lives and preventing the subsequent rise of fascism and nazi-ism.—Winston Churchill to William Griffin (1936).

Mr. Speaker, I have inserted these excerpts as guides to our thinking, in the light of history and the sage warnings of the statesmen of our past, in order that we of our time may watch our step that we may avoid the errors of the past and guard our republican form of government from the degeneracy of the dictatorship certain to obtain in a war and pretty sure to endure after such a struggle.

Are You an American?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 26, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK ENQUIRER

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is time that Americans face the truth and, meeting the facts, determine whether they owe allegiance to their own country, America, or to some foreign nation.

It is time that loyalty to our own country determine our actions. No longer should animosity toward one nation or one people, friendship toward another, so influence us that we forget ourselves. Among peoples and nations, self-preservation is still the first law of nature, and the people or the nation which forgets that law is the tool, the slave, of some nation which remembers it.

The thought is so clearly, so completely, expressed in an editorial from the New York Enquirer that it is here reprinted:

LET CHRISTMAS SPUR US TO FIGHT FOR PEACE FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

"For us to attempt to reform all Europe and bring them back to principles of morality, and a respect for the equal rights of nations would show us to be only maniacs of another character."—Thomas Jefferson.

It has become a major crime in the United States of America to be an American.

Those who speak and act as Americans should, are instantly pounced upon and besmeared as dupes or agents of foreign powers hostile to the Republic.

This mode of attack upon American patriotism in thought and deed is nothing new. It was put into ruthless operation in the Revolutionary War against George Washington and those who, under and with him, were risking their lives and everything they had to the end that America would be emancipated from trans-Atlantic chains and enabled to live her own life in her own way, safe from all foreign interference and all foreign influence.

There is no need to point out in detail whence come the inspiration and driving force of the campaign against America that is being waged upon American soil for the purpose of undoing the work of the Father of his Country and making this Republic a militant partner in Europe's latest blood feud.

We Americans are entirely too prone to blame Britain for the brutal war campaign to which our country is being subtly subjected. Instead of excoriating Britain, should we not rather condemn ourselves? If we were as true to our own interests in all things and at all times as Britain is to hers, we would not be confronting the fateful crisis we are now facing.

Instead, therefore, of blaming Britain, let us give her the high credit that is her due.

Let us, moreover, take a leaf, or rather many leaves, out of her book, and apply to our own land the mighty lessons which they teach.

For our doing this, there is no more appropriate time than the present, when we are in the sacred season in which the hearts and souls of millions and millions the world over are preoccupied with the thoughts of that peace and good will among all nations inspired by the birth of Him who was and is the Prince of Peace and Good Will.

You mothers of America are thrice fortunate this Christmas season in that your boys are not being fed alive by the thousand to the hell flames of war abroad. But you have no assurance that your good fortune will continue. On the contrary, you have the most ample justification for the foreboding dread which oppresses you. But you and every other victim of the war for war that is being levied upon the United States of America, have the recompense of knowing that there is yet time to act, that there is yet time for an agonized people to turn upon the war manipulators and save the Republic from the terrible fate to which it is being unceasingly lured.

In our contest to succor America it is vital to bear in mind that when Britain seeks to have us fight her battles and pay her war losses she is actuated solely by an anxiety to do what will rebound to her own benefit.

We must honor her for eternally serving her own interests. If we allow ourselves to be exploited by her, the fault lies with ourselves. And the remedy likewise lies with ourselves.

No one will have the temerity to say that Britain, had she done for us in the World War what we did for her, and received the Uncle Shylock reward which we received, would tolerate our even suggesting that she repeat the procedure on an even larger scale at the present time.

And if she did not only tolerate our suggestion but set about the repeating process, we would have a perfect right to despise her for her want of common sense alone.

Oh, let's stop upbraiding and scolding and denouncing Britain and profit by her example of self-loyalty to the fullest extent.

Our first line of defense is here at home, not thousands of miles away.

When the Nazi "blitzkrieg" in Europe was at its height last June, the British retained by far the major portion of their air and other forces at home, because they realized that, despite the plight of their French and other allies, their first line of defense was in Britain. So eager were they to hold their first line of defense that they made superhuman efforts to withdraw all their forces from the Continent, leaving their allies to their fate, when the Nazi onslaught was smashing all before it. Britain always puts Britain first.

There is no novelty in the laughable, albeit treasonable, fallacy that Britain is America's first line of defense. In the War of Independence George Washington and his fellow Americans were told the same thing when they were admonished that our country could not exist alone, that it needed the protection and care of England if it were not to become the prey of some other European power.

But George Washington and his compatriots were men of thought, devotion, and action, and they simply scorned this damnable heresy. The sagacity of their steadfastness is there for all to see.

And now, in the twentieth century, when we are by far the greatest nation of our day or any other day, the American people are being asked to believe that Britain is our first line of defense and that Britain is fighting our battle.

The simple truth of the matter is that Britain herself does not believe these things, and she rightfully holds in contempt all those who do believe them.

There is nothing that Britain would not give at this instant could she exchange places with us, and live and thrive securely under the God-given protection of two vast oceans and her own vast strength, without foreign handicaps of any kind.

Why are we not as wise as she?

Those who desire proof of the bewhiskered character of the propaganda that America must rely for protection upon Britannia have but to read two proclamations issued by Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold after he absconded from West Point on his famous aid-for-Britain enterprise.

Britain is not to be taxed with Arnold's treason. He was a native American, but like too many natives and other Americans of our day, his heart belonged to Britannia, not to America.

The grand patron of American disloyalty to America, past and present, issued the proclamations in question to the American people and Washington's army. After the manner of our present-day disloyalists, Arnold poses as a super-American. He besmears Washington and his copatriots in the best aid-for-Britain style.

Talk of aid for Britain! Listen to the American-born Benedict Arnold as he addresses the American people, after having deserted America to stand by Britain:

"I affect no disguise, and therefore frankly declare that in these principles I had determined to retain my (American) arms and command for an opportunity to surrender them to Great Britain, and in concerting the measures for a purpose, in my opinion, as grateful as it would have been beneficial to my country."

If Britain, who on December 15 defaulted upon her World War debt to us, amounting to the prodigious figure of $5,651,792,208, succeeds in taking Uncle Sam for another one-way financial ride, she will merit not a word of censure from this side of the Atlantic.

If Britain succeeds in securing American merchant shipping for transporting her war supplies, and American warships as convoys for her own and our merchant ships, she will likewise merit not a word of censure from this side of the Atlantic.

And if Britain, through manifold financial and other maneuverings, succeeds in befooling Uncle Sam into actual and unprecedented war, we Americans will have no right to attribute our plight to her.

Did any American ever hear of a leading and influential Briton calling in the newspapermen and informing them that England owed a solemn duty to America, part of which was the transmitting of billions of dollars as gifts to Washington, and when asked where the money was to come from, replying: "Out of your pocket and mine"?

Did any American ever hear a British Government spokesman earnestly assuring this Republic that Britain would take over the prosecution of an all-consuming war, which this Republic itself had declared with its eyes wide open, and further hear the said British Government spokesman pledge America that British blood and wealth and all other resources would be poured out in behalf of America, like water shooting from a fire hose?

Did any American ever see the British Parliament, while poverty, unemployment, and stagnation of every kind gripped Britain's national life, preoccupied with the task of aiding America and other foreign countries, voting billions upon billions of dollars for the benefit of alien lands, and placing upon the backs of the British people, present and future, the slavery of redeeming these unconstitutional and unconscionable appropriations?

Britain is too wise to her own well-being and self-respect to permit recreancy of this kind.

Only in the United States of America, of all the lands on the earth's surface, are the wishes and welfare of foreign nations the paramount concern.

Fathers and mothers of America, your country is perilously close to active participation in the European war. You know what our going to war means to the America you love and the boys you love.

Surely you and the rest of your fellow citizens of this afflicted yet, thanks be to God, still great Republic, are not going to remain inactive while the furnaces of war are being raised to white heat to receive the living bodies of America's youth and with them the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

War for America will mean untold disasters for America, including at the very outset the establishment of a native type of Nazi-Soviet dictatorship and, consequently, the immediate triumph here at home of those evils ostensibly for whose destruction abroad we will have marched to battle.

Americans, the Members of both Houses of Congress are your sworn servants, elected and paid by you to do your will, not to exploit and enslave you as they please for the aggrandizement of foreign nations or any other reason. Keep a close eye upon their words and performances. Write them, telegraph them, telephone them—not just once or twice, but regularly.

Communicate with them right now and inform them that you will not tolerate the policy of having America finance and fight Britain's war; that your Government must cease playing Santa Claus gone mad to foreign countries; that this Republic's first and every other duty is to itself; and that the public servants who are chaining and ruining America will one day have to render a strict account of their actions to the sovereign people of America.

Let us Americans be as mindful of and as active for the interests of this Republic as Britain is for those of Britain.

When we resume attending steadfastly to our own concerns, all our fears will vanish and our country's safety and prosperity will be in all respects assured.

If America falls, America herself and not Britain will be responsible. In the decisive words of George Washington, the First American:

"Why quit our own to stand upon foreign soil? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?"

The time for mere complaining has passed. The time for effective talk and effective action is here. On the use which we Americans make of it depends the very life of our cherished country.

WILLIAM GRIFFIN,
Editor and Publisher, New York Enquirer.

Veto of Logan-Walter Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. BURKE
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 23 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

LETTER TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FROM BENJAMIN C. HARVEY

Mr. BURKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter addressed to the President of the United States by Benjamin C. Harvey, attorney at law, Mount Vernon, N. Y., in reference to the veto of the Logan-Walter bill.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y., *December 19, 1940.*

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have read with keen interest and grave concern your veto message to Congress on the Walter-Logan bill. I am not considering the merits or demerits except to say that it is my sound judgment that no individual or agency should be given the power to pass on the conduct of any citizen of the United States without at least one review by a competent, impartial tribunal.

The survival of the democratic form of government of England can be attributed largely to the superior and satisfactory administration of its judicial department.

The trend of the twentieth century in legal administration, referred to by you, is following the trends of the legal administration in the Governments of Russia and Germany, which led to and made possible the seizing of power by the dictators of those countries. The trend in transferring the judicial functions of our Government from the judiciary to administrative agencies should be reversed and the judicial department qualified for the service for which it was created by:

First. Engendering a new and wholesome attitude of the bar toward the transaction of legal business.

Second. Conforming the rules of practice and procedure solely to the plain business and necessity of swiftly getting at the truth, and deciding accordingly.

Third. Creating an elastic and adequate court machinery.

You will find the proposals outlined above in the bulletin of the Judicial Laymen's Association, Inc., published in January 1937, volume 1, No. 1, on file in the Congressional Library at Washington.

You will find that the necessity for engendering a new and wholesome attitude of the bar toward the transaction of legal business was set forth in an article in the Christian Century of April 19, 1933, entitled "The Law Lags Behind," written by M. V. Atwood.

You acknowledge that there is a miscarriage of justice in the conduct of administrative agencies as well as in the conduct of our judicial department. The danger of the administrative agency is in its creation for a particular purpose and the appointment of its administrators by the department of government promoting its own philosophies without reference to the constitutional limitations on the control by government of our individual conduct. A court free from influence or control of any individual agency or department of government would, in my judgment, accomplish better results at less expense than our administrative agencies.

On your recommendation, Congress has given the Supreme Court power to make rules concerning its procedure. By applying the three principles outlined above, the Court can accomplish all that you speak of as beneficial results of the administrative agency and at less cost. The majority of the Supreme Court are your appointees, and they should use the power vested in them by Congress to create an efficient administration of the Federal judicial department.

Do not change our form of government. Sponsor a wholesome attitude on the part of the bench and bar toward the transaction of legal business with dispatch and precision.

Respectfully yours,

B. C. HARVEY.

President Roosevelt's Christmas Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS LUDLOW

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 26, 1940

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, there has been for 18 years an unbroken custom that the Chief Executive of the Nation shall officiate at the annual community Christmas tree celebration which has become an established institution at our National Capital. Last Tuesday evening at the lighting of the Yule tree President Roosevelt delivered a masterful address that was full of hope and inspiration based on the fundamentals of Christian faith. By unanimous consent of the House, I present the President's address for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as I think it should be read by everybody. It was as follows:

At this Christmastide of 1940 it is well for all humanity to remind itself that while this is in its name a Christian celebration, it is participated in reverently and happily by hundreds of millions of people who are members of other religions, or belong actively to no church at all.

The reason is not far to seek. It is because the spirit of unselfish service personified by the life and the teachings of Christ makes appeal to the inner conscience and hope of every man and every woman in every part of the earth. It transcends in the ultimate all lines of race, of habitat, of nation. It lives in the midst of war, of slavery, of conquest. It survives prohibitions and decrees and force. It is an unquenchable spring of promise to humanity.

DECRIES CYNICISM

Sometimes we who have lived through the strifes and the hates of a quarter century wonder if this old world of ours has abandoned the ideals of the brotherhood of man. Sometimes we ask if contention and anger in our midst in America is a portent of disunion and disaster. Sometimes we fear that the selfishness of the individual is more and more controlling in our lives.

When we are in those moods it is hard for us to keep from putting our tongues in our cheeks when we say "Merry Christmas"—for we think in thoughts of futility and not of hope. A few people are cynics all of the time; some people are cynics part of the time; but most people keep their faith most of the time.

That is why we must keep on striving for a better and a more happy world.

SEES GAINS DESPITE WAR

It is unintelligent to be defeatist. Crisis may beget crisis, but the progress underneath does not wholly halt—it does go forward.

In a century we have gained much. Aside from great areas stricken by actual warfare in the present moment, the lives of human beings are safer than they were in the olden days. Great and spreading plagues take smaller toll; starvation of millions is less; the forces of Nature are better controlled. There is in the civilization we recognize a greater security for the young, for the worker, for the aged. Charity in the narrower sense of the word helps the needy more usefully.

Compared with the days when Charles Dickens wrote the Christmas Carol, we see a definite betterment. We do not claim attainment, and we recognize that there is much—oh, so much—to do.

SEEKS PEACEFUL PROGRESS

Most of all we ask a chance to do it—yes, a peaceful chance to do it.

We want to do it the voluntary way—and most human beings in all the world want to do it the voluntary way. We do not want to have the way imposed on the world by the conquest of the world by the sword.

That would not follow in the footsteps of Christ. That would not make for happier Christmases in the future of any nation. Mankind is all one—and what happens in distant lands tomorrow will leave its mark on the happiness of our Christmases to come.

Let us make this Christmas a merry one for the little children in our midst. For us of maturer years it cannot be merry.

URGES FAITH IN FUTURE

But for most of us it can be a happy Christmas if by happiness we mean that we have done with doubts, that we have set our hearts against fear, that we still believe in the Golden Rule for all mankind, that we intend to live more purely in the spirit of Christ, and that by our works, as well as our words, we will strive forward in faith and in hope and in love.

In that spirit I wish a happy Christmas to all, and happier Christmases yet to come.

Former Ambassador William C. Bullitt Accused of Forcing France Into War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMILTON FISH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 26, 1940

ARTICLE BY JOHN ELLIOTT

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by John Elliott, wirelessed from Vichy, France, to the New York Herald Tribune dated December 21, and published in the New York Herald Tribune on December 22, 1940.

Mr. Elliott quotes Phillippe Henriot in an article on War responsibilities published in the French weekly Gringoire as holding former Ambassador William C. Bullitt as being one of those mainly responsible for forcing France into war in September 1939.

This is a most significant article and of such vital importance that in all fairness to Mr. Bullitt he should be asked to appear before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate or the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives to give a categorical answer to these charges which not only involve himself personally but the United States Government, which he represented as Ambassador.

I make no charges myself against Mr. Bullitt in putting this in the RECORD, but do so because I want a thorough investigation of these charges that have been made repeatedly to the effect that the administration or its spokesmen had practically insisted that France declare war with the assurance that the United States Government would back them up to the limit. This is a very serious charge, involving our good faith as a Nation, and all the facts should be investigated and made available to the public.

The article is as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of December 22, 1940]

BULLITT ACCUSED OF HELPING PULL FRANCE INTO WAR—GRINGOIRE WRITER SAYS HE EGGED POLES ON, FOUGHT MUSSOLINI'S PEACE OFFER

(By John Elliott)

VICHY, December 21.—William C. Bullitt, former American Ambassador to France, is pictured as a leading warmonger who helped plunge France into war by pressure on Premier Edouard Daladier and Julius Lukasiewicz, Polish Ambassador at Paris, in an article on War Responsibilities, by Phillippe Henriot, published in the current number of the weekly Gringoire.

Bullitt has been frequently accused through inference by the French antiwar party of having been largely instrumental in getting France involved in war. Notably Fernand de Brinon, now French Ambassador at Paris, has accused a high American personality of having had a bad influence on Daladier by his "ill-founded reports and bad advice." This is the first time, however, that this accusation has been directed against Bullitt by name.

Henriot wrote that on the eve of war, in August 1939, Lukasiewicz, "powerfully and noisily shoved along by William Bullitt, stirred up bellicism among journalists and parliamentarians whom he met."

Bullitt was described as urging Daladier to turn down Italian Premier Benito Mussolini's eleventh-hour proposal for another Munich conference to save peace.

FEROCIOUSLY HOSTILE

"During this time," wrote the Gringoire writer, "Daladier had his consultations. Gen. Maurice Gamelin (former Allied commander in chief) and the Ambassadors Bullitt and Lukasiewicz parade before him. One can easily guess that these last two at least have shown themselves ferociously hostile to the Italian propositions."

At 5 p. m. on September 2, the day before Great Britain and France declared war, Lukasiewicz was pictured as rushing into the office of Georges Bonnet, Foreign Minister, and reproaching him for temporizing and not declaring war on Germany, crying, "You do not keep your word."

"He used even stronger language," reported Henriot. "At the Embassy Bullitt had heated him white hot."

Finally, Bullitt was accused of being one of the persons who persuaded Daladier to declare war against Germany at 5 p. m. Sunday,

September 3, instead of giving Hitler until 5 a. m. Monday, as Bonnet desired.

"Bonnet was on the point of telephoning Coulondre [Robert Coulondre, French Ambassador to Germany]," said the Gringoire article, "when Daladier called him to say that he had changed his mind and fixed the expiration time at 5 o'clock the same day. Bullitt, Lukasiewicz, and Mandel [Georges Mandel, Minister of Interior] had won him over."

HOPED FOR ARMY'S VETO

Henriot published the text of the minutes of a meeting of principal war leaders of France with Daladier and Bonnet on August 23 to decide whether France was prepared, from a military point of view, to carry out her obligations to Poland. This meeting was said to have been held at the demand of Bonnet, who hoped that French military men would reply in the negative and so aid him in his antiwar policy.

But Gamelin advocated France's standing by her engagements if necessary and declared that the French Army was ready. Asked how long Poland could resist a German attack, Gamelin replied: "An honorable resistance on the part of Poland would prevent the mass of German forces being turned against us before the following spring. By that moment England would be at our sides."

The Allied generalissimo expressed the view that while France would be more prepared after some months, Germany would be even more so because she would possess the Polish and Rumanian resources.

"Consequently," he declared, "France has no choice. The only solution is to hold to our engagements vis-à-vis Poland, which besides, are anterior to the opening of negotiations with Soviet Russia." (A reference to the Anglo-French discussions with Moscow for the formation of a peace front, which had just broken down because of the signing of the Nazi-Bolshevik pact.)

AIR MINISTER WAS CONFIDENT

Guy LaChambre, air minister, gave the cabinet an optimistic account of the French air force, which events were to belie the following spring. He told his colleagues that in pursuit planes France possessed "a great number." "The Anglo-French planes balance fairly the Italo-German planes," he added. He admitted that France was not yet turning out bombers on a large scale and would not be until the beginning of 1940. But, he added: "England will look after the massive bombardments of northern Germany."

"Cooperation with the land forces can be assured under good conditions," said the air minister. "In spite of what we know of the German forces—4,000 war planes of the first line, 5,000 in reserve and 3,000 planes for cooperation—the situation of our aviation must not weigh on the decisions of the government as it did in 1938."

General Gamelin and Admiral Jean Darlan assured the Cabinet that the Army and Navy were ready. They said that at the beginning of the conflict they would not do much against Germany, but they could act vigorously against Italy if she came into the war. Besides, they were of the opinion that French mobilization itself would provide some relief for Poland by retaining a certain number of large German units on the French frontiers.

Explanation of Conception, Purpose, and Policy of the No Foreign War Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 26 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

STATEMENT BY VERNE MARSHALL

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement by Verne Marshall, chairman of the No Foreign War Committee, relative to the conception, purpose, and policy of the committee. I may say that Mr. Marshall is conducting a fight that really has the support of the American people.

Mr. Marshall, leader of many crusades for good government, is again crusading, this time to protect our democracy from being destroyed in a needless war. He knows war from first-hand experience. He is determined that American boys shall not be sacrificed in another expeditionary force. This is his greatest crusade—a crusade for America.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXPLANATION OF CONCEPTION, PURPOSE, AND POLICY OF THE NO FOREIGN WAR COMMITTEE

(Statement by Verne Marshall, chairman)

For months, out in Iowa, I have watched the development of a psychological trend toward actual and physical American participation in this war. The William Allen White Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies has done an effective job of originating and developing exactly the same public psychology as that which was carefully created during the war period preceding our declaration of hostilities, in April 1917.

In large measure, the success of the White committee is due to the lack of opposition to its efforts. The masses of people who are extremely fearful of their country's catastrophic involvement in the current phase of Europe's incessant warfare have had no voice with a national audience. It is the purpose of the No Foreign War Committee to provide that voice, to give articulation to the hopes and prayers of those innumerable millions of Americans who know that if they are dragged once again into the economic and political conflicts of the Old World, only complete world chaos can result.

During the recent Presidential campaign I came East to learn whether a midwestern editor who knows something of war, who has studied war psychologies and propaganda at first hand, could be of any service in helping to keep the United States out of this calamitous renewal of Europe's ancient hostilities. I knew that both candidates were promising that the youth of America would not be sent overseas to fight and die, following the election of either.

Also, I knew that Woodrow Wilson was reelected to the Presidency of the United States, in November 1916, on a platform whose only significant plank was the—until then—recorded fact that he had kept us out of war. And I knew that 5 months after Mr. Wilson had been reelected, because he had kept us out of war, we were taken into that war against participation in which those who supported Mr. Wilson had voted.

I have decided that if it is humanly possible to prevent our involvement in this war, with the honor and integrity of my country unimpaired, I will contribute everything necessary in an effort to do my part toward that end. That's why I am in New York.

Orland K. Armstrong, of Springfield, Mo., has done a magnificent job in preparing for immediate mobilization of more than 20 groups of Americans vitally interested in halting our country's drift toward war. In that they may be proud. So did George Washington, and so have a host of other great leaders whose spirits must be in agony as they witness our steadily accentuated trend toward a foreign war.

Let no man accuse us of the No Foreign War Committee of being appeasers, "fifth columnists," pro-Nazi, pro-British, pro-Fascist, or of being anything save a group of determined pro-Americans. Let him who may contemplate the direct or indirect use of such deliberate perversions reflect carefully before risking them. We have built this campaign of ours from the grassroots upward. We know our strength, and we know our enemies. We are ready for this fight—and I mean ready.

It is obvious that those who rely on the people to forget are busily engaged at capitalizing that normal human frailty. They are trying to take this country back over the same old road to war. They talk of steps short of war. They do not define their terms.

Was it not Voltaire who said, "If you would have discourse with me, define your terms"? Our committee is demanding now, and will continue to demand henceforth, the White committee's definition—specific, exact, and unequivocal—of its favorite term, "Steps short of war." Under that committee's barrage of propaganda the people have been coaxed into the assumption that there are belligerent steps which may be taken against any powerful government but which even in time of dreadful conflict are definitely short of war.

Right here let it be noted, as regards the No Foreign War Committee's attitude toward aid to Britain, we stand pat on the neutrality law as it exists today.

Let us not forget that Woodrow Wilson's glorious dream of a just economic, geographical, and military peace was shattered at Versailles in 1919. It was not the fault of the people of this country that the basis for a renewal of war was laid at Versailles. No more undemocratic document ever was conceived in the name of democracy than the one ultimately signed at Versailles. It makes no difference which nations were penalized and which rewarded by the treaty, if the people of America are expected to think in terms of the democratic processes of government. The mere fact that some were penalized and some rewarded speaks for itself as regards those principles of democracy for which our boys were told in 1917 and 1918 they were to offer their lives on battlefields thousands of miles from their homeland.

Here again permit me to say that the No Foreign War Committee is exactly what its name implies. Its one and only purpose is to keep the United States of America out of any war not plainly and specifically our own. If there be those who honestly believe that our first line of defense is beyond the Atlantic Ocean or far away in Asia, I would not challenge their opinions. Nevertheless, I would suggest that a conviction of this kind establishes an obligation on everyone holding it to make personal sacrifices in order to strengthen the defense lines in whose existence he believes, wherever those lines may be.

It is wrong to insist that a whole nation recognize geographic defense lines beyond the oceans, without frankly advising that nation to send its men and materials of war into those lines. Many of these people who call for steps short of war really mean war. That is worse than wrong. How much worse I will not now

say, although I am perfectly willing to say that any people who hesitate to man their own line of defense, and man it themselves, are found in a peculiar position.

As for the next "steps short of war," as we understand them to be, in embryo, our committee declares unequivocally that the moment the United States Navy begins to convoy the merchant ships of any belligerent in this war, this country is definitely and inescapably, actually and physically, at war with the adversaries of the belligerent whose ships we convoy.

In this we are in agreement with Gen. Robert E. Wood, able and courageous leader of the America First organization. And I might say that the No Foreign War Committee will cooperate in every possible way with the America First in its effort to keep this country out of foreign wars. Recently I have had extended conferences with General Wood and several of his leading associates in America First. The two organizations are fighting for the same thing, our peace—without infringement on the honor, security, and integrity of the United States.

Behind us are legions of red-blooded, thoughtful, and brave Americans, awaiting only the voice and the leadership that to date have been denied them in full volume. General Wood and O. K. Armstrong, along with numerous others, have worked unceasingly to keep the United States out of this war. We are ready now to carry this crusade to the country.

It is comforting to me, personally, as chairman of this committee, to report that Secretary Harold L. Ickes, of the United States Department of the Interior, on last November 13 telegraphed me that he was glad to note that it—the Cedar Rapids Gazette, of which I am editor—has in general a good reputation. And on last December 3 Secretary Ickes in a rather lengthy letter gratifyingly conceded that "I hold the Cedar Rapids Gazette in high regard."

My correspondence with Mr. Ickes followed his statement to the press, soon after the Presidential election, in which he issued a blanket indictment of newspaper publishers and editors for what he considers their failure to properly inform their readers, independently of any and all influence exerted from without the news and editorial rooms. I wired the Secretary an inquiry as to whether our newspaper and its editor were included in that indictment. His telegram was a qualified admission that he had not included us. He explained why he believed that I "not only felt free to criticize questionable political practices within your own party but an obligation to do so."

Also in my files is a generous stack of correspondence with William Allen White, the Emporia, Kans., editor who came east months ago to head the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. No sooner had I learned that Mr. White had accepted this chairmanship than I wrote him as an old friend warning him of the possibility that his enviable reputation might be used for purposes other than those of which he then was aware. He replied, and the correspondence continued at more or less regular intervals.

In view of all that has taken place since my first letter was written to Mr. White, this file of correspondence is most enlightening. Throughout, Mr. White has insisted to me that he opposes our entrance into this war. But a few weeks ago I heard him say, at a luncheon attended by hundreds of New Yorkers, that it is time for our country to take sides in this war, and that he proposed a resolution should be introduced in Congress for the purpose of giving the administration a free hand in dealing with aggressors, tyrants, and dictators anywhere in the world. I am not trying to quote him verbatim.

Mr. White either did not mean what he said in his letters to me, or what he said at that luncheon. Perhaps, though, he only has changed his mind. He has undoubtedly experienced tremendous pressure to do so.

Bringing this cause up to date, consider Monday's headlines.

Chairman BLOOM, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, announces that our neutrality law should be repealed. "There is no use fooling ourselves," he says. "If it's necessary to do that to help Britain win this war, it should be done."

Chairman MAY, of the House Committee on Military Affairs, says that on the first day of the new Congress, January 3, he will introduce a bill to repeal the Johnson Act. I know a few of Representative MAY's colleagues on that Military Affairs Committee who will fight his bill tooth and nail.

Then there is the statement signed by 34 educators and research scientists at Princeton, N. J., calling on the President to declare a state of complete national emergency that will give us "the equivalent to full industrial, military, and naval mobilization." In other words, our liberties are to be restricted if not eliminated, at least temporarily, if those who are determined to take us to war can have their way. I do not believe that they will succeed—not if the country becomes aroused, as I think it will be soon.

It must be agreed, however, that the developments of the last few days have been in strict conformance to interventionist plans. Our defense program lags. The people are entitled to the whole truth on that point.

It was undoubtedly intended that they should not have the truth until after the election. It was not intended that any of these recent developments should become public until the election was over. The proposal that our warships convoy British merchantmen was one of the several carefully planned before election day. There is a scheme to bring about a redefining of neutrality zones into which American ships may not enter. It is not impossible that the scheme may include alteration of the existing definitions, to permit American convoying of merchant ships plying between Africa and the United States, or even elsewhere.

The strategy, by means of which the "trend" created by the William Allen White committee is to be used as a deliberately misconceived "guide" to administration policy, is set for immediate execution. We are familiar with most, if not all, of it. We will fight it to the bitter end. Supported by an undefeatable majority of our citizenship, we can keep this country out of war. Only by staying out can we exert that influence for real democracy which the propagandists insist we must exert.

In conclusion I quote from an American whose vision, courage, fortitude, and patriotism not even our most rabid columnists and other propagandists for war would dare impugn. I quote from George Washington, in that Farewell Address with which every alert American is familiar, but the contents of which never can be ignored if the America we know is to survive as our first President envisioned it. George Washington said—and his words are the cornerstone of our policy:

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected. When belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation when we may choose peace or war as our interest, guided by our justice, shall counsel.

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?"

Yanks Are Not Coming, Says William Allen White

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 26 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

STATEMENT BY WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD a statement issued by Mr. William Allen White with respect to the objectives of the committee of which he is the chairman. The statement relates to the same subject as that referred to by the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. HOLT], and I do not think it has been inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Daily News of December 23, 1940]

YANKS ARE NOT COMING, SAYS WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

"To keep this country out of war" is the only motive of William Allen White as chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, the Kansas editor said today. A "firm, unshakable belief" that "the 'Yankees are not coming,' because if they went to war they would lose our cause," was expressed by Mr. White in a statement written in response to an inquiry by Roy W. Howard, of the Scripps-Howard newspapers. His full statement follows:

(By William Allen White)

"EMPORIA, KANS., *December 23.*

"In response to your query today about the position on war of our Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, let me submit the following:

"The only reason in God's world I am in this organization is to keep this country out of war. I don't go an inch farther or faster than Wendell Willkie or the American Legion, or the American Federation of Labor, or the National Grange; nor an inch farther or faster than you went this month in the Philippines magazine on the eastern question. (This reference is to an article by Roy W. Howard.)

"The story is floating around that I and our committee are in favor of sending convoys with British ships or our own ships, a silly thing, for convoys, unless you shoot, are confetti and it's not time to shoot now or ever.

"KEEP JOHNSON ACT

"Another thing: Our loathed but highly esteemed adversaries keep insisting that we are in favor of repealing the Johnson Act, a stupid thing to do because it would not help Britain and there are half a dozen other good legal ways to get aid to Britain. The President is following his own way. But the Johnson Act should not be repealed and we are not for it.

"Still one more charge: It is not true, even remotely, that we favor repealing that portion of the neutrality law which forbids American ships to carry contraband of war into the war zone. That would be leading us to war and our organization and I personally are deeply opposed to it. If I was making a motto for the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, it would be 'The Yanks are not coming.' We could not equip them, transport them, and feed them if they went. We have less than 200,000 ready, and we need them worse at home on the assembly belt than we need them in Europe.

"War would defeat the first and last end for which our committee is organized to defend America by aiding Britain and would bring on a 30-year conflict. The 'Yanks are not coming' because if they went to war they would lose our cause. That is my firm, unshakable belief.

"I have no doubt that some members of our organization who are not officially representing us are martial-minded. To condemn all of us for our more belligerent brethren is as foolish and unfair as it would be to call the Knights of Columbus appeasers because Joe Kennedy gave Roosevelt the Judas kiss. Not one official utterance of our organization has anything remotely suggestive that we feel the only alternative for American defense through aid to Britain is war.

"GROUP NOT FOR WAR

"Moreover, I have sat in all our executive councils, all our policy-making committees, and I have never heard war as an alternative objective seriously discussed by any official group of our organization at any time. America will go to war or stay out of war not because we make Hitler mad but only when, as and if Hitler thinks he can win the war. And so long as we arm behind the British fleet and England fights while we are, Hitler never will think he can win the war unless he starts war to slow down aid to Britain. Any organization that is for war is seriously playing Hitler's game.

"I hope you know that I am not a liar and I hope you feel that I am not a sucker, and I trust you will believe what I am writing."

Statement in Reference to John B. Oakes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFTON A. WOODRUM

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, in reference to a statement I made on the floor on April 3 regarding an article in the Washington Post by John B. Oakes, I feel that in fairness to the writer of that article, it should be pointed out that the inaccuracy lay in the headline, for which he was not responsible, rather than in the article itself. I am glad to make this statement as my contact with John Oakes has led me to entertain for him a feeling of genuine friendship and appreciation of his uniform courtesy and accuracy.

Interventionists Resort to Smear Tactics Against Those Opposing Our Entrance Into War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAMILTON FISH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 26, 1940

ADDRESS BY HON. HAMILTON FISH, OF NEW YORK

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech delivered by me at a meeting of the National Legion of Mothers and Women of America, held at the Adelphia Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., Monday evening, December 16, 1940:

We are drifting into war. Step by step we are going the way we went back in 1917. If this is our war, then we should get into it. If it isn't our war, then we should stay out.

That is the real issue. It is a great American issue, and transcends all party lines as it affects the security and the destiny of the Nation and the lives of its people.

I am convinced, by polls and otherwise, that 90 percent of the American people are in favor of Great Britain and want her to buy anything we produce in the United States, including arms, ammunition, and airplanes. Ninety percent are in favor of a strong national defense to make us invincible on land, sea, and air against any possible combination of aggressor nations, and 90 percent are in favor of keeping out of foreign wars unless we are attacked or the Monroe Doctrine is violated.

If there is any country in the world worth living in and defending today it is the United States of America. But if we fail to take adequate measures to defend ourselves, protected as we are by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, with 130,000,000 of free people and enormous natural resources, then we do not deserve to survive as the greatest and freest nation in the world.

Our first duty is to America, and to make it so powerful that no aggressor nation or group of aggressor nations could or would dare to attack us.

On our home front the State Department, the Department of Justice, and the Dies committee are able and competent to protect our interests. If they are not, and nede any additional power, then the Congress should provide such power immediately.

There can be no compromise with nazi-ism, fascism, communism, or with "fifth columnists" and sabotage in the United States.

I am as much opposed to Hitlerism, dictatorship, and aggression as any member of the William Allen White committee, and favor expediting production and giving priority to the British war orders.

I do not question the right or loyalty of any American who urges our entrance into the second World War. Powerful influences are at work attempting to drive the American people into war without their knowledge or approval. I am convinced, along with 90 percent of the American people, that we should adhere to our traditional foreign policies and keep out of all foreign wars except in self-defense.

There is no such thing as a half-way war. If we declare war it will be a total war—to win regardless of cost in blood and money. That is the only kind to fight. It might last a generation and children yet unborn might be fighting in it. Our free institutions and civil rights would disappear like the morning dew to be replaced by a dictatorship as bad as the Nazis. Our national debt and taxes would be doubled in no time. National socialism would replace our American system within the year. Our sons would be called on to fight in Asia, Africa, and Europe at the same time. If we start out to fight both Japan and Germany and to reconquer Europe and China we must be prepared to lose a million American lives on foreign battlefields.

I submit in the utmost good faith, as one who loves America and believes in putting the interest of the American people first, why shouldn't they have the right to determine whether we should go to war instead of some warmongering columnists, interventionist newspapers, and a host of foreign propagandists?

All persons not citizens of the United States should be prohibited by law from spreading Nazi, Fascist, and Communist doctrines, and from publicly advocating our entrance into war. These foreign agitators and agents, no matter from what country they come, are not interested in the welfare of America. The American people must make this fateful decision by themselves.

The interventionists no longer are able to hide their real objective of getting this country into war, and, being unable to answer the arguments against involvment in war, are resorting to smear tactics and personal abuse.

To show to what extent the smear propagandists will go against those of us who want to keep out of war, a young columnist by the name of Alsop, who is well known for his interventionist views, had a syndicated article in Sunday's newspapers implying that a certain mysterious German agent named Zapp had influenced two newspapers to urge my name as a compromise candidate in case of a deadlock at the Republican National Convention held last June in Philadelphia.

Mr. Alsop is all wet, and ought to be given a good old-fashioned spanking. He knows his inferences are lies, and so does everyone else. If he had any facts, he should publish them. Mr. Alsop is just another contemptible smearer of public officials, and disregards the truth in order to try to keep his useless and dying column alive.

I never head of Mr. Zapp until a few weeks ago, but I have known Mr. Ralph Strassburger, the owner and publisher of the Norristown Times-Herald for 30 years—since he played on the Navy football team and was an officer on the *Mayflower* and later in our diplomatic service. He has always opposed intervention in foreign wars without fear or favor. He was associated with Senator Philander C. Knox over 20 years ago in opposing the League of Nations and has been a big financial contributor toward upholding our traditional foreign policies and keeping America out of foreign entanglements and war.

Mr. William Griffin, the editor of the New York Enquirer, whom I also know well, needs no defense from me. He always speaks for himself and does not mince words. He has, since the outbreak of the European war, been outspoken against our involvement and wanted that to be the real issue in the last campaign.

Both of these editors supported me because they wanted the American people to decide the issue of war or peace in a national referendum on election day. I regret this issue was sidetracked and avoided, and believe that the Republican Party would have swept the Nation if its candidate for President had given the people an opportunity to vote upon it.

America Enters War on Economic Front

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EARL C. MICHENER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 26, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE UNITED STATES NEWS

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the permission granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an editorial appearing in the December 26 issue of the United States News, which is as follows:

AMERICA ENTERS WAR ON ECONOMIC FRONT—NATION ASSUMES ROLE OF SUPPLIER, WITH BRITAIN AS FIGHTING PARTNER

The United States is getting set to jump feet first into world-wide economic warfare. In waging economic war this country will hope to avoid the need for waging a military war.

President Roosevelt proposes to forget the dollar sign and to loan or lease to Great Britain every weapon that can be created to wage actual war. This is one important part of the new effort. Mr. Roosevelt is prepared to suggest that the United States use some of its immense financial resources to buy up vital raw material reserves that might otherwise reach Germany, Italy, or Japan. This is a second part of the new effort that already has Defense Commission approval. The President is considering with favor a plan for Government control over every dollar of goods and of money that enters or leaves the United States. This is a third part of the plan for economic warfare and has Treasury backing.

As a corollary, serious consideration is being given to use of the American Navy to assure that goods destined for this country and for Great Britain are not interfered with in the waters of the Western Hemisphere.

These actions are taking shape because of rapidly developing events. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, has told members of the Defense Commission that an attempted invasion of Great Britain seems not far away. The President hears that the British must have more ships, more airplanes, more of most war equipment, and in a hurry if they are to continue to resist. Needs are pictured as urgent. Mr. Roosevelt is convinced that the best defense of England is the best defense of the United States.

Plans for putting the United States into war on the economic front are the result. President Roosevelt revealed the first phase of those plans in his conference with newspapermen last week.

Plan No. 1: This plan is to remove all distinction between British war orders and American defense orders. British orders with American industry now are bogged down at some key points. They are caught behind American defense orders and orders from American businessmen. The result is a bare trickle of war materials to Britain. At the same time the British say that they are unable financially to place with American industry the vast new orders that must be placed if they are to match Germany in the period ahead. The new orders contemplated are said to total $3,000,000,000.

Mr. Roosevelt proposes that the United States take over responsibility for fulfillment of the $2,500,000,000 of British orders now on the books of American corporations. He proposes, further, that the United States place all future orders for ships, airplanes, guns, and other war materials needed by the British and American Governments. The future supplies that Britain needed and that the United States could spare would then be loaned or leased for use in the war against Germany and Italy. The United States would create and pay for the war goods. The British would use those goods. This country would be the supplying partner, Britain the fighting partner.

The purpose of this plan? First, to speed production of all war materials by placing the power of this Goverment back of that production. The present situation, where orders for Britain are slighted, will be ended when all war orders are given the same priority. Second, to remove all doubt of the ability of the British to pay for goods ordered in the future in this country. The American Treasury will pay any bills, regardless of their total. Third, to assure the hard-pressed British people that the United States is standing back of them. Britain will know that, if she is able to hold out, the vast productive resources of the United States gradually will be brought to bear on her side.

Nobody knows or could know the size of the commitment proposed by President Roosevelt. That would depend upon the duration and the outcome of the war. In effect, the United States would agree to pay the cost of the war Britain is fighting, with the question of repayment to be answered in detail after the war is ended. The attitude of Congress—which must approve or disapprove the plan—remains uncertain.

Plan No. 2: This plan is a corollary of the first. If the United States is to use its great economic power to arm itself and to supply Britain, there must be a vast accumulation of raw materials. Likewise, if Germany, Italy, and Japan, in formal alliance against the United States as well as against Britain, are to be brought to terms, they must be denied the privilege of obtaining raw materials that are vital to their war industries.

The American Government is preparing to act upon these facts. Surplus wool of Australia is being bought for storage. The rubber and tin of British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies are being bought in quantities far above immediate needs. The plan taking shape calls for the United States to use its dollars to corner the surpluses of vital war materials wherever they are to be found.

Great Britain is following a similar policy. She is using her financial resources to buy commodities where that buying will do most good in denying those commodities to her enemy. By removing from Britain the necessity for using her reserves to pay for war materials in the United States, this country would release those reserves for use in carrying on economic war. At the same time the vast American dollar supply is to be swung back of the British to further this type of war. Huge stock piles of vital metals, oils, and fibers are to be created to assure adequate supplies for the United States and Great Britain and to deny those supplies to the unfriendly nations.

In this type of warfare the United States and Britain enjoy a great advantage over Germany, Italy, and Japan. The reason is that American dollars and British pounds can be exchanged on a relatively free basis for a wide variety of goods desired by the raw material producing nations. Goods sold to the totalitarian group of nations are paid for in other goods of limited range and uncertain quality and on an exchange basis that often penalizes the purchaser.

The edge in this field of economic fighting definitely lies with Britain and the United States. The scope and vigor of American effort again depend upon the readiness of Congress to appropriate money.

Plan No. 3: This plan supplements the first two. Its purpose is twofold: (1) To close present large and growing leaks in the British blockade and (2) to make sure that goods needed by this country for defense and for aid to Britain do not flow into export channels outside this hemisphere.

To fulfill this purpose Mr. Roosevelt is being urged to impose complete control upon foreign exchange and to impose a system of licensing upon all United States imports and exports. At present the United States Government requires that licenses be obtained before 58 different items, useful in warfare, may be exported. Now the proposal is that all goods exported should be required to carry a license that will hold the seller responsible and that will close the door to export of any war materials that might be finding their way to Germany through Japan and Russia.

This Government today controls the holdings in the United States of the governments and citizens of countries conquered by Germany. Now it is proposed that the holdings in the United States of all foreigners be brought under Government supervision. The purpose would be to prevent the use of those funds either to pay for propaganda and to finance subversive activities in the United States or to pay for goods that might fight their way into the hands of nations with which this Government is not friendly.

If plans taking shape are put into effect, no goods will enter or leave the United States except with approval of the Government, and no dollars or foreign money will enter or leave the United States without approval of the Government. By exercising these controls over trade and over the flow of capital, the United States would wield an economic weapon of great power and importance.

But there now is apparent agreement in Great Britain that the present war cannot be won by economic means alone. The British expect to stand or fall as the result of a test of strength with Germany in the months just ahead. If they withstand the assault that Prime Minister Churchill forecasts, the British will expect the economic warfare that the United States is preparing to wage to be of vital importance. If they are to withstand that assault, the British people will need a large volume of war materials quickly.

President Roosevelt believes that his Plan No. 1 meets the specifications of Britain's need and America's ability to perform.

Under that plan, Great Britain can go ahead now with her purchase of $3,000,000,000 of additional war materials, including an estimated $1,700,000,000 for tanks and $1,200,000,000 for warplanes. If Congress accepts the plan, the British can—if needed—draw upon the full production of weapons being turned out by American industry. They can be assured that this Government is as much concerned with production of airplanes, ships, and tanks for British needs as it is for American needs, because the two would be synonymous.

Also the President's plan calls for a merging of British and American interests that would make easier the continued American support for British colonies and dominions in the event the mother country should go down under the attack that appears to impend.

President Roosevelt is proposing that American resources be thrown into the scale of this war. The use of those resources would be an investment in security and might be an investment that would make unnecessary a future use by Americans of the weapons being fashioned in small quantities at this time and to be fashioned in vast quantities when this Nation's industry swings into high-gear production.

We Should Be Generous But Sane

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAYMOND S. SPRINGER
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 26, 1940

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, each day appears to bring us nearer the war in Europe. From the very hour when the change was made in our neutrality laws, and the so-called cash-and-carry provision was inserted, we have been proceeding with haste into the war. Great agitation has been engendered regarding the repeal of the Johnson Act, which should never be repealed, and a further liberalization is now proposed to our very unneutral neutrality law by which we can carry war munitions and supplies across the ocean to England. This should never be done. If we transport war munitions and supplies to England, in our own ships, that will mean a repetition of 1917–18, and war. I hope my colleagues will join me in resisting this unholy and unthinkable plan. We do not want to become involved in this war—the people do not want our country to become involved in it. If the plan is adopted to transport war munitions and supplies to England in our ships, we will at that very moment engage in this war—and when the sinking of our ships becomes known to our people, which will inevitably follow such a course, they, too, will realize that we are involved in this war.

We are now engaged in developing a national defense in our own country, which is costing billions of dollars; we have been quite generous in selling and giving to England a large part of our national-defense materials, equipment, and supplies; we have only a small part of that national-defense equipment on hand, because we have transferred much of it to England. Of course, we want England to win this war; but let us be sane about this entire matter—let us keep enough of these airplanes, guns, equipment, and supplies to at least make a fair showing in case our own country is attacked. We have permitted our national-defense program to become stymied, because of subversive activities, sabotage, and un-American alliances—all this, Mr. Speaker, when our own country is in danger. We are unable to produce war supplies in quantity, because of a combination of subversive activities, and of that which we have been able to produce we are, quite generously, transferring much of it to England. We should think of the United States of America first. We should prepare to defend our own country and our own people.

Mr. Speaker, it has been suggested by the President's wife that we give everything to England that she needs. The President has devised a plan that we build ships, make airplanes, guns, and all kinds and types of war equipment and send it to England as a loan, and if any remains after the war that it be returned to us—or that England pay us for it if she can do it. England owes us now for our very generous loans to her during the last World War. Has she paid? Therefore, all of the loan of equipment to England would mean a gift of that equipment to her. With this very sad situation now confronting us, and with our huge national debt which is appalling to every citizen of our land, we are attempting to finance a large part of the world and to give war munitions and supplies, in untold quantities, to England. If England wants war supplies, and war equipment, let her pay for them. If she does not have the cash, let her sell us some of her possessions which are located in the Western Hemisphere, which are worthless to her but which do have a military value to our country. But the plan to give our billions of dollars in value of our own war munitions and supplies to England should never be countenanced by our people in our own depressed financial state.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, and to include therein a brief editorial appearing in the Spokesman-Review, of Spokane, Wash., of date December 6, 1940, which editorial follows:

WE SHOULD BE GENEROUS, BUT SANE

Appeals from Britain for aid from the United States have reached the point that was predictable from the time our Government announced and the public generally approved a policy of all help short of war.

As was inevitable from the outset, we are faced with a request for credits to enable Britain to finance purchase of planes, ships, and munitions of war. At the same time, a member of Parliament, voicing what is bound to be pressed upon us more formally before long, urges that the United States "help patrol trade routes of the Atlantic with her own Navy," because the fight that Britain is making "is just as much to the benefit of America as for our own Empire."

That has a familiar ring to all who remember the process of events that led to our involvement in the World War. First it was production of our factories that was wanted in those days, not manpower. then naval help to fight the submarine menace. Next a small token expeditionary force to strengthen allied morale, and finally all the armed forces we could send, because "it was our war they were fighting as much as theirs."

For reasons of sentiment, based on mutual political ideals and cultural ties, Americans want Britain to win this war as she wanted Britain and her allies to win the World War. We believe the world will be a safer place for us and for all people if Britain does win, and we are deeply stirred by the wonderful gallantry of the British people in the face of terrific odds. These are reasons why we are willing to give all aid we can short of war to enable them to carry on.

But sentiment and emotion should not alone govern our course. We were not consulted in advance about the moves which brought about the World War, but we helped to rescue the Allies from the penalty of their diplomatic blunders which precipitated it. Our participation enabled them to win and thereby opened to them an opportunity to avert a repetition of that calamity.

Can we be held responsible now for the short-sighted statesmanship and the national selfishness and jealousies that permitted Hitler and Mussolini to build and consolidate their power until strong enough to dominate Europe?

It is not our fault that England refused to support France's desire to prevent Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland; that later in turn France refused to help England check Mussolini's Ethiopian adventure; that both permitted Mussolini and Hitler to rehearse their war plans in Spain and in the process make Spain Fascist; that they betrayed Czechoslovakia at Munich; that they committed the incredible folly of letting Russia swing into the axis orbit, and that they waited for the most unpropitious moment to make a stand, in giving a guaranty to Poland they could not fulfill.

These blunders were made by statesmen who hoped to avert war, but who had neither the callousness to enforce the harsh terms of the Versailles Treaty nor the vision to make early concessions that might have saved liberalism in Germany and satisfied Italy, when either course could have prevented what has followed.

These things are not recalled in a spirit of recrimination, but to remind those British spokesmen who early said they did not want our participation that they are many reasons why we feel no obligation to go beyond our promise to give all help short of war.

We have known that Britain would have to have loans if the war continued, and the will to extend credits is here. Those loans should be made on a basis that will avoid friction in the future between an embarrassed borrower and an unsatisfied lender. That can be done by transferring to the United States Britain's West Indian possessions at a price which will discharge her delinquent World War debt and provide the funds she needs to carry on this war. Those islands are not important to the British Empire, but they are vital to our defense, and they are a menace to us so long as they are in the possession of another country.

We will hasten production to provide for our rearmament and to make available more war supplies for Britain. There is every desire to make this as great and speedy as possible. But patroling trade routes to England with our naval ships would mean our entry into the war, and the overwhelming sentiment of the American people, as evidenced by repeated polls, is against our becoming a belligerent.

Secretary Hull Exposes Inaccurate and Deliberate Misrepresentations of Merry-Go-Round Columnists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAMILTON FISH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, December 26, 1940

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following arti-

cle from the New York Times of December 22, 1940, in regard to a formal statement issued by Secretary of State Cordell Hull exposing inaccurate and deliberate misrepresentations in the Washington Merry-Go-Round, published by Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen:

[From the New York Times of December 22, 1940]

HULL DENIES STORY OF LOAN FOR SPAIN—REPORT OF $100,000,000 PLAN TERMED "VERY DISAGREEABLE" IN MIDST OF EMERGENCY—DECEMBER 9 STATEMENT QUOTED—SECRETARY THEN DECLARED HE HAD NOT HEARD OF PROJECT FOR CREDIT TO MADRID

WASHINGTON, December 21.—Secretary of State Cordell Hull said today that there was no truth in published reports that the administration had under consideration a $100,000,000 loan to the Franco government in Spain. Under Secretary Sumner Wells issued a denial yesterday.

Mr. Hull took the unusual step of issuing a formal statement to deny a recent article published by Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, coauthors of a newspaper column known as the Washington Merry-Go-Round. He referred to the following excerpt from a recent column by Messrs. Pearson and Allen, and directed his denial specifically to it:

"The inside story of how the career boys nearly put over the $100,000,000 credit to Fascist Spain indicates the strength of the 'croquet clique' inside the State Department. * * *

"So Jimmy Dunn (James Clement Dunn, State Department adviser on European political affairs) sold the idea of the Spanish credit to his croquet partner, and for a time it looked as if Mr. Hull would put it across. It was at this point that Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles stepped into the picture. He communicated direct to the President, who at that time was away on his Caribbean cruise.

"Roosevelt agreed with Welles that to throw a hundred million dollars into the lap of Fascist Spain would be extremely unwise. However, a compromise finally was worked out, largely for the purpose of saving Mr. Hull's feelings, since he had already gone rather far out on a limb in favor of the Spanish credits."

Mr. Hull included the following extract from the transcript of his press conference of December 9, which took place several days before the quoted article appeared:

"Question. Mr. Secretary, there has been considerable discussion pro and con in the press over the week end concerning this reported consideration of a $100,000,000 loan to Spain. Could you say, as of today, what the position is on that question?

"Answer. All I can do is to repeat what I said the other day. I spoke about conversations and discussions about some sort of food relief. I never thought about the $100,000,000 loan, and if I mentioned such a thing as a $100,000,000 loan, I was talking through my hat, I guess. What I mean by that is that I had not heard the matter discussed."

The Secretary also added the following statement made yesterday by Mr. Welles:

"I have never communicated with the President on this subject directly or indirectly. My opinion is identical with that of Secretary Hull, without the slightest divergence."

Mr. Hull said that the Merry-Go-Round article bore earmarks that "would indicate it to be a deliberate misrepresentation."

"It is very disagreeable," he commented, "when we are all so hopelessly overwhelmed with emergency matters to have an article out of whole cloth thrown into our faces and sent over the Nation with the representation that it is based on actual knowledge. My statement of December 9 must have been known to every newspaperman around here.

"I don't often stop to make a record of the true facts when misstatements go out, but now and then I feel that in justice to my associates here, as well as to myself, a sample at least of some of the misstatements that go out from time to time ought to be exposed."

I am placing this statement in the RECORD as a typical example of the lack of regard for truth in the Merry-Go-Round, published by Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen. They have already attempted to smear by inference and misrepresentation Members of the House and Senate and of the Supreme Court of the United States, and now seek to do the same in regard to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who is the soul of honor and integrity.

These smear columnists are rendering a disservice to the public and to public officials by their irresponsible and false statements and deliberate misrepresentations, which can only undermine the confidence of the American people in their elected and appointed officials and even in our free institutions and republican form of government.

England's Record of Democracy—Ask Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a compilation of certain excerpts from the report of the American Commission on Ireland, of which William Allen White was a member. I have entitled it "England's Record of Democracy—Ask Ireland."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. William Allen White is director of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. In this work he has been speaking of the "great democracy, England." He has spoken of her interest in justice, liberty, and right. But 20 years ago Mr. White was a member of another committee, known as the American Commission on Ireland. That committee did not believe that England was so interested in democracy, liberty, and justice.

Don't think that Mr. White and the commission was talking about the action of England centuries ago. This was a report of 1921.

Read these excerpts from the commission's report and see what England thought of the rights of the people of Ireland:

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT

"We find that the Irish people are deprived of the protection of British law, to which they would be entitled as subjects of the British King. They are likewise deprived of the moral protection granted by international law, to which they would be entitled as belligerents. They are at the mercy of Imperial British forces, which, acting contrary both to all law and to all standards of human conduct, have instituted in Ireland a terror, the evidence regarding which seems to prove that—

"1. The Imperial British Government has created and introduced into Ireland a force of at least 78,000 men, many of them youthful and inexperienced, and some of them convicts, and has incited that force to unbridled violence.

"2. The Imperial British forces in Ireland have indiscriminately killed innocent men, women, and children; have discriminately assassinated persons suspected of being Republicans; have tortured and shot prisoners while in custody, adopting the subterfuges of refusal to halt and attempting to escape; and have attributed to alleged Sinn Fein extremists the British assassination of prominent Irish Republicans.

"3. House burning and wanton destruction of villages and cities by Imperial British forces under Imperial British officers have been countenanced and ordered by officials of the British Government, and elaborate provision by gasoline sprays and bombs has been made in a number of instances for systematic incendiarism as part of a plan of terrorism.

"4. A campaign for the destruction of the means of existence of the Irish people has been conducted by the burning of factories, creameries, crops and farm implements, and the shooting of farm animals. This campaign is carried on regardless of the political views of their owners, and results in widespread and acute suffering among women and children.

"5. Acting under a series of proclamations issued by the competent military authorities of the Imperial British forces, hostages are carried by forces exposed to the fire of the republican army; fines are levied upon towns and villages as punishment for alleged offenses of individuals; private property is destroyed in reprisals for acts which the owners have no connection; and the civilian population is subjected to an inquisition upon the theory that individuals are in possession of information valuable to the military forces of Great Britain. These acts of the Imperial British forces are contrary to the laws of peace or war among modern civilized nations.

"6. This 'terror' has failed to reestablish Imperial British civil government in Ireland. Throughout the greater part of Ireland British courts have ceased to function; local, county, and city governments refuse to recognize British authority; and British civil officials fulfill no function of service to the Irish people.

"7. In spite of the British 'terror' the majority of the Irish people having sanctioned by ballot the Irish Republic, give their allegiance to it, pay taxes to it, and respect the decisions of its courts and of its civil officials."

This was signed by the executive committee of the commission. On this were Senator GEORGE NORRIS and Senator DAVID I. WALSH.

IRELAND DEPRIVED OF LIBERTY

"The imperial British Government then continued to pour troops into Ireland. The Irish to an increasing degree were deprived of civil and social liberty" (the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland, p. 8).

ASSASSINATION, PILLAGE, AND TERROR

"But the facts suggest that the actual operation of this policy was not based upon law. There exists neither under the laws of war nor under the codes of martial law in civilized states any justification for assassination, pillaging, or terrorism as a means of suppressing insurrection" (p. 10).

CAMPAIGN OF SUPPRESSION

"There is evidence, however, that during these 2 years the imperial British forces had carried on a campaign of suppression in which more than a thousand Irish were arrested without warrant and deported, or held in custody without trial; that fairs and markets were prohibited; assemblies of unarmed men and women were broken up by violence and about a dozen Irishmen were killed by bullets or bayonets handled by imperial British 'police' or soldiers" (p. 11).

CONTRARY TO SOCIAL MORALITY

"We deeply deplore the whole procedure no matter how great is the provocation as contrary to the dictates of social morality. If the purpose of assassination was to safeguard the people, it has failed; the British terror was not arrested by it but has continued in spite of it and has progressively intensified" (p. 11).

TERROR

"It would appear that the natural fear of the Imperial British forces in Ireland is fostered by propaganda into terror under the auspices of the Imperial British Government. The bearing of this natural and artificial apprehensiveness upon the prevalence of drunkenness among the troops may be surmised if not defined. And the temptation to quell fear in drink would appear to be officially placed before the British troops by the barrack canteens" (p. 17).

BURNING TOWNS

"Frank Dempsey, chairman of the Urban Council of Mallow, testified that when that town was burned by British soldiers September 27, 1920, most of the soldiers in the raid were drunk: 'The first thing they did was to fire revolver shots and rifle shots about the town. Next they raided some of the public houses and looted them and got drunk.' The witness states he complained to the officer, who replied that he had lost control over them: 'Damn it, they are all drunk' (p. 18).

THE BRITISH CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND

"According to lists compiled by the Irish Republican Government and submitted to us, over 200 unarmed Irish civilians were killed by the military and police during 1920 alone. This number does not include persons killed in skirmishes or battles between English and Irish armed forces, or in indiscriminate firing. According to the Irish Republican figures the list includes 6 women, 12 children, 10 old men, and 2 priests. The increase in the killings over those of the past few years is startling. For 1919, eight similar killings were recorded; for 1918, six; and for 1917, seven" (p. 19).

KILLING IN PRESENCE OF THE FAMILY

"These killings would seem to take place indifferently, sometimes in the presence of the family, sometimes more remotely. We would be glad to think that the latter are governed more by the dictates of humanity than other consideration" (p. 22).

SHOOTING MEN WHILE PRISONERS

"Lord Mayor O'Callaghan testified that 'this practice of shooting men while prisoners and then alleging that they were shot in an effort to escape' had become much more frequent since the coroners' inquests had been done away with by British authority" (p. 24).

BAYONETED TO DEATH

"When Balbriggan was shot up and burned in reprisal for the killing of a sergeant, in a drunken brawl, on the night of September 20, 1920, two men, James Lawless and John Gibbons, were taken from their homes to the police barracks, and after being held there through the night and subjected to repeated threats, were finally bayoneted to death at 5 o'clock in the morning, their bodies being left on the principal street. Urban Councillor John Derham, who gave testimony on this affair, saw the bodies early in the morning. His own house was burned down, and one of his sons, who had been beaten until he was unconscious by the raiding party, was left inside when the house was set fire to. The young man recovered consciousness in time to crawl to safety. Virtually the whole population of Balbriggan was driven to take refuge in the open fields. Councillor Derham testified that three old people and two children subsequently died as the result of terror and exposure" (p. 30).

CROKE PARK INCIDENT

"On November 21, 14 officers of the Imperial British forces were assassinated under conditions hereafter to be referred to in Dublin hotels and boarding houses. That afternoon the Croke Park reprisal occurred. Mr. Nolan testified that he was one of 8,000 persons present at a football match at Croke Park, Dublin, on November 21, 1920, when the Imperial British forces surrounded the field, and, without provocation or warning, fired with rifles and machine guns among the spectators, killing 10 men, 1 woman, and 3 children, and wounding about 62 others; 200 or more were injured in the resulting panic. The firing lasted 10 or 12 minutes. He saw the Imperial British forces fire and rush and fire. And he saw the slain and wounded players and spectators fall. No shot was fired from the crowd either before or after the massacre, and no member of the Imperial British forces was injured" (p. 32).

FREE SPEECH SUSPENDED

"During this period, free speech and civil liberty seem to have been practically suspended in Ireland. The perpetrators of the outrages upon the people apparently went unpunished, even the murderers" (p. 35).

BRITISH REPRISAL POLICY

"During 1919, the British reprisal policy was instituted. It demonstrably consisted in an acute intensification of the already long prevailing British terror. That terror was not initiated by the assassination of British military, was not confined to areas in which there had been no assassinations. It was, therefore, not in the nature of a retaliation, either justifiable or unjustifiable, on the part of the party first attacked. The official use of the term 'reprisal' would consequently seem to us the stereotyped ruse de guerre, intended to lead the British and other people into condoning an aggravation of the Imperial British terrorism in Ireland" (p. 37).

WHOLESALE MURDER

"Selected Irish Republicans would appear to have been murdered, singly and in numbers, surreptitiously and publicly. In domiciliary murders, without notoriety, silence followed. When the victim was in British custody, the Ley de Fuga acted. And wholesale slaying and destruction were justified by the British reprisals" (p. 43).

KILLING HANDCUFFED PRISONERS

"And the ethical as well as the legal aspects of the killing of the handcuffed Buckley and of the indiscriminate shooting up of sleeping towns and football crowds would seem to be defensible by no standard of human conduct" (p. 45).

NO SANCTION IN LAWS OF CIVILIZED NATIONS

"Save for the doctrine of reprisal which has no sanction either in the laws of civilized nations defining police power or in the code of war of civilized nations, no military necessity has been urged, so far as we have been able to discover, in justification of the burning of any of the Irish towns regarding which we have had evidence. It is difficult to characterize the doctrine of reprisal in any other manner except as a relic of barbarism. Yet we have had presented to us evidence that this policy was condoned at Balbriggan, commended at Galway, and planned at Mallow by officers of the imperial high command" (p. 47).

BURNING DOWN OF FACTORIES

"In addition to the burning down of factories situated in or contiguous to towns that were burned, the evidence indicates that there has been a persistent and concerted attempt on the part of the Imperial British forces throughout Ireland to destroy her one distinctive industry, the cooperative creamery" (p. 50).

DESTROYING AGRICULTURE

"Ireland is an agricultural country. The destruction of the creameries has crippled, if not ruined, one of the principal Irish industries, forcing farmers to kill or to sell for slaughter or export their milk cattle, under most unfavorable conditions at whatever the market would bring. An equally serious blow has been struck at Irish agriculture by the imperial British forces through the destruction of crops and the indiscriminate shooting of livestock. Miss Ellen G. Wilkinson, an Englishwoman who made a tour of inspection over a large part of agricultural Ireland on behalf of the Women's International League, testified as follows:

"'In another section of the report we have called attention to testimony that soldiers passing through the country in motor lorries have made a practice of shooting at farm animals along the way. And the testimony of John Charles Clark and others shows that considerable numbers of livestock have been destroyed by the burning of barns and cattle sheds.

"'The testimony of Mrs. Muriel MacSwiney, the Misses Walsh, Miss Craven, and others allowed us to realize the extent to which the sanctity of the Irish home is violated. A total of 48,474 raids by armed British on Irish homes in 1920 was presented to us. These raids would seem to take place usually in the night, and their avowed purpose seemed to be in part to find secreted arms and "wanted men"'" (p. 52).

RELIGIOUS SERVICES WERE PROFANED

"This curfew hour would seem to fall as early as 5 o'clock in the afternoon, at the whim of some imperial British officer.

"Violation of these ordinances may end fatally. Such restrictions deprive the Irish citizens of most organized and unorganized occasions of social or community life.

"It was testified that religious services were profaned by the presence of military patrols in the aisles of churches in Thurles, Clougheen, Galway, and other places; that churches are surrounded during the services and the emerging congregations searched, and worshipers assaulted and arrested" (p. 57).

DEATHS AND WAKES

"There was evidence before us that armed men invaded sick rooms, birth and death chambers" (p. 52).

ORGANIZED TERROR

"It would seem to your commission that the Imperial British forces have made Ireland a prison; and have organized a terror to harass the citizenry even unto death—and beyond" (p. 59).

CRIMINALS AS OFFICERS

"We have considered evidence of eyewitnesses and depositions from victims, establishing that the 'police' or 'constabulary' includes in its ranks, burglars and highway robbers, gunmen, and petty thieves" (p. 62).

WANTON SLAYING

"Numerous examples of wanton slaying or wounding were brought before us, including the shooting even of dumb animals, dogs, and cattle" (p. 79).

RAIDS ON HOMES

"At the sack of Balbriggan, according to the testimony of Mr. John Derham, one of the places burned was a dairy run by a Mrs. Cochran. When the raiders entered, Mrs. Cochran ran into the yard leaving behind her two little boys of 10 and 12 years. The Imperial 'police' made the boys dress and took them through the house to witness the smashing of household effects. After this sport, they led the children down the street 'to see Derham's house afire.' Then they led them back to their own yard and told them to sit on a hay rick to 'warm themselves.' The 'police' thereupon poured petrol over the rick and set fire to it, and then burned down the Cochran house" (p. 81).

TORTURE

"Lord Mayor O'Callaghan presented the written statement of Thomas Hale, of Knockscuvva, near Bendon, County Cork, who with a man named Harte was arrested July 7, 1920. Hale states:

"'When I was undressed they strapped my hands behind my back with leather straps and put them around my neck and mouth. Harte was also strapped in a similar position. I was not in a position to defend myself, and Lieutenant A. hit me several times in the face and on the body. Captain B. said, "You have some documents from the adjutant general per Michael Collins." They dressed me again, tied my hands behind my back with leather straps, and also dressed Harte. Captain B. said "You will be shot." They put straps around my legs as well as round Harte's legs.'

"Eventually the two men were tied together and marched to a lorry prodded by bayonets. Harte stated that he was hit in the nose by a gun butt. They were taken to the barracks in Bendon and then assaulted several times. Harte had several teeth knocked out. They were lined up, as if to be shot, but were beaten instead. In the course of trying to extract information from them about certain Republican leaders, Captain B. got a pair of pliers. Hale's statement continues:

"'Captain B. said, "What position does your brother John hold and where is he staying?" I said, "I refuse to give you any information," and he started bending and twisting my fingers at the back. He gripped them at the back, placing one portion of the pincers against one side of the nail and the other portion of the pincers against the other. He brought the blood to the tops of several of my fingers and for some time afterward my fingers were black on the tops, owing to congealed blood there. I was feeling extremely weak, almost fainting, and the blood was dropping down my legs. I was asked several questions about other individuals and about military matters but refused to give any information.

"'Captain B. also put the pincers on my thighs, but my senses were becoming quite numb.

"'Another officer then untied my hands and told me to pull up my trousers. I did so, and my trousers were sopping wet with blood. Captain B. said, "The court is closed for the finding." He said, "Stand up," as my knees were somewhat bending, "and we will see what a Tommy can do to you." I was hit several times in various parts of the body, but especially in the face, and he broke the four teeth in my upper jaw. I was then knocked down on the ground. I was absolutely exhausted and nearly fainted, and my senses were beginning to go. He hit me on several occasions while I was on the ground. After a few minutes one of the officers said, "That's enough." I was then dragged up and led out of the room. My hands had not been retied since they had been undone in order to lift up my trousers. When I got outside my hands were tied up again and the straps fastened around my neck and face. Five or six soldiers hit me.'

"An attested copy was submitted to us of the following deposition alleged to have been made by Kevin Gerard Barry, medical student, hanged for alleged participation in an attack on the Imperial British forces:

"'*County of the City of Dublin, to wit:*

"'I, Kevin Barry, of 58 South Circular Road, in the County of the City of Dublin, medical student, aged 18 years and upward, solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

"'1. On the 20th day of September 1920 I was arrested in Upper Church Street, in the City of Dublin, by a sergeant of the Second Duke of Wellington's regiment and was brought under escort to the North Dublin Union, now occupied by the military. I was brought into the guardroom and searched. I was then removed to the defaulter's room by an escort with a sergeant major. The latter and the escort belonged to the First Lancashire Fusiliers. I was then handcuffed.

"'2. About a quarter of an hour after I was placed in the defaulters' room two commissioned officers came in. They both belonged to the First Lancashire Fusiliers. They were accompanied by three sergeants of the same unit. A military policeman who had been in the room since I entered it remained. One of the officers asked my name, which I gave. He then asked for the names of my companions in the raid or attack. I refused to give them. He tried to persuade me to give the names and I persisted in refusing. He then sent a sergeant out of the room for a bayonet. When it was brought in the sergeant was ordered by the same officer to point the bayonet at my stomach. The same question as to the names and addresses of my companions was repeated, with the same result. The sergeant was then ordered to turn my face to the wall and point the bayonet to my back. I was so turned. The sergeant then said he would run the bayonet into me if I did not tell. The bayonet was then removed and I was turned round again.

"'3. The same officer then said to me that if I persisted in my attitude he would turn me out to the men in the barrack square, and that he supposed I knew what that meant with the men in their present temper. I said nothing. He ordered the sergeants to put me face down on the floor and twist my arm. I was pushed down on the floor after my handcuffs were removed by the sergeant, who went for the bayonet. When I lay on the floor one of the sergeants knelt on the small of my back; the other two placed one foot each on my back and left shoulder, and the men who knelt on me twisted my right arm, holding it by the wrist with one hand while he held the hair with the other to pull back my head. The arm was twisted from the elbow joint. This continued, to the best of my judgment, for 5 minutes. It was very painful. The first officer was standing near my feet, and the officer who accompanied him was still present.

"'4. During the twisting of my arm the first officer continued to question me as to the names and addresses of my companions, and also asked me for the name of my company commander and any other officer I knew.

"'5. As I still persisted in refusing to answer those questions I was let get up, and I was again handcuffed. A civilian came in, and he repeated the questions, with the same result. He informed me that if I gave all the information I knew I could get off. I was then left in the company of the military policemen, the two officers, the three sergeants, and the civilian leaving together.

"'6. I could certainly identify the officer who directed the proceedings and put the questions. I am not sure of the others except the sergeant with the bayonet. My arm was medically treated by an officer of the Royal Army Medical Corps, attached to the North Dublin Union, the following morning, and by the prison hospital orderly afterward for 4 or 5 days.

"'7. I was visited by the court-martial officer last night, and he read for me the confirmation of sentence of death by hanging, to be executed on Monday next, and I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing same to be true, and by virtue of the Statutory Declaration Act, 1835.

"'KEVIN GERARD BARRY.

"'Declared and subscribed before me at Mountjoy prison, in the county of the city of Dublin, this 26th day of October 1920.

"'MILES KEOGH,

"'*A Justice of the Peace in and for the Said County.*'"

"An officer of the Cameron Highlanders was in charge of the party that murdered the Buckley boy, a handcuffed prisoner" (pp. 88, 90, 92).

COMPARED TO BELGIAN ATROCITIES

"It would appear to your Commission that the Imperial British Army in Ireland has been guilty of proved excesses not incomparable in degree and kind with those alleged by the Bryce report on Belgian atrocities to have been committed by the Imperial German Army. And it would further appear that the Imperial British Government have created and introduced into Ireland, a country in area less than the State of Maine, a force of at least 78,000, many of whom were boys and some of them convicts; has incited them to slay, burn, and loot, has armed them for their task; and has tempered with terror and alcohol this chosen instrument, to fit it for the appointed purposes of the Imperial British Government in Ireland. It would seem to us that the moral responsibility for the crime of this instrument rests on those who fashioned and used it" (p. 98).

MR. WHITE A TOOL FOR INTERNATIONALISTS

It is to be regretted that Mr. White has allowed himself to be a tool for the internationalists to propagandize America for war. He knows the real situation and before he was "taken over" his editorials in the Emporia (Kans.) Gazette showed that he knew that this was another European war for power. The talk of England fighting for democracy he called "window dressing" as late as June 1939.

A Plea for Tolerance Toward Foreign-Born Residents of Our Country—Domestic Morale Must Be Improved—The Dangers of Deportation of Aliens Here Now Are Incalculable—Letter to the President, Numerously Signed, Urging Merciful Administration of Naturalization and Deportation Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN M. COFFEE

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 26, 1940

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SIGNED BY 100 LEADING CLERGYMEN, INTELLECTUALS, AND WRITERS OF AMERICA

Mr. COFFEE of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following strong letter directed to the President of the United States requesting that the Attorney General and naturalization officers, generally, so administer the new deportation and alien-restriction laws, as to accord to our foreign-born the greatest possible tolerance, mercy, and understanding. This letter was signed by 100 leading thinkers, educators, and clergymen of America, and speaks for itself:

To the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:
To the ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES:

On December 26 the compulsory fingerprinting and registration of noncitizens, as ordered by Congress, will be concluded. The manner in which the noncitizens have conformed with the provisions of the Alien Registration Act shows that they are, in the main, law-abiding residents and that they are devoted to the principles of American democracy.

With the conclusion of registration, we recommend to the President of these United States that he issue a public statement reaffirming those basic traditions of equality and hospitality as America's guide in dealing with noncitizens.

We urge the Attorney General of the United States, as the officer responsible for the naturalization and deportation laws, to administer these laws in a manner that will avoid creating unnecessary hardship or prejudice for either individuals or families in this country.

The President should publicly condemn the practice of employers who discriminate against noncitizens and citizens of alien parentage, refusing to hire, and even firing those who are employed, because such actions seriously affect the welfare of all Americans.

The problems presented by those noncitizens who entered this country illegally, some of whom have lived here for many years, is of special importance. The lives of many of these noncitizens would be jeopardized by deportation because of the war in Europe. We believe that it would be fully in keeping with the spirit of our laws to postpone consideration of their deportation and to give them every opportunity to regularize their status. If necessary, the President and the Attorney General should request Congress to enact appropriate legislation to make this possible.

In the spirit of the Christmas season, we call upon every American to exercise and display understanding of the problems of his fellow Americans who are not citizens. Discrimination against individuals or groups of people because of their descent or lack of citizenship creates disunity and endangers our democracy.

The enactment of antialien laws by Congress promotes hysteria and discrimination against Americans of foreign birth. Most menacing to the welfare of the American people is the proposal to establish concentration camps for certain noncitizens, which clearly conflicts with our principles as a democracy and must be defeated by Congress.

Instead of criticizing or condemning those who are not citizens, we should do everything possible to encourage and facilitate their naturalization, eliminating existing restrictions in our laws and in the naturalization procedure. The campaign for American citizenship and citizenship rights, which is being conducted by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-born to foster the naturalization of noncitizens, merits the support and cooperation of all Americans desirous of promoting the unity of our population and maintaining our American way of life.

We who are devoted wholeheartedly to the principles of freedom must not permit hysteria and prejudice to undermine our democracy by making a scapegoat of the noncitizen. This danger is aggravated by those who seek to take advantage of the public tension and uneasiness, created as a result of the war, by spreading false charges against the foreign-born.

We must jealously guard everyone's right to freedom, otherwise the rights of all will be destroyed. We appeal, on this day, to the responsible officers of our Government to use their office to help insure perpetuation of our democracy by taking the necessary steps to safeguard the rights and the welfare of the foreign-born. Reaffirmation and concrete implementation of the rights of the noncitizen and the naturalized citizen will serve as an important contribution to our national unity, to the preservation of the Bill of Rights, and democratic government for the entire American people.

Dr. Edith Abbott, dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago; Rabbi Michael Alper, New York City; Fortunatus J. Bagocius, president, Lithuanian Alliance of America; Prof. Roland H. Bainton, editor, Journal of Religious Education; Frank C. Bancroft, editor, Social Work Today; Lewis Alan Berne, president, Federation of Architects, Engineers and Chemists; Prof. Franz Boas, Columbia University; Rev. Dwight J. Bradley, Council for Social Action; Millen Brand, author, Pennsylvania; Louis Bromfield, author, Ohio; Van Wyck Brooks, historian, Connecticut; Prof. Henry N. Burlage, University of North Carolina; Dr. Henry J. Cadbury, Harvard University; Dr. Henry Seidel Canby, editor, Saturday Review of Literature; Sarah Cleghorn, Vermont; Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, Conference of Jews and Christians; Hon. John M. Coffee, United States Congressman; Aaron Copland, composer, New York City; Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, minister, Central Methodist Church, Detroit; David Dempsey, Institute for Propaganda Analysis; Dr. Charles E. Diehl, president, Southwestern University, Tennessee; Prof. Stephen Duggan, director, Institute of International Education; Dr. L. Anton Ewald, president, United Bavarian Societies; Prof. Ernst Feise, Johns Hopkins University; Sara Bard Field, author, California; Edgar J. Fisher, associate director, Institute of International Education; Waldo Frank, author, New York City; Dr. Robert F. Galbreath, president, Westminster College, Pennsylvania; Dr. Rudolph Ganz, president, Chicago Musical College; Dr. Christian Gauss, dean, Princeton University; Prof. Walter Gellhorn, Columbia University; Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein, honorary president, Rabbinical Council of America; Dr. A. L. Goldwater, New York City; Edward Everett Hale, president, Descendants of the American Revolution; Helen Hall, director, Henry Street Settlement House; Prof. S. Ralph Harlow, Smith College; Rev. Ladislaus Harsanyi, minister, Hungarian Reformed Church; Prof. Marion Hathway, secretary, American Association of Schools of Social Work; Aline Davis Hays, League of Women Shoppers; Alexander Hoffman, manager, Cleaners and Dyers, Local 239, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Rev. Dr. Moses Hyamson, New York City; Rev. William Lloyd Imes, St. James Presbyterian Church; Prof. Theodore Karwoski, Dartmouth College; Rockwell Kent, president, United American Artists; Carol King, secretary, International Juridical Association; Rev. Owen A. Knox, president, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Prof. Kurt Koffka, Smith College; Prof. Oliver W. Larkin, Smith College; Rev. James Henry Larson, Massachusetts; William Levner, president, W. P. A. Teachers Union, Local 453; Dr. Leonard Liebling, editor, Musical Courier; Hon. Lucius N. Littauer, former Congressman; Rev. Sidney Lovett, chaplain, Yale University; Prof. Helen Merrell Lynd, Sarah Lawrence College; Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University; Hon. Clifford T. McAvoy, Deputy Commissioner of Welfare, New York City; Jack R. McMichael, president, American Youth Congress; Prof. William M. Malisoff, Polytechnical Institute of Brooklyn; Rosalie Manning, secretary, New York Conference on Inalienable Rights; Prof. Clyde R. Miller, Columbia University; Dr. Edgar K. Morrow, president, Kansas Wesleyan University; George B. Murphy, Jr., National Association for Advancement of Colored People; Rev. Stanley U. North, New York; Dr. Heriuf V. Olsen, dean, Amos Tuck School, Dartmouth College; Arthur Osman, President, United Wholesale and Warehouse Employees Union, Local 65; Prof. Harry A. Overstreet, New York; Dr. Horace M. Perry, headmaster, Woodmere Academy, New York; William Pickens, National Association for Advancement of Colored People; Rabbi David de Sola Pool, New York; Arthur Upham Pope, New York City; Patrick L. Quinlan, editor, the Gaelic American; Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Columbia University; Wallingford Riegger, composer, New York City; Mary W. Rittenhouse, Associate District Secretary, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities; Dr. David A. Robertson, president, Goucher College, Maryland; Cesar Saerchinger, writer and lecturer, New York City; Rose Schneiderman, president, Women's Trade Union League of America; Prof. T. C. Schneirla, New York University; Irving Schwab, attorney, New York City; Irwin Shaw, author, New York City; Dr. Kenneth C. M. Sills, President, Bowdoin College, Maine; Prof. Alice D. Snyder, Vassar College; Rev. William B. Spofford, Church League for Industrial Democracy; Dr. T. A. Starzynski, president, Polish Falcons of America; Genevieve Taggard, poet, New York City; Prof. C. Fayette Taylor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Katherine Terrell, Council for Social Action; Jean Starr Untermeyer, poet, New York City; Oswald Garrison Villard, New York City; Prof. J. Raymond Walsh, Hobart College; Rev. Alfred Grant

Walton, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dr. Harry F. Ward, Union Theological Seminary; Theodore Ward, Negro Playwrights Co., New York City; Morris Watson, Vice President, American Newspaper Guild; Max Weber, artist, New York; Rabbi Jacob Weinstein, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. Wayne White, New York City; William Carlos Williams, author, New Jersey; Col. Charles Erskine Scott Wood, California; Dr. Max Yergan, president, National Negro Congress; Art Young, artist, New York City.

Organizations have been listed for the purpose of identification only.

Dr. J. E. Pope Again Stopped From Using Mails To Defraud in Old-Age Pension Scheme

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 19, 1940

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, permission having been granted, I am inserting herewith an order by the Post Office Department forbidding one so-called Dr. Pope from using the United States mails to defraud in an old-age pension scheme:

Order No. 14888.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
Washington, December 12, 1940.

TO THE POSTMASTER:

It having been made to appear to the Postmaster General, upon evidence satisfactory to him, that National Old Age Pension Association, Dr. J. E. Pope, founder and president, Dr. James E. Pope, president, and James E. Pope, founder and president, and their officers and agents as such, at Washington, D. C., are engaged in conducting a scheme or device for obtaining money through the mails by means of false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises, in violation of sections 259 and 732 of title 39, United States Code, said evidence being more fully described in the memorandum of the Solicitor for the Post Office Department of the date of December 11, 1940, and by authority vested in the Postmaster General by said laws the Postmaster General hereby forbids you to pay any postal money order drawn to the order of said concern and parties and you are hereby directed to inform the remitter of any such postal money order that payment thereof has been forbidden, and that the amount thereof will be returned upon the presentation of the original order or a duplicate thereof applied for and obtained under the regulations of the Department.

And you are hereby instructed to return all letters, whether registered or not, and other mail matter which shall arrive at your office directed to the said concern and parties to the postmasters at the offices at which they were originally mailed, to be delivered to the senders thereof, with the words "Fraudulent: Mail to this address returned by order of Postmaster General" plainly written or stamped upon the outside of such letters or matter. Where there is nothing to indicate who are the senders of letters not registered or other matter, you are directed to send such letters and matter to the Division of Dead Letters with the words "Fraudulent: Mail to this address returned by order of Postmaster General" plainly written or stamped thereon, to be disposed of as other dead matter under the laws and regulations applicable thereto.

(Case No. 25942–F.)

AMBROSE O'CONNELL,
Acting Postmaster General.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR,
Washington, December 11, 1940.

In the matter of charges that the National Old Age Pension Association, Dr. J. E. Pope, founder and president, Dr. James E. Pope, president, and James E. Pope, founder and president, at Washington, D. C., are engaged in conducting a scheme for obtaining money through the mails by means of false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises, in violation of 39 United States Code 259 and 732 (secs. 3929 and 4041 of the Revised Statutes, as amended). Memorandum for the Postmaster General embodying a finding of fact and recommending the issuance of a fraud order

Under date of October 30, 1940, the above-named concern and party were forwarded copy of a memorandum of charges on file in this office and called upon to show cause on November 29, 1940, why a fraud order should not be issued against them. Several days before the date set for the hearing, James E. Pope filed in this office an affidavit in and by which he agreed to discontinue the enterprise charged to be fraudulent and not to resume it in the future. He was thereafter advised that the affidavit submitted could not be accepted as a basis for disposing of the pending charges and that the hearing would proceed as originally scheduled. On November 29, 1940, James E. Pope filed a second affidavit in which he authorized the postmaster at Washington, D. C., to return to senders all mail received at that office addressed to the names set forth in the caption hereof. For reasons which are more fully hereinafter set forth, this affidavit was also rejected as a basis for disposing of the pending charges.

The respondents did not appear at this office at the time set for the hearing, nor did any attorney or representative appear on their behalf. There did appear and testify, however, the post-office inspector who investigated the case. The letters and affidavits submitted by James E. Pope have been read and considered.

The charges forming the basis of this case allege in effect that the National Old Age Pension Association represents to the public that it is an actual, bona fide, already existing old-age pension association; that the said James E. Pope is the regularly constituted president thereof, and a doctor; that the said association is a great and highly influential organization, actively engaged on a widespread scale in a movement designed to cause the Congress of the United States to pass legislation providing direct Federal pensions of $50 per month to all deserving men and women of the United States over 50 years of age; that one of the old-age pension bills now pending before Congress was conceived and written by said association, and James E. Pope was introduced by reason of the influence exerted by the said association and James E. Pope upon the congressional sponsor thereof; that the said association is an official organization and that it is essential to the success of the old-age-pension movement that the membership coupons sent out by the association be returned immediately with a remittance, whereas in truth and fact said representations are false and fraudulent.

I have carefully considered all of the evidence in this case and find the facts to be as follows:

Under the names set forth in the caption hereof, James E. Pope is soliciting remittances of money through the mails from divers persons as membership dues in the National Old-Age Pension Association.

The history of James E. Pope, as appears from the evidence submitted at the hearing, indicates that he has been for many years addicted to the fraudulent use of the mails. In October 1904 he was convicted at Houston, Tex., in connection with a scheme conducted through the mails wherein he represented that he was the general manager of a nonexistent company. This nonexistent company Pope represented was prepared to make long-term leases at a low rate of interest. All applicants for loans from the nonexistent company were required to send $15 as an alleged attorney's fee. Pope would keep the advanced fee and advise the applicant that the nonexistent company which was supposed to make the loan would not advance the money. This conviction resulted in his being sentenced to serve 18 months in the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans. On February 14, 1919, at Longview, Tex., Pope was indicted and thereafter plead guilty to a charge of using the mails to defraud in a scheme wherein he advertised for watch salesmen. In this instance he required that all applicants for position as salesmen pay $10.75 for a sample watch; but he had no positions to offer any applicant. In some instances he even failed to furnish the sample after receiving the remittance. This conviction resulted in his being sentenced to pay a fine of $500. Again, on December 17, 1923, Pope was indicted at Fort Worth, Tex., and plead guilty to a charge of using the mails to defraud in connection with the sale of interests in a petroleum investment trust. The conviction in this case resulted in his being sentenced to serve 60 days in prison and pay a $500 fine. On May 29, 1927, he was again indicted at Pueblo, Colo., in connection with his operation of the National Business Service Co. In that scheme Pope required an advance fee of $100 from all concerns who desired to be financed by his business-service company or to have their stock issues sold. The indictment was dismissed, however, because Pope convinced the United States attorney that he had reformed and was leading a respectable, honest life as a chiropodist in Tulsa, Okla.

In 1932 Pope undertook the promotion of the enterprise now in question at Tulsa, Okla. He thereafter moved to Washington, D. C., and operated from that address under the name of the National Old Age Pension Association. The evidence shows that in February 1934 he was called before the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, which committee had been directed by the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives to make a thorough investigation of any person, group, or organization that appeared to be involved in an old-age pension racket. After a thorough investigation by that committee, which included taking the testimony of several individuals, the committee reported to the House of Representatives, in part, as follows (H. Rept. No. 1633, 73d Cong., 2d sess.):

"While it is reprehensible for anyone to defraud citizens of this country through the use of the mails, it seems to this committee that the present scheme of Pope is the worst of his many plans to get money from unsuspecting people. In this case he is trading upon human sentiment, playing upon the hopes of aged persons and taking from those least able to spare it."

On April 5, 1934, the National Old Age Pension Association and Dr. J. E. Pope, national chairman, names which were then being used by Pope in soliciting remittances of money through the mails, were called upon to show cause before the then Solicitor of the Post Office Department on April 19, 1934, why a fraud order should not be issued against them. This citation resulted in Pope executing and filing an affidavit on April 18, 1934, in which he agreed under oath that thereafter he would not use the mails in furtherance of any enterprise similar to the one then charged to be fraudulent. On June 18, 1936, Pope was again called upon by the then Solicitor of the Post Office Department to show cause on June 29, 1936, why a fraud order should not be issued against the National

Old Age Pension Forum, the National Forum Federal Old Age Pension Advocate, J. E. Pope, president, and Dr. J. E. Pope. The scheme then charged to be fraudulent was substantially similar to that previously conducted under the name of National Old Age Pension Association. This citation resulted in the filing of another affidavit by Pope in and by which he agreed to discontinue the enterprise charged to be fraudulent.

Pope is now using the mails under the names set forth in the caption hereof and soliciting membership dues in substantially the same manner as in each of the previous schemes. Representations made by Pope in furthering the current schemes are, in part, as follows:

[Do not misplace, withhold, or delay this membership coupon]

"NATIONAL OLD AGE PENSION ASSOCIATION

"(Nonprofit)

"COLORADO BUILDING, *Washington, D. C.*

"Dedicated to the cause of direct Federal pensions of $50 per month to all deserving men and women of the United States over 50 years of age.

"Important: This coupon to be used at once.
Authorized by James E. Pope, founder and president.
Given out by _____

Date _____
Name _____
Street or box or rural free delivery.
Post office_____ State_____
Age_____ Male or female_____

"Instructions: 10 cents in coin or money order must be sent with this coupon for 5 blanks, for you to give out to other persons. Do not send stamps, they cannot be accepted. Fold a silver dime in a piece of paper and enclose in the envelope with this membership coupon; coin will reach us safely. Do this without delay.

"Official coupon of the National Old Age Pension Association—No other coupons or solicitations authorized by us

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"NEW 1940 SERIES

"The National Old Age Pension Association in Washington, the oldest and greatest organization of its kind in existence, drafts you as a 1940 member now. If you paid as a member before January 1, we ask you to join all over again for 1940. If you have never before been a member, we urge you to join now, as it is important to us that you do so, irrespective of age, race, or color.

"Pension bill, H. R. 6587, is now in Congress, and provides for pensions of $50 per month to each man and woman of the United States who has reached the age of 50 years, or over, whose income from other sources is less than $1,200 per year. The bill provides that such pensions must start within 60 days after enactment.

"All our other pension plans are canceled and dead, and this great movement is intended to supplant all other pension plans.

"Important: Return this at once to the National Old Age Pension Association, 518 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C. Dr. J. E. Pope, founder and president.

["Dr. J. E. Pope, president, operating nonprofit (unincorporated) National Old Age Pension Association, founded 1932. Executive offices: Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.]

"OBJECTIVE: $50 PENSIONS FOR ALL DESERVING MEN AND WOMEN OVER 50

"DEAR MEMBER: The National Old Age Pension Association in Washington, the oldest and greatest organization of its kind in the world, has received your membership coupon and remittance. We accept you as a member, and will place your name on our permanent roll if you will cooperate by doing what we now ask you to do.

"Along with this letter of acceptance we are sending you five additional membership coupons. We ask that you immediately give or send these out, one each to five of your friends, or other persons, anywhere in any State, men, or women, and you try to see that each prospective member uses his or her coupon without delay. Make certain that none of our blanks are misplaced or delayed. We insist that you obtain not less than three new members at once. In fact, it is absolutely necessary that we hear from your coupons immediately. The more you get the better, and we will send you additional blanks upon request. We have adopted the definition 'official coupon' for protection against unauthorized solicitation. You, of course, know that our sole function is to exert pressure upon Congress in behalf of better pension laws. Please make this clear to all. We hold you responsible for these coupons we send you today.

"Your name should appear on each of these blank coupons in the space marked (x). Each member is charged with the responsibility of doing his or her part in this organization. Do not fail us in this, and do not delay.

"We claim that the present social-security law, while a direct result of our first work and untiring effort, is not sufficient. We demand $50 per month for men and women above 50. I realize that this is not quite sufficient, but our endeavor is to get this. Let's get $50 pensions first. It is not wise, nor do we authorize you to confuse matters by falling in with any impossible scheme which promises too much. You will never get that much, and those trying for the sensational and impossible, no matter how sincere their motives, are probably preventing you from getting up to $50 per month sooner, which you should, in justice, be receiving now. Here is the great question: Would you not prefer a system paying up to $50 per month than to endanger the whole set-up by joining in a clamor for a great big amount, which you may never get?

"After you get at least 5 new members under this new set-up, we want you to consider the following: We want a local chairman there for each group of 10 new members. Will you get 10 new members and be the chairman of the group you get? If not, will you recommend some energetic person for the place? We will want a district chairman for each group of 100 members. With every man and woman doing his or her duty we can have every county and congressional district sewed up in a jiffy. We can then tell the boys who come to Washington at your expense what they must do. But do not allow the question of chairmanship to interfere with your prompt acceptance of the small duty imposed upon you in this letter. The careful disposition of the enclosed coupons comes first.

"We are determined to work for $50 pensions for all deserving men and women over 50. We are proceeding legally and ethically—in the devout hope that we will not again be singled out and persecuted and made the target for unjust discrimination.

"Yours truly,

"DR. JAMES E. POPE,
"President, National Old Age Pension Association.

"This great renewed surprise movement is now sweeping the country silently with terrific force. May we hear from your new members within the week? Promptness is important."

"THIS IS TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT

"DEAR MEMBER: Do not let war talk or hot weather interfere. You do your part now and we will do our part. Please see that every coupon we send you today is promptly accounted for. This is vitally important.

"We will later advise you how you may actively share in this movement for better pensions.

"Please see that each and every coupon is used.

"DR. JAMES E. POPE,
"President, National Old Age Pension."

"In accepting your application for membership we have prepared a special card for you in our records, and we are sending you herewith a set of four blank membership coupons, each bearing the same number as your record card in our files.

* * * * * * * *

"Our old-age pension bill, H. R. 9956, is already in Congress, and was introduced just as we wrote it. It will provide, when enacted, direct Federal pensions of $50 per month for men and women over 50, whose income from other sources does not exceed $1,200 per year. The terms apply to all qualifying persons, regardless of race, creed, or color, and further provides that such pensions shall start within 60 days after enactment. Nobody can predict what this Congress will do, but we are standing by our guns.

"We have adopted this form of official coupon for protection against unauthorized solicitation. You of course know that our sole function is to try to exert pressure upon Congress in behalf of better pension laws. Please make this clear to all from whom you solicit memberships.

"I would not send you this letter unless I meant every word. I would not tell you that it is very necessary that we promptly hear from the coupons bearing your number unless I really and truly knew that it is vitally important to this association that we do hear from them within a reasonable time."

The evidence shows that the procedure followed by Pope after receiving one of the "official coupons" with a 10-cent remittance is to forward to that contributing member five more coupons which the member is urged to distribute to his friends and after explaining the aims of the association have them promptly file their application for membership with 10 cents. Each subsequent member is of course sent five additional coupons with the same instructions. According to the evidence this method of operation resulted in 400 letters being received by Pope on March 7, 1940, and a daily average of 1,000 letters as of November 28, 1940.

The evidence presented at the hearing shows that this current scheme was started in May of 1939. As in each of the previous schemes the so-called National Old Age Pension Association has as its sole head James E. Pope. The evidence also shows that there are no articles of association by which the activities of the so-called association are governed and that there is no board of trustees or any other responsible person connected with the association in any manner. Pope does not seek advice from his members as to the policies to be pursued. He has never held a meeting of the members; has never rendered a report of the activities of the organization to the members; has never rendered statements of income or disbursements to the members and has never sought their counsel or advice on the question of his own salary, which he says at the present time is $350 per month. The evidence also shows that Pope does not have a membership roll and prepares no such special card as is indicated in the above-quoted advertising matter. He merely files the incoming coupons in a general file according to the State and congressional district within which the contributing member lives. None of the vital statistics required to be given on the official coupons are noted or tabulated by Pope.

The evidence also shows that the only claim Pope has to the title of doctor is that for a short period of time he practiced at Tulsa, Okla., as chiropodist. Relative to Pope's position as president of the association, the evidence shows that there has

never been a meeting for the purpose of electing officers and in fact there is no machinery whereby members could bring about an election either for the purpose of constituting Pope as the president or displacing him with some other person. His title presumably is held by reason of the membership coupons originally used in 1932 in which each contributing member elected him as perpetual president with plenary powers.

The evidence further shows that this so-called association is not a highly influential organization which is effectively engaged and dedicated to the cause of influencing the Congress of the United States to pass old-age-pension legislation. The repeated demands made upon the Post Office Department by persons throughout the United States, through their Senators and Congressmen, and through several governmental agencies for a thorough investigation of Pope are positive proof that neither Pope nor his association has any influence upon the Members of Congress. That the association is actively and effectively engaged on a widespread scale in a movement designed to cause Congress to pass pension legislation is well refuted by the evidence presented at the hearing. Pope in further admissions made to the post-office inspector has repeatedly stated that since resuming operations in 1939 and until June 1, 1940, he had not published a single newspaper advertisement; that he had not arranged for any radio time, and had only contacted one Member of Congress and then only to ask him whether or not he intended to introduce an old-age-pension bill. Pope has never advised his members what they could do to further the movement. Since June 1, 1940, he has inserted in a newspaper in Washington, D. C., a full-page advertisement in which he set forth one of the pension bills now pending in Congress and requested that all persons interested should advise their Congressmen to that effect. However, the evidence also shows that the area served by the newspaper in which this advertisement appeared is only the District of Columbia and nearby Maryland and Virginia. The hundreds of complaints and letters requesting information and demanding investigation as well as numerous letters addressed to the President of the United States and to several of the governmental agencies come from many States, including Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. These States have apparently supplied the bulk of Pope's members and though Pope has made this gesture of advising them through this single local advertisement what they should do, it is obvious that such advertisement would be most unlikely to come to the attention of persons residing in distant States and that the advertisement was published for the sole purpose of making a pretense of good intentions.

Pope also stated to the inspector on May 28, 1940, that he was then in the process of writing a bill which would be introduced in Congress. However, the bill which Pope is currently attempting to support was introduced under such circumstances as to warrant the assumption that his statement to the inspector was a falsehood and designed solely for the purpose of deception.

The evidence also shows that there is nothing official about the membership coupon used by Pope. However, complaints received by the Post Office Department in great numbers indicate that many persons receiving these blanks think that the association is an official governmental agency and that by becoming a member and remitting a dime the senders will soon become entitled to pensions of $50 a month. The evidence shows that in one instance a group of 12 Negroes called at the field office of the Social Security Board at Montgomery, Ala., and demanded to know when they would receive their pensions. They all stated that they had mailed in their remittance with the official coupon to the National Old Age Pension Association at Washington, D. C., and believed that they were fully entitled to $50 a month. One of these complaining individuals increased her donation from 10 cents to $2, believing that by so doing her pension would be increased proportionately. These numerous complaints and letters show that in many instances aged and indigent Negroes in the South have denied themselves the necessities of life to send remittances to Pope pursuant to this scheme in the hope and confident expectation that they would receive Federal pensions within a short time. Pope well knows these facts by reason of his experience during the past 8 years, and so knowing them, he has adroitly worded his official coupon so as to convey to such persons these false impressions.

The evidence further shows that Pope has in fact expended some money obtained from his 10-cent members in advocating Federal old-age pensions. In the past and prior to June 18, 1936, he made some radio addresses and, as above stated, has at least on one occasion since resuming business in May 1939, placed an advertisement in a newspaper in which attention was called to a pending old-age pension bill. However, the evidence also shows that Pope at the present time is using all of the money received by him for the purpose of paying his salary, the salary of clerks in his employ, printing of coupons, and for office rent. The evidence also shows that on numerous occasions he has deposited directly to his personal account varying sums of money from time to time on the sole explanation that the association owes him money. These deposits, it must be noted, are not made in the normal business manner, such as in the form of a check drawn on the account of the debtor to the order of the creditor, but by direct cash deposits taken by Pope from the cash daily receipts.

The evidence before me shows, and I so find, that this is a scheme for obtaining money through the mails by means of false and fraudulent pretenses, representations, and promises.

The failure of Pope to observe the affidavits heretofore filed by him precludes this office and the Department from accepting any further affidavit of discontinuance from him.

I therefore recommend that a fraud order be issued against National Old Age Pension Association, Dr. J. E. Pope, founder and president; Dr. James E. Pope, president; and James E. Pope, founder and president; and their officers and agents as such, at Washington, D. C.

VINCENT M. MILES, *Solicitor.*

INVESTIGATION OF POPE IN 1934

On February 12, 1934, the following proceedings took place before the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives (Mr. RAMSPECK, of Georgia, was acting chairman):

STATEMENT OF J. E. POPE, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR OLD AGE PENSIONS

The CHAIRMAN. Before we start with Mr. J. E. Pope, of the National Association for Old Age Pensions, I want to say that the Ellenbogen resolution before the Committee on Rules has been changed. It originally called for an investigation by a special committee of the Congress of old-age-pension legislation. That has been changed so that the Committee on Labor will make the investigation. When we went before the Committee on Rules, the committee made it plain that it wanted this committee to go into anything that looked like a racket, and into anything else wrong, in connection with old-age pensions. Before Mr. Pope starts, I should like to read into the record Mr. PATMAN'S speech of last Saturday, so that Mr. Pope may have an opportunity to answer it if he sees fit. It says:

"Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 minutes.

"The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

"There was no objection.

"J. E. POPE AND NATIONAL OLD AGE PENSION ASSOCIATION

"Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, during the summer and fall of last year I received many inquiries from constituents about the National Old Age Pension Association and Dr. J. E. Pope. I replied to each inquiry that I did not know anything about the organization or the one in charge of it, Dr. J. E. Pope. I told several people, however, that I did not see any reason why the people who were in favor of old-age pensions and old people should not be just as much entitled to a lobbyist in Washington as anyone else, but I did not know anything about Dr. Pope. I did not want to encourage them to send money to him, neither did I want to discourage them from sending money to him; I did not want to give an opinion about something I knew nothing about.

"ADVERTISEMENTS FOR OLD-AGE PENSIONS

"I was before the Rules Committee a week or 10 days ago, and a question came up about the National Old Age Pension Association getting contributions running into quite a sum of money from every section of the United States. At that time I made this statement, that one thing I had noticed about the Old Age Pension Association was that I had not seen any full-page advertisements for old people until the National Old Age Pension Association came into existence, and that I could see that much in favor of the organization.

"POPE CHIEF COOK AND BOTTLE WASHER

"I have had occasion to learn more about this organization and the so-called 'Dr. J. E. Pope,' and I feel that I should give my constituents and the country the benefit of this information. The information is this: 'This man, J. E. Pope, is the president, general manager, and the whole Old Age Pension Association. It has, according to my best information, no board of directors and no one else except just Dr. J. E. Pope. If he had been convicted of, say, murder back in 1904, then manslaughter in 1919, embezzlement in 1924, and maybe some other kind of crime in 1927, wholly disconnected, I would say let us not bring up the background, because it has no reference to what he is doing now. But if he has been indicted and convicted of similar offenses to what he is doing now, with a continuation of a system that he has carried on for a quarter of a century, I feel that the country and Members of Congress especially should and desire to know it.'

"NO REFLECTION ON CONGRESSMEN

"I want it understood that I hope not a word I say will be considered as a reflection upon those good men who have cooperated with this man and his organization in an effort to be of assistance to the old-age-pension movement. Instead of discouraging you from paying attention to what they have said over the radio and published in newspapers, I invite for your consideration the wonderful speeches and statements that have been made by them. What I am going to say, I hope will not be construed in any way against those gentlemen who are colleagues of mine in this House and who have spoken over the radio under the auspices of this organization.

"FEDERAL PENITENTIARY IN 1904

"Back in 1903 this man, J. E. Pope, was indicted in Houston, Tex. He was tried on October 28, 1904. He represented himself as the general manager of the Gulf & Southwestern Land Co., which was nonexistent, and that he was prepared to make long-term loans at a low rate of interest. Applicants would be required to send $15 with each abstract, the money being for an alleged attorney's fee. Pope would keep the abstracts on his desk for a week or two and invariably return them with the statement that the attorney for the company had advised against the loan. He obtained between $600 and $700 out of this scheme.

"He was indicted in the Federal court at Houston, Tex., tried and convicted, and given 18 months in the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kans., for using the mails to defraud.

"AGAIN CONVICTED IN 1919 FOR USING MAILS TO DEFRAUD

"On February 14, 1919, he was again indicted at Longview, Tex., for using the mails to defraud. This time he advertised under the name of J. E. Pope Co. for watch salesmen. He acquired $10.75 from applicants for sample watches. Pope mailed out some watches and refunded the money in some cases where the victim became too insistent.

"[Here the gavel fell.]

"Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be allowed to proceed for 5 additional minutes.

"The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

"There was no objection.

"Mr. PATMAN. A great many persons sent $10.75 and received neither the watch nor a position as salesman. It is not known how much he obtained as a result of this scheme, but by reason of this operation he was convicted of using the United States mails to defraud and given a fine of $500, which was paid.

"In August 1919 he was also indicted, the record indicates, in another case in this connection, and evidently they were considered together.

"AGAIN CONVICTED FOR USING MAILS TO DEFRAUD AND SENT TO JAIL IN 1924

"In 1923, at Fort Worth, Tex., he was arrested, on August 7. On December 17, 1923, at Fort Worth, Tex., he was indicted and pleaded guilty of using the United States mails to defraud and was given 60 days in jail and fined $500. In this case he used the aliases 'J. E. Pope Co.' and the 'Petroleum Investment Trust.' He sold interests in the Investment Trust, and a declaration of trust was never filed of record, the trust existing only on paper, letterheads, and advertising literature. Pope used some of the proceeds to purchase leases in his own name through brokers, and did not investigate to determine values. He acquired only one producing well, and that brought in between 25 and 50 barrels a day. He made extravagant claims and paid dividends that were not justified. According to his own figures, Pope received $283,732 from the sale of units, of which amount he was unable to account for $129,534.

"This was in 1924. It appears there were two of these cases in Fort Worth, Tex., the aliases being 'Petroleum Investment Co.' and 'J. E. Pope Oil Co.,' one case No. 87307–E and another case No. 81388–E, and he was given 60 days in jail and a $500 fine.

"AGAIN INDICTED FOR USING MAILS TO DEFRAUD IN 1927

"In 1927 he was again arrested on March 31 at Denver, Colo. He was indicted at Pueblo, Colo. Pope operated under the name of 'National Business Service Co.' He was the whole company and posed as a successful stock broker, advertising that the company would finance or promote stock issues. Persons or firms who corresponded with him were required to advance a fee of $100. The evidence disclosed that the sale of stock and securities was of minor importance, and that Pope's profits were derived from the advanced fees, for which he furnished little or nothing. He took in over $10,000. The indictment, however, was dismissed because Pope had evidently reformed and was leading an honest life as a chiropodist at Tulsa, Okla. [Laughter.]

"Mr. BLANTON. I notice he calls himself 'doctor.' Is he a doctor of finance or a doctor of the feet?

"Mr. PATMAN. He is a foot doctor.

"Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri. Will the gentleman yield?

"Mr. PATMAN. I will be pleased to yield.

"Mr. COCHRAN. It happens that several months ago I was requested by Dr. Pope to let him use my name in connection with his organization. I wrote him a letter insisting that under no consideration would I do so, and then I called the attention of the postal authorities to his activities, because he was getting 10 cents from poor old colored people in St. Louis on becoming members of his organization. I condemned his scheme. I understand the Post Office Department is now investigating his activities.

"Mr. MAY and Mr. TRUAX rose.

"Mr. PATMAN. I hope the gentlemen will let me finish and then I shall be pleased to yield, if I am given the time, and I think this matter is of sufficient importance to justify taking the time. I want to tell you about his scheme.

"The last indictment against Dr. Pope for using the mails to defraud was dismissed in 1929, and about 1931 or 1932, I do not know which, he commenced this new organization. I will leave it to you to decide whether or not it is intended to again use the mails to defraud.

"Mr. TRUAX. Will the gentleman yield?

"Mr. PATMAN. If the gentleman will let me go on about a minute until I finish my statement, I shall yield.

"Mr. TRUAX. As one speaker who has talked over the radio——

"Mr. PATMAN. I stated that I hoped they read your speech and considered every word of it.

"Mr. TRUAX. I desire to have the privilege of asking some questions.

"APPLICATION FORM MISLEADING

"Mr. PATMAN. I shall be very pleased to endeavor to answer them if I can.

"Here is the application form that was sent out by Dr. Pope, who represents the entire organization.

"[Here the gavel fell.]

"Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 10 additional minutes.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WARREN). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

"There was no objection.

"VERY PARTICULAR THAT APPLICATIONS ARE ACCOUNTED FOR

"Mr. PATMAN. This application is numbered. It is No. 103887–B. It looks like an official application for something. It must be dated and certain information given and it is not good unless used within a reasonable time, it says. Down here on the part that is to be torn off it is stated—

" 'This ballot is numbered. Please do not misplace it. Every ballot must be accounted for.'

"Over here it says:

" 'Any man or woman who withholds or delays sending in this ballot is unwittingly working against us and against our cause.'

"HE PROMISES TO LOOK AFTER THEIR INTEREST UNTIL A PENSION IS OBTAINED

"Over here it says that the purpose of the National Old Age Pension Association is twofold: First, to obtain legalized pensions for the aged of the United States of America, and, second, to continue to look after the interests and protection of each and every member of this association until pension payments actually start, leaving the impression thereby that some particular service is going to be rendered to club members who join this club.

"MEMBERS URGED TO GET IN BEFORE BOOKS CLOSE

"In order to join this club they must pay a very small, insignificant fee and, ordinarily, you would think this was an insignificant matter, because the fee is only 10 cents, which must be in coin—no stamps will be accepted—but at this time, and for several months past, he has been taking in from $300 to $700 a day in coins, from the poorest people all over the Nation, when they were filling out this application which said—I want you to listen to this—he goes ahead and tells his scheme, that he expects each person who is interested to send in a dime and then that person is to get five more to send in a dime, so that the one person can keep his membership in the organization. He will be dropped otherwise. Therefore he gets, in a way, 60 cents out of each one, and then he tells about the different schemes, and winds up by saying—

" 'In this manner we expect to cover the whole United States in a short time.'

"Now listen to this:

" 'After which we reserve the right to refuse to accept any further registrations.'

"Leaving the impression that the books might be closed and they might be left off the rolls.

"At the bottom it says:

" 'It is vitally important that every person who wants a Governmen pension should have his or her name on this roll.'

"What could anyone else infer except that he was going to get this pension; that this was a numbered application, and unless he got it in in time he would not be on the roll and would not get any pension. That is the only inference that anyone could get from that statement.

"MANY COMPLAINED TO POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

"Complaints have been received through the chief inspector and inspector in charge of the Post Office Department as follows: 145 complaints while he was operating in Tulsa, Okla.; 139 complaints while operating in Washington, D. C. He operated at Tulsa from August 25, 1932, to September 30, 1933; at Washington, D. C., from October 1, 1933, to date.

"Under date of April 8, 1933, it was reported that he was receiving from 600 to 1,000 letters daily. On November 25, 1933, it was estimated that for a period of 6 days he received 20,810 letters. At this time his daily receipts are estimated to average 5,000 letters.

"The records show that he started to work in August 1932 as the National Pension Club, and later changed to the National Old Age Pension Association.

"FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS ON HAND NOW

"On April 4, 1933, he estimated his members or signers as over 32,000, and it was stated that he intended to increase the membership to 5,000,000. He reports that from August 25, 1932, to April 4, 1933, he received from all sources $1,774.32. His total expenditures for this period were $1,798.65. He states that some members would send in a dime and some 5 cents and some 1 cent. Each member, according to the application blank, is supposed to contribute a dime and secure 5 additional members. It is reported that he has about $40,000 on hand now.

VERY, VERY POOR PERSUADED TO CONTRIBUTE

"Many of the complaints are submitted by prominent State, city, and county officials, making inquiry concerning the activities of the National Old Age Pension Association. In numerous letters it is stated that a lot of the people being circularized cannot even afford to contribute the small sum of a dime. It is impossible to make any definite statement as to what percentage of the complaints or inquiries are received from people of prominence or who are in a position to contribute to the association without undue hardship on them. A number of the letters stated that people were contributing 10 cents who had better by far put that much in the necessities of life in the way of purchasing food.

"Mr. MAY. Will the gentleman yield?

"Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

"Mr. MAY. I have in my files hundreds of printed pages issued to persons for old-age pensions by Judge Lehman, of Kansas. I am wondering whether or not there is a chain of connection between Dr. Pope and Judge Lehman.

"Mr. PATMAN. I do not know of any connection.

"Mr. TRUAX. Will the gentleman yield?

"Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

"Mr. TRUAX. The gentleman said that Dr. Pope had been investigated by the postal authorities on this 'racket,' as he called it.

"Mr. PATMAN. I did not say that, but I understand he is being investigated.

"Mr. TRUAX. I hold no brief for Dr. Pope, nor am I attempting to defend him. If he is guilty of fraud in his old-age pension association, he should be given the works. I can confirm that; and I am informed that they have not found a single charge true. I made two radio speeches. Some of these charges came to me, and I made an investigation, and the postal inspector in charge of the work told me that no person had substantiated the charges against him. That was told me in the presence of two or three Members of this House.

"Mr. PATMAN. Let me answer the gentleman. It is true that the Post Office Department has been investigating these charges, and I can tell the gentleman the reason why no action has been taken, if he wants to know.

"Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. Will the gentleman yield?

"Mr. PATMAN. I yield.

"Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. I have noticed reference to this in the public press and listened to radio addresses by prominent statesmen in this city. Has the gentleman investigated how this crook could get men to make radio addresses in his behalf?

"Mr. PATMAN. In the most innocent way.

"He was advocating a cause that we are all interested in. I would have been glad to cooperate with him had I not found out about this. All these gentlemen are innocent of any wrongdoing. They all made good speeches. I wish the gentleman would read their speeches. I am interested in old-age pensions. I don't want to do anything to injure the cause. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Truax] made a very fine speech and then shortly thereafter made another good one.

"Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. I would hate to read a speech inspired by a crook.

"Mr. TRUAX. I would state that I made no speech inspired by a crook.

"Mr. MARTIN of Oregon. This man is reported to be a crook.

"Mr. TRUAX. A lot of crooks have been reported that have never been turned up in this country.

"Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I know the Members of Congress who have spoken under the auspices of the National Old Age Pension Association were acting in the very best faith and endeavoring to advance a worthy cause which I am sure a large number of House Members are in sympathy with. They were given the opportunity to present their views over national radio hook-ups on this very important subject in which they were already interested.

"The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WARREN). The time of the gentleman from Texas has again expired."

My testimony before that committee on February 27, 1934, is contained in the hearings before the Committee on Labor, House of Representatives, of that date, and may be found on pages 83 to 133, inclusive. Pope was present when I testified and did not deny any of the charges.

Pope has spent all of his adult life either in the penitentiary, in jail, or under serious charges, for defrauding the unemployed, the distressed home owners, destitute people, applicants for old-age assistance, widows, and orphans.

It occurs to me that it is time that the Department of Justice take action against him. This is the third time he has been stopped by the Post Office Department. Fraud orders issued by the Post Office Department have not been effective in his case. Every time he is stopped by that Department he prepares a slightly different scheme, but embodying the essential earmarks of the original one, and again starts out on another defrauding expedition.

I respectfully invite the Department of Justice to look into this matter and take such action as the facts and the law warrant.

President Roosevelt's Address to the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 30 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS DELIVERED DECEMBER 29, 1940

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered last evening by the President of the United States, over various national broadcasting systems, to the people of America.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk on national security; because the nub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now, and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence and all of the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back 8 years ago to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the girl behind the counter; the small shopkeeper; the farmer doing his spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to them in their daily lives.

Tonight I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America.

We met the issue of 1933 with courage and realism.

We face this new crisis—this new threat to the security of our Nation—with the same courage and realism.

Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

For on September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations—a program aimed at world control—they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

Three weeks ago their leader stated "there are two worlds that stand opposed to each other." Then, in defiant reply to his opponents, he said this: "Others are correct when they say, With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves. * * * I can beat any other power in the world." So said the leader of the Nazis.

In other words, the axis not merely admits but proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.

In view of the nature of this undeniable threat, it can be asserted, properly and categorically, that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

At this moment the forces of the states that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom are being held away from our shores. The Germans and Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British and by the Greeks and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from subjugated countries. The Japanese are being engaged in Asia by the Chinese in another great defense.

In the Pacific is our fleet.

Some of our people like to believe that wars in Europe and in Asia are of no concern to us. But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that European and Asiatic war makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead to this hemisphere.

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was conceived by our Government as a measure of defense in the face of a threat against this hemisphere by an alliance in continental Europe. Thereafter we stood on guard in the Atlantic, with the British as neighbors. There was no treaty. There was no "unwritten agreement."

Yet there was the feeling, proven correct by history, that we as neighbors could settle any disputes in peaceful fashion. The fact is that during the whole of this time the Western Hemisphere has remained free from aggression from Europe or from Asia.

Does anyone seriously believe that we need to fear attack while a free Britain remains our most powerful naval neighbor in the Atlantic? Does anyone seriously believe, on the other hand, that we could rest easy if the Axis Powers were our neighbor there?

If Great Britain goes down, the Axis Powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas—and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us in the Americas would be living at the point of a gun—a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military.

We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run by threats of brute force. To survive in such a world we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of war economy.

Some of us like to believe that even if Great Britain falls we are still safe because of the broad expanse of the Atlantic and of the Pacific.

But the width of these oceans is not what it was in the days of clipper ships. At one point between Africa and Brazil the distance is less than from Washington to Denver—5 hours for the latest

type of bomber. And at the north of the Pacific Ocean, America and Asia almost touch each other.

Even today we have planes which could fly from the British Isles to New England and back without refueling. And the range of the modern bomber is ever being increased.

During the past week many people in all parts of the Nation have told me what they wanted me to say tonight. Almost all of them expressed a courageous desire to hear the plain truth about the gravity of the situation. One telegram, however, expressed the attitude of the small minority who want to see no evil and hear no evil, even though they know in their hearts that evil exists. That telegram begged me not to tell again of the ease with which our American cities could be bombed by any hostile power which had gained bases in this Western Hemisphere. The gist of that telegram was: "Please, Mr. President, don't frighten us by telling us the facts."

Frankly and definitely there is danger ahead—danger against which we must prepare. But we well know that we cannot escape danger, or the fear of it, by crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads.

Some nations of Europe were bound by solemn nonintervention pacts with Germany. Other nations were assured by Germany that they need never fear invasion. Nonintervention pact or not, the fact remains that they were attacked, overrun, and thrown into the modern form of slavery at an hour's notice or even without any notice at all. As an exiled leader of one of these nations said to me the other day, "The notice was a minus quantity. It was given to my government 2 hours after German troops had poured into my country in a hundred places."

The fate of these nations tells us what it means to live at the point of a Nazi gun.

The Nazis have justified such actions by various pious frauds. One of these frauds is the claim that they are occupying a nation for the purpose of "restoring order." Another is that they are occupying or controlling a nation on the excuse that they are "protecting it" against the aggression of somebody else.

For example, Germany has said that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British. Would she hesitate to say to any South American country, "We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States"?

Belgium today is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. Any South American country in Nazi hands would always constitute a jumping-off place for German attack on any one of the other republics of this hemisphere.

Analyze for yourselves the future of two other places even nearer to Germany if the Nazis won. Could Ireland hold out? Would Irish freedom be permitted as an amazing exception in an unfree world? Or the islands of the Azores, which still fly the flag of Portugal after five centuries? We think of Hawaii as an outpost of defense in the Pacific. Yet the Azores are closer to our shores in the Atlantic than Hawaii is on the other side.

There are those who say that the Axis Powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. This is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that the Nazis have proclaimed, time and again, that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. And most important of all, the vast resources and wealth of this hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all the world.

Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are already within our own gates. Your Government knows much about them and every day is ferreting them out.

Their secret emissaries are active in our own and neighboring countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and dissension to cause internal strife. They try to turn capital against labor, and vice versa. They try to reawaken long-slumbering racial and religious enmities which should have no place in this country. They are active in every group that promotes intolerance. They exploit for their own ends our natural abhorrence of war. These trouble breeders have but one purpose. It is to divide our people into hostile groups and to destroy our unity and shatter our will to defend ourselves.

There are also American citizens, many of them in high places who, unwittingly in most cases, are aiding and abetting the work of these agents. I do not charge these American citizens with being foreign agents. But I do charge them with doing exactly the kind of work that the dictators want done in the United States.

These people not only believe that we can save our own skins by shutting our eyes to the fate of other nations. Some of them go much further than that. They say that we can and should become the friends and even the partners of the Axis Powers. Some of them even suggest that we should imitate the methods of the dictatorships. Americans never can and never will do that.

The experience of the past 2 years has proven beyond doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. We know now that a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender.

Even the people of Italy have been forced to become accomplices of the Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be embraced to death by their allies.

The American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and France. They tell you that the Axis Powers are going to win anyway; that all this bloodshed in the world could be saved, and that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a dictated peace, and get the best out of it that we can.

They call it a negotiated peace. Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surrounds your community and on threat of extermination makes you pay tribute to save your own skins?

Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in history. And in these contests the Americas would offer the only real resistance to the Axis Powers.

With all their vaunted efficiency and parade of pious purpose in this war there are still in their background the concentration camp and the servants of God in chains.

The history of recent years proves that shootings and chains and concentration camps are not simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They may talk of a "new order" in the world; but what they have in mind is but a revival of the oldest and the worst tyranny. In that there is no liberty, no religion, no hope.

The proposed "new order" is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a government based upon the consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression. It is an unholy alliance of power and pelf to dominate and enslave the human race.

The British people are conducting an active war against this unholy alliance. Our own future security is greatly dependent on the outcome of that fight. Our ability to "keep out of war" is going to be affected by that outcome.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is far less chance of the United States getting into war if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their defeat, submit tamely to an Axis victory, and wait our turn to be the object of attack in another war later on.

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit there is risk in any course we may take. But I deeply believe that the great majority of our people agree that the course that I advocate involves the least risk now and the greatest hope for world peace in the future.

The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters which will enable them to fight for their liberty and our security. Emphatically we must get these weapons to them in sufficient volume and quickly enough so that we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure.

Let not defeatists tell us that it is too late. It will never be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today.

Certain facts are self-evident.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of resistance to world conquest. They are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human gallantry.

There is no demand for sending an American expeditionary force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your Government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people.

Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided and must be greatly aided by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. It is no more unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, Russia, and other nations near Germany, to send steel and ore and oil and other war materials into Germany every day.

We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations resisting aggression.

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic military policy, based on the advice of our military experts who are in close touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts and the Members of the Congress and the administration have a single-minded purpose—the defense of the United States.

This Nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency—and with all possible speed. This great effort requires great sacrifice.

I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend everyone in the Nation against want and privation. The strength of this Nation shall not be diluted by the failure of the Government to protect the economic well-being of all citizens.

If our capacity to produce is limited by machines, it must ever be remembered that these machines are operated by the skill and the stamina of the workers. As the Government is determined to protect the rights of workers, so the Nation has a right to expect that the men who man the machines will discharge their full responsibilities to the urgent needs of defense.

The worker possesses the same human dignity and is entitled to the same security of position as the engineer or manager or

owner. For the workers provide the human power that turns out the destroyers, the airplanes, and the tanks.

The Nation expects our defense industries to continue operation without interruption by strikes or lock-outs. It expects and insists that management and workers will reconcile their differences by voluntary or legal means, to continue to produce the supplies that are so sorely needed.

And on the economic side of our great defense program, we are, as you know, bending every effort to maintain stability of prices and with that the stability of the cost of living.

Nine days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the production of munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and a well-coordinated executive direction of our defense efforts are not in themselves enough. Guns, planes, and ships have to be built in the factories and arsenals of America. They have to be produced by workers and managers and engineers with the aid of machines which in turn have to be built by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the land.

In this great work there has been splendid cooperation between the Government and industry and labor.

American industrial genius, unmatched throughout the world in the solution of production problems, has been called upon to bring its resources and talents into action. Manufacturers of watches, of farm implements, linotypes, cash registers, automobiles, sewing machines, lawn mowers, and locomotives are now making fuses, bomb packing crates, telescope mounts, shells, pistols, and tanks.

But all our present efforts are not enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes—more of everything. This can only be accomplished if we discard the notion of "business as usual." This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements for defense.

Our defense efforts must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible consequences of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared.

After the present needs of our defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peacetime needs will require all of the new productive capacity—if not more.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense.

I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the Nation to build now with all possible speed every machine and arsenal and factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men—the skill—the wealth—and above all, the will.

I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield to our primary and compelling purpose.

I appeal to the owners of plants—to the managers—to the workers—to our own Government employees—to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint. And with this appeal I give you the pledge that all of us who are officers of your Government will devote ourselves to the same whole-hearted extent to the great task which lies ahead.

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your Government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend this hemisphere. The decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and how much shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our over-all military necessities.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.

We have furnished the British great material support and we will furnish far more in the future.

There will be no bottlenecks in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination.

The British have received invaluable military support from the heroic Greek Army, and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

I believe that the Axis Powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason for hope—hope for peace, hope for the defense of our civilization and for the building of a better civilization in the future.

I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this Nation which we love and honor and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

Nineteen Forty-one Coming Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LUTHER PATRICK

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 23, 1940

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, 1941 coming up. How do we feel about it? How are we prepared for it? Nineteen forty-one promises to be one of those years that in future years people will refer back to. The Hitler-Hess-Goering-Goebbels machine is still rolling along, having picked up the Mussolini organization and a few other tag-alongs—one of which is Japan. We have a comparatively small but loud-shouting isolationist group, saying, "It is a bad situation, but it is none of our affair." However, it cannot be tossed off with a national shoulder shrug. Nineteen forty-one is not going to be put together like that. The big movement is called the new order by its authors. Actually it is the same old order, with some changes, that has inspired the action of ambitious and determined men since the dawn of history. It moved Adolphus to burst through the passes of the Pyrennes with his Visigoths about A. D. 410 or 415 to take over Spain. It actuated Attila, Genghis Khan, Charlemagne—too many to start calling names from history. They got by with some raw deals. Men put up with a great deal in past days because nations were more or less removed from one another. But this is 1941 coming up and nations are not and cannot be removed from one another. Whatever one nation does affects the other nations if the action has any degree of exchange involved. The German leaders are quite outspoken and frank on this point, too, by the way.

We had a consciousness of the whole trend when it began. We saw Hitler smash Poland, plunder Belgium, and ravage Holland, then turn and overwhelm France. The Maginot Line became a hobble rather than a support. The world has seldom witnessed nor history recorded a more lopsided contest. Why such an uneven conflict? The answer is not far to seek. The French chose to believe what they wished to believe and the Germans went in for facts. It is fine enough to have a few isolationists sprinkled about the country and it is equally fine to have them have their say at all times, provided we do not heed them. They are willing to rest their case on unfinished thinking.

With 1941 coming up we do not have the idea that our burden will be easy or our yoke light. I think the facts have come up to us since 1918 that prove the main point in the defeat of Germany 20 years ago was the Allies' successful blockade. Germany found herself up against a food shortage she could not override. Well, what has she done this time? Before the rest of the world had gotten in motion Germany had moved into the Netherlands and Norway and had laid hold of a nice, fat food supply. Grain, meats, cheeses, and quite a general food source was opened up. My opinion is that the German army is pretty well stocked on food for the coming year. I notice that each German soldier received this week a very wholesome and bountiful Christmas package bulging with good and nutritious food. This means there is plenty more where that came from. This means we must work on the broader scheme this time. The conquered countries are already beginning to fret a bit. This will not help Germany but is not a thing upon which we can greatly count. We see what it is we must do. Our part in this thing is not springing from altruistic motives by any means. We see that if we survive long as a Nation holding onto the form of government and the way of life we love so well, we must see this rising tide stemmed. There is no question left as to that. A win for Germany would be a removal of world commerce

from our free use. We are a have Nation, a producing Nation. We make and sell things to other people in the world. We have coal, iron, cattle, corn, many things and many by-products of things to offer to the peoples of the earth. We have the factories and means of preparing our raw products for the markets of the world. Were Germany to win and lay her heavy hand, as she most certainly would, and promptly, too, upon our way of life and upon our system of transportation—commence to regulate what we should ship and how much—the result could only be one thing. It would mean a fight. A fight to the finish, a long, and terrible fight to a terrible finish. The best way to handle that is to see to it that England wins.

So our job is to come to our own defense now. For 7 years we sat around and listened to these isolationists while Germany was arming and getting ready. England, France, and the entire Eastern Hemisphere did the same thing. But as for this country we are now awake—a little late—but not too late. We listen no more to the isolationist. We hear the tune the totalitarian is playing and it does not any longer produce slumber. We feel alarm and are awakened. We recognize too well the menace in the sound. Our job is to provide England with armaments, more armaments and better armaments. Then we shall find that we can send even more and send them as soon as they may be gotten over.

And we must go at this thing right. All must participate. Let not labor be afraid. Her rights will survive. I know hers has been a long and hard road but the present leadership in both houses of Congress are friends of labor. This is true greatly of Republican as well as Democrat, too, I am glad to report. Some of labor's very good friends may be found on the Republican side. Industry must see its part and play it. This is no time to try to strike back at labor. We must all get together on this front. This is a big job coming up with 1941. We are not fighting a battle in which brave men may go out and win on valor and courage, by force of arms. We must be quite as earnest and determined, however. These are not pygmies we are opposing, neither are they stupid men. They have been able to see a long way down the road and have been ingenious enough to sell the doctrine of totalitarianism to a great people. Their leaders are strong, ambitious, selfish, determined, and will hazard the lives of many brave soldiers before they give up the fierce fight they have begun. They know what they have begun. They realize, I feel sure, where they will be placed in the opinion of mankind at the end of the war. They have consciously opened up new roads of horror. They have marched through residence sections of helpless nations throwing flames into houses of living people. They opened up the warfare of bombing helpless cities while their inhabitants lay asleep. They have disregarded solemn promises upon which whole nations then and there depended for course of action toward them. They have committed many acts that shock the conscience of a free-thinking people like ourselves, and free-thinking and justice-loving people everywhere. Therefore they must certainly know their only hope is to come through holding the whip hand. They have burned too many bridges behind. Also they know how fresh the last World War is in the memory of men and cannot help but contemplate the outcome of a defeat for themselves followed by the establishment of proceedings that will not admit a repetition of Germany becoming a threat to the safety of the world. The beginning of this war was an audacious thing and we are up against an audacious foe—and a heartless and relentless foe. We have already set our direction. It is the only direction we could take but the die is well cast. We have the resources, the factories, the people, the time, for which heaven be thanked, and now we have the will. So, I see no reason why we may not override all odds, and with courage, confidence, energy, and determination, see to it that England has the wherewith to fight and win this war for democracy, for freedom of thought and action, and for justice to the peoples of small nations as well as great nations on this earth.

Germany hopes to win this war. Were she to do so where would she first turn? She would turn promptly to make over the British-American alliance. Why may we be certain of this? There is only one answer. The control of England and America today embraces 15,000,000 square miles of the surface of the earth, and embraces 631,000,000 people; and this takes in one-half the iron and steel of the whole world, about two-thirds of the coal production of the earth, 56 percent of the cotton, 36 percent of the wheat, 60 percent of the timber, 42 percent of the copper, over 60 percent of the petroleum. These are the countries also that are already prepared with established factories and plants for the turning of raw materials into finished products. Of course, it is the first thing to which Germany would lay its hand. By no other means could it hope to hold its winnings. And no country could be more thoughtful of that than Germany, when one thinks of how she has worked out of her defeat under the very eyes of her conquerors.

But Great Britain and America were spared to pass the crisis, I believe, when England weathered the battle last October and November. If America, with a heart and a will, will now step forward and do what destiny has decreed for her, spare no effort in placing to the credit of freedom and democracy every ounce of material aid that is in her sinews to lift to her sister in trouble, this war will move on to a victory—and one that, if handled wisely, and with thought of the errors of 20 years ago—a victory that will bring about a new sort of union and understanding between the democratic nations in the world, will establish a new and much needed security for small nations, will guarantee more brotherliness to the peoples of the earth, and will have a chance to provide the greatest step forward that has been made in many, many generations; that of seeing to it that no one nation shall be in position to override the earth.

I thank you.

There Shall Be Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 30 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940

EDITORIAL BY VERNE MARSHALL AND STATEMENT BY HON. BURTON K. WHEELER, OF MONTANA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, in the name of the Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER], who is temporarily absent from the Senate, I ask that an editorial by Mr. Verne Marshall be placed in the RECORD. The editorial is entitled "There Shall Be Peace." I also ask that a statement by Senator WHEELER accompanying this editorial be printed in the RECORD. I am making this request in the absence of the Senator from Montana, who will be here later in the session.

There being no objection, the matters referred to were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. BURTON K. WHEELER, OF MONTANA

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I have read with a great deal of interest an editorial which has appeared in the Christmas day edition of the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette. It is a piece of writing that I wish every American could read. Its author, Mr. Verne Marshall, I believe, expresses the sincere beliefs of millions of Americans—a belief that war is abhorrent and that America has no place in this present, or any other foreign war. I hope that every Member of Congress may have an opportunity to read this editorial, and I ask unanimous consent that it be placed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE!

Be hopeful on this Christmas day, people of the United States.

In your hearts and prayers keep uppermost the conviction that peace is to prevail in and for this blessed country of ours.

Furthermore, you may with reason assume that when the truths which set us free, and keep us free, are proved effective in maintain-

ing peace here, those same truths may be of tremendous weight in bringing peace to desperate peoples everywhere.

Down through centuries the makers of great wars have deceived their peoples. And there need be no distinction between those accurately called aggressors and others who have been called upon to defend their countries against aggressors. Behind all great wars lies deception, and the deception invariably spreads the mantle of secrecy over the real explanations of these horrible and horrifying conflicts.

Rarely do the real makers of great wars enter the lines of battle, offer their lives in blood-written evidence of their sincerity. Ah, no! They are far behind the fields, ramparts, trenches, and dugouts, where cannon fodder is fed to bombs and guns paid for by the very people who must die to satiate the ambitions of the instigators of international violence.

It were futile to undertake detailed explanation, here and now, of the recorded conspiracies, "incidents" and deceptions practiced upon the peoples of this earth as a means of keeping them in turmoil, fear, and servitude, even in some countries which erroneously are called democracies. But the explanation is available, will be given to the world.

It has been prepared. It is of record. It is a simple story of truth. It has been written as it might have been told by the Humble Carpenter whose birthday comes once more amid scenes of such suffering as He experienced on Calvary. It was written in England by a man in whose integrity and of whose deadly accuracy there is no least shadow of suspicion.

Let there be continued attempts to frustrate, defeat, or in any way injure the committee of which it is my incredible honor to be chairman—the No Foreign War Committee—and the report of that honored Englishman will be given to the world. It is documented so forcefully as to be irresistible. It will ring the bells of liberty throughout the world.

Slimily, sneakingly, in dark corners, in sordid centers of un-Americanism, in certain places of great power there proceed at this moment the schemings of men who would wreck the No Foreign War Committee. Why? The answer is a deadly one, and it, too, has been proved in every known and necessary manner. It will be made public if I am forced to take that action.

There are people who for reasons other than those grounded in the welfare of the people of the United States and the world—all the people—want the United States not only to give away its defenses, but to give them away and then get into this latest chapter of Europe's endless political, ideological, and economic war.

Right here let us make one point indelibly clear. And he who undertakes to challenge what I say and write on this point is branded by me as a conspirator against humanity, especially against the United States of America.

The No Foreign War Committee is fighting only to keep America out of another chapter of a conflict born and bred of individual and governmental ambitions on whose altars humanity is sacrificed to bestiality.

Our committee knows that once the belligerents of this world understand that Americans are for America first, second, third, last, and always, and that they are willing and ready to fight anywhere for priceless principles, the symbols of which are Calvary and a Crown of Thorns, there will be lasting peace. But for our unwritten commitments prior to the resumption of war in Europe, more than 1 year ago, there might have been no resumption.

There are numerous individuals who can swear to the solemn truth of that solemn charge. To be sure, some of them are in prison, particularly in France and Poland, but should that day come when the peoples of the world demanded to see those men, and get the truth from them, their demand would be met with unprecedented alacrity. At least one king, or former king, knows the truth about the causes and inspirations of this ancient war, and its two resumptions in the last quarter century. He, also, will speak the truth.

It is difficult to write as the Christmas spirit urges, for the crisis confronting this world of ours is greater than even its willful originators comprehend. The whirlwind they started has swept them almost helplessly before it, and so they shout to us for help—for salvation from the consequences of their folly and stupidity. They did so the last time their lunacy threatened to annihilate them. We responded and saved them, even though their spokesmen ever since have denied that we did so.

Until 10 days ago there was grave prospect that their propaganda and deceptions might succeed now as they succeeded in April 1917. Then came the No Foreign War Committee, of which I am the mouthpiece. Already their foremost nongovernmental mouthpiece, William Allen White, of Emporia, Kans., has contradicted himself by first, in November, flatly telling a New York audience of intelligent people that "It is time for us to take sides in this war"; then by insisting, only last Monday, that the White Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies definitely does not want or plan to take us to war.

Mr. White also told the Union League Club of New York of a plan to introduce in Congress a joint resolution giving the national administration "a free hand to deal with tyrants, dictators, and aggressors anywhere in the world."

Poor Mr. White has proved, in public, that he doesn't know whether he is running away from or toward Europe's war. I'm most sorry for him.

Sunday evening, in a fireside chat, President Roosevelt is going to tell the country how and what he feels about aid to Britain. If he takes us wholly into his confidence, we will know how best and most quickly to act in behalf of humanity everywhere. In short, we will know exactly how to end this war, and within weeks, if not days.

Should the President undertake to belittle, condemn, or even faintly criticize the objectives of the No Foreign War Committee, I shall expect the radio chains over which our 100-percent American group has been so treated to give me as much time for the committee's defense as Mr. Roosevelt consumes in criticizing it, however lightly.

VERNE MARSHALL.

Many People of Our Country Unfamiliar With Electoral College

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 30 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS BY ALFRED M. COHEN

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, at the request of the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. DONAHEY], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Presidential electors of the State of Ohio, and the address referred to in the resolution.

There being no objection, the resolution and address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, That the splendid address delivered to the electoral college this afternoon by Hon. Alfred M. Cohen, the president of this assembly, should be published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD through the courtesy of a Senator of the United States.

The address follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, fellow members of the electoral college, I read in the papers a few days ago about a lady who said that she had not heard of the electoral college, and added that she didn't think that at all strange because its football team had never won a game.

This may be no more than an amusing yarn. Nevertheless, in exaggerated form, it illustrates the undoubted truth that in surprisingly large numbers the people of our country are unfamiliar with the source which guarantees them the priceless privileges of American citizenship. Thoughtlessly they accept those precious gifts as though they had always existed. They lightly consider the struggle which gave birth to our Nation and to the vexatious labor and anxieties which brought forth the Constitution of the United States—the bedrock of all we enjoy as a free people.

By the suffrage of the voters of Ohio we have been chosen electors to name two men who will serve our Nation as President and Vice President, if life is given them, for 4 years, beginning next January 20. Of course, we know that this method of choosing the President and Vice President, uniform in all the States of the Union, is prescribed by the Federal Constitution, and has been followed since the time when George Washington and John Adams were elected to fill those distinguished offices. The electoral college is hoary with age, even though its significance is not in any way comparable with what it was originally.

Every article of the Federal Constitution was seriously weighed and discussed by its framers. They had no chart to guide them. The world was 153 years younger then than now. Many nations since have steered their course by its light. The authors of our Constitution were explorers in the realm of a new philosophy of government—a Government in which the people are supreme—a Government guaranteeing to every man, woman, and child living under its standard the benefit of free speech, free press, freedom in religious worship, the right to peaceably assemble with others, and the right to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. A new light shown from heaven on earth when these unheard-of rights of man were promulgated. Can there be wonder that in considering the ways and means by which they could be best effectuated there would be vast differences of opinion and that men equally honest would reluctantly yield up their views in favor of the views of others?

No section of the Constitution was as lengthily or as searchingly debated as that relating to the Executive of the Nation, and it occurs to me that raising the curtain on the memorable gathering on those days when that subject was under discussion may prove interesting and perhaps informative.

Time: Tuesday, May 29, 1787. Place: Independence Hall, Philadelphia. Meeting of deputies to the Constitutional Convention. Present: 29 deputies from 9 States. Presiding: George Washington.

First to arise was Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, who expressed his regret that it should fall upon him, rather than those who were of longer standing in life and political experience, to open the great subject of their mission. But as the Convention had originated from Virginia, and his colleagues supposed that some proposition was expected from them, they had imposed this task on him. He then commented on the difficulty of the crisis and the necessity of preventing the fulfillment of the prophecies of the American downfall.

Those last words reflect the misgivings of at least a portion of the deputies as to the successful outcome of their undertaking. Mr. Randolph then presented his plan, which was set forth in a set of resolutions.

Seventh of the resolutions read: "*Resolved*, that a National Executive be instituted; to be chosen by the National Legislature for the term of — years; to receive punctually, at stated times, a fixed compensation for the services rendered, in which no increase or diminution shall be made so as to affect the magistracy existing at the time of increase or diminution; and to be ineligible a second time; and that, besides a general authority to execute the laws, it ought to enjoy the executive rights vested in Congress by the Confederation." A close study of this resolution discloses that the author intended that "the National Executive" should consist of several persons rather than one. This intention was clearly stated in Mr. Randolph's speeches later on.

It is worth while noting that George Washington, who was destined to be the first Executive under the Constitution, was one of the deputies from Virginia, and doubtless one who had part in framing the resolutions introduced by Mr. Randolph.

On the same day Charles Pinkney, of South Carolina, offered a draft of a Federal Government which he had prepared, and in his own words, "to be agreed upon between the free and independent States of America," which he entitled "Plan of a Federal Constitution."

Article 8th of Mr. Pinkney's plan was: "The Executive power of the United States shall be vested in a President of the United States of America, which shall be his style; and his title shall be his excellency; he shall be elected for — years; and shall be re-eligible." How the President was to be elected was not stated. However, provision was made for his succession in the following words: "In case of his removal, death, resignation, or disability, the President of the Senate shall exercise the duties of his office until another President shall be chosen. And in case of the death of the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Delegates shall do so."

On a later day William Patterson, of New Jersey, laid before the convention a plan in the form of resolutions, the fourth of which was: "*Resolved*, That the United States in Congress be authorized to elect a Federal Executive, to consist of — persons; to continue in office for the term of — years; to receive punctually, at stated times, a fixed compensation for their services, in which no increase nor diminution shall be made so as to affect the persons composing the Executive at the time of such increase or diminution; to be paid out of the Federal Treasury; to be incapable of holding any other office or appointment during their term of service, and for — years thereafter; to be ineligible a second time, and removable by Congress, on application of a majority of the executives of the several States."

On a still later date Alexander Hamilton, of New York, presented a sketch of his views of a plan in a series of articles, the fourth and fifth of which were: "IV. The supreme executive authority of the United States to be vested in a governor, to be elected to serve during good behavior; the election to be made by electors chosen by the people in the election districts aforesaid." (Article III: "The Senate to consist of persons elected to serve during good behavior; their election to be made by electors chosen for that purpose by the people. In order to do this, the States to be divided into election districts.") "V. On the death, resignation, or removal of the governor, his authority to be exercised by the President of the Senate till a successor be appointed."

These four plans were added to by others less formal, and differences therein foreshadowed the lively debates covering a period of more than 3 months.

The Convention met as such and as a committee of the whole on 87 days. Consideration of the sections relating to the Chief Executive occupied the whole or the larger part of 15 of them.

In turn, proposals were made that the Executive be chosen by the legislature, elected by the people, elected by the Senate, elected by electors chosen by the State executives, elected by electors chosen by the people, elected by electors chosen by the State legislatures, elected by the State legislatures, taken by lot from the National Legislature.

Not fewer were the differences of opinion as to the length of time the Executive should serve, and there was striking conflict of opinion on reeligibility.

Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, believed that the National Executive should consist of a single person.

Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, considered the Executive magistracy as nothing more than an institution for carrying the will of the legislature into effect; that the person or persons ought to be appointed by, and accountable to, the legislature only, which was the depository of the supreme will of the society.

Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, favored the policy of annexing a council to the Executive in order to give weight and inspire confidence.

Mr. Randolph strenuously opposed a unity of the Executive magistrate. He regarded it as a foetus of monarchy. He could not see why the great requisites of the executive department—vigor, dispatch, and responsibility—could not be found in three men as well as one man.

Mr. Wilson said that unity in the Executive, instead of being the foetus of monarchy, would be the best safeguard against tyranny.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, favored the choice being made by "citizens of the United States."

Colonel Mason, of Virginia, conceived: "It would be as unnatural to refer the choice of a proper character for Chief Magistrate to the people as it would be to refer a trial of colors to a blind man. The extent of the country renders it impossible that the people can have the requisite capacity to judge of the respective pretentions of the candidates."

Mr. Luther Martin, of Maryland, believed that the Executive should be chosen by the electors appointed by the several legislatures of the individual States.

Mr. James Madison, of Virginia, deemed it essential that the appointment of the Executive should either be drawn from some source or held by some tenure that will give him a free agency with regard to the legislature. He favored choice by the people.

Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, favored electing the Executive for 7 years and rendering him ineligible for a second term. He wished the Executive power to be lodged in three men taken from three districts, into which the States would be divided. He saw as an objection to a single magistrate that he will be an elective king and will feel the spirit of one. He will spare no pains to keep himself in for life and will lay a train for the succession of his children. Mr. Williamson believed it was pretty certain that we would at some time or other have a king, but he wished no precaution to be omitted that might postpone the event as long as possible.

Mr. Wilson suggested that the Executive be elected for 6 years by a small number, not more than 15, of the National Legislature, to be drawn from it, not by ballot but by lot, and who should retire immediately and make the election without separating.

Colonel Mason was for 7 years at least and for prohibiting a re-eligibility.

Mr. Bedford, of Delaware, was strongly opposed to so long a term as 7 years. Said he, "Suppose the first magistrate, on trial, did not possess the qualifications ascribed to him or should lose them after his appointment." He was for a triennial election and for an ineligibility after a period of 9 years. Parenthetically, Mr. Wilson was the first to propose a third term.

Dr. James McClurg, of Virginia; Mr. Broom, of Delaware; and Gouverneur Morris strongly favored choosing the Executive during good behavior.

Colonel Mason considered an Executive during good behavior as a softer name for an Executive for life, and that the next would be an easy step to hereditary monarchy. He added "that if the proposal was adopted, he might himself live to see such a revolution entered."

Mr. Luther Martin favored 11 years, Mr. Gerry 15 years, Mr. King 20 years. Mr. King's proposal quite likely was facetiously made, because he added that 20 years was about the medium life of princes.

Mr. Pinckney thought that no person should be reeligible for more than 6 years in any 12 years.

The dean of the Convention was Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania. He was of the very decided opinion that the Executive's necessary expenses should be defrayed, but that "no salary, stipend, fee, or reward whatsoever be paid for their services." From the use of the plural pronoun, it may be fairly deduced that Dr. Franklin favored an Executive of more than one.

None of the plans presented mentioned the office of Vice President. Of course, such an office was far out of the minds of those who thought of the Executive as composed of more than one person. When at last the office of Vice President was proposed, and that ex officio he be President of the Senate, a chorus of dissent was immediately heard.

Mr. Gerry "would as leave put the President himself at the head of the Legislature. The close intimacy that must subsist between the President and Vice President makes it absolutely improper. He was against having any Vice President." Mr. Gouverneur Morris sarcastically observed that the Vice President would be the first heir apparent that ever loved his father.

Mr. Randolph concurred in objection to the creation of the office.

Mr. Williamson was emphatic in his observation that such an officer as Vice President was not wanted.

Colonel Mason thought the office of Vice President was an encroachment on the rights of the Senate.

I have given a mere outline of the discussions of the Convention on the topic which relates to the purpose of our gathering as Presidential electors. So great was the diversity of opinion on other subjects that rightfully claimed the attention of the deputies that 14 of the 55 who registered their attendance left the Convention before it adjourned in the firm belief that there was no hope for a reconciliation of the divergent views. As had happened before, and as has happened since, a faithful remnant remained to carry on. Out of their number a committee of 11—1 from each of the States present—was formed, into whose lap the agreements and disagreements of weeks of anxious striving were dropped, with the faint hope that the smaller number might be able to harmonize what seemed to be irreconcilable differences of opinion on ways and means to strengthen and perpetuate the newly created Union. That faint hope proved to be not a vain hope, and from the committee there emerged a Constitution, not overcharged with phrases but so comprehensive and so wise in its provisions that after a century and a half and more it remains the bulwark of a nation grown from 3,000,000 human beings, part free and part bound, living in Thirteen Colonies just graduated to statehood, to a nation of 150,000,000

souls—thank God, all free—living in a territory bounded by the Atlantic and Pacific, the Canadian border, and the Gulf of Mexico, and into Territories far beyond—and, thank God again, at peace with all the world.

The constitutional provisions as framed by the Federal Convention of 1787 in relation to the election of the President and Vice President, with a slight change effected by the twelfth amendment, which requires the electors to name in separate ballots the persons voted for as President and Vice President, continue to our time, and our proceedings will be governed thereby.

True it is there is little left of the original function of the electoral college. In the early days they actually named the President and Vice President. Since then political parties have been formed which, through delegates in conventions assembled, nominate candidates for those offices. Later, an election is held, and the candidates for the two offices receiving the highest number of votes in each of the States become entitled to the votes of the members of the electoral college of that State. Hence our function is limited to carrying out the will of the voters of Ohio as recorded in the Presidential election held last November.

The campaign which preceded the election was unusually spirited. A very considerable bitterness was injected by injudicious followers of both sets of candidates. Many things were said that it were better had not been said. But immediately following the election those who won and those who lost clasped hands in token of their united loyalty to our beloved country, the one bright spot in a world steeped in darkness; the one land in which today the words of Micah are applicable, "They shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid."

And so we come together to cast our ballots for Franklin Delano Roosevelt for President and Henry A. Wallace for Vice President by virtue of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which, in the judgment of Gladstone, one of the most illustrious of Great Britain's premiers, is "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the plan and purpose of man." May we ever be worthy of our great heritage. I know I echo the sentiments of all of us when I reverently say:

"God bless America,
Land that I love;
Stand beside her
And guide her
In the night
By the light
From above.

"From the mountains
To the prairies,
To the ocean
White with foam,
God bless America,
My own sweet home."

Hon. Harry W. Griswold

MEMORIAL ADDRESS
OF
HON. MERLIN HULL
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 24, 1940

On the life, character, and public service of Hon. HARRY W. GRISWOLD, late a Representative from the State of Wisconsin

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, the Wisconsin Representatives in the Seventy-sixth Congress suffered the loss of one of their ablest and most highly regarded Members before the close of its first session, Hon. HARRY W. GRISWOLD, of the Third Congressional District, whose death occurred on July 4, 1939.

Mr. GRISWOLD was serving his first term in the House of Representatives. Coming here with long experience in public affairs, he entered strenuously upon his new duties and responsibilities. Apparently in robust health, he gave intensely of his time and strength in responding to the many calls from his district for the services which have become a part of every Member's experience here. At the same time he applied himself earnestly to the work on the floor of the House, to the measures before his committee, and to the study of the great volume of legislation. He sought to equip himself fully for the discharge of every duty to the utmost.

Undoubtedly it was that close application of his responsibilities which overtaxed his strength and led to his passing just when he had entered into what promised to be a long and honorable career in the National Legislature. Only a few days before his death he had remained on the floor until the small hours of the morning, as the House sat in one of its longest day-and-night sessions. His sudden departure was the culmination of the repeated drafts upon his strength by the arduous duties which he had assumed.

HARRY W. GRISWOLD was born on a farm at West Salem, Wis., which continued to be his home throughout his life. His parents were among the pioneers in that most beautiful and fertile section of western Wisconsin. His father was one of the prominent dairymen who gave much attention to the development of purebred dairy stock for Wisconsin farms, and built a herd of Guernseys which became known far beyond the borders of Wisconsin. For many years, under father and son, cattle from this herd became widely distributed in the Northwest and became the foundation of other herds of the famous Guernseys, rivaling in breeding and production the best of the same breeds which came from the Isle of Guernsey.

Receiving his education in the public schools, which he later supplemented with a short course in the Wisconsin College of Agriculture, Mr. GRISWOLD returned to the old homestead and made farming his career.

He was elected to various positions in the Wisconsin Guernsey Breeders Association, in which organization he was prominent 30 years or more. Similarly he was active in the LaCrosse County Guernsey Breeders Association, and that of the LaCrosse and Monroe County Holstein breeders. Included in his work in these associations was that of making West Salem one of the greatest marketing centers for dairy cattle, to which there came in large numbers farmers from far and wide seeking additions to their herds.

He was a participant in the local affairs of his village, and particularly interested in its fine public-school system. He served 17 years as a member of its board of education. Later he was called to serve upon the Wisconsin State Board of Vocational Education.

He was elected to the Wisconsin State Senate from the Thirty-second District in 1932. He served 4 years with distinction. His habits of industry and concentration placed him among the foremost of that legislative body and gained for him a knowledge of the fiscal affairs of the State, and he was called upon frequently to discuss such questions in many sections of the State.

He was elected to Membership in this House on the Republican ticket in 1938, receiving a very substantial majority, which was a fitting testimonial of the high regard in which he was held by the people of his congressional district.

He established many warm friendships here, and the esteem and favorable regard in which he was held by those of our Wisconsin delegation were shared by all those who became acquainted with him. In his passing his district lost the services of an able and earnest Representative, his State was bereft of one of its prominent citizens whose devotion to its affairs and services in the solution of its problems gained for him the eminence he justly deserved, and our Nation and this Congress were deprived of the courageous and loyal activities of a patriotic citizen.

His friends in the House shared with his friends in his district their common loss, and their full measure of sympathy has gone out to his widow, children, and other relatives in their bereavement.

Eastern Oregon Wheat League

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 30 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS BY LYNN R. EDMINSTER

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Mr. Lynn R. Edminster, special assistant to

the Secretary of State, before the Eastern Oregon Wheat League, on December 6, 1940, at Pendleton, Oreg. The address is entitled "Some Aspects and Implications of American Foreign Policy in the Present World Situation."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOME ASPECTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION

This meeting of wheat growers in the Pacific Northwest takes place at a time when the minds of all of us are filled with concern over the critical situation which exists in the world today. The impact of wars abroad upon the daily life and activity of millions of our people and, above all, the serious threat which has arisen to the safety and security of our country, have made foreign relations and national defense the all-important business of the moment—whether we like it or not.

You people, as producers of a great world staple like wheat, are, of course, immediately and directly concerned with the international situation as it affects supply-and-demand conditions with respect to your particular commodity. I assume, however, that others on your program will deal with this phase. Hence, I want to talk to you simply as citizens—citizens anxious not only for the immediate safety and security of this Nation but also for the preservation of conditions in the world in which liberty-loving nations like our own will be able in the future to live in security and to dedicate their efforts to constructive, and not destructive, ends.

I choose these words deliberately. When I say constructive ends, I mean the further advance, and not the relapse into barbarism, of the civilization, which, with endless patience and sacrifice, mankind has built up through the ages. I mean the opportunity to work for, and the prospect of achieving, a constant betterment of conditions of life, and hence the increased happiness, of the masses of the people. That must always be the central concern of democratic government; and if we are going to preserve and extend this opportunity for human advancement, we cannot but be apprehensive when nations which boast supreme contempt for free institutions set themselves upon the path of world conquest.

We are all aware of the dangerous state of affairs that exists in the world today. It has now become unmistakably clear that the wars going on in other parts of the world are by no means merely local or regional conflicts which this Nation can ignore in safety while it turns its eyes inward and preoccupies itself solely with internal affairs. If there are those who once believed this, they can surely no longer be under any illusion. When the President of the United States says, as in a recent address, that "It can no longer be disputed that forces of evil which are bent on conquest of the world will destroy whomever and whenever they can destroy," we know that he is speaking from the record and not from mere speculation.

While I ordinarily avoid lengthy quotations, I am now going to make an exception to prove the rule. I want to quote at some length from a recent address of Secretary Hull, because he has said much better than I could possibly say the things that should be emphasized at this point. I quote:

"The appalling tragedy of the present world situation lies in the fact that peacefully disposed nations failed to recognize in time the true nature of the aims and ambitions which have actuated the rulers of the heavily arming nations. Recoiling from the mere contemplation of the possibility of another widespread war, the peoples of the peaceful nations permitted themselves to be lulled into a false sense of security by the assurances made by these rulers that their aims were limited. This continued even as succeeding events left less and less room for doubt that, behind the screen of these assurances, preparations were being made for new attempts at widespread conquest. To mask still further this monstrous deception, these rulers and their satellites attempted to brand as warmongers and imperialists all who warned against the clearly emerging dangers, and poured upon them vituperation and abuse.

* * * * * * *

"The rulers of these nations have repudiated and violated in every essential respect the long-accepted principles of peaceful and orderly international relations. Merciless armed attack; unrestrained terrorization through slaughter of noncombatant men, women, and children; deceit, fraud, and guile; forced labor; confiscation of property; imposed starvation and deprivations of every sort—all these are weapons constantly used by the conquerors for the invasion and subjugation of other nations.

"They adhere to no geographic lines and they fix no time limit on their programs of invasion and destruction. They cynically disregard every right of neutral countries, they then proceed to warn all peaceful nations that they must remain strictly neutral until an invading force is actually crossing their borders. They have as a fixed objective the securing of control of the high seas. They threaten peaceful nations with the direst consequences if those nations do not remain acquiescent, while the conquerors are seizing the other continents and most of the seven seas of the earth.

"Let no one comfort himself with the delusion that these are mere excesses or exigencies of war, to be voluntarily abandoned when fighting ceases. By deed and by utterance, the would-be conquerors have made it abundantly clear that they are engaged upon a relentless attempt to transform the civilized world as we have known it into a world in which mankind will be reduced again to the degradation of a master-and-slave relationship among nations and among individuals, maintained by brute force."

In the face of this grave situation, the supreme task which this country faces today is the task of protecting the legitimate interests and the safety and security of this Nation. The crux of the problem is to accomplish this all-important objective, if it is humanly possible to do so—as I earnestly hope and believe it is—without involving this country in war.

If we are to proceed effectively toward this objective, we cannot afford, however, to permit ourselves to be confused and misled meanwhile by loose and irresponsible talk about "getting this country involved in foreign wars." We need to make more use of our brains and less use of fear-mongering slogans. Every intelligent adult in this country knows that any major war anywhere in the world profoundly affects the interests and the welfare of the people of this country. In that sense no major war anywhere in the world is foreign to the United States. But getting involved in war simply because of that fact is an entirely different matter. To assert or imply, without the slightest justification, that any responsible government would recklessly lead its people into wholesale bloodshed while there still remains any possibility, consistent with the national security, of avoiding such a course is extravagant talk which ought not to be indulged. For it can only tend to undermine public confidence, foster disunity, and weaken our social fabric at a time when the very safety of the Republic requires that those charged with the heavy responsibility of government shall have the full confidence and support of a united people.

The question is not one of good or bad intention. We all want peace. We are all agreed that war is a scourge that ought to be banished forever from this earth. But we are in the presence of a condition and not a theory; and we shall get neither peace nor security by merely wishing for them. "We know," as Chester Davis, agriculture's representative on the National Defense Advisory Commission, said in a recent address, "that nations holding resources which strong predatory nations covet, or which stand between them and the realization of their plans for world dominion, cannot be weak and live"; that "the nation which is rich in resources but unorganized to employ them powerfully and swiftly in military action, if need arises, does not command the respect of predatory powers; * * * has no weight by the standards of a world dominated by force." In short, we know—to quote Secretary Hull once more—that "to have peace we must have security" and "to have security, we must be strong."

In dealing with this crisis in our foreign relations and the national defense, the Government has been active, as you know, on several fronts.

First, and of the utmost urgency, we are arming. Our military, naval, and air forces are being strengthened as rapidly as possible. Creating new facilities for production—new plants, new tooling, etc.—requires time. Nevertheless, as of approximately the middle of November, nearly $9,000,000,000 in contracts had already been let to American industry. A vast program of military and technical training of our enormous manpower has been set in motion. Exports of certain materials necessary for national defense have been stringently regulated; and steps have also been taken to assure the availability of adequate supplies of strategic and critical materials for which we are dependent in whole or in part upon imports. The arrangement with Great Britain by which we acquired long-time leases on eight strategically located naval and air bases designed to protect our Atlantic seaboard was a tremendously important step. Defense consultations are under way with our neighbors, both to the north and to the south. Vigorous measures are being taken to deal with subversive activities directed from abroad. America has, indeed, and at last, awakened to the dangers of her present situation and is acting with characteristic vigor and resourcefulness to meet them.

Second, we are striving in every way to create closer ties and a spirit of solidarity with all the Americas and to establish, with them, a system of continental defense. Fortunately, the ground work for such effort did not have to be laid at the eleventh hour. Thanks to our good-neighbor policy and to the many concrete acts by which it has been implemented during the past 7 years, the ground work had already been laid.

I wish there were time to review the steps by which this spirit of collaboration and of solidarity has been achieved. It is a glorious chapter in the history of inter-American relations. It is a story that goes back to the inter-American conference at Montevideo in 1933, at which were laid foundations for the building of closer ties—political, economic, and cultural—between the 21 American republics. I particularly stress, as growing out of that conference, two things. The first is the reinforcement given the doctrine of nonintervention in the internal or external affairs of other nations, a doctrine to which this country, by numerous specific actions, has subsequently given evidence of its concrete support. The second is the unanimous approval secured, under the initiative of the United States, for a liberal program of trade policy—a program which was shortly thereafter set into motion in our own country through the adoption of the Trade Agreements Act, as a result of which our trade relations with many countries, both inside and outside the Western Hemisphere, have since been lifted out of the sorry state into which they were precipitated by earlier tariff enactments, notably the Hawley-Smoot Act. By successive stages in later conferences—at Buenos Aires late in 1936; at Lima late in 1938; at Panama in the autumn of 1939; and at Habana last summer—the foundations for increased solidarity and for closer collaboration in matters of common concern to this hemisphere were greatly strengthened.

Particularly would I emphasize the steps taken, since the outbreak of war in Europe, to insure the peace and security of this hemisphere. In conformity with policy and procedure set up at Buenos Aires in 1936 and Lima in 1938, the conferences held at Panama shortly after the outbreak of war, and at Habana last summer, adopted important measures to safeguard the individual and collective interests of the American republics from the growing threat to their peace and safety. Out of the Panama meeting came a declaration of the policy of keeping European hostilities out of American waters, and the creation of machinery for coordinating action of the 21 republics in dealing with common problems relating to neutrality and to economic conditions brought about by the war. Out of the Habana meeting came not only further measures of economic defense and collaboration but also—and of particular timeliness—steps to prevent any transfer of sovereignty in the Western Hemisphere from one non-American nation to another. Important also was the agreement with respect to procedures for combating subversive activities in this hemisphere directed from abroad.

A third front on which there has been constructive action for the peace and safety of our country has been through the large and increasing material assistance which we have been giving to nations which, while fighting for their very existence against ruthless attack, are checking the spread of violence and thus reducing the threat to our own security. The common sense of this course of action is so obvious that it is scarcely a fit subject for debate. To argue that we should not give such assistance is tantamount, as Secretary Hull has said, "to a denying of the inalienable right of self-defense." In this realm of defense, as in others, our choice is made, and wisely made.

"We will continue," said the President of the United States in a recent address, "to help those who resist aggression, and who now hold the aggressors far from our shores. * * * We have learned that if we seek to appease them—the aggressors—by withholding aid from those who stand in their way, we only hasten the day for their attack upon us.

"The people of the United States, the people of all the Americas, reject the doctrine of appeasement. They recognize it for what it is—a major weapon of the aggressor nations."

Finally, it is necessary to mention one other major phase of the Government's activity and concern in this great crisis—not so spectacular as the rest but vastly important nonetheless. I refer to the constant effort, through word and deed, to keep alive those principles, ideas, and ideals which are basic to the establishment of solid foundations for lasting peace. This is a task which must never be neglected.

Let no confirmed cynic ever delude us into thinking that the widespread flouting of such principles of conduct by certain powerful aggressor nations has now relegated them to a state of impotence in the evolution of human affairs. There is a power in ideas and ideals which transcends the sinister plottings and schemings of evil men and supplies the underlying impulse for the forward march of civilization itself. No mere dictator or combination of dictators can extinguish them. They have triumphed before, and under their powerful impetus the world will rally once again and resume its forward march.

In international affairs we identify these principles by such expressions as faithful observance of international obligations and pledges; resort to orderly, peaceful processes, rather than to force, in the settlement of disputes; and noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations. In the broad pages of history they find expression in the age-long quest for freedom, for the recognition of the spiritual dignity and sanctity of each individual human being. In the family and in the community they are exemplified in the practice of honesty, tolerance, and goodwill as cardinal principles of living; in being a good neighbor, with all that implies. To those people who profess to see in the bloody struggle now being waged in other parts of the world no issue involving these great human values, no issue in terms of the future safety of our democratic ideals and institutions, no issue at all save a struggle between rival imperialisms—to such people I would commend a more careful reading of the pages of history. Had the torch of human liberty and progress been entrusted into the hands of people who view the matter solely in this light, I am afraid it would have burned out long ago.

In rebuilding the edifice of world peace, it is not enough, however, that we should strive only for the reassertion of those moral and legal principles which are indispensable to orderly international relations. We are obliged to recognize—indeed, for the past 7 years our Government has recognized, and has acted upon the recognition—that no peace can be enduring which does not rest upon solid economic foundations.

You are, of course, broadly familiar with the efforts which our Government has made the past 7 years to reopen the channels of international trade and, in other ways as well, to strengthen the economic foundations of peace. Through the trade-agreements program real progress had been made before the outbreak of the war in Europe. Trade agreements were entered into with a large number of countries, including some of the most important in our foreign trade relations. Notwithstanding attempts by self-seeking interests in this country to juggle the facts and to belittle what was accomplished, there is not the slightest question that the agreements entered ino were, upon the whole, distinctly beneficial, both in safeguarding our export trade against the inroads of increasing trade barriers in foreign countries and in reversing the process so as to bring about many positive increases in export outlets for products of our farms and factories. The facts to support this statement are so definitely a matter of public record that I need not pause to repeat them.

These results were achieved, however, in the face of tremendous difficulties—difficulties which did not recede as time passed but which, on the contrary, were intensified with the approach and final outbreak of hostilities in Europe. Today, in this sphere, as in others, the picture is by no means comforting. Trade with the belligerent countries has been either shut off completely or—as in the case of Great Britain and her allies—subordinated to the necessities of war. These circumstances have temporarily deprived us of the benefit of some of the most valuable concessions obtained in our trade agreements with certain countries. Still more important, war upon the vast scale which we are now witnessing unleashes tremendous forces the impacts of which upon international trade and international economic relations generally in the more distant future are necessarily uncertain and unpredictable.

But the fact that things look dark and uncertain at this time is no excuse for yielding to an attitude of pessimism and futility. Because the difficulties we confront are great, the challenge is also great. To this Nation, more than to any other single one, circumstances have bequeathed the task of leadership in conserving during wartime, and in reasserting and extending after the war, those basic policies and principles which are essential to general reconstruction and progress throughout the world, and in no sphere is this more important than in the sphere of trade.

In the face of this situation our proper course with respect to trade policy—at least so far as one can see into the future—seems clear. Our first job is to keep the trade-agreements program intact and in operation to the fullest extent that conditions permit. There are many reasons why this should be done.

An important immediate consideration is the fact that, under the trade agreements now in effect, our foreign trade interests are better safeguarded from the disruptive effects of war conditions than they would be if we did not have the agreements. Our agreements with countries outside the war area are still powerful stimulants to our trade with them, while even those with countries at war from which our trade is not cut off by blockade afford us a better leverage for looking after our interests than we would have in the absence of agreements.

Furthermore, there is no reason at all why it should necessarily be assumed that further extension of the scope of the program is impossible at the present time. In fact, there are urgent reasons why every effort should be made to extend its scope, particularly in the Western Hemisphere. Because of the very large and increasing export balance of this country and the shortage of dollar exchange available to other countries, we are facing a situation which, unless we can find ways of further liberalizing our trade relations and enabling such countries to sell us more goods, is certain to undermine our position as a great exporting and creditor nation. We cannot afford to overlook the unfavorable consequences, from the standpoint both of our export trade and of national defense, of a progressive exhaustion of dollar exchange resources available to the British Empire in connection with its prosecution of the war. And there are especially urgent reasons, from the standpoint of inter-American solidarity and hemisphere defense, why we should lose no opportunity at this time further to improve our trade relations with the other American republics.

Consider for a moment the situation in which the countries to the south of us now find themselves. The difficulties of the international trade and payments position of the 20 other American republics as a group have become extremely critical as a result of the war. Partly owing to obstacles which these countries have confronted in making normal purchases from Europe, our exports to them increased from $490,000,000 during the 12 months ending August 1939 (the year preceding the outbreak of the war in Europe) to $733,000,000 in the succeeding 12-month period—an increase of $243,000,000 or nearly 50 percent. Meanwhile our imports from these countries increased by only a little over 31 percent, from $469,000,000 to $616,000,000, an increase of $147,000,000. In merchandise alone, therefore, our export surplus in trade with these countries increased during the first year of the war from $21,000,000 to $117,000,000—or by not far short of $100,000,000. Their position was still further complicated by a $17,000,000 decline in net gold and silver shipments to the United States during the same period, and also by a probable increase in net payments due the United States on account of invisible trade items, such as interest, dividends, etc.

The situation of these countries is made far more difficult because of the fact that, owing to the blockage of exchange arising out of Latin American exports to the United Kingdom, they have practically no important source of free foreign exchange outside the United States. With British war effort preventing the United Kingdom from supplying Latin American needs in liquidation of such blocked exchange, and with trade cut off from the German-controlled areas, the American republics are largely unable to meet their import requirements except as they find means of purchasing from the United States. Unless they can further increase their sales to the United States, the eventual outcome must certainly be a heavy decline in our export sales to them.

And so, as matters stand, it comes down to the proposition where, from the standpoint both of safeguarding our future trade interests and of hemisphere defense, we are compelled to make every reasonable effort to improve our trade relations in the Western Hemisphere—and, of course, elsewhere if we can. We are simply not in a position these days where we can afford to go into spasms over the purchase by our Navy Department of an insignificant quantity of imported canned corned beef from South America. By all means, let us avoid sacrificing the legitimate and reasonable interests of

our own producers; but let us not "stop the steamboat to blow the whistle" over things like that. Let us remember that we must think also of the broader interests, the safety and security, of the Nation as a whole, of which we are all a part.

In this connection I want to take the liberty of quoting once more from a recent address by Chester Davis, a man whose sincere concern for the welfare of American farmers I am sure none would wish to question. I quote:

"Our hemispheric relationships and problems ought to be looked at clearly and courageously by every organized farm group in America. We cannot be military friends and economic enemies with Latin America at one and the same time. Farmers through their organizations must study this problem at once and with care. Economic and military dictatorships are sweeping most of the world's area into their systems. If we are to keep the Western Hemisphere free from their grasp, the United States and Latin America must learn to work together, to trade together, and to develop together. I hope that the farmer's voice at the council table when plans to that end are being studied will be constructive, not obstructive."

So much for foreign-trade policy as of today. What of the future?

With the whole world in a state of rapid flux, all statements with reference to the future are subject to qualification in the light of changes which cannot now be clearly foreseen. No man is wise enough to tell you at this time exactly what kind of world this is going to be when hostilities finally cease. Tremendous issues—the fate of millions of people—now hang in the balance. Nevertheless, there are some thoughts with reference to post war trade policy that I want to leave with you.

There are certain basic principles and policies in the field of trade that are fundamentally sound—so sound that they are mere truisms; and there are others, taking a great variety of forms but coming in final analysis to essentially the same thing, which are fundamentally unsound. It is not mere theory; it is a fact, a truism, that the expansion of international trade to that healthy volume which redounds to the best interests of all countries requires the pursuit of trade policies which encourage the flow of three-cornered or multilateral trade. That is the type of policy embodied in the Trade Agreements Act. It is equally a fact, a truism, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of some of our self-appointed, superpractical advisers on foreign-trade policy to refute the obvious, that policies and practices which tend to reduce international trade essentially to bilateral barter inevitably diminish its volume far below the levels essential to world economic health. Such are the great host of trade-diverting and trade-destroying schemes, restrictive quotas and licensing systems, clearing and compensation agreements, and other ingenious and discriminatory devices which have in recent years infested international trade, sapping the world's economic vitality like so many leeches.

If these things be true—and they are true—the main issues in the realm of trade policy which this country seems likely to confront after the war will have to do, not with broad objectives of policy, but with tactics to be pursued in striving for those objectives. So far as the objectives themselves are concerned, it seems obvious that we should not only continue after the war but should redouble our efforts to reopen the channels of trade through the pursuit, to the full extent that circumstances permit, of policies and principles which have already been tested and which we know to be intrinsically sound.

The antithesis of these principles is exemplified in the methods of trade which have been pursued by the totalitarian countries. Those methods are well known. They are aggressive in the extreme. They do not rest primarily upon economic considerations; they are essentially politico-military in character, designed to weaken and even to subjugate those countries against which they are directed. They are predicated on the principle, not of economic peace but of economic warfare. They are but a part of the comprehensive strategy of total warfare by which—whether in wartime or under cover of a purely nominal peace—the struggle for world domination is being waged by such countries. In the very nature of the case, they involve the complete subordination of individual freedom and initiative in the fields of business, industry, and trade to the will and purposes of government dictatorships. Precisely to the extent that these methods gain ascendancy in the world will the difficulties of going forward with a sound program of trade expansion, based upon the principle of cooperation and mutual advantage, be enhanced.

The trade policies which this country has been pursuing rest upon the principle of equality of treatment and of cooperation. They seek, by peaceful methods and on a basis of fair dealing, to clear away excessive barriers to trade, to the mutual advantage of all countries. If there is to be a reordering of international economic relations at the close of the war upon a basis in which these principles of fair dealing and of cooperation can flourish, then—as I have said on previous occasions—the situation at that time must be one in which there is maximum opportunity to work for such a settlement and work for it with a reasonable prospect of constructive accomplishment. Certainly there can be no such opportunity in a world where policies of economic, political, and military aggression are in the ascendancy—where there is not even a will to peace.

And so, you see, I have come back to the place where I started. This country is today confronted with a great crisis, involving the future safety and security of our people and of our democratic institutions. We are striving to the utmost to meet this crisis in a manner worthy of a great free people. With the vision, the resourcefulness, and the courage of a free people, we shall meet it.

The Cloakroom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM P. LAMBERTSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 9, 1940

Mr. LAMBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, war is a wicked waste, and those who breed it have not counted the cost or do not care.

The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies led the horse to water and then would not let him drink.

England did not give us any credit for helping to win the last World War, and if we win this one for her she would not even give us Bermuda.

The seventy-second step was the proposal to put the I. C. C. under the Chief Executive, the seventy-third the Sunday night speech, meant mostly for Hitler.

Germany has not made an overt act against our country in this war yet; she made several in the last one before we got in.

The duel between Admirals Barrow and Stephen Decatur would never have happened if they had not revived a correspondence which had lulled.

The poor were being remembered in a million common homes in our country on Christmas at dinner, while foreign royalty were the only guests in the White House.

The only sentiment in this war for us is our future trade; yet Germany traded with us after the other World War. Fighting wars to fix tariff schedules is as futile as fighting to make the world safe for democracy.

The President's Christmas Greeting to the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 30 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS DELIVERED DECEMBER 24, 1940

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address of the President of the United States delivered in Washington on the evening of December 24, consisting of a Christmas greeting to the Nation, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

At this Christmastide of 1940 it is well for all humanity to remind itself that while this is in its name a Christian celebration, it is participated in reverently and happily by hundreds of millions of people who are members of other religions, or belong actively to no church at all.

The reason is not far to seek. It is because the spirit of unselfish service personified by the life and the teachings of Christ makes appeal to the inner conscience and hope of every man and every woman in every part of the earth. It transcends in the ultimate all lines of race, of habitat, of nation. It lives in the midst of war, of slavery, of conquest. It survives prohibitions and decrees and force. It is an unquenchable spring of promise to humanity.

Sometimes we who have lived through the strifes and hates of a quarter century wonder if this old world of ours has abandoned the ideals of the brotherhood of man. Sometimes we ask if contention and anger in our own midst in America is a portent of disunion and disaster. Sometimes we fear that the selfishness of the individual is more and more controlling in our lives.

When we are in those moods it is hard for us to keep from putting our tongues in our cheeks when we say, "Merry Christmas"—for we think in thoughts of futility and not of hope. A few people are cynics all of the time, some people are cynics part of the time, but most people keep their faith most of the time.

That is why we must keep on striving for a better and a more happy world.

It is unintelligent to be defeatist. Crisis may beget crisis, but the progress underneath does not wholly halt—it does go forward.

In a century we have gained much. Aside from great areas stricken by actual warfare in the present moment, the lives of human beings are safer than they were in the olden days. Great and spreading plagues takes smaller toll; starvation of millions is less; the forces of nature are better controlled. There is the civilization we recognize a greater security for the young, for the worker, for the aged. Charity in the narrower sense of the word helps the needy more usefully.

Compared with the days when Charles Dickens wrote the Christmas Carol, we see a definite betterment. We do not claim attainment, and we recognize that there is much—oh, so much—to do.

Most of all we ask a chance to do it—yes, a peaceful chance to do it.

We want to do it the voluntary way, and most human beings in all the world want to do it the voluntary way. We do not want to have the way imposed on the world by the conquest of the world by the sword.

That would not follow in the footsteps of Christ. That would not make for happier Christmases in the future of any nation. Mankind is all one—and what happens in distant lands tomorrow will leave its mark on the happiness of our Christmases to come.

Let us make this Christmas a merry one for the little children in our midst. For us of maturer years it cannot be merry.

But for most of us it can be a happy Christmas if by happiness we mean that we have done with doubts, that we have set our hearts against fear, that we still believe in the Golden Rule for all mankind, that we intend to live more purely in the spirit of Christ, and that by our works, as well as our words, we will strive forward in faith and in hope and in love.

In that spirit I wish a happy Christmas to all, and happier Christmases yet to come.

Resolved, That Electric Light and Power Rates Should Be Reduced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN E. RANKIN
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, December 23, 1940

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, if I were called upon to select a subject for debate in the high schools of the country, as well as in the grammar schools, colleges, and universities, and in every civic club of the Nation, it would read as follows:

Resolved, That electric light and power rates should be reduced.

Then, if I had my way, I would place in the hands of the people in every community of this country, or make available to them, the National Electric Rate Book published by the Federal Power Commission, giving the light and power rates for all classes of service in practically every community in the United States. I would also make available to them the Rate Surveys by States that are published annually by the Federal Power Commission.

I would make available to them the Annual Report of the Tennessee Valley Authority, as well as the book entitled "Results of Municipal Lighting Plants," issued by Burns and McDonnell, electrical engineers of Kansas City, Mo., which publication gives the results in more than 700 municipalities that own and operate their own electric light and power systems.

In fact, I would make available to the people of this country all the information necessary to educate them as to what are reasonable rates for electric energy for all three classes of service—residential, commercial, and industrial.

Some time ago I stated on the floor of the House that there was enough hydroelectric power in our navigable streams and their tributaries to supply every home in America, as well as every commercial establishment, and then have enough left to meet our industrial needs. That statement was questioned at the time; but I do not believe it would be questioned today by anyone who is familiar with the facts.

In a speech delivered by Hon. John W. Scott, a member of the Federal Power Commission, a few days ago, which I inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD at page 6836, he stated that during the year 1937 the total output of hydroelectric energy in this country amounted to 43,702,000,000 kilowatt-hours, and that it was estimated that feasible undeveloped water power sites in this country have five times the capacity now in use, which, if developed, would give an additional annual output of 273,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours—making a total possible annual output of hydroelectric power in this country amounting to 316,702,000,000 kilowatt-hours.

On last Wednesday, December 18, I placed in the RECORD tables showing the electricity used in the United States in 1938—which amounted to 94,832,867,000 kilowatt-hours.

I now have the data for 1939, which shows that during that year the amount of electricity used in this country amounted to 107,162,062,000 kilowatt-hours.

Since a small portion of the electricity produced is always lost in transmission and distribution, it is probable that the production in 1938 or 1939 amounted to something like 125,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours. That would include all the electric energy produced by coal, gas, oil, and water power in either one of those two years.

Therefore, it will be seen that if all the hydroelectric power in this country were developed, producing 316,702,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity each year, we could easily supply all residential and commercial consumers, even if they doubled their present consumption, as shown by the tables which I am inserting, and still have an extra 100,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours to add to our present industrial load.

Remember that Mr. Gano Dunn was quoted freely on the floor of the House as having said that we can now produce electricity more cheaply with coal than we can with water power. That being the case, certainly everyone who uses electricity should get it at the T. V. A. yardstick rates—which rates have been attacked from every angle and found to be absolutely economically sound. Instead of being too low, as certain private power interests have been trying to make the people believe, if anything they are too high, and will be reduced as time goes on.

What I am driving at is getting electricity to all the light and power consumers in America at these rates, and extending rural electrification, carrying these rates to every farm home in America, and then reducing these rates as rapidly as conditions will justify.

I have here tables showing the amount of electricity used by all classes of consumers in every State in the Union, together with the cost thereof, and also showing what the cost should have been and what the overcharges were, according to the T. V. A. rates, the Tacoma, Wash., rates, and the Ontario, Canada, rates.

RESIDENTIAL RATES

We will take first the residential consumers:

TABLE 1.—*Residential electric sales, 1939*

State	Estimated sales data for 1939			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
				Tennessee Valley Authority		Tacoma, Wash.		Ontario, Canada	
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings
Alabama	170,491	203,137,000	$5,919,451	$4,155,455	$1,763,996	$3,427,362	$2,492,089	$3,048,517	$2,870,934
Arizona	43,308	40,839,000	1,899,700	818,771	1,080,929	674,394	1,225,306	606,004	1,293,696
Arkansas	95,531	69,994,000	3,553,691	1,670,235	1,883,456	1,375,278	2,178,413	1,272,221	2,281,470
California	1,447,693	1,271,513,000	42,082,656	29,331,611	12,751,045	24,155,445	17,927,211	21,041,328	21,041,328
Colorado	177,634	128,676,000	6,253,624	3,170,587	3,083,037	2,614,015	3,639,609	2,395,138	3,858,486
Connecticut	432,776	408,634,000	16,829,226	9,542,171	7,287,055	7,859,249	8,969,977	6,782,178	10,047,048
Delaware	45,504	39,378,000	1,833,337	911,168	922,169	749,835	1,083,502	674,668	1,158,669
District of Columbia	139,010	152,793,000	4,081,149	3,558,762	522,387	2,930,265	1,150,884	2,579,286	1,501,863

TABLE 1.—*Residential electric sales, 1939*—Continued

State	Estimated sales data for 1939			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
				Tennessee Valley Authority		Tacoma, Wash.		Ontario, Canada	
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings
Florida	243,368	265,158,000	$12,306,764	$5,759,566	$6,547,198	$4,750,411	$7,556,353	$4,122,766	$8,183,998
Georgia	226,639	309,749,000	9,083,082	5,676,926	3,406,156	4,677,787	4,405,295	4,241,799	4,841,283
Idaho	64,988	101,680,000	2,746,353	1,614,856	1,131,497	1,329,235	1,417,118	1,172,693	1,573,660
Illinois	1,793,052	1,388,796,000	57,391,979	34,951,715	22,440,264	28,810,773	28,581,206	25,137,687	32,254,292
Indiana	594,515	472,846,000	19,805,744	11,566,554	8,239,190	9,526,563	10,279,181	8,397,635	11,408,109
Iowa	383,962	281,244,000	12,493,275	6,758,862	5,734,413	5,572,001	6,921,274	4,947,337	7,545,938
Kansas	274,659	218,189,000	9,312,906	5,122,098	4,190,808	4,218,746	5,094,160	3,678,598	5,634,308
Kentucky	231,537	181,200,000	7,037,484	4,271,753	2,765,731	3,518,742	3,518,742	3,026,118	4,011,366
Louisiana	216,238	135,520,000	7,186,156	3,593,078	3,593,078	2,960,696	4,225,460	2,673,250	4,512,906
Maine	145,055	104,943,000	4,935,692	2,467,846	2,467,846	2,033,505	2,902,187	1,752,171	3,183,521
Maryland	314,268	262,702,000	10,521,319	6,386,441	4,134,878	5,260,660	5,260,659	4,713,551	5,807,768
Massachusetts	1,098,602	733,754,000	35,918,548	18,569,889	17,348,659	15,301,301	20,617,247	13,146,189	22,772,359
Michigan	1,125,265	1,168,820,000	37,633,088	25,703,399	11,929,689	21,149,795	16,483,293	18,214,415	19,418,673
Minnesota	438,681	425,315,000	14,753,610	9,147,238	5,606,372	7,539,095	7,214,515	6,506,342	8,247,268
Mississippi	77,773	69,120,000	2,990,728	1,614,993	1,375,735	1,327,883	1,662,845	1,274,050	1,716,678
Missouri	606,809	552,627,000	19,915,826	12,307,980	7,607,846	10,137,155	9,778,671	8,782,879	11,132,947
Montana	89,811	88,078,000	3,238,431	1,687,223	1,551,208	1,389,287	1,849,144	1,233,842	2,004,589
Nebraska	181,969	154,287,000	6,460,646	3,553,355	2,907,291	2,926,673	3,533,973	2,610,101	3,850,545
Nevada	15,415	17,540,000	676,921	307,999	368,922	253,168	423,753	215,261	461,660
New Hampshire	106,148	74,642,000	3,769,380	1,775,378	1,994,002	1,462,519	2,306,861	1,262,742	2,506,638
New Jersey	1,051,625	757,591,000	38,302,346	19,304,382	18,997,964	15,895,474	22,406,872	13,980,356	24,321,990
New Mexico	33,891	25,237,000	1,378,927	569,497	809,430	468,835	910,092	426,088	952,839
New York	3,316,870	2,370,589,000	110,855,629	60,194,607	50,661,022	49,552,466	61,303,163	43,011,984	67,843,645
North Carolina	215,108	223,227,000	7,825,621	4,632,768	3,192,853	3,818,903	4,006,718	3,466,750	4,358,871
North Dakota	58,878	53,484,000	2,232,702	1,140,911	1,091,791	937,735	1,294,967	814,936	1,417,766
Ohio	1,448,780	1,315,711,000	46,782,639	30,923,324	15,859,315	25,496,538	21,286,101	22,081,406	27,701,233
Oklahoma	221,074	168,871,000	8,377,349	4,037,882	4,339,467	3,325,808	5,051,541	2,865,053	5,512,296
Oregon	187,797	266,539,000	6,817,718	4,404,246	2,413,472	3,627,026	3,190,692	3,511,125	3,306,593
Pennsylvania	1,987,130	1,695,105,000	49,557,736	28,446,140	21,111,596	23,440,809	26,116,927	19,823,094	29,734,642
Rhode Island	174,631	108,187,000	6,106,473	2,821,191	3,285,282	2,320,460	3,786,013	2,118,946	3,987,527
South Carolina	91,889	107,238,000	3,568,415	2,223,123	1,345,292	1,830,597	1,737,818	1,659,313	1,909,102
South Dakota	65,745	56,178,000	2,466,938	1,184,130	1,282,808	974,441	1,492,497	848,627	1,618,311
Tennessee	205,616	274,987,000	8,123,157	6,165,476	1,957,681	5,076,973	3,046,184	5,052,604	3,070,553
Texas	673,558	549,420,000	24,559,961	13,090,459	11,469,502	10,781,823	13,778,138	9,480,145	15,079,816
Utah	95,503	101,995,000	3,597,987	2,122,812	1,475,175	1,748,622	1,849,365	1,565,124	2,032,863
Vermont	63,113	50,782,000	2,399,544	1,168,578	1,230,966	962,217	1,437,327	827,843	1,571,701
Virginia	277,236	288,227,000	10,999,260	6,192,583	4,806,677	5,103,657	5,895,603	4,509,697	6,489,563
Washington	378,300	569,373,000	13,286,804	9,221,042	4,065,762	7,586,765	5,700,039	6,962,285	6,324,519
West Virginia	207,982	171,033,000	6,988,872	4,039,568	2,949,304	3,340,681	3,648,191	2,914,360	4,074,512
Wisconsin	547,897	525,972,000	17,578,916	10,600,086	6,978,830	8,719,142	8,859,774	7,541,355	10,037,561
Wyoming	30,494	22,246,000	1,226,094	518,638	707,456	426,681	799,413	403,385	822,709
Total	22,113,818	19,023,169,000	733,663,854	428,997,352	304,666,502	353,367,491	380,296,363	309,373,242	424,290,612

And following are the standard T. V. A. residential rates:

T. V. A. residential service—Cents per kilowatt-hours

First 50 kilowatt-hours	3.00
Next 150 kilowatt-hours	2.00
Next 200 kilowatt-hours	1.00
Next 1,000 kilowatt-hours	0.40
All over 1,400 kilowatt-hours	0.75

Let every Member compare these rates with the rates paid by his constituents, and he will see that the overcharges set out in the above table are not exaggerated. If he wants to compare them with the Tacoma rates, let him turn to the Tacoma rates set out in the rate book referred to, or, if he will get the Annual Report of the Ontario Power Commission, he can make his own comparisons with the Ontario rates.

COMMERCIAL RATES

Now let us turn to the commercial consumers—merchants, professional men, hotel, garage, restaurant, cafe, and filling-station operators, and others who pay commercial rates for their electric energy. I am inserting at this point a table showing the amount of electricity used by the commercial consumers in every State in the year 1939, together with the cost, and also showing what the cost should have been and what the overcharges were according to the T. V. A. rates, the Tacoma, Wash., rates, or the Ontario rates.

TABLE 2.—*Commercial electric sales, 1939*

State	Estimated sales data for 1939			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
				Tennessee Valley Authority		Tacoma, Wash.		Ontario, Canada	
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings
Alabama	34,771	194,731,000	$5,501,360	$2,734,176	$2,767,184	$2,888,214	$2,613,146	$3,047,753	$2,453,607
Arizona	8,649	64,783,000	2,106,871	912,275	1,194,596	954,413	1,152,458	882,779	1,224,092
Arkansas	28,937	91,311,000	3,857,817	1,670,435	2,187,382	1,728,302	2,129,515	1,573,989	2,283,828
California	336,030	2,155,354,000	50,110,434	32,972,666	17,137,768	33,924,764	16,185,670	30,717,696	19,392,738
Colorado	37,994	146,103,000	6,060,866	2,727,390	3,333,476	2,751,633	3,309,233	2,806,181	3,254,685
Connecticut	64,119	284,282,000	11,464,340	4,918,202	6,546,138	4,092,769	7,371,571	4,677,451	6,786,889
Delaware	7,540	44,896,000	1,260,646	615,195	645,451	640,408	620,238	564,769	695,877
District of Columbia	22,688	188,953,000	4,446,111	3,365,706	1,080,405	3,561,335	884,776	3,236,769	1,209,342
Florida	56,151	242,194,000	10,915,540	4,191,567	6,723,973	4,300,723	6,614,817	3,907,763	7,007,777
Georgia	52,885	330,747,000	9,843,173	4,783,782	5,059,391	4,951,116	4,892,057	4,655,821	5,187,352
Idaho	14,432	114,298,000	2,183,992	1,091,996	1,091,996	1,113,836	1,070,156	1,035,212	1,148,780
Illinois	353,100	1,460,633,000	50,303,509	25,453,576	24,849,933	27,012,984	23,290,525	23,441,435	26,862,074
Indiana	105,237	632,291,000	18,208,013	9,850,535	8,357,478	10,305,735	7,902,278	9,067,590	9,140,423
Iowa	86,447	304,940,000	11,241,207	5,811,704	5,429,503	6,047,769	5,193,438	5,541,915	5,699,292
Kansas	58,009	230,702,000	8,062,395	4,103,759	3,958,636	4,240,820	3,821,575	3,773,201	4,289,194
Kentucky	46,157	201,501,000	6,693,970	3,574,580	3,119,390	3,741,929	2,952,041	3,306,821	3,387,149
Louisiana	43,891	161,357,000	5,837,021	2,509,919	3,327,102	2,533,267	3,303,754	2,264,764	3,572,257
Maine	35,214	126,555,000	4,192,473	2,033,349	2,159,124	2,071,082	2,121,391	1,886,613	2,305,860
Maryland	55,138	298,525,000	9,434,401	5,132,314	4,302,087	5,415,346	4,019,055	5,094,577	4,339,824
Massachusetts	208,630	1,026,374,000	34,251,177	13,905,978	20,345,199	14,419,746	19,831,431	12,912,694	21,338,483
Michigan	177,320	1,083,664,000	32,416,556	17,115,942	15,300,614	17,926,355	14,490,201	15,722,030	16,694,526
Minnesota	96,888	370,021,000	13,389,838	6,627,970	6,761,868	6,855,597	6,534,241	6,078,986	7,310,852
Mississippi	21,091	82,903,000	3,315,844	1,458,971	1,856,873	1,512,025	1,803,819	1,376,075	1,939,769
Missouri	111,513	587,291,000	18,573,478	10,011,105	8,562,373	10,512,589	8,060,889	9,398,180	9,175,298
Montana	24,363	84,060,000	3,246,263	1,538,729	1,707,534	1,548,467	1,697,796	1,528,990	1,717,273
Nebraska	43,270	156,479,000	5,988,100	3,167,705	2,820,395	3,317,407	2,670,693	3,083,872	2,904,228
Nevada	3,922	29,253,000	881,664	434,660	447,004	451,412	430,252	398,512	483,152

TABLE 2.—*Commercial electric sales, 1939*—Continued

State	Estimated sales data for 1939			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Tennessee Valley Authority		Tacoma, Wash.		Ontario, Canada	
				Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings
New Hampshire	20,491	74,894,000	$2,923,394	$1,175,204	$1,748,190	$1,198,591	$1,724,803	$1,259,983	$1,663,411
New Jersey	202,443	790,744,000	34,624,040	13,641,872	20,982,168	14,126,608	20,497,432	12,741,647	21,882,393
New Mexico	10,002	39,621,000	1,789,734	683,678	1,106,056	705,155	1,084,579	671,150	1,118,584
New York	647,943	4,022,151,000	140,589,645	58,625,882	81,963,763	61,718,854	78,870,791	54,689,372	85,900,273
North Carolina	49,753	282,407,000	7,966,695	4,333,882	3,632,813	4,445,416	3,521,279	4,158,615	3,808,080
North Dakota	20,170	56,345,000	2,472,419	1,095,282	1,377,137	1,139,785	1,332,634	1,003,802	1,468,617
Ohio	214,813	1,086,303,000	33,765,097	19,009,750	14,755,347	19,955,172	13,809,925	17,861,736	15,903,361
Oklahoma	60,416	314,037,000	9,712,901	4,438,796	5,274,105	4,574,776	5,138,125	4,069,706	5,643,195
Oregon	41,520	284,583,000	6,994,090	3,825,767	3,168,323	3,902,702	3,091,388	3,566,986	3,427,104
Pennsylvania	317,719	1,234,076,000	27,441,854	13,913,020	13,528,834	14,599,066	12,842,788	13,034,881	14,406,973
Rhode Island	25,819	80,877,000	3,747,423	1,513,959	2,233,464	1,513,959	2,233,464	1,394,041	2,353,382
South Carolina	26,388	114,263,000	3,623,344	1,887,762	1,735,582	1,949,359	1,673,985	1,869,646	1,753,698
South Dakota	18,732	63,285,000	2,751,507	1,221,669	1,529,838	1,257,439	1,494,068	1,119,863	1,631,644
Tennessee	43,050	235,506,000	7,697,957	4,626,472	3,071,485	4,826,619	2,871,338	5,596,415	2,101,542
Texas	149,464	841,606,000	25,412,059	12,528,145	12,883,914	13,036,386	12,375,673	11,765,783	13,646,276
Utah	11,234	75,204,000	2,581,645	1,197,883	1,383,762	1,234,026	1,347,619	1,153,995	1,427,650
Vermont	13,020	32,639,000	1,332,897	599,804	733,093	613,133	719,764	547,821	785,076
Virginia	50,244	269,102,000	8,465,291	4,147,993	4,317,298	4,325,764	4,139,527	3,851,707	4,613,584
Washington	57,420	530,128,000	10,623,165	6,193,305	4,429,860	6,958,173	3,664,992	6,373,899	4,249,266
West Virginia	35,222	197,439,000	6,187,941	3,291,985	2,895,956	3,440,495	2,747,446	3,050,655	3,137,286
Wisconsin	101,619	409,872,000	14,242,819	7,178,381	7,064,438	7,591,423	6,651,396	7,292,323	6,950,496
Wyoming	8,298	28,647,000	1,376,252	507,837	868,415	518,847	857,405	558,758	817,494
Total	4,260,166	21,757,931,000	690,109,228	338,352,514	351,756,714	352,451,791	337,657,437	319,615,222	370,494,006

You will note from the above table that the average commercial consumer is overcharged more than 100 percent in practically every State in the Union.

And here are the standard T. V. A. commercial rates—the rates paid by the commercial consumers throughout the T. V. A. area:

T. V. A. commercial service—Cents per kilowatt-hour

First 250 kilowatt-hours 3.0
Next 750 kilowatt-hours 2.0

T. V. A. commercial service—Cents per kilowatt-hour—Continued

Next 1,000 kilowatt-hours 1.0
All over 2,000 kilowatt-hours 8

Now let us turn to the industrial rates.

Here is a table showing the amount of electricity used in every State in 1939, the cost thereof, and the overcharges, according to the T. V. A., the Tacoma, and the Ontario rates.

TABLE 3.—*Industrial and other electric sales for ultimate consumption, 1939*

State	Estimated sales data for 1939			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Tennessee Valley Authority		Tacoma, Wash.		Ontario, Canada	
				Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings
Alabama	35,232	1,142,665,000	$11,473,963	$8,238,305	$3,235,658	$5,496,028	$5,977,935	$7,710,503	$3,763,460
Arizona	17,182	370,800,000	4,511,419	2,183,527	2,327,892	1,457,188	3,054,231	2,052,696	2,458,723
Arkansas	19,716	375,054,000	5,186,764	3,246,914	1,939,850	2,168,067	3,018,697	2,852,720	2,334,044
California	383,824	5,831,307,000	69,649,417	64,913,257	4,736,160	43,321,937	26,327,480	59,689,550	9,959,867
Colorado	21,810	381,176,000	6,515,520	3,922,343	2,593,177	2,612,724	3,902,796	3,629,145	2,886,375
Connecticut	13,040	746,479,000	12,784,418	8,079,752	4,704,666	5,395,024	7,389,394	7,427,747	5,356,671
Delaware	1,065	129,675,000	1,603,722	1,063,268	540,454	708,845	894,877	976,667	627,055
District of Columbia	965	459,478,000	5,210,883	3,579,877	1,631,006	3,579,877	1,631,006	3,282,856	1,928,027
Florida	17,919	410,965,000	6,579,559	3,566,121	3,013,438	2,375,221	4,204,338	3,381,893	3,197,666
Georgia	4,194	1,074,951,000	10,945,625	7,749,503	3,196,122	5,166,335	5,779,290	7,125,602	3,820,023
Idaho	29,055	447,702,000	4,065,820	2,581,796	1,484,024	1,719,842	2,345,978	2,764,758	1,301,062
Illinois	144,529	4,995,674,000	62,846,879	36,074,109	26,772,770	24,070,355	38,776,524	33,183,152	29,663,727
Indiana	98,516	1,692,074,000	24,099,299	15,182,558	8,916,741	10,121,706	13,977,593	13,977,593	10,121,706
Iowa	39,676	779,647,000	10,760,480	6,682,258	4,078,222	4,454,839	6,305,641	6,348,683	4,411,797
Kansas	24,831	624,046,000	8,710,229	5,496,154	3,214,075	3,667,006	5,043,223	5,217,427	3,492,802
Kentucky	35,096	674,028,000	10,216,269	6,650,791	3,565,478	4,444,077	5,772,192	6,129,761	4,086,508
Louisiana	8,467	771,808,000	8,924,891	5,854,728	3,070,163	3,900,177	5,024,714	5,399,559	3,525,332
Maine	34,519	701,342,000	5,721,547	3,724,727	1,996,820	2,483,151	3,238,396	3,421,485	2,300,062
Maryland	23,745	1,208,788,000	13,986,712	8,433,987	5,552,725	5,622,658	8,364,054	7,804,585	6,182,127
Massachusetts	4,436	1,307,093,000	22,420,428	13,295,314	9,125,114	8,856,069	13,564,359	12,263,974	10,156,454
Michigan	59,172	2,616,302,000	33,871,650	18,663,279	15,208,371	12,464,767	21,406,883	17,172,927	16,698,723
Minnesota	31,907	859,543,000	13,320,748	8,325,468	4,995,280	5,554,752	7,765,996	7,646,109	5,674,639
Mississippi	16,089	262,119,000	4,280,963	2,585,702	1,695,261	1,712,385	2,568,578	2,380,215	1,900,748
Missouri	36,424	1,622,611,000	18,864,921	12,865,876	5,999,045	8,583,539	10,281,382	12,167,874	6,697,047
Montana	13,092	1,302,448,000	6,708,416	5,628,361	1,080,055	3,750,005	2,958,411	5,172,189	1,536,227
Nebraska	13,642	368,281,000	5,418,963	3,674,057	1,744,906	2,449,371	2,969,592	3,408,528	2,010,435
Nevada	2,992	66,456,000	964,131	789,623	174,508	526,416	437,715	725,027	239,104
New Hampshire	21,709	169,782,000	3,256,692	2,208,037	1,048,655	1,472,025	1,784,667	2,028,919	1,227,773
New Jersey	4,332	1,701,721,000	25,789,804	15,164,405	10,625,399	10,135,393	15,654,411	13,952,284	11,837,520
New Mexico	3,132	30,978,000	736,305	365,207	371,098	243,717	492,588	335,755	400,550
New York	136,139	7,727,369,000	81,319,373	47,327,875	33,091,498	31,551,917	49,767,456	43,505,865	37,813,508
North Carolina	89,783	1,696,604,000	19,262,155	13,772,441	5,489,714	9,188,048	10,074,107	13,079,003	6,183,152
North Dakota	2,942	37,067,000	898,817	491,653	407,164	328,068	570,749	451,206	447,611
Ohio	146,236	4,414,012,000	58,318,411	38,198,559	20,119,852	25,485,146	32,833,265	34,174,589	24,143,822
Oklahoma	21,271	570,034,000	7,217,441	4,770,729	2,446,712	3,182,891	4,034,550	4,402,639	2,814,802
Oregon	69,645	605,678,000	7,445,421	6,276,490	1,168,931	4,191,772	3,253,649	5,770,201	1,675,220
Pennsylvania	164,174	8,085,269,000	134,840,062	92,230,602	42,609,460	61,487,068	73,352,994	86,567,320	48,272,742
Rhode Island	6,590	409,933,000	6,609,396	4,190,357	2,419,039	2,795,775	3,813,621	3,826,840	2,782,556
South Carolina	26,754	965,005,000	9,990,809	6,973,585	3,017,224	4,655,717	5,335,092	6,813,732	3,177,077
South Dakota	6,869	55,188,000	1,433,988	739,938	694,050	493,292	940,696	679,710	754,278
Tennessee	58,162	953,811,000	11,492,748	8,803,445	2,689,303	5,872,794	5,619,954	9,447,039	2,045,709
Texas	53,908	1,867,727,000	23,209,337	14,761,138	8,448,199	9,840,759	13,368,578	13,879,184	9,330,153
Utah	18,653	598,215,000	6,211,620	4,379,192	1,832,428	2,919,461	3,292,159	4,025,130	2,186,490
Vermont	18,360	133,496,000	3,074,857	2,097,052	977,805	1,399,060	1,675,797	2,044,780	1,030,077
Virginia	18,874	789,381,000	9,872,116	7,325,110	2,547,006	4,886,697	4,985,419	6,466,236	3,405,880
Washington	64,261	1,539,921,000	12,062,096	9,504,932	2,557,164	6,344,662	5,717,434	8,865,641	3,196,455
West Virginia	12,429	1,273,648,000	14,351,513	9,443,296	4,908,217	6,300,314	8,051,199	8,768,774	5,582,739
Wisconsin	75,331	1,463,858,000	20,568,949	12,526,490	8,042,459	8,350,993	12,217,956	11,559,749	9,009,200
Wyoming	1,794	69,753,000	1,268,056	636,564	631,492	424,799	843,257	716,452	551,604
Total	2,152,483	66,380,962,000	848,873,602	565,238,752	283,634,850	378,212,729	470,660,873	524,674,273	324,199,329

INDUSTRIAL RATES

While large industries, as a rule, have been able to obtain better rates than have the residential and commercial consumers, it will be seen that the industrial consumers alone paid overcharges for their electricity in 1939 ranging from $283,634,850, according to the T. V. A. rates, to $324,199,329, according to the Ontario rates, and $470,660,873, according to the Tacoma, Wash., rates.

Here are the standard T. V. A. industrial rates:

Cost per kilowatt-hour

Demand charge:	
First 1,000 kilowatt-hours demand	$1.00
All over 1,000 kilowatt-hours demand	.90

Mills per kilowatt-hour

Energy charge:	
First 10,000 kilowatt-hours	10.0
Next 25,000 kilowatt-hours	6.0
Next 65,000 kilowatt-hours	4.0
Next 400,000 kilowatt-hours	3.0
Next 1,500,000 kilowatt-hours	2.5
All over 2,000,000 kilowatt-hours	2.0

TOTALS

And finally, here is a table showing the total amounts of electricity used for all purposes in all the States, the amounts paid in each State, and the overcharges according to the T. V. A. rates, the Tacoma rates, and the Ontario rates.

TABLE 4.—*Total electric sales for ultimate consumption, 1939*

State	Estimated sales data for 1939			Estimated revenues and consumer savings under rates in effect in—					
				Tennessee Valley Authority		Tacoma, Wash.		Ontario, Canada	
	Number of customers	Total kilowatt-hours	Total revenues	Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings	Revenues	Savings
Alabama	240,494	1,540,533,000	$22,894,774	$15,127,936	$7,766,838	$11,811,604	$11,083,170	$13,806,773	$9,088,001
Arizona	69,139	476,422,000	8,517,990	3,914,573	4,603,417	3,085,995	5,431,995	3,541,479	4,976,511
Arkansas	144,184	536,359,000	12,598,272	6,587,584	6,010,688	5,271,647	7,326,625	5,698,930	6,899,342
California	2,167,547	9,258,174,000	161,842,507	127,217,534	34,624,973	101,402,146	60,440,361	111,448,574	50,393,933
Colorado	237,438	655,955,000	18,830,010	9,820,320	9,009,690	7,978,372	10,851,638	8,830,464	9,999,546
Connecticut	509,935	1,439,395,000	41,077,984	22,540,125	18,537,859	17,347,042	23,730,942	18,887,376	22,190,608
Delaware	54,109	213,949,000	4,697,705	2,589,631	2,108,074	2,099,088	2,598,617	2,216,104	2,481,601
District of Columbia	162,663	801,224,000	13,738,143	10,504,345	3,233,798	10,071,477	3,666,666	9,098,911	4,639,232
Florida	317,438	918,317,000	29,801,863	13,517,254	16,284,609	11,426,355	18,375,508	11,412,422	18,389,441
Georgia	283,718	1,715,447,000	29,871,880	18,210,211	11,661,669	14,795,238	15,076,642	16,023,222	13,848,658
Idaho	108,475	663,680,000	8,996,165	5,288,648	3,707,517	4,162,913	4,833,252	4,972,663	4,023,502
Illinois	2,290,681	7,845,103,000	170,542,367	96,479,400	74,062,967	79,894,112	90,648,255	81,762,274	88,780,093
Indiana	798,268	2,797,211,000	62,113,056	36,599,647	25,513,409	29,954,004	32,159,052	31,442,818	30,670,238
Iowa	510,085	1,365,831,000	34,494,962	19,252,824	15,242,138	16,074,609	18,420,353	16,837,935	17,657,027
Kansas	357,499	1,072,938,000	26,085,530	14,722,011	11,363,519	12,126,572	13,958,958	12,669,226	13,416,304
Kentucky	312,790	1,056,729,000	23,947,723	14,497,124	9,450,599	11,704,748	12,242,975	12,462,700	11,485,023
Louisiana	268,596	1,068,685,000	21,948,068	11,957,725	9,990,343	9,394,140	12,553,928	10,337,573	11,610,495
Maine	214,788	932,840,000	14,849,712	8,225,922	6,623,790	6,587,738	8,261,974	7,060,269	7,789,443
Maryland	393,151	1,770,015,000	33,942,432	19,952,742	13,989,690	16,298,664	17,643,768	17,612,713	16,329,719
Massachusetts	1,311,668	3,067,221,000	92,590,153	45,771,181	46,818,972	38,577,116	54,013,037	38,322,857	54,267,296
Michigan	1,361,757	4,868,786,000	103,921,294	61,482,620	42,438,674	51,540,917	52,380,377	51,109,372	52,811,922
Minnesota	567,476	1,654,879,000	41,464,196	24,100,676	17,363,520	19,949,444	21,514,752	20,231,437	21,232,759
Mississippi	114,953	414,142,000	10,587,535	5,659,666	4,927,869	4,552,293	6,035,242	5,030,340	5,557,195
Missouri	754,746	2,762,529,000	57,354,225	35,184,961	22,169,264	29,233,283	28,120,942	30,348,933	27,005,292
Montana	127,266	1,474,586,000	13,193,110	8,854,313	4,338,797	6,687,759	6,505,351	7,935,021	5,258,089
Nebraska	238,881	679,047,000	17,867,709	10,395,117	7,472,592	8,693,451	9,174,258	9,102,501	8,765,208
Nevada	22,329	113,249,000	2,522,716	1,532,282	990,434	1,230,996	1,291,720	1,338,800	1,183,916
New Hampshire	148,348	319,318,000	9,949,466	5,158,619	4,790,847	4,133,135	5,816,331	4,551,644	5,397,822
New Jersey	1,258,400	3,250,059,000	98,716,190	48,110,659	50,605,531	40,157,475	58,558,715	40,674,287	58,041,903
New Mexico	47,025	95,836,000	3,904,966	1,618,382	2,286,584	1,417,707	2,487,259	1,432,993	2,471,973
New York	4,100,952	14,120,109,000	332,764,647	166,148,364	166,616,283	142,823,237	189,941,410	141,207,221	191,557,426
North Carolina	354,644	2,202,238,000	35,054,471	22,739,091	12,315,380	17,452,367	17,602,104	20,704,368	14,350,103
North Dakota	81,990	146,896,000	5,603,938	2,727,846	2,876,092	2,405,588	3,198,350	2,269,944	3,333,994
Ohio	1,809,829	6,816,026,000	138,866,147	88,131,633	50,734,514	70,936,856	67,929,291	74,117,731	64,748,416
Oklahoma	302,761	1,052,942,000	25,307,691	13,247,407	12,060,284	11,083,475	14,224,216	11,337,398	13,970,293
Oregon	298,962	1,156,800,000	21,257,229	14,506,503	6,750,726	11,721,500	9,535,729	12,848,312	8,408,917
Pennsylvania	2,469,023	11,014,450,000	211,839,652	134,589,762	77,249,890	99,526,943	112,312,709	119,425,295	92,414,357
Rhode Island	207,040	598,997,000	16,463,292	8,525,507	7,937,785	6,630,194	9,833,098	7,339,827	9,123,465
South Carolina	145,031	1,186,506,000	17,182,568	11,084,470	6,098,098	8,435,673	8,746,895	10,342,691	6,839,877
South Dakota	91,346	174,651,000	6,652,433	3,145,737	3,506,696	2,725,172	3,927,261	2,648,200	4,004,233
Tennessee	306,828	1,464,304,000	27,313,862	19,595,393	7,713,469	15,776,386	11,537,476	20,096,058	7,217,804
Texas	876,930	3,258,753,000	73,181,357	40,379,742	32,801,615	33,658,968	39,522,389	35,125,112	38,056,245
Utah	125,390	775,414,000	12,391,252	7,699,887	4,691,365	5,902,109	6,489,143	6,744,249	5,647,003
Vermont	94,493	216,917,000	6,807,298	3,865,434	2,941,864	2,974,410	3,832,888	3,420,444	3,386,854
Virginia	346,354	1,346,710,000	29,336,667	17,665,686	11,670,981	14,316,118	15,020,549	14,827,640	14,509,027
Washington	499,981	2,639,422,000	35,972,065	24,919,279	11,052,786	20,889,600	15,082,465	22,201,825	13,770,240
West Virginia	255,633	1,642,120,000	27,528,326	16,774,849	10,753,477	13,081,490	14,446,836	14,733,789	12,794,537
Wisconsin	724,847	2,399,702,000	52,390,684	30,304,957	22,085,727	24,661,558	27,729,126	26,393,427	25,997,257
Wyoming	40,586	120,646,000	3,870,402	1,663,039	2,207,363	1,370,327	2,500,075	1,678,595	2,191,807
Total	28,526,467	107,162,062,000	2,272,646,684	1,322,588,618	940,058,066	1,084,032,011	1,138,614,673	1,153,662,737	1,118,983,947

CONCLUSION

You will note that the total overcharges for electricity in this country in 1939 amounted to $940,058,066, according to the T. V. A. rates; $1,188,614,673, according to the Tacoma rates; and $1,118,983,947, according to the Ontario rates.

This is a terrible burden for the electric consumers of America to have to bear. Unless they get relief, they will have to bear this enormous load throughout this generation and then pass it on down to the generations that are to come. These overcharges will amount to more during the life of this generation than the cost of our entire defense program.

Remember that these overcharges are simply tributes paid by the people who use electricity in every State in the Union—tributes for which they get nothing in return. These are the reasons why we members of the public power bloc in the House have labored so long and so earnestly for the development of the hydroelectric power of the Nation in every section of the country, and for its distribution to the ultimate consumers at rates based upon the cost of generation, transmission, and distribution.

While we have come a long way, and have made great strides in these efforts, as result of the development of the T. V. A., Boulder Dam, Bonneville, and Grand Coulee, and other similar projects throughout the land, and while we have succeeded in extending rural electrification to something like 2,000,000 farm homes, our battle has just begun.

This fight must go on until every human being in America who turns an electric switch will be able to secure electric energy at the T. V. A. rates, or at rates based upon the cost of generation, transmission, and distribution.

Greek War Relief Drive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 30 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ADDRESS BY DEAN ALFANGE, PAST SUPREME PRESIDENT OF THE ORDER OF AHEPA

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Dean Alfange, past supreme president of the Order of Ahepa, at the Hotel Roosevelt, New Orleans, La., on December 5, 1940, at the formal opening of the Greek war-relief drive.

My recollection is that Mr. Alfange was born in Greece and came to the United States when he was a very young boy. He has made a most excellent record since coming to the United States. He graduated with high honors from one of the leading universities of the United States, and he occupies an important place in the legal profession in the State of New York. He has been an important factor in the work of the Ahepa Society, an organization which was formed by persons of Greek descent.

It has been my privilege to know Dean Alfange for a number of years, and I take pleasure in testifying to his great ability and to his devotion to democratic principles and the maintenance of our form of government.

As Senators know, a few years ago there was considerable discussion concerning our judicial system, and the Supreme Court was attacked and defended by many citizens and by members of the bar. Mr. Alfange wrote a book entitled "The Supreme Court and the National Will," which was published in 1937.

The late President Theodore Roosevelt provided a fund from which awards might be made for meritorious works dealing with governmental questions. The committee of judges on the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Award, after considering various writings during the year 1937, awarded the first Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Award to Dean Alfange in recognition of the merits of his book, the title of which I have just indicated. Dean Alfange's book is a scholarly discussion of the Constitution and the Supreme Court of the United States. I ask unanimous consent that the address may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Gentlemen, the Order of Ahepa, founded 18 years ago to promote Americanism and oppose subversive activities, appeals to you in behalf of Greece. Greece, mother of civilization, inspirer of poets and philosophers, is once more fighting for human dignity and human freedom. This time, we too, have a vital stake in her struggle. If we abandon her, we may abandon the last chance of saving Europe from the forces of bestiality and atheism. If we help her, before the swan song of "too late" is chanted, we may help turn the tide of the war.

With our material and moral support Greece can and shall carry on. Greek genius attains sublimity when a crisis confronts it. The Hellenic will becomes indomitable when the task is prodigious. This was true of the Greeks of Marathon and Thermopolae. It is also valid of the Greeks of Argyrocastron and Koritza. Be assured, then, our efforts in behalf of Greece will not be wasted.

The Italian debacle, in the bleak Albanian hills, affirms the modern Greek as a worthy descendant of illustrious ancestors. It reveals Greek history as one continuing and impelling force, unbroken by the centuries that link its parts together. And what a vital force that history is. The gallant soldiers of Greece, the first to inflict a major land defeat upon the dreaded Axis war machine, are conscious of the greatness of their history. They know that western culture was saved at Marathon by Militiades and at Salamis by Themistocles, and they know that they are now engaged in an epic struggle to preserve it.

And what an epic struggle it is, at once romantic and tragic, full of pathos and full of poetry, and yet overwhelming in its relation to world history. Yes, the Greeks are gambling with destiny, though the stake is total. Terrific odds are against them, yet fierce determination governs their will to win. In the light of such background, one understands their resounding achievements against an enemy vastly superior in numbers and in equipment.

And how the struggle follows the pattern of ancient events. How amazingly similar are the analogies. Twenty-four hundred years ago, Xerxes, King of the Persians, marching upon Greece with the greatest army ever assembled, sent a message to Leonidas, King of Sparta, to surrender his cities or be ruined. Leonidas replied, "Molon lave," which, in ancient Greek, means, "Come and take them," and history records the rest. But Mussolini is no respecter of history. Believing, like Xerxes, that the Greeks would succumb at the sight of his legions, he demanded the immediate surrender of their islands and their cities. The reply he received was the same, "Molon lave," and now history repeats itself with remarkable fidelity. The slogans are the same, the military tactics are the same, and the motivations of world conquest and defense of ideals are the same.

But still more remarkable is the similarity of the implications. The victory of the Greeks over the Persians at Marathon saved civilization. And now the Battle of Greece may be the modern Marathon to save civilization anew. It may well be the decisive turning point of the whole war. History has a curious way of repeating its miracles. The defeat of the Persians under the King Emperor Darius in the year 490 B. C. was a miracle. Who can gainsay that another miracle is not in the offing? The Greeks believe it shall come to pass, and so, imbued with a sense of their historic mission, they proceed with stout heart and grim resolve in their inexorable forward march. And revived to inspire them are the exhortations of the poet Lord Byron:

"Snatch from the ashes of your sires
The embers of their former fires;
And he who in the strife expires
Will add to theirs a name of fear
That tyranny shall quake to hear,
And leave his sons a hope, a fame,
They, too, will rather die than shame;
For freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft is ever won.
Bear witness, Greece, thy living page,
Attest it many a deathless age."

Already the Greeks have accomplished what 1 month ago would seem incredible. Just before the Italian invasion began, the cause of the democracies was at its lowest ebb. Japan had joined the Axis, Spain and Russia seemed ready to join, and the small nations of Europe, lifeless and listless, had resigned to an inevitable fate. The clouds of gloom hung heavy and all hope seemed irretrievably lost. Yet in 1 short month little Greece, impoverished and undernourished, has changed the entire complexion of the war. She shattered the prestige of Mussolini and brought his regime to the brink of collapse. She imparted to the conquered peoples of Europe new hope and to the remaining free nations on the agenda of slaughter a fresh determination to resist. But above all she has stiffened the morale of democracy's defenders everywhere, immunizing their will to win, by proving that slaves are no match for freemen, albeit the vaunted invincibility of their machines.

If the enlightened world shall fail this opportunity, the Axis may break the back of Greece, though it shall never break its spirit. For the spirit of Greece is made of the stuff that does not break. It is the yearning, the unyielding passion of men to be free. It is the epitome of all mankind's aspirations. Wherefore, the Greeks fight. And Leonidas and Pericles and Miltiades live again and a new ray of light begins to shine above the dark and dismal clouds that have gathered in the east. Who knows, that ray of light, however dim, may be the sunshine of tomorrow, to bring peace, hope, happiness, and brotherly love to a world weary with suffering, hate, and the lust for power, and torn asunder by the mad horsemen of the apocalypse. It may be the new birth of freedom, the restoration of government by law, and the reassertion of the dignity of man.

But let us not rest our case on hope. Let us rather, by our active help, nourish that hope that it may attain the stature of reality. This is a war of civilians, as well as of soldiers, of nerves as well as of guns, of morale as well as of munitions. If, by our help, we sustain the morale of those valiant people, we contribute mightily to the battle. It is our battle, too. It is the battle of democratic peoples everywhere.

Gentlemen, relief for Greece, under present circumstances, is not primarily a matter of charity or humanitarianism. It is, more essentially, a part of our plan of national security and national defense. For if Britain should collapse and Greece should perish, we in America must inherit their struggle and continue the fight to the bitter end alone, if we prefer our own traditional way of life to Hitler's new order of servitude and bondage.

I am deeply grateful for the gracious attention that has greeted my words. If I sang the praises of Hellas too highly, I will ask you to remember that I, too, hail from that Hellenic stock whose virtues and vices know no middle ground and whose enthusiasm on occasions like this is apt to trespass across the boundaries of modesty and better judgment.

The Special Responsibility on Legislative Bodies in These Times

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS H. CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 30, 1940

ARTICLE BY MARK SULLIVAN

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, with millions of other Americans, I listened carefully last night to the radio address by the President of the United States. As I listened to him speaking in such earnestness and with such grim measuring of his emphasis, it seemed to me that this country had arrived at one of the points down the road which many of us predicted during the course of the administration's domestic and foreign policies. In contemplation of this, it seems to me highly appropriate to place in the RECORD an article headed "Special loyalty," by Mark Sullivan, which appeared in the Washington Post Saturday, December 28, 1940. Under permission granted by the House, I insert the article at this point:

SPECIAL LOYALTY

(By Mark Sullivan)

A novel currently popular is entitled "For Whom the Bell Tolls." This is taken from a longer passage, in the quaint sixteenth century English of John Donne:

"For whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee. No man is an iland, intire of itselfe; every man is a peace of the continent, a part of the maine. * * * Therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

That is beautiful and solemn truth. For most of us, however, it is too general, too inclusive, to make us feel the personal poignance that is in it. For many of us, to see himself as a member of the human race, to feel kinship to all, is beyond the scope of our imagination or our sensitiveness. A fellowship spread so thin eludes our consciousness.

But if narrowed, we can see it. Each of us is a member of many. Each is one of a family of parents and children, and of a broader family of cousins. Each is a member of a group of friends, large or small. Each is a member of a neighborhood, of a church, a club, a fraternity. Each is one of a group that operates a business, or each has associates in a profession. Each is a citizen of a village, a county, a state, a nation.

To every group, each member feels a loyalty. The degrees of loyalty differ, strong to the close and intimate, less to the more distant. Sometimes the separate loyalties compete, or interfere with each other. Loyalty to family may make loyalty to neighborhood more difficult. Loyalty to church or fraternity, adequately lived up to, may leave less time for loyalty to business or political associations.

How each of us allocates his loyalties is a large part of the pattern of his life. In most cases we do not consciously allocate our loyalties—few of us thus command our lives. In most cases accident and circumstances control—permit us to pay a more intense loyalty here, a slighter one there; give us more time for one group, less for another. On occasions, for a while, we take command. If one group has a momentary special need for our loyalty, we hurry with it.

However it come about, the degrees and directions in which our loyalties go out compose the record of our lives—a pattern strangely crisscrossed. A spiritual photograph of any person would show intricate antennae going out from him to the groups and individuals for whom he has loyalty and affection.

What I have written so far has, I think, universal application. I turn to a special meaning this rule has for 531 persons, the Members of the Congress of the United States.

Each Member of Congress, as such, has several loyalties. He is a member of a political party—Democrat or Republican—and has loyalty to that. When the head of his party is President he has a loyalty to the President. Each Member of Congress is a representative of a State, and his loyalty to his State may conflict with his loyalty to the Nation as a whole—that clash of loyalties leads to many a turmoil of spirit, the decision difficult to make. Vaguely a Member of Congress is conscious that he belongs to the legislative branch of government and has loyalty to that as against the executive and judicial branches.

But, oddly, the loyalty of a Member of Congress to Congress itself is one he is little conscious of. Occasions to feel it rarely arise. Congress he takes for granted; its self-sufficiency, and its continued existence, he takes for granted—and toward the things we take for granted our loyalty is likewise taken for granted. Not often is there a situation in which the interest of Congress, as such, is in conflict with some other institution. Not often is any special claim put upon a Member for loyalty to the body that is his own.

But, in the working of this rule throughout every area of life, when any object of loyalty has a special need, special loyalty will be given. And today, throughout the world, legislative government has a special need; everywhere it is in danger, the very institution in peril of extinction. Everywhere parliamentary government is being supplemented by one-man government. The very idea, the principle, of government by legislatures is almost in extremis. In all the world today the only first-rank legislative body functioning fully is the Congress of the United States.

This puts upon every Member of Congress a special obligation of loyalty—loyalty not merely to this body but loyalty to the spirit of legislative government. It is not merely an obligation to be jealous for the prerogative of Congress; it is an obligation to see that this body functions well, with wisdom and with competence—to the end that the spectacle of government by a legislative body in the United States shall be an example and an inspiration to a sick world. This obligation bears with special weight upon the new Congress, the Seventy-seventh, which meets next week.

If, in this generation, the bell tolls for legislative government, if it perishes from the earth, the Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress of the United States will hear the bell not only with grief but with—sorrow's crown of sorrow—self-blame.

Key Pittman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. SCRUGHAM

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 30, 1940

RADIO ADDRESS BY ALBERT HILLIARD

Mr. SCRUGHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by Albert Hilliard over Station KOH, Reno, Nev., December 9, 1940:

Fellow citizens, the first time I ever saw KEY PITTMAN was in the year 1916. At that time I did not know that later it was to be my good fortune to become a citizen of the State that had that same year reelected him to the Senate. He had then served just over 4 years, and was one of the younger men in point of service, and in point of age, being just 44. I was attending law school in Washington, and, for a time, served as assistant enrolling clerk of the House of Representatives. This gave me certain privileges in both Houses of Congress, and I often listened to the debates, especially in the Senate. The Senate of the United States is the greatest deliberative body in the world. Amongst those serving with KEY PITTMAN in the Sixty-fifth Congress were the last remaining giants that that body has known, and with the passing of KEY PITTMAN, last month, and of Senator Borah not many months before, only Senator GEORGE W. NORRIS, of Nebraska, and Senator HIRAM W. JOHNSON of California, remain. And those two, as had been the case with Senator Borah had, because of the inexorable passing of the years, declined greatly in physical and intellectual powers. KEY PITTMAN, on the contrary, at 68, was at the apex of his career, the only Senator amongst them all whom I had seen and heard in 1916, and who, still being there, was yet, or apparently so, in the very prime of life. Let me run over some of the names in the Senate at the Sixty-fifth Congress, the War Congress, to better illustrate the point I wish to make. On the Republican side—Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts; Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin; James W. Wadsworth, of New York; Reed Smoot, of Utah; and George Sutherland, of the same State, afterward a Supreme Court Justice; Albert B. Cummins and William Kenyon, of Iowa; Johnson, Norris, and Borah I have already mentioned. There were Democrats there in those days and big men they were. Old John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, an almost unreconstructed Confederate; William "Bill" Stone, of Missouri, as doughty a warrior as you could wish to see, and his colleague, James A. "Jim" Reed, whose vitriolic tongue, whose lighting quick mind, made him so feared that few there were who had the hardihood or the audacity to engage him in debate. There was Thomas P. Gore, of Oklahoma, that amazing blind man who could see through the despoilers of a peoples' liberties better than most men who had eyes. And James K. Vardaman, of Mississippi, not a great Senator perhaps, but picturesque, with hair over a foot long, hanging below his coat collar. From Alabama was a very old man, old and old fashioned, Senator Bankhead, who had served the South in the Civil War, the father of the late great Democratic Speaker and the present Senator, JOHN BANKHEAD.

There were many others—all are now gone. It was a golden age in the United States Senate. With such men democratic institutions could never fail. And KEY PITTMAN was there—the peer of any one of them. At that time, to me, KEY PITTMAN was just one of 96 Senators. About all we had in common was the great western issue—silver. I then lived in Colorado. Then one day again my duties called me to the Senate. The first World War, later to be the all-absorbing subject, was yet to come. Senator PITTMAN was speaking. My little mission done, I remained and listened. Nearly every desk in the Senate was occupied—a great compliment. With no histrionics, in a quiet voice, with no more gesture than the raising of one finger, he spoke, and the subject was—Silver. For over 2 hours he continued, speaking without notes, from his inexhaustible knowledge of that so-called commodity, which is no more a commodity than is gold, both—both gold and silver—are rightfully money. Not since the days of William Morris Stewart, Nevada's other great Senator and silver advocate, had the cause of the white metal been so eloquently expounded, so convincingly demonstrated. Upon the price of silver depended whether times in Nevada would be good or bad, the people prosperous or poor.

Now and then, during the course of that speech that I heard, would come an interruption as if seeking to confuse the speaker. Without a pause, without a break he would answer, and the smooth continuity of his discourse went on and on, tirelessly and enormously effective. Without the advocacy of KEY PITTMAN in the Senate of the United States it is safe to assume that silver, unless in combination with other metals, would not now be mined in Nevada or anywhere else in the West. When he had concluded, the two Senators from my own then State of Colorado, the well-beloved Senator Newlands, and other western Senators rushed over to grasp the hand of KEY PITTMAN, and he was forever after recognized as silver's champion. Since the days of Senator Stewart, the only man comparable at all with Senator PITTMAN on the silver question was the great commoner, that peerless Democrat, William Jennings Bryan, with whom it was but a passing fancy, while with PITTMAN it was the keystone of his struggles for over 40 years. There is something about silver, something mystical, something that gives the common touch. A glance at western history will show, and all my listeners who have been brought up in the West will at once recollect, that with no exceptions the men who have fought the battle of silver have been by that token the friend of the silver miner, and therefore have walked, walked always in step, with the great masses of the common people, one of whom they were. A gold advocate seeks to impress the strong, the rich, the privileged; a silver man is content to number his friends amongst the lowly. With KEY PITTMAN gone there is none left to lead the battle; for years without number, so mightily had he performed, there was no need for aid or assistance until now, suddenly, with the need as great, the place as empty. With his passing, those raised in the great tradition are no more. There is none, there can be none, to fill it.

And now, we, we who loved KEY PITTMAN, can, in some measure, keep his memory green. And that is just about all of us, as is proved by his being returned to the Senate every election since that long-ago year of 1913. In good years, and in bad years, he was always returned, ending just now in his overwhelming reelection. There were a few, a very few, who, being jealous of him, were against him. But this is a trait to be found in human nature, the little man's dislike of the great man. And they never bothered KEY PITTMAN at all. His faith was in the people and they were faithful to him as he knew they always would be—and will be now that he is no more.

I have no way of knowing the form or shape the monument to KEY PITTMAN is to be. That needs must be left to other hands. When my own contribution is given I will try to give as freely as he gave himself in the closing months of his life. In those months, with a campaign and its hardships to be considered, with members of the opposition party striving and contesting to see which one would enter the lists against him, well knowing in their hearts they could not successfully assault the citadel of KEY PITTMAN, a citadel builded by the confidence a free people, always, by the grace of God, reserve for such rare and gifted men. I shall try to give as freely as he gave, when, with wars raging in every hemisphere but our own, he presided over the powerful Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, when every move of that committee was carefully watched and weighed by every foreign office in the world, where he used every manly endeavor to keep the horrors, the cruelty of modern war from our shores and from our sons, but at the same time with no craven poltroonery, no futile appeasement, but with that courage not shared by timid men that had led to the undoing of some other democratic countries, whose foreign policy was in hands so different, so fatally different than his. Not a Chamberlain, not a Daladier, he; rather a Winston Churchill! No Nevadan, no American, worthy of the name, but thrilled at his denunciation of that nation of assassins, the Japanese Empire. For years he had warned Americans of that peril, and had he had his way the exports to that country would long since have been shut off, and our fellow democracy, China, would not now be in its present plight. In ringing tones, just a few days before he died, with his masterly eloquence, he scoffed at and ridiculed the totalitarians of the Pacific, and a Nevada audience applauded him to the echo. No apostle of appeasement, KEY PITTMAN.

I shall try to give as freely as he did when, during what were to be the last weeks of his life, with work piled upon work, with labor and yet more labor, what with his duties as a Senator, his duties as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, with his own campaign to be planned and organized, he was yet called upon to perform the duties of another man, a man who had shirked and who had retired to his tent in a vast and public petulance. KEY PITTMAN, in addition to everything else, must needs perform the duties of the Vice President of the United States, because, by virtue of the honor and trust his fellow Senators had in him, he was the President pro tempore of the Senate. It was more than mere flesh could bear. KEY PITTMAN at last broke under the strain. But he lived long enough to know that his fellow citizens had once more, as so often before, chosen him as the first amongst them.

A mighty oak has fallen—a monarch of the forest is cut down.

KEY PITTMAN was not born in Nevada or in the West, but he was the most western of men. Of him it can be said as was said of old by Ruth to Naomi:

"Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried."

Our Labor Situation Is Basically Sound in the Opinion of M. L. Benedum

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 30, 1940

STATEMENT BY M. L. BENEDUM

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt in the minds of our people that this country is facing difficult days. Last night we listened to the grave words from our President. Business leaders have expressed themselves on our vital national problems. One of these is M. L. Benedum, internationally known oil producer and outstanding financier and citizen. His statement, made yesterday, is as follows:

President Roosevelt is driving rapidly toward the goal of an annual national income of $100,000,000,000. It is obvious that when this goal is attained the Government can realize sufficient tax revenues to meet all of its ordinary expenses, leaving only the expenditures for national defense, or a part of them, to be funded.

There is only one source from which governmental revenues can be appreciably increased, and that is the profits of our business enterprises and the earnings of individuals. You cannot tax deficits, and neither can you turn corporate red ink into governmental black ink. The President recognizes this economic fundamental, and that is why he is wisely driving so relentlessly toward an increased national income. He is on the right track, and it is the duty of everyone to give him their earnest support in the attainment of a necessary and much desired end, and I believe they will.

There appears to be nothing immediately ahead to cause undue misgivings about the future of the country. There has been a good deal of unnecessary alarm about the labor situation, but this has not been justified by the facts. It is true that the headlines tell us of strikes here and there, but we are prone to overlook the fact that for every man on strike in this country 10,000 are at work. Basically the labor situation is sound because there is a better understanding between employers and employees today than ever before and because the leadership on both sides is honest, intelligent, and patriotic. I am impressed that the country is particularly blessed at this time by having as spokesmen for labor men of the character of those now in position of leadership. They are as devoted to American institutions as any person in the country, and in carrying on their work as representatives of labor they have demonstrated their sense of justice and fair dealing.

America's great peril lies in the more distant future when peace is restored to the world and stricken Europe begins its economic rehabilitation. We shall then be the target for a ruthless and potentially destructive economic warfare. Regardless of the outcome of the war, we are certain to be forced into competition with the cheap and perhaps forced labor of European nations, where living standards, always far short of ours, will undoubtedly be at the lowest point in contemporary history. While wisely preparing ourselves for defense against armed aggression, we must not overlook preparation for defense against economic aggression, which has potentialities of entailing as much hardship and sacrifice as physical warfare. It is encouraging to see that our leaders in government, industry, and labor are alert to this situation.

Shall a Hundred Thousand Men Be Denied Their Right?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 30, 1940

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, Walter Reuther, following the communistic idea he, who has recently proposed to the President that the motor industry be taken over by the Government, is one of those who is insisting that Ford employees must pay tribute before they can work at their jobs.

The Barbary pirates had the same idea, but the United States Navy gave a complete and effective answer by shot and shell.

The claim of Reuther and those acting with him is that Ford workers are underpaid and misused. In answer to that statement, let me quote here a full-page ad from yesterday's Washington Post:

[From the Washington Post of December 29, 1940]

DOES FORD PAY GOOD WAGES?

Here are some facts about Ford labor. They cover wages, hours, and conditions of employment which have been in effect for more than 25 years.

During the year ended November 30, 1940, the Ford pay roll throughout the United States averaged 113,628 hourly wage earners, not including office employees, students, or executives. They were paid $135,105,639.12. On this basis the average annual wage was $1,629.05.

In the entire United States there are employed approximately 45,000,000 workers. According to the latest available Government figures, the annual average wage of all workers in employment covered by old-age insurance law was $841.

If these employees received the same average wage as Ford employees, the workers of the United States would have had additional wages of more than $35,000,000,000, thus increasing the national income about 50 percent. Think what such an increase would mean to the workers of this country and to the American farmer, whose prices are based on the national income.

Wage scales in the Ford Motor Co. Rouge plants are divided into three classifications:

Unskilled: Both male and female, without experience, classified as nonproductive. Minimum hiring wage, 75 cents per hour.

Semiskilled: Men with limited experience, classified both as nonproductive and productive. Minimum hiring wage, 80 cents per hour.

Skilled: Men with years of experience, classified as productive employees. Minimum hiring wage, 90 cents per hour.

Wages paid above these minimums are in consideration of ability and years of service.

Minimum-wage scales for unskilled labor at the Rouge plant are the highest in the industry. Top wages for skilled labor compare favorably with, or are higher than in other automobile companies.

So much for wages. Now some facts on labor conditions in Ford plants:

Not only are sanitation and other health conditions the best in the industry, but Ford also leads in the equipment of safety devices for the protection of employees. Proof of this is found in the following compensation-insurance figures for Ford in comparison with other plants:

Out of its vast experience, the National Association of Underwriters has computed a national-average rate in automotive manufacturing plants that is in excess of $1.50 premium on each $100 pay roll.

The Ford Motor Co.'s working conditions are so far superior that the Ford cost of workmen's compensation is less than 50 cents on each $100 pay roll.

This indicates that the chance of injury in a Ford plant is much less than in the average automobile plant.

The Ford Motor Co. has no age limit for labor, and in fact deliberately attempts to keep older workers working. The average age of Ford workers at the Rouge and nearby plants is 38.7. The youngest worker is 18. The oldest, a railroad-car inspector, is 87. We have a crane operator who is 86 and a die maker who is 83.

A recent check-up shows that nearly one-half the workers at these Ford plants were 40 or over, falling into age groups as follows:

Twenty-five thousand eight hundred and nineteen are between the ages of 40 and 50.

Fourteen thousand seven hundred and thirty-one are between the ages of 50 and 60.

Three thousand three hundred and seventy-seven are between the ages of 60 and 70.

Four hundred and seventeen are between the ages of 70 and 80.

Twelve are between the ages of 80 and 90.

In addition to the so-called regular employees, the Ford Motor Co. has hired, at the same regular hourly wage, thousands of workers who are blind, crippled, or otherwise incapacitated for normal productive work. At the present time there are more than 10,000 such workers on the Ford pay roll. They are not selected for their ability to build cars or to maintain the plant. They are on the pay roll because of Henry Ford's belief that the responsibility of a large company to labor goes beyond the point at which the unfortunate worker can no longer produce profitably.

The above are facts. They have been, and still are, open to anyone who really wants to deal in facts. Anyone who wants to get a job * * * buy a car * * * or place a national-defense contract on the basis of fair-labor treatment must place the Ford Motor Co. at the top of his eligible list.

FORD MOTOR CO.

The Wide Horizon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOMER D. ANGELL

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 30, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Christian Science Monitor of December 26, 1940:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of December 26, 1940]

THE WIDE HORIZON—THE GRANGE SHOWS THE WAY

(By Dorothea Kahn)

For a lesson in the practice of democracy, look to the farmers. Some seven decades ago their leaders established a farm fraternity, the National Grange, and ever since they have been getting experience in running their own organizations on a thoroughly democratic plan.

Never has that plan worked more smoothly than at the national convention held recently in Syracuse, N. Y. Although there were seemingly divisive issues on the agenda, delegates who came to the convention with widely different programs of farm aid managed to find enough common ground by the time the meeting ended to sign their names to a joint statement. Best of all, neither side felt it had lost anything vital.

The issue that threatened to divide the grangers made its appearance at the 1939 annual convention in Portland, Oreg. It concerned the question of a remedy for low farm prices. Western Grange leaders headed by Ervin E. King, master of the Washington State Grange, proposed a cost-of-production plan that was not acceptable to many of the other State Grange leaders. The minority was given a respectful hearing, but it was clear that it was still a minority when the convention ended. It had gained one important concession, however. A committee was appointed to study the plan this group offered and report to the next annual meeting.

Well, the committee was due to report at Syracuse this year. Would there be an irreconcilable controversy over the issue? The two sides seemed so far apart.

It did take the committee a long time to finish its business. Day after day of the convention passed, and still the three members were not agreed on a final statement. The last day of the convention—the ninth—was reached. Still the statement wasn't ready. There was a morning session, an afternoon meeting. Still the three men appointed to bring in the report hadn't been able to draft a statement they believed would be acceptable to the whole order.

Members began to wonder. Then came the announcement that the committee report would be made after the turkey dinner on the program for that day.

Just how much the jolly get-together had to do with the final stage of the report can't be told, but the signatures were written to it after the mince pie was eaten. So well was the job done that the agricultural committee of the Grange, composed of men of all shades of opinion, presented the committee report with their approval, and it went through the convention without a dissenting vote. A two-price plan for farm products had been outlined in a form acceptable to the west coasters, and also to the conservative East. The head of the Grange's agricultural committee, Walter F. Kirk, of Ohio, was given credit for some of the most important work in harmonizing the different groups.

A great many other issues were ironed out by committees. The practice of this organization is to encourage every delegate to submit resolutions and to present his views in committee hearings.

Final decisions on policy rest with the voting delegates, two from each grange State. (One is the grange master, the other is his wife.) Before the vote is taken there is opportunity for discussion

from the floor. Discussion this year brought out striking differences in the problems facing different sections of the country. In the end, decisions were generally made from a national rather than from a State basis.

Elections were conducted in the most democratic manner, by secret ballot, and without nominations. The Grange makes a charming ceremony of voting. A New England member of long standing plays a lilting march on the piano, the roll call of States is taken, and two by two the voting delegates step forward and drop their ballots in the box. Then the music ceases and officers count the ballots aloud. If there is no majority the little march starts up again.

When the delegates finished voting for officers and on resolutions this year, many expressed their satisfaction over the harmonious outcome. By their happy expressions you could tell democracy had worked in this group.

Giving Away Defenses of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 30 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940

TELEGRAM SENT TO PRESIDENT SIGNED BY VERNE MARSHALL, OF THE NO FOREIGN WAR COMMITTEE, AND 3,500 OTHER CITIZENS

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a telegram sent to the President of the United States on Saturday, signed by Verne Marshall, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, chairman of the No Foreign War Committee, and 3,500 other humble American citizens. I understand that the number of signers has risen to over 11,000, but I ask that the names of the 3,500 who signed the original telegram be printed along with the telegram itself.

There being no objection, the telegram, with the signatures, was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DECEMBER 28, 1940.

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
The White House, Washington, D. C.:

Two days ago there was released at the White House a telegram signed by some 170 persons designated as prominent. The telegram urged you, as Chief Executive, to help sweep away the "ignorance and lethargy and disbelief" here in the United States which correspond to a condition existing in Europe prior to 1933, which "brought many European democracies to their grave and led the United Kingdom to the thin edge of disaster."

May the No Foreign War Committee, in all respect, humbly add its request to the urgent plea of the 170 prominent Americans? If the people of the world ever are given by their governmental leaders the truth which they must have if they are to understand why great wars are fought, there will be no more great wars. Consequently, the signers of last Thursday's telegram have driven straight to the heart of the renewed crisis with which all governments have been struggling since the autumn of 1939. If you answer their plea, Europe's current phase of an interminable war will end within a few weeks.

Because of the telegram signed by the 170 prominent Americans and dispatched to you, the No Foreign War Committee sends this message, signed by thousands of the common people who furnish the cannon fodder and the food for war, who fight and die in wars forced on them by their governments, and who, in the last analysis, must pay for those wars.

The signers of this telegram are not prominent. They are just everyday, red-blooded patriotic Americans who are proud to confess that they always put their country—the United States of America—first in their every consideration of international events and situations. Next they consider the interests of other countries and peoples, but invariably in the light of their own national interests.

They are humble but courageous citizens who believe that their country's foreign policy easily might be summed up in two words—America Always. It is their conviction that a mighty America, alive to the physical, material, moral, and spiritual needs of this troubled world, might in fact give that constructive leadership to all peoples which you so frequently have said the United States must give, if civilization is to be saved.

The many signers of this telegram, from numerous States, respectfully ask you, Mr. President, to tell them, in your radio broadcast Sunday evening, that the assurances you gave them in the recent Presidential campaign will be kept, to the letter. They believed in you when you offered those assurances, and they believe in you today.

After you have swept away our "ignorance and lethargy and disbelief," said by the 170 signers of last Thursday's telegram to be endangering the United States as they endangered the strangled democracies of Europe, these common people will rise en masse to help you end this war, and all wars.

Once the people of the world are permitted to know what has been kept from them about the economic, political, and ideological realities which are the real causes of Europe's and Asia's everlasting conflicts, those conflicts will cease for all time. Then that good-neighbor policy so commendably encouraged by you, as our President, will become a reality rather than a myth. The trade routes of the world will be open to all countries, thus enabling their peoples actually to give democracy an opportunity for birth, development, and permanency.

The signers of this telegram were asked to give it their approval as common people who realize that this war is not being fought for democratic principles any more than was the 1914–18 phase of the same war. The world had a 20-year armistice after the Treaty of Versailles proved that the chapter then closed, in an endless war, most definitely had not been fought to save the world for democracy.

Also the signers of this telegram respectfully ask you, as their highest elected public servant and governmental leader, not to lend or give away the defenses of their Nation as you propose to ask Congress that $3,000,000,000 worth of those defenses be loaned or given to Britain. We hope that somehow every genuine democratic principle for which Britain stands may survive this calamitous renewal of Europe's ancient war, no phase of which ever has been fought to promote or preserve the fundamentals of pure democracy.

Trusting that you are correctly informed when you repeatedly tell them that their own country's defenses are dangerously inadequate, and that all haste must be made in a furious effort to strengthen those defenses against some aggressor who may have designs upon this hemisphere, the common people of the great Middle West, and many States outside that solidly American area, are fearful when they see so much of their defense equipment and material shipped overseas.

If England's plight is critical as you tell us, there is possibility that she may be unable much longer to withstand aggressor attack upon her Empire. Mr. Knudsen long delayed his admission that our defense program lags, a fact which observant Americans had known for months. But, now that we know of this lag, which we are told is threatening to our security and peace, it is normal that we should worry about the dangers reportedly confronting us here in the United States. Some of us find it difficult to believe that these dangers are as acute as pictured. But, as good Americans, we should accept the word of our President; and we do.

After you have spoken to us tomorrow evening our ignorance and lethargy and disbelief doubtless will have been removed. And then, as the 170 prominent Americans said in their Thursday telegram, our democracy will have been insulated against such dreadful extinction as has overtaken democracies elsewhere.

There are some 3,500 signatures on this telegram, Mr. President. If it be your desire to have more signatures, in proof of the convictions, sincerity, and Americanism of the common people of the Middle West and other States, and will so advise your secretary, Mr. Early, the No Foreign War Committee will be happy to send them along, by telegraph, prepaid.

Respectfully,

VERNE MARSHALL,
Chairman, No Foreign War Committee.

The following common people whose permission to use their names is of record in the Cedar Rapids office of the No Foreign War Committee:

The Reverend Oliver Stevenson, Grundy Center; Gene Rosenthal, Muscatine; E. G. Bauman, Cedar Rapids; P. A. Pusateri, Cedar Rapids; Lester R. Taylor and Ansia K. Taylor, Mount Vernon; Louis Biondo, Cedar Rapids; George Owen, Cedar Rapids; Walter H. Miller, Mrs. Andrew Miller, and Loretta Miller, all of Rockwell; George Atkinson, Mrs. George Atkinson, Mrs. Mary Dexter, Lewis Dexter, all of West Liberty; Charles C. Cacek, Lulu M. Cacek, Leona M. Janesovsky, all of Cedar Rapids; S. B. Crouch, Jefferson; Mrs. C. S. Lawbaugh, Lottie M. Lawbaugh, Roy Downer, Joseph Onofrio, all of Cedar Rapids; A. J. Schueler, Alburnett; Mrs. Frank S. Wells, Maude Wells Sheets, Charles C. Conkling, all of Des Moines; P. J. Gietzen, Charles City; C. H. Daubendiek, Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Porterfield, and Loleta Porterfield, all of Jefferson; Mr. and Mrs. Carl J. Liston, Tama; Ernest A. Willman, Jefferson; Leva Field, Lisbon; E. H. Schloeman, Mankato, Minn.; Robert P. Fleege, Galena, Ill.; Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Schultz, Albert Lea, Minn.; the Reverend and Mrs. George Stauffacher, William Schumacher, Mark Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Koehn, and Carl Koehn, all of Cedar Rapids; Tobe A. Brown, Anamosa; J. H. Bremmer, Eldora; Oscar Schroeder, Luzerne; W. R. Craig, George Raabe, and W. A. Butzloff, all of Belle Plaine; Arnold Hudepohl and Otto Hudepohl, Williamsburg; Raymond Hoots, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Hoots, Rockwell; Pete Espensen, West Liberty; Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Tenpler, Jewell; William Martin, Des Moines; Mr. and Mrs. John Pestotnik, Boone; Mrs. P. F. Hopkins, Des Moines; Mrs. D. C. Lenihan, LeMars; Bill Schweiker and Herman Schweiker, Des Moines; Lane Lowery, Osceola; Elizabeth Jordan and Mary Jordan, Marshalltown; A. O. McMahon, Newton; Rex McClintock, Osceola; the Reverend E. A. Biederman, Des Moines.

MANY TOWNS REPRESENTED

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Frank A. Goettl, George Goettl, Ben Ulman, Adam Scheurer, August Goettl, Henry Tillman, and Ed Goebel, all of Mankato, Minn; Dale S. Piersoll, Arnold Piersoll, Mr. and Mrs. Earl S. Piersoll, Lloyd M. Piersoll, Myron G. Hasbrook, Rolland Harmon, and Alfred Harmon, all of Cedar Rapids; Mr. and Mrs. Leland Wilson, Union; Arthur Mehring, Hubbard; E. F. Marsoun, Ann Iben, Edna Sandig, Henrietta Schumacher, Louise Schumacher, and Mrs. Carl E. Miller, all of Cedar Rapids.

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Mr. and Mrs. Anna Benson, Ida Grove; Father Hegarty, Dunlap; Father McStay, Woodbine; Father Walsh, Mondamin; Fred Benning, E. H. Wedeking, Frank Beinemann, John Hammel, and Walter Wedeking, all of Clarksville; Heiko Janssen, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Heinstra, all of Meservey; P. H. Evenson and Mr. and Mrs. Wallace Johnson, Boone; Mr. and Mrs. Galeard Tonsfeldt, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Kruse, Mr. and Mrs. O. J. Kruse, and Mr. and Mrs. Emil Tonsfeldt, all of Ogden.

Mr. and Mrs. Vera Brown, J. J. Brown, Mrs. Bessie Brown, P. C. Brown, R. N. Elliott, H. J. Havens, Arend Bonk, Alf Groeneberg, Lena Bonk, Ida Groeneberg, and Mrs. May Brown, all of Iowa Falls.

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Albert Meklenburg, Luzerne; E. Heybold, R. A. Weber, Will Hofmeister, Matt Muessigman, Henry B. Janssen, Louie F. Hirth, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Sailer, all of Ackley; E. N. Rettig, Dyersville.

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Albert Petersen, Lester Schreck, Marvin Dengler, Hugo Dethlefs, Harry Dengler, Elmer Schreck, H. M. Barnes, Clifford C. Heckroth, John F. Keen, Albert I. Keidel, Marvin Stein, R. Siemens, John C. Stein, all of Dysart; M. C. Bosler, Mr. and Mrs. H. K. Moreland, and Harriet and Hazel Moreland, all of Dyersville.

T. A. Michels, Elizabeth Beamer, Leta Glenn, all of Washington, Iowa; Henry Nibler, Ben Nibler, Jake Schmiebauer, all of Tomahawk, Wis.; Mrs. Eva Evans, Everette Evans, Glenn Evans, Ada Johnson, Harry Strother, Ione Strother, Ella Luber, Fred Luber, Max Janowsky, Caroline Janowsky, Mr. and Mrs. Hans Marcks, Karl Grueterich, Bertha Grueterich, all of Cedar Rapids.

Dr. J. F. Walsh, L. P. Blank, Walter J. Stiefel, Oscar Potthoff, Charles Cooper, Walter E. Holsteen, Mary Spanhut, Fred Spanhut, Gertrude Beck, Matilda Beck, Robert C. Beck, all of Burlington.

The Reverend Owen Mitchell, Seneca, Wis.; John Leary, Lynxville, Wis.; Claude Leary, Lynxville, Wis.; John Finley, J. Dunn, Mike Dagnon, Robert Johnson, Avis Johnson, Gladys Dagnon, Elizabeth Dagnon, all of Seneca, Wis.; Lloyd Caya, Prairie du Chien, Wis.

Marguerite Dagnon, Margarete Dagnon, William Dagnon, Sr., Hannah White, all of Seneca, Wis.; W. A. Green, E. S. Green, M. F. Reid, all of Amboy, Ill.; the Reverend H. W. Radloff, Louis Buchholtz, Frank Paus, A. G. Meiners, Milo Walters, Henry Deters, Elmer Fruechte, Elmer Brinker, Leo Potratz, Robert W. F. Schroeder, all of New Albin.

Ben Potratz, Ferdinand Deters, William Spellmeyer, Herman Spellmeyer, Hubert Schroeder, Walter Haar, Henry Spellmeyer, Robert F. Richards, Mrs. Leo Potratz, Mrs. Fred Deters, Mrs. William Spellmeyer, Mrs. Walter Haar, Mrs. Ben Potratz, Hilda Spellmeyer, Mrs. Robert Schroeder, Herman Kurk, Jr., Charles A. Carlson, all of New Albin.

DYERSVILLE FOLK ANSWER

William F. Welsandt, Roy Hinrichs, Martin Burmester, Henry Clausen, Leo G. Meyer, Otto B. Meyer, Otto Feil, Fremont Weimerslage, Hamlin Weber, Andrew Eskar, M. Buchholtz, Mrs. Louis Buchholtz, all of New Albin.

Joe Thier, Bill Mescher, John Wente, Arthur Thier, Henry Klosterman, Harvey Thier, Frank Thier, Louis Boge, Joe Lansing, Alfred Klosterman, Lawrence Lansing, William Conrad, all of Dyersville.

Tom Conrad, Leander Boge, George Helle, Andrew Engler, Clete Gaul, Everette Klocker, Lester Engler, Herman Fangman, Ben Sudmaier, Clete Thier, Dick Thier, all of Dyersville.

M. D. Levevre, Mrs. M. D. Levevre, Gordon Hagg, Mrs. Gordon Hagg, all of Winthrop; Mrs. Bessie L. Hanz, Marshalltown; Henry Ruhr, Atlantic; John F. Rex, Guthrie Center; Mrs. E. A. Putnam, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Anderson, Norman Anderson, Mrs. Besse Hasse, Miss Effie Gruwell, all of Iowa City.

Paul Schotte, Waterloo; J. M. George, O. M. Risdon, Ray Albert, Lloyd Stainbrook, L. J. Mitchell, Everett Weart, all of Brandon; A. A. Rolf, Henry Wilke, Phillip Zotz, Gustaf Falk, E. O. Pack, R. O. Penrod, Mrs. W. C. Bock, Herman Rolf, Clarence J. Gischer, A. H. Binder, all of Burlington.

MORE FROM TEXAS

W. J. Fox, Mrs. Lena Harman, Mrs. Mary Wiemer, Mrs. Richard Welch, Charles J. Rolf, all of Burlington; Emil Hamann, Alpa Hamann, Donald Hamann, Maurine Faw, Volney Faw, all of Persia; Dr. and Mrs. A. E. Crew, Marion; Mr. and Mrs. Otto Puls, Seguin, Tex.; Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westerman, Rockwell City.

Rudolph W. Trester, Des Moines; Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Robinson, Rhodes; Mr. and Mrs. John A. Wilbois, Florence N. Hanson, Oskaloosa; Mr. and Mrs. John Westburg, Des Moines; Fred A. Witt, Melbourne, Iowa; C. D. Wilson, D. G. Wilson, D. R. Wilson, D. S. Wilson, all of Minburn; Dr. and Mrs. G. F. Hull, E. A. Trindle, Earl Andrews, Forrest Pratt, A. C. Ashton, Barbara Ashton, Elza Pratt, Henry Castings, all of Des Moines.

Clyde McDonald, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Burk, Des Moines; May Meyers, Des Moines; Mrs. G. A. McKenzie, Moulton; Mr. and Mrs. John S. Williams and Miss Frances Williams, Rock Rapids; Dr. E. R. Williams, Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Stotts, Rockwell City; Siefert Poppens, Henry Neymer, Lester Neymer, Bruno Wessels, Raymond Devries, Harold Brouwer, Carl Brouwer, all of Aplington.

Jack Limburg, Richard Bode, John Harken, Reem Harken, Peter Schaap, Richard Harken, George Frey, John Munting, Paul Geerdes, Fred Lindaman, George Tiedens, Raymond Tiedens, John Cuvelier, Bruno Peters, all of Aplington.

August Mohle, Art Frisch, Wesley L. Sorge, all of Sumner.

F. P. Turner, Coon Rapids; Mr. and Mrs. Ben Smithson and Robert Smithson, all of La Plata, Mo.; Albert J. Schreck, Davenport; Mr. and Mrs. John Weble, Manning; Howard E. Casey, Russell A. Fife, and H. J. Fife, all of Corning; John Blumgren, Logan; Mr. and Mrs. P. F. Fiene, and Mr. and Mrs. Roy Schrader, all of Charter Oak; Mrs. S. M. Reider, Eagle Grove; Lewis Moldevan, Storm Lake; Marie Nitzke, Storm Lake; W. R. Hughes, Longview, Tex.

NEW YORK REPLIES

E. O. Strauss, Des Moines; Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Weidner, Iowa City; Frank Thomas, Lucerne, Mo.; Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Weede, Ernest Grager, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Hamilton, Imogene Hamilton, Addie Young, Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Walker, Harry Norton, Gladys Launders, Mrs. Lizzie Wirth, Dillon Crane, Mr. and Mrs. John Shriner, Mr. and Mrs. Ed Siegel, Rose Baker, and Will Swift, all of Maquoketa.

William J. Goodwin, Thomas H. Goodwin, Jr., both of New York City; Joseph Foehrenbach, St. Albans, Long Island, N. Y.; Helen Cook, Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.; Daniel V. F. Wise, Brooklyn,

N. Y.; Thomas W. Cook, John D. Moore, Charles F. Hughes, and Ernest D. Bartley, all of Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.; Leopold Roth, St. Albans, Long Island, N. Y.; Theodore Zimms, Springfield Gardens, N. Y.; Edwin Sewell, St. Albans, N. Y.

James Ahearn, Edward Bartels, Patrick Brady, Edward J. Kleess, all of Springfield Gardens, N. Y.; Frank J. Smith, Rosedale, Long Island, N. Y.; David Roger Keefe, Laurelton, Long Island, N. Y.; Eugene King Laurelton, Long Island, N. Y.; Allen McConville, Lawrence Wade, Edward Stever, all of Springfield Gardens, N. Y.; Michael A. Connors, Rosedale, Long Island, N. Y.; Charles Goetz, Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.; William Wertz, Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hansen, Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Leinbough, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Davis, Mr. and Mrs. Harley Robertson, all of Lisbon; E. F. Elmer, Independence; Edith L. Timson, Independence.

ROCHESTER REPRESENTED

Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Cahalan, Mason City, Iowa; D. B. Graves, Henry Tellinghuisen, Sibley; J. Gunn Spellman, Waynoka, Okla.; Adolf Hunt, Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill.; H. G. Moeller, Readlyn, Iowa; Phil E. Beck, Hudson, Iowa; W. D. Terpany and F. Z. Terpany, Waterloo, Iowa; P. E. Sheehan, Stuart, Iowa; E. Adamson, Stuart, Iowa.

James Ferry, Mrs. James Ferry, F. D. Lofton, W. J. Vollenweider, Mrs. W. J. Vollenweider, Mrs. Mary Girsch, Gertrude Williams, Walter Schmidt, Vivian Schmidt, Lillian Sheldon, Dwight Sheldon, Francis Kacer, Johanna Schmidt, Frank Schmidt, Clark Leeper, Marguerite Willey, Roger Willey, all of Waterloo, Iowa.

Sherman Barker, Keswick, Iowa; Mrs. Sherman Barker, Keswick, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. G. S. Bohrend, Elkader, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Cross, Keswick, Iowa; Paul Barker, Galveston, Tex.; Charles Price, Austin, Tex.; Peter A. Koerts, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Maude E. Sanderson, Mae Louise Meers, Raymond L. Karns, Edward Connolly, Jerry Creed, Mrs. Jerry Creed, Mary Frances Creed, Ralph Schroeder, Joseph Mackey, Thomas Connolly, E. E. Richter, Mrs. E. E. Richter, Donald Connolly, Rina Repsold, all of Rochester, Minn.

MANY NAMES FROM ARCADIA, IOWA

Henry Prey, Ray Wiebers, Clem Schrad, Frank Steinkamp, Julius Anderson, William Jasde, Fred Stoffers, Christ Arph, Henry Schroeder, Frank Pille, Gus Andersen, Edward Erhs, Vincent Koherst, Elvin Wiebers, Leonard Kaspersen, Elvin Anderson, George Grimsman, Fred Lussman, Ben Sundrup, Joe Buchholtz, all of Arcadia, Iowa.

Melvin Stoffers, Walt Schroeder, Peter Meiers, Henry Jessen, Peter Schmitz, Malcolm Wiebers, Edward Hennings, Neil Reiman, Henry Peters, Louis Henkenins, William Garrels, Louis Schafer, Leo Kohorst William Sundrup, Adolph Hagge, Albert Hannasch, Ervin Gerken, Arthur Gerken, John Kroger, all of Arcadia, Iowa.

H. C. Hoover, Mrs. H. C. Hoover, H. E. Wiltse, Mrs. Merle Patrick, H. W. Wiltse, Mrs. H. W. Wiltse, Joseph Ebner, Ed Hoover, Mrs. Ed Hoover, Patrick Flynn, Will Bradwell, Mrs. Will Bradwell, A. L. Ashmore, Mrs. A. L. Ashmore, U. K. Willman, Tom Maxwell, all of Grand Junction, Iowa.

FAIRMONT, MINN.

William Kruse, Otto Miedtke, Carl Boehe, Nellie Benscholer, Florence Shaw, Fairmont, Minn.

Edward Welchlin, William Beckwith, Elias Hamlett, Fred Franklin, Cora Franklin, Tina Allen, Etta Packer, Mamie Ash, William Packer, Charles Allen, Sam Buhler, Tina Buhler, Minnie Hughes, Lena Fillerson, all of Fairmont, Minn.

Charlotte Schultz, J. Breen, George Plumhoff, John A. Breen, Marion Breen, Herb Molo, Fred Schmicking, Ed Wolle, A. H. Rosenberg, George Shaw, Fred Meyer, Loretta Harris, Hattie Meyers, Fred Welchlin, John Harris, M. Rosenberg, Catherine Malo, also of Fairmont, Minn.

Amelia Klopp, William Klopp, Albert Grassman, Alice Schultz, Henry Schultz, Alice Doolittle, C. Doolittle, F. Fink, August Schwicking, H. Bovgen, Otto Groff, Louise Graham, Jerry Fenton, Martin Kotewa, Thomas Larkin, Sam Hougland, Sarah Breen, all of Fairmont, Minn.

George Werning, C. H. Werning, John Fielman, H. W. Miller, William Johnson, Arnold Hertle, all of Newhall, Iowa.

August Hertle, Fred Mussman, Clarence Hertle, of Vinton, Iowa; John Alpers, Anton Hessenius, Joe Bevens, of Van Horne, Iowa.

Louis Taber, Oliver Hampton, D. C. Hampton, Robert Williams, all of Springville, Iowa; Thomas Binns, Whittier, Iowa.

Mrs. George Werning, Mrs. Anna Werning, Martha Werning, Mrs. Robert Hegewald, Anna Taschner, Mrs. J. M. Krumm, Mrs. George Haberman. Mrs. E. H. Seber, Mrs. Mabel Seeman, all of Newhall, Iowa.

Mrs. A. M. Hessenius, Van Horne, Iowa; Eleanor Hampton, Bertha Holland, Rose Haworth, Lida May Haworth, Margaret Hoge, Edna Williams, Edith Hampton, all of Springville, Iowa.

M. F. Werning, mayor; H. J. Stelling, produce dealer; Robert Hegewald, State truck checker; Paul Hegewald, druggist; William Grovert, garage man; Carl Kerkman, mechanic; Marvin Olson, trucker; O. A. Koopman, implement dealer; Louis Baumgartner, grain dealer, all of Newhall, Iowa.

Morris Hoge, trucker, Springville, Iowa.

J. E. Taschner, J. M. Krumm, Arnold Luwe, hardware men; William Wagner, Chester Tuttle, Lois Boddicker, grocers; George Haberman, George Haberman, Jr., creamerymen, all of Newhall, Iowa.

E. H. Ceber, meat-market man; L. Holterman, lumberman; Virgil Andrews, G. J. Freeman, blacksmith; The Reverend O. Nieting, minister, all of Newhall, Iowa.

Harold Kruse, attorney, Vinton, Iowa; C. W. Fels, highway patrolman, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Ida A. Conway, Mothers of America, Rochester, Minn.; Gladys K. Lynn, national president, Mothers of American Sons, Springfield, Mass.; L. W. Repsold, chairman, Independent Progressive Voters of First Congressional District, Rochester, Minn.; S. O. Sanderson, secretary, Independent Progressive Voters of First Congressional District, Rochester, Minn.; Sanford Kelly, Stewartville, Minn.; S. O. Sanderson, chairman, educational committee of Independent Progressive Voters of Minnesota, Rochester, Minn.; C. O. Stadsklev, member of educational committee, Independent Progressive Voters of Minnesota, Rochester, Minn.; S. O. Sanderson, chairman, Minnesota Stabilization Council, Rochester, Minn.

Fred Marxen and Mrs. Fred Marxen, Davenport, Iowa; Earl H. Clark, Carroll, Iowa; Albert G. Weber, Nauvoo, Ill.; M. M. Nagl, hardware, Carroll, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Haeger, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Mr. and Mrs. Moses Habhab, Fort Dodge, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. C. Stang, Hastings, Nebr.; the 11 Stang children, Hastings, Nebr.; Mrs. H. E. Sampson, Fort Dodge, Iowa; Eugene E. Boyd, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

William Hamer, R. J. Brodie, 109 Seventeenth Street SE.; F. K. Powers, Louis L. Melsha, all of Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Walton Emih, Gilbert Bell, Leonard Hood, Harold Kincaid, Otto Buhmann, Carl Farb, Dan McGraw, Gustana Bamura, all of Albert City, Iowa.

H. R. Klahn, Paul N. Ostergaard, Henry F. Hansen, Elmer G. Barnes, Mrs. Tillie Ostergaard, William Ropa, Reed C. Workman, Jean Britcher, Verne Long, John Swift, Burr Aylesworth, Walter J. Schmitt, John Sander, R. E. Wilson, J. E. Wilson, C. H. McCafferty, L. H. Paist, Earl E. Paist, Roland Spear, H. B. Elston, all of Stanwood, Iowa.

Theodore Shelley, Mrs. Theodore Shelley, Howey Shelley, Mrs. Howey Shelley, Manchester, Iowa; Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Mallen, Mrs. Lyons, Mrs. Hansen, Mrs. Keevers, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Matt, Mrs. Broderick, Mrs. Doyle, Mrs. Buck, Walter Deffenbaugh, Greta Deffenbaugh, Dorothea Deffenbaugh, Margaret Deffenbaugh, Albert Halstead, R. Bartolini, Chicago Composition Products Co.; William Uhlig, Frank Penge, Betty Barnreuter, Theodore Wilde, Ethel Clemens, all of Chicago.

FROM MINNESOTA AND CLEVELAND

The Reverend A. H. Landgrebe and Mrs. A. H. Landgrebe, Readlyn, Iowa; Mrs. A. C. Gillette, Duluth, Minn.; Harm Groote Holland, Parkersburg, Iowa; Caroline Bossenberger, Bertha Bossenberger, Williams, Iowa; Mrs. Clara Borass, West Concord, Minn.; the Reverend Leroy C. Hensel, Cleveland, Ohio; Charles Steinberg, Dixon, Ill.; L. A. Lauer, Amboy, Ill.; G. Daunnenfeldt, Chicago; B. C. Schmid, Dubuque, Iowa; Arleen M. Smith, Fred J. Pulver, Manchester, Iowa.

Mrs. J. C. Harline, Mary Lenore Harline, James J. Harline, Beatrice Harline, Mrs. Anna Cleary, all of Kansas City; Carl Priepke, Mrs. Carl Priepke, Hugo Poppe, Mrs. Hugo Poppe, Louis Dickman, all of Clarksville, Iowa.

Sallie B. Hennessey, Berwyn, Ill.; C. E. Chiperfield, Canton, Ill.; Laura Bailey, Manchester, Iowa; Iewis Ceasey Umlauf, Chicago; Bert Roskamp, Mrs. Bert Roskamp, Donald Uken, Kanawha, Iowa.

Josephine Wicker, Roy Nelson, Harry Von Einen, Martha Sappington, Frank Benter, all of Chicago; Archie Bakehouse, Mrs. Archie Bakehouse, Allen Ahlschlager, August Bruns, Gordon Kerber, Frank Kerber, all of Sigourney, Iowa.

G. W. McSkimming, Mrs. G. W. McSkimming, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Frank Krohn, attorney, Newton, Iowa; William H. Dreir. Mrs. William H. Dreir, Robert Dreir, all of Hubbard, Iowa; Roger White, Art Spencer, Mrs. Mabel Neal, Everett Neal, Barbara Holly, Bruce Neal, Ames, Iowa.

Norman Falk, Paul Wenger, Lynn Brower, Clarence H. Grove, Donald Shivey, H. C. Shivey, V. Sweet, South English, Iowa; Glen Sigafoose, K. W. Hitchkiss, Sigourney, Iowa; George Talcott, Mrs. George Talcott, Williams, Iowa; Charles Hofsommer, Rowan, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morgan, Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Morgan, Mr. and Mrs. Clayton Morgan, Mr. and Mrs. O. W. Schmitter, Mr. and Mrs. Levi VanDyke, Christiana Derby, Allen Morgan, all of Rubio, Iowa.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Shedenhelm, Grinnell, Iowa; Fred Missal, Elmer Katter, W. H. Greiman, Victor Hueneman, Clarence Greiman, Ray Haberkamp, Addis Greiman, H. A. Greiman, Louis Weaver, Lawrence Greiman, all of Garner, Iowa.

KANAWHA FOLK RESPOND

Martha Uken, Theressa Roskamp, Herman Roskamp, Henry Johnson, Jay Johnson, Jake Eckhoff, Mrs. Otto Uken, Otto Uken, Dick Uken, Fred Terhark, all of Kanawha, Iowa; A. Fluetsch, Mrs. A. Fluetsch, C. A. Ihrcke, Mrs. C. A. Ihrcke, all of Dubuque, Iowa.

Goldie Anderson, Bushnell, Ill.; Mrs. Thomas Ruppelt, Steamboat Rock, Iowa; Mrs. Glenn C. Smith, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Edward Burrall Frysinger, Chicago; Nick Christians, Kanawha, Iowa; R. Rathert, Cresco, Iowa; W. H. Bischel, Aurelia, Iowa; J. Wilbur Neal, Mrs. J. Wilbur Neal, Sac City, Iowa.

Jack Echternacht, Nelda Echternacht, E. I. Echternacht, Alpha, Minn.; Al G. Shultz, Waterloo, Iowa; the Reverend R. J. Eilers, Mrs. R. J. Eilers, Mr. and Mrs. G. L. Neunfeldt, P G. Neubauer, all of Iowa Falls, Iowa.; D. C. Maytag, Laurel, Iowa; Hugo Walter, Cresco, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. E. T. Jurkovski, Minneapolis; Harold Mueller, Mrs. Harold Mueller, Manly, Iowa.

Millicent Knapp, Marceline Duvall, Chicago; the Reverend E. F. Wachholz, Waseca, Minn.; Mrs. Albert Cenek, Cresco, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Henry Frey, Aplington, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. George Lamb, Fred J. H. Plueger, Laura Plueger, Ed Zink, Mary Zink, Dewey Driscoll, Lucille Driscoll, all of LeMars, Iowa; A. I. Birch, Marcus, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Claude Johnson, Paullina, Iowa; the Reverend A. E. Guetzlaff, Sheldon, Iowa; Ben J. Beck, Marcus, Iowa; C. L. Warmstad, Brookings, S. Dak.

P. E. Vermier, Orange City, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Lex, Fort Dodge, Iowa; Mr. and Mrs. Louis Cronn, Sioux Falls, S. Dak.; H. P. Hansen, Storm Lake, Iowa; K. L. Maytag, Marshalltown, Iowa; C. J. Horn, Ura Horn, Lawrence Simmons, Allen Parshal, Wesley Horn, Ruby Parshal, all of Hunnewell, Mo.

Arthur R. Thompson, Lawrence R. Thompson, Sioux Falls, S. Dak.; O. W. Baujan, Beardstown, Ill.; George P. Butler, Ephraim, Wis.; Helen Butler, Ephraim, Wis.; Phillip R. Cherry, Ephraim, Wis.; Martha Cherry, Ephraim, Wis.; Norman Hachmeister, Ephraim, Wis.; Ada B. Hachmeister, Ephraim, Wis.; the Reverend William B. Swanson, Baudette, Minn.

MANY FROM WESTGATE

Roger Jewel, Mrs. Bess Devine Jewel, Eileen Jewel, Mary Devine, Mary O'Reilly, Dorothy O'Reilly, Mrs. Dorothy Tucker, Waldo Kapnick, all of Chicago; Adolph Guirstorf, Sac City, Iowa; J. E. Leiser, Werner F. Buesing, M. H. Bender, Fred Gumm, William Gumm, Herman Nauholz, Edwin Erickson, William Oltrogge, all of Westgate, Iowa.

Martin Schwarz, Nettie Rueber, Fred Nebel, Ida Mae Nebel, Harry Westendorf, Jewel Westendorf, R. L. McCue, Theodore A. Fratzke, John F. Potratz, Fred Raether, Christ Heller, Harold Sapp, O. W. Raether, A. E. Komrofske, Paul Grutzmacher, H. F. Niewohner, all of Westgate, Iowa.

G. A. Wittenberg, Garner; Leo B. Hellige, Fort Madison; Dr. Charles C. Cooley, Elizabeth C. Cooley, both of Warrenville, Ill.; James E. Malli, Mrs. James E. Malli, both of Decorah; John Adamman, Homer Arthur, both of Terrill; C. J. Walters, Mrs. C. J. Walters, Dorothy Walters, Otto Forgell, W. F. Kewatt, W. F. Ruxton, E. A. Orgell, Mrs. Augusta Daleska, Howard Harris, Herman Dornsbach, Ted Steinfeldt, C. R. Doan, L. C. Wiesner, Don Cobb, Roscoe Cochran, Wesley Willig, Wilbur Perry, all of Eldora, Iowa.

Charles France, Mrs. Charles France, Howard France, all of Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mrs. Ethel A. Anderson, Chicago, Ill.; O. D. Newberry, Mrs. O. D. Newberry, both of Cedar Rapids, Iowa; A. R. Bruns, A. L. Bruns, both of Davenport, Iowa; Crayton P. Montei, Chicago, Ill.; the Rev. T. E. White, Ruth Boyer, Ed Gray, Emil Vavra, Allie Houston, Florence Stone, all of Chelsea, Iowa; Anna G. Connell, Ella R. Connell, both of Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. Osmer C. Johnson, Charles City, Iowa.

Martha Verez, Evanston, Ill.; Marvin H. Sauer, Chicago, Ill.; Harry Newlin, Viola, Iowa; John Helm, Theodore Hiekt, L. Wiese, Tahild George Helm, Henry Wiebens, Marvin Short, Henry Holst, Ruby Schuett, Henry Jansen, Harris Fehr, Arnold Wunder, Ernest R. Feller, all of Dysart; Charles A. Blecker, Mrs. Charles A. Blecker, Louise Behram, all of Sioux City, Iowa; Robert S. Zink, Charles F. Anderson, C. R. Spuller, John F. Finecoat, the Rev. George E. Gaiser, A. Levasier, William J. Park, Dennis Grazier, C. M. Stout, R. G. Glass, B. Hendrickson, Stanley D. Lenty, Lloyd M. Oliver, Clark E. Maloy, Jr., Ben Dilauro, James R. Maloy, Lionel J. Miller, Sue Menhart, Emanuel R. Rothrcck, all of Akron, Ohio.

J. J. Hall, Mrs. J. J. Hall, Margaret Staffer, all of Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mrs. John Burleson, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Gerald R. Gorman, Elizabeth L. Gorman, both of Chicago, Ill.; Henry G. Siems, Mrs. Henry G. Siems, D. H. Struthoff, Henry Struthoff, Claus Ubben, Mrs. Fred Woodley, all of Geneva, Iowa; Walter F. Miller, L. P. Mitchell, Mrs. L. P. Mitchell, all of Tipton, Iowa; Laura Waples McMullen, Dubuque, Iowa; Marie Mertz, Dolores Mertz, L. Carlton Mertz, Mrs. Hugh Beveridge, all of Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Alma Gundlach, Herman Gundlach, Esther Gundlach, all of Racine, Wis.; George Blattner, Mrs. George Blattner, Boyd Blattner, Mrs. Boyd Blattner, all of Keota, Ill.; George H. Brockmeier, Oak Park, Ill.; Mrs. Carrie Donley, Fremont, Iowa; D. I. Roland, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; A. C. Possehl, Mrs. A. C. Possehl, Mrs. Eliza Rosenkrans, all of Edgewood, Iowa.

Charles W. Byerly, August Potratz, E. C. Cummak, Albert Ott, Mrs. Paul Grutzmacher, Mrs. August Potratz, Florence Oltrogge, Marcella Schultz, Hugo Bartels, R. E. Mullins, all of Westgate, Iowa.

G. Imhoff, L. K. Imhoff, W. C. Imhoff, E. A. Imhoff, Dubuque, Iowa; J. DeWaard, Joe DeWaard, Adrian DeWaard, Clarence DeWaard, Clarion, Iowa; W. B. Loeltz, Dedham, Iowa; Mrs. Edith Leinbach, Elizabeth Leinbach, Mrs. E. F. Bailey, the Rev. and Mrs. H. W. Faris, the Rev. and Mrs. J. L. Leonard, Wilbur Luick, all of Belmond, Iowa.

MANY FROM CASCADE

F. H. Baum, Mrs. F. H. Baum, Gerald Baum, Cletus Baum, Mrs. Theodore Ament, Eleanor Ceaser, Peter N. Hofch, Catherine Hofch, John Oeschger, Edna Oeschger, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Oeschger, Paul Besler, Helen Besler, Joseph C. Smith, Antone Greene, Mrs. Antone Greene, Urban Greene, John R. Tunis, Edmond M. Greene, Harry Mangernach, Ruth Baum, all of Cascade, Iowa.

Fred Bjork, Tinne Bjork, Ray Bjork, Ivar Harold, Hugo Anderson, and Dr. C. A. Werner, all of Albert City, Iowa; N. C. Cahalan, Dubuque, Iowa.

Fred Light, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Stalnaker, Mr. and Mrs. Earl Richards, all of Edgewood, Iowa; Adolph Stobbe, Cambridge, Iowa; Ralph F. Potter, Chicago; Mr. and Mrs. F. A. Radtke, Oak Park; Frank J. Loesch, Chicago; Julius Nelson, Los Angeles; Carl Nus, Arlington, Iowa; Dr. Harry Walter Harmer, Burlington, Iowa; Ernest Lehman, Mrs. Helen Hall Lehman, Hubbard, Iowa; Dale Lehman, Anderson, Iowa.

CLARKSVILLE REPLIES

The Rev. Hartwig, Theophil Hauser, Leonard Hauser, Jonce Heddens, Fred Kehret, Edwin Shallock, Ben Leder, Herman Scheidecker, Edwin Bahlmann, Arthur Hauser, Ralph Litterer, Elmer Bahlmann, Vernon Reints, Howard Schluter, Clarence Litterer, all of Clarksville.

Wilbur Leder, Gerald Vetter, Harold Litterer, Arnold Litterer, Gerald Wagner, Clarence Nahlmann, Bernard Litterer, Maynard Biekert, Louise Vetter, Luella Hauser, Eva Litterer, Anna Litterer, Eleanore Kehret, Florence Litterer, Lavon Kiehn, Robert Horn, Irene Litterer, Edna Vetter, Louis Bierschenk, Sylvia Kiehn, Gladys Bahlmann, Louise Gabelmann, Esther Litterer, Dorothy Bierschenk, Viola Biekert, Ruther Litterer, Emmet Kiehn, Robert Stille, all of Clarksville, Iowa.

Dorothy Litterer, Helen Litterer, Elsie Vetter, Eldon Hauser, Karl Gabelmann, Walter Gabelmann, Helen Hauser, all of Clarksville, Iowa.

Minola K. Dressler, Wheaton, Ill.; F. P. Gernand, Volga, Iowa; A. C. Speirs, Mrs. A. C. Speirs, Howard Courtney, Mrs. Howard Courtney, Traer, Iowa; Henry Steinmetz, Mrs. Henry Steinmetz, Melvin, Iowa; F. J. Nachtwey, Mrs. F. J. Nachtwey, Lansing, Mich.

PENNSYLVANIA ANSWERS

Joseph J. Rohlkud, A. A. Paarmann, H. W. Schneff, Davenport, Iowa; Irving S. Yost, Ashland, Pa.; Charles Champe, Evanston, Ill.; Leonard Reindel, Marie Reindel, John Reindel, Mrs. John Reindel, Queen City, Mo.; F. M. Shepard, Hess Frans, Clifford Lush, William Bjork, L. T. Connelly, Frank Wray, all of Lewiston, Minn.

P. H. Neis, E. R. Neis, J. F. Dudst, Al Miller, C. H. Yoder, Loyal L. Swartzendruber, Elmer Neis, Wayne Durst, Wayne Stransky, W. H Wagamon, all of Wellman.

A. J. Koch, Marengo; the Reverend Hugo Neiting, Ute; Frank Pringnitz, Wilson Hubbard, Walter Boller, Anton Ahrenkiel, George W. Griggs, Goodell, Iowa; Fred Spies, Graettinger, Iowa; J. E. Blodgett, Mrs. J. E. Blodgett, Robert Lockwood, Central City; Mrs. H. H. Reese, Chicago.

Steve Berier, Cedar Rapids; Everett Brideson, William Russels, Bayard, Iowa; Mrs. R. H. Moore, Mrs. C. K. Shortess, Iowa City; Mrs. Emma Raymond, Independence; Henry Meyer, Fred Danovski, Victor, Iowa; Tom Lamke, Louis Lamke, Mrs. Louis Lamke, Waterloo.

H. W. Zeug, Muscatine; H. D. Eagerty, Mechanicsville; Carl Seeck, William Feuerback, Keystone; A. B. Chamberlin, Earl Elijah, Clarence; William Junge, Keystone; Albert Kapke, Sr.; Mary Kapke, Lamont, Iowa; Christine M. Hoffman, Des Moines.

RYAN STRONG

W. H. Ward, Mrs. W. H. Ward, S. S. McAreavy, Mrs. Sam McAreavy, A. L. Schemmel, Freida Turner, L. V. Ware, James E Ware, R W. Keegan, Marie McAleer, A. J. Keegan, Hannah T. Keegan, the Reverend E. E. Senst, Mrs. E. E. Senst, Mary E. Senst, Leslie F. Tumey, Mary McGuire, all of Ryan.

Mrs. Frank Foley, Mrs. W. D. Kehoe, Peter McEnany, Mrs. Terrea Latmer, Mrs. Ray Keegan, Fred Weigel, Walter Gaffney, J. W. McCusker, Ben Pasker, Clara Pasker, William Pasker, Herman Hubler, Anna L. McCusker, John McCusker, James McCusker, Alice McCusker, Luella McEnany, all of Ryan, Iowa.

FROM INDIANA

A. C. Wagner, Mabel Zander, Ethel Zander, Florence Wagner, Glen Eliyn, Ill.; Rev. H. C. Schumacher, Milton, Wis.; John Eichman, Mrs. John Eichman, Cynwyd, Pa.; Ralph Stalmok, Chicago; Amanta S. Mailer, Princeton, Ind.; Mrs. A. F. Haeger, A. F. Haeger, June A. Haeger, P. A. Haeger, Mrs. P. A. Haeger, all of Fort Wayne, Ind.

Axel Lonnquist, Arlington Heights, Ill.; Lillian Browne Olf, Norman Thayer, Chicago; Mrs. Louise Hanke, Mrs. G. O. Podd, LaGrange, Ill.; J. F. Comee, Chicago; F. W. Umbreit, Naperville, Ill.; Benjamin F. Bills, Chicago; George W. Putnam, Wilmette, Ill.; Mrs. T. Schuetz, E. Striller, R. Schuetz, Chicago; Mrs. H. O. Edmonds, Mrs. Graham Duffield, Miss Hortense Harris, Miss Margaret Rogers, Evanston, Ill.

E. M. Greb, Kansas City, Mo.; Ben Crouch, Bethany, Mo.; Christina Sheley, Guy Cooper, Ethel Cooper, H. E. Chitty, C. A. Turner, Jessie Chitty, Junior Chitty, Porter Rickabaugh, Ivy Rickabaugh, Fred Sheley, all of Sheridan, Mo.; R. C. Ballstadt, Appleton, Wis.; William A. Scar, Earlham, Iowa; Alfred C. Mueller, Davenport.

Ruth Mack, William J. Mack, Knoke, Iowa; John Van Horne, Hampton; George W. Mack, Rose S. Mack, Burdette Hall, Mardell G. Hall, Gladys Morehouse, Paul Morehouse, all of Waterloo.

George H. Most, Dubuque, Iowa; J. D. Kruse, Bernhard Smid, Little Rock, Iowa; Mrs. Fred Conterman, Eldon; Marie Byrne, Frank Byrne, Albert Heiberger, Mrs. Albert Heiberger, Francis Heiberger, George Heiberger, Eugene Heiberger, Mary Alice Brinkmoeller, Mrs. Eugene Heiberger, Mae Murray, Louis Kirkwood, all of Dubuque.

James Gallagher, Edna Gallagher, Joseph McMahone, Mrs. Joseph McMahone, Harold McMahone, Robert McMahone, Clarence McMahone, David McMahone, Maurice McMahone, Joseph McMahone, Jr., Mary McMahone, George Luke, Jr., Mrs. George Luke, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. William Brown, T. J. Kirkwood, all of Dubuque.

Lloyd Jacobs, Leon Jacobs, Elgin, Iowa; Alfred Jacobs, Leon, Iowa; John Seivers, Mrs. John Seivers, Robert Seivers, Helen Seivers, Lost Nation, Iowa; Frank Rigg, Minnie Rigg, Garnett Rigg, Mary Rigg, Dolores Newell, all of Macomb, Ill.; Frank M. Tomberger, Moline.

George Mailfald, John Mailfald, Lois Clarke, Mrs. T. C. Clarke, Harry A. Mailfald, Chicago; H. H. Gerdes, J. R. Mammen, Manson, Iowa; R. M. Lambeth, Chicago; Dr. Walter H. Baker, Mrs. Walter H. Baker, South Bend, Ind.

GROUP MESSAGES

Ruth H. Spink, Chicago; D. J. Christophersen, Clarence; Harvey Bible, A. T. Smith, Rose Haislet, A. J. Oberhauser, Edward Oberhauser, George Shanka, L. Schreiber, Therman Howrey, Leroy Riggle, La Porte City, Iowa; S. H. Newell, Kansas City, Mo.; Louis Nieland, Mrs. Louis Nieland, John Braun, Breda, Iowa.

Elnora Kasischke, O. B. Kasischke, Martha Kasischke, Dean Kasischke, L. E. Kasischke, Besse Kasischke, Dale Kasischke, George Getting, Robert Possenfuss, Mrs. George Getting, Doris Kasischke, Inez Broer, Ted Broer, Will Broer, Arnold Broer, Martha Broer, I. I. Seward, Jesse Broer, Edith Crosley, Henry Kasischke, all of Lawn Hill, Iowa.

Adrian Lundeen, Christina Henry, Gilbert Cooper, Arthur Piper, Julien Pieper, Woodrow Pieper, Alfred Lorentz, Richard Paulson, Herbert Paulson, Walter Paulson, Arnold Paulson, August Beghan, Harold Pieper, all of Clinton.

Folkort C. Schoneman, Jake B. Bruns, George Junker, Harm Brinkman, F. F. Alberts, Andy Johnson, John Bode, George Kappel, Ben Smeins, Ben Bruns, M. Larsen, R. Sietsema, F. A. Considine, Ben Deberg, F. C. Jacobs, G. J. Eljes, George W. DeBuhr, C. Pulenpop, George DeVries, George Schipper, Art Dahn, Ben Poepkes, all of Kesley, Iowa.

Dr. W. E. Block and family, Chicago; Ella Durbon, Chicago; J. C. Arends, Alexander, Iowa; H. F. Goodsell, Maud Goodsell, William Smith, Janesville, Iowa; Otto Weger, Mrs. Otto Weger, Strawberry Point; J. A. Perkins, Waverly; Dora Schooler, Marion Luke, George Luke, Chicago.

Frederick A. Philippi, Joseph G. Donohoo, Jack H. Wright, A. J. Moorman, E. K. Moorman, Paul M. Morrison, Cincinnati, Ohio; Tom J. Conry, Covington, Ky.; Helen J. Rader, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Claud D. Raber, Wilbur M. Guge, Byron H. Greenwood, Herbert A. Greenwood, all of Chicago; Mrs. James A. TenEyck, Syracuse, N. Y.; Harold H. Walther, J. P. Kroger, Mrs. J. P. Kroger, Mary Laube, E. J. Rod, Walter Voecks, Mrs. Walter Voecks, Geraldine Diekman, Harvey Seegers, K. H. Weltner, Mrs. K. H. Weltner, H. W. Schwerin, W. F. Klammer, A. L. Bruns, all of Waverly.

FROM WAVERLY

Ruth J. Flege, J. E. Hegg, Mrs. J. E. Hegg, Marguerite Walther, Irm M. Schwake, F. C. Eckstein, Eldo W. Schornhorst, E. T. Koopman, Renetts Niemeyer, Helene Marie Jahr, Emma Ottersburg, Juneaver Radloff, R. E. Christopherson, Wilbur A. Troge, Mrs. F. C. Eckstein, all of Waverly, Iowa.

Gust Kusel, Donald Messer, Carl Wuest, Elmer Kusel, Ervin Moeller, Elmer Brown, Henry Gloede, Harold Melhaus, Wilbert Lamprecht, Henry Kersten, all of Dysart, Iowa; O. C. Mowry, Mrs. O. C. Mowry, Toronto, Iowa; Leo Duggan, Mrs. Leo Duggan, Rockwell, Iowa; P. Delanoit, Mrs. P. Delanoit, H. J. Rudolph, Badger, Iowa; Joseph S. Bernard, Mrs. J. T. Griffith, Louisville, Ky.

Ella Donaldson, Henry Donaldson, Victor Bieck, John Duffy, C. L. Cook, Mrs. Sophia Cook, E. A. Cook, P. S. McGrane, L. H. Schaefer, Mrs. L. H. Schaefer, Elizabeth McGrane, Mrs. George Kimball, H. J. Kanth, Anna G. Kanth, all of Waterloo.

Martin Lorenzen, Mrs. Martin Lorenzen, Rockwell, Iowa; Dr. Walter A. Matthey, Henry Matthey, Mrs. Irma Gerwe, Tom Gerwe, Anita Meyer, Mrs. Anna Meyer, all of Davenport; T. A. Moore, Birdie E. Moore, West Branch; Laurence L. Miller, Rockwell, Iowa; Harold W. Faulkner, Arthur I. Stephens, Chicago.

John Lois, Lilly Lois, Morris, Ill.; Henry Egls, Britt, Iowa; Lawrence G. Fell, Harry J. Byrne, Clifford J. Darling, Frank H. Stowitts, D. W. Murphy, Edw. H. Barnes, Wilbur C. Ingerson, Ray R. Fassett, Leo E. Styer, Edw. G. Martin, M. B. Artz, Marvin C. Jones, Harry L. Corpening, all of Battle Creek, Mich.

Alma Moeller, Maurine Moeller, Lawrence Moeller, George Parsch, Vertus Petersen, Edwin Kelesen, Charlotte, Iowa; Hazel Shaw, Ida A. Pierson, Chicago.

Mr. and Mrs. Edw. Denz, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Lehman, Mr. and Mrs. Edw. Denz, Sr., Mr. and Mrs. George Miller, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Lehman, Mr. and Mrs. Leo Lehman, Mrs. Cecilia Lehman, Mrs. Julia Fisher, all of Burlington.

Michael Wiltgen, Bode, Iowa; P. A. Stofel, Agnes Stofel, Frances Stofel, Kirksville, Mo.; Dr. Robert E. Stewart, Omaha; Don Yager, Agency, Iowa; Mrs. Hiatt Selby, Unionville, Iowa; Mrs. Pat Avery, Walter L. Smith, Mrs. Walter L. Smith, Ottumwa; Dr. Carl Pfeiffer, Quincy, Ill.; Ferd Hauck, Kansas City, Mo.

TEXAS HEARD APPEAL

Alvin Wishkamper, Jr., Alvin Wishkamper, Henry Wishkamper, Joe Wishkamper, Annie Wishkamper, all of Shamrock, Tex.; Paul V. B. Jones, Urbana, Ill.; C. F. Boone, Springfield, Ill.; George W. Althouse, Mrs. George W. Althouse, Clinton; Walter Hartwig, Mrs. Walter Hartwig, Clifford Graf, Clarence.

A. Henry Steding, Paul Schnormier, W. F. Lennier, Carl Wiechman, Hubbard, Iowa; Frank B. Cox, Edith Douglas Cox, Gazette, Waterloo, Nebr.; Alice Ann Kessler, Borden Kessler, Lydia Kessler, Alice Dolman, Lafayette, Ind.

Elianor Newton, Jane Newton, Sally Newton, Bill Newton, David Newton, Anna Newton, Earl W. Newton, all of Chicago; John S. Elsing, Rushmore, Minn.; E. R. Aschenbrenner, Clara Aschenbrenner, Waterloo; Fred Rahlfs, Traer; Black Hawk Farmers Union, Waterloo; Elmer J. Groenwoldt, Davenport.

T. S. S. Hardwick, Mrs. T. S. S. Hardwick, Wilmette, Ill.; P. C. Thornberry, Minnie Thornberry, Harry Thornberry, Oelwein, Iowa; Henry Dennison, Warsaw, Ill.; Mrs. W. L. Bachman, Emma Hovey, Frank Arneson, Mrs. Frank Arneson, Bertha Winger, Decorah, Iowa; Ben H. Messinger, Sena Messinger, Bloomfield, Ind.; Mrs. Hartwig, Anna Eberts, Albert Eberts, Ed Kalring, Clarence, Iowa

Mrs. Rudy Hrbek, R. J. Hrbek, Mr. and Mrs. S. R. Gilmore, Mrs. Iva T. Orr, Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Kacena, Mr. and Mrs. T. D. Power, all of Cedar Rapids; Z. K. Russell, Waterloo, Iowa; Reinhold Weissinger, Reinhard T. Weissinger, Adelaide Weissinger, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. C. L. M————, Milwaukee, S. G. Barlow, Mrs. S. G. Barlow, Dumont, Iowa.

The Reverend Charles J. Bready, Cedar Rapids; E. O. Carr, G. A. Carr, W. G. Knapp, Moline, Ill.; the Reverend H. R. Wiede, Garner; Walter G. Vetter, Gertrude Vetter, Muscatine; H. A. Smith, Caroline E. Smith, Omaha.

MANY IN CEDAR RAPIDS

Mr. and Mrs. Frank M. Wilson, Dale Wilson, all of Marengo; Walter F. Schafer, Mrs. Retta E. Schafer, both of Fairfield; Dr. and Mrs. R. A. Greenawalt, Dr. and Mrs. C. S. Foster, all of Cedar Rapids; Herman Freundt, Victor; Mrs. C. R. Lowe, Edith D. Lowe, both of 2039 Grande Avenue SE.; H. E. Pratt; Lumir Visek, Esther Visek, both of 828 Second Avenue SE.; Don Steffa, Elsie Steffa, both of 1807 C Avenue NE.; Mrs. Phoebe S. Haman, 1944 First Avenue E., all of Cedar Rapids; Miss Pauline Meyer, Stanwood.

Mr. and Mrs. Anton J. Horacek, 1619 Fourteenth Avenue SE.; D. M. Hall, 2259 Meadowbrook Drive SE.; Y. V. Wood, 3120 E Avenue NE.; K. L. Snyder, 429 Thirty-fifth Street NE.; H. L. Emerson, 114 Thirty-second Street NE.; John Burrowes, 1144 Twelfth Street NE.; L. F. White, 926 Twenty-first Street SE.; Charles L. Rose, 420 Eighteenth Street NW.; Mike J. Loebig, 895 Twelfth Street NE.; Arnold Conner, 345 Thirty-first Street SE.; Phillip W. Shive, 2316 B Avenue NE.; Robert E. White, 1808 Sixth Avenue SE.; Charles E. Snyder, 2916 C Avenue NE.; W. E. McFann and Frank Johnson, 1337 G Avenue NE.; Howard Trevelyan, 1648 Eleventh Street NW.; Floyd Williams, 2708 Fifth Street SE.; Emory L. Snyder, 3027 C Avenue NE.; all of Cedar Rapids.

Nile M. Unangst, 861 Fourth Avenue SE.; Joseph M. Repstien, 3522 Elm Avenue SE.; Loren Schrader, 1002 B Avenue NW.; C. G. Williams, Marion; George H. Davidson, 618 Thirty-sixth Street NE.; Ralph Repstien, 3522 Elm Avenue SE.; D. B. Tharp, 791 Shaver Road NE.; Earl Mastin, 2041 Washington Avenue SE.; A. S. Richardson, 223 Fourth Avenue SW.; Peter Jarrett, 237 Third Street NE.; Henry H. Lubben, 510 Seventeenth Street NE.; Dave Corbett, 3422 F Avenue NE.; William O. Smith, 2746 First Avenue E.; Glen Knapp, 1328 Third Street NW.; C. R. Moffit, Mount Vernon; Ray Repstien, 3117 E Avenue NE.; Ben Balcor, 3814 Park Court SE.; G. M. Wodtke, 324 Crescent Street; H. G. Whitmore, 323 Thirty-seventh Street SE.; Maj. E. W. Jones, Thirty-first Street and First Avenue E.; all Cedar Rapids.

COUNCIL BACKS CRUSADE

Mayor F. K. Hahn; Councilmen Louis D. Burgus, W. C. Benesh, Ed. Stefan, and Dave Williams; J. F. Scolaro, F. C. Dow, A. H. Mott, M. R. Heath, J. R. Treichler, Nina N. Hersh, Helen E. Clark, Mary K. Byrne, J. A. Bundy, Walter E. Miller, V. E. Vane, Jesse Belle DeLaMater, Nevin Nichols, Marian F. Wilson, L. J. Storey, Maude M. Krebs, Agnes Kluber, Marguerite Kane, Harry S. Johnson, Frank E. Young, B. O. Carson, Harold Eggleston, H. R. McGuire, A. R. Menary, Marge Patterson, H. F. Blomquist, R. E. Norman, Georgia Kvapil, Harry S. Morgan, Pauline Johnson, Olga Sikora, L. L. Stoehr, Claude Roth, Ronald Sears, all employed at the city hall; Cedar Rapids.

William B. Warner, 1723 B Avenue NE.; Mr. and Mrs. G. F. Hershey, 2227 B Avenue NE.; Louis E. Jones, Mrs. Clara B. Jones, both 151 Thirty-seventh Street NE.; Mr. and Mrs. Tait Cummins, 2043 Fourth Avenue SE.; Mr. and Mrs. R. S. McLeod, 1045 Fifth Avenue SE.; Arthur J. Snider, 1024 Second Avenue SE.; Edw. F. Dose and Lucile Dose, 1020 Center Point Road NE.; Loycene Crowley, 530 Tenth Street SE.; Carolyn L. Fling; Mr. and Mrs. K. E. Hoppe; Mrs. F. H. Hoppe; Mrs. Matie Watkins; K. E. Borghart; Carol Elaine Hoppe; all of Cedar Rapids.

Alfred C. Dougan, Dysart; Michael J. Carr, Mrs. Gladys Carr, Mr. and Mrs. John Carr, all of Ottumwa; the Reverend Dale J. Nicholson, Charlie E. House, and Henrietta Halfmann, Farmington, Iowa; J. M. Boone, L. J. Boone, and Gerald Boone, Coggon; Ralph Frank and Margaret Frank, Springville; Earyl Frank and Cleo Frank, Farmington.

ADDITIONAL IOWA

Sylvester Nie, Mrs. Olley Oberhauser, A. J. Gunderson, all of La Porte City; E. C. White, New Providence; E. P. Farnsworth, E. H. Allen, L. P. Barth, Cresco; G. L. Champlin, Monsignor J. B. Alberts, the Reverend H. N. Ginter, Angela G. Albers, all of Cascade; Roland A. White, editor, Dubuque Leader, and chairman, Citizens Committee Against Intervention, Dubuque.

John Joerger, Loretta Joerger, Joseph Joerger, John Joerger, Wilfrid Joerger, Leonard Gleason, Marie Gleason, John Murray, Mary Murray, all of Elma, Iowa; F. A. Osterhaus, Petersburg, Iowa; A. W. Gutknecht, H. F. Gutknecht, Cedar Falls; Olga Conkling, Des Moines.

Minnie Frahm, Frank Frahm, William Delfs, Freda Delfs, Fannie Kembley, Glen Kembley, Elmer Stark, Rolf Stark, all of Garwin, Iowa; Anton Tacke, Breda, Iowa; Henry Swaggert, McCallsburg, Iowa.

Minnie A. Jay, Byron J. McKeeby, Mrs. Byron J. McKeeby, Cedar Rapids; E. P. Farnsworth, W. L. Barker, Cresco; the Reverend O. B. Anderson, Humboldt; Norman Sauer, Dorothy Sauer, Olvin Sauer, Independence; William H. Biemann, Waterloo; Henry Kruse, Will Smith, Jake Stahl, Will Engelkes, John J. Stahl, Charles Vantiger, Eilert H. Knock, Milt Meyer, Holland, Iowa.

August Winter, Mrs. August Winter, Oliver Winter, Waucoma; Mrs. Franklin Luce, Mrs. E. R. McClelland; E. R. McClelland, of Blairstown; the Reverend W. Paulsen, Parkersburg; Jacobus Devries, State Center; Mrs. W. A. Shaffer, Mrs. J. Hendrickson, James Story, all of Springville; Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Thompson, McCallsburg; Mr. and Mrs. Carl Saucke, Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Mosel, Herman Lusman, O. W. Madson, E. J. Mummert, Charles Madson, all of Farnhamville.

Mr. and Mrs. Marion Dingman, Garden Grove; Winford Dingman, Mrs. Winford Dingman, of Leon; Roy A. Cook, Independence; E. R. Kennedy, F. W. Folkers, William Frick, all of Sibley; Carl H. Mather, Jennie H. Mather, C. B. Porter, R. W. Barclay, all of Tipton; Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Hunter, Mrs. Harriet Campbell, S. B. McManus, C. L. Vonberg, all of LeMars; Phil Wagner, Vincent Wagner, Mrs. Phil Wagner, Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Schares, J. L. Schares, Lloyd McDonald, Leonard Schares, Mrs. Louis Stoffregen, S. H. Buker, Louis Stoffregen, Lawrence Nie, Mrs. Laura Nie, Mrs. Elizabeth Nie, Miss Adelia Nie, all of LaPorte City.

Bert Gilbert, Mrs. Bert Gilbert, Clayton; E. F. Schuchmann, Mrs. E. F. Schuchmann, C. C. Kenyon, Mrs. C. C. Kenyon, Oelwein; Thomas Ford, Fred Brown, S. R. Kelly, Bevan Collins, Lillian Collins, Ralph Fenn, Laura Fenn, E. A. McDowell, Florence McDowell, Clarence Kildew, John Septer, Celestia Septer, T. Garmoe, P. G. Stevens, W. A. Thompson, L. E. Simpson, all of Salem.

Everett Trueblood, Mrs. E. Trueblood, J. N. Moeller, O. A. Schwarz, H. A. Kester, Myrtle Schwarz, Everett Hileman, Mrs. M. Gormoe, A. J. Lee, Clarence Trueblood, Florence Lee, Norene Gormoe, J. A. Grim, R. W. Foss, D. W. Foss, Art O. Foss, W. Simkin, Almeto Simkin, Edgar Conard, Maggie Conard, D. A. Fenn, Nora Fenn, all of Salem.

L. J. Allen, C. H. Wilken, Mary McNamara, J. L. LaFoon, Laura B. Allen, Elsie LaFoon, all of Sioux City.

H. Theodore Kippenhan, Jack Roemig, C. G. Eichacker, Ray Baumgartel, Marie L. Stuck, of Amana.

Benjamin Heronimus, Albert Franken, Mrs. Will Engelkes, George H. Swalve, Mrs. Henry Kruse, Mrs. Henry Gronewold, Mrs. Eilert Knock, Mrs. Harm Abels, Mrs. John Janker, Mrs. Benjamin Heronimus, Mrs. Ella Kruse, Mrs. Herman Stahl, Mrs. John J. Stahl, Mrs. John Paterni, Mrs. Theodore Molendorp, Mrs. Will Smit, Mrs. George H. Swalve, Mrs. George A. Smit, Mrs. Milt Meyer, Mrs. John Buskohl, Mrs. Jerry Peters, Mrs. Albert Franken, all of Holland.

J. H. Dieken, Mrs. Claas Claassen, Mrs. Harm Stahl, of Grundy Center; Mrs. Bernard Stahl, Wellsburg; J. J. Eulberg, E. J. Goodman, Carl H. Schrup, A. E. Schwanebeck, L. J. Streinz, L. A. Duccini, O. P. Arduser, L. Oster, L. A. Popp, L. F. Clauson, all of Dubuque.

F. W. Gavin, R. J. Roberts, Ray A. Arduser, J. A. Dockal, R. E. Leuschner, A. H. Miller, W. J. Kupferschmidt, George A. Loetscher, Al Acher, L. E. Blichmann, H. H. Lang, H. Harms, A. C. Hammerand, F. K. Wunder, Ray W. Hartz, Fred A. Hoerner, all of Dubuque.

H. O. Johansen, Raymond Johansen, Marvik Johansen, Ameilia Metzger, Mabel Schroeder, Lawrence Schroeder, Mrs. H. O. Johansen, all of Reinbeck.

Ervin Keiper, Mrs. Ervin Keiper, Don Rinderknecht, Lora Rinderknecht, Alice Rinderknecht, Fred Rinderknecht, George J. Schlotterback, Mrs. George Schlotterback, Arthur Jurgens, Mrs. Arthur Jurgens, Iva Dunn, Mrs. Iva Dunn, George Lieb, C. W. Lieb, Mrs. C. W. Lieb, Henry Rinderknecht, Mrs. Henry Rinderknecht, Edward Rinderknecht, W. H. Schminke, Mrs. W. H. Schminke, A. G. Rinderknecht, Mrs. A. G. Rinderknecht, H. C. Gefaller, Mrs. H. C. Gefaller, all of Atkins.

Mrs. John Hesseninus, John Hessenius, August Johnson, Mrs. August Johnson, all of Vinton; Walter Schminke, Mrs. Walter Schminke, George Gerhold, Mrs. Gerhold, all of Van Horne.

Grace E. Drew, 1304 Third Avenue SE.; Raymond Shields and Mrs. Raymond Shields, Thirty-third Avenue SW.; Arthur O. Anderson and Mrs. De Etta Anderson, 524 Twentieth Street NE.; Mrs. Willis Morgan and Rudolf Andersen, 416 Fourth Avenue SW.; Mrs. Mary Phillips, 524 Twentieth Street NE.; James E. Franken and Katherine Franken, 2302 Hillcrest Drive SE.; Mrs. Edwin Franken, 2302 Hillcrest Drive SE.; Fred C. Henson and Esther R. Henson, 415 Seventh Avenue SE.; Mrs. Irene Henson, 709 Fifth Street SE.; Mrs. Rose Rohrbacher, 1016 F Avenue NW.; Lillian L. Drew and C. C. Drew, 1619 First Avenue East; Dr. E. L. Moravec and Mrs. E. L. Moravec, 2325 Grande Avenue SE.; E. R. Graham, 1221 Ellis Boulevard NW.; J. P. Lyman, 2510 First Avenue East; Hugh M. Fagan, 1734 Park Avenue SE.; H. B. Lunden and Mrs. H. B. Lunden, 2125 Bever Avenue SE.

Harry F. Robson, Marion; L. J. Dennis, Center Point; Elizabeth Schoenfelder, Jacob Hoehnle, Jr., Helen Hoehnle, George Schoenfelder, Johanna Roemig, Mrs. H. H. Durling, Mrs. Lena Zingelman, Elsie J. Rohrbacher, Frank Rohrbacher, Marie Zacherrey, Pauline Zacherrey, Helen Krauss, Dave Krauss, Marie Krauss, Lissette Schaefer, Ruth Ward, Mrs. Jennie Rohrbacher, all of Amana.

Harry Boyd and Mrs. Harry Boyd, 450 Forest Drive SE.; Thomas T. Reynolds, Mrs. Thomas T. Reynolds, Mrs. Nora Waddle, C. W. Wardrip, Mrs. John H. Voehl, H. T. Kahler, Albert Sniff, Henry Walters, all of Palo; Emma Walden, Mary Campbell, Robert Campbell, John Walden, John Schlemmer, Mary Schlemmer, all of Central City.

MESSAGES FROM AMANA

Wilma Moershel, Leona Zacherny, Marie Blechschmidt, F. W. Moershel, Emily C. Oesterle, Henriette Roemig, John A. Noe, Sr., Emilie Unglenk, Fred W. Heinze, Louisa M. Berger, Cornelia Reihmann, Margaret Pitz, all of Amana.

Buell J. Maxwell, Mrs. Buell J. Maxwell, Tipton; J. G. Woodward, Muscatine; Herman Trost Clare, Fort Dodge; Mrs. A. Harvath, Burlington; the Reverend O. O. Hobson, Goldie Hobson, Charles Stewart, Earl Brallier, Ed. Graham, John Kollmann, Jake Wessels, Floyd Shreve, George Jungling, Vern Sidmore, George Stewart, Henry Jungling, Delos Walsho, Wilford Griner, Fred Sherman, Clara Sherman, Eugene Siebold, Joe Needham, Lowell Hewitt, J. E. Olson, all of Bristow.

Hannah S. Aune, Arthur Aune, Jr., Arthur Aune, Iowa City; Edith Hesbacher, Cedar Rapids; Sara Lee Hesbacher, Martha Maresh, Lucille Maresh, Cedar Rapids; T. W. Owen, Ruth Owen, H. P. Friedricksen, Bess Friedricksen, Grace E. Crenshaw, J. G. Honn, Ernest Friedricksen, Ruth Friedricksen, all of Marengo.

Robert Dougherty, Mrs. Robert Dougherty, Harry Reiterman, Mrs. Harry Reiterman, of Walker; E. A. Boul, Mrs. Rose Arduser, Mrs. F. D. Hayden, F. D. Hayden, Neal Hayden, Mrs. Neal Hayden, Charles Moore, Lyle Arduser, Mrs. B. E. Mettler, B. E. Mettler, Mrs. George Mead, George Mead, all of Monticello.

Mrs. J. W. Breiter, Mrs. O. R. Cooper, O. R. Cooper, C. R. Pieper, Mrs. C. R. Pieper, Frank Kohler, Mrs. Frank Kohler, all of Clinton; Martin Glandorf, Arthur Glandorf, Williamsburg; Senator Frank Byers, Cedar Rapids; S. B. Kephart, Sabra E. Kephart, A. L. Craig, Mrs. A. L. Craig, George Hay, Mildred Hay, J. E. Watson, Mrs. J. E. Watson, all of Bertram.

J. L. Bever, Cedar Rapids; Jacob England, Harry England, John England, Ruben England, all of Iowa Falls; Frank O. Storrs and L. C. Leeper, both of Waterloo; Frank E. Morgan, Sr., Bob Morgan, Don Lenhart, Frank Morgan, Jr., Mrs. G. R. Howard, all of Storm Lake; Mrs. Louise Alpers, Fort Dodge; George Herren, Mrs. George Herren, Henry Hunwardsen, Mrs. Henry Hunwardsen, all of Anamosa; Hanson J. Sedrel, Mrs. Cloe Sedrel, Mrs. Josephine Norwood, all of Oskaloosa; L. R. Jackson, Manchester; Nevin Witner, Tipton.

FROM WEST BRANCH

Floyd Fawcett, Mrs. Floyd Fawcett, Alfred Fawcett, Malissa Fawcett, Clyde Hampton, Mrs. Clyde Hampton, Lawrence Heald, Mrs. Lawrence Heald, Clayton Eden, Mrs. Clayton Eden, Sam Irey, Mrs. Sam Irey, C. A. Rummells, Mrs. C. A. Rummells, all of West Branch; Louis Ellyson, Mrs. Louis Ellyson, V. L. Pemberton, Mrs. V. L. Lemberton, Alfred Peterson, Mrs. Alfred Peterson, Melvin Pearson, Mrs. Melvin Pearson, Alfred Larson, Mrs. Alfred Larson, Israel Larson, Mrs. Israel Larson, all of West Branch.

C. W. Sherwood and T. K. Barber, of Hartwick; John Kainz, Vice President Goedken, Vince Goedken, E. W. Krisatis, Herman B. Becker, Leo Osterhaus, P. J. Winter, J. A. Billmeyer, John G. Koelker, Peter M. Hentges, Elmer G. Meyer, Gene F. Kramer, H. B. Schockemoehl, Edward Conrad, all of Dyersville; Alfred Sheetz, N. W. Keifer, L. A. Conrad, all of Sigourney; C. S. Dehaan, Des Moines; C. A. Bedheldt and Mrs. C. A. Bedheldt, Will Hobermann, Mrs. Will Hobermann, all of Storm Lake; Dave Golad and Bill Dougherty of Cedar Rapids; G. P. Simeon, LeMars; Mrs. Kroeger and Mr. Kroeger, of Traer.

FROM SOUTH AMANA

Anton Heitshusen, Mrs. Anton Heitshusen, Esther Heitshusen, Arnold Heitshusen, Irma Heitshusen, Herman Heitshusen, Mrs. Herman Heitshusen, Willard Heitshusen, Herbert Heitshusen, Irvin Heitshusen, Walter Heitshusen, all of South Amana; Clarence Hall, Conroy; Carl Brockhus, Alvin Hanseman, Art Hanseman, Viola Hanseman, Clara Hanseman, Mrs. Hy Hanseman, Milton Hanseman, Mrs. Milton Hanseman, Otto Brockhart, Martin Heitshusen, Mrs. Martin Heitshusen, Chris Folkman, Lillian Heitshusen, Robert Heitshusen, Mrs. Chris Folkman, Clarence Folkman, all of South Amana.

C. E. Jaeger, George A. Kotz, John H. Lappe, Vincent F. Rubner, Clarence Jaeger, William Ostwinkle, J. A. Wolfe, Fred Tobin, Bernard Ostwinkle, Edmund J. Heims, Joseph G. Ruben, Robert Jaeger, Elmer Ressler, Arthur McVay, all of Worthington; Edward Rubner, Regina Kotz, Mrs. Dora Kotz, Alfred Tobin, Mrs. Alfred Tobin, John Tobin, Mrs. John Tobin, Alvina Tobin, Mrs. Lena Heims, Mrs. John Heims, Mrs .William J. Besler, William J. Besler, Arthur Brockway, Mrs. Arthur Brockway, Leo Ostwinkle, all of Worthington.

FAYETTE RESPONDS

Theodore Fellner and Mrs. Theodore Fellner, of Grand Mound; A. F. Quandt, Herman Boyer, Louie Blockhouse, Arnold Kilcher, Mrs. A. Kilcher, Cline Helms, M. H. Jacobson, A. A. Jordan, T. E. Reisner, Wm. J. Gruver, Myrtle Blockhouse, all of Fayette; Aloe M. Grimes, Helen M. Schmelzer, David Schmelzer, Mrs. Ted Reisner, Glenn Boyer, Mary Boyer, W. F. Mittlestadt, A. J. Grimes, Herbert O. Reisner, Wm. A. Friedricks, Mrs. Herman Boyer, Martin Boakenheuer, Jr., Ella Quandt, all of Fayette.

F. J. Laarveld and Mrs. F. J. Laarveld, of Clayton; Arnold Wulf, W. C. Jenkins, Chris Homrighousen, C. H. Ales, Lloyd Wulf, Mrs. Arnold Wulf, Mrs. Lloyd Wulf, all of Lost Nation; Dr. Reu, Dr. Bodensieck, Justine Bodensieck, Dr. Jaglow, Ardeth Jaglow, Reverend Goetz, Freda Goetz, Alvina Aberl, Lillian Vandervort, Rose Eppler, all of Dubuque; Mrs. Epper, Mrs. Walker, Professor Hedwig, Margaret Zalzman, Dr. Olbra, Dorothy Mattes, Louis Buechel, Louise Halliburton, Mary Herron, Anna E. Crouse, Florence Brochert, Mrs. Elizabeth Margaret Reu, Mrs. Emma Olbra, all of Dubuque.

FROM ILLINOIS

R. F. Thompson, Mrs. R. F. Thompson, H. W. Royce, Mrs. H. W. Royce, R. W. Mudgett, Miss Nellie C. Sheahan, Frederick Stark, Mrs. Frederick Stark, Isaac T. Gladden, Jessie Melsheimer, Leona F. Edmunds, Laura Meyer, Dorothy Meyer, Ann Willard, Mrs. William F. Petersen, John Toth, John G. Rehder, Mary Carter Vey, all of Chicago.

Harriet M. Clifton, Evanston; Mrs. A. Jahr, Round Lake; Harold E. Walsh, Russ Bartels, R. W. Lorenz, Ted Colteaux, O. M. Whitten, Ernest H. Black, Julius H. Gerth, Anthony Frisch, Frank Ditchen, Audrey Marshall, Ferne Wallace, Carl E. Behr, Albert J. Stalter, Louis Murray, Janet Alderman, Elaine Hall, all of Bloomington.

Wesley Auth, Lon Maxey, George Moews, Bernadine Gerth, Edw. Zalucha, Doris Johnson, Kathryn Petry, Lucille King, Eunice Wilson, Dorothy Wilson, Rheta Kirby, Otto G. Beich, Anne Deutsch, Clyde Jetton, Lois Gibson, Julia Foli, Lois Shearer, Ivan Jenkins, all of Bloomington.

MANY FROM KEWANEE

Adolf Hunt, Rock Island; Albert G. Weber, Nauvoo; Carl A. Beck, A. M. Durey, Leola Beck, C. J. Johnson, C. H. Johnson, James Trisler, Mrs. James Trisler, K. J. Findley, E. Findley, E. F. Lindbeck, H. G. Johnson, Francis Dean, all of Kewanee; Robert Hilliard, Jessie Hilliard, Marie Reuter, Mary J. Rogers, C. S. Boothby, Ruth Sponberg, Thomas Yahner, all of Chicago.

Mrs. F. Warnecke, Maywood; A. C. Hanson and Mrs. A. C. Hanson, both of Rock Island; T. R. Bates, T. L. Bates, R. Ransom, D. Ransom, L. Klemmons, H. O'Zanne, Mrs. H. O'Zanne, Lee Cadwell, Loraine Cadwell, all of Chicago; Paul N. Hotgreve and H. B. Scherrer, both of Peoria; Earl E. Sproul, William Wallace, Norton Potter, Karl Gruenwald, and Harriet N. Potter, all of Chicago; R. T. Gustus, Cambridge.

MORE FROM CHICAGO

John F. Lulay, Chicago; Herman Blythe, Sterling Snowden, Edna Snowden, Nellie Butterfield, Laura Voorhese, Vonna Voorhese, Harold Voorhese, Jane Voorhese, Opal Dimmit, Keith McMillen, Geneva Miller, Eloise Gorsuch, all of Macomb; Jack O'Leary, James Navolis, Mrs. James Navolis, all of Chicago; L. B. Swanson, H. C. Roths, Mrs. H. C. Roths, all of Moline; H. J. North, Chicago; Dr. G. A. Kerr, Metropolis; A. C. Rapp, A. H. Nitsche, John F. Jones, C. B. Shaw, Edward J. Sachen, Jules Kersten, the Huissel family, O. L. Bucek, Mrs. O. L. Bucek, R. O. McCullough, Mrs. R. O. McCullough, all of Chicago; Mrs. Marshall Davies, Wilmette.

Grace E. King, Martin Appelt, Gus Erickson, W. Moldenhaur, A. Black, I. Corlett, A. McConachie, W. A. Berndt, R. Finch, L. Oliver, A. Walpert, A. Fricke, T. Hartrick, E. Eberman, G. Murphy, F. Boule, P. Butler, E. McClintock, A. Buckles, William Wallace, Earl Flood, Robert Boyd, all of Chicago; G. C. Schellenberger, Peoria.

WORTHINGTON, SPRINGVILLE

Ed Burger, Louis Kramer, John L. Kramer, W. J. Kramer, C. J. Haar, all of Worthington; Herman Chudzinski, Hubert Newman, Robert Taylor, Clinton Walton, Mrs. Clinton Walton, Edmond Archibald, John S. Armstrong, Mrs. John S. Armstrong, Mason Granning, Walter Ellison, Mrs. Walter Ellison, Mrs. C. D. Boggie, L. J. Rose, Nettie George, Louise Peterson, Laura Irons, F. G. Irons, Mrs. Frank Taylor, F. G. Taylor, all of Springville.

Roger Cross, Mrs. Roger Cross, Herman Meyer, Mrs. Herman Meyer, W. H. Compert, Mrs. W. H. Compert, Walter Neumeister, Heiko Meyer, Mrs. Heiko Meyer, John Block, Mrs. John Block, Aulden Robinson, Mrs. Aulden Robinson, Ross Campbell, Roy Campbell, Mrs. Roy Campbell, A. W. Bills, Mrs. A. W. Bills, all of Waterloo.

Ralph D. Spears and Marian Spears, of Cedar Rapids; E. W. Dreyer, Iowa City; Mrs. Ed Kaltefleiter, West Point; Robert Comley and Mrs. Robert Comley, of Cedar Rapids; Herman Paulsen, Russell Paulsen, Pete Paulsen, all of Keystone; Albert Jahnke, Henry Korte, Walter Hoppenworth, all of Waverly; Joseph Bilkey, Muscatine; Henry E. Feldman, Burlington; Chris Rabio, 509 Fifth Avenue SE.; Mrs. Clara F. Birch, 1242 Fourth Street NW.; E. C. Dickinson, 133 Thirty-fourth Street Drive SE.; Mrs. E. C. Dickinson, 133 Thirty-fourth Street Drive SE.

John L. Dirks, M. H. Tjaden, R. B. Tjaden, John Shalk, W. H. Frerichs, John Boven, E. E. Frerichs, S. W. Frerichs, Mrs. John L. Brues, Mac Brues, Edwin Brower, Mrs. J. E. Schalk, Mrs. M. H. Bruns, Mrs. Edwin Brower, Mrs. E. A. Lirgelbach, Beulah Brues, W. B. Brues, Mae Brues, Edwin Brower, Mrs. J. E. Schalk, Mrs. M. H. Tjaden, Mrs. Bernard Brues, Bernard Brues, H. J. Jurgensen.

CEDAR RAPIDS

Mrs. Elmer Wickham, 373 Twentieth Street SE.; C. E. Downing and Mrs. C. E. Downing, 120 Fourth Avenue SW.; Val Keiper, Mrs. Val Keiper, Miss Eleanor Happel, all of 1603 Maple Drive NW.; Mrs. Sada A. Green, 1619 C Avenue NE.; C. A. Vittum and Mrs. C. A. Vittum, Route 1; F. M. Danner and Mrs. F. M. Danner, 1519 O Avenue NW.; T. J. LeRoux and Mrs. T. J. LeRoux, 1516 Mount Vernon Avenue SE.; F. H. Gephart and Mrs. F. H. Gephart, 120 Twenty-sixth Street SE., all of Cedar Rapids.

Carl Kuhens and Mrs. Carl Kuhens, Wadena; Mrs. Charles Cejka and Charles Cejka, 1396 G Avenue NE.; Louis Humphrey, 512 B Avenue NW.; Della Markham, C. J. Markham, and Mrs. C. J. Markham, all of 728 F Avenue NW.; Daisy M. Zalesky, 1581 Second Avenue SE.; Mrs. Hattie Hoover and Mrs. Hazle Ringer, 1840 Washington Avenue SE., all of Cedar Rapids.

J. L. Parker, Mrs. J. L. Parker, F. W. Todd, Mrs. F. W. Todd, James N. Parker, Mrs. James N. Parker, and Verba Parker, all of 204 Crescent Drive SE.; George R. Griner and Ruth R. Griner, 1724 First Avenue E.; Fred C. Fisher, Sr., 1400 Second Avenue SE.; M. E. Dochterman and Mrs. M. E. Dochterman, 425 Twenty-third Street NE.; Maxine Zarub, 1407 Wildwood Drive NE.; Kathryn Marshall, 863 Fourth Avenue SE.

HUDSON, REINBECK

Emil L. Karkosh, Hudson; H. A. Wilson, Reinbeck; J. C. Johnston, Hudson; Leo A. Rhoades, Reinbeck; Melvin Simonsen, Mrs. Melvin Simonsen, William Simonsen, all of Hudson; Mrs. James Griffin and James Griffin, Voorhies; Paul Griner, Mrs. Paul Griner, Joe Griner, Mrs. Joe Griner, all of Hudson; Virginia R. Bryant, Waterloo; Fred Tekipp, Rosa Tekipp, Ada Tekipp, all of Fort Atkinson; L. Jonas and Mrs. L. Jonas, Iowa City.

Will Klinefelter, Mrs. Will Klinefelter, Wilma Klinefelter, Howard Klinefelter, Clare Hall, Mrs. Clare Hall, Carl Michel, Mrs. Carl Michel, all of Anamosa; Adam Schulte, Norway.

WATKINS

Joe C. Schmidt, Charles Etscheidt, Henry Eckert, Fred Wittenburg, James A. Streff, Leo Nolte, A. K. Austin, John Oberthin, Gilbert Schmidt, Richard Schmidt, Veno Schmidt, Paul Schmidt, all of Watkins.

Rollin Brecht, John Strugfa, John Boddicker, Gerald McNulty, John Etscheidt, Charles Schmidt, Don Wodstrchill, Robert Wodstrchill, Floyd Brecht, Raymond Brecht, Willis Lohrer, John A. Schmidt, Ralph Walter, Henry Etscheidt, all of Watkins; Kirk Bekemeier, Hubbard; Joe Goetz, Antonia Goetz, Jane Goetz, Barbara Wageman, Charles A. Wageman, Miss Anna Wageman, Miss Adeline Wageman, Charles J. Wageman, John Wageman, Earl Anastasi, all of Harlan.

MORE FROM CEDAR RAPIDS

Charles Shepard, Mrs. Minnie Shepard, 1215 First Avenue East; Mrs. Maria E. Shean, Miss Ethel Shean, 117 Sixteenth Street NE.; A. L. Drew, Mrs. A. L. Drew, 1644 Second Avenue SE.; L. J. Burianek, Mrs. L. J. Burianek, 1644 Second Avenue SE.; R. H. Pickford, 357 Forest Drive SE.; W. C. Happel, Route No. 1; Mrs. Bertha Happel, Route No. 1; Hildegard Happel, Route No. 1; Mrs. William Maurer, William Maurer, 204 First Street NW.; Elmer Wickham, 373 Twentieth Street SE., all of Cedar Rapids.

Ralph Chiverton, Netta Chiverton, George H. Chiverton, 1410 N Street SW.; Loyd K. McKee, Irene McKee, 1302 K Street SW.; M. C. Larson, 2248 Meadowbrook Drive SE.; Emmett Rice, 1923 Washington Avenue SE.; H. R. Mowrey, 2124 Grande Avenue SE.; H. E. Helscher, 205 Fourteenth Street SE.; Wilma Martin, 3124 Emerald Drive SE.; Richard C. Jones, 1972 First Avenue East; Velma Hronik, 926 E Avenue NW.; H. D. Peters, 511 Twenty-sixth Street SE.; W. H. Jump, 396 Twenty-fifth Street SE.; J. R. Schaber, 1921 Eighth Avenue SE.

George W. Ramsey, 546 Knollwood Drive SE.; H. M. Sorensen, 1232 Mount Vernon Avenue and Thirtieth Street SE.; F. C. Jones, 2035 Linn Boulevard SE.; Louise Doty, 1503 Second Avenue SE.; Marjorie Meeker, 846 Fifth Avenue SE.; Robert M. Rice, 1923 Washington Avenue SE.; Aden E. Sheriff, 207 First Street NW.; L. Prazak; Marguerite Larson, 2248 Meadowbrook Drive SE.; Helen Snyder, 1346 Hinkley Avenue NW.; Robert T. Werning, 428 Merchants Bank Building; William F. Morio, 3643 Center Point Road NE.; Frank Kuehl, 1830 Fourth Avenue SE.; H. H. Glow, 2214 B Avenue NE., all of Cedar Rapids.

Irene Hansen, 303 Thirteenth Street, Marion; Hilda Walterick, 408 E Avenue NW.; George R. Burch, 407 Merchants National Bank Building; Orville Miller, 827 A Avenue NE.; R. M. Threlkeld, Sr., 1811 Grande Avenue SE.; E. J. Ask, 1325 Second Avenue SE.; H. J. Kiebel, 316 Tenth Street SE.; A. J. Barth, 365 Forest Drive SE., all of Cedar Rapids.

FROM DUBUQUE

Helen Walker, Cleora Wonderlich, Lemon Wonderlich, Irene Wonderlich, Marie Joseph, Dorothy Newburgh, Ethel Kenster, Claire Grobe, Louise Grobe, Annie Grobe, Wilber Olach, Richard Hansel, Delbert Breithaupt, Cora Breithaupt, Rachael Breithaupt, all of Dubuque.

Vernon Breithaupt, Clare Haught, Phylis Seippe, Walter Ulrich, Thomas Katrina, Dick Clark, Gordon Breithaupt, Rose Breithaupt, Delbert Breithaupt, Vera Breithaupt, Victor Lorenzen, Veletta Lorenzen, Edna Ulrich, Gussie Clark, Frank Hinkley, Phillip Paradiso, Nicholas Paradiso, all of Dubuque.

Henry Daude and Herschel Martin, Bennett; Mervin Minish, Ella Mae Laffey, Mrs. Alice Lewis, Fred H. Lewis, Barbara Houser, all of Iowa City; W. F. Mahanay, Jefferson; Mrs. H. E. Sampson, Fort Dodge; Eugene E. Boyd, Boone; Earl H. Clark, Carroll; Fred Martin and Mrs. Fred Martin, of Davenport; M. M. Nagle, Carroll; Clara C. Shoemake and B. F. Shoemake, of Oskaloosa.

R. Floyd Rodson, Marion; Henry C. Claassen, Mrs. Henry C. Claassen, George Claassen, all of Eldora; Nan Crawford, Mrs. Emma Day, Mrs. Nettie Frakes, Minnie Lockwood, Mrs. M. G. Forbes, all of Clarinda; Edward J. Lang, Waterloo; Ben Larson, Mrs. Ben Larson, Mrs. Ella Cole, S. Langland, Mrs. S. Langland, all of Ames.

Dr. H. R. Martin, Mary A. White, John Bokholt, M. M. Wright, U. J. Herijk, Mrs. U. J. Herijk, W. E. Funk, W. D. Funk, Mrs. Virginia O. Martin, C. W. Rowland, Ivy Rowland, all of Belle Plaine, F. E. Barkley, O. H. Barkley, L. Barkley, H. Bannon, all of McCallsburg, C. E. Haines, Coggon; C. J. Knickerbocker, Fairfax; E. V. Carey, Marion; George A. Greiner, Margaret Greiner, Raymond Greiner, Dorothy Greiner, John Greiner, George L. Glasenor, William Craig, Mrs. William Craig, Paul Cray, Herman Bern, all of Hudson.

ALL FROM HARLAN

Ray Lickteig, John Wirtz, Martin Zimmerman, Quintus Rueschenberg, C. F. Saller, Herman Rauterjkus, Edmund Boeser, L. A. Stokes, George J. Langfeld, Frank Rau, George J. Langenfeld, Joe B. Zimmerman, Marie Noltes, Norma Leuschen, Alvin Schmitz, John Rueschenberg, John Goeser, Albert Klein, Arthur Schwery, Henry Schwery, Frank J. Blum, William J. Blum, Bernar Zimmerman, Roman Zimmerman, Herman Hemmy, all of Harlan.

Mrs. Emil Zimmerman, Emil Zimmerman, Mrs. Herman Hemmy, Henry Coenen, Agnes Coenen, Bernice Coenen, Everett G. Staub, Alfred Rauterkus, Karl Rauterkus, Mrs. Karl Rauterkus, Carl J. Zimmerman, Helen Zimmerman, Mrs. Carl Zimmerman, Frank Zimmerman, Mrs. Joseph Mueller, Alfons Mueller, Frank Mueller, Hilda Mueller, Mrs. Frank Zimmerman, Mrs. Joe Hescherd, Mrs. Frank

Mueller, Al M. Schlitz, Tony Schlitz, Peter Gubbels, William Schwarte, all of Harlan; P. J. Hurley, Mount Pleasant.

Dr. E. J. Neal and Verde Yearick, 2407 A Avenue NE.; James Taylor, Mrs. James Taylor, all of Cedar Rapids; William Pender, Jr., Harold L. Young, Robert Johnson, George Crow, Elvin Howell, L. F. Guldner, all of Davenport.

L. R. Langfeldt and Mrs. L. R. Landfeldt, 118 Thirty-eighth Street NE.; Maurice E. Wilson and Mrs. I. S. White, 805 L Street SW.; Mrs. Harry Glessner and Harry Glessner, 317 Twenty-second Street NE.; all of Cedar Rapids; O. B. Hampton, Springville; Paul J. Halbmaier, Waterloo; Lynn Thompson, George Kyseth, P. A. Seal, all of Clarion; W. C. Frame, J. C. Frame, L. C. Linn, all of Salem.

FROM ULMER

Hans Mohr, Sophie Mohr, Fred Hess, Minnie Hess, H. Graham, William Mohr, Albert Mohr, Lundy Karstens, Tillie Karstens, Harry Karstens, Emil Mohr, Hahns Mohr, Lorina Mohr, George Mohr, Lillian Mohr, Henry Bauer, Fred Bauer, Johanna Bauer, William Nietzke, Lizzie Nietzke, all of Ulmer.

Alfred Mohr, Martin Mohr, Walter Nietzke, Henry Mohr, Walter Mohr, Emma Mohr, Frank Hawks, Mike Marquardt, August Putbrese, Minnie Putbrese, Clem Middendorf, Albert Burmeister, Otto Burmeister, L. Middendorf, all of Ulmer; Cleta Halbmaier, Godfrey Halbmaier, Francis Halbmaier, all of Waterloc; Mrs. Lillian B. Stark, Webster City.

Reo Straw, 1244 Nineteenth Avenue SW.; Mable Hall and Harriet Hall, 2260 Grande Avenue SE.; Mrs. A. W. McGregor, 1910 B Avenue NE.; W. A. Quaas, route 3; Clifton Crull and Mrs. Clifton Crull, Ann Crull, all of 1111 First Avenue East, Cedar Rapids.

FROM ATLANTIC

Henry Brix, Mrs. Henry Brix, Herman Knop, Mrs. Herman Knop, Mrs. Peter Burkart, Walter Knop, Mrs. Walter Knop, John Knop, Mrs. John Knop, Henry Knop, Mrs. Henry Knop, Mrs. Anna Brix, Anna Knop, Lidia Knop, Martin Knop, Mrs. Sophia Ullerich, Mrs. Anna Hanson, Mrs. Dora Walter, all of Atlantic.

Carl J. Steuhm, Delmar Baustian, Elmer Puls, Leonard Lamb, Paul Steuhm, Elza Hershman, all of Tama; J. F. Eggers, Mrs. J. F. Eggers, Mrs. June Nichols, Arthur Nichols, Dr. L. W. Butterfield, Mrs. L. W. Butterfield, A. J. Davis, Mrs. A. J. Davis, Mrs. L. L. Riley, L. L. Riley, Mrs. D. B. Davis, D. B. Davis, all of Cedar Rapids.

E. A. Deutmeyer, V. J. Thor, W. J. Kenneally, Julius A. Welu, Virgina G. Klauer, Betty Lois Klauer, C. P. Frost, Margaret L. Bullard, Aelita Johnson, Grace V. Vanwie, Ralph G. Schmitt, Clara Kutsch, Rosina Meyer, Sarah C. Schueller, B. F. Klauer, Frank Campbell, Edward A. Behnke, Emil J. Wiedner, Donald J. Turner, Elmer Guenther, Mic Lutgen, Victor W. Kutsch, Joseph L. Schroeder, William Ott, Arthur J. Keppler, all of Dubuque.

Paul Loes, John Loes, J. Brinkmoeller, F. Schluter, L. Schluter, William Meister, Joseph Meister, Ed Willging, A. Newoehn, Leo Krocheski, Charles Schruy, F. D. Hickey, Phillip Paradiso, Nicholas Paradiso, Ruth Connelly, Vincent Connelly, Ed Eiffes, Ethel Eiffes, Tony Deutsch, Peter P. Deutsch, M. L. Meyer, all of Dubuque; Mrs. Floyd Hampton, Springville; M. Ida Rink and Mrs. Harry W. Ruth, both of Paton; V. P. Keve, E. J. Kraner, Mrs. Mary Keve, Mrs. Maurice L. Ink, all of Mount Vernon.

MORE DUBUQUE NAMES

Herman J. Tapelt, Charles Kemps, Carl Witte, Andrew Baumer, Art Pope, Earl Jaeger, Edmund L. Didesch, Clarence Barton, Stephen Gulyash, Anthony Digman, Alfred Hedley, LeRoy F. Lakeman, A. M. Loes, Carl Moes, Mrs. Edith Mores, J. R. O'Brien, J. A. Dunlea, A. Polfer, Carl Gloden, Karl Feye, Bill Hendrich, Charles Linden, Frank Boker, all of Dubuque.

Anthony Moes, Harry H. Berg, Emmett Donahue, George J. Frohs, A. Legrace, Sylvester Winter, William A. Graf, Chris Donatsch, Leo Drumm, Jule C. Kohl, D. L. Espenhain, Mrs. D. L. Espenhain, Herman P. Digges, Elmer Herbst, Albert Herrig, Joseph Dammes, Fred J. Pape, William Fritsche, Clarence Lardan, Charles Gordan, Henry A. Relps, Mrs. Florence Feye, Earl Hendricks, John P. Schroeder, Walter A. Meyer, John Beckius, Chris Shubert, Nick V. Maiers, Ray Welter, Jack Nichol, E. R. Gunter, W. J. Klauer, C. J. Lorenz, all of Dubuque.

CEDAR RAPIDS FOLK ACT

Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Watts, 368 Nineteenth Street SE.; Mr. and Mrs. Franklin E. Clark, 228 Fifth Street NE.; Charles S. Knox, 350 Pleasant Drive SE.; Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Naso, Jr., 1539 Seventh Avenue SE.; Mr. and Mrs. Ted Hoff, 123½ Third Avenue SW.; Carl Hoff, 123½ Third Avenue SW.; Msgr. John Molloy, 857 Third Avenue SE.; Kathryne Molloy, 857 Third Avenue SE., all of Cedar Rapids; the Reverend James F. Delay, Vinton.

Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Taylor, 1921 Fourth Avenue SE.; Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Burnell, 1637 B Avenue NE.; J. F. Green, 735 Fourteenth Street SE.; Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Meierkord, 361 Nineteenth Street SE.; Mr. and Mrs Bruce McKay, 300 Thirty-sixth Street NE.; Mr. and Mrs. K. R. McKay, 234 Fortieth Street NE.; J. T. Massey, 2036 Park Avenue SE.; Mrs. C. E. Ebling, 2036 Park Avenue SE.; Mrs. Claudia Short, 1341 Burch Avenue NW., all of Cedar Rapids.

Carrie Sherwood, 212 Twenty-fifth Street Drive SE.; Nellie Sherwood, 212 Twenty-fifth Street Drive SE.; Wesley H. Zamastil, 1617 A Street SW.; J. S. Reinheimer, 500 Sixth Avenue SE.; Mrs. Robert Goodman, 1811 D Avenue NE.; Henry Stieger, 1124 Ellis Boulevard NW.; Margarete Stieger, 1124 Ellis Boulevard NW.; J. P. Brammer, 211½ Third Street SE.; Mr. and Mrs. T. K. Hefner, 321 Eighteenth Street NE.; William Hefner, 321 Eighteenth Street NE.; Miss Ella DeCamp, 321 Eighteenth Street NE.; Mr. and Mrs. J. W Hopp, 1933 B Avenue NE.; Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Smith, 2223 B Avenue NE.; Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Hazleton, 121 Nineteenth Street NE.

Mrs. O. M. Bundy, 1920 Washington Avenue SE.; Waldo Bundy, 1920 Washington Avenue SE.; Mrs. L. C. Jefferis, 1815 D Avenue NE.; Mr. and Mrs. S. E. Pickering, Spiceland, Ind.; Dora P. Petry, 129 Thirty-sixth Street NE.; Alice B. Grimes, 125 Thirty-sixth Street NE.; Tillie Knouf, 125 Thirty-sixth Street NE.; Vina Knouf, 125 Thirty-sixth Street NE.; John S. Forbes, 824 Third Avenue SW., Cedar Rapids.

BOONE AND AMES

Fred Schauper, Ames; Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Wiley, 264 Fifteenth Street NW., Cedar Rapids; Louis Klement, Fort Dodge; Dr. Anna Cordts, Rutgers University, New Jersey; Miss Ethel Hartel, Boone; Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Gibbons, Tipton; J. T. Taylor, 1921 Fourth Avenue SE.; Earl F. Rundall, 1626 N Street SW.; Carl Siebert, 1622 N Street SW., all of Cedar Rapids; Lena L. Blunt, West Branch; Ada Moore, West Branch; Mrs. Alda Rarick, West Branch; Malvin Rarick, Laurel, Mont.

Mr. and Mrs. John Schimmelpfennig, 1931 Mount Vernon Road SE.; Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Cassidy, 612 Seventh Avenue SE.; Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Petersen, 2447 Fifth Avenue SE.; Mr. and Mrs. O. A. Kearney, 2043 Grande Avenue SE.; Mrs. H. L. Foster, 1926 First Avenue East, Cedar Rapids.

Walter Blair, Marion; Mr. and Mrs. Art Houver, Jake Houver, Glen Houver, Margaret Houver, Bud Schumn, all of Springville; Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Carnahan, Mount Pleasant; D. D. Alderdyce, Hampton; Mr. and Mrs. John van Horne, Hampton; C. C. McAninch, Victor; Mr. and Mrs. George Schmidt, Ladora; Russell Schmidt, Ladora.

M. J. Vanderhoof, Milwaukee; James Bettle, 1557 Seventh Avenue SE.; Mrs. M. E. Weigle, 119 Fifteenth Street NE.; Anna McCurley, 119 Fifteenth Street NE.; Mr. and Mrs. Morris Childs, 2622 Second Avenue SE.; George G. Kunzmann, 2406 Eighteenth Street SW.; Mrs. Isabella Kunzmann, 2406 Eighteenth Street SW.; George J. Kunzmann, 3009 J Street SW.; Mrs. Inez Kunzmann, 3009 J Street SW.; Mr. and Mrs. C. G. Gable, 521 Third Street SW.; Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Lindsley, 710 Fourteenth Street SE., Cedar Rapids.

MARENGO REPRESENTED

Christine Thissen, Henry Thissen, Jacob Bruestle, Lena Bruestle, Henry Hofmaster, Mary Hofmaster, Fred Hopp, Frieda Hopp, Sophia Gorsh, Henry L. Gorsh, Anna Burmeister, John Burmeister, Dora Burmeister, Millie Burmeister, all of Marengo.

Mrs. A. C. Westrom, 1923 Grande Avenue SE.; Herbie Westrom, 1923 Grande Avenue SE.; Ed Benedict, 510 Sixth Avenue SE., all of Cedar Rapids; Mrs. Emma Benedict, Traer; Frank Weber, Buckingham; C. DeWitt Wagner, 712 Sixth Street SW.; Mrs. Joseph Sopousek, 712 Sixth Street SW.; C. P. Rash, and E. W. Rash, route 5, Ottumwa; Mr. and Mrs. David Ross, 1100 Maplewood Drive NE.; Mr. and Mrs. Walter G. French, 2542 Meadowbrook Drive SE., Cedar Rapids.

Mr. and Mrs. L. O. Dickey, Marion; S. K. Behne, Nora Springs; Ruth Temple Knox, 350 Pleasant Drive SE.; Mrs. Gilbert Temple, 350 Pleasant Drive SE.; J. W. Fattig, 1135 Sixth Street NW.; Maude Stamy, 857 Oakland Road NE.; Mr. and Mrs. Fred Wernisch, 865 Oakland Road NE.; Minnie Shaffer, 875 Oakland Road NE., Cedar Rapids.

Mr. and Mrs. Hal J. Ferguson, 2546 Meadowbrook Drive SE.; Dr. and Mrs. W. D. Patterson, 1115 First Avenue East, Cedar Rapids.

R. W. Aikes, Wiard Aikes, Jr., Menno Harms, George Williams, G. H. Bunger, Henry Steenblock, Obbie Harms, Hilco Davids, W. Aikes, M. A. Achterman, all of Cleves.

LOCAL PERSONS RESPOND

Anna Heumes, 129 Twenty-seventh Street Drive SE.; L. N. Thornton, 123 Fourteenth Street NE.; Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Wingert, 2123 Mount Vernon Road SE.; Mrs. George Sharp, Iowa City; Mrs. Mary Borghart, George Borghart, Charles Borghart, Clarence Borghart, route 2, Cedar Rapids; Ellen Borghart, 1347 B Avenue NE.; Elfie Magnusson, 221 First Avenue West; Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Hoyt, 370 Park Terrace SE.; Mr. and Mrs. John C. Hinrichs, 128 Seventeenth Street SW.; John H. Hinrichs, 128 Seventeenth Street SW., Cedar Rapids.

Paul Morrison, 1819 Second Avenue SE.; Mr. and Mrs. John R. Battin, 1926 Grande Avenue SE.; Harriett S. Swain, 1228 Third Avenue SE.; Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Austin, 435 Longwood Drive NE.; Mrs. M. Olsen, Miss E. Olsen, Philip Austin, 435 Longwood Drive NE., Cedar Rapids.

Ralph Van Antwerp, 217 Sixth Street NE.; Mrs. Katherine Meyer, 808 E Avenue NW.; Joe Orance, 37 Circle Drive NE.; Tina Van Antwerp, 217 Sixth Street NE.; Opal Van Antwerp, 217 Sixth Street NE.; Mr. and Mrs. William Abernathy, Jr., 217 Sixth Street NE.; Freda Grimm, 217 Sixth Street NE., Cedar Rapids.

Mrs. E. W. Wirstlin, 217 Sixth Street NE.; Mr. and Mrs. Virgil Glessner, 1551 A Avenue NE.; Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Rohrbacher, 431 Twenty-first Street NE.; Mr. and Mrs. Paul Snyder, 719 Sixth Avenue SE.; Mr. and Mrs. Carl Euken, 630 C Avenue NW., Cedar Rapids.

Mr. and Mrs. C. J. Radeke, 636 C Avenue NW.; Laura Schultz, 630 C Avenue NW.; Mr. and Mrs. Nevin Nichols, 207 Twenty-third Street Drive SE.; W. A. Schultz, 630 C Avenue NW.; Mrs. Bertha Childs, 2522 A Avenue NE.; Arlene Childs, 2522 A Avenue NE.; Mrs. George E. Johnson, 1636 Second Avenue SE.

MORE LOCAL CITIZENS

W. A. Leefers, 1535 Second Avenue SE.; Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Bundy, 308 Thirtieth Street Drive SE.; Naomi Doebel, Hotel Roosevelt; Robert H. Estabrook, 1024 Second Avenue SE.; Wanda Montz, 1252

Third Avenue SE.; Gene Farmer, 1024 Second Avenue SE.; Jack W. McKinney, 722 F Avenue NW.; Louise Eldridge, 1544 B Avenue NE.; Nadine Subotnik, 907 Ninth Street SW.; Mr. and Mrs. G. A. Shaffer, 726 E Avenue NW.; Mrs. Kathryn Dolan, 926 F Avenue NW.; Kathryn Dolan, 926 F Avenue NW.; James Dolan, 926 F Avenue NW.; Cedar Rapids.

Mr. and Mrs. Don W. Quass, 808 G Avenue NW.; Ellen Quass, 808 G Avenue NW.; Kathleen Quass, 808 G Avenue NW.; Betty Quass, 808 G Avenue NW.; Donald Quass, 808 G Avenue NW.; C. H. Morningstar, 217 Sixth Street NE.; Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert Morningstar, 217 Sixth Street NE.; Arthur Meyer, 808 E Avenue NW.; J. E. Dickson, 388 Sixteenth Street SE.; Reatha Morningstar, 217 Sixth Street NE., Cedar Rapids.

Dr. and Mrs. Lawrence J. Halpin, 335 Forest Drive SE.; Mr. and Mrs. H. Cedric Hahn, 2526 Country Club Parkway SE.; Dr. Robert F. Vane, 2000 Grande Avenue SE.; Miss Jean Witmer, 1274 Third Avenue SE., Cedar Rapids.

Mr. and Mrs. Paul A. Bundy, Hotel Bundy, Marshalltown; F. J. Bandholty, Guthrie Center; Mr. and Mrs. Carl Christ, Mr. and Mrs. E. Trafmar, Lakota.

Robert Goodman, 1811 D Avenue NE.; Willard Hetzel, Toledo, Ohio; D. H. Miller, 1228 Sixth Street SW.; Harlan Woodside, 614 First Avenue West; C. E. Lindsey, 1802 D Street SW.; William P. Garrison, 507 C Avenue NE.; Anne Uherka, 1531 Fourth Avenue SE.; Paul E. Blake, 1222 B Avenue NW.; Eldred Bender, 2426 B Avenue NE.; George A. Durst, 417 Sixth Street SE.; and Charles Stewart, 402 First Avenue West.

Mrs. E. Lyzotte; J. H. Valliere; James L. Lyzotte; Emmett Lyzotte; Mr. and Mrs. Herman A. Merklin, route No. 1; John Henry Merklin, route No. 1; Donald Gorman Merklin, route No. 1; James R. Lightner, 1958 Grande Avenue SE.; Dick Hovey, 2516 Twenty-sixth Street Drive SE.; Mr. and Mrs. M. Terwilliger and K. Terwilliger, 1751 C Avenue NE.; Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Lightner and Dorothy Lightner, 1958 Grande Avenue SE.; Mrs. Mary Richmond; Flora P. Terwilliger; Mrs. S. E. Bott; Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Owen, 1033 Fifth Avenue SE.; and L. D. Terwilliger, 1751 C Avenue NE.

Clarence McGrew, Mrs. Ruth McGrew, J. P. Williams, all of Springville; Carl J. White, Mrs. Mildred White, both of Marion; Ruth Probasco, Mrs. Belle Carpenter, Mrs. Margaret Burns, all of Cedar Rapids; C. A. Connor, Davenport; Mrs. B. F. Weymer, Ruth Weymer, F. O. Greene, 735 Fourteenth Street SE., Mrs. F. O. Greene, 735 Fourteenth Street SE., all of Cedar Rapids; Mrs. A. A. Miner, A. A. Miner, Corwin Miner, Mrs. Corwin Miner, Anton Horacek, all of Luzerne.

Dewey Knowles, 1619 Fifth Avenue SE.; J. R. Meade, Mrs. J. R. Meade, William Meade, 836 Fifth Avenue SE.; George Polk, Mrs. George Polk, Neil Marks, Mrs. Neil Marks, 2716 Waveland Drive NW.; Lee Winterberg, Mrs. Lee Winterberg, 1727 First Avenue East; Paul C. McCoy, 1541 First Avenue East; E. D. McCoy, 112 Twenty-fourth Street NE.; Mrs. E. D. McCoy, 112 Twenty-fourth Street NE, all of Cedar Rapids; Mrs. F. P. Conrad, 909 C Street, Fairbury, Nebr.; Lillian Tesarik, 2215 Second Street SW.; Ruth Augustine, 3108 Adel Street SE.; Leland A. Knowles, Adel Street SE. and Carroll Drive; Mrs. Leland A. Knowles, Adel Street and Carroll Drive; Russell Fishell, Mrs. Russell Fishell, Paul F. James, 3050 Adel Street SE.; Mrs. Paul F. James, 3050 Adel Street SE.; Mrs. Charlotte Augustine, 3108 Adel Street, all of Cedar Rapids.

Myrtie Augustine, Center Point, Iowa; Dollie Augustine, 3048 Adel Street; Byron Augustine, 3048 Adel Street; Joseph Hass, 750 Thirtieth Street Drive SE.; Marie Hass, 750 Thirtieth Street Drive SE.; Mrs. Joe McCullough, Eighth and Thirtieth Street Drive SE.; Paul Hanson, 3052 Carroll Drive SE.; Vida H. Hanson, 3052 Carroll Drive SE.; Donald G. Hanson, 3052 Carroll Street Drive SE., all of Cedar Rapids; William Oberruter, Al Oberruter, Clem Oberruter, Marcus Oberruter, Lenny Brecht, Bobby Schulte, all of Watkins.

Charles Grovert, Mrs. Rose Werning, Mrs. Merle Koopman, Agnes Koopman, Lester Werning, Mrs. Lester Werning, Wilmer Werning, Leonard Sturtz, Arnold Gafeller, Henry O. Johnson, H. J. Harste, John Rosburg, all of Newhall; Paul Kaestner, Bernice Kaestner, Melvin Bierschenk, Mrs. Melvin Bierschenk, Delmer Schlotterback, Harry Bierschenk, Mrs. Harry Bierschenk, Hugo Froelich, John Froelich, Willie Holm, Mrs. Willie Holm, Carl Rinderknecht, Merle Rinderknecht, all of Van Horne; Hugo Mossman, John F. Scott, both of Vinton; Conrad Rinderknecht and Mrs. Conrad Rinderknecht, both of Vinton.

S. J. Rath, W. M. Whelan, Francis Ruh, William Trenkle, Cleta Beckius, Anna Perio, Eldon Becker, H. T. Burns, Celia Hieland, Nercella Noel, Rose Frick, Henry Trenkly, Jr., J. J. Fitzgibbon, Viola Scherrer, J. W. Ferguson, C. J. Kotewa, Joe DeBold, E. A. Schneider, C. F. Mullin, L. P. Mullin, H. Knoernschild, Jeanette C. Whelan, Emil Apel, Bert Kalb, Art Hayes, Joe Even, all of Dubuque.

Fred Farrell, Mrs. Fred Farrell, Lawrence Cottrell, all of Cedar Rapids; Frank D. Gilloon, Dubuque; Mrs. Nellie Hahn and Miss Genevieve Sperry, 917 Nineteenth Avenue SW.; Ernst J. Wenig and Mrs. Bertha Spencer, 1955 B Avenue NE.; Mrs. F. D. Denlinger, 1928 B Avenue NE.; Mrs. W. C. Schrodermier, W. C. Schrodermier, Margaret Ellen Schrodermier, and Roger Schrodermier, all of 2510 Meadowbrook Drive SE.; H. N. Steele, Mrs. H. N. Steele, and Barbara Steele, all of 251 Thirteenth Street NW.; W. S. Hahn and Mrs. W. S. Hahn, 210 Fifth Street SW.; J. P. Walters, Toledo; Charles M. Lowder, 3375 Third Avenue SE.; Bob Smythe and Mrs. Bob Smythe, 2532 First Avenue East.

J. T. Ploog, D. F. Ploog, J. D. Ploog, Danan Ploog, Carl Ploog, all of McCausland; William M. Kacena, 616 Second Street SW.; Victor Scott, Mrs. Victor Scott, Mildred Scott, Eleanor Scott, Ruth Scott, all of 376 Seventeenth Street SE.; Sam Nassif and Mrs. Sam Nassif, 1822 Blake Boulevard SE.; Sam Slaman and Mrs. Sam Slaman, 616 Seventh Street SE., all of Cedar Rapids.

Thomas E. Hawks, Mrs. Thomas E. Hawks, Merwin Wilcox, Mrs. Merwin Wilcox, Marion Pratt, Mrs. Marion Pratt, Mrs. William Grapes, William Stone, Mrs. William Stone, Mrs. Herman Arnold, all of Manchester; Mrs. Glen Way, Glen Way, Everett Gibbert, Mrs. Everett Gibbert, all of Strawberry Point; Mame Schultz, Marengo.

W. R. Zimmerman, Amber; G. J. Moenck, Anamosa; William Hubner, Monticello; L. H. Terlisner, E. E. Willms, H. H. Zimmerman, Herman Engelbart, Rex Reuter, William Harms, all of Amber; Carl Ortgies, Olin; LeRoy Taylor, Amber; W T. Folkers, Scotch Grove; Will Dirks, Amber; Carl Freese, Anamosa; J. C. Bodecker, Amber; John Ambriehl, Monticello; Al Neyens, Cascade; George Siebels, Amber; Amber Cooperative Lumber Co., Sam Witham, Hans Christiansen, all of Amber.

Paul Arduser, Monticello; Alva G. Gerdes, Amber; William Werderman, Anamosa; Alva Schoon, Mrs. E. E. Willms, both of Amber; Fred Gray, Anamosa; Will Schoon, Miss Lena Engelbart, Grace Engelbart, Mrs. Louie Hayen, Louie Hayen, George J. Harms, Julia Toenjes, L. H. Otten, M. B. Buckner, Mrs. Rex Reuter, all of Amber; Siever Sievertson, Center Junction; Mark A. Cross, Ed. Engelbart, Robert F. Schoon, all of Amber.

Claude Guy and Mrs. Claude Guy, 211 Tenth Avenue SW.; C. J. Neary, Cedar Rapids.

ADDITIONAL CALIFORNIA

J. R. Daniels, N. Kabush, Henry J. Orme, Mrs. Henry J. Orme, Mrs. Eleanor Soutar, all of Los Angeles.

J. A. Muller, Jr., Burbank; Mrs. Erna Jost, Raymond H. Jost, Ray C. Jost, Emma S. Prange, William F. Prange, Herman DeNunnzio, Mary DeNunnzio, all of Inglewood; C. W. Turner, Los Angeles.

Joseph Mesmer, Los Angeles.

Mr. and Mrs. Fred Niblo, Jr., Los Angeles; Paul Hurt, Jr., San Pedro; Dr. Lucy Busenback Hawkeye, Berkeley; Mrs. Francis Sherill, founder and president, National Legion Mothers of America, Hollywood; Dr. Albert Edward Day, vice president, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and pastor, First Methodist Church of Pasadena; Holland Maxwell, president, Pasadena Junior Chamber of Commerce; Dr. E. A. Gumming, Pasadena; Charles Paddock, editor, Pasadena Star-News; Faith McCullough, clubwoman; Carolyn Conant, educator and writer; Louise Ward, clubwoman and primary candidate for United States Senate, all of Pasadena; F. W. Rhodes, Cora Deal Lewis, president emeritus, President's Civic Association; Grace Weymouth, Winifred Norwood, Helen Officer, Mrs. Thomas A. Gould, president, President's Civic Association; Mrs. James Breen, William E. Neuswanger, educator; Vera Hollingshead, personnel department, board of education; Earl W. Harbough, Loraine Cosler, all of Los Angeles.

MORE MINNESOTA NAMES

Henry Westphal, Oscar Anderson, Henry Nett, Fred Dettmer, Carl H. Nissen, all of Lake Wilson; Otto Baumhoefner, Henry Toepfer, Marie Baumhoefner, Walter Behrens, Marlo Behrens, Martha Behrens, Alice Hartjen, Horace Hartjen, Walter Sandersfeld, Edna Sandersfeld, Frank Mussmann, Paul Matthies, Evelyn Matthies, Mary Hartung, Harry Hartung, Roy Hartwig, Oakley Crawford, all of Welcome.

G. N. Gales, Arnold Gadow, Harold Stage, Claire Griffith, Charles Hendricksen, Tom Healey, Oscar Christensen, Angie Bergen, all of Seaforth.

Dexter Hamilton, Mrs. Dexter Hamilton, Frank T. Hamilton, Evelyn Gindorff, Olga Selk, all of St. Paul.

MORE FROM INDIANA

T. A. Hynes, J. Bruce Gafill, O. E. Bugh, Clarence Manion of South Bend; John H. Miller, La Porte; Mrs. Mary George, Mrs. E. K. Runyon, Miss Edna George, Elkhart.

Robert Laverty, Mrs. Robert Laverty, Barbara Parkhill, Oscar Laverty, Mrs. Oscar Laverty, Ella Hildebrand, Frances Campbell, Floyd Circle, Dr. Guy L. Bergan, Mrs. Guy L. Bergan, all of Frankfort.

Verne Bartee, Elizabeth Johnson, Lafayette; John App, Hammond; Carruthers Haywood, Mrs. R. S. Moore, Lafayette; William J. Gross, editor, Fort Wayne News-Sentinel, Helene R. Foellinger, publisher, Fort Wayne News-Sentinel, Arthur K. Remmel, managing editor, Fort Wayne News-Sentinel; Mrs. William J. Gross, Margaret Gross, Mark Gross, all of Fort Wayne; A. T. Warren, Mrs. A. T. Warren, Michigan City.

Gordon M. Vaughan, Margaret F. Vaughan, Ethel M. Vaughan, all of La Porte.

Florence Keve, Whiting.

MORE FROM MICHIGAN

Ernest Slinger, Mary Slinger, L. B. Gray, Mrs. L. B. Gray, G. Palmer, Mrs. G. Palmer, Arthur Murdock, all of Detroit.

WISCONSIN

W. H. Phalen, Fond du Lac; Raymond J. Plunkett, and Ivy I. Plunkett, Wausau; William Beutjer, Edgerton; E. E. Runkel, D. R. Peterson, Dr. A. O. Torson, Otto A. Sprecher, Walter E. Sprecher, L. A. Senty, H. E. Abend, W. O. Gardner, Anzesm P. Marsolek, all of Independence; Chris E. Mullen, Appleton.

F. L. Oberg, Burlington, Wis.

Paul E. Rudd, Mrs. Paul E. Rudd, Paul E. Rudd, Jr., all of Milwaukee; O. G. Lindemann and Mrs. O. G. Lindemann, Oshkosh.

Emma Sherman, Mame Loefflad, Nellie Antone, all of La Crosse; S. C. Fritz and Ruth Fritz, St. Paul; Racine Chapter, National Legion Mothers of America, Mrs. Harold F. Jensen, chairman.

ADDITIONAL NORTH DAKOTA

John T. Helmer, Mrs. Michael Haas, Herman Strege, Henry Brecker, Mrs. J. H. Benidt, H. M. Maack, Mrs. H. Smith, Dennis

Flashe, G. W. Collings, A. H. Maschka, C. A. Bonzer, F. J. Lommel, P. A. Movius, F. G. Gannon, J. C. Haas, Kenneth Johnson, Hans Loraas, J. H. Osten, Leo Gerad, Frank Podhola, Alfred Polda, Mrs. William Radke, Don C. Matchan, all of Lidgerwood.

MORE OKLAHOMA NAMES

R. Jack Weather, Bud Sheffer, Raymond Curtis, Cecil Bowen, Edward Leslie, Robert Spahn, A. W. Scott, Jr., R. W. Townsend, all of Oklahoma City.

MORE FROM ILLINOIS

J. H. Kelly, Dr. Vernon R. DeYoung, Mrs. Vernon R. DeYoung, Martin Appelt, all of Chicago; Albert W. Weber, Nauvoo, Mary V. Bray and Julia Bray, of Joliet; C. H. Cramer, Carrie B. Cramer, Dorothy B. Cramer, all of Evanston; H. Barten, M. H. Burton, Mrs. M. H. Burton, all of Chicago; E. B. Finegan, Oak Park; John Black, Sophia Black, Louise Black, all of Streator; Mabel Fieldcamp, Helen Fieldcamp, Charles Fieldcamp, A. Andresen, all of Chicago; E. J. James and Mrs. E. J. James, of Moline; Arthur Mueller, Evanston.

D. B. Tolley, vice president, Glove American Corporation, Macomb.

W. H. Kofmehl, Elgin; Anna V. Mackenzie, William Vortmeyer, Rudolph Krause, Marie L. Porter, M. Ella McGrath, Mrs. Mae Wainwright, Frederick Bertram, Robert Cordeau, Marie Jensen, Paul Warnholtz, all of Chicago.

Mrs. Charles Clayton Morrison, C. B. Allen, Mrs. C. B. Allen, Michael Cusack, Mrs. Michael Cusack, James A. Rush, Mrs. James A. Rush, Paul H. Wagler, all of Chicago, E. E. Ryden, Moline; Ethel Schultheis, Chicago; the Reverend Frank M. Toresch, Kampsville; the Reverend Michael Sheehy, Michael, Queene V. Hornibrook, Chicago; George D. Butcher, Ottawa; Otto J. Schneider and Jessie Dean, Chicago.

Mrs. P. J. Breen, Oak Park; Gilbert G. Gibson, Mrs. Gus B. Ulvin, Gus B. Ulvin, Melville Copp, Mrs. Melville Copp, Robert Brandenburg, Catherine Brandenburg, Nicholas Brandenburg, Arthur J. Moldenhauser, all of Chicago; Frank H. Thorne and Mrs. Frank H. Thorne, Riverside.

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WASHINGTON

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Mrs. Fred W. Foster, Hunt.

PENNSYLVANIA

Margaret Loughery and Mrs. James F. Conley, Philadelphia.

Elizabeth C. Baker, Glen Crain, Werdna Crain, Max Crain, Clifford Crain, Andrew Crain, all of Pittsburgh.

MISSOURI

John Holland, Raymond Holland, Irvin Holland, all of St. Louis; Carl Beckett, Kansas City.

R. E. Klinkhardt, J. F. Schneider, John A. Haake, A. W. Brock, M. Sieckhaus, Paul Andert, all of St. Louis.

P. P. Young and Mrs. P. P. Young, both of St. Joseph.

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Grace Fay, native of Wisconsin.
Mrs. M. Gage Heyer, Great Neck.

NEBRASKA

V. D. Rector, Omaha; C. Stang and Mrs. C. Stang, Hastings.

C. F. Schrenpp, Della Brady, Annie Wilkenson, Marguerite Coady, all of Omaha.

KANSAS

M. C. Naftzger and Mrs. M. C. Naftzger, Wichita.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mrs. Frank A. West, Washington.

NEW JERSEY

Mrs. J. Parentini, Cliffside Park.

OHIO

Mary F. Morris, Willard B. Morris, Anna M. Bobinger, Walter E. Bobinger, all of Columbus; John B. Falter and Fred P. Hempfling, Delphos.

Defense Resolutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAYMOND S. SPRINGER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 30, 1940

EDITORIAL FROM THE INDIANAPOLIS NEWS

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein a very positive and enlightening editorial which appeared in the Indianapolis News, of Indianapolis, Ind., on the 23d day of December 1940, which editorial follows:

[From the Indianapolis News of December 23, 1940]

DEFENSE RESOLUTIONS

The Indiana National Defense Council, composed of representatives of 32 patriotic organizations, including the larger groups of war veterans, has adopted two resolutions which should be helpful to the Indiana delegation in Congress. The first, which was proposed by the American Legion, urges the Federal Government to purge its pay rolls of "employees who advocate the overthrow of our form and principles of government" by violence. As the resolution points out, these people have been exposed in official investigations. There is reason to believe that their records are known to the F. B. I. and other Federal agencies. How the administration can face out this open nourishment of an inside campaign against democracy is beyond the understanding of every loyal American. No defense of it has been offered; none can be offered with any hope of success.

The council also concurred in the Indiana Committee for National Defense resolution declaring that the United States "cannot afford to have the totalitarian states win the war" and that "this can only mean we must do all in our power to insure a complete defeat of Germany and her allies." Although in offering specific suggestions as to what "all in our power" means, the resolution stops short of military aid, it goes about as far in that direction as "aid short of war" implies.

These groups are self-constituted and do not assume to speak for all the people. But the lack of an opposition commensurate with the vigor and aggressiveness of their campaign imparts a strong presumption of authority to their views. They speak in defense of the principles of organized society that the dictator-ridden countries would destroy. They are up and doing in the spirit of the crisis. Indiana is being heard.

The William Allen White Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 30 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD an article by me entitled "Is the William Allen White Committee as Pure as It Pretends?"

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Committee To Defend America by Aiding the Allies is an internationally conceived organization to involve the United States in war. It needs a thorough investigation. Prominent names have been used to line up others in this scheme. Some day some of the individuals who have permitted their names to be used will realize this fact.

The American people have the right to know the facts.

This group had a parallel organization in the United States from 1915 to 1918 in the National Security League. The officials of that organization denied they had any foreign interest or were promoted by those who profited from war. A House of Representatives committee composed of Senator PAT HARRISON and others said in its report: "The league was conceived in London by an attorney representing sugar, steel, and other interests both in this country and abroad, and that at its very inception in New York others representing like interests are found among those who became the most active in the organization." The committee recommended criminal prosecution. Later disclosures show that those who financed the Security League were among those who made millions in blood money by selling war supplies. The same thing will be shown of the present White committee.

This present group had its inception with international interests. From the League of Nations crowd it built up an organization known as the Committee for the Amending of the Neutrality Act. As soon as that was accomplished, it started the present Committee To Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

The powerful J. P. Morgan interest with its holdings in the British Empire, helped plan the organization and donated its first expense money. Fredric Coudert, whose story before the last World War as a paid representative of the British Ambassador in generating war sentiment and his tie-up with foreign interests, is on the policy committee. Lewis Douglas, former president of the American Cyanamid Co., which was getting both British and the United States war orders, is trying to take over the leadership from White.

The committee has powerful connections with banks, insurance companies, financial investing firms, and industrial concerns. These in turn exert influence on college presidents and professors as well as on newspapers, radio, and other means of communication. One of the powerful influences used by the group is the "400" and social set. The story is a sordid picture of a betrayal of public interest.

The policy committee at the very first set out on a course to aid England at any cost. It was stated that it was not advisable to make such a position known, so the aid short of war program was the one on which they set sail. They said public opinion would not tolerate any other course at that time, and the more bellicose would have to have patience until public opinion would allow the deletion of the words "short of" from the phrase.

POLICY TO GET IN THE WAR

Many sincere persons who wanted to do everything in their power to help England but did not want to actively go in the war joined the movement. Recently a split has occurred between that element and the real schemers behind the scene who have wanted war from the start.

The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies has been a deliberately planned organization to take the United States into the war. Its purpose was to build local organizations for propaganda purposes and to put pressure on Congress.

There has been no doubt from the start that the founders of the organization had as one purpose going to war if England's existence was threatened, but they would not make that stand public. As one of these men said, "Of course, we believe in going to war, but it is not the opportune time to say it."

It is the most despicable story of foreign propagandizing for war this or any other country has ever seen. It is being accomplished by the international crowd through the front of American citizens. This is not new in the game of propaganda. England used the same scheme preceding the World War of 1917. Later they wrote the story of how gullible the American people were. Lord Northcliffe said of us, "They dress alike, they talk alike, they think alike. What sheep!"

The tentacles of this powerful crowd with English finance extends into Government officials, into the colleges and universities, into the magazines and newspapers, into the book publishers, into the radio, into the motion-picture industry, into the banks, into the factories, into the labor unions. Its trail can be, and, in my opinion, will be, traced by Congress, and then the story of America's greatest betrayal will be known. It will be the story of Americans selling America into war for a price. The sincere in the membership will regret their connection, but if the plan is successful—that of getting us in war—American boys will spill their blood for profiteers, politicians, and "paytriots." If war comes, on the hands of the sponsors of the White committee will be blood—the blood of Americans killed in a needless war.

I have briefly summarized some of those tie-ups in the following statement:

BACKGROUND OF WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE COMMITTEE

Clark Eichelberger, paid executive of the international forces in this country and executive director of the League of Nations Association, was selected as the "office man" to put over the repeal of the arms embargo. It will be recalled that Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the spokesman of English influence in the colleges and universities, had spoken of the excellent organizing technique of Eichelberger. The financial forces behind England met in New York City and started the first William Allen White Committee for the Repeal of the Arms Embargo. From that committee came the nucleus of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

It was on April 29, 1940, that a secret meeting was held in New York City to set up this committee. The person who called the meeting was Frederic R. Coudert, who was the legal adviser of the British Embassy before and during the World War. Mr. Coudert was one of the most active of the propagandists for entrance into the World War in 1917, although the fact that he was on the rolls of the English Embassy staff was not known as he worked for our involvement. Afterward it was found that Mr. Coudert had been an employee of the British Ambassador, but as I said this was not cited in his activities in 1915 and 1916.

The House of Representatives committee that investigated the National Security League and called for the indictment and prosecution of its officers investigated Coudert's activities, and the testimony shows that he was "counsel for the British Ambassador" and that as a lawyer he represented French, English, and Italian interests. It is also shown that he was an attorney for English insurance companies in the United States.

He has been one of the ardent advocates of intervention. Jerome Frank, of the Securities and Exchange Commission, in his book, Save America First, says of Coudert that he "wants to fight whenever England's interests are endangered" as well as outlines his work for war propaganda.

He is also in the small clique of New Yorkers who are called upon to write "letters to the editor of the New York Times" and other interventionist papers whenever the interest of England is at stake. These letters are in many cases requested by these papers and given a large spread as a part of the promoted propaganda. Secretary of War Stimson, President Nicholas Murray Butler, and others are in this group.

Coudert, who has law offices in Paris and represents corporations in the belligerent countries, was a sponsor of the meeting to organize this committee.

Called into the meeting were Thomas W. Lamont, of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co.; John W. Davis, attorney for Morgan; Lewis Douglas, president of Mutual Life; Henry L. Stimson, present Secretary of War; Frank Polk, of the World War propaganda drive as well as being a public official of that time; Phillip Marshall Brown; and others.

The rallying point around which they were to organize was the statement of Greenville Clark, who was the author of the conscription law and active in the prowar drive.

This meeting felt it inadvisable to have some person too closely identified by the public with the international financial group as director and also it was important to get somebody in the West so as to escape the attack that it was controlled by Wall Street. They wanted somebody whose name was not tied with their work. After a little discussion, William Allen White was named as the "front" for this British-inspired organization.

It was recalled that in the World War period it was important to keep the propaganda organizations as far as possible from being identified with British subjects. "Make them American" was the cry. These native Americans were to enlist in the service of the English crown for the duration of the war as propagandists.

The source of the William Allen White Committee was the international banking circles of New York City.

The guiding force to build up the proper contacts with the press, political office holders, and the avenues of communication was to be Thomas Lamont, who had handled the public relations for J. P. Morgan & Co. He was to remain in the background as far as public attention was concerned.

It was also decided that the steps to be taken had to be gradual in order not to cause any of the requests for aid to be a boomerang. Go as fast as possible, but surely, in the direction of active belligerency was the keynote.

It was also decided that branch offices be set up wherever possible in order to give it the advantage of being Nation-wide in its scope rather than an outgrowth of a meeting of those who were known as Wall Streeters.

Lord Lothian, who was appointed for the coordinating process, approved the scheme as an "extremely effective way of putting the matter over."

Another matter of importance was to keep the cause away from being identified as an administration move. Naturally, for many reasons Lamont, Douglas, and others would not want to play into the hands of support for Roosevelt's foreign policy to such an extent that it would aid him politically. It was important that the director be a Republican who had not been a party to the Supreme Court fight, a member of the Liberty League, or of other organizations that had been set up for domestic fights, therefore William Allen White filled the bill in an excellent fashion as well as being a midwesterner.

It was part of Lamont's work to get the right political tie-ups for both parties. He was to be the political fixer. They say he did his job well.

It was also stated in the opening discussions of the organization that Eichelberger could use the mailing lists of the other international organizations with which he had been connected. The League of Nations Association was to contribute their influence. The Pilgrims, English Speaking Union, Carnegie directors, Rhodes Trust, Union Now, and many others would be called upon to aid in the propaganda. They have. It is also important to note that after the fall of France there was a discussion whether or not the name should be changed because of the plural Allies and some felt that it should be identified as the Committee to Aid America by Defending England, but they said that would not be advisable because there was too much feeling against that being used in the name. "Don't make it appear as an organization to aid England" was a remark made at that time. "If we can sell the idea that the United States will be attacked if England falls, we have won our battle," said one of the directors of the policy. It is said that when questioned at that very time as to the danger of invasion this individual said, "That isn't the issue."

After I had exposed the fact that the original contributor to the cause was J. P. Morgan, it was not admitted then but later proven to be the case. The purpose of keeping that quiet was that Morgan was too dangerous from a public relations standpoint since the Nye committee had exposed his part in the last war.

THE OLD TRICK

The statement of those directing the William Allen White committee that most of their contributions are in small amounts is an old trick. It insults the intelligence of those who think. That is the stock in trade of the financiers; make people believe the little fellow is paying the bill. That was the same story told by those who spoke for the National Security League before the last World War (that is, until a House of Representatives committee showed that the real banking came from the international banking and war-profiteering crowd).

Some of the well-known names of finance are listed in the contributors to the White committee. Such names as Morgan, Guggenheim, Lehman, Warburg, Davison, Harkness, Lamont, Whitney, Schiff, Harriman, and others will be found in the roll call of the backers of the White committee.

Furthermore, their statement that they have spent but little is another one of the ridiculous boasts. The White committee directors would be too smart to spend it as such, but they have other ways to get around having the name attached to disbursement vouchers, and if there is ever a congressional investigation of this organization, the subterfuge by which this is accomplished would be exposed.

Anybody who knows the background of the backers of the White committee knows they do not have to pay cash for much of their propaganda work. Certain newspapers in the East have large advertising accounts with firms, the owners of which are interested in the program of the organization and the publicity for White is free and plentiful. Also, volunteer workers can easily be secured from the ranks of those who want to bask in the glory of the mighty. It just takes one or two big names to attend a meeting, and others will cluster around as the moths do around a light.

Direct pressure can be exerted as it has been by those sponsoring the committee work. The petitions asking for support of the White program were passed around in certain stores and establishments by their owners, and, of course, the employees realized they had to sign or lose their jobs. I have available statements from those who were clubbed into signing in just that fashion.

Also, contributions to the work were detailed through minor subordinates in order to keep down the stigma of too large donations from certain wealthy backers.

THE MILLER GROUP

The activities of the Miller group, most of whom are quite active in the William Allen White committee, are described in this exhibit placed by me in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for December 16:

"EXHIBIT C

"THE MILLER 'WAR' GROUP

"This southern conference move is one of those acts which can be traced to the Miller group, whose history is recorded below. It is one of the most belligerent of the pro-war groups and was very active in the destroyer deal, in the letters to the newspapers known as the Balderston letters, as well as coordinator of the different committees and organizations lined up in the war drive. Bingham, Agar, and Miller have tried to slip this one over as a new thing, but it is the same old crowd under a new front.

"Where formed: On July 11, 1940, Lewis Douglas, president of the billion-dollar Mutual Life Insurance Co. (closely affiliated with J. P. Morgan & Co. interests) and former president of McGill University (Canada), as well as official of the American Cyanamid Co. (which had war contracts with Great Britain), was host to a group of individuals who were interested in getting us in the war, although they made no public statement of that purpose.

"The purpose was to set up a central organization to aid the different groups who were friendly to the cause of our participation.

"It was decided that Francis Miller, an organizer for the Council on Foreign Relations, should direct the office. He was set up in New York City (11 West Forty-second Street) to direct the campaign. The biggest check for the cost came from Ward Cheney, manufacturer of silk parachutes, who had sold his products to the armed forces of the United States and whose wife was Frances Davison, sister of H. P. Davison, present partner of Morgan. This was not his first or last contribution to the war cause. He was one of those who helped pay for the newspaper advertisements over the country sponsored by the William Allen White committee.

"Two weeks later, a group met at the Century Club in New York to work out further plans. Those present were Robert S. Allen, of the Pearson and Allen column; Joseph Alsop, distant cousin of the President and well known for his desire to be in with the right social crowd as well as coauthor of the column attacked by Senator BARKLEY as a purveyor of malicious falsehoods; Ulric Bell, Washington correspondent of the pro-war Louisville Courier Journal (owned by the Bingham interests—the heirs of the former Ambassador to Great Britain); Barry Bingham, son of the ex-Ambassador and active in all pro-war organizations; Ward Cheney; Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin, studied in Great Britain; Clark M. Eichelberger, executive director, William Allen White Committee, and secretary, League of Nations Association; Harold K. Guinsburg, contributor to William Allen White; George Watts Hill, advocate of declaration of war; Bishop Henry Hobson, also an advocate for declaration of war and one of the signers of the famous war manifesto; Ernest M. Hopkins, president of Dartmouth; Geoffrey Parsons, writer and director of New York Herald Tribune, whose editorial last summer called for intervention into the war; Frank L. Polk, assistant to Secretary of State Lansing during the World War and whose Lansing memoirs shows to be active for our participation in that war before 1917; Whitney Shepherdson, co-worker of Miller and one of the signers of the war manifesto on Council of Foreign Relations; Robert E. Sherwood, playwright and very active for America to enter the war, author of stop-Hitler advertisements and speaker for William Allen White Committee; Admiral William Standley, former Navy official who also signed war manifesto and active for war; and Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, educated in Great Britain and extremely pro-British, and Miller.

"Although not present, many advisers were called into the discussion from time to time. A few were: Dean Acheson, close friend of the President and the author of the letter advocating transfer of destroyers, and whose law firm represents interests affected by war; Dr. James R. Angell; Hamilton Fish Armstrong, known for his collective security writings; John L. Balderston, who was the liaison man between the British Embassy and the war groups and who has a home in London, England, as well as employee of Public Information Bureau to Great Britain; Dr. James B. Conant, whose record has been discussed before as active as a Morgan spokesman and who the Harvard Crimson said was trying to 'build a superhighway straight to Armageddon'; Col. William Donovan, flying emissary of Colonel Knox, active in pro-war circles; Lewis Douglas, who called the first meeting; Allen Dulles, of the law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, who represents many foreign interests; Henry R. Luce, owner of Time and very pro-war, whose start is tied with Thomas Lamont, of J. P. Morgan & Co.; Henry Pringle, advocate of breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany; Walter Wanger, financial supporter of the William Allen White committee.

"It was decided to 'put heat' on Washington.

"Herbert Agar, Ward Cheney, Miller, and Eichelberger were sent to talk to the 'powers.' They conferred with the President, Vice-President-elect Henry Wallace, and Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, about transfer of the destroyers. A press campaign was to be directed by Alsop, Allen, Balderston, as well as the others who would be 'all O. K. when we talk to them,' as one well-known financier said.

"It will be recalled that this was part of the trick which William Allen White spoke about in his blundering speech in New York. This was a part of the smart trick to get public support. It was aided by the radio and press campaign. In this campaign the services of Colonel Donovan in his speech from Chicago, Admiral Standley (war advocate), and Maury Maverick were called into action.

"It is a known fact that Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, broached the work of the committee with Russell Davenport, adviser of Wendell Willkie, as to the attitude of Willkie because of the fear by the President that if it were brought into the campaign that it would be too dangerous. MacLeish has been the go-between many times in that capacity.

"The destroyer deal was put over. Now the Miller influence is seen cropping out in this conference at Southern Pines, N. C. The present drive is to get convoy service for American ships into and through the war zones, which can mean nothing else than war. That is its purpose.

"The Miller group is financed by those who are making 'blood money' out of the war. The southern conference move is part of his engineered work."

OLD LEAGUE OF NATIONS CROWD

The repudiated League of Nations had a well-financed campaign in the United States. The internationalists had never given up the idea that our country should become an integral part of the power politics of Europe.

The headquarters of the William Allen White committee was the headquarters of the League of Nations Association. Much of the staff of the League propaganda office was taken over by the White committee. Clark Eichelberger, director for the League Association, became the executive director of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

Whitney Shepherdson, a worker in the Miller-connected group, was also a part of the League group. It will be recalled this is the Mr. Shepherdson who has advocated entrance in the war.

Just to give the readers a small insight to the League of Nations Association officials who are active in the sponsors of the White committee, I shall name a few: John H. Clarke, former Justice of the Supreme Court and president of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association; Everett Colby, chairman of the executive committee of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association; Monroe Deutsch, member of the executive committee of the California League of Nations branch; Dr. Robert C. Dexter, Massachusetts League of Nations Association; Stephen Duggan, League of Nations Association; Lucius Eastman, American representative to the executive committee, League of Nations; Elvira Fradkin, trustee of the New Jersey League of Nations Association; Mary B. Gilson, official, League of Nations Association; Raphael Herman, vice president, League of Nations Association; Mrs. James L. Laidlaw, director of the executive committee of the League of Nations Association and chairman of the political committee of the association; Theodore Marburg, vice president, International Federation of the League of Nations Societies (1925), head of the American delegation to Assembly of League of Nations Societies at Warsaw, London, and Berlin; Rufus B. von KleinSmid, vice president, League of Nations Association; James T. Shotwell, president, League of Nations Association; and Clyde Eagleton, official of the League of Nations Association.

It was impossible to thoroughly check the list but this will show some of the active League proponents in this country. They are active in the White set-up.

PILGRIMS

One of the most active organizations in this country for the cause of Great Britain is the Pilgrims of America. This is a group of very wealthy and influential individuals, who at every meeting toast the King of England.

In the last war-propaganda effort (1914–17) the Pilgrims received the hearty commendation of Sir Gilbert Parker for the work of the organization in building up sentiment for America to enter the war.

Some of the Pilgrims who are on the William Allen White committee are Julius Ochs Adler, Nicholas Murray Butler, Robert J. Caldwell, Henry W. Chase, Joseph H. Choate, Jr., Fredric R. Coudert, John W. Davis, Marshall Field, James W. Gerard, John Henry Hammond, Thomas W. Lamont, Bishop William T. Manning, S. Stanwood Menken, G. Ashton Oldham, John F. O'Ryan, James DeW. Perry, William L. Phelps, Frank L. Polk, Walter W. Price, Walter D. Scott, Ernest M. Stires, Herbert Bayard Swope, and J. Fredrick Talcott.

FORMER BRITISH SUBJECTS

If a German-born American were to advocate the cause of his native land, he is labeled a dangerous subversive agent. He would be shadowed by the Secret Service and attacked by many. But when former British subjects advocate the cause of their native land—and, far more, actually involving this country in war in defense of the British Empire—some call it patriotic.

Many of the William Allen White committee members are English-born. There are many fine, loyal, British-born American citizens who are interested in this country, but they are not propagandists for their former countries. The distinction is drawn between those who are trying to drag our country into war and the self-respecting citizens who feel they owe their first allegiance to the United States since they have become citizens of our country.

In the White committee there are many British-born subjects who are active for the "steps short of war" and for steps into war. For instance, I note these:

Rev. H. P. Abbott, George B. Cutten, Dr. Robert C. Dexter, James S. Durkee, Dr. Frank Kingdon, Bishop William T. Manning, William B. Munro, William Allen Neilson, James T. Shotwell, William E. Gilrow, John MacIvor, Michael Williams, Thomas Jenkins, and others.

Here are some interesting sidelights on two of those mentioned:

If one checked the Who's Who preceding the last World War, he will find that Bishop William T. Manning left out of his biography the fact that he was born in Great Britain. At that time he was very active—as he is now—in English propaganda in the country. There was so much commotion raised about this omission that he later had the fact reinstated in the Who's Who.

Rev. John MacIvor, very active in the White committee, was in this country 17 years before he became a citizen.

In this short survey it is impossible to add more such sidelights on this group.

WHITE COMMITTEE MEMBERS RECEIVED MEDALS

Much was heard about a medal given to Col. Charles Lindbergh. In checking the William Allen White committee, one finds a large number of the sponsors listed in those who have accepted medals and awards from belligerent nations.

Part of the list follows: Col. Julius Ochs Adler, Frank Altschul, Rev. Henry A. Atkinson, James Bryne, Lewis Douglas, Stephen Duggan, Victor Elting, Clifton D. Gray, Albert Guerrard, Hamilton Holt, Rupert Hughes, Walter Hullihen, Bishop William T. Manning, Gen. John F. O'Ryan, George Rublee, Walter D. Scott, James T. Shotwell, Gerard Swope, John C. Ward, Stephen S. Wise, Louis Bromfield, William M. Chadbourne, Owen Johnson, Everett V. Meeks, Rufus B. Von Kleinsmid, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Robert J. Caldwell, Fredric R. Coudert, and others.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Much of the work of the committee has been carried on by college presidents and professors such as Conant, of Harvard; Butler, of Columbia; Kingdon, formerly of Newark; Shotwell, of Columbia; Seymour, of Yale; Coffin, of Union Theological; Carmichael, of Vanderbilt; Millikan, of California Tech; Aydelotte, of Swarthmore; Graham, of North Carolina; Hopkins, of Dartmouth; Eagleton, of New York; Douglas, of Columbia; and Gideonese, of Brooklyn. The hotbed for war seems to be centered in the large endowed group of colleges and universities. Chicago, Columbia, Yale, New York, and Harvard are among the worst.

In discussing this war drive in the schools, I previously said:

"UNIVERSITY 'WAR HAWKS'

"Two of the outstanding 'war hawks' in the United States are presidents of two of our largest institutions, Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, and James Bryan Conant, of Harvard University.

"There are many others of this group in the colleges and universities of the United States. The William Allen White committee list shows a 'whole flock of these birds.' Some of the members of the White war committee are not as vicious as others. Some hope that we can get halfway in the war without taking the final step.

"These 'hawks' have become 'soldiers of the king.' They have become native American troops for the duration of the war.

"In a previous statement I outlined the propaganda work in the colleges and universities in these words:

" 'GETTING THE PROFESSORS

" ' "Enlist for the duration of the war."

" 'That was the view of the English propaganda directors during the last World War of certain American college and university professors and presidents. They admitted that they had to get them in the "proper frame of mind." This was done by personal contact with English scholars, lecturers, and others, as well as by "the printed word." Books, pamphlets, and all types of literature were sent to these individuals to show them the English side. Once these persons were won over, they became the most active and most zealous propagandists for the cause.

" 'The Allies were so successful in this drive that they crowed about their victory in the schools.

" 'Again, in 1939 and 1940, the college and university professors and presidents are being won over for English propaganda for the duration of this war. They have become so active that their intervention viewpoint met student reaction. But the work of these individuals was not alone worth while to the viewpoint of students, but particularly for their quoting purpose in newspapers and their ability of writing books and pamphlets.

" 'For instance, when the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies wanted a book they easily got volunteers in the collegiate circle to aid in the writing of that book. In this way both the inspired propaganda group and the professors were supposed to gain. Many presidents of scholastic institutions have been used as "window dressing" for this committee, a known intervention outfit. Such names as Butler, of Columbia; Seymour, of Yale; Conant, of Harvard; Kingdon, of New York University, are found.

" 'The reasons for activity on the part of professors and presidents are numerous. Some have actually owed allegiance to the Empire of Great Britain. Some have desired to get in with the financial circles, whom they felt would be interested in intervention and some of whom they knew to be active on their college boards and active in their contributions to the school.

" 'LORD LOTHIAN AND COLLEGES

" 'Lord Lothian, the British Ambassador, had made many contacts with these professors and presidents. He was secretary of the Rhodes Trust and had made approximately 15 trips to the United States as a part of his work with the Rhodes money. He knew President Frank Aydelotte, of Swarthmore, for instance. Aydelotte is on the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. He was a Rhodes scholar, being in Oxford many years ago. In 1918 he was named American secretary of the Rhodes trustees. Four years later he was named a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation. This is just one of the many contacts Lord Lothian had in this country with the important intelligentsia. Editors of important papers were Rhodes scholars. For instance, when one of them had written a strong editorial for more active interest in the war, the Round Table, founded by Lothian in London, spoke of his being a Rhodes scholar.

" 'Records show in the last war that many college professors were calling for war long before our entrance. Again the same drive is being made. Thirty individuals, including many professors, have already called for our declaration of war against Germany.

" 'They want to "educate the educators" for our involvement.

" 'But let us look at the activities in 1914–17:

" ' 'BEGIN WITH PROFESSORS"

" 'Sir Gilbert Parker, who did the propaganda work for the English Government preceding the entrance of the United States in the last World War, said:

" ' "We had reports from important Americans constantly and established association by personal correspondence with influential and eminent people of every profession in the United States, beginning with university and college presidents, professors, and scientific men, and running through all the ranges of the population."

" 'John Masefield said at that time:

" ' "A big application of the idea of the Rhodes scholarships along with public mark of thanks to Yale or Harvard for their sons who have served the Allies might be of great value" (the effort to establish a belief in the identity of interests of Great Britain and the United States).

" 'James Duane Squires, in his informative book, British Propaganda at Home and in the United States, says:

" ' "According to David Lloyd George, almost the first thing that Parker did after assuming his new duties was to make a careful analysis of American press opinion on the war, following that with an equally thorough investigation into American opinion in the colleges and universities. From other sources we know that on the basis of these investigations and on a careful reading of the American Who's Who a mailing list was prepared. It was this mailing list containing thousands of names which was the basis for the distribution of Wellington House propaganda in the United States. The list was completed about the middle of December 1914, and mailing operations began immediately.

" ' "To the persons on this mailing list, and to others whose names were subsequently added, there was sent the propaganda literature which the men in Wellington House believed would be most useful. Sometimes the books and pamphlets had enclosed with them suave and skillfully phrased letters. The enclosure cards which came with the books carried only Sir Gilbert's name and address, never any mention of Wellington House. The whole appearance was that of a kindly, friendly Englishman, who more or less was doing only his simple duty by his many American friends in sending them this literature and inviting their observations on it or on the war in general. Sometimes, to vary the thing, the enclosure cards apparently came from the authors of the books and pamphlets, especially when the authors were well-known men like J. W. Headlam, Viscount Bryce, or John Buchan. But this was generally a ruse de guerre. They usually came from the same place—Wellington House."

" 'PROPAGANDA IN THE SCHOOLS

" 'Prof. H. C. Peterson, who did a real job of research in his excellent book, Propaganda for War, writes:

" ' "Starting as early as August 1914, prominent men of America hastened to join a cause that was intellectually fashionable. Industrialists and financiers, one by one, took up the cudgels for the belligerents with whom they were doing so much profitable business. Preceding them came the imposing array of American society women. They swung into action with great gusto—at long last finding a cause worthy of their talents. Politicians, with the instinct of the chameleon, caught and reflected the popular shades of opinion. College professors and school teachers repeated with a great show of wisdom the arguments which had originated in

Wellington House or in la maison de la presse. Close behind the educators came the ministers, and before long the American clergy was preaching a holy war, enlisting God and the Bible in the cause which newspapers told them was righteous. Just as strange as the enlistment of the clergy was the enlistment of liberals throughout the country. Usually such individuals spend most of their time talking about the value of peace. When it came down to hard realities, a large number of these people was found on the popular side assisting in establishing a climate of opinion favorable to war.

" 'By February 1916 Sir Gilbert Parker was able to report that the articulate people throughout the United States had joined the Allies. The success of the British propagandists corroborates the statement that there are no limits to the field of propaganda. The only restrictions are on the manner of approach. The wealthy can be persuaded to support a cause by getting them to invest their money in it; educators can be controlled simply through controlling their reading matter; liberals and preachers are the easiest of all to enlist by the mere introduction of an idealistic flavor to the propaganda.

" 'GOT IN TOUCH WITH THE UNIVERSITIES"

" 'Sir Edward Grey wrote in September 1914 that he was sending over J. M. Barrie and A. E. W. Mason "to meet people, particularly those connected with the universities, and explain the British case as regards this war and our view of the issues involved."

" 'It will be recalled that Masaryk came to this country in 1916, and the British report as to his work states that he "got in touch with the universities, particularly with historians and economists."

" 'The central committee of National Patriotic Organizations kept up the drive for the professors, reporting that "practically every professor of every faculty has received * * * private packets of literature in his own language."

" 'It had its effect. Yet Senators who voted for war have tried to say that propaganda had nothing to do with our entrance in that conflict.

" 'Many of us get letters about giving aid. Here is a letter that may be of interest:

" 'We owe to the Allies whatever moral support and financial assistance it is in the power of this Nation to give. * * * Let us enthusiastically approve supplying the enemies of Germany with financial aid and munitions of war and resist with all our moral strength those who would place an embargo on munitions."

" 'But that is not a letter received in 1939 or 1940. That is a letter written by Josiah Royce, a professor of Harvard University, on January 30, 1916.

" 'The same call is heard today, except in different voices.' "

"NICHOLS MURRAY BUTLER

"In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD one will find my discussion of the pro-English background of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. He is the outstanding spokesman for the English cause in the colleges of the United States. It will be noted that he was cited for his pro-British propaganda in an investigation of history textbooks in New York.

"The trustees of Columbia have in their membership some of the well-known war-hawk group, such as English-born William T. Manning and Frederic Coudert, adviser of the English Government in the United States preceding and during the last World War, in which we were a participant. Both of these men had a very active part in that drive to involve the United States 25 years ago.

"The story of the financial holdings of some of the trustees is very definitely linked with war trade and interests in the continuation of the war traffic. But this is a story in itself that I shall cover at a later date. But in passing, I desire to say that the background of the trustees and overseers of some of the higher educational institutions would answer many questions as to why some of the college officials have taken a position to get our country involved in the war.

"JAMES BRYAN CONANT

"For instance, the Morgan interest is very powerful with President Conant, of Harvard. He is one of their war spokesmen and can be counted to deliver a radio address for their war outlook at any time. It sounds better to have the president of Harvard make a statement for war than to have it made by J. P. Morgan.

"After specifically citing Conant, the Harvard University Crimson said:

" 'It is especially disquieting that leaders of youth, the college presidents, should have spoken so soon and so openly the words that may send to destruction the lives of their charge. They are earning an unenviable place in the road gang that is trying to build for the United States a superhighway straight to Armageddon.'

"They also called Conant's statement 'a copious stream of propaganda coming by the back door.'

"Conant and Butler are both trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. With them on the board are seven members of the William Allen White Committee. Horace Coon speaks of the Carnegie fund as 'an endowment for war' and discusses it at length in his book, Money to Burn. It is very significant that Thomas W. Lamont, partner in the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. is also a trustee. The record of Lamont's activities to get us in the war before 1917 and his activity to get us in this one are too well known to relate. The Morgan firm made millions out of the last war, and they are making millions out of their increased war profits in this one. Lamont is an adviser of Conant.

"It is also an interesting story to check the holdings of both Columbia and Harvard. They have much money, in the millions, invested in stocks and bonds that are directly related to the war trade and their value increases as the production for war material increases. Foreign holdings are also noted, but that is too much of a story to discuss at this time.

"Porter Sargent in his book What Makes Lives has this interesting observation:

" 'What does it matter if the universities are hotbeds of war? Only a small percentage of our population goes to the universities. But our lower schools follow their lead, our teachers are trained by their cloistered professors. So it does matter.

" 'The universities are good propagandists in their own right. They promote themselves as searchers of the truth and preservers of the truth—handing down the wisdom of the ages, they tell us. Actually they are preservers of privilege and the past, time binders, not time annihilators.

" 'How does this come about? Our college presidents, carefully selected after observation as safe men, are then further conditioned. For funds they look to the financiers who guard the great reservoirs of accumulated capital. University presidents and other college officials sit on the boards of these foundations with the big men of finance, with agents of the British Empire. They become infected, conditioned, immunized, and intimidated. They have to protect and keep open the sources of income, lest deficits declare them failures. This year their subservience is the same as 22 years ago; they are ready to sacrifice and waste the human resources of the country to preserve the present status in world dominion. This attitude is absorbed by the faculty, who look forward to receiving pensions and who must find favor with the administration.'

"The record of the newspapers of the country do not show the interest of either Drs. Butler or Conant in the rights of small nations or in their now much proclaimed interest in democracy, except when the interest of the English Empire was at stake. Where have they spoken out for the Irish in their fight for liberty? When have they condemned the atrocities of England in India?

"Once the stand of Great Britain is known, it is easy to predict where Conant and Butler will be.

"They hold their positions through the actions of many who have an interest in war profits. They speak the voice of those men. They are the spokesmen for those who dare not speak out loud in this drive to force the United States in war."

MANY EDUCATED IN GREAT BRITAIN

It is impossible to even begin to list those connected with the White committee who have been educated in Great Britain. Many of these individuals were recipients of scholarships from the British Isles. They have been spokesmen for the cause of England since they were educated at the expense of English capitalists.

Just for instance I note some of the individuals and their educational background:

Frank Aydelotte, Rhodes scholar and present secretary of the Rhodes fund in the United States.

Charles Seymour, honorary fellow at King's College. Educated at Cambridge.

William B. Munro, educated Queens College and Edinburgh.

Daniel Marsh, Oxford.

Arthur O. Lovejoy, lecturer, University of London.

Frank P. Graham, University of London.

Clyde Eagleton, Rhodes scholar.

Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin, New College (Edinburgh), Warrack lecturer, honorary degrees from Glasgow and St. Andrews.

Oliver Cromwell Carmichael, Rhodes scholar (incidentally a captain in the British Army in East Africa and served in British forces in India).

Preston Slosson, Carnegie visiting professor at Bristol, Manchester, and Glasgow Universities.

Oswald Veblen, honorary Oxford degree, and author in Oxford series.

Rev. H. P. Almon Abbott, educated in England.

Ralph Moore Carson, Oxford student and president Oxford Union.

Bishop E. P. Dandridge, Oxford University.

William Y. Elliott, doctor of philosophy, Balliol College, Oxford.

Raphael Herman, educated in Scotland.

Marshall Field, educated in England.

Albert Guerrad, studied in England.

Ernest M. Hopkins, Oxford University.

William P. Ladd, Oxford University.

Bernadotte Schmitt, Rhodes scholar.

J. Fredrick Talcott, Oxford University.

Henry Van Dusen, University of Scotland.

Many others in the White committee are also listed in the group who have been educated in Great Britain. This list is only a small beginning.

SHADES OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE

A House of Representatives committee said this about the National Security League (it is interesting because some of the active sponsors of this national security are also active in pro-war organizations today):

"It will be impracticable in a report of the length to which, of necessity, this must be confined, to take up all of the 'foreign entanglements' of the originators of the National Security League. However, sight must not be lost of the fact that it was conceived in London by an attorney representing sugar, steel, and other large interests, both in this country and abroad; and that at its very inception in New York others representing like interests are found among those who became the most active in its organization; and,

next, when the organization had thrown aside its pretense of being engaged only in 'preparedness,' and had reached the real purpose of its undertaking, Mr. Charles D. Orth was selected to take charge of its real activities, which unquestionably were political in nature, as will be shown later in this report.

* * * * * * *

"The principal meeting looking to the organization of the league was held at the Bankers' Club, 120 Broadway, New York City (p. 20 of the record). Mr. Menken was made the first president of the league, but it seems he gave out a newspaper interview which was not entirely satisfactory to the rest of the league, and he resigned, and Mr. Charles E. Lydecker became president in his stead.

"Coincident with the organization of the league, the thought of properly financing it commenced, and of coupling it with the names in which the people of the country would have confidence. Hon. Joseph H. Choate, whom Mr. Menken described as "first citizen of New York and Ambassador to Great Britain," was made honorary president. Upon his death Hon. Elihu Root was selected in his stead as honorary president.

"Judge Alton B. Parker, prominent throughout the country, was selected as honorary vice president.

"No doubt these two gentlemen were selected for several reasons. One reason was to give the league the appearance of being nonpartisan in politics, Mr. Root being a Republican and Judge Parker a Democrat. No doubt another reason was that the league desired the use of their names for the purpose of conjuring up money with which to carry on its contemplated activities.

"Among the large subscriptions made to the National Security League is one of $150,000 made by the Carnegie Corporation, to be paid in three equal installments of $50,000 each. At the time testimony concerning it was taken, two of the subscriptions, amounting to $100,000, had been paid; another is that of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, having large interests both here and abroad; another is Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, whose large interests are not confined to this side of the Atlantic.

* * * * * * *

"The greatest injustice has been done to many loyal, patriotic men who have given the Nation the benefit of commanding ability, unquestioned courage, and unalloyed patriotism, by men seeking partisan ends, and undertaking to hide their self-interest beneath the cloak of public service and national good.

* * * * * * *

"Such activities on the part of organizations similar to the National Security League have a tendency to compel obedience to the wishes of special interests, rather than obedience to a real concern for the welfare of the people. This condition is not at all fanciful, since its baneful effects have been fully demonstrated by the activities of the National Security League."

Fredric Coudert, who called the meeting for the beginning of the White committee, is discussed at length in the House of Representatives report on the National Security League. He was one of the founders of that discredited organization, too.

It is interesting to note the reference to Coudert in the final report of the committee (note this to be the final report to Congress not the testimony):

COUDERT FOREIGN INTERESTS

"The above quotations from Mr. Menken's testimony are made for the purpose of showing, at least, the possible motive which may first have aroused in him the interest which culminated in the formation of the National Security League. Notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Menken is a member of a firm of lawyers which represents so many large corporations in this country and abroad, during his stay in London he published a newspaper, for what purpose your committee does not know, but it is hardly reasonable to think it was for a direct profit from the publication itself. Shortly after his return to the United States he set about the organization of the league. One of those with whom he first talked relative to the matter was Mr. Frederic R. Coudert, a prominent lawyer in New York, in regard to whom Mr. Menken testified as follows (p. 268):

"'Mr. JOHNSON. Do you know what class of clients he has; what particular interests?

"'Mr. MENKEN. He happens to represent a great many foreign interests. He is a specialist on maritime law. He has had the honor of representing foreign governments in controversies.

"'Mr. JOHNSON. Do you know what government?

"'Mr. MENKEN. I have heard he represents Great Britain, France, and Russia in international matters.

* * * * * * *

"'Mr. JOHNSON. You have just spoken of this gentleman representing some British clients, or the Government itself. Which is it?

"'Mr. MENKEN. I think Mr. Coudert is counsel for the British Ambassador.

"'Mr. JOHNSON. And was at the breaking out of the war in 1914?

"'Mr. MENKEN. I don't know about that.

"'Mr. JOHNSON. Do you know when his employment as counsel for the British Ambassador began?

"'Mr. MENKEN. I really couldn't say. I know little of his private affairs. Henry L. Stimson was another man I talked to.

"'Mr. JOHNSON. Do you know whether or not he represents, either directly or indirectly, any other government, or whether he has or not since the outbreak of the war any foreign government?

"'Mr. MENKEN. Why, Mr. Coudert has a very big international practice. I have heard of him representing South American countries, and French and Russian, and I think perhaps Italian interests.'"

Secretary of War Stimson was sent to the West to speak for the National Security League. He was accompanied on at least one of the trips by Coudert. The testimony shows that he, too, was consulted by the founders of this 1915–17 pro-war organization.

President (then Assistant Secretary of Navy) Franklin D. Roosevelt was also a speaker for the League. One of his speeches was reprinted and distributed by the organization.

This is an interesting bit of testimony found in the hearings:

"Mr. Roosevelt went twice to Chicago to speak at those meetings. I had the honor of going with him. On another occasion Mr. Roosevelt went across the continent for us. On another occasion Mr. Coudert, Mr. Stimson, and Mr. Fred Walcott went across the continent."

The name of S. Stanwood Menken is also listed for particular attack by the House committee. It wil be noted that the name S. Stanwood Menken appears as a sponsor of the White committee.

J. P. Morgan was quite active in financing the National Security League and was active in putting it across. It is also noted that J. P. Morgan is one of the active backers, financially and otherwise, of the White committee.

Other names such as James, Schiff, Guggenheim, Choate, and others are found in both lists. Some of these are the sons of the fathers who were active 25 years ago.

The Carnegie Corporation donated $150,000 to the National Security League. Today this support is being given by officials of the Carnegie corporations.

The story of the connection between the two is far too lengthy to be included in this brief résumé, but they are extremely close-parallel pro-war groups, one of which preceded our entrance into the war in 1917 and the other attempting to get us in the war in 1940.

LINING UP WITH THE ADMINISTRATION

So much had been said by the administration spokesman about the "economic royalists" and the "upper third" that the problem of cooperation between this group and the administration has taken many hours of conference.

Lewis Douglas, one of the President's opponents, has been one of the most active sponsors of the pro-war drive, but he has not been in position to get to the President directly. The President has discussed the plans with many of the officials while sometimes it was accomplished either through Frank Altschul to Governor Lehman and then the Governor taking the matter up with the President or through Davenport to MacLeish to the President.

These moves have been in the star-chamber class and few were given any direct knowledge of the deals until they were so far along that it made but little difference. The transfer of the destroyers was discussed for many days and some weeks before the proposition was handled satisfactorily from a political viewpoint.

Two active members of the White committee are in the President's Cabinet, Henry Stimson and Frank Knox. Both have been active interventionists. Stimson, who had been one of the consultants of the National Security League (which story is told in another part of the survey), was one of the founders of this organization. Knox, although sharing the view of the founders, was brought into the committee through his personal friendship with White. The manipulation behind the scene that aided in getting these men into the Cabinet is a story of political intrigue. The Churchill forces were most anxious to have Stimson appointed. They knew of Woodring's forced resignation for some time and "put in their oars" for Stimson before the appointment was made. Part of this was told in the confirmation debate in the Senate but not all of it.

Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, appointed by the President, is a go-between for the committee to the President. He was active in the destroyer "trick."

Fiorella LaGuardia, for reasons well known to many, was brought into the organization.

Dean Acheson, one of the President's legal advisors without appointment at the present, was also active. It is interesting to note that Mr. Acheson's law firm represents interests involved in the war.

Governor Herbert Lehman, the President's "strong right arm" has been one of the early consultants of the policy committee. The story of the interests of the Lehman family in war stocks was told on the floor of the Senate on October 9 in my speech entitled "War Profits."

Mrs. Elanor Herrick, of the New York office of the National Labor Relations Board, was brought into the organization by David Dubinsky.

Space does not permit the continuation of this story of lining up a close working agreement between this organization and the President, but some day the story will startle the Nation, and I add, it will not be pretty.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE'S BOAST OF TRICKING CONGRESS

In accepting an award from the National Association of Accredited Publicity Directors, Mr. White gave the "inside story" of how they had tricked Congress.

Mr. White said:

"Our first job was to send the destroyers to England. We learned there were certain overage destroyers that could easily be spared—150 of them—but we plugged for 50. Taking that number as a goal was 'pure hunch,' but I want to say that we've never had an

objective that wasn't approved in advance by the General Staffs of the United States Army and Navy.

"We put General Pershing on the air, but the really smart trick we pulled was that after Lindbergh made his speech, we put his mother-in-law, Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow, on the air. And was that a face card? It was.

"She said: 'Telegraph the White House and your Congressmen' and the next day 15,000 telegrams came tumbling down on Washington saying, 'Give the destroyers to Great Britain.' They never knew what hit them."

This is not the only trick of the White committee. Their methods have been tricky.

MEMBERS ASKED FOR DECLARATION OF WAR

Many more are for a declaration of war than will state publicly. Some have issued press statements favoring such a policy. Others have declared so in speeches.

It is a known fact that Colonel Knox and Henry Stimson, Secretaries of Navy and War, are in favor of intervention. Colonel Knox has not limited that to supplies; neither has Secretary Stimson.

Governor Lehman appeared at the National Democratic Convention to try to get a "weasel worded" statement on keeping out of foreign wars. He was extremely active in trying to leave the matter clear out of the platform. It is known that the New York Governor favors war with Germany.

Gen. John O'Ryan, member of the policy directing group of the committee, is very bellicose in his demand for an immediate declaration of war.

Herbert Agar, who aids in the publicity program, has called for a declaration of war. So have Stringfellow Barr, J. Douglas Brown, George Hill, Frank Kent, Lewis Mumford, John Balderston, Rev. Henry Hobson, Calvin Hoover, Edwin Hubble, Walter Millis, Winfield Riefler, Whitney Shepherdson, Admiral Standley. These individuals made public such a declaration in June.

These are the advance guard who stated publicly what the committee had been discussing privately—to get this country in war.

WAR CROWD IN CONTROL

But, now, the White committee is torn to pieces. Why? Because its director, William Allen White, in an interview stated "The Yanks are not coming." Why do they oppose that statement? Because they want the Yanks to go—go once again to the battlefields of Europe. The real reason for the organization is coming out, not from exposure alone, but from a battle within the ranks, the battle of those who want to aid England but do not want to involve the country in war, and those who are using the "aid short of war" program to get us ready for the final act—that of a declaration.

The committee was formed because they were preparing for the day that the Yanks would board a transport ship to fight for their "dear old England," but many within the ranks did not see the real cause. They had been told they could help England but not get in war.

The war crowd will win the battle in the committee, because the war crowd organized it, the war crowd financed it, and the war crowd is in charge.

Mr. White's statement did not suit these individuals. For that statement he has received the bitter denunciation of those who have been saying, "We don't want war"; then why do they object to the statement, "The Yanks are not coming"?

PROFIT FROM WAR

Members of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies are very much interested in companies selling war supplies and materials to the United States and to Great Britain. Many of them are directors and officials in these war-boom companies. The story of the sales to the United States is one of billions and, of course, the story of sales to the British Empire adds more sums of profit.

Any person who has followed the tremendous power of the Morgan interests in industrial corporations can realize the strength of the pressure.

Ward Cheney, sponsor of the Miller group and active in the White committee, is not only connected with the Morgan firm through his family but his company, Cheney Bros., has received hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of contracts from the Army and the Navy. This story is shown in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Henry Breckenridge is director of Aeronautical Securities, Inc., which has its money invested in Bendix Aviation, Douglas Aircraft, Ex Cell-O Corporation, Fairchild Aviation, Grumman Aircraft, Irving Air Chute, Lockheed, Glenn L. Martin, North American Aviation, Sperry Corporation, United Aircraft, and Curtiss-Wright, all of whom have orders totaling in the billions.

Fred McKee, national treasurer of the White committee, is treasurer of the National Casket Co., and that should be self-explanatory.

The story of Governor Lehman's family investments in war stocks can be found in the RECORD for October 9, 1940.

Frank Altschul, president of the General American Investors Co. and an officer of Lazard Fréres, has money invested in war stocks as well as being a policy director for the White committee. Altschul's company has large investments in Aluminum Co. of America, Allied Chemical, American Brake & Foundry, American Car & Foundry, Bendix, Bethlehem, Chrysler (tank orders), Du Pont, General Motors, Glenn L. Martin, Monsanto Chemical, United Aircraft, United States Steel, and Westinghouse, which have millions upon millions of Government orders for war equipment.

Marshall Field, very active in financing the war propaganda in this country, has much money invested in companies receiving huge orders for war material and supplies. He profits from this "blood prosperity."

Directors, officials, and large stockholders of many large industrial corporations are active in the program of the White committee. I do not charge that all directors or officials of the following companies or those just mentioned are for war. They are not. I know this from personal contact with many of them, but some of the officials and directors are. I feel that the good should be separated from the bad, and some day history will make such a separation.

Other companies than those mentioned included in the war business activity who have individuals in the White committee are: United States Steel Corporation (and many subsidiaries), Pullman (and subsidiaries), Westinghouse Electric Manufacturing Co., General Electric, Freeport Sulphur, Baldwin Locomotive, General Motors, American Cyanamid, American Brake Shoe & Foundry, Brown and Sharpe, American Can, J. I. Case Co., Electric Steel Castings, Blaw-Knox, Consolidated Laundries, American Machine & Metals, United States Rubber, Warner & Swasey, American Smelting and Refining, Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting, Texas Gulf Sulphur, Phelps Dodge, Marshall Field, New York Shipbuilding, Federal Shipbuilding, International Harvester, Flintkote, Bendix, Pittsburgh Tool, and Anaconda Copper.

This is just a small part of the many corporations in which the White committee group are interested.

INTERNATIONALISTS AND "PAYTRIOTS"

This is but a fraction of the story. I have not had the time to tell more. The record must be completed and I intend to do it.

I want my country to stay out of war. I want to defend America. I do not want to sacrifice the American boys on the battlefields of Europe. I want to preserve democracy here.

I feel these facts should be known by the people. I believe the people should know who is behind the drive for war. It is not labor. It is not the churches. It is not Main Street. It is not the millions of fine American citizens who love their country. The planners are profiteers, internationalists, and "paytriots." Some sincere are with them, but they do not know the story of this war propaganda. Let us hope they awaken before it is too late.

Resolution Adopted by House District of Columbia Committee on Retirement of Hon. Ambrose J. Kennedy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 30, 1940

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. Speaker, on October 1 of this year a special meeting of the House District Committee was called in order that the committee itself and the individual members thereof might join in an expression of genuine appreciation of the splendid congressional services rendered by the Honorable AMBROSE J. KENNEDY, of Maryland. The untiring, energetic, and continuous service which Mr. KENNEDY gave to the District of Columbia through the committee has been most helpful. In appreciation of this service the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas AMBROSE J. KENNEDY has served continuously on the Committee on the District of Columbia since November 1932 and is the ranking member of such committee in point of service; and

Whereas during the period of his service on the committee the said AMBROSE J. KENNEDY has devoted his efforts tirelessly and unselfishly in the work of such committee; and

Whereas the said AMBROSE J. KENNEDY has been during such time a constant advocate of constructive legislation for the District of Columbia and sponsor of numerous progressive measures in its behalf, including the District of Columbia reorganization bill recently passed by the House of Representatives; and

Whereas by his absence the people of the District of Columbia will have lost a keen friend and strong advocate, and the committee will have lost one of its most faithful, energetic, and constructive members: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Committee on the District of Columbia, That this committee hereby expresses its sincere appreciation of the long and faithful service of AMBROSE J. KENNEDY in the affairs of the committee and in the advocacy of constructive legislation for the District of Columbia, and its deep regret that it will have lost, by his absence, an outstanding member and a stanch friend of the District of Columbia.

Hail, Hail the Stars and Stripes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. JONES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 30, 1940

SONG BY FRANK LUCAS

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following words of a patriotic and inspiring song written by Frank Lucas, of the music department of the Fort Loramie schools, Fort Loramie, Ohio:

There are rumors, many rumors,
That the good old U. S. A.
Would be involved in quarrels abroad
If Europe had her way.
But Uncle Sam, our grand old man,
Will keep his boys at home.
We have fifty million for defense,
But not one boy to loan.

Hail, Hail the Stars and Stripes
Of the good old U. S. A.
America, the beautiful,
That's where I'm going to stay.
Old Yankee Doodle, pal of mine,
A friend good and true.
America, long may she live,
'Neath the red, white, and blue.

There are rumors, many rumors,
The democracies would fall,
But Uncle Sam, defiant, calm,
Awaits the rebel call.
So let us join in our theme song,
My Country 'Tis of Thee.
And we thank God for the U. S. A.
Sweet land of liberty.

Participation by Schools in Inauguration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MATTHEW M. NEELY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940), 1941

LETTER AND PAPER FROM HON. JOSEPH E. DAVIES, CHAIRMAN OF THE INAUGURAL COMMITTEE

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from Hon. Joseph E. Davies to me and the paper which accompanies it under the title "These Freedoms," suggesting a patriotic program for observance by the various schools of the country on Inauguration Day.

There being no objection, the letter and the suggested program were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INAUGURAL COMMITTEE, 1941,
December 30, 1940.

Hon. MATTHEW M. NEELY,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR NEELY: In connection with the ceremonies to inaugurate the President of the United States on January 20, 1941, we are particularly desirous that there should be appropriate patriotic ceremonies throughout the schools of the Nation. We desire above all to emphasize in this way a spirit of national rededication to the principles of freedom and a spirit of national unity, above partisanship and above sectionalism.

With this in mind, we are endeavoring to arrange for radio reception of the broadcast of the actual ceremonies at Washington in every schoolhouse in America. But we feel that it is even more important that the children themselves, their teachers, and perhaps their parents should actively participate in patriotic observances of their own. Naturally, we desire to stress the simplicity, the dignity, and the solemnity of the occasion and to avoid anything in the nature of political celebrations. We, the people of the United States, are inaugurating our President, the man whom a majority of our adult voters have selected to serve all of us. So, we feel most strongly that it is the President's representative capacity—as President of all the people—which should be emphasized.

In order to aid some of the schools in arranging an appropriate program, the Committee for National Participation in the President's Inauguration has prepared a number of suggestions for school programs rededicating the great American heritage of free speech, free expression, the right to worship, and the right to vote under the title of "These Freedoms." A copy of these suggestions is enclosed herewith.

It was my thought that perhaps you could help us acquaint the people with this plan by causing it to be published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and/or to be printed as a Senate or House Document, in order to aid in its distribution to the schools.

With all friendship and respect and hoping that you may be able to help us in this patriotic undertaking, I am

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH E. DAVIES, *Chairman.*

THESE FREEDOMS—SUGGESTIONS FOR SCHOOL PROGRAMS REDEDICATING THE GREAT AMERICAN HERITAGE OF FREE SPEECH, FREE EXPRESSION, THE RIGHT TO WORSHIP, THE RIGHT TO VOTE

We are living in the most critical era of modern history. Totalitarianism, like some awful plague, has swept over a great part of this suffering earth and threatens the last surviving democracies.

In contrast to the horror, suffering, and repressions of the Old World, the precious heritage of freedom stands out as the last hope of the human race.

This heritage—free speech, freedom of expression, the right to worship, and the right to vote—did not come without a struggle. This heritage was won with suffering and blood and will be kept only with unremitting vigilance.

We must not take these freedoms for granted. We must watch over, protect, and defend them from assaults from without and treason from within. As part of this effort toward vigilance, we should rededicate ourselves to the proposition that a heritage worth our forefathers' dying for is worth our fighting to preserve.

On January 20, 1941, the United States will inaugurate a President. Our country is one of the few remaining places in the world which has the right to vote for a President, which can install that official amid expressions of undisturbed national unity.

The inauguration of a President is more than the beginning of a term for the Executive of the land. The ceremony is a symbol of all that we as a nation represent—a symbol of these freedoms, a challenge to the forces which would wreck this heritage.

No more fitting day could be chosen than inauguration day for the schools of America to join in a program of rededication—rededicating themselves in a united effort to preserve and defend these freedoms.

This rededication can be made by all schools everywhere—by public, private, and parochial, by professional or trade school, by the great metropolitan high school or the little red schoolhouse in the distant country places. We are all Americans, city or country, rich or poor. Only by working together in undivided unity can we hope to remain free Americans, free to be the nation we have grown to in 150 years.

The following are suggested rededication programs:

1. DRAMATIZATION PROGRAM

The purpose of a dramatization program is that of reenacting (by class, drama club, special group, etc.) some great incident of American history which bears on one or the great freedoms—free speech, press, religion, suffrage, etc.

This dramatization can be in the form of a script from a successful radio production which the Federal Government, State university, or other public group has already produced. Examples of this type of program are found in the following scripts obtainable from the Educational Radio Script Exchange, Federal Security Agency, United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.:

Freedom of Worship, Freedom of Speech, Freedom of the Press, Freedom of Assembly, The Bill of Rights, Right of Suffrage, Trial by Jury, Right of Petition.

It might be desirable for the school or class to work with a local radio workshop, dramatic group, or other organization in the production on a local radio station of one of these scripts.

The scripts are 30 minutes in length, and hence it would be unwise for a class to attempt more than one dramatization. The teacher or group leader, in conjunction with class discussion, should attempt to determine which type episode or reenactment is desired. If 30 minutes are used for dramatizing one of the freedoms, the remainder of the program or class time allotted to the rededication program might be devoted to discussion of the other freedoms not covered by the dramatization.

A typical program utilizing a dramatization might be as follows:

1. Introduction of program by teacher or group leader (5 minutes).
2. Song by group (America, The Star-Spangled Banner, etc.).
3. Dramatization (30 minutes).
4. Discussion led by teacher or group leader on the other freedoms not covered by dramatization.
5. Closing of program with song (one not used in introduction).

2. DISCUSSION-TYPE PROGRAM

a. Many groups and classes will prefer to discuss the freedoms without utilizing available radio scripts. Such discussions should

be broken down in assignments and the main freedoms covered. Such a program might be allotted something like this:

1. Introduction by teacher or class leader—purpose of rededication program; brief remarks about each important freedom.
2. Free speech (8 to 10 minutes).

The discussion by a member should cover—

(a) Origin.
(b) Struggle to preserve.
(c) Danger to this freedom and importance of preserving it now.

3. Freedom of expression (8 to 10 minutes).
4. Freedom of religion (8 to 10 minutes).
5. Right to vote (8 to 10 minutes).
6. Concluding remarks by teacher or group leader.
7. Closing of discussion period with song.

b. Some teachers or group leaders may think it preferable to cover in a somewhat intensive manner one of the freedoms instead of covering several in a discussion. In such a case the program would be broken down as follows:

1. Background and orientation of the class in a well-rounded presentation of the freedom under discussion.
2. Assignments to various members of various aspects of the freedom such as—

(a) How this freedom was won.
(b) What our forefathers did to preserve it.
(c) What dangers now beset this freedom today.
(d) What we must do in order to retain this freedom.

3. SPECIAL ADDRESS PROGRAM

Many groups may prefer to have some prominent local person come to the class or group meeting and give an address. Such a person might be the mayor, leading attorney, public figure, or civic leader who is gifted in public speaking on public topics. Such a discussion should not necessarily be the entire program. There should be some definite effort made for all to participate. Such a program might be:

1. Song.
2. Opening remarks and introduction by teacher or group leader.
3. Address by visiting speaker.
4. Question period. Here the students can ask questions on the topic which has been discussed.
5. Closing remarks and round-up by teacher or group leader.
6. Song.

4. GREAT QUOTATIONS PROGRAM

Many of the freedoms we have today have been extolled and praised by great figures of America's historic past. The class might well divide up the freedoms into periods of the program and give various quotations.

For example, the class might be given assignments to check reference books and history to see what Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and others said on the subject of free speech, religion, press, etc.

One group might be given an assignment to find what great figures have said about free speech, another about free press, another about freedom of worship. The class period on the program day can then be broken up into quotation periods in which the members will read what they have found about the topics to be covered.

Such a program would be:

1. Opening: Song or remarks by group leader.
2. Freedom of speech quotations (reading by class members what various people have said—Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, etc.).
3. Freedom of press quotations.
4. Freedom of worship quotations.
5. Right to vote quotations.

Another type of program which could be used either separately or as part of the above would be a quotation from some of the great inaugurations of the past.

5. AMERICAN MUSICAL PROGRAM

Some classes or groups may prefer to rededicate themselves to the causes of freedom through song. A band, orchestra, chorus, quartet, glee club, or other musical group may wish to use this method.

Songs which have made history can well be used in a program such as this. Typical examples of selections would be:

The Star-Spangled Banner; America; America, the Beautiful; God Bless America; Stephen Collins Foster melodies; Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean; Yankee Doodle; Dixie; Oh, Susannah; We're Tenting Tonight; etc.

EXCERPT FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

"The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (although often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

"From this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes."

EXCERPT FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON'S FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

"Let us, then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong, that this Government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question."

EXCERPT FROM ANDREW JACKSON'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

"You have been wisely admonished to 'accustom yourselves to think and speak of the Union as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of any attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.' Without union our independence and liberty would never have been achieved; without union they never can be maintained. Divided into 24, or even a smaller number. of separate communities, we shall see our internal trade burdened with numberless restraints and exactions; communications between distant points and sections obstructed or cut off; our sons made soldiers to deluge with blood the fields they now till in peace; the mass of our people borne down and impoverished by taxes to support armies and navies, and military leaders at the head of their victorious legions becoming our lawgivers and judges. The loss of liberty, of all good government, of peace, plenty, and happiness, must inevitably follow a dissolution of the Union. In supporting it, therefore, we support all that is dear to the freeman and the philanthropist.

"The time at which I stand before you is full of interest. The eyes of all nations are fixed on our Republic. The event of the existing crisis will be decisive in the opinion of mankind of the practicability of our Federal system of government. Great is the stake placed in our hands; great is the responsibility which must rest upon the people of the United States. Let us realize the importance of the attitude in which we stand before the world. Let us exercise the forbearance and firmness. Let us extricate our country from the dangers which surround it and learn wisdom from the lessons they inculcate."

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that this Nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add to or detract. The world will little note nor long

remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave their last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 30 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940

EDITORIALS FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, permission was granted me on December 30—page 14004—to place in the Appendix of the RECORD certain material. I submit for printing three of the editorials referred to at that time. The other material will be submitted separately.

The editorials are as follows:

POLITICAL PARADE—USEFUL MR. HOLT

(By George Rothwell Brown, chief of Washington staff, King Features Syndicate)

It is encouraging to note that Senator RUSH D. HOLT, the dynamic boy wonder from West Virginia, has no intention of quitting Washington when his term as United States Senator expires on January 3.

The Senator has leased his house here until October 1941, which will be a slice of bad news for the New Deal in general and the warmongers in particular.

Young HOLT is going out of the Senate at a moment when he is rendering to the country his most important service. Nearly every day on which the Senate has met for some weeks past he has been exposing the connections and affiliations of those groups in this country who are doing everything they can to involve the United States in the European war. He will be missed in the new Senate. What Senator is prepared to take his place?

Any Senator who tried to do it would have a job of work cut out for himself.

The information which HOLT has been placing before the Senate has not been easy of ascertainment. It has required an immense amount of research.

Now, most Senators, when they require research to be done, to form the basis of a bill a statement or a speech, turn the job over to their secretaries, or to the special bureau of the Library of Congress which was created for just that purpose.

HOLT is the only Senator, so far as this writer knows, who does his own research. It is not merely that he is indefatigable in his labors, that he loves work for the sake of work.

The boy wonder from West Virginia prides himself on never making a statement to the Senate that he cannot prove.

For the sake of preserving this reputation which he enjoys for strict accuracy, he is reluctant to accept second-hand information. When he has dug up a fact for himself, he knows it is true.

His rooms in the Senate Office Building are filled with foreign and domestic newspapers, books, documents, annual reports of corporations of this country and abroad.

For weeks past he has been telling the Senate of the peculiar and particular relationships, social, matrimonial, and commercial, of some of our leading shouters for war.

If he had not done this job it would not have been done. It has been a patriotic service to the Nation of inestimable value. All the result of the burning of much midnight oil, for HOLT has been perhaps the hardest-working Senator Washington ever knew.

The Washington correspondent who wants to reach HOLT at 3 o'clock in the morning, for information to answer a query, never thinks of calling him at his house—he rings him up first at his office, and 9 times out of 10 gets him there.

Surrounded by his pet police dogs, who go with him everywhere, HOLT toils far into the night, digging up the sort of facts that the New Deal would much prefer should remain unexhumed.

The boy wonder was so young when elected to the Senate that under the Constitution he was not eligible. The New Deal leaders, anxious to secure that extra senatorial Democratic vote, stretched the Constitution to the breaking point and permitted HOLT to wait for 6 monhs, when he attained to the constitutional age and took the oath of office.

Many and oft were the times thereafter when Joe Robinson and the New Deal leadership wished they had rejected the boy wonder when he first showed up, for in a short time he had become a pain in the neck to the Democratic organization.

HOLT broke with the New Deal over his exposure of W. P. A. racketeering in West Virginia, and from that point went on to combat a lot of New Deal tomfoolery.

Watch HOLT. He'll be coming back to the Senate some day, and a mighty good thing.

MR. WILLIS' GREAT OPPORTUNITY

(Editorial by William J. Gross, editor, the News-Sentinel, Fort Wayne, Ind., December 10, 1940)

Purged by the Roosevelt New Deal, Senator RUSH HOLT, West Virginia Democrat, has only a few days of his first and only term to serve.

But he is making those days count. He is refusing to relax his attack on warmongering propagandists. He is determined to keep pitching.

Senator HOLT has been frequently charged with "lack of dignity." But we have not yet seen his documentary evidence attacked or his contentions refuted with fact. And he has done a fine, patriotic job—dignity or no dignity—a job that needed doing, and will continue to need doing during the months ahead.

The people of Indiana are counting on their new Republican Senator, RAYMOND E. WILLIS, to carry on the good work which men like RUSH HOLT, the Democrat, have so capably advanced; and they are well aware of the fact that whatever may be said about the lack of dignity on the part of the gentleman from West Virginia, there is no lack of dignity on the part of the gentleman from Angola, Ind.

So the warmongers will be obliged to put up their red herrings and confine their arguments to the relevancies where Senator WILLIS is concerned.

In particular, Senator WILLIS' Hoosier neighbors—and a great many millions in other States as well—would like to see this State's new Member of the national upper House continue Senator HOLT'S insistence that "the next step of the Dies committee should be to investigate English propaganda in this country."

To this end there should presently be action to meet Senator HOLT'S challenge when he declares that "Congress was afraid to investigate the William Allen White committee, because it had 'official backing.'"

The Senator repeats his earlier charge, supported by impressive documentation, that the White committee is "financed by war profiteers and by men with foreign connections."

The White committee, officially named "The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies," has proved itself to be what Senator HOLT calls it, "A deliberately planned committee to involve this country in war."

Surely the record leaves very little opportunity for quarreling with the West Virginia Senator's statement that "Its disreputable conduct has been to stir up hatred and viciousness to get the people of this country ready for the final step."

Indeed, every step to war has been taken now, except the actual sending of American boys; and the committee's members are simply waiting for public opinion to soften on that issue. Incidentally, in this they are receiving, as might have been expected, the cordial cooperation of Dr. Gallup's precious survey of public opinion.

Senator HOLT says that the White committee will not be investigated by Congress, "because the group has behind it very high officials who can exert too much pressure on Congress * * * because it has influence over owners of the radio * * * because of the power of the bankers who are financing it."

The prospect is not very pleasing, to be sure. But there was a time when the Dies committee was just as stubbornly opposed—and for very similar reasons—when it was undertaking to look into some of the almost equally influential forces peddling communism in this country under the name of democracy.

So maybe Congress, having called the White House bluff on adjournment and having swapped a few MINTONS for WILLISES in spite of White House purges of men like HOLT, will presently defy the powerful lightning that threatens all who would tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about the White committee's infernal warmongering.

Unless this defiance comes quickly we greatly fear it will come too late.

Senator-elect WILLIS has a wonderful opportunity to cast his strength on the side of the advocates of peace and nonentanglements. And this strength must be fully mobilized without delay.

To take such a stand, fortunately, requires no sacrifice of dignity. There was no lack of dignity in the late William E. Borah. There is no lack of dignity in ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, or BURTON K. WHEELER, or GERALD P. NYE. There is only lack of a disposition to pussyfoot and hedge and trim and shush-shush.

Mr. WILLIS has given his fellow Hoosiers ample evidence that he is handicapped by no such disposition. And he stands, accordingly, today as the vital embodiment of this Commonwealth's long-stored-up displeasure for, and repudiation of, all that has been symbolized and expressed by the warmonger whom he succeeds.

Therefore his constituents will expect the near future to find the new Senator in the distinguished company of VANDENBERG and NYE, WHEELER and the two CLARKS, LODGE and SHIPSTEAD, WALSH, DANAHER, and DAVIS, WILEY and CAPPER, JOHNSON and MCCARRAN.

Where a tireless HOLT has left off may a courageous WILLIS carry on.

[From the New York Enquirer of August 12, 1940]

RUSH HOLT EMERGES AS AMERICAN IDOL

(Editorial by William Griffin, editor and publisher)

A deeply aggrieved lawmaker in Washington inquired the other day as to what had become of congressional dignity.

That is just what a great many Americans would like to know. Moreover, they would be gratified to find out what has become of congressional integrity, statesmanship, and patriotism as well.

Our National Capital, where Congress holds forth, is rapidly becoming a huge Trojan-horse stable.

If it were not for the vigilance of such men as Senator RUSH HOLT, who has made himself a national idol, the American people might well despair.

One of the most reprehensible exhibitions of Trojan horsemanship which the country has yet seen was the introduction in the National Legislature of the Burke-Wadsworth bill. This measure was framed for the purpose of Hitlerizing the United States through a drastic conscription of the manhood of the Republic from the ages of 18 to 64.

Everyone knows that 1940 is a Presidential and congressional election year. It was necessary, therefore, that the administration should exercise extreme caution not to reveal its hand with regard to the Burke-Wadsworth bill, a bill so much at variance with Americanism, so inimical to that freedom and opportunity of the individual citizen which has made our country the envy of all other lands.

This problem was solved by Trojan horsecraft. The bill was sponsored in the Senate by a "lame duck" Democrat, EDWARD R. BURKE, of Nebraska, and in the House by a Republican, JAMES W. WADSWORTH, of New York. It is marvelous to witness with what fraternal cooperation the internationalists of the Democratic and the Republican Parties proceed where the welfare of the British Empire is concerned—the Burke-Wadsworth measure is designed to underwrite the British Empire with unlimited American blood and treasure—no matter how fiercely they fight on other things.

The American people are thoroughly awake to the true implications of the Burke-Wadsworth bill. They do not desire to see it laced upon our statute books in any shape or form.

In the Senate it has already occasioned tremendous controversy. Out of the senatorial battle over this monstrous measure one man has arisen toweringly over his fellow Senators. That man is RUSH HOLT, of West Virginia.

He has brought upon himself the distilled virulence of the Hitlerizers because he has had the intelligence and statesmanship, patriotism and ability, to stand up in the National Capitol and denounce the Burke-Wadsworth bill as it deserves to be denounced.

His opponents, led by Senator SHERMAN MINTON, of Indiana, have thrown out their chests, proclaimed to the world their perfervid Americanism, and excoriated the Senator from West Virginia as an enemy of the United States of America. Not even the dead father of RUSH HOLT has escaped the venom of the embattled Senator MINTON, who during his term in the Senate his distinguished himself as the upholder and promoter of legislation so different from the American conception of things that Adolf Hitler himself must have been more than elated by it.

There never was a country marked as a victim of despotism whose victimizers did not clothe themselves in the robes of lofty patriotism and denounce its true patriots as traitors.

The champions of the Burke-Wadsworth bill call it truly democratic. Their effrontery is simply incapable of measurement. These men place American tags upon the most outrageous totalitarian measures, expect all to believe them as sincere, and make use of the lowest language when they are shown up in their true colors.

The stud book of the Trojan horse in America dates back to the days of Benedict Arnold. He, too, according to himself, was a great American. Directly after he galloped off to the British, as a traitor to his country, he had the temerity to issue a proclamation to the American people in which he speaks of "the tyranny of the usurpers," meaning Washington and his brother patriots, and declares, "I prefer their enmity to their applause." As with the British "fifth column" sponsors of the Burke-Wadsworth bill, all those unwilling to subordinate the interests of America were accursed in Arnold's patriotic sight. To him Britain was "a nation counting both the will and the power to protect us." Today the British "fifth column" tell us that nothing but the British Fleet stands between America and annihilation.

RUSH HOLT is a native son of the State which gave Washington to America, for West Virginia, until the unhappy Civil War, was a part of Virginia.

He is manfully carrying on the good fight of America against her cowardly and powerfully placed wreckers. The Father of His Country would applaud him. The American people, from ocean to ocean, applaud him. He has already made an imperishable name for himself. His honesty, his devotion to country, his statesmanship, and his capability are things in which all Americans take an especial pride.

Every citizen of the land must look upon it as a privilege and a duty to give the maximum assistance to this gallant, foully aspersed young Senator for whom no popular reward is too great.

Write him. Telegraph him, Telephone him.

Write, telegraph, and telephone his opponents. Show them that the American people have no intention of allowing the Burke-Wadsworth bill to befoul our statute books. This damnable measure must be destroyed in the flames of the people's indignation. Were it to pass America would be no more.

Today RUSH HOLT is one of the foremost Americans in the land. He is a national hero. A great future is in store for him. Thank God for him and the others who are waging the good fight of America in Congress.

And America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940), 1941

EDITORIAL FROM THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD one of the ablest and most statesmanlike editorials I have ever read, which appeared in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post, entitled "And America."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Saturday Evening Post of January 4, 1941]

AND AMERICA

The very eminent Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies held a prize contest for war posters. With ceremonial publicity, the first prize was awarded to one showing a tortured tree in a desolate landscape. The lettering in the sky was, "Lest we regret," and upon the foreground, "Help Britain and defend America."

And defend America! We doubt if these tireless war bringers were conscious that their thought had capsized itself by a psychic law of gravity. They were probably too intent upon a new feat of propaganda. They were changing slogans. Measures short of war had been used up. They were going to substitute for it, "Stop Hitler now."

By measures short of war the country had been led backward into war. We are in it now. The people are loath to believe this. Because it has not yet touched them, they are still hoping it isn't true. The problem of the war party, therefore, is to make them face it.

"We must now answer a fundamental question," says Dr. Conant, president of Harvard University. He is speaking by radio, November 20, under the auspices of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, at the obsequies of measures short of war. Do we agree that the aggressor powers must be defeated? Well, then, he says, "the words 'all possible aid to the Allies' mean exactly what they say. There are no reservations in our pledge. It then becomes a matter of strategy, and strategy only, when, if ever, material aid must be supplemented by direct naval and military assistance."

Five days later the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies issues a new statement of policy, saying: "The American people must face squarely the realities of this day and hour." And then: "Also we say regretfully that no one can guarantee that the United States can avoid active military involvement."

Thus is launched the final undertaking, which is to condition the American mind to the idea that for the American way of life we shall have to fight and die—not here where the life grew, not on its own soil where it could be invincible, but in Europe.

The conditioning process began with the first slogan, and while the chemistries of persuasion were acting, until they had completely worked, any suggestion of military involvement was repelled with indignation. The very reason for taking measures short of war against the European aggressor was to avoid war by keeping it away.

The idea that America's own first line of defense was in Europe met with much more resistance. It came at first with such a shock that the President denied having said it to the Senators who were repeating it in a panic of anxiety, and declared that anyone who said he had said it was a boob or a liar. Within 6 months, nevertheless, it was a settled point in American foreign policy. Then followed unneutral acts on the part of the Government, trial acts of intervention, acts that were legally acts of war, and the one saying covered them all.

The first measure short of war was to repeal the arms embargo of the neutrality law. The Congress did that, but the President demanded it. The common understanding, the understanding of Congress, was that lifting the arms embargo meant only to give England and France exclusive access to the private industrial resources of the United States as cash war customers. What excluded Germany was nothing in the law but only the fact that England and France controlled the sea. That was the beginning. The formula thereafter was extensible to any degree, and the Congress was powerless to control it.

As a measure short of war, the American Government, in an open message to France, pledged itself to see to it that the Allied Armies should receive from the United States ever-increasing quantities of "airplanes, artillery, and munitions" for so long as they continued to resist the aggressor. The President alone did that.

As a measure short of war, the American Government released to the British a fleet of mosquito torpedo boats in building for the United States Navy, but was obliged to cancel that arrangement on the discovery by Congress of a law forbidding it.

As a measure short of war, the American Government released Army and Navy airplanes to the British. The President alone did that.

As a measure short of war, the American Government delivered to Great Britain out of its own arsenals shiploads of rifles, artillery, and munitions. The President alone did that.

As a measure short of war, 50 destroyers were released by the United States Navy to go and fight against Hitler. The President alone did that.

As a measure short of war, the American Government entered into a military alliance with one of the belligerent nations, namely, Canada. The President alone did that.

As a measure short of war, the American Government divided its defense program, 50–50, with Great Britain, by what the President called a rule of thumb. The President alone did that.

As a measure short of war, a number of our largest bombing planes, together with our secret bomb sight, have been released to go and bomb Germany. They were released in exchange for airplane engines that were on order in American plants for the British.

As a measure short of war, the United States has temporarily weakened its own defenses in order to deliver immediately to Great Britain planes, ships, and guns in being—all to be replaced out of future production.

By these and other measures short of war, we have arrived at what is in effect an Anglo-American military alliance, and the only people in the world who do not know it are the American people.

By measures short of war, we have arrived at the verge of total participation, still without looking at it. One more act would oblige us to take the plunge. A single symbolic act is wanting. We have not yet sent in the flag.

The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies now begins to condition the mind for that. In its new statement of policy it says the United States must provide ships to save the life line between Great Britain and the Western Hemisphere, "merchant vessels to fly the British flag," and then be prepared under all circumstances to defend that life line, which would mean, of course, to convoy the merchant ships. That would take our flag in.

It goes on to say that the United States should have a clear naval understanding with Great Britain "which will permit the two fleets to be placed in the most advantageous position to protect the Atlantic for the democracies and to stop the spread of war in the Pacific." That would surely take our flag in. Once the flag goes in we shall know what a conscript army is for. We shall know also the answer to the question with which we have challenged those who hold for defending America by saving England and avoid thinking it through to the sequel. The question is, Who is going to reconquer Europe?

England alone cannot do that. She can hope to do it only with the aid of American manpower. That is what Winston Churchill has been saying in a cryptic manner. To say it bluntly would be a blunder. Everything but men. That is what Great Britain has been asking for. Everything but men. That is what the American Government has been promising. But this is form and formality.

The only British official who has mentioned men, if he did—meaning by men an American expeditionary force—is Lord Lothian, the British Ambassador. And it was an oblique incident. In November, immediately after the American election, he was returning from London to his Washington post, and he had left behind him in London the Ediphone recording of a speech to be broadcast to the United States. When the speech came through on the air the Columbia Broadcasting System's listeners were astonished to hear him say, "But we also need planes, men, and ships if we are to be sure of defeating the Nazi threat to liberty." Immediately came a cable, not from Lord Lothian, who was on his way, but from the British Government, saying that what he had said, or meant to say, was "planes, finance, and ships." The Columbia Broadcasting System so corrected it, but with this explanation: "There seems little doubt from our playbacks of the recording that Lothian said 'planes, men, and ships.'"

It was perhaps a slip of the diplomatic tongue. But a writer like H. N. Brailsford, in A Message From England to America, can make the free authentic statement. If England survives the "blitzkrieg," he says, she must "contemplate the invasion of a continent solidly organized by its German masters." What such a feat would require in the way of a perfectly equipped army he does not dare to guess; in any case it "is well above the total that England alone could furnish, even with the help of the Dominions. * * * We do not forget that the German Reich has nearly twice our population, nor that it can harness for its own military ends all the industries of subjugated Europe. * * * Our own population is too small; our wealth, deeply drained already, insufficient. The stake is not merely our survival, but the liberation of Europe and the peace of the Americas. Then, may we hope for the comradely aid, in men and money, of the United States? * * * On the day that it declares war upon this malignant principle, and sends out its volunteers to fight shoulder to shoulder with our young men, civilization has a future and mankind may dare to hope."

And America!—our men and our money for "the liberation of Europe and the peace of the Americas."

It is what we said could never, never happen to us again. We passed a law against it. We were resolved to be forever free of this thralldom to Europe. That was our true first line of defense, and a phrase destroyed it.

Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY M. GILLETTE

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940), 1941

ADDRESS BY HON. BURTON K. WHEELER, OF MONTANA

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, in the last 2 or 3 days there have been delivered to the American people two noteworthy addresses dealing with the outstanding issue of the day. These addresses have gone a long way toward crystallizing an issue on which the American people will have to speak very soon. One, an address by the President of the United States, has been placed in the RECORD. I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD the speech delivered by the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. WHEELER] over a radio hook-up on last Monday.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of December 31, 1940]

WHEELER ASKS EFFORT TO EFFECT PEACE AND BOLSTER DEMOCRACY—SENATOR, IN FORUM, CALLS FOR UNITED STATES SETTLING HOME PROBLEMS FIRST

Senator WHEELER, Democrat, of Montana, spoke on Foreign Policy in the National Radio Forum, sponsored by the Star, over Station WMAL and a coast-to-coast network of the National Broadcasting Co. last night. In the address, Senator WHEELER gave his views of America's role in the international crisis.

The text of the address follows:

"The views I express to you tonight are not the views of the Star, which has generously afforded me an opportunity to speak to you. They are not the views of any international banker, nor are they dictated by interventionists or warmongers. The thoughts I am about to express are not based upon any fear of wild boasts of American conquest by Stalin, Hitler, or Mussolini. I know that neither they nor their ideologies will capture the people of the United States or our imagination to the point that we would adopt fascism, communism, or nazi-ism as an American doctrine.

"You and I are Americans—and as Americans, of course, we are interested in the well-being of the people of all the world. Coming as we do from the four corners of the earth, we know that our business, our race, and our religion color our reaction to any European war. We know that today wars in Europe or Asia affect us economically, politically, and emotionally.

"We sympathize with the oppressed and persecuted everywhere."

HOME PROBLEMS COME FIRST

"We also realize that we have great problems at home—that one-third of our population is ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clad—and we have been told repeatedly, upon the highest authority, that unless and until this situation is corrected, our democracy is in danger. I fully subscribe to this view.

"Believing as I do in this thesis, I cannot help but feel that we should settle our own problems before we undertake to settle the problems of Asia, Africa, Australasia, South America, and Europe.

"As Americans, interested first in America, what is our present stake? Our stakes are our independence, our democracy, and our trade and commerce. Every red-blooded American would fight to preserve them.

"What is the best way to preserve them? There are two schools of thought. One group feels—as they felt before the last World War—that England is our first line of defense and that we must go to England's aid every time she declares war, and that some European dictator is after rich loot in the United States, perhaps our gold buried in the hills of Kentucky. This group wants to repeal

our Neutrality Act and the Johnson Act. They want to loan our ships, our guns, and our planes—even though it may involve us in the European conflict. They profess to believe it is necessary for the preservation of our country, our religion, and civilization.

"We were told the same things in almost the same terms before the last war.

"The other group feels that we should build our defenses to meet any emergency that may arise. But we do not believe that the preservation of the American people or our democracy depends upon any foreign nation. It is hard for us to visualize a nation of 130,000,000 people so weak that we cannot defend ourselves when our forefathers in the Thirteen Original Colonies—poor, divided, and weak—were not only able to conquer an army already in our midst but to build the greatest democracy the world has ever known."

OPPOSES UNITED STATES CONVOY

"Just as I love the United States so do I dislike Hitler and all that he symbolizes. My sympathy for the British is both deep and genuine, and is exceeded only by the depth and sincerity of my Americanism. No anti-British feeling dictates my opposition to the evasion or repeal of the Johnson and Neutrality Acts. I am opposed to American convoy of British ships. I oppose all these because they lead us down that road with only one ending—total, complete, and futile war. And William Allen White, chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, agrees that the convoying of British ships by American vessels and the repeal of the Neutrality and Johnson Acts would mean war for us.

"Remember, if we lease war materials today, we will lend or lease American boys tomorrow. Last night we heard the President promise that there would be no American expeditionary force, but we received no promise that our ships and sailors and our planes and pilots might not at some time within the near future be cast into the cauldron of blood and hate that is Europe today.

"Our independence can only be lost or compromised if Germany invades the Western Hemisphere north of the equator. This would be fantastic, as it would require the transportation of at least 2,000,000 men, with planes, tanks, and equipment in one convoy across the Atlantic. This would require two or three thousand transports plus a fleet larger than our Navy, plus thousands of fighter-escorted bombers. Such a fleet cannot possibly be available. Certainly it cannot be trained efficiently before our 2-ocean Navy is ready. It is not possible for the German Navy to prepare an effective plan for such an invasion which our Navy and Army, with our air force, cannot defeat. Remember, Hitler has already been 7 months in vainly trying to cross 20 miles. If Hitler's army can't cross the narrow English Channel in 7 months, his bombers won't fly across the Rockies to bomb Denver tomorrow.

"The only threat to our independence would be to join in some 'union of free nations,' so-called, in which we would be but a unit and outnumbered and outgeneraled by our good neighbors across the sea."

COMMON FOLK PAY FOR WAR

"Democracy! We cannot hold our democracy except by prosperity and improvement in the mechanics of democracy. This will not be aided by joining the war.

"The cost of this war will come out of the millions of poor people—the common folk of the world who will toil for generations to pay the cost of the destruction.

"War inevitably means back-breaking debt, blighted lives, bedeviled futures. War means the end of civil liberties—the end of free speech, free press, free enterprise. It means dictatorship and slavery—all the things we abhor in nazi-ism, communism, and fascism. It means Stalin or Hitler will have achieved their boasts for a totalitarian world without conquering America.

"The President in his speech last night ridiculed the idea of a peace in Europe. Conceding all that he so eloquently said about 'outlaws,' the 'concentration camps,' and the 'servants of God in chains'—what about Russia and Joseph Stalin's communism? And have we not recognized Hitler and Franco? Did we not at least acquiesce in Mussolini and all his works?

"If we follow the logic of Mr. Roosevelt, then we ought immediately to break off diplomatic relations with Russia, Italy, Germany, Japan, and other nations whose domestic and foreign policies we abhor.

"And where do we go from there?

"Regardless of when or who is proclaimed victor in the present war—it cannot last forever. Peace, fleeting though it may be, will eventually come to Europe. At some time in the future representatives of England and Germany will sit around a table—sometime they will agree upon peace—and until that day, the world suffers. Each of us, from the President of the United States to the most humble citizen, should exert his every effort for peace, now.

"Removal of Hitler, even the defeat of the German armies, will not destroy that which Hitler symbolizes. Hitlerism can be destroyed and banished from Europe only by destroying that which caused or maintains nazi-ism."

LORD LOTHIAN QUOTED

"Ask yourselves who and what were responsible for the real birth and growth of Hitlerism.

"Lord Lothian, until his recent death, wartime Ambassador from Great Britain to the United States, said of Nazi-ism—I quote him: 'In great measure it was rebellion against the discriminations of the treaty of Versailles * * *.' That wasn't some Nazi sympathizer; that was your friend, Lord Lothian, speaking.

"I firmly believe the German people want peace just as any people prefer peace to war—and the offer of a just, reasonable, and generous peace will more quickly and effectively crumble Hitlerism and break the morale of the German people than all the bombers that could be dispatched over Berlin.

"A just peace is difficult, if not impossible, to abstractly define while war rages. It is too completely dependent on the attitude of the belligerents.

"A working basis for a just peace might involve among other factors the following:

"1. Restoration of Germany's 1914 boundaries with an autonomous Poland and Czechoslovakia.

"2. Restoration of independent France, Holland, Norway, Belgium, and Denmark.

"3. Restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France.

"4. Restoration of German colonies.

"5. Protection of all racial and religious minorities in all countries.

"6. Internationalization of the Suez Canal.

"7. No indemnities or reparations.

"8. Arms limitation."

CAN REMAIN AT PEACE

"The United States is no longer trudging along the road to war. We are running. Some feel that we have gone so fast and so far that there can be no stopping—no return to complete peace except via war. But we are at peace and we can remain at peace if either one of two lines of action is pursued. First, Americans in greater number must firmly resolve and express themselves, that we will fight no offensive war. And, secondly, we can remain at peace if the horrible European debacle of death and destruction ends in the near future.

"Though today we stand as close to the brink of war as we stood in January of 1917, some people still oppose a European peace. Warmongers, sordid romanticists, reckless adventurers, and some whose sympathies and sentiments are stronger than their reasoning powers would plunge this Nation into war; plunge us into a war from which we could gain nothing; plunge us into a war that would destroy democracy—that would bring deep, harrowing anguish to millions of hearts. And how would they bring this to pass? They would take us in today as they did in 1917.

"The right Honorable Sir Gilbert Parker, writing for Harper's magazine of March 1918, said of American entry into the last war: 'Practically since the day war broke out between England and the Central Powers, I became responsible for American publicity. * * * We established connection with the man in the street through cinema pictures of the Army and Navy, as well as through interviews, articles, pamphlets, etc. * * * We had reports from important Americans constantly, and established association, by personal correspondence, with influential and eminent people of every profession in the United States, beginning with university and college presidents, professors, and scientific men, and running through all the ranges of the population.

" 'We had our documents and literature sent to great numbers of public libraries, Y. M. C. A. societies, universities, colleges, historical societies, clubs, and newspapers. It is hardly necessary to say that the work was one of extreme difficulty and delicacy.' "

EDUCATORS SIGNED TELEGRAM

"Do Sir Gilbert's words in any way explain the warmongering telegram to the President urging greater aid to Britain? Has British propaganda again reached the college and university professors? Twenty-nine educators signed the highly publicized wire that urged steps that would take the United States into war on the side of Britain.

"And have you and I, 'the man in the street,' felt the insidious force of war propaganda through the movies?

"Is there another Sir Gilbert Parker in the United States? Perhaps not, but there are a lot of foreign slackers—European royalty, princes and potentates, and their idolaters—who, instead of being wined and dined in high places in Washington and urging us to go to war, ought to be home fighting the battles for liberty and Christianity they so glibly tell us about. Poor things! As usual, they were forced to leave their country while their subjects had to remain to do the fighting.

"My friends, it is this satanically clever propaganda that appeals to the Christianity, the idealism, the humanity, and the loyalty of the American people that takes us to war. It is this that we must resist. It is this that we must cast aside if we truly love our country and democracy. We must remain at peace and dedicate ourselves to effecting peace for a war-torn world.

"We have reached a strange situation in America when those who advocate peace—who do not follow the party line—are branded appeasers or unwitting tools of the dictators. This still is a democracy, and American citizens whose beliefs vary from those of the Government ought not to be howled down or intimidated by threats of the F. B. I. Free speech still belongs to all the people, not to just a few at the top.

"I do not believe that the great majority of our people are eager to be embraced by war—and I call upon them not to be afraid to say so. I, for one, believe the policy advocated by the interventionists is insane because it will lead to total war, and war is insanity.

"I say so now and I intend to continue to say so, even if at the end I stand alone."

BEWARE MASS HYSTERIA

"Americans! Do not let yourselves be swayed by mass hysteria. Do not travel again the road that you took in 1917. You hanged

Bob La Follette in effigy because he opposed war, and lived to repent your action and put him in the Hall of Fame. Fifteen years after that war, when the secret treaties were exposed, you realized that you had been duped. Has history suddenly changed?

"Are the facts of yesterday no longer facts? Has this war a sweeter odor than the last? Don't let yourselves be misled by the so-called notables. Numerically they are few—a few hundred—even though they command the newspaper headlines. But they do not speak for the mass of Americans. They do not represent labor, the farmer, the youth, the mothers or the fathers of America. The great mass of our people are inarticulate, but it is time you were heard. You must not be driven like sheep to the slaughtering pens.

"There is a war that I call upon you to enter—a noble war which the royalty of Europe and our Tory friends at home are unwilling to face—a war to end economic inequality and poverty and disease in this, the richest land in the world.

"America's war ought to be a war against industrial unemployment and low farm prices.

"Whether the stroke of 12 will usher in a really happy new year tomorrow night depends upon you—and upon your sincere loyalty to Christian ideals. 'Peace on earth to men of good will' is a sacred cause for which we should pray and work. Let your Representatives in Washington know that you have not surrendered the independence of America to warmongers and interventionists—and God will bless America."

We March, but We Remember

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SCHUYLER OTIS BLAND

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 2, 1941

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HON. JOSEPH C. HUTCHESON, JR., UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE, HOUSTON, TEX.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech delivered at Stratford Hall, Westmoreland County, Va., on October 12, 1940, on the seventieth anniversary of the death of Gen. Robert E. Lee, on the subject We March, but We Remember.

Mrs. Lanier, directors, and friends of Stratford and the foundation, let me, before beginning my prepared address, say to you that while I hope you will approve of and enjoy it, I do not require that you shall. For the son and nephew of Virginians who, with Lee, marched and fought and surrendered with him at Appomattox, I accepted the assignment and have made this long march from Texas to keep it, not to vie in oratory with Demosthenes or Cicero or any of the moderns. I am here solely to bear open witness to my faith in and my unpayable indebtedness to the marching tradition in which my father raised me, and to testify to the immeasurable contribution of Stratford and of Robert E. Lee, to that tradition and that faith. That purpose has sustained me in my reading for and preparation of this address. It will sustain me through its delivery, though I prove myself no orator, for I have reasons for the faith that is in me; I know that my witness is true.

WE MARCH, BUT WE REMEMBER

Men learn but to forget, to learn and forget again. Sometimes they learn at such cost of blood and tears, of bitterness and despair, that, graven on their hearts the lessons lie deep beyond forgetting. Sometimes as they stumble upward through the fog and mist, a light surprises and men see, fleetingly take exquisite form, some vision of beauty or of grace, of duty or of truth, of virtue or of honor, of justice or of peace. Sometimes before the fog and mists close down again they see far shining the delectable mountains and even sometimes the heavenly city and there they raise their Ebenezer and call the place Bethel. Always when these experiences come to men, the wise and thoughtful among them, yearning toward their posterity, treasure them in memory to hand them down to their children and their children's children.

At times the children cherish the heritage, tend the sacred fires, protect the votive shrines, and on the dear traditions build traditions of their own, to hand them down again. At times, too wearied and disheartened by the slowness of the march, at other times too eager and headlong to be on, they leave the fires untended, the shrines deserted and forgotten. Then, fearful of the gathering darkness and the unlighted bleakness of their way, they desperately turn before it is too late to again fan the fading fires, to prostrate themselves again before the blessed shrines. Thus by the hardest, on the long way he has come, man has almost learned that while tradition without progress is slow death to the race, progress without tradition is worse than death.

I say has almost learned, because the heart-sickening upsurgence in the world of brutishness and the rule of black force, of statism, and the class struggle disturbs me. The ruthless belittling of and attack upon the individual soul, now greatly fashionable, the menacing undertones of absolutism, the frightful overtones of hate now sounding through the world and shrilling into fury give me great concern. But I am a rememberer and, notwithstanding the fearful signs and portents everywhere, I am not afraid. For I know that man is the creature who remembers and, remembering, marches on. And I know, too, that because he is he will, in the long march of events, to the solemn, searching question, "For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul; or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" ever answer, "Nothing; nothing; nothing."

Because we are rememberers, we know that there have been other times as out of joint, other days as dark, other nights as long as these we face—indeed, far darker, far longer. And because we are, we know that those who went before us endured and triumphed over those as we shall endure and triumph over these dark nights and days. Because we are rememberers, we know that the soul of man is made up, not of some but of all the experiences of the race—the hardships and the ease, the comforts and the privations, the weaknesses and the strengths, the beliefs and the unbeliefs, the cruelties and the compassions, the hopes and the despairs, the advances and the retreats, the great inheritance, indeed the very stuff, of the soul.

As rememberers we know that, compounded of light and dark, of heat and cold, of crudeness and fineness, of piety and of impiety, of caution and of daring, of baseness and of nobility, the soul is what it is because, and only because, of its priceless faculty, memory—the faculty which gathers and stores for it the traditions of the race and sets remembrancers within to keep the soul forever mindful. The psalmist cried, "What is man that Thou art mindful of him; and the son of man; that Thou visitest him? For Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels and hast crowned him with glory and honor. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of Thy hands. Thou hast put all things under his feet"; and man, out of the fullness of his history, makes triumphant answer, "I am a rememberer. I march but I remember, and, remembering, I keep the sacred fires burning; I worship at the shrines."

Strike man with amnesia, physical or spiritual, take memory from him, leave him without the knowledge, the inspiration, and the guidance of tradition, and he becomes a soulless, desperate creature, without pride of ancestry or yearning toward posterity, lost in the solitude of a bleak and dismal present, forgetting whence he came, and therefore knowing not where he goes nor why. If you do not feel that this is so, read again The Haunted Man. If you still do not, by an act of supreme will, strip your soul of its traditions, banish memory, draw an impenetrable veil before the past, make yourself a new man, become the first complete revolutionist. You will surely and soon find that, unable to bear its vast loneliness, your soul will, if it can, call memory back to strip away the veil that you may look again down the long vista where come marching the hosts of those whose living and whose dying have made the world and you the decent and worth-while thing you and it are. I know that the new learned look askance on us rememberers and traditionalists. In my own field we hear of a naturalistic jurisprudence, "one which, rejecting the influence of received standards, finds its fundamental standards of validity in a world of stubborn and realistic facts, which originate outside the thinking process but which offer a constant discipline and obligation to the honest intellectual life." With deference, only persons thus masterful with words, logomancers, master philologists, heirs of Humpty Dumpty, could even imagine such a colossal jurisprudential hoax as that which would result from rejecting received standards, and making a whole new jurisprudence overnight. Now, do you ask what has all this to do with Stratford and the Lees? I know you do not, for rememberers all, you know that all of this has been but a laying on of hands to apotheosize the spirit of tradition on the march. That spirit which seeing man's present, past, and future, whole and making him zealous to preserve his shrines and the truth in his traditions, for his posterity, has furnished the aspiration and the inspiration, to say nothing of the perspiration which has blossomed into the Stratford of today.

I am well aware of the instrumentalist attack on history, with its swarms of professional "debunkers," its denial of historical objectivity, its affirmation of historical subjectivity, its insistence on economic interpretation, and its declared purpose to liberate the social sciences from the dominion of history and tradition by making history "otherwise enregister or else obliterate." I know something, too, of Marxist and neo-Marxist history and historians and of the attacks advocates of the new and complete revolution, the completely new man, are making upon the liberal tradition both in Europe and in America. I am fully mindful of the tremendous pressure from some quarters to consider government and society and the relations of man with man, not at all traditionally but wholly from the point of view of present economic conditions and theories and a planned economy. I know well that in those same quarters the fixing of prices and wages and a wider, indeed a redistribution, of economic goods is seen as the chief end of government and of man; and all other, especially older value judgments, are to be discarded. I know that in those same quarters, hand in hand with the diminishing emphasis on traditional, moral, aesthetic, and spiritual values, traditional, political, and civil liberty, there goes a tremendously increasing consciousness of and emphasis on the

state, on government, and governors, as the chief end of man. And I know, too, that this old idolatry—the worship of seated power, the depersonalization of the individual soul, and the debasement of the governed to personify and worship government and the state in the persons of political masters—is being presented by many, God save the mark, as the new democracy.

Neither are the milder claims of some of the new social-justice economists unknown to me; that nothing matters now but the new; that a backward look is regressive and destructive; that modernism, especially the view they hold of it, is all that counts. If they were right, it would seem strange to a simple rememberer that these words should have such a familiar sound. But they are not right.

In every period some have thought and taught that theirs was the only period which had real problems to face. Because we learn but to forget, to learn and forget again, some in every age have thought and acted as though they were the first, some the last men. Even good and patriotic men, when they have a political axe to grind, a power policy to put over, a social nostrum or panacea to administer, a role of indispensability to play, sometimes really forget that without them there was a yesterday, without them there will be a tomorrow. They speak and act as though but for them and their ideas the world would be lost. But the really, the deeply wise, the rememberers know better. They have always known that the good life, social as well as individual, is rooted deep in proven though changing traditions and ideals. They know that though man must have bread, he may not live by bread alone; that slaves usually have bread enough and that to a brave and free people their traditions are the very breath of life. They are therefore, not deceived by the now men, the overnight revolutionists, the class-conscious haters and breeders of hate. Their cry: "The liberal tradition is dead; man must be born again under a completely new discipline, a discipline under which, exchanging hard liberty for the promise of soft safety, the individual man must become the mass man," leaves rememberers cold. They know that cry too well and scorn it as they hear it. For they know that in dealing with seated power, eternal vigilance is the only price men can afford to pay for liberty or for safety. They know too that from the earliest recorded days the political masters of men have offered the same bargain, mass security in exchange for individual freedom, and the bargain sealed, have taken the one without affording the other.

One of the wisest of men some 2,000 years ago set the matter down as to the new and the old, once and for all, for the rememberers, the marching traditionalists by saying: "Quench not the spirit; despise not prophesyings; prove all things; hold fast that which is good." One of the wisest and most truly democratic of the moderns, Woodrow Wilson, while pointing to great changes that were needed and urging the necessity of keeping law on the march and so in touch with life, more than a quarter of a century ago, put it this way:

"I believe, for one, that you cannot tear up ancient rootages and safety plant the tree of liberty in soil which is not native to it. I believe that the ancient traditions of a people are its ballast; you cannot take a tabula rasa upon which to write a political program. You cannot take a new sheet of paper and determine what your life shall be tomorrow. You must knit the new into the old. You cannot put a patch on an old garment without ruining it; it must be not a patch, but something woven into the old fabric of practically the same pattern, of the same texture and intention. If I did not believe that to be progressive was to preserve the essentials of our institutions, I for one, could not be a progressive."

That kind of tradition mindedness is forever searching for the truth in tradition, forever searching and re-searching the meaning of meanings, the essence of traditions. To those so minded, life is a seamless web, its pattern ever in the making. As the march ascends and more light comes down, they search out and save for posterity the true and the timeless in tradition and weaving it seamlessly into the pattern, shows crystal clear, that changeless, life is ever changing. That kind of tradition mindedness is the sheet anchor of life and of law as it is the sheet anchor of the individual soul, to serve whose ever-changing individual and social interests and needs, a living law grows, and modifies, and growing, lives.

Now again, what has all this to do with Stratford and with the Lees. Much, oh very much. In precisely restoring Stratford to its former state, yours has not been the part of the collector, the mere antiquarian. In reflaming this sacred fire, in restoring this votive shrine, in making Stratford and those whose hall this was, live here again in grace and beauty, in usefulness and service, in dignity and self-containment, in strength and courage, in fortitude and daring, in patriotism and in devotion to duty, you have rekindled the hopes, revived the faiths, and renewed the strengths of the rememberers and have greatly served the liberal tradition. For you have rediscovered the timeless and the true in the glorious traditions which have their seat here and have made them live again for us to emulate as well as to revere.

For a long time now, we marching rememberers have been shoved and jostled, kicked and run over by the new men, the new revolutionists who, deaf to the past and blind to the future of the race, mistake incessant milling for progress. But those of us who have been privileged to come here will be shoved and jostled no longer. For in Stratford revived and the story of the Lees relived we see not merely a pageant of beauty and utility, of nobility and of selfless service, of devotion to duty and of simple Christian faith to wonder at and admire, but faculties, attributes, and faiths which Americans once possessed in fullest measure, and which, if we would remain a brave people, and a free, we must make our own again.

I know that in a certain sense, the sense of power of the written word, ours is now a government of the columnists, for the columnists, and by the columnists, and because the columns must be filled daily with words and words are wilful things, I am not a little troubled that we are. However, like everyone else, I am a column reader. One by one I read them all, the vigorous and the vapid, the sweet and the sour, the light and the heavy, the strong meat and the mush, Elsie and Eleanor, Westbrook and Hugh, the two Dorothys, Thompson and Dix, the two Walters, Lippman and Winchell, and the hosts of others, writing singly or in pairs.

In an article in one column headed, "Duty to others is new thought to youth," I read today: "Duty is a word that Americans haven't bothered much with in many years. Too many of today's young people were brought up without ever having been told they had any duty to their family, to their community, or to their country. They were taught that their real duty was to themselves, that their own happiness should come first in their decisions and in their way of life."

Now, not being a columnist—that is to say, not being one of the omniscient ones—I do not say that this is so. I say a columnist said it is. I know, though, it was not so with the Lees. Loyal, honorable, God-fearing, duty-doing men, they put first things first. Differing in their talents and capabilities, but all valiant and virtuous, they were all distinguished by a selfless devotion to duty, a loyalty to Virginia, their native land. Though they held and had held high positions under the Government in the established order, with properties and possessions certain to be confiscated if the Revolution was lost, the Stratford Lees, loyal to their native land and preferring hard liberty to the easy yoke of servitude, did not hesitate for one moment to throw their whole possessions and strengths into the struggle on Virginia's side. It was entirely in character, then, that when Col. Robert E. Lee, the Virginian, with his strong feeling for the Union, his great aversion to secession, his disapproval of the institution of slavery, had the hard choice of following and serving Virginia, whose citizen[1] he was, with the certain privations, difficulties, and dangers that choice entailed, rather than remaining in

[1] We are not interested here, of course, in whether the Stratford Lees chose wisely in choosing Virginia against the King or Robert E. Lee chose wisely in choosing Virginia against the United States. We are interested only in the fact that they believed that they were in duty and in honor bound to do so, and so believing, without a moment's hesitation, took the step they did. For we are here concerned not with the rightness as such of the actions they took but with the rightness of the motives behind those actions, the selflessness of their devotion to duty, their loyalty to their native land. Particularly are we not concerned at all with defending the action of Robert E. Lee in going with Virginia, for calumny ceased when passion died, and no one now questions the personal rectitude of what he did. Particularly are we not interested now in discussing the right of secession, the right of each State to withdraw from the Union when it believed it was being subjected to unconstitutional force, for that right, if it ever existed in theory, could not in fact be maintained and has been in fact abandoned.

But I think it not inappropriate to point out the strict legal basis for Lee's feeling that he was a citizen of Virginia and his duty lay there, and to make it clear that in law the situations of persons as to their primary citizenship in State and Nation was a very different thing before the fourteenth amendment from what it has been since.

As pointed out in *Crandall* v. *Nevada* (6 Wall. 36), and in the dissenting opinion of the Chief Justice in the *Passenger Cases* (7 How. 283), citizens of the several States were by virtue thereof citizens of the United States "and for the great purpose for which the Federal Government is formed, they were one people with one common country. We are all citizens of the United States, and, as members of the same community, must have the right to pass and repass through each part of it without interruption as freely as in our own States." But there was no citizenship of the United States as such granted or conferred by the Constitution, and in any reference in it to citizens, as in art. III, the judicial clause, and in art. IV, the full faith and credit clause, the reference was to them as citizens of each State. The fourteenth amendment changed this. It declared "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside"; and in the *Slaughter House Cases* (16 Wall. 36), and the long line following it, the distinction between the rights one has as citizens of the United States and the rights one has as citizens of the State are clearly pointed out. Cf. also *Sharon* v. *Hill* (26 Fed. 337). The situation therefore of every person in the United States has been changed by that amendment. It would not be possible now for persons to argue with themselves as they did before the War between the States, whether their primary allegiance was to their State or to the United States, for it is clear under the present Constitution that a person is born or naturalized into a primary citizenship in the United States, and that citizenship in a State is secondary and temporary and may be easily abandoned by moving from State to State with the intention of residing in the new State. Whereas citizenship in the United States is permanent and unchanging, going with the citizen wherever he goes and without regard to the State or Territory he is in.

Those of us who see the question of primary obligation as between State and nation only under the present constitution can have no conception of the situation in which our fathers, especially if they were Virginians, citizens of the Old Dominion, stood

the United States Army with its security and the distinction offered by the supreme command, his selfless sense of duty and of honor did not permit him one moment's faltering. And it was likewise in character that when the end of the fighting came and Robert E. Lee, the American, surrendered his army to another American, as magnanimous as he was great, the same selflessness in duty and in honor that was a part of him greatly served him and the American people, North and South.

He never sought, as some did, to salve the wounds and assuage the feelings of the South by throwing an aura of untouchability around its actions and traditions and thus to remove the good from sound criticism, the bad from just condemnation. Had Lee lived longer the Southern States would not have been so much afflicted as some of them were—thank heaven, not much in Texas—with the professional southerners with their mannerisms of dress, of speech and of actions, and their set of false values, nor left so long, as some of them were, holding to the husk of their tradition long after the ripe grain had fallen. But all too soon though his death was, the strong and salutary influence of his example and admonition gave permanent direction to the course of the South and the Nation and despite temporary waverings and aberrations.

The son of a Confederate officer who served and surrendered with Lee, I, like thousands of other sons, was raised in the marching-after-war tradition which Lee did more than all others to establish in the Southern States—the tradition which in the end prevailed, despite the efforts to the contrary of the radicals, the politicians, the professional northerners and southerners, and the ne'er-do-wells on both sides.

This tradition was that the war was over; that North and South each had fought a good fight and had kept the faith as each saw it; that we were North and South no more but one nation with one faith, one God, one baptism of fire, and our direction was forward, not backward. It was Lee's high-mindedness, his selflessness, his freedom from avarice and greed, his absolute refusal to capitalize on the confidence of the public in him and on his advice, or to turn it to the advantage of himself or his family; it was his feeling for and attitude toward duty, and these were household words in the South; [2] which made this after-war tradition he did so much to establish take flesh and live among us, to sustain us in our bitterest moments and hold us to our course. For Lee not merely spoke of duty and honor; he lived them. Rejecting the many offers of large pecuniary reward made to him for the use of his illustrious name and the confidence of his people in him, as well as the suggestions that he seek public office and preferment, Lee, with great humility but with dignity and firmness, set his face selflessly toward and lent his counsels as selflessly to the restoration of the Union with peace and honor. In the same spirit and in the simple dignity of the great gentleman that he was, he never countenanced nor permitted himself or any member of his family to ask or receive a single favor on the strength of his public service, and that family, gentle and high-souled, like him, in this as in all things else, saw eye to eye with him.

Of the making of many books on Robert E. Lee, there appeared, until Freeman's masterpiece made any others superfluous, to be no end. I have read most of them, and I like them all; but Freeman's biographical masterpiece aside, I think perhaps I like best Bradford's Lee, the American. For Bradford, like souled with Lee, and writing not partisanly but as an American gentleman, saw and portrayed Lee as he was, a great American gentleman, who, far above sectionalism, partisanship, meanness, and hate, or any kind of littleness, walked the world with dignity and gentleness, doing justice, loving mercy, and walking humbly with his God.[3]

Embodying the tradition of individual worth and responsibility of love of country, of public service, of gentleness and courage, of truth and honor, of devotion to duty, of simple but devout religion, the tradition, in short, of the American gentleman, Stratford and Robert E. Lee represent the flowering here of that great tradition. It is precisely because they do, and not because Robert E. Lee was a great Virginian, a great Southerner, or even a great soldier, that Americans from all the States have been inspired to restore his birthplace, the place he loved so well, as a national shrine. For, after all is said and done, despite the misuse and abuse of the word by imitators and detractors, the cheap "Johns" and the demagogs, the shallow and the base, the tradition of the American gentleman is still the great American tradition. The American gentleman without fear and without reproach is still the ideal American. And it is precisely because this is so that we rememberers are assembled here on the seventieth anniversary of Lee's death, resolved that the tradition of the American gentleman with all that it implies shall be honored and preserved. A tradition of the dignity and worth of the individual, that government exists for man and not man for government; a tradition that public office is a public trust and not a private sinecure, and that officials are the servants, not the masters, of the people; a tradition that office should seek the man, not man the office; a tradition that democracy in America is a builder-up, not a leveler-down; a tradition that to be a democrat one does not have to be, or pretend to be, small and common, petty and mean, ignorant and uncultivated, without grace or dignity of place or person. "Cultivated mind," said Mirabeau B. Lamar in Texas more than 100 years ago, "is the guardian genius of democracy, and when guided and controlled by virtue it is the noblest attribute of man. It is the only dictator that free men acknowledge, it is the only security that freedom requires." A tradition that leadership in a democracy should go, not by class or station, wealth or the lack of it, but by character and ability; a tradition of noblesse, that to whom much has been given, of him much shall be required; a tradition of public service as a duty and an obligation and not as an opportunity for self-seeking and self-serving. A tradition that endowment of power is endowment for service and that in times which try men's souls, it is the man, his character and equipment for service and not the circumstances of his birth, his wealth, or lack of it, which determines whether he shall be called to lead.

While this is and always must be, if we are to remain a free, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, it cannot be a just government or a wise government or a safe government, if, because of political conditions, only the demanding and the self-seeking, the demagogue and the spoilsman, are permitted to serve it; it cannot be a wise, a sound, and a just government if the tradition of the American gentleman is allowed to perish from the earth.

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when the conflict arose. It was not as some think, a question of loyalty to the South, though that entered into it, of course, after the Confederate States were formed, it was a question of loyalty to the State. And it was perfectly natural that high-minded citizens of Virginia, however loath to leave the Union, would feel compelled to follow her in whatever course she took. There were no constitutional subtleties then in the simple statement of Lee, the Unionist, the opponent of slavery and of secession, but the Virginian, "The Act of Virginia in withdrawing from the United States carried her along as a citizen of Virginia; her laws and her acts were binding on me."

[2] Every Confederate soldier, at least every one who had soldiered under Lee knew and taught his children that Lee had said: "Duty is the sublimest word in the language"; "there is a true glory and a true honor, the glory of duty done, the honor of integrity to principle," and to his own son, "I know that wherever you may be placed you will do your duty. That is all the pleasure, all the comfort, all the glory we can enjoy in this world."

[3] After Lee's death, this memorandum was found among his papers: "The forbearing use of power does not only form a touchstone, but the manner in which an individual enjoys certain advantages over others is a test of a true gentleman. The power which the strong have over the weak, the magistrate over the citizen, the employer over the employed, the educated over the unlettered, the experienced over the confiding, even the clever over the silly—the forbearing or inoffensive use of all this power or authority, or a total abstinence from it when the case admits it, will show the gentleman in a plain light. The gentleman does not needlessly and unnecessarily remind an offender of a wrong he may have committed against him. He cannot only forgive, he can forget; and he strives for that nobleness of self and mildness of character which impart sufficient strength to let the past be but the past. A true man of honor feels humbled himself when he cannot help humbling others."

Federal Housing Activities in California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LELAND M. FORD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 2, 1941

RESOLUTION FROM THE CALIFORNIA STATE HOTEL ASSOCIATION, LTD.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following resolution forwarded to me by the California State Hotel Association, Ltd., 607 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Calif., protesting against present overconstruction of multiple housing as a material factor in undermining the rate structure of the hotels in the State, thus threatening the jobs and livelihood of thousands of hotel employees, wiping out the savings of proprietors and investors, and resulting in lower standards of service to the public:

Whereas today in the State of California the housing facilities far exceed the number necessary to take care of its population; and

Whereas the rentals on individual units in all classes of multiple housing are in the majority now too low to return costs of operation, including interest and taxes; and

Whereas the present overconstruction of multiple housing is a material factor in undermining the rate structure of the hotels in this State, thus threatening the jobs and livelihood of thousands

of hotel employees, wiping out the savings of proprietors and investors, and resulting in lower standards of service to the public: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the California State Hotel Association, in their twenty-ninth annual convention, assembled at the Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif., October 7 to 10, 1940, That we protest the present Federal Government policy of taking tax money away from citizens and using that money to go into direct competition with those citizens and thus deprive them of a livelihood; in keeping with this protest, we urge the abandonment of Government plans to subsidize multiple housing in the State of California whether it be for hotels, apartment hotels, apartment houses, bungalow courts, rooming houses, four-family flat buildings, duplexes, auto camps, or multiple family dwellings of any kind, until such time as private enterprise fails to provide adequate housing to take care of the population; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration, and Members of the Senate and House of Representatives from California.

America First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 2, 1941

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I listened very carefully to the President's fireside chat the other night. My personal reaction to his clear-cut presentation of the situation that confronts this Nation and the world is shown in the following copy of a telegram I sent the next day to the newspapers of my district:

The President's message was a courageous, statesmanlike presentation of the facts pertaining to the present crisis confronting the Nation and the world. It should receive serious consideration from everyone. It was a trumpet call for an all-out effort on the part of every group to push our defense program. All Americans should support the defense program wholeheartedly.

The following editorial from the New York Times of December 31, 1940, presents an appraisal of the President's speech that is worthy of careful consideration. I agree with the sentiments expressed in this editorial and recommend the same to the attention of the Members of Congress and to all Americans. We should keep the interests and future welfare of America uppermost in our minds during the trying days ahead and use as a guide to our actions the well-known words "America first."

[From the New York Times of December 31, 1940]

AN AMERICAN DOCTRINE

Foreign comment on President Roosevelt's address, whether it comes from friendly or from hostile quarters, correctly finds in this fireside chat of a winter's Sunday evening one of the historic landmarks of American foreign policy. Berlin is as much aware of that as London. It cannot fail to see that despite the informality of the occasion Mr. Roosevelt was speaking in much the same circumstances as those which prompted President Monroe to speak more than a hundred years before him; that he was speaking with precisely the same authority; and that he, too, was defining a doctrine which commands the support of the American people. That doctrine is our determination not to permit control of the seaways leading to our coasts to pass into the hands of a power hostile to our own democratic way of life and bent on its destruction.

On that issue American opinion has not been and never will be neutral. This is clear enough today. As we look back upon the various acts of Congress which attempted to prescribe a hard-and-fast neutrality for the American people in any future war, regardless of where and how and by whom it might be fought and what its impact on our own affairs might be, we see the essential unreality of such legislation. It was written for a war from which we could afford to stand aloof because we stood behind the bulwark of British sea power in the Atlantic.

But now this bulwark itself has been attacked and threatened. and in the President's words we face the possibility of an Axis victory which would mean "a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run by threats of brute force." In these circumstances we have rediscovered an old truth—that no act of Congress can shape the fundamental interests or conscript the underlying loyalties of the American people.

The President's address of Sunday night will take its place among the historic state papers of this Nation not because it proposed a sudden departure from a previously established policy but because, with extraordinary eloquence and deep sincerity, it affirmed a doctrine intrinsically as old as the Republic. Abroad, the address has had the attention it deserves. At home, the response to it—Mr. Verne Marshall and Senator WHEELER notwithtsanding—has been all but unanimous. We now face the task of proving that in this test of strength between democracy and dictatorship the physical resources of the United States can be made to count effectively on the side of those nations defending the only way of life which we believe to be worth living.

Conservation of Natural Resources

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LELAND M. FORD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 2, 1941

RESOLUTION FROM CALIFORNIA STATE FIREMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution forwarded to me by the California State Firemen's Association, 2046 Oregon Avenue, Long Beach, Calif., urging the conservation of natural resources in the United States:

Resolution No. 12—A resolution pertaining to conservation of natural resources

Whereas the number of brush, timber, and mountain fires is increasing each year with a resulting increase in the destruction of timber, scenery, flowers, wildlife, natural resources, and human life, as well as the ruination of watersheds and the creation of greater soil erosion plus the great expense and danger of extinguishing such fires; and

Whereas this matter is of such great importance not only to the fire service but is a matter of great concern to every citizen of the United States; and

Whereas the possibility is ever present that in case of war an attempt will be made on the part of the enemy to cause forest fires; and

Whereas the topography of the State of California would be conducive to the success of such subversive efforts; and

Whereas the United States Forest Service is charged with the administration and protection of 175,000,000 acres of land capable of producing perpetual supplies of timber and water; and

Whereas there are unlimited funds available to the United States Forest Service for the extinguishing of such fires, but the funds available for fire prevention, education, etc., are extremely limited; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the delegates assembled at the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the California State Firemen's Association, in San Jose, Calif., September 23 to 26, inclusive, 1940, That the Congress of the United States appropriate sufficient funds for the United States Forest Service so that the forests of the United States and the natural resources of the country may be protected and preserved by the adoption of the following program:

1. The creation of a Federal fire-prevention bureau.

2. This bureau to be supervised by the Federal, State, and county forestry departments jointly in their respective areas.

3. The Bureau to create a national film library of the following films:

A. Thirty-five-millimeter shorts for use in regular theaters.

B. Sixteen-millimeter shorts for use in local fire departments, to be shown in the local theaters, schools, service and patriotic organizations. All films to rotate throughout the several States.

4. Speakers schooled in fire prevention and public relations to be available the same as films.

5. Speeches and similar printed material made available for local speakers that represent the local fire departments.

6. Suitable window and car posters and displays.

7. Warning signs such as No smoking, camp-fire warnings, etc., made available for distribution and posting by local fire departments and others; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the separate Senators and Members of Congress who represent the State of California in the United States Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That every Member of the United States Congress from the State of California be urged to support and initiate such legislation necessary to accomplish the purpose of this resolution; and be it further

Resolved, That the legislative committee of the California State Firemen's Association be instructed to obtain the services of some

Member of the United States Congress so that the necessary bill or bills will be presented to the Congress of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the California State Council of Defense appointed by the Governor of the State of California.

Unanimously carried.

Address by the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940), 1941

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD four short editorials, one from the New York Herald Tribune, entitled "In Defense of America"; one from the Washington Post, entitled "Clearing the Air"; one from the New York Times, entitled "A Call to Action"; and one from the Baltimore Sun, entitled "Appeal to Reason." All of them are comments on the President's address over the radio last Sunday night.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune]

IN DEFENSE OF AMERICA

The President's address last night to the American people was one of the greatest efforts of his career. It was superb in its directness, its realism, its courage, and its purpose. * * *

This single aim to see facts as they are, to preserve the security of the United States while it can still be preserved, to act while there are still others to fight the fight and before it will cost rivers of American blood to win it, is the one guiding aim of all those who have been urging the American people to send aid to Britain, to face the Nazi threat, to bestir themselves in their own defense. It was never better nor more boldly stated than by the President last night. Its implications were never more emphatically nor more frankly set forth.

[From the Washington Post]

CLEARING THE AIR

Both in exposition and declaration Mr. Roosevelt last night used the plainest language in his career on the present world conflict and our concern in it. It was inevitable that he would reject the suggestion that we should try to promote peace between the British and the Nazis. * * *

There are those who would have welcomed a specific wartime plan for, say, shipbuilding. No doubt, however, acts will follow quickly upon words. For in no previous speech has the President made such a clear and unequivocal identification between our national interest and a Nazi defeat. Just as the speech will put fresh heart into the democratic struggle on both sides of the Atlantic, so it will be noted in Berlin as evidence that at last we don't intend to be intimidated by Nazi resentment against our aid to Britain, whether such resentment takes the form of encircling pacts or darkling threats.

[From the New York Times]

A CALL TO ACTION

The President has once more made the sort of fireside talk that only he can make, and though many may differ concerning questions of emphasis or of the President's departure from what is left of diplomatic tradition, the overwhelming majority of the country will agree wholeheartedly with his central thesis. This thesis is that a victory by the Axis powers would mean "a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run by threats of brute force. To survive in such a world, we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of a war economy." From this the President draws the only possible conclusion, that "there is far less chance of the United States getting into war if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their defeat, submit tamely to an Axis victory, and wait our turn to be the object of attack in another war later on."

[From the Baltimore Sun]

APPEAL TO REASON

Mr. Roosevelt's speech of last night was a powerful appeal to the people of the United States. The President stated, in words more simple and more direct than any he has hitherto used, the essential and perhaps irreconcilable antagonism between the philosophy of the Axis powers and those of this country. More calmly, more objectively than hitherto, he made it clear—so clear that it is hard to believe any American citizen is so dull as not to understand—that Great Britain is now fighting our battle; that in a sense, at once imminent and ominous, Great Britain is our first line of defense against a ruthless, implacable force.

Rational people throughout the country will endorse every indication which Mr. Roosevelt gave last night of the course he believes the country should follow. They will await impatiently his detailed exposition of the means which he proposes we should take to reach the end in view.

Conciliation and Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELBERT D. THOMAS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940), 1941

ADDRESS BY JOHN R. STEELMAN

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, because of its general public interest, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD an address entitled "Conciliation and Defense," delivered by Director John R. Steelman, of the United States Conciliation Service, before the National Association of Manufacturers on Thursday, December 12, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

All of us recognize that a basis of harmony between management and labor—a realistic approach to the problems of working together—is a necessary, a primary condition of anything like full effectiveness of our industrial machine. If industrial peace is desirable in more normal times (and all of us, of all shades of opinion, believe that it is) it is, of course, doubly so in the prosecution of our defense program.

But the desire for strong internal unity can be no more important than the means and the determination to attain that unity.

Our determination, already strong, is growing in strength through the unanimity of all responsible Americans. What about the means and methods?

Basically—and so unavoidably as to preclude any quibbling—we have a choice of two methods in attempting to make effective our determination that the task to which we have set ourselves shall go forward with a minimum of disturbance because of labor-management disagreements.

The first method is that of government's telling (or rather, of some persons' in government telling) management and labor what to do—telling them what the terms of their agreements shall be. This is the method of compulsion. It has never appeared on our national scene.

The other method is that of agreements voluntarily arrived at between management and labor, with government intervening only as a friendly guide and adviser when necessary or desirable for the public interest and the interest of the parties themselves. This is the method of free enterprise, free labor, and responsible self-government. It is of this method, particularly in relation to our defense program, that I wish to speak today.

We Americans have long been committed to a system of voluntary, democratic adjustment of the problems arising from the relations of labor and management—not only as a reflection of our other democratic processes but because we have believed that democratic adjustments are the most effective adjustments; for labor, for management, and for the great general public which, in the final analysis, is itself composed of management and labor.

That public—workers and managers—provided back in 1913, through its chosen representatives in Congress, for our method of adjusting labor disputes. In the act which created a Federal Department of Labor, Congress provided:

"The Secretary of Labor shall have power to act as mediator and to appoint commissioners of conciliation whenever in his judgment the interests of industrial peace may require it to be done."

It is from this assignment of duty to a member of the Presidential Cabinet that the United States Conciliation Service springs.

And it was to this assignment of duty that the member of the National Defense Advisory Commission, who is head of the Commission's Division of Labor and Employment, referred when, in a recent radio broadcast, he was asked what agencies were used for the adjustment of disputes affecting national defense. He replied:

"First of all, we use the agency that was created by the Congress to adjust industrial disputes. That is the Division of Conciliation of the United States Department of Labor. I have also had the aid of my colleagues on the Commission."

Your Government's organization for industrial peace under the defense program is, in essence, the same organization which has functioned within the Department of Labor since its very beginning. There have been expansion and personnel and administrative improvement during the years, of course, but the basic, democratic, noncompulsory spirit which underlies all the activities of the Service has not changed.

From its inception and until he died in 1937, the service was headed by the late Honorable Hugh L. Kerwin. During that period and since I became director, the service has been active in approximately 27,000 situations involving approximately 22,000,000 persons. During the 12 months ending June 30, 1940, we handled 3,751 cases in which more than 1,145,000 men and women were directly involved.

We have a small administrative staff in Washington to direct the work of our 80 commissioners of conciliation. So far as their number will permit, we try to have at least 1 of these commissioners stationed at or near the principal industrial and commercial centers of the country. By careful planning, we are usually able to make the services of a commissioner available wherever we can be of greatest assistance.

You see, their services are not restricted to any one industry or group of industries. Wherever in the United States relations between management and men are—or threaten to be—under strain, you are likely to find a commissioner of conciliation striving to bring about an adjustment.

We send these men into a situation at the request of labor, of management, or of some responsible public representative such as the governor or mayor. Where there is a particularly serious situation, we may of our own accord enter the picture. However, the basically democratic character of our set-up and procedure is indicated by the fact that there is no legal obligation whatever for any man or group of men to accept our assistance. And yet, during all last year, our services were never once rejected.

In order better to coordinate and expedite the activities of our commissioners, we completed last year arrangements for regional supervision of their work. There are now four regional supervising commissioners of conciliation, stationed officially in Washington, who are charged with the responsibility of making regular assignments of commissioners and, by mail, wire, telephone, and personal travel, keeping in touch with developments in the regions into which, for purposes of increased administrative efficiency, we have divided the country.

This regional organization, while it was put into operation prior to initiation of the defense program, has greatly facilitated the prompt assignment of our conciliators to handle disputes and incipient disputes under that program.

Within a few days after establishment of the Defense Advisory Commission, as you probably know, the Secretary of Labor designated seven of our best and most experienced commissioners to work with management and labor in certain vital industries; steel, shipbuilding, oil, rubber and chemicals, aviation manufacturing, machine tools, and building construction. It was our announced policy and has been our actual practice to have these men in such steady contact and consultation with all the parties involved as to enable them not only to deal with actual disputes but, by encouraging the correction of any troublesome situations, to nip incipient disputes in the bud.

But these seven industries, of course, are only a few of the business groups upon which depends the progress of national defense. The flow of work and materials in one or more of the seven key industries might be vitally impeded by a serious interruption in any of the many other industries which directly supply or affect them.

Consequently, at the time of the designation of the seven key conciliators, we determined that, insofar as possible, any other commissioner assigned to a situation involving defense would work on that situation, unimpeded by the burden of other cases, until he had guided it to a successful conclusion. The fact that, for many years, all our commissioners have had to carry assignments ranging from five to eight cases concurrently has not been permitted to interfere with our carrying out this policy.

It works something like this:

We receive notice—from management, from labor, from a member of our own staff, from any responsible party—that there is imminent prospect of a strike in a plant engaged in the defense program. Will the Conciliation Service lend a hand in an effort to avert a stoppage of operation?

The matter is immediately turned over to the supervising commissioner of the region involved. The supervising commissioner has always before him (as well as in his mind) an up-to-the-minute schedule and record of assignments of the commissioners in his territory. It is usually only a matter of minutes before he is in touch with a qualified commissioner within reasonable distance of the plant in question. (All the members of our organization, by the way, are required to keep the Washington office so informed of their programs and any changes therein that they may be reached on a few minutes' notice.)

"But what shall I do about the six other cases to which I am already assigned?" the commissioner may inquire. "I have a conference scheduled on one of them for 2 hours from now."

"Very well," says his regional supervisor. "Drop those other cases. We are arranging to have them handled by other commissioners. Your job is to get to this plant as soon as possible. Will it be convenient for you to arrange for a change in that conference schedule or will it save you time in getting in on your new case if we take care of that from this office?"

If the plant is in the same or a nearby town, the commissioner assigned is usually in contact with all the parties almost immediately. If not, the use of the first available plane or train makes his arrival in most cases a matter of only a few hours.

Long before this, however, the Washington office, in following out our policy of closest possible cooperation, has relayed information on the situation to both the Defense Advisory Commission and the War or Navy Department, depending upon which is involved. Our work in conjunction with these Departments has been greatly facilitated by the designation of one of our especially trained and equipped commissioners to act as liaison officer with them on Government contracts.

Let us take a typical case:

There were many controversial issues, but the conciliator, largely through long experience, was able to boil them down to two basic points, failure to agree upon which was hindering renewal of the contract which had been signed a year before by the company and the union.

First was the question of vacations with pay. The old agreement had provided that each employee who had been on the pay roll for 2 years was to receive a 1-week vacation. At the time of the signing of that agreement the vast majority of the employees had more than 2 years of service and the matter had been quite simple.

Since then, however, demands on the plant had greatly increased—to the extent of requiring a productive force almost double that which had been working when the old agreement was signed. The new employees were requesting the right to a 1-week vacation for all who had concluded a year's work.

There was considerable merit to this demand. All the employees were working at top speed in an effort to keep the goods rolling out as smoothly and as rapidly as possible. The management was keenly appreciative of this and recognized that a week of rest and change would bring each employee back to the plant with renewed energy and greater zest for the task at hand. And, even before the actual enjoyment of the vacation, the employee would be buoyed up by anticipation of it.

The real stumbling block, it was felt, was the morale of the employees with more than a year of service. Would they not resent this "leveling off" process, as it might be called? Might there not be feeling against the removal of a treasured and accepted premium for length of faithful service?

This was worked out at the third conference attended by management and union officials and the Commissioner of Conciliation. It was provided that employees with 1 year's service receive a vacation of 1 week. Employees with 5 years of service would receive 2 weeks. All those with service of more than 1 year but less than 5 were to receive 1 week for the first year and 2 days for every additional year up to 5.

Not the millennium, perhaps; not what the employees would have wished nor what the management would have preferred to be able to give. But a notable contribution to improved morale and productive efficiency.

The other point concerned wage rates. The employees were asking for increases of upward of 10 percent. The Commissioner's discussion, however, brought clearly into the open what the management had failed to realize—that the employees were apprehensive of signing a contract to cover a year during which they feared the cost of living for themselves and their families might be greatly increased.

When this had been made clear, a clause was worked out and agreed upon which, recognizing the national emergency, provided for definite upward adjustments of wage rates if the cost of living should advance during the period covered by the agreement.

As an additional precaution in the interests of sustained operations, the conciliator suggested and obtained the agreement of both parties to a provision that, if they themselves were at any time unable to adjust a dispute over the interpretation of any part of the contract, the matter would be submitted to arbitration.

I might add that agreement provisions of this type are becoming increasingly common. As for the choice of arbitrator, where no individual is specified, it is frequently provided that the Conciliation Service, upon request, shall designate some neutral person. A survey last year of over 800 agreements in our files disclosed that 62 percent contained provisions for arbitration.

What the situation is with regard to the thousands of labor agreements throughout the country, of course, we have not the research facilities to determine. It may be significant, however, that scarcely a week goes by without our being notified by the parties to some agreement that they have a misunderstanding and that, according to their agreement, which we may never have seen before, we are expected to furnish or designate an abritrator.

Less than 2 days after we had been informed of the situation, the Commissioner phoned to his regional supervisor that a complete

agreement had been reached without any interruption of operations. This information was immediately transmitted by the Conciliation Service to the War Department and the Defense Advisory Commission. As a matter of fact, they had been informed of the progress of negotiations the day before, since we require our commissioners to phone or telegraph to us daily reports on all defense situations. Then, in an effort to keep the interested agencies informed, the Service relays any pertinent data on the cases.

It is our policy to keep both the Defense Advisory Commission and the War or Navy Department closely and constantly informed of the status and progress of every situation which involves the defense program.

It should be borne in mind, however, that it is not an easy matter arbitrarily to label situations defense or nondefense. The presence or absence of Government contracts, for example, cannot be controlling, if only because so many of the enterprises which are vitally and immediately tied in with the progress of defense are not operating under Government contracts.

As I have said, we give priority to defense cases. And we try, whenever there is reasonable doubt as to the importance of an enterprise or operation to the defense program, to resolve that doubt in favor of a tie-up with defense and a consequent deserving of special treatment.

But we try also to give this priority to defense situations without any impairment of the regular service rendered in the many other cases throughout the country which come to our attention every day. So far at least, I can honestly say that we have succeeded.

Not all of our cases, of course, are so simple as the one I have outlined. But by far the great majority of situations are settled peaceably and quietly and, simply because they are not news, are rarely heard of by the public. It is the exceptions which attract attention and, now and then, contribute to what might well be called a state of public alarm.

This is understandable. An employer, for example, who tries to break a union or, on the other hand, a union which fails to live up to a contract to which it has pledged itself—these are news.

But the vast majority of American unions which regard a signed agreement as a sacred bond, the vast majority of employers who want to live up to the spirit as well as the letter of the law, who, recognizing collective bargaining as an effective instrument of good human relations, approach the problems of collective bargaining with the same open-minded, reasonable attitudes with which they approach their customers—these are not news and, naturally, rarely figure in the radio broadcasts and newspaper headlines. As a result, the public has only a limited picture of the growth and success of peaceful collective bargaining in the past few years.

I have said, for example, that last year the Conciliation Service handled more than 3,700 cases directly involving over 1,145,000 people. But by no means were all of these cases strikes and lockouts. Some involved requests for arbitration. Some were requests for technical services and information. Others were threatened strikes—situations where a stoppage had actually been voted upon or where we had definite indication that a stoppage was imminent—and controversies—situations which had not yet advanced to such pressing and serious stages. In addition, throughout the year both our Washington staff and our commissioners in the field were consulted by representatives of employers and employees on their problems.

Through all our work of the past few years there has been clearly discernible a definite shift from the former emphasis on conciliation as a remedy to the new, growing, and more practical concept of preventive conciliation as a positive instrument of industrial peace.

Credit for this, of course, cannot be restricted to any single organization or individual. We have had, in increasing measure, the sustained cooperation of American labor organizations and business managements. It was largely such cooperation which enabled us last year to prevent from becoming stoppages of work more than 90 percent of the threatened strikes which were brought to our attention.

Naturally we cannot do this alone. We cannot continue and extend this work without continuance and extension of the cooperation of both parties to industry which makes it possible.

We are, as I have stated many times, not a law-enforcement organization. The Conciliation Service is just what its name implies—a service agency. We make every reasonable effort to keep abreast of important developments throughout the country, without unduly prying into the affairs of management and labor.

I think it is largely because of our noncompulsory set-up that there is such almost universal willingness to accept the friendly assistance which we hold out to both parties. If I were to be asked, however, to make one suggestion to labor and management for the most effective preventive utilization of that assistance, it would be this—

"Call on us, so far as possible, in the early stages. Help us to help you before and not after a stoppage of operations."

Once notified, it is our job to render the most expeditious service possible in helping you to reach your own agreements with each other on any controversial issues.

A word about arbitration. There is so much confusion concerning arbitration and conciliation as methods of adjusting labor disputes that I should like to make a clear distinction between the two. Voluntary arbitration is the adjudication of some disputed point or points by a third person or group of persons whose award the contending parties have agreed to accept. Thus, as most of us here today know, it is quite different from conciliation, which at no time involves the rendering of any decision by any third party.

I have already spoken of the favorable trend to the inclusion in agreements of provisions for arbitration of any disputed interpretation or application of those agreements. There is another type of arbitration about which considerable misunderstanding exists. This is the arbitration not of the application or meaning of an existing agreement but of what some agreement, as yet unconcluded, shall be.

Conciliation is not always effective. Sometimes all the efforts of the best conciliator fall short of developing a final satisfactory solution of some aspects of a controversy. In these comparatively rare cases, the conciliator will usually encourage the parties to submit to arbitration the point or points on which, even with his assistance, they cannot come to agreement. He encourages them, in short, to agree to arbitrate.

Arbitration of this type is often quite valuable and deserves the careful consideration of all parties whenever a dispute cannot be settled by other means. There are, however, limitations to its usefulness which cannot be ignored in our efforts for positive, constructive peace in the industrial field.

It has been my own experience and that of the Conciliation Service over many years that a solution—a genuine agreement—reached by the parties themselves is to be preferred to any decision handed down by any outside party, no matter how well informed and conscientious and impartial that outside party may be.

As for compulsory arbitration, I am unequivocally opposed to it or to anything which would lead in that direction.

It is, I believe, the antithesis of the whole American way of doing things. It would be to the best interests of neither management, labor, nor the public. Entirely aside from the important question of possibility and methods of enforcement, it would, if enforced, make dubious contribution to efficiency.

Consider, for example, only one aspect of the difficulties it would present to management.

Almost inevitably, there would be widespread weakening of those present incentives to give and take and to reason things out which are at once the means and the fruits of conciliation.

The resultant large, and probably steadily increasing, number of cases carried to such compulsory arbitration and the very nature of arbitration work itself, when discharged with even a modicum of conscientiousness, would mean that the board or agency or persons charged with such power and responsibility would be getting further and further behind schedule. This would mean, of course, many awards or decisions extending retroactively over long periods.

In consequence, at least where wages were involved, management would be struggling along in the decidedly unbusinesslike position of not knowing current operating costs over equally long periods.

No man could be more conscious than I of the desirability of a high level of industrial peace. I have seen at fairly close range, I think, as many strikes and lock-outs as almost anyone in the United States. I have seen something, too, of what they cost labor, management, and the public. I have devoted a good part of my own working life to the task, the businesslike task, of fostering greater understanding between those who work and those who direct work in America's mills and factories and stores and offices.

I do not believe that such understanding—and the good will and efficiency which, without it, are well-nigh impossible—can be furthered by compulsion, by a very shackling of all the human beings, from top to bottom, behind our machinery and resources.

You cannot legislate peace. You cannot prescribe harmony. You cannot decree cooperation.

What is needed is a more positive concept of industrial peace. Any peace worth the name embraces far more than the mere absence of surface manifestations of strife.

It is for us, free management and free labor, to demonstrate that freedom and efficiency are not incompatible—that, rather, the highest efficiency depends upon freedom.

It is attained by men and women who set themselves, cheerfully and of their own volition, to the tasks of earning a livelihood and, whether directly or indirectly, contributing to the defense of their homes, their country, and their cherished system and visible symbols of self-government.

War, Bankruptcy, Dictatorship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940), 1941

EDITORIAL FROM GREELEY (COLO.) BOOSTER

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD

an editorial from the Greeley Booster, of Greeley, Colo., on War, Bankruptcy, Dictatorship.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Greeley (Colo.) Booster of December 27, 1940]

WAR, BANKRUPTY, DICTATORSHIP!

Before we declared war against Germany on April 6, 1917, we had sold billions of dollars' worth of materials to the European nations involved in the Great War. We were the richest Nation on earth. Then we got into the war ourselves and spent all this money and a great deal besides; and when the shouting was all over, we possessed great pyramids of pneumatic dollars.

In 1929 some unkind person stuck a pin in the pyramid and the air just fizzed out of it. All we had left—in the final sense—were a lot of debts which other nations owed us and which these nations could not, or would not, pay. The result was unfriendliness and friction, with added heat in the constant international economic warfare.

Some say that we got what we deserved because we made money by selling war materials to belligerents. But this practice is as old as war itself, and as universal. To sell to belligerents constitutes a temptation which no nation has ever been able to resist.

Today many Americans believe we should plunge into this war as we did into the last. These people are, for the most part, sincere patriots. The only criticism which can be justly leveled at the really sincere members of this school of thought is that they seem to forget the difficulties which confronted this Nation as a result of its participation in the last war. They forget the crashing banks, the despairing victims of newborn poverty, the suicides, the staggering bread lines, and the suffering unemployed. They forget that this country stood close to the brink of economic ruin. They forget the days when Franklin D. Roosevelt closed the Nation's banks and saved the country from complete collapse. They forget how many billions of dollars the Government has had to add to our national debt in order to get us even halfway back on our feet again.

This won't happen the second time. We are not a debt-free nation, as we practically were in 1917. We owe nearly $50,000,000,000 today; and if we get into this war, we may owe one hundred and fifty billion before it is over. Maybe we could stand even that if our economic machine was running smoothly and efficiently, but we could not stand it if half our working population was employed in the Army and in the munitions factories and if we suddenly had to put all these people back to work in regular industry at the same time that the rest of the world was trying to do the same thing.

There could be just one result—bankruptcy. This would mean social and political disorder which would demand the strong arm of a dictator to quell. That would spell the end of the greatest system the world has yet devised—democracy. It would mean the death of the capitalistic principle which we believe to be the best. It would mean socialism—the state predominant; the people subservient.

The American people almost universally want to help Britain to win this war, and when it is over they want to help Europe out of the hole which it has dug for itself—before Moscow fills it up. There is a way to accomplish each of these purposes.

First. Continue our present program of supplying Britain with food and war materials at an increasing tempo; and if she runs out of money and won't trade her islands which lie close to our coast, give her money to carry on; don't lend it and thus cause enmity later on.

Second. Keep out of the war and try to maintain our regular industry as close to normal as possible. When the war comes to an end, we will be a "going concern" and may be able to absorb in regular industry many of those who will lose their jobs in the war industries.

The world will be frantically in need of a rich "going" nation when this war ends, and America owes it to the human race to be prepared to "cushion the fall" when it surely comes.

As for ourselves, we Americans have built a great nation which has already got a 150-year start in the right direction. We have acquired farms, shops, businesses, private homes, automobiles, bank balances, personal independence, and happiness. Shall we bankrupt our country and hand all this over to the state to run for us, and we ourselves become just "numbers"? We hate the dictators for making "numbers" of their people; and yet dictators are nothing more than "receivers" for bankrupt nations.

Celebration of Pan American Aviation Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 2, 1941

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave accorded me, I submit this statement touching the celebration of Pan American Aviation Day, in Washington, D. C., on December 17, 1940. A most interesting and helpful observance program was presented by the Aviation Defense Association, a patriotic organization, with headquarters in Washington. Its president is Col. J. E. Myers, United States Army, retired. It has for one of its several purposes the promotion of the policy of adequate air defense for the American nations, and especially addresses itself to youth education in aviation matters.

By action of the Congress of the United States, December 17 has been designated as Pan American Aviation Day; and this for reasons that will hereinafter appear.

The program of the Aviation Defense Association, just referred to, was presented in the auditorium of the Department of Commerce during the afternoon of December 17, and in the auditorium of the Roosevelt High School the evening of that day. Both presentations, of course, were free to the attending public. A notable feature was the exhibition of the outstanding moving-picture film entitled "Aviation Memories," compiled by Capt. Bruce Eytinge, of aviation fame. The showing was directed by Captain Eytinge, assisted by Mr. A. R. Towner, of the Aviation Defense organization. The film has sound effects, and at both auditoriums, where several showings were given, it evoked the greatest interest. The first scenes were views of the design of Leonardo da Vinci, before the discovery of America by Columbus, of a projected flying machine; and these were followed by exhibition flights of the balloon eras; and these, in turn, by many original moving-picture shots of pioneer and first-flight efforts of the heavier-than-air machine age. Balloon and heavier-than-air machine flights in Paris, made by Alberto Santos-Dumont, were revealed on the screen, as well as those of the first actually successful flight of a heavier-than-air machine—that made by the Wright brothers at Kitty Hawk, N. C., on the 17th of December 1903. Then there were moving-picture scenes of the first flights in such a machine by Glenn H. Curtiss and President Theodore Roosevelt, and of early flights by Roy Knabenshue and various other pioneer aviators. The series closed with various flashes of World War aces and scenes. All in all, this film is undoubtedly the most interesting and valuable moving-picture compilation, from a historical standpoint, which has ever been made as regards the subject of aviation, and great credit is due Captain Eytinge for his long, arduous, and successful work in assembling the original material involved.

At the Department of Commerce auditorium, in addition to the showings of the film, addresses bearing on the subject of pan-American aviation defense were made by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Congressman JOSHUA L. JOHNS, and former Congressman Maurice H. Thatcher, of Kentucky, and a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission and Civil Governor of the Canal Zone during the construction period of the Panama Canal. Mr. Thatcher also delivered an address at the showing of the film at the Roosevelt High School auditorium. In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of December 23–26 the address of the gentleman from Wisconsin, Congressman JOHNS, appears, and that of Mr. Thatcher is included herewith.

Another interesting feature of the program which was observed at both auditoriums was the singing to the air "God Bless America" of the words of a song written by Mr. Thatcher entitled "Wings Over the Americas." This is also included in this extension and follows Mr. Thatcher's address. There was also sung the well-known song, Wings Over America.

It is believed that the presentation of such programs at this particular period of crisis in world affairs constitutes a very valuable contribution to the tremendously important subject of domestic and pan-American air defense, and the action of the Aviation Defense Association is to be commended. This organization also has to its credit the initiation and successful sponsorship of the congressional legislation designating August 19 of each year—anniversary of the birth of Orville Wright—as Aviation Day for the United States.

Mr. Thatcher's address follows:

ADDRESS OF FORMER CONGRESSMAN MAURICE H. THATCHER ON PAN AMERICAN AVIATION DAY, DECEMBER 17, 1940

We celebrate this, the 17th day of December, as Pan American Aviation Day because the Congress of the United States, by

appropriate enactment, has so declared it. The Congress had in mind at least two purposes: One, that of pan-American solidarity; and the other, the stressing of the need for building up the aviation forces—and particularly those of a military character—in all the American nations. The date selected commemorates the anniversary of the first successful flight on December 17, 1903, of a heavier-than-air machine—that of the Wright brothers (Wilbur and Orville) popularly known as the "fathers of flight," at Kitty Hawk, N. C. This practical demonstration gave a powerful impetus to aviation, and the first quarter of the twentieth century witnessed the mightiest advance the science had ever known.

Back of the Kitty Hawk flight were hundreds of years of aviation effort. During the four centuries which preceded it two great dreams had vexed the brain of man—one, the linking of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by an isthmian canal; and the other, the successful navigation of the air. The first quarter of the twentieth century also saw the fruition of the dream of the isthmian waterway. What an epoch of world progress!

For many years balloons, by means of heated air, gas, and similar means, had been inflated and flown; but they were at the mercy of the elements. Among the skilled and successful aviators who greatly aided in the development of aviation must be numbered the brilliant and unselfish Brazilian, Alberto Santos-Dumont, who, first in balloons, and later in heavier-than-air machines, in the period from 1899 to 1906, in France, wrote such an outstanding chapter in aviation history; and the northern Americas, no less than the Americas to the southward, are proud of his achievements. Likewise, all these nations share in the pride of the notable accomplishment of that daring Peruvian aviator, Senor Jorge Chavez, in being the first successfully to fly across the Alps. In turn, all our Latin American neighbors are sharers with the United States of America in the gratification at the achievements in the field of aeronautics of such men as the Wrights and others. There is indeed enough glory for all. Some of them worked along parallel lines in different quarters of the globe; but all followed the same trail, and each contributed, without anything more than friendly rivalry, his indispensable bit to the cause of aviation. On this Pan American Aviation Day, therefore, let all of the American nations unite in celebrating the heroic deeds and lives of all these pioneers in this great domain of progress. No nobler epic has been written than that by them penned in tears and blood and sacrifice through these fateful years. Not on this particular day of 1940 alone, but as well on the like date in the years to follow, let Pan America commemorate by appropriate ceremony the achievements of these miracle workers, and also advance the cause of pan-American aviation.

Now, why should the cause of pan-American aviation be advanced? Because the world is aflame across the two great oceans, and the terrible wars scourging those vast areas are based on the right of might as against the might of right. The aggressor nations seek to conquer and enslave the other countries of the world. Their leaders profess to hate the idea of freedom and democracy and have sworn to destroy it, and will destroy it if their arms prevail. The Monroe Doctrine was promulgated by this Republic more than a hundred years ago to prevent the destruction in the Western Hemisphere of the fact and ideal of democracy, of representative government. Our Latin American neighbors had just arrived at independence and that independence was threatened by the Old World tyrannies. Great Britain, perhaps alone of the older nations, looked with favor on the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, and her attitude was of great aid in the acceptance of the principles thus involved.

With the passing of a century, and more, the work of upholding the principle of America for the Americas has become one of unity and cooperation on the part of all these nations. To this end armed aviation becomes a matter of ever-increasing importance. We have seen in the conflicts now raging abroad the tremendous advantage any country has which holds superiority in the air. We know that air forces are built up, not overnight, but by years of unceasing effort. Nazi Germany has thus far been successful in Hitlerizing continental Europe by reason chiefly of its great supremacy in the air. Republics and democracies are, in their essence, peace-loving, and neglect their defenses, while those nations dominated by autocracy—by one-man rule—devote the whole of their energies, first, to preparation for war, and then to the making of war on the helpless and unprotected peoples of the earth. If totalitarianism succeeds in the continents across the seas, it will, without doubt, strike at the Americas, and seek to enslave or reduce them to a state of economic and political vassalage. The purpose is open and avowed, and we must prepare for the contingency involved. Preparedness is the only guaranty of pan-American safety. As a matter of fact, all of the American nations have waited too long to begin the work of effective preparedness—not a moment is to be lost. The sea used to be the first line of defense—now it is in the air. In this country we have an immediate objective of 50,000 war planes and 100,000 pilots, but it takes time and effort to produce them. The other lands of pan-America have their corresponding needs and responsibilities, and should not delay for an instant the work required to realize them. They, too, each of them, should provide for adequate airplane production, for the establishment of all necessary air fields and equipment, and for the training of all needed personnel for war emergencies. In all this there should be complete collaboration among all the American nations, so that if the day shall come when they must act together to protect their rights and independence from foreign aggression they may act as one. The ideal of freedom in the Western World will not perish because of any action of the Western World. If it shall ever perish, it will be by reason of aggression from over the seas—aggression from alien leaderships that hate freedom with a ferocity that free men and women fail to understand.

We have seen the fatal examples of unpreparedness in China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France, countries democratic in form, but all too neglectful and complacent; and we have observed the tremendous advantage which Nazi Germany has possessed by reason of her years of extensive preparedness effort, and especially because of her overwhelming superiority in the air. Great Britain, alone, of all the European nations, has been able to withstand the Nazi assault; to withstand it thus far, because of her great navy, her efficient (but not sufficiently adequate) air service, her insulation by sea, and her greatly heroic spirit. She constitutes the greatest barrier to world conquest by nazi-ism; and her ability to save herself—and thereby, perhaps, all freedom—depends in the largest possible measure on aid from the Western World.

The paramount need of protection in the Americas against invading air forces must be obvious. The United States, with its great seaboard cities, filled with skyscrapers and industrial plants, presents shining targets from the air. In Canada and the Latin American lands the areas are vast, the distances great, and, outside of the urban centers, the population is sparse. The total mileage of the shorelines of North and South America is tremendous. The Continent of North America contains more than 9,000,000 square miles, with approximately 180,000,000 inhabitants; while that of South America has an area of over 7,000,000 square miles, with a population of something like 90,000,000. How important, therefore, that no alien aggressor should obtain anywhere in the Western World military bases or footholds from which to launch its swift-speeding, long-cruising, bomb-laden ships of the air to work destruction on any American people.

In the light of the facts involved, to the nations of the Western Hemisphere there is no greater cause than that of pan-American aviation, both military and commercial. As to the latter this country has created a magnificent domestic service, and has also made a powerful contribution in its air services to the countries to the north and to the south. However, we, in all the Americas, are surely late in building up our armed forces of the air; but let us hope that it is not too late. To be free we must be strong; and to be strong we must do those things that make for strength. If Washington and Bolivar and Clay and San Martin were alive today, we know that their voices of wisdom and experience would counsel the nations of the Western World to build up—to build up, by night and by day—their armed forces of the air; to build them up immediately and adequately; and they would urge such a course as that best suited to maintain America for the Americas, and freedom from the wars of the Old World.

WINGS OVER THE AMERICAS

A SONG OF PAN-AMERICAN DEFENSE

(By M. H. Thatcher)

Skies are thick with fury,
  There, beyond the seas;
Bombs are falling, blasting,
  Wheresoe'er they please.
Planes are speeding, diving,
  Hurling death below;
Nations reel and crumble
  From the hellish blow.

Western peoples, gird ye:
  Guard against surprise;
Build the air-borne armies:
  In them safety lies!
Nothing take for granted,
  In a world of hate:
Make ye strong and ready,
  Ere it is too late!

From the frozen northlands,
  To Magellan's shore—
Rouse ye, friends and neighbors,
  As ne'er yet before!
Fill the air with aces,
  Flying ships of worth:
Thus our pan America
  May withstand the earth!

CHORUS

Act, O Americas,
  In unison!
Stand united, and plighted,
  To defend, to the end—all for one,
One for all—your independence!
  As the trump of union rings,
Span the New World heavens
  With armored wings!

American Participation in European and Asiatic Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT R. REYNOLDS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940), 1941

ARTICLE FROM THE WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD OF JANUARY 2, 1941

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article under the heading "In the News" which was published in today's issue of the Times-Herald of Washington, D. C. (January 2, 1941), which article relates to America's entrance into the present wars of Europe and Asia. It is entitled "We Want War and So We Are Going To Have It."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Times-Herald of January 2, 1941]

IN THE NEWS—WE WANT WAR AND SO WE ARE GOING TO HAVE IT

The writer of this column sincerely and earnestly hopes and prays that in the coming year "a good time will be had by all"—as the society reporters are supposed to say but somehow never do.

Probably a happy year will be enjoyed by all if we can manage to keep out of war.

No calamities impend upon us.

No plagues or epidemics afflict us.

Prosperity is slowly returning in spite of the interposition of all imaginable obstacles.

The population of our great country is increasing.

Progress is being made in all the industries and sciences.

Even a certain amount of sanity is returning to the arts.

Music is becoming more comprehensible and enjoyable, and the jitterbugs are disappearing.

All would be well with the world except for the baleful shadow of war.

And sad to say, even in this free and carefree America, even in this land of peace and gayety, it would seem as if we were obstinately and unreasonably preparing to intrude ourselves into the miseries of others, and to immolate our happiness upon the altars of blood and battle.

It would look as if we were madly determined to invoke the Four Horsemen and to offer up our wealth and welfare, our political liberties and our domestic joys as burnt offerings to the gods of war.

This, although we know full well that war will bring privations.

War will bring disasters.

War will bring deaths.

War will bring grief and anguish to many hearths and homes.

War will bring desolation and despair to the hearts of many families.

War will gain us nothing that could not be better gained without war.

But we want war and we are going to have it.

It will drag us to the depths but we will—as a nation—clamber out of the depths in time—in time, indeed, for another war.

In periods of peace we wonder why we even want war.

We denounce it.

We abjure it.

We affect to despise those who practice it, but when an international squabble breaks out anywhere in Europe, Africa, Asia, or Australasia, and the drums begin to beat and the propaganda to circulate, and the bands begin to blare and the flags to wave, and the orators begin to froth and venom is distilled, and spite is spilled and hatred is aroused, we react like a crowd of savages at a voodoo rite.

And to the throb of the drums and the syncopation of the music, and to the subtle stimulation of the propagandists, and the wild incitement of the exhorters and rabble rousers, we cry for war.

We are not savages—not utterly.

We are partly civilized—at least we think we are.

We have advanced in some things.

We do not eat each other any more.

We have abandoned primitive cannibalism.

A couple of thousand years ago it was the habit of certain races, who thought themselves civilized, to eat their dead parents.

These races were not civilized, of course, but they had progressed beyond the most vicious forms of cannibalism.

They did not kill live people and cook and eat them.

They only ate their parents out of respect for them.

We have progressed even beyond those races.

We are to be congratulated. We are on our way toward civilization.

A couple of hundred years ago we were ravishing helpless herds of Africans away from their homes and carrying them chained and crowded and bruised and beaten in the stench holds of slave ships.

Yes; and throwing them overboard by hundreds with their chains upon them to sink to the depths of the ocean in case we were chased and in danger of capture.

Only four or five generations ago did this occur.

And to think of it, less than three generations ago we were breaking up families and separating mothers from their children and selling all down the river very much as we do dogs in a kennel nowadays.

These human beings were slaves, our slaves, our property.

There was no doubt about their being ours.

We ourselves had stolen them from their homes.

Possession is nine points of the law—10 points of the law in a slave.

We have not yet outlived the curse of that cruelty, but we have abandoned the practice of human slavery.

We are on our way to civilization—not very far on our way—only two generations—but making a commendable start.

Yet we make no start to abandon war.

How can we claim to be civilized, or even semicivilized, when we make wholesale murder one of our most honorable occupations, and when in almost every generation we select the flower of our youth and sacrifice them by the thousands and even by the millions to the Molochs of war?

Human sacrifice is supposed to have belonged to the darkest ages and to the most savage state of man—but has there ever been greater human sacrifice of a finer and better portion of our race than there is today?

Has there ever been a more devastating destruction of our youth—a more nearly complete annihilation of the factors to which we must look for the elevation and perpetuation of the human race—than there is in the wars of the present era?

Has there ever been anything viler even in cannibalism than the useless consuming of the selected best of the human race in the insatiable maw of the war machine?

Is it not better to eat dead parents than to sacrifice live sons?

We admit it was cruel to drag children away from slave mothers to be sold upon the auction block and transported to distant places to labor under the lash like bullocks in the fields.

Is it not just as cruel to drag the noblest youth of the nations away from their homes and their families and their useful work in life and make them not to till the fields but to fertilize them with their blood and bones?

War is not merely suggestive of savagery—reminiscent of savagery.

It is savagery.

It is the foulest expression of savagery—the vilest exploitation of the basest passions.

There can be no genuine development of higher civilization for the human race until we have suppressed these savage passions and banned and abandoned war.

We certainly will not have true civilization in the world until we want civilization more than we want war, and until we realize that the essential conditions for the development of any higher civilization are peace and order.

War is not only vile but unavailing.

The decrees of force are always subject to review and reversal by a higher and greater force.

The world will have no final and satisfied acceptance of international decisions until justice is substituted for force and peaceful arbitrament for war.

Why cannot America take the lead in this truly "new order" of peace and justice instead of reverting to old discredited policies of war?

Why cannot America with her bright torch of liberty lead the way out of the darkness of savagery into the light of the new and true civilization?

So your columnist wishes for you and for all America and for all the world a happy and civilized New Year.

And your columnist sincerely hopes that ambitious politicians and greedy financiers will not involve the Nation and you and yours in war to dissipate the happiness that, fellow Americans, is properly yours and ours in this great and naturally peaceful country.

We cannot rightly strive or wish to rule the world and to impose our will upon the world by force of arms.

It is not best that we should have that power, or, if we had it, that we should exercise it.

But we can hope and properly strive to give the world an illuminating example of a noble nation proceeding serenely in the paths of peace and happiness and progress and prosperity toward a higher civilization.

And we can believe that other nations, inspired by our example and proceeding along that path, may find their way to peace and happiness and progress and prosperity such as ours.

Does not Isaiah say:

"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of Him who bringeth good tidings that publisheth peace."

Financial Solvency of the Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN TABER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 2, 1941

ARTICLE BY HON. JOHN TABER, OF NEW YORK

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the permission granted me, I submit herewith an article that I prepared for the magazine Guide, which was printed in their January issue:

The financial solvency of the Government is an absolutely necessary prerequisite to any sound economic set-up, and this applies not only to the Government's business but to private business in the same way. No country ever yet worked out of a depression without a liquidation of debts—public and private. We have for the last 8 years been attempting to stave off a total collapse by increasing both public and private debts. The result has been an absolute stagnation.

The Government's direct debt as of this date is approximately $44,300,000,000. In addition to that, as of the latest date available, the debt of Government-owned corporations was $9,167,000,000, making a total debt, direct and indirect, of approximately $54,000,000,000. As evidence of the danger of a debt such as we have now, I call as a witness the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau, and I quote from his testimony before the Treasury Department appropriations committee on January 18, 1939:

"Congressman McLEOD. The public debt can go considerably higher, in your opinion, with safety?

"Secretary MORGENTHAU. Well, I would not be worried to see it go the other four or five billions which is in the present Budget, and we are going to have to ask Congress, if you vote this money, to increase the Treasury's power to borrow another $5,000,000,000. Our limit is now forty-five billion, and we will have to ask Congress to extend it up to fifty billion.

"Congressman McLEOD. Beyond fifty billion or thereabouts.

"Secretary MORGENTHAU. Yes.

"Congressman McLEOD. In your opinion, would you venture to say whether it might be hazardous, or not?

"Secretary MORGENTHAU. No; I am not willing to say; I am not worried about it going up to fifty, but I do not want to make any forecast."

In addition, we have about $4,000,000,000 of authorized public debt.

The appropriations made by the present session of Congress, including contract authorizations, total $23,476,000,000. The revenues in sight for the fiscal year 1941, which ends June 30 next, approximate $6,500,000,000. With a few minor exceptions the regular bills for different departments of the Government show increases rather than decreases over the previous year.

Our cash appropriations for the Army to be spent in the fiscal year 1941 total $5,733,000,000. For the Navy the cash appropriations total $2,631,000,000, a total of $8,364,000,000. In addition to this there are contract authorizations for the Army of $2,979,000,000 and for the Navy of $822,000,000, making a total of $3,801,000,000.

Of the $8,364,000,000 cash appropriations, at least $7,000,000,000 will be spent in the fiscal year 1941.

The operations of the Government so far indicate that regular departmental expenditures are going to be more, rather than less, than they were last year.

We had a deficit last year of approximately $3,700,000,000. For the fiscal year 1941 it will be sure to be double that, or between seven and eight billion.

How we can justify the continuance of these highly questionable expenditures for the regular departments and for activities such as the W. P. A., the C. C. C., and the N. Y. A. at a time when all of these people could get employment in private industry if they wanted to is beyond me. How we can justify the ridiculous operations of the Government in connection with housing at any time is beyond the understanding of any intelligent person.

Our ability to protect and defend the United States against foreign enemies has been sapped and reduced by the bringing in to the Government of the United States of foreign doctrines and by a wild program for the expenditure of the people's money for things that are not necessary. Instead of reducing our obligations, public and private, in a time of distress, we have increased them.

The President has asked for unity. Let him show the way to unity by abandoning the foreign doctrines that he has espoused of getting into debt and help those in Congress who would like to see the Government of the United States put on a sound fiscal basis to reduce the nonessential expenditures of the Government.

I feel that I am in a particularly strong position to ask that of the President and of the Democratic majority in Congress, because we are in a situation where the life of a republican form of government in this country is at stake. As the ranking minority member of the Appropriations Committee I have helped bring in a unanimous report from that committee with reference to all expenditures for national defense that have been properly asked for by the President and have supported appropriations for upward of $500,000,000 that were not asked for by the President but which the Congress felt were needed for that purpose. I say to the President and to the rest of the Congress that I beg their cooperation in trying in every possible way to get rid of every expenditure that is not absolutely essential or needed for national defense and to throw the energy of the Government into the national-defense program. It is the only chance in the world to keep our country out of active participation in the war—to show to the other countries of the world that we are able to protect the United States of America and its interests.

Problems of the Seventy-seventh Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. HARRY McGREGOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 2, 1941

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON, OF OHIO

Mr. McGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address of the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON]:

Good evening, fellow Americans, several weeks ago WGAR wrote inviting me to speak over its frequency on some of the aspects of the incoming Congress. I accepted with sincere appreciation the opportunity offered, and confess to a keen anticipation of this moment.

May I thank you again, gentlemen of this radio station. And at the same time I wish you ever-increasing success in the new year as your fine spirit of public service gives you greater opportunity to play a constructive part in the troubled days ahead. May it be for you a good new year indeed.

The Seventy-sixth Congress will be adjourning sine die as the old year dies. Its 2 years have been years of terrific tension and anxiety dramatically more difficult since so much of Europe was set aflame.

Except for the days covering the two conventions, the Congress has been in constant session. Even now we are on call under the 3-day-recess program, and some of the Members have actually not been home for over a year until this Christmas. Why? you ask. Simply because you, the people, expressed yourselves in no uncertain terms. You made it very clear that you expected your Representatives to stay on the job. Let us all thank the God in whom we trust that during this session now ending you, the people, exercised your right to speak and we, the Congress, listened and obeyed your voice.

It would be difficult to attempt to anticipate the problems of the Seventy-seventh Congress without looking for a moment at the Seventy-sixth. As I have looked back, I have found myself wondering if we, any of us, quite appreciate the implications of some of the happenings of these past 2 years. Do we realize that some of what we have considered our greatest safeguards have slipped from us almost unnoticed? Do we accept gladly the extension of Federal power? No administration has ever had as complete authority as this one. The majorities in the Senate and House have given the President all he has asked for. Five-to-four decisions in the Supreme Court and the many appointments to the judiciary throughout the land have gone far toward insuring the administration the unquestioning support of the courts as well. The Nation at large has, by a margin of only 5,000,000 votes, accepted the continuance of this centralization of power and broken the third-term tradition.

During the summer the Congress passed the bill for the mobilization of the National Guard with very little discussion and with very little examination. Hard upon its heels came the peacetime draft bill. Both have been accepted quietly and even hopefully by the American people. I say hopefully, because I mean just that.

Americans have watched the wars in Europe and in Asia with anxiety. They know that modern war is far more terrible than other wars and they want to be ready to meet its onslaught should it come. They know it means trained manpower, and they have accepted the administration's plans to mobilize and train men. They know also that it means machines of every sort and description, and they have looked to those in power to so plan and execute the production of these machines of war that their Army would be adequately equipped and trained in the shortest possible time.

It has confused and disheartened our people to be told that after these many months there is grievous delay in the manufacture and delivery of these machines. It is disturbing to them to find that

even the barracks are behind schedule—that the boys who are being called have as yet little to work with, and that the draft that they accepted with high patriotism is of necessity moving very slowly.

The Seventy-sixth Congress cannot be blamed for the snail's pace of our preparations. Congress has done everything asked of it by a completely dominating administration. Congress and the American people have looked to the Chief Executive for a defense program and for such organization measures as shall speed up production and training to the highest conceivable point.

The Seventy-sixth Congress adjourns with the hope that the present confusion will speedily give way to application of the traditional efficiency of American methods.

Nineteen hundred and forty-one ushers in the Seventy-seventh Congress, but more than that, it begins a new era, for on the 20th day of January, a third-term President will be inaugurated. Upon the shoulders of this President will rest the greatest responsibility that has ever been entrusted to any Chief Executive. He will need the support of the Nation as no President has ever needed it before.

The Congress is faced with an internal economic situation which is still desperate. The country is confused over practically every issue. Preparations for defense are meeting difficulties at every point, and foreign relationships are hazardous. Many things of great moment will have to be determined in these next months.

Among the very serious questions confronting the incoming Congress is the position to be taken by the United States relative to the present European war. We believe in the democratic ideal, which is in essence the acknowledgment that under the laws of God the individual shall be a free agent. The problem before us is how we can serve this ideal most wisely. To those of you who have not been sympathetic with our giving help to England may I suggest that England is fighting for the right of the individual as against his enslavement by centralized authority. To those of you who do feel we must give all possible help may I suggest that help given unwisely at the expense of our own security will not truly serve the cause of freedom. Surely the middle way can be found. That is the problem before us.

Issues in the Far East will probably have to be met also during these next 2 years. Our responsibility to the Philippines has not ended. Our possessions in Hawaii must be guarded. Until we have a two-ocean Navy, it would seem advisable, would it not, that we move with utmost caution, lest we involve ourselves more deeply than we are now prepared to do.

Here in the New World we need solidarity, harmony, and understanding. With Canada on the north we have a mutual friendliness and more nearly related problems. Mexico and South America have much to give us. We have much to give them. Wisdom and judgment will be needed to build the future of the Western Hemisphere. It is in truth the New World; the Old is in flames.

How shall we begin the new era?

It would seem that one of the first steps to wisdom would be a greater openness between the Chief Executive and the Congress, as well as between the President and the people, that all might know the magnitude of the problems involved. The people of the United States have never failed to meet whatever issues were put before them with frankness and faith. They have never failed, either in courage or patriotism. They will not fail now, but they must know the road they are asked to travel.

Greater openness on the part of the President should, of course, be met with the greatest possible harmony in the Congress. This cannot be obtained by subjecting the minority party to accusations of partisanship when it brings out what it considers to be weaknesses in the plans submitted by the administration. If a plan is not strong enough to withstand honest study and criticism, surely it is not sound enough to be made the law of the land.

I for one am in complete agreement with the President when he says that politics should not be played in matters of national welfare and national defense. I hope most earnestly that the minority in the Seventy-seventh Congress may be considered as truly patriotic a group as the majority, and that when they must dissent from the opinion of the majority they may be credited with as intense and devout a patriotism as any other good Americans.

What faces the Congress within our own borders? We have made all too little impression upon the unemployment problem. The opening of factories for war needs will only put off the day of reckoning. The tremendous national deficit seems to have been forgotten in the emphasis that is being put upon defense, although the President has said that expenses must be cut, and he has suggested cuts in the W. P. A. Will that be done without due care? We, here in Ohio, have a right to be very proud of the administration of our W. P. A. Almost no politics have been permitted in the appointment of personnel, and the projects have rebuilt self-respect for many. To abandon these people without hope is surely not conceivable. Are there so many new jobs that there is no danger that these people will be left by the wayside? I speak of this merely as a case in point, for it seems to me there is real danger that we forget the basic fundamental needs of our own people in the scramble for what we are calling national defense.

I would like to ask all who hear me if the heart of a nation's defense is not the morale of its people, and if, therefore, it is not desperately necessary for us as a nation to find solution for such of our problems as unemployment, labor, unrest, national debt.

Industry needs men and women. Labor needs jobs. Surely the common need should make possible a deeper understanding each of the other than has ever existed, because the need of each is based upon the common need of a strong America. If we play upon the littlenesses of men, we will continue in strife. If we appeal to their common greatnesses, there is no difficulty that cannot be surmounted, no problem that cannot be solved. If industry has indeed been hampered by the rulings of the various commissions and boards instituted by the New Deal, and the country needs a freer industry, is the administration going to fail the country? If labor is in real danger of reenslavement, is the New Deal going to fail labor? Or is this third-term administration going to prove itself equal to the task of hewing out a new road that both industry and labor can travel peaceably and in the interest of all concerned? Surely that is the goal toward which we must move if we are to have not only a national-defense program but a nation to defend.

And what of this nation? The center of it is the home, and the heart of the home is woman. I believe that every woman in the United States is ready to play whatever part is demanded of her—not only in this coming year, but in the years beyond, and I believe she has the faith in her men to give new courage to all with whom she comes in contact—whether she be rich or poor—whether she be homemaker or businesswoman—whether she be married or single. I am certain that the men and women of America together can meet whatever comes.

As for me, your Congressman, I shall go down to Washington and take my place as a Member of the Seventy-seventh Congress with the quiet determination to do all in my power to work harmoniously with the administration for the defense of the United States, and for the protection of the democratic principle, without partisanship, and with a complete loyalty to the country we all desire to serve.

"Fifth Column" Activities and the Defense Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LELAND M. FORD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 2, 1941

RESOLUTION OF THE CALIFORNIA STATE FIREMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the following resolution forwarded to me by the California State Firemen's Association, 2046 Oregon Avenue, Long Beach, Calif., in respect to activities of subversive groups in hampering the development of our national-defense program, and urging that all aliens either become citizens or be deported:

Resolution No. 11—Resolution urging citizenship or deportation

Whereas the present Federal statutes permit an alien to reside indefinitely in the United States without applying for citizenship papers; and

Whereas the present defensive programs of our National and State Governments are being hampered by "fifth column" activities carried on, in the main, by subversive groups having as members and leaders, those not only alien in thought and actions, but actually citizens of other countries; and

Whereas such aliens are allowed to obtain positions of affluence and influence in this country and by their position of leadership are able to teach doctrines inimical to the best interests of the United States; and

Whereas such traitorous activities of those who are opposed to our form of Government are a menace to the life and property of stable citizens of every community within the boundaries of the United States; and

Whereas we as members of the fire service are imbued with a love of country, respect of citizenship, and a desire to provide protection in case of danger or emergency: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the members of the California State Firemen's Association, in convention assembled, September 23 to 26, inclusive, of the year 1940, That we urge adoption of amendments to the present Federal laws that would make mandatory the deportation or expulsion of any alien from the United States of America when such alien does not avail himself or herself of the rights of citizenship, both for first and final papers, after having resided within the boundaries of the country the specified time; and be it further

Resolved, That the legislative committee be instructed to contact the successful candidates for United States Senator and United States Representatives from the different districts of the State of California immediately after the November election, provide them with a copy of this resolution, and urge their presenting and supporting the necessary legislation to carry out the intent and purpose of the above paragraph.

Teamwork in National Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940), 1941

ADDRESS BY HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY, OF KENTUCKY

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me on yesterday before the Louisville Board of Trade Conference at its annual New Year's Day meeting, entitled "Teamwork in National Defense."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, members and guests of the Louisville Board of Trade, I deeply appreciate the invitation which makes me again your guest on the occasion of your New Year's conference.

It has been some years since I, on a former occasion, was privileged to be your guest and to address you. In the meantime the entire world has almost completely changed in its geographical, economic, and political equations. We are called upon today to engage in activities, the prophecy of which a few years ago would have been regarded as fantastic. We are compelled today to assume obligations and to declare purposes and objectives which until recently would have been regarded as the products of a disordered brain.

It may be that the situation which confronts us is the child of a disordered brain; for who but a few years ago could have predicted that one man stalking across the continent of Europe could have been responsible for the complete change in our way of life and the concentrated efforts of our people?

I wish to congratulate the Louisville Board of Trade and the city of Louisville, and the State of Kentucky for the attitude which they have assumed with determination and with almost universal accord toward the problems which face our Nation in these trying days. It has been a pleasure for me and for all of us in official position to have the cooperation, not only of your body, but of all similar organizations throughout the State in meeting the responsibility which rests upon us as individuals and as groups, whether we are in public or in private life.

I have been asked to devote my remarks today to the question of national defense. I am glad to do this, not because time will permit me to go into any great detail concerning it, but because it is the outstanding problem that today confronts our Nation, and it is the subject for thought and discussion where patriotic men and women foregather.

During our entire national history of more than a century and a half we have been a peaceful and peace-loving nation. Though we have engaged in wars at home and abroad, we have not assumed the attitude of an aggressor against the rights of other nations or other people. There is nowhere in the world a square mile of territory which we desire to take from any nation by force. There are no rights to which they are entitled of which we desire to rob them. There are no liberties which they enjoy upon which we would encroach. But we are forced today, in the light of world conditions, to face that world not as we would make it but as we find it.

During our history as a nation we have advocated a small standing Army and Navy, large enough to protect our legitimate interests, as a first line of defense. During our history we have assumed certain obligations in the Western Hemisphere, but even those obligations have been assumed in first instance as measures of our own self-defense.

It is futile on this occasion to indulge in speculation about what might have been the fate of mankind if the World War had not been fought and if we had not participated in it. That war was fought, and we participated in it in defense of rights which had been recognized and for which we had fought more than a century before. It is futile now to speculate on what might have been the fate of mankind if a different sort of treaty had been negotiated or dictated at the conclusion of that war. As Grover Cleveland said on another subject, "We are facing a condition and not a theory today."

Following the conclusion of the World War, the people of the nations, worn and weary of bloodshed and turmoil, relaxed into what they thought was a condition of permanent peace. In the treaty of settlement certain machinery for subsequent adjustments was instituted and for a while functioned with some degree of satisfaction. Armies all over the world were reduced and navies were also reduced, and the construction of naval vessels for a while almost entirely discontinued. Treaties were signed by nearly every nation of the world, outlawing war as a means of national development, and for a while the world basked in what appeared to be the sunshine of perpetual peace.

But, alas, how futile all these efforts seem now to have been. A single individual, armed with intolerance and the torch of hatred and the sword of racial and national enslavement, has upset the dreams of mankind with regard to the enjoyment of liberty, democracy, and national existence; and because of this situation, though theoretically 3,000 miles removed from its consuming flames, we confront the greatest danger which has faced us since George Washington led a ragged army to victory on the field of Yorktown.

In preparation for this imperative duty we have adopted policies never before thought necessary in times of peace.

In working out these policies of national defense, we have been compelled to draw from our experience in the World War. We could not afford to forget that it required 13 months following the declaration of war against Germany in 1917 to train a raw army into a body of soldiers equipped to fight.

We could not afford to forget that hundreds of thousands of these raw soldiers were trained with improvised instruments, such as broomsticks and other symbols of military equipment.

There was no munitions industry in America at the beginning of the World War, and there was none, in fact, at the end of that war. We were compelled to buy field artillery from France, and scarcely an airplane containing a Liberty motor was to be found on the fields of battle on the day of the armistice. This grew out of the fact that for 150 years we had lived in peace almost continuously, so far as foreign wars were concerned, and it required months to regear our industry for the production of war equipment. Yet, soothed by the illusion of perpetual peace and operating under the stimulus of a certain type of emotionalism, a committee of Congress sought later to stigmatize any man or institution making instruments of defense with the charge that they had fostered the war for the profits they might make out of it.

Acting under this understandable emotion and still dreaming of perpetual peace, and smarting over the nonpayment of foreign debts, Congress passed the Johnson Act, the Arms Embargo Act, and other restrictive laws touching our dealings as a nation and as individuals with nations in default or that might some day be engaged in war.

Before the present war began, the repeal of the Embargo Act was urged. Many nationally known public and private citizens denied the imminence of war, and neither Congress nor the country was sufficiently aroused to bring about the repeal of this law, which prohibited the sale or shipment of arms or munitions of war to belligerents engaged in war, in the belief that if belligerents could not obtain arms from the United States and knew in advance that they could not obtain them, there would be no war.

This law, though conceived in a misconception of the real fundamentals of international morals, in effect penalized every peaceful nation as against those which were arming for future aggression.

The predictions of those who saw no cloud upon the horizon were confounded, and it became necessary to call Congress into extra session in September 1939 to repeal the Arms Embargo Act and to enact the present neutrality law.

This law was based on our experience in the World War. It was based on what was at the time of its passage an almost universal desire of the American people not to be drawn into the present European war. It was based on the desire that incidents which drew us into the World War, such as the sinking of our ships, the murder of our citizens, and the violation of rights which had been recognized by international law for more than a century and a half, would not and could not occur.

It was based on the assumption that the present war would follow to some extent the traditional course of warfare and that our security and safety would be best guaranteed by withholding our material, financial, or moral support from either side.

It was made unlawful, therefore, for American citizens to grant any credits to belligerents or to travel on a belligerent ship, or for an American ship to travel into a belligerent port or zone, or for an American to travel into a belligerent port or through a belligerent zone, or for an American citizen or corporation or other person to sell any form of war material to any belligerent nation or for the benefit of such nation except for cash.

This is now the law.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the possible repeal of these laws or any of them. Circumstances of the future may indicate what course it may be wise or necessary for us to pursue.

It became obvious and is now obvious that we can no longer live in a fool's paradise supposing that we were not concerned over the outcome of this war or the kind of world we may have to live in when it is concluded.

The inventive genius of man has obliterated time and space to such an extent that no nation could deem itself safe from the perils which afflict any considerable portion of the world or may spread to all of it.

These things, which are matters of common knowledge now to every man, woman, and child in America, have made it necessary for us to reshape our policies, to reorganize our national economy and to restrengthen the means of our defense in every way at our command in order that we may not by our own neglect and lack of foresight fall a victim of the ruthless determination of a few ruthless dictators to destroy or greatly to restrict every liberty and every conception of man's inalienable rights everywhere in the world.

It has become necessary not only to reorganize our national economy for the production of the mechanical instruments of defense, but it has also been necessary to reorganize our manpower for the use of these instruments when produced. One of the means of this reorganization of manpower was the enactment of the Selective Military Training Act, which was passed a few months ago and is now in effect and which will shortly draw hundreds of thousands of our qualified citizens into military training for the service of our country if and when needed.

There was considerable bitter opposition to the enactment of this law on the ground that it had been the settled policy of this Nation in time of peace not to inaugurate compulsory military training or service. This opposition was perfectly sincere, but, in my judgment, misguided, because of a misconception of the history of our country. Voluntary service had not been a settled policy of this Nation. During the Revolutionary War, George Washington repeatedly urged the Continental Congress to provide compulsory military service. Some of the States, in their individual capacities, enacted compulsory military service legislation; and it is the concensus of opinion among American historians and military writers that if some form of universal service had been provided for during the American Revolution, the Colonies would have won their independence in 2 or 3 years instead of 8.

During the War of 1812 in which the Capitol of the Nation and the Executive Mansion were burned, both Houses of Congress enacted universal military service laws separately but could not agree on the details of the legislation in both Houses until the war had closed.

During the Civil War both sides enacted compulsory military service laws. When Lincoln called for volunteers in the spring of '61, more than enough to fill the call rushed to the colors. But when he issued a second call for 300,000 volunteers, the first flush of enthusiasm had subsided and the required number did not register. The Confederate States enacted compulsory military service in 1862 but the National Government did not do so until 1863. It is believed by military writers that if this method of raising armies had been inaugurated at the beginning of the War between the States that war would have ended in half the time it actually occupied.

In the War with Spain in 1898, universal service was unnecessary because, as wars go, it was comparatively a small and brief war and volunteers came forward in sufficient numbers to meet the requirements of the American Army.

When the World War came in 1917, it was almost universally recognized that on account of the stupendous character of that struggle the necessary armies could not be raised by relying solely upon volunteer service and it was further recognized that even if an army sufficiently large could be raised by the volunteer system, it was unfair to require our fighting in behalf of our institutions to be done only by the brave and adventurous spirits who were willing to rush forward into the battle, leaving others equally, if not better, qualified to remain at home and enjoy the benefits of the service of their fellowmen. It was then almost universally recognized, and is now so recognized, that the Selective Service Act of 1917 was the fairest and most democratic way in which to raise an army to fight the battles of all the people.

When the present world situation arose, and it became necessary for us to take note of our obligations and our dangers, Congress enacted a Selective Training and Service Act, recognizing the universal obligation of all men qualified for military service, subject to certain exceptions and exemptions set out in the law, which experience has found to be necessary. This law is now in process of being administered and it is to the everlasting credit and glory of the American people that they have accepted this law and are cooperating in its fair administration.

In addition to the reorganization of our manpower, we are now intensely engaged in the reorganization of our economic and material resources. Congress has appropriated for the fiscal year 1941, $5,703,509,885 for the War Department and has authorized additional contracts for $2,800,000,000, making a total in round numbers of $8,700,000,000 in cash, and authorized contracts for the expansion of our Military Establishment under the guidance of the War Department.

For the Navy Department Congress has for the fiscal year 1941 appropriated $2,546,513,000 and has authorized contracts for an additional expenditure during the year of $823,000,000, making a total for the Navy of $3,370,000,000, and making a grand total for both Army and Navy for this fiscal year of $12,052,000,000. The Defense Commission on yesterday reported that it had approved contracts for more than $10,000,000,000 out of these total appropriations and that the Army and Navy had awarded nine-tenths of these contracts, including $3,300,000,000 for ships, $1,500,000,000 for factory expansion and housing, $1,500,000,000 for airplanes and parts, $600,000,000 for ammunition, $500,000,000 for guns and $400,000,000 for trucks and tanks. These contracts, plus those placed by the British and other nations, commit American industry to produce 50,000 airplanes and 130,000 airplane engines, 9,200 tanks, 2,055,000 guns of all kinds and their ammunition, 380 naval ships, 200 mercantile ships, 200 camps and cantonments, 50,000 trucks, and clothing and equipment for 1,200,000 men.

Also under contract are 40 Government factories, among them the first mass-production tank factory in the world, 5 explosive plants, 6 ammunition plants and 5 machine-gun plants.

Gun contracts embrace 400,000 automatic rifles, 1,300,000 regular rifles, 17,000 heavy guns, 25,000 light guns, 13,000 trench mortars, 300,000 machine guns, and 33,000,000 loaded shells.

A new fighting ship slips down the ways of American shipbuilding plants every 12 days to join the American Navy.

These are only some of the items which have been contracted for and are being produced under the $12,000,000,000 appropriation for the present fiscal year.

Because of the inadequacy of our munitions facilities there have been unavoidable delays and everybody has a feeling of some impatience because of these delays. Congress has appropriated the money. The War and Navy Departments and the Defense Commission have entered into contracts. I believe that industry and labor and the entire American community will pool their resources and their power to produce with the greatest degree of rapidity the implements necessary for the defense of our country and for the consummation of its obligations to the American people and to the Western Hemisphere.

Numerous and inaccurate reports have from time to time appeared and will no doubt continue to appear, claiming a shortage in certain strategic and essential materials. Until recently it was claimed that there was a shortage of aluminum. This has been categorically denied by Mr. Edward Stettinius, member of the Defense Commission. We must not overlook the fact that until this emergency arose the full capacity of the American steel industry for the production of steels was 83,000,000 tons per annum. The new program plus the normal requirements have increased the demands for steels more than 100,000,000 tons per annum. This increased capacity cannot be provided overnight, but I have no doubt that the steel industry will be able to meet this demand.

In other words, it may be necessary for us completely to change for the time being the character of the products turned out by American factories. Automobile factories, sewing-machine factories, washing-machine factories, and all other factories that are operated by machine tools may find it necessary to divert their energy and their machinery to some form of production for national defense. It may be necessary for us to do without new models of automobiles for a year or two, but what sacrifice does this constitute compared with that which is being made by the liberty-loving and peace-loving nations of the world who have been or are now being overrun and crushed under the heel of military and economic domination?

We have not yet begun to make the sacrifices we may be required to make in order to preserve the priceless heritage of our Nation. We will undoubtedly be required to increase the size of our national debt. We will be required to pay more taxes, for we cannot pass on this entire burden to future generations.

In the awarding of these vast contracts and in the levying of these vast taxes, partisan politics can play no part. Congress has appropriated the money for the production of adequate equipment for national defense and for hemisphere defense. We are building a navy not only sufficient to defend us in the Atlantic but in the Pacific. We are building an air force and other forms of military and naval equipment sufficient to protect the United States and the other nations of the Western Hemisphere from European or Asiatic aggression. Democrats and Republicans alike are, without compensation, giving their time and their energy to the service of their country. These vast expenditures must be carried out without political favor and without geographical favors, and based upon the best interests of the whole country.

While Congress appropriates the money, neither it, nor any individual Member of it, has any authority or influence, or ought to have any authority or influence in the location of these expenditures. There is not a Member of the United States Senate nor of the House of Representatives who has any authority to award a contract or to locate an industry, or ought to have any authority or influence in the awarding of contracts or in the location of industries, and I think I am in a position to know that not a single Member of the United States Senate or of the House of Representatives from any State can legitimately claim credit for the location of any industry among the forty which have been located in various portions of the United States. We would be, very naturally, glad to assist our own States and our own local communities in obtaining a substantial share of these industries made necessary by our emergency and, while I and all the rest of us appreciate the enthusiasm and the cooperation of organized bodies of business, professional, fraternal, and other patriotic organizations in helping to work out this tremendous problem, I wish to say to the Louisville Board of Trade and to all other boards of trade and other organizations in Kentucky and elsewhere that I have no right to lay claim for any credit for the location of any industry in Kentucky or elsewhere, nor am I willing to assume blame for the failure of communities to obtain the industries which have been located by the Government. The location of these industries is not a political but a military, naval, and economic problem. The War Department, the Navy Department, and the Defense Commission have their inspectors and experts cooperating with the experts of the industries which are to operate the plants, whose duty it is primarily to recommend the most advantageous location.

The whole program would soon mire down in the miasma of political scandal if any United States Senator or Congressman had sufficient pull with the executive departments to determine the location of any plant as a matter of political favoritism. I have been glad in every possible instance to present to these departments the advantages of localities here in my own State which are interested in the location of these plants.

It is a source of deep regret to me that every worthy and enterprising community may not be able to secure some share of this

industrial development, but it ought to be thoroughly understood that every development that Louisville has been able to secure has not been secured by any political favoritism, not by any political pull, but because the departments charged with this responsibility have felt that it constituted the most advantageous location for the particular purpose involved for the expansion or new establishment. The same is true of every other community in Kentucky and the United States, and I desire to say, frankly, that I would lose my faith in the efficiency and the righteousness of the executive departments who are charged with this responsibilty in behalf of our Nation if I thought that I or any other public officer holding a political office had enough influence to divert them from what they considered to be their duty in carrying out this defense program. I happen to know that the members of the executive departments charged with this duty are attempting to perform that duty impartially and in the light of essential facts.

We are all engaged in a great struggle to preserve for ourselves and for the world, if possible, the things which we have come to believe are indispensable for the enjoyment of human life. Not only shall we carry out our program by providing essential equipment for our own Nation, but it is a settled policy of our country to assist those who are making a life-and-death struggle in other parts of the world, whose victory or whose defeat will determine the fate of our own country and of our own civilization for generations and, perhaps, centuries to come. Already our way of life has been changed by the necessities of which I am speaking.

Let us pool all of our interests to see that our way of life in America shall not be permanently uprooted by the success of brutal arrogance, savage intolerance, and by the utter lack of the Christian virtues among the peoples and nations of the world. In this cause every sacrifice is a badge of honor and every self-denial will be a laurel wreath upon our foreheads.

Nazi and Communist Activities in American Republics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 2, 1941

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow I shall introduce the following resolution of inquiry:

Resolved, That the President of the United States is hereby requested to transmit forthwith to the House of Representatives, if not incompatible with the public interest, such important information as may be available regarding activities by the Nazi government and the Communist Party in other American republics.

Mr. Speaker, it is of vital importance to the Congress of the United States and to the entire country that the Members of Congress be kept informed of the activities of the Nazi Government and the Communist Party in the other American republics. A very exhaustive examination of Nazi and Communistic activities in this country is being carried on by the Dies committee. Activities of the Nazis and Communists in the other American republics bear a vital relation to the United States. I earnestly hope my resolution will be adopted.

We have stepped over the threshold of a new year. I hope that this year the Congress may be kept fully informed as to all aspects of our national defense. It is admitted by the administration that the defense program has not been a success. The Congress voted for every appropriation which the administration asked for. That the national-defense program has failed in large measure proves that there is something radically wrong. We are entitled to know just where we stand. Repeated efforts on my part and on the part of other Members have failed to secure the desired information. If such information is not forthcoming during the new year, I believe the Members will have to answer the consequences to their constituents. The citizens of the United States demand that the United States be completely prepared for any and all eventualities. Time is of the essence. The reason that England has made such a gallant fight during the last few months is because she has been told the truth by Minister Churchill. She has been told the worst. Americans are a great patriotic, self-sacrificing people. They ask for peace. They ask for preparedness in order to maintain that peace.

Christmas Eve Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSH LEE

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940), 1941

RADIO ADDRESS BY HON. JOSH LEE, OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a Christmas Eve radio address delivered by me.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Home folks and neighbors, by invitation of the Salvation Army I speak to you at this time. We have so much for which to be thankful in this country that it almost makes you feel guilty as we enjoy our blessings and contrast our Christmas with that of the rest of the world. If we count our blessings it causes us to fear lest we shall lose them, and well we might be concerned about our own security and a continuation of peace for America.

It is on this subject I wish to talk very frankly for a few minutes. I wish to speak in behalf of peace and how we may best insure ourselves against war. I come to you as an advocate of peace. America believes in the doctrine of peace on earth, good will toward men. If all nations believed in and practiced that doctrine the world would have peace. But there are other nations which believe only in the doctrine of force. Therefore if America is to have a continuation of peace, force must be exercised to prevent these nations from invading our hemisphere.

Tomorrow night is Christmas Eve. Beautiful Christmas lights will twinkle in every city and village in the entire Western Hemisphere. But there will be no Christmas lights in Europe or Asia.

We in America do not want war. We want peace. But merely wishing it will not guarantee it. Neither do we gain peace by merely denouncing war. We cannot simply will to have peace and have it. There are those who may believe that all we must do to have peace is to decide that we will have peace. But it is not so simple as that. It takes two to make peace, but only one can make war. We can follow a good-neighbor policy only with such other nations as will also follow a good-neighbor policy. But if other nations make war on us we must defend ourselves. Thus we may have war which is not of our making.

Tonight, as we prepare to enjoy a peaceful, happy Christmas, Europe is on fire, and that fire threatens America. Therefore, it is only the part of wisdom and prudence that we should send fire extinguishers to help stop that conflagration.

The democracies of Europe could be enjoying a peaceful, happy Christmas tonight just as we are if they had only joined their forces against Hitler 18 months ago. But they listened to the appeasers who said, "If you do anything to stop Hitler you will get into war." Consequently they did nothing but sit and wait their turn to be destroyed. Therefore, their very inaction led not only to war but to annihilation and slavery.

Their neglect to help one another gave Hitler an opportunity to destroy each one separately. Therefore, those who today are urging America to do nothing to help England are urging us to follow the same policy which has led so many other nations into war and destruction. Then, is the person who urges us to do nothing to help England a true friend? Is he a champion of peace, or is he a decoy whose policies of "wait and see" will surely lead to war with the odds heavily against us.

America has only one chance to escape total war, and that chance is England. If England falls there will be no lights in America next Christmas. There will be a total black-out of the Western Hemisphere. Therefore, as a practical peace program, we should cut all red tape, ignore all technicalities, and rush materials to England.

Hitler is virtually at war with America now. He is making war on us economically, politically, and morally.

Only the British Royal Air Force and the British Navy prevent him making war on us in a military sense. Consequently we are acting in the interest of peace when we strengthen the only barrier between us and this threat of war. Our race is against time. England is more desperate than appears on the surface. If the people of this country can find means of expressing themselves, their Government will act. But if that expression is slow in manifesting itself, our aid may come like the sickening epitaph which has been raised above the ashes of the democracies of Europe: Too late and too little.

This evening as we hurry about our last-minute preparations for Christmas, it is difficult for us to appreciate our liberty, until we compare it to the situation in Europe. Tonight we can dial our radio and tune into programs from all over the world, but only last week Hitler's propaganda minister, Dr. Goebbels, announced that

all of those in Nazi-dominated Europe who listened to any other radios than the Nazi-propaganda radios would be dealt with.

Yesterday hundreds of thousands of preachers here in America preached to millions of people without the slightest censorship. But the ministers under the Nazi swastika must preach what they are told. Those who have refused to be silent about injustices have either been killed outright, or, what is worse, condemned to the living hell of a concentration camp.

We are about to celebrate the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, the Saviour of the world. But in Russia the Soviet Government will not let the people celebrate Christmas in tribute to the birth of Christ. Such conditions of human servitude and slavery are difficult for us to picture even in our imagination. In Germany children are turned against their own flesh and blood. They are told that it is a crime unless they report everything to Gestapo. Thus, children are constantly spying on their own parents. The Gestapo can, on a suspicion or personal grudge, arrest a person and with a trial which is a mockery secretly drag him off to a concentration camp. His relatives may never even know what happened to him, and if they try to find out they themselves receive the same brutal treatment.

I feel that I would be negligent in my duty as an official of this Government on this occasion to merely recount our blessings without warning you that these same blessings are threatened. Fellow Americans, we must save our liberty. The British are gallantly holding the line and giving us time to arm. They are fighting for the same human liberty which we cherish so much. Some British lord recently said Englishmen would rather die on their feet than live on their knees. That represents the spirit of our own people. By aiding England now we can help preserve that spirit not only in America but throughout the world.

Tonight I speak by courtesy of the Salvation Army—one of the greatest organizations for doing good in the entire world. They are not the largest numerically, but no other organization has been more effective in helping the distressed than the Salvation Army. I am proud that they have paid me the honor of speaking under their banner on this occasion.

Now in this Christmas season may I say in the words of that thrilling song, God Bless America—

"From the mountains to the sea,
To the ocean white with foam,
God bless America,
Our home sweet home."

Important Legislation of Third Session of Seventy-sixth Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SHERMAN MINTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 2 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940), 1941

DIGEST OF LEGISLATION

Mr. MINTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a digest of important legislation of the third session of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

There being no objection, the digest was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL NATIONAL DEFENSE APPROPRIATION BILL, FISCAL YEAR 1941

(Approved September 9, 1940, Public Law No. 781, 76th Cong.)

This bill carries an appropriation of $5,133,169,277, which shall provide the following items for a "total" national defense:

The bill assigns $3,911,995,417 for the Army and $1,051,156,540 for the Navy. Cash appropriations total $2,234,191,957, and the authority to enter contracts amount to $2,728,960,000.

For ship construction it provides $183,000,000 in cash and $47,000,000 in contractual authority; $75,000,000 for alteration and conversion of naval vessels; $72,000,000 for public works.

It provides for the construction of 200 new warships under the Navy building program. This does not include the 68 under way on July 1. The measure also carries more than $2,000,000,000 for procuring 14,393 war planes for the Army and 4,028 for the Navy.

In addition to funds for the war planes and the two-ocean Navy, the measure also provides funds or authority to:

1. Complete total modernization and equipment for a land force of about 1,200,000 men.

2. Procure reserve stocks of tanks, guns, artillery, and ammunition for 300,000 men in addition to the completely war-equipped 1,200,000 men, should mobilization of such a force become necessary.

3. Provide manufacturing facilities, public and private, necessary for producing critical items of equipment needed for an army of 2,000,000, and for producing ordnance required for the Army and Navy aircraft program—guns, bombs, armor, bomb sights, and ammunition.

4. Procure 28,401 motor-propelled vehicles, including tanks.

The bill contains an appropriation of $100,000,000 to provide housing facilities for persons engaged in defense activities. There is also a provision for $5,000,000 in cash and a $5,000,000 authorization for a drydock in New York Harbor to handle the 45,000-ton battleships now building.

The bill requires a performance bond on all Government contracts. Under existing law, no bond is required on so-called negotiated contracts. It also contains a provision boosting from 8 to 12 percent the profits allowed to airplane manufacturers on defense contracts.

DIGEST OF CERTAIN LAWS PERTAINING TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT AND THE ARMY

Facilitating the procurement of aircraft

(Approved March 5, 1940. Public Law No. 426, 76th Cong.)

Until June 30, 1941, the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy may award contracts for aircraft, aircraft parts, and accessories therefor, to the lowest bidder that can satisfactorily perform the work or service required to the best advantage of the Government, or when such action is considered necessary in the interest of the national defense they may award such contracts to the three lowest responsible bidders that can satisfactorily perform the work or the service required to the best advantage of the Government. Such multiple awards and the necessity for making the same shall be based upon quality, times, and rate of delivery, price, and the prevention of the overloading of a plant or plants and such division of awards shall be made only when found to be in the interest of the national defense. Any such contract shall be subject to the applicable profit-limitation provisions of the act of March 27, 1934, as amended (48 Stat. 505; 34 U. S. C., Sup V, 496). (See section 2 (b), act of June 28, 1940 (Public Law No. 671, 76th Cong.).) This act shall be construed as additional legislation to be utilized under the conditions set forth, during the effective period.

Enlistments in the Army

(Approved May 14, 1940. Public Law No. 513, 76th Cong.)

In time of war or other emergency declared by Congress, all enlistments in the active military service shall be in the Army without specification of any particular component or unit thereof and shall be for the duration of the war or other emergency plus 6 months. Eligibility for such enlistment shall be limited to persons not less than 18 years of age and otherwise qualified. All persons enlisted at any time in the Army or any component thereof shall, during such war or emergency, be available for assignment to duty with any unit of the Army and may be freely transferred from one unit to another, regardless of the component status of the unit involved.

Appropriations

(Approved June 13, 1940, Public Law No. 611, 76th Cong.)

Makes appropriations for the Military Establishment for the fiscal year 1941.

Legislative provisions authorize (1) (a) actual transportation expenses and not to exceed $10 per diem in lieu of subsistence and other expenses of persons serving while away from their homes in an advisory capacity to the Secretary of War, and (b) temporary employment of persons without regard to civil-service laws, (2) additional technical and clerical personnel in the Office of the Chief of Engineers, (3) officers of the Army on special duty in European countries, (4) aerial flights by nonflying officers at a legal maximum rate of $720 per annum, (5) suspension of the limitations as to the number of enlisted men and flying cadets in the Army Air Corps, (6) designing of a building to replace the present Army Medical Library and Museum, (7) travel of enlisted men of the Air Corps by air and rental of office space in connection with Air Corps procurement activities, (8) suspension of the limitation as to the number of airplanes to be procured and maintained, (9) the purchase of laboratory instruments, (10) commutation of rations for civilians employed at cadet mess, (11) voluntary field training without pay for the National Guard near home stations, (12) transportation of baggage, including packing and crating, of Reserve officers ordered to active duty for not less than 6 months, (13) (a) travel of rifle teams and individuals attending regional, national, and international competitions, and (b) purchase of medals and badges for use in competitions, (14) an emergency fund for the President, (15) ordering Reserve officers to active duty in the procurement or production of equipment, or on duty pertaining to aviation, (16) administrative within-grade promotions of employees, not to exceed the amount in the Budget estimate, (17) the employment of citizens only in the Canal Zone after May 1, 1941, except for temporary employment in case of emergency.

Supplemental appropriations

(Approved June 26, 1940—Public Law No. 667, 76th Cong.)

Makes supplemental appropriations for the national defense for the fiscal year 1941. The more important supplemental items of titles I and II are as follows (no attempt was made to digest the provisions relative to the Navy—title III): (1) Additional

civilian pilot training, (2) experimental work by the Council of National Defense, (3) additions to the Munitions Building, (4) airplane engine research laboratory, (5) additional special agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, (6) acquisition of strategic and critical materials, (7) special field exercises, (8) pay for additional officers and enlisted men, (9) additional amounts for subsistence, supplies, clothing, and equipage, transportation, animals, buildings, flying fields, acquisition of land, barracks and quarters, hospital construction, and incidental expenses of the Army, (10) signal equipment, (11) new airplanes, spare parts, and accessories, (12) medical and hospital services, (13) engineer services, (14) ordnance services and supplies, (15) chemical warfare services, (16) seacoast defenses, (17) Organized Reserves, and (18) expediting production.

Legislative provisions authorize (1) employment of any person of outstanding experience and ability at a compensation of $1 per annum, (2) purchase of strategic and critical materials without advertising for proposals, (3) suspending any limitations as to the enlisted strength of the Regular Army and as to the number of retired officers who may be called to active duty, (4) suspending the limitation as to the amount which may be expended for the purchase or exchange of passenger-carrying vehicles, or purchase and operation of boats, (5) entering into contracts for signal equipment, airplanes, ordnance supplies, and exploration of manganiferous deposits, and (6) expediting the production of equipment and supplies for the Army for emergency national-defense purposes, which include procurement for production of equipment or supplies, erection of structures, acquisition of land, furnishing of Government-owned facilities at privately owned plants, procurement and training of civilian personnel in production, exploration of manganiferous deposits, and the erection, equipment, and operation of pilot plants for the beneficiation of manganese and for the production of metallic manganese.

Appropriations for civil functions

(Public Law No. 653, 76th Cong. Approved June 24, 1940)

Makes appropriations for the fiscal year 1941, for the civil functions administered by the War Department. Among the more important legislative provisions are the following: (1) Prosecuting work of flood control, Sacramento River, Calif.; (2) mapping in strategic areas by the Interior Department for the War Department; (3) continuing the construction of special protective works, Panama Canal, and contracting for the same; and (4) administrative within-grade promotions of employees, not to exceed the amount in the Budget estimate.

Strategic and critical materials

(Public Law No. 664, 76th Cong. Approved June 25, 1940)

Section 5: In order to aid the Government in its national-defense program, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized: (1) To make loans to, or purchase the stock of, any corporation for the purpose of producing, acquiring, and carrying strategic and critical materials, and for plant construction, expansion, and equipment, and working capital, to be used in the manufacture of equipment and supplies necessary to the national defense; and (2) to create a corporation with power: (a) to produce, acquire, and carry strategic and critical materials; (b) to purchase, lease, build, and expand plants and to purchase and produce equipment, supplies, and machinery, for the manufacture of arms, ammunition, and implements of war; (c) to lease plants to private corporations to engage in such manufacture; and (d) to engage in such manufacture itself.

Subversive activities

(Approved June 28, 1940—Public Law No. 670, 76th Cong.)

It shall be unlawful for any person, with intent to interfere with the loyalty or discipline of the military or naval forces, to advise, counsel, urge, or distribute any written or printed matter which would in any manner cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces.

Makes it unlawful for any person (1) to knowingly or willfully advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force; (2) to print or publish any written or printed matter advocating or teaching the duty of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force; or (3) to organize or help organize any society or group who teach or advocate the overthrow or destruction of any government in the United States by force.

Violators of the above provisions shall be fined $10,000 or imprisoned 10 years, or both. Any written or printed matter may be taken from any house or place, or from any person under search warrant (40 Stat. 228; 18 U. S. C. 611–633).

Provides for the deportation of any resident alien who shall have (1) knowingly and for gain, encouraged any other alien to try to enter the United States in violation of law, or (2) been convicted of possessing certain semiautomatic weapons or of violating title I of this act.

Authorizes the registration and fingerprinting of all resident aliens within 30 days; and hereafter no visa shall be issued to any alien seeking to enter the United States unless the alien has been registered and fingerprinted in duplicate.

Strengthening of the national defense

(Approved July 2, 1940. Public Law No. 703, 76th Cong.)

In order to expedite the building up of the national defense, the Secretary of War is authorized, out of the moneys appropriated for national-defense purposes for the fiscal year 1941, with or without advertising (1) to provide (a) for the construction or rehabilitation of plants or buildings, etc., (b) for the development, manufacture, maintenance, and storage of military equipment, munitions, and supplies, (c) for shelter, and (d) for operation, maintenance, or sale of any plant, building, etc.; and (2) to enter into contracts for the exchange of deteriorated, etc., military equipment, munitions, and supplies. Suspends the limitations on (1) expenditures on individual projects, (2) the number of flying cadets in the Army Air Corps, (3) the number and rank of Reserve officers who may be ordered to extended active duty within the Air Corps, (4) the number of officers and enlisted men assigned in the various branches of the Army, (5) the number of serviceable airplanes, airships, and free and captive balloons that may be equipped and maintained by the Air Corps, (6) the civil-service requirements for the employment of supervising or construction engineers by the War Department, (7) the removal of classified civil-service employees by the War Department, and (8) employment of laborers and mechanics by the War Department in excess of the 40-hour week. Authorizes $66,000,000 for the President to use for emergencies affecting the national security and defense, and authorizes the President to contract in an amount not exceeding $66,000,000 for like purposes.

Further, authorizes the President in the interest of national defense to prohibit or curtail, by proclamation, the exportation of any military equipment or munitions, or component parts thereof, or machinery, tools, or material, or supplies necessary for the manufacture, servicing, or operation thereof (proclamations by the President, Nos. 2413 and 2417, 5 F. R. 2467, 2469, 2677, and 2682).

PREVENT PERNICIOUS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, APPROVED JULY 19, 1940

(Public, No. 753, 76th Cong., 3d sess., S. 3046)

This act further extends the provisions of the Hatch Act (act of Aug. 2, 1939, 53 Stat., pt. 2, p. 1147) to make it applicable to any person employed in any administrative position in State and local governments (including any corporation controlled by United States or any agency thereof, and any corporation all of the capital stock of which is owned by the United States or any agency thereof), where activities are financed wholly or in part by funds of the United States. This act shall not be construed to include persons holding elective offices in any State or municipalitity and who do not come under a State or municipal merit or civil-service system. Provisions containing prohibition are similar to those contained in section 9 of the original Hatch Act.

Persons guilty of violation of these new provisions shall be reported to the United States Civil Service Commission, who shall make the proper investigation and time and place for a hearing and in determining the violation, and shall take the necessary steps for removal or punishment.

Any party aggrieved by any determination of the Commission may, after 30 days of such determination, appeal to the United States district court for a review of his case.

It shall be unlawful for any person to make directly or indirectly contributions in an aggregate amount in excess of $5,000, during a calendar year, in connection with the nomination or election in behalf of any candidate for an elective Federal office (including the offices of President of the United States and Presidential and Vice Presidential electors), or in behalf of any committee or organization engaged in furthering the nomination or election of any candidate for any Federal office or succession of any national political party.

It shall be unlawful to purchase or buy any goods, commodities, advertising, or articles of any kind or description where the proceeds of such purchase, or any portion thereof, shall directly or indirectly inure to the benefit of, or for any candidate for an elective Federal office (including the offices for President of the United States, and Presidential and Vice Presidential electors), or political committee or political organization engaged in furthering the nomination or election of any candidate for a Federal office or the success of any national political party.

For the benefit of people employed in the National Capital and live in the States of Maryland and Virginia or political subdivisions thereof, the Commission is authorized to promulgate regulations permitting them to take active part in such political management and political campaigns to the extent the Commission deems to be in the domestic interests of such persons.

This act does not apply where the person or question is not specifically identified with any national or State political party having particularly in mind questions relating to constitutional amendments, referendums, approval of municipal ordinances and others of similar character.

No firm or person entering into any contract with the United States or any department or agency thereof, where the payment for performance is made in whole or part from funds appropriated by Congress shall make contributions, to any political party, committee, or candidate for public office or to any person for political purpose or use, nor shall any person solicit any contribution from any such person or firm.

No political committee shall receive contributions aggregating more than $3,000,000 or make expenditures aggregating more than $3,000,000, during any calendar year.

TO INCREASE THE LENDING AUTHORITY OF THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

(Approved September 26, 1940. Public Law No. 792, 76th Cong.)

This bill increases the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank of Washington by $500,000,000 for the purpose of combating German economic infiltration in South America.

The loans are designed to assist in the orderly marketing of Latin American surplus products in war-disrupted European markets, promote United States trade with the republics of South America, and develop sources in this hemisphere for critical materials such as tin and rubber. Loans may be made to any Western Hemisphere government, to their central banks, or other acceptable banking institutions.

The bill also extends the life of the bank as an agency of the United States from June 30, 1941, to January 22, 1947, increases its lending authority from $200,000,000 to $700,000,000, and increases the note-issue power of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation by $1,500,000,000.

PROTECTION OF FARMERS' MARKET

(Public, No. 406, 76th Cong. Approved January 25, 1940)

This act further increases the protection of the home market for agricultural products by providing that restrictions may be placed upon imports of farm products whenever such imports will adversely affect our domestic market or whenever the domestic farm program is endangered by such imports.

PATRICK HENRY MEMORIAL

(Public, No. 408. Approved January 29, 1940)

This act authorizes the acquisition by the Secretary of the Interior, on behalf of the United States, of the estate of Patrick Henry in Charlotte County, Va., known as Red Hill.

The cost shall not exceed $100,000 and the property is to be administered as a national monument to Patrick Henry.

FARM MORTGAGE REFINANCING

(Public, No. 410. Approved February 1, 1940)

The Emergency Farm Mortgage Act of 1933 is amended so as to continue the legislation in force and effect until June 1, 1942.

The original law provided for loans to farmers to be known as Land Bank Commissioners' loans. In many instances these were the only type loans available to farmers since loans may be made on first or second mortgages up to 75 percent of the value of the farm, a more liberal loan policy than was available elsewhere.

This act permits a continuance of this source of credit until June 1, 1942.

WORLD WAR SAILORS AND MARINES

(Public, 412, 76th Cong. Approved February 9, 1940)

Sailors and marines who served as enlisted men between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, and who were discharged for fraudulent enlistment on account of minority or misrepresentation of age are hereafter to be considered as honorably discharged and certification thereof to be made, upon request, to such men or to their widows. However, no back pay or allowances shall accrue because of the passage of this act.

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

(Public, No. 420, 76th Cong. Approved March 2, 1940)

The lending authority of the Export-Import Bank is increased from $100,000,000 to $200,000,000. It is provided that loans to any one foreign country or its nationals shall not be, at any one time, outstanding in an aggregate amount in excess of $20,000,000, which amount, however, may be in addition to previous authorizations.

No such loan may be made to any government which was in default of its obligation to the United States on April 13, 1934; nor shall such loans be made in violation of international law or for purchases of arms, ammunition, or implements of war as designated by the President in accordance with the Neutrality Act of 1939. This latter provision does not apply to the purchase of aircraft exclusively for commercial purposes.

FARM BANKRUPTCIES

(Public, No. 423, 76th Cong. Approved March 4, 1940)

The provision of the Bankruptcy Act relating to farmers is continued in effect until March 4, 1944, whereas it would ordinarily have expired March 4, 1940.

Farmers may file with the proper court petitions for composition of their indebtedness and shall be entitled to all the benefits under the original act, known as the Frazier-Lemke Act.

The definition of the word "farmer" is restated to specifically include livestock, poultry, and dairy farmers.

Protection is afforded the farmer by extending to him, under court protection, a specific number of years in which to retire his indebtedness; during which time no farmer's mortgage may be foreclosed and his home taken from him without consent of the court to which he has applied for relief from his burden. It is the intent of the Congress that the court will look out for the farmers' interests and give them every oportunity to redeem their homes.

KING'S CANYON NATIONAL PARK

(Public, No. 424, 76th Cong. Approved, March 4, 1940)

An area of 454,600 acres is set aside by this legislation for the enjoyment of the people of this country as part of our national-park system. The park, to be known as King's Canyon National Park, is to be administered by the National Park Service under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior. Located in the State of California, it includes the area formerly known as the General Grant National Park.

MUNICIPAL BANKRUPTCY

(Public, No. 425, 76th Cong. Approved, March 4, 1940)

Enactment of this law permits municipalities and other taxing authorities to effect a composition of its obligations arising from street or other improvements, the cost of which is frequently assessed against the properties which benefit. In some instances such properties are not now sufficiently valuable to satisfy these liens—many of which are represented by bonds which are in default.

Prior to passage of this law, a city might not take advantage of the bankruptcy provisions unless it stated the city was insolvent. This act permits the taxing authority to bring about a settlement of these special liens without reference to the city's regular financial structure.

AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT

(Public, No. 426, 76th Cong., approved Mar. 5, 1940)

The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy may award contracts for airplanes, aircraft parts, and accessories to as many as three of the lowest responsible bidders when, in the discretion of either Secretary, such action is necessary in the interest of national defense. Formerly contracts were awarded to the company which submitted the lowest bid.

It is believed that allocation of orders to as many as three bidders will prevent overloading any one company and thereby delaying delivery of aircraft.

A report to Congress is required which will set forth complete information concerning such awards. Adequate safeguards are placed about such contracts so as to protect the interests of the public.

BONNEVILLE DAM

(Public, No. 429, 76th Cong., approved Mar. 6, 1940)

This legislation extends until January 1, 1942, the provision of law stipulating that at least 50 percent of the energy which the electric-generating facilities at Bonneville are capable of producing shall be reserved for sale to public bodies and cooperatives, and that thereafter when there is a conflict in application as between public bodies and cooperatives and private systems or agencies the former shall receive preference.

So as to more efficiently administer this project the office of the administrator of the Bonneville project is constituted an office in the Department of the Interior. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to appoint without regard to the civil-service laws an Assistant Administrator, chief engineer, and general counsel. Compensation of such officials may not exceed $7,500 per annum.

ENLISTED RESERVE CORPS

(Public, No. 438, 76th Cong. Approved March 15, 1940)

Provision is made for the Enlisted Reserve to consist of persons who voluntarily enlist for a 3-year period; except that those persons who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps at some time between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, may enlist for 1 year and may be discharged during time of peace within 90 days if application for discharge is made.

Such enlistment is restricted to persons eligible for regular service, except that for specialists the age limit shall be 45 years instead of 36 years. The latter provision will make available to the Army scores of skilled men who would be otherwise ineligible.

ESPIONAGE

(Public, No. 443, 76th Cong. Approved March 28, 1940)

Prior to the passage of this act spies might be convicted of stealing military secrets, photographing war vessels under construction, penetrating aircraft factories and damaging or destroying aircraft, or of conspiring with others to steal code books and secret reports of a military nature and yet receive as light a sentence as 1 or 2 years in prison. It was possible that no prison sentence would be imposed. This law materially increases penalties for espionage. Prison terms are made mandatory instead of left to the discretion of the courts and range from 5 to 10 years for lesser crimes and as high as 20 years for more serious offenses. Fines as high as $10,000 may be imposed in addition to the prison terms.

It is believed the strengthened law will serve as a powerful deterrent to criminals of this type.

RECIPROCAL-TRADE AGREEMENTS

(Public Resolution 61, 76th Cong. Approved April 12, 1940)

The President is authorized to continue to negotiate trade agreements with other nations for a period of 3 years from June 12, 1940.

This reciprocal-trade program has been in effect since June 12, 1934; and the beneficial results thereof have been demonstrated by increased exports of United States products amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars.

UNITED SPANISH WAR VETERANS

(Public, No. 473, 76th Cong. Approved April 22, 1940)

The Congress has created a corporation of the District of Columbia to be known as the United Spanish War Veterans. The purpose is to perpetuate the name of the United Spanish War Veterans, to preserve the organization of such veterans, to promote peace and good will and to protect and preserve our institutions of government. The corporation may not engage in business for profit.

The controlling authority shall be representatives chosen by the members and such officers shall govern the organization in accordance with democratic principles.

The corporate existence of the United Spanish War Veterans and the exclusive rights of its surviving members to wear the insignia of membership therein shall terminate only when the last of its members dies.

WHITE-PINE BLISTER RUST

(Public, No. 486, 76th Cong. Approved April 26, 1940)

So as to preserve the white-pine forests of the United States and to assure a continuous supply of such timber to industries

dependent thereon, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to expend such funds as may be made available for prevention and elimination of white-pine blister rust.

No such funds may be used to assist private landowners unless contributions by such private owners are equal to the Federal expenditure. An exception is made where private lands are intermingled with lands of the United States and it is necessary to eliminate the disease on such private lands in order to protect Government holdings. No expenditure may be made to compensate for the cost or value of property injured or destroyed while carrying out this program.

CITIZENSHIP DAY

(Public Resolution No. 67, 76th Cong. Approved May 3, 1940)

The third Sunday in May of each year is hereby designated as Citizenship Day and the President is requested to issue a proclamation setting aside that day as a public occasion in recognition of the 2,000,000 young men and women who each year become of age; and in further recognition of those who attain citizenship by naturalization.

The civil and educational authorities of the Nation are urged to make plans for observance of this day and ceremonies already observed in some parts of the country are praised and encouraged.

This day is officially designated as I Am An American Day.

PHOSPHATE INVESTIGATION

(Public Res. No. 68, 76th Cong. Approved May 3, 1940)

The joint congressional committee created in 1938 to investigate the adequacy and use of the phosphate resources of the United States is continued in existence until January 15, 1941.

The duty of this committee is to determine (1) the use and service of phosphate to American agriculture; (2) the domestic consumption and exports of phosphate; (3) the adequacy of the supply of phosphate deposits in the Western States; and (4) methods of conserving the phosphate resources of the United States, to the end that there may be insured a continuous supply of phosphate to meet the present and future needs of agriculture in rebuilding soil fertility.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

(Public Res. No. 69, 76th Cong. Approved May 7, 1940)

The President is delegated authority, during time of war or of national emergency to investigate, regulate, or prohibit transactions in foreign exchange, transfers of credit between, or payments by or to banking institutions as defined by the President, and export, hoarding, melting, or earmarking of gold or silver coin or bullion or currency, and any transfer, withdrawal, or exportation of, or dealing in, any evidences of indebtedness or evidences of ownership of property in which any foreign state or a national or political subdivision thereof, as defined by the President, has any interest, by any person within the United States or any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof; and the President may require any person to furnish under oath, complete information relative to any transaction referred to in this subdivision or to any property in which any such foreign state, national, or political subdivision has any interest, including the production of any books of account, contract, letters, or other papers, in connection therewith in the custody or control of such person, either before or after such transaction is completed.

The purpose of this legislation is to assure complete control over foreign-exchange operations, transfers of credit, etc., during time of war in order that the financial structure of this Nation may be properly safeguarded and to prevent any aid or assistance being given an enemy nation or its nationals.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY

(Public, No. 612, 76th Cong. Approved June 13, 1940)

Following the World War, there developed a situation in the Army whereby large numbers of commissioned officers became old in the service without promotion beyond the grade of captain because of the large number of captaincies created by the war and because promotions could only be made when vacancies occurred in the higher ranks by reason of death or retirement. Since such higher positions are comparatively few in number, men frequently reached the age of 60 years and older while remaining captains and majors in rank.

This legislation is designed to alleviate such conditions by permitting such older men, regardless of rank, to retire on an equitable basis and thereby permit younger and more active men to be advanced in rank and trained in positions of increased responsibility. Also, the elimination of older men from field commands which they could not physically endure under actual wartime conditions is expected to increase the efficiency of the Army. At the same time provision is made whereby the experience and judgment of older officers will not be lost to the service.

A direct line of promotion and retirement is established, based on longevity of service, ability, and other factors involved in the making of an experienced Army officer.

EXPORTATION OF TOBACCO SEEDS AND PLANTS

(Public, No. 543, 76th Cong. Became law without the President's approval)

This legislation prohibits the exportation of tobacco seed or live tobacco plants from the United States or any of its possessions to any foreign country unless such exportation is authorized by a written permit granted by the Secretary of Agriculture. Such permits will be granted only upon proof that the seed or plants are to be used for experimental purposes.

Violators of this act may be punished by fine of not more than $5,000 or by imprisonment of not more than 1 year, or both.

SPANISH WAR VETERANS' CLAIMS

(Public, No. 505, 76th Cong. Passed over President's veto)

This legislation provides that officers and soldiers of the volunteer service of the United States mustered into service for the War with Spain and who were held in service in the Philippine Islands because of the Philippine Insurrection after April 11, 1899, and after the peace with Spain, may claim travel pay and subsistence as though discharged April 11, 1899, by reason of expiration of enlistment, and reappointed or enlisted as of April 12, 1899.

Claims may be paid to the person rendering such service or, if deceased, to the widow, children, father, or mother of such person. If no such claimants are living, no claim may be made by any other person. Applications for benefits must be made within 3 years after passage of this act.

The Nature of Political Representation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GUY L. MOSER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 30, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW FOR APRIL 1940

Mr. MOSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by John A. Fairlie, of the University of Illinois, which appeared in the magazine American Political Science Review for April 1940:

THE NATURE OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

(By John A. Fairlie, University of Illinois)

Much has been written on the origin, development, and characteristics of representative government; and in recent years there has been a revival of interest in this subject, and a further analysis of the evidence and criticism of views formerly accepted. In this extensive literature, considerable attention has been given to the nature of political representation and representative government, and to the relation between the representative and his constituents, with important differences in the definitions and meanings ascribed to these terms. Many writers have assumed that their views on these matters are the only correct statements; but some of the more recent writers have recognized, to some extent, the need for a closer analysis of the different senses in which these terms may be employed. An examination of different views may be of service in leading to a clearer understanding of the problems involved.

Etymologically, the literal meaning of "represent" is to "present again," and from this it has come to mean to appear in place of another. In this secondary sense, a representative has been defined as "an agent, deputy, or substitute, who supplies the place of another or others." Other terms, of similar meanings, are: Attorney, delegate, deputy, proctor, and proxy. These terms usually imply selection or authorization by the original party, and often imply some limitation of the authority conferred, though at the same time there may be also some degree of discretion on the part of the representative. Other terms do not require selection by the principal, and may be subject to little or no limitation. An actor does not have to be authorized by the person whose character he represents, nor a parent by his children, a guardian by his ward, nor a trustee by the person he represents. But there is usually a moral, and often a legal, obligation to act in their interests.

Some form of representation seems to be necessary in any social group whose decisions must be carried out by particular individuals. Thus the chairman of a meeting who announces the result of a vote and the officers of a society who execute its policies are representative agents. So, too, the chief of a tribe represents his tribe, and a hereditary monarch represents his subjects, on the assumption that they are acceptable to those under authority.

In his History of Political Theories, Dunning States: "Representation as a principle does not appear in political theory until the later centuries of Rome, when the prince was regarded as the representative of the Roman people taken collectively." According to Gierke, the medieval idea of representation ascribed a representative character to the monarch, such as the emperor and the Pope, and to such bodies as the seven electors of the medieval empire and the cardinals in the church, as well as to assemblies and councils chosen by qualified citizens in organized communities. In the conciliar period, the superior authority of the more representative council over the Pope was advocated, while Mar-

siglio of Padua and Ockham held that the ultimate authority was in the people.

Similar views as to the representative character of single rulers and hereditary groups have been expressed by more modern writers. Hobbes said: "Men who are in absolute liberty may give authority to one man to represent them every one." Bolingbroke's idea of a patriot king was based on the view that he represented the true rule of the people. Edmund Burke took the position that: "It is not the derivation of the power of that house (the Commons) from the people which makes it in a direct sense the representative. The King is the representative of the people; so are the lords. They are all trustees for the people, as well as the Commons, because no power is given for the sole sake of the holder." And the philosopher Kant held that king, nobles, and elected delegates may be representative.

In the United States it has been urged that the President, elected indirectly by the whole Nation, may be more representative of the entire country than the Members of Congress, elected by local constituencies.

The view has been expressed that early systems of representation, such as those in the Greek federations and the medieval estates, differed from modern ideas in that, in the former, the representatives were mere delegates with limited powers acting under definite instructions, while the latter have general authority to act on their own judgment. It seems probable that the earlier systems were based to a large extent on the principle of instructions; though, at the same time, the representatives may often have largely influenced the final result.

A basis for the later view, in the case of the English Parliament, is found in the language of the writ of summons for the Parliament of 1295 and later, which provided: "The said knights and burgesses to have full and sufficient powers for themselves and for the communities * * * for doing what shall then be ordained according to the common council in the premises." But it is not clear that the language of the writ determined the authority of the representatives. The early parliaments were summoned to assent to proposals from the King; and the development of other functions and an active initiative came but slowly.

Hallam considered that the earliest assertion of the principle "that each member of the House of Commons is deputed to serve, not only for his own constituents, but for the whole kingdom," was a bill introduced in 1571 to render valid the election of nonresident burgesses. According to the King's writ, confirmed by act of Parliament (in the reign of Henry V), every city and borough was to elect none but members of its own community. In practice, this provision was not always followed, and many of the borough representatives were nonresidents; and the bill would have legalized this practice. In opposition, however, it was urged that those who were acquainted with the borough could best present its needs, and that the election of nonresidents promoted the interference of noblemen in the elections. The bill was committed, but no further action is recorded, and the practice of electing nonresidents continued.

Not many years after this Sir Thomas Smith in his work, De Republica Anglorum (1583), expressed something of the later view: "For every Englishman is intended to be present (in Parliament) either by person or by procuration and attorney * * * and the consent of Parliament is taken to be every man's consent."

In 1643, John Winthrop, meeting the contention that "the greatest power is in the people, therefore it should be in their deputies," replied: "Originally and virtually it is; but when they have chosen their judges, etc., their judiciary power is actually in those to whom they have committed it, and those are their magistrates in such order as before is declared." About the same time, Charles I referred to the Houses of Parliament as the representative body of the people. The act of Parliament (1649) which abolished the office of king asserted the right of being governed by its own representatives or national meeting in council. Cromwell, in a speech to Parliament (1655), said: "I have been careful of your safety and the safety of those you represented."

The democratic ideas of the Levellers and the agreement of the people expressed dissatisfaction with the established system of representation in Parliament; and the new arrangements under Cromwell were an attempt at a more equitable system. But in 1660 the former system was restored. John Milton's proposal for a perpetual Parliament (1660) implied that, after their election, members were not responsible to their constituents. In the Restoration period, the responsibility of members of Parliament to their constituents was reflected in the practice of Sir Andrew Marvel, who carried on an active correspondence with his constituents in Hull and announced his intention to follow their wishes. The first Earl of Shaftesbury, leader of the movement for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, favored voting by ballot and correcting the anomalies of the existing system of representation, and drew up a series of instructions to secure the election of members who would support the policies he favored.

What came to be a widely accepted view of parliamentary representation in the eighteenth century was set forth by Algernon Sidney in his Discourses on Government (1698). He held that members of Parliament were not ambassadors representing particular constituencies (Kent, Sussex, Lewes, or Maidstone), but had full powers to act for the whole kingdom. This view was acted on by the Tories in dealing with the Kentish petition in 1701; and by the Whigs in the passage of the Septennial Act of 1715, and in opposing the motion for its repeal in 1735.

In the case of the Kentish petition, a Tory House of Commons imprisoned five gentlemen who presented a petition in favor of the Whig policy. Daniel Defoe criticized this action, and published a pamphlet entitled "The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England" (1701), in reply to Sir Humphrey Mackeith's Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of England. The petitioners were released on the rising of Parliament. The Septennial Act extended the life of the sitting House of Commons to avoid the risk that a new election would endanger the Hanoverian succession.

Rousseau denied the possibility of the representation of sovereignty or legislative power: "Sovereignty cannot be represented for the same reason that it cannot be alienated; it consists essentially in the general will, and the will cannot be represented; it is the same or it is different; there is no medium. The deputies of the people, then, are not and cannot be its representatives; they are only its commissioners and can conclude nothing definitely. * * * The idea of representation is modern; it comes to us from feudal government. * * * In the republics, and even in the monarchies of antiquity, the people never had representatives, they did not know the word * * * in their legislative power the people cannot be represented; but they can and should be represented in the executive power."

In a recent study, Ideas of Political Representation in Parliament, 1660–1832, Mr. P. A. Gibbons considers that before the middle of the eighteenth century the existing political machinery in England provided a sufficient channel for the really efficient forces of political thought; but that after 1760, as a result of the industrial revolution and the active influence of the Crown, the House of Commons became out of touch with the people. But such leaders of thought as Blackstone, Burke, and Paley held that members of Parliament represented the nation as a whole. Blackstone held that members of Parliament represented the whole realm and not merely particular constituencies; but he criticized the rotten boroughs and favored the representation of new towns and a property qualification for voting.

Burke's restatement of Sidney's position, and his assertion of the right of a member of Parliament to act on his own judgment against that of his constituents, in his address at Bristol, are well known. But he also expressed somewhat different views on various occasions. In 1769, in his Observations on the Present State of the Nation, he urged the practical impossibility of the representation of America in Parliament as a reason why Parliament should not tax the Colonies. In 1774, before his address at Bristol, he had written: "The virtue, spirit, and essence of a House of Commons consists in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation. It was not instituted to be a control upon the people * * * it was designed as a control for the people." In the address at Bristol he said: "It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him, their opinion high respect, their business unremitting attention." In 1792, in a letter on admitting Roman Catholics to the franchise, while upholding virtual representation as in some respects better than literal representation, he added: "But this sort of virtual representation cannot have a long and sure existence if it has not a substratum in the actual. The member must have some relation to the constituent. As things stand, the Catholic, as a Catholic * * * has no virtual relation to the representative, but the contrary." In his Letters on a Regicide Peace (1796), he urged that "those of adult age, not declining in life, of tolerable leisure * * * and who are above menial dependence" constituted the virtual representative of the people.

William Paley, whose Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy (1785) had 17 editions in 20 years, and for much longer was a standard text, upheld the then existing system of representation in Parliament because it resulted in the election of capable men representing different classes and interests.

Every district of the Empire enjoys the privilege of choosing representatives, informed of the interests and circumstances and desires of their constituents, and entitled by their situation to communicate this information to their national council. * * * By annexing the right of voting for members of the House of Commons to different qualifications in different places, each order and profession of men in the community becomes virtually represented. * * * The number, fortune, and quality of the members, the variety of interests and character amongst them, above all the temporary duration of their power, and the change of men which every new election produces, are so many securities to the public, as well against the subjection of their judgment to any external dictation, as against the formation of a junto in their own body, sufficiently powerful to govern their decisions.

Advocates of reform in the system of parliamentary representation ranged from those who favored the elimination of the more obvious abuses of pocket and rotten boroughs and the sale of seats, to those who supported a more uniform suffrage, manhood suffrage, equal districts, and annual parliaments. These demands implied that the basis of representation would influence the choice and attitude of the representatives. The Society of the Bill of Rights definitely supported the view that members of Parliament were delegates who should follow the wishes of their constituents; and the practice of sending instructions became more common. Samuel Romilly justified to himself his purchase of a seat in Parliament (in 1808) as the best way of securing his own independence, in view of the rottenness of the representative system.

Bentham's views were not clear or consistent. In his Constitutional Code, he says: "Separately or collectively, the constituents of

a member of the legislature will at all times, as such, make to such their deputy what communication they think fit. * * * But insofar as the good of the community, taken in the aggregate, is the paramount object of his care, no obedience will he pay to any such particular will, to the detriment of what appears to him the universal interest. Paramount to his duty to a party is, in every occasion, his duty to the whole." Yet he adds that "if a deputy, after speaking in support of an arrangement, which in the opinion of his constituents is contrary to their particular interest, gives his vote against that same arrangement, in such conduct there is not any real inconsistency. By this speech, his duty to the public is fulfilled by his vote, his duty to his constituents."

Madame de Stael also opposed the view that representatives should be bound by instructions from the electors:

"To all the delays inherent in the plan of deliberating in three orders, we are to add the imperative mandate; that is, instructions from the electors, imposing on the deputies the necessity of conforming their opinions to the will of their constituents, on the principal subjects discussed in the assembly. This antiquated usage was suited only to the infancy of a representative government. Public opinion had hardly any weight, in an age when the communication between one province and another was a matter of difficulty, and particularly when there were no newspapers, either to suggest ideas or communicate intelligence. But to oblige deputies in our days to adhere strictly to provincial instructions, would have been to make the states general an assembly, with little other power than that of laying opinions on the table. The information acquired in debate would have been fruitless, since they would have had no power to deviate from their previous instructions. Yet it was on these imperative orders that the nobility rested their chief arguments for refusing to vote individually."

In the American constitutional convention of 1787, differing views were presented as to the nature and purpose of representation, not only by different members, but to some extent by the same persons. Early in the debates, James Wilson said: "The doctrine of representation is this—first the representative ought to speak the language of his constituents, and secondly that his language or vote should have the same influence as though the constituents gave it." He was of the opinion that "the national legislative powers ought to flow immediately from the people, so as to contain all their understanding and be an exact transcript of their minds." But at another time he conceived it difficult to know what are "the sentiments of the people. Those of the particular circle in which one moved were commonly mistaken for the general view." He called attention to the fact that, in some States, "the legislatures are actuated not merely by the sentiment of the people, but have an official sentiment opposed to that of the general government, and perhaps to that of the people themselves."

In his lectures at the University of Pennsylvania in 1790, Wilson stated: "The Constitution of the United States and of Pennsylvania rest solely, and in all their parts, on the great democratic principle of a representative of the people. Representation," he said, "is the chain of communication between the people and those to whom they have committed the exercise of the powers of government."

In reply to the question, "What is the principle of representation?" William Patterson said: "It is an expedient by which an assembly of certain individuals chosen by the people is substituted in place of the "inconvenient meeting of the people themselves." Yet he took the lead in the compromise which provided for equal representation of the States in the Senate, while the Members of the House were to be apportioned according to population.

Madison considered that "it seems indispensable that the mass of citizens should not be without a voice in making the laws which they are to obey and in choosing the magistrates who are to administer them." At another time, he observed "that if the opinions of the people were to be our guide, it would be difficult to say what course we ought to take. No member of the convention could say what the opinions of his constituents were at this time; much less could he say what they would think if possessed of the information and lights possessed by the members here; and still less what would be their way of thinking 6 or 12 months hence." In one of the Federalist papers, he said: "You must first enable the Government to control the people; and in the next place oblige it to control itself."

In the Federalist, Hamilton held that "it may well happen that the public voice, pronounced by representatives of the people, will be more consonant to the public good than if pronounced by the people themselves, convened for that purpose," but added that "on the other hand the effect may be inverted." He believed that extensive republics were more favorable to the election of proper guardians of the public weal, as there is a greater option and consequently a greater probability of a fit choice; and he argued against the separate representation of distinct economic classes.

In another of the Federalist papers, it was stated that Members of Congress were to be guided by "the deliberate sense of the community," but this was not to "require an unqualified compliance to every sudden breeze of passion or to every transient impulse which the people may receive from the acts of men who flatter their prejudices to betray their interests."

The position that each member of a representative body is a representative of the whole nation or state, and not merely of the constituency which elects him is in harmony with the doctrine of virtual representation urged in defense of the electoral system in England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when many urban communities and the colonies elected no members to Parliament. This principle was announced by the States-General of France in 1789, and was expressly declared in the French Constitution of 1791. It appears also in the Austrian electoral law of 1867, in the German Constitution of 1871, the Swiss Constitution of 1874, the French organic laws of 1875, and in many of the new constitutions since the World War. But it is not declared in any American constitution.

Samuel Bailey, an English writer, in an essay on the Rationale of Political Representation (1835), summarized his conclusions as to the true relation of the representative to his constituents, as follows:

"The office of the electors is to appoint a deputy to the supreme legislature, to regulate the concerns of the community; and they have all the influence over the deliberations of that body which is implied in the power to choose a man whose opinions are in accordance with their own. The duty of the representative is to use the authority thus reposed in him, according to his own judgment of the public good; and lastly, when the term of the trust has expired, it devolves on the electors to pronounce sentence on the manner in which it has been discharged, by renewing or withdrawing their confidence, or by other manifestations of opinion which the peculiar occasion may require. In the power of choosing originally a man of their own views, of scrutinizing every act which he performs in his official capacity, and of withdrawing the trust at the termination of the period for which he is elected, they have all the security which the case admits, that he will be guided by a single regard for the public good; while, by leaving him to act under these restraints, they derive the advantage of that superior intelligence which his position implies and his opportunities confer."

George Cornwall Lewis maintained that a representative is entitled to form an independent judgment, is legally answerable to no one for his conduct, but is bound by a moral obligation to consult and vote for the good of the whole community.

Lord Brougham, in his Political Philosophy (1843), distinguished federal and representative principles, and analyzed the latter at some length. "The essence of representation is that the power of the people should be parted with and given over for a limited time to the deputy chosen by the people, and that he should perform the part in the government which, but for the transfer, would have been performed by the people themselves." A member of Parliament "represents the people of the whole community, exercises his own judgment upon all measures, receives freely the communications of his constituents, and is not bound by their instructions, though liable to be dismissed by not being reelected in case the differences of opinion between them is irreconcilable and important." He criticized the views of Rousseau and the "erroneous opinion" of Burke, and set forth a series of canons of representative government. He held that the elective franchise should be extended to all persons with a good plain education, and distributed by large electoral districts to classes, in the combined ratio of their importance and numbers.

About the middle of the nineteenth century, Guizot, the French historian and statesman, denied that representative government is based on the principle of the sovereignty of the people, and held that it is founded on truth, reason, and justice, and that its essential characteristics are a division of powers, election by those qualified, and publicity.

In his Representative Government (1861) John Stuart Mills defined its meaning as: "That the whole people or some numerous portion of them, exercise, through deputies periodically elected by them, the ultimate controlling power which, in every constitution, must reside somewhere." He held that definite pledges should not be required from members; but that electors are entitled to a full knowledge of the political opinions and sentiments of their candidates; and are not only entitled but often bound to reject one who differs from them on the few articles which are the foundation of their political belief; and that they ought to put up with his expressing and acting on opinions different from theirs on things not included in their fundamental articles of belief. If there is no provision for the representation of minorities, the representative should have unfettered discretion. At the same time, he considered that, if they so choose, the electors can convert the system of representation into one of mere delegation.

Thomas Hare noted that: "Representation itself is a matter of daily occurrence and common necessity. It is the vicarious performance of duties which cannot be personally executed. It intervenes in commerce, in jurisprudence, in education, and in a thousand other forms. In a multitude of circumstances people are compelled to place themselves and their interests in the hands of others."

Bluntschli took the position that the modern representative is a state representative, not the representative of any person, corporation, or group, and that his duty is a state duty. He is not bound by the instructions of his constituency, nor compelled to answer to them for his conduct.

Theodore Woolsey accepted the prevailing view of his time as to the relation of the representative to his constituents. "A representative carries with him the political rights, powers, and duties of those who have constituted him as such. He differs from a deputy who is assigned to certain specific duties for his principals, and cannot rightfully deviate from his instructions. He is thus untrammelled in theory by any orders from his constituents, and can act at his discretion according to the light which he gathers in an assembly composed of similar persons. * * * Each representative is to consider the whole state first. * * * He can, therefore, lawfully place himself under no pledges or instructions which are binding upon him * * *."

In his lectures on the Principles of Political Obligations, Thomas H. Green said, "There are two principal conceptions of the essential

nature of the representative. According to one, he is a senator; according to the other, he is an agent or delegate. The former theory holds that he is elected for his superior wisdom or integrity or both, the election signifying that the constituency desires to entrust its affairs and those of the nation to the direction and management of his superior mind."

Henry Sidgwick upheld a representative system of government on the following grounds:

"The periodical election of electors by different divisions, sufficiently numerous, of the community, tends to give us, if not ideal statesmen, at any rate a body of men who possess in the aggregate the special empirical knowledge that is most indispensable. * * * An assembly chosen for a limited time by the people at large is held (more) likely to know what the people at large want than any council or assembly otherwise appointed, and be more concerned to provide it. * * * Such election tends to render the legislation more acceptable to the governed and therefore less likely to be evaded, or, if obeyed, to cause friction and discontent."

Little weight was given to the educative effect of representative or popular government, as urged by Mill. The method of popular election is supported, not because the elected legislators "will or ought to vote on any particular question [as] the persons electing them would vote; but in the view that the persons so chosen will be more likely to promote the real interests of the community * * * than persons otherwise appointed." Sidgwick did not consider representative government, "even when the suffrage is universal, as merely a mode of organizing democracy, but rather as a coordination or fusion of democracy and aristocracy. This fusion or coordination may become less or more aristocratic in character through various minor modifications."

John R. Seeley considered that a representative parliament "is an elective aristocracy. It is a body of men who have been selected by the community as more fit than the average to attend to public affairs, to make and unmake the government."

In an article on Representative Institutions in Trade-Union Democracy, Sidney and Beatrice Webb noted that trade-union representatives, while expressing their own views, took active steps to learn the views of their constituents, and took action in accordance with the latter. Attention was called to the practice of the Swiss Federal Council in carrying out the policies of the legislative body even when not in accordance with their own views.

Foreign Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 30 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

SPEECHES AND LETTER BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I submit three speeches on foreign affairs and a letter on Keep Up the Fight. Permission was granted on page 14004, December 30, for the printing of these.

The material follows:

SPEECH OF SENATOR RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA, NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO. NETWORK, TO BE DELIVERED JANUARY 2, 1941

This is not going to be a speech of generalities and smooth talk. I am going to tell you the truth about this drive to get us actively in war. I regret that I am compelled to say some things I shall say, but I cannot deal in soft words when I see my country, the greatest in the entire world, being led into a needless war. I cannot sit idly by and talk nice of those who are preparing to send hundreds of thousands of our finest young men into the horrible conflict of Europe, with its death and destruction. I cannot be gentle in my selection of words when I see the greatest democracy on earth, our own, being threatened by those who would plunge us into the battle of European power politics. I shall talk plainly.

When they tell you they are not planning to send the boys over in another expeditionary force, they are not telling you the truth. They are planning it. They have been planning it. As I have said before, troop transports do not mean fighting here. Furthermore, checking the purchases of the Army will show that the purchases are for an expeditionary force. The behind-the-scenes picture indicts them of their real purpose.

They say that only Congress can declare war. That is true of a declared war, but there are other ways of getting in. One is to enter an undeclared war and the other is to provoke an overt incident from another foreign power to force military action on our part.

I regret to say the President has not worked for peace. The story of the Ambassador to France, William C. Bullitt, is one that America does not know. It would be shocking if the talks between him and Mr. Mandel and ex-Premier Reynaud and others were made public. What assurances of aid had been given to France before France entered the war? What did Mr. Bullitt advise the French officials as to what our country would do? Do you recall the desperate call for help that came from Reynaud as the French Army had its back to the wall? Months before the actual beginning of hostilities in Europe the activities of our American Ambassadors were not those to which our country could point with pride. We must wait until the history of Europe is written, and we will find the same forces of European intrigue, of secret understandings and agreements which were made public years after the last World War. They were not made public when it could have saved the lives of millions of young Europeans and Americans. The administration gets the jitters every time this is mentioned. They know the real story, and you, the people, have not been told. I believe one of the greatest factors for peace would be an investigation in executive session, if deemed advisable, by the properly constituted committees of Congress of the activities of the ambassadors and ministers preceding and during this terrible war.

Diplomatic circles of Europe have talked about the conference between the President and Anthony Eden. They say it had an important bearing on the developments that preceded the war. We were told by the President, and I quote, "Your Government has no secrets it shall withhold from you." I can cite many secrets which have been withheld from the day that the President made that statement. Our foreign policy has not been in the direction of peace but toward war. Remember the President's "quarantine" speech at Chicago when he advocated a quarantine against certain nations? Who would enforce the quarantine? The American soldiers and sailors. And may I add, by whom and when were we given the authority to pass upon the conduct of all other nations in the world? When were we clothed with authority to say to all other nations, We do not like your actions? You do not follow our viewpoint; therefore, we shall quarantine you, destroy you. Have we embarked on a policy to police the world? We have if the administration's policy is upheld by the people. It has been said that it was upheld in the last election. The American people had no chance to express themselves against the foreign policy of the President except in the election of their Senators and Members of the House. This will interest you since the war propaganda has colored the news. No outspoken noninterventionist was defeated in his race for the Senate in the general election but some interventionists were. The Senators who opposed the President's foreign policy ran far ahead of the ticket. I note this here because of the oft-repeated statement that the people endorsed the administration foreign policy.

But let me go back to the policies spoken of a moment ago. The administration used patronage and projects to defeat an honest vote on the Ludlow amendment to allow people the right to vote on whether or not they desired to go into a foreign war. Remember, foreign war. It would not have prevented immediate action of Congress in case of an invasion, of an attack on American territory, or an attack on any of the Americas. They dare not allow them to express their views because they know the people—the plain people—do not want war.

Let us look further as to the President's views. The Washington Post, an active interventionist paper, said in an editorial there was a "virtual certainty of American involvement" and that "we" would be in the war. The President endorsed the editorial as one he could have written himself. That was long ago before the war began, long before the fine little countries of Norway, Denmark, Holland, or Belgium were invaded.

No secrets withheld from you. Let me quote from the English Round Table, founded by the late Lord Lothian, as to the mission of Captain Ingersoll:

"When the general public comes to know of these goings on, opinion may well take fright."

And so you should but you were never told of the real reason for these secret conferences between Ingersoll and the British officials—that of naval cooperation. But you say that was after the war. No, my friends; that was in 1937—more than 1½ years before war began. Is Bill Donovan in Europe to see if England can hold on until we get in? That is what the diplomatic circles say. Mr. President, the people have a right to know.

Do you recall how we found there was a secret mission of the French Army in the United States? Not by any statement from any member of the executive branch of the Government but only when an airplane wrecked and one of the French observers was injured? No secrets, Mr. President.

Mr. President, can you give a satisfactory explanation of why Mr. Stacy May was appointed chief economist of the National Defense Commission only a few days after he signed a public manifesto asking for a declaration of war? You do not hear it in the Midwest or in other parts of the country, but the administration group talk without question here in Washington of not whether we will enter the war but when. These are the individuals who express administration support and know the behind-the-scenes move. This is particularly so after they have been at cocktail parties.

Mr. President, you also knew that Col. Frank Knox and Col. Henry Stimson were active for America's intervention in the war long before you appointed them as Secretary of the Navy and Secretary of War. Was it because of their views toward war? Remember that Governor Woodring said as to the reason for his being forced out? I shall quote it:

"I am an advocate of adequate defense but I will never stand for sending American boys into Europe's shambles. There is a

comparatively small clique of international financiers who want the United States to declare war and get into the European mess with everything we have, including our manpower."

Some of the closest advisers to the President were at the Chicago convention to get a "weasel worded" platform statement about staying out of war. Who do I mean? Gov. Herbert Lehman, who the President called his strong right arm; Harry Hopkins, and others. Why did they object to a definite statement about staying out of European wars? It is a known fact that the President has talked with individuals at the White House about the advisability of actively going in the war.

Mr. President, you should advise the people who helped you write the fireside chat. Could Robert Sherwood, who is for war, be the aid? The people should be told.

The forces for war in this country are well organized. They are well financed. They have powerful control of the avenues of communication. Many large eastern newspapers are directed by men who are directors in companies having millions and millions of dollars of war orders. Have you ever checked the background of the radio commentators? Well, it will interest you to know that some of them are paid by corporations of the British Empire, some of them had their education paid for by Cecil Rhodes, English Empire builder; their sponsors, in some instances, are profiting heavily from war contracts. It is a sordid story of intellectual purchase.

Officials of large broadcasting chains are actively in the war drive. Some are directors in corporations making munitions and supplies of war. I gave the Senate the names of directors of American corporations who were interlocked with British insurance companies. The assets of these American corporations totaled $45,000,000,000. This indicates some of the pressure for war.

Think, Americans! This propaganda is being given to you day after day, night after night. You go to the movies to get a little relaxation and there you are given an extra heavy dose of war propaganda. Some of the owners of the large theaters and film companies are British subjects and others are connected with this blood-drenched profit from war, and to think many of them now have made their fortunes in this country in peace after they came to our shores to escape the wars of Europe and now are active to push us into this conflict.

Did you know that many members of the William Allen White committee were English-born subjects who now advocate war? Did you know that certain playwrights and authors who were living in England have come back over here to add their bit to get American involved? Well, they have. This story is available in a survey by me of the war crowd. If you want names, dates, and places to expose these warmongers, you write me asking for a copy of this survey and it will be sent.

And then I ask, Remember the last war in which we were a participant to save democracy? Remember the last war in which we were a participant to destroy militarism (then it was called Kaiserism, not Hitlerism)? Remember how they were fighting for ideals until we saw the terrible story of the war, but not until American boys had shed their blood on Europe's blood-drenched soil? And then, after it was over, the man around whom the warmongers are trying to place a halo, Winston Churchill, said this about America in August 1936:

"America's entrance into the war was disastrous, not only for your country but for the Allies as well, because had you stayed at home and minded your own business we would have made peace with the Central Powers in the spring of 1917, and there would have been no collapse in Russia, followed by communism; no breakdown in Italy, followed by fascism; and nazi-ism would not at present be enthroned in Germany. If America had stayed out of the war and minded her own business, none of these 'isms' would today be sweeping the Continent of Europe and breaking down parliamentary government."

I want national defense—the strongest possible defense. I believe in democracy—the real kind—not the pseudo, kingly kind. I believe America must remain out of Europe's constant wars if we are to continue our leadership in living conditions. Let us fight—fight against the forces in America that would destroy our democracy by plunging us in a needless war. Shall American boys be sacrificed on the soil of Europe? Don't be afraid to speak out—speak for peace. You can help in this fight—advise your Congressman that you think America should stay out of foreign wars.

SPEECH OF SENATOR HOLT, MUTUAL BROADCASTING CO. NETWORK, DECEMBER 5, 1940

Lord Lothian is Ambassador of His Britannic Majesty to our country. He speaks for King George and his government. His words are their words. It would be expected that Great Britain desires us to send airplanes, ships, and money. I am one who believes we should consider these matters from a standpoint of what is best for the United States of America. It is expected that Lord Lothian would want us to do everything possible, even to entering the war. They do not say that just now, but that is what they ultimately desire. They want our pilots to fly the planes we have supplied. They want the United States Navy to fight their battles. If we are so foolish as to enter the war, the American soldiers will be sent wherever and whenever they are needed. The fighting will not be confined to the Western Hemisphere which actually includes part of England, Africa, and Siberia. These boys will be sent to fight in an overseas war just like their fathers were in 1917 and 1918.

Remember how some of us said that if we started to get part way in the war, we would be asked to furnish money and how these war forces ridiculed the idea and said just give us munitions and we will not need money. Now, they say, give us money. We do not want men. But again, they will come back and ask for men once we give the money. The path to war is munitions, then money, then men. When I say men, I mean your boy to be sent across the ocean to fight in Europe's bloody war. The course of the war crowd is to get permission to sell England the materials of war. Then, get the United States to loan her the money to pay for it—finally, get the American boys to defend the investment.

The able writer John Flynn notes that when the war began, England had between five and six billions over here. She had a billion and a quarter of negotiable securities and almost a billion in dollar balances. The Treasury reports that in the first year of the war, there was but a third of a billion of funds withdrawn from the banks. England has much money over here. She has securities that could be sold to give her cash. She has large holdings in Canada and in South America that could be used in financing the war. These should first be used before the American people are called upon to foot the bill for another European war. Have we forgotten the sad history of the last time we did so? We were wonderful then—we loaned the money—but when we asked for repayment, we were Uncle Shylock and today fourteen billions of unpaid debts stand as a monument to our experience in financing Europe's war. That reminds me of what that great American, Will Rogers, once said:

"There is only one way to be in worse with Europeans and that is to have helped them out in two wars instead of one."

Do not be fooled that all England desires is the right for private credit. That is what they asked in 1915 and 1916 and we know who paid for it—the American people. President Roosevelt truly said:

"The money loaned by the United States was in turn borrowed by the United States Government from the people of the United States and our Government in the absence of payment from foreign governments is compelled to raise the shortage by general taxation of its own people."

You paid the bill. That is, you paid part of it as some remains as a part of our huge national debt.

Reports of large industrial corporations show that the foreign holdings of stocks and securities have increased. English sources say that we are a terrible lot in asking that they sell their securities to pay for the war because they say the stocks are now beginning to pay dividends. They say they should be permitted to retain these in order to receive their profits from the war business.

Just yesterday Clement Atlee said that no British colony or territory will be relinquished to provide money. Some had suggested that we might buy the British possessions in the Western Hemisphere and provide England with cash if she is so much in need of cash but they say no loss of English sovereignty. They shall not give up a foot of their vast, spread empire, but they ask us to finance them again.

Let's not be as foolish as Lord Northcliffe described us when he said:

"They dress alike, they talk alike. They think alike. What sheep."

They think we will follow the bellwether if they can persuade the bellwether to jump into the war. It is just another step to involve us. They want us to buy a stake in the conflict. They are working through powerful industrial and banking connections in this country who want to continue to sell England munitions and implements of war so that they can make profits from such sales. They want to jockey this country into a position where we must choose between entering the war or having a panic, although ultimately the former course leads to the latter.

I note that Jesse Jones calls England a good risk. I wonder if he would apply such a term to some of the creditors of the R. F. C. who had defaulted on their debts. I hope he hasn't loaned the Government's money in such a fashion. If he has, there will be a nice-sized deficit to make up the difference. It is a pity Mr. Jones has been chosen to send up this trial balloon.

Let's not be sheep, as Northcliffe said; let's do a little thinking. The purpose of the loan is twofold—first, to get us to finance the war if they can; second, to get us further involved in the conflict, realizing that the further we are involved the more likely we will become an active belligerent. These are the reasons, and don't let anyone tell you differently.

It is natural for Lord Lothian to want the United States to send money and men—it is natural for him to ask us to do both. That could be expected, but one does expect a different view from people who owe their allegiance to the United States. I regret to say that we have some citizens in this country who have enlisted for the duration of the war as servants of the King in the field of propagandizing America to get in the conflict. I have prepared a very interesting document on some of these, dealing particularly with the William Allen White committee. I believe our first obligation is to America and to Americans. Let's look after our own first.

Thousands of American citizens are hungry tonight. They are told that there is not enough money to feed them. As this cold wave sweeps the country, why is it that some of these internationalists can't see the terrible suffering of little children and others over here? Thousands of children right here in our own country have no shoes, have no warm clothing, and have but little food. These are our first duty to protect. But it seems that we have many

in this country, particularly those of the "Four Hundred" and the social sets, who think it is much smarter to lead a cause for relief of England than to help our own.

Miss Elliott, of the National Defense Council, has stated that 40 percent of our people are living far below a decent standard of living. They call for help, but some in this country cannot hear that call. I want it understood that I, too, feel for those unfortunate victims of a terrible, brutal war. It is heart rending to know of the sufferings of Europe, but America calls, too, and if I must choose as I believe we must, if we have money to loan, let's provide decent living conditions for our own people.

We hear that for lack of funds, relief is to be cut at the next session of Congress. We are going to throw off the relief rolls thousands of those who have no jobs to save money to loan Great Britain to fight a war in which she has not put her own securities owned in America. And we are to do it in the name of democracy. Such sham! You may say one is private credit and the other Government expenditure. However, ultimately the Government will pay the bill.

Yes; there are desperate cries for help. As I picked up yesterday's evening paper, right here in Washington, in the Nation's Capital, I noted this comment about a poor family's home:

"The home is sparsely furnished and the only heat is from the coal range. A packing box has been made into a crib for the new infant and the other children sleep three in a bed. They are clean, but their clothing is badly worn and patched and their shoes have cardboard bottoms to cover the holes."

No help for them. The Government hasn't the money. And in another Washington paper of the same date I found this:

"Thousands of kids need warm shoes."

"There are children in the District who must stay home from school on bad-weather days because their shoes are ragged—so broken and damaged that rain and snow leak through."

Europe calls. We must listen to her call as relayed through Lord Lothian. The children in the alleys and streets of our own country cannot be heard. We have money to finance killing but no money to give the parents jobs to provide for these unfortunate girls and boys. These children are human, but they have no political influence. They can't get a large corporation executive to influence a Congressman as can the powerful British financial interests. They can't finance large propaganda organizations to propagandize for their chance to live. They are just poor American children who are forgotten by the pro-British set who are too much interested in Europe to pay attention to the United States.

Why is it that some of the large daily newspapers who have been most active for reducing costs of Government, who advocate the slashing of necessary expenditures for health and education, now say we have the money to dump billions into Europe when they stated we must reduce expenditures here if we are to preserve the financial integrity of our own country?

The greatest benefit we could give to democracy is by allowing democracy to work here. It is out of these poverty-stricken surroundings that come the seeds of dictatorships such as that now seen in Europe. America's greatest contribution to the continuation of democracy lies right here in our own country. It is here that we can do something practical for that ideal. Spend every cent necessary to provide an adequate strong national defense that would protect us against any or all attacks, but I emphasize defense. Help these unfortunate Americans who cannot feel that democracy has given them a fair break. They are the people who will make the citizens of tomorrow. They will be called upon to defend democracy in the future unless we be so foolish as to sacrifice it in war before they are grown to defend it. It is with them that we can work. They deserve our aid first.

We should not loan money to England because:

1. Our experience has shown that she will not repay it. The old proverb, "Once bitten, twice shy."

2. It is pushing us closer to actual military participation in the war.

3. England has not spent her own resources and refuses to even consider selling her possessions in the Western Hemisphere.

4. It is not private credit. The people will finally pay it as they did the last loans. They paid for it in taxes, taxes which could be used to aid our own.

To put the issue bluntly, there have been too many Americans who are willing to send American boys to foreign lands to protect their investments. Shall we invest in this war and then send the soldiers to defend that investment? The ones who want war are advocating loans to England to bolster her for a long enough period until they can get public sentiment in America ready to send troops. The plan of those who want war is to get America so enmeshed that she cannot escape and where she must actually send her soldiers and sailors into battle. Then, they don't have to worry about financing. Uncle Sam will pay the bill, both in money and in blood.

Lord Lothian, we have use for money here, to make this a better place in which to live, not as a contribution for war. We know that a loan of money now means a gift of our boys tomorrow.

SPEECH OF SENATOR HOLT, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, DECEMBER 4, 1940

America's war hawks

If the United States is to be forced, dragged, or led into this terrible European war, let us not be blindfolded. Let us keep our eyes wide open. The American people who must pay for war, pay in treasure and in their sacrifice of life, have a right to know why they are called upon to enter the holocaust.

I do not feel that we should or must enter the war. We can best serve democracy by staying out, by making democracy work here, and contributing our efforts to bring peace.

There are forces in this country who want the United States involved in the present conflict. They are powerful forces. Some openly advocate entrance, but the great majority are doing so secretly. They say they cannot get too far ahead of public opinion. Some men who have privately said they desired us to go into war have publicly stated they wanted us to stay out. Much of this activity to get us in the war is being accomplished through subterfuge and misrepresentation.

You recall the expression of President Roosevelt that the small decisions of each day lead toward war, and that we should have the courage to say "no" to those who would lead us in that path. The purpose of these organizations to get us in the war is to force, if necessary, actions that cause us to say "yes" to decisions that should require a "no" for an answer. These organizations get us to go a little closer and a little closer to the precipice. They say this action does not mean war, but that action is one of those small decisions which mean our ultimate entrance if we continue to take such a course.

Most of these organizations are working under native sponsorship. They are composed of American citizens and have in most instances well-known Americans as their fronts. But behind the movement are men and women who have selfish interests calling for the continuation of the war. These organizations are partly financed by individuals who are profiting daily as a result of war orders. They are recipients of blood-drenched prosperity. Some of these persons have direct foreign investments affected by this war. They want the American soldiers to protect those investments. In these organizations are individuals who are called "the upper crust," who think that the American way is just a little under their social standard, who love to curtsy to a king, or who bask in the glory of the society of royalty. We have as American citizens many who feel that we would be better off had we not fought a Revolutionary War, and they say that Paul Revere, that gallant and brave New Englander, lived "a long time ago," and that the Declaration of Independence is a well-written document but somewhat too old-fashioned.

Men in the powerful financial circles of the East are contributing to the campaign for war. The eastern financial circles have tremendous power over avenues of communication. Certain well-known newspapers have been active in generating war sentiment. Their backgrounds and the ownerships are interesting. Their methods are to play up pre-war stories and play down anything that would make people desire to stay out. A recent exposé of mine, naming names and facts as to war profits, was censored and eliminated by these papers. They only gave part of the story to their readers. Their use of headlines as well as playing down stories that they cannot avoid printing is well known. Certain national magazines have as their directors, although not known by most of their leaders, well-known financiers who have been raking in war profits.

Many radio commentators have been active to give the listener war propaganda. These individuals vary from the "gent's room columnist" to the sophisticated authorities on international affairs, from the staccato voice of the peep artist to the soft, cultured tone of the gentlemanly approach.

High public officials have thrown in their lot for war. Members of the President's Cabinet are known to be desirous for the United States to get in.

The ramification of this organized drive is far too involved to even touch in the few moments I have at my disposal over the radio. However, I am anxious that the people have the truth about this drive. I have prepared and am presenting to the Senate the story of the most famous of these war organizations—the William Allen White committee, known as the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

Let us look into this question of war thoroughly. Remember the decision for war is not an everyday decision. The lives of every person in our country will be affected by it. Let us be sure why we should go in the war. Just because a nation says it is fighting for ideals does not mean that nation is fighting for such a cause. Every war in the history of the world has been prefaced on the statement of both sides that they are fighting for a righteous cause. Just because a nation says it is fighting for a democracy does not make it so. Let us check and double check the history of that nation to see how it has stood on democratic principles and whether its rule has been democratic. This propaganda for war over the radio, through the press, and by personal contact wants you to accept for face value the statements that this is a war for democracy. We were told the same story 23 years ago. One hundred and thirty thousand patriotic American boys died for that ideal and they were deserted by those who drafted the Peace Treaty at Versailles. What became of those ideals for which many an American boy offered his life to preserve? Are we any more certain that the same story will not be repeated? Certainly, no one will try to argue today that we made the world safe for democracy; yet, they remember we entered the war in 1917 for that avowed purpose. The shell-shocked veterans suffer today a life of horror because they offered their services in a war to end all wars in 1917. They, too, were

deserted by the diplomats of Europe as these rulers planned for future wars.

What is the best way to help? Would not we be a greater force for democracy in the post-war world if we remained at peace to prove that democracy does work here? How can we promote the cause of democracy—by entering war and eliminating democracy here, as we will surely do if we once actively participate as a belligerent? Can we do more? I know we can do more by remaining at peace.

War will not cure the conditions that cause dictatorships. Dictators arise from economic and political causes within a country. War will not correct them. It was only 25 years ago that we were told that if we eliminated Kaiserism we would see a world at peace with liberty and justice for all. Kaiserism was eliminated, but in its place arose the present challenging situation. Blood letting will not correct the bad-blood condition of Europe. Let's be sure of the reasons the countries are fighting. Then if you believe that democracy can best be served by our entrance in war, look further. Are we prepared to wage an overseas war? Certainly we would not want to enter the war if we cannot win. Certainly it will not be to the benefit of the cause for which we are to fight or for the brighter future of the world if we are entering a war of attrition that might last a generation. I do not believe any honest military authority would say that the United States is ready to participate in an overseas war. We are not prepared from a standpoint of military strength or from a standpoint of finance to wage such a conflict.

Remember soldiers fighting in lands 3,000 miles away must be kept alive by supplies, and a supply line of that length is not an easy task to keep intact. Thousands of pounds of equipment are necessary for every soldier. Did you realize that during the World War, when we had four of the most powerful navies of the world as allies, we were able to transport but 300,000 men to Europe in a single month? That was the highest number of 1 month alone. Many months the number was less. Yes, we had the transportation facilities. Furthermore, we had friendly ports in which to land. We did not face the attack of a powerful air force effective at the distance of those ports from enemy landing fields. Consider these things coldly, because they must be met by any command that is required to accomplish them.

Some may answer, then we are in danger of invasion if we are that weak. That does not follow at all. There is a vast difference in meeting a foe over here, even if one would be so foolish as to dare try to attack us, and the proposition of going over there to meet them. The odds definitely shift in our favor when they make the attempt. They must transport the invaders. They must carry the equipment. They must keep supplies for the invading force. This talk of invasion is to promote hysteria. A successful invasion is not supported by any honest military authority. Some answer, we will have to meet that type of attack. We will have to meet him in a battle of trade, and it is there these individuals give away their real interest in our involvement in war. They fear that attack. It is not that democracy is at stake but the anticipated challenge to profits from foreign trade. Let us hope that we can continue our foreign trade, but the cost that these individuals want our country to pay is too high. Will we not have competition for foreign trade regardless of which side is winner?

They say we owe a responsibility to preserve justice, liberty, and democracy in the world. By whom and when were we vested with the authority to pass upon the conduct of all other nations of the world? By whom were we given the task to police the world against those who do wrong? Even if you agree that it is our duty to police the world, let us realize what that means. Policing the world will not be a completed task at the end of the war. If we once embark upon that theory of foreign relations, we shall be called upon to send our Army and Navy to the "four corners of the world" to meet every challenge against our judgment of right and wrong. How can we distinguish between the destruction of the rights of the people of Germany under a dictator from the destruction of the rights of the people of India under an imperialism? We may not like the Government of Germany, but when were we told that we should pass upon that type of government in effect in other countries? If we accept the theory that we must do so, then how far does that duty go—does it go to the extent of requiring the head hunters of Borneo to have a government that passes our inspection?

If we are to fight to rid the world of dictators, where shall the line be drawn? Shall it be drawn to those dictatorships we do not like or shall it extend to dictatorships with which we have friendly relations?

After the last war Winston Churchill blamed the troubles of Europe on us in these words:

"America's entrance into the war was disastrous not only for your country but for the Allies as well, because had you stayed at home and minded your own business we would have made peace with the Central Powers in the spring of 1917, and then there would have been no collapse in Russia, followed by communism; no breakdown in Italy, followed by fascism; and nazi-ism would not at present be enthroned in Germany. If America had stayed out of the war and minded her own business none of these 'isms' would today be sweeping the Continent of Europe and breaking down parliamentary government."

Will they again criticize us for coming to their aid as Mr. Churchill did in this statement?

War is something to think about. Do not be deceived by these war-hawk organizations who want us to get a little closer and a little closer. Do not accept the warmongers' poison that we have gone so far there is no turning back. I agree that it will be much harder to do so. We have gone so far that just an incident might cause us to plunge in the conflict, but that is no reason why we should not be extremely careful to see that incident does not occur. Yes; we have gone far, much too far for the safety and peace of our country. But until we are actually in the conflict there is hope. America's hope is peace. America's hope is in our own country, making democracy work here. America, you pay for the war. It is too bad that men who make war do not fight it. If they did, there would be fewer armchair patriots in our midst.

"KEEP UP THE FIGHT" LETTER

DEAR FRIEND: The fight for peace is going on.

I shall not be a Member of the United States Senate after January 3, but I intend to continue to battle the forces of war.

From time to time I shall have material to aid in this important struggle, the struggle to save democracy in our own country; to keep America from financing Europe's almost continuous warfare, and, far more important, to save the lives of American boys.

If you want this material, please advise me. I would also appreciate having you send me the names of some of your friends who are interested in this cause of peace. Send as few or as many as you desire. We are meeting a well-entrenched, well-financed foe when we challenge the organized warmongers of America, and the cause must be carried to the people.

Please let me know of any developments of organized war efforts in your section. I want to keep posted on these so that the real story can be told.

Let's keep America out of foreign wars. We can do it if the people will not sleep while the planners of war keep actively at work.

Sincerely,

RUSH D. HOLT.

It is important that there is a wide distribution of the facts exposing the warmongers.—R. D. H.

Letter by Senator Holt to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 19, 1940

REPLY TO A CONSTITUENT'S LETTER

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter written by me to West Virginia citizens.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEAR FRIEND: I have recently received some letters saying that if I had "gone along" I would have been reelected to the Senate. That is probably true, but I would not want to serve in the Senate if I could not say what I believed and vote as I believed to be right. I would like to have returned to the Senate or I would not have been a candidate, but I wanted to return as a free man as I have been during my 6 years here.

I cannot agree with the contention that I sacrificed anything in fighting for principles. If I have been right, time will prove it. If I have been wrong, I should not have been returned. I am a young fellow but probably a little old fashioned in doing what my conscience tells me to be proper. You may not agree with my actions but they have been mine, free and unbossed.

It is needless for me to tell you about the election. All who voted for me did so because they believed in me, not because they were told they had to or lose their job. No one expected any personal gain, such as a job, for voting for me because they knew I had none and would have none. And it is quite pleasant to know that I received more votes in the 1940 primary than I did in the 1934 primary, even though I did fail to be renominated.

I leave the Senate with a clear conscience. I have voted and spoken as I believed. If the people wanted another representative, this is a democracy and they have the power to make such a selection. But to have one's own self-respect is more important than a seat in the Senate.

Over my desk is a quotation of Abraham Lincoln. I believe in it. It is:

"I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I must stand with anybody that stands right; stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong."

Sincerely,

RUSH D. HOLT.

Symposium of Views of Labor Editors on the Intervention Issue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS LUDLOW

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 30, 1940

ARTICLE FROM THE INDIANAPOLIS UNION

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, the Indianapolis Union, organ of the Central Labor Union, of Indianapolis, in its current issue makes a notable contribution to the literature of these turbulent times by printing a symposium of the views of editors of the labor publications of America on the subject of American intervention in the wars of Europe and the Orient.

The Indianapolis Union is one of the oldest and most influential of labor publications in the United States, with a brilliant record of service to the cause of organized labor. The article printed in the Union, setting forth the results of the symposium referred to, is as follows:

LABOR EDITORS WANT UNITED STATES TO STAY OUT OF WORLD WAR

More than two-thirds of the labor editors of the United States are opposed to legislation to permit United States Government loans to England, and 91 percent say this country should not enter the conflict even if England seems to be losing.

Eighty-four percent believe that the war is primarily an effort by England to prevent break-up of its empire by a rival power, while 16 percent consider it primarily a crusade to crush fascism and reestablish democracy in Europe.

These are the outstanding results of the Federated Press monthly poll of labor editors. As in previous polls, the labor press revealed itself in a sharp contrast to the views of daily newspaper publishers.

The almost unanimous sentiment for keeping at peace and the overwhelming skepticism on Britain's objectives are all the more significant because of labor's universal hatred of fascism—a hatred that is not wholly shared by the daily press. Comments from a number of editors indicate that the strong anti-interventionist stand of the labor press may be attributed to labor's belief that any alleged crusade to wipe out fascism would open America's door to Fascist customs.

REJECT DEMOCRACY THESIS

In other words, labor editors seem to think there is no point in killing an ugly social enemy if you have to commit suicide in the process. No doubt this view has been strengthened by congressional demands for Hitlerlike laws to hamstring labor in the defense program, while the same legislators have done nothing to protect labor from exploitation by profit-making patriots.

Of the participating editors, 47 percent represent A. F. of L. papers, 29 percent C. I. O., 16 percent unaffiliated, and 8 percent A. F. of L.-C. I. O. organs. The greatest opposition to loans to England came from C. I. O. papers, which were 86 percent against, while the largest support for loans was expressed by A. F. of L. editors—41 percent in favor.

Similarly, C. I. O. editors were most skeptical about the democratic character of the war, and A. F. of L. editors were most willing to give John Bull the benefit of the doubt. Even so, almost 4 out of 5 A. F. of L. editors rejected the thesis that Britain is making Europe safe for democracy.

FINANCIAL AND DANGEROUS

Percentages in the accompanying table do not include ballots that were marked "undecided" or left blank for certain questions. Most editors had no trouble making up their minds. Only 4 percent were undecided on the loans question. Toughest questions were those on the purpose of the war (18 percent undecided or not voting) and on United States entry if England seems to be losing (16 percent undecided or not voting).

	Loans to England		United States should enter war—			War is primarily—	
	Yes	No	Now	If Great Britain is losing	Only if invaded	To save democracy	To save British Empire
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
All papers	31	69	1	8	91	16	84
American Federation of Labor	41	59	0	12	88	23	77
Congress of Industrial Organizations	14	86	0	5	95	10	90
Unaffiliated	36	64	8	8	84	20	80
American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations	29	71	0	0	100	0	100

Opposition to loans stems from a conviction that financial aid to the Allies in the last war helped drag the United States into the conflict, editors' comments showed. Typical remarks were:

COMMENTS ARE LISTED

"The question now is, Do we want to finance another war in Europe or let it carry on by itself?"—Jerry Cook, Labor Temple News (Peoria, Ill.).

"Let us not forget that John Bull failed to keep faith with Uncle Sam in the last deal."—Perry S. Melton, Treasure State Labor Journal (Kalispell, Mont.).

"While labor fights for democracy in Europe we would lose it here."—Louis Pollock, Ohio Valley News (Wheeling, W. Va.).

"I honestly believe that the present war is the last stand of democracy and that if Hitler wins we will see labor's enemies in the United States rise and crush democracy."—Thomas R. Downie, the Galesburg (Ill.) Labor News.

"England was silent on China, Spain, Russia, and Germany until her empire was threatened."—George J. Reiss, Union Labor Advocate (Elizabeth, N. J.).

Thumbnail Sketches of the War Crowd

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSH D. HOLT

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, December 30 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19, 1940

ARTICLE BY HON. RUSH D. HOLT, OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. HOLT. Mr. President, I submit thumbnail sketches of the war crowd for printing in the Appendix. Permission was granted on December 30, page 14004, for the printing of this outline of the war propagandists who have interests in war contracts.

The article follows:

A GLIMPSE BEHIND THE SCENES

Profit! Profit! Profit!

When persons make profit from war and then participate in organizations and drives to keep the war going and to force our country to join in the dance of death, it forces all of us to wonder if the love for profit did not have much to do with their decision. The Bible speaks of the interest of a person being where his treasure is.

My files show hundreds and hundreds of instances of individuals who are active in promoting our intervention in the war being directors, officials, and large stockholders in the companies selling the munitions and implements of war.

I had hoped to present this survey to the Senate, but the change in plans for printing the RECORD forced abandonment of the plan, because it was absolutely impossible to get it ready in time for such publication. It will be used later.

It is hard to believe that those who are stuffing contracts in their pockets do not realize their war profits. They know that the war must continue to amass their profits.

Some may be sincere, but it is an indictment to make money from war and be active in propagandizing for its spread.

Just a very brief record of some of the many involved in corporations selling war materials follows:

The Swopes, Gerard and Herbert Bayard, are both active in the war drives. It is worth noting their investments. General Electric had as its president just a short time ago one of them. General Electric also has 4 years' orders from the Army and Navy, and the amount is almost $50,000,000.

Lewis Douglas, extremely active in all pro-war drives, has investments in industries selling war material. He also recently resigned as president of American Cyanamid, which has orders for war material, both foreign and domestic.

Karl H. Behr, active in the conscription drive, is director of General Cable Corporation, with its millions of Government orders.

Arthur C. James, active in the White committee and signer to many recent letters advocating "all aid"—and I emphasize all—is a director of Phelps Dodge, with its large orders for war supplies.

Ward Cheney, active in the White committee, financial sponsor of the Miller war group and signer to the letter to the President preceding the fireside chat, is president of Cheney Bros., with its large orders for parachutes and silk.

Henry P. Davison family is very active in war organizations. The directorship of H. P. Davison on the American Brake Shoe & Foundry Co., which is making ammunition for the Government, is noted. Also the partnership in the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., with its international business involved in the war.

Thomas Lamont, one of the policy committee of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, is partner of J. P. Morgan & Co. He is also a director of Phelps Dodge (mentioned above) and United States Steel Corporation, which organization is making

millions upon millions of profit from this war. He is not the only director of United States Steel worth noting. J. P. Morgan is a director of the corporation that increased its profit by more than 2,000 percent in similar periods of peace and war. Sewell Avery, also a director of United States Steel, is a director in the Frank Knox pro-war newspaper, the Chicago Daily News.

Marshall Field, one of the backers to most of the war groups and very active for intervention, signer of the telegram, etc., is a director of the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co., with its millions of dollars worth of orders, and of Marshall Field, also selling the Government goods.

Jerome Loucheim, sponsor of the stop-Hitler advertisements in the papers and supporter of the White committee, is a director in Blaw Knox, a firm making cartridges. He is also a director of the Columbia Broadcasting Co.

Henry D. Sharpe, president of Browne & Sharpe, is also active. It is worth noting that this firm has some handsome war orders from the Government. It is enjoying a wonderful business as a result of war.

Arthur Choate is a member of the White group. He serves on the board of directors of Pullman with Morgan and Avery. The Pullman set-up also has profited from these war orders.

E. Ronald Harriman is active for intervention. He wired the President for "all aid." He is a director of the Anaconda Copper, which is making millions out of this war. One of its subsidiaries has millions more in contracts. Harriman is also interested in the shipping industry.

W. Averill Harriman, now working with the Defense Commission, has connections with war profits in shipbuilding.

John Schiff is also noted on many lists. He is a partner of Kuhn Loeb & Co., international bankers, and a director of Westinghouse (mentioned above).

John Hay Whitney, director of Freeport Sulphur & Cuban Manganese Corporation, is also active in the war drive. The sulfur company has had a nice business as a result of the war.

Cornelius Whitney, director of Hudson Bay Mining & Smelting, with its war orders, is also a sponsor.

Fred McKee, national treasurer of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, is treasurer of the National Casket Co. It is not necessary to say more.

The Guggenheim family is found on the organization lists. Their connection with American smelting and refining and copper firms indicates their war profits.

George Watts Hill, of North Carolina, signed the manifesto asking for a declaration of war, signed the telegram to the President before the fireside chat, active for all war causes, is director of Erwin Cotton Mills, which firm received hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of war orders. He is very much interested in war profits.

Frank Russell wired the President for "all aid." He is president of the National Aviation Corporation, director of Bell Aircraft, director of Lockheed, director of Irving Air Chute Co., all with millions and millions of war orders and with millions of profits resulting from these war orders.

George W. Morgan, one of the 170 signers to the telegram to the President, is a St. Paul lawyer, whose law firm represents United States Steel and other firms making huge profits from war orders.

Fredric Coudert, with his representation of corporations in belligerent countries and with international investments, was one of the founders of the White committee.

Fred Searls, Jr., of San Francisco, signed the telegram to the President. It was not noted by the press that he is a director of American Metals, Inc., with its Government orders, or that he was an official of Rhodesian Anglo American, Ltd., of London, England (South African copper), or that he was an official of Canadian gold-mine companies.

Thomas Finletter, signer of one of the wires to the President, is a director of American Machines & Metal and Consolidated Laundries, both of which have received many Government orders.

Paul Fuller, Jr., also in the set-up, is a director of Budd Wheel Co., which firm has millions of dollars in Government contracts.

Frank M. Weld, active in the conscription drive, is connected with Baldwin Locomotive, which firm has one $33,000,000 order from the Government for tanks as well as Navy contracts.

Cornelius W. Wickersham, also found in the lists, is a director of New York Air Brake Co., which firm is also getting war profits.

Henry Breckenridge, advocate of war, is director of Aeronautical Securities with its money invested in Bendix, Douglas Aircraft, Ex Cell-O Corporation, Fairchild Aviation, Grummann Aircraft, Irving Air Chute, Lockheed, Glenn L. Martin, North American Aviation, Sperry Corporation, United Aircraft, Curtiss Wright, all of which have hundreds of millions of dollars in Government war orders.

Herbert Lehman, Governor of New York, has been discussed in the RECORD of October 9, 1940. Corporations having millions in war orders have as officers and large stockholders members of the Lehman family.

Frank Altschul, president of General Americans Investors and Lazard Freres, has been very active in the war groups. He has investments in Aluminum Co., Allied Chemical, American Brake and Foundry, Bendix, Bethlehem, Chrysler, Du Pont, General Motors, United Aircraft, United States Steel, all of which have large Government orders.

One could go on and on. It is a startling story of profit, profit, profit.

Resolution for a Referendum on Overseas Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS LUDLOW

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 2, 1941

Mr. LUDLOW. Mr. Speaker, with the opening day of the new Congress I am reintroducing my resolution, which has been before the lawmaking body for many years, proposing an amendment to the Constitution which would give the people a right to vote on proposals to send American soldiers to fight in foreign overseas wars. For future identification purposes, it will be known as House Joint Resolution No. 1 of the Seventy-seventh Congress.

The text of the resolution follows:

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide for a referendum on war

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution when ratified by conventions in three-fourths of the States as provided in the Constitution:

"ARTICLE ——

"SECTION 1. Except in case of invasion by armed forces, actual or immediately threatened by an approaching military expedition, or attack upon the United States or its Territorial possessions, or by any non-American nation against any country in the Western Hemisphere, the people shall have the sole power by a national referendum to declare war or to engage in warfare overseas. Congress, when it deems a national crisis to exist in conformance with this article, shall by concurrent resolution refer the question to the people.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall by law provide for the enforcement of this section.

"SEC. 3. This article shall become operative when ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution."

This proposal, Mr. Speaker, is suggested for a permanent place in our Constitution without regard to any temporary happenings in the world today. It is suggested because it is as fundamentally and everlastingly right as any of the sacred guaranties of the Bill of Rights. The referendum on overseas war which this resolution proposes would not impair or interfere with our national defense in any way, shape or form, and it fully recognizes and respects our duties and obligations under the Monroe Doctrine, for in the event of an attack on, or invasion of, the United States or any other country in the Western Hemisphere by a non-American nation the referendum would not apply. It only goes to the point of providing that when there has been no attack on the United States or any other country in the Western Hemisphere before our boys can be sent into foreign nondefensive wars across the seas, the people who have to do the dying and the suffering and to bear the unspeakable costs and burdens and griefs of war may have a vote on the proposition. Surely this is an elemental right that belongs to the people in a democracy. The proposed amendment is vitally needed to round out and complete the Bill of Rights and I hope that my resolution will receive the favorable consideration of the Congress and the country.